STUDIA CERANEA

Journal of the Waldemar Ceran Research Centre

for

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

14, 2024

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14, 2024
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We dedicate this volume of "Studia Ceranea" to the memory of

Professor Mirosław Jerzy Leszka
(1963–2024)

of the Department of Byzantine History at the University of Lodz, outstanding scholar, historian, Byzantinist, medievalist, expert in the history of medieval Bulgaria, long-time academic lecturer, co-founder the Waldemar Ceran Research Centre for the History and Culture of the Mediterranean Area and South-East Europe, *Ceraneum* (University of Lodz), co-creator, co-editor-in-chief (2011–2021), and editor-in-chief (2021–2024) of this journal, who passed away suddenly on August 24, 2024

Exegisti monumentum aere perennius

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In memoriam
Mirosław Jerzy Leszka
(1963–2024)

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Prof. dr hab. Mirosław Jerzy Leszka, a distinguished scholar and university lecturer from the Department of Byzantine Studies at the Faculty of Philosophy and History of the University of Lodz, passed away after a short illness on the morning of 24 August 2024. Professor Leszka was one of the founders of the Waldemar Ceran Research Centre for the History and Culture of the Mediterranean Area and South-East Europe, *Ceraneum* and a member of the International Scientific Council of this institution.

Born on 4 April 1963 in Zgierz, Mirosław J. Leszka passed his high school exams in 1982 at the Stanisław Staszic High School located in Zgierz. It was in high school when he felt drawn to history. Following this interest, he studied history at the University of Lodz, and on 30 June 1987, he obtained a master's degree in history based on his work which was devoted to the enthronements of early Byzantine emperors. This work was written under the supervision of Professor Waldemar Ceran (1936–2009), the founder of the Łódź school of Byzantine research. Studying under Waldemar Ceran, Mirosław J. Leszka became an expert on the history of the Eastern Roman and Byzantine Empire in the late Antiquity and early Middle Ages.

In the years that followed, Mirosław J. Leszka worked on his doctoral thesis entitled: *Usurpations in Byzantine Empire from the 4th to the mid-9th centuries*. After being awarded a doctorate on 14 December 1995, he became a member of the Department of Byzantine Studies at the University of Lodz, where he worked until the end of his life. Throughout his scholarly career, Mirosław J. Leszka remained faithful to classically understood Byzantine studies. His scholarly interests included a wide range of issues, covering both the Late Antiquity and Middle Ages.

The first book by Mirosław J. Leszka, based on his doctoral dissertation (which appeared in print in 1999 as the fourth volume of the series of "Byzantina Lodziensia", founded two years earlier by Waldemar Ceran) was devoted to the struggle for power in Byzantium. This was the first monograph on the Polish market to touch upon this issue. Synthetic in nature, it did not present the reader with a detailed account of political upheavals, aiming to grasp various elements typical of all usurpations understood as a specific phenomenon. It covered the period of five centuries and of thirty usurpations. Unlike many scholars, the author did not regard these usurpations as a purely destructive force: some of them served to remove inept rulers, and even if these usurpations failed, they often had the effect of modifying the policy pursued by the emperor.

The author continued to deal with the topic of the rise to power in the Byzantine empire in a number of articles, focusing both on usurpers and usurpations (the usurpations of Marcian, Basiliscus, and Phocas) and on various related issues (the legalization of the power of particular usurpers, religious themes in usurpers' propaganda, the appraisal of the policy of Phocas). Standing out in this line

of research are texts devoted to the Isaurians and their participation in the struggle for power in Byzantium.

Professor Mirosław J. Leszka's interests were also concentrated around Byzantium's rulers, military leaders, and politicians. He was one of the contributors to the *Dictionary of Roman Emperors* (*Słownik cesarzy rzymskich*, Poznań 2001), and his articles published in scholarly journals presented such figures as Flavius Patricius, Leontius, Illus and his brother Lilingis, and Flavius Areobind.

Mirosław J. Leszka's attention was drawn especially to Byzantine empresses. He wrote a series of articles on some of those empresses, including Verina, Pulcheria, Aelia Eudocia, Constantina, Zoe Karbonopsina, and Theophano. His focus was also on other influential women in Byzantium such as Anicia Juliana. Along with his wife, Małgorzata B. Leszka, he published a book devoted to Byzantine empresses (*Bazylisa. Świat bizantyńskich cesarzowych. IV–XV w.*, Łódź 2017).

Another area of research that drew Mirosław J. Leszka's attention was Constantinople. The first research project, of which he was in charge and which was funded by the Ministry of Science and Higher Education, concerned the history of the city. The project yielded a monograph (*Konstantynopol – Nowy Rzym. Miasto i ludzie w okresie wczesnobizantyńskim*, Warszawa 2011). Mirosław J. Leszka wrote a few chapters of the work (concerning such issues as the circumstances of the city's rise, the city's urban layout, and the organization of the imperial court). In later years, he returned to this topic, publishing texts devoted to social unrest in Constantinople, natural disasters suffered by Byzantium's capital, Constantinopolitan harbours, and the city's image in the letters of Theophylact of Ohrid.

Although Professor Mirosław J. Leszka insisted that he had no interest in the history of Islam, he was persuaded to participate in the project that culminated in the publication of a bibliographical guide to Byzantine sources and their Church Slavic translations (Z.A. Brzozowska, T. Wolińska, M.J. Leszka, *Muhammad and the Origin of Islam in the Byzantine-Slavic Literary Context. A Bibliographical History*, Łódź–Kraków 2020). He also wrote articles on Quran in the Slavic tradition (along with Zofia A. Brzozowska), the Arab-Byzantine struggle in light of the *Chronicle* by Constantine Manasses, and the image of the Arabs found in the same source. His studies also included research into Arab themes in the Bulgarian-Byzantine relations from the 7th to the 10th centuries.

In recent years Mirosław J. Leszka worked closely with Szymon Wierzbiński. Their collaboration yielded a monograph: *Wodzowie Zenona (474–491) i Anastazjusza I (491–518)* (Łódź 2024). The book, which also appeared in English (*Strategoí: Early Byzantine Military Commanders in the Times of Zeno and Anastasius (474–518)*, Łódź–Kraków 2024), provides biographical notes on military commanders about whom Mirosław J. Leszka had already published various articles as well as about those whom he had not dealt with in his works before.

The two scholars also published a book titled *Komes Marcellin*, *vir clarissimus*. *Historyk i jego dzieło* (Łódź 2022). The book contains Marcellinus Comes's original text and its translation into Polish. Szymon Wierzbiński translated the text while Mirosław J. Leszka provided it with his comments. He wrote key fragments of a comprehensive introduction to Marcellinus Comes's biography as well as to his images of eastern Roman rulers and the chronicler's view of Constantinople's role.

Professor Mirosław J. Leszka served as co-editor of a significant number of books published in Łódź. This was the case with two publications that provided his research into the history of the capital of the Byzantine empire. *Mieszkańcy stolicy świata*. *Konstantynopolitańczycy między starożytnością a średniowieczem* (Łódź 2014); *Miasto na skrzyżowaniu mórz i kontynentów: wczesno- i średniobizantyński Konstantynopol jako miasto portowe* (Łódź 2016) and *Z badań nad wczesnobizantyńskim Konstantynopolem* (Łódź 2011). Mirosław J. Leszka also co-edited works dedicated to Professor Waldemar Ceran: *Cesarstwo bizantyńskie: dzieje*, *religia*, *kultura*. *Studia ofiarowane prof. Waldemarowi Ceranowi przez uczniów na 70-lecie jego urodzin*, eds. P. Krupczyński, M.J. Leszka (Łask–Łódź 2006); *Byzantina Europaea: księga jubileuszowa ofiarowana prof. Waldemarowi Ceranowi*, eds. M. Kokoszko, M.J. Leszka (Łódź 2007), and several volumes of conference proceedings. To the above, one must also add Professor Mirosław J. Leszka's numerous reviews, review articles and bibliographical notes.

Mirosław J. Leszka was also involved in popularizing historical knowledge, with some of his works intended for a broader audience beyond scholars. Examples include his work on a monograph devoted to the Palaeologue dynasty and his work on the history of the Byzantine Empire and the Balkans, which was published in *Pomocnik historyczny*, issued by the weekly *Polityka*, as well as articles published in the journal *Mówią Wieki*. His research tour of Russian libraries gave him the opportunity to co-write a book (with Zofia A. Brzozowska) devoted to Novgorod the Great (*Nowogród Wielki*. *Historyczno-kulturowy przewodnik po średniowiecznej republice*, Łódź 2019).

Although Professor Mirosław J. Leszka was most at home in his research and scholarly work, one should not forget his didactic activity. He taught various classes covering a wide range of topics such as medieval history, religious studies, religious tourism, archaeological tourism, the history and culture of medieval Balkans, history's great military leaders, female rulers in Byzantine and Slavic world, medieval diplomacy, usurpations in Byzantium from the 4th to 12th centuries, and the Slavs in the Balkans from the 6th to 12th centuries. To these, one should add proseminars, undergraduate seminars, master's seminars, and doctoral seminars. He also made his mark as a promoter for doctoral dissertations and as a reviewer of bachelor's and master's theses, doctorates, habilitations and professorships.

A separate area of Mirosław J. Leszka's scholarly interests, closely related to the history of Byzantium, was Bulgaria in the early Middle Ages. Bulgarian themes began to appear in his research when he was working on his habilitation dissertation titled: *The image of the first Bulgarian state rulers shown in the Byzantine sources of the period from the 8th to the first half of the 12th century*. Published as a monograph by the Łódź University Press in 2003 (as the seventh volume of the series of "Byzantina Lodziensia"), the work was grounds for awarding him a habilitation degree on 19 February 2004. Later, this enabled him to advance to the position of Professor at the University of Lodz (15 September 2006). This dissertation, like most works by Mirosław J. Leszka, is marked by a very comprehensive perspective from which it approaches its topic. Based on Byzantine sources, it presents the picture of Bulgarian rulers from the pre-Christian era (from Asparuh to Presian, focusing in particular on Krum) and from the years following the official adoption of Christianity: Boris-Michael, Symeon, and Peter.

In regard to Bulgarian studies, it should be mentioned that in 2001 Mirosław J. Leszka undertook a scholarly collaboration with Kirił Marinow (who was working on his doctoral thesis at that time). Later on, Professor Marinow initiated many projects devoted to the history of medieval Bulgaria. Both scholars worked on these projects together, using a wide range of both Byzantine as well as archaeological and Slavic sources.

In the years that followed, Professor Leszka's research focused mainly on Symeon I the Great (893–927). The reign of Symeon, who is generally regarded as the greatest ruler of medieval Bulgaria, saw the exponential growth of the Old Bulgarian culture, including Old Church Slavic literature. The monograph (*Symeon I Wielki a Bizancjum. Z dziejów stosunków bułgarsko-bizantyńskich w latach 893–927*) offered a detailed reconstruction of the life of this ruler, for whom Mirosław J. Leszka had a special fondness. He outlined the situation of the Bulgar state at the turn of the 10th century, including in particular its relations with Byzantium. It was published in 2013 as part of the renewed series "Byzantina Lodziensia" (in the years 2012–2024 Professor Mirosław J. Leszka was in charge of this series, which thrived thanks to his sustained and remarkable effort; 34 volumes of the series appeared during his tenure). This monograph – along with a great number of other publications: contributions to multi-author monographs and various texts collections, articles, reviews, and conference papers – paved the way for the title of Professor, which Mirosław J. Leszka was awarded on 22 January 2016. It is worth noting that the work found a warm acceptance among scholars in the Balkans and received good reviews in scholarly journals abroad. It was also translated into Bulgarian and published by the prestigious academic publisher in Sofia. The findings of Mirosław J. Leszka's research into the epoch of Symeon the Great were also successively presented in scholarly articles.

2011 was an important year for Byzantine studies in Łódź. The Waldemar Ceran Research Centre for the History and Culture of the Mediterranean Area and South-East Europe, *Ceraneum* was established within the University of Lodz. Mirosław J. Leszka was one of the Centre's most active founders, engaged especially in creating a scholarly journal of international character and, in time, of international scope: „Studia Ceranea. Journal of the Waldemar Ceran Research Centre for the History and Culture of the Mediterranean Area and South-East Europe". He was also engaged in creating the "Series Ceranea", a primary sources series. Mirosław J. Leszka and Kirił Marinow also assembled the Centre *Ceraneum*'s team of scholars who conducted research into Byzantine-Slavic relations, focusing in particular on the history of medieval Bulgaria. The group's first significant initiative focused on the history of the first Bulgarian state, from its Christianization to its collapse (*Carstwo bułgarskie. Polityka, społeczeństwo, gospodarka, kultura. 866–971*, Warszawa 2015). This work was published by Polish Scientific Publishers PWN. Apart from Mirosław J. Leszka and Kirił Marinow, who were among the work's authors, two young scholars (one freshly awarded a doctorate and the other still undergoing Ph.D. study) were given the chance to contribute: Zofia A. Brzozowska (now a member of the Department of the Slavic Philology of the University of Lodz) and Jan M. Wolski (now working at the Centre *Ceraneum*).

In the years 2015–2018, the group carried out its most ambitious international project. Financed by the National Science Centre, it was titled: *The Bulgarian State in 927–969. The Epoch of Tsar Peter I*. Mirosław J. Leszka was in charge of the project, which was put forward by Kirił Marinow. Aside from Jan M. Wolski and Zofia A. Brzozowska, the group included Bulgarian scholars from the St. Kliment Ohridski University of Sofia (Miliana Kaimakamova, Georgi N. Nikolov, Angel Nikolov) and the St. Cyril and St. Methodius University of Veliko Tarnovo (Nikolay Hrissimov). The project yielded three monographs and over 20 articles. The most important of them was the collective monograph, edited by Mirosław J. Leszka and Kirił Marinow. All of the authors involved in carrying out the project made contributions. Published in 2018 in co-edition with the Jagiellonian University Press, which ensured its international distribution via the Columbia University Press, the monograph remains the most extensive volume in the series of "Byzantina Lodziensia". Running to almost 700 pages, not only does it provide an account of political history in the years 927–969, but it also covers a wide range of other issues such as Bulgaria's geographical conditions, economy, administration, everyday life, political system, the army, culture, the official Church, and the heterodox movement (Bogomilism) that spread across the Balkans in the 10th century.

A separate part of the book is devoted to the analysis of Peter I's image in medieval sources and in modern historiography, Peter's cult as a saint, and the medieval view of the Byzantine-Bulgarian peace of 927. The Polish and abridged version of the book appeared in the renowned biographic series published by the Kraków publishing house, Avalon (Z.A. Brzozowska, M.J. Leszka, K. Marinow, *Piotr I Święty, car bułgarski (ok. 912–969). Maria Lekapena, caryca bułgarska (ok. 912–963)*, Kraków 2018). Along with Zofia A. Brzozowska, Mirosław J. Leszka also co-authored a biography of Peter's wife, Maria Lekapene (*Maria Lekapene, Empress of the Bulgarians. Neither a Saint nor a Malefactress*, Łódź 2017). In writing the book, he drew on his research into the role of Byzantine empresses in Byzantium's political system.

Professor Mirosław J. Leszka remained faithful to Bulgarian and Byzantine studies until the end of his life. Apart from the issues mentioned above, he also dealt with the pagan period in the history of Bulgaria as well as the reigns of tsar Samuel and his successors, which preceded the collapse of the Bulgarian state in 1018. He also kept himself closely familiar with scholarly literature on the history of Byzantium and the Slavic world, reviewing numerous works published by different scholarly centres throughout the world. For his contribution to popularizing the history and culture of Bulgaria, he received the Golden Age Award from the Ministry of Culture of Bulgaria. Mirosław J. Leszka's scholarly accomplishments were also recognized by his own *Alma Mater*. He received scholarly awards of the first and second degree, both individually and collectively, including the Gold Badge of the University of Lodz. In recognition of his scholarship and contributions to the study of medieval Bulgaria, he was invited to join the editorial council of the renowned historical journal *Epohi* issued by the St. Cyril and St. Methodius University of Veliko Tarnovo in Bulgaria. Professor Leszka's contacts with Bulgarian scholars were long, lasting and numerous.

Mirosław J. Leszka's thriving career was unexpectedly and untimely disrupted. He passed away while working with Rafał Kosiński from the University of Białystok on the new edition of the chronicle of George the Monk, drawing on the hitherto unpublished Greek manuscript *Codex Coislinianus 305* and Church Slavic sources. Unfortunately, Professor Leszka did not live long enough to carry out a number of other projects that he had in mind, such as the synthesis of the history of Bulgaria in the pre-Christian era and the lexicon of the rulers of medieval Bulgaria.

Professor Mirosław J. Leszka will be remembered by his colleagues, collaborators and students as an excellent and creative scholar, an adept and prolific author, a popular and respected lecturer, and calm, kind and helpful man. His composure and common sense, as well as his good advice and extraordinary wit, coupled with the ability not to take himself and the world too seriously, will be deeply missed.

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Eastern Elements in Cathar Doctrines – an Argument for the Traditional Interpretation of Catharism

Abstract. At present we can observe intense attempts at overthrowing all the claims concerning Catharism that had been formulated by the scholars of the 20th century, based on careful analysis of the vast source material. So called "traditional interpretation", assuming strong influence of the Eastern dualist heresies (Bogomilism and Paulicianism) on Catharism is currently rejected by scholars such as M.G. Pegg, J.-L. Biget and R.I. Moore as outdated and not compatible with the latest research. For the construction of this false image of Catharism Pegg blames Religionsgeschichte Schule and their comparative method, which according to him is built on the assumption that "if two ideas look alike to the historian, there must be a link between them", but in this radical criticism, he seems to ignore the fact that comparison of the Cathar and Bogomil doctrine is justified by many sources, which confirm historical relations between the adherent of these heresies. What should be underlined, not only the current deconstructionist conception, represented by the above-mentioned scholars, but all the interpretations rejecting Eastern origins of Cathar doctrines, were constructed without the analysis of the Eastern sources. Considering this, the aim of this article is to analyse various specific Cathar doctrinal conceptions, which do not have analogies in the ancient heresies, with the doctrines of the Eastern dualists (mainly Bogomils but also Paulicians), known from the Eastern sources – both polemical and written (or used) by the heretics themselves. Such comparative analysis can verify the claims of the adherents of the "new paradigm", according to which dualist Cathar doctrine was constructed by Catholics, basing on the ancient anti-heretical scriptures, mainly anti-Manichaean writings of St. Augustine.

Keywords: dualist doctrines, Catharism, Bogomilism, Paulicianism

Traditional interpretation of Catharism, assuming its Eastern roots and dualistic character, is nowadays challenged by deconstructionists, who present it as outdated, ultimately refuted and consequently not worth further discussion. Mark Gregory Pegg and Jean-Louis Biget openly depreciate their adversaries,

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claiming that they ignore new research and do not want to accept them due to their "ideological blockade"[1]. Pegg, in his article from 2020, authoritatively announced a new paradigm of "Middle Ages without Catharism", adding that all the questions concerning Catharism should be formulated in its light[2]. Similar opinions are expressed also by Biget, who in 2001 claimed that the names "Cathars" and "Catharism" should be rejected[3]. This radical interpretation is shared also by R.I. Moore, in his 2012 book *The War on Heresy*, which can hardly be perceived as an academic work[4]. Nevertheless, as the author says in the introductory chapter, its main aim is *to clear away a luxuriant overgrowth of falsehood and legend that has gathered around these heretics – especially, but not only, the so-called 'Cathars' during the thousand years*[5].

These falsehoods and legends include, above all, the conviction that the Cathars were dualists, and their heresy was rooted in the East. For the formulation of this conviction, Moore blames the adherents of traditional historiography of heresy, who, according to him, based their conclusions on late and unreliable sources and didn't consider their context. Without any substantive discussion of their arguments, he claims authoritatively, that the "small body of Latin texts", on which this interpretation was built, has been expertly questioned in the last twenty years by scholars such as M. Zerner and her collaborators, while M.G. Pegg, in his book: *The Corruption of Angels: The Great Inquisition of 1245–1246* brought a *devastating critique of the methods of his predecessors and an entirely fresh understanding of the religion of the good men*. Totally convinced by the new interpretation Moore asks rhetorically: *How could so many good scholars have got it so wrong?*[6]

But is this stunning self-confidence of the adherents of the "new paradigm" based on strong arguments? Is this rejection of the Eastern provenance of Catharism based on a deep analysis of a vast source material, which includes also the Eastern texts and on a comparative analysis of the doctrines? Not in the least. For the creation of the image of Catharism as an organised, dualistic religion, rooted in Bogomilism, Pegg blames Religionsgeschichtliche Schule and its method, which

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[1] J.-L. BIGET, *L'histoire du « catharisme » occitan: un nœud de questions*, [in:] *Le « catharisme » en questions*, ed. IDEM, S. CAUCANAS, M. FOURNIÉ, D. LE BLÉVEC, Fanjeaux 2020, p. 15–16; M.G. PEGG, *Le catharisme en questions: falsifiabilité, vérité historique et une nouvelle histoire du christianisme medieval*, [in:] *Le « catharisme » en questions*…, p. 332; IDEM, *The Paradigm of Catharism; or, the Historians' Illusions*, [in:] *Cathars in Question*, ed. A. SENNIS, York 2016, p. 21.

[2] M.G. PEGG, *Le catharisme en questions*…, p. 331.

[3] J.-L. BIGET, *Réflexions sur «l'hérésie» dans le Midi de la France au Moyen Âge*, Here 36–37, 2001, p. 29–30, 32, 38, 42.

[4] According to Peter Biller *The War on Heresy is written for general readers*, and *does not proceed like a disciplined academic monograph*. Biller also criticizes Moore for relying on the opinions of other scholars, especially Pegg, which brings a danger of repeating their shortcomings, see: P. BILLER, *Goodbye to Catharism?*, [in:] *Cathars in Question*…, p. 287–288.

[5] R.I. MOORE, *The War on Heresy*, Cambridge, Mass. 2012, p. 10.

[6] *Ibidem*, p. 332–336, 343–344.

is built, as he says, on the assumption that *if two ideas look alike to the historian, there must be a link between them*[7].

By stating this, Pegg suggests that adherents of the traditional interpretation made comparisons between Cathar and Bogomil doctrines arbitrarily. Questioning of the comparative method is not the only argument Pegg directed against the traditional interpretation. He constructed his radically deconstructionist paradigm much earlier (in 2001), based on a very limited source material – manuscript 609 from Toulouse, documenting a huge investigation led by the inquisitors Bernard de Caux and Jean de St. Pierre between 1245–1246. After the analysis of this source, he drew the conclusion concerning the whole Catharism, claiming that it was not an organized heresy, professing dualist doctrine, because the latter was almost absent in this document[8].

This selective approach to the sources was not invented by Pegg. It was introduced in 1998 by M. Zerner and her collaborators. The manifesto of this new approach, in which, as J. Thery has put it: *deconstruction of the sources was an imperative*, was a volume entitled *Inventer l'heresie*[9]. This hyper-critical approach to the sources, in which (as was underlined by Roquebert) it is not important what the source says, but who says it and what their hypothetical aims were, resulted in the rejection of all the sources that did not fit the previously formulated assumptions as unreliable[10]. Thus, the traditional interpretation, seeing Catharism as a dualist heresy rooted in the East, was replaced by a new one, in which Cathar dualism was arbitrarily constructed by the Catholic polemicists, trying to discredit the evangelical dissidents, for whom there was no place in the centralising post-Gregorian Church[11]. Because all the Catholic authors knew St. Augustine and his anti-Manichean writings, they decided to impose the tenets of this archetypal dualist heresy on the dissidents. Uwe Brunn tried to provide evidence to support this theory, focusing on the *Sermones Contra Catharos*, written in 1163 by Eckbert of Schönau, who as the first described the Cathar dualist doctrine and

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[7] M.G. Pegg, *Le catharisme en questions*…, p. 337–343, 355; idem, *The Paradigm*…, p. 23–32, 48.

[8] Idem, *The Corruption of Angels. The Great Inquisition of 1245–1246*, Princeton 2001.

[9] *Inventer l'hérésie? Discours polémiques et pouvoirs avant l'Inquisition*, ed. M. Zerner, Nice 1998; J. Théry, *L'hérésie des bons hommes. Comment nommer la dissidence religieuse non vaudoise ni béguine en Languedoc (XII^e – début XIV^e siècle)?*, Here 36–37, 2002, p. 107.

[10] M. Roquebert, *Le déconstructionnisme et les études cathares*, [in:] *Les Cathares devant l'Histoire. Mélanges offerts à Jean Duvernoy*, ed. M. Aurell, Cahors 2005, p. 110–111.

[11] J.-L. Biget, *Réflexions*…, p. 30–51; idem, *Les bons hommes sont-ils les fils des bogomiles? Examen critique d'une idée reçue*, SlOc 16, 2003, p. 161; R.I. Moore, *The Formation of a Persecuting Society. Authority and Deviance in Western Europe, 950–1250*, Malden 2007, p. 85, 93; idem, *The Birth of Popular Heresy, a Millennial Phenomenon*, JRH 24, 2000, p. 18–20; J. Théry, *L'hérésie*…, p. 77, 117; M.G. Pegg, *On cathars, albigenses and good man of Languedoc*, JMH 27, 2001, p. 184; P. Jiménez-Sanchez, *Les catharismes. Modeles dissidents du Christianisme medieval (XXI^e–XIII^e siecles)*, Rennes 2008, p. 21–24; M. Zerner, *Introduction*, [in:] *Inventer l'hérésie? Discours polémiques et pouvoirs avant l'Inquisition*, ed. idem, Nice 1998, p. 10–16.

was the first to use the name "Cathars"[12]. Eckbert apparently firmly believed that the dualist Cathars are the descendants of the Manicheans and at the end of his work he added excerpts from St. Augustine's *De heresibus*. Brunn took this as proof of the construction of the heresy and created a sophisticated hypothesis, explaining how Eckbert's work, which survived in only one copy, became a pattern for all the other polemicists in Western Europe[13]. A similar idea was behind the paper of an Australian scholar H. Chiu, who investigated *De fide catholica contra haereticos sui temporis*, written by Alan of Lille, at the end of the 12th century. Trying to prove, against the claims of the author that he did not gain information about the Cathar doctrine from the direct conversations with the heretics, Chiu constructed a hypothesis assuming that this work was purely theoretical, which meant that the Cathar dualism described in it was constructed based on the works of the Church Fathers, and its main aim was to teach a theology student how to refute arguments contrary to the Catholic faith[14].

It is indeed very surprising that neither Brunn nor Chiu, nor any other scholar who supports the theory of the construction of the heresy based on St. Augustine's works did not verify it by comparing the Cathar dualism described by the polemicists with its alleged Manichean model contained in the writings of the bishop of Hippo. Such a verification would have demonstrated that these dualistic doctrines are similar only in terms of the most general ideas, while the more specific beliefs are radically different. Comparative analysis however is not the preferred method among the adherents of the "new paradigm" and this was also true in the past, among scholars who denied the connections between Catharism and Eastern dualism. In the 1950s, Raffaello Morghen, who argued with A. Dondaine claiming that the Cathars were the descendants of the Western evangelical reformers and not the disciples of the Bogomils, did not analyse the Eastern sources[15]. Neither were they analysed by the adherents of this theory, such as R. Manselli or E. Werner. The latter explained the emergence of dualism among the Cathars, saying that they created a new version of Christianity, reinterpreting the gospel of St. John exactly as Martin Luther did later, reinterpreting St. Paul's epistle to the Romans[16].

As we can see, all the intepretations denying the Eastern roots of the Cathar dualist doctrine were formulated without analysing of the Eastern sources. This is their common feature, or rather a common weakness. It seems quite logical that to

[12] ECKBERTUS ABBAS SCHONAUGENSIS, *Sermones contra catharos*, [in:] *PL*, vol. CXCV, ed. J.-P. MIGNE, Parisiis 1855, col. 13–102.

[13] U. BRUNN, *Des contestataires aux "Cathares". Discours de réforme et propagande antihérétique dans les pays du Rhin et de la Meuse avant l'Inquisition*, Paris 2006, p. 160, 238–274, 316–348; IDEM, *Cathari, catharistae et cataphrygae. Ancetres des cathares du XII siècle*, Here 36–37, 2002, p. 184–185.

[14] H. CHIU, *Alan of Lille's Academic Concept of the Manichee*, JRH 35, 2011, p. 496–506.

[15] R. MORGHEN, *Medioevo cristiano*, Bari 1951, p. 212–224; IDEM, *Problèmes sur l'origine de l'hérésie au moyen âge*, RH 236, 1966, p. 1–16.

[16] R. MANSELLI, *Evangelisme et mythe dans la foi cathare*, Here 5, 1985, p. 5–17; E. WERNER, *L'evangelie de Jean et le dualisme medieval*, Here 12, 1989, p. 15–24.

formulate general opinions concerning the origins of Cathar doctrines (and especially such radical opinions as described above), it is necessary to deeply analyse the Eastern sources and refer to them, as underlined by scholars acquainted with these sources[17]. The more general an opinion is, the larger source base it requires, therefore to formulate interpretations concerning the entirety of Catharism, one should base this on all the available source materials, both Eastern and Western, and of various provenience – heretical, inquisitorial and polemical. Considering this, I decided to verify categorical claims of the promoters of the "new paradigm" using the method, which they condemned – a comparison of doctrines. Of course, I am aware that there is truth in Pegg's argument, that if two ideas look alike it doesn't mean that there must be a link between them, however, I have some reservations. First, it is true that ideas which have no contact in time and space should not be compared. Therefore, it would be unreasonable to compare the Cathar doctrine with its Manichaean or Marcionite equivalents; however, in the case of Catharism and medieval Eastern dualism – Paulician and especially Bogomil – the situation looks completely different, because there are many sources confirming intense contacts between the adherents of these heresies. In 1143, Evervin of Steinfeld wrote that the dualist heretics caught in Cologne claimed that their heresy had survived since the times of the apostles "in Greece"[18]; in 1167, the Cathars were visited by the Bogomil bishop of Constantinople – Nicetas – who, during the heretical council at St. Felix-de-Caraman, acted as their superior, administering sacraments and ordaining their bishops[19], and this visit is confirmed by the Italian sources: *De Heresi catharorum in Lombardia* and *Tractatus de hereticis*[20].

Shortly after that event, the newly elected bishops of the Italian Cathar churches went to the East for teachings and ordinations, to Bulgaria, Drugonthia and Dalmatia[21]. In 1190, Nazarius – the bishop of the Cathar church of Concorezzo – brought from Bulgaria the apocryphal scripture *Interrogatio Iohannis*[22], which, together with the Bogomil *Vision of Isaiah*, was used by the Cathars, as we may conclude from the *explicit* of this book, which survived in the archives of the Carcassonne inquisition[23]. Since the beginning of the 13th century the French Cathars

[17] Y. Stoyanov, *The Debate on Medieval Western Christian Dualism through the Prism of Slavonic Pseudepigrapha*, Scri 14, 2018, p. 346–347, 349–350; idem, *Medieval Christian…*, p. 165–166.

[18] Evervinus Steinfeldensis, *Epistola CDXXXII, ad. S. Bernardum, De haereticis sui temporis*, [in:] *PL*, vol. CLXXXII, ed. J.-P. Migne, Parisiis 1879, col. 187.

[19] *Charte de Niquinta, antipape des heretiques surnommés d'Albigeois*, ed. D. Zbiral, [in:] *1209–2009 Cathares. Une histoire à pacifier?*, ed. A. Brenon, Loubatieres 2010, p. 47.

[20] *De Heresi Catharorum in Lombardia*, ed. A. Dondaine, AFP 19, 1949, p. 306; *Tractatus de Hereticis*, ed. A. Dondaine, AFP 20, 1950, p. 309.

[21] *De heresi…*, p. 308.

[22] *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, p. 76.

[23] *Interrogatio Iohannis*, [in:] *Le livre secret des cathares. Interrogatio Iohannis. Edition critique, traduction commentaire*, ed. et trans. E. Bozoky, Paris 2009, p. 86.

were commonly called "Bulgars"[24], and in 1223, Papal Legate Conrad of Porto was seriously concerned with the activity of the heretical "pope" from Bosnia, who had adherents in Languedoc[25]. Finally, in the 1270s, an Italian inquisitor (probably Anselm of Alessandria), in his short account of the history of Catharism, mentioned Constantinople as the cradle of Catharism[26]. These are the most known source arguments for the Eastern origins of Catharism that are strong enough to entitle a scholar to compare Cathar doctrine with the teachings of the Eastern dualists.

Coming back to Pegg's argument, it is necessary to mention yet another reservation concerning the level of generality of the compared doctrines. The fact that two general ideas are similar does not prove anything; therefore, from the fact that both the radically dualistic Cathars and the Manicheans believed in two eternal gods – a good one and an evil one – we cannot conclude that the former were the descendants of the latter, because they could have formulated such general tenets entirely independently. When it comes to the more specific parts of the doctrines, the situation is different; therefore, in the comparison of the doctrines one should focus especially on these.

Catharism was internally diverse in the field of the doctrine. This means that, within the general dualistic framework, there were many doctrines, sometimes profoundly different, that were professed by independent churches. This internal doctrinal diversity was emphasised by the Catholic polemicists as evidence that the Cathars were not the true Church of God, and it is also a strong argument against the narrative of the deconstructionists, who claim that the polemicists constructed a false image of Catharism as a well-organized counter-church. Similar doctrinal diversity existed also among the Eastern dualists – the Bogomils – where several variants of the doctrine coexisted.

The first element of Catharism that is reminiscent of the Bogomil teachings is the presence of moderate dualism (assuming the existence of only one God-creator), which was unknown to the Manicheans. For the scholars, who like Pegg or Biget perceive Catharism mainly through the perspective of France, moderate dualism indeed may not be especially important, because only a few French sources confirm the existence of this kind of doctrine, which was in the minority

[24] See e.g.: *Accipite nobis vulpes parvulas, que demoliuntur vineas Domini*, ed. B. DELMAIRE, Here 17, 1991, p. 11; *Roberti Autissiodorensis Chronicon*, ed. O. HOLDER-EGGER, *MGH SS*, vol. XXVI, Hannoverae 1882, p. 260, 271; *La chanson de la croisade albigeoise*, vol. I, ed. E. MARTIN-CHABOT, Paris 1931, p. 10; MATTHAEUS PARISIENSIS, *Chronica Maiora*, ed. F. LIEBERMANN, [in:] *MGH, SS*, vol. XXVIII, Hannoverae 1888, p. 133; ETIENNE DE BOURBON, *Anecdotes historiques, légendes et apologues*, ed. A. LECOY DE LA MARCHE, Paris 1877, p. 300.

[25] *Archiepiscopi Rotomagensis ad suffraganeos, quibus mandatum Conradi Portuensis episcopi & A. S. L significat coveniendi senonas adversus Bartholomeum, Albigensium episcopum*, ed. J.D. MANSI, [in:] *Sacrorum Conciliorum Nova et amplissima collectio*, vol. XXII, Venetiis 1778, col. 1204.

[26] *Tractatus de Hereticis*, p. 308.

comparing to the dominant "Manichean" radical dualism. In Italian Catharism however, the situation was inverted, because moderate dualism was dominant. According to Rainer Sacchoni (inquisitor and ex-Cathar perfect), writing in the middle of the 13th century, this form of dualism was professed by the largest Italian Cathar church of Concorezzo, which had 1,500 *perfecti*, and the church of Bagnolo (200 *perfecti*), while the other churches (which can be classified as more or less radically dualistic) had only 700 *perfecti* combined[27]. As we may conclude, based on the testimony of the sources, moderate dualism must have been the first form of Cathar doctrine. The sources say that the first leader of the Italian Cathars, Mark (converted by the heretical missionaries from France), initially belonged to the moderately dualistic Bulgarian order (*ordo Bulgariae*) and later was converted by to the radical Drugunthian order (*ordo Drugonathiae*) by Nicetas – the Bogomil bishop of Constantinople[28].

The common point of the Cathar moderate dualism was the belief in only one God, who has the power of creation *ex nihilo*, and therefore is called the creator. He created the spiritual world and foundations of the material world in the form of four elements. Satan in this version of doctrine is only a maker (*factor*) who formed the shapeless matter into the visible world. Exactly the same can be said about the Bogomil moderate dualism, but the fact that such general ideas overlap is not a definitive evidence for the flow of the doctrine between the two dualist heresies; therefore, it seems necessary to take a more detailed look at these moderately dualistic ideas.

First, it must be stressed that in moderate Catharism there were two theological concepts – according to the first, Satan was a creature of God, an angel who had rebelled, and after the rebellion formed the material world. This is confirmed in France at the turn of the 12th and the 13th century by Ralph of Coggeshall and the anonymous *De heresibus*[29] and in Italy by many sources from the 13th century, presenting the doctrine of the church of Concorezzo[30]. Exactly the same doctrine

[27] *Summa Fratris Raineri…*, p. 70.

[28] *De Heresi Catharorum in Lombardia*, p. 306: *Et iste marcus hababat ordinem suum de bulgaria. Adveniens quidem papasnicheta nomine, de constantinopolitanis patibus in lombardiam, cepit causari ordinem bulgarie, quem marcus habebat. Unde marcus epipscopus cum suis subditis hesitare incipiens, relicto ordine bulgarie, suscepit ab ipso nicheta ordinem drugonthie.*

[29] *Radulphi de Coggeshall Chronicon Anglicanum*, ed. J. Stevenson, [in:] *Rerum Britannicarum Medii Aevi Scriptores*, vol. LXVI, London 1875, p. 124–125: *Aiunt etiam alii qui de secretis eorum investigaverunt, quod isti non credunt Deum res humanae curare, nec aliquam dispositionem vel potentiam in terrenis creaturis exercere; sed apostatam angelum, quem et Luzabel nominant…*; *De heresibus*, ed. A. Cazenave, [in:] *Die Mächte des Guten und Bösen: Vorstellungen im XII. u. XIII. Jahrhundert über ihr Wirken in der Heilsgeschichte*, ed. A. Zimmermann, Berlin 1977, p. 383.

[30] *De Heresi Catharorum in Lombardia*, p. 310; Moneta De Cremona, *Adversus Catharos et Valdenses libri quinque*, ed. T.A. Ricchini, Roma 1743, p. 110; Jacobus De Capellis, *Disputationes nonnulae adversus haereticos*, ed. D. Bazzocchi, [in:] *L'eresia catara. Appendice*, Bologna 1920, p. XVII, XXVI; Salvo Burci, *Liber supra stella*, ed. I. Da Milano, Ae 19, 1945, p. 314, 339; *Summa Fratris Raineri…*, p. 76.

existed earlier in Bogomilism, where it is confirmed by Cosmas the Priest, writing in the 10th century, and by the above-mentioned *Interrogatio Iohannis*[31]. Nevertheless, the concept that Satan the fallen angel created the material world is not specific enough to Bogomilism to consider it as an argument for the Bogomil roots of the analogous Cathar doctrine. Eventually, the belief that Satan is a fallen angel is common in Christianity, and the conclusion that the material world is under his rule and was formed by him could have been drawn by the Cathars independently based on the analysis of the New Testament. That is of course possible; however, there is one element in this doctrine that is typical for the Bogomils – the identification of Satan with the unjust steward from the gospel of St. Luke (Luke 16: 1–9). This is confirmed by many Eastern sources, among which three are crucial: the above-mentioned work of Cosmas the Priest, *Panoplia dogmatica*, written by the Byzantine theologian Euthymius Zigabenus at the beginning of the 11th century and *Interrogatio Iohannis*[32]. The theme of Satan as the steward of heavenly hosts who decided to rebel against God appears also in the apocryphal scripture: *Sea of Tiberias* (11th–12th century), which was used by the Bogomils[33]. This typically Bogomil theme of Satan – the unjust steward – was widespread in Catharism; in Languedoc, it is confirmed by the *Manifestatio heresis albigensium et lugdunensium*[34], written around 1200, and in Italy, (where it was commonly known) is attested by many sources; among others: *De heresi catharorum in Lombardia* from the beginning of the 13th century, Peter of Verona (ca. 1235), Moneta of Cremona (1240), *Disputatio inter catholicum et paterinum hereticum*, *Brevis summula* and

[31] COSMAS THE PRIEST, *The discours against Bogomils*, [in:] *Christian Dualist Heresies in the Byzantine World c. 650–c. 1450*, trans. J. HAMILTON, B. HAMILTON, Manchester–New York 2013, p. 126, 128; *Interrogatio Iohannis*, p. 44.

[32] COSMAS THE PRIEST, *The discours*…, p. 126; EUTHYMIUS ZIGABENUS, *Panoplia dogmatica*, [in:] *PG*, vol. CXXX, ed. J.P. MIGNE, Parisiis 1886, col. 1295; *Interrogatio Iohannis*, p. 48–49: *Et hoc dixit angelis et ascendebat ad illos celos usque ad tertium celum, subvertens angelos invisibilis patris et dicens singulis eorum: Quantum debes domino tuo? Et primus respondit: C chados olei. Et dixit ei: Accipe cautionem et sede et scribe L. Et alii dicit: Tu vero quantum debes domino tuo? Qui ait: C choros tritici. Et ait illi: Tolle cautionem tuam et sede et scribe cito octuaginta. Et ascendebat ad alios celos ita dicens adscenditque usque ad quintum celum seducens angelos invisibilis patris.*

[33] In this source, Satan is a steward of the heavenly hosts, but is not explicitly identified with the unjust steward from the Gospel of St. Luke, see: *O Morzu Tyberiadzkim*, trans. A. KAWECKA, [in:] *Apokryfy i legendy starotestamentowe Słowian południowych*, ed. G. MINCZEW, M. SKOWRONEK, Kraków 2006, p. 5–6. More on this source see: *ibidem*, p. 3; F. BADALANOVA GELLER, *The Sea of Tiberias: Between Apocryphal Literature and Oral Tradition*, [in:] *The Old Testament Apocrypha in the Slavonic Tradition. Continuity and Diversity*, ed. L. DI TOMMASO, Ch. BÖTTRICH, Tübingen 2011, p. 13–23; For the new edition and translation of the apocryphon see: A. MILTENOVA, *The Sea of Tiberias*, [in:] *Biblical Pseudepigrapha in Slavonic Traditions*, ed. A. KULIK, S. MINOV, Oxford 2016, p. 188–235.

[34] *Manifestatio haeresis albigensium et lugdunensium*, ed. A. CAZENAVE, [in:] *Die Mächte des Guten und Bösen*…, p. 385. In this source, Satan as a steward (*villicus*) tempts people of God in heaven to follow him into material world.

Jacob de Capellis (middle of the 13th century)[35]. The theme of the unjust steward existed not only in moderate Catharism but also in the radical version, although it did not fit completely with the latter and destroyed its coherence; therefore, it was criticised or even ridiculed by the Catholics, as we learn from the work of Moneta of Cremona[36]. Considering all this, Bogomil origins of this version of the moderate Cathar doctrine seems to be beyond any doubt.

The second version of the moderate Bogomil doctrine claimed that Satanael was the son of God. This did not have analogies in orthodox Christianity and was no less typical for Bogomilism than the previous one. This is confirmed at the turn of the 9th and 10th centuries by the Bulgarian author John the Exarch, then in the 10th century by Cosmas the Priest, in the 11th century by Euthymius Zigabenus, and by the treatise of Pseudo-Psellos describing the Bogomils in Thrace[37]. According to John the Exarch, Zigabenus and Pseudo-Psellos, Satan was the first-born son of God, while according to Cosmas, he was either the elder son or the younger, depending on doctrinal version. In all cases however, the other son of God was Christ. Cosmas adds that the Bogomils, who considered Satan to be the younger son, based this on the parable of the prodigal son (Luke 15: 11–32)[38]. This typically Bogomil theological idea surely was not as popular among the Cathars as the former; nevertheless, in Languedoc its presence is confirmed by the *Manifestatio heresis albigensium et lugdunensium* and Pierre des Vaux de Cernay, written at the beginning of the 13th century. These sources say that apart from the radically dualistic Cathars there are also others (although this heresy is new) who believe in only one God-creator, who has two sons – Christ and the devil – and to justify this claim, they quote the parable of the prodigal son[39].

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[35] *De Heresi Catharorum in Lombardia*, p. 309: *Et dicunt, quod Lucifer est filius dei tenebrarum*. […] *Et tunc transfiguravit se in angelum lucis. Angelis vero admirantibus propter formam euis et intercedentibus pro eo ad Dominum, susceptus est in celo, et ibi villicus angelorum effectus est. Unde in Evangelio Luce dicitur: ' Homo quidam erat dives qui habebat villicum'. Et in tali villicatione seduxit angelos*. See also: S. Petrus Martyr, *Summa contra haereticos*, ed. T. Kaepelli, AFP 17, 1947, p. 325; Moneta De Cremona, *Adversus Catharos…*, p. 4, 44; *Disputatio inter catholicum et paterinum hereticum*, ed. I. Da Milano, Ae 14, 1940, p. 132; *Brevis Summula*, ed. A. Molinier, AMi 22, 1910, p. 201; Jacobus De Capellis, *Disputationes…*, col. VII.

[36] Moneta De Cremona, *Adversus Catharos…*, p. 39.

[37] Jan Egzarcha, *Heksameron*, [in:] *Średniowieczne herezje dualistyczne na Bałkanach. Źródła słowiańskie*, ed. G. Minczew, M. Skowronek, J.M. Wolski, Łódź 2015, p. 63; Euthymius Zigabenus, *Panoplia dogmatica*, col. 1294; Cosmas the Priest, *The discours…*, p. 126, 128; Michael Psellos, *De daemonum energia seu operatione*, [in:] *PG*, vol. CXXII, ed. J.-P. Migne, Parisiis 1889, col. 823. The authorship of Michael Psellos, who lived in the 11th century is questioned by the scholars, therefore also its date is uncertain. More on thus source, see: *Średniowieczne herezje dualistyczne na Bałkanach. Źródła greckie*, ed. G. Minczew, J.M. Wolski, Łódź 2023, p. 77–79.

[38] Cosmas the Priest, *The discours…*, p. 128.

[39] *Manifestatio haeresis albigensium et lugdunensium*, p. 386: *Est autem quedam heresis que de novo prosilivit inter eos, nam nonnuli ex eis credunt, unum tantum esse deum, quem dicunt habere duos*

Another very specific theological idea, according to which the devil was the brother of God, was less popular (or rather, extremely rare) among the Cathars. Polemical anti-Bogomil sources do not confirm this, but it was quite popular in the Bogomil folklore legends[40]. Its traces in Languedoc can be found in the inquisitorial registers. In the protocols of Bernard de Caux and Jean de St. Pierre from 1245–1246, certain John Vitalis testified that he had heard it from a Cathar perfect – William Audebert[41].

In the inquisitorial registers we can also find another typically Bogomil concept of the Trinity. This is attested by Zigabenus, according to whom Christ had emanated from God before the beginning of his mission on Earth (exactly as the Holy Spirit), and after his ascension again united with the Father[42]. This distinctive doctrine, which has no analogies in Manichaeism or other earlier dualistic doctrines, can be found in the registers of Jacques Fournier (1318–1325)[43], and in the Italian *Disputatio inter catholicum et paterinum hereticum*, which says that after the final judgement the three persons of the Trinity will unite again[44].

Bogomil concepts can also be found in Cathar anthropology, in which the idea that souls were created by the good God, while the body was created by Satan, was common. As in the case of theology, we can distinguish two crucial concepts here. According to the first, human spirits are identified with the angels, who after the fall from heaven were enslaved in material bodies by Satan. This anthropological concept was confirmed in 1163 by Eckbert of Schönau, who perceived Cathars as the descendants of the Manicheans; however, apparently surprised with this doctrine, he added that it cannot be found among the Manichaean errors[45]. Over time this concept became the most characteristic element of the Cathar doctrine.

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filios, *Christum scilicet et principem huius mundi*, *unde habent in evangelio: Homo quidam habuit duos filios>; et ambos credunt peccatum commisisse*, *sed Christum dicunt patri iam esse reconciliatum cum omni populo suo*. PETRUS VALLIUM SARNAII MONACHUS, *Hystoria Albigensis*, vol. I, ed. P. GUEBIN, E. LYON, Paris 1926, p. 11–12.

[40] *Apokryfy i legendy starotestamentowe*…, p. 228, 235, 242.

[41] *Cahiers de Bernard de Caux. Ms Doat XXII B. N. Paris*, ed. J. DUVERNOY, Agen–Cahors–Toulouse 1988, http://jean.duvernoy.free.fr/text/pdf/bdecaux.pdf [4 II 2024], p. 26: *Quadam die dum predicaret Dominus in celo gentibus suis*, *venit ei nuncius de terra dicens ei quod istum mundum amiserat*, *nisi statim mitteret illuc. Et statim Dominus misit Lucibel in hunc mundum*, *et recepit eum pro fratre*…

[42] EUTHYMIUS ZIGABENUS, *Panoplia dogmatica*, col. 1294, 1302–1303.

[43] *Le registre d'inquisition de Jacques Fournier (1318–1325)*, vol. II, ed. J. DUVERNOY, Toulouse 1965, p. 504: *Item audivit a dicto heretico quod Deus pater fecit tres partes de se ipso*, *quarum una remansit in celo*, *due vero partes descenderunt in terram*, *ut aufferrent potestatem dyabolo*.

[44] *Disputatio inter catholicum et paterinum hereticum*, p. 126: *De personarum Trinitate*, *male sentiunt dicentes*, *quod tres persone post iudicium erunt una persona tantum*…

[45] ECKBERTUS ABBAS SCHONAUGENSIS, *Sermones*…, col. 96: *De ea haeresi loquor*, *quia dicunt nihi aliud esse animas humanas*, *nisi illos apostatas spiritus*, *qui in principio mundi ceciderunt a regno Dei; et hos posse in corporibus humanis promereri salutem: non autem nisi inter eos qui sunt de secta eorum. Hoc autem non legitur inter errores Manichaei*.

It was professed by the majority of the radically dualistic Cathars and part of the moderately dualistic groups[46]. In Languedoc it is attested to have been present among the adherents of the radical dualism by the theologian Alan of Lile, (writing at the end of the 12th century), a Waldensian – Durand of Huesca in his *Liber antiheresis* (end of the 12th century), the above-mentioned Cistercian – Pierre des Vaux de Cernay[47], and by various testimonies of inquisitorial witnesses contained in the registers of Bernard de Caux and Jean de St. Pierre, of Pons of Parnac amd Ranulf de Plassac (1273–1282), of Geoffroy d'Ablis (1308–1309) and of Jacques Fournier (1318–1325)[48]. In Italy the same doctrine was professed by the radical dualists from the church of Desenzano. It is attested by the above-mentioned: *De heresi catharorum in Lombardia*, Peter of Verona, Moneta of Cremona, Jacobus de Capellis and additionally by the *Manifestatio heresis catharorum quam fecit Bonacursus*, (from the 70s of the 12th century), *Liber Supra Stella* (ca. 1235), and Rainer Sacchoni[49]. This distinctive anthropology, without analogies in Manichaeism or other ancient dualistic systems that were known by the Catholic polemicists, has its source in the Bogomil *Interrogatio Iohannis*. Here, for the first time, we encounter the doctrine according to which Satan animated the bodies of Adam and Eve, imprisoning within them the good angels, which he had previously cast down from heaven as an apocalyptic dragon[50]. Therefore, it is obvious that this particular doctrine was borrowed by the Cathars from the Bogomils.

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[46] By "part" I mean the some Italian moderate Cathars from the church of Banolo, see: *De Heresi Catharorum in Lombardia*, p. 310–311.

[47] Alanus de Insulis, *De fide catholica contra Haereticos sui temporis*, [in:] *PL*, vol. CCX, ed. J.P. Migne, Parisiis 1855, col. 316: *Quidam autem praedictorum haereticorum suae ignorantiae quaerentes auxilium, negant singulis diebus animas creari, et corporibus infundi; asserentes solos angelos apostatas qui de coelo ceciderunt corporibus humanis infundi Dei permissione ut ibi valeant poenitentiam agere*; Durandus de Huesca, *Liber antiheresis*, [in:] *Die ersten Waldenser. Mit Edition des Liber Antiheresis des Durandus von Osca*, vol. II, ed. K.V. Selge, Berlin 1967, p. 236; Petrus Vallium Sarnaii Monachus, *Hystoria Albigensis*, vol. I, p. 13.

[48] *Depositions contre Pierre Garcias du Bourguet-Nau de Toulouse*, ed. C. Douais, [in:] idem, *Documents pour servir à l'histoire de l'Inquisition dans le Languedoc*, vol. II, Paris 1900, p. 93, 100; *Edition and Translation of Doat 25–26*, [in:] *Inquisitors and Heretics in Thirteenth-Century Languedoc*, ed. et trans. P. Biller, C. Bruschi, Leiden–Boston 2011, p. 308; *Registre de geoffroy d'Ablis. Ms Latin 4269 Bibliotheque Nationale Paris*, ed. J. Duvernoy, 1980, http://jean.duvernoy.free.fr/text/pdf/geoffroi_d_ablis.pdf [6 II 2024], p. 121; *Le registre d'inquisition de Jacques Fournier*, vol. I, p. 228, 241, 472; vol. II, p. 33–34.

[49] *De Heresi Catharorum in Lombardia*, p. 309–310; S. Petrus Martyr, *Summa contra haereticos*, p. 325–326; Moneta De Cremona, *Adversus Catharos*…, p. 4, 39, 110–111, 115, 129; Salvo Burci, *Liber supra stella*, p. 313; Jacobus De Capellis, *Disputationes*…, col. VII; *Brevis Summula*, p. 201, 208; *Vita Haereticorum quam fecit Bonacursus*, [in:] *PL*, vol. CCIV, ed. J.-P. Migne, Parisiis 1855, col. 775; *Summa Fratris Raineri*…, p. 71.

[50] *Interrogatio Iohannis*, p. 58: *Et cogitavit* [Satanas] *facere hominem in servitio sibi et tulit limum de terra et fecit hominem similem sibi. Et precepit angelo secundi celi introire in corpus luti et tulit de eo et fecit alium corpus in forma mulieris precepitque angelo primi celi introire in ilium*.

The doctrine identifying human spirits with the angels was not the only anthropological concept in Bogomilism. An alternative concept, professed by the Bogomils from Constantinople, assumed the cooperation of God with the Devil in the creation of Man, and was attested to by Zigabenus at the beginning of the 11th century, and in the 13th century by the letter of patriarch Germanus II (1222–1240). According to this, when Satanael could not animate the body of Adam, which he had previously formed, he decided to send his emissaries to God, asking for help. Satan proposed a deal, according to which, if God would animate Adam's body, all the people would belong to him, and their spirits would take the places in heaven that were left empty after Satan's rebellion. God agreed, and placed soul in the body of the first man[51]. And again, this distinctly Bogomil theme can be found in Cathar sources, although undoubtedly it was not as popular as the previous one. It is attested to in French Catharism by Ralph of Coggeshall, writing around 1180, who says that the human body was formed by Luzabel, while its soul was created by God, who placed it in this body[52]. Other French polemical sources do not mention this; however, it appears in various inquisitorial registers. It was first attested to by a certain Raimund Centoulh, questioned by Bernard de Caux and Jean de St. Pierre. He presented an interesting version of the anthropological myth, in which Satan formed Adam's body of clay and then asked God to place a soul in it. God advised Satan to form the body of Adam out of the sea mud in order not to make him too powerful, and when Satan had done it, God placed the soul inside[53]. The myth in which God places a soul in the body created by Satan appears also in the testimonies of two women, questioned by the inquisitors Pons of Parnac and Ranulf of Plassac (1273–1282)[54]. In Fournier's registers, it appeared in several testimonies, but in the version recorded by Peter Maurin and Raimond Centoulh, man was formed by Satan from the sea mud, but the soul was placed inside it not by God, but by Christ[55]. The Bogomil idea of cooperation between God and Satan in the creation of man also appears in the Italian sources. It is mentioned in the middle of the 13th century by the Franciscan Jacobus de Capellis, who says that there are many concepts concerning the animation of Adam's body among the heretics – some of them claim that he was animated when Lucifer imprisoned an angel inside his body, while others maintain that he was animated by God[56].

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[51] Euthymius Zigabenus, *Panoplia dogmatica*, col. 1298; *Letter of the Patriarch Germanus to those in Constantinople and against the Bogomils*, [in:] *Christian Dualist Heresies in*…, p. 273.

[52] *Radulphi de Coggeshall Chronicon Anglicanum*, p. 124–125: *Corpus a diabolo dicunt formari, animam vero a Deo creari et corporibus infundi*…

[53] *Cahiers de Bernard de Caux*, p. 50.

[54] *Edition and Translation of Doat 25–26*, p. 264, 306.

[55] *Le registre d'inquisition de Jacques Fournier*, vol. II, p. 407–408; vol. III, p. 223.

[56] Jacobus De Capellis, *Disputationes*…, col. XXVIII.

Of course, in this case one might say that the concept of cooperation of God with the devil in creation of man is too general, and Cathars could have formulated it entirely independently of the Bogomils. And again, it would be quite possible if the similarities were limited only to this general idea. However, they go much further than that. In moderate Cathar doctrines we can find explanation of this curious cooperation that is similar to the one found in Bogomilism. According to both Zigabenus and *Interrogatio Iohannis*, the saved souls of people are supposed to take places in heaven left empty after the fall of the angels[57]. The same theme also appears in the Bosnian legend on the beginnings of the world[58], while in Catharism it is confirmed by the polemical Italian sources presenting the doctrine of the church of Bagnolo: the *De heresi catharorum in Lombardia* and Jacob de Capellis[59].

Another typically Bogomil element in the Cathar anthropological doctrines is the concept of heavenly robes, crowns and thrones that await the saved spirits (or angels) in heaven. It also does not have analogies either in Manichaeism nor in other ancient dualistic doctrines known to the Catholic writers. It appears in the Bogomil *Interrogatio Iohannis*, where it is said that the heavenly robes, thrones and crowns were taken by God from the rebellious angels who followed Satan[60]. *Interrogatio Iohanis* however is not the source of this doctrine, because it appeared earlier in a much older apocryphal writing used by the Bogomils – the *Vision of Isaiah*, where God shows to the prophet robes, crowns and thrones that await in heaven for the just[61]. In Catharism this theme is attested to in Italy by the *Brevis Summula*, and in Languedoc by Durand of Huesca, in his *Liber contra manichaeos* (1220s)[62]. As we can see, Cathar anthropological doctrines are brimming with themes typical to and characteristic of only the Bogomils, and present in their apocryphal writings, which is another strong argument for the Eastern origins of Catharism.

The *Vision of Isaiah* inspired not only Cathar anthropology but also cosmology. Durand of Huesca in his *Liber contra manichaeos* says that, according to some radically dualistic Cathars, there are seven worlds of the good God, while

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[57] Euthymius Zigabenus, *Panoplia dogmatica*, col. 1298; *Interrogatio Iohannis*, p. 76.

[58] J. Ivanov, *Livres et legendes bogomiles (Aux Sources di Catharisme)*, Paris 1976, p. 285; *Początki świata*, trans. A. Jakimiszyn, [in:] *Apokryfy i legendy starotestamentowe…*, p. 28.

[59] *De Heresi Catharorum in Lombardia*, p. 311; Jacobus De Capellis, *Disputationes…*, col. XXXVIII: *…credunt quod Deus initio mundi post casum angelorum tot spiritus creavit simul quot fuerunt illi qui ceciderunt…*

[60] *Interrogatio Iohannis*, p. 52: *Tunc precepit pater angelis suis dicens: Tollite vestimenta eorum. Et tulerunt vestimenta eorum angeli et thronos eorum et coronas eorum omnibus angelis qui eum audierunt.*

[61] *The Vision of Isaiah*, [in:] *Heresies of the High Middle Ages*, trans. W.L. Wakefield, A.P. Evans, New York–London 1969, p. 453, see also *Ascensio Isaiae*, ed. R.H. Charles, [in:] idem, *The Ascension of Isaiah*, London 1900, p. 120.

[62] *Brevis Summula*, p. 208; Durandus de Huesca, *Liber contra manicheos*, ed. Ch. Thouzellier, [in:] idem, *Une somme anti-cathare: le Liber contra Manicheos de Durand de Huesca*, Louvain 1964, p. 300, 304.

Manifestatio heresis albigensium et lugdunensium says that Lucifer also had his own seven worlds[63]. Seven kingdoms of God were also mentioned by the brothers Maurin, interrogated by Fournier, who said that they had heard about it from the perfect Guillaume Belibaste[64]. As was noticed by A. Acerbi and A. Cazenave, this concept of the seven worlds of the good God was also borrowed from the *Vision of Isaiah*, in which we can find the seven heavens[65]. The theme of seven worlds or seven heavens was very popular among the Bogomils. It is attested in the polemical work of Euthymius of the Periblepton (11th century), but what is more important, it also appears in other apocryphal scriptures used by the Bogomils – not only in the *Vision of Isaiah* but also in the Slavonic *Apocalypse of Baruch* (10th–11th century) and the Slavonic Book of Enoch[66].

Another Bogomil theme that can be found in the moderately dualistic Cathar cosmologies is the idea that the material world was created by Satan with the permission of God. We cannot call this cooperation between God and Satan, as it was in case of the creation of man, but nevertheless God does not oppose the creation of the world by Satan, and even enables him to do so with his decision. Rainer Sacchoni, describing the doctrine of the Italian Cathars from Concorezzo, says openly that the devil created all visible things with the permission from God[67]. The *De heresi cathatorum in Lombardia* and *Liber Supra Stella* claim that according to the secret doctrine professed by the *perfecti* of this church, God directly contributed to the formation of the visible world by sending, to Lucifer and the mysterious evil four-faced spirit, the good angel that was necessary to divide the four elements[68]. Furthermore, *Tractatus de hereticis* from the 1270s says that, according to the

[63] DURANDUS DE HUESCA, *Liber contra manicheos*, p. 256: *…notant esse materialiter aliam terram super firmamentum celi, secundum quid ab ipsis audivimus, et non solum unam sed etiam septem, iuxta quod in quodam libro suo secreto, quem vidimus et legimus, continetur, quem nugatorie sub nomine Ysaye prophete intitulant. Manifestatio haeresis albigensium et lugdunensium*, p. 385.

[64] *Le registre d'inquisition de Jacques Fournier*, vol. III, p. 245: *Audivit tamen a dicto Guillelmo Belibasta heretico quod erant septem celi, et quolibet erat proprius dominus et proprie gentes…*; *ibidem*, vol. II, p. 488.

[65] A. CAZENAVE, *Bien et mal dans un mythe cathare languedocien*, [in:] *Die Mächte des Guten und Bösen…*, p. 368; A. ACERBI, *La Visione di Isaia nelle vicende dottrinali del catarismo lombardo e provenzale*, CS 1, 1980, p. 103–107.

[66] EUTHYMIUS OF THE PERIBLEPTON, *A letter*, [in:] *Christian Dualist Heresies in…*, p. 152; *The Vision of Isaiah*, p. 449–458, see also *Ascensio Isaiae*, p. 104–133; *Księga Henocha słowiańska*, [in:] *Apokryfy Starego Testamentu*, ed. R. RUBINKIEWICZ, Warszawa 1999, p. 200–201; J. IVANOV, *Livres et legendes bogomiles…*, p. 180, 190–191; *Słowo o widzeniu Barucha, kiedy to anioł, posłany na świętą górę zwaną Syjonem, płakał nad zniewoleniem Jerozolimy*, [in:] *Apokryfy i legendy starotestamentowe…*, p. 45–52.

[67] *Summa Fratris Raineri…*, p. 76: *Item confitentur quod deus ex nihilo creavit angelos et quatuor elementa, sed errant credendo quod diabolus de licentia dei formavit omnia visibilia sive hunc mundum.*

[68] *De Heresi Catharorum in Lombardia*, p. 310: *Et dicunt, quod Lucifer, et ille alius nequam spiritus volebant distinguere elementa nec poterant. Sed inpetraverun a Deo bonum angelum coadiutorem, et ita concessione Dei, et auxillio illius boni angeli ac virtute et sapientia sua distinxerunt elementa*; see also: SALVO BURCI, *Liber supra stella*, p. 339.

Italian moderate Cathars, the devil created the world with his natural power, given to him by God, or alternatively with the permission from God, who gave to him this power for 6 days, when he had cried with the words of the Unforgiving Servant (Matt 18: 21–35) *have patience with me, and I will repay you all!*[69].

These two concepts mentioned in the latter source overlap perfectly with two Bogomil cosmological ideas. The first is attested by Euthymius Zigabenus, who says that Satanael – the first-born son of God, after the rebellion against God – did not lose his power of creation and using it formed the Earth[70]. The second is directly taken from the *Interrogatio Iohannis*, where Satan (this time an angel), after he had fallen to the yet unformed Earth, started to ask God for mercy with the words of the unforgiving servant. God agreed and let him do whatever he wanted for seven days[71]. These cosmological ideas were not typical to Catharism; they are confirmed only by several sources, and we may suppose that they were limited only to some Cathar communities. However, in their specificity, they certainly provide clear evidence of some exchange between the Eastern and Western heresies.

Another cosmological – or rather ontological – idea that was professed by the radically dualistic Cathars was much more widespread than the above-mentioned doctrines. It is a concept of ontological dualism in which the good being – eternal and incorruptible – is opposed by the evil material one, which is temporary and corruptible. This specific ontological dualism focused on time is attested by many sources, both French and Italian, from various periods. In France, we can find it at the end of the 12th century in the letter of cardinal Peter of Pavia from 1178 and in the work of William of Nangis, in the summa of Alan of Lille, in the works of Durand of Huesca, in the anonymous sermon *Accipite nobis vulpes parvulas* (ca. 1200), in the work of Ebrard of Bethune (ca. 1200), and then in the inquisitorial sources – the sentences of Bernard Gui (1307–1323) and Fournier's registers[72]. In Italy, it is confirmed by the *Liber Supra Stella*, Moneta of Cremo-

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[69] *Tractatus de Hereticis*, p. 312: *…diabolus habuit potentiam, quam habuit naturaliter a prima condicione a Deo, vel quando diabolus, secundum eos dixit Deo: Pacientiam habe in me etc, tunc Deus dedit diabolo potentiam formandi omnia.*

[70] Euthymius Zigabenus, *Panoplia dogmatica*, col. 1295.

[71] *Interrogatio Iohannis*, p. 54: *Et descendens de celo Sathanas in firmamentum hic nullam requiem poterat facere neque hii qui cum eo erant. Rogavitque patrem dicens: Peccavi, patientiam habe in me; omnia reddam tibi.* The theme of cooperation of God with the devil in creation of the world appears also in other apocryphal writings used by the Bogomils, for ex. In *The Sea of Tiberias*, see: *O Morzu Tyberiadzkim*, p. 5.

[72] *Epistola Petri tituli Sancti Chrysogoni praesbyteri cardinalis, apostolicae sedis legati*, [in:] *Chronica magistri Rogeri de Houedene*, vol. II, ed. W. Stubbs, London 1869, p. 158: *duo dii existerent, alter bonus et alter malus: bonus [qui] invisibilia tantum, et ea quae mutari aut corrumpi non possunt fecisset; malus qui coelum, terram, hominem, et alia visibilia condidisset*. Guillelmus De Nangiaco, *Chronicon*, ed. M. Bouquet, *Recueil des historiens des Gaules et de la France*, vol. XX, Paris 1840, p. 741: *Eodem tenangiacmpore multi haeretici combusti sunt in Flandria a Guillermo Remensium archiepiscopo apostolicae sedis legato, et a Philippo Flandrensium comite. Hi dicebant omnia aeterna a Deo creata,*

na, *Brevis Summula*, *Disputatio inter catholicum et paterinum hereticum*, and its traces can also be found in the Cathar theological treatise from the middle of the 13th century – the *Liber de duobus principiis*[73]. What is more important, this idea is also attested to by the Cathar anonymous treatise (or Manichaean treatise, as Durand of Huesca called it), in which it is one of the most important themes. The Cathar author of this work, in his exposition of dualism, distinguishes not only two worlds – that of the good God and that of the evil one – but also two times, two ages (*saecula*)[74], and identifies temporary and transient being with the *nihil* from Saint John's gospel, which emerged without God (…*sine ipso factum est nihil*). These two opposite beings are so radically different that they cannot be described together by the word *omnia* (the same idea of two different *omnia* was later presented in the *Liber de duobus principiis*)[75]. This characterisation of two opposed beings through their relation to time is particular to the radically dualistic Catharism. It is not the Manichean opposition of light and darkness or simply of matter and spirit but the opposition of the being, that is eternal and unchangeable, and on the other hand, the one that is transient. The only analogy for this particular opposition can be found in the Paulician doctrine, where the evil god of the present times, identified with the God of this age (*deus huius saeculi*), mentioned in St. Paul's letter to Corinthians (2Cor 4: 3–4) is opposed by the good God of the future[76]. As Durand of Huesca says in his polemics with the author of the Manichaean treatise, the Cathars perceived Satan as the god of the present times[77], exactly as the Paulicians did.

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corpus autem hominis et omnia transitoria a Luciabelo create…; see also: ALANUS DE INSULIS, *De fide catholica*…, col. 308–309; DURANDUS DE HUESCA, *Liber antiheresis*, p. 209; *Accipite nobis vulpes parvulas*, p. 12; EBRARDUS BETHUNENSIS, *Trias scriptorum adversus Valdensium sectam*, ed. M. DE LA BIGNE, [in:] *Maxima Bibliotheca Veterum Patrum*, vol. XXIV, Lugduni 1677, col. 1541; BERNARD GUI, *Les sentences. Texte et traduction*, ed. A. PALES-GOBILLIARD, [in:] IDEM, *Le livre des sentences de l'inquisiteur Bernard Gui: 1308–1323*, vol. I, Paris 2002, p. 778, 846–848; *Le registre d'inquisition de Jacques Fournier*, vol. I, p. 227–228, 230.

[73] SALVO BURCI, *Liber supra stella*, p. 324–325; MONETA DE CREMONA, *Adversus Catharos*…, p. 3; *Brevis Summula*, p. 200; *Disputatio inter catholicum et paterinum hereticum*, p. 130; *Liber de duobus principiis*, [in:] *Un Traité Neo-Manicheen du 13 siècle*…, p. 110–115.

[74] See the chapters: *De duobus mundis* and *De duobus seculis* in: *Tractatus manicheorum*, [in:] *Un traité cathare inédit du début du XIIIe siècle d'après le Liber contra Manicheos de Durand de Huesca*, ed. Ch. THOUZELLIER, Louvain 1961, p. 90–93.

[75] *Tractatus manicheorum*, p. 98–99, 101–103. See also: *Liber de duobus principiis*, p. 110–115.

[76] PETRUS SICULUS, *Historia utilis et refutatio atque eversio haeresos Manichaeorum qui et Pauliciani dicuntur*, [in:] *PG*, vol. CIV, ed. J.P. MIGNE, Parisiis 1886, col. 1254; PETRUS SICULUS, *Sermones adversus Manichaeos*, [in:] *PG*, vol. CIV, ed. J.P. MIGNE, Parisiis 1886, col. 1307.

[77] DURANDUS DE HUESCA, *Liber contra manicheos*, p. 175: *Credunt enim diabolum fecisse omnes dies, quibus presens vita vel seculum volvitur ab inicio huius mundi*…; *ibidem*, p. 114: *Nulla ergo auctoritas suffragatur, bene intellecta, vel amminiculatur demencie catharorum, qua asserunt Deum malignum presens seculum creavisse*.

At this point, an obvious question arises: what do the Paulicians have in common with the Bogomil influence on Catharism? As Bernard Hamilton demonstrated in his paper: *The Origins of the Dualist Church of Drugunthia*, the Bogomil church of Drugunthia emerged as a result of the transmission of ideas between the Paulicians and the Bogomils that had been taking place in the fortress Philippopolis, inhabited by the members of both heresie[78]. The Eastern sources documenting the radical Bogomil dualism did not survive, but thanks to the Western sources we know that there were two main branches of Bogomism – the Bulgarian and the Drugunthian (*ordo Bulgariae* and *ordo Drugonthiae*) – and the Cathars belonging to the latter always professed radical dualism, which usually included the abovementioned time-focused dualism. Because it is highly likely that the Bogomil radical dualism emerged under Paulician influence, and the Paulicians could not have had a direct influence on Catharism, this characteristic time-focused Cathar dualism must have been formed under the influence of the representatives of the Bogomil church of Drugunthia, whose presence in the West is confirmed by the sources. The best-known representative of this community was the abovementioned Nicetas from Constantinople. Drugunthia was also the place where the first bishop of the radically dualistic Cathar church of Desenzano was sent for ordination[79]. As we can see, we are dealing here with a widespread element of a radically dualistic Cathar doctrine which, once again, has its only analogue in the East – in the Paulician doctrine that was accepted and then transmitted to the West by the radically dualistic Bogomils.

Are there any ideas in the Cathar cosmologies which have no direct analogy in Bogomilism? At first glance, it seems that an example of such an idea is the doctrine of the two worlds, professed by the Cathar author of the Manichaean treatise. This is attested to in France at the end of the 12th century by Durand of Huesca and then by the *Manifestatio heresis Albigensium et Lugdunensium* in Italy by Moneta of Cremona, Rainer Sacchoni and *Liber de duobus principiis*[80]. Based on the key quotation from the book of Sirach (Sir 42: 25): *Omnia duplicia – unum contra unum*, this doctrine assumed that everything in the spiritual world has its analogies in the material world; as there are four spiritual elements, by analogy on earth

[78] B. Hamilton, *The Origins of the Dualist Church of Drugunthia*, ECR 6, 1974, p. 115–124.

[79] *De Heresi Catharorum in Lombardia*, p. 308: *…quidem de diszennzano, facta congregatione elegerunt quendam sibi episcopum nomine Johannem bellum, et eum miserunt ultra mare in drugonthiam ut ibi ordinaretur episcopus.*

[80] *Tractatus manicheorum*, p. 90–95, 100, 105–110; Durandus de Huesca, *Liber antiheresis*, p. 121, 134, 137, 144, 183; *Manifestatio haeresis albigensium et lugdunensium*, p. 385–386; Moneta De Cremona, *Adversus Catharos…*, p. 3; *Summa Fratris Raineri…*, p. 73–74; We may assume that the author of the *Liber de duobus principiis* professed the doctrine of the two worlds based on the information provided by Rainer Sacchoni and on his attitude towards the Old Testament, see: *Liber de duobus principiis*, p. 124–125.

there are four material ones[81]. The good world of God, called the land of the living (*terra viventium*) and the evil world of Satan in which we live are almost identical; the world of Satan looks like the world of the good God, because Satan made it in the image of the good world from his imperfect and transient elements[82]. To support this doctrine, the Cathars quoted many biblical passages – from the books of Sirach, Isaiah, or the Revelation of St. John[83]; therefore it is possible that they constructed it independently.

It should be noted, that even this doctrine has its analogue in Bogomilism. We can find it in the apocryphal text used by the Bogomils: the *John Chrysostom's Tale on How Michael Vanquished Satanael*, where it is said that Satanael, trying to become equal with God, created his own world, modelled on the world of God but imperfect, with the dark sun, dark moon and dark stars[84]. This similarity obviously cannot be a convincing evidence for the Bogomil origins of this doctrine, especially since the Slavonic text is probably no older than the 13th century; however, it shows that there is a possibility that the doctrine, that seemed to be an original Cathar invention, could also have been borrowed from the East[85].

Bogomil themes also appear in other elements of the Cathar doctrine. They can be seen especially clearly in Mariology, in the idea that the Mother of God was an immaterial angel sent by God from heaven. This belief was spread among the Italian Cathars from various churches, which is confirmed by numerous sources, such as: the *De heresi catharorum in Lombardia*, Moneta of Cremona, Rainer Sacchoni, Jacobus de Capellis, *Disputatio inter catholicum et paterinum hereticum*, *Liber supra stella*, Peter of Verona and *Brevis Summula*[86]. In France, this theme was apparently not as popular as in Italy but, nonetheless, the belief that Mary did not have a material body but a celestial one, or that she was an angel, is confirmed by Alan of Lille, Durand of Huesca and *Summula contra hereticos* from the beginning

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[81] DURANDUS DE HUESCA, *Liber antiheresis*, p. 160: *"Omnia dupplicia sunt, unum contra unum", – non sic debet intelligi, ut sint et alia quatuor invisibilia elementa, ad quorum similitudinem hec visibilia sunt creata, ut tu heretice, opinaris.*

[82] DURANDUS DE HUESCA, *Liber contra manicheos*, p. 214: *Ipsi enim credunt* […] *diabolum fecisse omnia que sunt in hoc mundo, exceptis animabus et spiritibus qui salvantur, ad similitudinem aliarum creaturarum quas in alio seculo, ut asserunt, fecit Deus.*

[83] *Tractatus manicheorum*, p. 91–95.

[84] *Słowo Jana Złotoustego jak Michał zwyciężył Satanaela*, trans. A. MICHAŁOWSKA, [in:] *Apokryfy i legendy starotestamentowe…*, p. 13–14.

[85] For more on the state of research on this text and the ideas concerning its origins, see: G. MINCZEW, *John Chrysostom's Tale on How Michael Vanquished Satanael – a Bogomil text?*, SCer 1, 2011, p. 23–54.

[86] *De Heresi Catharorum in Lombardia*, p. 311: *…credunt, quod filius Dei, scilicet Ihesus Christus, et Iohannes Evangelista et Maria fuerunt tres angeli apparentes in carne.* MONETA DE CREMONA, *Adversus Catharos…*, p. 232–233; *Summa Fratris Raineri…*, p. 76; JACOBUS DE CAPELLIS, *Disputationes…*, col. CXIII, CXII; *Disputatio inter catholicum et paterinum hereticum*, p. 135–136; SALVO BURCI, *Liber supra stella*, p. 313; S. PETRUS MARTYR, *Summa contra haereticos*, p. 323: *delirant namque blasphemantes ipsam* <Mariam> *esse angelum nomine Marinum*; *Brevis Summula*, p. 204.

of the 13th century[87]. No analogies for this doctrine can be found either in Manichaeism or in other ancient dualist heresies, and is found only in Bogomilsm, in *Interrogatio Iohannis*[88].

We can find further typically Bogomil themes in a single Italian source, the abjuration of heresy by Bonacursus of Concorezzo from the 1170s. The first theme is borrowed from *Interrogatio Iohannis* and concerns Enoch, who, according to this scripture, was taken to the visible, material heaven by Satan, who ordered him to write down everything he saw there. Enoch did so and after his return to Earth convinced people that there is no other God but Satan[89]. It seems that this theme was older than *Interrogatio Iohannis* and was borrowed by the Bogomils from the Slavonic Book of Enoch, where God (this time not Satan) took the prophet to heaven and ordered him to write down everything he saw there and then had him returned to Earth to spread this information among the people[90]. From the abjuration of Bonacursus we learn that the Italian Cathars professing *ordo Bulgariae* were familiar with this theme[91]. In the same source, we can also find a distinctive interpretation of the flood from the Book of Genesis, according to which the giants – offspring of demons and mortal women – revealed to the people that Satan created the material world. Satan, who did not want this knowledge to spread among the people, decided to destroy mankind in the flood – he only saved Noah, because the latter did not have a daughter and consequently a demonic son-in-law and did not possess this secret knowledge[92]. The origins of this particular dualistic exegesis of the flood can be found in Bogomilism, this time, however, not in the *Inerrogatio Iohannis* but in the work of Euthymius Zigabenus, where it is said that the giants rebelled against Satanael and fought against him on the side of people[93].

If two above-mentioned Bogomil ideas appear in only one source, which was presenting the doctrine of the Italian church of Concorezzo, confirming its strong bounds with Bulgaria, the other typically Bogomil theme – the negative attitude

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[87] Alanus de Insulis, *De fide catholica*…, col. 335 writes, that Mary had celestial body, Durandus de Huesca, *Liber contra manicheos*, p. 239: *Teotochon non fuisse de genere Adam terrigene qui peccavit, set angelum Domini*…; *Summula contra hereticos. Un traite contre les cathares du XIII^eme siecle*, ed. J. Duvernoy, http://jean.duvernoy.free.fr/text/pdf/summula.pdf [6 II 2024], p. 49.

[88] *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.*

[89] *Interrogatio Iohannis*, p. 60: *Et < Sathanas > misit ministrum suum et assumpsit eum supra firmamentum et ostendit illi deitatem suam et precepit illi dari calamum et atramentum; et sedens scripsit septuaginta VI libros. Et precepit ei eos deferri in terram. Detulit autem Enoc libros et tradidit filiis et docuit eos facere formam sacrificiorum et locum sacrificiorum.*

[90] *Księga Henocha słowiańska*, p. 203–205.

[91] *Vita Haereticorum quam fecit Bonacursus*, col. 776.

[92] *Vita Haereticorum quam fecit Bonacursus*, 776: *Ex filiabus Eve et demonibus dicunt natos esse gigantes, qui cognoverunt per demones, patres suos, diabolus omnia creasse. Unde diabolus dolens eos ista scire, dixit: 'Poenitet me, fecisse hominem'. Unde quia Noe, hoc ignoravit, a diluvio liberatus est…*

[93] Euthymius Zigabenus, *Panoplia dogmatica*, col. 1306.

to John the Baptist – was widespread among the Cathars. Its origins can be found again in the *Interrogatio Iohannis*, where John the Baptist was presented as the emissary of Satan (identified with the prophet Elijah), who came to this world with the mission to draw the people away from the only true baptism of Christ (the baptism with the Holy Spirit), with his false baptism with water[94]. This negative attitude of the Bogomils towards John the Baptist, generally quite uncommon in the history of Christianity, is also confirmed by Cosmas the Priest, who says that he was considered the herald of the Antichrist[95]. In France, this theme appears in the polemics of Alan of Lille and Durand of Huesca, who claim that according to the heretics, John the Baptist was condemned because he doubted Christ[96], Ermengaud of Beziers, who says that according to the Cathars a demon announced his birth, while in the *Manifestatio heresis albigensium et lugdunensium*, Peter des Vaux de Cernay, and in the testimony of Peter Garcias, it is said that John the Baptist was one of the worst demons[97]. Similar characterisation of this figure can also be found in the Italian sources; the *De heresi cathatorum in Lombardia*, Moneta of Cremona, Peter of Verona and Rainer Sacchoni repeat the version known from *Interrogatio Iohannis* that John the Baptist was a messenger of the devil, who came on Earth to draw away people from Christ. *Liber Supra Stella* and *Tractatus de Hereticis* identify him with Elijah, and Bonacursus claims that the devil announced his birth[98].

This common negative attitude towards John the Baptist among the Cathars cannot be surprising. It was a consequence of the fact that all of them, no matter what doctrine they professed, accepted only one sacrament that was the sole guarantee of salvation – the baptism with the Holy Spirit established by Jesus Christ, which looked the same in Catharism and in Bogomilism[99]. In the Cathar attitude towards John the Baptist we are dealing again with the element of the doctrine which was unknown in the West and obviously could not have been formulated

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[94] *Interrogatio Iohannis*, p. 70: *Et scivit Sathanas princeps huius mundi quod ego veni querere et salvare quod perierat et misit angelum suum Elyam prophetam baptizantem in aqua qui vocatur Iohannes Baptista*.

[95] COSMAS THE PRIEST, *The discours*…, p. 123.

[96] ALANUS DE INSULIS, *De fide catholica*…, col. 319; DURANDUS DE HUESCA, *Liber antiheresis*, p. 17; DURANDUS DE HUESCA, *Liber contra manicheos*, p. 239.

[97] ERMENGAUDUS, *Contra haereticos*, [in:] *PL*, vol. CCIV, ed. J.-P. MIGNE, Parisiis 1855, col. 1242; *Manifestatio haeresis albigensium et lugdunensium*, p. 386; PETRUS VALLIUM SARNAII MONACHUS, *Hystoria Albigensis*, vol. I, p. 10, 27; *Depositions contre Pierre Garcias*, p. 93.

[98] *De Heresi Catharorum in Lombardia*, p. 311: *De Iohanne Baptista dicunt, quod fuit missus a diabolo cum baptismo aque ad impediendam predicationem Christi*; MONETA DE CREMONA, *Adversus Catharos*…, p. 225–227; S. PETRUS MARTYR, *Summa contra haereticos*, p. 323; SALVO BURCI, *Liber supra stella*, p. 318; *Summa Fratris Raineri*…, p. 71; *Tractatus de Hereticis*, p. 311; *Vita Haereticorum quam fecit Bonacursus*, col. 777.

[99] The most detailed description of the Bogomil baptism with the Holy Spirit can be found in: EUTHYMIUS ZIGABENUS, *Panoplia dogmatica*, col. 1311.

based on the alternative exegesis of the New Testament. Its presence in the sources about the Cathars on the one hand and the earlier sources about the Bogomils on the other confirms the flow of ideas from the East to the West.

As to the Cathar attitude towards the figures of the New Testament, Saint Paul is especially worth mentioning. In a distinctive and rare version of the doctrine of the two worlds, which appears only in the French *Manifestatio heresis abigensium et lugdunensium*, it is said that there are two Christs – the good one, who lived in the land of the living, and the evil one, who existed on the Earth. The good Christ, after his death in the land of the living descended to hell (it means to this world), where he lived in the body of Saint Paul[100]. Furthermore, the Italian Cathars from Desenzano appreciated Saint Paul – according to Moneta of Cremona, they claimed that his mother was Heavenly Jerusalem[101]. This attitude towards Saint Paul in the same way as time-focused dualism has analogies in Paulicianism, where Saint Paul, as the only apostle, preserved the true (that is, dualistic) teachings of Christ[102]. Traces of this Paulician concept are another argument for the influence of the radically dualistic Bogomil church of Drugunthia.

This comparative analysis of Cathar and Bogomil doctrines leads to some important conclusions. First, it seriously challenges the deconstructionist hypothesis, assuming the construction of the Cathar doctrine by the Catholic polemicists, based on the scriptures of Church Fathers, especially Saint Augustine, because it shows that many crucial Cathar ideas (such as the identification of human spirits with the angels, time-focused dualism, identifying of Satan with the unjust steward or condemnation of John the Baptist) have no analogies in either Manichaeism or other ancient dualistic heresies but instead are rooted in the Bogomil doctrines and partly in Paulicianism. In Manichaeism, we will also not find the moderate dualism, in which Satan is considered the son of God, the idea of cooperation between God and the devil in creation of man, or the identification of Mary with a heavenly angel. All these themes have well-established Bogomil analogies, and they are too specific to could have been independent creations in heterodox Christianity, and are altogether too numerous and attested in too many different texts that they could mean anything other than actual historical communication between the Eastern and Western heterodoxies.

Obviously, not all the Bogomil themes were equally popular in Catharism. Some of them, such as the identification of Satan with the son of God or the particular interpretation of the flood, appear only in a few sources and consequently are not strong arguments for the Bogomil influence. Strong arguments are the above-mentioned popular themes that were common among the Cathars across

[100] *Manifestatio haeresis albigensium et lugdunensium*, p. 385: *Dicunt enim in suo secreto quod Christus, per quem sperant salvari, non fuit in hoc mundo nisi spiritualiter infra corpus Pauli; unde Paulus ipse ait: <An experimentum eius queritis, qui in me loquitur Christus?>*.

[101] Moneta De Cremona, *Adversus Catharos…*, p. 52.

[102] Euthymius Zigabenus, *Panoplia dogmatica*, col. 1190–1191.

the regions and are confirmed by many independent sources. These are not general ideas that could have been formulated by the Cathars entirely independently based on the particular interpretation of the Bible, and it is equally improbable that they were invented by the Catholic polemicists who were not acquainted with the Bogomil doctrines.

This comparative analysis also shows the weakness of the deconstructionist interpretation which, as its critics (such as P. Biller, M. Roquebert, Y. Stoyanov, and C. Taylor) correctly pointed out, is based on selective attitude to the sources and rejection of those that do not fit with the previously formulated theory[103]. Such an approach to the sources means that the deconstructionists are not entitled to formulate general conclusions concerning the entirety of Catharism, because such conclusions should be based on the entirety of the available source material. Therefore, the so called "new paradigm" promoted by Pegg cannot be treated seriously. His revolutionary claim that Catharism was not a dualistic heresy (or rather, that it did not exist) is based on the analysis of selected and very specific inquisitorial registers which are not representative, as they document a mass investigation during which the inquisitors interrogated thousands of people from various locations who very often didn't have anything in common with Catharism[104]. Besides, for a person who is familiar with the inquisitorial sources, low awareness of the dualist doctrine among the simple believers (*credentes*), that was emphasized by Pegg, is not surprising. One might say that it was rather a rule and a direct consequence of their relations with the Cathar religion, to which they were attracted mainly by the example of the saintly lives of the Cathar *perfecti* and not by the doctrinal speculations. It was also a result of the secrecy of the dualist doctrines, of which most the controversial parts were revealed only to the most trusted disciples[105]. Such weak arguments, drawn from one specific source, surely are not convincing enough to prove that Catharism was not a dualistic heresy or that it did not exist. Similarly, all the radical claims of the deconstructionists

[103] P. Biller, *Goodbye to Catharism?*…, p. 281–282; Y. Stoyanov, *Medieval Christian Dualist Perceptions and Conceptions of Biblical Paradise*, SCer 3, 2013, p. 165; M. Roquebert, *Le déconstructionnisme*…, p. 114, 130–131; C. Taylor, *Heresy in Medieval France. Dualism in Aquitaine and the Agenais, 1000–1249*, Woodbridge–Rochester 2005, p. 116–138; J.H. Arnold, *The Cathar Middle Ages as a Methodological and Historiographical Problem*, [in:] *Cathars in Question*…, p. 72–73.

[104] See. J. Duvernoy, *Le manuscrit 609 De la bibliothèque municipale de Toulouse*, vol. I, http://jean.duvernoy.free.fr/text/pdf/ms609_a.pdf [6 II 2024], p. 2; J.H. Arnold, *Inquisition and Power. Catharism and the Confessing Subject in Medieval Languedoc*, Philadelphia 2001, p. 48. Contrary to this what Pegg wants to prove, dualism was present in the inquisitorial registers see: C. Taylor, *Evidence for Dualism in Inquisitorial Registers of the 1240s: A Contribution to a Debate*, H 3, 2013, p. 319–345.

[105] On the secrecy of Cathar doctrines see: F. Zambon, *Dissimulation, secret et allégorie dans le dualisme chrétien du Moyen Age: paulicianisme, bogomilisme, catharisme*, ASRel 4, 2011, p. 176–187; Y. Stoyanov, *Aspects of Doctrinal and Cultic Secrecy in Bogomilism and Catharism and the Problem of their Provenance*, BMd 1, 2016, p. 474–478.

denying the Bogomil influence on Catharism are not convincing, as they were formulated without any reference to the Eastern sources.

In summary a comparison of specific, well-defined doctrines, rather than only some general dualism, shows that in every part of the Cathar teachings we can encounter distinctly Bogomil themes. Considering this, it is really difficult to accept the "new paradigm" of the deconstructionists as a dogma, or even a probable hypothesis. It also becomes clear why its main advocate – M.G. Pegg – has so fiercely attacked the comparative method.

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Interlinear and Marginal Glosses in the Athonite Translation of John Chrysostom's *De Statuis*[*]

Abstract. According to a colophon in manuscript RM 3/6 from the Rila Monastery, a complete Slavonic translation of John Chrysostom's *Homilies on the Statues* was made on Mount Athos by the Serbian monk Antonije and copied by Vladislav the Grammarian in 1473. In fact, this is the earliest extant copy of a thorough revision of the first translation that was made in Preslav in the 10th century, and the text was partially translated anew after a different Greek source. All three preserved copies of this translation contain a number of explanatory glosses. Some of them refer to rare and archaic words, whereas others provide synonyms and better readings. In the article, close attention is paid to the 21 interlinear and marginal glosses as they occur in the Rila manuscript. The glosses are divided into four overlapping groups: I. Translations and explanations of Greek words; II. Biblical references; III. Synonyms; and IV. Varia. Eight of the annotations are discussed in detail in comparison to the Preslav translation and the Greek sources, with additional data from other medieval Slavonic texts. Since the practice of annotating was typical of the scribe Vladislav, some arguments were considered whether he was the author of the glosses. In most cases, the annotator was also a competent and observant editor, who usually corrected or updated the language according to his contemporary terminology.

Keywords: John Chrysostom, *De statuis*, Slavonic translation, manuscripts, glosses

Translator and translation

John Chrysostom's homilies *On the Statues* (*Ad populum antiochenum* / *De statuis*, *CPG* 4330) were known to the medieval Slavic audience as *Andrianty* (**андрианты, андриантис, адриатис**, etc.) in three complete translations and in an

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early collection of excerpts. The first full translation was made in Preslav in the 10th century (henceforth translation ***P***), the second one originates from Mount Athos in the 14th century (henceforth translation ***A***), and the third one was made in 17th-century Russia[1]. Unlike translation ***P***, which is extant in at least 15 Russian manuscript copies from the 16th and 17th centuries[2], only three South Slavic manuscripts from the 15th–16th century are known to contain translation ***A***:

1. Manuscript 3/6 from the library of the Rila monastery, Bulgaria, 1473, Resava orthography (henceforth RM 3/6)[3]. Contents: 22 homilies *On the Statues* (ff. 1r–337r); nine more texts (ff. 338v–559v, see below).
2. Manuscript no. 97 (older inventory no. 10) from the "Holy Trinity" monastery near Pljevlja, Montenegro, 1485/1495, presumably Resava orthography[4]. Contents: same as RM 3/6[5].
3. Manuscript no. 38 from collection no. 182 of A. Hilferding (Gil'ferding) in the Russian National Library, Saint Petersburg, Russia, 16th century (last 1/3), Resava orthography (henceforth Hilf. 38)[6]. Contents: 22 homilies *On the statues* (ff. 2r–168v), homily 1 without beginning; 17 homilies of John Chrysostom under the combining title of *Margaritai* (*Pearls*) (ff. 170r–194v), without end.

The earliest of the extant copies, manuscript RM 3/6, was written by the renowned scribe Vladislav the Grammarian in 1473. It is mostly famous for

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[1] More information with additional literature about *P*, *A*, and their relationships, see in А. Димитрова, *Два цялостни южнославянски превода на Златоустовия сборник Андрианти*, [in:] *Учителното евангелие на Константин Преславски и южнославянските преводи на хомилетични текстове (IX–XIII в.). Филологически и интердисциплинарни ракурси. Доклади от Международната научна конференция в София 25–27 април 2023 г.*, ed. Л. Тасева, А. Рабус, И.П. Петров, София 2024 [= SB, 37], p. 365–386.

[2] A complete list see in А. Димитрова, *Два цялостни южнославянски превода*…, p. 368–369.

[3] Е. Спространов, *Опис на ръкописите в библиотеката при Рилския манастир*, София 1902, p. 52–56; Б. Христова, *Опис на ръкописите на Владислав Граматик*, Велико Търново 1996, p. 49–63. I am grateful to the brotherhood of the Rila monastery and to the digital archive "Bulgarian Manuscript" at the Faculty of Slavic studies, Sofia University "St. Kliment Ohridski", for the opportunity to work with this manuscript.

[4] В. Мошин, *Ћирилски рукописи манастира Св. Тројице код Пљеваља*, ИЗ.ЕН 1–2, 1958, p. 255 (no. 97); Р. Станковић, *Рукописне књиге манастира Свете Тројице код Пљеваља. Водени знаци и датирање*, Београд 2003, p. 7 (no. 10). Unfortunately, this manuscript has so far been inaccessible to me, but I am grateful to Ivan P. Petrov for the preliminary information about its glosses.

[5] А. Турилов, *Андрианты*, [in:] *Православная энциклопедия*, vol. II, Москва 2001, p. 410.

[6] В. Мошин, *К датировке рукописей из собрания А.Ф. Гильфердинга Государственной публичной библиотеки*, ТОДЛ 15, 1958, p. 413; Ж. Левшина, *Рукописи сербского правописания Российской национальной библиотеки. Каталог*, Санкт-Петербург 2021, p. 51–52. A digital copy of the manuscript is available here: https://nlr.ru/manuscripts/RA1527/elektronnyiy-katalog?ab=B938359E-302B-4C32-86B1-34A912A3DCE5 [30 IX 2024].

the Glagolitic fragments discovered in its binding, known as the Rila Glagolitic folia[7]. The main text of the manuscript, however, is mostly unexamined[8].

The scribe Vladislav gave some information about the translation in a lengthy colophon on ff. 337v–338r. It says that the esteemed monk Antonije translated the homilies from Greek into Serbian in the Vatopedi monastery on Mount Athos. It mentions also his mentor, his commissioner, other figures of authority, historical events, the name of the scribe, and the time of transcription. However, it does not specify the time of the translation itself. With the help of other scribal notes and records, the translator was identified by scholars as Arsenije / Antonije Bagaš (Pagasi), a descendant of a noble family from Vranja. This contemporary of Isaija of Serres was a monk in Vatopedi until the 1380s and was one of the restorers of St. Paul's monastery, together with Nikola Radonja (Branković)[9].

From another scribal note in a manuscript from the Romanian Academy of Sciences no. 137 (Neamț 69), dated 1462, the same Antonije is known to have also translated a collection of homilies by Ephrem the Syrian (*Paraenesis*)[10]. The two homiletic collections translated by Antonije seem to have much in common. Both Chrysostom's *De statuis* and Ephrem's *Paraenesis* have early Old Church Slavonic translations dating from the Preslav period (10th-century Bulgaria). There have been contradictory suggestions about the nature of the relationships between the 10th- and the 14th-century translations of these texts, but convincing evidence shows that the "new translations" were in fact thorough revisions of the earlier ones, with some completely equivalent passages and others translated anew[11]. In both cases, the second translation is of limited distribution: there are three extant copies of *Andrianty* and only one manuscript containing this version of *Paraenesis*, all of them from the second half of the 15th century and later. At the same time, *Andrianty* follows faithfully the Greek text in a version different from the sources of translation ***P***, whereas the discrepancies between the newer and the older translations of *Paraenesis* are not supported by the known Greek tradition. For a better identification of Antonije as the translator of the two patristic works, a comparative linguistic and stylistic analysis should be made – a task beyond the scope of my present study.

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[7] In 1845, 1880, and 1936, Viktor Grigorovič, Konstantin Jireček, and Yordan Ivanov discovered in total eight fragments of works by Ephrem the Syrian, dated in the 10th–11th century, see И. Гошев, *Рилски глаголически листове*, София 1956.

[8] Some linguistic features are discussed in А. Димитрова, *Два цялостни южнославянски превода…*

[9] Ђ. Трифуновић, *Писац и преводилац инок Исаија*, Крушевац 1980, p. 19–22; Г. Суботић, *Обнова манастира Светог Павла*, ЗРВИ 22, 1983, p. 207–254 (viz. p. 225–227).

[10] P. Panaitescu, *Manuscrisele slave din Biblioteca Academiei R.P.R.*, vol. I, Bucureşti 1959, p. 171–172.

[11] C. Voss, *Die Handschrift Nr. 137 (69) der Nationalbibliothek Bukarest: eine bisher kaum bemerkte Neuübersetzung der Paränesis Ephraims des Syrers*, Pbg 19.2, 1995, p. 27–44; E. Weiher, *Einige Bemerkungen und Ergänzungen zu neueren Arbeiten über die altbulgarische Übersetzung der Paraenesis Ephraims des Syrers und ihre Überlieferung*, AnzSP 20, 1990, p. 135–145.

Identifying the translator of *De statuis* as Antonije Pagasi dates the translation ***A*** about a century earlier than its oldest surviving copy RM 3/6. However, it seems that Vladislav's manuscript is a first- or second-generation copy of the original translation[12]. It was copied in 1473 in Žegligovo monastery (Matejče) in Skopska Crna gora near Kumanovo, where Vladislav had lived and worked for ca. two decades. The manuscript contains a complete translation of 22 homilies *De statuis* (on ff. 1r–337r), including the so-called homily 20 (*PG*, vol. XLIX, col. 197–212, *Ad finem ieiunii*). The latter was omitted in the Preslav translation ***P***, but it had an independent transmission in other homiletic collections.

The aforementioned colophon on ff. 337v–338r is followed by nine more homilies:

1. (ff. 338v–348r) Iohannes Chrysostomus, *In Epistulam secundam ad Corinthios homilia xxv* (*CPG* 4429; *PG*, vol. LXI, col. 569–574); *inc*. **Съмотри съде пакы павла отрицаѭща сѧ.**
2. (ff. 348v–407r) Iohannes Chrysostomus, *Ad eos qui scandalizati sunt* (*CPG* 4401; *PG*, vol. LII, col. 479–528; with its own table of contents and inner segmentation); *inc*. **Врауевьсцнн оубо отроцн ѥгда въ огнищн.**
3. (ff. 407r–457v) Iohannes Chrysostomus, *Ad Theodorum lapsum liber 1* (*CPG* 4305; *PG*, vol. XLVII, col. 277–320); *inc*. **Къто дастъ главѣ моѥи водѫ.**
4. (ff. 457v–489v) Iohannes Chrysostomus, *De paenitentia 1* (*CPG* 4615; *PG*, vol. LX, col. 681–690, see *Zlatostruy*, app. 2[13], same translation); *inc*. **Прнсно оубо помннатн бога добро н ѕѣло добро.**
5. (ff. 489v–501v) Ephraem Syrus, *Sermo compunctorius* (*CPG* 3908, Assemani 1: 28–40, see *Paraenesis*, no. 91[14], revised translation); *inc*. **Прнндѣте любнмнцн прнндѣте отьцн н братна моѥ.**
6. (ff. 501v–514r) Anastasius Sinaita, *Homilia de sacra synaxi* (*CPG* 7750; *PG*, vol. LXXXIX, col. 825–850); *inc*. **Прнсно оубо свѧтаѥго доуха благодать.**
7. (ff. 514r–530r) Anastasius Sinaita, *Homilia in vi psalmum* (*CPG* 7751; *PG*, vol. LXXXIX, col. 1077–1116); *inc*. **Подобаѭщее постомъ наѹѫло унстаѥго покаанна.**
8. (ff. 530v–539v) Basilius Caesariensis, *Homilia in illud: Destruam horrea mea* (*CPG* 2850; *PG*, vol. XXXI, col. 261–278, see BHBS: 332); *inc*. **Соугоубь ѥстъ вндъ нскоушенни.**

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[12] Б. Христова, *Опис на ръкописите…*, p. 60; the author does not give explicit arguments for this suggestion.

[13] Я. Милтенов, *Златоструй: старобългарски хомилетичен свод, създаден по инициатива на българския цар Симеон. Текстологическо и извороведско изследване*, София 2013, p. 107–108.

[14] Edited in *Paraenesis. Die altbulgarische Übersetzung von Werken Ephraims des Syrers*, vol. IV, ed. G. Bojkovsky, R. Aitzetmüller, Freiburg im Breisgau 1988, p. 154–196.

9. (ff. 540r–559v) Theodorus episcopus Andidorum, *De divinae liturgiae symbolis ac mysteriis* (*cf. PG*, vol. CXL, col. 417–468); *inc.* **Вѣдѣти длъжьнъ ѥстъ въсѣкъ вѣрьнъıн.**

Their transmission history is yet to be examined.

Interlinear and marginal glosses in *A*

An interesting feature of translation ***A*** are the occasional interlinear and marginal glosses. They are found in Vladislav's manuscript, some of them (14 out of 24)[15] are present also in Hilf. 38 and apparently the third copy from Pljevlja is annotated as well. Twenty-one of the notes in RM 3/6 (which are the subject of this paper) are found in *De statuis*. They are unevenly distributed across the homilies, most of them are in red ink (18 in total), most are written between the lines. One note is a suggestion for a more correct reading, four are descriptive explanations of Greek words, and the others are synonyms, translations, and other variants.

Vladislav is known for his annotations in the books he copied, e.g. in the codices from the Rila monastery RM 4/14 (copied in 1456), RM 4/8 (1479), and RM 2/23 (last quarter of the 15th century), as well as in the manuscript Zagreb, HAZU IIIa47 (1469). Some of his notes are lengthy commentaries[16], but more often they are short linguistic remarks, corrections, and single words. In some cases, he explicitly indicates what was attested in his source, e.g. RM 2/23, f. 175v **запечатити**: *in marg.* **ѕтврьдити, ѕ изводѕ**; RM 4/8, f. 360v **испытливымъ**: *in marg.* **испытателю, инде**; f. 639r **простьрь**: *in marg.* **полагае, инде**, etc. However, not all marginalia in Vladislav's manuscripts were authored by him, e.g. some of the notes written in red ink in the margins of HAZU IIIa47 and RM 4/14 were copied from a model text[17]. Bearing this in mind, the authorship of the marginal and interlinear glosses in translation ***A*** of *De statuis* is hard to be determined with certainty. Their presence in all three copies does not necessarily imply a common ancestor, because RM 3/6 is the oldest surviving copy that may have been the source for other manuscript witnesses. Besides, it seems that in some cases the annotator did not consult the Greek text, since several glosses deviate from the original meaning

[15] The first three are missing due to lost folios, the last three are in another text that is not attested in Hilf. 38, and four glosses are omitted, namely nos. 4, 9, 12, 17, see the list below.

[16] The annotations in the Zagreb codex were highlighted in earlier publications, cf. М. Сперанский, *Загребският ръкопис на Владислава Граматика*, СНУНК 16–17, 1900, p. 325–338; Г. Данчев, *Владислав Граматик, книжовник и писател*, София 1969, p. 123–129.

[17] Convincing arguments see in L. Sels, *Manuscripts and Margins: The Case of the Late Mediaeval Slavonic Hexaemeron Collection or Šestodnevnik and its Greek Source Text*, [in:] *Caught in Translation. Studies on Versions of Late-Antique Christian Literature*, ed. M. Toca, D. Batovici, Leiden–Boston 2020, p. 160–179 (esp. 167–172); eadem, *Gregory of Nyssa. De hominis opificio. О образѣ человѣка. The Fourteenth-Century Slavonic Translation. A Critical Edition with Greek Parallel and Commentary*, Köln–Weimar–Wien 2009, p. 73, 304–305.

(see nos. 5, 12, 17, 19). Therefore, they seem to be inserted by an editor (possibly by Vladislav himself), and not by the translator. Other notes, however, are indeed closer to Greek and suggest that they were part of the translation process or of controlled editing (see nos. 2, 6, 8, 11, 13, 14, 16).

Here, I have divided the glosses into overlapping groups and I will briefly comment on some of them (in bold in the table below). The examples are given according to the Greek edition in *PG*, the first complete translation ***P*** (here according to MS Russian Academy of Sciences, Tek. 341, 1594), and the second translation ***A*** in Vladislav's copy RM 3/6. The captions are lemmatized, and the original orthography of the manuscripts can be seen in the table and in the citations.

no.	homily	Greek	Translation *P* (Tek. 341)	Translation *A* (RM 3/6)	Glosses in RM 3/6	notes
1	1	ῥοδωνιά	цв҃ѣтовное свѣтѣнне (2v)	роужи (9r)	шипци	
2	1	ἔξωθεν παίδευσις	вн҃ѣшнее оучениѥ (3v)	вънѣшнѣа прѣмоудрость (10r)	вънѣшнее наказаниѥ	*in marg.*, black ink
3	1	**στόμαχος**	сырица (4v)	стомах' (12r)	желоудьць	*cf.* 1Tim 5: 23
4	2	πυκνή	часть (22v)	честь (38v)	гоусть	
5	9	Σκύθης	скифесъ (96r)	скѵѳїн' (144v)	татари же	
6	9	(ὥρα) ὡρῶν	времянное (97v)	врѣмяномь (146v)	часовомъ	
7	9	**φλέγμα**	гнѣнѵ (sic! 99v)	гленоу (149v)	хракотїнѣ	marginal gloss in ***P*** грѣхоу, *v.l.* гл҃ноу
8	10	σύλλογος	съборъ (101v)	събранїѥ (152v)	словїе	
9	10	τρόπις	дно (104v)	лоукь (157r)	грьбь	
10	10	ἔδαφος	помоста (107v)	ѕемли (161v)	подоу	
11	11	ἐπιτήδειος	строжна (111r)	оухыщрено (166v)	прикладно	
12	11	οὐκ ἂν ἦλθον	быша въшли (113r)	пришли бн (169r)	пронѕьшли бн	black ink
13	11	**ὗς**	вепрь (116r)	нноць (173v)	вепрь	*cf.* Ps 79: 14. *in marg.*, black ink
14	11	**Βελίαρ**	велиѧроу (117v)	стрѣлцоу (176r)	велїароу	2Cor 6: 15

no.	homily	Greek	Translation *P* (Tek. 341)	Translation *A* (RM 3/6)	Glosses in RM 3/6	notes
15	12	**ἀρτηρία**	соущнꙋ҆ныꙗ (122v)	ар҆тнрїамь (183v)	напонтельные жилы	
16	13	ἐπιστημονικός	разꙋмна (131v)	хоꙋдожника (197r)	вѣдителꙗ	
17	16	Σκύθαι	скі҃ѳ҃ (159v)	скѳѳѣхъ (237v)	татар҆ѣх҆	
18	17	**τρίβων**	оꙋчнтельскоꙋю рнзоꙋ (168r)	трївѡнн (250r)	трївѡнн, нже пр҆ѣмоꙋдры҃ wд҆ѣанїа	*in marg.*
19	18	τὸ ἥμισυ	пѡлъ (174v)	поль (259v)	множьство	
20	19 (20 in ***A***)	**τρίβων**	трнвона (183r)	трїѡвна (294v)	wд҆ѣанїе пр҆ѣмѵдры҃ нмоꙋще҃ѣ ѥ҃нна знамєнїа такоже пїсмена	*in marg.*
21	19 (20 in ***A***)	**σταθμός**	мѣры (188v)	ста҆ѳмоꙋс (302v)	прагы. рекше врата градоу	2Reg 25: 18

Group I. Translations and explanations of Greek words (nos. 3, 5, 15, 17, 18, 20, 21)

There are many untranslated Greek words in ***A*** (some are also present in the earlier translation ***P***), but not all of them are annotated. Some Greek loan-words had probably already become part of the Slavic languages and did not need explanation (e.g. **стомахъ**), but others were rare or ambiguous in meaning (e.g. **трнвонъ** or **ста҆ѳмоꙋс**).

στόμαχος – *P* сꙑрнще, *A* стомахъ, *supra l.* желѫдьць

PG, vol. XLIX, col. 19 ἀλλ' ἐν ἀλλοτρίοις σώμασι καὶ ζῶντες (*v.l.* καὶ ζῶντες *om.*) καὶ τετελευτηκότες τοσαύτην ἐπιδεδειγμένοι δύναμιν, στόμαχον καταπεσόντα οὐκ ἀνέστησαν (*in other bodies, even dead, they showed such power, but they did not resuscitate a failing stomach*)

P (f. 4v): **но в тѫждн҃ телесехъ ї оумерша тѡлнкꙋ сїлоу пшказоꙋюща, сырнща же ѿпа҃ша не воз҃вигоста**

A (f. 12r): **нъ въ тоужды҃ т҆ѣлес҃ѣ н скон҆чавше се толнкоу показавше снлоу. стомах҆ же ннспад҆шїн не въставнше**

supra l. **желоудьць**

The first homily of the series comments on the Apostolic saying *use a little wine for the sake of your stomach* (οἴνῳ ὀλίγῳ χρῶ διὰ τὸν στόμαχον, 1Tim 5: 23) and this quotation is repeated several times throughout the text. The gloss is added only once in a sentence that is not part of the quotation. The alteration **сꙑрѣнїе / стомахъ** goes back to the earliest Slavonic translations of the biblical quotation. The Greek loan-word **стомахъ** in 1Tim 5: 23 is found in manuscripts of the Apostolos containing the archaic translation and the Mount Athos revision, e.g. in the Apostolos books of Slepče and Šišatovac (complete lectionaries, 12th and 14th c.), in Matica Apostolos (continuary, 13th c., with linguistic features typical of the Preslav literary school), in the Ostrog Bible (1581, representing the Athonite revision), etc.[18] The other reading **сꙑрѣнїе** is found in Tolstoj Apostolos (continuary, 14th c., representative of the Preslav revision), as well as in the edition of the Christinopolitan Apostolos (the manuscript is from the 12th century and contains the continuary text of the Apostolos), in which, however, this part was supplemented by the editor from a 15th-century Apostolos with commentaries (GIM Sin. 18) due to lost folios[19]. The word **сꙑрѣнїе** is attested also in typical Preslav texts, such as Tsar Symeon's florilegium in its earliest copy of 1073 (*Izbornik*), John the Exarch's *Hexaemeron* (but also **стомахъ**), *Contra Bogomilos* of Presbyter Cosmas, *Life of Theodore of Stoudios*, *Zlatostruy* collection (homilies no. 28 and 44), and others. It is no surprise that **сꙑрѣнїе** is the preferred variant in the Preslav translation of the homilies *On the Statues*, and the Greek loan-word **стомахъ**, known since the earliest period, was used in the 14th-century translation from Mount Athos.

In the sentence cited above, Vladislav the Grammarian wrote in red ink **желѹдьць** above **стомахъ**. The word **желѫдъкъ** means 'stomach' and is attested in a few other medieval sources, including homily 117 from the *Zlatostruy* collection, a 14th-century copy of the florilegium *Melissa*, and the same Apostolic quotation (1Tim 5: 23) in a 14th-century copy of the *Pandects* of Nikon of the Black Mountain[20]. The diminutive form **желѹдьць** is how the word is preserved in modern Serbian and Croatian[21]. In the 15th century, the audience must have been familiar with the Greek word **стомахъ**, which is present nowadays in nearly all languages in the Balkans. Its annotation with **желѹдьць**, a Slavic word that remained in use in Serbian, is in accordance with several other examples of translation and explanation of Greek terms in ***A***.

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[18] This lexical variation is not noted in I. Hristova-Šomova's study on the Apostolos, but she gives a very useful characterization of the manuscripts and the groups to which they belong, cf. И. Христова-Шомова, *Служебният Апостол в славянската ръкописна традиция*, vol. I, *Изследване на библейския текст*, София 2004, p. 737.

[19] Aem. Kałużniacki, *Actus epistolaeque apostolorum palaeo-slovenice. Ad fidem codicis Christinopolitani saeculo XII scripti*, Vienna 1896, p. 243.

[20] Cf. *Словарь русского языка XI–XVII вв.*, vol. V, Москва 1978, *s.v.* желудъкъ.

[21] Cf. P. Skok, *Etimologijski rječnik hrvatskoga ili srpskoga jezika*, Zagreb 1971–1973, *s.v.* želudac.

ἀρτηρία: ***P*** **соушнуьнъыѧ,** ***A*** **артирнн,** ***supra l.*** **напонтельнъыѧ жилы**

PG, vol. XLIX, col. 131 ἵν' οὖν ἅπασαν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου κατὰ ἀκρίβειαν τὴν διάπλασιν ἐπέλθωμεν καὶ τὴν ἐν ἑκάστῳ μέλει σοφίαν εὕρωμεν, τῶν νεύρων, τῶν φλεβῶν, τῶν ἀρτηριῶν τὴν διανομὴν, τὴν θέσιν, τὴν διάπλασιν τῶν ἄλλων ἁπάντων, οὐδὲ ἐνιαυτὸς ὁλόκληρος ἡμῖν ἀρκέσειεν ἂν πρὸς τὴν ἐξήγησιν ταύτην (*in order to describe with precision the structure of man and to find the wisdom of every limb*, *the distribution*, *the setting of the sinews*, *of the veins*, *of the arteries*, *the formation of everything else*, *an entire year will not suffice for such a narrative*)

P (f. 122v): да оубо все оу҃е по шпасаю҆ зданїе скажемъ, и в кш҃ждо оу҆дѣ прѧ҆рсть шбраще҆мъ жылныа кровавнуныа соушнуныа, раз҆ганїе пложенїе зданїе ин҃ѣ всѣхъ. но лѣтш цѣло намъ дшвлѣетъ оубо на казанїе се.

A (f. 183v): да оубо въсе нже оу҃ка съ опаствш҃ съ҆зданїе прондемь. нже и въ конми҆ж҃о оу҆дѣ прѣмоудрость да обрѣщемь. нже жнламь. нже крьвотоунымь жнламь. нже ар҆тирїамь. раз҆данїе. положенїе. съ҆зданїе нже нн҃ѣмь въсѣмь, нн лѣто въсе съврѣшенно намь довлѣеть оубо къ сказанїю семоу.

supra l. напонтелные жилы

In homily 12, Chrysostom discusses the wonders of Creation and the incomprehensibility of God's providence and mentions the constitution of the human body. The scribe Vladislav added напонтелные жилы above ар҆тирїамь. The Greek loan-word артирїа, although scarcely attested, was probably known to educated Slavs throughout the Middle Ages. It was used several times by John the Exarch in *Hexaemeron* in its main meaning 'windpipe, trachea', and again in Middle Bulgarian translations, such as *Dioptra*, Gregory of Nyssa's *De hominis opificio*[22], and Andrew of Crete's *Homilia de humana vita et de defunctis* (see note 40 below, in the same paragraph as хракотина, together with кръвьнаѧ жила). However, there were many other Slavic words in medieval literature denoting blood vessels, e.g. водоваждь, жила, вѣтрница, вѣтрьница, вѣтрьнаѧ жила, кръвававаѧ жила in Pseudo-Kaisarios[23], кръвававаѧ жила, кръвавница in *Hexaemeron*, etc. Sometimes it is hard to differentiate between φλέψ 'vein, blood vessel', ἀρτηρία 'artery', 'trachea', and νεῦρον 'sinew', 'nerve', but the most common term used in all these meanings both in early and in later literature is the word жила. An explanatory adjective specifies the contextual meaning of жила, which is also the case of Vladislav's gloss. The explanation напонтельные жилы, here meaning specifically 'blood vessels', and not 'windpipes', is less ambiguous than артирїа. I am not aware of another attestation of the phrase напонтельные жилы in this meaning. The corresponding term in the earlier translation ***P*** соушнуьнын (possibly from *соушница, cf. кръвавница, the possessive genitive case is rendered with adjectives) is a *hapax legomenon*, as well.

[22] L. Sels, *Gregory of Nyssa. De hominis opificio…* (Index Slavonic-Greek, p. 3).

[23] Я. Милтенов, *Диалозите на Псевдо-Кесарий в славянската ръкописна традиция*, София 2006, p. 245.

трíвων – *P* оучитєльскаѧ рнза, ***A*** трнвонъ, ***in marg.*** трнвонн, нже прѣмѫдрꙑнхъ одѣѧннѧ

PG, vol. XLIX, col. 173–174 Ποῦ νῦν εἰσὶν οἱ τοὺς τρίβωνας ἀναβεβλημένοι, καὶ βαθὺ γένειον δεικνύντες, καὶ ῥόπαλα τῇ δεξιᾷ φέροντες (*Where are now those dressed in threadbare cloaks, showing off a long beard and carrying a staff in their right hand*)

P (f. 168r): гдѣ нынѣ сутъ нже оучитєльскоую рнзоу въстыкающе и гꙋстꙋ бра҃ꙋ пшказающе, и стѫпы десницамн носѧще

A (f. 250r): где оубо н҃нѧ соуть нже трїѥѡнн одѣаннын. и глѣбокы брады показоующе. и дръколїе въ десницн носеще

in marg. трїѥѡнн, нже прѣмоудрыѩ wдѣанїа

трíвων – *P* трнвонъ, ***A*** трнвонъ, ***in marg.*** одѣѧннѥ прѣмѫдрꙑнхъ нмѫще нꙑнѣ знамення ѩкоже пнсмена

PG, vol. XLIX, col. 189 Ὡς οἵ γε τῶν ἔξωθεν φιλόσοφοι τῶν ἐν τῇ σκηνῇ καὶ ταῖς τῶν μίμων παιδιαῖς οὐδὲν ἄμεινον διάκεινται, τοῦ τρίβωνος καὶ τοῦ πώγωνος καὶ τῆς στολῆς οὐδὲν πλέον ἔχοντες ἐπιδείξασθαι· (*The pagan philosophers are no better than those performing on stage and in childish games of actors, who have nothing more to show than the threadbare cloak, the beard, and the robe*)

P (f. 183r): а єлікѡже оубо внѣшꙋнхъ фнлосѡ҃, скѡмрахъ и пѡдражатель дѣтꙋскнхъ, ннунмꙋже не оуне трнвона и брады і wдежда ннуесоже лнше нмоуще пшказатн.

A (f. 294v): Ꙗко нже нзвънь прѣмѫдрын, нже въ лнцемѣрн и нже шегаѹь наказаныи ннуто лоуꙋше прѣ҃лежеть. т҃рїѥѡна и брады и одеж҃н, ннуто множае нмоуще показатн.

in marg. wдѣанїѥ прѣмѫдрꙑ҃ нмоуще:~ н҃нѧ знаменїа ѩкоже пїсмена:~

In homilies 17 and 19, there is a comparison between the vain appearance of pagan philosophers and the genuine inner wisdom of Christian monks. In describing the philosophers, John Chrysostom uses a well-known trope: they are recognized by their threadbare cloak, beard, and staff[24]. The annotator's explanations in these examples are among the longest marginal notes in the manuscript. They refer to the Greek word τρίβων 'worn garment, threadbare cloak', which is often used in Greek literature describing mainly the garments of Cynic and Stoic philosophers. Their cloaks and beards were so recognizable that it was the default representation of philosophers in the theatre[25].

[24] A more detailed study on this topic see in А. Димитрова, *Четене с разбиране: за философите с брада, тояга и вехта наметка в Златоустовите беседи За статуите (Андрианти)*, [in:] *Четивото за миряни в южнославянския репертоар XIV–XVIII в.*, София 2024 (in print).

[25] Cf. John Chrysostom (*PG*, vol. XLVIII, col. 1035): καὶ φαίνεται φιλόσοφος κόμην ἔχων ἐν τῷ προσωπείῳ *and he appears to be a philosopher because his mask has long hair* (a beard?). The second example, cited above, gives the same idea.

In Slavonic translations, this word is rendered in various ways. In Gregory of Nazianzus' funeral oration for St. Basil the Great (Oratio 43, cap. 17) τρίβων is used metaphorically (those wearing the "philosophical cloak", i.e. the philosophers) and it is translated as **рнза знаменнта**[26]. Pseudo-Kaisarios also mentions *the threadbare cloak*, *the beard*, *and the staff*, symbols of philosophical life (τοῖς ὀργάνοις τῆς διδασκαλικῆς πολιτείας), in the Preslav translation of the *Dialogues* rendered as **болѣарьство и рнза и жезлъ**[27]. This meaning of τρίβων is avoided or remained unrecognized in the *Chronicle* of George Hamartolos, where the corresponding words are **искоусъ** 'temptation' and **сѣдина** 'grey hair'[28].

The phrase **оучителъскаѧ рнза** 'teacher's dress', used in translation ***P*** in the first example, is in accordance with the other occurrences of **рнза** in the texts from Preslav cited above, and the adjective **оучителъскаѧ** should be interpreted as 'philosophical'. The other counterpart, the Greek loan-word **трнвонъ**, is not attested in other Slavonic texts. In both occurrences in ***A***, the gloss is not a simple translation, but an explanation of the term, a footnote: **трїѡнн, нже рѣкмоудры҃ ѡдѣанїа** "tribones, philosophers' garments", and **ѡдѣанїе рѣкмо҃дры҃ имоуще:~ н҃нѣ знаменїа ѩкоже пїсмена** "having philosophers' garments, now symbols, like letters". The last phrase seems a little obscure. The definition of the philosopher's threadbare cloak as a sign, a symbol, corresponds to the general use of this trope – it is one of philosophers' characteristic features, an abstraction. A similar meaning is present in the phrase of Gregory of Nazianzus **рнза знаменнта** "a symbolic dress" (or "the proverbial cloak"). It is the outer appearance of pagan sages, as opposed to the genuine wisdom of Christians, like **пнсмена** 'letters', as opposed to the true Spirit, cf. 2Cor 3: 6 **нже и оудовълн насъ слоужителѧ новоу завѣтоу, не пнсменн, нъ доухоу, пнсмѧ бо оумрьщвлѧѥтъ, а доухъ жнвнтъ** *He has made us competent as ministers of a new covenant – not of the letter but of the Spirit; for the letter kills, but the Spirit gives life*.

σταθμός – ***P*** мѣры, ***A*** ставъмоус, ***supra l.*** праты. рекъше врата градоу

PG, vol. XLIX, col. 194 καὶ ἔλαβεν τὸν Σορέα τὸν ἱερέα τὸν πρῶτον, καὶ τὸν Σαφὰν τὸν ἱερέα τὸν δεύτερον, καὶ τοὺς τρεῖς τοὺς φυλάσσοντας τὸν σταθμὸν (*And the captain of the guard took Seraiah the chief priest, and Zephaniah the second priest, and the three keepers of the door* 2Reg 25: 18)

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[26] А. Будилович, *XIII слов Григория Богослова в древнеславянском переводе по рукописи Императорской публичной библиотеки XI века. Критико-палеографический труд*, Санкт-Петербург 1875, p. 29; А.М. Бруни, *Византийская традиция и старославянский перевод Слов Григория Назианзина*, vol. I, Москва 2010, p. 167.

[27] Cf. Я. Милтенов, *Диалозите на Псевдо-Кесарий*…, p. 491.

[28] В.М. Истрин, *Книгы временьныя и образныя Георгия Мниха. Хроника Георгия Амартола в древнем славянорусском переводе. Текст, исследование и словарь*, vol. I, *Текст*, Петроград 1920, p. 238, 385.

P (f. 188v): **и пѫша сарею уностителѧ старѣишаго, и сафоу уностителѧ вторагѡ, и трїи хранѧщаа мѣры**

A (f. 302v): **и въꙁеше сарея іерея пръваго. и сафана іерея втораго. и трехъ, иже хранещїихъ ста҃моус**

supra l. **прагы. рекше врата градоу**

In homily 19, John Chrysostom rebukes taking oaths and supports his admonitions with Old Testament citations. One of them is 2Reg 25: 18 about the capture of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar. The three doorkeepers are referred to as τοὺς φυλάσσοντας τὸν σταθμὸν and the translations vary. The word σταθμός originates from the root *steh$_2$- 'to stand' and has several meanings, including 'dwelling', 'station', 'pillar, doorpost, threshold, door', 'weight, balance'. This variety can be seen in some of the earliest Slavonic translations, e.g. 'weight, balance, scales, standard': **мѣра** in Euchologium Sinaiticum, Hamartolos' *Chronicle*, etc., **мѣрило** in the Prophetologion of Grigorovič (Is 28: 17), Ez 4: 10, 16, **вѣсъ** in Joseph Flavius and Hamartolos, **оуставъ** (for στάθμιον) in Hamartolos, etc.; 'threshold, door': **подвои** in the Prophetologion of Grigorovič (Prv 8: 34; Ex 12: 7), in Is 57: 8, in Antioch's *Pandects*[29].

The word has 54 occurrences in the Septuagint in all of these meanings[30]. In the sentence cited above it means 'threshold, doorpost' (2Reg 25: 18). Translation ***P*** renders the word as **мѣра** 'measure', and a different mistake or misunderstanding is attested in the same Old Testament verse in the so-called *Archives Chronographicon*: **и трн стрѣгоущаа унсло мъѣдноѥ** *and three keeping the copper number*[31]. Translation ***A*** uses the Greek word **ста҃моус** – a borrowing, which is unattested in other Slavonic texts. Above the line, a translation and an explanation were added: **прагы. рекше врата градоу** "threshold, i.e. the gates to the city". The word **прагъ** 'threshold' is unambiguous and comprehensible and it shows Vladislav's (or the commentator's) understanding of the Old Testament citation and its context.

In the last two examples of this group, nos. 5 and 17, there are two occurrences of **татарн** above the original **скѵ҃ѳн**. These glosses will not be discussed here.

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[29] The examples are listed in the dictionaries *Slovník jazyka staroslověnského (Lexicon linguae palaeoslovenicae)*, vol. I–LII, ed. J. KURZ et al., Praha 1958–1997; И. СРЕЗНЕВСКИЙ, *Материалы для словаря древнерусского языка по письменным памятникам*, vol. I–III, Санкт-Петербург 1893–1912, and in the indices of the editions.

[30] Cf. J. LUST, E. EYNIKEL, K. HAUSPIE, *A Greek-English Lexicon of the Septuagint*, Stuttgart 2003, *s.v.* σταθμός.

[31] М. ТОТОМАНОВА-ПАНЕВА, *Книги Царства в славянската хронографска традиция*, София 2019 [= KMc, 27], p. 87. The author suggests another initial translation: **трн… унсломъ дъно** *three in number… foundation*, but it does not correspond to the source text either.

Group II. Biblical references (nos. 3, 13, 14, 21)

Some of Vladislav's glosses are connected directly or indirectly to a biblical quotation. Two of these cases were presented in the previous group (no. 3 ***A*** **стомахъ**, *supra l.* **желѫдьць**, cf. 1Tim 5: 23, and no. 21 ***A*** **ставъмоус**, *supra l.* **праг҃ы. рекъше врата градоу**, 2Reg 25: 18). The other two are the only instances in the homilies *De statuis*, in which the gloss coincides with the earliest translation ***P*** and deviates from ***A***.

ὗς – *P* вепрь, *A* нюкъ, *in marg.* вепрь – cf. Ps 79: 14

PG, vol. XLIX, col. 125 Τὰ ἄλογα πάλιν ἐν τῷ σώματι τὰ ὅπλα ἔχει, οἷον ὁ βοῦς τὰ κέρατα, τοὺς ὀδόντας ὁ ὗς ὁ ἄγριος, τοὺς ὄνυχας ὁ λέων (*animals have weapons in their own bodies, just like the ox has its horns, the wild boar its tusks, the lion its claws*)

P (f. 116r): **безсловнаа пакы в телесн wрѫжїа имѫтъ, ꙗкwже се вwлъ рогы, зоубы вепрь дивїн, нwгты левъ.**

A (f. 173v): **безсловеснаа пакы въ тѣлесн имоуть wроужїа. снрѣуь. воль, рогы. зоубы нюкь дивїн. лъвь, нокты.**

in marg. **вепрь**

In homily 11, John Chrysostom describes the constitution of man, to whom God gave everything he needs, despite the fact that some animals are better equipped with weapons. Several beasts are mentioned, and the Greek ὁ ὗς ὁ ἄγριος 'wild boar' is rendered accordingly as **вепрь дивии** in translation ***P*** and in Vladislav's gloss. The noun **вепрь** (sometimes in the phrase **вепрь дивии** or **вепрь отъ лѫга**) is attested in many Slavonic texts, such as the Psalter, 13 homilies of Gregory of Nazianzus, *Dialogues* of Pseudo-Kaisarios, Antioch's *Pandects*, Hamartolos' *Chronicle*, *Dioptra*, etc. It is present in Ps 79: 14 ἐλυμήνατο αὐτὴν σῦς ἐκ δρυμοῦ καὶ μονιὸς ἄγριος κατενεμήσατο αὐτήν *The boar out of the woods uproots it, and the (single) wild beast of the field devours it*, the oldest translation has both words **вепрь** and **нюкъ**: **Wзоба і вепрь отъ лѫга, инокъ дивьеи поѣлъ естъ** (according to the Sinai Psalter). The word **нюкъ** 'single, lone' corresponds to μονιός in the Psalter, meaning 'a lone beast', probably a neologism in the Septuagint[32]. It is used as an adjective in 10th-century Old Bulgarian translations, such as works of John the Exarch, Cyril of Jerusalem, and Gregory of Nazianzus. It means 'monk' in the translation of the *Nomokanon* in 14 titles and this is the main meaning in the later texts, e.g. in the *Dioptra*, in the works of Patriarch Euthymius, etc.

[32] J. Lust, E. Eynikel, K. Hauspie, *A Greek-English Lexicon…*, *s.v.* μονιός; *Slovník jazyka…*, *s.v.* инокъ. About the meaning of the root **ин-** 'one' and its use in compounds, see Л. Тасева, *Хронотопът на старобългарските композита с ин- 'един'*, Pbg 46.1, 2022, p. 51–80.

The 14th-century Athonite translator of *De statuis* chose the word **нноκъ** for the Greek ὗς ‘boar, wild swine’ in a sentence that has no direct connection to the biblical verse. However, both the use of **нноκъ** in ***A*** and Vladislav’s gloss **вепрь** can be ascribed to an indirect influence from the Psalter, where these two words are side by side.

Βελίαρ – ***P*** **велиꙗръ**, ***A*** **стрѣлькь**, ***supra l.*** **велиꙗръ** – 2Cor 6: 15

PG, vol. XLIX, col. 126 Τίς οὖν κοινωνία φωτὶ πρὸς σκότος, ἢ τίς συμφώνησις Χριστῷ πρὸς Βελίαρ; (*Or what fellowship has light with darkness? What accord has Christ with Belial?*)

P (117v): **каа wвщиина оубо свѣтоу кw тмѣ, нли кwе съглашенїе х҃оу къ велиꙗроу.**
A (176r): **кое оубо прнобщенїе свѣтоу къ тъмѣ. нли кое съгласїе х҃оу къ стрѣлцоу.**
supra l. **велїароу**

In homily 11, John Chrysostom advises against taking oaths and adds a citation from 2Cor 6: 15. In this verse, Paul mentions one of devil’s names Beliar / Belial. The Hebrew word בְּלִיַּעַל ‘belîya ʿal’ ‘worthlessness’ was not recognized as a proper name in the Old Testament and was translated in various ways in the Septuagint as παράνομος, λοιμός, ἄφρων, ἀσεβής, ἁμαρτωλός, ἀνομία etc. (cf. Deut 13: 14; Judg 19: 22; 1Sam 1: 16; 2: 12; 10: 27; 25: 17; 2Sam 16: 7, etc., 27 occurrences altogether)[33]. The name **велиꙗръ** is attested in Old Church Slavonic translations both in the Apostolos (e.g. in the Christinopolitan, Slepče and Šišatovac manuscripts and in the same New Testament verse in Symeon’s florilegium of 1073), and in other contexts, e.g. in Suprasliensis. The translator of ***A*** monk Antonije must have known the quotation from Paul’s second epistle to Corinthians well. Nevertheless, in his translation Βελίαρ is rendered as **стрѣлькь**. It is an attempt at creating a new calque in order to be as close to the source text as possible. Apparently, the Hebrew word βελίαρ was erroneously etymologized from the Greek root of βέλος ‘arrow’, hence the rendition **стрѣлькь** ‘shooter’. The interlinear gloss can be explained either as a remnant from the process of translation, or as an indication that the scribe Vladislav recognized the New Testament verse and restored the correct reading **велиꙗръ**.

[33] Fr. BROWN, S.R. DRIVER, C.A. BRIGGS, *A Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament with an Appendix Containing the Biblical Aramaic. Based on the Hebrew Lexicon of W. Gesenius as Translated by E. Robinson*, Oxford 1939 ([1]Oxford 1906), p. 116. See a more detailed commentary and literature in *Theological Dictionary of the New Testament*, vol. I, ed. G. KITTEL, trans. et ed. G.W. BROMILEY, Grand Rapids 1978 ([1]Grand Rapids 1964), p. 607. In some instances, the Old Church Slavonic translation deviates considerably from this meaning because of an itacistic error λοιμός – λιμός, e.g. in 1Sam (1Kng) 10: 27, 1Sam (1Kng) 25: 17 and others, cf. M. ТОТОМАНОВА-ПАНЕВА, *Книги Царства…*, p. 67.

In these examples (ὗς – ***P*** вепрь, ***A*** нноκъ, *in marg.* вепрь and Βελίαρ – ***P*** велиꙗръ, ***A*** стрѣлыць, *supra l.* велиꙗръ) the 10th-century translation ***P*** and the glosses in translation ***A*** attest identical readings. It does not necessarily mean that the scribe was familiar with the earlier translation, because both sentences refer to biblical citations. However, some of the other glosses suggest that the annotator may have had access to the Greek homilies *On the statues* (e.g. nos. 2, 6, 8, etc.).

Group III. Synonyms (nos. 1, 4, 7, 9, 10)

In a number of cases, the glosses are synonyms that have no obvious advantage over the original readings. They offer a glimpse into the origination of variant readings in the transmission history of medieval texts in general. One of these examples is discussed in detail below.

φλέγμα – ***P*** глѣнъ, ***A*** глѣнъ, *supra l.* хракотина

PG, vol. XLIX, col. 109 Ἀλλ' ἐπὶ μὲν τῶν σωμάτων τῶν ἡμετέρων ταῦτα γίνεται, καὶ χολῆς αὐξανομένης τίκτεται πυρετὸς, καὶ τῷ παντὶ ζώῳ λυμαίνεται· καὶ φλέγματος πλεονάζοντος πολλὰ νοσήματα φύεται, καὶ διαφθείρει τὸ ζῶον. (*But this happens in respect to our bodies, and if the bile increases, fever appears and harms the entire organism, and if the phlegm is too much, many diseases emerge and destroy the living creature*)

P (f. 99v): но ѡ телесѣхъ нашихъ се бываетъ, и кроуунѣ растуши ражда сѧ ѡгнь и всѧкъ живоутъ пѡгоублѧетъ, и гнѣнѵ (*sic! in marg.* и грѣхѵ, *alii* глѣнѵ) множащю сѧ мнѡги ꙗзѧ въздрастаютъ и разорѧетъ живоутъ

A (f. 149v): нъ о тѣлесехъ оубо нашѝ, сїа бываю͡. и жлъуи оубо множещи се ражда͡ет се недоугъ, и въсе живоутное врѣдн͡. и гленоу множещоу се, мнѡзи недоузы нздрастаютъ и растлѣваютъ живоутное.

supra l. хракотинѣ

Homily 9 discusses the wonders of the Universe and its Creator, one of them being the balanced and harmonious coexistence of opposite elements. At one point, John Chrysostom alludes to the Hippocratic humoral theory and the connection between the bodily fluids and health.

The theory of Hippocrates (ca. 460–370 BCE), developed and popularized by Galen (ca. 129–216 CE), was well known and widely accepted in all parts of Medieval Europe, including the Slavic world. According to this theory, the body consists of four fluids, or humours (blood, yellow bile, black bile, phlegm), that have specific properties (hot and wet, hot and dry, cold and dry, cold and wet), and correspond to the four seasons (spring, summer, autumn, winter), stages of human life (childhood, youth, maturity, old age), and natural elements (air, fire, earth, water)[34]. Their balance or imbalance influences the body's well-being, the moods,

[34] The literature on this topic is vast, see, e.g., J. Jouanna, *Greek Medicine from Hippocrates to Galen. Selected Papers*, Leiden–Boston 2012 [= SAM, 40]. Particularly on John Chrysostom (with additional

etc. It is often in this physiological context that the word 'phlegm' is used, but it can also mean 'fluid, moisture' in a more general sense.

In the sentence cited above, both translations have **глѣнъ**. The word is attested in 10th-century translations from Preslav with the meanings 'phlegm', 'pus', or 'fluid', e.g. in John the Exarch's *Bogoslovie* (*Nebesa*), Tsar Symeon's florilegium of 1073 (*Izbornik*), *Zlatostruy* (homily 23), in homilies by Ephrem the Syrian and Gregory of Nazianzus, and in the *Life of John Chrysostom*[35]. Later attestations of **глѣнъ** are rare and its presence in the Athos translation of *Andrianty* may be attributed to the influence of the earlier 10th-century translation ***P***[36]. It is preserved in some of the Slavic languages and dialects (e.g. in Czech and Slovenian), but in others (such as Serbian and Croatian) it was replaced by different words.

Apparently, from the 14th century onwards, other synonyms denoting 'phlegm' were preferred. For instance, in book 5 of *Dioptra* of Philippos Monotropos (in its Middle-Bulgarian 14th-century translation), the humoral theory is discussed again and this particular fluid is called **храканиѥ, хракотина, флегма, слоуꙁъ**[37]. Another medieval text dealing with physiological matters is the so-called **Галиново на Хипократа** (*Galen's Interpretations of the Doctrine of Hippocrates*, Greek text untraced, earliest Serbian and Russian copies from the 15th century), in which two words for 'phlegm' are used – **флегма** and **мокрота**[38]. According to a relatively late dietary calendar, which draws a direct connection between seasons, bodily fluids, and food,

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bibliography): C.L. DE WET, *A Case of (Galenic?) Natural πνεῦμα in a Late-Antique Homily of John Chrysostom?*, Akro 67, 2022, p. 87–100. In the Slavic tradition: Цв. КРИСТАНОВ, Ив. ДУЙЧЕВ, *Естествознанието в средновековна България (Сборник от исторически извори)*, София 1954, p. 516–525.

[35] See Fr. MIKLOSICH, *Lexicon palaeoslovenico-graeco-latinum*, Vindobonae 1862–1865, *s.v.* **глѣнъ**. One of the examples, noted as "greg.-lab. 91", is from the *Translation of the relics of John Chrysostom* in a 14th-century manuscript from the Ukrainian National Library in Lviv, MB 81, f. 91. It is the last part of the *Life of John Chrysostom*, which was sometimes copied separately, cf. BHBS, p. 454, but the same sentence with this word is found also in the unpublished part of the complete text, translated in the 9th–10th century, cf. E. HANSACK, *Die Vita des Johannes Chrysostomos des Georgios von Alexandrien in kirchenslavischer Übersetzung*, vol. I–III, Würzburg–Freiburg im Breisgau 1975–1984 [= *MLSDV*, 10.1–3].

[36] See А. ДИМИТРОВА, *Два цялостни южнославянски превода…*

[37] Fr. MIKLOSICH, *Lexicon…* Since the fifth book of *Dioptra* is not yet critically published, I could only verify the use of **храканиѥ, хракотина** in two of the two hundred manuscripts, cf. H. MIKLAS, J. FUCHSBAUER, *Die kirchenslavische Übersetzung der Dioptra des Philippos Monotropos*, vol. I, Wien 2013 (nos. 14 and 22 on their list). All examples can be found in the searchable online edition of *Dioptra* at https://histdict.uni-sofia.bg/textcorpus/show/doc_160 [28 IV 2024].

[38] Цв. КРИСТАНОВ, Ив. ДУЙЧЕВ, *Естествознанието…*, p. 516–525; А. МИЛТЕНОВА, *Разсъждения на Гален върху учението на Хипократ*, [in:] *Естествознание*, София 1992, p. 441–442; В. МИЛЬКОВ, *Древнерусские апокрифы. Памятники древнерусской мысли: исследования и тексты*, Санкт-Петербург 1999, p. 454–476; И. КУЗИДОВА-КАРАДЖИНОВА, *Диетологичните текстове в средновековната славянска книжнина. Предварителни бележки*, [in:] *Кирило-Методиевски четения 2019*, София 2020, p. 139–153 (viz. p. 141, 145).

in March *phlegm leaves the man and blood fills his body* (earliest known copy MS no. 115 from the National Library in Plovdiv, 1674, see f. 617r **ѿ ѵл҃ка хракотна ѿхо҃**)[39]. Various other apocryphal and popular texts concerning calendars, diet recommendations, medical advice etc., were compiled in miscellanies and copied for the use of the general public, but their textual history is so complicated and understudied that it is impossible at this stage to systematize the data about their vocabulary. However, the examples cited above demonstrate that **хракотина** is the dominant South Slavic term for 'phlegm' in the 14th–17th centuries[40].

In the Rila manuscript, Vladislav wrote **хракотинѣ** in red ink above the word **гленоу**. The remark looks like a vernacular "translation" of a literary lexeme, but it is rather an adequate substitution of dated terminology. This is well demonstrated in the next example from homily 10, in which the humoral theory is explained again:

PG, vol. XLIX, col. 113 Καὶ γὰρ τὸ σῶμα τὸ ἡμέτερον τὸ βραχὺ τοῦτο καὶ μικρὸν ἐκ τεττάρων συνέστηκε στοιχείων, θερμοῦ μὲν τοῦ αἵματος, ξηροῦ δὲ τῆς χολῆς τῆς ξανθῆς· καὶ ὑγροῦ μὲν τοῦ φλέγματος, ψυχροῦ δὲ τῆς μελαίνης χολῆς (*And this temporal and small body of ours consists of four elements, hot, that is the blood, dry is the yellow bile, wet is the phlegm, and cold is the black bile*)

P (f. 103v): **не бо нш тѣло наше хоудое се и малое ѿ четырь состѡнт сѧ составъ, теплыа оубо кровн соухїѧ же крꙋнны роусыѧ, и мшкра҃ глѣна, стꙋдены҃ черныѧ крꙋнны**

A (f. 155v): **нбо тѣло нашее нже малое и хоудое, сїе ѿ четырехъ състонт се съставѣхъ. тплаго оубо, кръвн. соухаго же, жлъчи кръвенїе. и мокраго оубо, хракотины. стоудената же, кръные жлъчи.**

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[39] I. Kuzidova-Karadzhinova, *Dietary Calendars in the Slavic Middle Ages: A Case Study*, SCer 11, 2021, p. 269–282 (see a picture from the same manuscript, but for the month of February, on p. 280); А. Бояджиев, *Поправка на зодиите*, [in:] *Естествознание*…, p. 312, 486. I am grateful to Irina Kuzidova-Karadzhinova for all the unpublished materials she generously shared with me.

[40] The list of examples is by no means exhaustive. Another occurrence of **хракотина** is found in a homily by Andrew of Crete, *Homilia de humana vita et de defunctis* (*CPG* 8192, BHG 2103p), whose Slavic translation is well attested in numerous copies from the 14th century onwards of the so-called Lenten Triodion Panegyrikon of the new recension (e.g. in manuscripts Hilf. 34, 14th century, f. 46r, Kopitar 5, 1574, f. 37v, etc.), see К. Иванова, Е. Велковска, *Хиландарская рукопись № 404 (предварительные заметки к истории новоизводных триодных панигириков на Афоне*), [in:] *Афон и славянский мир. Сборник I*, Святая Гора Афон 2014, p. 235–255. There are two more occurrences of 'phlegm', **хракотина** and **слоузь**, in one of the additional homilies in RM 3/6, *Ad Theodorum lapsum liber I* (*CPG* 4305), on f. 432r–v (another copy of the text is probably available in a 14th-century Bulgarian manuscript GIM Voskr. 105-bum., see *Иоанн Златоуст в древнерусской и южнославянской письменности XI–XVI веков. Каталог гомилий*, ed. Е. Гранстрем, О. Творогов, А. Валевичюс, Санкт-Петербург 1998, no. 191; this translation has not been studied yet).

In this case, the word **хракотина** is part of the main text, preferred by the Athonite translator Antonije in the 14th century. The use of **глѣнъ** a few folios before that should be considered a remnant from the underlying 10th-century translation.

Other examples of synonym glosses include variants such as no. 1 ῥοδωνιά 'rose-garden' – ***P*** **цвѣтовьноѥ свѣтѣниѥ** (literally 'flower shine'), ***A*** **роужи** (cf. lat. rosa, gr. ῥόδον 'rose'), *supra l.* **шипьци** (**шипъкъ** 'rose' is attested as early as Suprasliensis, John the Exarch's *Bogoslovie*, Pseudo-Kaisarios, etc.; and the same gloss **шипъкъ** for **рожа** is found in another manuscript written by Vladislav, RM 4/14, f. 45r); no. 4 πυκνή 'frequent, thick' – ***P*** **ужстъ**, ***A*** **ужстъ** (attested in Suprasliensis), *supra l.* **гѫстъ**; no. 9 τρόπις 'ship's keel' – ***P*** **дъно** 'bottom', ***A*** **лѫкъ** 'bow, arch', *supra l.* **гръбъ** 'back'; no. 10 ἔδαφος 'ground, foundation, bottom' – ***P*** **помостъ** (attested in Pseudo-Kaisarios, Symeon's florilegium of 1073, and others), ***A*** **ꙁемлꙗ**, *supra l.* **подъ**. The general trend in these glosses is towards clarification and, in most cases, updating of the language.

Group IV. Varia (closer to Greek: nos. 2, 6, 8, 11, 16; further from Greek: nos. 5, 12, 17, 19)

Many glosses are difficult to classify. Some of them suggest that the annotator had access to the Greek original (i.e. the annotations were made by an editor, a scribe, or the translator himself), e.g. no. 8 σύλλογος 'assembly' – ***P*** **съборъ**, ***A*** **събьраниѥ**, *supra l.* [съ]**словиѥ**, in which the addition **словїѥ** above **събранїѥ** corresponds better to the Greek root -λογος in σύλλογος; in no. 6 ὥρα (ὡρῶν 'of the hours') – ***P*** **врѣмєньнъ** 'temporary, temporal', ***A*** **врѣмꙗ** (**врѣмєномь** 'of the times'), *supra l.* **часъ** (**часовомъ** 'of the hours'), the gloss is a literal translation of the Greek word. In other cases, however, the notes deviate from the original, hence they can hardly be ascribed to the translator, e.g. the preferrence **татари** over **скѵфи** in nos. 5 and 17 (see above). In no. 19 τὸ ἥμισυ 'half' – ***P*** **полъ**, ***A*** **полъ** 'half', *supra l.* **мъножьство** '(greater) amount, majority', John Chrysostom says that half of the Lenten period has passed, referring to the time of pronouncing his homilies; since this is homily 18 out of 22, Vladislav must have calculated that more than half of the time had passed.

These examples open the floor for discussion about the influence from the Greek text and the first translation ***P*** on the marginal and interlinear notes. Vladislav may have used the Greek sources, but there is no indication that he was familiar with the Preslav translation. There remains the possibility that some of the glosses may originate from the translator, a previous editor, or another scribe – a hypothesis that cannot be proven at this stage of research.

Conclusions

The 14th-century Athonite translation ***A*** of John Chrysostom's *De statuis* is a precise and sometimes literal rendition of its Greek sources, occasionally showing traces from the underlying Old Bulgarian translation ***P***. The author of the interlinear and marginal glosses (who may have been the scribe of the 15th-century copy Vladislav the Grammarian) kept the original reading of his source even when he disagreed with it, and added occasional notes in the margins and between the lines without any consistent pattern. The notes are distributed unevenly across the homilies, and there are many other instances in which he chose not to annotate. In most cases, he was a competent and observant editor, who usually corrected or updated the language according to his contemporary terminology. Even if Vladislav was not the sole author of the glosses in RM 3/6, they deserve a more detailed study, especially in comparison with the other manuscripts that are known to have been written by him.

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Essence and Ways of Infiltration of the Paulician Heresy in the Medieval Bulgarian Lands*

Abstract. Paulicianism in Bulgaria has its origins in the forced resettlement of Paulicians from Asia Minor and the eastern regions of the empire to Northern Thrace by the authorities of the Eastern Roman Empire in the 8th–10th centuries. The first settlement of Paulicians in the Balkans was established in the 8th century by Emperor Constantine V Copronymus (741–775), who began a long campaign to recolonize the depopulated and demilitarized areas along the border with Bulgaria in Thrace. This policy was continued by subsequent iconoclast emperors, who considered the Paulicians their allies and established their military colonies in various border areas and in the capital, Constantinople. The last major deportation was in 970, when Emperor Ioannes I Tzimiskes (969–976) resettled 200,000 "Manicheans" from Syria to the area of Philippopolis. These "Manicheans" were probably Paulicians or their associated Tondrakites. The Paulician heresy is first mentioned in Greek sources in the 9th century, associated with Manichaeism and Masalianism. Hence the doctrines and practices of the Paulicians are a peculiar mixture of dualism, demiurgism, docetism, mysticism, and resemble in many respects the Gnostic system of Marcion. However, their main principle is dualism. After spreading into the Balkan Peninsula, the Paulicians nearly disappeare, suggesting they were either converted or at least partially absorbed by another known heresy – Bogomilism.

Keywords: paulicianism, manichaeism, masalianism, bogomilism, dualism, Orthodox Christianity, Christian heresies, Church Fathers, Byzantine emperors, medieval Bulgarian lands

The Church of Christ, established on Pentecost (cf. Act 2: 3), from the very beginning of its existence, was accepted as the guardian of Divine revelation – both transmitted and written – and it alone was authorized to expound it under

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the gracious help of the Holy Spirit. One of Christianity's first problems was to distinguish itself in the pluralistic culture of Hellenism from syncretic religions such as Gnosticism and Manichaeism, which mixed Christian dogmas, in whole or in part, with other religious ideas and views of their own. A few centuries later, in the 7th century, Paulicianism successfully developed and spread the ideas of Manichaeism within the boundaries of the Byzantine Empire. It originated in eastern Armenia and is undoubtedly heretical in nature due to its syncretic character. Its origins are not fully understood, and it is mentioned for the first time in Greek sources in the 9th century[1], being associated with Manichaeism[2] and Messalianism[3].

The oldest Byzantine evidence of the Bogomil movement is a letter from the Patriarch of Constantinople Theophylact (933–956) to the Bulgarian Tsar Peter from the middle of the 10th century. The letter was discovered by the Benedictine Bernard de Montfaucon in the archives of the Biblioteca Ambrosiana as early as the end of the 17th century. Initially, the authorship of the letter was wrongly attributed to the Archbishop of Ohrid, Blessed Theophylact of Ohrid. Only in the 19th/20th centuries was the true author of the letter established[4]. The appearance and spread are also mentioned in an old Bulgarian manuscript, found in the Adjarian Bulgarian manuscript with handwritten copies and transcripts from the 17th century, used in the village of Adjar (now Svezhen[5]), Plovdiv region. The work is kept in the manuscript collection of the National Library "St. st. Cyril and Methodius", number 326[6]. The same story has been preserved in a new Bulgarian edition, in the

[1] Theophanes, *Chronographia*, [in:] *FGHB*, vol. III, София 1960 (cetera: Theophanes, *Chronographia*); Petrus Siculus, *Historia utilis et refutatio atque eversio. Haereseos manichaeorum qui et pauliciani dicuntur bulgariae archiepiscopo nuncupata*, [in:] *PG*, vol. XCIX, ed. J.-P. Migne, Paris 1857 (cetera: Petrus Siculus, *Historia utilis et refutatio*), col. 1246–1305.

[2] More about the two heresies see: Ioannes Damascenus, *De haeresibus liber*, [in:] *PG*, vol. XCIX, ed. J.-P. Migne, Paris 1864, col. 717, 729: Μανιχαῖοι, οἱ καὶ Ἀκονῖται. Οὗτοι Μάνη τοῦ Πέρσου μαθηταὶ, Χριστὸν μὲν σχήματι λέγοντες ἥλιον δὲ σέβοντες, καὶ σελήνην, ἄστροις, καὶ δυνάμεσι, καὶ δαίμοσιν εὐχόμενοι, ἀρχὰς δύο εἰσηγούμενοι πονηράν τε καὶ ἀγαθὴν ἀεὶ οὔσας, Χριστὸν δὲ δοκήσει πεφηνέναι καὶ πεπονθέναι, Παλαιὰν Διαθήκην βλασφημοῦντες, καὶ τὸν ἐν αὐτῇ λαλήσαντα Θεόν, κόσμον οὐ τὸν πάντα, ἀλλὰ μέρος ἐκ Θεοῦ γεγενήσθαι ὁρίζομενοι.

[3] According to Skylitzes and Kedrenos messalianism has many names: Quod vide: *FGHB*, vol. VI, София 1965, p. 199: τούτοις τοῖς χρόνοις ἀνέφυν καὶ ἡ τῶν Μασσαλιανῶν αἵρεσις εἰτ'οὖν Εὐχιτῶν καὶ Ἐντουσιαστῶν Λαμπετιανῶν καὶ Βογομίλων (πολυώνημος γάρ ἐστιν αὐτή).

[4] G. Minczew, *Remarks on the "Letter of the Patriarch Theophylact to Tsar Peter" in the Context of Certain Byzantine and Slavic Anti-heretic Texts*, SCer 3, 2013, p. 113.

[5] During the 16th and 17th centuries, Adjar (now Svezhen) emerged as a successor to the Tarnovo School of Literature following the fall of Bulgaria under Ottoman rule. This school specialized in transcribing, illustrating, and binding manuscripts primarily focused on ecclesiastical content, such as gospels, menaia, and damascenes. Notably, the school also transcribed the "History of Slavonic Bulgaria" by St. Paisii Hilendarski. Quod vide: Н. Дончева-Панайотова, *Аджарски книжовници – илюстратори от XVII век*, Велико Търново 1998.

[6] Й. Иванов, *Произход на павликяните според два български ръкописа*, [in:] *Списание на БАН*, vol. XXIV, София 1922, p. 20.

Troyan Damascene from the 18th century, entitled – *Homily of Saint John Chrysostom how the Paulicians arose according to their faith*[7]. The analysis shows that the Trojan transcript is a literal translation from the Adjarian transcript.

In Bulgarian historiography, the classifications of notable Byzantine theologians are traditionally maintained, who categorically define Paulicianism as "Manicheanism", arguing their thesis with the presence in it of heretical, dualistic principles and positions incompatible with Orthodoxy. In this sense, the words of Euthymius Zygavinus are not accidental, that *this teaching is part of the madness of the Manichaeans*…[8]

All sources reveal that the teaching of the Paulicians shows some Gnostic influence, probably from Marcion or Paul of Samosata[9]. Many of their adherents lean towards Adoptionism. The Paulicians especially valued the Gospel of St. Luke and the Epistles of St. Paul. In general, they rejected the Holy Sacraments, although they accepted Holy Baptism, but not in its fullness. They were not icon worshipers and did not approve of the extreme asceticism characteristic of the Orthodox Church. By the 7th century, the heresy spread to the eastern provinces of the Byzantine Empire, where it was strongly persecuted. In the 8th century, persecutions against the Paulicians began, but initially, the emperors of the Isaurian dynasty were tolerant towards them, allowing them a free existence and even settling them as allies in Thrace. Renewed persecution led them to side with the Muslims against Byzantium[10]. The Arabs usually offered hospitable shelter to the Paulicians, as they became the main enemy of the Byzantines and knew the area well and thus could serve as guides during the Muslim campaigns against Byzantium[11].

By the middle of the 9th century, at the height of their power, the followers of the heresy established a Paulician state[12] in Tefrica (present-day Divrik, Turkey, on the Chalta-Cay River, an upper tributary of the Euphrates River[13]), under the leadership of Karbeas or Korbeas. In 871, the Byzantine emperor Basil I Macedonian ended the power of this state, and the surviving Paulicians fled to Syria and Armenia[14]. Later, in 970, the Paulicians in Syria were deported to the Balkans,

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[7] *Ibidem*.

[8] Euthymius Zigabenos, *Panoplia dogmatica*, [in:] *PG*, vol. CXXX, ed. J.-P. Migne, Paris 1865, col. 1189–1190: τῶν Παυλικιανών αίρεσιν συνεστήσαντο, μοῖραν μέν τὴς Μανιχαίων μανιάς οὖσαν / *tum Paulicianorum haeresim quae Manicheorum insaniae pars est*.

[9] Paul of Samosata was a bishop of Antioch who was condemned by the Church at the Council of Antioch in 268 for heretical views. Quod vide: К. Максимович, *Павликиане*, [in:] *Православная энциклопедия*, vol. LIV, Москва 2019, p. 144–1145.

[10] Д. Радева, *Павликянството между легендите и историята VII–XVII век*, ПИФ 1.2, 2017, p. 44.

[11] T. Wolińska, *Sergius, the Paulician Leader, in the Account by Peter of Sicily*, SCer 9, 2019, p. 133.

[12] It is assumed that this Paulician state was established in 843/844. More on this issue see: Р. Бартикян, *Источники для изучения истории павликианского движения*, Ереван 1961, p. 89.

[13] Й. Иванов, *Богомилски книги и легенди*, София 2024, p. 28.

[14] Дж. Норуич, *Кратка история на Византия*, София 2021, p. 258.

where they united with the Bogomils[15], and those in Armenia were identified with a secondary sect, the Tondrakites[16]. After the 11th century, the Paulicians ceased to be a threat to the Orthodox and did not survive into modern times. But we have to agree with Mariyana Tsibranska-Kostova, who says in the introduction to her article *Paulicians Between the Dogme and the Legend*:

> As concerns the Paulicianism, at first place it finds expression in a very strong nominative tradition, which survives despite the historical transformations of the former times medieval heretic movement1into an ethno-confessional and linguistic-dialect community of the Bulgarian Paulicians Catholics as a product of the Modern Times and the Catholic propaganda in the Bulgarian lands from the beginning of the 17th century[17].

Initially, the Paulician area was limited to the territory of the Eastern Orthodox Church. As has been emphasized, it developed mainly in Armenia, where Christianity came into conflict with Parsism[18] and mixed with already existing dualistic ideas. It would not be wrong to suggest that Paulicianism probably inherited some traditions from the Manichaeans and Marcionites[19]. According to Peter of Sicily, the founder of the movement was the Armenian Constantine[20], who later took the name Silvanus, mentioned in the epistles of the Apostle Paul. He initially lived in Mananalis[21] and later moved to the fortress of Kivosa, near Colonia[22].

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[15] Anna Comnena, *Alexiad*, XV, https://shorturl.at/eivQZ [15 IV 2024]: Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα τοῦ ἔτους… διιππεύοντος τῆς βασιλείας αὐτοῦ μέγιστον ἐπεγείρεται νέφος αἱρετικῶν, καὶ τὸ τῆς αἱρέσεως εἶδος καινόν, μήπω πρότερον ἐγνωσμένον τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ. Δύο γὰρ δόγματα συνελθέτην κάκιστα καὶ φαυλότατα ἐγνωσμένα τοῖς πάλαι χρόνοις, Μανιχαίων τε, ὡς ἄν τις εἴποι, δυσσέβεια, ἣν καὶ Παυλικιανῶν αἵρεσιν εἴπομεν, καὶ Μασσαλιανῶν βδελυρία. Τοιοῦτον δέ ἐστι τὸ τῶν Βογομίλων δόγμα, ἐκ Μασσαλιανῶν καὶ Μανιχαίων συγκείμενον.

[16] The Tondrakians are a Christian religious movement that originated in the Armenian village of Tondrak (in modern Turkey) in the 9th century and is a modified continuation of Paulicianism. Its ideologist was Sămbat Zarekhvatsi. Quod vide: Д. Митев, *Инславни изповедания*, Варна 2005, p. 25.

[17] M. Tsibranska-Kostova, *Paulicians Between the Dogme and the Legend*, SCer 7, 2017, p. 229.

[18] Parsism is the religion of the Parsis, followers of Zoroastrianism or Mazdaism, who left Persia (Iran) after the Arab conquest and the spread of Islam in the 6th–8th centuries (authors' note).

[19] Peter of Sicily considers the Paulicians to be identical to the Manicheans: Cf. Petrus Siculus, *Historia utilis et refutatio*, I, *PG*, vol. CIV, col. 1239–1242: *constitui deinceps ad vos scribere de Manichaeorum, qui et Pauliciani dicuntur, delestanda haeresi; undenam, et quomodo, et quamobrem in hanc furiose defectionem evaserit*.

[20] Constantine (Silvanus) was the chief of the Paulician church at Kibossa, in the theme of Colonia, from 660 to 687. He died during the persecutions against the Paulicians. Quod vide: *FGHB*, vol. IV, София 1961, p. 111.

[21] Petrus Siculus, *Historia utilis et refutatio*, XXIV, *PG*, vol. CIV, col. 1277–1280: Οὗτος τοίνυν ὁ Κωνσταντίνος, ὁ καί Σιλουανός, τήν Μανάναλιν καταλείψας, ἐλθών κατώκησεν εἰς Κίβοσσαν τὸ κάστρον, πλησίον Κολωνείας, λέγων ἑαυτὸν εἶναι τὸν ἐν ταῖς ἐπιστολαῖς τοῦ Ἀποστόλου ἐμφερόμενον Σιλουανὸν ὃν ἀπέστειλεν ὡς πιστὸν μαθητὴν Παύλος εἰς Μακεδονίαν.

[22] М. Поснов, *История на православната църква*, vol. II, Анубис 1993, p. 330.

He claimed that the apostle Paul sent him to "Macedonia" (Kivosa) as his close disciple. His origin is disputed. Prof. M. Posnov defines him as a Syrian who came from a Marcionite environment in Mananalis, but according to a more ancient author, such as Peter of Sicily, he was an Armenian from Mananalis near Samosata[23].

In Kivosa, Emperor Constantine IV Pogonatus (668–685) sent his messenger Simeon[24] with the task of destroying the newly emerging heresy (ἡ νεοφανὴς αἵρεσις)[25]. The local ruler, Tryphon helped him capture all the heretics and take them to the southern end of the Colonia fortress. The execution of Constantine-Silvan, along with his supporters, was arranged there by order of the emperor[26].

Regarding their name, it may be supposed that it derives from their preference for the holy apostle Paul, whom they hold in high esteem among the apostles[27]. They borrow the names of their leading teachers from Paul's disciples (Silvan, Titus, Timothy, Tychicus, Epaphroditus) and name their congregations after Paul's communes (Corinth, Philippi, Achaia, etc.)[28]. Another suggestion is that it comes from two brothers, Paul and John, sons of the Manichaean Callinica[29] of Samosata, theme Armenikon[30], or even from Paul of Samosata himself[31]. Mavro Orbini rejects the claim of the Greek researchers that the Paulicians were connected with the heresy of Paul of Samosata[32]. We can agree with him, because today it is clearly known that Paul of Samosat is a conductor of another Christological heresy – Ebionism. St. John of Damascus says of the Ebionites that they hold that Christ

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[23] Petrus Siculus, *Historia utilis et refutatio*, XXIII, *PG*, vol. CIV, col. 1275: *Constantino Heraclii nepote imperium tenente, exstilit Armenius quidam, nomine Constantinus, in Samosatensis regionis pago Mananali, qui pagus nunc quoque Manichaeos alit*.

[24] A few years later, this Simeon, having become a Paulician and taken the name Titus, a famous disciple of Paul, was also executed along with many other Paulicians. Quod vide: Д. Радева, *Павликянството между…*, p. 41.

[25] G. Minczew examines in detail the expression newly emerging heresy: See G. Minczew, *Remarks on…*, p. 117–128.

[26] Petrus Siculus, *Historia utilis et refutatio*, XXVII, *PG*, vol. CIV, col. 1282: *At episcopus sine mora omnia haec Just niano post Heraclium imperanti significavit: quibus imperator cognitis, mandavit de omnibus simul congregatis quaestionem fieri, et in errore pertinaces flammis tradi, quod et factum est: nam prope illum appellatum acervum grandi rogo incenso, cunctos omnino exusserunt*.

[27] Й. Иванов, *Богомилски…*, p. 23.

[28] Д. Оболенски, *Студия върху балканското новомъченичество*, София 1998, p. 41.

[29] Anna Comnena, *Alexiad*, XIV, https://shorturl.at/eivQZ [15 IV 2024]: Ἀλλὰ τούτους δὴ τοὺς ἀπὸ Μάνεντος καὶ Παύλου καὶ Ἰωάννου, τῶν τῆς Καλλινίκης.

[30] Petrus Siculus, *Historia utilis et refutatio*, XXIII, *PG*, vol. CIV, col. 1275: *Sane quoednam habuerit nefaria haec haeresis initium, copiose jam diximus, ubi de Manete et aliis, et de Paulo Samosatensi, Callinicae filio, ejusque fratre Joanne verba fecimus*.

[31] Р. Бартикян, *Източници…*, p. 135. Quod vide: М. Поснов, *История на…*, p. 330.

[32] Д. Радева, *Павликяни и павликянство в българските земи – архетип и повторения VII–XVII век*, София 2015, p. 536–537.

indwelled Adam and at a certain time stripped that Adam and clothed him again. That is, when he appeared in the flesh he clothed man[33].

By the beginning of the 8th century, the Paulician movement spread widely in Eastern Armenia and the Byzantine region of Asia Minor. Most Paulicians were from small settlements, while others belonged to the poorer urban strata. The movement was anti-feudal in character, directed against serfdom and state oppression. By the middle of the 8th century in Armenia, Paulicianism had become a national liberation movement against the caliphate.

The fate of the movement varied according to the policies of the Byzantine emperors. The iconoclast, Leo III the Syrian (717–741), did not disturb them and gave the leader of the heresy, Gegenesius[34], a letter of protection (*imperatore sigillo*) against persecution after a trial of faith by the patriarch Germanus I. In this case, Gegenesius answered the patriarch's questions with cunning, succeeded in deceiving him, and was declared to hold the true faith (*fitii expers creditus est*). Gegenesius spent the last years of his life preaching in Mananalis, where Constantine-Silvanus originated. He died of the plague after leading the impious heresy (impiae sectea) for 30 years[35].

Under Emperor Constantine V, Copronymus (741–775), there occurred the first major resettlement of Paulicians in Thrace[36], after attacks on the lands of Syria and Armenia[37]. The main reason for their resettlement was the great plague of 752, which depopulated Thrace:

> In the 11th year, Constantine captured Theodosiopolis together with Meletina, capturing all their inhabitants. Under the pretext of a plague, he relocated to Constantinople and Thrace related heretics, namely Armenians and Syrians. These heretics preserve to this day the heresy of the tyrant. It was through them that the Paulician heresy spread[38].

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[33] Й. Дамаскин, *Извор на знанието*, vol. I, София 2014, p. 243: τόν δέ Χριστόν ἄνθρωπον ἐν τῇ ἐνσάρκω αὐτοῦ παρουσία ἐνδεδύεσθαι, ὡς ἔφην.

[34] Renamed after Timothy, who founded the Paulician church in Mananalis. Quod vide: *FGHB*, vol. IV, София 1961, p. 111.

[35] Petrus Siculus, *Historia utilis et refutatio*, XXIX, *PG*, vol. CIV, col. 1283–1286: *Deinde multos annos ibi commoratus, et in summam insaniam actus, iramque et rabiem atque anxietatem sibi ab angelis malis immissas experiens, bubonea; Deo percussus interiit, postquam integris triginta annis impiae sectea praefuerat*.

[36] Quod vide: T. Коев, *Павликянски и месалиански религиозни елементи в богомилството. Известия*, vol. II, София 1984, p. 76.

[37] Georgius Monachus, *Chronica*, [in:] *FGHB*, vol. IV, София 1961, p. 52–53: ὡς λήσων ἐπιὼν τοῖς τῆς Ἀρμενίας καὶ Σύριας χωρίοις τῶν ἐκείνην φρουρίων αἱρεῖ ὁμολογίαν τῶν προσοικούντων καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν Θράκην αὐτοὺς μετήγαγεν. Vide quoque, К. Иречек, *История на българите*, София 2015, p. 282; В. Златарски, *История на българската държава през средните векове*, vol. I, *Първо българско царство*, pars 2, *От славянизацията на държавата до падането на Първото царство. Трето фототипно издание*, София 2002, p. 62.

[38] Skylitzes-Kedrenos, *Historiarium Compendium*, [in:] *FGHB*, vol. VI, София 1965, p. 217. Vide quoque Й. Иванов, *Произход на…*, p. 23.

Nicephorus I Genicus (802–812), who, according to Theophanes the Confessor in his work *Chronographia*, was a supporter of the Paulicians[39] and, as a warlike emperor, patronized them in order to utilize them in wars against the enemies of Byzantium. In this context, he resettled many inhabitants of the Asia Minor themes to the Slavized lands of the Balkan Peninsula, where the new settlers were obligated to participate in protecting the imperial borders[40]. Emperor Leo the Armenian (813–820) organized an expedition for their conversion. Those who disobeyed the emperor's order were threatened with the death sentence[41]. Empress Theodora, who restored the veneration of icons, persecuted them severely. During her short reign in 844, about 100,000 Paulicians were killed by sword, hanged, or burned, and their property was confiscated in favor of the state[42]. This large number probably includes quite a few iconoclasts.

Provoked by these cruelties, the Paulicians revolted under the leadership of Carbeas. Later, he fled with five thousand men to the Saracens, built a strong fortress at Tefrica on the Arab border, and in alliance with the Muslims, made successful military incursions into Byzantine territory. His son-in-law, Chrysocher, continued as far as Nicaea, Nicomedia, and Ephesus, but was killed by beheading by the Byzantines in 871–872[43]. His head was sent to Emperor Basil as a trophy[44]. In 878, Byzantine troops captured Tefrica, and the movement was forced to submit to Emperor Basil I the Macedonian. The surviving Paulicians took refuge in Armenia, where the Tondraks became their successors (in Byzantine sources, they are often called Paulicians). Both in the 8th and 9th centuries, the Byzantine government resettled the Paulicians several times in the Balkans (mostly in and around Philippopolis), where they played a significant role in the rise of the Bogomil sect. Basil I the Macedonian sent the monk Peter of Sicily among them, who thus became acquainted with their doctrine and collected material for his work, *History of the Manichaeans* (*Historia Manichaeorum*), where he defined the Paulicians as a vile heresy, which, among other earlier heresies, carved out a fatal abyss within the Church[45]. Bulgaria has also been the arena of various heresies since the early centuries. This forced Knyaz Boris to ask Pope Nicholas what to do against the various preachers who came from Byzantium and Armenia. Bulgaria has also been

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[39] Quod vide: Theophanes, *Chronographia*, p. 280 (footnote).

[40] Г. Острогорски, *История на Византийската държава*, София 2013, p. 267.

[41] T. Wolińska, *Sergius, the Paulician Leader*…, p. 132.

[42] Дж. Норуич, *Кратка история*…, p. 236.

[43] Г. Острогорски, *История на Византийската*…, p. 321.

[44] J. Hamilton, B. Hamilton, Y. Stoyanov, *Christian Dualist Heresies in the Byzantine World, c. 650 – c. 1450*, Manchester 1998, p. 97.

[45] Petrus Siculus, *Historia utilis et refutatio*, *PG*, vol. CIV, col. 1240–1241: Οὐ γὰρ ἄλλοι οὗτοι, καὶ ἄλλοι ἐκείνοι, ἀλλ' οἱ αὐτοὶ Παυλικιάνοι καὶ Μενιχαίοι ὑπάρχουσιν, τοῖς τῶν προηγησαμένων αἱρέσεσι τὰς ἐξευρεθείσας αὐτοῖς μυσαρὰς αἱρέσεις ἐπισυνάψαντες καὶ ἐν ἀπωλείας βάραθρον ἐπορύζαντες γὰρ καὶ τῶν αἰσχρουργιῶν αὐτῶν εἰσιν, ὡς αὐτοί φασιν, ἀμέτοχοι, ἀλλὰ τῶν αἱρέσεων αὐτῶν ἀκριβεῖς εἰσι φύλακες.

the arena of various heresies since the early centuries. This forced Knyaz Boris I to ask Pope Nicholas what to do against the various preachers who came from Byzantium, Armenia and other countries[46].

After these events, the movement lost its political significance and gradually faded from history. The second major resettlement of Paulicians in and around Philippopolis (περὶ τὴν Φιλιππούπολιν) in Thrace took place under Emperor John Tzimiskes (969–976) in 970[47]. They were taken as border guards and received favorable treatment from the empire[48]. Constantine IX succeeded in persuading or forcing thousands of Paulicians to renounce their erroneous views. Under the emperor Alexius Comnenus (1081–1118), it is believed that the heresy came to an end. During his sojourn in Philippopolis, he engaged in debates with their leaders and succeeded in reconciling all or nearly all of them with the Church, rewarding the converts and punishing the obstinate[49]. It would be an exaggeration to say that from that moment the Paulicians are no longer present in history. On the contrary, they leave clear traces of themselves. After the 12th century, they began to migrate to different regions of today's Bulgaria – Tarnovo, Vidin, Nikopol, Chiprovtsi[50]. It is known that during the centuries of Ottoman rule, some Paulicians in the Ottoman Empire accepted Orthodoxy, others accepted Islam, but a large part of them accepted Catholicism as a result of the activity of the Order of St. Francis and the Congregation for the Evangelization of the Nations (Congregatio pro Gentium Evangelizatione). In the 18th century, a part of the Catholic Paulicians left the Ottoman Empire and settled in the Banat region, which was then located within the borders of the Austrian Empire[51]. In Bulgaria, the sect of the Bogomils (Βογόμιλοι), which existed during the Middle Ages and spread to the West in the form of Cathars, Albigensians and other Manichean heresies,

[46] Стефан, екзарх, *Богомилите и презвитер Козма*, София 2012, p. 58.

[47] Anna Comnena, *Alexiad*, XIV, https://shorturl.at/eivQZ [15 IV 2024]: ὁ ἐν βασιλεῦσιν ἐκεῖνος θαυμάσιος Ἰωάννης ὁ Τζιμισκῆς πολέμῳ νικήσας, ἐξανδραποδισάμενος ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας, ἐκεῖθεν ἀπὸ τῶν Χαλύβων καὶ τῶν Ἀρμενιακῶν τόπων εἰς τὴν Θρᾴκην μετήνεγκε. Καὶ τὰ περὶ τὴν Φιλιππούπολιν αὐλίζεσθαι κατηνάγκασεν, ἅμα μὲν τῶν ἐρυμνοτάτων πόλεων καὶ φρουρίων, ἃ κατεῖχον τυραννιῶντες, ἀπαγαγών, ἅμα δὲ καὶ φύλακας ἐπιστήσας ἀσφαλεστάτους τῶν σκυθικῶν ἐκείνων διεκδρομῶν, ἃς ὑπο σύχνως ὑπὸ βαρβάρων τἀπὶ Θρᾴκης ἐπεπόνθει χωρία.

[48] Anna Comnena, *Alexiad*, XIV, https://shorturl.at/eivQZ [15 IV 2024]: Ὁ δὲ Τζιμισκῆς Ἰωάννης τοὺς ἐκ τῆς Μανιχαϊκῆς αἱρέσεως ἀντιμάχους ἡμῖν ποιησάμενος συμμάχους κατά γε τὰ ὅπλα ἀξιομάχους δυνάμεις τοῖς νομάσι τούτοις Σκύθαις ἀντέστησε· Vide quoque М. Поснов, *История на*…, p. 332.

[49] Anna Comnena, *Alexiad*, XV, https://shorturl.at/eivQZ [15 IV 2024]: Καί τινες μὲν τούτων μετέβαλον ἐπὶ τὸ βέλτιον καὶ τῆς φρουρᾶς ἀπελύθησαν, οἱ δὲ τῇ σφῶν ἐπαπέθανον αἱρέσει ἐν εἱρκταῖς κατεχόμενοι, τροφῆς μέντοι καὶ ἀμφίων δαψιλῆ τὴν χορηγίαν ἔχοντες. Vide quoque Й. Иванов, *Богомилски*…, p. 43.

[50] M. Tsibranska-Kostova, *Paulicians Between*…, p. 230.

[51] H. Saldzhiev, *Continuity between Early Paulicianism and the Seventeenth-Century Bulgarian Paulicians: the Paulician Legend of Rome and the Ritual of the Baptism by Fire*, SCer 9, 2019, p. 665.

is considered a continuation of Paulicianism. The most comprehensive description of the Bogomil teaching can be found in *The Sermon Against the Heretics* by Cosmas the Priest[52] and in one well-known work by Euthymius Zigabenus[53]. At the beginning of the 13th century the Crusaders encountered some remnants of the Paulician movement when they captured Constantinople[54]. Also at that time, according to G. Villehardouin, after Tzar Caloyan captured King Baldwin I, he appeared before the walls of Philippopolis, where the local inhabitants, Paulicians, offered him the surrender of the city[55].

Ancient sources clearly testify to the influence of Manichaeism and Mazdaism (Zoroastrianism) on the religious and philosophical doctrine of the Paulicians[56]. This influence, in turn, shaped Bogomilism, extensively studied by Euthymius Zygavinus (p. 1050–1122) in his work *Panoplia Dogmatica* (Πανοπλία Δογματική), as reported by Anna Komnina, daughter of Emperor Alexius Komnenos[57]. Euthymius Zygavinus' study references the most representative works of the dogmatic corpus of Byzantine literature and serves to some extent as a continuation of the dogmatic writings of St. John Damascene. In its 28 sections (titles), *Panoplia Dogmatica* systematizes the dogmatic knowledge of its time. Particularly valuable are titles 23 through 26, wherein the views of 12th-century heresies – Armenian, Paulician, and Messalian – are refuted[58].

In their philosophical views the Paulicians were dualists, believing in a good god, the heavenly father, and a god of evil, Satan. They accepted Satanael and the demons who were subject to him[59]. According to Paulician doctrine, the entire world is entrenched in an implacable struggle between good and evil, with the good, bright god destined to triumph over the evil principle at the end of time, establishing a kingdom of light and justice[60]. Christ was considered one of the angels and the son of the god of goodness. Following the destruction of the god of evil, regarded as the creator of the visible world and humanity, the good god would reign over the earth, as per Paulician teachings. The Paulicians did not venerate the Mother of God, the prophets or the saints. They also rejected the church, clergy

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[52] Козма, презвитер, *Беседа против богомилите*, "ЕТ Кирил Маринов" 1998: *Sermon against the Bogomils* is a polemical work of Old Bulgarian literature, written by Presbyter Kozma, a church writer who was probably close to Tsar Peter I (authors' note).

[53] Euthymius Zigabenos, *Panoplia dogmatica*, *PG*, vol. CXXX, col. 1189–1274.

[54] Й. Иванов, *Богомилски…*, p. 40.

[55] Ж. Вилардуен, *Завладяване на Константинопол*, ed. И. Божилов, София 1985, p. 114.

[56] Cf. Д. Петканова, *Старобългарска литература IX–XVIII век*, София 1997, p. 303.

[57] Anna Comnena, *Alexiad*, XV, https://shorturl.at/eivQZ [15 IV 2024]: Παραπέμπω δὲ τοὺς βουλομένους τὴν ὅλην αἵρεσιν τῶν Βογομίλων διαγνῶναι εἰς τὸ οὕτω καλούμενον βιβλίον «Δογματικὴν πανοπλίαν» ἐξ ἐπιταγῆς τοὐμοῦ πατρὸς συντεθεῖσαν. Καὶ γὰρ μοναχόν τινα Ζυγαβηνὸν καλούμενον.

[58] К. Иванова, *Догматическо всеоръжие (Паноплия догматика)*, [in:] *Старобългарска литература. Енциклопедичен речник*, Велико Търново 2003, p. 143.

[59] Стефан, екзарх, *Богомилите…*, p. 56.

[60] К. Максимович, *Павликиане…*, p. 145.

and particularly monasticism. The only book considered holy was the New Testament, excluding the epistles of the apostle Peter. The Paulician doctrine was formulated in the first half of the 9th century by the heresiarch Sergius-Tychicus[61]. He was Greek by birth, brought up as an Orthodox Christian in the village of Ania near Tabia (Tavius) in Galatia and received a good education[62]. Sergius called himself Tychicus, mentioned in the epistles of St. Paul, and instructed his disciples to address him as the Holy Spirit. Sergius-Tychicus fervently propagated his heresy and proudly declared that he had spread his gospel *from east to west and from north to south*. He was killed in 835 by a resident of the Nikopol – Tsanion fortress[63].

In the West, various heretical sects are spreading, characterized by their heterogeneous nature – ranging from dualistic-Manichean to pantheistic-mystical beliefs, amontg others. Despite their internal differences, they are united in their hatred toward the Roman Church and its hierarchical system. These sects emerge for diverse reasons: remnants of pagan ideas and earlier heresies, opposition to the moral decline of the church and clergy, and dissent from the authoritarian rule of the Pope. During the 12th and 13th centuries, they proliferated astonishingly from Bulgaria to Spain, particularly across Italy and southern France, activating the full force of the papacy, especially under pope Innocent III, to be deployed for their forceful eradication. The Paulicians, frequently brought under Byzantine control from Thrace and Bulgaria into the Greek provinces of Italy and Sicily, thus disseminating the seeds of their dualism, Docetism, and hatred toward the papal institution[64].

The doctrine and practices of the Paulicians are known to us primarily through the studies of their Orthodox adversaries. They represent a peculiar amalgamation of dualism, demiurgism, Docetism and mysticism, bearing resemblance in many respects to the Gnostic system of Marcion. However, their central tenet is dualism: the good God created the spiritual realm, while the malevolent god (πονηρὸς Θεός) or the demiurge fashioned the material world (τοῦ δὲ τοῦ κόσμου ποιητὴν τὲ καὶ ἐξουσιαστήν)[65]. The former is venerated by the "Paulicians", or the true Christians, despite their rejection of crucial Christian dogmas such as the creation of the world by the one and all-good God and the virgin birth of Jesus Christ. Conversely, the latter is revered by the "Romans" or Orthodox Christians[66]. In contrast to the Paulicians and the Bogomils, the Orthodox Church, adhering to monotheistic principles, upholds the belief that all creation is the work of one God[67]. Another

[61] Д. Оболенски, *Студия*…, p. 41.
[62] T. Wolińska, *Sergius, the Paulician Leader*…, p. 128.
[63] Д. Радева, *Павликянството между*…, p. 44.
[64] Й. Иванов, *Богомилски*…, p. 48–51.
[65] Д. Ангелов, *Богомилството в България*, София 1961, p. 73; Vide quoque Д. Митев, *Инославни*…, p. 25.
[66] Д. Оболенски, *Студия*…, p. 42.
[67] Т. Коев, *Павликянски и месалиански*…, p. 77.

distinctive aspect of Paulician doctrine is their contempt for materiality. They view the body as the abode of evil desire and inherently impure, constraining the divine soul within it like a prison. The Bogomilism also adheres to dualism. His characteristic views are the identification of the Lord God with the Devil, the rejection of the Old Testament, the church hierarchy and sacraments, the negative attitude towards the cult of saints, relics, etc.[68]

The Paulicians, akin to the Docetes, held the belief that Jesus Christ appeared to be human only in appearance and lacked a genuine human essence, possessing only temporary actions (energies) and manifestations[69]. According to their doctrine, Christ descended from heaven in an ethereal body, passed through the womb of Mary merely as a conduit, appeared to suffer but did not truly experience suffering, and iniated the process of redeeming the spirit from the fetters of material existence.

The position of the Holy Mother of God is greatly underestimated in their teaching, as she is not acknowledged as the "Mother of God" and is perceived to have a purely external relationship with Jesus. According to Peter of Sicily, they did not even grant her a place among the ranks of good and virtuous women. Instead, the Paulicians assert that the true Mother of God is the heavenly Jerusalem, from which Christ ascended and to which he returned[70].

They reject the Old Testament, viewing it as the work of the demiurge, and dismiss the Epistles of the apostle Peter, deeming him a false apostle due to his denial of Jesus, his preaching of Judaism over Christianity, his adversarial relationship with the apostle Paul (Gal 2: 11), and his role as a pillar of the Catholic hierarchy. However, they accept the four Gospels, the Acts of the Holy Apostles, the fourteen Epistles of the Apostle Paul, and the Epistles of the Apostles James, John and Jude[71]. At a later period, they appear to have restricted themselves, akin to Marcion, to the writings of the Apostles Paul and Luke, possibly adding to them the Gospel of the Apostle John. Additionally, they claim possession of the Epistle to the Laodiceans, though it likely corresponds to the Epistle to the Ephesians. Their interpretive approach is primarily allegorical in nature.

Their attitude toward the priesthood, the holy sacraments, the veneration of saints and holy relics and the sign of the cross[72] (except in cases of severe illness) is decidedly negative, rejecting all external elements in religion. They view Communion with the body and blood of Christ solely as a communion with His word

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[68] J.M. Wolski, *Autoproscoptae*, *Bogomils and Messalians in the 14th Century Bulgaria*, SCer 4, 2014, p. 234.

[69] Cf. Й. Романидис, *Кратка православна светоотеческа догматика*, Руенски манастир 2007, p. 81.

[70] Д. Оболенски, *Студия*…, p. 40.

[71] *Ibidem*, p. 41.

[72] Petrus Siculus, *Historia utilis et refutatio*, I, *PG*, vol. CIV, col. 1256: Τὸ τὸν τύπον καὶ τὴν ἐνέργειαν καὶ δύναμιν τοῦ τιμίου καὶ ζωοποιοῦ σταυροῦ μὴ ἀποδέχεσθαι.

and teaching[73]. Instead of priests, the Paulicians had teachers, pastors, scribes, and itinerant missionaries (known as synecdymes). Rather than temples, they congregated in meeting houses referred to as "oratories", with founders and leaders esteemed as "apostles" and "prophets".

Criticism is also leveled against the Paulicians regarding their stance on morality, as it appears to be relativistic to them. Their objective was to liberate the spirit from the dominion of the material body, without outright condemning marriage or the consumption of meat. However, among certain factions, such as the Baanites, an opposite extreme emerges – an antinomian indulgence in the pleasures of the flesh, including licentious behavior and even incest. In these extremes, they bear resemblance to various Gnostic sects. Peter of Sicily condemns the Paulicians as wicked (impuram), accusing them of unscrupulously abandoning their faith on the pretext that lying is justified in pursuit of a noble end[74].

In conclusion, the Paulician heresy, originating in 7th-century Armenia and spreading across Asia Minor, sought to revive early Christianity with its characteristic religious communities, primarily depicted in the Acts of the Holy Apostles and the Epistles of the Holy Apostle Paul. Initially aligning with Byzantine imperial policies, the Paulicians faced persecution under Michael I (811–813) and Theophilus (829–842), leading them to form alliances with the Arabs against Byzantium and conduct raids as far as Ephesus. Following their final subjugation in 875, they were resettled in Thrace, where they guarded the border against the Bulgarians. Those remaining in Armenia were also relocated to Thrace in 970. Their name initially vanished from the Balkan Peninsula, suggesting conversion or partial absorption by Bogomilism. This new "ascetic" community, named after the priest Bogomil[75], displayed significant similarities with the Paulicians in their teaching, which propagated Manichean dualism, despite some differences, and spread from the middle of the 9th century in the Balkan Peninsula, and finally reached northern Italy and France (the cathars). Persecuted by the Orthodox Church, in this case the Bulgarian Church, and during the persecutions, some of the Pavlicians-Bogomils accepted Orthodoxy, others Catholicism, and still others even Islam. The antagonism between the Orthodox state church and Bogomilism was forcibly ended after the conquest of Bulgaria by the Ottoman invaders. After the successful missionary activity of the Franciscan monks from the 17th century onwards, only one denominational name remained from the Paulician heresy that passed through Christian history[76].

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[73] К. Максимович, *Павликиане*…, p. 145.

[74] Petrus Siculus, *Historia utilis et refutatio*, I, *PG*, vol. CIV, col. 1242. Vide quoque, М. Поснов, *История на*…, p. 332.

[75] Борилов синодик, *Издание и превод*, ed. И. Божилов, А. Тотоманова, И. Билярска, София 2012, p. 24.

[76] Й. Иванов, *Произход на*…, p. 26.

The path of Paulism, as a kind of religious community with a clearly established identity, marked from the 7th to the 17th century the space from Asia Minor through the Balkans to Sicily. But the most lasting is his trace embedded in the ethnic, cultural and political development of the Bulgarian lands[77].

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The Vandal *habrosýne* and its Significance in Procopius' Narrative on the Rise and Fall of the Vandal State

Abstract. The description of the Vandals' *habrosýne* (Procopius, *De bellis*, IV, 6, 5–9) apparently fit in with the topos of "a nation once valiant who, living among the luxuries, succumbed to effeminacy", which had been present in Greco-Roman literature since the time of Herodotus. Following such a course of interpretation, this description could explain why the once formidable conquerors were so easily defeated by a comparatively smaller force under Belisarius' command. However, a closer look at the actual function of this passage in Procopius' narrative on the rise and fall of the Vandal state brings this seemingly obvious interpretation into question. It gains a particular significance when we discover some surprising parallels between the fates of the last Vandal king, Gelimer, and the last Lydian king, Croesus – as these two are depicted by Procopius and Herodotus, respectively. If we should recognize that what we have here is a particular literary allusion, a re-application of a Herodotean pattern for the purpose of recounting a contemporary story, this passage takes on a new meaning: representing the former affluence and the present misery of the Vandals serves as a starting point to deliberations on human helplessness in the face of Fate, while referring to *habrosýne*, as a stereotypical characteristic attributed to the Lydians, is an additional clue to put us on a track leading to associations between the two narratives.

Keywords: Procopius of Caesarea, Herodotus of Halicarnassus, Vandals, Gelimer, *habrosýne*, *Týche*

Habrosýne and its dangers in classical tradition

The theme of a "nation once valiant which succumbed to effeminacy while living in luxury" can be found already at a very early stage of Greek historiography. As Herodotus recounts, when Croesus attempted to rescue the Lydians,

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his former subjects, from Cyrus' punishment, he suggested a more lenient method of conduct to the Persian monarch, with the intent of preventing any future revolt by the Lydian people:

> send and forbid them to possess weapons of war, and order them to wear tunics under their cloaks and buskins on their feet, and to teach their sons lyre-playing and song and dance and huckstering. Then, O king, you will soon see them turned to women instead of men, and thus you need not fear lest they revolt[1].

This anecdote is based on some stereotypical views of the luxurious lifestyle of the Lydian people[2]. In the Archaic period, Greeks did not yet denounce explicitly such a way of life, which they called *habrosýne* (ἡ ἁβροσύνη)[3]. Some members of the Greek aristocracy would even try to emulate it as a sign of a peculiar kind of prestige, even if they were not oblivious to certain dangers involved there. At the same time, long robes and other artefacts or manners of behaviour associated with the Lydian *habrosýne* were not regarded as unmanly; as a matter of fact, *habrosýne* would tend to be an object of disapproval in women as a sign of their excessive love for luxury items but also of their exaggerated care for physical appearance, both contrary to the required diligence and modesty[4].

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[1] HÉRODOTE, *Histoire*, I, 155, 4, ed. Ph.-E. LEGRAND, Paris 1932–1956 (cetera: HERODOTUS, *Historiae*): ἄπειπε μὲν σφι πέμψας ὅπλα ἀρήια μὴ ἐκτῆσθαι, κέλευε δὲ σφέας κιθῶνάς τε ὑποδύειν τοῖσι εἵμασι καὶ κοθόρνους ὑποδέεσθαι, πρόειπε δ' ἀυτοῖσι κιθαρίζει τε καὶ ψάλλειν καὶ καπηλεύειν παιδεύειν τοὺς παῖδας, καὶ ταχέως σφέας ὦ βασιλεῦ γυναῖκας ἀντ' ἀνδρῶν ὄψεαι γεγονότας, ὥστε οὐδὲν δεινοί τοι ἔσονται μὴ ἀποστέωσι (trans.: A HERODOTUS, *Books I–II*, ed. J. HENDERSON, trans. A.D. GODLEY, Cambridge, Mass.–London 1999 [= LCL, 117]).

[2] M. DORATI, *La Lidia e la τρυφή*, Aev N.S. 3, 2003, p. 503–530.

[3] Over time, this term became almost synonymous with the much more often used ἡ τρυφή (cf. M. DORATI, *La Lydia*…, p. 503–504), otherwise also perceived ambiguously: *tryphé* was condemned by moralists (cf. 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 w ideologii Ptolomeuszy*, [in:] *Społeczeństwo i religia w świecie antycznym. Materiały z ogólnopolskiej konferencji naukowej (Toruń 20–22 września 2007)*, ed. Sz. OLSZANIEC, P. WOJCIECHOWSKI, Toruń 2010, p. 93–94), but at the same time, propagated by some of the Hellenistic rulers as a manifestation of the opulence of their reign (cf. J. TONDRIAU, *La tryphè: philosophie royale ptolémaïque*, REA 50, 1948, p. 49–54; 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. 119–124; 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; S.L. AGER, *Familiarity Breeds: Incest and the Ptolemaic Dynasty*, JHS 125, 2005, p. 22–26; T. GRABOWSKI, *Tryphé*…, p. 100–103).

[4] M. MEAKER, *Von Blumenkranzen, Salbölen und Purpurgewänder. Luxus und Geschlechtsrollen in archaischen Griechenland*, [in:] *Luxus, Perspektiven von der Antike bis Neuzeit*, ed. E. LUPPI, J. VOGES, Stuttgart 2022, p. 51–79. The prevailing view of transferring the later stereotypes back

The conflict with Persia marks the beginning of the period of a much more consistent and direct criticism of the "Asian" mode of life, regarded as decadent. Herodotus observes it already very clearly in those terms, even though he still ascribes it to the Lydians, who were associated with it for a long time, rather than to the Persians[5]. It is significant that adhering to *habrosýne* is supposed to lead to the loss of the martial virtue of fortitude, not only in individuals but also in the entire nations.

As we know, the same decadence would be soon attributed to the Persians themselves[6]. If the *Cyropaedia* is indeed a work written in homage to Cyrus and his soldiers, the final chapter makes an almost satirical juxtaposition of them and the decadent fall of their contemporary descendants. It is with evident acrimony that the author refers to the sluggish and comfort-loving lifestyle of the contemporary Persians, as a result of which they had lost their former qualities[7]. Similar stereotypes are employed in the service of current politics as Isocrates incites his compatriots to take part in a war against the Achaemenid Empire by depicting the opponents as weak in body and spirit, stripped of fortitude and, in consequence, becoming easy to conquer[8].

The success of Alexander's campaign only reinforced the stereotype of the decadent "effeminate man of the East". Although this stereotype would tend to be justified in different ways, for instance with the climate as a factor determining the human character or a specific political system[9], the second interpretation was essentially only an extension of the cause-and-effect chain. Individuals living in specific climatic zones tend to embrace the mode of life that is suitable to their nature disinclined to fortitude, and in effect, born as a sort of people who sacrifice their freedom in exchange for the safe and luxurious life. Over time, the stereotype also served the purpose of a self-critical evaluation of the Greco-Roman civilization; it is sufficient to recall the first words of the *De bello Galico* and the luxury articles *leading to the effeminacy of the spirit* (*ad effeminandos animos*), brought to Gaul by Roman merchants[10].

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onto the Archaic period was first contested in L. Kurke, *The Politics of ἁβροσύνη in Archaic Greece*, CA 11, 1992, p. 91–120.

[5] Cf. M. Dorati, *La Lidia*…, p. 510, n. 43, for his opinion that the process of "transferring" the stereotypes of the Lydian "effeminacy" onto the Persians started with Herodotus. On the other hand, the picture of the Persians as valiant adversaries of the Hellenes, which is prevalent in this author's transmission, can be interpreted as a conscious opposition to the then-current trends (cf. S. Schmidt-Hofner, *Das Klassische Griechenland. Der Krieg und die Freiheit*, München 2016, p. 79–82).

[6] P. Briant, *History and Ideology: The Greeks and the 'Persian Decadence'*, [in:] *Greeks and Barbarians*, ed. Th. Harrison, New York 2002, p. 193–210.

[7] Xenophon, *Institutio Cyri*, VIII, 8, ed. W. Gemoll, Leipzig 1968. Cf. E.S. Gruen, *Rethinking the Other in Antiquity*, Princeton–Oxford 2011, p. 58–65.

[8] Isocrates, *Panegyricus*, 150–151, [in:] *Isocratis Orationes*, vol. I, ed. F. Blass, Leipzig 1907.

[9] B. Isaac, *The Invention of Racism in Classical Antiquity*, Princeton–Oxford 2004, p. 70–101.

[10] *C. Iulii Caesaris Commentarii belli gallici*, I, 1, 3, [in:] *C. Iulii Caesaris Commentarii*, vol. I, ed. A. Klotz, Leipzig 1920. The whole situation is made even more complicated, of course, by the

The Vandal *habrosýne* in Procopius

Writing his works at the twilight of Antiquity, Procopius of Caesarea is an heir to a whole millennium of philosophical deliberations on living in luxury and its disastrous consequences for a warrior's virtue and merits, but he does not follow them in an unreflecting way. It had already been a long time since Romans realized the fact that Persians were a tough adversary, in no way susceptible to the disparaging stereotypes of the past[11]. The stereotype of the "effeminate man of the Orient" appears in the *History of Wars*, but with reference to the inhabitants of Antioch, in a sarcastic remark made by the Arab chieftain Alamundaras, to the effect that *its people care for nothing else than festivals*, *luxurious living*, *and their constant rivalries with each other in the theatres*[12]. But also in this case, the reality would prove, at least in part, the Arab's words wrong, considering the fact that members of the circus factions would go on fighting amid the chaotic defence of the city nine years later, even after the professional soldiers retreated[13].

The most meaningful judgement passed by Procopius would concern Africa, not the Orient, specifically the Vandals ruling over their African kingdom for a century:

> For of all the nations we know the Vandals happen to be the most effeminate (*habrótatoi*)[14] […]. Since they gained possession of Libya, the Vandals began to indulge in baths, all of them, every day, and enjoyed a table loaded with all foods, the sweetest and best that the earth and sea produce. They wore gold almost all the time and clothed themselves in Mede garments,

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Romans transferring the stereotypes of "Eastern effeminacy" onto Greeks (B. ISAAC, *The Invention of Racism*…, p. 305–319; H. SIDEBOTTOM, *Ancient Warfare. A Very Short Introduction*, Oxford–New York 2004, p. 10–14); thus, the critical view of the "effeminacy" affecting their own civilization was, at its starting point, a critical perception of the Hellenistic or Oriental influence.

[11] M. STACHURA, *Der persische Krieger bei Prokop. Ein Beitrag zur Militärethnographie der Spätantike*, [in:] *Byzantina et Slavica. Studies in Honour of Professor Maciej Salamon*, ed. S. TURLEJ, M. STACHURA, B.J. KOŁOCZEK, A. IZDEBSKI, Kraków 2019, p. 367–381.

[12] *Procopii Caesarensis Opera Omnia*, vol. I–II, *De bellis libri VIII*, I, 17, 37, ed. J. HAURY, G. WIRTH, Leipzig 1962–1963, cetera: PROCOPIUS, *De bellis* (trans.: PROCOPIOS, *The Wars of Justinian*, trans. H.B. DEWING, revised and modernized, with Introduction and notes by A. KALDELLIS, Indianapolis–Cambridge, Mass. 2014).

[13] PROCOPIUS, *De bellis*, II, 9, 17; II, 9, 28.

[14] ἐθνῶν γὰρ ἁπάντων ἁβρότατον. It is rendered as "luxurious" in the English translation (trans. DEWING–KALDELLIS, p. 203). As a way to reach a conclusion, I think the choice of this term is correct, but it seems that for a starting point of the present discussion, it should be better to assume the rendering "effeminacy" (found in the German and Polish translations, cf. PROKOP, *Werke*, vol. IV, *Vandalenkriege*, ed. O. VEH, München 1971, p. 205; PROKOPIUSZ Z CEZAREI, *Historia wojen*, vol. I, ed., trans. D. BRODKA, Kraków 2013, p. 291) as pointing more clearly to a set of stereotypes related to *habrosýne*. Only in such a case is H. Braun's juxtaposition of this quotation and the one from Herodotus at the beginning of this article quite obvious (cf. H. BRAUN, *Die Nachahmung Herodots durch Prokop*, Nürnberg 1894, p. 25).

> which now they call "Seric." They passed their time in theaters, hippodromes, and other pleasurable pursuits, above all in hunting. They had dancers and mimes and all other things to hear and see that are of a musical nature or otherwise happen to be sight-worthy among men. Most of them lived in garden parks, which were well supplied with water and trees. They had great numbers of banquets and they diligently studied all the arts of sex[15].

The existing interpretations of the passage

At first glance, this excerpt appears to link the stories of the rise and fall of the Vandal state: the descendants of the once formidable warriors of Geiseric, living in comfort and taking the advantage of the conquered province to excess, became effeminate and so weak that the relatively small army of Belisarius defeated them with no difficulty. It could be said that Carthage became a trap for the brave Germanic warriors by turning them into a bunch of effeminate Phoenicians[16] – just as Capua had once stripped the valiant soldiers of the Carthaginian commander Hannibal of their fortitude[17].

But interpretations of the excerpt by modern scholars turn out to be surprisingly disparate. Arnaud Knaepen, the author of the possibly most in-depth analysis of Gelimer's image in Procopius, points to the topos-related character of the depiction, yet without making it clear towards what kind of associations the presumed topos was supposed to lead[18]. Jonathan Conant views it not so much in terms of a topos as a caricature of the actual lifestyle of the Vandal elite stylized according to a certain topos, also juxtaposing it with the hundred years-older Salvian of Marseilles' warnings directed at Romans[19]. The juxtaposition seems to be not exactly fitting in so far as Salvian castigates not Roman hedonism but rather the Romans'

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[15] Procopius, *De bellis*, IV, 6, 5–9: ἐθνῶν γὰρ ἁπάντων ὧν ἡμεῖς ἴσμεν ἁβρότατον μὲν τὸ τῶν Βανδίλιων […] τετύχηκεν εἶναι. οἱ μὲν γάρ, ἐξ ὅτου Λιβύην ἔσχον, βαλανείοις τε οἱ ξύμπαντες ἐπεχρῶντο ἐς ἡμέραν ἑκάστην καὶ τραπέζῃ ἅπασιν εὐθηνούσῃ ὅσα δὴ γῆ τε καὶ θάλασσα ἥδιστά τε καὶ ἄριστα φέρει. ἐχρυσοφόρουν δὲ ὡς ἐπὶ πλεῖστον, καὶ Μηδικὴν ἐσθῆτα, ἣν νῦν Σηρικὴν καλοῦσιν, ἀμπεχόμενοι, ἔν τε θεάτροις καὶ ἱπποδρομίοις καὶ τῇ ἄλλῃ εὐπαθείᾳ, καὶ πάντων μάλιστα κυνηγεσίοις τὰς διατριβὰς ἐποιοῦντο. καὶ σφίσιν ὀρχησταὶ καὶ μῖμοι ἀκούσματά τε συχνὰ καὶ θεάματα ἦν, ὅσα μουσικά τε καὶ ἄλλως ἀξιοθέατα ξυμβαίνει ἐν ἀνθρώποις εἶναι. καὶ ᾤκηντο μὲν αὐτῶν οἱ πολλοὶ ἐν παραδείσοις, ὑδάτων καὶ δένδρων εὖ ἔχουσι· ξυμπόσια δὲ ὅτι πλεῖστα ἐποίουν, καὶ ἔργα τὰ ἀφροδίσια πάντα αὐτοῖς ἐν μελέτῃ πολλῇ ἤσκητο (trans. Dewing–Kaldellis).

[16] Drawing links between the old and new Carthaginian enemies of Rome can be seen in the Latin poetry of the 5th century, portraying the Vandal king Geiseric as a new Hannibal. In this way, military actions undertaken against him would become, so to speak, a "fourth Punic war"; cf. M. Wilczyński, *Gejzeryk i „czwarta wojna punicka"*, Oświęcim 2016, p. 16–19; R. Miles, *Vandal North Africa and the Fourth Punic War*, CP 112.3, 2017, p. 384–410.

[17] *Titi Livii Ab urbe condita libri XXIII–XXV*, XXIII, 18, ed. Th.A. Dorey, Leipzig 1976.

[18] A. Knaepen, *L'image du roi vandale Gélimer chez Procope de Césarée*, B 71, 2001, p. 400.

[19] J. Conant, *Staying Roman. Conquest and Identity in Africa and the Mediterranean, 439–700*, Cambridge 2012 [= CSMLT, 82], p. 57–58.

sinful acts in general, not just those resulting from indulging in carnal pleasures. Moreover, he sets barbarians as a counterpoint here (quite ironically, the Vandals), who will take over the Roman heritage, not – as in Procopius – some other barbarians the Romans will have to confront after defeating the Vandals[20]. Conant's merit is certainly in making the point that the Vandals' fall, after Geiseric's death, "into every kind of effeminacy" (to be specific: *malakía* (ἡ μαλακία) – i.e. the softness, which is just another term Romans used to refer to this stereotype) was already described by the Eastern-Roman historian Malchus of Philadelphia in the late 5th century[21] – therefore, it would rather be a common opinion, not a literary invention thought up by Procopius. The trouble is that this opinion somehow corresponded to reality – as Conant points out, there are multiple records in sources attesting to the Vandals' love of hunting, baths, or magnificent gardens[22]. Likewise, Roland Steinacher regards Procopius' account as simply proving the advanced Romanization of the Vandal elite's way of life, with no attempt to seek any moralistic connotations there[23].

It is regrettable that Michel Edward Stewart, specializing – so to speak – in the topic of fortitude and effeminacy in Procopius' work, did not put up this particular citation to scrutiny. He only made a reference to it in his doctoral dissertation, taking it as a cautionary example directed towards the Romans[24]. In his subsequent publications, concerning the perils of the "soft" way of life for the manliness of individuals as well as nations, he concentrates rather on examples from the *De bellis* books dedicated to the Gothic Wars[25]. It is only his recent monograph that revisits a broader spectrum of his research to encompass the whole of Procopius' work, but the chapter with an analysis of the Vandal war and Gelimer's image concerns a different subject: fortitude and cowardice[26], and the above-mentioned quotation is referred there only marginally and construed as a polemical argument

[20] SALVIEN DE MARSEILLE, *Oeuvres II. Du gouverment de Dieu*, VII, ed. G. LAGARRIGUE, Paris 1975 [= SC, 220]; cf. D. LAMBERT, *The Barbarians in Salvian's De gubernatione Dei*, [in:] *Ethnicity and Culture in Late Antiquity*, ed. S. MITCHELL, G. GREATREX, London 2000, p. 107–113.

[21] μετὰ τὸν θάνατον Γωζιρίχου πεσόντες ἐς πᾶσαν μαλακίαν (MALCHUS OF PHILADELPHIA, *Fragments*, frag. 17, [in:] *The Fragmentary Classicising Historians of Late Roman Empire: Eunapius, Olympiodoros, Priscus and Malchus*, vol. II, ed. R.C. BLOCKLEY, Liverpool 1983, p. 424). This is how Malchus explains the reason for the Vandals' decision to make a pact with the emperor Zeno (instead of continuing to fight against the Roman Empire).

[22] J. CONANT, *Staying Roman*…, p. 53–54.

[23] R. STEINACHER, *Gruppen und Identitäten. Gedanken zur Bezeichnung „vandalisch"*, [in:] *Das Reich der Vandalen und seine (Vor-)geschichten*, ed. G.M. BERNDT, R. STEINACHER, Wien 2008, p. 256.

[24] M.E. STEWART, *Between Two Worlds: Men's Heroic Conduct in the Writings of Procopius*, Diss. San Diego 2003, p. 54–55.

[25] M.E. STEWART, *The Soldier's Life. Martial Virtues and Manly Romanitas in the Early Byzantine Empire*, Leeds 2016, p. 247–316; IDEM, *The Danger of the Soft Life. Manly and Unmanly Romans in Procopius's Gothic War*, JLA 10, 2017, p. 473–502.

[26] IDEM, *Masculinity, Identity, and Power Politics in the Age of Justinian. A Study of Procopius*, Amsterdam 2020, p. 99–124.

aimed at those wary of an expedition against the Vandals, still perceiving them as formidable warriors[27].

A different aspect of the "decadence" topos is highlighted by Anthony Kaldellis: in his view, it was exactly the decadent lifestyle of the Vandals that they sacrificed their freedom at the most critical moment, submitting to the slavery of the Constantinopolitan despot[28]. This interpretation is obviously underscored by Procopius' comment coming right after the quotation, where he says that when they were deprived of their former luxurious life Gelimer's companions stopped treating their enslavement as something disgraceful[29]. At the same time, the Vandal example would be an allusion to the contemporary Romans – also the decadent "slaves of their own choice"[30]. Kaldellis even finds an allusively veiled attack on the empress Theodora here, since the memory of the Vandals indulging themselves in carnal pleasures could be supposedly associated inevitably with the future empress' unusual sexual practices known from the *Historia Arcana*[31].

A certain problem in all the above interpretations is the absence of any reference to the counterpoint of the subsequently unfolding (after the quotation considered here) account of the Moors' rough living conditions. It is mentioned (though marginally) by two scholars, both of them reaching some fairly extravagant conclusions. Charles Pazdernik cautiously suggests a possible intertextuality of the contrast between the Oriental lifestyle of the Vandals and the Spartan one of the Moors with a confrontation between the Persians and Spartans as presented in the *Hellenika* of Xenophon[32] (I shall refer to Pazdernik's proposition linking the figures of Procopius' Gelimer and Xenophon's Pharnabazos in a further part of this article). An even more surprising interpretation has been proposed by Philip Wood: forced to abandon the former Vandal *vanitas* and choose the Moors' "ascetic" way of living, Gelimer would have pursued the Christian ascetic ideal, with his person serving as a good opportunity for praising it – even if indirectly – by the author[33]

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[27] *Ibidem*, p. 111 (let us take note that, in such a case, the picture of the Vandal life of luxury should be juxtaposed rather with a description of the fears arising in Constantinople before taking a decision on the expedition; Procopius, *De bellis*, III, 10).

[28] A. Kaldellis, *Procopius's Vandal War. Thematic Trajectories and Hidden Transcripts*, [in:] *North Africa under Byzantium and Early Islam*, ed. S.T. Stevens, J. Conant, Cambridge, Mass. 2016 [= DOBSC], p. 18. The meaning of the Vandal "effeminacy" was similarly interpreted earlier by Averil Cameron, though she did not elaborate on this motif in her further discussion (A. Cameron, *Gelimer's Laughter: The Case of Byzantine Africa*, [in:] *Tradition and Innovation in Late Antiquity*, ed. F.M. Clover, R.S. Humphreys, Madison 1989, p. 171).

[29] Procopius, *De bellis*, IV, 6, 14.

[30] A. Kaldellis, *Ethnography after Antiquity. Foreign Lands and Peoples in Byzantine Literature*, Philadelphia 2013, p. 20–21.

[31] A. Kaldellis, *Procopius's Vandal War*…, p. 18.

[32] Ch. Pazdernik, *Xenophon's Hellenica in Procopius' Wars: Pharnabazus and Belisarius*, GRBS 46, 2006, p. 194–195.

[33] Ph.I. Wood, *Being Roman in Procopius' Vandal Wars*, B 81, 2011, p. 441–446.

(yet unfortunately, Wood does not explain how all of this could be reconciled with the former king's later acceptance of an estate from Justinian and why Procopius does not applaud any contemporary Christian ascetics instead of him[34]).

Vandal effeminacy? – pros and cons

It appears that the deeper we go in our analysis of this particular excerpt from Procopius, the more its apparently obvious – even suggesting itself – interpretation becomes doubtful. It is puzzling to the extent that even if the historian does not confirm it overtly, there are at least several points in his "Vandal" narrative that could support such a "Capuan" interpretation.

The apparently powerful Vandals come to be defeated by the comparatively small invasion force in only two subsequent battles, at Decimum and Tricamarum[35]. While leading his Roman troops into the latter confrontation, Belisarius contrasts the virtuous souls of his soldiers with the Vandals' "huge bodies"[36] (perhaps meaning "fat" as a result of the luxury life?[37]). The small surviving group of the Vandal aristocracy besieged on Mount Papua, were eventually broken not by the force of a military attack but as a result of the harsh conditions which proved too much for them to bear[38].

On several occasions, Gelimer himself behaves in ways that would compromise his own fortitude directly or at least his virtue of prudence, so inextricably linked with the virtue of fortitude[39]. In the battle of Decimum, he fails to take advantage of the opportune moment (*kairós*) for defeating Belisarius, when each one of his possible moves – launching an attack on the Roman army in disarray or marching on Carthage – appeared (in Procopius' opinion) to be leading to victory. Instead, he turns to mourning his fallen brother and arranging for his funeral ceremony,

[34] In actual fact, in Book I of *De bellis*, Procopius describes the Christian ascetic and holy man Jacob, and the miracle he performed, with great reverence (PROCOPIUS, *De bellis*, I, 7, 5–11) – it is an early example of how hagiographical narratives found their way into Classical-type historiography, cf. PROKOPIUSZ Z CEZAREI, *Historia wojen*, vol. I…, p. 22, n. 56.

[35] In his recapitulation of the campaign's account, Procopius represents the victory as a success achieved with a force of only 5,000 cavalry (PROCOPIUS, *De bellis*, IV, 7, 20–21), clearly manipulating the facts to obtain the effect of exaggeration.

[36] PROCOPIUS, *De bellis*, IV, 1, 16.

[37] In Antiquity, fatness was regarded as one of the many possible negative consequences of living in luxury (*tryphé* is nearly equivalent with *habrosýne*), but it was not associated with gluttony itself, cf. M. STACHURA, *The Distant Origins of "Fat Shaming" or why the People of Antiquity did not Ridicule Fat Women*, SCer 12, 2022, p. 190–193.

[38] PROCOPIUS, *De bellis*, IV, 5, 14; IV, 7, 1–7.

[39] A sort of indirect proof can be found in Procopius' consistent associations of imprudence with "audacity" (PROCOPIUS, *De bellis*, I, 3, 17; II, 9, 5; II, 19, 10; IV, 21, 15; IV, 25, 14; VI, 1, 33; VI, 3, 32; VI, 10, 7; VI, 16, 4; VI, 18, 2; VII, 27, 5; VII, 34, 34); thus, prudence would be the basic criterion for telling the difference between the true fortitude and a mere semblance of one.

allowing himself to be surprised and routed by the regrouped forces of the Roman general[40]. During the final phase of the battle at Tricamarum (strictly speaking, during the final defence of the Vandal camp following the lost combat), his furtive flight becomes the last nail in the Vandal troops' coffin, causing panic and a complete disarray in the ranks[41]. Later on, already besieged with a small group of his comrades on Mount Papua, he initially refuses to surrender, still requesting the commander of the besieging troops to give him three things: a loaf of bread, which he had not tasted for so long, a sponge for cleaning his sore eye, and a lute for singing songs of his misery[42]. At this moment, he may appear to be not as someone who is a defeated but still proud commander, but as an effeminate singer full of self-pity. In the end, he decides to surrender after witnessing a scene of a Vandal boy getting beaten up by a young Moor for trying to steal a meagre Moorish flatbread from him[43]. His outburst of laughter in front of Belisarius is seen by the eyewitnesses as an expression of madness in a man who becomes completely broken by his misfortune[44]. The gesture of humility in front of the victorious emperor is perhaps not so much an act of mortification in view of the fact that the triumphant general Belisarius is obliged to perform it as well[45], but it is fair to remember how

[40] Procopius, *De bellis*, III, 19, 25–31. Cf. D. Brodka, *Die Geschichtsphilosophie in der spätantiken Historiographie. Studien zu Prokopios von Kaisareia, Agathias von Myrina und Theophylaktos Simokattes*, Frankfurt am Main 2004 [= STB, 5], p. 79. It should be noted that Hansjoachim Andres expressed doubt as to the actual presence of *kairós* here, despite the fact that this term is literally mentioned in the text (Procopius, *De bellis*, III, 19, 29). The German scholar would even go on to suggest that Procopius himself did not believe his own words here (*Es macht den Eindruck, dass Prokop diese Aussage selbst nicht glaubt*, cf. H. Andres, *Der καιρός bei Prokop von Kaisareia*, Mil 14, 2017, p. 88). Indeed, if we were to assume Andres' hypothesis that Procopius employed an ingenious and complex conception of *kairós* based – on the one hand – on Platonic philosophy and – on the other – drawing from the Bible and the Christian faith, according to which *kairós* is a work of God and, at the same time, a "task" assigned to by Him to a man (H. Andres, *Der καιρός…*, p. 98), it would position the Creator in a somewhat ambigious role here: charging Gelimer with the task of utilizing the *kairós*, but simultaneously, making him "blind" to see it. However, this situation would not have been exceptional among the paradoxes arising along the boundary between God's omnipotence and man's free will, both in the Bible and in the writings of the Church Fathers. Moreover, I think it would be safe to assume that Procopius made use of this long-standing term as a man of letters, rather than as a philosopher, and in an intuitive way, only occasionally attempting to readjust it to the Christian world-view.

[41] Procopius, *De bellis*, IV, 3, 20–23.

[42] Procopius, *De bellis*, IV, 6, 30–33.

[43] Procopius, *De bellis*, IV, 7, 3–6. Most likely referring to the *taguella*, still known among the present-day Tuareg tribes. Procopius regards the Moorish cuisine as unworthy of a civilized man; cf. Procopius, *De bellis*, IV, 6, 13.

[44] Procopius, *De bellis*, IV, 7, 14.

[45] Procopius, *De bellis*, IV, 9, 12. For a possible meaning of that dual humiliation of the victorious and the defeated, see H. Börm, *Justinians Triumph und Belisars Erniedrigung, Überlegungen zum Verhältnis zwischen Kaiser und Militär im späten Römischen Reich*, Chi 43, 2013, p. 63–91.

the Goths taunted their former king Vitiges for his alleged lack of fortitude, when he agreed to accept similar terms of surrender[46].

There is nevertheless no way to find a place in the text where Procopius would overtly deny the Vandals' fortitude in general or Gelimer's own personal one. It is true that the Vandal troops would get into a panic on several occasions, but the same phenomenon affects the Roman armies (the chaotic battle of Decimum is essentially a sequence of successively occurring sudden retreats in panic, among both Vandals and Romans[47]). In Procopius' eyes, the panic in itself seems to be a phenomenon naturally co-existing with wars, ethically neutral and affecting the top-level professional soldiers as well. Procopius also goes on to mention the personal fortitude of the king's brothers: Ammatas in the battle of Decimum[48] and Tzatzon at Tricamarum[49], with the glorious death of Tzatzon and his comrades, all of them fighting until the end, which is reminiscent of the conclusion of Procopius' composition and its account of the final, hopeless stand of Teia and his companions on Mount Lactarius, when the last king of the Ostrogoths showed his fortitude reputedly equal to the manliness of the mythical heroes[50].

If then Procopius comes to consider whether the success of the African campaign, so much beyond any expectations, was the outcome of "some virtue" or the verdicts of Fate, his wish is certainly to elevate the virtues shown by the Romans, yet with no intention of diminishing the manliness or other martial qualities of their opponents. On the contrary, the measure of the Roman success is the fact that they conquered the *kingdom at the height of its wealth and military strength*[51].

Likewise, the words from Belisarius' speech addressing the soldiers' morale before the battle of Tricamarum should not be interpreted as an intention to belittle the opponents' physical qualities. It is true that several decades later, the author of the *Strategikon* refers to the Germanic people as "of bold souls but soft bodies" (σώματα ἁπαλά)[52], most likely in regard of their perceived lack of resilience to the hardships of war, compared to either the Romans or some other adversaries of the Empire mentioned in his work (Persians, nations of the steppe, Slavs). However, in Belisarius' speech, a similar stereotype is certainly not the case – the "size of the bodies" is mentioned here alongside the numbers of the Vandals and contrasted with the moral qualities of the Roman troops. Belisarius goes on to suggest that the

[46] PROCOPIUS, *De bellis*, VI, 30, 5. It is noteworthy that Vitiges had earlier motivated his compatriots to fight by recalling Gelimer's fate (PROCOPIUS, *De bellis*, V, 29, 8), because the avoidance of such a disaster would be evidently worth making the greatest efforts and even risking one's life.

[47] PROCOPIUS, *De bellis*, III, 18, 7; III, 18, 19; IV, 19, 22–24; IV, 19, 31–32.

[48] PROCOPIUS, *De bellis*, III, 18, 6.

[49] PROCOPIUS, *De bellis*, IV, 3, 14.

[50] PROCOPIUS, *De bellis*, VIII, 35, 20.

[51] PROCOPIUS, *De bellis*, IV, 7, 20: τὴν βασλείαν τὴν […] πλούτῳ τε καὶ στρατιωτῶν δυνάμει ἀκμάζουσαν (trans. Dewing–Kaldellis).

[52] *Mauritii Strategicon*, XI, 3, ed. G. DENNIS, trans. E. GAMILLSCHEG, Wien 1981 [= *CFHB*, 17].

opponents' combat morale suffered a weakening as a consequence of the previous defeat, thus stressing the difference in the condition of the two sides' spirits even more[53]. In his description of Belisarius' triumph in Constantinople, the author remarks on the Romans' admiration for the tall and handsome-looking Vandals[54] – therefore, the above-mentioned "size of the bodies" should refer to their good physical aspects, not to flaws. In turn, in his speech made prior to the battle of Decimum, the commander means to address proficiency in the craft of war rather than anything else: for instance, the Roman soldiers are very well experienced after a number of Persian campaigns, while the Vandals had no opportunity to confront an enemy more challenging than Moors for generations[55] (and let us remember this statement in the context of our further discussion: the Moors are an adversary quite unlikely to be recognized as a worthy opponent).

As for Gelimer, Procopius introduces this character in the first few sentences as a person who is treacherous, greedy, unrighteous, but still someone who is also seen as "the best warrior of his time"[56]. Although the author considers the Vandal king's failure to make use of the opportune moment at Decimum as an act of imprudence, he ascribes it to a blindness ordained by God[57] – and whatever may be our own interpretation of the historian's world-view behind those words, this is a situation that is singular, accidental, and somehow beyond the king's will, not the result of any inherent flaw of his character.

The passage in context

The art of discerning the narrator's oblique intentions in the text offers, of course, an extremely broad range of possibilities, but it should be noted that when Procopius wants to make it clear how the Vandals' decisions at the time of their conquest in Africa contributed to their final defeat, he openly speaks his opinion here. With such intent, he recalls that after the conquest of Africa, Genseric ordered the demolition of the walls in all the cities of the region except for Carthage to prevent any of them from becoming a base for a potential Roman attempt to recapture the territory. In an ironic twist of fate, the lack of proper fortifications prevented the Vandals from seeking refuge behind the walls after the defeat at Decimum, prompting Procopius to reflect on how an apparently reasonable decision may turn out as a folly over time[58].

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[53] Procopius, *De bellis*, IV, 1, 16–17; cf. M.E. Stewart, *Masculinity*…, p. 116–117.

[54] Procopius, *De bellis*, IV, 9, 10: εὐμήκεις ἄγαν καὶ καλοὶ τὰ σώματα.

[55] Procopius, *De bellis*, III, 19, 7–8.

[56] Procopius, *De bellis*, III, 9, 7: ὃς τὰ μὲν πολέμια ἐδόκει τῶν καθ᾽ αὐτὸν ἄριστος εἶναι.

[57] Procopius, *De bellis*, III, 19, 25.

[58] Procopius, *De bellis*, III, 5, 8–10. Moreover, Gelimer himself was well aware of the fact that the neglect in the proper fortification work was a cause of his downfall (Procopius, *De bellis*, III, 23, 20–21).

It seems that if Procopius had really credited the "effeminacy" of the victors, so demoralized by the excess of the seized wealth, with playing a role in the Vandal fall later on, he would have provided a story of the Vandal elite's life of luxury with a suitable commentary or at least positioned it in a certain moment of his narrative that would have inevitably suggested such an idea to the reader. For example, the passage could illustrate a description of a more or less significant Vandal defeat in battle or a contrast between their ostensible power and how easily they were defeated by a small Roman force. Still, the situation is just the opposite in this case. Admittedly, not Gelimer's comrades alone, but their Moorish allies repelled the attack on Papua, killing 110 Roman soldiers[59] (quite impressive, considering the fact that the death toll in the decisive battle of Tricamarum was reportedly fewer than 50 Romans and around 800 Vandals[60] – while the forces involved in the siege of Papua were incomparably smaller). As a result, the invaders were forced to give up on the idea of launching a swift attack and decided to organize a tight blockade around the mountain with the aim of breaking the defenders by starving them[61]. It is at this point of the narrative that the author provides the previously mentioned description of the former luxurious life enjoyed by the Vandal elite: *Thus it came about that Gelimer and those about him, who were his nephews and cousins and other persons of high birth, experienced a misery that no one could describe in a way that equaled the facts. For of all the nations we know the Vandals happen to be the most luxurious and the Moors the most hardy…*[62] It can be seen that the narrator employs a particular case of the *incrementum* figure here[63] – as there is no simple way to depict the enormous amount of the misery suffered by the Vandal nobles, it is first necessary to emphasize their former life of comfort and then, just as expressively, the poverty of their new Moorish hosts: *As the Moors, then, were of such a sort, the followers of Gelimer, after living with them for a long time and changing the standard of living to which they had been accustomed to such a miserable existence…*[64].

The living conditions of the Moorish dwellers of Papua are then a counterpoint to the Vandal *habrosýne*:

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[59] PROCOPIUS, *De bellis*, IV, 6, 1–3.

[60] PROCOPIUS, *De bellis*, IV, 3, 18.

[61] PROCOPIUS, *De bellis*, IV, 6, 3.

[62] PROCOPIUS, *De bellis*, IV, 6, 4–5: ἔνθα δὴ τῷ τε Γελίμερι καὶ τοῖς ἀμφ᾽αὐτὸν ἀδελφιδοῖς τε καὶ ἀνεψιαδοῖς οὖσι καὶ ἄλλοις εὖ γεγονόσι ξυνέπεσε κακοπαθείᾳ χρῆσθαι ἥν, ὅπως ποτὲ εἴποι τις, οὐκ ἂν ὁμοίως τοῖς πράγμασι φράζοι. ἐθνῶν γὰρ ἁπάντων ὧν ἡμεῖς ἴσμεν ἁβρότατον μὲν τὸ τῶν Βανδίλιων, ταλαιπωρότατον δὲ τὸ Μαυρουσίων τετύχηκεν εἶναι (trans. Dewing–Kaldellis).

[63] H. LAUSBERG, *Handbook of Literary Rhetoric. A Foundation for Literary Study*, trans. M.T. BLISS, A. JANSEN, D.E. ORTON, Leiden–Boston–Köln 1998, p. 190–191.

[64] PROCOPIUS, *De bellis*, IV, 6, 14: τοιούτοις δὴ οὖσι τοῖς Μαυρουσίοις οἱ ἀμφὶ τὸν Γελίμερα συχνὸν ξυγοικήσαντες χρόνον τήν τε ξυνειθισμένην αὐτοῖς δίαιτιαν ἐς τοῦτο ταλαιπωρίας μεταβαλόντες (trans. Dewing–Kaldellis).

> Moors live in stuffy huts, in winter, summer, and every other time, never leaving them because of the snow or the heat of the sun or any other discomfort due to nature. They sleep on the ground, with the prosperous among them, if it should so happen, spreading a fleece under themselves. Moreover, it is not customary among them to change clothing with the season, but they wear a thick cloak and a rough shirt at all times. They have neither bread nor wine nor any other good thing, but they take grain, either wheat or barley, and, without boiling it or grinding it into flour or barley-meal, they eat it in a manner not at all different from the animals…[65]

There is no mention of the Moors' fortitude or manliness in this description. Also in the further chapters of Book IV, where they become the main adversary of the Roman Empire in the newly established *praefectura* of Africa, they are not portrayed as virtuous or even valiant at all. Instead, they are described as treacherous and disloyal (even among themselves), cowardly, and poor warriors, only able to prevail by having the upper hand in numbers or by deceit[66].

So even though *habrosýne* may fit into stereotypes of decadence and the loss of fortitude or manliness, it does not seem that this particular passage should be interpreted in such a way. In consequence, rendering the term *habrótatoi* as "most effeminate" here would not seem to be adequate[67]. Apparently, the French translation referring to "softness" is more appropriate[68], although the most fitting rendering should refer (as per the English translation) to refinement or lavishness[69]. It is also noteworthy that only some features of the "luxurious" Vandal life constitute the stereotypical ingredients of *habrosýne*: banquets, soft robes, sexual pleasures and – above all – various forms of entertainment[70], but besides those, Procopius

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[65] Procopius, *De bellis*, IV, 6, 10–13: Μαυρούσιοι δὲ οἰκοῦντι μὲν ἐν πνυγηραῖς καλύβαις, χειμῶνί τε καὶ θέρους ὥρᾳ καὶ ἄλλῳ τῷ ξύμπαντι χρόνῳ, οὔτε χιόσιν οὔτε ἡλίου θέρμῃ ἐνθένδε οὔτε ἄλλῳ ὁτῳοῦν ἀναγκαίῳ κακῷ ἐξιστάμενοι. καθεύδουσι δὲ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς κώδιον οἱ εὐδαίμονες αὐτοῖς, ἂν οὕτω τύχοι, ὑποστρωννύντες. ἱματία δὲ σφίσιν οὐ ξυμμεταβάλλειν ταῖς ὥραις νόμος, ἀλλὰ τριβώνιόν τε ἁδρὸν καὶ χιτῶνα τραχὺν ἐς καιρὸν ἅπαντα ἐνδιδύσκονται. ἔχουσι δὲ οὔτε ἄρτον οὔτε οἶνον οὔτε ἄλλο οὐδὲν ἀγαθόν, ἀλλὰ τὸν σῖτον, ἢ τὰς ὀλύρας τε καὶ κριθάς, οὔτε ἕψοντες οὔτε ἐς ἄλευρα ἢ ἄλιφιτα ἀλοῦντες οὐδὲν ἀλλοιότερον ἢ τὰ ἄλλα ζῷα ἐσθίουσι (trans. Dewing–Kaldellis).

[66] Procopius puts a special emphasis on their disloyalty (Procopius, *De bellis*, IV, 8, 10; IV, 25, 16). His observation is of course conditioned by a peculiar set of prejudiced views of the despised North-African barbarians (cf. J. Conant, *Staying Roman*…, p. 256–258), even though he does not avoid criticizing the Roman acts of disloyalty towards the Moors (Procopius, IV, 21, 3–12, 20–22). Among the modern scholars, Wood is the only one to attempt to argue that Procopius valued the Moors for their ascetic living (cf. Ph.I. Wood, *Being Roman*…, p. 444).

[67] As in the German and Polish translations, cf. note 14.

[68] A. Knaepen, *L'image*…, p. 400.

[69] Cf. note 14.

[70] In the *De bellis*, there are at least two statements where the love of theatre is a firm proof of the "effeminacy" of a nation: the above-mentioned opinion spoken by Alamundaras on the inhabitants of Antioch (Procopius, *De bellis*, I, 17, 37) and the Gothic envoy Vacis sneering at the "Greek" soldiers of Belisarius, in whose valour the citizens of Rome put their trust despite the fact that the

marks out – as characteristic of the Vandal customs – their penchant for hunting, a physical activity not associated with an excessively soft refinement or the loss of martial qualities.

There is no doubt that the misery experienced during the protracted siege contributed to the change in the Vandal nobles' attitude: *when at last even the necessities of life had failed, they held out no longer: death now seemed most sweet to them and slavery by no means disgraceful*[71]. Yet summing up this sentence with a scornful remark such as *they could not bear the loss of the luxuries they were accustomed to* should seem to be an anachronistic shifting of the pattern of the much later, moralistic parables onto the narrative of Procopius, linking the sinful hedonistic acts directly to the ensuing spectacular punishment. As a matter of fact, the author appears to offer a very different and much more profound philosophical tale in the subsequent chapters.

The tale of Gelimer's surrender

Gelimer does not surrender too soon. First, as mentioned before, he received a letter from Pharas, the commander of the besieging forces, who presented him with the generous terms of surrender in the emperor's name[72] (strictly, on behalf of Belisarius, who – as the *strategós autokrátor* – was entitled to take decisions with the emperor's authority[73]).

This is not the only case of a magnanimous proposal made to the besieged in the entire *De bellis*, sweetening the shame of surrender with a moralistic discourse. The most memorable one could be the offer presented to the already desperate Persian garrison of Petra, where accepting the proposal of entering the emperor Justinian's service is the sole alternative to the defenders' certain death[74]. Still, the line of argumentation would then follow a completely different course – the speaker draws a contrast between genuine fortitude and foolish audacity fuelling the decision of choosing a certain death[75]. In his portrayal of the Persians' decision to fight until the end as manliness[76] (elsewhere in the text, the same Persians even deserve a rare compliment when he says he "never heard" of a similar act of fortitude[77]),

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only people arriving from Greece they had known were *actors of tragady*, *mimes*, *and thieving sailors* (PROCOPIUS, V, 18, 40, trans. Dewing–Kaldellis; cf. M.E. STEWART, *The Soldier's Life*…, p. 286).

[71] PROCOPIUS, *De bellis*, IV, 6, 14: ἐπειδὴ καὶ αὐτὰ σφᾶς τὰ ἀναγκαῖα ἤδη ἐπιλελοίπει, οὐκέτι ἀντεῖχον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ τεθνάνοι αὐτοῖς ἥδιστον καὶ τὸ δουλεύειν ἥκιστα αἰσχρὸν ἐνομίζετο (trans. Dewing–Kaldellis).

[72] PROCOPIUS, *De bellis*, IV, 6, 15–26.

[73] PROCOPIUS, *De bellis*, III, 11, 20.

[74] PROCOPIUS, *De bellis*, VIII, 12, 4–13.

[75] PROCOPIUS, *De bellis*, VIII, 12, 6; VIII, 12, 10–11.

[76] PROCOPIUS, *De bellis*, VIII, 12, 2.

[77] PROCOPIUS, *De bellis*, VIII, 11, 41; cf. M. STACHURA, *Der persische Krieger*…, p. 374–375.

the narrator unmasks the hypocrisy of a false moralizing. A similar argumentation, yet underpinned with a considerable dose of acerbic irony, can be seen in a Gothic envoy's speech addressed to Belisarius during the siege of Rome[78].

Pharas' message is built upon two different oppositions: between the (apparent) freedom of the besieged, left at their Moorish allies' mercy, and the (alleged) enslavement of the Emperor's service, and then between the ability to deal with the adversities of Fate and the ability to accept a small portion of the good which Fate mixes into those adversities.

As regards the first theme, the juxtaposition of the "enslavement" in surrendering to the emperor and Gelimer's only apparent "freedom", based on his complete dependence on Moorish support, may appear to be a cheap eristic trick, but Pharas puts two significant authorities on the line there: his own and that of Belisarius. If he, as a Germanic noble, and Belisarius himself do not think it is dishonourable to serve the emperor, then there is no reason to consider such enslavement as dishonourable to Gelimer, especially in view of the offer of receiving the patrician dignity and entering the ranks of the Roman Empire's elite (of course, connected with a proper material status)[79]. If this argument should be likewise considered as sort of perverse in Procopius' view, it would have to be just as consistently assumed that he ironically describes the virtues of Pharas[80] and Belisarius[81] – which is to say, if the readers were to observe Gelimer's surrender with contempt, Belisarius would also have to turn out as a weak man in this regard, a man choosing (for despicable motivations) the tyrant's service over a dignified warrior's death[82]. Although a similar interpretation is apparently proposed by Anthony Kaldellis[83], it seems to me rather implausible. Even in the *Historia Arcana*, Procopius does not openly criticize the commander's loyalty to the emperor on a political level and if he looks down on his meekness, it is first of all in the context of his private life, as on the meekness of a hen-pecked man harassed by the unfaithful wife and her friend, the empress[84]. In addition, such a formulation of the denouncement of this sort of "enslavement" would be aimed, in fact, at the institution of monarchy in general, rather than at Justinian alone. If, however, Procopius could be seen as a critic of the

[78] Procopius, *De bellis*, V, 20, 8–14.

[79] Procopius, *De bellis*, IV, 6, 17–22.

[80] Procopius, *De bellis*, IV, 4, 29–31.

[81] Procopius, *De bellis*, VII, 1, 8–22.

[82] It is interesting to note that in one of the statements attributed to him (Procopius, *De bellis*, V, 8, 12–18), Belisarius takes up the subject of freedom in the context of the Neapolitans living in the Ostrogoth kingdom, taking it for granted that the submission to the Gothic rule means "enslavement" to them, while the subordination to the emperor's authority – "freedom".

[83] A. Kaldellis, *Procopius of Caesarea. Tyranny, History, and Philosophy at the End of Antiquity*, Philadelphia 2004, p. 144–150.

[84] *Procopii Caesarensis Opera Omnia*, vol. III, *Historia quae dicitur Arcana*, 3–4, ed. J. Haury, G. Wirth, Leipzig 1964 (cetera: Procopius, *Historia Arcana*).

monarchy order, an advocate for the "freedom" understood as breaking out of such "slavery", he did have an exemplary hero at his disposal, namely Stotzas, the leader of the revolted Roman soldiers: it is exactly the "freedom" thus understood that he would make the cause of the struggle carried on by himself and his comrades[85]. But even with the best efforts, it would be difficult to consider Stotzas as a positive character in the *De bellis*[86].

I have already noted that a quite interesting interpretation of this short discourse on the freedom and enslavement, as it is uttered by the Germanic commander, has been proposed by Charles Pazdernik, who observes there a reference to the exchange of words between the Spartans and Pharnabazos in Xenophon's *Hellenika* when the Persian satrap is tempted to forsake his allegiance to the Great King[87]. It would be a remote allusion, essentially reversing the original situation – there, the servant is persuaded into abandoning his master and choosing "freedom", while in this case, the hitherto sovereign ruler is supposed to forsake the illusion of "freedom", entering into the despotic monarch's service[88]. With no intention to challenge Pazdernik's argumentation, I would like to refer to a literary motif where there is no need for such a radical reversal of the whole situation.

It seems that a certain downside to his interpretation is the concentration exclusively on the first of the two oppositions, as signalled in Pharas' letter[89]. An equally important, even if apparently more trivial, part of the proposed argumentation is the one that sets out Belisarius' proposal (without questioning the value of bearing the adversities of Fate "with dignity") as another *kairós* on Gelimer's path: Fate offers him, in fact, one more chance, adding a bit of the good to the misfortune borne with dignity, but it is up to him alone if he should take it[90].

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[85] PROCOPIUS, *De bellis*, IV, 15, 30–31. Paradoxically, establishing one's own tyranny would ultimately turn out to be a consequence of the thus-conceived anarchic freedom (D. BRODKA, *Die Geschichtsphilosophie*…, p. 139).

[86] Anthony Kaldellis seems to follow along this line as he argues that in the rebel leader's speech, the soldiers under his personal command prove to be "men", eventually having to admit that this figure is a faithless and cynical traitor whose "manliness" is just another piece of evidence for the degeneration of the period (A. KALDELLIS, *Procopius's Vandal War*…, p. 19). For an extremely critical view of the rebels as a chaotic and anarchized rabble, see D. BRODKA, *Die Geschichtsphilosophie*…, p. 136–139. The character of Stotzas would be only justified by the fact that he is essentially a tragic figure embroiled in the predetermined role by the force of the circumstances (PROCOPIUS, *De bellis*, III, 11, 30–31).

[87] XENOPHON, *Helléniques*, IV, 1, 34–36, ed., trans. J. HATZFELD, Paris 2019.

[88] Ch. PAZDERNIK, *Xenophon's Hellenica*…, p. 184–195.

[89] We should not criticize Pazdernik for this choice as the focus of his research is clearly limited to this first motif (*ibidem*, p. 185).

[90] PROCOPIUS, *De bellis*, IV, 6, 23–26. Although the term *kairós* is not mentioned here literally, it is my impression that Pharas' words: *Or should we consider that the good gifts of Fate are not just as inevitable as are her undesirable gifts? But not even total fools think this* (PROCOPIUS, *De bellis*, IV, 6, 24: ἢ οὐχ ὁμοιώς τοῖς φλαύροις ἀναγκαῖά γε ἡμῖν καὶ τὰ παρὰ τῆς τύχης ἀγαθὰ λογιστέον ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν οὐδὲ τοῖς σφόδρα ἀνοήτος δοκεῖ, trans. Dewing–Kaldellis; modified, cf. note 118) should point

It should be noted that Gelimer does not reject the Roman commander's arguments. He refuses the proposal for a different reason: becoming the emperor Justinian's captive turns out to be unbearable to him not because, as a sovereign ruler himself, he would not be able to bear the thought of surrendering to the authority of another ruler, but for the prospect of ignoring the enormous wrong done to him (that is, as he believed, an unprovoked attack on his realm)[91]. He writes that he even prays for God's punishment upon Justinian, and it is here that he utters his particular words of an ominous prophecy: *Yet he too is a man and, although he is an emperor as well, it is not at all unlikely that something may befall him that he would not choose*[92]. In the further words of the letter, he asks Pharas (as previously mentioned) for three objects, that is, a sponge, a loaf of bread, and a lyre, and when the astonished officer hears the justification of this request and comes to realize the profound misery of the Vandal king, he bursts out crying himself – caused not so much by sympathy as by a bitter reflection over man's helplessness in the face of Fate's verdicts[93].

A little later, the same reflection comes to be expressed in an apparently opposite manner: in an uncontrollable burst of laughter. As Gelimer (broken by the sight of a hungry Vandal boy beaten up by a young Moor, he eventually decided to surrender) is brought in to stand before the victorious Belisarius as a captive, he bursts out in uncontrollable laughter, which some wanted to see as a laughter of a madman utterly broken by his misery. But Procopius offers an alternative explanation of his behaviour: Gelimer, who first reached the heights of prosperity and subsequently the lowest bottom of his fall had the experience *of all the gifts of fortune, both good and evil, he thought that man's lot was worthy of nothing else than much laughter*[94]. Regarded in this way, Gelimer's laughter is not an expression of insanity but the wisdom of someone who – having gained a kingdom and then lost it – achieved a distance perspective on everything considered as fortune and misfortune by the average mortal. It is true that such an explanation is only the historian's supposition, but this thought seems to be reiterated in the words of Ecclesiastes, which Gelimer keeps repeating while walking as a captive during Belisarius' triumph in Constantinople[95].

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to this conception quite obviously. The reader of the *De bellis* must have inevitably thought about how Gelimer missed the opportune moment (*kairós*) in the battle of Decimum; cf. note 39.

[91] Procopius, *De bellis*, IV, 6, 27.

[92] Procopius, *De bellis*, IV, 6, 28: καίτοι καὶ αὐτῷ ἀνθρώπῳ γε ὄντι, καὶ βασιλεῖ οὐδὲν ἀπεικὸς ξυμβήσεσθαί τι ὧν οὐκ ἔλοιτο (trans. Dewing–Kaldellis).

[93] Procopius, *De bellis*, IV, 6, 33–34.

[94] Procopius, *De bellis*, IV, 7, 14–15: πάντων τε ταύτῃ τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς τύχης ἀγαθῶν τε καὶ φλαύρων ἐν πείρᾳ γεγονότα, ἄλλου οὐδενὸς ἄξια τὰ ἀνθρώπινα ἢ γέλωτος πολλοῦ οἴεσθαι εἶναι (trans. Dewing–Kaldellis).

[95] Procopius, *De bellis*, IV, 9, 11.

Gelimer and Croesus

It is very likely that the reader of Herodotus should associate some of those scenes with some already present in the work of the "Father of history". Gelimer's sudden outburst of laughter (as interpreted by Procopius) mirrors the episode when Croesus, standing at the stake, recognizes in a flash the same truth which – in his case – once had been unsuccessfully tried to be revealed to him by Solon[96]. The words of his warning to Justinian recall the moment just afterwards, when the victorious Cyrus recognizes that being a human himself (ὅτι καὶ αὐτὸς ἄνθρωπος ἐὼν), he commits to the flames someone who was equal to him in good fortune – and decides to spare Croesus[97]. It is worth noting here that Gelimer's helpless threatening also renders his former high status of power and prosperity and the current position of Justinian as equal; perhaps by repeating *vanitas vanitatum* he means not only his lost royal splendor, but also the one enjoyed now by the seemingly victorious Emperor. And even Pharas' weeping over human Fate is heavily reminiscent of the scene from Herodotus where the Persians lament over the fateful misfortune of the last pharaoh[98]. I should also add lastly that if Procopius – in a bow to the Christian religion – wished to express Solon's wisdom through the words of the Bible, Ecclesiastes appears to be the most appropriate choice for this purpose[99].

The interpretation I have proposed would ascribe an additional, allusive meaning to the reminiscence of the Vandal *habrosýne*. The usual word used in Greek for describing the "soft" way of life was *tryphé*[100], but it is only *habrosýne* that points explicitly to the stereotypical feature of the Lydian people and, in consequence, hints at a parallel between Gelimer's and Croesus' stories. At the same time, the deliberations about falling from the highest prosperity to the deepest misery would not be understandable if Procopius had not already earlier pictured, in vivid terms, both the former and the present living conditions experienced by the Vandals.

The analogy proposed here does not seem to depart as far from the literary original as the one offered by Pazdernik, even though there is indeed a significant difference between the fates of the last kings of the Vandals and Lydians. In Herodotus' narrative, the wisdom of Croesus is appreciated by Cyrus as he becomes the

[96] HERODOTUS, *Historiae*, I, 86, 3–5. Perhaps in already contesting the claim of Gelimer's laughter as being a possible sign of insanity, Procopius may have referred to Herodotus, where such outbursts of laughter are usually interpreted as expressions of madness (cf. P. VAN NUFFELEN, *The Wor(l)ds of Procopius*, [in:] *Procopius of Caesarea. Literary and Historical Interpretations*, ed. C. LILINGTON-MARTIN, E. TURQUOIS, London–New York 2018, p. 48).

[97] HERODOTUS, *Historiae*, I, 86, 6.

[98] HERODOTUS, *Historiae*, III, 14; cf. Th. HARRISON, *Divinity and History – The Religion of Herodotus*, Oxford 2000 [= OCM], p. 58.

[99] For a possible influence of the Archaic Greek thought on the Book of Ecclesiastes, see H. RANSTON, *Ecclesiastes and the Early Greek Wisdom Literature*, London 1925.

[100] Cf. note 3.

Persian ruler's adviser[101]. Likewise, Gelimer receives a proposal of becoming a senator, even a patrician (and thus joining the circle of the emperor's advisers), but his agreement would entail the necessity of renouncing his Arian confession[102]. Refusing to choose this option, the former Vandal king is satisfied with an estate in Galatia granted to him by the emperor and withdraws into private life[103]. This could be seen as just another piece of evidence for a veiled criticism of the emperor's repressive religious policy[104]. Could it have been that Fate offered Justinian the same opportunity as it once did to the victorious Persian monarch but the ruler ignored it (with the deplorable consequences for the future years of his reign)?

By the way, such a reversal in the ending of a story would not be an isolated case in Procopius' writings. It has been recognized for a long time that the anecdote about the speech made by John of Cappadocia, opposed to the African expedition and Justinian's subsequent hesitation mirrors Herodotus' story on Artabanes and Xerxes[105]. In both cases, the monarchs initially allow themselves to be persuaded

[101] Herodotus, *Historiae*, I, 88–89. Incidentally, Croesus connects his duty to serve as an adviser to Cyrus with the fact that Fate made him the Persian ruler's slave (*doúlos*).

[102] Let us recall that this regulation was not dictated by Justinian for this particular case but was the result of the legal restriction, already over a century old at the time, according to which the non-Orthodox were not allowed to hold offices in the Roman Empire (*Codex Theodosianus*, XVI, 5, 29, a. 395; XVI, 5, 42, a. 408, [in:] *Theodosiani Libri XVI cum Constitutionibus Sirmondianis et Leges Novellae ad Theodosianum pertinentes*, ed. Th. Mommsen, P.M. Meyer, Berlin 1905), with the exception of the military ones (*Codex Iustinianus*, 1, 5, 12 and 17, a. 527, [in:] *Corpus Iuris Civilis*, vol. II, *Codex Iustinianus*, rec. P. Krüger, Berlin 1954).

[103] Procopius, *De bellis*, IV, 9, 13–14.

[104] The passage of the *Historia Arcana* in which Procopius lists up Justinian's measures against the religious dissidents (Procopius, *Historia Arcana*, 11, 14–33) is just a part of the enumeration of this emperor's repressive acts towards various groups of the Roman society and does not have to be understood as a voice against religious persecution as such, but there is no doubt that Procopius blames the emperor's anti-Arian policy for contributing to the army revolt in Carthage (536) and – in consequence – to the havoc in Africa (Procopius, *Historia Arcana*, 18, 10–11; Procopius, *De bellis*, IV, 14, 11–15; cf. W.E. Kaegi, *Arianism and the Byzantine Army in Africa 533–546*, T 21, 1965, p. 23–53). Some more recent research on the *Historia Arcana* (especially following the interpretation posited by H. Börm, *Procopius, his Predecessors, and the Genesis of the Anecdota: Antimonarchic Discourse in Late Antique Historiography*, [in:] *Antimonarchic Discourse in Antiquity*, ed. idem, Stuttgart 2015, p. 305–346) do not allow us to make a simple projection of the critical view of the emperor in this work onto the *De bellis* (where it would have been possibly expressed in a "tacit" or indirect way – cf. J. Signes Codoñer, *Kaiserkritik in Prokops Kriegsgeschichte*, [in:] *Freedom and its Limits in the Ancient World. Proceedings of the Colloquium Held at the Jagellonian University, Kraków, September 2003*, ed. D. Brodka, J. Janik, S. Sprawski, Kraków 2003 [= Ele, 9], p. 215–229), but in this case, the assertions found in the two works are convergent, and even though in the *De bellis* Procopius does not provide them with a commentary critical of the emperor, the bitter irony of the words in the conclusion of his account on the wars in Africa (Procopius, *De bellis*, IV, 28, 52) sounds completely in correspondence with his opinion expressed in Procopius, *Historia Arcana*, 18, 10–11.

[105] Procopius, *De bellis*, III, 10, 1–21; Herodotus, *Historiae*, VII, 10–18. Cf. H. Braun, *Die Nachahmung Herodots…*, p. 46; A. Kaldellis, *Procopius of Caesarea…*, p. 181 and V. Zali, *Fate, Divine*

by the argumentation of their advisers and depart from the original plan, but both of them reconsider their decisions after being admonished by a deity in a dream. As for Xerxes, the words of the deity turn out to be a temptation through which it leads the Persian monarch to an ultimately disastrous outcome, while the divine promise given to Justinian is fulfilled in the astonishing success of the Vandal campaign. It may be that Procopius employs a well-known pattern here by building a Herodotean correlation exactly in order to highlight the specific difference between the respective endings of the narratives. We could have a look, in a similar manner, at the differences in the respective endings of the histories of Gelimer and Croesus.

The hypothesis of Procopius deliberately juggling Herodotean motifs for his narration of Gelimer's surrender, where the last Vandal king is stylized as a "contemporary Croesus" figure, appears to be plausible in light of the research bringing up multiple references to the "Father of history" in the *De bellis* and the *Historia Arcana*[106]. In fact, more or less obvious, though quite casual, handling of Herodotean motifs can be identified also in the earlier sections of Procopius' African narrative[107]. The parallel between Gelimer and Croesus seems to be not only closer than the one between Gelimer and Pharnabazos, but also extends over a greater part of Procopius' narrative, at least from the situation when the negotiations started until Gelimer humbled himself before Justinian and accepted the emperor's favour. This does not mean I believe it is necessary to dismiss Pazdernik's proposition – perhaps Procopius wished to display his erudition by drawing on Xenophon (in the discussion of "freedom" and "servitude") as well as Herodotus (discussing Fate and the wise approach to the fortunes and misfortunes it may bring)[108]. It is my impression that Procopius is above all a writer who is able to build one narrative

phthonos, *and the Wheel of Fortune: the Reception of Herodotean Theology in Early and Middle Byzantine Historiography*, [in:] *God in History. Reading and Rewriting Herodotean Theology from Plutarch to the Renaissance*, ed. A. ELLIS, Newcastle upon Tyne 2015, p. 93–95.

[106] For a list of the probable and possible references to Herodotus in Procopius' works, see H. BRAUN, *Die Nachahmung Herodots…*, *passim*. For more recent interpretations of the references to Herodotus in the preface to Procopius' work (PROCOPIUS, *De bellis*, I, 1), see M. KRUSE, *Archery in the Preface to Procopius' Wars. A Figured Image of Agonistic Authorship*, SLA 1, 2017, p. 381–406; F. BASSO, G. GREATREX, *How to Interpret Procopius' Preface to the Wars*, [in:] *Procopius of Caesarea. Literary and Historical…*, p. 59–72. In the context of our further discussion, let us also take note of Averil Cameron's remark on Procopius' borrowing of Herodotean phrases in the instances where he says that *something was preordained to someone*; in Cameron's opinion, such "fatalistic" expressions can still be reconciled with the author's Christian world-view (A. CAMERON, *The 'Scepticism' of Procopius*, Hi 15, 1966, p. 477–478).

[107] For more on this topic cf. M. STACHURA, *Inspirations from Herodotus Found in Procopius' Account on the Fall of the Vandal Kingdom*, [in:] *Proceedings of the 11th International Symposium of Byzantine and Medieval Studies "Days of Justinian I", Skopje 9–11 November 2023* (forthcoming).

[108] For some Herodotean inspiration discerned in this second thread of Pharas' letter, see V. ZALI, *Fate…*, p. 97.

on several allusions simultaneously[109], with the use of diverse motifs and different literary references, thus obtaining a transmission much richer in meanings than he could have achieved with a simple and direct imitative technique.

A certain ambiguity, or incoherence, is of course a broader problem in interpreting the "metaphysical background" of Procopius' work. The story of the rise and fall of the Vandal state is so full of various contradictory references to the supernatural sphere that it may serve as evidence for a number of contradictory hypotheses on the author's (or the narrator's, as obviously the two do not have to be identical) world-view. God who foretells a victory to Justinian through the words spoken by one of the bishops is almost the Lord of the Hosts from the Old Testament promising to stand up for His chosen one[110], while God to whom Belisarius refers in his orations grants victories not so much to the advocates of orthodoxy as to those who are just[111], regardless of their confession (Procopius provides a similar argumentation in the words spoken by Totila, an Arian heretic[112]). In turn, God from Gelimer's prophetic warning is an inscrutable master of Fate dispensing fortune and misfortune in mysterious ways, God that the emperor – as being "only human" – should fear, irrespective of his creed or personal merits.

All of these are merely words spoken by the protagonists of the story. As the narrator, Procopius takes note of the numerous signs indicating God's blessing for the campaign, but these are all only good omens of the future victory[113] or some *ex post* evidence of God's verdicts coming true[114]. The sole turning point in the course of the expedition where the narrator makes a direct reference to Divine intervention is the previously mentioned moment of Gelimer's blindness at Decimum[115], decisive for the outcome of at least the first part of the campaign (incidentally, the motif of "blindness" sent down by God is here rather more Herodotean[116]

[109] As an example, let us take a look at the prologue to his history, built on the successive allusions to Herodotus, Thucydides, and Homer. The above-mentioned speech made by John of Cappadocia also contains some references to these three authors (H. Braun, *Die Nachahmung Herodots*…, p. 25).

[110] Procopius, *De bellis*, III, 10, 18–20.

[111] Procopius, *De bellis*, III, 12, 11; III, 16, 16.

[112] Procopius, *De bellis*, VII, 8, 22–24; VII, 9, 16.

[113] Referring to the abundant spring which the Romans came across as they landed (Procopius, *De bellis*, III, 15, 34–35) – it is noteworthy that according to Corippus, one of the participants, John Troglites, mentions this fact, although he does not see any miracle or sign in the event (*Flavii Cresconii Corippi Iohannidos seu de Bellis Libycis Libri VIII*, I, 383, ed. J. Diggle, D. Goodyear, F. Richard, Cambridge 1970).

[114] Like the surprisingly fulfilled dream in which St. Cyprian foretold the punishment on the Vandals (Procopius, *De bellis*, III, 21, 17–25). However, the recalled ancient prophecy according to which Gamma shall chase Beta away and then Gamma is chased away by Beta (Procopius, *De bellis*, III, 21, 14–16) would rather correspond to the unconsciously pronounced prophecies from the narrative of Herodotus (cf. Th. Harrison, *Divinity and History*…, p. 127–130).

[115] Procopius, *De bellis*, III, 19, 25.

[116] *Theoblabes* in Herodotus, cf. Th. Harrison, *Divinity and History*…, p. 54.

than Biblical, as there is no comment referring to a possible punishment for the usurper's sins). Obviously, the careful reader should easily identify a number of other fortunate (from the Roman perspective) occurrences, although the narrator does not ascribe those events openly to any intervention of the powers beyond human control[117].

If we should ask, in turn, about the narrator's statement in which the "metaphysical" background of the story is revealed, the author's commentary at the beginning of the description of the battle at Decimum is obviously of relevance here: *God*, *who sees from afar what the future holds*, *traces out the manner in which it seems best to him that things should come to pass* […] *so that in all of this a path is laid down for Fate*, *who implements all that has been ordained beforehand*[118]. It is easy to notice that there are three interrelated factors here: God, Fate, Destiny. Anthony Kaldellis, who discerns here, and in some other statements of Procopius, the presence of some sort of a modern-day atheism (concealed out of necessity and predating its period by many centuries), does not reach further than the first phrase suggestive of a "God" who is essentially limited to the role of a passive observer, but thus all the causality would be attributable to Fate (*týche*), conceived as "blind luck"[119]. Such an interpretation is contradicted by all the further part of the sentence: God is the one who is active in enabling the work (acts) of Tyche, while the latter turns out to lead towards everything that was already pre-established earlier on. Dariusz Brodka is correct in observing here that the issue is not Fate acting randomly (*Zufallstyche*), but Fate acting with a purpose (*teleologische Tyche*)[120], which – in such a framework – would be just a servant of Providence. Removing God from this triad would be risky, especially as Procopius makes it clear, in both the *De Bellis* and the *Historia Arcana*, that Tyche is only a name invented by humans to describe the acts of God which are incomprehensible to humans[121]. Nevertheless, the point made by Brodka would remain valid even if we assume that God is a "superimposed" factor here (following Kaldellis' hypothesis),

[117] Also interpreted as the Divine intervention is the storm stopping Bonifatius from running away with the treasure of the Vandal king, but this one is rather a "private explanation" made by a corrupted official seeking a pretext for betraying his former master "in accordance with his conscience" (PROCOPIUS, *De bellis*, IV, 4, 33–41).

[118] PROCOPIUS, *De bellis*, III, 18, 2: ὁ θεός, πόρρωθεν ὁρῶν τὰ ἐσόμενα, ὑπογράφει ὅπη ποτὲ αὐτῷ τὰ πράγματα δοκεῖ ἀποβήσεσθαι […] ἵνα γένηται τὰ τύχῃ τρίβος, φέρουσα πάντως ἐπὶ τὰ πρότερον δεδογμένα (trans. Dewing–Kaldellis, modified: in the present article, I have attempted to be consistent in rendering ἡ τύχη as Fate).

[119] A. KALDELLIS, *Procopius of Caesarea*…, p. 183.

[120] D. BRODKA, *Die Geschichtsphilosophie*…, p. 41.

[121] PROCOPIUS, *De bellis*, VIII, 12, 34–35; PROCOPIUS, *Historia Arcana*, 4, 44–45; I should also mention the observation made by D. BRODKA, *Die Geschichtsphilosophie*…, p. 54–55 about a slightly Protean nature of Procopius' Tyche. As it is represented in this author's work, it appears to be a freely utilized literary motif rather than a consistently conceived philosophical conception (see also IDEM, *Prokop von Caesarea*, Hildesheim–Zürich–New York 2022, p. 145–147).

a tactical "bow" to the prevalent world-view of the period. Even then Procopius' narrative would remain a story of the astonishing fulfillment of many successive prophecies, not of the total unpredictability of Fate. There is no way to overlook the fact how much it comes to resemble especially the Lydian motif of Herodotus' narrative. Essentially, the difference is found exactly in the role played by God: in Herodotus, even a god could postpone (at most), not avert, any predestined thing[122], while according to Procopius, God is the Lord of all destinies no less than of the Fate leading to those. But this difference may be likewise only apparent after all, since as Tom Harrison remarks, eventually also in the world-view of the "Father of history" (or at least in that of Solon, around whose conceptions this narrative of Herodotus is built up[123]), there is ultimately a god or some impersonal "divine power" (*to theíon*) behind Fate[124].

Conclusion

Anthony Kaldellis is quite correct in pointing out that there is a tension between the world-views behind the words of the two main protagonists in the Vandal narrative, Belisarius and Gelimer[125]. If Belisarius puts his trust in the fortitude and martial prowess of the soldiers under his command, and in God's justice[126], Gelimer comes to realize – more and more with each successive defeat – the fact that he is just a toy in the game of Fate[127]. It is also notable that the author leaves the question open in his narrator conclusion, to be resolved by the reader: *Whether this happened on the strength of Fate's judgement or thanks to some virtue, one justly marvels at it*[128]. The wisdom of Croesus as acquired by the Vandal king remains one of the many voices in Procopius' narrative. Both Pharas' teers and Gelimer's laughter are ultimately underpinned by the views of the two protagonists of his story, which the author recounts with a distanced perspective[129]. They build up the figures of the two Germanic leaders in a way similar to how the figures of Belisarius and Totila are built by their deep belief in the rewarding and punishing justice of Heavens, perhaps mistaken but conditioning their already "objectively"

[122] Herodotus, *Historiae*, I, 91.
[123] Th. Harrison, *Divinity and History*…, p. 36–40.
[124] *Ibidem*, p. 35; cf. also E. Eidinow, *TYCHĒ (τύχη, ἡ)*, [in:] *The Herodotus Encyclopaedia*, ed. Ch. Baron, Hoboken 2021, p. 1507.
[125] A. Kaldellis, *Procopius of Caesarea*…, p. 181–189.
[126] Procopius, *De bellis*, III, 12, 11; III, 16, 16; III, 19, 4–8; IV, 1, 13–16.
[127] Procopius, *De bellis*, IV, 2, 16; IV, 6, 28; IV, 7, 8.
[128] Procopius, *De bellis*, IV, 7, 21: τοῦτο γὰρ εἴτε τύχῃ εἴτε τινὶ ἀρετῇ γέγονε, δικαίως ἄν τας αὐτὸ ἀγασθείη (trans. Dewing–Kaldellis, modified: Dewing–Kaldellis proposes "by chance or some kind of valor", but it does not seems to me that Procopius referred to "mere chance" here nor that ἡ ἀρετή is certainly understood here as valor).
[129] Procopius, *De bellis*, IV, 6, 34; IV, 7, 14–16.

(at the narrator judgement level) admirable acts[130]. Thus, even if both Gelimer's and Pharas' deliberations have a generally "Solonian" overtone, we cannot speak here about the adoption of the Herodotean views on Fate and the human condition in Procopius' history, but much more about using a certain Herodotean pattern to construct an interesting story and the figures of its protagonists.

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[130] Cf. D. Brodka, *Prokop*…, p. 143–144.

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The Short Redaction of Joannes Zonaras' *Ἐπιτομὴ Ἱστοριῶν* in the Slavonic Manuscript Tradition*

Abstract. The paper will focus on the four known Slavic witnesses of the so-called short redaction of Zonaras' *Chronicle* and will try to explore its provenance and development. The conclusions will be based on the comparison of the content of the codices the short redaction is preserved in, on the one hand, and on the other – on the text critical and linguistic similarities and differences the witnesses show. The relations between the short redaction and the full version of *Ἐπιτομὴ Ἱστοριῶν* will also be tackled upon.

Keywords: Zonaras' *Chronicle*, codices, Slavonic manuscript tradition

The Slavic translation of the world chronicle of Joannes Zonaras' *Ἐπιτομὴ Ἱστοριῶν* is now known in two redactions – a long one and a short one. The long redaction of the Chronicle has six full witnesses that belong to the Serbian recension of Old Bulgarian (Old Church Slavonic). The earliest one, MS Slav 321, which is kept in the library of the Romanian Academy of Sciences [RAS] in Bucharest, has been recently identified by M. Petrova, who overthrew the commonly accepted opinion of A. Jacimirskij that the manuscript contained the second Slavic translation of the Chronicle of George the Monk[1]. Before that, in 1980, the manuscript dating was revised by a team of Serbian experts, changing from the second half

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[1] M. Petrova, *Hamartolos or Zonaras: Searching for the Author of a Chronicle in a Fourteenth-century Slavic Manuscript: MS Slav. 321 from the Library of RAS*, SeS 8–9, 2010, p. 405–418.

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of the 15th century, according to A. Jacimirskij, to the more plausible last decade of the 14th century[2]. *Pravoslavnaya entsiklopediya* mentions another 14th-century witness of the Chronicle (RNB, Gil'ferding. № 94. f. 1) of which a single folio, containing part of the narrative about Leo VI, is preserved[3]. The excerpt was identified by A. Turilov and dates to the second half of the 14th century[4].
The other five witnesses relate to the period from the 15th to the 17th centuries:

1. Vienna, National Library of Austria, MS Slav. 126, end of the 15th century [ÖNB Cod. Slav 126][5];

2. Belgrade, Patriarchal Library, MS 47, (previously belonged to the Metropolitan's library in Sremski Karlovci), the 15th or 16th century [Belgrade PB 47];

3. Mt. Athos, Hilandar Monastery, MS 433, 1520–1530[6] [Hil. 433];

4. St. Petersburg, Library of the Academy of Sciences, MS 24.4.34, first half of the 16th century [St. Petersburg, BAN 24.4.34];

5. Moscow, Russian State Library, depository 310, MS Undol'skij 1191, 17th c.[7] [RGB Undol'skij 1191].

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[2] Љ. Васиљев, М. Гроздановић, Б. Јовановић, *Ново датирање српских рукописа у Библиотеци Румунске Академије наука*, АП 2, 1980, p. 58, No 73.

[3] Pravoslavnaya Entsiklopediya: *Православная Энциклопедия* под редакцией Патриарха Московского и всея Руси Кирилла (электронная версия), https://www.pravenc.ru/text/471214.html [31 VIII 2024].

[4] А. Турилов, *Заметки о славянской рукописной традиции Хроники Иоанна Зонары*, [in:] *Летописи и хроники. Новые исследования 2015–2016*, Москва–С. Петербург 2017, p. 7–11. Link to the manuscript https://nlr.ru/manuscripts/RA1527/elektronnyiy-katalog?ab=D04355A7-0D21-4086-80A1-5AF0ACAD5EE2 [31 VIII 2024].

[5] G. Birkfellner, *Glagolitische und kyrillische Handschriften in Österreich*, Wien 1975, catalog number II/63, p. 176–178, dated here to the beginning of the 16th century.

[6] A. Turilov found out that this manuscript includes the precise date of its creation, noted back in 1859 by Archimandrite Antonin Kapustin in a scribal note "сие съписах… от Константина до лета 7042 (1533–1534). года" (А. Турилов, *Заметки*…, p. 8). The note on f. 248v reads actually **сїѥ сѫ̑а писа̑ | ко̑ лѣ̑ ѿ ко̑ста|нтїна до лѣ̑ ѕ̑мв-го** (I wrote this now how many years [had passed] from Constantine to the year 7042) and represents a comment on the date of the foundation of Constantinople **ѯ н̑ ѡ̑ н̑ л̑н**, which is followed by the Dativus cum infinitivo construction **ꙗ̀ко бы̑ ко̑тн̑нѕ гра̑ ѿ съ̑да̑нїа ѥ̀го | даже до дне̑ лѣтѡ̑ ѡ̑. м̑.** meaning 'therefore 840 years have passed from the foundation of Constantinople to the present'. The year 1170 must have been reported by the Greek scribe who was copying the Chronicle and has nothing to do with the date of the Slavic translation. See also А. Турилов, *Заметки*…, p. 4 n. 5.

[7] M. Petrova, *Hamartolos*…, p. 412; Н. Гагова, *„Из книги Константина Костенечкаго"*: *Зограф 105*, [in:] **Шьствоу҇ѩ нынѣ по слѣдоу҇ оу҇чителю**. *Сборник в чест на проф. д.ф.н. Анна-Мария Тотоманова*, София 2021, p. 216.

The source of Zonaras's excerpt edited by V. Kačanovskij[8] is now untraceable, and efforts to find yet another copy, which, according to some scholars, was housed in Gračanica Monastery have been unsuccessful[9].

No one today disputes the Bulgarian provenance of the translation[10], especially after the discovery of the 14th-century witnesses, and it is almost commonly accepted that the translation occurred in the 14th century, during the reign of the Bulgarian Tsar Ivan Alexander[11]. The lost Bulgarian version found its way into Serbia no later than the second half of the 14th century, where the two known Serbian interpolations were made: the identifications of Dacians and their King Decebalus (87–106) as Serbs and the remark that Constantine the Great's brother in-law Licinius, husband of his sister Constance, was of Serbian origin[12]. According to N. Gagova, the Serbian interpolations point to an ideological and political concept meant to write the Serbs into the "Sacred History". This concept emerged between the 1340s and the 1390s in connection with the imperial ambitions of Tsar Stefan Dušan and his coronation in 1345. As such, it served to affirm the Lazarevići as a new dynasty during the last decades of the 14th century. N. Gagova also implies that the above-mentioned Bucharest RAS Slav 321 might have been ordered by Stefan Lazarević himself[13].

The text of the full redaction has not yet been thoroughly studied, nor has it appeared in print. A. Jacobs published a critical edition of part of the St. Petersburg, BAN 24.4.34 (concerning Byzantine rulers from Constantine the Great to Constantine VIII[14]). By comparing the Slavic version to the Greek Vorlage, Jacobs found that the translation properly rendered only the first six books of Zonaras, (covering the period from the Creation to the destruction of Jerusalem as opposed

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[8] Vl. Kačanovskij, *Iz srbsko-slovenskoga prievoda bizantijskago ljetopis Ioanna Zonare*, Starine 1882, 14, p. 125–172. The editor defines the text as belonging to the same redaction as Moscow Undol'skij 1191 and the Athonite Hilandar 433 and dates it to the 15th century. He does not indicate any shelf mark, saying only that the manuscript was housed in Belgrade (p. 126).

[9] See M. Weingart, *Byzantské kroniky v literatuře církevněslovanské. Přehled a rozbor filologický*, vol. I, Praha 1922, p. 89 (and the respective literature).

[10] See the literature in Н. Гагова, *„Из книги…*, p. 216, n. 57.

[11] The date of the Bulgarian translation has been disputed for a long time and various years (1170, 1332 and 1344) have been proposed, see M. Petrova, *Hamartolos…*, p. 411. We share the opinion of A. Jacobs that it should be dated to the year ѧ҃ѕ҃ѿ҃ѳ҃ (= 1344). (A. Jacobs, *Ζωναράς. Die byzantinische Geschichte bei Joannes Zonaras in slavischer Übersetzung*, München 1970, p. 102). This date is preserved in both the Petersburg (f. 359) and Moscow (f. 273v) MSS that reveal the archaic grammatical and orthographic features, while the Vienna, ÖNB Slav 126 and Belgrade, PB 47 (at this point, we've only learned of 1 Belgrade ms, unless referring to the one cited by Kačanovskij), report the date ѧ҃ѧ҃ѳ҃ѳ҃, which seems to be just a misreading. Regarding the date of the Athonite Hil. 433 MS, see above n. 6. On this matter see also А. Турилов, *Заметки…*, p. 4–5, n. 5.

[12] Н. Гагова, *„Из книги…*, p. 216–217; see also M. Petrova, *Hamartolos…*, p. 411–412.

[13] Most specialists who have examined this codex, however, confirm its Wallachian-Moldavian origins (M. Petrova, *Hamartolos…*, p. 405).

[14] Zonaras' Chronicle ends with John II Komnenos' ascension to the throne in 1118.

to the next twelve books devoted to Roman and Byzantine history). The Slavic man of letters translated less than half of the third part, which contained the last six books (12–18) on the history of Byzantium. The summary of the Roman epoch (book 8) is totally missing, and the reigns of Justinian I, Heraclius, Leo III, and Constantine V are neglected for no plausible political or theological reasons[15].

The observations of O. Tvorogov, which are based on the same manuscript, are in agreement with the conclusions of A. Jacobs. The former established that the narrative of the biblical history and the history of the eastern monarchies (ff. 1–161v), i.e., those concerning Alexander the Great (ff. 161v–177r), his successors, and the history of Judea, up to the destruction of Jerusalem by Titus (ff. 177r–268r), as well as the history of Rome from Aeneas's arrival in Italy to the assassination of Julius Caesar (ff. 268r–314v), had been translated without any significant abbreviations. Caesar's death, however, is immediately followed by the narrative regarding the emperors from Vespasian to Maximian (ff. 330r–354v) and Constantine the Great (ff. 354v–363r), and the Byzantine emperors, from Theodosius I to Marcian (ff. 363r–379r), as well as in regards to the reigns of Anastasius (ff. 379r–383r), Mauritius (ff. 383r–388v), Irene and Constantine VI (ff. 388v–395r). It then goes on to recount the emperors from Theophilus to Leo VI (ff. 395r–436r), as well as Basil II and Constantine VIII (ff. 436r–447r). In all manuscripts, the narrative of Leo V the Armenian is placed at the end of the translation, thus breaking the chronology and the succession of the Byzantine rulers[16].

Both A. Jacobs and O. Tvorogov seem to share the opinion that the omissions of certain historical periods and reigns from the Slavic translation were intentional and cannot be explained by a corrupted Vorlage[17].

This conclusion seems to be supported by some additional arguments: Pietro Luigi Leone traced the Greek manuscript tradition of Zonaras by examining 74 manuscripts[18] and divided them into seven categories according to their content: the first one includes the manuscripts that contain the whole *Epitome* where the text does not present many omissions and lacunae; the second – manuscripts in bad conditions that must have incorporated the whole or almost the whole work; the third – manuscripts that contain the first 12 books or some of them (at least three); the fourth – manuscripts containing books 10–28; the fifth – manuscripts

[15] A. Jacobs, *Ζωναράς*…, p. 3–5.

[16] О. Творогов, *Хроника Иоанна Зонары*, [in:] *Словарь книжников и книжности Древней Руси* / X (*Хождение Агапия*… – *Хронограф Троицкий*), http://lib.pushkinskijdom.ru/Default.aspx?tabid=4707 [31 VIII 2024]. The indication *recto* and *verso* for the folia is provided by me according to the electronic copy at https://kp.rusneb.ru/item/reader/hronograf-ioanna-zonary [31 VIII 2024] (A. Totomanova).

[17] A. Jacobs, *Ζωναράς*…, p. 5–7; О. Творогов, *Хроника*… http://lib.pushkinskijdom.ru/Default.aspx?tabid=4707 [31 VIII 2024].

[18] According to *Pinakes*, the Greek tradition of Zonaras is presented in 73 witnesses from the 12th–18th centuries, https://pinakes.irht.cnrs.fr/notices/depot/940/ [31 VIII 2024].

containing books 12–18; the sixth – manuscripts containing books 13–18; the seventh – manuscripts that contain one or two books or excerpts. In the appendix Leone lists five manuscripts that contain translations or paraphrases[19]. The Slavic Zonaras does not match the content of any of these codices.

All witnesses known today from the full redaction of the Chronicle ascend to a common archetype. However, based on the lexical and orthographic differences, they fall into two groups: the first one is represented by the St. Petersburg, BAN 24.4.34 and Moscow, RGB Undol'skij 1191 that are close to each other, retain archaic forms and reveal less omissions; the second group contains the rest of the MSS but it is not totally unified: on the one hand, the Belgrade, PB 47 copy often coincides with the Kačanovskij excerpt, and on the other, the Vienna. ÖNB Slav 126 copy shows specific readings that go either with the Moscow, RGB Undol'skij 1191 or with the Athonite Hil. 433[20]. M. Petrova has the impression that the earliest full copy of Zonaras, RAS, Slav 321 in Bucharest, although often coinciding with Vienna, ÖNB Slav 126, sometimes differs from both the Vienna, ÖNB Slav 126 and Moscow, RGB Undol'skij 1191[21].

The so-called short redaction of the Slavic full (indeed abridged) translation of Zonaras' Chronicle is preserved in four witnesses:

1. Belgrade, Museum of the Serbian Orthodox Church, MS 42, ff. 125r–221v, the second fourth of the 15th century around 1430/1440; [MSPC 42, hereinafter referred to as Belgrade 42].
2. Mount Athos, Zographou Monastery, MS 105, ff. 1–156r. The codex can be precisely dated based on a remark about the solar eclipse of 17 June, 1433 that can be found in the Moscow fragment of the same manuscript (Russian State Library, Muzejnoe sobranie, MS 3070). The four folia of the fragment are the only remnants of the quires that V. Grigorovič took to Russia after examining the codex during his stay in Mount Athos in 1844–1845[22]. [Zogr. 105 and RGB Muz. 3070].
3. Cavtat, Croatia, Collection of Baltazar Bogišić, MS 52, 1st section ff. 1–83v, third fourth of 16th c. [Bogišić 52, hereinafter referred to as Cavtat 52].

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[19] P.L.M. Leone, *La tradizione manoscritta nell'Epitome historiarum di Giovanni Zonaras*, [in:] *ΣΥΝΔΕΣΜΟΣ. Studi in onore di Rosario Anastasi*, vol. II, Catania 1994, p. 226.

[20] A. Jacobs, *Ζωναράς…*, p. 101; see also M. Petrova, *Hamartolos…*, p. 412–413 with the respective literature.

[21] M. Petrova, *Hamartolos…*, p. 414.

[22] D. Birnbaum, *Textual and Accentual Problems of Muz. 3070 and Zogr. 151*, Cambridge 1988, p. 31–33; А. Турилов, *Этническое и культурное самосознание сербов в конце XIV–XV вв.*, [in:] *Этническое самосознание славян в XV столетии*, Москва 1995, p. 158. See also idem, *Заметки…*, p. 9–10, where he expresses the opinion that the copying of MS Zogr. 105 could have started earlier in 1432, given the fact that the survived fragment belonged to the first part of the codex.

4. Moscow, Russian State Library, fond 113, MS Volokolamskij 655, ff. 1–122v, beginning of the 16th c. The text is known as *Paralipomenon* and was edited twice: first by Bodjanskij in 1847, and then by Tvorogov in 2010[23]. See digitized manuscript on the Holy Trinity St. Sergius Lavra website, https://lib-fond.ru/lib-rgb/113/f-113-655/ [Volokolamskij 655].

The first three witnesses are Serbian, while the fourth one represents a Russified copy from a Serbian apograph compiled in 1408 for the Serbian despot Stefan Lazarević[24]. The codices incorporating the short redaction of Zonaras represent miscellanies with different content, but it is worth mentioning that Zogr. 105 and Cavtat 52 demonstrate striking similarities in this regard. They both contain *Donatio Costantini* (156v–161r//87r–93r), *Alexander the Monk's treatise about how Constantine and his mother Helena discovered the True Cross* (161r–174v//87r–93r), *the Life of Stefan Lazarević by Constantine of Kostenets* (175r–182v without the ending in Zogr. 105)[25], *Cosmographic-Geographic fragments*, *usually ascribed to Constantine of Kostenets* (183r–186v – the beginning and the end missing in Zogr. 105//112r–122v), *Commentary on the Song of Songs by Theodoret of Cyrus* (179r–180v – the beginning and the end missing in Zogr. 105//124v–142r). The Slavic text of the *Ohrid Chrysobull of 1273*, *issued by Michael VIII Paleologos*[26] and a *Festal Menaion* (187r–239v without the end) can be found in Zogr. 105, and *Commentary on the Holy Liturgy* (122b–124v + 133)[27] can also be found in Cavtat 52. Belgrade 42, apart from Zonaras's Chronicle, also contains *Donatio Costantini* (224r–231v) and the treatise of Alexander the Monk (232r–254v)[28]. These three works seem to form a common nucleus of the three codices. By contrast, the Volokolamskij 655 reveals quite different content, as the *Paralipomenon* is followed by: *Life of Stefan Lazarević* by Constantine of Kostenets (123r–221r), *The responses of Joannes*, *bishop of Kitros*, *to Constantine Kabasilas*, *archibishop*

[23] О. Бодянский, *Паралипомен Зонарин*, ЧИОИДР, Год третий, № 1, Москва 1847, p. I–VIII, 1–119; О. Творогов, *Паралиромен Зонары: текст и комментарий*, [in:] *Летописи и хроники. Новые исследования. 2009–1010*, Москва–С. Петербург 2010, p. 3–101.

[24] А. Турилов, *Заметки*…, p. 7–11.

[25] The final five pages of the text are contained in the fragment that is housed in the Russian State Library [RSL], Muzejnoe sobranie, MS 3070, ff. 2v–4v. See D. Birnbaum, *The Life of Stefan Lazarević: A Contribution to the Study of Manuscript Tradition*, SeS 23, 2023, p. 139–172. In Cavat 52 this text is in the second part of the codex.

[26] The text is contained in the same fragment RGB Muz. 3070, ff. 1r–2r and published by D. Birnbaum, *A Slavic Translation of the Ohrid Chrysobull of 1273*, AUS.SL 21, 1990, p. 267–284; the same with minor corrections in SeS 23, 2023, p. 173–182.

[27] Н. Гагова, „*Из книги*…, p. 223–224.

[28] The codex contains also *Palea Historica* and an impressive number of different orations and excerpts. The detailed description of the whole manuscript was published in В. Велинова, **Н нѣѣ бжєственїѣ добродѣтели сладьчеишежє сласти медовнїѣ и богатеише паче множство ѕлатникъ** *(За литературния контекст на Историческата палея)*, [in:] *Осми международен колоквиум по старобългаристика. Сборник доклади*, София 2022, p. 133–147.

of Dyrrachium, cf. Gr. *Ἀποκρίσεις πρὸς Κωνσταντῖνον ἀρχιεπίσκοπον Δυρραχίου τὸν Καβάσιλαν* (221v–233v), *Prayers for breaking an oath* (234r–238r), *The story of Alexander the Great* (238v–262r), *Life of Stefan of Dečani by Gregorios the Monk and Presbyter, hegumen of the same abode* (263r–328), *Life of Hilarion of Meglin* by Euthymius of Târnovo (327v–377v)[29].

All of Zonaras's short witnesses – Zogr. 105 on ff. 140v–141r, Belgrade 42 on f. 210v, Cavtat 52 on f. 75r, and Volokolamskij 655 on ff. 93v–94r reveal the same error in dating the Slavic translation of Zonaras, reporting the year **ѧѿнв**[30], which allows us to presume that the short redaction comes from a manuscript of the same redaction as the full Vienna, ÖNB Slav 126 and Belgrade, PB 47. The text of Zonaras in the first three witnesses opens with the synopsis of the Roman and Byzantine rulers, which is introduced as follows:

СКѦZѦНЇЄ ИZ҃ѢСТНОЄ ГЛѦ҃ М҃Ъ КНИГЫ ⁖ѕі҃є

Прьвѣ́е начина́ѣть ѿ кни́гъ мѡ҃ѷсе́иский҃. нача́нь ѿ бытїа | ѻ̀ твори́нїи ми́ра. дрьже ѯ҃и́ по́ ре́дѣ. вь коу́пѣ сь і҃ѡси́помь | ѝ паралипоме́ны, да́же до і҃исоу́са сн҃а нави́на. вь ни́|х҃же ѝ ѻ҃брѣта́ет се прьвии нача́л҃ни҃к҃ вь лѣ́хь. невр҃ѡ́ • т҃а́ | і҃исоу́са навїина сь про́чїи́ми. д҃а́ до кни́гы четвороцр҃т|вны́е. ѝ ѿсоу́доу полага́ѣть нача́ло гла-ви́знамь:≂ (cited according Zogr. 105, f. 1r–v). The list of rulers coincides – with minor differences – with the one in Moscow, RGB Undol'skij 1191, where it is placed after the text of the Chronicle[31]. In all three MSS, the narrative about Leo V the Armenian, which was misplaced in the full redaction, is inserted according to the chronology preceding the reign of Theophilus. In the list of rulers, however, this narrative stays at the end in both the Zogr. 105 and Cavtat 52. The scribe of Zogr. 105 explains his decision at the end of the synopsis: **Сѐго леѡ̀на а̀рме́нїа цр҃тво. прѣ́же миха̀ила. а̀|м҃мѡрі́а ѝ ѳеѡфі́ла є҃. н҃ѣ з҃е́ ѻ̀брѣ́тше сі́е҃ | не прѣло́жихѡ҃ нь та́ко написахѡ҃́**:≂ (Zogr. 105, f. 1b21–23). A similar text could be found in Moscow, RGB Undol'skij 1191, f. 336v, Hil. 433, f. 294r, and in the fragments published by Kačanovskij, cf. **Сѐго҃ лва а̀рме́нїа цр҃тво. прѣ́|же ѳеѡ́филова цр҃тва е́сть. нъ̀ на коне́ць кни́гы напи́са се**[32]. In the synopsis of Belgrade 42, Leo V the Armenian is listed by mistake before the reign of Irene and her son Constantine VI.

[29] О. Бодянский, *Паралипомен*…, p. VIII. The indication *recto* and *verso* for the folia numbers is provided by me and the content of the MS is verified according to the electronic edition cited above (A. Totomanova).

[30] See note 11 above.

[31] See the appendix at the end of the article.

[32] Cited according to Moscow, RGB Undol'skij 1191. The beginning and the end of the St. Petersburg, BAN 24.4.34 are lost and, not having access to the other witnesses of the full redaction, it is impossible to say whether they include a synopsis or not.

The text of the short adaptation of Zonaras in MSS Belgrade 42 and Cavtat 52 is entitled ѓЄЖЄ | Ѡ НАЧЄ́ЛА |МИ́РОУ БЫ́ВШЇИ^{X} ПИСА́НЇИ ВЬ ПРОСТРА́Н^{Ь}СТВИ ОБЛИ́ЧЕНЇА ПОВѢДА́Н^{Ь}НЫИ and starts with a short preface explaining who Zonaras was, why he undertook his work and how the short redaction was made, cf. Б҃Ѣ҃ ꙁонара́ вели́кы начел^{Ь}никь стражныи и҆ прьвыи | сѣдїи. оу҆мр҃ѣт^{Ь} жена и҆ чеда его. по скры́ви ра|ꙁсѣдивь и҆ бы҃ и҆нокь. и҆ м҃лише е҆го люби́мїи | е҆мѹ съписати и҆мь вь кра́т^{Ь}цѣ ꙗже ѿ съꙁанїа | мирѹ ꙗже на по́л^{Ь}ꙁоу. да не вь разшире́нный^{ы} лѣто|писанїѧ҃ оу҆ныва́ють. пи́шѧт^{Ь} бо҃ и҆ вое́во́дамь | по́ставлє́нїа, и҆ бое́мь. и҆ пѧт҃ѣ҃ оу҆ꙁ^{Ь}кы҃ и҆ широкы҃ | гдѣ ко́и҆ соу́ть. и҆ гдѣ гра́до́ве высо́ци и҆ гдѣ ни́ꙁ^{Ь}ци. | и҆ что҃ г҃лаѵѧ поклисаремь. съвѣты же и҆ и҆наа́. | потр҃ѣбно бо҃ б҃Ѣ҃ ре́ши. какьвь ко́и҆ ц҃рь, и҆ кои҆ ро́ди|телїи. и҆ каковь пр҃Ѣ҃де ц҃рт҃вїа е҆го. сь҆ же ськра|тивь мно́гаа, польꙁнаа же въꙁ^{Ь}мь ѿ вс҃ѣ҃ лѣтопи|санїи҃. г҃лет^{Ь} бо се. ꙗкоже ка́плѥ многыѥ каплю́|щеѥ и҆ ровьць сътва́раютъ. тако и҆ мно́зы г҃ли | подвизаю́ть ч҃лка ꙗ҆же невьзмо́жнаа ѥмоу. | ѿ сѝ҃ па́кы мы҃ и҆ ѿ се́го вьꙁехѡ҃ е҆ли́ка вьꙁмо|гохѡ҃ вьмѣстити кра́т^{Ь}чаи́ше́ по́нѣже тоѵ҆а҃ | и҆ свѣтлаа ꙁа́ра п҃рнопомнимыи лѵч҃ѣ҃ ськры:~ (cited according Belgrade 42, f. 126). This preface, together with the metaphor of water drops hollowing out a stone, represents a short resume of the original Zonaras' preface, as it has come to us in Vienna, Slav 126, Moscow, RGB Undol'skij 1191, and in the *Paralipomenon*, where it is included as a second part of the introduction of the compiler. The last sentence spoken in the name of the compiler in the first-person plural states that Zonaras' text was abridged again and the conclusion about the bright dawn that hid its beams seems to be a reference to the recent demise of the ruler Despot Stefan who was referred to as п҃рнопомнимыи. Constantine of Kostenets used this epithet eight times in the title and in chapters 10, 21, 23, 31, 40, 49, 79 of the Life of the Despot, cf. **Житїе и҆ жи́знь п҃рнопомнимаѓ҃ сло́воу|ѣщаго бло-гоч҃тиваго г҃дина Стефана. Съписа|нно повелѣнїемъ и понꙁѣ́нїемъ с҃т^{Ь}ишаго | патрїарха ꙁемле тѣе сръвьскый҃ к҃ѵ҃ Никѡнѡ҃ и҆ полатны҃ начелникъ, видни́м^{Ь} же тръ|с҃тый҃ и҆ гавлєнїемъ самомѹ тъꙁоименито|мѹ проѳавлающоу се быти. вл҃ви вл҃кѡ**[33]. Once the same adjective п҃рнопомнимаа refers to the mother of the despot (chapter 30) and in three cases (chapters 29, 39 and 51) it is replaced with the synonymic п҃рновъспоминаемъ[34].

[33] К. Куев, Г. Петков, *Събрани съчинения на Константин Костенечки. Изследване и текст*, София 1986, p. 361–426.

[34] It is worth noting that both adjectives **присновоспомина́емый** и **присноспо́мнимый** are registered only in the Polnyj cerkovnoslavjanskij slovar': *Полный церковнославянский словарь: (со внесением в него важнейших древнерус. слов и выражений)*: [ок. 30 000 слов]: пособие / сост. свящ. Григорий Дьяченко. – [Репр. воспр. изд. 1900 г.], Москва 2004, p. 500. The lexemes are found in a Prologue for the 5th of June and in a Menaion for the 21st of May. The second date is related to the memory of SS. Constantine and Helena, but the first one celebrates the miraculous salvation of Constantinople from the Russian invasion in 860–861. For this feast see А.И. Пападопуло-Керамевс, *Акафист Божией Матери, Русь и патриарх Фотий*, ВВ 10.3–4, 1903, p. 357–401.

The text of the adaptation itself in both Belgrade 42 and Cavtat 52 is preceded by the title ѿ нача́ла ми́роу сказанїе. лѣтѡ́ же и̑ ц҃рємь. The compiler of this redaction either excerpted short texts from the full redaction or simply retold certain episodes, in an attempt to connect them chronologically. In fact, the text shortly paraphrases the so-called full Slavic redaction where the narrative about Leo V the Armenian is inserted in the right place. The text segmentation in both manuscripts is quite uniform and starts from the very beginning of the biblical paraphrase following the main titles of the full redaction. After the end of the Octateuch marked as конць wсмородници ї начело ц҃рствїѡ́, the segmentation complies with the synopsis (cf. Tables 1 and 2).

The compiler of the adaptation in Zographou MS, presumably Constantine of Kostenets, used the same short redaction as Belgrade 42 and Cavtat 52, but in presenting the biblical history according to the Octateuch, Samuel, Kings and Paralipomena, he usually replaced the historical narrative with the respective biblical text. This approach to the biblical narrative was not new to the Slavic chronographic tradition. It was applied by the unknown compiler of the famous Chronograph of the Archive[35], who, inspired by Africanus' Chronography, replaced the paraphrase of the first nine biblical books with a large Old Testament compilation. In addition, just like the first Christian chronographer Julius Africanus[36], Constantine inserted in the biblical narrative excerpts from other biblical sources – mostly the prophets, but also Proverbs and Ecclesiastes, Job, Esther, Judith, and Tobit[37]. In Zogr. 105, Constantine even marked the excerpts from the biblical books with the respective liturgical notes according to the church calendar. In this way, he linked the text of the biblical part of the Chronicle with the text of the Festal Menaion at the end of the manuscript, thus making the codex a liturgical manual. He also drew on some non-biblical sources (mostly the lives of saints and prophets) in describing events of the Roman-Byzantine period, which merits special attention and exploration. As a result, the historical narrative became more extensive, containing more facts and details than the paraphrase in both Belgrade 42 and Cavtat 52.

The title of Constantine's adaptation, compared to the title of the short paraphrase described above, was extended to add the phrase вь кра́ц҃ѣ їавлі́нїє, thus emphasizing the abbreviated nature of the version, cf. ѻ҆ЄЖЄ | (҃) НАЧЄ́ЛА |МИ́РОУ҆ БЫ́ВШИ҃Х ПИ|СА́НЇИ ВЬ ПРОСТРА́Н҃СТВИ | ѡ҆бличе́нїа повѣда́н҃ный. вь

[35] Known also as Judean Chronograph and housed in the *Russian State Archive of Ancient Documents* [RGADA], fond MGAMID № 279/658, 479 ff. For more details see http://lib.pushkinskijdom.ru/Default.aspx?tabid=4713 [31 VIII 2024]. The full text of the Chronograph could be seen at https://histdict.uni-sofia.bg/chronograph/clist [31 VIII 2024].

[36] A. Totomanova, *Parabiblical and Biblical Compilations in Simeon's Bulgaria*, ВВГУ Серия 4, История. Регионоведение. Международные отношения 22.5, 2017, p. 132–141.

[37] The excerpts from Isaiah have been recently published by A. Bojadziev, *Proverbs of Solomon in the Slavic Manuscript No. 105 from the Zograf Monastery*, SeS 23, 2023, p. 183–230.

кра҃цѣ ꙗ҆влие́нїє. The biblical narrative (the first excerpt contains Gen 1: 1–31) starts directly after the title, and the preface together with the intermediate title ѿ нача́ла ми́роу сказанїе. лѣтѡ̀ же и҆ цр҃ємь is omitted. The text segmentation follows the same scheme as in Belgrade 42 and Cavtat 52, but the compiler introduced an additional segmentation according to the biblical books: 15v13 паралипоме́нь прьвыи, 21r4 Кни́га и҆сх҃ѡ́, 27r30 ⷭ҃ леѵ̈ітика, 27v23 [вт]о́раа числа̀, 30v20 Второзако́нїе, 36r8 ѕ҃е́ книга ѡ [соудїахъ] | [по]чина҃е́, 39v18–20 ѻ҆ и҆лі́и а҆рхи|е́рѣи. ка́ко съ пра́выи дрьжа̀ лю́ѥ вь а҆рхие́рѣ́е. сїа́ же | кни́га рѳ҃ѳь г҃лѥт се, 40r24 кѳ҃ шемоу҃[-ници]| цр҃твїи а҃ · нача́ло цр҃твїѡмь. цр҃твїи а҃′, 45б15 цр҃твїе. в҃, 66r1 цр҃ковн[и҃], 72r4 ѕ҃е҃ д҃ ц҃р[ства] нача҃[кь], 95v28–30 пѣ҃′ ма|наси́ина́. ю҆же вьспѣ́ гви вь оу҆зи́лищи во́лѣ м҃ѣ́нѣ вь вавӱ|лѡ̀нѣ, 97r25 прр҃чьства і҆ерем҃ина ѿ ю҆но҃, 117r on the bottom margin: е҆сфїр в҃ книга, 117r13 книга а҃′-а. е҆сфїр, 137r12 ⷭ҃ вѳ҃ра҃ лѣтописца ѻ҆ самодрьц҃ѣ҃. The last subtitle is taken from the synopsis but is not included either in Belgrade/Cavtat redaction or in Moscow, RGB Undol'skij 1191, St. Petersburg, BAN 24.4.34 and Hil. 433. On f. 141v, the scribe introduced the reign of Theodosius the Great with the following marginal note: [ꙗ҆к]ѳ҃ паралипо|ме҃ нѣ́кыи | [в]ы҃ лѣто́писц҃. | цр҃твїа ѻ҆ста́|вль кь ѳ҆ѳ́ѻсї|ѳ҃ прѣ́ѥде. As a result, his extended narrative has more subtitles than the one in Belgrade/Cavtat version (Table 2).

And last, but not least, the whole manuscript seems to be a draft version with a lot of glosses in both Slavic and Greek, partially blank pages and lines[38].

The title of the *Paralipomenon* in Volokolamskij 655 is completely different and the text opens with an introduction of the copyist *Grigorie*, cf. **Сїе́ начало Паралипоменоу́ ѕанаринѵ.| цр҃кыи҆ книгъ. ѿ прѣписавшаго | кнїгоу сїю́ сиє́ прѣ́словиє́.** In fact, only the first part of it (ff. 1r1–7r3) belongs to the copyist. In my opinion, Grigorie must have transcribed and corrected the text according to the Holy Scriptures, some ancient and early Christian authors (Xenophon, Herodotus, Appian of Alexandria, Theodoret of Cyrus, Eusebius of Ceasarea), the Chronicle of George the Monk, and the full version of the Chronicle of Joannes Zonaras. The conclusion of his reasoning confirms that as well, cf. f. 7r6–17: **Пръвѣ́е начина҃е́ ѿ книгъ мшӱ|сейскы҃. начень ѿ бытїа́ | ѡ́ | твореніи҆ мира. дрьже́ си҆ по ре|дѣ. въ коупѣ съ и҆ѡ́сипѡ̀ и҆ па|ралипомены, да́же до и҆ѵ̈соуса | сна҃ навїина, въ нѥ́же и҆ ѡ́брѣ|таѥ҃ сѣ҃ прьи҆ | началнїи҆къ вь лю|дѣ́. невро́. та жа | їѵ̈соу҃ навина | съ прочими. даже́ до кнїгы че|твероцр҃т|вены҃е, и҆ ѿсоудоу | полагаѣ́тъ начало главизна҃́**. Aside from the spelling differences, this text completely matches the text that precedes the synopsis in Belgrade 42, Cavtat and Zogr. 105 (see above).

The second part of the introduction reproduces the original προοίμιον of Zonaras in Slavic translation (ff. 7r18–11v15). The title (f. 7r18–20) **Съ бг҃ѡ҃ починаѥ҃ собранїе́. е҆же ѿ | на҃ла мирѡ҃ бывшы҆ писаны҆. въ пространствы҆ ѡ҆|бличенїа повѣ́даны҆ :⌙** matches partially the titles of the three short version witnesses mentioned

[38] А. Тотоманова, М. Тотоманова-Панева, *Гръцките глоси в Книгата на Константин Костенечки (Зогр. 105)*, [in:] *Slavia Orthodoxa and Balkania Orthodoxa*, Thessaloniki 2024, p. 127–136.

above. The text of the προοίμιον in the *Paralipomenon* (ff. 8v1–11v15) coincides with the text in the Vienna, ÖNB Slav 126 ff. 2r–4v[39] and the text in Moscow, RGB Undol'skij 1191 that lacks the beginning (ff. 2r–v in Vienna, ÖNB Slav, and ff. 7r–9v in *Paralipomenon*, starting with **имѣахѫ войны**).

The title **Началѡ́ писанїи и҃моу҆щи҃ | ѿ начала мироу҆ сказаниѧ. лѣтѡ́мъ же и҆ ц҃рмъ, мѫдрѣ́йшимъ зѡ́нароу́:·** on f. 11v16–19 and the following text on f. 12r1–12v14 are borrowed from the beginning of the full Slavic version, while the same title (f. 5r) can be found in the Vienna, ÖNB Slav 126. In the respective places in Moscow, RGB Undol'skij 1191 and in Hil. 433 the title remains **нача́ло писа́ннѣи. Лѣтопи́сца**. The excerpt from the full version, which follows the title, ends abruptly with a paraphrase of Gen 1: 1, f. 12v10–14: **въ началѣ сътвори҃и | бг҃ъ нб҃о и҆ землю. земл҃ѧ же оу҆́|бо невидима бѣ҃. понеже ле|жаше тⷬма на лици е҆́е҃. и҆ не | токмо тⷬма но҃ и҆ вода, и пр҃е́е:·** The preceding narrative, which is severely abbreviated in both Belgrade 42 and Cavtat 52 to **Прѣ́вѣи сътва́раѥть а҆гг҃лы и҆ по тѿ҃ ми́рѣ сь** and is directly followed by the same biblical paraphrase: **земл҃ѧ же невиди҃маа бѣ҃** etc., briefly explains the trinitarian dogma and states that the Lord first created the angels to glorify Himself and only after that did He create the visible and sensory world. However, while the parabiblical narrative continues in these two manuscripts, this verse (Gen 1: 1) is the only parabiblical text in the *Paralipomenon*. Taken from the Octateuch, it is meant to introduce the reader to the biblical history thus linking the moment of the Creation to the expected end of the world as predicted in the following **Ска́заниѥ въ кратцѣ ѻ҆ ско́нь|чанїи́ кроу҆говь и҆ пасхалїи:·.**

This apocryphal text is dedicated to the prophecy about the end of the world that was supposed to happen in the year 7000 from Creation and at the end of the thirteenth indiction, and the year 6916 (= 1408) marks the beginning of the remaining 84 years of sorrow. According to N. Gagova, the same calculations, which were based on the solar and lunar circles and the great indiction, predetermined the concept of the *Life of Stefan Lazarević* and its complicated text structure[40]. The **Ска́заниѥ** occupies ff. 12v15–14v4 and it is followed by the note of the unknown compiler of the *Paralipomenon* (f. 14v5–19): **Напи́са ѕ҃ сиа́ кни́га в҃ вели|кѡ҃ въ бл҃гочьстїи и҆ дѣрь|жавѣ и҆ прⷭ҆рсти. дѣспо|тоу҆ стефаноу҆. в҃ велицѣи́ ѡ҃|бители. хилан҃дари. при и҆гⷧ҃|менѣ тимофе́и. въ лѣто. ѕ҃ц҃ѕ҃ı. крⷭ҃гь слн҃ца. а҃. лⷭ҃ны | ѳ҃ı. къ ко́нчинѣ вѣкѡ҃. кни|га мⷭ҃рѣйшаго въ ст҃ѣи́ горѣ | зонары. паралипоме҃. напо|лнающи недостатокъ | ц҃рьскы́ книгъ. ѿ҃ зонары | въ кратцѣ. а҃ не а҃ко писанѡ́ по ре҃доу́.** In my opinion, the year 6916 (= 1408), mentioned in this abridged version of the Chronicle of Joannes Zonaras (which was compiled by the order of Despot Stefan Lazarević) was the reason for including the **Ска́заниѥ** in the *Paralipomenon*.

[39] The pages are reproduced phototypically in A. Jacobs, *Ζωναράς*…, p. 77–82. On the Slavic translation of the προοίμιον see *ibidem*, p. 83–87.

[40] Н. Гагова, *Вписването на деспот Стефан Лазаревич в Свещената история и жанровите колебания на автора на неговото Житие*, [in:] *Юбилеен сборник в чест на 60-годишнината на Красимир Станчев и Александър Наумов* (= СЛ, 41–42), София 2009, p. 291–294.

Therefore, these two texts – **Нача́ло писа́нїи…** and **Ска́зание́**, along with the scribal note, should be considered as a third part of the introduction. It is not the case with Belgrade 42 (ff. 221r5–222v15) and Cavtat 52 (ff. 83v–84r8) where the apocryphal text follows the end of the short version after the narrative about Constantine VIII.

The compiler of the *Paralipomenon* selected and retold narratives of the complete text of the Slavic Zonaras but, unlike the compilers of the other short redactions, his historical account covers world history starting with Samuel, Kings and Chronicles/Paralipomena, from which the title is taken. The selection includes narratives regarding David (15r1–16v16), Cyrus (16v17–33v14), Darius (33v15–36r14), Xerxes (36r15–37r15), Artaxerxes (37r15–18), Alexander the Great and his successors (37r19–66v19), the foundation of Rome and the first Roman kings (67r1–73r9), republican leaders including Caesar, some Roman emperors (73r9–92v14) and Byzantine emperors Constantine the Great and Theodosius the Great (92v15–95v19), Theodosius II (96a1–97v5), Marcianus (97v5–19), Anastasius I Dicorus (97v19–98v19), Mauricius (98v19–100v16), Irene and Constantine VI (100v16–103v12), Theophilus (103v12–105r6), Michael III (105r6–106v12), Basil I (106v12–109v5), Leo VI (109v5–111r17, Basil II (111r17–113v3), and Constantine VIII (113v3–114r8). The *Paralipomenon* ends with the misplaced narrative about Leo the Armenian (114r9–122v12), introduced by **цр҃тво, л҃ва, а҆рмєнина прєжѣ и̑ михаи́ла фєо́фила сн҃а є҆го є҆сть**. Unlike the other redactions, the text of the *Paralipomenon* is not divided into as many sections (Table 2) and does not include a synopsis. The preliminary comparison of some narratives to the respective texts in other two redactions unequivocally proves that the compiler of the *Paralipomenon* followed a different editing strategy (Table 3).

In conclusion we may say the following:

1. The explored manuscripts show three different short redactions of the Chronicle of Joannes Zonaras based on the so-called full Slavic version.
2. The redaction containing Grigorie of Hilandar's introduction to the Chronicle of Zonaras, which survives in a late Russified copy (the *Paralipomenon*), seems to be the earliest one because of the fewer delineated sections (including only six rubric titles) and the lack of Octateuch narrative.
3. Ms Belgrade 42 and Ms Cavtat 52 contain a short redaction different from the one in the *Paralipomenon*. It must have occurred after the death of Despot Stefan Lazarević as it is alluded to in the short preface. This redaction represents a coherent paraphrase of the Slavic full version including the Octateuch history.
4. The text in Zogr. 105 in all probability is adapted to Constantine of Kostenets' concept for producing a liturgical manual. We cannot exclude his participation in compiling the Belgrade/Cavtat redaction, either, taking into account the draft format of his manuscript and the allusion to Despot Stefan's demise in the other two manuscripts.

5. The compilers of the Belgrade/Cavtat redaction and of the adaptation in Zogr. 105 were familiar with the introduction by Grigorie of Hilandar and included in their redactions a short excerpt of it as an introduction to the synopsis. A short resume of Zonaras' προοίμιον serves as preface to the Zonaras' Chronicle in the Belgrade/Cavtat version.

Table 1. Short redaction structure

Version	Belgrade/Cavtat version	Zographou 105	Volokolamskij 655 *Paralipomenon*
Synopsis	СКАЗАНІЄ ИЖЕ ѢСТНОЄ ГЛАЕ М҃ КНИГЫ І [cie] + short excerpt from the introduction of Grigorie of Hilandar	СКАЗАНІЄ ИЖЕ ѢСТНОЄ ГЛАЕ М҃ КНИГЫ І + short excerpt from the introduction of Grigorie of Hilandar	
Title	ЄЖЄ | ѠЦ НАЧЄЛА |МИРОУ БЫВШІИХ ПИСАНІИ ВЬ ПРОСТРАНСТВИ ОБЛИЧЄНІА ПОВѢДАННЫИ	ЄЖЄ | ѠЦ НАЧЄЛА |МИРОУ БЫВШИХ ПИ|САНІИ ВЬ ПРОСТРАНСТВИ | ОБЛИЧЄНІА ПОВѢДАННЫЙ. ВЬ КРАЦѢ ЇАВЛИЄНІЄ	Сіѥ́ начало Паралипоменоу҃ ѕанарина҃. | цр҃кыи҆ книгъ. ѿ прѣписавшаго | кнїгоу҃ сїю҆ сиѥ́ прѣ́словиѥ́
Preface	Resume of Zonaras' προοίμιον		Introduction by Grigorie of Hilandar, including the προοίμιον, Ска́заніе́ въ кратцѣ… and the scribal note
Intermediate title	ѿ начѐла ми́роу҃ сказанїѐ. лѣтѡ̑ же и҆ цр҃емь		Начало́ писанїи҆ и҃моу҃щи҆ | ѿ начала мироу҃ сказаниѧ. лѣтѡ́мъ же и҆ цр҃мъ, мѫдрѣи҆шимъ зо́нарою́:·
Text	Abridged long redaction	Extended short redaction with excerpts from biblical books replacing the most important narratives according to Octateuch and Kings and complemented with excerpts and facts from other biblical and non-biblical sources	The paraphrase starts with King David. The selection of the episodes and abridgments is different

Version	Belgrade/Cavtat version	Zographou 105	Volokolamskij 655 *Paralipomenon*
Segmentation	See Table 2		
Leo V	In place according to the chronology		At the end of the text
Date of the translation	ѧ҃мч҃нв corrupted from ѧ҃сч҃нв (= 1344)		

Table 2. Segmentation of the short redaction witnesses

(the signs * and # mean that Moscow, RGB Undol'skij 1191 and St. Petersburg, BAN 24.4.34, respectively, have the same title; the dark gray fields mean that the text is missing in the respective MS; the blank fields indicate the folio and the row where the text begins and the yellow fields – the beginning of the biblical books)

ZOGRAPHOU 105	BELGRADE 42	CAVTAT 52	Volokolamskij 655 *Paralipomenon*
6v11 О нѡ́и и ѡ̀ ковче́зѣ*	127r21 ѡ̀ нѡ́и ѝ ковче́зѣ	3r16 ѡ̀ нѡѝ ѝ ковче́зѣ	
9r26 ѡ̀ невро́дѣ йже и҃ме́нова се прѣ́вѣе вь лю́дѣ. властели́нь ѝ нача́лникь. #	127v14–15 ѡ̀ невро́дѣ и҃ и҃ме́нова се прѣ́вѣе вь лю́дѣ. властели́нь ѝ начелнѝкь.	3v5 ѡ̀ невро́дѣ и҃ и҃менова́ се пръвѣе вь лю́дѣ власте́линь ѝ начелникь	
9v2 no title	127v22 ѡ̀ с҃нѹ̑ новєвѣ	3v14 ѡ̀ с҃нѹ̑ но́евѣ	
9v20 ѡ̀ с҃нѹ̑ хамо́вѣ.	128r13 ѡ̀ с҃нѹ̑ ха́мовѣ	4r2 ѡ̀ с҃нѹ̑ ха́мшвѣ	
10r3 ѡ̀ с҃нѹ̑ сїмшвѣ.	128r29 ѡ̀ с҃нѹ̑ сїмовѣ.	4r17 ѡ̀ с҃нѹ̑ сїмшо́вѣ	
10r19 blank space	128v14 ѡ̀ а҆ѵ҆раа́моѵ	4v1 no title	
12v27 no title	129r28 ѡ̀ і҆са́цѣ	5r6 no title	
15v13 паралипоме́нь пръвыи			

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15v18 *Jobe* no title			
17v16 ѻ̀ і҆а́кѡвѣ пакы̀ ѡ̀ бытиискы̑.	130v2 ѡ̀ і҆са́цѣ continues		
18r6 ᾽О прѣкраснѣ і҆ѡ[сифѣ] *#	130v28 ѡ̀ прѣкраснѣ і҆ѡсифѣ	6r25 ѻ̀ пр̀кра́снѣмь і҆ѡсїфѣ	
19v28 [ѡ сл҃]рти і҆а́кѡвл*	132r2 ѡ̀ сл҃рти і҆а́кѡвлѝ	7r22 ѻ̀ съмрѣ́ти і҆а́кѡвли	
21r1 ѻ̀ сл҃рти [і҆ѡси]|фов[ѣ] *#	132r12 no title	7r31 no title	
21r4 Кни́га и҆сх҃ѡ́:~			
21v5᾽О мѡ҃ѱсѐи*	132r18 ѡ мѡ́ѱсеи	7v2 ѻ̀ мѡ҃ѱсѐи	
22v27–23r12 23r2᾽О и҆з[ва̑]*			
27r8 ѻ̀ цр҃квѝ гл	133r18	9r23	
27r30 (҃Г) леѵ̈ітика			
27v23 [вт]о́раа числа̀.			
29r9 ѻ̀ сл҃рти (Ѧрон) 29r11 а҆мореⷬ[и]			
29r18 ѡ́г			
29r22 ѻ̀ валаа[цѣ].#			
30r9 мади[неанⷬ]	133v25 ѻ̀ схо́дѣ земли	9v31 ѻ̀ сходѣ землѝⷣ	
30r15 гадᵡ р[ѕвї] | и҆ п҃о́ [ма҃аси́а]			
30r24 Вьзвѣиже́нїа			
30v20 Второзако́нїе			

ZOGRAPHOU 105	BELGRADE 42	CAVTAT 52	Volokolamskij 655 *Paralipomenon*
34r1 no title	135r4 о см҃рти мшꙋ́сеѥ́вѣ #	11r9 о҆ съмр҃ъти мшӱ́сѣовѣ	
34r13 і҆и҃соу́сь вто́рыи нача́лнїи҃ и҆ г҃нь і҆и҃лю́	135r14 о҆́ і҆и҃сѣ навїи́нѣ	11r on the bottom margin о҆ їсо҃сѣ навїи́нѣ	
35r25 на[имь] | гава[онитьскь]	135v25 о҆́ гавао҆ни-тѣнѡ҃ *#	11v25 no title	
36r8 а҃ѕ́ѣ книга ѡ [соудїахъ] | [по]-чина҃е҃.	136v8 no title	12v3 no title	
36r20 о҆ колѣ҃ венїа-ми́новѣ	136v25 о҆ колѣнѣ венїамино-вѣ	12v21 о҆ ко́ленѣ венїамино-вѣ	
36r26 гоѳонїи́ль а҃ 36r28 а҆ѡ҃ в҃ 37r7 а҆мега҃ 37r10 г҃ (Deborah) 37r11 д҃ (Barak) 37v12 є҃ (Gideon) 38r18 38r25 38r27 38v13 38v14	137r19 гоѳонїи́ль 137r25 а҆вѡ҃ 137v4 а҆мега҃ 137v7 137v8 вараа҃ 137v15 і҆аи́ль 137v23 гедеѡ҃ 138r17 а҆вїмеле҃х҃ 138r26 і҆аїръ 138r29 є҆в҆ѳа́е҃ 138v2 амеса 138v4 лавдонъ	13r14 13r19 13r29 bottom margin о҆ а҆мега́ри 13r31 (Deborah) 13r32 (Barak) 13v15 (Gideon) 14r12 14r17 14r21 14r25 14r27	
38v16 о҆ самѱѡнѣ҃	138v7 а҆ ждѣ о҆ самѱѡнѣ҃[41]#	14r30 а҆ ждѣ о҆ самѱо́нѣ҃	
39v18–20 о҆ и҆ли́и а҆рхи|е́рѣи. ка́ко съ҆ пр҃ѣвыи дрьжа҆ лю҃и҃ вь а҆рхие́рѣе҃х҃. сїа́ же | кни́га рѣ҃ѳь г҃лет се		15r17 о҆ и҆ли҃и а҆рхїереи҃. Ка́ко съ҆ пр҃ѣвыи дрѣ-жа лю҃и҃ въ а҆рхїерее҃х҃ #	

[41] The narrative about Samson in Belgrade 42 lacks the final with the episodes about the ass jawbone and Delilah, who betrayed him.

ZOGRAPHOU 105	BELGRADE 42	CAVTAT 52	Volokolamskij 655 *Paralipomenon*
40r24 кѡ̃ ѡсмородѣ[-ници]| цр҃твїи а̃ · нача́ло цр҃твїи҆мь. цр҃твїи а̃	139r1 конецъ ѡсмородницы ї начело цр҃твїѡ̃. *#	15v21 конѣ҆ ѻ҆смородницы. Начело цр҃твѡ̃	
40v1 [ѡ с]амо҆и́лѣ *#	139r10 ѻ҆ самоу҆и́лѣ	15v31 no title	
41v11 ⁾Ѡ саво҆ли | кѵ̈ссо҆в̃. *#	140r28 ѻ҆ саоу҆ли кѵ̈ссо́в҃ѣ	17r13 ѻ҆ сало҆лы кѵ̈ссѡ́вѣ	
43r14 ѻ҆ сътворени | д҃да цр҃твоу҆ *#	141v24–25 ѡ҆ сътво|ре́ни д҃да на цр҃тво	18v13 ѡ҆ сътворе́нїи | д҃да на цр҃тво	David (15r1–16v16)
44r29 ѻ҆ доу҆[ц҆].	143r24	20r10	
45v15 цр҃твїе. в̃	144v27 цр҃твїе. | в̃	21v7 цр҃твїе. | в̃	
46v3 [ѻ҆] ковчеж҆́	145v24	22r30	
47r2 ѻ҆ вїр҃савѣ҆#	146r27	22v30	
47v2 [сало]мѡ̃	146v17	23r18	
47v6–18 [фа]ма҆	146v21	23r22	
47v27⁾ Ѧвесаа̃ѡ́ #	147r18 ѡ҆ а҆весалѡмѣ	23v18 no title	
48r1, 2 ѻ҆ а҆хїтофе́, ѻ҆ хѵ̈сїи	147r22	23v21	
48v18 ѻ҆ саве҆ѣ҆	147v30	24r21	
49r4 гаваа̃ | ва́	148r16 ѻ҆ ѡ̃мьщи́нїи	24v15 no title	
49r16 ѻ҆ ѱл҃три # 49r21 ѻ҆ храни-те[лехь] 49r28 ѻ҆ изчьти	148v1 148v6 148v15 изчта|нїе	24v31 25r5 25r14 исчьта́нїе	
49v7 ѻ҆ гѵ́мнѣ | ⁾евѵ̈сеевѣ	148v27	25r25	
49v11⁾ Ѧвїсаа̃	149r2	25r30	

ZOGRAPHOU 105	BELGRADE 42	CAVTAT 52	Volokolamskij 655 *Paralipomenon*
49v14 ѡ҃ цр҃кви			
49v17 ѧдѡнїа·	149r5	25v2	
49v27–28 ѻ҃ вьцр҃ени | [с]аломѡ҃нѧ #	149r17	25v12	
50r8–19 ѻ҃ разс҃ѣкании | ѿро́чет҃ѕ #			
50r19–50v7 ꙁав҃ѣ	149r30	25v23	
50v8 цр҃тво соломѡ҃но҃ г҃ * 50v17 ѧвїа҃ѳѧ 50v21 їѡ҃а́ 50v24 семеи҆	149v23 ц҃тво солѡмоново г҃ 150r3 150r9 150r13 150r24 about the two women	26r14[42] ц҃тво соломѡново. г҃ 26r27	
51r5–63r30 прии́тче соломѡновы :~	150v4	26v24	
64r14–24 ѻ҃ цр҃кви ю҆же съ҃ѕда вь їер҃лмѣ *#	150v22 ѻ҃ цр҃кви ю҆же съ҃ѕда вь їер҃лмѣ	30a12 (!) ѻ҃ цр҃кви ю҆же съѕда | въ їер҃лмѣ	
65v10 ѡ҃ пола́та҃. 65v14 ѧ҃хїр҃и́	151r30 151v3		
66r1–26 цр҃ковн[и҃] *Ecclesiastes* 66r26 Solomon goes astray	151v21		
66v11 а҃дѣ 66v21 їер҃ова҃	152r7 152r19		
67r7 ц҃рство рово́амово:~ *#	152v8 ц҃рство рово́амо́во д҃	28v20 ц҃рство рово́амшво. г҃ (!)	
67v11 [ѻсї]є п҃р҃ркь	153r19	29r31	

[42] Missing folia between ff. 26–27.

ZOGRAPHOU 105	BELGRADE 42	CAVTAT 52	Volokolamskij 655 *Paralipomenon*
68r15 цр҃тво навꙋ҃	154r3	27r6	
68r17 цр҃тво а҆сѡво по вꙋ҃сѣ ѕ҃ *#	154r6 цр҃тво а҆сово є҃	27r8 цр҃тво а҆сшво. ѣ҃	
68r22 цр҃тво и҆лѡво н҃ *#	154r13 цр҃тво и҆лово ѕ҃	27r13 цр҃тво і҆лово. ѕ҃	
68r25 цр҃тво ꙁамври҃ево. ѳ҃ *#	154r15 цр҃тво ꙁамври҃ево ꙁ҃	27r15 цр҃тво ꙁамврїѥ҆во. ꙁ҃	
68v7 цр҃тво а҆хаа҆вово ї҃ *# 68v8–9 а҆сѣ҆ 70v17 навѳфе́е # 71r6 а҆дерѳ҃ сн҃ь 71r18 мих[еа] 71r24 рем[мѳ҃]	154v цр҃тво а҆хаавово н҃ 154v2 155v19 156r12 156r25 156v10	27r27 цр҃тво а҆хаавшво н҃ 27r28 31v4 31v25 32r6 32r166	
71v25 no title	157r11 157r18 цр҃тво wхо|ꙁїєво. ѳ҃ *#	32v17 цр҃тво ѡ҆хо|ꙁїєво	
72r4–5 ѯ҃ѣ҃ д҃ цр҃[ства] нача҃[кь]			
72r19–20 цр҃тво і҆ѡа҆рд҃ | вї҃ *# 72v21–23 мє҃в҆кдн 72v26 ѡ҆ ро́в҆кѣ҃	157v10 цр҃тво | і҆ѡ҃а҆рамово 157v21 157v23	Missing folia. 33r11 33r16	
73v25 вы́к҃а 73v27 и҆ к҃ хл҃к҆ 74v9–10 [о с]н҆кшй҃ ѿро́чета #	158r12 158r16 158v22	33r31 33v1–32=74v32 Missing folia	
75v2 и҆ѕ҃ 75v11–12 [цр҃с]тво і҆ѡ҆ꙋ҃ | гї҃ *# 75v24 і҆езаве҃ 75v29 ѳ҃′ сн҃ѡ҃	159v19 159v29 цр҃тво і҆ꙋ҃ цр҃а а҃ї 160r12 160r19 160v7 160v9 160v28	42v16 42v22 цр҃тво і҆ѕ҃ цр҃а а҃ї 43r3 43r8	

ZOGRAPHOU 105	BELGRADE 42	CAVTAT 52	Volokolamskij 655 *Paralipomenon*
76r13 гѳѡлі́а 76r15 і҆ѡа҃с҄ 76r28 о҆ ковчезѣ		43r22 43r24 43v6	
76v10 ꙁахарі́а			
76v17 цр҃тво і҆ѡа́хазо-во. дї *#	161r20 цр҃тво і҆ѡа́-хазово. вї	43v23 цр҃тво і҆ѡа́хазо-во. вї	
76v20 цр҃тво і҆ѡа́со́во. єї *# 76v28 і҆ѳ҃д҃ѳ	161r24 цр҃тво і҆ѡа́-со҆|во гї	43v26 цр҃тво і҆ѡа́-со҆во гї	
76v30 цр҃тво а҆мєсїє-во. зї҆ . *#	161v6 цр҃тво а҆ме|сїє-во҆ дї	44r5 цр҃тво а҆мєсїє-во. дї	
77r18 Jobe			
78v6 цр҃тво о҆зі́є́во *#	161v26 цр҃тво о҆зі́є́во. єї	44r23 цр҃тво о҆зі́є́во. єї	
79r8 цр҃тво і҆ѡа́ѳа́мо-во . иї *# 79r20 на҃ѕ	162r11 цр҃тво і҆ѡа́ѳа́-мо҃. ѕї	44v3 цр҃тво і҆ѡа́ѳа-мово. ѕї	
79r23 цр҃тво а҆хазово. ѳї *#	162r28 цр҃тво а҆хазо-во. зї	44v19 цр҃тво а҆хазово. [зї]	
79v2 Isaiha; narrative about Achaz continues on 80v10			
80v16–18 [ц]р҃тво є҆зекі́|(є)во к҃. *#	162v19 цр҃тво є҆зекїєво. ий	45r3 цр҃тво є҆зекїєво. ий right margin	
80v19–20 цр҃тво о҆сі́є|во ка҃ *#	162v21 цр҃тво ѡсїє-во ѳї	45r5 цр҃тво ѡсїєво. ѳї	
81v26 – 95v25 prophets			
95r25 [цр҃]тво манассі́| кв҃ *#	164r in the upper margin [цр҃тво ма́нассі́є́во: к҃	46r2 цр҃тво ма́нассі́є-во: к҃	

ZOGRAPHOU 105	BELGRADE 42	CAVTAT 52	Volokolamskij 655 *Paralipomenon*
95v28–30 пѣ҃ ма|-насі́и́на. ѿже вьсп҃ѣ гв҃и вь оу҆зи́лищи во́лѣ м҃ѣ́нѣ вь вавӱ|лѡ̀нѣ. 96r1–7 left blank for the text of the song			
96r10 ц҃рт҃во. а҆мѡ́во к҃ѓ *#	164r7 ц҃рт҃во а҆мосо-во к҃а	46r2 ц҃рт҃во а҆мосово. к҃а right margin	
96r13 ц҃рт҃во і҆ѡсиф҃	к҃. *#	164r12 ц҃рт҃во і҆ѡсїево. к҃в	46r12 ц҃рт҃во і҆ѡсїево. к҃в
96v5 ц҃рт҃во і҆ѡа́хазово~ к҃є *#	164v12 ц҃рт҃во і҆ѡа́ха|зово к҃ѓ	46v7 ц҃рт҃во і҆ѡа́ха|зово. к҃ѓ left margin
96v11 ц҃рт҃во і҆ѡа́кїмѳ҃~к҃ѕ *#	164v20 ц҃рт҃во і҆ѡа́кӱмово к҃д	46v12 ц҃рт҃во | і҆ѡа́кӱмово [к҃д]	
97r7 ц҃рт҃во седекі́ево~к҃ѯ *#	165r22 ц҃рт҃во сѣкїево. к҃є	47r9 ц҃рт҃во седекїево. к҃є[43]	
97r25 прр҃ч҃ства і҆ер҃емі́ина ѿ ію҃ѳ҃. Jeremiha inserted in the above rubric			
99r6 ѻ҆ г҃ѡ́лїи како поставиѳ҃ навѵзарда҃ ѻ҆вла҃ти | і҆ер҃лм҃ѣ: *	166r18 ка́ко поста́виѳ҃ на́вѵзара҃нь г҃ѡ́лію намѣ́стника вь | і҆ер҃лмѣ. к҃ѕ #	47v23 ка́ко | поста́виѳ҃ навѵзардань годолїю намѣ́стника въ | і҆ер҃а҃ї́мѣ.	
99v13 [о] данїи́лѣ и҆ тр҃ѣ | ѿро҃ѡ҃ *#	167r7 ѻ҆ данїи́лѣ и҆ тр҃ѣ | ѻ҆трок҃ѡ. к҃ѯ	40r31 ѻ҆ данїи́лѣ и҆ тр҃ѣ | ѻ҆трокь. к҃ѯ	
100r7 р҃ѣ данї[и҃ на]|вѵхѡ҃но[сѡр҃ѕ]	167r20 ѡ҆ с҃нѣ и҆же ви́дѣ навѵхѡ҃носѡ҃ к҃и *# 169r8 ѻ҆ змїи:	40v13 ѡ҆ сѣне и҆же ви́де навѵхѡ҃носѡ҃ к҃и The dragon is on f. 34 r, before which some text is missing.	

[43] The last two lexemes are written on the right margin.

ZOGRAPHOU 105	BELGRADE 42	CAVTAT 52	Volokolamskij 655 *Paralipomenon*
104r7–105v23 Iezekiel inserted			
narrative about Daniel continues on f. 106v8 no title	170v1–2 ѡ̀ сн҃ѣ | ѝже ви́дѣ данїѝ пр҃рькь к҃ѳ҃ *#	35r20 ѡ̀ сънѣ ѝже видѣ данїиль пр҃рькь [к҃ѳ҃]	
108v30 ѳ ӏоу҃д[ѳи] *#	173v21 ѳ̀ ӏоу҃дѳѣ. л҃	37v25 no title	
109v20 ѳ̀ тшвї́[тѣ] *#	174v15 ѳ̀ тшвїтѣ . л҃а	missing text	
110r24 О кн҃ѧ ц҃ри. пер҆сцѣ л҃д *#	175r17 ѡ́ кн҃ѧ ц҃ри пе́р҆сцѣмь. л҃в 175v12 ѡ́ сѡлонѣ 176r19 ѡ́ авраддатѣ #	39v1 Solon[44] no title =175v21 39v25 ѳ̀ а̀враддатѣ left margin	16v17–33v14 ѳ́ кн҃ѧ ц҃ри прьскомъ
112r22 [повелѣ]нїе кн҃рово да съзы́ждѫть ц҃рквь ӏероусалимьскоую *#	177r25 повелѣнїе кн҃рово ѳ̀ създа́ни ц҃ркве ӏер҃лмскые л҃г	48v22 повелѣнїе кн҃рово ѳ̀ създа́ни ц҃ркви ӏер҃лмскои	
112v19 О вльсв[ѣхь ц҃рехь]*#	178r3 ѳ̀ вльхвѳ̀ ц҃рехь л҃д	49r20 ѳ̀ вльхвѡ̀ ц҃рехь. л҃д [45]	
113r1 Cambyses' death	178r19 см҃рть камви́сова *#	49r31 съмр҃ь камвїсова. л҃є	
113r2–3 space for the title left blank	179r6 ѳ̀ ц҃рви дарїевѣ ка́ко ѳхы́щренїемь ко́нюха прїе҃ сїе л҃з *#	50r5 ѳ̀ ц҃рвїи дарїевѣ ѝже ѳхыщрѣнїе҃ ко́нюха прїе҃ сїе. л҃з	Darius (33v15–36r14)
114v13 ц҃рство ѣерѣ҃ово *#	180v2 ц҃рство ѣерѣ҃о (!) л҃ѕ	51r14 ц҃рство ѣерѣ҃ово. л҃ѕ	Xerxes (36r15–37r15)
114r19–116r30 prophets 115v24 пр҃рчьство ішилево 116r19 пр҃рч҃тво софшнїино			

[44] The scribe missed to copy a folio with the end of the story of Judith, the hole narrative about the Tobit and the beginning of the narrative about Cyrus.

[45] The title is written on the right margin perpendicularly to the text.

ZOGRAPHOU 105	BELGRADE 42	CAVTAT 52	Volokolamskij 655 *Paralipomenon*
117r11 цр҃тво ар҃таѯе҃рѯово *#	181v4 цр҃тво ар҃-таѯе҃р҃ѯово ли҃ 181v23 ѡ҆ ма|рдохе́и: л҃ѳ *#	52r2 цр҃тво ар҃таѯе҃рѯово. ли҃ 52r17 ѻ҆ мардохе́и л҃ѳ	Artaxerxes (37r15–18)
117r13 книга҃ а҃′-а. є҆сфїр On the bottom margin: є҆сфїр в҃ книга	181v27 ѻ҆ є҆сфїр҃ъ. м҃ *#	52r21 ѻ҆ є҆сфїр҃ъ. м҃	
119r11 О сана[велетъ]	183v13 no title	53v9 no title	
119r23 О а҆леѯа́н҃ръ сн҃ъ фїлїпповъ ма҃ *#	183v26 ѻ҆ а҆леѯа́ндръ сн҃ъ филипповъ. ма҃	53v21 ѻ҆ а҆леѯа́ндръ сн҃ъ фили́пповъ. ма҃	37r19 ѡ҆ а҆леѯа́ндръ сн҃ъ филип҃повъ
119v7 О кони волѯглавъ	184r15 ѻ҆ кони воукефа́лъ, сїр҃ъ | волѯглавъ. ми҃в *# 185r21 ѻ҆ р҃кцъ гаггїи. ми҃г (=120v4) #	54r4 ѻ҆ кони вѫкефа́лъ, сїречь волоуглавъ. ми҃в 54v22 ѻ҆ р҃кцъ гаггїи[46]	
121r7 цр҃тво птолеме́а лагоу́са *#	186r7 цр҃тво | птолемеа лагоу́са. ми҃д	55r32 цр҃тво птолемеа лагоу́са. ми҃д	62v13
121r13 Цр҃тво птолеме́а братолю́бца ми҃е́ *#	186r12 цр҃тво | птолемеа братолюбца. ми҃е	55v7 no title	63r8
121v12 како [ѻ҆злоби і҆оу҆де́е а҆нтїѡ҆҃] великыи ми҃е́ (!)	186v19 како ѻ҆злоби і҆оу҆де́е великыи а҆нтїѡ҆҃ ми҃з *#	56r4 како ѻ҆злоби і҆оу҆де́е великыи а҆нтїѡ҆҃. ми҃з	
123r1 цр҃тво алеѯа́н҃ра. [с]на а҆нтїѡ҆хова *#	188v21 цр҃тво але-ѯа́н҃ра. сн҃а а҆нтїѡ҆хова. ми҃ѕ	57v4 цр҃тво алеѯа́н҃ра. сн҃а а҆нтїѡ҆хова. ми҃ѕ	
125r23 О і҆рѡ҆дъ | ка́ко на́ча҃ѣ҃ обла́ти і҆ѕ҆де́и і҆ ѻ҆ дрѕ҃ъ҃ і҆рѡ҆дъ і҆ тиверїи ке́сарѣ҃ъ | і҆ прочїи҆ начелниц҃ѣ҃. і҆ є҆|лика сътвориша҃ вь і҆ерл҃мѣ вь і҆оу҆де́и. ма҃ *[47] #	192r25 О і҆рѡ҆дъ | ка́ко на́ча҃ѣ҃ обла́ти і҆ѕ҆де́и і҆ ѻ҆ дрѕ҃ъ҃ і҆рѡ́|дъ і҆ тиверїи ке́сари і҆ прочїи҆ начелниц҃ѣ҃. і҆ є҆|лика сътвориша҃ вь і҆ерл҃мѣ вь і҆оу҆де́и. ми҃и *	60r21 ѻ҆ і҆рѡ҆дъ ка́ко начеть | ѻ҆бладати і҆ѕ҆де́и. і҆ ѻ҆ дрѕ҃ъ҃мь і҆рѡ́дъ і҆ тиверїи кѣсари | і҆ прочїи҆ начелниц҃ѣ҃. ми҃и	

[46] On the left margin.

[47] In Undol'ski 1191 it reads: ка́ко поста́више і҆рѡ́да властѣкли́на, въ галїлеи́ and coincides with the title in Hil. 433, f. 143r. In St. Petersburg, BAN 24.4.34 ѿ то́ли начеть і҆рѡ҆ ѡ҆бладати і҆ѕ҆де́емь. і҆ бы́ти начел҃никь си́мь.

ZOGRAPHOU 105	BELGRADE 42	CAVTAT 52	Volokolamskij 655 *Paralipomenon*
127r30 no title	195r4 а҆рхе́лае *	63r24 no title	
130a16 како рѣва тїѣть і҆е́рлмь#	198v12 ка́ко рѣва҆ тїѣть | і҆е́рлмь мѳ	65r24 како рѣва тїѳ | і҆е́рлмь. мѳ	
133v19 О римѣ и҆ о҆ рїмлянѡ҃ . назначена́е҆ же и҆ трою	203v19 о҆ ри́мѣ и҆ о҆ ри́млянѡхъ н҃ *#	69v9 о҆ ри́мѣ … the rest illegible	67r1–73r9 ѡ҃ римѕ и҆ ѡ҃ римлѣкнѡ́хъ
135v5 сѹ́дозаа҆́твие	205r3 no title	70v11 no title	
137r12 ѻ҃ вѡ́ра҆ лѣтописца о҆ самодрѣ́цѣ҆.	207r5 нача́ло пи́санїи о҆ са́модрѣжцѣ҆. *# е҆диноначе́лїе помѵ҆пїе́во н҃а	72r24 нача́ло пи́санїи о҆ самодрѣжцѣ҆. е҆диноначе́лїе помѵ҆пїе́во. н҃а	73r9–92v14 74a12
137v13 і҆ѕ҆лїе к҃е҆	207v10 no title	72v25 no title	75v10
138r1 е҆ди́ноначе́лїе оу҆е҆спесїа́но҃ *#	208r7 е҆ди́ноначе́лїе ѕспесїа́ново, и҆ зде҆ пр҃ѣстѹпи мнѡ҃. н҃в	73r17 е҆ди́ноначе́лїе оу҆е҆спесиа́ново. н҃в	
138r3 е҆ди́ноначе́лїе тїта ке́сара *#	208r10 е҆ди́нон|ачелїе тїта ке́сара . н҃г	73r20 е҆диноначелїе тїѳа кесара . н҃г	
138r9 е҆ди́ноначе́лїе дѡметїа́но҃ *	208r15 е҆ди́ноначе́лїе дѡметїана ке́сара. н҃д #	73r25 е҆диноначелїе дѡметїана ке́сара. н҃д	76r15
138r27 е҆ди́ноначе́лїе траїа́на ке́сара *#	208v4 е҆ди́ноначе́лїе траїана҆ ке́сара. н҃є	73v9 е҆диноначелїе траїана кесара. н҃є	76v19 траїа҆ on the right margin
138v8 е҆ди́ноначе́лїе а҆нтѡнїна бл҃го|в҆ѣна҆ н҃и	208v19 е҆ди́ноначе́лїе | а҆нто́нїна бл҃гоу҆тива́го. н҃ѕ *#	73v22 е҆диноначелїе а҆нтѡнїна бл҃гочтивада́го. н҃ѕ	80r11–14
138v8 е҆ди́ноначе́лїе ма́рка а҆нтѡнїна пр҃ѣмѵ́дра҆ *#	208v27 е҆ди́ноначе́лїе ма́рка | а҆нтѡнїна пр҃ѣмоудраго. н҃з	73v30 е҆диноначелїе марка | а҆нтѡнїна пр҃ѣмоудраго. [н҃з]	78r16 е҆диноначелїе марѵ҆ка а҆нтѡнїна пр҃ѣмѵдраго
138v20 е҆ди́ноначе́лїе севі́рово *#	209r7 е҆ди́ноначе́лїе севїрово. н҃и	74r5 е҆диноначелїе севїрово. н҃и	81r9
138v27 ц҃р҆тво де́кїево *#	209r16 ц҃р҆тво де́кїево. н҃ѳ	74r14 ц҃р҆тво декїево. н҃ѳ	86r1

ZOGRAPHOU 105	BELGRADE 42	CAVTAT 52	Volokolamskij 655 *Paralipomenon*
139r5 цр҃тво а҆ѡ́рилїа-но҃ *#	209r21 цр҃тво а҆врилїа-но҃ [ѓ]	74r20 цр҃тво а҆ври|лїа-ново [ѓ]	89v6
139r13 цр҃тво маѓим[іана] | ѓг *	209r27 цр҃тво ма|ѓимїаново#	74r24 цр҃тво м|ѓимїа-ново ѓа҃[48]	90r1
139r27 цр҃тво ма́ѓи-миново *#	209v14 цр҃тво маѓимїаново (!) ѓв		
139v23 цр҃тво вели-ка́аго кѡстантїна. * и̇ ка́ко на́ча҆ цр҃твїе ѓє	209v23 цр҃тво кѡс-тантїна вели́ка҃го #	74v14 цр҃тво кѡс-тантїна вели́кааго	92v15
141r24 см҃рть ст҃ы́е є҆ле́ны мт҃ре. ѓѕ *#	210v18 см҃рть ст҃ы́е є҆ле́ны. ѓд	75r29 съмрѣть С҃ты́е є҆лены. ѓд	94r11
141v1 Theodosius with a marginal note: [и҆ак]о҃ парали-по|ме҆ нѣ́кыи | [в]ы҆ лѣто́писц҃. | цр҃твїа о҆ста́|вль кь ѳе҆ѡ́сї|о҃ пр҃ѣ́де.	210v28 цр҃тво ѳе҆ѡ́сїа вели́кааго. ѓє *#	Missing text between ff. 75 and 76	94r18
142r15	211r27 а҆рка|дїє	75v29	95r18
142r26 цр҃тво и҆норїе-во вь ста́ро҃ рі́мѣ* ѓи #	211v12 цр҃тво и҆норїе-во вь старо҃ рі́мѣ. ѓѕ	76r10 цр҃тво и҆норїево вь старо҃ рі́мѣ. ѓѕ	95v1
142v1 цр҃тво малаго ѳе҆ѡ́сїа и̇ жены҆ є҆го є҆ѵдокїе	211v17 цр҃тво ма́лаа́го ѳе҆ѡ́сїа въ констан-ти́нѣ гра́дѣ . ѓз *#	76r цр҃тво ма́лаа́го ѳе҆ѡ́сїа въ кон-стантїнѣ гра́дѣ . ѓз on the bottom margin Missing text between ff. 76 and 77	96r1
143v13 цр҃тво а҆на-ста́сїа дїкор҃. *#о҃ | двѡезѣ́нць	212v29 цр҃тво а҆на-ста́сїа дїкора. ѓи	77r10 цр҃тво (!)	97v18
143v29 цр҃тво маврикїево о҃а҃ #	213r18 цр҃тво маврикїево ѓѳ	77r27 цр҃тво маврикїево ѓѳ	98v19

[48] The scribe merged the narrative about the two emperors due to the similarity of their names.

ZOGRAPHOU 105	BELGRADE 42	CAVTAT 52	Volokolamskij 655 *Paralipomenon*
144v4 цр҃тво и҆ри́ны и҆ кѡ̃стан[тина] с҃на [҆ѥ҆] *#	214r2 цр҃тво и҆ри́ны и҆ константї҆на с҃на ѥ҆. о҃́	77v32 цр҃тво и҆рини и҆ костантї҆на с҃на ѥ҆. о҃́ on the bottom margin	100v16
145r11 цр҃тво лєѡна а҆рмѧ́нина. *#[49]	214v20 цр҃тво ле́ѡна а҆рмѧ́нина. о҃а҃	78v9 цр҃тво лєѡна а҆рмѧ́нина. о҃а҃	114r9–10 цр҃тво л҃ва а҆рменина прєжѣ҆ и҆ | михаи́ла фео́фила с҃на ѥ҆го ѥ҆сть
150r5 цр҃тво ѳєѡ́фї҆лово *#	216r19 цр҃тво ѳєѡ́фі҆лово. о҃в҃	79v цр҃тво ѳєѡфї҆лово. о҃в҃ on the bottom margin	103v12
151v21 Цр҃тво михаи́ла с҃на ѳєѡ́фї҆лова и҆ ѳєѡ́ры мт҃рє ѥ҆го *# 151v28 about the exiled patriarch	217v16 цр҃тво михаи́ла с҃на ѳєѡ́фи҆лова и҆ ѳєѡ́ры мт҃рє ѥ҆. о҃г҃	81r цр҃тво михаи́ла с҃на ѳєѡфї҆лова и҆ ѳєѡ́ры мт҃рє єгѡ̀. on the bottom margin 81r9 patriarch preceded by an illegible title	105r6
153r24 Цр҃тво васи́лїа македона #	219r2 цр҃тво васи́лїа македо́на . о҃д҃	82r13 цр҃тво васи́лїа македона. о҃д҃	106v12
154v10–16 цр҃тво | лѵ́ва прѣ|мѵ́драго *#	219v7 цр҃тво лѵ́ва прѣ|мѵ́драго. о҃є҃	82v цр҃тво леона прѣмѵ́драго. о҃є҃ on the bottom margin	109v6
155r20 цр҃тво василїа и҆ кѡ̃стантї҆на багрѣ́норѡ̀на *#	219v29 цр҃тво васи́лїа и҆ кѡ̃стантї҆на багрѣ́норѡ̀на	83r3 цр҃тво василїа и҆ костан҃тї҆на багрено́родний. о҃ѕ҃	
155v30 цр҃тво кѡ̃стантї҆на бра́та васи́лїєва *#	220v3 цр҃тво константї҆на бра́та васи́лїєва	83v2–4 title illegible or missing	113v3

[49] In St. Petersburg, BAN 24.4.34 the end and the narrative about Leo the Armenian are missing.

Table 3. Three short redactions

Belgrade/Cavtat	Zographou 105	Volokolamskij 655 *Paralipomenon*
f. 216a17–20/79v19–22 ѝ вы҆ц҃ри́вшꙋ сѧ миха́илꙋ | гꙋ́гневꙋ, поꙋстѝ ѝс тьмини҆це вс҃ѣ̀ ѝсповѣ́дникы. нѣ̀ ни҃ чы́теше ѝконы ни҃ раза́раше. | ѝ злѣ̀ пожи́ть развра|ще́нно и҃́ л҃ѣ́. ѝ ѹ҃мр҃ѣ́:~	f. 150r1–5 Вы҆ц҃ри|вшꙋ́ сѧ миха́илꙋ гꙋ́гни́вомꙋ. поꙋ́сти ѝс тьмини́це вс҃ѣ̀ ѝсповѣ́дни҃. | нѣ̀ ни҃ тѣ̀ чта́ше ѝкѡ́ны, ни҃ раза́раше. ѥ́ѥ́ бѣ́ше ꙗ̀коже҃ кто хо́щетъ҃ да твори́т҃. | ѝ злѣ̀ пожи́ развращѣ́нно и҃́ л҃ѣ́. ѝ ѹ҃мр҃ѣ́. Ѡ҆ста́ви҃ сна҃ ѳ҆ѳфи|ла на ц҃р҃тво сь мр҃тїю҆ его҆.	

Appendix. Synopsis, Zogr. 105, f. 1r–v[50]

1 **СКѦзА́НІЄ И҆зЄ҃ѢСТНОЄ ГЛѦ҃Ѣ М҃Ы КНИГЫ҃ІЄ**

Прѣ́вѣ҆е начина́етъ ѿ кни́гъ҃ мѡ҃ѷ҃сеи҆ски́и҃. начѣ́нь ѿ бы҆тїа҆ ѻ҆ творе́нїи ми́ра. дрѣ́же с҃и́ по́ ре́дꙋ. вь коу́пѣ҆ сь і҆ѡси́помь ѝ паралипоме́ны, да́же до і҆исоу́са сна҃ навї́на. вь ни-
5 х҃же ѝ ѻ҆бре҆та́ет се прьвии нача́л҃ни҃ вь лꙋ́хь. невро́ѡ҆ • та҃ і҆и҆соу́са навїина сь про́чїими. да҃ до кни́гы четвороц҃р҃твны́іѣ. ѝ ѿсоу́доу полага́етъ нача́ло глави́знамь[51]:~ ц҃р҃тво сабле҃ ц҃р҃тво дд҃во. ц҃р҃тво соломѡ́ново. ц҃р҃тво ровоа́мово: ц҃р҃тво а҆сѡ́во. ц҃р҃тво нава́тово. ц҃р҃тво васа́ново. ц҃р҃тво и҃-
10 лово. ц҃р҃тво замꙑ҆вріе́во. ц҃р҃тво ахаа́во. ц҃р҃тво ѡ҆хозі҃е҃. ц҃р҃тво і҆ѡа́рамово. ц҃р҃тво і҆ѡ́ѹ. ц҃р҃тво і҆ѡа́хазово. ц҃р҃тво і҆ѡа́сѡво. ц҃р҃тво а҆месі́ево. ц҃р҃тво ѡ҆зі́ево. ц҃р҃тво і҆ѡа́ѳа́мо҃. ц҃р҃тво а́хазово. ц҃р҃тво е҆зекі́ево. ц҃р҃тво ѡ҆сі́ево. ц҃р҃тво манасꙑ҆сі́ево. ц҃р҃тво а҆мѡ́сово. ц҃р҃тво і҆ѡси́ево. ц҃р҃тво і҆ѡа́-
15 хазо́во. ц҃р҃тво і҆ѡакі́мово. ц҃р҃тво седекі́ево. како поста́ви навꙋзарꙑ҆да҃ годолі́ю ѹ҆строи́телꙗ запоустѣ҆кнꙑ҆нѣи ц҃ркви.

[50] Variant readings are selected from Moscow, RGB Undol'skij 1191 (**U**), Hil. 433 (**H**), where the synopsis is added at the end of the MSS, and from the excerpt, published by Kačanovskij (**K**), in which the synopsis is published twice – in the beginning ($\mathbf{K}_1$), and at the end ($\mathbf{K}_2$). We cannot say whether there was a synopsis in St. Petersburg, BAN 24.4.34 (see n. 32 above).

[51] In **U** and **H** the preface reads: Прѣ́вѣ҆е написахѳ҃ тва́ри бы҆тїа, иже по гр҃е́ски҃ ѥ́зыкꙋ пале́а нари́чет҃ се. ѡ҆ ѥ́вреѣ҆ ѝ про́чаа та҃же ѿ шестодне́вника сѵ҃ть. ѝ тѵ҃ ѻ҆бре҆то́хѳ҃ прѣ́вааго въ лю́дѣ҆хъ гд҃и́на ѝ наче́лника не́врѡда прѣ҆же҃ въсѣ҆ цр҃и҃и бы҆ши҃и҃ на зе҃лѣ҃, ѝ по тѳ҃ про́чїи.

ꙇе҆рл҃мⷭ стⷭ́ки. ѡ̀ данїи́лѣ и҆ ѡ̀ трⷭ̑ ѿрѡ́кⷭ̑. ѡ̀ сы́нѣ иже ви́дѣ
навⷯхⷭ̑но́сорь. о҆̀ сы́нѣ и҃ ви́дѣ прⷭ̑ки данїи́. о҆̀ женѣ ꙇоу҆дⷭ́.
о҆̀ тѡ́вїтѣ. о҆̀ кѵ́рѣ цр҃и перⷭ́сц҃. повелѣ́нїе кѵ́рово да
съзы́жⷭ̑т се цр҃квь, ꙇе҆рл҃мⷭ́ска. о҆̀ влⷯхвѡ́ ц҃рⷭ́. о҆̀ сы-
мр҃ти камвⷭ́совѣ. о҆̀ ц҃р҃ти да́рїевѣ. Оу҆хыщре́нїе е҆́же
сътво́ри ко́ню да́рїевь. ц҃р҃тво ѣ́ерⷭ́ѧдово. ц҃р҃тво а҆рⷭ́таѯе-
рⷭ́ѧдово. о҆̀ мардохе́и. о҆̀ е҆сфі́рѣ а҆неѱ҃е́и є҆гѡ̀. о҆̀ а҆леѯа́н҃рѣ
сн҃ѣ фі́лїпⷭ́повѣ. о҆̀ кѡ́ни волѯегла́вѯ. о҆̀ рѣцѣ́ га́ггїи.
цр҃тⷭ̑во птолеме́а лагѡ̀са. ц҃р҃тво птолеме́а фїла́делфа. |

Variant readings: 3–4 ц҃р҃т|во а҆со́во] UK_2 om; 4 ц҃р҃тво нава́тово] UH om; 11 ꙇѡ̀а҆ра́мово] K_2 иҳарамово; ꙇи҆оу҆] соу҆їево 11–12 ꙇѡ|а҆самово] K_2 ѡ|асамово 14 манасⷭ́сиево] K_2 ѡ|асамово 15 запоу҆стⷭ́кн҃нѣки] K_2 заплетѣки 17 ѿрѡ́кⷭ̑] K_2 втрок 19 повелѣ́нїе] K_2 поновлѥнїе 21–22 Оу҆хыщре́нїе … да́рїевь] UHK_2 om K_1 оухытрєнїе 25 фїла́делфа] UHK_2 братолювца

1 ка́ко о҆́зловѝ ꙇоу҆де́е великыи а҆нтїѯ҃. ц҃р҃тво а҆леѯа́н҃ра
сн҃а а҆нтїѡ̀хова. о҆̀ ꙇрѡ̀дѯ цр҃и, и҆ о҆̀ дрⷯгыи҃ ꙇрѡ̀дѣ. и҆ о҆̀ ри-
мⷭ́скыи҃ ке́сар҃ѣ. и҆ о҆̀ ꙇе҆рл҃мⷭ́ско҃ разоре́ни. и҆ погоу҆бле́ни
ꙇоу҆де́иско҃. о҆̀ ри́мѣ и҆ о҆̀ ри́млтанѯ҃. ѿ҃ втораго лѣ-
5 тописца о҆̀ самодрⷠ҆ѫ҃цехъ. Є҆ди́ноначе́лїе по́мⷭ́-
пїево. Є҆ди́ноначе́лїе оу҆е҆спесїанѡ́во. Є҆ди́ноначе́-
лїе ті́та ке́сара. Є҆ди́ноначе́лїе дѡметїана̀ ке́сар҃.
Є҆ди́ноначе́лїе траиана̀ ке́сара. е҆ди́ноначе́лїе а҆нтѡ-
нїна блг҃очⷭ́стива́го. е҆ди́ноначе́лїе ма́рка а҆нтѡни́-
10 на прⷭ́ѧоу҆ра́го. Є҆ди́ноначе́лїе севи́рово. ц҃р҃тво де-
кі́ево. ц҃р҃тво а҆врилїано́во. ц҃р҃тво маѯимїано́во.
ц҃р҃тво маѯими́ново. ц҃р҃тво стⷭ́а́го и҆ вели́каго кѿстанті́н҃.
о҆̀ съмр҃ти стⷭ́ы́е е҆ле́ны мтр҃е є҆гѡ̀. ц҃р҃тво вели́кааго ѳе҆ѡ́-
сїа. ц҃р҃тво ѡ҃но́рїево въ старо҃ ри́мѣ. ц҃р҃тво ма́лааго
15 ѳе҆ѡ́сїа въ кѿстанті́нѣ гра́дѣ. ц҃р҃тво а҆настѧсїе́во. ц҃р҃тво
маври́кїе́во. ц҃р҃тво и҆ри́ны и҆ кѿстанті́на сн҃а е҆́е҆.
ц҃р҃тво ѳеѡфі́лово. ц҃р҃тво михаи́ла сн҃а ѳеѡфі́лова.
ц҃р҃тво васи́лїа македѡ́на. ц҃р҃тво ле́ѡна прⷭ́ѧ҃ѕраа҃г҃.
ц҃р҃тво васи́лїа прⷭ́фѵ́рогє́ни́та. ц҃р҃тво кѿстани́на бра-
20 та васи́лїе́ва. ц҃р҃тво ле́ѡна а҆рмє́нїа:~
Сѣ́го ле҆ѡ̀на а҆рмє́нїа ц҃р҃тво. прⷭ́ѣ́же михаи́ла. а҆-
мⷭ́мѡрі́а и҆ ѳеѡфі́ла е҆́. нⷭ́ѣ зе҆́ о҆брⷭ́тше сі́е
не прⷭ́ло́жихѿ҃ нⷭ́ь та́ко написахѿ҃ :~ ||

Variant readings: 1 а҆леѯа́н҃ра] UK_2 а҆леѯандрово 2–4 о҆̀ ꙇрѡ̀дѯ цр҃и… ꙇоу҆де́иско҃] UHK_2 ка́ко начѣ҃ и҆ подвиже҃ йрⷯ҃, о҆бла́ти ꙇѯдеи҃ въсѣмь, и҆ здⷭ́ е҆҃ и҆ дрⷯгыи ꙇрⷯ҃, и҆ ѳаве́рїе ки́есарь, и҆ про́чїи начел҃ници, и҆ е҆ли́ко сътвори́ше҃ въ ꙇе҆рл҃ѷмѣ и҆ въ ꙇѯдеи҃ 5 самодрⷠ҆ѫ҃цехъ] K_2 самодрьжьць 7 дѡметїана̀] K_2 дометїа 12 маѯими́ново] K_2 om 13 мтр҃е є҆гѡ̀] K_2 om 18 ле́ѡна] UHK_1K_2 льва 15 а҆настѧсїе́во] K_2 om 19 прⷯфѵ́рогє́ни́та] HK_2 багрен҃рона 20 ле́ѡна] UHK_1K_2 льва 21 ле́ѡна] UHK_1K_2 льва 21–22 михаи́ла. а҆|мⷭ́мѡрі́а и҆]

UH K_1K_2 om 22 ѥ̂] UH цр҃ства ѥ́сть K_2 царьство юсть; 22 нѣ҆ зѣ҆ ѡ҆бр҃ѣ́тше сѝѣ҆] K_1 нь ѕдѣ ѡбр҃ѣтшихсѧ UHK_2 om UH K_1K_2 23 не прѣло́жихѡ҃ нѣ҆ та́ко написахѡ҃'] U нъ҆ на коньць кни́гы напи́са сѧ H нѣ҆ на коѡ҃ кнїгї пїса сѧ K_2 на коньць книгъ писахъ**

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Sweet and Salty Recipes: Some Examples from the Muslim and Byzantine Culinary and Medicinal Common Tradition

Abstract. This paper discusses the use of salt, vinegar, honey, and sugar in some Byzantine and Arabic-Islamic recipes in cooking and pastry-making as well as for food preservation and in medical preparations. It draws mostly on information provided by Byzantine sources and Arabic translations for any comparison. The research focuses on some examples of salty/sour and sweet culinary and medicinal recipes, common or similar Arabo-Byzantine products like *iṭriya*, *garos*/*murrī*, *zoulapion mis̲hmis̲hiyya*, and *libysia*. The paper starts with Galen's Syrian *mēloplakous*, continues with salty and sweet liquid preparations as well as preserves of roses and fruits. It concludes with a discussion of two exemplary Arabic delicacies more widely known in twelfth-century Byzantium, two foods with extreme opposite but equal flavored tastes: a sweet and a salty Arab product, *paloudakin* or *apalodaton* (*fālūdhaj*), which was the most typical sweet the Byzantines borrowed from the Arabs, and *libysia*, the especially flavorful salted fish from Egypt.

Keywords: Arabic and Byzantine delicacies, *paloudakin*, *fālūdhaj*, *itrion*, *iṭriya*, *garos*, *murrī*, preserves of roses and fruits, Syrian *mēloplakous*, *mis̲hmis̲hiyya* recipe with apricots, Saracen or Egyptian roses, salty and sweet liquid preparations, *jullāb* and *zoulapion*, *serabion*, salty Egyptian fish *Libysia*, *ṣīr*, anchovies, Byzantine *tsiros*, Byzantine female cook and singer Bida in Bagdad, culinary and medicinal common or similar Arabo-Byzantine products, culinary influences and borrowings

A paper presenting aspects of food mobility between the Byzantine and Islamic worlds runs the risk of recycling previously studied topics on production and circulation of some goods and the development of their barter or trade. References to products such as cereals, oil, wine, cheese, honey, meat and fish, dried or pickled fruits, legumes, vegetables, roses, and spices increased in Late Antiquity when these items began to be traded not only as staple foods but also as ingredients in refined

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and high-quality processed products and semi-luxury preparations. These raw materials are certainly part of our research with Maria Leontsini[1] in terms of their contribution to the various preparations exchanged between the Arab and Byzantine worlds. The use of salt, vinegar, honey, and sugar for food preservation, for the preparation of medicines, or as sauces in cooking is a rich topic for research and has been the subject of many studies[2]. This paper focuses on some examples of salty/sour and sweet culinary and medicinal common or similar Arabo-Byzantine

[1] I express my gratitude to Maria for our creative collaboration in this research, particularly for suggesting that parts of the research I had personally conducted be published under my name alone. Her assistance, like that of her Arabisant friends and companions, always proved valuable.

[2] On the production, medical and culinary use of salt, honey, and sugar in the Greek and Byzantine world see some basic works. **Bibliography of salt**, **honey**, **and sugar in the Greek and Byzantine world**. **On salt:** *Το Ελληνικό Αλάτι*, *Η' Τριήμερο Εργασίας* (= *The Greek Salt*, *8th Three-days Workshop*), *Mytilene 6–8 November 1998*, *Proceedings*, Athens 2001 (especially Π. ΑΝΔΡΟΥΔΗΣ, *Μαρτυρίες για το αλάτι από το Βυζάντιο: αλίπαστα είδη και γάρον*, [in:] *Το Ελληνικό Αλάτι*…, p. 95–115. 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 2007 [= SPBS.P, 13], p. 59–72. G.C. MANIATIS, *Organization and Modus Operandi of the Byzantine Salt Monopoly*, BZ 102, 2009, p. 661–696. T. THEODOROPOULOU, *To Salt or Not to Salt: A Review of Evidence for Processed Marine Products and Local Traditions in the Aegean Through Time*, [in:] *The Bountiful Sea. Fish Processing and Consumption in Mediterranean Antiquity. Proceedings of the International Conference Held at Oxford*, *6–8 September 2017*, ed. D. MYLONA, R. NICHOLSON, New York 2018, Special Issue of JMArch 13.3, p. 389–406; on line I. ANAGNOSTAKIS, *Chrysothemis*, entry Ἅλας, ἅλς. **On honey and sugar:** Σ. ΓΕΡΜΑΝΙΔΟΥ, *Βυζαντινός μελίρρυτος πολιτισμός. Πηγές*, *τέχνη*, *ευρήματα*, Αθήνα 2016 (= *Byzantine Honey Culture. Texts*, *Images*, *Finds*). I. ANAGNOSTAKIS, *Wild and Domestic Honey in Middle Byzantine Hagiography: Some Issues Relating to its Production*, *Collection and Consumption*, [in:] *Beekeeping in the Mediterranean from Antiquity to the Present*, ed. F. HATJINA, G. MAVROFRIDIS, R. JONES, Nea Moudania 2017, p. 105–118. P. BOURAS-VALLIANATOS, *Cross-cultural Transfer of Medical Knowledge in the Medieval Mediterranean: the Introduction and Dissemination of Sugar-based Potions from the Islamic World to Byzantium*, S 96, 2021, p. 963–1008, https://eatlikeasultan.com/spotlight-on-salt. **Bibliography for salt**, **honey and sugar in the Arab world:** J. SADAN, *Milḥ*, *Salt in the Mediaeval Islamic World*, [in:] *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, vol. VII, Leiden–New York 1993, p. 57. A. DIETRICH, *Salt in Medicine*, [in:] *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, vol. VII, p. 67–58. On the production and use of sugar, in the Arab world, M. OUERFELLI, *Le sucre. Production*, *commercialisation et usages dans la Méditerranée médiévale*, Leiden 2008 [= MMe, 71]; S. TSUGITAKA, *Sugar in the Social Life of Medieval Islam*, Leiden 2015 [= IAS, 1]. For the use of *milḥ*, *khall* and *sukkar*, salt, vinegar and sugar, in cooking and food preservation especially in Cairo, P.B. LEWICKA, *Food and Foodways of Medieval Cairenes. Aspects of Life in an Islamic Metropolis of the Eastern Mediterranean*, Leiden 2011 [= IHC, 88], p. 188–345. See also the words *jullāb*/*julap*, *murrī*, *sals*, cakes and preserved foods and bibliography in the following works, M. RODINSON, A.J. ARBERRY, Ch. PERRY, *Medieval Arab Cookery. Essays and Translations*, Totnes 2001; N. NASRALLAH, *Annals of the Caliphs' Kitchens. Ibn Sayyār al-Warrāq's Tenth-Century Baghdadi Cookbook*, ed., Engl. trans. with introduction and glossary, Leiden–Boston 2007 [= IHC, 70]; D. WAINES, *Food Culture and Health in Pre-modern Islamic Societies*, Leiden 2011. See also J.C. HOCQUET, J. HOCQUET, *The History of a Food Product: Salt in Europe. A Bibliographic Review*, FoFo 1, 1985–1987, p. 425–447, and M. KURLANSKY, *Salt: A World History*, New York 2003.

products that were not included in our previous paper[3], i.e. the *iṭriya*, *murrī*, *mish-mishiyya*, and *libysia*. It provides some supplementary information on the analytically studied *zoulapion* and on the elliptically mentioned *sikbāj*/*sikbāja* and *ṣilāga*. It also offers elaborates on Galen's description of the apple dessert, relating it to the Arabic *khabīṣ*[4]. The paper draws mostly on information provided by Byzantine sources and Arabic translations for any comparison. As a result, the study of the products will be chronological rather than thematic, as both sweet and salty are sometimes employed in the same recipe. The paper starts with Galen's Syrian *mēloplakous* and concludes with a discussion of two exemplary delicacies more widely known in twelfth-century Byzantium, two foods with extreme opposite but equal flavored tastes: a sweet and a salty Arab product, *paloudakin* or *apalodaton* (*fālūdhaj*), which was the most typical sweet the Byzantines borrowed from the Arabs, and *libysia*, the especially flavorful salted fish from Egypt.

It seemed more useful and accurate to discuss the exchange of prepared cooked items not only through trade or the formal and ritual exchange of gifts and goods, rather through non-commercial cultural exchange[5]. Therefore, I will attempt to present specific evidence that indicates food mobility not only in historical or medicinal writings and official documents, but also in Byzantine and Arab prose, poetry, legends, and epistolography, thus identifying references that have gone unnoticed. In fact, I largely followed Rodinson's observation regarding the investigation of the impact of non-Arab peoples and culinary traditions on Arab gastronomy that we can also find pertinent information outside cookbooks from such sources, including dictionaries: […] *the Arab rules of dietetics inherited from Greek medical authors* […] *this theoretical literature has had a positive influence on actual food* […] *a closer study of Arab food should extend to many other literary genres*. He refers to dictionaries, prose literature and *belles lettres*, satirical works, and poetry – especially gastronomic poems, a popular genre of the Baghdad court versifying praise of all sorts of dishes[6]. This especially resonates with our research on Arab or other Eastern influences on Byzantine gastronomy

[3] M. Leontsini, I. Anagnostakis, *Food Mobilities between the Byzantine and the Islamic Worlds: Trends in High-value Food Consumption, Seventh to Twelfth Centuries*, [in:] *Mobility and Materiality in Byzantine-Islamic Relations, 7th–12th Centuries*, ed. K. Durak, N. Necipoğlu, Routledge (forthcoming).

[4] I transliterate Arabic words according to the *Encyclopaedia of Islam* and in certain cases adopt the transliteration of some editors, for example M. Rodinson, A.J. Arberry, Ch. Perry, *Medieval Arab Cookery…*, and N. Nasrallah, *Annals of the Caliphs' Kitchens…*

[5] K. Durak, *The Use of Non-commercial Networks for the Study of Byzantium's Foreign Trade. The Case of Byzantine-Islamic Commerce in the Early Middle Ages*, [in:] *Proceedings of the 24th International Congress of Byzantine Studies Plenary Sessions, Venice and Padua, 22–27 August, 2022*, vol. I, ed. E. Fiori, M. Trizio, Venice 2022, p. 422–451.

[6] M. Rodinson, *Studies in Arabic Manuscripts Relating to Cookery*, [in:] M. Rodinson, A.J. Arberry, Ch. Perry, *Medieval Arab Cookery…*, p. 111–112. More analytically for how I used sources, see the Introduction of M. Leontsini, I. Anagnostakis, *Food Mobilities…*, forthcoming.

because there are no Byzantine cookbooks, except for descriptions of food preparation recorded in a dietary-medical context.

For the purposes of this paper it is necessary to clarify as closely as possible what denoted foodstuffs or dishes categorized by the Byzantines as *sarakēnikos* and *aigypti(ak)os* (σαρακηνικός, αἰγύπτιος, αἰγυπτιακός) and by the Arabs as *rūmī* and *sh̲āmī*[7]. Arabs and Byzantines who recorded these terms had already dealt with the question of the use and interpretation of the names of agricultural plants and ingredients in medicinal or culinary preparations. Galen addressed the question of the variant nomenclature specifying culinary preparations and medical terms in Greek dialects and other languages, often referring to the misunderstanding resulting from barbaric denominations. Although it is believed he wasn't especially interested in the issue, he devotes considerable attention to the definition of a group of key terms in several of his works, even devoting a special chapter in *On the Pulses*[8].

The same is found later in translations or more generally in the effort to understand and clarify the terms for a wide audience. For example, the Nabatean Ibn Wahshiyya, in his tenth-century work *Nabatean Agriculture*, states that he translated the name of each tree and plant into commonly used names: *If I transmitted its name (only) in Nabatean, no one would know what I am speaking about. This is because some plants have become famous by their Arabic name, some by their Persian name, some by their Nabatean name and some by their Greek (rūmī) name, according to which name has become dominant*[9].

Symeon Seth shared the same view on the use of names. He tried to systematize this diverse nomenclature with annotations on the origin of each product or preparation; indeed, he indicated that he was summarizing the existing knowledge that circulated in both Byzantium and the Islamic world. Accordingly, in the prologue of his treatise *Syntagma*, he claimed to have borrowed material from works by Persians, Agarenes, and Indians. He added that although he was aware of the

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[7] On this see also the first section of M. Leontsini, I. Anagnostakis, *Food Mobilities*…, forthcoming on what designates the Byzantine epithets *sarakēnikos* and *aigypti(ak)os* and the Arabic epithets *rūmī* and *sh̲āmī* in a multitude of cases, especially when no other information is provided about the origin of foodstuff, the dish, plant, or ingredients.

[8] Galen, *De differentia pulsuum libri IV*, II, 5, [in:] *Claudii Galeni opera omnia*, vol. VIII, ed. C.G. Kühn, Leipzig 1824 (repr. Hildesheim 1965), p. 584–590. See the introduction of I. Johnston in Galen, *On the Constitution of the Art of Medicine. The Art of Medicine. A Method of Medicine to Glaucon*, ed. et trans. I. Johnston, Cambridge, Mass.–London 2016 [= LCL, 523], p. XXXVI. See also translation and analysis I. Johnston, N. Papavramidou, *Galen on the Pulses. Four Short Treatises and Four Long Treatises Medico-historical Analysis, Textual Tradition, Translation*, Berlin–Boston 2022/2023 [= MMM, 10].

[9] J. Hämeen-Anttila, *The Last Pagans of Iraq. Ibn Wahshiyya and his Nabatean Agriculture*, Leiden–Boston 2006 [= IHC, 63], p. 89–90. On Ibn *Ibn Wahshiyya*, the Nabateans' nationalism and recipes see N. Nasrallah, *Annals of the Caliphs' Kitchens*…, p. 52–54.

names established in earlier medical texts, he would make use of the new names that were mutually known and recognized and which had become, in his time, familiar among the peoples of the Mediterranean Sea under the Byzantine and the Islamic rules: *Some of the foods are otherwise the common custom had established and otherwise by the ancient physicians*, *I will use the more common and familiar names so that the names can be understood by everybody*[10].

This brief theoretical approach is necessary because after the seventh century, the mobility of material substances and preparations led to the inclusion of new products and new oriental names, mainly in the Byzantine diet. Many names of plants and recipes probably only became dominant in the elite scholarly circles through the translations during the intercultural mobility of the Islamic Golden Age. At the same time, some other names remained dominant using the adjective *rūmī* or *sarakēnikos* through a colloquial tradition or by borrowings for practical reasons through a daily routine.

Galen's Syrian *mēloplakous* (μηλοπλακοῦς), Greek *itrion* (ἴτριον), Arabic *khabīṣ*, *iṭriya*, and the dishes *sikbāja* and *ṣilāga*

Mēloplakous. It is well known that in Late Antiquity processed foods such as some sweets, preserved pickles, cured meats, fish, garum, and wines moved from the East to Rome. An interesting example of the circulation of these goods is presented in a fifth- or sixth-century papyrus mentioning provisions of sweet liquids and wines, salted meat and fish, and fish sauce in certain vessels, flagons, or jars[11]. Especially for the sweet preparations – starting from Galen's reports about the Syrian conserved and condensed preparations of apples and quinces exported from Syria to Rome – we later note a similar mobility of Arab food products from the same region, but directed this time towards New Rome, i.e., Byzantium. These items were offered as gifts when treaties were concluded and prisoners exchanged. The case of Harun al Rashid's culinary gifts to the Byzantine emperor and the Byzantine female captives mentioned on this occasion – some of whom were considered exceptional cooks of specialized delicacies – illustrates intercultural culinary mobility between Byzantines and Arabs from the similarity, influence, or borrowing of dishes that some called *rūmī* or *sarakēnikos*.

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[10] *Simeonis Sethi Syntagma de alimentorum facultatibus*, proem. p. 1.11–17, ed. B. Langkavel, Leipzig 1868 [= BSGR] (cetera: Symeon Seth, *Syntagma*): ἐπεί δέ τινας τῶν τροφῶν ἄλλως μὲν ἡ κοινὴ ὀνομάζει συνήθεια, ἄλλως δὲ ἡ τῶν παλαιῶν ἰατρῶν, τοῖς κοινοτέροις καὶ γνωριμωτέροις τῶν ὀνομάτων χρήσομαι διὰ τὸ πᾶσι δῆλα τυγχάνειν. P. Bouras-Vallianatos, S. Xenophontos, *Galen's Reception in Byzantium: Symeon Seth and his Refutation of Galenic Theories on Human Physiology*, GRBS 55, 2015, p. 438; P. Bouras-Vallianatos, *Cross-cultural Transfer…*, p. 980.

[11] A. Maravela-Solbakk, *Byzantine Inventory Lists of Food Provisions and Utensils on an Ashmolean Papyrus*, ZPE 170, 2009, p. 127–146, especially p. 129–134.

Galen reports:

> When it has been prepared well, the juice of Strouthian apples (στρουθίων μήλων χυλός), like that of the Cydonian ones, is stable, but this juice is less sweet and more astringent than the latter. So that, sometimes, this might also be of service for strengthening an excessively relaxed stomach. In Syria they also make the so-called quince-cake, *mēloplakous* (μηλοπλακοῦς), a food so stable (ἔδεσμα μόνιμον) that new containers (λοπάδας καινάς) filled with it are carried to Rome. It is compounded from honey and quince flesh (σαρκὸς μήλων) that has been made smooth by boiling with the honey[12].

Strouthian apple was a different apple or quince species from the Cydonian (κυδώνιον μῆλον), the common quince known also as *mēlokydōnion* (μηλοκυδώνιον). Despite the suggested translation of *mēloplakous* as quince-cake, the text does not say quince but just apple, *mēlon*. This cake (*mēloplakous*) made with the flesh of roasted (Strouthian) apple and honey was very well-preserved, as indicated by the expression *edesma monimon* (ἔδεσμα μόνιμον, stable food) and could be transported in a new flat dish (λοπάς) from Syria to Rome without spoiling.

In *On the Properties of foodstuffs* (*De alimentorum facultatibus*) and in *On Health* (*De sanitate tuenda*) Galen distinguishes the various preparations with Cydonian (κυδώνιον μῆλον) from those with Strouthian apple (στρούθιον μῆλον). He refers to the medication prepared not with the flesh of the quince (*kydōniōn mēlōn*, διὰ τῶν κυδωνίων μήλων) but with its thick juice (*chylos*, χυλός), or as he characteristically comments *the Greeks of our own Asia (*i.e. *Asia Minor)*, *call Strouthian apples* (ἃ στρουθία καλοῦσιν οἱ κατὰ τὴν ἡμετέραν Ἀσίαν Ἕλληνες). This thick fruit juice boiled only with honey can be preserved in vessels for up to seven years, but it can also be prepared with a specific dosage of honey, white pepper, ginger, and vinegar – a recipe he considers *my own medication for people with anorexia*. He mentions the same recipe for the preparation of the flesh of Cydonian apples (διὰ τῆς σαρκὸς τῶν κυδωνίων μήλων), likely equally well-known by other physicians as *kydōnaton* (κυδωνάτον)[13]. Consequently, two distinct delicious preparations are described:

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[12] *Galeni De alimentorum facultatibus libri III*, II, 23, 3, ed. G. HELMREICH, Leipzig–Berlin 1923 [= CMG, 5.4.2] (cetera: GALEN, *De alimentorum facultatibus*), p. 293.18–24: μόνιμος ὁ τῶν στρουθίων μήλων χυλός ἐστιν, ὅταν καλῶς σκευασθῇ, καθάπερ γε καὶ ὁ τῶν κυδωνίων […] ἐν Συρίᾳ δὲ καὶ τὸν καλούμενον μηλοπλακοῦντα συντιθέασιν, ἔδεσμα μόνιμον οὕτως, ὡς εἰς Ῥώμην κομίζεσθαι μεστὰς αὐτοῦ λοπάδας καινάς. σύγκειται δ' ἐκ μέλιτός τε καὶ σαρκὸς μήλων λελειωμένης ἑφθῆς ἅμα τῷ μέλιτι. For the translation see GALEN, *On the Properties of Foodstuffs* (*De alimentorum facultatibus*), trans. O.W. POWELL, praef. J. WILKINS, Cambridge 2003, p. 90. On these sweets see P. BOURAS-VALLIANATOS, *Cross-cultural Transfer*…, p. 967–968.

[13] GALEN, *De alimentorum facultatibus*, II, 23, 1–2, p. 223; *Galeni De sanitate tuenda libri VI*, VI, 14, 15, ed. K. KOCH, Leipzig–Berlin 1923 [= CMG, 5.4.2] (cetera: GALEN, *De sanitate tuenda*), p. 197: τὸ διὰ τοῦ χυλοῦ τῶν <κυδωνίων>μήλων φάρμακον, ἐπιτήδειον εἴς τε τὰς ὀρέξεις τοῖς ἀνορέκτοις […] τῶν κυδωνίων μήλων τὰ μείζω τε καὶ ἡδίω καὶ ἧττον στρυφνά, ἃ στρουθία καλοῦσιν οἱ κατὰ τὴν ἡμετέραν Ἀσίαν Ἕλληνες, ἐκ τούτων τοῦ χυλοῦ λαβόντας […] μῖξαι ζιγγιβέρεως […] πεπέρεως δὲ τοῦ λευκοῦ, καὶ οὕτω πάλιν ἐπὶ τῶν ὁμοίως διακεκαυμένων ἀνθράκων ἑψῆσαι μέχρι μελιτώδους

one with the flesh of (Strouthian) apples boiled only with honey and the other with the flesh of Cydonian apples boiled with honey, white pepper, ginger, and vinegar. These preparations and especially *kydōnaton* (κυδωνάτον) are repeated and quoted by Oribasios (c. 320–403), Aetios from Amida in Upper Mesopotamia or modern Diyarbakır (mid-fifth to mid-sixth century), Alexander of Tralles (sixth century), and Paul of Aegina (c. 625 – c. 690)[14]. As we shall see below this type of sweet cake mentioned by Galen and the other physicians apparently continued to be prepared in Byzantium and the wider area of Syria now under Arab control and called Sham[15]. As already observed by researchers, some Arabic recipes for storing and preserving fruits – and particularly quinces – reflect those of Roman

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συστάσεως […] καὶ διὰ τῆς σαρκὸς τῶν κυδωνίων μήλων σκεύαζε […] μετ᾽ ὄξους τε καὶ μέλιτος ἑψήσας. On the species of these apples and quinces see G. Simeonov, *Obst in Byzanz. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Ernährung im östlichen Mittelmeerraum*, Saarbrücken 2013, p. 84–90; G. Simeonov, *Obst und Süßspeisen in den Ptochoprodromika*, JÖB 63, 2013, p. 214–215. On quince marmalade as medicine and preserve, E. Field, *Quinces, Oranges, Sugar, and Salt of Human Skull: Marmalade's Dual Role as a Medicine and a Preserve*, [in:] *Food Preservation from Early Times to the Present*, ed. C.A. Wilson, Edinburgh 1991, p. 5–31.

[14] *Oribasii Collectionum Medicarum Reliquiae*, *libri I–VIII*, V, 15–21, vol. I–IV, ed. J. Raeder, Leipzig 1928–1933 [= CMG, 6] (cetera: Oribasios, *Collectionum Medicarum*), p. 141; Aetios of Amida, *Sixteen Books on Medicine* (Βιβλία Ἰατρικά Ἑκκαίδεκα): *Aetii Amideni libri medicinales V–VIII*, V, 23, 140–143, ed. A. Olivieri, Berlin 1950 [= CMG, 8.2], p. 101, 115–118: (140) Ὑδροροσάτου σκευασία. ῥόδων νεαρῶν ἐξωνυχισμένων […], (142) Ὑδρομήλου καὶ κουστομηνάτου σκευασία […], (143) Κυδωνάτου σκευασία; Paulus Aegineta, *Epitomae medicae libri septem*, VII, 11, 27–30, vol. I–II, ed. J.L. Heiberg, Leipzig–Berlin 1921–1924 [= CMG, 9] (cetera: Paulus Aegineta, *Epitomae medicae*), p. 304–305: (27) Τὸ διὰ μήλων σαρκῶν. Μήλων Κυδωνίων […] πεπέρεως, ἀνίσου, Λιβυστικοῦ […] ζιγγιβέρεως […], (28) Τὸ διὰ τοῦ χυλοῦ τῶν μήλων πρὸς ἀνορέκτους καὶ δυσπεπτοῦντας Μήλων Κυδωνίων […] ὁ Γαληνὸς σκευάζει […], (29) Μηλοπλακουντίου σκευή […], (30) Κυδωνάτον τριπτὸν ἔχον σῶα τὰ τεμάχη. Galen is invoked in one of the typical examples given by Alexander of Tralles, *Therapeutica – Alexander von Tralles*, vol. I–II, ed. T. Puschmann, Vienna 1878–1879 (cetera: Alexander of Tralles, *Therapeutica*), vol. I, p. 523.2–13: καὶ ταῦτα σαφῶς βοῶντος τοῦ σοφωτάτου Γαληνοῦ […] εἰ δὲ ἡδέως ἔχοιέν τι, προσπλέκεσθαι ἁρμόζει μόνον ὑδρόμελι μικρὸν ἢ ὑδρορόσατον ἢ ῥοδόμηλον. τὸ δὲ ὑδρόμηλον μάλιστα τὸ Κιβυρατικὸν ὡς πολέμιον αὐτοῖς φεύγειν δεῖ καὶ τὸ ὀξύμελι; on preparations with quinces and several spices see also *Therapeutica*, vol. II, p. 257.20–21: ἐξ ὧν ἐστι καὶ τὸ διὰ τῶν κυδωνίων μήλων σκευαζόμενον ἔχον καὶ πεπέρεως καὶ σμύρνης ἢ λιβυστικοῦ ἢ κόστου ἢ γλήχωνος. On *kydōnaton* see *Ptochoprodromos*, ed. H. Eideneier, Cologne 1991 [= NgrMA, 5], and new edition used here, H. Eideneier, *Πτωχοπρόδρομος*, poem IV, 329, Herakleion 2012 (cetera: *Ptochoprodromos*); G. Simeonov, *Obst und Süßspeisen*…, p. 214. See the use of *kydōnaton*, *hydromēlon* and *hydrorosaton* proposed *Nikolaos Myrepsos' Dynameron*, ed. I. Valiakos, Heidelberg 2020 (cetera: Nikolaos Myrepsos, *Dynameron*), sections 22–31, p. 711–715 (κυδωνᾶτον), sections 27–30, p. 1058–1059 (Ὑδρομήλων σκευασία). See also B. Kitapçı Bayri, *Warriors, Martyrs, and Dervishes. Moving Frontiers, Shifting Identities in the Land of Rome (13th–15th centuries)*, Leiden–Boston 2020 [= MMe, 119], p. 82.

[15] On Byzantine preserves see the information provided, which lacks proper citation to the referenced source: *Preserves of quince and lemon appear – along with rose, apple, plum and pear – in the Book of ceremonies of the Byzantine Emperor Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos*, M. Toussaint-Samat, *A History of Food*, Engl. trans. A. Bell, Oxford–Cambridge 1992, 2nd ed. 2009, p. 507.

Apicius[16]. But this time these identical or similar preparations are destined for New Rome, Constantinople, or sent as gifts to the emperor.

Khabīṣ. After the Arab conquest of Herakleia in Cilicia in 806 and in the context of a new treaty and exchange of prisoners, Harun al-Rashid's gifts to Emperor Nikephoros I were sweets and dried fruits as well as, according to Tabari, many cakes, *khabīṣ* (pl. *akhbisa* in the text)[17]. These cake variations are made with starch, *samīdh* flour (free of bran), honey, rose syrup, *jullāb*, nuts, or fruits such as carrot, dates, and apples[18]. Al-Warrāq provides numerous recipes, from which I infer the following: *khabīṣa Ma'mūniyya* or by al-Ma'mūn is a moist condensed cake made with butter and sweet sesame oil (ch. 94); *khabīṣa muwallada* is non-Arab (ch. 94); *khabīṣ* made with dates, apples, carrots, and particularly Levantine Lebanese apples, *Shāmī Labnānī* (ch. 95); condensed *khabīṣ* made with walnut, sugar, and skinned almond (ch. 96); and uncooked *khabīṣ* crumbly and condensed (ch. 97)[19]. Like the *khabīṣ* with almonds, the *Ma'mūniyya* recipe – whether a type of marzipan or a *halāwa* made with *samīdh* flour, oil and sugar – is attributed to the caliph Mamun, and recipe's name probably derives from this renowned gourmet caliph Mamun, son of Harun, who sponsored culinary competitions and even participated in some[20]. Besides, it is known that *an interest in gastronomy appears to have been a pastime of various patrician personalities including several princes of the ruling Abbasid house*[21].

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[16] P.B. LEWICKA, *Food and Foodways*…, p. 272–273.

[17] AL-TABARI, *The History of al-Ṭabarī*, vol. XXX, *The Conquest of Iraq, Southwestern Persia, and Egypt*, trans. H. GAUTIER, A. JUYNBOLL, Albany 1989 (cetera: *The History of al-Ṭabarī*), p. 263–264 [years 710–711]. M. CANARD, *La prise d'Héraclée et les relations entre Harun ar-Rashid et l'empereur Nicéphore 1er*, B 32, 1962, p. 359–360, and on *khabīṣ* (pl. *akhbisa*) p. 359 n. 4. Fr. HILD, M. RESTLE, *Kappadokien (Kappadokia, Charsianon, Sebasteia und Lykandos)*, Vienna 1981 [= *TIB*, 2.149], p. 188–190. See also M. CANARD, *Les relations politiques et sociales entre Byzance et les Arabes*, DOP 18, 1964, p. 54–55.

[18] See description of various *akhbisa*, N. NASRALLAH, *Annals of the Caliphs' Kitchens*…, p. 597–598; P.B. LEWICKA, *Food and Foodways*…, p. 152–163, 247 n. 570, p. 292.

[19] IBN SAYYĀR AL-WARRĀQ, *Kitāb aṭ-Ṭabīkh*, ed. K. ÖHRNBERG, S. MROUEH, Helsinki 1987 [= SO. SOF, 60]; English trans. in N. NASRALLAH, *Annals of the Caliphs' Kitchens*… (cetera for English trans.: IBN SAYYĀR AL-WARRĀQ, *Kitāb al-Ṭabīkh* and for comments: N. NASRALLAH, *Annals of the Caliphs' Kitchens*…), IBN SAYYĀR AL-WARRĀQ, *Kitāb al-Ṭabīkh*, ch. 94–97, p. 388–403, and analytically *khabīṣa Ma'mūniyya* ch. 94 p. 389, 392–393, *khabīṣa muwallada*, non-Arab, ch. 94, p. 393, *khabīṣ* of Levantine Lebanese apples, *Shāmī Labnānī*, ch. 95, p. 397; see also several *khabīṣ* recipes in Ch. PERRY, *The Description of Familiar Foods* (*Kitāb wasf al-atʿima al-muʿtāda*), [in:] M. RODINSON, A.J. ARBERRY, Ch. PERRY, *Medieval Arab Cookery*…, p. 412–415.

[20] This recipe passed to Christian West as *mamonia*, M. RODINSON, *Ma'mūniyya East and West*, trans. B. INSKIP, [in:] M. RODINSON, A.J. ARBERRY, Ch. PERRY, *Medieval Arab Cookery*…, p. 183–197. N. NASRALLAH, *Annals of the Caliphs' Kitchens*…, p. 597–598.

[21] D. WAINES, *Dietetics in Medieval Islamic Culture*, MHis 43.2, 1999, p. 231. On the Arab *nudamāʾ*, kings' and princes' banqueting companions, J. SADAN, *Nadīm*, [in:] *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, vol. VII, p. 849–852.

It seems more than certain that the *kẖabīṣ* made with apples, especially Levantine Lebanese apples, *Sẖāmī Labnānī*, is an Arab adaptation or continuation of the famous Syrian recipe from Galen's time, *mēloplakous* (μηλοπλακοῦς)[22]. It should be noted that the word *plakous* (πλακοῦς), meaning flat cake, probably via Armenian, was used by Arabs as *iflaghun*, a kind of bread or cake with butter and honey. Similar recipes mentioned by Galen for preserving apples and quinces boiled with honey, pepper, ginger, and vinegar also appear in Arabic culinary texts for conserving large and fragrant Lebanese apples and quinces boiled until mushy for *kẖabīṣ* and for preparing *mayba*, the aromatic medicinal drinks from apple and quince juice boiled with honey, long pepper, ginger, and other spices[23]. Al-Warrāq often uses *Sẖāmī* Lebanese apples and quinces – or just *Sẖāmī*, Syrian, or Levantine apples and quinces – in fermented component recipes (ch. 40) or honey-preserving recipes, stating that they resemble *kẖabīṣ*[24]. According to al-Warrāq, a type of *halāwa* similar to the non-Arab *kẖabīṣa muwallada* was prepared by Bida, a famous Byzantine slave in the court of Harun[25]. Bida, a cook and singer, was an *safrā' muwallada*. Nasrallah notes: *Muwallada indicates she was born and raised among Arabs but was not of pure Arab blood. She was safrā, i.e. originally Rūmiyya, from Bilād al-Rūm (Byzantium)*[26]. She could have been a Christian of *Shām* or the borderlands that suffered under the Arabs because – according to al-Ṭabarī – Harun feared that the Christians of the frontier regions were in collusion with

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[22] Galen, *De alimentorum facultatibu*s, II, 23, 3, p. 293.18–24.

[23] Ibn Sayyār al-Warrāq, *Kitāb al-Ṭabīkẖ*, ch. 124–125, p. 479–480, 486; N. Nasrallah, *Annals of the Caliphs' Kitchens*…, p. 637. On *iflaghun* (< Gr πλακοῦς, πλακούντιον) see M. Rodinson, *Studies in Arabic Manuscripts*…, p. 143 n. 1, p. 154–155. See also the Recipe for [pickled] quince, *Anonymous*, *al-fawā'id fī tanwī' al-mawā'id*, ed. M. Marín, D. Waines, Beirut 1993 and English trans. *Treasure Trove of Benefits and Variety at the Table. A Fourteenth-Century Egyptian Cookbook. English Translation, with an Introduction and Glossary*, trans. N. Nasrallah, Leiden–Boston 2018 [= IHC, 148] (cetera for the number and translation of recipe in: *Anonymous Kanz*, and comments: N. Nasrallah, *Treasure Trove of Benefits and Variety at the Table*), *Anonymous Kanz*, p. 366–369 (592–595).

[24] Ibn Sayyār al-Warrāq, *Kitāb al-Ṭabīkẖ*, ch. 40, p. 205–207; ch. 125, p. 486 and on varieties of apples used in such preparation see N. Nasrallah, *Annals of the Caliphs' Kitchens*…, p. 640.

[25] Ibn Sayyār al-Warrāq, *Kitāb al-Ṭabīkẖ*, ch. 49, p. 249–253; N. Nasrallah, *Annals of the Caliphs' Kitchens*…, p. 32–35, 525. The correct transliteration is Bid'a, but we use the form Bida here as we do with other Arabic names. On cooking, cooks and female cooks in the Chalifs courts see D. Waines, *Ṭabkẖ*, [in:] *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, vol. X, Leiden 2000, p. 30–32; M.A.J. Beg, *Ṭabbākẖ*, [in:] *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, vol. X, p. 24; on Byzantine women in Arabic sources without referring to Bida, see N.M. El-Cheikh, *Describing the Other to Get at the Self: Byzantine Women in Arabic sources (8th–11th Centuries)*, JESHO 40, 1997, p. 239–250 and on the name Bida see H. Taghavi, E. Roohi, N. Karimi, *An Ignored Arabic Account of a Byzantine Royal Woman*, Al-Mas 32, 2020, p. 185–201.

[26] On *asfar*/*safar* see I. Goldziher, *Aṣfar*, [in:] *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, vol. I, Leiden 1991, p. 688. N. Nasrallah, *Annals of the Caliphs' Kitchens*…, p. 249 n. 5, p. 525, 537.

the Greeks so he had the churches in these regions destroyed, perhaps in retaliation for similar Byzantine military expeditions[27].

***Sikbāj stew* (*Sikbāja*).** Bida was also well-known for her desserts, *halāwa* dishes, her *lawzinaj* 'almond confection' with fresh almonds[28], and especially for her *sikbāj*, a sweet-sour beef stew with vinegar that she is said to have made for Harun[29]. After Harun's death, his son Caliph al-Amin (r. 809–813) craved *sikbāj* and asked Ibn al-Mahdi to send him Bida, this excellent cook who had already prepared *sikbāj* for his father. Bida, whose name means "one who excels in everything"[30], created a dish with more varieties (thirty kinds of foods) and even more delicious than the one made for Harun. The description of Bida's *sikbāj* dish is so exuberant that it definitely borders on incredible. The arrangement of the items during serving was more than impressive, including the large number of ingredients from various meats, sausages, spices, and vegetables. In the exaggeration of the ingredients used, the description is very similar to the fantastic Byzantine *monokythron*, which in turn resembles the Arab dish *tharīd* with the same ingredients – bread pieces in the broth of different types of meat or, in the monastic version, fish, cheeses, onions, eggs, oil, and spices[31]. By contrast, other *sikbāj* recipes that follow Bida's in the same chapter of al-Warrāq are simpler, such as beef cooked in wine vinegar, onions, sugar, and spices. Their basic characteristics are reminiscent of Roman and Byzantine meats and game cooked in wine vinegar, plenty of onions, honey,

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[27] *The History of al-Ṭabarī*, p. 267–268 [years 712–713]; M. CANARD, *La prise d'Héraclée*…, p. 361.

[28] On *lawzinaj* see the controversial etymology, but only accepted for the French and English words *lozen*, *lozeyn* meaning «gâteau», M. RODINSON, *Sur l'étymologie de «losange»*, [in:] *Studi orientalistici in onore di Giorgio Levi Della Vida*, vol. II, Rome 1956, p. 425–435. On the Akkadian etymology of the name and its Persian origin, see N. NASRALLAH, *Annals of the Caliphs' Kitchens*…, p. 51 n. 149.

[29] *Sikbāj* was a dish loved and sought after by rulers and served also to the Mamluk sultan, P.B. LEWICKA, *Food and Foodways*…, p. 191 n. 273, and on *fish à la sikbāj*, p. 215. On *sikbāj* recipes, N. NASRALLAH, *Annals of the Caliphs' Kitchens*…, p. 51, 53–55, 108–109, 147, 606, 617, *Anonymous Kanz*, p. 85 (7), 132 (90), 154 (136), and fish *sikbāj* 195 (235) and 201 (249), N. NASRALLAH, *Treasure Trove of Benefits and Variety at the Table*, p. 7, 175, 499.

[30] N. NASRALLAH, *Annals of the Caliphs' Kitchens*…, p. 250 n. 7.

[31] On the *monokythron* see, *Ptochoprodromos*, poem II, 104–106, poem IV, 201–217, p. 115, 149–150. See also on *monokythron* and *agiozoumion*, J. KODER, *Stew and Salted Meat*…, p. 59–72; E. KISLINGER, *Christians of the East: Rules and Realities of the Byzantine Diet*, [in:] *Food. A Culinary History*, ed. J.-L. FLANDRIN, M. MONTANARI, Columbia 1999, p. 194–206; I. ANAGNOSTAKIS, *Byzantine Delicacies*, [in:] *Flavours and Delights. Tastes and Pleasures of Ancient and Byzantine Cuisine*, ed. IDEM, Athens 2013, p. 100–101; B. CASEAU, *Nourritures terrestres, nourritures célestes. La culture alimentaire à Byzance*, Paris 2015, p. 206; M. LEONTSINI, *Discovering, Sharing and Tasting: Flavours and Culinary Practices between Byzantium and the Arab World*, [in:] *Προβολές και ανταναλάσεις. Αραβικά και Ελληνικά κατά τους Μέσους Χρόνους*, ed. E. ΚΟΝΔΥΛΗ, Αθήνα 2020, p. 113–115. On *tharīd* and especially a *tharīd* with a variety of meats, breadcrumbs, spices, and *rūmī* leeks known as *Shāmiyya*, a recipe from Syria prepared by some Christians see IBN SAYYĀR AL-WARRĀQ, *Kitāb al-Ṭabīkh*, ch. 83, p. 337–343; N. NASRALLAH, *Annals of the Caliphs' Kitchens*…, p. 34, 39, 52; I. SHAHID, *Byzantium and the Arabs in the Sixth Century*, vol. II.2, *Economic, Social, and Cultural History*, Washington, D.C. 2009, p. 128, 130.

and spices similar to the modern-day Greek cuisine's *stifado*, a stew made with beef or rabbit. It would be futile to seek an equivalent Roman or Byzantine or even Christian dish to the fabulous dish of a *Rumiyya* slave, such as Bida's dish. The *sikbāj*, one of the grandest medieval dishes, was clearly stated as Sassanid and is considered the queen of dishes, a dish of Chosroes, yet it is very significant that it is attributed as a great creation of a *Rūmiyya because Byzantine slave girls were among the most preferred by Abbasids for both their physical appeal and domestic prowess*[32]. It is quite intriguing that a poet of Byzantine origin known as Ibn Rūmi, Abū al-Ḥasan Alī ibn al-Abbās ibn Jūrayj, i.e. the grandson of George (836–896), also praised Bida in a poem[33].

Silāqa Rūmiyya. In addition to Bida's dish *sikbāj*, and its potential resemblance to Byzantine culinary creations, there are also some other complex Arabic recipes related to Byzantine cuisine like *ṣilāga rūmiyya*, a Byzantine recipe of boiled sheep and kid extremities or heads served with a lot of mustard sauce that is quite different from *ṣilāga fārisiyya*, a Persian recipe[34]. Particularly noteworthy are the interpretations in the *Ahmet's Dreambook*, an Arabic work translated into Greek (ninth century) invoking Indian, Persian, and Egyptian interpretations of dreams. For instance, it states that dreaming of eating the heads and feet of animals means prosperity and health, money, leadership, and power. The same interpretation is given to dreams in which pig heads are consumed, with one notable difference: in the Greek translation, the negative aspects of pork and its positive symbolism of profit are greatly diminished. This chapter of the Greek translation appears to have been de-Islamicized by its Greek author[35].

Byzantines, considered by the Arabs as *chanzir* (pig) eaters, *chatzirofagoi* (χατζιροφάγοι), were careful with the food offered to Arab envoys in Constantinople and avoided pork dishes at their receptions. The tenth-century Arab writers ibn Rosteh (d. after 903) and al-Muqaddasī (c. 945/946–991) report that the Byzantines do not force any of the Muslim prisoners to eat pork[36]. Obviously, while there

[32] Ibn Sayyār al-Warrāq, *Kitāb al-Ṭabīkh*, ch. 49, p. 248. On *sikbāj*, one of the grandest medieval dishes, Ch. Perry, *A Thousand and One 'Fritters': The Food of The Arabian Nights*, [in:] M. Rodinson, A.J. Arberry, Ch. Perry, *Medieval Arab Cookery…*, p. 490. On the most preferred slave girls by Abbasids, N.M. El-Cheikh, *Byzantium Viewed by the Arabs*, Cambridge, Mass. 2004, p. 239, and N.Z. Hermes, *The European Other in Medieval Arabic Literature and Culture. Ninth-twelfth Century AD*, New York 2012, p. 77.

[33] N. Nasrallah, *Annals of the Caliphs' Kitchens…*, p. 525, 530; B. Gruendler, *Medieval Arabic Praise Poetry. Ibn Al-Rūmī and the Patron's Redemption*, London–New York 2003.

[34] Ibn Sayyār al-Warrāq, *Kitāb al-Ṭabīkh*, ch. 44, p. 222–225; N. Nasrallah, *Annals of the Caliphs' Kitchens…*, commentary on *ṣilāga*: boiled dishes of vegetables dressed with oil and seasoned with vinegar, herbs, and spices, p. 614–615. For more, see M. Leontsini, I. Anagnostakis, *Food Mobilities…*, forthcoming.

[35] M. Mavroudi, *A Byzantine Book on Dream Interpretation. The Oneirocriticon of Achmet and its Arabic Sources*, Leiden–Boston–Cologne 2002 [= MMe, 36], p. 190–191, 194, 340–345.

[36] Digenis's mother was condemned as a pig-eater *chatzirofagousa* (χατζιροφαγούσα) or *chanzyrissa* (χανζύρισσα), *Digenis Akritis. The Grottaferrata and Escorial Versions*, ed. E. Jeffreys,

are cured meats like the completely dried *namaksūd* and *qadīd* (both marinated in salt, vinegar, thyme, and black pepper)[37], there are no Arabic delicacies associated with salty or smoked, jerked pig meat such as cured pork bacon, or sausages, which were particularly popular among the Byzantines. One more Arabic recipe related to Byzantine cuisine is mentioned in *Kitāb Waṣlah ilā al-ḥabīb* of the thirteenth century. It is a recipe with *laban* (dairy products) called *labanīya rūmīya*, translated into French by Rodinson as "*laban* à la grecque (*ṣifa labanīya rūmīya*), plat de viande au *laban* et au riz avec des légumes" or a recipe "de Byzance" and in English as "*laban* à la grecque a meat dish with *laban* and rice with vegetables" or "from Byzantium"[38]. We could assume that this *laban rūmī* was a Byzantine dairy product imported from Byzantium or made à la grecque[39].

Itrion, iṭriya. A particularly complex case is the ancient Greek *itrion* (ἴτριον, Byzantine ἰτρίν, *itrin*) a kind of cake and pasta, and its relation to the Arabic *iṭriyah*/*ittriya*. The particularity is due not so much to the similarity of name but to proposals of the controversial invention of pasta, which is not necessarily Greek

Cambridge 1998 [= CMC, 7], *chanzyrissa* (χανζύρισσα) versio G, II, 82, p. 28–29, *chatzirofagousa* (χατζιροφαγούσα) versio E, 269–270, p. 258; see on this the section on the legend of Digenis Akritis and the akritai, M. LEONTSINI, I. ANAGNOSTAKIS, *Food Mobilities*…, forthcoming. On Arab writers' reports, A. VASILIEV, *Harun-ibn-Yahya and his Description of Constantinople*, SK 5, 1932, p. 149–163; A. VASILIEV, M. CANARD, *Byzance et les Arabes. La dynastie macédonienne (867–959)*, vol. II.2, Brussels 1950, p. 388, 423; on a different approach and remarks see L. SIMEONOVA, *Foreigners in Tenth-Century Byzantium: A Contribution to the History of Cultural Encounter*, [in:] *Strangers to Themselves. The Byzantine Outsider. Papers from the Thirty-second Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies. University of Sussex, Brighton, March 1998*, ed. D.C. SMYTHE, Aldershot 2000, p. 229–244.

[37] *Namaksūd* was a cured meat made by salting with crushed salt the whole animal or half of it, while *qadīd* was first sliced into long very thin strips and then cured, N. NASRALLAH, *Annals of the Caliphs' Kitchens*…, p. 718.

[38] *Kitāb Waṣlah ilā al-ḥabīb fī waṣf al-ṭayyibāt wa-al-ṭīb*, [in:] *Scents and Flavors. A Syrian Cookbook*, ch. 6.20, ed. et trans. Ch. PERRY, New York 2017 (cetera: *Kitāb Waṣlah ilā al-ḥabīb*), according to M. RODINSON, *Studies in Arabic Manuscripts*…, p. 138, 153. This reference does not exist in the Syrian version (unlike other recipes) and is therefore absent from the edition of *Scents and Flavors. A Syrian Cookbook*, ed. et trans. Ch. PERRY, New York 2017. See also K. KANABAS, *Ιαλακτοκομικά προϊόντα στο βυζαντινό τραπέζι. Αναζητώντας εντυπώσεις και μαρτυρίες από τη σκοπιά των Αράβων*, [in:] *Η Ιστορία του ελληνικού γάλακτος και των προϊόντων του. 10th Three-days Workshop, Xanthi, 7–9 October, 2005, Piraeus Group Cultural Foundation, Aristides Daskalopoulos Foundation*, Athens 2008, p. 193–198 especially p. 194, and English summary, p. 552–553 (= *Milk Products on the Byzantine Table. Impression and Reports from the Arab Perspective*); Fr. MOHREN, *Il libro de la cocina. Un ricettario tra Oriente e Occidente*, Heidelberg 2016, p. 20.

[39] IBN SAYYĀR AL-WARRĀQ, *Kitāb al-Ṭabīkh*, ch. 44, p. 223 and on other *jubn*, cheeses and *laban* and the *jubn rūmī*, N. NASRALLAH, *Annals of the Caliphs' Kitchens*…, p. 586–587. In this case, see the remarks on how to understand names: *some ingredients bear names of more distant places, e.g. Persian yoghurt laban Fārisi* […] *the name is unlikely to refer to an actual place of origin (it is difficult to conceive that yoghurt was imported to Egypt from Persia in the fourteenth century) but to a particular type of yoghurt, perhaps like the term 'Greek' attached to thick yoghurt today*, S. WEINGARTEN, *Treasure Trove of Benefits and Variety at the Table: a Fourteenth-century Egyptian Cookbook, Edited and Translated by Nawal Nasrallah*, MHR 33.2, 2018, p. 229–231, here 230.

because its description is preserved very early in a multitude of Greek sources. The words *itrion* and *iṭriya* and some methods of preparing noodles are definitely of Mesopotamian origin. For both Greek and Arabic gastronomy, the word and some of its original preparations probably derive from the Akkadian and Aramaic *iṭriya*, a name that continued to be used during Classical and Hellenistic times and was handed down to the peoples of the eastern Mediterranean basin[40]. In one of the 25 discovered Babylonian stew recipes, dated to 1700 BC, this is considered the first recorded attempt at making noodles or pasta like those of ancient and Abbasid *iṭriya*; the later *itria* and *iṭriya* is just a continuity of practices and not a direct Babylonian origin with likely other venues such as Akkadian, Aramaic, Persian and Greek traditions assimilated by Arabs[41]. The Greeks had known quite early a kind of pasta with different names *laganon* and *ryema* (λάγανον, ῥύεμα) but also adopted a similar oriental preparation called *itrion*, which they subsequently spread in the many variations shared by all Mediterranean and Middle Eastern peoples. *Itrion* continued to be used in Byzantium; the same occurred with the Arabs, and probably both provide the Italian medieval equivalent that survives in modern Italian dialects and beyond[42]. However *assigning to such a multifarious good as pasta a single source is surely wrong headed*[43].

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[40] Ch. Perry, *The Oldest Mediterranean Noodle: a Cautionary Tale*, PPC 9, 1981, p. 42–45. A. Dalby, *Food in the Ancient World from A to Z*, London–New York 2003, p. 251 entry 'pasta' with bibliography. J. Arberry, *A Baghdad Cookery Book*, in M. Rodinson, A.J. Arberry, Ch. Perry, *Medieval Arab Cookery*, p. 53. Ibn Sayyār al-Warrāq, *Kitāb al-Ṭabīkh*, ch. 72, p. 38, and Glossary in N. Nasrallah, *Annals of the Caliphs' Kitchens…*, p. 561. *Anonymous Andalusian Cookbook of the Thirteenth Century*: *La cocina*, *hispano-magrebí durante la época almohade*, ch. 8, ed. A. Huici Miranda, Madrid 2005, and *An Anonymous Andalusian Cookbook*, ed. C. Martinelli, Engl. trans. C. Perry, Scotts Valley, CA 2012, and French trans. *Traité de cuisine arabo-andalouse dit Anonyme andalou*. *Traduction du manuscrit Colin*, *ms 7009-BnF*, trans. J.-M. Laurent, Saint-Ouen 2016; *Anonymous Andalusian Cookbook*. *The Book of Cooking in Maghreb and Andalus in the era of Almohads*, *by an unknown author*. *Kitab al tabikh fi-l-Maghrib wa-l-Andalus fi asr al-Muwahhidin*, *li-mu'allif majhul*, ch. 8, ed. C. Martinelli, C. Perry, D. Friedman, *Raccolta di Testi per la Storia della Gastronomia digitalizzati e restaurati da Edoardo Mori* 2018, digitalized version, p. 65–66 (cetera: *Anonymous Andalusian Cookbook*, ed. C. Martinelli, C. Perry, D. Friedman); Ch. Perry, *The Description of Familiar Foods…*, p. 333.

[41] J. Bottéro, *Mesopotamian Culinary Texts*, Winona Lake 1995, p. 3–21; idem, *The Oldest Cuisine in the World*. *Cooking in Mesopotamia*, Chicago 2004, p. 25–35; see also Glossary, in N. Nasrallah, *Annals of the Caliphs' Kitchens…*, p. 45–50.

[42] On the ancient origin and the Greek invention of pasta, see Ph.P. Bober, *Art*, *Culture*, *and Cuisine*. *Ancient and Medieval Gastronomy*, Chicago 2000, p. 116–117, and 156–157. Pray Bober believes that *when the Arabic word itriyah means noodles it is difficult not to see a derivation from the Greek*, and in dialects of Salentine peninsula and Taranto region *lagana* and *itrion* survive in local dishes, p. 116–117. On the Arabic invention of pasta, see A. Watson, *Agricultural Innovation in the Early Islamic World*. *The Diffusion of Crops and Farming Techniques*, *700–1100*, Cambridge 1983, p. 22–23; for a critique of this thesis see P. Squatriti, *Of Seeds*, *Seasons*, *and Seas: Andrew Watson's Medieval Agrarian Revolution Forty Years Later*, JEcH 74, 2014, p. 1205–1220 here 1209 with bibliography.

[43] P. Squatriti, *Of Seeds*, *Seasons*, *and Seas…*, p. 1209.

The Greek term *itrion* is frequently associated with a dough product made from wheat flour and prepared through boiling. It was originally a dessert consisting of a cake flavoured with sesame and honey referred to by the ancient Greeks and later as a pasta-like substance described by Athenaios, Hesychios, and mentioned by Dioscorides, and physicians like Galen and Oribasios, whose influence on mediaeval Arabic botany and pharmacopoeia and concepts of food are considered important[44]. According to Galen, *there are two kinds of itria*, *the better kind called ryemata* ['flowed out'] *and the poorer called lagana* [usually translated 'wafer'][45]. According another translation

> there are two sorts of cake: the better sort that they call 'pour-cakes' and the inferior 'broad-cakes'. Everything made up of these and *semidalis* is slow to pass, produces a thick humour which is obstructive of the food passages in the liver, causes enlargement of the sickly spleen and produces kidney stones; but if they are concocted and properly turned into blood, they are quite nutritious. Things prepared with honey are of mixed property, since the honey itself has fine juice that thins whatever it is associated with[46].

The Arabs, repeating Galen and the Byzantine physicians, also believe that the *iṭriya* noodles are hard to digest because they are made with unfermented dough[47]. It would be very interesting to research how the word in context is rendered in the medieval Arabic translations of these physicians.

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[44] *Athenaei Naucratitae Deipnosophistarum libri XV*, ed. G. KAIBEL, vol. I–II, Leipzig 1887 (repr. Leipzig 1965); vol. III, Leipzig 1890 (repr. Leipzig 1965–1966) [= BSGR] (cetera: ATHENAIOS, *The Deipnosophists*), Book XIV, 55, vol. III, p. 428–429. *Pedanii Dioscuridis Anazarbei de materia medica libri quinque*, IV, 63, vol. II, ed. M. WELLMANN, Berlin 1907, p. 216.1–3 (cetera: DIOSCORIDES PEDANIUS, *De materia medica*). ORIBASIOS, *Collectionum Medicarum*, I, 9, p. 11. 22–34; IV, 11, p. 108–109.1–15; *Hesychii Alexandrini lexicon*, vol. I–II, *(A–O)*, ed. K. LATTE, Copenhagen vol. I: 1953, vol. II: 1966, *s.v. itria*. On Greek physicians influence on mediaeval Arabic dietetics, see D. WAINES, *Dietetics in Medieval*…, p. 228–240. On the influence of Galenic medicine on mediaeval Arabic concepts of food and on chapters 2–30 of IBN SAYYĀR AL-WARRĀQ, *Kitāb al-Ṭabīkh* based on Galenic theory, see N. NASRALLAH, *Annals of the Caliphs' Kitchens*…, p. 17, 55–65, 94 n. 2, and p. 532, and IBN SAYYĀR AL-WARRĀQ, *Kitāb al-Ṭabīkh*, ch. 4, p. 95 where *al-Warrāq* states that "you need to understand all these facts taken from Galen's *Book of Familiar Food*", i.e. a translated volume titled *Kitāb al-Aghdhiya al-Mustla'mala*, meaning book of familiar food.

[45] GALEN, *De alimentorum facultatibus*, I, 4, p. 223, and translation of the first lines A. DALBY, *Flavours of Byzantium*, London 2003 (repr. as *Tastes of Byzantium. The Cuisine of a Legendary Empire*, London 2010), p. 79.

[46] GALEN, *De alimentorum facultatibus*, I, 4, p. 223: Περὶ ἰτρίων. Διττὸν δὲ τῶν ἰτρίων τὸ εἶδος, ἄμεινον μέν, ὃ καλοῦσι ῥυήματα, φαυλότερον δὲ τὰ λάγανα. πάντ' οὖν, ὅσα διὰ τούτων τε καὶ σεμιδάλεως συντίθεται, παχύχυμά τ' ἐστὶ καὶ βραδυπόρα καὶ τῶν καθ' ἧπαρ διεξόδων τῆς τροφῆς ἐμφρακτικὰ καὶ σπληνὸς ἀσθενοῦς αὐξητικὰ καὶ λίθων ἐν νεφροῖς γεννητικά, τρόφιμα δ' ἱκανῶς, εἰ πεφθείη τε καὶ καλῶς αἱματωθείη. τὰ δὲ σὺν μέλιτι σκευαζόμενα μικτῆς γίγνεται δυνάμεως, ὡς ἂν τοῦ μέλιτος αὐτοῦ τε λεπτὸν ἔχοντος χυμὸν ὅσοις τ' ἂν ὁμιλήσῃ καὶ ταῦτα λεπτύνοντος. On Translation, O.W. POWELL – GALEN, *On the Properties of Foods*, p. 44.

[47] N. NASRALLAH, *Annals of the Caliphs' Kitchens*…, p. 561–562.

According to Galen, the name *itrion* in the second century AD was already considered an old name when he states that the ancients used *itria* for what we now call *lagana* and *ryemata*[48]. The description of *itrion* offered by Oribasius based on Antyllos, Athenaios, and Galen is also very analytical; aside from sweet cake with honey and sesame, *itrion* corresponds to groats or a kind of thin, dried strings of noodles made with stiff unfermented dough vermicelli like *iṭriya* in medieval Arabic cookbooks.

> *Itrion* should be made from the wheat from which the best baked breads are made; it must be very thin; for when it is thick it bakes unevenly; it must be pounded extremely finely so that it is of the same size as groats; boil in water […] with a little salt and no olive oil or can be added just a very small amount of olive oil, and having first boiled the olive-oil with the water sprinkle on the *itrion*[49].

It is important to note that in both Greek and Arabic recipes, *itria* and *iṭriya* are boiled in fatty chicken broths or in fat-rich animal components. Rufos, a Greek physician from the first and early second centuries AD, gave a recipe for *itria* that is nearly identical to *Nibāṭiyya*, a dish mentioned by Ibn Sayyār al-Warrāq's Kitāb al-Ṭabīkh. *Nibāṭiyya* is made with a fatty chicken broth, ground chickpeas, and cheese. After adding the spices, three handfuls of *iṭriya* formed from white dough are added. Both recipes call for boiling plump chickens, water, and olive oil twice[50]. Fatty broths derived from poultry containing salt and olive oil are even discouraged by Byzantine physicians for individuals with gastric ulcers. Boiling *itrion*, *semidalis* (the highest quality wheaten flour), and groats of rice-wheat in such broths is advised only in exceptional circumstances[51]. It is worth underlining that

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[48] *Galeni De rebus boni malique suci*, IV, 11, ed. G. Helmreich, Leipzig–Berlin 1923 [= CMG, 5.4.2], p. 400: καὶ αὐτὰ δὲ καθ' ἑαυτὰ τὰ λάγανά τε καὶ τὰ ῥυήματα καὶ πᾶν ἄζυμον ἐκ πυροῦ πέμμα καὶ μᾶλλον ὅταν καὶ τυροῦ τι προσλάβῃ, παχύχυμον ἱκανῶς ἐστιν. ὀνομάζειν δέ μοι δοκοῦσιν ταῦτα τὰ νῦν ὑφ' ἡμῶν καλούμενα λάγανά τε καὶ ῥυήματα κοινῇ προσηγορίᾳ τῇ τῶν ἰτρίων οἱ παλαιοί.

[49] Oribasios, *Collectionum Medicarum*, IV, 11, 9–11, p. 310, 316: τὸ μὲν οὖν ἴτριον ἐκ πυρῶν ἔστω, ὧν καὶ ὁ ἄρτος ὠπτημένος καλῶς·λεπτὸν δ' αὐτὸ δεῖ εἶναι σφόδρα·τὸ γὰρ παχὺ ἀνωμάλως ὀπτᾶται· καὶ τετρίφθαι δὲ δεῖ μάλιστα λεπτότατον, ὥστε ἐπ' ἴσης ἀλφίτῳ εἶναι·ἑψεῖσθαι δ' ἐν ὕδατι […] ἐχέτω δ' ὀλίγον ἁλῶν καὶ ἔστω ἀνέλαιον ἢ βραχύ τι παντελῶς ἐλαίου προσλαμβανέτω, πρὶν ἐμπάσσεσθαι τὸ ἴτριον συνεψωμένου τῷ ὕδατι τοῦ ἐλαίου. English trans. M. Grant, *Dieting for an Emperor. A Translation of Books 1 and 4 of Oribasius' Medical Compilations with an Introduction and Commentary*, Leiden–New York–Köln 1997 [= SAM, 15].

[50] *Rufi Ephesii De renum et vesicae morbis*, 2, 21, ed. A. Sideras, Berlin 1977 [= CMG, 3], p. 106. 18–20: καὶ ἰτρίοις καταθρύπτων εἰς ζωμὸν ὄρνιθος λιπαρὸν. Ibn Sayyār al-Warrāq, *Kitāb al-Ṭabīkh*, ch. 72, p. 308–309. *Anonymous Andalusian Cookbook*, ch. 8, ed. C. Martinelli, C. Perry, D. Friedman, p. 65–66.

[51] Aetios of Amida, *Ninth Book on Medicine – Ἀετίου Ἀμιδηνοῦ λόγος ἔνατος*, 21.26–27, ed. Σ. Zερβος, Αθ 23, 1911, p. 273–390: καὶ σεμίδαλις χωρὶς μέλιτος διὰ λιπαρῶν ζωμῶν ἐσκευασμένη, καὶ ἴτρια ὁμοίως; Alexander of Tralles, *Therapeutica*, vol. II, p. 219: Ὄρνεων δὲ ἐσθιέτωσαν τήν τε κατοικίδιον ὄρνιν καὶ τῶν φασιανῶν τὰ μὴ λιπαρὰ καὶ περδίκων ὁμοίως […]· οἱ γὰρ ζωμοὶ ῥύπτουσι

the domestication of chickens was initially not known in some areas of the Muslim world, especially in Egypt where until the Early Byzantine period (sixth century) its consumption is not certain or at least ambiguous[52].

This continuity of preparing *itria* and *iṭriya* in Mesopotamia and the Greco-Roman world and the similarity of Byzantine and Arab practices is not the sole example. I have already presented similar Byzantine and Arab sweet or salty recipes like cakes and dishes as *ṣilāga rūmiyya*, and *ṣilāga fārisiyya* for cooked sheep and kid extremities, heads, and legs[53]. These Arab dishes are considered similar to the Babylonian "goat kid's broth", with heads, extremities, and innards simmered in water and enriched with fat, onion, leeks, and garlic described in al-Warrāq's cookbook[54]. Although the Babylonian recipes enable us to see a continuity in the Persian, Greek, Byzantine, and Abbasid cuisines, as has been rightly argued, these recipes *at the same time render the issue of 'origin' somewhat inconclusive*, because this ancient haute cuisine had assimilated other regional Assyrian and Elamite traditions[55]. I ultimately believe, as previously noted and discussed further below, that aside from an ancient Mesopotamian legacy, there is also a common ancient Greek as well as Roman legacy in these recipes of both Byzantine and partially Arabic Islamic cuisine.

There was a suggestion that the Arabs inherited the culinary traditions of both the Persian and Byzantine cultures and incorporated elements from both into their own cuisine and beverages thus a "new wave" cuisine emerged[56]. This new cuisine of the gastronomical "navel of the earth", Bagdad, was *based on intensive borrowing from the Persian and Persian-Indian culinary traditions*, *sparsely interlaced with elements derived from the Greek medical lore and the Bedouin Arab cooking ideas*[57]. I think there are numerous not so apparent borrowings, despite the strong objections to the idea of Greek and Byzantine influence and the belief that there were

μᾶλλον τὰ ἕλκη ὑγροτέραν τε τὴν γαστέρα ποιοῦσι καὶ τοὺς πυρετοὺς (οὐκ) ἐπιτείνουσι […] σπουδάζειν δέον, ὡς ἐνδέχεται, μήτ' ἐλαίου πολλοῦ μήθ' ἁλῶν ἐμβαλεῖν, τὰ δ' ἁρμόζοντα πρὸς τὴν ὑποκειμένην χρείαν μιγνύειν τοῖς ζωμοῖς […] ἰτρίου ἢ ἄλικος ἢ σεμιδάλεως.

[52] P.B. Lewicka, *Food and Foodways*…, p. 200 n. 320.

[53] M. Leontsini, I. Anagnostakis, *Food Mobilities*…, forthcoming. For the recipe, Ibn Sayyār al-Warrāq, *Kitāb al-Ṭabīkh*, ch. 44, p. 222–225; N. Nasrallah, *Annals of the Caliphs' Kitchens*…, commentary on *silaqat* p. 614–615: boiled dishes of vegetables dressed with oil and seasoned with vinegar, herbs, and spices.

[54] Ibn Sayyār al-Warrāq, *Kitāb al-Ṭabīkh*, p. 48.

[55] N. Nasrallah, *Annals of the Caliphs' Kitchens*…, p. 50. D. Waines, *Murrī: the Tale of a Condiment*, Al-Q 12, 1991, p. 371–388.

[56] On the Greek legacy, D. Waines, *In a Caliph's Kitchen*, London 1989, p. 21; D. Waines, *Dietetics in Medieval*…, p. 230–240. Also the Greek legacy is suggested by Ḥabīb Zayyāt, according to P.B. Lewicka, *Food and Foodways*…, p. 74 n. 26; Ḥ. Zayyāt, *Fann aṭ-Ṭabkh wa-Iṣlāḥ al-Aṭ-ima fī-l-Islām*, Al-M 41, 1947, p. 2–3. On the term "new wave", D. Waines, *In a Caliph's*…, p. 7–15, and M. Marín, D. Waines, *The Balanced Way: Food for Pleasure and Health in Medieval Islam*, MME 4, 1989, p. 124, and on the Hellenistic background of the Arabic culinary culture p. 124–127.

[57] P.B. Lewicka, *Food and Foodways*…, p. 74, and on gastronomical "navel of the earth", p. 78.

only sporadic elements derived from the Greek. A two-way influence between these two cuisines, the Byzantine and Arabic Islamic, could be investigated and not so sparsely as is thought. However I really wonder if these cuisines can be perceived in such a simplistic way or if we can speak of "ethnic" or "imperial" cuisines as compact and cohesive entities without considering the numerous variations that exist within each, with their haute cuisine and local – rural diet[58]. I consider that Greco-Roman and Early Byzantine haute cuisine, like the Abbaside of Bagdad, *was not confined to the court circles alone yet neither was it accessible to the lower classes*[59]. In my opinion, however, the lower classes were undoubtedly influenced by various elites depending on the historical era and geographic location, provided that the lack of accessibility does not exclude imitation and influence.

In her rich and insightful observations, Paulina Lewicka – rightly considered a pioneering researcher of the Arabic Islamic food cultures and especially of medieval Cairenes daily practices – expresses doubts about the Greek and Byzantine influence. She is correct in her interrogation regarding the definition of Byzantine cuisine, which is indeed less well-known and studied with the problem if the late antique and Early Byzantine period must be included in this thousand-year-old cuisine. She critically evaluates some theses on Byzantine influence, particularly that of Ḥabīb Zayyāt, and believes with some exaggeration that the Byzantine contribution raises certain questions. However, I cannot agree with her that under Roman and Byzantine rule the indigenous population, for example in Syria or Egypt, *paid little attention to Greek*, *Roman*, *or Hellenized elites and their lifestyles*, *their menu included*[60]. Nor do I agree that ***the cuisine of the Byzantine elites, the 'Byzantine cuisine'***, *travelled back*, *after the Arab conquest*, *to the Byzantine mainland*, *together with those who could have possibly fancied it*, *then the post-conquest Arab settlers had little chance to know the Byzantine culinary culture*:

> While the Persian influence upon the future Arab food culture is indisputable, the presumed Byzantine contribution raises certain doubts. First of all, the Byzantine cuisine of the early Middle Ages is difficult to define; second, its popularity among the population of Byzantine Syria and Byzantine Egypt is more than doubtful; third, as the cuisine of the Byzantine elites (if such was practiced in the provinces at all), the 'Byzantine cuisine' travelled back, after the Arab conquest, to the Byzantine mainland, together with those who could have possibly fancied it. In practical terms, then, the post-conquest Arab settlers had little chance to know the Byzantine culinary culture. First of all, the Byzantine cuisine of the early Middle Ages is difficult to define; second, its popularity among the population of the Byzantine Syria and Byzantine Egypt is more than doubtful; third, as the cuisine of the

[58] On the rise and fall of the world's great cuisines, the culinary family tree, the construction of new cuisines of empires, and nationalistic myths of the contemporary food movement, see R. Laudan, *Cuisine and Empire: Cooking in World History*, Berkeley 2015 [= CStFC, 43].

[59] D. Waines, *In a Caliph's…*, p. 10. P.B. Lewicka, *Food and Foodways…*, p. 131 n. 249.

[60] P.B. Lewicka, *Food and Foodways…*, p. 70. The same thesis is repeated by N. Nasrallah, *Treasure Trove of Benefits and Variety at the Table*, p. 23.

> Byzantine elites (if such was practiced in the provinces at all), the 'Byzantine cuisine' travelled back, after the Arab conquest, to the Byzantine mainland, together with those who could have possibly fancied it[61].

I consider, however, that Byzantine cuisine is far more complicated than the cuisine of the Byzantine elites, of the Byzantine aristocracy, as stated, and this description is restricted, distorting and deceptive. Byzantine cuisine is also multiethnic, multiregional, multi-religious, multicultural cuisine of an Empire with many variants, and this idea of movement and transmigration of a "Byzantine cuisine" returning to the Byzantine mainland after the Arab conquest is both provocative and strangely imaginative. Furthermore, it is correctly noted that the Byzantine cuisine of the early Middle Ages is difficult to define and I would also add Byzantine cuisine throughout the Middle ages. Regarding its popularity we still know very little, and research – primarily archaeological – has a lot to reveal. This thesis that *the post-conquest Arab settlers had little chance to know the Byzantine culinary culture* may likely be the case, if the influence on new seetlers was only an affair of the elites and not of country's indigenous population – for example, of the "authochtone conservative" population in Egypt, as described by Lewicka. Was this pharaonic population virgin and unaffected by significant changes that occurred, especially its Christianization with all these dietary Coptic particularities? And how can we be so sure that this "authochtone conservative" population

[61] P.B. Lewicka, *Food and Foodways*…, in the chapters The Cairenen menu: genesis, p. 70–74 and n. 26. See also *ibidem*, in the chapter Sharing the Table, p. 387sqq. However, according to excavation findings, Muslims and all Christians (specifically Byzantines who had not travelled back with their cuisine) coexisted peacefully in Syria throughout the Umayyad period, C. Foss, *Syria in Transition, A.D. 550–750: An Archaeological Approach*, DOP 51, 1997, p. 189–269: *living side by side in some of the cities, themselves embedded in an almost entirely Christian countryside. The Muslims were clearly a small minority of the population concentrated in a few places rather than scattered through the region*, p. 267. In the same article excavations of houses deteriorated in two stages reveal that the inhabitants consumed a fair amount of chicken and pork (in a later stage less pork), somewhat less beef and fish, and a preponderance of meat from sheep and goats; the heads of the sheep and goats had all been cut in half for stew making, p. 219–220, 236. See a new (Re)Mapping, A.A. Eger, *(Re)Mapping Medieval Antioch: Urban Transformations from the Early Islamic to the Middle Byzantine Period*s, DOP 67, 2013, p. 95–134, especially p. 102 the Byzantine and early Islamic continuity of the physical and religious landscape, and p. 114–117 the Islamic/middle Byzantine ceramics and kitchens. See also *La Syrie de Byzance à l'Islam, VII^e–VIII^e siècles, actes du Colloque international, Institut français de Damas*, ed. P. Canivet, J. Rey-Coquais, Damas 1992, and the articles of H. Kennedy, *The Byzantine and Early Islamic Near East*, Burlington 2006 epecially the thesis of urban (and monastic) continuity in Syria and especially in Antioch and the significant elements of continuity, H. Kennedy, *Antioch: from Byzantium to Islam and Back Again*, [in:] *The City in Late Antiquity*, ed. J. Rich, London 1992, p. 181–198 (= H. Kennedy, *The Byzantine and Early*…, p. 181–198). See the contributions in *Byzantium in Early Islamic Syria. Proceedings of a Conference Organized by the American University of Beirut and the University of Balamand, June 18–19, 2007*, ed. N.M. El-Cheikh, S. O'Sullivan, Beirut 2011. Also, *The Byzantine and Early Islamic Near East*, vol. II, *Land Use and Settlement Patterns*, ed. G. King, A. Cameron, Berlin 2021.

ignored the Byzantine culinary culture (either the Christian or certainly the court and elite cuisine) when it is consistently emphasized that we are unaware of the cuisine of the ancient Egyptians and of the indigenous Copts by using the report by Herodotos and extending it across time? Herodotos's account of the dietary ethics of sixth-century-BC Egyptians leads Lewicka to an overall conclusion:

> The autochthonous Egyptians apparently remained unchanged […] rejected anything foreign, but also they invariably continued to live the life they knew, thus keeping the tradition of their forefathers undisturbed. If a habit was not traditionally practiced by native Egyptians, there was little chance it could be adopted from local Greeks[62].

I don't know if this existing difference over time – not only in Egypt but also elsewhere in Italy, Balkans, Greece, Eastern Mediterranean Islands, Asia Minor, Syria, Palestine – between the autochthonous mainly country/rural people and the Hellenized locals and elites excludes every cultural mobility and every kind of culinary exchanges. The Hellenized elites but mainly the large rural Christianized population certainly received influences from very early and in turn influenced the developing Christian cuisine, the ways of cooking and eating, the choices of food and the fasts. The legend of the Arab meal offered as sign of friendship and reconciliation by the Arab conquerors to the locals of Fustat is indeed revealing. The meal (camels slaughtered and cooked in water and salt) and table manners of newcomers disappointed the locals. Muslims began to eat in typically Arab fashion, tearing at the meat with their teeth and slurping the broth, dressed in their woolen cloaks… the people of Misr dispersed with their ambitions and courage boosted. The Arabs repeated the meal, this time with local foods and ways of dressing and eating. This fact indicates that the inhabitants, like the case of Bida in Syria, had quite different ways of dressing and eating compared to those of the typically Arab fashion, and rather similar to cosmopolitan Greco-Roman and Late Antiquity habits that the conquerors gradually adopted as they did with those of Persia[63]. In cases such as for the production, marketing, such as the import of products, the use of amphorae and cooking utensils (a rich field for new approaches), and consumption of wine or other prohibited foods (river mussels, *ad-dallīnas*, fish sauces, fish with no scales) it has been argued that the Fatimid and Ayyubid Egypt mentality – not only of Christians subjects (and this is probably true for other regions like

[62] P.B. Lewicka, *Food and Foodways…*, p. 377–378, although she notes that this probably did not apply to the Hellenized Egyptians (or Egyptianized Greeks), p. 378 n. 99.

[63] *The History of al-Ṭabarī*, p. 174. P.B. Lewicka, *Food and Foodways…*, p. 69. On Fustat and new insights into Egypt's society during the first century of Muslim rule, J. Bruning, *The Rise of a Capital. Al-Fusṭāṭ and its Hinterland, 18/639–132/750*, Leiden 2018 [= IHC, 153]. J. Bruning, J. De Jong, P.M. Sijpesteijn, *Egypt and the Eastern Mediterranean World. From Constantinople to Baghdad, 500–1000 CE.*, Cambridge 2022. G.T. Scanlon, *Al-Fusṭāṭ: The Riddle of The Earliest Settlement*, [in:] *The Byzantine and Early Islamic Near East*, vol. II…, p. 171–180.

Shām and Palestine) – was closer to the style and food consumption of the ancient Mediterranean-Near Eastern culture than to the new religion[64].

It may be that *the haute cuisine of the medieval Islamic world stemmed largely from the courts cookery of Sassanid Iran*[65] but the common people had already received and preserved various other influences in the previous centuries which were transferred to the new ruler. Arabs themselves admit that Baghdad's haute cuisine, which affected the entire Arab world, assimilated various culinary influences and adopted different methods of food preparation. Arabic tales and anecdotes relate that some recipes were not Arab food and are given as examples of the luxury dishes of Christian or Persian origin, compared with the plain diet of the ancient Arabs[66]. Bida's legend includes preparations of multicultural origins, probably of Byzantine Syrian provenance, that were appropriated by Islamic culinary culture like *khabīṣa muwallada*, which is considered non-Arab. The same applies to *khabīṣ* made with Syrian / Levantine Lebanese apples, *Shāmī Labnānī*, a sweet like

[64] P.B. Lewicka, *Food and Foodways*…, p. 513–514, 542–547, and on fish and *ad-dallīnas*, p. 473–474. See also below our remarks on *Libysia*. On the use of Greek language in the Eighth-Century Fayyum and wine marketing, L. Berkes, J. Haug Brendan, *Villages*, *Requisitions*, *and Tax Districts: Two Greek Lists from the Eighth-Century Fayyum*, BASP 53, 2016, p. 189–222. L. Berkes, N. Gonis, *Monastic Wine Distributions in the Eighth Century. Papyri from the Catholic University of America*, JCopS 22, 2020, p. 1–27. On ceramics, *Amphores d'Egypte de la basse époque à l'époque arabe*, ed. S. Marchand, A. Marangou, Le Caire 2007, and on hermitages, V. Ghica, S. Marchand, A. Marangou, *Les ermitages d'Abu Darag revisités*, Bulletin de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale 108, 2008, p. 115–163. See also recent studies on the relationship of Christians and Muslims in everyday life in Early Islamic Egypt (642–10th c.) focusing on administrative and social history using the papyrological documentation and discussing various aspects of transition and continuity from Byzantine to Islamic Egypt, *Christians and Muslims in Early Islamic Egypt*, ed. L. Berkes, Durham, NC 2022. See also research of particular importance for the methodology used to examine the identities of the rural people of Crete and Palestine, which may be applicable to other regions, on how ceramics (Islamic jug, disc, bag-shaped and olla cooking-pots) reveal the transition between Byzantine and Islamic culinary habits and technological practices as well as the critical issue of coexistence and interaction between Muslim incomers and the pre-existing Byzantine communities, M.G. Randazzo, *Archaeological Approaches to the Islamic Emirate of Crete (820s–961 CE): A Starting Point*, JGA 4, 2019, p. 311–336 especially p. 313–314, 321–323, and D. Reynolds, *Byzantium from Below: Rural Identity in Byzantine Arabia and Palaestina*, *500–630*, [in:] *Identities and Ideologies in the Medieval East Roman World*, ed. Y. Stouraitis, Edinburgh 2022, p. 164–199, and especially 167, 192: *Byzantium was the inheritor of a complicated legacy of earlier traditions of urban and rural organisation which had shaped the landscape of Arabia-Palaestina…the longevity of conventions*, *which continued to be used in the public image of the rural family until well over a century after the collapse of Byzantine control in the region… the use of Greek*, *patronymic conventions being employed among communities with limited connections to Byzantium*.

[65] Ch. Perry, *The Description of Familiar Foods*…, p. 273–465 (here p. 279); N. Nasrallah, *Annals of the Caliphs' Kitchens*…, p. 50–51. On the Persian courtly influences, see P.B. Lewicka, *Food and Foodways*…, p. 75–77 and on the Arab *nudamā'*, the kings' and princes' banqueting companions, p. 389.

[66] M. Rodinson, *Studies in Arabic Manuscripts*…, p. 151, and on the recipe and its origin, p. 152 n. 2.

Galen's Syrian *mēloplakous*. The recipes *ṣilāga rūmiyya* and *taqdīd laḥm ʿamal ar-Rūm* are clearly attributed to Byzantine origins and particularly *taqdīd laḥm ʿamal ar-Rūm* referred to as *Rūm*, a drying meat, jerked meat in Greek/Byzantine style and, according to Lewicka, a recipe ʿalmost absent from the cookery books and clearly not the food of the city people quite similar to the Byzantine recipe for dried meat (*apokti*)'[67]. However, *apokti* was primarily a cured loin of pork but also of goat and sheep meat, as it is today in Greece, and this fact probably explains why jerked meat in Byzantine style is rarely mentioned in official Muslim cookery books, although it was consumed by Christians or recent converts to Islam[68].

While not relevant to Arab Islamic haute cuisine, the following preparations are also considered Byzantine: Byzantine *murrī* (see below), the recipes for *lift Rūmī* (Byzantine-style turnip pickles), the recipes for *ḥimmaṣ kassā* (a Byzantine specialty with boiled chickpeas), the *baqsamāṭ* known as *khubz Rūmī* (Byzantine bread). These and other Byzantine/Christian dietary-restricted recipes, referred to as "simulated dishes" or *muzawwarāt* in Arabic cookbooks (see Byzantine *murrī* below), were not just for Christians[69]. Consequently, "Byzantine cuisine" did not travel back to the Byzantine mainland with Byzantine elites after the Arab conquest; rather some of its recipes continue to be present or traveled like Bida to Bagdad, the heart of the Arabic culinary world. I wonder, therefore, if the thesis about the dubious influence of the Byzantines in Egypt but elsewhere can apply especially to the first centuries of the Arab conquest in the seventh and eighth centuries since there has not been any comparative research. For this early period, the Arabo-Byzantine culinary relations and the Byzantine culinary contribution have not been studied as has been the case with the importance of Arabic-Islamic medico-culinary tradition's Greek heritage or the contribution of Christian translators in the Bagdad court with the translated recipes of the Greek and Early Byzantine physicians[70]. And while we may not have Byzantine cookbooks for comparison,

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[67] M. Rodinson, *Studies in Arabic Manuscripts*…, p. 145 and n. 180; P.B. Lewicka, *Food and Foodways*…, p. 189 n. 263.

[68] On pork consumption and avoidance in Egypt, P.B. Lewicka, *Food and Foodways*…, p. 176–178. On *apokti* and Byzantine cured meats, A. Dalby, *Flavours of Byzantium*…, p. 71, 175, 190; Z. Rzeźnicka, M. Kokoszko, K. Jagusiak, *Cured Meats in Ancient and Byzantine Sources: Ham, Bacon and "Tuccetum"*, SCer 4, 2014, p. 245–259.

[69] On these recipes see *Anonymous Kanz*, p. 343 (542) for *lift Rūmī*, Byzantine-style turnip pickles, p. 384 (625) for *ḥimmaṣ kassā*, a Byzantine specialty with boiled chickpeas, p. 188 (211), and N. Nasrallah, *Treasure Trove of Benefits and Variety at the Table*, p. 468 for *baqsamāṭ* known as *khubz Rūmī*, Byzantine bread. On Byzantine *murrī*, and the *muzawwarāt*, simulated dishes, see below *Liquid preparations and preserves of roses and fruits: Garos*, *murrī*.

[70] On Arabic-Islamic medico-culinary tradition, the importance of the Hellenistic heritage and on Christian contribution to the Arabic-Islamic medical tradition, with relevant bibliography, P.B. Lewicka, *Food and Foodways*…, p. 75–78. See also the Byzantino-Arabic-Islamic relations, *Ambassadors*, *Artists*, *Theologians. Byzantine Relations with the Near East from the Ninth to the Thirteenth Centuries*, ed. Z. Chitwood, J. Pahlitzsch, Mainz 2019.

numerous additional sources that have yet to be explored can be exceedingly helpful. It is possible that some of these views about the dubious influence of the Byzantines are valid, but mainly for the period after the ninth and tenth centuries, when the reverse effect is noted, as discussed below.

Here, I would like to propose my own "reverse suggestion" which relies on Rodinson's and Lewicka's suggestions about the similarity between dishes served in both East and West: we need to show they have a common, parallel origin in Greco-Roman cooking but eventually also with their ancient Oriental culinary additions that had influenced the ancient Mediterranean world[71]. I therefore believe that the Byzantine legacy alongside Hellenistic, Greco-Roman and major Persian heritages each contributed in a different way and degree to the formation of the Arabic Islamic culinary reality as attested, for example, by Syrian *mēloplakous* (μηλοπλακοῦς), Greek *itrion* (ἴτριον), Arabic *khabīṣ*, *iṭriya*, and the dishes *sikbāja* and *ṣilāga* discussed earlier.

Salty and sweet liquid preparations and preserves of roses and fruits: *Garos / Garum*, *murrī*, *jullāb/zoulapi(o)n* and *mishmishiyya*

***Garos*, *murrī*.** The opinion cited above that the issue of 'origin' is inconclusive is obviously valid and applicable to many other examples where the proposed controversial etymology of terms and the likeness of preparation leads us to suspect the 'origin' of a meal and recipe. Names of foods, equipment, and cooking processes were shared and assimilated by Middle Eastern peoples who maintained contact and exchanged recipes using names they adopted throughout prehistoric and ancient times. The etymological approach of the Arab condiment *murrī* proves exactly how the issue of 'origin' is inconclusive but also how the similarity of words and preparations can lead to erroneous conclusions.

The Latin *murria* (meaning primarily brine, salt, and water in which salted fish was stored, *muria salsamenti*) and the Arab condiment *murrī* are thought to be associated with or even derived from either the Aramaic *muriyes* or the Greek *halmy(u)ria*/*halmuris* (from *halmē*, brine, ἁλμυρία, ἁλμυρίς<ἅλμη). *Halmuria*/*halmuris* literally means saltiness, brine, or salted, thus giving the Arab *almorī* or *al- murrī* > *murrī*[72] similar to the Greek and Roman salted fish-fermented con-

[71] *Ibidem*, p. 78 and M. RODINSON, *Venice, the Spice Trade and Eastern Influences on European Cooking*, [in:] M. RODINSON, A.J. ARBERRY, Ch. PERRY, *Medieval Arab Cookery*…, p. 204: *Thus, when we see a general similarity between dishes served in both East and West we need to show that they do not have a common, parallel origin in Graeco-Roman cooking before we adduce any oriental influence*. See also the interesting thesis on borrowings and transmitted names and recipes M. RODINSON, *Ma'mūniyya East and West*…, p. 183–197.

[72] Ch. PERRY, *The Description of Familiar Foods*…, p. 281–282. On *almori*, *Anonymous Andalusian Cookbook*, ed. C. MARTINELLI, C. PERRY, D. FRIEDMAN, p. 216.

diment though the Arab *murrī* was made mainly from cereal grain but also not frequently from salty fish blood/viscera. The Arab term *murrī* usually describes a fermented sauce made with barley flour and defined as a liquid sauce, salty, sour, and bitterish. It should be noted that the salty fish blood/viscera-fermented sauce existed in Ancient Mesopotamia with the name *siqqu* and was made from salted fish, shellfish, and locusts exposed to sun[73]. The Latin *murria* is probably derived from the Akkadian word *marru*, denoting a sour or bitter taste employed for fish or fish sauce[74]. It is intriguing that in Talmudic literature, in third-century AD Palestine *halmi*/*hilmi* (< *halmē*, ἅλμη, brine) is called the strong salt solution used in making some forms of *muries* – exactly the term *halmē*, (ἅλμη) used by Byzantine *Geoponika* for producing *garos*[75]. Furthernore according to Talmudic literature, this salted water *muries* and *hilmi*, was used for preserving sausages[76]. In the seventh century AD, in Byzantine Palestine, *muria*/*ies* seems to have been the term for the *garos* or *liquamen*. Although this etymological hypothesis of *murrī* from the Greek *halmuria*/*halmurís* has not been completely ruled out and is usually given as one hypothesis, it is generally believed that the origin of the word is "*sans étymologie*"[77]. This brief etymological overview of the research (as in other instances in this article), regardless of the conclusions, i.e., whether the word derives from Greek, is of primary interest to us as a complement to other dominant similarities and differences with *garos*/*garum* and *liquamen* and the eventual origin of certain methods of the preparation and consumption of some kind of *murrī*, not only from Mesopotamian but also from the Greco-Roman and Byzantine traditions.

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[73] J. Bottéro, *The Oldest Cuisine in the World*…, p. 60; N. Nasrallah, *Annals of the Caliphs' Kitchens*…, p. 580.

[74] On *murrī*, its varieties and etymology from Akkadian, or of its Arabic and Nabatean origin, meaning bitter, see N. Nasrallah, *Annals of the Caliphs' Kitchens*…, p. 579–582; on its description as *liquid fermented sauce*, *salty*, *sour*, *and bitterish*, p. 879 and its connection with Latin *murria* p. 580; J. Bottéro, *The Oldest Cuisine in the World*…, p. 60.

[75] S. Weingarten, *Mouldy Bread and Rotten Fish: Delicacies in the Ancient World*, FoHis 3.1, 2005, p. 61–71. S. Weingarten, *Fish and Fish Products in Late Antique Palestine and Babylonia in their Social and Geographical Contexts: Archaeology and the Talmudic Literature*, [in:] *The Bountiful Sea. Fish Processing and*…, p. 235–245, here 239.

[76] S. Weingarten, *Ancient Jewish Sausages*, [in:] *Cured, Fermented and Smoked Foods. Proceedings of the Oxford Symposium on Food and Cookery 2010*, ed. H. Saberi, Totnes 2011, p. 369.

[77] A. Ernout, A. Meillet, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue latine. Histoire des mots*, 4th ed., Paris 1959 (repr. 1985), p. 423 entry *muries -ei (muria, -ae)*, saumure: …*Mot technique, sans étymologie. Peut-être en rapport avec gr. ἁλμυρίς, de même sens.* A. Dalby, *Food in the Ancient World*…, p. 157, entry *garum*: *Latin muria, salimoria, Greek halmyris, Aramaic muriyes was a product with a family resemblance to garum*. S. Grainger, *Garum, Liquamen, and Muria: A New Approach to the Problem of Definition*, [in:] *Fish and Ships. Production et commerce des salsamenta durant l'Antiquité. Actes de l'atelier doctoral, Rome 18–22 juin 2012, Bibliothèque d'Archéologie Méditerranéenne et Africaine 17*, ed. E. Botte, V. Leitch, Arles-Aix-en-Provence 2014 [= BAMA, 17], p. 39: *Greek halme and its Latin counterpart muria* […] *Garos and muria were sufficiently different to require separate names.*

Garos/*liquamen*/*muria* had a different meaning at the start of the first century AD and there were distinct variations of fish sauces with a later convergence of the terms describing: the variation of aged *garum* made from tuna or mackerel (these fish not used to make *liquamen*), the variation of ordinary black tuna *garos*/*garum* or *muria*, a subtype, and the variation called *liquamen*; Martial refers *tria genera*, three kinds of *garum* 'Liquamen *est sale thynni soluti. Cum enim tria apud Veteres huiusmodi liquaminum genera essent; primum, quod a scombro, garum*'[78]. The latter, the *liquamen*, designated just a liquid, as the name indicates, and *in the late empire a vulgar term in contrast to garum, but not lower class or cheaper being the cooking sauce made from mackerel or a mixture of clupeidae and sparidae; an original small whole-fish sauce and in Apicius the universal term for the primary fish sauce (garum only in one Apician recipe), remained in the kitchen and invisible to the diner who only saw and valued expensive sauces at table*[79].

The *garos* – *garum*/*liquamen*/*muria* was quite widespread during Roman times and in Late Antiquity was used in culinary, medical, and veterinary sources[80]. However, its manufacturing and use in Byzantium probably diminished after the seventh or eighth centuries, and aside from the *Geoponika*'s reference, there is only anecdotal evidence of its use (not clear the type or subtype of *garos*) in the Byzantine palace and monasteries[81]. It has been argued – but not fully accepted – that

[78] Martial, *Epigrams. Books VI–X–10*, XIII, 102–104, ed. D.R. Shackleton Bailey, Cambridge, Mass.–London 1993 [= LCL, 95] (cetera: Martial, *Epigrams*). See R. Curtis, *Garum and Salsamenta. Production and Commerce in Materia Medica*, Leiden 1991 (repr. 2018) [= SAM, 3], p. 172 and n. 52 and S. Grainger, *Garum and Liquamen, What's in a Name?*, [in:] *The Bountiful Sea. Fish Processing and…*, p. 247–261.

[79] On the three different types of salted fish-fermented condiment *garos*/*liquamen*/*muria* and on *muria* as primarily salt and water, brine in which salted fish was stored (*muria salsamenti*), S. Grainger, *Garum, Liquamen, and Muria…*, p. 37–45, the subchapter 2.5, fish sauce in Galen and especially the conclusion, p. 45. See also eadem, *Garum and Liquamen…*; eadem, *The Story of Garum. Fermented Fish Sauce and Salted Fish in the Ancient World*, London 2020, p. 107–108 and *passim*.

[80] R. Curtis, *Garum and Salsamenta…*; S. Grainger, *Garum, Liquamen, and Muria…*, see the subchapter 2.5, Fish sauce in Galen. See also eadem, *The Story of Garum…*, the chapter 3 fish sauce in culinary, medical, and veterinary sources, p. 81–93.

[81] T. Weber, *Essen und Trinken in Konstantinopel des 10. Jahrhunderts nach den Berichten Liutprands von Cremona*, [in:] *Liutprand von Cremona in Konstantinopel. Untersuchungen zum griechischen Sprachschatz und zu realienkundlichen Aussagen in seinen Werken*, ed. J. Koder, T. Weber, Wien 1980, p. 71–99. J. Koder, *Liutprands of Cremona. A Critical Guest at the Byzantine Emperor's Table*, [in:] *Flavours and Delights…*, p. 105–107. On Amalfitan *garos* in the monastery of Mount Athos, I. Anagnostakis, M. Leontsini, *Fishing and Fish Consumption in the Aegean Sea according to the Lives of Saints 7th–12th Centuries*, [in:] *The Byzantines and the Sea*, ed. T. Antonopoulou, B. Flusin, Venice 2024, 283–326. See also A. Carannante, C. Chardino, U. Savarese, *In Search of Garum. The "Colatura d'alici" from the Amalfitan Coast (Campania, Italy): an Heir of the Ancient Mediterranean Fish Sauces*, [in:] *Proceedings of the 4th Italian Congress of Ethnoarchaeology, Rome 17–19 May*, ed. F. Lugli, A.A. Stoppiello, S. Biagetti, Oxford 2011 [= BAR.IS, 2235], p. 69–79; I. Anagnostakis, *Le manger et le boire dans la Vie de Saint Nil de Rossano: l'huile, le vin et la chere dans la Calabre Byzantine Xe–XIe siecles*, [in:] *Identità euromediterranea e paesaggi culturali del vino e dell'olio, Atti del*

the production of *garos* and salted fish in general declined or even disappeared as a result of the salt tax, a high levy imposed on salt since the Roman era or primarily due to the insecurity prevalent in the seas, the limited fishing during the Middle Ages, and the shift of people from the coasts to the interior[82]. However, it is important to note that in Late Antiquity and Byzantium, many clay receptacles – some self-heating – were used for sauces, and known as *gararia* or *saltsaria* regardless of whether the contents were just a salty sauce or one of the many *garos* preparations like *elaiogaron*, *hydrogaron*, *oinogaron*, *oxygaros*, or *oxygaron*, i.e., *garos* mixed or diluted with oil, water, wine, vinegar, considered by the physicians as purging, cleansing, and purifying[83]. Additionally, *garos* was combined with honey (it's unclear what kind of *garos* or if it's just a salt dilution) and used in a variety of potions, patches, and ointments by Byzantine physicians and veterinarians. The most characteristic of all is Plutarch's critical reference to the use of *garos* mixed with honey and Syrian and Arabian spices for seasoning meats, a sauce he critically associates with the embalming of the dead: 'we need sauces, seasoning "supplements" for the flesh itself, mixing oil, wine, honey, garos, vinegar, with Syrian and Arabian spices, as though we were really embalming a corpse for burial'[84]. This is also the case with *murrī*, which is frequently mixed with honey.

The classical Arabic *murrī* was made by moistening a combination of ground flatbread, barley flour, and salt then allowing it to ferment[85]. The most detailed recipes of its preparation without fish are in later Egyptian cookbook; *murrī* is

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Convegno Internazionale di Studio promosso dall'IBAM-CNR nell'ambito del Progetto MenSALe Potenza, 8–10 Novembre 2013, ed. A. Pellettieri, Foggia 2014, p. 186–187. See also S. Grainger, *The Story of Garum*…, the chapter 5 Fish sauce in the late Roman, Byzantine and early medieval world, p. 101–114.

[82] C. Jardin, *Garum et sauces de poisson dans l'Antiquité*, RSLi 37, 1961, p. 70–96. See the divergent thesis of R. Curtis, *Garum and Salsamenta*…, in his epilogue highlights the persistence of *garum* in the West from the 5th–6th centuries AD until the 16th century.

[83] *Scholia in Nicandri theriaka*, Vita-scholion 526b, line 8, ed. A. Crugnola, Milan 1971: ὀξυβάφου, οἷον ἐμβαφίου εἰς τράπεζαν πεποιημένου, ὅπερ καλεῖ γαράριον ἡ συνήθεια (= *Oxybafon* or *embafion*, vessels for sauces, saucers, in a dining table is commonly called *gararion*). I. Anagnostakis, *Byzantine Delicacies*…, p. 85–86. On *gararia*, Χ. Μπακιρτζης, *Βυζαντινά τσουκαλολάγηνα. Συμβολή στη μελέτη ονομασιών,σχημάτων και χρήσεων πυρίμαχων μαγειρικών σκευών, μεταφορικών και αποθηκευτικών δοχείων*, Αθήνα 2003 (1st ed. 1989), p. 55–65. *Everyday Life in Byzantium. Catalogue of the Exhibition Byzantine Hours – Works and Days in Byzantium*, *Thessaloniki*, *Oct. 2001–Jan. 2002*, ed. D. Papanikola-Bakirtzi, Athens 2002 (in Greek *Ωρες Βυζαντίου*, *Έργα και Ημέρες στο Βυζάντιο*, *Καθημερινή Ζωή στο Βυζάντιο*), p. 327–329. A. Vassiliou, *Middle Byzantine Chafing Dishes from Argolis*, ΔΧΑΕ 37, 2016, p. 251–276.

[84] Plutarchos, *De esu cranium*, I, [in:] *Plutarchi moralia*, vol. VI.1, ed. C. Hubert, Leipzig 1954 (repr. 1959), 5, p. 100.23–26 – 101: ὄψον τὸ κρέας προσαγορεύομεν, εἶτ' ὄψων πρὸς αὐτὸ τὸ κρέας δεόμεθα, ἀναμιγνύντες ἔλαιον οἶνον μέλι γάρον ὄξος ἡδύσμασι Συριακοῖς Ἀραβικοῖς, ὥσπερ ὄντως νεκρὸν ἐνταφιάζοντες.

[85] On *murrī* and its varieties, N. Nasrallah, *Annals of the Caliphs' Kitchens*…, p. 579–582; D. Waines, *Murrī: the Tale*…, p. 371–388; P.B. Lewicka, *Food and Foodways*…, p. 341; N. Nasrallah, *Treasure Trove of Benefits and Variety at the Table*, p. 617.

confused or identified with the relatively similar preparations *mulūḥa* and *ṣīr*, which both mean saltiness and salt fish anchovies or fish sauce[86]. A fish paste called *ṣaḥna* and in Hebrew *tzaḥana* is a strong-smelling condiment made with crushed fish with herbs and spices. Salt-cured preparation *ṣīr* and in Hebrew *tzir* is also made without fish – a fake *ṣaḥna*[87]. Egyptian *mulūḥa*, a rarely mentioned food, has negative connotations as foul-smelling and consumed by Christians: *a kind of Arabic-Islamic equivalent of garum*[88]. *Mulūḥa* literally means "saltiness", like the original meaning of the Greek *garos* and *the term*, *when referred to fish macerated in salt in jars*, *connotes the concentrated salty brine rather than the fish itself*[89]. *Murrī* was used in the recipes of the Arabic cookbooks – the tenth-century *Ibn Sayyār al-Warrāq*'s *Kitāb al-Ṭabīkh* and the thirteenth-century *Kitab Wasf al-Atima al-Mutada*[90]. A special variety of *murrī* was prepared in *Shām*, and the Byzantine region of Antioch with small fish known as *ṣīr*, and another Egyptian variety was called *ṣīr* and *murrī ṣīr Qadim*, a fish-based liquid fermented sauce made from small fish known as *ṣīr* or *tjir*, *tzir*, anchovy[91]. It is unclear what Perry translates as "Byzantine *murri*" (probably a translation of *murrī Rūmī*), a recipe for Byzantine *murrī* with Byzantine saffron[92]. Anyway, the hypothesis for the surviving tradition of a kind of *garos* and its use in Byzantine provinces under Arab control is strengthened by these references to such a fish product made either in the Antioch region with the fish known in Egypt as *tjir* and *ṣīr* or made in Martyropolis/

[86] P.B. LEWICKA, *Food and Foodways*…, p. 219–220. A very detailed presentation of murrī is available at *Anonymous Kanz*, p. 162–164 (150, 151): Recipe for *murrī naqīʿ* (liquid fermented sauce) and (151) Recipe for Moroccan *murrī* (liquid fermented sauce) made with barley.

[87] N. NASRALLAH, *Treasure Trove of Benefits and Variety at the Table*, p. 50, 498, 618, 653–654. S. WEINGARTEN, *Fish and Fish Products*…, p. 235–245. P.B. LEWICKA, *Food and Foodways*…, p. 218.

[88] C. WISSA-WASSEF, *Pratiques rituelles et alimentaires coptes*, Le Caire 1971, p. 342–343. P.B. LEWICKA, *Food and Foodways*…, p. 220: *mulūḥa seemed to invoke negative connotations. Presumably because of its relatively offensive smell and sight*, *possibly because of its association with the religiously motivated diet of the Copts*.

[89] P.B. LEWICKA, *Food and Foodways*…, p. 220.

[90] IBN SAYYĀR AL-WARRĀQ, *Kitāb al-Ṭabīkh*, see *murrī*, *passim*; Ch. PERRY, *The Description of Familiar Foods*…, i.e., *Kitāb Waṣf al-aṭʿima al-muʿtāda*, p. 281–282, 400 and the recipe of Byzantine *murrī* with Byzantine saffron p. 406–407. *Kitāb Waṣlah ilā al-ḥabīb*, translation reprinted in *Scents and Flavors. A Syrian Cookbook*, *Delectable Recipes from the Medieval Middle East*, Introduction XXXVI, trans. Ch. PERRY, praef. Cl. RODEN, vol. ed. M. COOPERSON, Sh.M. TOORAWA, New York 2020 (cetera: *Scents and Flavors*): *murrī* was very popular in Spain and Iraq but makes only a single appearance (§5.47) in this book.

[91] N. NASRALLAH, *Annals of the Caliphs' Kitchens*…, p. 580, 582. On *ṣīr* M. RODINSON, *Studies in Arabic Manuscripts*…, p. 144, and on preserves, seasonings and the eleven *sls* (salty sauces?) p. 143–145; Ch. PERRY, *The Description of Familiar Foods*…, p. 281. P.B. LEWICKA, *Food and Foodways*…, p. 218–223.

[92] For the recipe of Byzantine *murrī* with Byzantine saffron, Ch. PERRY, *The Description of Familiar Foods*…, p. 406–407, and *Anonymous Andalusian Cookbook*, ed. C. MARTINELLI, C. PERRY, D. FRIEDMAN, p. 217.

Mayyafariqin without fish and known as fake *murrī -murrī Rūmī* (translated as Byzantine *murri*) mentioned in Arabic cookbooks[93].

All the above – i.e., the *murrī* made with fish, the Egyptian fish products made with *ṣīr* like fish sauce *ṣīr*, *mulūḥa*, and *ṣaḥna* – was prepared with small fish, indeed with the smallest fish *ṣīr* identified with *aphye* (ἀφύη), the anchovy, and according to the *Geoponika* probably with *lykostomos* (λυκόστομος), a kind of anchovy. However, it should not be ruled out that the term *ṣīr* can generally refer to any small fish and certainly the lean salt-cured mackerel known in Byzantium as *tsiros* used by Modern Greek fishermen to prepare a type of *garos*. We will discuss the Arabic term *ṣīr* below in the subchapter *Libysia*, along with its etymology and relationship to Byzantine fish *tsiros*. So, chub mackerel and scomber (σκόμβρος, *scomber colias)* were amongst the small fish, like picarel and anchovy, the primary ingredients (and lean scomber, *tsiros*, later) used for making *garos*/*liquamen*. Latins authors say mackerel is used only to make fish sauce, and Pliny and Martial lauded chub mackerel, stating that the highest quality *garos* was produced from fresh mackerel (scomber)[94]. Strabo reports that an island near Carthage called *Scombraria* was named because of the mackerel found there, from which the finest *garos* is made[95]. In the versions of the *garos*/*liquamen* recipe saved in the *Geoponika*, mackerels (σκόμβρους) is mentioned amongst small fish or any small enough (λεπτὰ ὀψαρίδια …ἢ ὃ ἂν δόξῃ λεπτὸν εἶναι), definitely picarel and anchovy as well as, of course, larger fish like *tunny mixed with a lot of salt*, *in an earthenware jar which they leave uncovered in the sun for two or three months*, *occasionally stirring with a stick*, *then extract the liquid* […] *A better garos*, *called haimation 'blood sauce'*, *is made with tunny entrails with gills*, *fluid and blood*, *sprinkle with sufficient salt in a jar for two months*[96].

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[93] The weights and measurements given in the recipe of this fake Byzantine *murrī* are Antiochan and Zahiri [as] in Mayyafariqin, *Anonymous Andalusian Cookbook*, ed. C. Martinelli, C. Perry, D. Friedman, p. 217. See also the kosher *murrī* in late antique Palestine mentioned in the Talmudic literature, S. Weingarten, *Fish and Fish Products*…, p. 235–245.

[94] On the Latin authors' reference to mackerel in fish sauces see C. Jardin, *Garum et sauces de poisson*…, p. 85, and S. Grainger, *The Story of Garum*… Martial, *Epigrams*, XIII, 102–103 mentions a *garum socium* from the first blood of the mackerel, *scombri de sanguine primo*: 102 *Garum sociorum* / *Expirantis adhuc scombri de sanguine primo accipe fastosum*, *munera cara*, *garum*. 103 *Amphora muriae Antipolitani*, *fateor*, *sum filia thynni: essem si scombri*, *non tibi missa*, *forem*. See R. Curtis, *Garum and Salsamenta*…, p. 172 and n. 52 and S. Grainger, *Garum and Liquamen*…, p. 247–261.

[95] *Strabonis geographica*, III, 4, 6, vol. I–III, ed. A. Meineke, Leipzig 1877 [= BSGR]: εἶθ' ἡ τοῦ Ἡρακλέους νῆσος ἤδη πρὸς Καρχηδόνι, ἣν καλοῦσι Σκομβραρίαν ἀπὸ τῶν ἁλισκομένων σκόμβρων, ἐξ ὧν τὸ ἄριστον σκευάζεται γάρον. The question regarding *garon* from mackerel in a later date Strabo's commentary is quite intriguing: νῆσός ἐστιν ἡ καλουμένη Σκομβραρία ἀπὸ τῶν ἁλισκομένων σκόμβρων, ἐξ ὧν τὸ ἄριστον σκευάζεται γάρον (οὕτως οὖν εἶπεν ὁ Στράβων τὸ γάρον), Strabo, *Chrestomathia*, III, 59, 2, [in:] *Strabons Geographika*, *Epitome und Chrestomathie*, vol. IX, ed. S. Radt, Göttingen 2010.

[96] *Geoponica sive Cassiani Bassi scholastici De re rustica eclogae*, XX, 46, ed. H. Beckh, Leipzig 1895 (repr. Stuttgart–Leipzig 1994) [= BSGR] (cetera: *Geoponica sive Cassiani Bassi*), p. 528–529. English

In recent years, Greek fishermen have used mackerel and the small fish *tsiros* (the so-called small lean mackerel) to make a kind of *garos* in the Bosphorus and Black Sea. There is an analytical description of how to catch and preserve mackerel and *tsiros* but there is no mention anywhere of processing the blood of these fish, but only entrails and livers, which are washed to remove the blood and impurities. These salted livers – called *garos* in their dialect – were for trade[97]. It is noteworthy that, with the exception of fasting days, the Byzantines and Christians of the East paid little heed to the proscriptions against consuming blood, particularly that of fish. Blood alone as an ingredient in recipes or for the preparation of sausages may have been avoided, but not the well-washed viscera; indeed, the livers of animals and fish full of blood were always favorite foods, either preserved with salt or cooked[98]. We do know they did not use fish sauce, *garos*, during Lent. Did they, perhaps, use a fake *garos*, a vegetarian sauce like Arabian *murrī*? What is fake *murrī Rūmī* or Byzantine *murrī* and what is its equivalent in Byzantine cuisine? Let's look at the Byzantine and Arabic sources on these two types of *murrī* with and without fish and their shared culinary and medical traditions.

Some recipes are known in Arabic cookbooks as *muzawwarāt*, 'simulated dishes,' usually translated as false, fake, or counterfeit dishes like *eggless omelet*, *drained yogurt without yogurt*, *making milk from coconut*, *fish condiments without fish*, *and so*[99]. Condiments similar to the fish sauces *garos* and *murrī* but made without fish, *ṣīr*, and similar to the false *ṣaḥna* in Egypt mentioned above, are certainly a type of counterfeit *garos*, the fake *murrī Rūmī* translated as Byzantine *murrī*, a *muzawwarāt* recipe either intended for the fasts of Christians or diets restricted for medical reasons. Nawal Nasrallah, in the translation and commentaries of Ibn Sayyār al-Warrāq, *Kitāb al-Ṭabīkh*, says that *Christians traditionally prepare muzawwarāt during the fasting days of Lent. Cooks also make them for the sick since they are light and nourishing* […] *and doctors prescribe them because they*

trans.: *Geoponika. Farm Work. A Modern Translation of the Roman and Byzantine Farming Handbook*, trans. A. DALBY, Totnes 2011, p. 348–349. See also A. DALBY, *Flavours of Byzantium*…, p. 68–69, 177. See the comments on this recipe S. GRAINGER, *Garum and Liquamen*…, p. 250–252.

[97] B. ΒΑΦΕΙΑΔΟΥ, *Ἤθη καὶ ἔθιμα Σωζοπόλεως*, Λα 29, 1974, p. 185–186. On *tsiros* or *tzero*s and scomber, F.H. TINNEFELD, *Zur kulinarischen Qualität byzantinischer Speisefische*, SMW 11, 1988, p. 164, 165. A. DALBY, *Flavours of Byzantium*…, p. 334. See also Π. ΑΝΔΡΟΥΔΗΣ, *Μαρτυρίες για το αλάτι από το Βυζάντιο*…

[98] Ch. MESSIS, *Le corpus nomocanonique oriental et ses scholiastes du XII^e siècle. Les commentaires sur le concile in Trullo (691–692)*, Paris 2020, p. 375–377. B. CASEAU, *Nourritures terrestres, nourritures célestes*…, p. 67–69; EADEM, *Le tabou du sang à Byzance – observances alimentaires et identité*, [in:] *Pour l'amour de Byzance. Hommage à Paolo Odorico*, ed. C. GASTGEBER, Ch. MESSIS, D.I. MURESAN, F. RONCONI, Francfort 2013, p. 53–62.

[99] IBN SAYYĀR AL-WARRĀQ, *Kitāb al-Ṭabīkh*, ch. 46 (Simulated dishes Christians eat during Lent), p. 105 (Healthy vegetarian dishes for the nourishment of the sick); N. NASRALLAH, *Annals of the Caliphs' Kitchens*…, p. 42.

are easier to digest. Indeed, in the medieval sense, muzawwar is also synonymous with 'improved' and 'remedying'[100].

This is precisely what is confirmed by Aetius, a Byzantine physician from Amida, present-day Diyarbekir (probably 502 in Amida, Mesopotamia 575), when speaking about a fake *garos* recipe for use on fast days – a reference that has thus far remained unused regarding fish condiments without fish like Arab *murrī* made mainly from cereal grain. According to Aetius's recipe for preparing a fasting *garos* (Γάρου νηστικοῦ σκευασία): *mix with water, salt, black dry chickpeas, mushrooms, and dry black figs, drain later and store for future use*[101]. The preparation of yeast from ground chickpeas, water, and salt – sometimes with the addition of spices (black sesame, sesame oil, cinnamon, clove oil) – is always used in the Greek world for a special, fine bread. Chickpea yeast initiated by spontaneous fermentation of coarsely-ground chickpea in water, a variant of conventional sourdough yeast, is used for the bread *autozymon* (αὐτόζυμον) or "self-rising", that is, a bread that doesn't need any yeast, baking soda, or a sourdough starter to rise but uses a cultivation of bacteria found on the chickpea. *Autozymon* (αὐτόζυμον), pronounced *aftozymon*, is also called by paretymological interpretation *heptazymon* (ἑπτάζυμον), and especially nowadays in Crete "*eftazymo*"(εφτάζυμο), which means "kneaded seven times"[102]. It is also worth adding that in Late Roman times there were vegetarian alternatives to *garum*, like pear vinegar and pear liquamen (*liquamen ex piris*) recommended to vegetarians by Palladius[103]. Finally, according to a rereading of the Arabic tale of *Delectable War between Mutton and the Refreshments of the Market-Place*, like all *muzawwarāt* or simulated dishes this fake *garos*, as meatless recipes, was not really a dish and never became a rightful part of the Arabic-Islamic cuisine. Such dishes were considered as therapy for invalids and imported from the local Christian Nestorian tradition of fasting and the Greek idea of curing certain

[100] N. Nasrallah, *Annals of the Caliphs' Kitchens*…, p. 613. D. Waines, M. Marin, *Muzawwar: Counterfeit Fare for Fasts and Fevers*, [in:] *Patterns of Everyday Life*, ed. D. Waines, Ashgate 2002, p. 303–315 (= I 69, 1992, p. 289–301). See also L.N.B. Chipman, *Digestive Syrups and After-Dinner Drinks. Food or Medicine?*, [in:] *Drugs in the Medieval Mediterranean. Transmission and Circulation of Pharmacological Knowledge*, ed. P. Bouras-Vallianatos, D. Stathakopoulos, Cambridge 2023, p. 328.

[101] Aetios of Amida, *Sixteenth Book on Medicine – Gynaekologie des Aëtios*, 141.1–3, ed. Σ. Zερβος, Leipzig 1901, p. 165: Γάρου νηστικοῦ σκευασία.῞Υδατος ξστλα ἤτοι ξέστ. λα. ἁλῶν ξστβ ἤτοι ξέστ. β. ἐρεβίνθων ξηρῶν μελανῶν ξστδ ἤτοι ξέστ. δ. ἀμανιτῶν λιβ ἤτοι λίτρ. β. ἰσχάδας μέλανας ν. ἑνώσας εἶτα διηθήσας φύλαττε. See on this recipe and the use of chickpea as a medicinal foodstuff, M. Kokoszko, K. Jagusiak, J. Dybała, *The Chickpea (ἐρέβινθος; Cicer arietinum L) as a Medicinal Foodstuff and Medicine in Selected Greek Medical Writings*, SCer 7, 2017, p. 114.

[102] *Anomymus medicus*, *De cibis*, 25.2–3, [in:] *Anecdota medica Graeca*, ed. F.Z. Ermerins, Leiden 1840 (repr. Amsterdam 1963), p. 275, and Latin translation and commentary p. 274–275 n. 1; *Scholia in Batrachomyomachia*, scholion 35, ed. A. Ludwich, [in:] *Die Homerische Batrachomachia des Karers Pigres. Nebst Scholien und Paraphrase*, Leipzig 1896, p. 225.17–20.

[103] A. Dalby, *Food in the Ancient World*…, p. 157 entry *garum*, and p. 341 entry *Vegetarianism*.

illnesses by a vegetarian diet. Both seem to have been inserted into the Arabic-Islamic culinary corpus by the Christian Nestorian physicians[104].

Byzantine and Arab cuisines made extensive use of boiled or soaked chickpeas. It's interesting to note that some recipes, particularly from Syria, like *Sh̲āmiyya* and *Levantine qaliyya*, combine soaked chickpeas with meat and add *murrī*[105]. It is worth noting that the recipe *ḥimmaṣ kassā*, a specialty with boiled chickpeas, is considered *Rūmī*, and the Byzantine recipe *ṣilāga rūmiyya* used head, trotters, neck, extremities, and a handful of chickpeas[106].

Jullāb/zoulapi(o)n. The Arab sweet liquid preparation *jullāb* was mentioned in Byzantine sources as *zoulapi(o)n* or *zoulabi(o)n* (ζουλάπι(ο)ν, ζουλάβι(ο)ν, pl. ζουλάπια *zoulapia*) as early as the ninth century but it was more frequently and analytically described in the eleventh century and later[107]. The *zoulapion* could be made of water and flower essences or pharmaceutical vegetal substances, fruit juice, sugar, or honey, but also rose oil. It was used as an emollient and sedative or as a solution for other drugs; it is specified in Byzantium as *rodozoulapon* or *zoulapi(o)n rodon* (ῥοδοζούλαπον, ζουλάπιν ῥόδων), when the *zoulapi(o)n* is made with roses[108]. The word *zoulapion* is a loan from Arabic *jullāb* with the original Iranian meaning of rosewater, *ma' ward*, and later with the meaning of rosewater *syrup* (< Arab. *sharab* a solution mainly of sugar in water) or a syrup with other flavoring agents such as herbs, fruits, spices, and aromatics. An Arab recipe for *jullāb* is given by Ibn Sina (known in the West as Avicenna, 980–June 1037): *cook together 2 pounds sugar, ½ cup water, and before taking it away from heat, add 2¼ cups rosewater*[109].

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[104] P. LEWICKA, *The Delectable War between Mutton and the Refreshments of the Market-Place. Re-reading the Curious Tale of the Mamluk Era*, SAI 13, 2007, p. 20–29, here 29 n. p. 24. L.N.B. CHIPMAN, *Digestive Syrups and…*, p. 328–329.

[105] IBN SAYYĀR AL-WARRĀQ, *Kitāb al-Ṭabīk̲h*, ch. 84, p. 343–344.

[106] On *ḥimmaṣ kassā* see *Anonymous Kanz*, p. 384 (625). On *ṣilāga rūmiyya*, IBN SAYYĀR AL-WARRĀQ, *Kitāb al-Ṭabīk̲h*, ch. 44, p. 223.

[107] PSEUDO-NICEFORO, *Libro dei sogni*, part 3 alphabetic entry zeta line 42, ed. G. GUIDORIZZI, Naples 1980 [= Κοι, 5]; PSEUDO-GALEN, *De remediis parabilibus libri III*, 564.10, [in:] *Claudii Galeni opera omnia*, vol. XIV, ed. C.G. KÜHN, Leipzig 1827; M. MAVROUDI, *A Byzantine Book on Dream Interpretation…*, p. 65 n. 14; P. BOURAS-VALLIANATOS, *Cross-cultural Transfer…*, p. 974–976.

[108] On some *zoulapia*, SYMEON SETH, *Syntagma*, p. 30.7, p. 35.16; p. 66.17, and on some rose products with sugar and honey, and *zoulapion* made with roses, NIKOLAOS MYREPSOS, *Dynameron*, for *zoulapi(o)n rodōn* section 92, p. 65 (ζουλάπιν τῶν ῥόδων), and for *rodozoulapon* section 35, p. 340–341 (λε′ Δροσάτου σκευασία τοῦ λεγομένου, ῥοδοζουλάπου· ὠφελεῖ· πρὸς πλευριτικοῖς […] τὸ δὲ τούτων ῥοδοζούλαπον). For *rodozoulapon* in John Aktouarios and Nikolaos Myrepsos see P. BOURAS-VALLIANATOS, *Innovation in Byzantine Medicine. The Writings of John Zacharias Aktouarios (c.1275–c.1330)*, Oxford 2020 [= OSB], p. 165–168, 263. On recipes of *zoulapia* culled from Arabic sources in the early fifteenth-century codex Vaticanus graecus 282, in ff. 433v–437r, see D.C. BENNETT, *Medicine and Pharmacy in Byzantine Hospitals. A Study of the Extant Formularies*, Abingdon–New York 2017 [= MMM], p. 40, 45–46 n. 36.

[109] N. NASRALLAH, *Annals of the Caliphs' Kitchens…*, p. 380 n. 41, and p. 597.

Around the same period, in the mid-eleventh century, it is reported that Byzantine *zoulapion* was made with Saracen or Egyptian roses despite the fact that we know nothing about roses from Egypt in that time; rose confiture and dried plums were exported to Egypt from Antioch and Laodicea (then under Byzantine rule) as well as from Syria and Palestine[110]. In Late Byzantium *zoulapion* described any other pharmaceutical syrup preparation with sugar or honey and is equated to or identified with *serabion* or *serapion* (σεράβιον or σεράπιον) and συρόπιον< Ital. *siroppo*< Lat. *siruppus*, *syrupus*) from the Arabic *šarāb* that may designate drink, beverage, wine, syrup and used in the general sense of beverages. According to Byzantine Chariton's *Recipe Book*, an unedited work, *zoulapia are also called serabia*, *this is how the Egyptian physicians call them in the barbarian language* or according to *Scholia* in Aristophanes' Plutus *beverages are those that the vulgar people called zoulapia*, *syropia*, *potoi*[111]. The Byzantine astronomer Georgios Chioniades (fourteenth century), called these sugar-based preparations or potions *glykysmata* (γλυκύσματα), the equivalent Greek term for the Arabic *juwārish*/*jawārish*, syrupy preparations, used in one instance as *tzouarisia* (τζουαρίσια)[112]. Gradually, a number of medicinal preparations of Arabic names *zoulapion* and *matzounion* were introduced and began to appear in Byzantine medical texts adhering to a cosmopolitan medical tradition and this complex, varied nomenclature preoccupied already Byzantines dealing with medical and nutritional issues[113]. The Byzantines

[110] S.D. Goitein, *Letters of Medieval Jewish Traders*, Princeton, N.J. 1973, for products of Syria–Lebanon imported to Egypt, rose marmalade, dried plums p. 89, 91, 94–95, 185, 268, 287. On Antioch after Byzantine reconquest of 969, H. Kennedy, *Antioch: from Byzantium to Islam*…, p. 196–197: *Antioch shows signs of joining in the revival experienced by the coastal cities*, *to take its place once again in the twelfth century as one of the most important cities of the Levant*'. See also, *Ambassadors*, *Artists*, *Theologians*…

[111] On beverages (*sharab*), Ibn Sayyār al-Warrāq, *Kitāb al-Ṭabīkh*, ch. 114, p. 460–463, ch. 123, p. 477–478. See *serapion*, plum syrup (σεράπιον τῶν δαμασκήνων) in Chariton, *On lozenges – Χαρίτωνος Περὶ Τροχίσκων*, ed. A.Π. Κουζης, [in:] *Τεσσαρακονταετηρὶς Θεοφίλου Βορέα*, vol. I, Ἀθῆναι 1939, p. 109–115, here p. 111.24–25. See also the unedited Chariton, *Recipe Book*, Parisinus gr. 2240, according to P. Bouras-Vallianatos, *Innovation in Byzantine Medicine*…, p. 170 n. 112: ζουλαπίων τῶν καὶ σεραβίων καλουμένων, οὕτω γὰρ βαρβάρῳ φωνῇ οἱ τῆς Αἰγύπτου κεκλήκασιν ἰατροί, and p. 171; *Scholia in Aristophanem Plutum*, 717b, ed. M. Chantry, [in:] *Scholia in Aristophanem*, vol. III, *Scholia in Thesmophoriazusas*, *Ranas*, *Ecclesiazusas et Plutum*, Groningen 1996: πιστὸν τὸ πινόμενον, τὰ δὲ καλοῦνται πιστά, οἷά εἰσι τὰ ἰδιωτικῶς λεγόμενα "ζουλάπια" καὶ "συρόπια" καὶ "ποτοί".

[112] On *juwārish* 'syrupy preparations consumed as digestive stomachic after the meals', N. Nasrallah, *Treasure Trove of Benefits and Variety at the Table*, p. 623, and *Anonymous Kanz*, p. 260–265 (recipes 372–80). P. Bouras-Vallianatos, *Cross-cultural Rransfer*…, p. 1000 n. 188. On Georgios Chioniades and the Persian substances see D.C. Bennett, *Medicine and Pharmacy in Byzantine Hospitals*…, p. 128–129 and on the inter-relationship between the Greek and Arabic medicine, p. 22–23, and p. 124–128.

[113] B. Zipser, *Griechische Schrift*, *arabische Sprache und graeco-arabische Medizin: Ein neues Fragment aus dem mittelalterlichen Sizilien*, MLR 15, 2003/2004, p. 154–166; M. Mavroudi, *Arabic Words in Greek Letters: The Violet Fragment and More*, [in:] *Moyen arabe et variétés mixtes de l'arabe à travers l'histoire: Actes du premier colloque international (Louvain-la-Neuve*, *10–14 mai 2004)*, ed. J. Lentin,

were quite open to external influences and promoted a steady diffusion of Arabic medical knowledge focused on the introduction and diffusion of sugar[114]. *Zoulapion* was a new term adopted by Byzantines for the thick liquid preparations with sugar instead of honey used in the late antique dietetic-pharmaceutical treatises, but sugar's use as a medicinal substance was promoted intensely in the context of Byzantine daily medical nutritional practices from the late eleventh-early twelfth century onward. Bouras-Vallianatos says that we are not informed as to whether the juleps were prepared in Byzantium or transported there; nevertheless, there was awareness of sugar-based potions in Constantinople from the twelfth century forward[115].

Based on the aforementioned data and our own research I can deduce that the Byzantines became aware of and started utilizing *jullāb* as *zoulapion* during the ninth to tenth centuries, when they have more direct interaction with well-known Syrian and Upper Mesopotamian rose-producing towns, and particularly during the eleventh century, when they successfully reoccupied these cities[116]. Thus Symeon Seth from Antioch – an eleventh-century scientist, translator from Arabic, and official – mentioned numerous *zoulapia* in his treatise *On the Properties of Food* written for the emperor Michael VII Doukas (r. 1071–1078)[117]. Symeon Seth describes the pharmaceutical properties of the rose and several rose products: the already well-known in Antiquity and Byzantium rose oil, *rodelaion* or *rodinon elaion*, rose honey, *rodomeli*, extract of roses or rosewater, *rodostagma*, *hydrosaton*[118]; and for the first time in a Byzantine text, four special *zoulapia* with pharmaceutical vegetal substances that are obviously absent from ancient Greek or Early Byzantine medical literature, certainly loans of Arabic origin[119]. Numerous

J. Grand'Henry, Louvain-la-Neuve 2008 [= PIOL, 58], p. 321–354. For the Arabic loanwords and edited and unedited translations of Arabic medical texts into Greek and works by Byzantines, see P. Bouras-Vallianatos, *Cross-cultural Transfer*…, p. 963–1008 and especially p. 974 *passim*.

[114] P. Bouras-Vallianatos, *Cross-cultural Transfer*…, p. 974.

[115] *Ibidem*, p. 980–993.

[116] On this proposal and a chronology of when Byzantines began using the *jullāb* see M. Leontsini, I. Anagnostakis, *Food Mobilities*…, forthcoming.

[117] P. Bouras-Vallianatos, S. Xenophontos, *Galen's Reception in Byzantium*…, p. 431–469; M. Cronier, A. Guardasole, C. Magdelaine, A. Pietrobelli, *Galien en procès à Byzance: l'Antirrhétique de Syméon Seth*, Gal 9, 2015, p. 89–139.

[118] Symeon Seth, *Syntagma*, p. 92.14–22 on roses (Περὶ ῥόδων), p. 50.14, p. 58.12, p. 68.21–22, p. 80.1, p. 91.24 rose–oil, *rodelaion* or *rodinon elaion* (ῥοδέλαιον, ῥόδινον ἔλαιον), p. 36.17 rose–honey, *rodomeli* (ῥοδόμελι), p. 15–16, p. 64.13, p. 95.11 rosewater, *rodostagma* (ῥοδόσταγμα), p. 111.22–26 rosewater, *hydrosaton*/*rododrosaton* (Ὑδροσάτον / in apparatus criticus ῥοδοδροσάτον). On *hydrorosaton*, a mixture of the juice of roses with water and honey, see P. Bouras-Vallianatos, *Innovation in Byzantine Medicine*…, p. 163 n. 75. *Rosaton* (ῥοσάτον< lat. rosatum) was a kind of wine or just a mixture of the juice of roses with wine and honey, Oribasios, *Collectionum Medicarum*, V, 33, 1–5, p. 151–152; see chapter's English trans. A. Dalby, *Flavours of Byzantium*…, p. 181.

[119] Symeon Seth, *Syntagma*, p. 30.7 bugloss, Anchusa italica (βούγλωσσον), p. 41.5–13 on *zoulapion* (Περὶ ζουλαπίου), p. 48.1–2 julap of violet, *iosakharon*, *iozoulapon* (ἰοσάκχαρον, ἰοζούλαπον),

sugar-based potions such as *zoulabi(o)n* and *serabi(o)n* are also mentioned in the eleventh or early twelfth century *Ephodia tou Apodemountos* (Εφόδια τοῦ ἀποδημοῦντος, *Provisions for the Traveller and Nourishing for the Sedentary*), the unedited Greek translation of the Arabic work *Zād al-Musāfir wa-Qūt al-Ḥāḍir* of Ibn al-Jazzār, and is the first significant medical manual in the Greek language to consistently refer to sugar and its use in medical preparations[120]. The dissemination of this text also coincided with the intensification of the mobility and exchange of eastern products in the Mediterranean from the eleventh century onwards. This translation also contributed to the adoption of sugar and named sugar-based potions and other oriental constituents in Byzantine medical practice.

> In the *Ephodia*, in addition to direct references to sugar, we also find numerous references to named sugar-based potions such as *zoulabi(o)n* and *serabi(o)n* involving some special ingredient, for example, violet *zoulabion* or pomegranate *serabion*, and also to *oxysa(k)charon*. These may be used as composite drugs on their own or as a base for the administration of other ingredients. Sugar gradually became available in Byzantium[121].

Later, the *sakharata* (sugar sweets, σαχαράτα), a name that refers to Arabic delicacies like *paloudaki* (a delicacy discussed in this paper's last section), began to spread among the upper social classes and refers to a refined diet corresponding to the period's luxury living standards.

The use of roses, rosewater, and rose oil unguents (*myron*) in cosmetics and therapeutics has been widespread since ancient times. Rose origin products are described in detail by Theophrastos, Dioscorides, Pliny the Elder, and Athenaeos. They mention the famed roses of Mount Pangæus in Philippoi in Macedonia, the rose of Cyrene and Carthage in Africa, the roses of Spain, Præneste, and Campania of Miletus, and the *rodinon myron* from Phaselis, in Asia Minor, near the

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p. 66.17 julap of *Melissa officinalis*, *melissofyllon* (μελισσόφυλλον), p. 73.8 julap of water lily, *nymphaiozoulapon* (νυμφαιοζούλαπον). On the medieval Arabic medical literature as the source of Seth's items, see G. Harig, *Von den arabischen Quellen des Symeon Seth*, MJou 2, 1967, p. 248–268, and on the Arabic origin of balm, *Melissa officinalis*' and julap's properties see p. 252, and p. 260. P. Bouras-Vallianatos, *Innovation in Byzantine Medicine*…, p. 142 n. 12.

[120] The unedited Greek translation of the Arabic work Ibn al-Jazzār, *Ephodia tou Apodēmountos* (Greek translation of *Zād al-Musāfir wa-Qūt al-Ḥāḍir*): Vaticanus gr. 300, ff. 11r–267r, dated in 1140. T. Miquet emphasizes that the Greek translation is found in more than 48 manuscripts, T. Miguet, *Recherches sur l'histoire du texte grec du Viatique du voyageur d'Ibn al-Ǧazzār*, Ph.D. Diss., École pratique des Hautes Études, Paris 2019, p. 126; idem, *Premiers jalons pour une étude complète de l'histoire du texte grec du Viatique du Voyageur (Ἐφόδια τοῦ ἀποδημοῦντος) d'Ibn al-Ǧazzār*, RHT 12, 2017, p. 59–105, here 74sqq; A. Touwaide, *Translation: a Case-study in Byzantine Science*, Medi 16, 2013, p. 165–170; T. Miguet, *La traduction grecque du Viatique du voyageur (Zād al-musāfir) d'Ibn al-Ǧazzār et l'une de ses révisions à l'époque paléologue*, [in:] *Translation Activity in Late Byzantine World. Contexts*, *Authors*, *and Texts*, ed. P.Ch. Athanasopoulos, Berlin–Boston 2022, p. 125–143.

[121] As *Ephodia* is unedited, I reproduce P. Bouras-Vallianatos, *Innovation in Byzantine Medicine*…, p. 166, p. 113 n. 34, 166, 278.

present-day rose-producing regions of ancient Pisidia in Isparta[122]. Byzantine physicians regularly describe the usage of rose products, but they hardly ever mentioned where the roses came from, with the exception of one case involving Saracen, *sarakēnika*, (σαρακήνικα) or Egyptian, *aigyptia* roses (ῥόδα αἰγύπτια). Does this appellation mean roses from Egypt or an Egyptian rose variation?

A remedy with Egyptian roses used in Mauraganos hospital, *xenōn* (ξενών), is described in a fifteenth-century copied manuscript. Mauraganos hospital is identified with Maurianos hospital built by Emperor Romanos Lakapenos (emp. 919–945) in Constantinople and the recipe must date before 1204[123]. A remedy for jaundice of the liver made with a *zoulapion* and numerous other ingredients – amongst them dried purple roses and Saracen and Indian small roots (*rizaria*, *sarakēnikon*, *indikon rizarion*) – is provided by a certain *Abram Sarakēnos*, a Saracen and Arab head physician (*aktouarios* and also *basilikos archiatros*) of Mangana hospital (*xenōn*, ξενών) in Constantinople and probably living after the eleventh or twelfth century. This remedy provides the Greek translation of the Arabic names of ingredients along with their transliteration into Greek[124]. Although Saracen roses are not specifically mentioned in this instance, it is intriguing that a Saracen physician in Constantinople prepares a *zoulapion*, a remedy made with roses and other Saracen and Indian ingredients. Later, in the thirteenth century, the Byzantine physician Nikolaos Myrepsos mentions *sarakēnika*

[122] Theophrastus, *Enquiry into Plants*, vol. II, *Books 6–9*, VI, 6, 4, 38–39, ed. A. Hort, Cambridge, Mass. 1916 [= LCL, 79], cetera: Theophrastos, *Historia plantarum* (roses of Mount Pangæus, in Philippoi in Macedonia and Cyrene); On roses of Præneste and Campania, of Miletus, of Philippi and Mount Pangæus, the "Grecian" rose or "lychnis", probably "Macedonian" rose, that it is not a rose at all, but one of the Malvaceæ; the "Græcula", the roses of Cyrenæ, Carthage, and Spain, see Pliny, *Natural History*, vol. VI, *Books 20–23*, 21, 10, 16–20, ed. W.H.S. Jones, Cambridge 1969 [= LCL, 392], p. 172–175; on the perfume of roses from Phaselis, the reputation of which was afterwards eclipsed by those of Neapolis, Capua, and Præneste, Pliny, *Natural History*, vol. V, *Books 17–19*, 18, 2, ed. W.H.S. Jones, Cambridge–London 1950 [= LCL, 371], p. 100–101. On roses in antiquity and in the Middle Ages, see W.L. Carter, *Roses in Antiquity*, Anti 14.55, 1940, p. 250–256; A. Dalby, *Food in the Ancient World*…, p. 284; M. Touw, Roses in the Middle Ages, EBot 36, 1982, p. 71–83. On rosewater in classical Greece and Rome (1200 BC–400AD) see R.E. Mattock, *'The Silk Road Hybrids'. Cultural Linkage Facilitated the Transmigration of the Remontant gene in Rosa x Damascena, the Damask Rose, in circa 3,500 BCE from the River Amu Darya Watershed in Central Asia, the River Oxus valley of the Classics, to Rome by 300 BCE*, Thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, University of Bath 2017, ch. 5.6, p. 97–100.

[123] D.C. Bennett, *Medicine and Pharmacy in Byzantine Hospitals*…, p. 209 and on Maurianos hospital or *Mauraganos xenon*, p. 141–147; P. Bouras-Vallianatos, *Innovation in Byzantine Medicine*…, p. 26–27.

[124] D.C. Bennett, *Medicine and Pharmacy in Byzantine Hospitals*…, for the Greek text of remedy p. 204–225 and 29 n. 42 and on Abram p. 21–22, 108, 110, 115, 118. Bennet (p. 45–46, 115), considers that Abram could be a Jew and that his second rank therefore provides no evidence for dating the office of *archiatros* in Constantinople; P. Bouras-Vallianatos, *Innovation in Byzantine Medicine*…, p. 26–27.

(σαρακήνικα) and *aigyptia* roses (σαρακήνικα αἰγύπτια) roses in producing salves or plaster and rose decoctions[125].

What do we know about these Egyptian roses? Egyptian roses were well-known in Roman antiquity; they took six days to reach Rome. They were used in Neronian orgies and costed a fortune for a banquet[126]. Due to the high demand for roses at banquets and festivities, roses that were not accessible in Rome during the winter were transported from Egypt. The poet Martial remarks sarcastically that during the reign of Domitian, the streets smelled of spring due to the abundance of roses and asks that the Egyptians send wheat while the Romans could send them roses[127]. Regarding how rose products were made in Antiquity and Byzantium, rose petals were soaked in water, wine, vinegar, oil, or honey, depending on whether they would be used to make perfume, a flavouring onction or a medical remedy. Preparations having nothing to do with distillation were called *diar(r)odon*, *rhodostakton*, *rodostagma*, and *rodomeli* (διάρροδον, ῥοδόστακτον, ῥοδόσταγμα, ῥοδόμελι), *myron rodinon*, *rodōn* / *rodou myron stagma*/ *stagōn* (μῦρον ῥόδινον, ῥόδων/ ῥόδου στάγμα/σταγόνων μύρον)[128]. It could be said that some of them are related to the Persian and Arabian rosewaters or changed into *rhodozoulapia* by utilizing sugar instead of honey (*rodomeli*). Do we have any evidence of the cultivation and trading of roses and rose products in Egypt during the period that the Byzantine sources refer to Egyptian roses? Are there any references to comparable

[125] Nikolaos Myrepsos, *Dynameron*, section 421, p. 191 (ῥόδα κλειστά, σαρακήνικα), section 87.2, p. 466, and section 46.10–11, p. 574 (ῥόδα ἀληθινὰ καὶ ῥόδα Αἰγύπτια), and decoction p. 1071. 16 (Αἰγυπτίων ῥόδων, τὸ ἀπόζεμα). In Byzantium ἀληθινός means also red, purple, and ἀληθινὰ καὶ ῥόδα Αἰγύπτια means red, purple roses, see ἀληθινοπόρφυρος, genuine purple, POxy.114 (II/III A.D).

[126] G. Suetonius Tranquillus, *De vita Caesarum libros VIII et De grammaticis et rhetoribus librum*, Nero, ed. R.A. Kaster, Oxford 2016 [= SCBO], English trans. Suetonius, *The Lives of the Caesars*, Nero, 27, vol. II, ed. J.C. Rolfe, Cambridge, Mass.–London 1914, 1959 (repr. 1997, 1998) [= LCL, 31, 38], p. 130–131; G. Krüssmann, *The Complete Book of Roses*, Portland, 1981, p. 36: *Whole shiploads came directly to Rome from Egypt; this journey took six days*. The fragrance and quality of the Egyptian roses, like many other Egyptian flowers, depended on the season and places of their harvest, Theophrastos, *Historia plantarum*, VI, 8, 5.

[127] Martial, *Epigrams*, VI, 80, 62–64: *at tu Romanae iussus iam cedere brumae*, / *mitte tuas messes*, *accipe*, *Nile*, *rosas*.

[128] Just a few examples: Galen, *De compositione medicamentorum secundum locos libri X*, [in:] *Claudii Galeni opera omnia*, vol. XII, ed. C.G. Kühn, Leipzig 1826, p. 646.14 (μῦρον ῥόδινον), p. 766–767 (διάρροδον); Oribasios, *Collectionum Medicarum*, V, 25, p. 142 (ῥοδόμελι); Paulus Aegineta, *Epitomae medicae*, VII, 15, 8, p. 331 (ῥοδόστακτον). The rose onction oil or rosewater drops, the *rodōn*/ *rodou myron stagma* and *rodōn*/*rodou stagōn* and *rodostagma* are mentioned more often in middle Byzantine texts: *Chronographiae quae Theophanis Continuati nomine fertur Liber quo Vita Basilii Imperatoris amplectitur*, 15, ed. I. Ševčenko, Berlin 2011 [= *CFHB*, 42], p. 56.11–12 (ῥόδων στάγμα); *Iosephi Genesii Regum libri quattor*, 4, 40.10, ed. A. Lesmüller-Werner, H. Thurn, Berlin–New York 1978 [= *CFHB*, 14], p. 90 (ταῖς ἐκ ῥόδων σταγόσιν); Theophylacte d'Achrida, *Lettres*, 14.6, ed. P. Gautier, Thessaloniki 1986 [= *CFHB*, 16.2], p. 175 (Τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἐκ τῶν τοῦ ῥόδου σταγόνων μύρον).

medicinal use of Egyptian roses in mediaeval Western sources? Were the Byzantine references to *Sarakēnika* or *Aigyptia* roses related to some Western medical tradition in Italy, Sicily, and Salerno that was influenced by Arabic medicine? Could this assumption be deduced from the works of the Italian Byzantine translators from Arabic, known and used by Byzantine physician Nikolaos Myrepsos, who mentions these roses, and the translator of the work known as the *Ephodia*, both of whom are known to have had Western influences?

During the time period under examination we have some data of pharmaceutical diplomacy and fatimid-Byzantine gift exchange but lack precise data on how Egypt grows and trades roses[129]. Also, there is no mention of Egyptian or Saracen roses being used in medieval Latin medical or other treatises[130]. In contrast, Egypt seems to be importing rose products from Syria. According to Genizah letters, Egypt was not mentioned in the eleventh century as a producer and exporter of rose products as it was in Roman times, but was instead supplied by Syria and Palestine[131].

Finally I believe that the terms Egyptian roses (ῥόδα αἰγύπτια) and Saracen (σαρακήνικα) do not denote any particular type of rose or origin but rather refer to an Arab (and not solely Egyptian) technique commonly employed by Muslims to prepare roses for *zoulapion*. This is significant because Egypt served as a prominent representation of the Saracen Muslim world to the Byzantines throughout the eleventh century. As seen above, Chariton's *Recipe Book* states that *zoulapia are also called serabia*, *by the Egyptian physicians* in their barbaric tongue. Egyptian physicians in this context may refer to Arabs or Muslims in general, and I think the same is true of Egyptian roses.

I have already argued that in the eleventh century, when all these detailed testimonies about the *zoulapion* and especially those mentioned by Symeon Seth who had visited Egypt, first appeared in Byzantine sources, relevant information about rose preparations and their trade appeared also in the letters found among the Cairo Genizah documents. Were Egyptian roses and rose products mentioned in Genizah documents? Were the Saracen or Egyptian roses referenced in Byzantine sources from the eleventh century onwards related to Egypt's established economic ties with Byzantium and thus reflecting the dominant role of Fatimid

[129] Y. Lev, *The Fatimids and Byzantines*, *10th–12th Centuries*, GA 6, 1995, p. 190–208. P. Magdalino, *Pharmaceutical Diplomacy: A New Document on Fatimid-Byzantine Gift Exchange*, [in:] *Myriobiblos. Essays on Byzantine Literature and Culture*, ed. Th. Antonopoulou, S. Kotzabassi, M. Loukaki, Berlin 2015 (= BArchiv 29), p. 245–251.

[130] I want to thank my colleague Petros Bouras-Vallianatos for sharing this information. See the paradigm of Southern Italy and Sicily, P. Bouras-Vallianatos, *Cross-cultural Transfer*…, p. 982–988.

[131] In the mid-11th century several products among which roses products from Syria–Lebanon imported to Egypt, S.D. Goitein, *Letters of Medieval*…, p. 89, 91, 94–95 185, 268, 287. See below the recipes of *Anonymous Kanz* with fresh (that means a species) or dried roses imported from Persia, Iraq, Syria Levantine.

Egypt during this period? Or could the Saracen and Egyptian roses be related to Byzantine knowledge that some rose products, particularly *zoulapia*, were created by Egyptian and Saracen physicians like Abram Sarakenos, a Saracen mentioned earlier? Moreover, the terms 'Egyptian' or 'Saracen' roses could simply refer to Arab roses rather than roses from Egypt or an Egyptian rose species. However, it should not be ruled out that Byzantium imported dried roses for medicinal purposes from the Arab world, as this is known to occur in many places, most notably Egypt, which imports dried roses (*ward yābis*) from Iraq and Syria, especially their petals (*waraq al-ward*) and rosebuds (*azrār al-ward*) used in cooking dishes and making aromatic preparations[132]. In the fourteenth-century Egyptian cookbook, *the Anonymous Kanz*, a wide variety of fresh or dried roses is mentioned. Dried petals of roses and dried rosebuds – probably imported from Persia (*ward Jūrī*), Iraq (*ward ʿIrāqī*), Nisibis of Upper Mesopotamia (*ward Nuṣaybīnī*), and the region of Antioch and Syria (*ward Shāmī*) – are used in many recipes for several preparations[133]. A recipe for wonderful water mentions *Nuṣaybīnī* roses and *Āṣimī* roses, the latter *could be a variety of white mountain roses named after the mountainous province in northeast Syria between Aleppo and Antioch*, *called al-ʿAwāṣim*[134]. The *Anonymous Kanz* often notes: *When it is not the season of fresh roses*, *take dried Iraqi red roses*, *and leave them soaking in water overnight*. This specific reference is in a recipe for *sharāb al-ward* (concentrated syrup for rose drink), where the strained liquid of boiled roses is added to the *jullāb* syrup[135]. Consequently, the Saracen and Egyptian roses of the Byzantine sources used also for *zoulapia* are probably dried roses imported from the Arab world, along with sugar and other pharmaceutical ingredients for various preparations. The term 'Egyptian' probably gained prominence in Byzantium as an alternative for 'Arab' or 'Saracen' in the tenth and eleventh centuries of Fatimids but also in the earlier phase, the Aghlabids, when Egypt started to expand in the eastern Mediterranean and acquire a special position in the circulation of luxury goods and islamic art[136].

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[132] N. Nasrallah, *Treasure Trove of Benefits and Variety at the Table*, p. 571–572.

[133] *Anonymous Kanz*, p. 431 (701), 439 (721), 442 (724), 449–451 (742–744), and diverse rosewaters made with different roses and on varieties of roses used, N. Nasrallah, *Treasure Trove of Benefits and Variety at the Table*, p. 550–551, 571–572.

[134] *Anonymous Kanz*, p. 436 (717), and N. Nasrallah, *Treasure Trove of Benefits and Variety at the Table*, p. 436, n. 64.

[135] *Anonymous Kanz*, p. 259 (367).

[136] M. Leontsini, I. Anagnostakis, *Food Mobilities…*, forthcoming. See Y. Lev, *The Fatimids and Byzantines…*, p. 190–208 and P. Magdalino, *Pharmaceutical Diplomacy: A New Document…*, p. 245–251. On Arabic influences in Byzantium from Aghlabid and Fatimid Egypt see A. Ballian, *The Church of Panagia at Hosios Loukas Monastery and the 'Bordering Saracens': Arabic Epigraphic Decoration and Byzantine Art*, [in:] *Beyond Byzantium. Essays on the Medieval Worlds of Eastern Christianity and their Arts. In Honor of Helen C. Evans*, ed. J. Ball, Ch. Maranci, B. Ratliff, T. Thomas, De Gruyter forthcoming. See also A. Walker, *Pseudo-Arabic as a Christian Sign: Monks*, *Manuscripts*, *and the Iconographic Program of Hosios Loukas*, [in:] *Ambassadors*, *Artists*, *Theologians…*,

Regarding the culinary use of rose products, Arabic cooking frequently uses *ma' ward*, rosewater, and *jullab* in numerous recipes in contrast to Byzantine cuisine, which only mentions rosewater and rose with honey in special preparations. Rose products in Byzantium are mostly utilized in the fields of medicine and cosmetics. In al-Warrāq's cookbook *Kitāb al-Ṭabīkh*, rose products like rose petal syrup made with white cane sugar are used in recipes; in certain cases, it is specified that rose products are prepared with the most fragrant rose variety: the pink roses only from Jur, a city in Persia known for its export of outstanding rosewater (*ma' ward Juri*)[137]. A rose dish called *wardiyya* or *ward murabbā* was a kind of sweet, a *halwā*, or according to Egyptian cookbook *The Kanz*, a rose petal jam made with sugar (*ward murabbā bi-l-sukkar*). In this latter case, *murabbā* designates fruits and vegetables preserved as jam or pickled[138]. According to Genizah letters, in the eleventh century Syria and Palestine produced and exported to Egypt rose products; a Sicilian Jew was involved in the rose-confiture trade and imported rose jam from Syria and Palestine into Egypt and another who lived in Damascus advised the buyer in Fustat on how to keep the confiture from spoiling[139]. The letters also report traded products from Al-Shām (modern Syria) and Lebanon like almonds, roses, dried fruits, and olive oil, as well as quantities of wine from Byzantium and

p. 153–176. On Byzantine trade with Egypt, see D. Jacoby, *Byzantine Trade with Egypt from the Mid-tenth Century to the Fourth Crusade*, Θη 30, 2000, p. 25–77; idem, *Constantinople as Commercial Transit Center, Tenth to Mid-fifteenth Century*, [in:] *Trade in Byzantium. Papers from the Third International Sevgi Gönül Byzantine Studies Symposium*, ed. P. Magdalino, N. Necipoğlu, I. Jevtić, Istanbul 2016, p. 196. On the Fatimid and Ayyubid Egypt mentality closer to the style of the ancient Mediterranean-Near Eastern culture than to the new religion, P.B. Lewicka, *Food and Foodways*…, p. 514.

[137] Ibn Sayyār al-Warrāq, *Kitāb al-Ṭabīkh*, ch. 27 p. 157, ch. 31 p. 165, the recipe *jullabiyya* (made with rosewater syrup) ch. 92 p. 380, rosewater of Jur (*ma' ward Juri*), ch. 102, p. 423, the recipe for *jalanjabin* (rose petal syrup made with white cane sugar) ch. 125, p. 481. See also the commentaries of N. Nasrallah, *Annals of the Caliphs' Kitchens*…, p. 552, 753, 773.

[138] Ch. Perry, *The Description of Familiar Foods*…, p. 416 (*wardiyya*), *Anonymous Kanz*, p. 87 (10), 105 (38), 127 (76), 362 (586) (*ward murabbā*); N. Nasrallah, *Treasure Trove of Benefits and Variety at the Table*, p. 491, 599; on *ward murabbā* in Egypt, P.B. Lewicka, *Food and Foodways*…, p. 205 n. 348, and p. 274–275.

[139] S.D. Goitein, *Letters of Medieval*…, p. 100, rose marmalade, p. 185, dried plums in 1038; 65 pots of rose marmalade, an order from Egypt to buy *good rose marmalade, such as one prepares for the household*, and p. 268–287 on the bad quality and price of rose marmalade; E. Lev, Z. Amar, *Practical Materia Medica of the Medieval Eastern Mediterranean according to the Cairo Genizah*, Leiden–Boston 2008, p. 261–266; M. Gil, *Food Commerce in Egypt as Portrayed in Eleventh-century Genizah Letters*, [in:] *Pesher Nahum. Texts and Studies in Jewish History and Literature from Antiquity through the Middle Ages, Presented to Norman (Nahum) Golb*, ed. J.L. Kraemer, M.G. Wechsler, Fr.Mc.Gr. Donner, J. Holo, D. Pardee, Chicago 2012, p. 93–102 (99). On medieval marmalade and the use of sugar in cooking, M. Ouerfelli, *Le sucre*…, ch. 9 Confisseries et Confitures, and ch. 10 Le sucre dans l'alimentation médiévale, p. 569sqq.

Laodicea[140]. In the thirteenth-century Syrian cookbook *Kitāb Waṣlah ilā al-ḥabīb* by an anonymous author, Nisibis in Upper Mesopotamia is mentioned as the only place where roses, rosewater (*ma' warad nasibi*), and rose syrups *jullab* originate[141]. This Syrian cookbook also describes how to make the various types of sour and salty pickles, cucumber pickles, grape pickles, grape pickles with bunches of grapes from *al-baladī al-rūmī al-jabalī* or *min al-rūmī*, i.e., from the Romans land (Byzantium?), and pickles raisin preserves with Nisibin roses[142]. Regarding the use of honey and sugar for preserving foods, in some instances honey was uses but according to Lewicka *contemporary-style jams*, *or preserves made by boiling fruit with sugar*, *were not common*, and *the Arabic-Islamic jams (murabbayāt) were in fact limited to a product made of roses that was actually a marinade*[143].

***Mi<u>sh</u>mi<u>sh</u>iyya* recipes.** Among the various foodstuffs in Arabic recipes, apricots (*mi<u>sh</u>mi<u>sh</u>*), especially dried, have special treatment – in particular those considered the best and imported from Byzantium, al Shām (the Levant, Syria), and Armenia. There is early evidence of exchanges and gifts of various preserved fruits (raisins, dates, plums) between Arabs and Byzantines, as well as how Arabs procured these items from Byzantium and al Shām[144]. However, information regarding the supply of fresh or processed dehydrated fruits intended for specific dishes is rarely provided. There is, however, an exception: the *mi<u>sh</u>mi<u>sh</u>iyya* recipe with apricots.

A tenth-century recipe of Ibn Sayyār al-Warrāq, the *mi<u>sh</u>mi<u>sh</u>iyya* (apricot stew cooked with chicken), mentions absolutely nothing about the origin of the apricot used[145]. The same cookbook mentions a curious recipe in which a plump chicken is cooked in a *tannūr*, an oven, suspended over a casserole with already-prepared,

[140] M. Gil, *Food Commerce in Egypt*…, p. 97 large quantities of wine from Byzantium and Laodicea and raisin called *ladiqi*, p. 99 roses; E. Lev, Z. Amar, *Practical Materia Medica*…, p. 261–266 and on juleps, refined and fragrant liquid and for rosewater or sweets mixed with rosewater, p. 562.

[141] *Kitāb Waṣlah ilā al-ḥabīb*, ch. 1.13, p. 12–13, ch. 8.38, p. 216–217 and 8.53, p. 222–223, ch. 10.9, p. 266–267, ch. 10.13, p. 268–269, ch. 10.35 and 36, p. 276–277. Especially in ch. 1.13, p. 12–13 a recipe for *nadd*, (incense cakes), a syrup *julab* is prepared with sugar and Nisibin rosewater; *julaban bi-ma' waradi nasibi* boiled to a thick consistency is mentioned among the many ingredients: *wa ya'aqidu julabani bi-ma' waradi nasibi*. See also *Scents and Flavors*, p. 8, 111, 114, 136, 137, 141, 142, glossary 157.

[142] *Kitāb Waṣlah ilā al-ḥabīb*, ch. 8.44–45, p. 218–219; *Scents and Flavors*, p. 112. See also M. Leontsini, I. Anagnostakis, *Food Mobilities*…, forthcoming.

[143] P.B. Lewicka, *Food and Foodways*…, p. 271–272. On the ways of storing and preserving fruits (grapes, figs, sorb-apples, quinces, dates) in vinegar, sweet wine, water and salt, or cooked with honey, p. 273–276.

[144] On Byzantine preserves of quince and lemon, rose, apple, plum and pear, M. Toussaint-Samat, *A History of Food*…, p. 507 with no precise reference to the source. See also on marmalade C.A. Wilson, *The Book of Marmalade: its Antecedents*, *its History*, *and its Role in the World Today*, Philadelphia, revised ed. 1999.

[145] Ibn Sayyār al-Warrāq, *Kitāb al-Ṭabī<u>kh</u>*, ch. 62, p. 290–291.

jūdhāba – a kind of apricot jam made with sugar, saffron, and bread[146]. Roughly contemporary to these recipes, the best apricots are considered to be Armenian; Ibn Sina (Avicenna) recommends them for good health[147]. If this is not a literal translation of the Greek *Armeni(α)kon* or *Armenion* (Ἀρμενι(α)κόν, Ἀρμένιον) for apricot used by Dioscorides (Ἀρμενιακά βρεκόκκια) and Galen, physicians well-known to him, this means that indeed a variety of apricots from Armenia and Byzantium was considered the best[148]. In the western Islamic regions, the apricot was called *burqūq*[149] and *al-birqūq*, through Byzantine Greek *b(e)rikokkia< praikokkia* (βρεκόκκια, βερικόκκια, πραικόκκια), a word derived from the Latin (*malum*) *praecoquum*[150].

Some dishes of later date were called *mishmishiyya* due to the resemblance of the stew's meatballs to apricots, which were stuffed with a sweet almond or prepared with fresh green apricots or their juice[151]. A recipe in a thirteenth-century cookbook suggests using dried apricots as a better option for stew with meat, specifically the *qamar al-dīn min* variety from *al- rūm aw al -madina*, i.e., imported from or made in *Rūm* (Byzantium or former Byzantine territories) or Madina[152]. If this variety of apricot was not available, the recipe recommended importing it. This variety was also called the *mishmish lawzī*, meaning "almond apricot", whose kernels taste like sweet almond. According to Nasrallah, one of Ibn al-Adīm's thirteenth-century apricot stews does suggest using *qamar al- dīn* which is made in Byzantium or Madina and *the key word in this recipe is yu'mal 'made' as it indicates that the apricots were treated in a certain way, quite likely made into qamar al-dīn apricot sheets, as we know them today*[153]. This *qamar al-dīn* variety was also produced in Ispahan but mainly exported from *Rūm* to Egypt for processing

[146] IBN SAYYĀR AL-WARRĀQ, *Kitāb al-Ṭabīkh*, ch. 92, p. 374–375.

[147] N. NASRALLAH, *Annals of the Caliphs' Kitchens*…, p. 635, with reference to *The Canon of Medicine of Ibn Sina (317)*, *Al-Qanun fi 'l-ibb*, http://www.alwaraq.net [30 VIII 2024].

[148] For the name of apricot see DIOSCORIDES PEDANIUS, *De materia medica*, I, 115, vol. II, p. 109.1–2: καλούμενα δὲ Ἀρμενιακά, Ῥωμαιστὶ δὲ βρεκόκκια, εὐστομώτερα τῶν προειρημένων ἐστίν; GALEN, *De alimentorum facultatibus*, II, 20, 1–2, 288, 1–21.

[149] N. NASRALLAH, *Annals of the Caliphs' Kitchens*…, p. 627, although *burqūq* in western Islamic regions usually means cherries (*ibidem*, p. 636–637), *qārasiyā*. The word *qārasiyā*/ *qarāsya* < from the Greek *kerasion* (κεράσιον) pl. *kerasia*. This confusion in Arabic is similar to the variety of names of relevant fruits in Greek sources where, in addition to their other names, the adjective names Persian, Armenian, Damascean designate peach, apricot, plum respectively.

[150] M.A. POWELL, *Classical Sources and the Problem of the Apricot*, BSA 3, 1987, p. 153–156; J. DIETHART, E. KISLINGER, *Aprikosen und Pflaumen*, JÖB 42, 1992, p. 20.

[151] According to A.J. ARBERRY, *A Baghdad Cookery Book*…, p. 48–58 the *Kitāb al-Ṭabīkh (The Book of Dishes*), written in 1226; Ch. PERRY, *The Description of Familiar Foods*…, p. 318, 343, 356; *Kitāb Waṣlah ilā al-ḥabīb*, 6.134, p. 138–139.

[152] *Kitāb Waṣlah ilā al-ḥabīb*, 6.135, p. 138–139 (where *qamar al- dīn min al -rūm* is translated apricot from Byzantium). See also *Scents and Flavors*, p. 72.

[153] On sweet – kerneled apricot drink and snacks, *Kitāb Waṣlah ilā al-ḥabīb*, 2.7–8, p. 30–31; N. NASRALLAH, *Annals of the Caliphs' Kitchens*…, p. 635.

(probably dried or apricot leather). Ibn Batutta reports that in the early fourteenth century, Ispahan *is rich in fruits, among them being apricots of un-rivalled quality which they call qamar al- dīn; the people there dry these apricots and preserve them, and their kernels when broken open disclose a sweet almond*[154]. Batutta further reports that in Antalya in *Bilad al-Rūm called after the Rūm is produced the wonderful apricots called qamar al-dīn, in whose kernel there is a sweet almond. This fruit is dried and exported to Egypt, where it is regarded as a great luxury*[155].

Regarding Byzantine sources, there is limited information on apricot production and export, but it is reasonable to conclude that apricots were grown and processed in Syria, the Caucasus, Armenia, and eastern Asia Minor. Although there is some confusion regarding the Byzantine names of the apricot and its varieties, the apricot has been cultivated since the Roman and Early Byzantine eras in eastern Asia Minor, Antioch, and Armenia (hence, one of the names *armenia* or *armeniaka*)[156]. Although methods of preservation and consumption are not given in detail, apricots are frequently mentioned by all physicians, even in *Geoponika*, which gives methods of cultivation, regardless of whether they do not devote a special chapter to them like other plants[157]. There is important information regarding consumption that was surprisingly never used by the research because it was considered a play on words, but it matches *qamar al- dīn* / *mi<u>sh</u>mi<u>sh</u> lawzī*, or almond apricot, which was exported from Byzantium and the kernels when broken open disclose a sweet almond. John Mauropous (990–1092), who knew the plant cultivation of the Armenian area very well as bishop of Euchaita, mentions: *the (kernel) seed of apricot (kokkos berikokkon*, κόκκος βερίκοκκον*) is consumed during summertime* (i.e., when the fruit is ripe)[158]. Also Symeon Seth, who is roughly contemporary of John Mauropous, in his treatise *Syntagma* dedicates an entry to the properties of apricots, which he also calls *armenia* and considers

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[154] Ibn Battuta, *The Travels of a.d. 1325–1354. Translated, with Revisions and Notes*, vol. II, from the Arabic text ed. C. Defrémery, B.R. Sanguinetti, H.A.R. Gibb, C.F. Beckingham, London–Cambridge 1962 (cetera: *The Travels of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa*), p. 295.

[155] *The Travels of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa*, vol. II, 260, p. 418. Batuta explains the name *Bilad al-Rum*: *because it used to be their land of Rum in older times, and from it came the ancient Rum and the Yunanis [Greeks] and later on it was conquered by the Muslims, but in it there are still large numbers of Christians*, *The Travels of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa*, vol. II, 255, p. 415. For sweetmeats manufactured in Syria into which pistachios and almonds were added and the apricot paste (*qamar al-din*) manufactured at Damascus, see *The Travels of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa*, vol. I, 142, p. 91 n. 92, 186, p. 117 n. 178; N. Trépanier, *Foodways and Daily Life in Medieval Anatolia. A New Social History*, Austin 2014, p. 88, 171 n. 3, 195.

[156] I. Καλλερης, *Τροφαὶ καὶ ποτὰ εἰς πρωτοβυζαντινοὺς παπύρους*, ΕΕΒΣ 23, 1953, p. 706; J. Diethart, E. Kislinger, *Aprikosen und Pflaumen*…, p. 75–78; G. Simeonov, *Obst in Byzanz*…, p. 28–30.

[157] G. Simeonov, *Obst in Byzanz*…, p. 30.

[158] John Mauropous, *Etymologica nominum*, 434, [in:] R. Reitzenstein, *M. Terentius Varro und Johannes Mauropus von Euchaita: eine Studie zur Geschichte der Sprachwissenschaft*, Leipzig 1901, p. 4–18: Βορᾶς δὲ κόκκος βερίκοκκον ἐν θέρει. *Kokkos* means grain, seed, kernel, but it could be used paretymologically instead of fruit.

easy to digest[159]. Therefore, the export of an exceptional variety of processed dried sweet kernel apricots called *Armenia* from Byzantium and Syria to the Arab world must have been the continuation of a long-standing practice. According to this tradition, as already mentioned, in Roman times, as stated by Galen, Syria was the location of the export of processed fruits such as the quince cake – a product so stable that it was transported to Rome in containers. This mobility was multiplied due to the densification of the exchange networks that promoted items prepared with sugar referenced among other familiar preparations in Byzantine literature, while a series of recipes or technical details were recorded only in Arab cookbooks.

Two exemplary Byzantine delicacies from the Muslim world: the sweet *paloudakin* or *apalodaton* (*fālūdhaj*) and the salty fish *Libysia*

Paloudakin. Certain prepared products from the East are mentioned by their Arabic names transliterated into Greek in Byzantine literary texts, obviously indicating their diffusion between the two worlds. The acquaintance with the Arabic names of such products testifies to the expanded mobility that promoted such transmission, at least among the elites of Constantinople. One of these products is called *paloudakin*, the *fālūdhaj* (hereafter *paludag*) of Persian-Arab origin, being phonetically closer to Persian *pāludā* (meaning, gilded, clear, flummery, translucent, and jelly), significant for the Byzantine borrowing[160]. *Paludag* and *khabīṣ* were not considered Arab food but luxury dishes of Persian origin, the food of Chosroes[161]. *Paludag* is a refined variation of *khabīṣ* (the pudding sent to Nikephoros by Harun al Rashid)[162].

Byzantine texts confirm that this sweet was known in ninth-century Byzantium and clearly show how Arab-Persian food and tastes were adopted, calling it the Saracen sweet, *Sarakēnikon* (Σαρακηνικόν). This Sassanid sweet delicacy, a condensed jelly-like pudding, was made with starch, honey, or sugar, and adapted by Abbasids in Baghdad as a confection[163]. Its basic ingredients were boiled over a slow fire and stirred continuously until dissolved, with rosewater and almonds then added to create a sweet like today's transparent *loukoumi*. Ibn Sayyār al-Warrāq mentions several recipes in a chapter entitled *Fālūdhaj condensed puddings, golden and*

[159] Symeon Seth, *Syntagma*, p. 27.21–22: Βερίκοκκα τὰ λεγόμενα Ἀρμένια. ἡ τοιαύτη ὀπώρα εὔφθαρτός ἐστι.

[160] M. Rodinson, *Studies in Arabic Manuscripts*…, p. 152 n. 2; N. Nasrallah, *Annals of the Caliphs' Kitchens*…, p. 392 n. 48, p. 595–596; M. Mavroudi, *A Byzantine Book on Dream Interpretation*…, p. 71 n. 39; B. Kitapçi Bayri, *Warriors, Martyrs, and Dervishes*…, p. 83–85. See also P.B. Lewicka, *Food and Foodways*…, p. 310–311.

[161] M. Rodinson, *Studies in Arabic Manuscripts*…, p. 151, and 152 n. 2 on the recipe and its origin.

[162] N. Nasrallah, *Annals of the Caliphs' Kitchens*…, p. 595–596.

[163] On the expansion of sugarcane cultivation from India and Iran to Iraq, Syria, and Egypt, S. Tsugitaka, *Sugar in the Social Life*…, p. 15–25.

translucent, *thick and chewy*[164]. The colors of *paludag* could vary. In giving the basic recipe, al-Warrāq adds: *You have the option [of making the pudding yellow] by adding some saffron to the starch liquid before using it*[165]. The *Dreambook of Ahmet* referred to it as an already-known *glykysma* (γλύκυσμα): *Saracen sweet*, *glykysma Sarakēnikon* (γλύκυσμα Σαρακηνικόν), *the so-called paloudakin* (παλουδάκιν)[166]. The term "*glykysma*" (γλύκυσμα) was infrequently employed in Ancient and Middle Byzantine literature to refer to a sweet confection or beverage. In Late Byzantium it was recognized or associated with the Arabic recipes for sugar-based *glykysmata*, the *jawārishn*, and in Greek *tzouarisia* (τζουαρίσια)[167]. In the twelfth century, Ptochoprodromos mentions *paludag* as *apalodaton* (ἀπαλοδᾶτον), although in the first edition of the text this was considered a delendum as a later addition in the same verse along with references to other sweets, *granata* and *sakharata*, but the more recent edition adopted it[168]. In Ptochoprodromos, the Arab-Persian *paludag* was adapted to something more familiar and comprehensible to the Byzantines and became *apalodaton* (ἀπαλοδάτον) and thus interpreted combined with *hapalos* (ἁπαλός, fine, soft, delicate)[169]. *Apalodaton*, meaning the fine, soft sweet, fits perfectly next to the luxurious delicacies consumed in the monasteries where the abbots lived a tender life, according to Ptochoprodromos's criticism of the abbots.

In the *Dreambook of Ahmet*, the person who dreams that he is eating this Saracen sweet will find sickness because of its yellow color. In Ptochoprodromos the

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[164] Ibn Sayyār al-Warrāq, *Kitāb al-Ṭabīkh*, ch. 93, p. 382–387. On use of sugar in cooking in Abbasid Caliph court, S. Tsugitaka, *Sugar in the Social Life…*, ch. 7 Cooking Innovations in Medieval Islam, p. 140–169.

[165] Ibn Sayyār al-Warrāq, *Kitāb al-Ṭabīkh*, ch. 93, p. 382. Saffron or *bustān abrūz* (*bustān abrawīz*), houseleek, were used and in other recipes. *Bustān abrūz* (*bustān abrawīz*) was a substitute for saffron and mixed with saffron for a bright yellow color, N. Nasrallah, *Annals of the Caliphs' Kitchens…*, p. 762–763.

[166] *Achmetis Oneirocriticon*, ed. F. Drexl, Leipzig 1925 [= BSGR], p. 198.3–5: γλύκυσμα σαρακηνικὸν τὸ λεγόμενον παλουδάκιν; M. Mavroudi, *A Byzantine Book on Dream Interpretation…*, p. 71–73.

[167] P. Bouras-Vallianatos, *Cross-cultural Transfer…*, p. 100 n. 188, p. 104. See also above the presentation of *zoulapin*.

[168] *Prochoprodromos*, poem IV, 329–330, p. 157: καὶ καρυδάτον ὀλιγὸν καὶ κυδωνάτον χύτραν/ γρανάτα σαχαράτα τε καὶ τὸ ἀπαλοδάτον. See also G. Simeonov, *Obst und Süßspeisen…*, p. 214; Φ. Κουκουλες, *Βυζαντινῶν Βίος καὶ Πολιτισμός*, vol. V, Ἀθῆναι 1952, p. 190–191 noted that the word exists as *palōdaton* (παλωδάτον) in a Ptochoprodromos manuscript and referred to Korais's comments. However, Korais gave *apalōdaton* (ἀπαλωδάτον), without adopting it in his edition of the poem stating that this word exists in another manuscript, A. Korais, *Atakta*, vol. I, Paris 1828, p. 229. For these omissions in the editions of Prochoprodromos see M. Mavroudi, *A Byzantine Book on Dream Interpretation…*, p. 71 n. 39.

[169] However, A. Korais, *Atakta*, vol. I, p. 229 associated the word with *apion* (ἄπιον, pear), and believed that *apalodaton* is an erroneous copy of the manuscript that uses instead of *apidaton* (ἀπιδάτον) or the *propoma apiato*n (ἀπιάτον) made with pears, a drink taken before meals, cited by Alexander of Tralles, *Therapeutica*, vol. II, p. 341.16.

name *apalodaton* refers to its soft and beautiful appearance. *Dreambook of Ahmet* mentions the *paloudakin* in an elliptical way, saying merely that it was a Saracen sweet and interprets it as a prediction for sickness, considering that Byzantine readers in the ninth century were already well-aware that *paloudakin* is yellow by the color of honey and a starch candy of sugar dissolved with rosewater. This suggests Byzantine readers were familiar with this sweet[170]. However, this does not mean that the Byzantine *paloudakin* followed a specific recipe. Even today, *paludag* is the name used for several different sweets in the East, so Byzantine *paloudakin* could be a kind of sweet resembling the translucent *luqm*.

Consequently, the fact that the Byzantines had long embraced the Arab-Persian sweet *paludag* attests to the gradual dissemination of sweet taste preferences based on sugar, which extend beyond honey to include sweet fruits and syrups made from condensed must, a practice dates to antiquity. I recall once more the wine referred to by Eustathios of Thessaloniki, a special honey wine from *Armeniakē Melitinē*, known also to the ancients as *meliēdēs* wine (μελιηδής), a wordplay with honey, *meli* (μέλι) and *Melitinē*, as well as the sweet-like honey *Libysia* (see below), an adjectiv underlining the sweetness that is only compared to honey[171]. But this time, the sugar-sweet support of Arab confectionary and cuisine, as also indicated by the confection *sakharata*, had gradually altered or enriched and enhanced the taste of sweetness in Middle Byzantium. S*akharata* could also include the many varieties of *fānidh*, pulled taffy, chewy sugar-candy, usually shaped into small discs[172].

Sugar (σάκχαρ or σάκχαρι, σάκχαρις < Persian *shakar* and Arabic *sukkar*, from Sanskrit *sharkara*) was known since ancient times as "honey without bees" but was not widespread. For example, Galen and other physicians who mention it as an ingredient in many preparations considered it a product of India and Arabia and equated it with honey, which they considered less sweet. Consequently, apart from the name, the Eastern and mainly Saracen *sukkar*-based sweets consistently reminded the exotic origin of the preparations and the Saracen origin of the relevant ingredients more than other spices.

Another similarity of sugar but this time with salt leads us to the next topic, with which I will conclude this paper. Archigenes, a Greco-Syrian physician (first and second centuries AD). says that the Indian salt, which, in colour and consistence is like the common salt, but which resembles honey in taste, when chewed

[170] M. Mavroudi, *A Byzantine Book on Dream Interpretation*…, p. 71–73.

[171] On the Homeric origin of honey-sweet Maroneios wine, I. Anagnostakis, *The Sweet Wine of Bithynia in the Byzantine Era*, [in:] *Of Vines and Wines. The Production and Consumption of Wine in Anatolian Civilizations through the Ages*, ed. L. Thys-Senocak, Leuven 2017, p. 100–103. For more about grape, raisin, and wine from Anatolian highlands, Nisibis, and from *Armeniake Melitine*, see M. Leontsini, I. Anagnostakis, *Food Mobilities*…, forthcoming.

[172] Of its varieties: N. Nasrallah, *Annals of the Caliphs' Kitchens*…, p. 596–597.

to the size of a lentil, or, at most, of a bean, moistens greatly[173]. Dioscorides (first century AD) mentions that there is a kind of coalesced, crystallic honey called sugar found in reeds in India and Arabia the happy, similar in consistency to salt and brittle] to be broken between the teeth like salt[174]. Pseudo-Alexander of Aphrodisias (first/second century AD) also relates that the sugar of India is congealed honey, like the honey that congeals from the dew in Lebanon and is like a grain of salt, white, friable, and sweet[175].

Libysia. If, until now in this paper, the majority of reports on ready-made preparations provided only the standard generalities about their origin, while information on their exact route was lacking, this is not the case for the salted fish from Egypt's Nile called *Libysia*, meaning fish from Libya/Africa. In addition, we have a detailed description of their flavor, which is uncommon for fish, as well as on how their sauce is made. These tasty salty fish are mentioned in a letter written by Michael Italikos (c. 1090? – before 1157), as a response to an unnamed friend in the form of a rhetorical account expressing gratitude to his correspondent for sending him this gift of salted fish from Egypt via Attaleia[176].

Michael Italikos was a medical instructor, *didaskalos tōn iatrōn*, (διδάσκαλος τῶν ἰατρῶν) at the Pantokrator hospital in Constantinople and after 1147 was ordained archbishop of Philippopolis. The letter was possibly sent from Constantinople to the *logothetēs tou dromou* (λογοθέτης τοῦ δρόμου), Stephanos Melēs (hereafter Meles), a friend, who had accompanied Emperor John II Komnenos (1118–1143) on the campaign in Cilicia and Syria (1137–1138)[177]. *Libysia* could

[173] Ἀρχιγένης δέ φησιν· καὶ ὁ ἅλς ὁ Ἰνδικός, χρόᾳ μὲν καὶ συστάσει ὅμοιος τῷ κοινῷ ἁλί, γεύσει δὲ μελιτώδης, φακοῦ δὲ μέγεθος ἢ τό γε πλεῖστον κυάμου, διατρωχθεὶς σφόδρα καθυγραίνειν δύναται, Paulus Aegineta, *Epitomae medicae*, II, 53, p. 122.1–4.

[174] Dioscorides Pedanius, *De materia medica*, II, 82, p. 167.4–9: καλεῖται δέ τι καὶ σάκχαρον, εἶδος ὂν μέλιτος πεπηγότος ἐν Ἰνδίᾳ καὶ τῇ εὐδαίμονι Ἀραβίᾳ, εὑρισκόμενον ἐπὶ τῶν καλάμων, ὅμοιον τῇ συστάσει ἁλσὶ καὶ θραυόμενον ὑπὸ τοῖς ὀδοῦσι καθάπερ οἱ ἅλες. See P. Bouras-Vallianatos, *Cross-cultural Transfer…*, p. 968 n. 22.

[175] Pseudo-Alexander of Aphrodisias, *Problemata* – Pseudo-Aristoteles (Pseudo-Alexander), *Supplementa Problematorum. A New Edition of the Greek Text with Introduction and Annotated Translation*, ed. S. Kapetanaki, R.W. Sharples, Berlin 2006 [= Per, 20], 92.6–7: Τὸ δὲ σάκχαρον παρὰ τοῖς Ἰνδοῖς οὕτω λεγόμενον μέλιτός ἐστι πῆξις, τοῦ ἡλίου τὴν ἐν τῷ ἀέρι δρόσον πηγνύοντος ἐπὶ τὸ γλυκύ, ὥσπερ καὶ ἐν τῷ ὄρει τῷ Λιβάνῳ καλουμένῳ γίγνεται τοιοῦτον· ἔστι δὲ ὅμοιον χόνδρῳ ἅλατος, λευκὸν εὔθρυπτον γλυκύ. ἔστι δὲ ῥυπτικῆς καὶ αὐτὸ δυνάμεως ὁμοίως τῷ μέλιτι τῷ μετέχειν ἰχωροειδοῦς τινος ῥύψεως, ὅθεν καὶ ἐψόμενον καὶ τοῦτο μεταβάλλον οὐκέτι μὲν σμήχει ὡς τὸ ἄνεφθον. P. Bouras-Vallianatos, *Cross-cultural Transfer…*, p. 968 n. 22. The history from the Red Sugar to refined white Sugar, S. Tsugitaka, *Sugar in the Social Life…*, p. 33–50.

[176] Michel Italikos, *Lettres et discours*, letter no. 29, ed. P. Gautier, Paris 1972 [= AOC, 14], p. 161–163 (cetera for text: Michael Italikos, *Letters*, and for commentary: P. Gautier, *Michel Italikos*); B. Baldwin, *Content, and Contemporaneity in Michael Italicus*, B 62, 1992, p. 110, 116–117; O. Delouis, *La Vie métrique de Théodore Stoudite par Stéphane Mélès (BHG 1755)*, AB 132, 2014, p. 28.

[177] P. Gautier, *Michel Italikos*, p. 161 n. 2. On Stephanos Meles, *logothetēs tou dromou* and his family origins see O. Delouis, *La Vie métrique…*, p. 27–33; also see M. Jeffreys *et al*., *Prosopography of the*

have been sent to Michael Italikos by Stephanos Meles, whose name prompts a wordplay with honey, *meli* (μέλι), as well as the sweet-like honey *Libysia*, called *meliēdeis* (μελιηδεῖς), that were sent to Constantinople via Attaleia[178]. Italikos maintains correspondence with Stephanos Meles to whom he has sent other letters addressed by name, with the same pun also used in these letters. Therefore, it is highly probably that Stephanos Meles accompanied John Komnenos while he was staying in Attaleia during the operations against Syria.

According to Italikos, the sender of the letter and sender of the Egyptian fish either procured the *Libysia* himself while in Attaleia and took them with him on the overland return to Constantinople or sent them by sea from Attaleia[179]. According to Italikos, whether sent by land or sea, as a good friend the sender did not selfishly keep the fish for himself but shared them. It is true that no other specifications on the route of the gift are provided or the exact location of the sender (Meles). In any case, information is exceptional as to the handling of this type of fish from Egypt to Byzantium and the route from Attaleia to Constantinople. In addition, Italikos expressed the desire to acquire the recipe for their preparation as an excuse to allude to their special flavor and relate this savory delicacy to a sweet sense, implying that this happened because of their Egyptian or Arabic origin, given that they are Egyptian fish.

What do Arabic cookbooks mention about pickled, salty, or dry fish and their sauces (*sals*) and what was the fish trade between Byzantium and the Islamic world? Finally, how does Italikos describe the salty *Libysia* in more detail? The name, variation, and trade of pickled or fresh fish, as well as fish products such as garos-*murrī*, *ṭirrīkh*, (< Gr. *tarich*os, τάριχος), *baṭārikh* or botargo (< Gr. *abgotarichon*, ἀβγοτάριχον), and caviar are particularly complex; they have been the subject of numerous studies and thus will not be discussed here despite the fact that they can provide information for intercultural and economic exchange and complex mobilities[180]. In Arab cookbooks, the origin of the fish is rarely mentioned, and

Byzantine World, 2016, London 2017, entry no 25001 Stephanos Meles, logothetes of the dromos, Stephanos, http://pbw2016.kdl.kcl.ac.uk/person/Stephanos/25001/ [31 VII 2023]. In 1137 Stephanos Meles received three letters from Michael Italikos (*Prosopography of the Byzantine World*, no. 20130), at least two probably while with the army in Attaleia or Cilicia; in one he was thanked for the exotic fish; in all the letters he was asked for promotion, while one complained about preference shown to *Nikephoros* (*Prosopography of the Byzantine World*, no. 17003).

[178] Michael Italikos, *Letters*, nos 20, 21, 40 and P. Gautier, *Michel Italikos*, p. 44–45, p. 161 n. 4; O. Delouis, *La Vie métrique*…, p. 29.

[179] This interpretation is proposed by P. Gautier, *Michel Italikos*, p. 160.

[180] On these terms, especially *tarichos* and *tirrikh*, see M. Leontsini, I. Anagnostakis, *Food Mobilities*…, forthcoming, and for the rich bibliography, D. Georgacas, *Ichthyological Terms for the Sturgeon and Etymology of the International Terms Botargo, Caviar and Congeners. A Linguistic, Philological, and Culture-Historical Study*, Athens 1978; D. Mylona, *Fish-Eating in Greece from the Fifth Century B.C. to the Seventh Century A.D. A Story of Impoverished Fishermen or Luxurious Fish*

when it is, it typically refers to fish from rivers and lakes, such as the salted *ṭirrīkh* (the Greek *tarichos*) from Lake Van in Armenia, the fish of Euphrates, Tigris, and Nile, and the fish of the Tigris were regarded as being of the best quality and the fish of both the Euphrates and Tigris are considered superior to the Nile fish[181]. The Istanbul manuscript, an adaptation of al-Warrāq, *Kitāb al-Ṭabīk̲h*, probably written in 1297 by an Egyptian, mentions the Nile and Egyptian variety as tasty, large, and fatty fish[182]. Arab cookbooks frequently mention salted and dried fish, but never such a fish similar to Egyptian *Libysia* sent to Byzantium. The only reference to preserved Byzantine food is found in one of the numerous later manuscripts of *Kitāb Waṣlah ilā al-ḥabīb* which mentions *taqdīd laḥm ʿamal ar-Rūm*, the drying of meat in the style of *Rūm* translated in the Greek style, undoubtedly in the Byzantine style[183]. However, it is probable that a Byzantine Jew traded preserved foods in Egypt, but there is only evidence for salted Nile fish with their *baṭārikh*, botargo, i.e., their spawn not removed[184].

The varied categories of the fresh or salted Nile fish for cooking, except those already mentioned in the cookbooks, are also attested to in Coptic texts and the documents of the Cairo Geniza collection dating in the Fatimid period[185]. From the fish and seafood we know were consumed by the Egyptians during the times that Italikos received the *Libysia* fish from Egypt, it is helpful for our research to mention the staple foods of the common people, the *ṣīr*, *absāriyya*, and *dallīnas* 'river mussels'. Despite the prohibitions of the new religion, Egyptians continued to eat river mussels *ad-dallīnas* and fish without scales. *Ad-dallīnas*, known also as *umm al-khulūl*, was a staple food of the common people as *Egyptians ate little*

Banquets?, Oxford 2008 [= BAR.IS, 1754]; S. Grainger, *Garum and Liquamen…*, p. 247–261. For the similar Hebrew word *tarit* and diverse suggestions to the origin, S. Weingarten, *Fish and Fish Products…*, p. 240–241; on *tarichos*, understood to be tuna see S. Grainger, *The Story of Garum…*, p. 178. See also P.B. Lewicka, *Food and Foodways…*, p. 218–223.

[181] Ibn Sayyār al-Warrāq, *Kitāb al-Ṭabīk̲h*, ch. 11, p. 112. N. Nasrallah, *Annals of the Caliphs' Kitchens…*, p. 728: *tirrīkh* a span long fish, caught in Lake Van in Armenia, brought to Baghdad already salted and dried; P.B. Lewicka, *Food and Foodways…*, p. 222–223.

[182] N. Nasrallah, *Annals of the Caliphs' Kitchens…*, p. 7–8, 725–726.

[183] M. Rodinson, *Studies in Arabic Manuscripts…*, p. 145 n. 180; P.B. Lewicka, *Food and Foodways…*, p. 189 n. 263. See above notes 67 and 68.

[184] *A Mediterranean Society. The Jewish Communities of the Arab World as Portrayed in the Documents of the Cairo Geniza*, vol. IV, *Daily Life*, Berkeley–Los Angeles–London 1983/1999, p. 250–251. On the Byzantine Jew merchant operating in Attaleia among other co-religionists see K. Durak, *The Use of Non-commercial Networks…*, p. 435, 438. W. Van Neer, D. Depraetere, *Pickled Fish from the Egyptian Nile: Osteological Evidence from a Byzantine (Coptic) Context at Shanhûr*, RPal 10, 2005, p. 159–170.

[185] S.D. Goitein, *A Mediterranean Society. The Jewish Communities of the Arab World as Portrayed in the Documents of the Cairo Geniza*, vol. I, *Economic Foundations*, Berkeley–Los Angeles–London 1983/1999, p. 126–127 n. 84–86; idem, *Letters of Medieval…*, p. 19, 117. On Coptic dishes of Nile River fish, D. Waines, M. Marin, *Muzawwar…*, p. 294–295.

meat, but consumed a lot of dallīnas 'river mussels', ṣīr 'anchovies,' ṣaḥnāt (a condiment of small, crushed salt-cured fish), ḥālūm cheese, and bread[186]. According to a curious Egyptian *Tale* of an Anonymous from c. 15th Cairo, *The Delectable War between Mutton and the Refreshments of the Market-Place*, among the savory dishes served are the *dallīnas* in oil and lemon sauce: *salted courses, such as the small salt fishes of Alexandria, salted sparrows, pilchards of Sinbät, and the round-shaped fishes and turbots preceded by the pickled fish, the large fishes and the Dallīns fish immersed in oil and lemon water*[187]. The *ad-dallīnas* are the *tellinē* (τελλίνη) mentioned by Athenaios, Xenocrates of Aphrodisias and the vulgar *stellis* pl. *stellinai* (στέλλις, στελλῖνες) mentioned by Cyranides; Byzantine physicians also mention the pickled *tellinai*, *tarichērai tellinai* (ταριχηραί τελλῖναι), small bivalve marine molluscs[188]. Especially Athenaios from Egyptian Naukratis in Canopic branch of the Nile river, south-east of Alexandria, says:

> *tellis* or *tellinē* (τέλλις, τελλίνη) has a pleasant sweet flesh/meat and it is probably what the Romans call *mitlon* (μίτλος, lat. mitulus), mussel […] of *tellinæ* there are numbers in Canopus, and they are very common at the place where the Nile begins to rise up to the higher ground. And the thinnest of these are the royal ones, and they are digestible and light, and moreover nutritious. But those which are taken in the rivers are the sweetest[189].

In Oribasius's synopsis of a work by Xenocrates on marine creatures the following is mentioned:

> *Tellinai* relax the stomach; they are born in sandy places and on coasts beaten by the waves. River *tellinai*, for example those of Egypt, are larger and more succulent than others. Boiled, they are sweet, and the broth that is made from them relaxes the stomach. They are sprinkled with salt when they are closed, and they attract moisture through the shell; they are washed with cold water, and eaten with oil, vinegar and mint, or rue. For those who want to relax their stomach, we prepare them with simply seasoned green vegetables. The best season to eat them is spring[190].

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[186] P.B. Lewicka, *Food and Foodways*…, p. 131, 223–225; N. Nasrallah, *Treasure Trove of Benefits and Variety at the Table*, p. 31–32.

[187] J. Finkel, *King Mutton*, *A Curious Tale of the Mamlūk Period*, ZSVG 9, 1933–1934, p. 13.3–7. P.B. Lewicka, *Food and Foodways*…, p. 60, 224–225.

[188] *Die Kyraniden*, IV, 61, ed. D.V. Kaimakes, Meisenheim am Glan 1976. For *tarichērai tellinai* (ταριχηραί τελλῖναι) see the Byzantine physicians who copy Galen, Aetios of Amida, *Sixteen Books on Medicine*, II, 192, vol. I–IV, ed. A. Olivieri, Leipzig 1935 [= CMG, 8.1], p. 222; Paulus Aegineta, *Epitomae medicae*, VII, 3, p. 265.13–15.

[189] Athenaios, *The Deipnosophists*, III, 31, 40: κόγχος, ἂν τέλλιν καλέομες. ἐστὶ δ' ἄδιστον κρέας. τὴν τελλίναν δὲ λεγομένην ἴσως δηλοῖ, ἣν Ῥωμαῖοι μίτλον ὀνομάζουσι […] τελλῖναι γίνονται μὲν ἐν Κανώβῳ πολλαὶ καὶ ὑπὸ τὴν τοῦ Νείλου ἀνάβασιν πληθύουσιν. ὧν λεπτότεραι μέν εἰσιν αἱ βασιλικαὶ διαχωρητικαί τε καὶ κοῦφαι, ἔτι δὲ καὶ τρόφιμοι, αἱ (10) δὲ ποτάμιαι γλυκύτεραι.

[190] Oribasios, *Collectionum Medicarum*, II, 58, 116–122: τελλίναι ἢ ξιφύδρια διαχωρητικὰ κοιλίας γίνονται δ' ἐν ἀμμώδεσι χωρίοις <καὶ> κυμαίνουσιν αἰγιαλοῖς. αἱ δὲ ποτάμιαι μείζους καὶ πολυχυμό-

We have chosen to present in more detail the *tellinai* in addition to their relationship with Egypt and their possible etymological origin from corresponding Greek words. Along with *ṭirrīkh*, *baṭārikh* (botargo or bottarga), *absāriyya*, *ṣīr*, *murrī* (and Egyptian *mulūḥa*, "a kind of Arabic-Islamic equivalent of *garum* with negative connotations"[191] like *dallīnas*), provide a vivid representation of the seafood and salted fish that always were produced and consumed in Egypt. The *Libysia* fish also belongs to this Egyptian production, as reported by Greek sources. These sources (especially Italikos) provide information on the preparation methods, the salt used, and the other ingredients of similar sauces, and emphasize the natural sweetness or added saltiness of the cured food. That *dillīnas*, this stable food for the common people, was forbidden by Islam reinforces, among other things, the assertion that Ayyubid and Fatimid Egypt in some cases were closer to the style and food consumption of the ancient and, particularly, Greco-Roman Mediterranean-Near Eastern culinary culture than to the new religion[192].

Various types of fish, the little salt fish *ṣīr*, probably similar to *Libysia*, and other pickled fish were very popular and transported from Alexandria to Old Cairo[193]. Some of these salted or pickled small fish were sent as presents or traded by Jewish and Egyptian merchants. It is likely not coincidental or a mere figure of speech that Italikos, when speaking of the *Libysia* that arrive in Attaleia, compares them to the fish of the Jews, who, according to Biblical testimony, kept the memory of the abundance and excellence of Nile fish they consumed before leaving Egypt[194].

Libysia may have been a popular delicacy. They were not valued just by Michael Italikos but possibly by a wider consumer public, always of a higher social class. But how does he describe and compare these Egyptian fish with the Byzantine ones from Constantinople? This is one of the rare, detailed descriptions of salted fish in a letter. Italikos did not know the kind of fish and considered it a kind of *aphyai*, anchovies (ἀφύας ἰδὼν εἴποι τις), or at least a fish resembling *aphyai*[195].

τεραι, ὡς αἱ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ. αἱ δ' ἑψηθεῖσαι γλυκεῖαι, ὧν ὁ ζωμὸς λύει κοιλίαν. μεμυκυῖαι δ' ἁλὶ πάσσονται καὶ διὰ τῶν ὀστράκων ἕλκουσιν ἰκμάδα. πλύνονται ψυχρῷ καὶ μετ' ὀξελαίου ἢ ἡδυόσμου ἢ καὶ πηγάνου ἐσθίονται. τοῖς δὲ βουλομένοις λύειν κοιλίαν μετὰ λαχάνων λιτῇ ἀρτύσει σκευάζονται. ἀκμαῖαι δὲ βρωθεῖσαι ἔαρος κάλλισται. On Egyptian shellfish and generally on crustaceans, W.J. Darby, P. Ghalioungui, L. Grivetti, *Food: The Gift of Osiris*, vol. I, London–New York–San Francisco 1977, p. 415–416; C. Wissa-Wassef, *Pratiques rituelles*…, p. 344.

[191] C. Wissa-Wassef, *Pratiques rituelles*…, p. 342–343. P.B. Lewicka, *Food and Foodways*…, p. 220: *mulūḥa seemed to invoke negative connotations. Presumably because of its relatively offfensive smell and sight, possibly because of its association with the religiously motivated diet of the Copts.*

[192] P.B. Lewicka, *Food and Foodways*…, p. 223.

[193] S.D. Goitein, *A Mediterranean Society*, vol. I, p. 126.

[194] Michael Italikos, *Letters*, no 19, p. 161.12–15. A similar connection is made by S.D. Goitein, *A Mediterranean Society*, vol. I, p. 126.

[195] Michael Italikos, *Letters*, no. 19, p. 161.16–18: Ταῦτα δὲ τὰ ἰχθύδια μικρότατα μὲν εἰς μέγεθος, ἀφύας ἰδὼν εἴποι τις, ἡδύτερα δὲ τῶν ἄλλων καὶ τῶν παρ' ἡμῖν θαυμαζομένων εἰς ὄγκον σώματος. P. Gautier, *Michel Italikos*, p. 162 n. 5.

It should be noted that the term *aphyē* (ἀφύη usually in plural *aphyai*, ἀφύαι), a sort of anchovy or sardine or various fry small fishes, was always used in the Middle East. Etymologically the anchovy is believed to derive rather from *aphyē* (ἀφύη> Latin *apua* **apiu(v)a* >Ital. *acciuga*) or from Basque *anchu* "dried fish". In Talmudic literature *afitz* (or *afyan*) is a tiny, immature fish identified with the Greek *aphyai*, which refers to many little fish cooked often[196]. It is possible that Italikos's comparison of *Libysia* to the Byzantine *aphyai* is not a mere coincidence, as *ṣīr* is considered a salt-cured anchovy and in its fresh state is called *absāriyya*, and in Kanz's English translation it is always rendered as salt-cured anchovy[197]. I believe, therefore, that *Libysia* sent to Italikos were the salty *ṣīr*, probably like the *ṣīr* and its products sent as a present from Alexandria to Old Cairo with tuna in a glass jar, the *Qatarmiz ṣīr mathun*, minced pickled fish[198].

It has been proposed that *ṣīr*, anchovies, is the Coptic *tjir*, an Egyptian loanword from the Canaanite language (in Hebrew *tzur*, brine) and in the Talmudic literature *tzir*, the salty liquid from pickling fish, that can also refer to locust pickle[199]. The Greek *tsiros* or *tzēros* (τσίρος, τζῆρος, τζῦρος) could be the Byzantine equivalent (probably a loan term) of this salted fish named in different languages Arabic, Coptic, Hebrew *ṣīr*, *tjir*, *tzir* and appeared in Byzantine texts only from the 12th century onward to describe a sun-dried or salty little fish, mainly a little *skombros*, chub mackerel (σκόμβρος). While an improbable etymology has been proposed by Korais based on the ancient *kirris*/*kēris* (κιρρίς, κηρίς), a species of wrasse, it is likely that *tsiros* is a borrowed name for a small dried or salty fish. This has been the case with the loanwords of other cured fish after the 12th century like *lakerta* and *renga*, herring (λακέρτα, ρέγκα)[200]. It is possible that *tsiros* is related – at least in terms of its name and methods of pickling and consumption – to *ṣīr* and the *Libysia*. Mackerels, *skoumbria* (σκουμπρία), and the lean, salted, or sundried probably mackerel called *tsiros* (τσίρος) were a widely consumed food. Those mentioned together by Ptochoprodromos were obviously cooked (mainly fried) or just salted fish that the poor searched in vain to find in the empty chest/ cupboard

[196] S. WEINGARTEN, *Fish and Fish Products*…, p. 235–245.

[197] See typical examples with commentary, *Anonymous Kanz*, p. 199–200 (242–245), N. NASRALLAH, *Treasure Trove of Benefits and Variety at the Table*, p. 199 n. 17: *This small fish is used already salt-cured. When consumed fresh, it is referred to as absāriyya. It looks like a sardine. However, ṣīr is sometimes used to designate fresh anchovies, when they are destined for salt curing and made into condiments.*

[198] S.D. GOITEIN, *A Mediterranean Society*, vol. I, p. 126 n. 85: *Qatarmiz sir mathun*: TS 12.254v.

[199] Hebrew *tzur*, brine, according the translitaration of Ch. PERRY, *The Description of Familiar Foods*…, p. 281–282. S. WEINGARTEN, *Fish and Fish Products*…, p. 240–242.

[200] A. KORAIS, *Xenokratous kai Galēnou Peri tēs apo tōn enydrōn trophēs*, Paris 1814, p. 82, 210; IDEM, *Atakta*, vol. I, p. 74; K. KRUMBACHER, *Das mittelgriechische Fischbuch*, SBAW 3, 1903, p. 368: mir nicht wahrscheinlich. This etymology however is given in many dictionaries without further development. On foreign fish imported in Byzantium and the terms *lakerta* and *renga*, S. LAMPROS, *Theologakis*, NE 7.4, 1910, p. 353.

of kitchen[201]. Twenty skoumbria *pasta* (σκουμπρία παστά), salted mackerels, and sixteen *tsiros* are also mentioned together by Ptochoprodromos as ingredients in the *monokythron* soup[202]. If these two instances of *tsiros* and s*koumbrin* mentioned by Ptochoprodromos do not imply that these two common lean small salty and dried are the same fish, it suggests that they are two distinct species of fish, and the *tsiros* mentioned could be a small, lean fish similar to *ṣīr*, *tjir*, *tzir*, an *aphyē* (ἀφύη), an anchovy[203].

Italikos and the sender of fish likely avoid using the barbaric vernacular name for a fish product such as *tsiros* that is gradually widely adopted and passed into the Byzantine diet describing various small salted or sundried fish. Of course, Byzantine *tsiros* prevailed to denote mainly a small, lean sundried or smoked mackerel, while the Egyptian *ṣīr* was finally considered to be a salted, brined fish and not unsalted, dried, and rock-hard[204]. Although the masculine *ichthys* (ἰχθῦς), fish, is used throughout the letter, *Libysia* is a neutral plural adjective, which is an attribute of a neutral noun, probably the aforementioned little fish, the neutral *ichthydia* (ἰχθύδια μικρότατα) or more likely of the Greek demotic for fish *opsaria* or *opsaridia* (ὀψάρια, ὀψαρίδια), a word very close to *absāriyya* and *bisāriyya*, the fresh *ṣīr* and probably in Greek *tsiros*. It should be noted that, as already mentioned, in the versions of the *garos*/*liquamen* recipe saved in the *Geoponika*, small fish like the Egyptian *ṣīr*, anchovy, or *opsaridia* (λεπτὰ ὀψαρίδια), the Egyptian *absāriyya* (?), were mixed with quantities of salt[205]. All these *ichthydia*, *opsaria* or *opsaridia* (ὀψάρια, ὀψαρίδια), *absāriyya* among which mackerel and anchovies are mentioned, could be related to *ṣīr*, anchovy, and *Libysia*, and in fact Italikos emphasizes their similarity (Ταῦτα δὲ τὰ ἰχθύδια μικρότατα μὲν εἰς μέγεθος, ἀφύας ἰδὼν εἴποι τις). The name *Libysia* may have been invented by the sender, who only specifies the origin of fish. Moreover, in an effort to avoid a barbarian name, Italikos refer to them as "fish from Libya", i.e. from Africa, because, as he says, Egypt rules all of Libya[206].

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[201] *Ptochoprodromos*, poem III, 94: καὶ παλαμιδοκόμματα καὶ τσίρους καὶ σκουμπρία.

[202] *Ptochoprodromos*, poem IV, 214: σκουμπριὰ παστὰ κὰν εἴκοσι καὶ τσίρους δεκαέξι. On *monokythron*, see above note 31 and below 203.

[203] On Byzantine sources and uses of *tsiros* or *tzēros*, F.H. Tinnefeld, *Zur kulinarischen Qualität*…, p. 164, 165, and *lakerta*, p. 167–168. On the *monokythron*, see above note 31, and *Ptochoprodromos*, poem II, 104–106, poem IV, 201–217, p. 115, 149–150. See also on line I. Anagnostakis, *Chrysothemis*, entries *skoumbrin* (Σκουμπρίν,σκόμβρος), *tsiros* (Τσίρος, τζῆρος, τζῦρος).

[204] Ch. Perry, *Medieval Arab Fish: Fresh*, *Dried and Dyed*, [in:] M. Rodinson, A.J. Arberry, Ch. Perry, *Medieval Arab Cookery*…, p. 484; idem, *The Description of Familiar Foods*…, p. 281, 405 n. 2. The *ṣīr* was not a stone-dried but a salted and brined fish, P.B. Lewicka, *Food and Foodways*…, p. 218–219.

[205] *Geoponica sive Cassiani Bassi*, XX, 46, p. 528–529. English trans. A. Dalby, *Geoponika. Farm Work*…, p. 348–349.

[206] Michael Italikos, *Letters*, no. 19, p. 162: τὰ Λιβύσια· οὕτω γὰρ καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπὶ λέξεως εἴρηκας τοὔνομα τῶν ἰχθύων, ὅσα Λιβύη τρέφει καὶ φέρει ζῷα ἐκεῖθεν προσονομάζεσθαι, ἢ ὁ ἐπὶ τῇ καμήλῳ

Libysia are not like the large and fatty fish of Constantinople, characterized as abundant in flesh, *polykreōs* (πολύκρεως), contrary to these fish of the Nile (Νειλῶοι ἰχθύες), which are very small (μικρότατα) and of sweet flesh, *glykykreōs* (γλυκύκρεως), tasting of honey, *meliēdeis* (μελιηδεῖς)[207]. The letter emphasizes that despite their preservation in salt for a long time, they always retain the sweetness of their flesh and are sweeter than even the most delicious birds – partridge or francolin and pheasants. The adjectives by which Italikos designated *Libysia* are of particular interest as they are almost never or rarely used in describing fish.

The epithet *polykreōs* was not used for fish and referred to pagan dietary excess and its negative connotations, whereas *glykykreōs* instead of *hēdykreō*s (ἡδύκρεως)[208] is found only in Athenaeos, quoting a passage by the writer of mimes Sophron (fifth century BC), who referred to the *sōlēn*, the shell-fish, and marine bivalve mollusc, a κογχύλιον, a kind of small mussel or cockle[209]. The epithet *meliēdēs* (μελιηδής) was used only for wine, fruit, and dairy, rarely for water, but never (at least I haven't found any references) for fish or meat. It is preferred here probably either as a pun on the sender's name or because being sweet like honey also referred to delicious or tasty, *nostimos* (νόστιμος) and meant succulent, nutritious, emphasizing at the same time the antiquarian notion of the Homeric sweet return trip to the homeland, *noston meliēdea* (νόστον δίζηαι μελιηδέα, *Odyssey*, XI, 100) that gave the Byzantine and modern Greek notion of tasty, *nostimos*. In his *Commentaries*, Eustathios of Thessaloniki explains how the sweetness to return home, *nostos* (νόστος), results in the creation of the adjective *nostimos* which also describes any salty and tasty, *meliēdēs* food offered to friends, as salt is a symbol of friendship[210].

ὄρνις καὶ ἐν τῇ ὄρνιθι κάμηλος, ὁ παρὰ τοῖς παλαιοῖς θαυμαζόμενος στρουθὸς Λιβυκός. Αἴγυπτος μὲν γὰρ ἁπάσης Λιβύης κρατεῖ, τῶν δ' ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ ζῴων ὅτιπερ κράτιστον τὰ Λιβύσια, ἃ καὶ ὡς παρὰ σοῦ καὶ ὡς Αἰγυπτόθεν σταλέντα ὑπερηγάμην. According P. Gautier, *Michel Italikos*, p. 162 n. 5: *est-il un term dont se servaient les pêcheurs ou une invention du correspondent d'Italikos?*

[207] Michael Italikos, *Letters*, no. 19, p. 161.16–20.

[208] The adjective ἡδύκρεως is applied by Aristoteles and rarely by the Byzantines to designate only oily fish and pork. In another letter Michael Italikos used the word to designate a pig, Michael Italikos, *Letters*, no. 42, P. Gautier, *Michel Italikos*, p. 237–238. See the commentary on this letter by Chr. Angelidi, I. Anagnostakis, *La concezione bizantina del ciclo del latte (X–XII secolo)*, [in:] *Latte e latticini aspetti della produzione e del consumo nelle società mediterranee dell'Antichità e del Medioevo. Atti del Convegno Internazionale di Studio del Progetto MenSALe, Atene 2–3 ottobre 2015*, ed. I. Anagnostakis, A. Pellettieri, Lagonegro 2016, p. 147–157. Michael Psellos called the fish *yska* ἠδύκρεων, a fat fish of lakes or river, see on line I. Anagnostakis, *Chrysothemis* entry ὗσκα.

[209] Athenaios, *The Deipnosophists*, vol. I, p. 200.21–3: σωλῆνές θην τοῦτοί γα, γλυκύκρεον κογχύλιον.

[210] *Eustathii archiepiscopi Thessalonicensis commentarii ad Homeri Odysseam*, vol. I, ed. G. Stallbaum, Leipzig 1825 (repr. Hildesheim 1970), p. 203–204: φιλίας οἱ ἅλες σύμβολον. διὸ καὶ τοῖς ἐπιξενουμένοις παρετίθεντο πρὸ τῶν ἄλλων βρωμάτων ἢ διὰ τὸ τῆς φιλίας νόστιμον καὶ παράμονον παραμονῆς γὰρ αἴτιος πολλοῖς τῶν σωμάτων καὶ ὁ ἅλς, and p. 401.33: Εἰ δὲ μελιηδὴς ὡς ἐῤῥέθη ὁ νόστος, εἰκότως καὶ τὸ κατὰ τρυφὴν ἡδὺ νόστιμον λέγεται. On *nostimos*, Φ. Κουκουλες, *Βυζαντινῶν Βίος*…, p. 41 n. 9.

It is interesting that we are provided with both the preparation of the small fish and all the flavorings added for a sauce. This procedure constitutes an art of cooking and seasoning, an *opsartysia* (ὀψαρτυσία). The term describes a recipe, a certain way of preparation and serving food that Italikos, actually mentioned on his own initiative. He says that because these salted fish *are so sweet*, *they won't taste any better even if you rinse them with lukewarm water and sprinkle them with salt and vinegar*. *And*, *because you didn't even send me a basic sauce recipe*, *I prepared them for my table exactly as you sent them*, *without rinsing them*, *simply sprinkling them with a little oil*, *adding thyme and various dried aromatic mint plants*[211].

It is interesting to assume, within the limits of the rhetorical scheme, that Michael Italikos sought an idea for a recipe for the preparation of these Egyptian fish, maybe Egyptian or Arabic. However, in the end he used a popular recipe using oil, thyme and various dried aromatic mint plants. I must note that it is quite strange that the Byzantine sources, when not repeating the ancient ones, barely mention the preparation or the Byzantine fish sauces. On the contrary, the number of Arabic recipes is amazing. Arabic cookbooks recorded sauces to accompany salted fish, and this makes us wonder if this was implied by Italikos for the Egyptian *Libysia*. The Palestinian Talmud described ways of cooking and problems of preparation of salted fish – some from Egypt like the Nile perch imported to Palestine[212]. Arabic cookbooks provide separate special sections on recipes and fermented or unfermented sauces (*murrī*, *ṣibāgh* and *ṣalṣ*) for fresh, pickled, or salted fish, *tirrīkh*, and whole or soft salty fish[213]. One may wonder if Italikos was asking the Egyptian fish provider from Attaleia to send him a sauce recipe like those Arabic fish *ṣalṣ* that were probably widely known in Cilicia and Syria. One of the many fish sauces listed in the Baghdad Cookbook of Al-Warrāq, *Kitāb al-Ṭabīkh*, could be suitable for fish like *Libysia* that travellers bring on trips: *A recipe for ṣibāgh to use when traveling and at home*[214].

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[211] Michael Italikos, *Letters*, no. 19, p. 161–162: καὶ εἰ μήν τις ἀποπλύνοι ὕδατι χλιαρῷ καὶ ὄξους ἐπεμβάλλοι καὶ ἅλατος ἐπιρράνοι, οὐκ ἂν νοστιμωτέρους τοὺς ἰχθύας ἐργάσαιτο διὰ τὴν ἄκραν γλυκύτητα. Σὺ μὲν οὖν μοι οὐδὲ τὴν ὀψαρτυσίαν ἐδήλωσας τούτων καὶ ταῦτα φαύλην οὕτω τυγχάνουσαν καὶ ἁπλῆν· ἐγὼ δ' ὅπως ἂν εἰς τράπεζαν ἔλθοιεν ἐπιτήδειοι αὐτομάτως ἐξεύρηκα, προσεπιρραίνων καὶ ἐλαίου μικρόν τι καὶ θύμου προσεπιπάττων καὶ ξηρῶν ἡδυόσμων.

[212] S. Weingarten, *Fish and Fish Products*…, p. 243.

[213] Ch. Perry, *Medieval Arab Fish*…, p. 477–486; Ibn Sayyār al-Warrāq, *Kitāb al-Ṭabīkh*, ch. 33, p. 176–181 dishes of fresh fish and salted sea fish, ch. 34, p. 182–184 dips and sauces (*ṣibāgh*) for roasted fish, and p. 180–181 the extravagant fish dish made for al-Rashid, a sour and cold dish of gellied fish made with more than 150 fish tongues and N. Nasrallah, *Annals of the Caliphs' Kitchens*…, p. 180 note 14, and on fish-based fermented sauces and condiments and *tirrīkh* p. 728; Ch. Perry, *The Description of Familiar Foods*…, p. 387–394, and on *tirrīkh*, dried up, and the Greek word *tarikhos*, p. 281.

[214] According to the recent edition of Syrian *Kitāb Waṣlah ilā al-ḥabīb*. *Scents and Flavors*, p. XXXI, XXXV: *Fresh fish are completely absent* in this cookbook but there are *sauces or condiments made with salt fish called ṣalṣ which automatically suggests the European word salsa… learned by the Crusaders*,

This information about the reception of foodstuffs from Arabic-Islamic word in the Middle Byzantine era suggests not only the introduction of new demand for sophisticated and luxury products, linked to new practices and choices but also new perspectives on the reception of ideas and their implementation. The mobility profile that emerged within the new exchange frameworks developed between the Islamic and Byzantine worlds was largely related to the movement of products through the Arab Muslim-controlled centers and channels of communication. The intensified mobility between Constantinople and northern Syria and Cilicia was also related to the conquest of some lands by the Byzantines and their growing interest in maintaining a stable position in the eastern Mediterranean.

Finally, it can be assumed that even in a letter concerning salty fish – and regardless of the wordplay on the sender's name, Meles – the concept of sweet in the taste of delicious or flavorful prevails in Byzantium even for the salty, in this case the *libysia* – an old notion but reinforced by the influence of Arab notions of the superior significance of sugar's sweetness. I consider the fish *libysia* and the *paloudakion* as exceptional examples of the imported preparations mentioned in the Byzantine literary sources. People who describe or use medical materials are more open to eastern preparations. However, all the cases are indicative of the mobility that becomes more intense from the tenth century. This movement concerns many more things, as already noted in other cases. These data show a dynamic mobility that revolved around Constantinople, according to the sources studied, and reveal dietary needs formed across the borders of the empire, although the routes along which they moved were not mentioned at all. Behind this information, however, are intellectuals who offered an outline of exchanges in materials and ideas with awareness of the value of open exchange and mobility[215].

It's worth noting that in Arabic cookbooks some seasoning salts are referred to as *Milḥ hilū*, literally, 'sweet salt' or *Milḥ ʿaḏhb* pleasant-tasting salt, free of bitterness since they give the food a sweet rather than bitter flavor[216]. I consider *Milḥ hilū*, 'sweet salt', the equivalent of Greek *hals*/*halas hēdyntēr*, salt sweetening (ἅλς/ἅλας ἡδυντήρ)[217]. Studying these concepts and similarities of sweet-sour and sweet-salt cuisine in Byzantium and the medieval Islamic world would be in-

and fish sauces ch. 8, 59–61, p. 228–229, 64–65, p. 230–231. The *recipe for ṣibāgh to use when traveling and at home* Ibn Sayyār al-Warrāq, *Kitāb al-Ṭabīkh*, ch. 34 (dips and sauces *ṣibāgh* for roasted fish), p. 183.

[215] N. Drocourt, *Arabic-speaking Ambassadors in the Byzantine Empire (from the Ninth to Eleventh Centuries)*, [in:] *Ambassadors*, *Artists*, *Theologians*…, p. 57–70.

[216] N. Nasrallah, *Annals of the Caliphs' Kitchens*…, p. 433 n. 4, p. 578.

[217] *Pollucis onomasticon*, VI, 71, 6, vol. I–II, ed. E. Bethe, Leipzig 9.1: 1900, 9.2: 1931 [= LG, 9.1–2]: ἐκαλοῦντο δὲ καὶ οἱ ἅλες ἡδυντῆρες διὰ τὸ ἡδύνειν; *Photii patriarchae lexicon*, vol. II, *(E–M)*, letter ēta 61.1, ed. C. Theodoridis, Berlin–New York 1998: ἡδυντῆρες· ἅλες. See also on line I. Anagnostakis, *Chrysothemis*, entries Ἅλας, ἅλς and Ἥδυσμα, ἡδύνω.

triguing. Although the preference for sweet-sour taste is quite obvious in Byzantium, according to a scholar's opinion, *the medieval Arab palate disliked any sourness in sweetmeats*, *the reason so few fruits are used in pastries*, and the sweet-sour taste is only appropriated with meat but not in a free-standing confection[218]. The most typical example is the favorite Arabic dish *sikbāj*, a recipe with beef or fish in vinegar-honey sauce[219]. There were even substitutes to provide sweetness like the *nayda* used by Arabs, "a sort of ersatz sugar" of the poor without sugar and honey[220]. The research on Byzantines' use of substitutes to provide sweetness will undoubtedly yield rich results. Likewise, the research on counteracting salt with honey and sugar, a practice not generally followed by the Middle Eastern cooks, would be extremely interesting to study in the Byzantine sources[221]. A special investigation into the combination of salt and honey in veterinary and medical recipes and the use of Egyptian salt (Αἰγύπτου or αἰγύπτιον ἅλας)[222] would also be instructive and helpful, much like the numerous historical studies on food preservation through curing methods that aside from smoking, seasoning, and cooking, also require the addition of sugar or salt[223].

This pleasant taste given by salt or sour and considered as sweet or honey is equally common in ancient Greek and Byzantine dietary and culinary concepts. So *Libysia* are of sweet flesh and honey-tasting, retaining this sweetness despite their preservation in salt for a long time. Greek sources across time using the gastronomical and metaphorical view of taste for the *hēdysmata* (ἡδύσματα), seasonings from the *hēdys* (ἡδύς sweet, pleasant), state that the salt is par excellence *hēdysma*, (sweetening) or *halas hēdyntēr* (ἅλας ἡδυντήρ, salt sweetening), and the sour, bitter, or salty can also be called sweet or vice versa either as an *antiphrasis* or as a *euphemisme*, i.e. by using words of good sense in place of those of a contrary sense. For example, it is given as *antiphrasis when we say instead of Saracen white or silver and we call vinegar sweety*, *glykadin* (κατὰ ἀντίφρασιν, ὥσπερ λέγομεν τὸν

[218] Ch. Perry, *The Description of Familiar Foods*…, p. 283 referring to *fālūdhaj*. On sweet-sour meat dishes, idem, *A Thousand and One 'Fritters'*…, p. 487–496. P.B. Lewicka, *Food and Foodways*…, p. 283.

[219] *Anonymous Kanz*, p. 195 (235) fish *sikbāj*, and p. 201 (249) recipe for *al-samak al-sikbāj*, fish in vinegar-honey sauce. See also P.B. Lewicka, *Food and Foodways*…, on fish *à la sikbāj*, p. 215.

[220] P.B. Lewicka, *Food and Foodways*…, p. 218.

[221] On counteracting salt with honey and sugar by the Middle Eastern cooks, P.B. Lewicka, *Food and Foodways*…, p. 297 and for meat p. 215.

[222] There are mentions in the *Corpus Hippocraticum* and a Middle Byzantine text by Eustathios of Thessaloniki, *Commentary on Homer's Odyssey*, vol. I, p. 170. On the salt in Egypt see also, W.J. Darby, P. Ghalioungui, L. Grivetti, *Food: The Gift*…, vol. I, p. 443–452; P.B. Lewicka, *Food and Foodways*…, p. 206–297.

[223] See selectively *Food Preservation from Early Times*…; B.A. Numme, *"Historical Origins of Food Preservation"*. National Center for Home Food Preservation May 2002, https://nchfp.uga.edu/resources/entry/historical-origins-of-food-preservation#gsc.tab=0 [15 V 2024]. *Cured*, *Fermented and Smoked Foods. Proceedings of…*

Σαρακηνὸν λευκὸν καὶ ἀργυροῦν καὶ τὸ ὄξος γλυκάδιον)[224]. It is worth noting that in some Arabic recipes *ḥall* (sugar syrup) is mistaken for *kẖall* (vinegar), and in Al-Warrāq, *Kitāb al-Ṭabīkẖ*, a *kẖall ʿadẖb* sweet vinegar, pleasant and smooth-tasting vinegar is frequently mentioned[225].

It is commonly believed, mainly in popular publications, that traditional Middle Eastern food uses less salt than other cuisines. Depending on the region this is probably true because salty meals can increase thirst in arid climates so Middle Eastern cuisines may employ spices, herbs, and other condiments, especially sugar, to minimize the use of salt. However, in both of the cuisines studied, sweet, salty, and sour ingredients are basic categories for storing and preserving as well as for taste that are prevalent, either naturally in the products used in cooking or purposefully sought after and obtained in a number of ways. But this may be an obvious and not at all original conclusion if we did not find the dynamics of a new sweetener like sugar and its equating with salt and the frequent multiple usage both of them in such an exuberant display of recipes, identical or different, in the Byzantine or Muslim world of the Middle Ages. The groundwork for the "invasion" of *sukkar* (sugar) from the Arab world into Byzantium and West with these culinary and medical "inventions" had already been laid by commercial, political, culinary, and medical needs or priorities as well as by the exotic perception of its similarities to the very familiar salt by scholars and the common people. In addition to its similarity in taste to honey, must syrup, molasses, and other juice syrups, the unusual crystallised sugar resembled the omnipresent salt, and any sweet agent like honey and sugar was similar to salt used for safe food. This made it the food seasoning par excellence, *hēdysma*, and "sweetener", the *milḥ hilū*, 'sweet salt'. Furthermore, both sugar and salt frequently confuse us today in our kitchen by their similar refined crystallic consistency and, just as in antiquity, sugar equates to a grain of salt and both may tastefully "be broken between the teeth!" So, similarities in concepts of cooking, recipes, and use

[224] ATHENAIOS, *The Deipnosophists*, II, 76, vol. I, p. 158.13–14: ὄξος. τοῦτο μόνον Ἀττικοὶ τῶν ἡδυσμάτων ἥδος καλοῦσι; *Scholia Graeca in Odysseam. Scholia ad libros α–β*, Book 2 hypothesis-verse 11i. 1–2, vol. I, ed. F. PONTANI, Rome 2007 [= Ple, 6.1]: κατὰ ἀντίφρασιν, ὥσπερ λέγομεν τὸν Σαρακηνὸν λευκὸν καὶ ἀργυροῦν καὶ τὸ ὄξος γλυκάδιον; *Scholia in Oppianum*, hypothesis-book I, scholion 130, line 7, ed. U.C. BUSSEMAKER, [in:] *Scholia et paraphrases in Nicandrum et Oppianum in Scholia in Theocritum*, Paris 1849, p. 269: ἀντίφρασις ἡ ἐναντία φράσις, ὡς τὸ εἰπεῖν τὸ γλυκὺ πικρὸν καὶ τὸ ὄξος γλυκάδιον.

[225] N. NASRALLAH, *Treasure Trove of Benefits and Variety at the Table*, p. XII: in some cases ḥall 'sugar syrup' is mistaken for *kẖall* 'vinegar'. See also P.B. LEWICKA, *Food and Foodways*…, p. 276 n. 709, and p. 283 n. 745 who states that in *The Kanz* a recipe is titled *popular way of preparing quince in vinegar* although vinegar, probably by mistake, is not mentioned, and a recipe called for "*kẖall*", "vinegar", instead for "*ḥall*", sugar "solution". On *kẖall ʿadẖb*, N. NASRALLAH, A*nnals of the Caliphs' Kitchens*…, p. 577, and use IBN SAYYĀR AL-WARRĀQ, *Kitāb al-Ṭabīkẖ*, ch. 23, p. 150, ch. 40, p. 202 (*making binn al-sakārīj*), p. 204 (*making kamākẖ of capers* [*kabar*]), ch. 46, p. 233 (*a recipe for a cold dish of beans*).

of some culinary agents studied in this paper, demonstrate intercultural borrowings and interculinarity between the two cuisines.

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The Byzantine East and Bulgaria – The Eastern Armies of Byzantium in the Wars Against the First Bulgarian Empire (680–1018)

Abstract. This article deals with the engagement of the Byzantine eastern troops in the wars the empire waged against Bulgaria from the late seventh until the early eleventh centuries. To this end, both narrative and sphragistic sources are examined, and the data obtained are compared in order to get as full as possible picture of the composition of the Byzantine armies which fought against early medieval Bulgaria. Here the subject is analysed mainly from the Byzantine perspective. This helps outline certain trends in the development of the Byzantine army and the general Byzantine military strategy when Bulgaria is concerned.

Keywords: Byzantine-Bulgarian wars, Anatolian themata and tagmata, Byzantine army, early medieval Bulgaria, sigillography

The First Bulgarian polity on the Danube was born out of a war with the Byzantine Empire which led to its *de facto* recognition by the latter. Until the reign of emperor Basil II (976–1025), Bulgaria fought countless wars with Byzantium to advance its interests in the Slavic lands to the south or simply to survive as an independent entity. Many times in this period, it had the upper hand in the struggle, thus forcing the empire to respond with everything it could in order to keep its control over as greater a portion of the Balkans as possible and ensure the capital city of Constantinople with its environs was in no danger of being sacked or captured. With the new pagan state adopting the Christian religion in the mid-9th c., it rose to be the "other" empire in the region and for some time it even threatened to strip Byzantium of its ideological background as the supreme earthly power

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in the *oikoumene*[1]. Here we shall consider a very specific feature of the Byzantine-Bulgarian wars in the Early Middle Ages, which has mostly remained outside the scope of modern research, namely the participation of Byzantium's eastern armies in them[2].

There is hardly any better indicator of the Balkan front – its overall place in the defensive strategy of the Byzantine Empire, its state of preparedness, etc. – than the regular use in military campaigns of eastern regiments as part of a greater, combined Byzantine host. Unlike *themata* such as *Thrace*, which were constituted to check the Bulgarian advance towards Eastern Thrace and the capital of Constantinople, the Anatolian ones undoubtedly had other primary functions and preoccupations, most importantly to defend the East against the regular and massive Arab incursions. Despite that, the latter were also used in the West, and this for quite a long period of time.

A few preliminary notes are needed on the geographical scope of the present survey. The *Byzantine East*, as considered here, is the territory of the Byzantine Empire spanning from the Bosporus and the Hellespont to the eastern frontier, this including the nearby islands, some of which were made into military districts (*themata*) in their own right during our period (most notably Samos and Cyprus). Thereby, it does not necessarily coincide with the Byzantine notion of what constituted the East and the West of their empire. This notion, we have to say, was prone to changes with the shifting borders and administrative reforms in the course of the centuries[3]. Our study focuses on the armies from the *themata*, as well as other contingents consisting of various *tagmata* referred to in the sources either as "eastern" or connected to a specific region belonging to the Byzantine East proper[4], but for most of our period, the bulk of the Byzantine armies consisted of the former.

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[1] For the latest scholarship on the Byzantine-Bulgarian conflicts in the Early Middle Ages, see D.P. HUPCHICK, *The Bulgarian-Byzantine Wars for Early Medieval Balkan Hegemony. Silver-Lined Skulls and Blinded Armies*, London 2017. On the Byzantine response to the Bulgarian threat, see D. SULLIVAN, *Byzantine Fronts and Strategies 300–1204*, [in:] *A Companion to the Byzantine Culture of War, ca. 300–1204*, ed. Y. STOURAITIS, Leiden–Boston 2018 [= BCBW, 3], p. 275–278.

[2] A partial exception is an article in Polish by K. MARINOW, *Liczebność wojsk bizantyńskich w antybułgarskich kampaniach zbrojnych związanych z masywem górskim Hemosu (VII–XI w.)*, PZH 23–24, 2022, p. 93–126, esp. the conclusions on p. 112sqq. I use the opportunity to thank its author for bringing it to my attention. His study, however, deals only with the Byzantine campaigns in so far as the Haemus mountains are concerned.

[3] On the basics of the Byzantine understanding of East and West, see the entries in J. NESBITT, N. OIKONOMIDES, *Catalogue of the Byzantine Seals at Dumbarton Oaks and the Fogg Museum of Art*, vol. I, Washington, D.C. 1991, p. 1–2; IIDEM, *Catalogue of the Byzantine Seals at Dumbarton Oaks and the Fogg Museum of Art*, vol. III, Washington, D.C. 1996, p. 172, respectively.

[4] On the regional *tagmata*, usually named after existing *themata*, which first appear in the sources for the late 10th c., see M. GRIGORIOU-IOANNIDOU, *Θέματα et τάγματα. Un problème de l'institution de thèmes pendant les Xe et XIe siècles*, BF 19, 1993, p. 35–41; P.M. STRÄSSLE, *Krieg und Kriegführung in Byzanz. Die Kriege Kaiser Basileos' II. gegen die Bulgaren (976–1019)*, Köln–Weimar–Wien 2006, p. 241. On the *tagmata* as a whole, see J.F. HALDON, *Byzantine Praetorians. An Administrative*,

When and how exactly the so-called *theme system* was established – first as a military and then a military and administrative system, is still a matter of heated debate. Most of the scholars agree the first *themata* had already been founded when the Bulgars under Asparuh (681 – ca. 700) appeared on the shores of the Danube[5].

Unlike the *thematic* troops, the *tagmatic* ones, as restructured in the 8th and 9th centuries, were full-time professional soldiers whose actions were not limited to a certain region and constituted a sort of strategic reserve available to the central government whenever needed. References to eastern *tagmata* and their commanders are deficient and of much later date when such distinctions had already become official, as evidenced by the most recent of the surviving *taktika* (*Escorial taktikon/ Taktikon Oikonomidès* of ca. 971 – ca. 975)[6]. Some of these, as we shall see, are provided by the sigillographic material which compliments the narrative sources.

For practical reasons, the study is to be confined to the period of the First Bulgarian empire (ca. 680–1018). The primary information is afforded by the historical sources composed from the late 8th to the early 12th c.[7] Apart from them, a careful investigation is needed into other, subtler pieces of evidence, such as the lead seals of Byzantine military administrators and commanders found in relative abundance on the territory of present-day Bulgaria, where, in its north-eastern part and in Romanian Dobruja, the core of the medieval state was back in the day[8].

Institutional and Social Survey of the Opsikion and Tagmata, c. 580–900, Bonn 1984 (for the earlier period); H.-J. Kühn, *Die byzantinische Armee im 10. und 11. Jahrhundert. Studien zur Organisation der Tagmata*, Wien 1991 [= BG.E, 2] (for the later period).

[5] There are countless titles on the *theme system* and its establishment. Among the more recent ones, see primarily R.-J. Lilie, *Die byzantinische Reaktion auf die Ausbreitung der Araber. Studien zur Strukturwandlung des byzantinischen Staates im 7. und 8. Jhg.*, München 1976, p. 287sqq; J.F. Haldon, *Recruitment and Conscription in the Byzantine Army c. 550–950. A Study on the Origins of the Stratiotika Ktemata*, Wien 1979, p. 29–40; A. Kazhdan, *Theme*, [in:] *ODB*, vol. III, Oxford–New York 1991, p. 2034–2035; W. Treadgold, *Byzantium and its Army 284–1081*, Stanford, CA 1995, p. 21–27 (where its foundation is attributed to emperor Constans II (642–668) in the years 659–662); J. Haldon, *Byzantium in the Seventh Century. The Transformation of a Culture*, Cambridge 1997, p. 208sqq; J.-C. Cheynet, *L'armée byzantine: du soldat-paysan au militaire professionnel*, [in:] *Aux armes, citoyens! Conscription et armée de métier des Grecs à nos jours*, Paris 1998, p. 44–46; J. Haldon, *Warfare, State and Society in the Byzantine World, 565–1204*, London 1999, esp. p. 112–113; А.С. Мохов, *Византийская армия в середине VIII – середине XI в. Развитие военно-административных структур*, Екатеринбург 2013, p. 32–54; C. Zuckerman, *Learning from the Enemy and More: Studies in "Dark Century" Byzantium*, Mill 2, 2005, p. 125–134 (the author places the creation of the *theme* system as such no earlier than the second half of the 8th c.); J.-C. Cheynet, *La mise en place des thème d'après les sceaux: les stratèges*, SBS 10, 2010, p. 1–14; S. Kyriakidis, *Army Structure: Roman Continuity and Byzantine Change*, [in:] *A Companion to the Byzantine Culture of War…*, p. 237–240.

[6] N. Oikonomidès, *Les listes de préséance byzantines des IXe et Xe siècles*, Paris 1972, p. 263.23–26, 265.16–17, 273.6–7.

[7] About the primary sources used herein, see W. Treadgold, *The Middle Byzantine Historians*, Basingstoke 2013; L. Neville, *Guide to Byzantine Historical Writing*, Cambridge 2018, esp. p. 61sqq.

[8] An indispensable tool for this end is presented by the three corpora of prof. I. Jordanov where all the lead seals known to the editor up to 2009 have been published, see I. Jordanov, *Corpus of*

As the distance between Anatolia proper and the regions heretofore mentioned is relatively long for medieval standards, the presence of such *molybdobullae* could be considered, at least in the majority of cases, as evidencing military activities on behalf of the owners of the seals, who exchanged letters with their equals and gave orders to their own subordinate officers in the region of an ongoing military operation[9].

Our primary concern here is to establish: 1) the frequency with which armies crossed the Straits to join their western counterparts in the wars with Bulgaria and how it fluctuated over time; 2) the composition of these eastern armies; 3) the arrangements the Byzantines made in order to make such mass transfers of armed men possible and less threatening to their strategic interests elsewhere. The information thus extracted may prove instrumental to establishing certain trends in the Byzantine strategy towards its Bulgarian adversaries and the way the Byzantines waged war in general. Hopefully, it will help outline certain changes the Byzantine military organisation had undergone prior to the end of the conquest of Bulgaria by the Bulgar-slayer.

1. The information from the narrative sources

For the Byzantine Empire, the second half of the 7th c. was a crucial period. In 674–678, the city of Constantinople faced a series of Arab blockades which threatened the existence of the Christian empire as such. This was the very first instance when the new Muslim superpower besieged the capital with the clear intention and utter determination to conquer it[10].

Byzantine Seals from Bulgaria, vol. I–III, Sofia 2003–2009. Unfortunately, there are no such catalogues from neighbouring countries, which were once part of the territory of the Bulgarian Empire in its heyday, and the majority of the material, unlike that from Bulgaria, has no archaeological context and therefore cannot be used for our purposes.

[9] While some sort of private or other, unrelated to military matters, correspondence cannot be wholly excluded (there are countless possible scenarios), a few reasons, I believe, make this the less likely explanation for the finding of the majority of the examined seals: 1) military officers, even those of high rank, especially in our relatively early period, were generally not men of letters for whom maintaining a vast network of correspondents in far-removed regions may be suggested; 2) at least some of these seals are found in what was then foreign territory; 3) these seals are official (i.e. they mention office or command and often a title), while private seals may have been more suitable for correspondence of private nature. Seals of private individuals are found in relative abundance (for instance, at least one of every four seals in Jordanov's Corpus belong to this group, cf. I. JORDANOV, *Corpus*…, vol. III, p. 5–54). And finally, military officers certainly used to have their *boulloteria* with them while on a campaign, as evidenced by the finding of such a tool once belonging to Bryennios Batatzes, then (the middle of the 11th c.) *patrikios hypatos and stratelates of the West*, in a field near the village of Yablanovo, Kotel municipality (for the original publication of this interesting piece, see N.A. MOUCHMOV, *Un nouveau boullotirion byzantin*, B 4, 1927–1928, p. 189–191).

[10] On these events preceding the Bulgars' arrival on the Danube and the period as a whole, see A.N. STRATOS, *Byzantium in the Seventh Century*, vol. IV, *(668–685)*, Amsterdam 1978, p. 29–50; J. HALDON, *Byzantium in the Seventh Century*…, p. 63–66.

The Bulgar state on the Danube, according to the dominant historiographic scheme, was established after a fierce battle with the Byzantines, fought at the O(n)-glos (in Bulgarian Ongăl), a place whose exact location is still disputed by scholars. And this is the very first time the empire used numerous contingents from across the Straits to counter the rising menace, this being made possible by an earlier peace treaty with the Arab Caliphate. According to Theophanes the Confessor, emperor Constantine IV (668–685) led "*all the themata*" into Thrace[11] to face the Bulgars, and patriarch Nikephoros' account also makes it clear that at least a part of the Byzantine army came from Anatolia[12]. The battle ended up disastrously for the Byzantines and this paved the way for the independent Bulgarian state (or tribal federation) in the Balkan peninsula, which the former had to recognise, albeit reluctantly and as a temporary entity[13].

As soon as the new emperor Justinian II (685–695, 705–711) signed a peace treaty with the Caliphate, then plagued by internal strife (the so-called Second Fitnah)[14], he launched an offensive towards Thessalonike, targeting, as it seems,

[11] πάντα τὰ θέματα ἐν τῇ Θρᾴκῃ (*Theophanis Chronographia*, AM 6171, vol. I, ed. C. de Boor, Leipzig 1883 (cetera: Theophanes), p. 358.16).

[12] *Nicephori Patriarchae Constantinopolitani Breviarium Historicum*, rec. C. Mango, Washington, D.C. 1990 [= *CFHB.SW*, 13] (cetera: Nikephoros), p. 90, §36.3–4.

[13] For a discussion, see В. Златарски, *История на българската държава през средните векове*, vol. I.1, София 2007, p. 140–141; П. Мутафчиевъ, *История на българския народъ*, vol. I, София 1943, p. 123–124; A.N. Stratos, *Byzantium in the Seventh Century*, vol. IV, p. 105–108; *История на България*, vol. II, *Първа българска държава*, София 1981, p. 98–100 (author: П. Петров); В. Бешевлиев, *Първобългарите. История, бит и култура*, Пловдив 2008, p. 76–78; П. Петров, *Образуване на българската държава*, София 1981, p. 265–287; Д. Ангелов, С. Кашев, Б. Чолпанов, *Българска военна история. От античността до втората четвърт на X в.*, София 1983, p. 173–180; И. Божилов, В. Гюзелев, *История на средновековна България VII–XIV век*, София 2006, p. 88–90 (author: В. Гюзелев); D. Ziemann, *Vom Wandervolk zur Grossmacht. Die Entstehung Bulgariens im frühen Mittelalter (7.–9. Jahrhundert)*, Köln–Weimar–Wien 2007 [= KHA, 43], p. 161–162; Г. Атанасов, В. Вачкова, П. Павлов, *Българска национална история*, vol. III, *Първо българско царство (680–1018 г.)*, Велико Търново 2015, p. 31–32 (author: Г. Атанасов); Н. 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)*, Велико Търново 2021, p. 38–55; K. Marinow, *Liczebność wojsk bizantyńskich*…, p. 102. For a more theoretical approach to the "birth" (as the author prefers to call it) of Danube Bulgaria, seen as a gradual process rather than a one-time event, see И. Божилов, *Раждането на Средновековна България (нова интерпретация)*, [in:] idem, *Седем етюда по Средновековна история*, София 1995, p. 11–72, esp. p. 15sqq. Cf. W. Swoboda, *Powstanie państwa bułgarskiego na tle słowiańskich procesów państwowotwórczych na Bałkanach*, [in:] *1300–lecie państwa bułgarskiego 681–1981. Materiały z sesji naukowej*, ed. T. Zdancewicz, Poznań 1983, p. 67–76; T. Wasilewski, *Kontrowersje wokół powstania i najstarszych dziejów państwa bułgarskiego*, [in:] *Trzynaście wieków Bułgarii. Materiały polsko-bułgarskiej sesji naukowej, Warszawa 28–30 X 1981*, ed. J. Siatkowski, Wrocław 1983, p. 181–189, esp. p. 182–188; J. Haldon, *Byzantium in the Seventh Century*…, p. 66–67; Г.Г. Литаврин, *К проблеме становления Болгарского государства*, [in:] idem, *Византия и славяне (сборник статей)*, Санкт-Петербург 1999, p. 192–217.

[14] A.N. Stratos, *Byzantium in the Seventh Century*, vol. V, *Justinian II, Leontius and Tiberius (685–711)*, Amsterdam 1980, p. 19–24; J. Haldon, *Byzantium in the Seventh Century*…, p. 70–71.

both the Slavs inhabiting the countryside and posing a constant threat to the city, and their Bulgar allies. For this purpose, Justinian summoned the "cavalry *themata*"[15] to Thrace. Although initially successful in fighting his way to the metropolis of Illyricum, the emperor was ambushed in a mountain pass on his journey back to Constantinople and nearly got killed, losing a great many of his soldiers[16].

Similarly, in 708, Justinian II breached the agreement with the Bulgar ruler Tervel (ca. 701 – ca. 722), whom he owed his restoration to power in 705, this time advancing northwards along the Black Sea coast. Before this march in Thrace, the "cavalry *themata*" had once again been transferred to Thrace. At Anchialos the Bulgars fell on the carelessly foraging Byzantine horsemen and after inflicting them heavy losses, forced the emperor to leave the town by sea a few days later[17].

In 712 or 713, Bulgar raiders reached the precincts of the capital city of Constantinople. Shortly afterwards, the Saracens fell on Anatolia taking the town of Misthia thus aggravating the woes of the Byzantines. The *patrikios and komes of Opsikion* Georgios Bouraphos had been called to defend the area but this had unforeseen consequences with his men making an assassination attempt on the emperor of the day, Philippikos Bardanes (711–713), who was dethroned and blinded. Georgios was blinded on his turn as soon as the *asekretes* Artemios became emperor Anastasios II (713–715)[18].

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[15] These *themata* are still units, not military districts, cf. Ж. Жеков, *Проблемът καβαλλαρικὰ θέματα*, [in:] *Annuaire de l'Université de Sofia "St. Kliment Ohridski", Centre de recherches slavo-byzantines "Ivan Dujčev"*, vol. XCV(XIV), Sofia 2010, p. 167–172.

[16] THEOPHANES, AM 6179–6180, p. 364.5–18; NIKEPHOROS, p. 92, §38.5–11 (the battle on the return march is mentioned only by Theophanes). There are lots of controversial points about these events: whether it was a single campaign or two separate campaigns; who were the Bulgars that ambushed Justinian and his army – those of Danube Bulgaria, the Bulgars of Kuber or some sort of ravaging hordes acting on their own account. Cf. В. Златарски, *История*…, vol. I.1, p. 159–161; П. Мутафчиевъ, *История*…, p. 142; A.N. STRATOS, *Byzantium in the Seventh Century*, vol. V, p. 13–18; *История на България*, vol. II, p. 108–110 (author: П. Петров); П. Петров, *Образуване*…, p. 310–329; Д. Ангелов, С. Кашев, Б. Чолпанов, *Българска военна история*…, p. 186–188; С. Михайлов, Н. Хрисимов, *Бележки за българо-византийските отношения (края на VII в.– началото на VIII в.)*, [in:] *Българите в Северното Причерноморие*, vol. VII, Великов Търново 2000, p. 256–257; *История на средновековна България*…, p. 97–98 (author: В. Гюзелев); Н. Кънев, *Византия и България на Балканите*…, p. 67–79.

[17] THEOPHANES, AM 6200, p. 376.13–29; NIKEPHOROS, p. 104, §43. В. Златарски, *История*…, vol. I.1, p. 174; П. Мутафчиевъ, *История*…, p. 146; B. PRIMOV, *Bulgaria in the Eight Century: A General Outline*, BBg 5, 1978, p. 11–12; *История на България*, vol. II, p. 111–112 (authors: Б. Примов, Г. Цанкова-Петкова); В. Бешевлиев, *Първобългарите*…, p. 97–98; Д. Ангелов, С. Кашев, Б. Чолпанов, *Българска военна история*…, p. 189; С. Михайлов, Н. Хрисимов, *Бележки за българо-византийските отношения*…, p. 259–260; *История на средновековна България*…, p. 107–108 (author: В. Гюзелев). Some modern authors come to question the historicity of the campaign of 708, cf. G. OSTROGORSKY, *History of the Byzantine State*, Oxford 1968, p. 143, n. 1; A.N. STRATOS, *Byzantium in the Seventh Century*, vol. V, p. 153–155; D. ZIEMANN, *Vom Wandervolk zur Grossmacht*…, p. 198–199; *Българска национална история*, vol. III, p. 99 (author: Г. Атанасов); K. MARINOW, *Liczebność wojsk bizantyńskich*…, p. 107.

[18] NIKEPHOROS, p. 114–116, §47–48; В. Златарски, *История*…, vol. I.1, p. 175–176; B. PRIMOV, *Bulgaria in the Eight Century*…, p. 12–13; В. Бешевлиев, *Първобългарите*…, p. 98–99; *История*

The Byzantine-Bulgarian conflict was only renewed in the middle of the 8th c. when it entered a new stage during the reign of emperor Constantine V (741–775). The new ruler made preparations for war by settling Armenians and Syrians in Thrace and rebuilding the border fortresses. The Bulgars, however, anticipated a Byzantine attack and went on an offensive themselves, reaching as far as the Anastasian Wall. This forced the emperor to act quickly and he somehow managed to drive them away with what he had at hand[19].

We hear once more of the Byzantine eastern troops in reference to a conflict with Bulgaria in the second half of the 750s (variously dated between 756 and 760), when Constantine V organised his first campaign on Bulgarian soil in which the Byzantines suffered a defeat in one of the passes of Haemus (the Balkan Mountain range) called Beregaba in Theophanes' laconic narrative of these events. Among the casualties was the *patrikios and strategos of Thrakesion* Leon[20] which makes it clear that at least part of the eastern *themata* (perhaps those of Western Anatolia?) took part in the military campaign. It is all the more possible since after the centre of the Caliphate shifted from Syria to Mesopotamia, the Byzantine East experienced a period of relative calm unseen for the past 150 years that was only interrupted by minor raids[21].

This enabled Constantine V to campaign regularly against Bulgaria in the subsequent years, making good use of his navy[22], but the information in the sources about

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на средновековна България…, p. 108–109 (author: В. Гюзелев); D. Ziemann, *Vom Wandervolk zur Grossmacht*…, p. 201. See also W.E. Kaegi, *Byzantine Military Unrest 471–843. An Interpretation*, Amsterdam 1981, p. 198–200, who discusses the overthrow of Philippikos and the endemic lack of local troops to counter the Bulgar incursions in this period.

[19] Theophanes, AM 6247, p. 429.25–30; Nikephoros, p. 144, §73; В. Златарски, *История*…, vol. I.1, p. 201–202; П. Мутафчиевъ, *История*…, p. 155; V. Beševliev, *Die Feldzüge des Kaisers Konstantin V. gegen die Bulgaren*, [in:] idem, *Bulgarisch – Byzantinische Aufsaetze*, Aldershot 1978, No. XXXI, p. 5–6; В. Primov, *Bulgaria in the Eight Century*…, p. 22–23; *История на България*, vol. II, p. 111–112 (authors: Б. Примов, Г. Цанкова-Петкова), p. 120; В. Бешевлиев, *Първобългарите*…, p. 105–106; Д. Ангелов, С. Кашев, Б. Чолпанов, *Българска военна история*…, p. 195–197; *История на средновековна България*…, p. 107–108 (author: В. Гюзелев), p. 114; D. Ziemann, *Vom Wandervolk zur Grossmacht*…, p. 214–215; *Българска национална история*, vol. III, p. 114–116 (author: С. Михайлов).

[20] Theophanes, AM 6251, p. 431.6–11. In modern historiography this battle is also linked to the battle of Markelai which happened either before or after that of Beregaba, reported by Nikephoros, but unlike it, the former was a Byzantine success. Cf. В. Златарски, *История*…, vol. I.1, p. 207–208; V. Beševliev, *Die Feldzüge*…, p. 7–9; В. Primov, *Bulgaria in the Eight Century*…, p. 24–25; *История на България*, vol. II, p. 121 (authors: Б. Примов, Г. Цанкова-Петкова); В. Бешевлиев, *Първобългарите*…, p. 107; Д. Ангелов, С. Кашев, Б. Чолпанов, *Българска военна история*…, p. 203; *История на средновековна България*…, p. 115 (author: В. Гюзелев); D. Ziemann, *Vom Wandervolk zur Grossmacht*…, p. 216–217; *Българска национална история*, vol. III, p. 116–118 (author: С. Михайлов).

[21] E.g., L. Brubaker, J. Haldon, *Byzantium in the Iconoclast Era, c. 680–850. A History*, Cambridge 2011, p. 166–167.

[22] On the participation of the Byzantine navy in Constantine V's invasions of Bulgaria, see Я. Христов, *За участието на византийския флот в конфликтите с България в третата четвърт*

the Byzantine military activities becomes vaguer. Nevertheless, wide participation of the eastern troops seems very likely. For one of the campaigns, we have a brief note in patriarch Nikephoros' speech against Constantine V, reporting that the emperor had mustered all the available troops to meet the Bulgars in battle[23]. The engagement is said to have taken place at Anchialos and hence it is a reference to the battle of 763. Unlike the other primary sources who speak of a Byzantine victory without going into much detail[24], in his speech, Nikephoros underlines the extremely heavy losses the Byzantines sustained. We have to say, though, that the text containing this piece of information is meant to show the iconoclast emperor in the worst possible light, and so it is only natural for its author to try to diminish his military achievements making his triumph a costly one[25].

A few years later, in 766, Constantine V initiated another massive campaign against the Bulgars, aiming at their complete subjugation. A 2,600-strong fleet carrying troops from all the *themata* is said to have headed to the Danube delta, while a portion of the army, led by the emperor, made camp south of the Haemus. It did not go well, though, for a sea storm sunk a great many ships and eventually, the whole campaign was called off[26].

Some two thousand ships might have participated in the combined offensive of 774, and again it is almost certain the eastern contingents had been transferred to the Balkans. It is not entirely clear either what was meant with ἐκ πάντων τῶν θεμάτων in a passage of text in Theophanes' *Chronographia*, referring to

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на VIII в., [in:] *Ruler, State and Church on the Balkans in the Middle Ages. In Honour of the 60th Anniversary of Professor Dr. Plamen Pavlov*, pars 1, Велико Търново 2020, p. 606–625; Y. HRISTOV, D. KOSTADINOVA, *Byzantine Battleships and Military Transport Vessels along the Hostile Shores*, SCer 11, 2021, p. 579–609, where the overall performance of the naval squadrons in these campaigns is judged negatively. For the role of the navy in the Byzantine-Bulgarian wars of the Early Middle Ages in general and a different assessment of its usefulness, see K. MARINOW, *Zadania floty cesarskiej w wojnach bizantyńsko-bułgarskich (VII–XI w.)*, [in:] *Byzantina Europea. Księga jubileuszowa ofiarowana Profesorowi Waldemarowi Ceranowi*, ed. M. KOKOSZKO, M.J. LESZKA, Łódź 2007 [= BL, 11], p. 381–392.

[23] *Nicephori Archiepiscopi Constantinopolitani Opera quae reperiri potuerunt omnia*, [in:] *PG*, vol. C, ed. J.-P. MIGNE, Paris 1863, p. 508, §72.

[24] THEOPHANES, AM 6254, p. 432.29 – 433.14; NIKEPHOROS, p. 148.7 – 150.22.

[25] V. BEŠEVLIEV, *Die Feldzüge*…, p. 10–11; B. PRIMOV, *Bulgaria in the Eight Century*…, p. 25–26; В. БЕШЕВЛИЕВ, *Първобългарите*…, p. 115–117. For the latest discussion, see D. ZIEMANN, *Vom Wandervolk zur Grossmacht*…, p. 219–220; Я. ХРИСТОВ, *За участието на византийския флот*…, p. 613–614, 615–618; Y. HRISTOV, D. KOSTADINOVA, *Byzantine Battleships*…, p. 589–591, 593–601; K. MARINOW, *Liczebność wojsk bizantyńskich*…, p. 107.

[26] THEOPHANES, AM 6257, p. 437.19–25; NIKEPHOROS, p. 156, §82. See В. ЗЛАТАРСКИ, *История*…, vol. I.1, p. 216–217; V. BEŠEVLIEV, *Die Feldzüge*…, p. 14; B. PRIMOV, *Bulgaria in the Eight Century*…, p. 26–27; В. БЕШЕВЛИЕВ, *Първобългарите*…, p. 123–124; Д. АНГЕЛОВ, С. КАШЕВ, Б. ЧОЛПАНОВ, *Българска военна история*…, p. 206–209; *История на средновековна България*…, p. 117–118 (author: В. ГЮЗЕЛЕВ); D. ZIEMANN, *Vom Wandervolk zur Grossmacht*…, p. 227–228; Я. ХРИСТОВ, *За участието на византийския флот*…, p. 614–615; Y. HRISTOV, D. KOSTADINOVA, *Byzantine Battleships*…, p. 591–592; K. MARINOW, *Liczebność wojsk bizantyńskich*…, p. 108.

Constantine V's concern to man the garrisons of the newly built *kastra*, after a formal truce with the Bulgars had been concluded earlier[27]. In all probability, it means that numerous soldiers from various *themata* (including some of the Anatolian ones) were used in this capacity[28].

These measures were indeed not in vain for the treaty was not to last, this time being infringed by both parties a few months later[29]. Constantine V recruited a huge army (80-thousand-strong, if we believe Theophanes the Confessor whose figures seem greatly exaggerated[30]) which included in its ranks the *Thrakesians* and *tagmata* from the *Optimatoi*[31], both in Western Asia Minor. It met the Bulgars at Lithosoria, taking them by surprise and routing them. This victory was followed by a triumphal entry into the capital city of Constantinople, the Byzantine host laden with booty and captives[32].

After this success, another offensive was launched in which 12-thousand horsemen embarked on transport vessels commanded by all the naval *strategoi*. The emperor, on the other hand, chose the land route along the seashore, but as soon as the ships reached Mesembria, many of them were sunk by strong winds. For one

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[27] Theophanes, AM 6265, p. 447.1–9. В. Златарски, *История*…, vol. I.1, p. 227–229; V. Beševliev, *Die Feldzüge*…, p. 15; В. Primov, *Bulgaria in the Eight Century*…, p. 32–33; *История на България*, vol. II, p. 128 (authors: Б. Примов, Г. Цанкова-Петкова); Д. Ангелов, С. Кашев, Б. Чолпанов, *Българска военна история*…, p. 209–210; *История на средновековна България*…, p. 118 (author: В. Гюзелев); D. Ziemann, *Vom Wandervolk zur Grossmacht*…, p. 230–231; *Българска национална история*, vol. III, p. 128–129 (author: П. Павлов); K. Marinow, *Liczebność wojsk bizantyńskich*…, p. 108–109.

[28] This is also the way V. Zlatarski and V. Beševliev grasp the meaning of this passage, cf. В. Златарски, *История*…, vol. I.1, p. 228–229; V. Beševliev, *Die Feldzüge*…, p. 15; В. Бешевлиев, *Първобългарите*…, p. 125–126.

[29] The dating of the campaign is uncertain, cf. D. Ziemann, *Vom Wandervolk zur Grossmacht*…, p. 232–233.

[30] See in particular K. Marinow, *Liczebność wojsk bizantyńskich*…, p. 109.

[31] It is worth noting that the *Optimatoi*, once part of the *Opsikion*, had a distinct organisation from the other *themata* and therefore the mention of *tagmata* is not an error on the part of Theophanes but reflects its specific functions instead (cf. J.F. Haldon, *Byzantine Praetorians*…, p. 223–226; C. Foss, *Optimatoi*, [in:] *ODB*, vol. III, Oxford–New York 1991, p. 1529).

[32] Theophanes, AM 6265, p. 447.10–26. This defeat is traditionally overlooked, especially in modern Bulgarian historiography, perhaps because it does not fit the pattern of Bulgaria overcoming the internal crisis and consolidating its positions under Telerig (768–777): В. Златарски, *История*…, vol. I.1, p. 230–232; V. Beševliev, *Die Feldzüge*…, p. 15–16; В. Primov, *Bulgaria in the Eight Century*…, p. 33–34; *История на България*, vol. II, p. 128 (authors: Б. Примов, Г. Цанкова-Петкова); В. Бешевлиев, *Първобългарите*…, p. 127–128; Д. Ангелов, С. Кашев, Б. Чолпанов, *Българска военна история*…, p. 210–211; *История на средновековна България*…, p. 119 (author: В. Гюзелев); D. Ziemann, *Vom Wandervolk zur Grossmacht*…, p. 232–233; *Българска национална история*, vol. III, p. 130–131 (author: П. Павлов). See also the note in К. Маринов, *Стратегическата роля на Старопланинската и Средногорската вериги в светлината на българо-византийските военни сблъсъци през VII–IX век*, ИРИМГ 2, 2014, p. 112 and n. 10, where the author, unlike most of his predecessors, does not deny the significance of this engagement.

more time, the Byzantine host had to turn back, its fleet having been decimated by the adverse weather conditions[33].

The death of the warrior emperor and fervent iconoclast Constantine V (14th September 775) brought relative peace to the Bulgar side. The khanate itself entered a period of internal stabilisation after the turmoil of the mid-8th c. which also meant that the tides in the struggle with Byzantium were gradually turning in its favour. The vigorous conflict was renewed in the early 790s and in 792 the two clashed in a major battle at Markelai which the Bulgars eventually won. For the Byzantines, it was a tough battle, as evidenced by the long list of victims among the dignitaries and officers. In the death roll, one finds the names of the *magistros* Michael Lachanodrakon, an infamous iconoclast whose career until that moment had passed entirely in the Byzantine East[34]. The list is complemented by the *patrikios* Bardas, the *protospatharios* Stephanos Hameas and the *strategoi* Niketas and Theognostos[35] of whom nothing more is said[36]. Even solely with reference to Michael Lachanodrakon in mind, it would be fairly safe to presume that some regiments of the eastern *themata* took part in the battle of Markelai in 792, despite the Byzantine preoccupation with the rebellion in *Armeniakon*, which had broken out earlier in the same year[37].

A few years later, in 796, the emperor Constantine VI (780–797) refused to pay the tribute due to the Bulgar khan Kardam (777 – after 796). This decision led to open hostilities and the two armies met at Bersinikia, just north of Adrianople[38], this time, however, without engaging in a proper battle[39]. What interests us here

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[33] THEOPHANES, AM 6266, p. 447.29 – 448.4; V. BEŠEVLIEV, *Die Feldzüge*…, p. 16; B. PRIMOV, *Bulgaria in the Eight Century*…, p. 34; В. БЕШЕВЛИЕВ, *Първобългарите*…, p. 128; D. ZIEMANN, *Vom Wandervolk zur Grossmacht*…, p. 233.

[34] He was in *Armeniakon* as recently as 790 (cf. *PMZ* 5027 with references to the sources).

[35] In W. Treadgold's view, Niketas and Theognostos *apparently commanded the themes of Thrace and Macedonia* (W. TREADGOLD, *The Byzantine Revival 780–842*, Stanford, CA 1988, p. 100). This, however, is far from evident.

[36] THEOPHANES, AM 6283, p. 467.27 – 468.7. В. ЗЛАТАРСКИ, *История*…, vol. I.1, p. 242–243; П. МУТАФЧИЕВЪ, *История*…, p. 173–174; B. PRIMOV, *Bulgaria in the Eight Century*…, p. 37; *История на България*, vol. II, p. 130 (authors: Б. Примов, Г. Цанкова-Петкова); В. Бешевлиев, *Първобългарите*…, p. 133–134; Д. Ангелов, С. Кашев, Б. Чолпанов, *Българска военна история*…, p. 214–216; W. TREADGOLD, *The Byzantine Revival*…, p. 100; *История на средновековна България*…, p. 122 (author: В. Гюзелев); D. ZIEMANN, *Vom Wandervolk zur Grossmacht*…, p. 237; P. SOPHOULIS, *Byzantium and Bulgaria*, *775–831*, Leiden–Boston 2012 [= ECEEMA, 16], p. 168–169; *Българска национална история*, vol. III, p. 132–133 (author: П. Павлов); K. MARINOW, *Liczebność wojsk bizantyńskich*…, p. 103.

[37] On it, see W. TREADGOLD, *The Byzantine Revival*…, p. 100; P. SOPHOULIS, *Byzantium and Bulgaria*…, p. 154, 167–168.

[38] It is more often than not spelt Versinikia, in accordance with the Byzantine and Modern Greek pronunciation. On the fortress and its disputed location, see P. SOUSTAL, *TIB*, vol. VI, *Thrakien*, Wien 1991, p. 205.

[39] THEOPHANES, AM 6288, p. 470.10–21; В. ЗЛАТАРСКИ, *История*…, vol. I.1, p. 243–246; П. МУТАФЧИЕВЪ, *История*…, p. 174; *История на България*, vol. II, p. 130 (authors: Б. Примов, Г. Цан-

is the evidence of Theophanes of the περατικὰ θέματα which were summoned on the emperor's command. The latter are identified by most of the scholars with the *themata* of Asia Minor[40].

It was not until the bloody war of 811 that we hear once again of the eastern armies of the Byzantine Empire acting against the Bulgar state ruled by the capable khan Krum (before 803 – 814). In that year the emperor Nikephoros I (802–811) mounted a large-scale offensive against the Bulgar capital of Pliska using the *themata* of Thrace (i.e., *Thrace* and *Macedonia*) but also the *peratic* ones (*Anatolikon* is mentioned by name), nearly all of the *tagmata* (namely the *exkoubitoi*, *vigla*, *hikanatoi*) and a numerous armed mob[41]. This levying *en masse* happened in the midst of a succession crisis in the Abbasid Caliphate between the sons of the great caliph Harun al-Rashid (786–809) which would not be resolved until 813. After sacking Pliska, the Byzantine host, led by none other than the emperor himself, proceeded to its own territory but was ambushed in a mountain pass of Haemus where nearly the entire army perished, including Nikephoros himself. All this and the aftermath of the battle are well-known and need not be discussed here in greater detail[42].

кова-Петкова); В. Бешевлиев, *Първобългарите*…, p. 134–135; W. Treadgold, *The Byzantine Revival*…, p. 106; *История на средновековна България*…, p. 123 (author: В. Гюзелев); D. Ziemann, *Vom Wandervolk zur Grossmacht*…, p. 238–239; P. Sophoulis, *Byzantium and Bulgaria*…, p. 170–171; *Българска национална история*, vol. III, p. 135–136 (author: П. Павлов).

[40] See, for instance, *История на България*, vol. II, p. 130 (authors: Б. Примов, Г. Цанкова-Петкова); Д. Ангелов, С. Кашев, Б. Чолпанов, *Българска военна история*…, p. 216; W. Treadgold, *The Byzantine Revival*…, p. 106; P. Sophoulis, *Byzantium and Bulgaria*…, p. 153, 170.

[41] On the composition of the Byzantine army in this campaign, largely known from the list of those who met their ends in the decisive battle, see Theophanes, AM 6303, p. 490.4–7, 491.9–13; I. Dujčev, *La Chronique byzantine de l'an 811*, [in:] idem, *Medioevo byzantino-slavo*, vol. II, Roma 1968, p. 432.1 – 438.99. The latter source actually speaks of ὅλα τὰ τάγματα (p. 432.6). Cf. also the latest study on this anonymous chronicle: P. Stephenson, *"About the Emperor Nikephoros and How He Leaves His Bones in Bulgaria": A Context for the Controversial Chronicle of 811*, DOP 60, 2006, p. 87–109.

[42] The decisive battle is usually referred to, in modern Bulgarian historiography alone, as the "battle of Vărbitsa pass" or collectively as "the battle of Pliska". It has been discussed countless times before. See, e.g., В. Златарски, *История*…, vol. I.1, p. 255–259; П. Мутафчиевъ, *История*…, p. 180–182; *История на България*, vol. II, p. 134–138 (author: Б. Примов); В. Бешевлиев, *Първобългарите*…, p. 141–150; Д. Ангелов, С. Кашев, Б. Чолпанов, *Българска военна история*…, p. 226–231; W. Treadgold, *The Byzantine Revival*…, p. 170–174; J. Shepard, *Slavs and Bulgars*, [in:] *The New Cambridge Medieval History*, vol. II, *C. 700 – c. 900*, ed. R. McKitterick, Cambridge 1995, p. 235; *История на средновековна България*…, p. 128–130 (author: В. Гюзелев); D. Ziemann, *Vom Wandervolk zur Grossmacht*…, p. 247–249; J. Haldon, *The Byzantine Wars*, Stroud 2008, p. 73–79; E.N. Luttwak, *The Grand Strategy of the Byzantine Empire*, Cambridge, MA–London 2009, p. 176–185; P. Sophoulis, *Byzantium and Bulgaria*…, p. 195–216; *Българска национална история*, vol. III, p. 147–152 (author: Г. Атанасов); П. Павлов, *Династията на Крум*, София 2019, p. 39–43. On the Byzantine-Bulgarian conflict during the reign of Krum, see Н. Кънев, *Бележки върху измеренията на българо-византийския конфликт при управлението на кан Крум*, [in:] *Ruler, State and Church*…, p. 675–703; K. Marinow, *Liczebność wojsk bizantyńskich*…, p. 103–104.

The battle of 811 delivered a heavy blow on the Byzantine ambition to end the Bulgar threat once and for all but the empire received some time for recovery, since Bulgaria, fighting on its own ground, had been badly pillaged by the enemy, allegedly suffering severe losses and its capital Pliska left devastated. Nevertheless, the war was renewed the following year with the Bulgars' capturing of Debelton. At this point, the new Byzantine emperor Michael I Rangabe (811–813) and his host were concentrated around Tzouroulon but upon hearing the news of the Bulgarian advance, it was on the brink of mutiny (especially the detachments of *Opsikion* and *Thrakesion*, as reported by Theophanes). The efforts to raise their morale with donatives were in vain and they left much of the *themata of Thrace* and *Macedonia* to the mercy of the Bulgars[43].

In a strange turn of events, the victorious Krum offered peace to the Byzantines but the seemingly acceptable terms were rejected by them, probably encouraged by a recent victory in the East, and thus the war carried on[44]. However, next year's attempt to quell the Bulgar onslaught was no more successful than that of 812. The decisive battle was fought at Bersinikia, the site of the abortive battle of 796. This time the two armies joined the fight but at the end of it, the Byzantines were once again on the losing side, evidently turning to flight at the first clash with the foe[45]. Our sources are relatively abundant, at least for the standards of the early 9th c., and provide enough information that could be used to determine the composition of the Byzantine host participating in the aforementioned battle with greater precision. Theophanes testifies that the emperor Michael Rangabe ordered all the *themata* to cross to Thrace and himself left Constantinople with the *tagmata*. Among the *strategoi* the chronicler mentions by name Leon, *patrikios and strategos of Anatolikon*, and Ioannes Aplakes, *patrikios and strategos of Macedonia*[46]. The so-called *Scriptor incertus*, an anonymous chronicle written by a contemporary of the events

[43] THEOPHANES, AM 6304, p. 495.20 – 496.5; В. ЗЛАТАРСКИ, *История*…, vol. I.1, p. 261–262; *История на България*, vol. II, p. 138 (author: Б. ПРИМОВ); Д. АНГЕЛОВ, С. КАШЕВ, Б. ЧОЛПАНОВ, *Българска военна история*…, p. 332–334; W. TREADGOLD, *The Byzantine Revival*…, p. 180–181; Θ. ΚΟΡΡΕΣ, *Λέων Ε΄ ο Αρμένιος και η εποχή του. Μια κρίσιμη δεκαετία για το Βυζάντιο (811–820)*, Θεσσαλονίκη 1996, p. 29–30; *История на средновековна България*…, p. 132 (author: В. ГЮЗЕЛЕВ); P. SOPHOULIS, *Byzantium and Bulgaria*…, p. 222–225; П. ПАВЛОВ, *Династията на Крум*…, p. 43.

[44] For the scholarly discussion and a detailed analysis of the source material, cf. Θ. ΚΟΡΡΕΣ, *Λέων Ε΄ο Αρμένιος*…, p. 32–43.

[45] On the battle of Bersinikia of 813 and the subsequent events in Byzantium, see В. ЗЛАТАРСКИ, *История*…, vol. I.1, p. 266–270; П. МУТАФЧИЕВЪ, *История*…, p. 184–185; *История на България*, vol. II, p. 138–139 (author: Б. ПРИМОВ); В. БЕШЕВЛИЕВ, *Първобългарите*…, p. 158–160; Д. АНГЕЛОВ, С. КАШЕВ, Б. ЧОЛПАНОВ, *Българска военна история*…, p. 234–230; W. TREADGOLD, *The Byzantine Revival*…, p. 185–189; Θ. ΚΟΡΡΕΣ, *Λέων Ε΄ ο Αρμένιος*…, p. 46–54; *История на средновековна България*…, p. 134–135 (author: В. ГЮЗЕЛЕВ); D. ZIEMANN, *Vom Wandervolk zur Grossmacht*…, p. 276–278; P. SOPHOULIS, *Byzantium and Bulgaria*…, p. 234–245; *Българска национална история*, vol. III, p. 155–158 (author: Г. АТАНАСОВ); П. ПАВЛОВ, *Династията на Крум*…, p. 46–48.

[46] THEOPHANES, AM 6305, p. 500.2 – 501.3, 501.27 – 502.3.

described, provides further details. According to its author, the Byzantine army had in its ranks even the guards of the border *kleisourai* with Syria (Lycaonians, Cilicians, Isaurians, Cappadocians and Galatians)[47]. The later history of Ioannes Skylitzes written in the final years of the 11th c., although not particularly useful in this regard, makes the battle more contested with the Byzantine defeat coming on this occasion not so much due to the Bulgars' prowess, greater determination and better preparation, as it had been in the previous two years, but as a result of an act of treachery on the part of the *strategos of Anatolikon* Leon the Armenian, who made good use of his betrayal and the loss of popularity of the emperor Michael I, by claiming the throne for himself (813–820)[48].

Krum's death († 814) gave the Byzantines the respite they needed so badly and, with it, the chance to go on an offensive. Indeed, they fought with some success in Thrace under the orders of the new emperor Leon V but, unfortunately, the sources are silent on to what armies the empire employed in this campaign[49]. What befell the Bulgars, rather unexpectedly, convinced them to sign a formal peace treaty in 815/816 which was to last until khan Omurtag's death († after 826) and beyond[50].

The open hostilities between the two powers began anew in the 850s or early 860s. The conflict ended up as soon as the Bulgarian ruler Boris (852–889) was baptised by Byzantine missionaries as a result of a peace treaty. But was there a Byzantine campaign towards Bulgarian Thrace after all? The only indication of such is found in the chronicle of Symeon Magistros and Logothetes who, in a short

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[47] *Scriptor Incertus*, ed. F. Iadevaia, Messina 1987, p. 40.34 – 44.150 (esp. p. 40.37–44). On p. 41.70–71 Aplakes is at the head of Macedonians (confirmed by Theophanes) and Thrakesians. At a slightly later moment, though (p. 42.77), the author speaks of Thracians fighting at his side and this reading is to be preferred in the first instance as well (see also the scholarly works cited above).

[48] *Ioannis Scylitzae Synopsis Historiarum*, rec. J. Thurn, Berlin–New York 1973 [= *CFHB.SBe*, 5] (cetera: Skylitzes), p. 5.75sqq. The same implication is present in other, earlier chronicles, such as the one written by Ioseph Genesios, himself among the sources of Skylitzes (*Iosephi Genesii Rerum libri quattuor*, rec. A. Lesmüler-Werner, J. Thurn, Berlin–New York 1978 [= *CFHB.SBe*, 14] (cetera: Genesios), esp. p. 3.21 – 4.27), and the so-called *Theophanes Continuatus* (*Chronographiae quae Theophanis Continuati nomine fertur*, libri I–IV, rec. M. Featherstone, J. Signes Codoñer, Boston–Berlin 2015 [= *CFHB.SBe*, 53] (cetera: Theophanes Continuatus, libri I–IV), esp. p. 26.28–29).

[49] Genesios, p. 10.4–19; Theophanes Continuatus, libri I–IV, p. 40.1 – 42.31. P. Sophoulis suggests that the emperor *was accompanied by a substantial, but mobile, expeditionary force which was probably made up of the tagmata and thematic contingents from Asia Minor* (P. Sophoulis, *Byzantium and Bulgaria…*, p. 268).

[50] On the treaty and the preceding clashes, see В. Златарски, *История…*, vol. I.1, p. 298–304; П. Мутафчиевъ, *История…*, p. 198–200; *История на България*, vol. II, p. 147–150 (author: Б. Примов); W.T. Treadgold, *The Bulgars' Treaty with the Byzantines in 816*, RSBS 4, 1984, p. 213–220; W. Treadgold, *The Byzantine Revival…*, p. 214–219; Θ. Κορρες, *Λέων Ε΄ ο Αρμένιος…*, p. 94–97; *История на средновековна България…*, p. 144–147 (author: В. Гюзелев); P. Sophoulis, *Byzantium and Bulgaria…*, p. 266–286; *Българска национална история*, vol. III, p. 171–177 (author: Г. Атанасов).

note, mentions a combined land and sea attack on the Bulgars led by the emperor Michael III (842–867) and the *kaisar* Bardas, and in a short chronicle which records the events in a similar manner, save for the participation of the *kaisar*. Both accounts are insufficient to allow for a reconstruction of the military expeditions in question[51], although they might have contributed in the end, along with other factors at work, to the Christianisation of Bulgaria[52]. If this campaign was more than a mere show of force, and it is likely that it indeed was despite the dearth of evidence, then the participation of at least part of the Anatolian contingents and the *tagmata* is almost certain. It will have happened shortly after the great victory Petronas, Bardas' brother, won against the emir of Melitene[53] and thus some of the troops under his command were quickly transferred to the Balkans to fight Boris' khanate.

The Christianisation of Bulgaria marks the beginning of a period of peace with Byzantium, which was only broken in 894 with the "first commercial war in Europe" that grew to be a war of attrition lasting with some interruptions to the death of the ambitious Bulgarian ruler Symeon (893–927). The first chance the Byzantines had to face Symeon's host with very much their whole field army, including the *tagmata* and the eastern *themata*, was in 896. The two armies clashed at Boulgarophygon but the battle did not go as planned for the Byzantines and they were soundly defeated suffering extremely heavy losses that made the anonymous author of *Theophanes Continuatus* make a lamenting remark that πάντες ἀπώλοντο[54].

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[51] *Symeonis Magistri et Logothetae Chronicon*, rec. S. WAHLGREN, Berlin–New York 2006 [= *CFHB. SBe*, 44.1] (cetera: SYMEON MAGISTROS AND LOGOTHETES), p. 243.215. It affords a firm *terminus post quem* for the events in question, since the date of Bardas' promotion to *kaisar* is known – 22nd April 862 (cf. *PMZ* 791/corr.; cf. Н. Кънев, *Византийските кесари през IX–X в., засвидетелствани по сфрагистични данни*, АДСВ 37, 2006, p. 170–171). For the similar account of the short chronicle, see *Chronica byzantina brevioria*, No. 110, vol. I, rec. P. SCHREINER, Wien 1975 [= *CFHB.SV*, 12.1], p. 677.1–5.

[52] On the conversion of Bulgaria to Christianity and the possible Byzantine campaign(s) beforehand, see, among other titles, В. Златарски, *История на българската държава през средните векове*, vol. I.2, София 2007, p. 18sqq; П. Мутафчиевъ, *История*…, p. 220–222, 224–230; В. Гюзелев, *Княз Борис Първи. България през втората половина на IX век*, София 1969, p. 55–86; D. OBOLENSKY, *The Byzantine Commonwealth. Eastern Europe, 500–1453*, New York–Washington, D.C. 1971, p. 84; T. WASILEWSKI, *Bizancjum i Słowianie w IX wieku. Studia z dziejów stosunków politycznych i kulturalnych*, Warszawa 1972, p. 103–119; *История на България*, vol. II, p. 214–218 (author: В. Гюзелев); Д. Ангелов, С. Кашев, Б. Чолпанов, *Българска военна история*…, p. 253; J.V.A. FINE, *The Early Medieval Balkans. A Critical Survey from the Sixth to the Late Twelfth Century*, Ann Arbor, MI 1991, p. 117–119; J. SHEPARD, *Slavs and Bulgars*…, p. 239–240; *История на средновековна България*…, p. 170–174 (author: В. Гюзелев); D. ZIEMANN, *Vom Wandervolk zur Grossmacht*…, p. 356–362. In some of these accounts, the effect the military conflict with the Byzantine Empire had on the decision of Boris is highly exaggerated. Furthermore, in a most recent paper, this campaign is dismissed as outright fictitious: K. BARDOLA, *The Birth of the Myth about the Byzantine-Bulgarian War of 863*, SCer 13, 2023, p. 191–214.

[53] On it, see J. HALDON, *The Byzantine Wars*…, p. 88–89.

[54] This is a clear overstatement but it should not diminish the fact that many a Byzantine soldier and officer perished, among them the *patrikios and protovestiarios* Theodosios: THEOPHANES CONTINU-

Perhaps one of the biggest armies the Byzantines have ever mustered for a war against Bulgaria was that of 917 when the uneasy relations between the two states escalated once again. The continuators of the chronicles of Theophanes and Georgios the Monk, Symeon the Magistros and Logothetes, and Ioannes Skylitzes inform us in detail of the preparations for it: an alliance with the Pechenegs north of the Danube delta[55] and a peace treaty with the Arabs were negotiated; the pay was distributed to the *tagmata*, by that time serving in the East, and the latter, along with the eastern *themata*, were transferred to Thrace to wage war against the Bulgarians. In charge of the combined army was the *magistros* and *domestikos ton Scholon* Leon Phokas. Apart from the commander-in-chief, the sources also mention the *domestikoi* of the *exkoubitoi* and the *hikanatoi*, Ioannes Grapson and the son of Maroules (or Olbianos Maroules in Skylitzes), respectively; Melias, commander of an Armenian contingent; the brothers Romanos and Leon Argyros, and Bardas Phokas who commanded other, unnamed *tagmata*. The general impression the evidence leaves is that a vast majority of the Byzantine standing army and reserves (part-time and fully professional soldiers alike) participated in this campaign[56].

Despite these thorough preparations for war, the Byzantine campaign ended on the plains where the small river Achelous flows into the Black Sea with probably the greatest military victory for Bulgaria in its entire medieval history. Many

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atus, Ioannes Cameniata, Symeon Magister, Georgius Monachus, rec. I. Bekker, Bonn 1838 [= *CSHB*, 45] (cetera: Theophanes Continuatus), p. 360.8–17; and the other important sources: Georgius Monachus, cognomento Hamartolus, *Chronicon Breve*, [in:] *PG*, vol. CX, ed. J.-P. Migne, Paris 1863 (cetera: Georgios Monachos), col. 1099–1100, §14; Symeon Magistros and Logothetes, p. 277.126–132; Skylitzes, p. 178.46–56. See also В. Златарски, *История…*, vol. I.2, p. 316–319; П. Мутафчиевъ, *История…*, p. 283–284; *История на България*, vol. II, p. 282–283 (author: И. Божилов); И. Божилов, *Цар Симеон Велики (893–927). Златният век на Средновековна България*, София 1983, p. 93–94; Д. Ангелов, С. Кашев, Б. Чолпанов, *Българска военна история…*, p. 261; S. Tougher, *The Reign of Leo VI (886–912). Politics and People*, Leiden–Boston–Köln 1997 [= Mme, 15], p. 178–180; *История на средновековна България…*, p. 246 (author: И. Божилов); M.J. Leszka, *Symeon I Wielki a Bizancjum. Z dziejów stosunków bułgarsko-bizantyńskich w latach 893–927*, Łódź 2013 [=BL, 15], p. 92–95; Н. Кънев, *Византия и България на Балканите…*, p. 163–165.

[55] Similar arrangements are recommended by the emperor Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos (913/944–959) in his *De Administrando Imperio* (cf. Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De Administrando Imperio*, ed. Gy. Moravcsik, trans. R.J.H. Jenkins, Washington, D.C. 1967, p. 52, §5).

[56] This is reinforced by phrases such as …καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι πάντες στρατηγοὶ τῶν θεμάτων at the end of the list of officers (cf. Theophanes Continuatus, p. 386.23 – 387.7, 388.13 – 389.10; Georgios Monachos, col. 1136, §10; col. 1136–1137, §15; Symeon Magistros and Logothetes, p. 302.106 – 303.112, 304.129–147; Skylitzes, p. 201.49 – 202.55, 202.71 – 203.93). On the Byzantine army and its commanders in the battle of Achelous, see И. Йорданов, *Битката при Ахелой през 917 г.: численост и състав на византийската армия. Просопография на участниците (Приносът на сфрагистиката)*, [in:] *Emperor Symeon's Bulgaria in the History of Europe's South-East. 1100 Years from the Battle of Achelous*, vol. I, Sofia 2018, p. 33–60; Н. Кънев, *Византия и България на Балканите…*, p. 243–247; K. Marinow, *Liczebność wojsk bizantyńskich…*, p. 110–111; N. Kanev, *Again on the Question of the Number of the Byzantine Army in the Battle of Achelous* (forthcoming).

an ordinary soldier and commanding officer ran for their lives but were butchered in the rout. The *domestikos* Leon Phokas saved himself behind the walls of Mesembria, whereas his adviser Konstantinos Lips and the aforementioned Ioannes Grapson could not. This battle is both well-documented and discussed in the secondary literature many times before, thus we shall abstain from further comments[57]. Suffice it to say that the pile of bones Leon the Deacon speaks of was a terrifying reminder of what befell the Byzantines on that day of August 917, still perfectly visible some fifty years later when the historian visited the site of the battle[58].

The situation after the disaster of Achelous, the planned Pecheneg incursion also having failed, had to be mended somehow and there was little time, for Symeon was advancing in haste towards Constantinople trying to make good use of his earlier triumph. The Byzantines assembled everyone they could (including the *hetaireia*, unaffected by the previous battle) and met the Bulgarians at Katasyrtai. The result of this engagement is slightly confused in the sources but most of them insist the Bulgarians were once again the victors, literally destroying what was left of the Byzantine field army in the hinterland of the capital city, which, had it not had its sturdy walls, would have been left at the mercy of Symeon. The latter, however, had to deal first with the unruly Serbs and hence rode off leaving the fate of Constantinople to be decided at a later stage[59].

Indeed, Symeon attacked the Byzantine capital in 921 and burnt the palaces in Pege and Stenon, after he had defeated an army of select troops from the *basilikoi*, the *hetaireia*, other *tagmata* and the imperial fleet under the general leadership of the *raiktor* Ioannes[60]. These regiments were not particularly numerous,

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[57] Primary sources: THEOPHANES CONTINUATUS, p. 389.10–19; GEORGIOS MONACHOS, col. 1137, §16; SYMEON MAGISTROS AND LOGOTHETES, p. 304.147 – 305.156; SKYLITZES, p. 203.93 – 204.17 (a unique account of the battle according to which the Byzantines initially had the upper hand but fled after an unfortunate accident with the horse of the commander-in-chief, whom the rest of the army thought dead. It was the confusion it caused, along with Symeon's timely and courageous actions, that won the day for the Bulgarian side). Modern historiography: В. ЗЛАТАРСКИ, *История*…, vol. I.2, p. 383–391; П. МУТАФЧИЕВЪ, *История*…, p. 302–303; *История на България*, vol. II, p. 286–288 (author: И. БОЖИЛОВ); И. БОЖИЛОВ, *Цар Симеон Велики*…, p. 124–125; Д. АНГЕЛОВ, С. КАШЕВ, Б. ЧОЛПАНОВ, *Българска военна история*…, p. 268–272; *История на средновековна България*…, p. 256 (author: И. БОЖИЛОВ); J. HALDON, *The Byzantine Wars*…, p. 91–93; M.J. LESZKA, *Symeon I Wielki*…, p. 177–180.

[58] *Leonis Diaconi Historiae*, rec. C.B. HASE, Bonn 1828 [= *CSHB*, 30] (cetera: LEON DIAKONOS), p. 124.10–12.

[59] THEOPHANES CONTINUATUS, p. 390.15–21; GEORGIOS MONACHOS, col. 1140, §19; SYMEON MAGISTROS AND LOGOTHETES, p. 306.172–179; SKYLITZES, p. 205.45–55. Only Skylitzes grants the Byzantines the victory at Katasyrtai. On the reasons for that, see the note by J.-C. Cheynet in JOHN SKYLITZES, *A Synopsis of Byzantine History, 811–1057*, ed. et trans. J. WORTLEY, Cambridge 2010, p. 199, n. 46. For a discussion of the battle, see В. ЗЛАТАРСКИ, *История*…, vol. I.2, p. 391sqq; *История на България*, vol. II, p. 288–289 (author: И. БОЖИЛОВ); И. БОЖИЛОВ, *Цар Симеон Велики*…, p. 125–127; *История на средновековна България*…, p. 256–257 (author: И. БОЖИЛОВ); M.J. LESZKA, *Symeon I Wielki*…, p. 181–185.

[60] THEOPHANES CONTINUATUS, p. 401.3 – 402.7; GEORGIOS MONACHOS, col. 1153, §9; SYMEON MAGISTROS AND LOGOTHETES, p. 316.126 – 317.151; SKYLITZES, p. 215.2–25. В. ЗЛАТАРСКИ, *Исто-*

even with all the *tagmata* present, so there likely were some of the eastern *themata* – at least those lying close to the Bosporus which were hastily summoned to defend the capital, for the Bulgarian offensive caught the Byzantines off guard. The sources, however, mention nothing of these and hence we would better content ourselves with what is explicitly said.

Tsar Symeon died on 27th May 927 and with him the dream of a united Byzantine-Bulgarian empire. Certain concessions were made with the peace treaty of the same year, which helped set the relations between the "old" and the "new" empire on a new footing. This agreement would last for nearly forty years[61].

The first, albeit short, war between Byzantium and Bulgaria after the death of Symeon began in 966/967. To this end, the then emperor Nicephoros II Phokas (963–969), purportedly angered by the demand for the annual tribute due to Bulgaria and the lack of reaction to Magyar horsemen's passing through the realm to raid the Byzantine European possessions, assembled a host of uncertain composition[62] and invaded the north of Thrace capturing a few of the fortresses defending the Bulgarian frontier[63]. Bulgaria, still ruled by the elderly tsar Peter (927–969), did not retaliate though. This campaign, it seems, was a mere show of force and some modern scholars even doubt that it has happened at all[64].

рия…, vol. I.2, p. 411–412; S. Runciman, *The Emperor Romanus Lecapenus and his Reign. A Study of Tenth-Century Byzantium*, Cambridge 1929, p. 88; *История на България*, vol. II, p. 290 (author: И. Божилов); Д. Ангелов, С. Кашев, Б. Чолпанов, *Българска военна история…*, p. 275; И. Божилов, *Цар Симеон Велики…*, p. 137–138; *История на средновековна България…*, p. 258 (author: И. Божилов); M.J. Leszka, *Symeon I Wielki…*, p. 194–195.

[61] On the peace treaty of 927, see В. Златарски, *История…*, vol. I.2, p. 516–535; S. Runciman, *The Emperor Romanus Lecapenus…*, p. 97–101; *История на България*, vol. II, p. 370–371 (author: В. Тъпкова-Заимова); J. Shepard, *Bulgaria: the Other Balkan "Empire"*, [in:] *The New Cambridge Medieval History*, vol. III, *C. 900 – c. 1024*, ed. T. Reuter, Cambridge 1999, p. 579; *История на средновековна България…*, p. 272–277 (author: И. Божилов); and most recently: M.J. Leszka, *Symeon I Wielki…*, p. 231–233; *Българска национална история*, vol. III, p. 407–416 (author: П. Павлов); M.J. Leszka, K. Marinow, *Part One. Chapter III. Peace*, [in:] iidem, *The Bulgarian State in 927–969. The Epoch of Tsar Peter I*, Łódź 2018 [= BL, 34], p. 47–53.

[62] Perhaps their core were the regiments of the *tagmata* (see the next note).

[63] Leon the Deacon calls the Byzantine army στρατιὰν ἀξιόμαχον (Leon Diakonos, p. 276.23 – 277.28).

[64] Most notably С.А. Иванов, *Византийско-болгарские отношения в 966–969 гг.*, BB 42, 1981, p. 88–100 and more recently K. Marinow, *Hémos comme barrière militaire. L'analyse des écrits historiques de Léon le Diacre et de Jean Skylitzès au sujet de la campagne de guerre des empereurs byzantins Nicéphore II Phocas en 967 et de Jean I Tzymiscès en 971*, BMd 2, 2011, p. 444–455; A. Kaldellis, *Streams of Gold, Rivers of Blood. The Rise and Fall of Byzantium, 955 A.D. to the First Crusade*, Oxford–New York 2017 [= OSHC], p. 54–57 (esp. p. 55–56 where Leon the Deacon's account is challenged). See also В. Златарски, *История…*, vol. I.2, p. 570–573; *История на България*, vol. II, p. 389–390 (author: В. Тъпкова-Заимова); Д. Ангелов, Б. Чолпанов, *Българска военна история през Средновековието (X–XV век)*, София 1994, p. 14; С. Пириватрич, *Самуиловата държава (обхват и характер)*, София 2000, p. 50–51; *История на средновековна България…*, p. 295–296 (author: И. Божилов); П. Павлов, *Векът на цар Самуил*, София 2014, p. 29–30; *Българска национална история*, vol. III, p. 432–436 (author: П. Павлов); M.J. Leszka, K. Marinow,

This short conflict was a harbinger of a new, much longer and violent struggle. The Rus' attack on Bulgaria, instigated by the Byzantine Empire beforehand, brought ruin to the once prosperous state. The invaders were soon perceived as a threat by the Byzantines as well and they initiated a carefully planned campaign to drive them away. This done, they also took advantage of the situation to occupy the core territories of the Bulgarian Empire, taking captive its ruler Boris II (969–971) who was later stripped off his vestments and regalia in Constantinople, thus symbolically abolishing the independent Bulgarian state through the dethronement of its monarch[65].

What was the act of dissolution in Byzantine eyes, was in fact only a temporary state of affairs. The Cometopuli brothers rebelled in the Bulgarian West and the war that broke out then (976) was to last until the very final breath of the First Bulgarian Empire in 1018. It was probably the one most important goal of emperor Basil II (976–1025) to put an end to this emergent state, whose rulers were seen by the Byzantines as nothing more than usurpers (*apostatai*)[66].

For most of the time, our sources of this war are conspicuously silent about the troops the Byzantine side employed. The first major military campaign Basil II led himself against Bulgaria was that of 986 when the Byzantines headed to Triaditza/Serdica (modern Sofia) and tried to capture it in a futile siege. In the retreat, the Byzantine army was taken by surprise and utterly defeated, with the emperor barely escaping with his life, this lucky outcome being attributed by the chronicler Stepanos of Taron to his Armenian guardsmen[67]. Our main sources, i.e., Leon the

Part One. Chapter VII. Last Years of Peter's Reign (963–969), [in:] IIDEM, *The Bulgarian State in 927–969*…, p. 138–148.

[65] On the Byzantine war against Svyatoslav of Kyiv, see the latest analysis of the source material in A. KALDELLIS, *Streams of Gold, Rivers of Blood*…, p. 62–63, 68–74, and the notes therein. On the abolishment of the Bulgarian state in 971 and the preceding events, see the latest discussion in П. ПАВЛОВ, *Векът*…, p. 43–52; M.J. LESZKA, K. MARINOW, *Part One. Chapter VIII. The Year 971*, [in:] IIDEM, *The Bulgarian State in 927–969*…, p. 159–170; K. MARINOW, *Post mortem cara Piotra, czyli upadek Bułgarii w latach 969–971*, [in:] Z.A. BRZOZOWSKA, M.J. LESZKA, K. MARINOW, *Piotr I Święty, car bułgarski (ok. 912–969). Maria Lekapena, caryca bułgarska (ok. 912–?963)*, Kraków 2018, p. 245–279 (inaccessible); Г.Н. НИКОЛОВ, *Из историята на Самуилова България*, София 2022, p. 41–44.

[66] The sources on the Cometopuli are summed up in English translation in V. TĂPKOVA-ZAIMOVA, *Bulgarians by Birth. The Cometopuls, Emperor Samuel and their Successors According to the Historical Sources and Historiographic Tradition*, Leiden 2017 [= ECEEMA]. On Basil II's wars against Bulgaria, see P.M. STRÄSSLE, *Krieg und Kriegführung*… (here p. 64–66).

[67] LEON DIAKONOS, p. 171.1 – 173.11; SKYLITZES, p. 330.10 – 331.51; *Ioannis Zonarae Epitome Historiarum*, libri XIII–XVIII, rec. T. BÜTTNER-WOBST, Bonn 1897 [= *CSHB*, 49], p. 548.6 – 549.18; *The Universal History of Step'anos Tarōnec'i*, ed. et trans. T. GREENWOOD, Oxford 2017, p. 285; *Histoire de Yaḥya ibn Saʿīd d'Antioche*, ed. I KRATCHKOVSKY, A. VASILIEV, [in:] *PO*, vol. XXIII, Paris 1932 (cetera: YAHYA), p. 418–419. For a comment on the campaign and the battle that followed, see В. ЗЛАТАРСКИ, *История*…, vol. I.2, p. 665–676; П. МУТАФЧИЕВЪ, *История*…, p. 372–373; *История на България*, vol. II, p. 405–408 (author: П. ПЕТРОВ); Д. АНГЕЛОВ, Б. ЧОЛПАНОВ, *Българска военна*

Deacon and Skylitzes, tell that Basil had mustered his forces before invading Bulgaria[68]. Mathew of Edessa, a 12th-century Armenian chronicler, even states that *the emperor Basil gathered together troops from all the lands of his empire*[69]. Skylitzes mentions two Byzantine generals by name – Leon Melissenos (by that time *magistros*, perhaps with no military office) and the *domestikos ton Scholon of the West* Stephanos Kontostephanos. Skylitzes, echoed by Ioannes Zonaras, is also the one who informs us that the emperor somehow had kept the conceived campaign secret from Bardas Phokas, the then *domestikos ton Scholon of the East*, and the other eastern *strategoi*. All this implies, it seems, that in the attempted siege of Triaditza and the later Byzantine defeat only certain *tagmata* and western *themata* were present – an imposing, yet not particularly numerous force[70].

After a decade, the fortunes of the two combating sides were reversed (in ca. 996/997) when Samuel was barely saved by his son and future tsar Gabriel Radomir (also known as Romanos to the Byzantines) at the river Spercheios. Again, it is nearly impossible to ascertain the contingents in the Byzantine host due to the sparsity of the main source (i.e., Skylitzes' *Synopsis Historion*)[71]. As it was commanded by the *archon of all the West* (presumably *domestikos ton Scholon of the West*) Nikephoros Ouranos[72], it is reasonable to suggest it consisted mostly of the *tagmata* and local *themata* which happened to be nearby at this moment.

история…, p. 39–44; С. Пириватрич, *Самуиловата държава…*, p. 110–111; C. Holmes, *Basil II and the Governance of Empire (976–1025)*, Oxford 2005 [= OSB], p. 491–493; *История на средновековна България…*, p. 318–320 (author: И. Божилов); P.M. Strässle, *Krieg und Kriegführung…*, p. 76–77, 88–89, 239–240; П. Павлов, *Векът…*, p. 114–115; *Българска национална история*, vol. III, p. 516–518 (author: П. Павлов); A. Kaldellis, *Streams of Gold, Rivers of Blood…*, p. 95–96; K. Marinow, *Liczebność wojsk bizantyńskich…*, p. 104–105. On the Armenian guardsmen of the emperor, see J.-C. Cheynet, *Basil II and Asia Minor*, [in:] *Byzantium in Year 1000*, ed. P. Magdalino, Leiden–Boston 2003 [= MMe, 45], p. 86. After the final capitulation of Bulgaria in 1018, we also hear of Armenian soldiers, who had been taken prisoner by tsar Samuel (Skylitzes, p. 363.54–56).

[68] τὰς δυνάμεις ἀνειληφὼς (Leon Diakonos, p. 171.2); τὰς Ῥωμαϊκὰς ἀθροίσας δυνάμεις (Skylitzes, p. 330.11–12).

[69] *Armenia and the Crusades Tenth to Twelfth Centuries. The Chronicle of Mathew of Edessa*, trans. A.E. Dostourian, Lanham–New York–London 1993, p. 40, §37). This, however, contradicts the Byzantine sources, both earlier and less removed from the war theatre (see below).

[70] The actions of the Byzantines and the lack of confidence shown for most of the campaign also seem to confirm indirectly this conclusion.

[71] Skylitzes, p. 341.22 – 342; cf. Yahya, p. 446–447. On the battle, see В. Златарски, *История…*, vol. I.2, p. 696–699; П. Мутафчиевъ, *История…*, p. 375–376; *История на България*, vol. II, p. 410 (author: П. Петров); С. Пириватрич, *Самуиловата държава…*, p. 120–121; P.M. Strässle, *Krieg und Kriegführung…*, p. 78 (on the chronology, see n. 25), 90–91, 241–242; J. Haldon, *The Byzantine Wars…*, p. 160–161; П. Павлов, *Векът…*, p. 130–131; *Българска национална история*, vol. III, p. 527, 530 (author: П. Павлов); A. Kaldellis, *Streams of Gold, Rivers of Blood…*, p. 113–114.

[72] On Nikephoros' official command at that point, see J.-C. Cheynet, *Basil II and Asia Minor…*, p. 87–88; C. Holmes, *Basil II…*, p. 409–410; P.M. Strässle, *Krieg und Kriegführung…*, p. 407, n. 1097; and the most recent study of M. Masterson, *Nikephoros Ouranos, Eunuchism, and Masculinity during the Reign of Emperor Basil II*, B 89, 2019, p. 409.

The ten-year truce the Byzantines concluded with the Fatimid Caliphate in 1000[73] gave them free hand to pursue more aggressively their goals in the Balkans against their bitter rival Bulgaria. However, what we know of the war in the first decade of the 11th c. is barely enough for a reconstruction of the main events in it, often chronologically confused, and as a rule, our primary informer Ioannes Skylitzes (and his immediate sources) is less than informative on the composition of the Byzantine armies that waged this war. Therefore, the transfer of *tagmata*, previously stationed in the eastern frontier region, can only be deduced but not confirmed by contemporary material. Even for a seemingly massive campaign such as that of 1014 which ended with the Byzantine triumph at Kleidion, there is no information whatsoever on the subject that interests us here[74].

The *Scholai of the West* along with the *tagmata of Thessalonike* under Konstantinos Diogenes participated in the last military campaign of Basil II against Bulgaria in the winter of 1017–1018[75]. And indeed, the *strategoi*/*katepanoi*/*doukes* of Thessalonike, Philippopolis and Dyrrhachion are the ones most frequently mentioned by Skylitzes in the war against Samuel and his heirs, with Thessalonike serving as a military hub and centre of Byzantine authority for the whole region. However, on some occasions at least, the troops of these commanders included in their ranks recruits from the East, as for instance the *doux of Thessalonike* Ioannes Chaldos' soldiers from *Armeniakon* and *Boukellarion* mentioned in a document (*sigillion*) from the year 995[76].

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[73] Y. LEV, *The Fatimids and Byzantines 10th–12th Centuries*, GA 6, 1995, p. 204–205.

[74] On this decisive battle, see В. ЗЛАТАРСКИ, *История*…, vol. I.2, p. 729–742; П. МУТАФЧИЕВЪ, *История*…, p. 380–381; *История на България*, vol. II, p. 416 (author: П. ПЕТРОВ); Д. АНГЕЛОВ, Б. ЧОЛПАНОВ, *Българска военна история*…, p. 55–56; С. ПИРИВАТРИЧ, *Самуиловата държава*…, p. 136–137; C. HOLMES, *Basil II*…, p. 499–500; P.M. STRÄSSLE, *Krieg und Kriegführung*…, p. 80, 242–243; *История на средновековна България*…, p. 325 (author: *И.* БОЖИЛОВ); J. HALDON, *The Byzantine Wars*…, p. 161–162; П. ПАВЛОВ, *Векът*…, p. 153–156; *Българска национална история*, vol. III, p. 551–554 (author: П. ПАВЛОВ); A. KALDELLIS, *Streams of Gold*, *Rivers of Blood*…, p. 121–122.

[75] SKYLITZES, p. 356.39–41. Cf. P.M. STRÄSSLE, *Krieg und Kriegführung*…, p. 244.

[76] *Actes d'Iviron I. Des origines au milieu du XIe siècle*, No. 8, ed. J. LEFORT et al., Paris 1985 [= AAth, 14], p. 153.1–2 (where Ioannes is *doux of Armeniakon*, *Boukellarion and Thessalonike*). In all probability, this means that he commanded troops of the former two *themata* organised the way the *tagmata* were, but not the whole effectives of these *themata*. It is also interesting to note, for it seems to be intentional, that his regiments are listed in the same hierarchical order as the one found for the corresponding *themata* in the *Escorial taktikon*/*Taktikon Oikonomidès* (cf. N. OIKONOMIDÈS, *Les listes de préséance*…, p. 265.1, 4, 35). See also the comments in C. HOLMES, *Basil II*…, p. 364, n. 150; p. 404, n. 15; A. KALDELLIS, *Streams of Gold*, *Rivers of Blood*…, p. 112–113. These contingents might have been left by Basil II himself, since it is in the same year (995) that he departed for the East, having previous waged war against Bulgaria with "all his troops" (YAHYA, p. 442). This downright exaggeration may indeed testify a large-scale campaign which is almost wholly omitted in the Byzantine sources (see, among others, P.M. STRÄSSLE, *Krieg und Kriegführung*…, p. 240–241).

2. The sphragistic data

What does the sigillographic material tell us about the participation of Byzantine troops from across the Bosporus in the wars with the First Bulgarian Empire? Unfortunately, not much. There are a dozen seals belonging to military administrators and commanders from Asia Minor and the adjacent regions found in present-day Bulgaria, dating from the 8th to the beginning of the 11th c. Some of these are likely connected to their activities in the domain of war in these territories, although other, non-military correspondence should not be wholly ruled out (see the discussion above).

N., *…and komes of the God-protected imperial Opsikion* (8th – middle of the 9th c.)[77]

Two fragments of lead seals, one of which was found near the village of Kalugerovo, Haskovo province, the other with unknown provenance.

As the dating is too broad, it is difficult to make any reasonable suggestion as to which events it may be related to.

Nikephoros, *imperial spatharios and strategos of Kibyrrhaioton* (9th c., before the middle of the century?)[78]

This person is known from a single seal, currently kept at the National Museum of History in Sofia but its exact origin is unknown. Almost certainly it has been found on the territory of Bulgaria.

The Kibyrrhaiotai constituted a naval *thema* in south-western Anatolia and it is relatively safe to assume that their *strategos* Nikephoros participated in one of the numerous Byzantine campaigns against Bulgaria where the fleet was also involved either in support of the land army or as a means of transport; which campaign is impossible to tell.

Niketas, *imperial strator*, *tourmarches and paraphylakes of Abydos* (middle of the 9th c.)[79]

His seal, according to its editor prof. I. Jordanov, most probably originates from the southern regions of the modern municipalities of Nova Zagora or Stara Zagora.

A century later the *tourmarches of Abydos* was a subordinate to the *strategos of Aigaion pelagos*, another naval *thema*[80]. This Niketas might have sent a message to someone in the region outlined above which will have been in the border zone between the two empires by the mid-9th c.[81] Otherwise, he may have participated

[77] I. Jordanov, *Corpus…*, vol. I, 56.1, p. 133; idem, *Corpus…*, vol. III, No. 1368–1369, p. 462.

[78] Idem, *Corpus…*, vol. I, 41.1, p. 108; idem, *Corpus…*, vol. III, No. 1314, p. 446.

[79] Idem, *Corpus…*, vol. I, 1.1, p. 25; idem, *Corpus…*, vol. III, No. 1100, p. 399.

[80] Constantino Porfirogenito, *De Thematibus*, rec. A. Pertusi, Città del Vaticano 1952, p. 83.18–20. Cf. J. Nesbitt, N. Oikonomides, *Catalogue…*, vol. III, p. 73–74.

[81] On the extend of the Bulgarian-controlled territories in Thrace during the period, see Б. Борисов, *До тук стига България (Бележки по хронологията и развитието на селищната мрежа*

at the head of a naval squadron in one of the military operations against Bulgaria of this century, most likely that of 863, when the fleet is known to have sailed along the coast in support of the land forces. If we slightly alter the date to a more recent one, Niketas could be brought in line with the time of the Symeon wars when the navy is equally well-attested.

N., *…and strategos of Thrakesion* (9th c.)[82]

A half-preserved specimen from the medieval fortress near the village of Melnitsa (Yambol province), in the close vicinity of Adrianople, where hundreds of lead seals have been found.

Contingents from *Thrakesion* are attested in the Byzantine-Bulgarian wars from the reign of Constantine V to that of Michael I and about the time of the latter is in our opinion the most likely period when the seal in question was dispatched, especially in the light of the hypothesis that the fortress near Melnitsa was in fact the medieval Bersinikia[83].

Balantios, *imperial protospatharios and strategos of Anatolikon* (9th–10th c.)[84]

A single lead seal, found near today's town of Silistra.

Its finding in the region of Dorostolon/Drăstăr may have something to do with the Byzantine negotiations with the Magyars who, incited by the Byzantines, invaded Bulgaria at the very end of the 9th c. In fact, the Magyars blockaded Symeon in Dorostolon after being ferried across the Danube by the Byzantine fleet. It is beyond any doubt that the findspot of Balantios' seal lies deep within Bulgarian-held territory for the whole of the period right until the late 960s.

Ioannes (?), *patrikios*, *imperial protospatharios and strategos of Thrakesion* (9th–10th c.)[85]

A lead seal from Debeltos/Deultum (nowadays the village of Debelt, Burgas province).

The place where the seal was found, changed hands often in the course of the 9th–10th c., which makes any estimates of the moment when the correspondence

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в Южна България по времето на Първото българско царство), [in:] *Оттука започва България. Сборник с материали от Втората национална конференция по археология, история и културен туризъм „Пътуване към България"*, Шумен 2011, p. 231–251; Н. Кънев, *Към въпроса за българското и византийското политико-териториално присъствие в Северна Тракия през IX в. (с оглед данните на сфрагистиката)*, [in:] IDEM, *Византинобългарски студии*, В. Търново 2013, p. 33–47; Б. Борисов, *Археологически данни за българско-византийските отношения през Ранното средновековие от територията на днешна Южна България (VII – третата четвърт на X в.)*, Епо 26, 2018, p. 373–382.

[82] I. Jordanov, Z. Zhekova, *Catalogue of Medieval Seals at the Regional Historical Museum of Shumen*, Shumen 2007, No. 1279, p. 442.

[83] Cf. P. Soustal, *TIB*, vol. VI, p. 205 (Bersinikia), p. 353–354 (Melnica).

[84] N. Bănescu, *O colecţie de sigilii byzantine inedite*, Bucureşti 1938, No. 6 (inaccessible); I. Jordanov, *Corpus…*, vol. I, 8.1, p. 37–38; IDEM, *Corpus…*, vol. III, No. 1113, p. 402–403.

[85] I. Jordanov, *Corpus…*, vol. I, 35.3, p. 93; IDEM, *Corpus…*, vol. III, No. 1277, p. 441–442; IDEM, Z. Zhekova, *Catalogue…*, No. 292.

was sent and its very purpose even more conjectural. It is almost certain that regiments from the *thema of Thrakesion* participated in the battle of the river Achelous (flowing less than 50 km off Debeltos), and as the dating does not contradict such an assumption, it is fairly plausible, albeit untenable, that Ioannes, or whatever his actual name was, was among those unfortunate enough to find themselves in the wrong place at the wrong time.

Philippos, *imperial protospatharios and strategos of Aigaion pelagos* (10th c.)[86]

In I. Jordanov's view, the original seal, now lost, comes from the region of Burgas.

It shares a lot of typological features similar to that of the previous one and is in all probability near-contemporaneous to it. With this in mind, the Achelous battle is also a possible explanation for its appearance there, especially given the fact that *Aigaion pelagos* was a naval *thema* and the Byzantine fleet took part in the operations from the outset to its closure, including the evacuation of those who had saved themselves behind the walls of the nearby towns of Mesembria and Anchialos.

Adralestos, *patrikios and domestikos of the exkoubitoi and the East* (last quarter of the 10th c.)[87]

If Jordanov's reading is correct, this person exercised authority (in quite an unusual manner) over two of the three divisions of the *exkoubitoi*. As the seal was most probably found in present-day north-eastern Bulgaria, it may testify to its owner's participation in one of the campaigns in this region spanning from the Byzantine-Russian war of 970–971 to the Byzantine re-conquest in 1000. It is the earliest seal of a *tagmata* commander designates as *of the East* that has been found in Bulgaria and the only one that is within our time frame.

Jordanov also identifies this Adralestos with the owner of an earlier seal as *protospatharios and ek prosopou of Thrace and Ioannoupolis*[88]. If this attribution is correct, we would have a firm *terminus post quem* for both seals and this would be 971 when the Bulgarian capital of Preslav was renamed Ioanno(u)polis in honour of the victorious emperor John I Tzimiskes (969–976)[89].

Diogenes, *protospatharios and strategos of Anatolikon* (971–?)[90]

Four specimens are known from Bulgaria: one was found in Preslav, another in the municipality of Dulovo (Silistra province), while the other two, kept at the museums of Preslav and Stara Zagora respectively, are with unknown provenance.

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[86] I. Jordanov, *Corpus…*, vol. I, 4.1, p. 33–34; idem, *Corpus…*, vol. III, No. 1111, p. 402.

[87] Idem, *Corpus…*, vol. I, 7.3, p. 37; idem, *Corpus…*, vol. III, No. 1027, p. 372.

[88] *И. Йорданов, Печатите от стратегията в Преслав (971–1088)*, София 1993, No. 290, p. 144–145; I. Jordanov, *Corpus…*, vol. I, 35B.19, p. 102; idem, *Corpus…*, vol. III, No. 1269, p. 439.

[89] Skylitzes, p. 298.9–10.

[90] *И. Йорданов, Печатите…*, No. 199–200, p. 112; I. Jordanov, *Corpus…*, vol. I, 8.2, p. 38; idem, *Corpus…*, vol. III, No. 1114–1117, p. 403.

The title of *protospatharios* is somewhat low-rank for the most important military administrator, that of *Anatolikon*, in the last third of the 10th c. Given the find-spots of the seals, the campaign against Svyatoslav of 971 is the most likely "candidate" for Diogenes' involvement. Whatever the exact moment these seals were used, this could hardly postdate the first years of the 11th c.

Leon Melissenos, *patrikios and strategos of Anatolikon* (970s – before 985)[91]

This stage in Leon Melissenos' career, otherwise unattested in the narrative sources, is known from a seal found at the so-called *strategia* of Preslav[92]. It precedes 985 when he was appointed *doux of Antioch*, for he had already been a *magistros* by then[93].

Konstantinos (?), *patrikios and strategos of Cappadocia* (end of the 10th c.)[94]

Two seals struck with the same *boulloterion*, both from the *strategia* of Preslav. Could this *strategos of Cappadocia* have participated in the re-conquest of Moesia in 1000, or this is simply a token of a private correspondence of a slightly later date?

Christodoulos, *imperial protospatharios and strategos of Samos* (10th–11th c.)[95]

One seal is found at the *strategia* of Preslav and the other originates from Silistra.

This Christodoulos was *imperial protospatharios and strategos of Samos* from ca. 971 to ca. 1000 or in the subsequent period but almost certainly before the 1020s.

Lastly, we have to consider a small group of three individuals holding various offices within the *thema/tourma of Mesopotamia*: **N.**, *…and strategos of Mesopotamia* (second half of the 9th c.)[96]; **N.**, *imperial spatharios and ek prosopou of Mesopotamia* (late 9th – early 10th c.)[97]; **Leon**, *imperial spatharokandidatos and tourmarches of Mesopotamia* (10th c.)[98]. I would like to argue that in all probability at least the former two were connected to a *thema* subsequently known as *Mesopotamia in*

[91] И. Йорданов, *Печатите*…, No. 201, p. 112–113; I. JORDANOV, *Corpus*…, vol. I, 8.3, p. 38; IDEM, *Corpus*…, vol. II, No. 458, p. 287; IDEM, *Corpus*…, vol. III, No. 1118, p. 403–404.

[92] This edifice is notable for the large number of Byzantine lead seals and blank lead disks found during the excavation process (a total exceeding 700), pointing to its administrative function (hence the name given to it). As such it was established after the Byzantine conquest of 971. Cf. И. Йорданов, *Печатите*…, p. 15–23.

[93] YAHYA, p. 416.

[94] И. Йорданов, *Печатите*…, No. 278a-б, p. 137–138; I. JORDANOV, *Corpus*…, vol. I, 39.1, p. 107; IDEM, *Corpus*…, vol. III, No. 1311–1312, p. 445–446.

[95] И. Йорданов, *Печатите*…, No. 320, p. 157–158; I. JORDANOV, *Corpus*…, vol. I, 67.2, p. 156; IDEM, *Corpus*…, vol. III, No. 1429–1430, p. 476.

[96] I. JORDANOV, *Corpus*…, vol. I, 48.1, p. 124–125; IDEM, *Corpus*…, vol. III, No. 1348, p. 456–457.

[97] IDEM, *Corpus*…, vol. I, 48.3, p. 125; IDEM, *Corpus*…, vol. III, No. 1350–1352, p. 457–458. This one, as *ek prosopou*, was with uncertain military functions anyway.

[98] IDEM, *Corpus*…, vol. I, 48.4, p. 125–126; IDEM, *Corpus*…, vol. III, No. 1353–1355, p. 458–459; И. Йорданов, *Печати на византийската администрация в България (971–1118)*, Шумен 2019, No. 67–69, p. 61.

the West. This opinion is corroborated by the geographic proximity and the generally early dating. One needs to keep in mind that the "other" *Mesopotamia*, in the homonymous historical region, was probably not established until the early 10th c.[99]

The presence of the last person, however, is even harder to interpret. Unlike the previous two, whose seals were found exactly where W. Seibt believes *Mesopotamia of the West* was situated (the region between the rivers Tundzha, Maritsa and Arda), Leon's bullae originate exclusively from Silistra. The matter becomes even more complicated in the light of the evidence of the *Escorial taktikon* (also known as *Taktikon Oikonomidès* and dated within 971–975) where we find four distinct *Mesopotamiai* administered by a *doux*, *katepano* and two *strategoi*[100], while *tourmarchai of Mesopotamia* appear only in the sphragistic record[101].

Be that as it may, none of the aforementioned is a likely candidate for an office in any eastern Mesopotamia that may have existed at the exact moment the lead seals were struck.

* * *

The present survey makes it clear that larger or smaller portions of the eastern troops of the Byzantine Empire participated quite regularly in the wars against early medieval Bulgaria. How frequently they appear in the sources, however, varies greatly. Obviously, during the first two and a half centuries after the Bulgars' settling by the shores of the Danube and the foundation of the Bulgar state there, the eastern *themata* are almost omnipresent on the field of battle, whereas, beginning from the last years of tsar Symeon's reign, we find no mention of them in the narrative sources. One of the reasons for that might have been their diminishing military potential compared to that of the *tagmata*. Here the sphragistic data comes in handy, for it provides substantial information, albeit not that conclusive, of commanders of diverse military units exchanging letters with locals, officials or other military men stationed in the Balkans, whether in time of peace or war.

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[99] On *Mesopotamia* and *Mesopotamia in the West*, see E. McGeer, J. Nesbitt, N. Oikonomides, *Catalogue of the Byzantine Seals at Dumbarton Oaks and the Fogg Museum of Art*, vol. IV, Washington, D.C. 2001, p. 134–135; I. Jordanov, *Corpus*…, vol. I, p. 124; and more recently and extensively W. Seibt, *"Mesopotamia des Westens" – Ist es im 9. und 10. Jahrhundert südlich der Marica zu suchen?*, [in:] *Нумизматични, сфрагистични и епиграфски приноси към историята на Черноморското крайбрежие*, Варна 2008, p. 100–114; Н. Кънев, *Бележки върху измеренията на българо-византийския конфликт*…, p. 690–691. See also Н. Кънев, *Към въпроса за българското и византийското политико-териториално присъствие*…, p. 38–41, where the author outlines two periods in the early (i.e. before its being documented in the *taktikon* of the 970s) existence of this military district: from the peace treaty of 816 to the reign of khan Malamir (831–836) and in the middle – second half of the century (*terminus ante quem* 899).

[100] N. Oikonomidès, *Les listes de préséance*…, p. 263.29, 31, 265.12, 269.16.

[101] Apart from the one in the discussion, see for instance E. McGeer, J. Nesbitt, N. Oikonomides, *Catalogue*…, vol. IV, 55.16, p. 141–142.

Interesting observations could be made on the frequency with which specific eastern *themata* are encountered in the Balkans during the period under consideration (Table 1). Such information is found for almost the entire period under consideration (between 712/713 and 995). However, for 813–995, our narrative sources keep silent about exactly which eastern units fought against Bulgaria, mentioning, only occasionally, individual elite *tagmata* and guard regiments from the capital (for instance, the *hetaireia*)[102]. For this period of almost three centuries, each of *Thrakesion* (or its *strategos*) and *Anatolikon* appear thrice (in 756/759/760, 774 and 812, and 811, 813 and 995, respectively), *Opsikion* twice (712/713 and 812), while each of *Optimaton* and *Boukellarion* – only once: the former in 774 and the latter in 995. Several border *kleisourai* are also mentioned among the participants in the battle of Bersinikia (813) – *Lycaonia*, *Cilicia*, *Isauria*, *Cappadocia*, *Galatia*[103]. It is apparent at first sight that most of the aforementioned *themata* are located in the Aegean and the Propontic littoral, and in Bithynia, just across the Bosporus, which finds numerous logical explanations. On the one hand, their relatively close proximity to the theatre of war means that they could be hastily mobilised and transported to the Balkans using the fleet, thus responding to an urgent situation quickly and without causing major logistic issues, otherwise inevitable when large armies had to cross vast stretches of land. On the other hand, the *themata* in question did not immediately border the Arabs and the Caucasian Christians. In other words, they served as an army reserve and were dispatched wherever needed – be it the Balkans or the eastern frontier zone. Had the Muslims penetrated westwards to the Aegean, they would fight in and for their own districts and fortresses, while for most of the time, they remained available for offensive operations in the West.

The sphragistic data comes almost exclusively from the period from the early 9th to the late 10th c., thus filling the chronological gap left by the narrative sources. We find the majority of the aforementioned *themata* on lead seals from Bulgaria[104] but this time our evidence goes further east, in fact as far as *Cappadocia*. The most striking presence, however, is that of certain naval *themata* (*Aigaion pelagos*, *Kibyrrhaioton* and *Samos*) along with their subordinate units (the *tourma of Abydos*, part of the *thema of Aigaion pelagos*) otherwise absent from the narrative records of the Byzantine-Bulgarian wars. This comes as no surprise, though, as the Byzantine navy often accompanied the field armies when campaigning against Bulgaria was concerned. However, as is the case with sigillography without proper context, it is impossible to judge of the nature of the correspondence, now lost, only by the seals that are extant. Furthermore, as many of these seals date from the

[102] This could partly be explained by different approaches on the part of the authors of chronicles and histories after Theophanes who may have been less interested in conveying such information in their works. This, however, could hardly be the only reason for their conspicuous silence.

[103] Some of them are otherwise unattested and may have not been officially recognised as *kleisourai*.

[104] All but the *Optimatoi*.

late 10th c. and are found predominantly in what is now north-eastern Bulgaria, it is plausible that some of them were related to the Russo-Byzantine war of 970–971 or the subsequent Byzantine occupation of these lands after ca. 1000. One needs to keep in mind that since these lands were more often than not under direct Byzantine control from John Tzimiskes' campaign until the early 11th c. and onwards, these seals may have served other, non-military needs related to official duties or private exchange of letters. This supposition could be further enforced by the fact that nearly half of the extant specimens from the late 10th – early 11th c. that we have examined were found at the *strategia* of Preslav – an administrative building established as such by the Byzantine authorities in the former Bulgarian capital.

In general, the sigillographic evidence seems to corroborate the narrative sources. The military districts most often found on lead seals from Bulgaria are, in the majority of cases, those that historians and chroniclers mention the most while narrating the Byzantine-Bulgarian wars. These are the *themata* of Western and Central Asia Minor, while those of the Northeast (*Armeniakon* and the smaller *themata* that sprang from it) are entirely missing from the record. It does not mean they have never taken part in these conflicts but only confirms what we already know, that their participation was less regular compared to that of their counterparts to the west who were well-suited to fight both in the Caucasus, Armenia, Mesopotamia and Syria and in the Balkans.

At times of utmost danger to the central government in Constantinople and when there was enough time to do that, seemingly the entire field army currently available was dispatched to deal with the threat the Bulgars posed. The narrative sources present the situation this way on several occasions: first, at the O(n)glos in 680, in some of Constantine V's campaigns (certainly so in 763 and 766, and perhaps in 774), in the long campaign of 811, at Bersinikia two years later, at Boulgarophygon in 896 and finally at the Achelous in 917. Such a course of action was a particularly risky one. It was part of the Byzantine strategic thinking that active combat on two fronts was to be avoided at any cost. Thus, one of the main prerequisites for a massive campaign in the Balkans with the participation of sufficient detachments of the eastern troops was either a peace treaty or at least a temporary cease-fire with the Arab Caliphate, its successor states or the local emirates, or a serious internal conflict that ruled out an intervention on the part of the Muslim adversaries of the Christian empire. In fact, we know from the historical sources that in 680, 763, 766, 811, 813 and in Basil II's campaigns after 1000, one of these conditions had been fulfilled beforehand. When this had not been done, the defences of the Byzantine East were greatly compromised, as it was during the wars with Symeon. An interesting remark in *Theophanes Continuatus* makes it clear that the opposite was also true – when there was peace with Bulgaria, the *themata of Thrace and Macedonia*, intended to safeguard the western approaches to the capital city of Constantinople, were customarily transferred to fight alongside

their Anatolian brothers-in-arms[105]. All this shows that the *theme* system in its initial form was far more mobile and flexible than is commonly held. Until the *tagmata* rose in numbers and took an ever more independent role, the *themata* had been well-capable of fulfilling their duty to repel enemy attacks or go on the offensive themselves, even when these had to cross vast spaces in order to reach their destination. On the contrary, the disappearance of the eastern *themata* from the sources about the Byzantine-Bulgarian wars seems to coincide with them becoming more static and defensively oriented, in a period when it was the *tagmata* that acted as the spearhead of the Byzantine reconquest.

It becomes apparent from our examination of the evidence, and it is a well-known fact already, that the Byzantine Empire suffered a serious lack of manpower in the Balkans at the time the Bulgars arrived there. This problem proved unsolvable even with the extensive establishment of new *themata* at the end of the 8th and the beginning of the 9th c. following the subjugation of some Slavic tribes and the reinstatement of Byzantine authority over once lost territories of the peninsula[106]. The *theme* system there had remained somewhat underdeveloped (at least compared to that of Anatolia) until it was gradually supplanted by the regiments of the *tagmata*. The reasons for that could be many but the most likely explanation seems to be that there was not enough arable land and not enough population to be converted into *stratiotai* in the limited stretches of land west of the capital firmly in Byzantine control for most of the period from the late-7th to the early 11th c. Moreover, these territories had been severely affected by the raids and the settlement of various peoples, most of whom proved reluctant to submit to the empire, while others, in their turn, were subdued by the Bulgarians in the 9th and early 10th centuries.

Strangely enough, the written sources explicitly mention the participation of eastern troops usually in grandiose military fiascos such as those of 680, 811 and 917. At the same time, the successful campaigns of Basil II's reign seemingly occurred with very little help from the eastern *themata* and the regional *tagmata* recruited in the East. Their western counterparts, however, were almost ever-present, occasionally acting as the vanguard of the campaigning army (e.g., the battle of Kleidion, when Nikephoros Xiphias, then *strategos of Philippopolis*, outflanked the Bulgarian fortifications). This says enough of the growing Byzantine military power at the end of the 10th and the beginning of the 11th c., but also manifests a gradual yet profound change in the balance between *tagmata* and *themata* in favour of the former. The mobility and battle worthiness of the

[105] THEOPHANES CONTINUATUS, libri I–IV, p. 258.45–47.

[106] A total of seven new *themata* were created in this period: *Thessalonike*, *Macedonia*, *Mesopotamia*, *Cephallonia*, *Peloponnese*, *Dyrrhachion* and *Strymon*, adding to the two already existing – *Thrace* and *Hellas* (cf. A.-K. WASSILIOU-SEIBT, *Reconstructing the Byzantine Frontier on the Balkans (late 8th–10th c.)*, REB 73, 2015, p. 229–235; Н. Кънев, *Бележки върху измеренията на българо-византийския конфликт*…, p. 680–681).

professional *tagmata* made them emperors' first choice from the second half of the 10th c. onwards. These came to dominate the aggressive warfare of the Byzantines in that period, while the *themata*, especially those of the interior, were left to decay, a process which became irreversible during the later part of the so-called "short" eleventh century[107].

Table 1

Individual eastern *themata* and their *strategoi* (*komites* in the case of *Opsikion*, and *domestikoi* in that of *Optimaton*) found in the narrative sources and sphragistic material for the wars with Bulgaria (late 7th – early 11th c.).

thema / event	*Opsikion*	*Thrakesion*	*Optimaton*	*Anatolikon*	*Boukellarion*	*Kibyrrhaioton*	*Aigaion pelagos*	*Cappadocia*	*Samos*
defence of Constantinople (712/713)	✓								
battle of Beregaba (756/759/760)		✓							
battle of Lithosoria (774)		✓	✓						
battle of Pliska/ Vărbitsa pass (811)				✓					
defence of Constantinople (812)	✓	✓							
battle of Bersinikia (813)				✓					

[107] This work owes a great deal to the numerous comments made by Prof. Kiril Marinow (University of Lodz) and the two anonymous reviewers. They all helped immensely and I use the opportunity to express my sincere gratitude to them.

thema / event	*Opsikion*	*Thrakesion*	*Optimaton*	*Anatolikon*	*Boukellarion*	*Kibyrrhaioton*	*Aigaion pelagos*	*Cappadocia*	*Samos*
defence of Thessalonike (995)				✓	✓				
number of lead seals (date)	1 (8th – middle of the 9th c.)	2 (9th c.; 9th–10th c.)		3 (9th–10th c.; 971–?; 970s – before 985)		1 (9th c., before the middle of the century?)	2 (middle of the 9th c.; 10th c.)	1 (end of the 10th c.)	1 (10th–11th c.)

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"The Unbroken Fellowship" What Did Khan Boris and Empress Theodora Agree upon?

Abstract. This article presents a novel hypothesis regarding the events surrounding the Christianization of Khan Boris of Bulgaria. The author proposes the possibility of a marriage between Empress Theodora and Khan Boris, primarily through a reinterpretation of two passages from the Theophanes Continuatus, which also appear in slightly altered forms in the works of other Byzantine authors. These passages have often been dismissed as mere legends lacking historical significance. However, the author contends that they can be viewed as distorted remnants of authentic plans, inviting a reevaluation of their historical value. The findings contribute to a deeper understanding of the complex relationship dynamics that influenced the region's political landscape during this era, challenging previous interpretations that have often underestimated the intricate interplay of power, diplomacy, and personal relations in medieval statecraft.

Keywords: Khan Boris, Empress Theodora, Theophanes Continuatus, Bulgaria, Byzantium

> Now the ruler of Bulgaria – this was Bogoris – comported himself with great insolence when he heard that a woman reigned over the empire. He, therefore, sent certain messengers to her, saying that he was breaking his treaties and leading an army against the land of the Romans. But the Empress, thinking no feminine or unmanly thoughts, informed him, 'You shall find me, too, leading an army against you. I hope to gain mastery over you, but if – Heaven forbid! – you should vanquish me, even so, shall I surpass you, receiving conspicuous victory, for you shall have defeated a woman and not a man'[1].

[1] *Chronographiae quae Theophanis Continuati nomine fertur Libri I–IV*, IV, 13, ed. J.M. Featherstone, J. Signes-Codoñer, Boston–Berlin 2015 [= *CFHB*, 53] (cetera: Theophanes Continuatus).

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In this way, Theophanes Continuatus begins the account of the diplomatic correspondence between Khan Boris and Empress Theodora. Although Theodora's response is frequently cited in numerous chronicles, most scholars have dismissed it as merely a historical anecdote, thus largely neglecting the narrative. However, considering the complex structure, the precise attribution of almost all the main characters, and the presence of many quite particular details, it is reasonable to assume that the narrative was based on an actual historical fact. Furthermore, the numerous comments and corrections of the narrative by various authors indicate that they also took the information in the text literally and attempted to interpret it in their own way. Therefore, this story warrants a more detailed analysis as a historical illustration of the Bulgarian-Byzantine relations in the mid-9th century, precisely the period just before the beginning of Bulgarian Christianization. Since this approach contradicts the currently dominant historiographical tradition, the following arguments should be considered hypothetical and need further critical discussion.

Narrative 1. Part 1. Introduction to the negotiations

The epistolary exchanges between Boris and Theodora are documented in several chronicles and compilations from that period. The most comprehensive version appears in the chronicle of Theophanes Continuatus. This account has been incorporated into the historical works of Pseudo-Symeon, Skylitzes, and Zonaras with minor modifications[2]. Genesios, the primary opponent of Theophanes Continuatus, significantly abbreviated this narrative in alignment with his ideological objectives, retaining only the account of the Empress's legendary response[3]. Likely due to the same ideological reasons, the narrative was omitted from the Chronicle of Symeon Logothetes[4].

Nevertheless, both the brief and full versions of the narrative commence similarly, with the Bulgarian Khan sending envoys to Theodora. These messengers delivered Boris's message, which included threats to attack the Empire. Theodora quoted the legendary reply attributed to the Amazonian queen, Thalestris[5]. After

[2] *Iosephi Genesii Regum libri quattuor*, IV, 7–9, rec. A. LESMUELLER-WERNER, Berolini 1978 [= *CFHB*, 14] (cetera: GENESIOS); *Ioannis Scylitzae Synopsis Historiarum*, VII, 9, ed. I. THURN, Berolini–Novi Eboraci 1973 [= *CFHB*, 5] (cetera: SKYLITZES); IOANNES ZONARAS, *Epitome historiarum libri XIII–XVIII*, 387.4, ed. T. BUTTNER-WOBST, Leipzig 1897 [= *CSHB*, 49] (cetera: ZONARAS); *Theophanes Continuatus*, *Ioannes Cameniata*, *Symeon Magister [Pseudo-Symeon]*, *Georgius Monachus*, 664.19, ed. I. BEKKER, Bonn 1838 [= *CSHB*, 33].

[3] GENESIOS, IV, 9.

[4] Symeon Metaphrastes developed his concept of Boris's conversion, with the Byzantine invasion as pivotal. *Symeonis Magistri et Logothetae Chronicon*, rec. S. WAHLGREN, Berolini 2006 [= *CFHB*, 44] (cetera: SYMEON LOGOTHETES).

[5] The reply of Thalestris was well-known in Byzantium due to the widespread popularity of the *Romance of Alexander*: *Recensio Byzantina poetica (cod. Marcianus 408)*: S. REICHMAN, *Das byzanti-*

receiving the response, Boris ceased his hostile actions. This marks the conclusion of Genesios's account and the first part of Theophanes Continuatus's narrative.

The quote from the mythical Amazon queen's response likely served as the primary reason for perceiving this narrative as a "naive legend" or "anecdotal fabrication by the authors", which, "in both its content and form, should hardly be taken literally"[6]. However, admittedly, Byzantine officials often employed various historical, biblical, or legendary allusions to smooth over the rough edges of diplomatic correspondence[7]. Moreover, Genesios and Theophanes Continuatus, viewed Theodora favorably and assessed her activities positively. Considering this, the rhetorical effect of choosing such a response might have been perceived as potentially harmful, thus compelling the chroniclers to add defensive comments. The story is absent from Theodora's hagiographic biography, probably because it was not entirely appropriate for rhetorical purposes[8]. Consequently, it is plausible that Empress Theodora sent the message to Boris deliberately quoting Thalestris' legendary response, having pretty rational reasons for doing so. Examining the political situation that had developed at that time is necessary to identify these reasons.

After ascending to the Khan position in 852, Boris pursued an active foreign policy to reaffirm existing peace agreements and improve their terms whenever possible. This approach was standard then and frequently adopted following changes in ruling leadership. Boris also undertook similar "declarative" military campaigns against neighboring states, which typically concluded swiftly by establishing new agreements[9]. The diplomatic "notification" of an impending attack

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nische Alexandergedicht nach dem codex Marcianus 408 herausgegeben, 5545, Meisenheim am Glan 1963 [= BKP, 13]; Recensio φ: Γ. Βελουδης, *Ἡ φυλλάδα τοῦ Μεγαλέξαντρου. Διήγησις Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ Μακεδόνος*, 216.1, Ἀθήνα 1977. *A History of Alexander the Great in World Culture*, ed. R. Stoneman, Cambridge 2022.

[6] I. Dujčev, *Légendes byzantines sur la conversion des Bulgares*, SFFBU 10, 1961, p. 65; В. Гюзелев, *Княз Борис Първи*, София 1969, p. 60–61; С. *Иванов*, *Византийское миссионерство. Можно ли сделать из "варвара" христианина?*, Москва 2003, p. 165.

[7] J. Shepard, *The Uses of 'History' in Byzantine Diplomacy: Observations and Comparisons*, [in:] *Porphyrogenita. Essays on the History and Literature of Byzantium and the Latin East in Honour of Julian Chrysostomides*, ed. C. Dendrinos *et al*., Aldershot 2003, p. 105–107; P. Magdalino, *The History of the Future and its Uses: Prophecy, Policy and Propaganda. The Making of Byzantine History*, [in:] *Studies Dedicated to Donald M. Nicol*, ed. R. Beaton, C. Roueché, Aldershot 1993, p. 3–34.

[8] *Life of St. Theodora the Empress*, [in:] *Byzantine Defenders of Images. Eight Saint's Lives in English Translation*, trans. M.P. Vinson, Dumbarton Oaks–Washington 1998.

[9] The Annales Fuldenses testify that Boris also sent an embassy to the court of Louis II the German in 852: *Annales Fuldenses*, anno 852, [in:] *MGH*, vol. VII, Hannover 1891; Probably at the same time, Boris presumably renewed agreements with the Serbs and Croats: *Annales bertiniani*, anno 853, ed. G. Waitz, Saint-Omer 1883; Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De administrando imperio*, XXXI, ed. G. Moravcsik, trans. R.J.H. Jenkins, Washington 1993 [= *CFHB*, 1; DOT, 1] (cetera: Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De administrando imperio*); В. Златарски, *История на българската държава през средните векове*, vol. I–II, София 1927 (repr. 2007), p. 9–11; T. Živković, *Sloveni i Romeji. Slavizacija na prostoru Srbije od VII do XI veka*, Beograd 2000, p. 100; N. Klaić,

sent by Boris to Theodora likely did not surprise Byzantine officials. The somewhat unexpected response from the Byzantine empress could have been motivated by two factors. First, it is possible that most imperial forces were engaged in clashes with Muslims, and the government preferred to avoid even minor skirmishes with the Bulgars. Second, Theodora and her advisers may have had far-reaching political intentions regarding the Khan of the Bulgars. In both cases, such a diplomatic response was thoughtful and judicious.

Upon first examining Theodora's reaction, what stands out to a researcher – and likely also caught Boris's attention – was the emphasis on gender in the message[10]. Using a quotation from the legendary response of Thalestris, the female ruler of the Amazons, where decisions were made without male participation, was a notably extravagant and controversial move within the Byzantine aristocracy, where men dominated both military and civil bureaucracies. Furthermore, the letter's content amplified this dynamic by framing international relations in "male-female" terms. Consequently, chroniclers such as Genesios, and later Skylitzes and Zonaras had to diligently mitigate the potential negative impact on their readership. They emphasized that Theodora did not rule alone but jointly with her son Michael, underscoring a shared governance approach[11]. Moreover, Skylitzes and Zonaras, following Theophanes Continuatus, felt compelled to clarify that there was nothing "shameful or feminine" about Theodora's response[12].

However, the most crucial meaning of the message might have been hidden between the lines. It is worth recalling that, according to legend, the relationship between Thalestris and Alexander the Great extended beyond their diplomatic correspondence. Notably, the Amazon queen offered to bear a child for Alexander, a Macedonian ruler[13]. Byzantine officials and some of Khan's diplomats were likely familiar with this storyline from the popular *The Romance of Alexander*[14]. It is reasonable to assume that Empress Theodora hinted at the possibility of discussing a dynastic marriage between the two sides through her message. The Boris's advisors likely understood this implication. Theophanes Continuatus reports that after receiving the message, the Khan maintained peace,

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Povijest Hrvata u ranom srednjem vijeku, Zagreb 1975, p. 227–229; Д.Е. Алимов, *Этногенез хорватов. Формирование хорватской этнополитической общности в VII–IX вв.*, Санкт-Петербург 2016, p. 204; S. Ćirković, *Srbi u srednjem veku*, Beograd 1998, p. 16.

[10] It is surprising how little attention this text has been given by gender history researchers: L. Garland, *Byzantine Empresses. Women and Power in Byzantium AD 527–1204*, London–New York 1999; J. Herrin, *Unrivalled Influence. Women and Empire in Byzantium*, Princeton 2013.

[11] Genesios, IV, 7; Skylitzes, III, 7; Zonaras, p. 387.5–10.

[12] Theophanes Continuatus, IV, 13; Skylitzes, III, 7; Zonaras, p. 387.5–10.

[13] Probably Theodora's advisors also considered the regional ambitions of the young Khan Boris.

[14] For instance, *Excerpta De Sententiis*, [in:] *Excerpta Historica Iussu Imp. Constantini Porphyrogeniti Confecta*, vol. IV, Berlin 1906 (repr. 1985), p. 198.5.

restrained his ambitions (μηδὲν τολμήσας νεανιεύεσθαι), and renewed a truce (τὰς ἀνενέου σπονδάς) as a sign of reciprocated (future?) affection (τῆς ἀγάπης αὖθις)[15]. No evidence suggests that a final peace treaty was signed then. However, the Bulgars' movement was suspended, and negotiations between Theodora and Boris advanced into a more substantive phase.

Although Theodora's proposal seems unconventional, it is well-documented that imperial diplomacy sometimes resorted to proposing dynastic marriages when facing severe external threats[16]. The details of the possible marriage could have been negotiated over extended periods, allowing the Byzantine government ample time to devise a solution[17]. Indeed, the previous history of Bulgar-Byzantine relations already included a similar case[18]. In this context, it remains uncertain whether Theodora and her favorite, Logothetes Theoktistos, genuinely aimed to formalize a dynastic union or were merely buying time, nudging Boris towards a military alliance. At any rate, Theodora's initial message constituted a diplomatic milestone, transforming the dynamics from military confrontations to diplomatic negotiations.

On the other hand, it should be noted that this diplomatic approach had its drawbacks. The idea of the dynastic marriage between Byzantine and non-Byzantine rulers was generally unpopular among high officials, who feared their positions at the imperial court might be jeopardized. This concern led the Constantinopolitan nobles to resist such negotiations actively, occasionally resulting in conspiracies[19]. Furthermore, even the mere suggestion of a dynastic marriage could inspire political ambitions in barbarian rulers, potentially compromising the Empire's border security. In this instance, despite the extensive experience of Bulgarian diplomats in dealings with their Byzantine counterparts, the ultimate allure of such an arrangement was so compelling that Boris continued to pursue the negotiations.

Thus, mutual distrust and confidentiality were significant challenges for both parties in these negotiations. The details of their subsequent interactions vividly

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[15] Theophanes Continuatus, IV, 13. The translation of this phrase as "and renewed once again the treaties of friendship" does not seem precise, as the expression "renewed again" seems like either a stylistic or historical inaccuracy.

[16] К. Бардола, *Этапы переговоров о династическом союзе в практике византийской дипломатии*, ВХНУ.І 53, 2017, p. 17–25.

[17] Empress Irene (780–803) initiated comparable diplomatic talks with Charlemagne: Theophanes, *Chronographia*, AM 6294–6295, rec. C. de Boor, Lipsiae 1883 (cetera: Theophanes), p. 478–479.

[18] For instance, the relationship between Emperor Justinian II and Khan Tervel: *Nicephori Patriarchae Constantinopolitani breviarium historicum*, 42, 60, ed. C. Mango, Washington 1990 [= *CFHB*, 13]; Theophanes, p. 374.2.

[19] For example, the diplomatic talks with Charlemagne caused the conspiracy against Empress Irene I: Theophanes, p. 478–479.

demonstrate the capability of Byzantine diplomacy to address such complex issues. According to the central part of the narrative, the monk Kupharas and Boris's enigmatic "sister" played crucial roles in navigating the diplomatic challenges[20].

The Narrative 1. Part 2. The mission of Monk Kupharas and Boris's "sister"

According to Theophanes Continuatus, Empress Theodora initiated a widespread search for a certain Monk Kupharas for reasons unknown. Fortunately, the monk was found in captivity with Khan Boris and managed to introduce him to essential Christian sacraments. Simultaneously, by a fortunate coincidence, an unknown sister of Boris had acquired significant knowledge of Christian liturgy while in captivity with the Byzantine Emperor. A diplomatic exchange occurred through mutual initiative, after which the process of preparing Boris for baptism intensified significantly[21].

The story does not appear solid, raising doubts not only among researchers but also among Byzantine chroniclers. It contains too many unbelievable coincidences. First, Theodora's sudden urge to find Monk Kupharas by any means seems inexplicable. Moreover, the subsequent "prisoner exchange" appears so unequal that even later compilers felt compelled to provide clarification. They offered additional comments about the nobility and value of Kupharas[22].

Even more questions arise when trying to identify Boris's sister. The likelihood that the text refers to Boris's real sister is slim[23]. Of course, it is conceivable that some real sister of the Bulgar Khan had previously been captured, which remained unnoticed by sources. It also might be suggested that she was neither ransomed nor exchanged by Khan Presian and spent a long time at the imperial court. While it is doubtful, it is still possible that the captive Bulgarian "princess" received an education remarkable, even by Byzantine standards, sufficient to understand the details of the Orthodox liturgy. However, what seems utterly improbable is that, after describing such an extraordinary woman's characteristics and her successful mission in Pliska, both Byzantine and Bulgarian authors failed to mention her name, even indirectly. The chroniclers made every effort to name other participants in the negotiations. Theophanes Continuatus deliberately mentions the name and nickname of the unknown monk, Theodore Koupharas, but does not

[20] THEOPHANES CONTINUATUS, IV, 14.

[21] THEOPHANES CONTINUATUS, IV, 14.

[22] ἡ μὲν περί τινος Θεοδώρου τὸ ἐπίκλην Κουφαρᾶ, **ἀξιολόγου** τινὸς ἀνδρὸς καὶ **χρησίμου τῷ πολιτεύματι**…; SKYLITZES, III, 7; ἄνδρα τῶν **λογίμων** Θεόδωρον τὸν Κουφαρᾶν… ZONARAS, p. 387.5–10.

[23] Regrettably, researchers have uncritically accepted this account from Theophanes Continuatus, assuming it possesses a legendary character. Nevertheless, the "Boris's sister" narrative has become part of the prevailing conception of Bulgaria's Christianization. See J. SHEPARD, *Slavs and Bulgars*, [in:] *The New Cambridge Medieval History*, *c. 700–c. 900*, ed. R. MCKITTERICK, Cambridge 1995, p. 240.

speculate about the name of Boris's sister. Researchers know nothing more about Boris's "sister"; the sources provide no information about her name, age, or subsequent life.

The simplest explanation for Boris's sister's appearance in the narrative is that Theoktistos's department deliberately fabricated this version to obscure the true nature of the negotiations. Their specifics could have required exchanging trusted individuals to make secret communication between Boris and Theodora more convenient and practical. To avoid arousing the Emperor's suspicion, Theoktistos might have devised a scheme involving a fake prisoner trading, designating one of the exchanged individuals as Boris's "sister"[24]. On the other hand, Theoktistos had total control over the diplomatic service and could easily ensure confidentiality. Therefore, such a complex exchange scheme would have been unnecessary.

The mention of Boris's sister in the story may have a different explanation related to the specifics of the historical narrative. The multi-layered narrative structure has evolved over centuries. The story's core may originate from an unknown primary source whose author was either indirectly familiar with the correspondence or had access to some excerpts. It is also plausible that the primary account was derived from the memories of those directly involved. This would explain the presence of characteristic introductory phrases like "he wrote to the Empress" (γράφει δὴ πρὸς τὴν δέσποιναν) and "she informed him" (αὐτῷ κατεμήνυεν), which precede either a quotation or detailed information within the text. Later, Byzantine chroniclers reported this story, supplementing the narrative with extensive notes and amendments, sometimes significantly altering its original meaning.

Moreover, since the source addresses Boris's conversion to Christianity, many terms and expressions in the text might originally have had liturgical meanings, which significantly broadens the range of possible interpretations. For example, in the current interpretation, the captivities of Monk Kupharas and Boris's "sister" along with their subsequent exchange, have determined the translation of many ambiguous phrases and sentences. However, there is ample reason to believe the "captivity" storyline was developed later, and many terms initially had other senses.

First, Theophanes Continuatus reports that Empress Theodora searched for the monk everywhere, implying that she was unaware that Kupharas had been captured and detained by Boris[25]. Therefore, the chronicler's comment that he does not know the Empress's reason for the intensive searches seems consistent. However, after that, the author reports that Kupharas had been in captivity for a long time, indicating that the monk's location was well-known and suggesting a possible reason for his search. One of these statements appears superfluous. The discrepancy between the two comments was evident to Scylitzes and Zonaras and probably

[24] The author used to support this opinion earlier. K. Bardola, *The Birth of the Myth About the Byzantine-Bulgarian War of 863*, SCer 13, 2023, p. 191–214.

[25] Theophanes Continuatus, IV, 14.

prompted them to omit the first[26]. Besides, two explanations for Theodora's actions in the text, with the first being nonessential, suggest that the second "captivity" comment was added later. In this case, it can be speculated that the term "captivity" could have been used with a liturgical meaning and later transformed into the current text version. The expression "redemption (repurchase) from captivity" (ἁμαρτιῶν ἀπολύτρωσιν) was a famous metaphor for the conversion process, which was actively used during preparatory prayer procedures[27].

For the sake of narrative completeness, the comment about the captivity of Kupharas was likely supplemented with two remarks about the captivity of Boris's sister, which also appear to be later additions due to their similar form and repetitive nature[28]. It is unclear whether all these "corrections" were added with a specific purpose or if the author was trying to give a simple explanation for a complex-to-understand text. As a result, the narrative underwent a complete shift in meaning through the simple yet effective technique akin to a naive, childish game, in which the multiple added exact phrases change the statement sense. In this way, the myth about exchanging "missionary Theodore Koupharas" for the Bulgarian Khan's sister appeared.

The simplest way to test this hypothesis is to exclude the apparent comments of later authors from the interpretation and attempt to reconstruct the original text's meaning in this way.

So, according to the account, Theodora inquired everyone and everywhere (δὴ ζήτησίν τινα καὶ πολλὴν ἔρευναν) about a monk named Theodore with the nickname Koupharas. Then she sent him to build a relationship with the Bulgarian ruler Boris (ἡ Θεοδώρα πρὸς τὸν ἄρχοντα Βουλγαρίας ἐποίει) assessing his (Boris) merit and piety according to the instructions (rules, Scripture) (αὐτὸν ἠξίου διὰ γραμμάτων ἀνερευνῆσαι καὶ τιμῆς ὅσης)[29]. She also wished to find out if he

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[26] SKYLITZES, III, 7; ZONARAS, p. 387.5–10.

[27] See: Tit 2: 14; ἁμαρτιῶν ἀπολύτρωσιν·: 62nd Canon; or τῷ κόσμῳ ἀπολυτρώσεως: 82nd Canon, *Concilium Constantinopolitanum a. 691/2 in Trullo habitum (Concilium Quinisextum)*, ed. H. OHME, Berlin–Boston 2013 [= *ACO*, 3.4] (cetera: *Concilium Constantinopolitanum a. 691/2*); In the prayer during the «catechumenate» of pagans. For instance, see: τοῦ Χριστού σου υπάρχοντα όν **έλυτρώσω τής αιχμαλωσίας** των άθεων έχθρων; or Ὡς **αιχμάλωτοι** στήκετε ούτω γάρ υμάς ό Χριστός αγοράζει: M. АРРАНЦ, *Таинства Византийского Евхология*, [in:] IDEM, *Избранные сочинения по литургике*, vol. I, Москва 2003, p. 269, 305; σύ γάρ εἶ (2); μόνος **λυτρωτής** τού γένους ήμών, IDEM, *Евхологий Константинополя в начале XI века*, [in:] IDEM, *Избранные сочинения по литургике*, vol. III, Москва 2003, p. 294, 516, 542, 566, 579.

[28] …**πρὸ πολλοῦ αἰχμαλωτισθέντος**, …**μὲν αἰχμαλωτισθείσης ποτέ**, …**τὸν τῆς αἰχμαλωσίας παιδευθεῖσα καιρόν**: THEOPHANES CONTINUATUS, IV, 14.

[29] "ὅσος" is a term often used in the context of the catechumenate, such as in the final part (*dismissio*) of catechumens. For instance, see Οσοι κατηχούμε<νοι> προέλθετε: M. АРРАНЦ, *Таинства Византийского Евхология*…, p. 198; διὰ γραμμάτων – following the Scripture (instructions). For instance, see, ἡμᾶς διακόνους καινῆς διαθήκης οὐ **γράμματος** ἀλλὰ πνεύματος τὸ γὰρ **γράμμα** ἀπο-

(Boris) would want to redeem himself (his soul?) [from captivity τής αιχμαλωσίας?][30] for her sake (καὶ βούλοιτο ἀπολυτρώσασθαι τοῦτον αὐτῇ). And he was found worthy… (ἠξίου δὲ καὶ οὗτος)[31].

Such a version of the text interpretation follows the general logic of the negotiations between Theodora and Boris, the final objective of which is the conclusion of a dynastic marriage. Of course, establishing such a marriage was only possible if the main obstacle had been eliminated. The Orthodox Church recognized marriage as legitimate if it was only between Christians, meaning the Khan would have had to convert to Christianity. However, the sudden conversion might have been too risky for Boris, considering the preceding anti-Christian campaign in Bulgaria. In this case, the Khan's belief shift could have caused significant dissatisfaction among the conservative Bulgarian nobles. To pacify the local aristocracy, Boris needed to offer substantial incentives, such as land grants or incorporation into the upper layers of the Byzantine elite. Since this could have only happened after the marriage procedure was completed, the secrecy and the action sequence were paramount for the Bulgars' ruler. Besides, Theodora also had compelling reasons to exercise caution in the negotiations. Her legitimacy among the imperial bureaucracy relentlessly diminished as her son Michael matured. It pushed the Empress and her trusted advisor, the Logothetes Theoktistos, to seek allies to support them both on the military front and in the corridors of the Constantinople court. Khan Boris was able to provide similar support. However, there was a high probability that such diplomatic talks could potentially alienate various factions within the imperial army and civil officials. It looks like, to address the mutual mistrust, Theoktistos devised a "roadmap" consisting of step-by-step actions designed to pave the way for the dynastic marriage as a part of the ultimate political agreement.

The success of the diplomatic operation was based on the specific features of Christian practices surrounding baptism and matrimony, both of which entail phased procedures.

So, the 72nd Canon of the Quinisext (Trullan) Ecumenical Council (691/692) permitted a Christian to marry a pagan, provided the latter vowed to be baptized shortly[32]. In public space, such an intent could be formalized through the "instructing" or "catechumenate", the official preparatory procedure before final baptizing. The 95th Canon of the Quinisext Council set forth three stages for the pagans' baptizing procedure: *And on the first day we make them Christians*, *on the second*

κτέννει τὸ δὲ πνεῦμα ζῳοποιεῖ: Cor 3: 6. Also see: **γραμμᾰτεῖον** in the Catechesis of the Byzantine Euchologion: IDEM, *Таинства Византийского Евхология*…, p. 304.

[30] The "captivity" (τής αιχμαλωσίας) probably was relocated to the later comment.

[31] Ἄξιον ἐστί ("It is Worthy" or "Deserving") is an important phrase in Byzantine liturgical practice, used at the beginning of hymns or prayers. See, for instance, Είτα τελουμένων πάντων των επί τω βαπτίσματί νενομισμε<νων> **άξιουται τη**: *ibidem*, p. 247, 252.

[32] 72nd Canon, *Concilium Constantinopolitanum a. 691/2*.

Catechumens, then on the third day we exorcise them, at the same time also breathing thrice upon their faces and ears; and thus, we initiate them, and we make them spend time in church and hear the Scriptures; and then we baptize them[33]. It should be noted that the "day" in this context has no chronological but symbolic meaning and might span years until the candidate was prepared entirely. Therefore, Boris, yet to be baptized, could technically be regarded as a Christian-in-waiting, eligible to commence the legal marital process, starting with the betrothal procedure. In this case, the final "roadmap" stop for the Bulgarian-Byzantine diplomatic deal might have been projected to be Boris's baptism and subsequent wedding coronation with Theodora in Constantinople. An additional clause, such as Boris eventually ascending to the vacant position of Caesar, may have also been part of the secret talks.

Theodora and Theoktistos needed trustworthy and qualified individuals to implement such a complex plan. So, the extensive search for Monk Koupharas can be explained by the need to send the envoy, who was confident and familiar with liturgy and the local language. Theoktistos's embassy journey to the Bulgarian border, as depicted in the Life of St. Evaristus, might have had one of the tasks of finding Koupharas. The Life notes that Evaristus was looking for monks familiar with the Bulgarian dialect; then he met them, and they subsequently spent six months engaged in various "divinely inspired" activities[34].

As Theophanes Continuatus informed, Koupharas successfully minimal educated and "introduced" Boris to the Mysteries (μικρά τινα παιδευθεὶς καὶ τῶν μυστηρίων κατηχηθείς)[35]. Overall, the monk's activity corresponded to the first stage of the catechumenate procedure. This phase, occasionally termed the "first day", was also known as the "pre-catechumenate". The pre-catechumenate signified testing the candidate's genuine interest in Christian basic principles, his commitment to rejecting misconceptions from prior beliefs, and an evaluative interview to determine readiness for conversion. In line with this, the narrative's account suggests that Koupharas approached Boris to measure his "piety and worthiness" by specific standards (guidelines? Scripture?), and his aspiration for ultimate "redemption" matches the intentions of such a process.

In the same way, we can try to reconstruct the primary text dedicated to Boris's "sister" activity.

So, perhaps the successful completion of the first phase served as a basis (reason) (ἀφορμὴν ἐκ τούτου λαβών) for getting a personal (older?) sister (περὶ οἰκείας

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[33] 95th Canon, *Concilium Constantinopolitanum a. 691/2*: καὶ τὴν πρώτην ἡμέραν ποιοῦμεν αὐτοὺς Χριστιανούς· τὴν δὲ δευτέραν, **κατηχουμένους**· εἶτα τὴν τρίτην, ἐξορκίζομεν μετὰ τοῦ ἐμφυσᾶν τρίτον εἰς τὸ πρόσωπον, καὶ εἰς τὰ ὦτα, καὶ οὕτω κατηχοῦμεν αὐτούς, καὶ ποιοῦμεν χρονίζειν ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ, καὶ ἀκροᾶσθαι τῶν Γραφῶν, καὶ τότε αὐτοὺς βαπτίζομεν.

[34] *La vie de S. Évariste higoumene à Constantinople*, ed. Ch. VAN DE VORST, AB 41, 1923, p. 301; GIBI, IV, p. 315.

[35] THEOPHANES CONTINUATUS, IV, 14.

αὐτοῦ πρεσβεύειν ἀδελφῆς) from the Romans (for preaching or teaching?) who was instructed (being kept) under the Emperor's court. The phrase "περὶ οἰκείας αὐτοῦ πρεσβεύειν ἀδελφῆς" is ambiguous because the verb πρεσβεύειν has several possible meanings, each of which is appropriate in this context. Whether it meant "negotiate", "preach", "teach", or "act as an elder", the verb denoted the definite task of the "sister's" arrival. Therefore, it conflicts with the logic of a simple prisoner exchange[36].

Then Theophanes Continuatus reported that the "sister" was instructed (catechized or kept?) at the Emperor's court (κατεχο[υ?]μένης δὲ νῦν ἐν τῇ τοῦ βασιλέως αὐλῇ)[37]. Indeed, she was safely delivered as a sign of trust (to settle the faith?) (αὕτη δὴ οὖν πρὸς τὴν πίστιν καλῶς μετενεχθεῖσα). After that, following the guidelines (Scripture?) (καὶ γράμματα κατὰ), and in accordance the Christian order (taxis), both in worship and in glorification of God (τὴν τῶν Χριστιανῶν τάξιν τε καὶ περὶ τὸ θεῖον αἰδώ τε καὶ δόξαν), with exceptional admiration (θαυμάζουσα διαφερόντως), she successfully concluded the spiritual rebirth procedure for the "brother" (τῆς ἐπανόδου τῆς πρὸς τὸν ἀδελφὸν τετύχηκεν)[38], sowing the seeds of faith in God (σπέρματα καταβάλλουσα τῆς πίστεως πρὸς αὐτόν), without gap between the praising and the supplicating (οὐ διέλιπεν ἐκθειάζουσά τε καὶ παρακαλοῦσα)[39].

With that in mind and considering the diplomatic goals set by Empress Theodora and the characteristic features of the narrative, it can be presumed that the term "sister" was also used with a religious, liturgical meaning. Therefore, Theodora's emissary might have been a female person who had the task of preparing the "brother" Boris for the second part of the catechumenate[40]. It is known that within the Orthodox church hierarchy, women could perform a limited range

[36] For instance, see καὶ δὴ καὶ πρεσβεύειν ἢ καὶ ἑτέρους διδάσκειν ἐπιχειρεῖν: Cyrillus Alexandrinus, *Commentarii in Joannem*, 1, [in:] *Sancti patris nostri Cyrilli archiepiscopi Alexandrini*, ed. A.Ph.E. Pusey, Oxford 1872 (repr. 1965), p. 87.6;Ἔργον γὰρ ὑμῖν ἐστιν, ἅγιοι, πρεσβεύειν ὑπὲρ ἁμαρτωλῶν: Ephraem Syrus, *Reprehensio sui ipsius et Confessio* (Ὁσίου Ἐφραίμ τοῦ Σύρου ἔργα), 1, ed. K. Phrantzoles, Thessalonica 1988 (repr. 1995), p. 353.6: Το περιβόλι της Παναγίας.

[37] Κατεχομένης = (κατεχο[υ]μένης)? For instance, see καὶ γινώσκεις τὸ θέλημα καὶ δοκιμάζεις τὰ διαφέροντα κατηχούμενος ἐκ τοῦ νόμου: Rom 2: 18.

[38] "ἐπάνοδος" is the term that Plato once used to denote the process of spiritual rebirth, and subsequently, it has often been employed when describing the baptism procedure. For instance, see: Eusebius of Caesarea, *Praeparatio Evangelica*, 13.13.63, *Eusebii Caesariensis Opera*, vol. I–II, Leipzig 1867; καὶ τοὺς μηδέποτε χαροποιηθέντας ἀγγέλους ἐπὶ σοὶ νῦν διὰ τῆς πρὸς τὸν δεσπότην ἐπανόδου χαροποίησον· εὐφροσύνην ποίησον ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ: Joannes Chrysostomus, *Oratio de Hypapante*, ed. E. Bickersteth, OCP 32, 1966, CPG 4756, BHG 1972–1972b, p. 72. 9.

[39] "Παρακαλέω" is a verb often used in the orthodox "supplicatory" prayers and litanies, which some liturgical procedures (including betrothal) began with. For instance, see M. Арранц, *Таинства Византийского Евхология*…, p. 190.

[40] According to Orthodox Canons, deaconesses were allowed to teach and preach privately, i.e., personally. For instance, see С. Троицкий, *Диакониссы в Православной Церкви*, Санкт-Петербург 1912.

of duties as "widows" or presbyterids (older sisters) and later known as deaconesses (ἡ διάκονος)[41]. Besides other auxiliary functions, they were responsible for women's baptism preparations, specifically for the Christian doctrine teaching (catechesis)[42]. For that reason, deaconesses must have had a certain level of liturgical education to handle such duties. Although their typical students were women, deaconesses were sometimes allowed to prepare men for baptism[43]. The "sister" sent to Boris possessed all the necessary competencies and probably was instructed at the Basileus court[44].

Theodora's decision to choose a deaconess instead of a deacon or priest could have been driven by several reasons. Firstly, it is highly probable that the female envoy was a trusted associate of the Empress, possibly serving as a private spiritual guide and assistant. Secondly, according to Church canons, women's access to administering sacraments was significantly limited; they were allowed only to prepare candidates and assist priests. Such limitations might have aligned with Theoktistos's plans and ensured that Boris could not bypass stages of the negotiation process, which the Byzantine government meticulously controlled. The final step of Boris's conversion and a potential coronation ceremony was intended to conclude the military-political agreement between the Bulgars and the Byzantines, not precede it.

One way or another, the "sister" accomplished her task, and "brother" Boris underwent the Christian "catechumenate" procedure, or at least a significant part

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[41] One of the possible interpretations of the phrase "πρεσβεύειν ἀδελφῆς" could be "to act as an elder sister", which can indirectly refer to the spiritual rank of a female envoy or emissary. 12th Canon of the Council of Carthage in 398 A.D. refers to these presbyteresses as "viduae vel sanctimoniales" (widows or consecrated women) and states: *eliguntur ad ministerium baptizandarum mulierum*, *tam instructae sint ad officium*, *ul possint apto otsano sermone docere imperitas et rusticas mulieres*, *tempore*, *quo baptizandae sunt*, *qualiter baptizatori interrogatae respondeant et qualiter accepto baptismo vivant*: 12th Canon, [in:] *Documenta iuris canonici veteris*, *Saeculo V*, *PL*, vol. LVI, ed. J.-P. MIGNE, Paris 1846.

[42] 72nd Canon, *Concilium Constantinopolitanum a. 691/2*; 40th Canon of the Quinisext Council (also known as the Trullan Council) states that women were ordained as deaconesses after the age of 40 and after a certain examination) οἱ δὲ ἱεροὶ κανόνες, τεσσαράκοντα ἐτῶν τὴν διακόνισσαν χειροτονεῖσθαι παραδεδώκασι, τὴν ἐκκλησίαν χάριτι θείᾳ κραταιοτέραν γινομένην, καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ πρόσω βαίνουσαν ἐωρακότες, καὶ τὸ τῶν πιστῶν πρὸς τὴν τῶν θείων ἐντολῶν τήρησιν πάγιόν τε καὶ ἀσφαλές: 40th Canon, *Concilium Constantinopolitanum a. 691/2*.

[43] THEODORET OF KYROS, *Ecclesiastical History*, III, 10, [in:] *NPFC*, Second Series, vol. III, ed. Ph. SCHAFF, H. WACE, New York 1892.

[44] The verbs κατηχέω and κατέχω are close in sound and spelling, and errors or corrections were quite possible. See, for instance: Ἡ **κατεχουμένη** γυνή, φησίν: M. АРРАНЦ, *Таинства Византийского Евхология*…, p. 230. Although the general meaning of the text does not change radically in both cases, we believe that the liturgical meaning of "instructed" is more appropriate. That is, the phrase "she was held at the court of the basileus" (κατεχομένης δὲ νῦν ἐν τῇ τοῦ βασιλέως αὐλῇ) probably initially sounded like "she was instructed at the court of the basileus" (κατηχουμένης δὲ νῦν ἐν τῇ τοῦ βασιλέως αὐλῇ).

of it. Afterward, the Khan sent the "sister" home (ὁ δὲ τοῦτο(ν) μὲν ἀποστείλας τὴν οἰκείαν), and for this she received reward (ἐλάμβανε μισθὸν), or it happened in reverse order. It is unclear if Boris completed the "renunciation" procedure and "union with Christ". However, according to Theophanes Continuatus, he remained "as before, engulfed in disbelief, worshiping his gods"[45].

As we can see, it is unlikely that any prisoner exchange operation took place. After completing her tasks, the "sister" probably was returned to the Empire. As for the monk Kupharas, he likely remained at Boris's court. It can be assumed that his career ended dramatically after Boris severed ties with the Byzantine government. He could be the individual Boris referred to in his message to Pope Nicholas I, describing him as "a deceitful Greek" who baptized people without being a priest (*Graecus mentiens fateretur se presbyterum esse*, *cum non esset*). Subsequently, he was deprived of his ears and nose and exiled after being beaten[46].

The mention that the "sister" did not pause between the glorification and the supplication might also mean that apart from Boris's catechumenate procedure, the deaconess performed some betrothal worship, which, according to the Euchologion of Constantinople, began with a litany[47]. However, without additional proof, this can only be considered an assumption. In this case, the third part of the narrative could be regarded as evidence that a betrothal agreement was indeed carried out.

The Narrative 1. Part 3. The final phase of the negotiations

The ambiguous interpretations, multiple comments, and interpolations were not the only factors that added complexity to the narrative. In addition, the story about the correspondence between Theodora and Boris was intricately woven into a unified text with other legends associated with the conversion of the Bulgarian Khan[48]. Theophanes Continuatus sacrificed chronological and logical sequence to integrate all the legends he knew into a single narrative, returning to the negotiation story after this brief deviation[49].

In the last part of the narrative, the chronicler reports that after turning to divine piety (ἐπεὶ γοῦν μετετέθη πρὸς θεοσέβειαν), Boris wrote to Theodora about

[45] Theophanes Continuatus, IV, 14.

[46] Nicolai I Papae, *Epistolae*, 14, ed. E. Perels, [in:] *MGH.Ep*, vol. VI, *Epistolae Karolini Aevi*, vol. IV, Berlin 1902–1925 (repr. Munich 1978) (cetera: *Responsa*).

[47] М. Арранц, *Введение в Таинства Византийской традиции*, [in:] idem, *Избранные сочинения по литургике*, vol. V, Москва 2006, p. 294.

[48] The connective phrase τὸν ὑπὸ τοῦ Θεοδώρου μὲν πολλάκις καὶ τῆς αὐτοῦ ἀδελφῆς Θαυμαζόμενό τε καὶ σεβόμενον was composed of words from the previous excerpt: περὶ τὸ θεῖον αἰδώ τε καὶ δόξαν, ὡς ἔστι, θαυμάζουσα διαφερόντως, ἐπεὶ τῆς ἐπανόδου τῆς πρὸς τὸν ἀδελφὸν τετύχηκεν.

[49] Since these stories are different in genre, style, and chronology, they were created independently and should be considered separately.

the land[50]. It is essential to point out that the author still avoids mentioning the term "baptism" (βάπτισμα) in this storyline[51]. Therefore, the discourse pertains to the period preceding the final conversion of the young Khan. After that, Theophanes Continuatus added a typical explanatory comment about the cause of such a request, stating that Boris was "oppressed by people", which was merely a figure of speech. The chronicler then introduces another quote from the correspondence, which should be considered in the context of the previous stages of negotiations. Boris's statement that *from now on*, *they are not two but one*, *inseparably bound in love and faith* (ὡς ἤδη ἓν ἀλλ᾽ οὐ δύο ὄντων αὐτῶν, πίστει τε καὶ φιλίᾳ συνδεθέντων τῇ ἀρραγεῖ) looks like direct evidence that the marital process had commenced, at least in the form of betrothal. This quote almost entirely reflects the Christian Church's vision of the spousal bond between a man and a woman, as documented in canonical and legal sources[52]. But more importantly, similar expressions were used in prayers during the Christian betrothal and pledge ceremonies[53]. In this context, the interpretation of the expression "ἑαυτὸν ὑποθήσειν καθυπισχνεῖτο" as meaning that Boris "promised to submit" to Theodora looks not correct. It would have opposed the request's overall "bold" message's tone[54]. It is more appropriate to interpret this as "he gave a promise on his behalf to ensure, as a deposit" of the establishment of eternal and indissoluble peace (εἰρήνην ἐργάσασθαι ἀΐδιόν τε καὶ ἀδιάπτωτον). This way, the land transfer from Theodora and Boris's approval of the military-political alliance might have been considered by the negotiating parties to be mutual "pledge gifts" also associated with the marital process (ἀρραβών).

According to Theophanes Continuatus, Theodora kindly agreed to transfer the requested lands to the Bulgarian Khan[55]. It indicates that the negotiations were nearly finished, and the treaty on a military-political alliance was ready to be

[50] THEOPHANES CONTINUATUS, IV, 15.

[51] The term appeared in the "Methodius painting" legend, THEOPHANES CONTINUATUS, IV, 16*:* νυκτῶν ἀωρὶ τοῦ θείου μεταλαγχάνει βαπτίςματος. On the other hand, the term "θεοσέβεια" entirely aptly fits Boris's status as "catechumen".

[52] For instance: "and the two will become one flesh" (καὶ ἔσονται οἱ δύο εἰς σάρκα μίαν), Ef 5: 31; Γάμος ἐστίν ανδρός καῖ γυναικός συνάφεια καῖ συγκληρωσις πάσης ζωής, θείου τε καῖ ανθρωπίνου δικαίου **κοινωνία**: Πανδέκται, 23, 2. Νομ. I. 2 (*Nuptiae sunt conjunctio maris et feminae et consortium omnis vitae*, *divini et humani juris communicatio*, Dig., 23.2); Theodore the Studite on a marriage union: πῶς τὸ μὲν ἓν μεθέξει τῆς **κοινωνίας**, τὸ δὲ ἕτερον οὔ; ἐπείπερ ἐν ἐπιτιμίοις; εἴ γε καὶ εἴη τοῦτο ὁ ἀνήρ, ἀνὴρ κεφαλὴ γυναικὸς καὶ εἰς ἓν σῶμα ἄμφω τὰ συνελθόντα· μεταλήψεται τὸ λοιπὸν σῶμα, ἡ κεφαλὴ δὲ οὔ: THEODORE THE STUDITE, *Epistulae*, (1) Ep. 22, ed. G. FATOUROS, Berlin 1992 [= *CFHB*, 31].

[53] "…στήριξον τον αρραβώνα αυτών έν πιστει και αγαπη…"; "…σύνδεσμον διαθέσεως(Ι) τιθεὶς άρρηκτον…"; "…καί ζεύξας αύτούς εις κοινωνίαν…": M. АРРАНЦ, *Таинства Византийского Евхология*…, p. 556–559.

[54] M. HURBANIČ, *The Byzantine Missionary Concept and its Revitalisation in the 9th Century*, Bsl 63.1, 2005, p. 110.

[55] THEOPHANES CONTINUATUS, IV, 15.

signed. Of course, the chronicler could not leave Theodora's "gift" without a "post-factum" remark. He noted that the territories were depopulated and frontier territories, trying, in this way, to reduce the wrong impression of this action. Moreover, in his opinion, after the land transfer, "all of Bulgaria" was converted to Christianity because Boris urged his subjects to acknowledge God (θεοῦ πρὸς τὴν οἰκείαν μετακαλεσαμένου γνῶσιν αὐτούς). Then, the narrative was finalized by the conclusion that all happened due to "minor sparks and «guts»" (blowings) after the Roman land transfer (καὶ οὕτω γῆς τῆς τῶν Ῥωμαίων) and other given pledges (ὡς ἄλλης τινὸς ἐπαγγελίας ἀξιωθέντες) about the unbroken unity (fellowship) (πρὸς κοινωνίαν ἄρρηκτον), which they had committed to each other about (καθυπέβαλον ἑαυτούς)[56]. The text in this part of the account contains phrases commonly used during betrothal prayers. One cannot help but assume that at least Boris believed the dynastic uniting process would soon be completed.

Undoubtedly, the agreements between Boris and Theodora placed subsequent emperors in a very delicate position and significantly complicated the imperial diplomacy activity. The Byzantine side likely began to dispute the validity of the marriage fact even during Boris's lifetime. Byzantine officials asserted that the final marriage could only be considered valid after the wedding coronation procedure. Not coincidentally, ten years later, Boris decided to clarify this issue with Pope Nicholas I, who responded quite plainly. The Pope confirmed that mutual consent was sufficient for Christian marriage and that there was no need "to wear a band made of gold, silver, or any other metal on the head", as the "Greeks" claimed[57]. However, the Byzantine emperors were advancing their agenda. Under Leo VI the Wise (866–912), the wedding coronation had already become mandatory for concluding a marriage between reigning individuals[58]. Moreover, Constantine VII was compelled to issue the well-known passage about the impossibility of dynastic marriage between Byzantine emperors and foreigners[59].

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[56] Theophanes Continuatus, IV, 15.

[57] *Responsa*, 3.

[58] In general, the story of the "uncompleted" marriage between Boris and Theodora could have significantly stimulated the changes in the Byzantine official matrimonial procedure that occurred at the turn of the 9th to 10th centuries: A.E. Laiou, *"Consensus facit nuptias – et non": Pope Nicholas I's Responsa to the Bulgarians as a Source for Byzantine Marriage Customs*, [in:] eadem, *Gender, Society and Economic Life in Byzantium*, London 1992, p. 189–201; Ph.L. Reynolds, *How Marriage Became One of the Sacraments: The Sacramental Theology of Marriage from its Medieval Origins to the Council of Trent*, Cambridge 2016, p. 27–28; J. Meyendorff, *Christian Marriage in Byzantium: The Canonical and Liturgical Tradition*, DOP 44, 1990, p. 106; M.L.D. Riedel, *Leo VI and the Transformation of Byzantine Christian Identity. Writings of an Unexpected Emperor*, Cambridge 2018, p. 113–114. D.C. Morolli, *Leo VI (886–912) and Marriage Law: some Historical-juridical Hints*, SOC 24.2, 2020, p. 49–61.

[59] Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus also made several rather dubious claims concerning Bulgarian history Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De administrando imperio*, XIII, p. 74; XXXI, p. 147–149; XXXII.

The official statements by the authorities inevitably influenced the main contributors to Byzantine historiography. As a result, chroniclers adapted the passage in their own way. For instance, the author of the Pseudo-Symeon chronicle moved the request and transfer of Byzantine lands to the period of Michael III's sole rule, thus significantly altering the narrative's meaning[60]. Scylitzes explained that the desperate circumstances of his subjects drove Boris's plea for lands, and he promised not only to establish perpetual and irrevocable peace but also to unite the two nations without specifying how[61]. Zonaras omitted any mention of personal relations between Boris and Theodora, describing the transfer of Byzantine territories as part of a political agreement between the two governments. Consequently, he refrained from naming Theodora and Boris in the section dedicated to this event[62]. Indeed, it was a logical and common occurrence in Byzantine history for a barbarian ruler to seek peace with Byzantium and receive lands in return. However, in this case, the military-political union with the Byzantine government was part of a complex political deal between the two rulers. This agreement included a dynastic marriage, Boris's conversion, and likely other issues.

Other authors, such as Genesios and Symeon Logothete, chose to omit this narrative[63]. They also removed all other mentions of allied interactions between the Bulgars and the Byzantines during that period[64]. Furthermore, these two authors sequentially have developed versions of Boris's conversion that portrayed the Empire as a dominant political force[65].

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[60] PSEUDO-SYMEONIS, *Chronographia*, praef., trans. et comm. G. CANKOVA-PETKOVA, Serdicae 1964 [= *FGHB*, 5], p. 169–182.

[61] ὑπισχνούμενος ἑνοποιῆσαι τὰ ἔθνη καὶ εἰρήνην ἐργάσασθαι ἀΐδιόν τε καὶ ἀμετάβλητον: SKYLITZES, III, 7.

[62] ZONARAS, p. 387.5–10.

[63] There is a long and intricate history of evaluation of the chronicles of Theophanes Continuatus and Genesios as historical sources. В. ЗЛАТАРСКИ, *История на българската държава…*, p. 2–3; P. KARLIN-HAYTER, *Études sur les deux histoires du règne de Michel III*, B 41, 1971, p. 452–496; А.П. КАЖДАН, *История византийской литературы (850–1000 гг.)*, Санкт-Петербург 2012; J.N. LJUBARSKIJ, *Theophanes Continuatus und Genesios. Das Problem einer gemeinsamen Quelle*, Bsl 48, 1987, p. 12–27; W. TREADGOLD, *The Middle Byzantine Historians*, New York 2013, p. 18.

[64] Genesios and Symeon Logothetes omitted information about the Bulgars' role in the Byzantine victories over the Arabs in 862–863. Besides, Genesios changed the legend about the future emperor Basil's wrestling with a Bulgar opponent. In contrast to Theophanes Continuatus, who referred to the Bulgar guests in this legend as "allies" (friends), Genesios did not mention the ethnic identity of the wrestlers, only retaining the Slavic term for the wrestling move, "podrezan" (πόδρεζαν): GENESIOS, IV, 26; Symeon Logothetes did not use the "wrestling" story.

[65] Thus, Genesios preceded the story of Theodora's response with an extra commentary that the Bulgars did not initially possess local lands but had got them as voluntarily granted by the Byzantines: GENESIOS, IV, 7; Besides, he stated that the victory of Roman arms over the Arabs impacted Boris so much that he decided to embrace Christianity: GENESIOS, IV, 16; In his turn, Symeon Logothetes contrived a legend about a Byzantine invasion of Bulgaria in 863 that forced Boris to embrace Christianity: SYMEON LOGOTHETES, p. 238.15.

In this context, it is hard to overstate the significance of the information provided by Theophanes Continuatus. Despite numerous commentaries, corrections, and overlaps with other stories, the extended narrative version allows us to suggest how the primary source text might have looked. The specific details of the narrative indicate that the primary source could have been based on diplomatic-liturgical instructions or memoir-like reports from direct participants, complete with detailed descriptions of the religious procedures performed. This raises the question of how these documents, intended for a very narrow audience, became broadly publicized and transformed into a well-known story. Examining another historical narrative related to the main actors in the negotiations may help answer this question. This story concerns the conspiracy and assassination of Logothetes Theoktistos, presumably the supervisor of the talks.

The Narrative 2. The death of Theoktistos

The conspiracy against Empress Theodora's closest associate, adviser, and former head of the regency council, Logothetes Theoktistos, was an extraordinary event, even by Byzantine standards. The assassination of arguably the most influential official of that period created significant ripples, as reflected in numerous chronicles. However, the authors drew from various sources, resulting in noticeable variations in their accounts. With many unique and often contradictory details, researchers find it difficult to pinpoint the actual sequence of events. Nonetheless, within the scope of this research, the story of Theoktistos's death is intriguing for two key reasons. The first is the motivation of the co-conspirators, particularly Emperor Michael III. The second is the nature of the allegations against Theoktistos.

Bardas, Theodora's brother, was an avowed enemy of the Logothetes and undeniably played a central role in his accusation and assassination. Yet, he seemingly had lost favor at the imperial court and largely lacked his prior influence by the time of the conspiracy. Therefore, he did not have abilities to orchestrate the plot without Emperor Michael III's direct support. By this period, Theoktistos had almost complete executive authority in the Empire, exploiting the Empress's unwavering support. Given this, there must have been compelling reasons for the young and often vacillating Emperor to take such a drastic and, in some ways, desperate political move.

Some researchers believe Michael III was deeply harmed by Theodora and her adviser's pressure regarding his marriage, pushing him to back Bardas's scheme[66].

[66] J.B. Bury, *The Eastern Roman Empire (717–1453)*, [in:] *The Cambridge Medieval History*, vol. IV, ed. idem, J.R. Tanner, C.W. Previté-Orton, Z.N. Brooke, London 1923, p. 156; G. Ostrogorsky, *Geschichte des Byzantinischen Staates*, Munchen 1963, p. 185–186. This peculiar version remains popular to this day. For instance, see W. Treadgold, *A History of the Byzantine State and Society*, Stanford 1997, p. 406; T.E. Gregory, *A History of Byzantium*, Oxford–Carlton 2005, p. 211; A. Kaldellis, *The New Roman Empire. A History of Byzantium*, Oxford 2023, p. 504.

Indeed, Theodora insisted that her son choose a bride to counteract the negative influence of his mistress, Eudokia Ingerina. Nonetheless, the probability that this pressure caused much discontent and thus became a decisive factor in Michael's decision appears unconvincing. No authors highlight the Emperor's evident discontent over this matter. Moreover, there was no reason for him to change the current situation. Despite his marriage with Eudokia Dekapolitissa, Michael maintained his relationship with Ingerina unchanged. Furthermore, he sustained his marriage ties with Eudokia even after Theoktistos's death and Theodora's exile, showing his apparent indifference to the issue[67].

Theophanes Continuatus offered another version of the Emperor's motivation, which Skylitzes and Zonaras repeated[68]. He reported that Theoktistos supposedly hindered the career promotion of Michael's "domestic tutor". According to the text, the Logothetes of the Drome accompanied his refusal with the offensive remark that "only the worthy should govern the state"[69].

The "domestic tutor" legend was probably a result of a funny misunderstanding. The description of the "teacher" (παιδαγωγὸς) given by Theophanes Continuatus is close to that of Bardas in the Life of Patriarch Ignatius. Both are characterized as arrogant, cold-hearted, "far from noble manners", and intriguing against Theoktistos and Theodora[70]. Niketas the Paphlagonian, the author of the Life of Patriarch Ignatius, named the Bardas' official position as a Domestikos of the Scholae (δομέστικος τῶν σχολῶν). It seems that Theophanes Continuatus used some lousy, probably Latinized, version of Bardas's description in which the term "Domestikos of the Scholae" was mistakenly transformed into the "home teacher" (*scholaris domesticus*)[71].

Moreover, the sources have not preserved the name of the "tutor", and the idea of an adult and already married Michael III was still receiving an education does not align with his character and status. In this context, Theoktistos's critical remark about the "ruling abilities" was not related to Michael III but was directed personally against Bardas, Domestikos of the Scholae[72]. In this case, Barda's claim could be associated with a high official post, Caesar's position. Of course, the eunuch's humiliating refusal must have deeply hurt the Emperor's uncle and pushed him into decisive action.

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[67] C. MANGO, *Eudocia Ingerina, the Normans, and the Macedonian Dynasty*, ЗРВИ 14–15, 1973, p. 17–27.

[68] THEOPHANES CONTINUATUS, IV, 15; ZONARAS, p. 391.9–10; SKYLITZES, III, 9, 20.

[69] ἐπαξίως λέγων καὶ οὐκ ἀναξίως τὰ τῆς βασιλείας δεῖν διοικεῖν: THEOPHANES CONTINUATUS, IV, 19.

[70] οὐκ ἀγαθός δέ, ἀλλα και λίαν πικρός καί ἀπάνθρωπος: *Nicetae Davidis Vita Ignatii Patriarchae* = NICETAS DAVID, *The Life of Patriarch Ignatius*, XVII–XIX, trans. A. SMITHIES, notes J.M. DUFFY, Washington 2013 [= *CFHB*, 51; DOT, 13]; ἀνάγωγός τε καὶ πόρρωθεν τρόπων τῶν εὐγενῶν: THEOPHANES CONTINUATUS, IV, 19.

[71] For instance, "Bardam scholarem domesticum": ANASTASIUS BIBLIOTHECARIUS, *Interpretatio Synodi VIII generalis*, [in:] *PL*, vol. CXXIX, ed. J.-P. MIGNE, Paris 1844, col. 10.

[72] It is remarkable that Bardas later used a mirrored accusation against Theoktistos.

While Bardas's motivation seems clear, Michael III must have had more substantial and possibly life-essential causes for such a bold political step. His personal security concerns might have been the real reason for his action, especially given the information that his mother was negotiating a diplomatic marriage with Boris. Both chroniclers, Theophanes Continuatus and Genesios asserted that Bardas informed the Emperor about a potential marriage involving Theodora or one of her daughters and warned him about the possible consequences[73]. The precedent of Emperor Constantine VI's dethroning by his mother, Empress Irene, was not from the too-distant past. That is why the information was enough to wake Michael's deep-seated fears and catalyze a conspiracy against Theoktistos. Echoes of Michael's concern even reached Arab historians. Al-Tabari, for instance, claims that the Logothetes (Theoktistos) was assassinated because the Emperor suspected his mother and considered him complicit[74]. The conspiracy's meticulous preparation also proves that participation represented a significant political decision for Michael III. The failure would have posed a severe threat to the conspirators. The chronicle accounts are filled with diverse details that often confound researchers. However, there is enough information to describe the conspiracy in step-by-step detail.

It seems that Bardas, previously exiled from the Emperor's court, somehow received secret intelligence about the negotiations for the marriage between Boris and Theodora[75]. After that, he asked Chamberlain Damian for an audience with the Emperor to share the new information[76]. At the meeting, the young Michael III was imbued with Bardas's concerns, and they discussed two options for action: the covert assassination of Theoktistos or his exile[77]. The Emperor was probably not entirely convinced by Bardas's words. He was hesitant about the covert assassination, which might have led to an unpredictable reaction from his supporting officials. As a result, they decided first to interrogate Theoktistos.

Almost all sources separate the subsequent events into two parts: the Emperor's meeting with Theoktistos at the Lausiakos and his assassination in the Skyla. The Lausiakos was not a perfect place for murder but a good one for official investigation procedures. Exactly this task determined the logic of Bardas's actions, which looked chaotic at first glance. Firstly, he called disgruntled civilian and military officials. Their reluctance to personally partake in physical violence over Theoktistos

[73] Genesios, IV, 9; Theophanes Continuatus, IV.19.

[74] Al-Ṭabarī, *The History. Incipient Decline. The Caliphates of al-Wathiq, al-Mutawakkil, and al-Muntasir A.D. 841–863/A.H. 227–248*, New York 1989, p. 264.

[75] It could be suggested that the "source" was his sister Kalomaria, who was close to Theodora and later took part in the conspiracy against Theoktistos.

[76] Damian's involvement in the conspiracy seems logical, especially considering Bardas's prior dismissal from the court. However, this information is provided only by Symeon Logothetes: Symeon Logothetes, p. 236.2.

[77] ποιῆσαι δολοφονίᾳ τινὶ ἢ ὑπερορίᾳ, Theophanes Continuatus, IV, 22; δολοφονῆσαι ἢ μᾶλλον ὑπερορίσαι τοῦτον: Genesios, IV, 9.

proves that they agreed to be gathered only as witnesses or jury. Theodora's and Bardas' sister, Kalomaria, was also summoned, presumably to testify in the process of bringing charges against Theoktistos (τῷ Θεοκτίστῳ ἐπιτιθέμενον)[78]. Furthermore, sources indicate that the conspirators deemed executing their plan at a specific moment essential. Theophanes Continuatus stated that they awaited Theoktistos after the management of governmental reports (ἐξέρχεσθαι μετὰ τὴν τῶν ἀναφορῶν διοίκησιν), and it was only afterward that the Emperor planned to detain him[79]. According to Genesios, Bardas had to wait patiently until the Logothetes left Theodora's chambers[80]. Another notable element was the involvement of a woman designated to signal the Emperor when the Logothetes appeared[81]. Nearly all chroniclers referencing the conspiracy against Theoktistos mentioned the "reports" (τῶν ἀναφορῶν διοίκησιν), which were probably to become a part of the allegations. Once the Logothetes completed his report to Theodora and left her chambers, the Emperor detained him with the support of Bardas and other officials. Then, Michael III compelled him to read these reports. Symeon the Logothetes recounted that Theoktistos read them with great reluctance and, after, "left in tears and with heavy sighs"[82]. The information from the reports seemed to provide sufficient evidence for severe accusations against Theodora's favorite[83]. Genesios emphasized that Theoktistos was detained as the Logothetes of the Dromon, so the "unfortunate" reports probably had a diplomatic specificity[84]. According to the nature of the indictment, the reports probably included details or updates on correspondence between Theodora and Boris. This version explains Theoktistos' evident despair and the unwavering determination of the conspirators. It also sheds light on how the classified information was leaked and became available to the chroniclers. Moreover, as the reports were voiced in front of the audience just once, witnesses memorized the most vivid parts, and their memoirs might have become the core of the narrative.

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[78] THEOPHANES CONTINUATUS, IV, 22; GENESIOS, IV, 9. Theodora's elder sister, Kalomaria, played an uncertain role in these proceedings. After her husband's death, she had long committed herself to Church service, possibly becoming a deaconess. Given this, her direct involvement in the conspiracy and Theoktistos' assassination seems unlikely. However, it is plausible that she possessed pertinent information and could have testified covertly or through gestures during the accusations against Theoktistos. There is a temptation to suggest that Kalomaria might have been the "sister"–deaconess dispatched to Boris, though this remains a bold assertion without corroborative evidence from the sources.

[79] THEOPHANES CONTINUATUS, IV, 22.

[80] GENESIOS, IV, 9.

[81] It is unlikely that this woman was Kalomaria. The chronicler notes that the signal was given by a "watching woman" τῇ σκοπῷ γυναικὶ, without naming her: GENESIOS, IV, 9. The Empress's sister would undoubtedly have been named.

[82] SYMEON LOGOTHETES, p. 236.2.

[83] One should remember that Theodora granted imperial lands as a personal gift (pledge) to the Bulgarian khan. This was undeniable evidence of "unworthy" governance of the state.

[84] GENESIOS, IV, 9.

After the disclosure of this correspondence, Theoktistos's career was shattered, and he was soon killed in custody. As a result, the marriage negotiations were terminated, at least for some time. Theodora and even her daughters were sent to a monastery to eliminate the possibility of fulfillment of the marriage agreements[85]. Nevertheless, despite the negotiation's failure, Boris did not wholly abandon his ambitions, and the details of the dynastic marriage were discussed several times in the following decades.

Conclusion

The main objective of this study was to analyze the narrative of the correspondence between Khan Boris and Empress Theodora, which was hypothetically based on a report of actual diplomatic negotiations. To explain two "legendary" elements of this story – specifically, Theodora's citation of the response from the Amazonian ruler Thalestris, as well as the diplomatic exchange of the monk Kupharas for Boris' "sister" – a reinterpretation of the passage from the Continuation of Theophanes was undertaken, along with an attempt to reconstruct the text of what is presumed to be the source of this narrative. Undoubtedly, such reinterpretation involves many speculations and requires critical discussion among specialists with diverse expertise.

Nevertheless, the other essential elements of the story go beyond a single narrative and resonate with evidence from different sources, allowing us to make more confident assumptions.

Firstly, the body of indirect evidence, as well as the specifics of the political situation, allow us to suggest a high likelihood of diplomatic negotiations between Khan Boris and Empress Theodora, with Logothete Theoktistos's active participation.

Secondly, there is a high probability that the negotiations' main agenda was the terms of concluding a long-term military-political alliance, which could be based on a dynastic marriage between Boris and Theodora. Furthermore, it can be assumed that certain agreements were reached, which allowed Boris to claim that a dynastic marriage had been formally concluded. This possibility offers a new perspective on the motivation behind Bulgarian Christianization's initial steps, although this hypothesis requires further study.

Thirdly, there are grounds to suggest that the negotiations regarding the dynastic marriage were the main reason for the conspiracy against Logothete Theoktistos and his subsequent assassination. As a result, the diplomatic operation was halted, although the topic of a dynastic marriage between the Bulgarian and Byzantine ruling courts was repeatedly discussed over several subsequent decades.

[85] Theophanes Continuatus, IV, 22.

Furthermore, the new interpretation helps to explain the discrepancies in sources regarding the date of Boris's conversion. It also clarifies why Byzantine authors tried to omit many details of this complicated process.

Finally, the research could be considered a foundation for reevaluating foreign policy strategies in the interaction process between Bulgaria and Byzantium, at least up to the beginning of the 10th century.

Appendix 1

The reconstruction of the possible primary narrative text related to the negotiations between Khan Boris and Empress Theodora. The comments and interpolations of the later authors were highlighted and excluded from the interpretation.

Theophanes Continuatus IV, 13–15

(13) Ὁ γε μὴν ἄρχων Βουλγαρίας [**(Βώγωρις οὗτος ἦν)**] θρασύτερον ἐξεφέρετο γυναῖκα τῆς βασιλείας κρατεῖν διακηκοώς· ὅθεν καί τινας ἀγγέλους ἀπέσταλκεν πρὸς αὐτήν, τὰς συνθήκας λέγων καταλύειν καὶ κατὰ τῆς τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐκστρατεύειν γῆς. [**ἀλλ᾽ αὐτὴ μηδὲν θῆλυ ἐννοοῦσα ἢ ἄνανδρον**] "καὶ ἐμὲ" αὐτῷ κατεμήνυεν "κατ᾽ αὐτοῦ εὑρήσεις ἀντιστρατεύουσαν. καὶ ἐλπίζω μὲνκυριεῦσαί σου· εἰ δὲ μὴ γένηται καὶ ἐκνικήσεις με, καὶ οὕτω σου περιέσομαι, τὴν νίκην ἀρίδηλον ἔχουσα· γυναῖκα γὰρ ἀλλ᾽ οὐκ ἄνδρα ἔξεις ἡττηθέντα σοι." διὰ τοῦτο μὲν οὖν καὶ ἐφ᾽ ἡσυχίας ἔμεινεν, μηδὲν τολμήσας νεανιεύεσθαι, καὶ τὰς τῆς ἀγάπης αὖθις ἀνενέου σπονδάς.

(14) καὶ δὴ ζήτησίν τινα καὶ πολλὴν ἔρευναν περί τινος μοναχοῦ, οὕτω καλουμένου Θεοδώρου τοῦ ἐπίκλην Κουφαρᾶ, [**εἴτε ἔκ τινων ὀνειράτων καὶ ὄψεως εἴτε ἄλλως πως, πρὸ πολλοῦ αἰχμαλωτισθέντος**] ἡ Θεοδώρα πρὸς τὸν ἄρχοντα Βουλγαρίας ἐποίει, καὶ αὐτὸν ἠξίου διὰ γραμμάτων ἀνερευνῆσαι καὶ τιμῆς ὅσης καὶ βούλοιτο ἀπολυτρώσασθαι τοῦτον αὐτῇ. ἠξίου δὲ καὶ οὗτος, ἀφορμὴν ἐκ τούτου λαβών, περὶ οἰκείας αὐτοῦ πρεσβεύειν ἀδελφῆς παρὰ τῶν Ῥωμαίων [**μὲν αἰχμαλωτισθείσης ποτέ**], κατεχομένης δὲ νῦν ἐν τῇ τοῦ βασιλέως αὐλῇ. αὕτη δὴ οὖν πρὸς τὴν πίστιν καλῶς μετενεχθεῖσα, καὶ γράμματα κατὰ [**τὸν τῆς αἰχμαλωσίας παιδευθεῖσα καιρόν**], καὶ ἄλλως τὴν τῶν Χριστιανῶν τάξιν τε καὶ περὶ τὸ θεῖον αἰδώ τε καὶ δόξαν, ὡς ἔστι, θαυμάζουσα διαφερόντως, ἐπεὶ τῆς ἐπανόδου τῆς πρὸς τὸν ἀδελφὸν τετύχηκεν, οὐ διέλιπεν ἐκθειάζουσά τε καὶ παρακαλοῦσα καὶ σπέρματα καταβάλλουσα τῆς πίστεως πρὸς αὐτόν. ὁ δὲ ἦν γὰρ παρὰ [**τοῦ εἰρημένου Κουφαρᾶ**] μικρά τινα παιδευθεὶς καὶ τῶν μυστηρίων κατηχηθείς τοῦτο(ν) μὲν ἀποστείλας τὴν οἰκείαν ἐλάμβανε μισθὸν ἀδελφήν· [**πλὴν ἔμενεν ὅπερ ἦν, ἀπιστίᾳ κατισχημένος καὶ τὴν αὐτοῦ θρησκείαν τιμῶν**]…

(15) …[**ἐπεὶ γοῦν μετετέθη πρὸς θεοσέβειαν**], γράφει δὴ πρὸς τὴν δέσποιναν περὶ γῆς, [**πλήθει στενούμενος τῷ ἑαυτοῦ**], καὶ ἀξιοῖ παρὰ ταύτης παρρησιαστικώτερον ὡς ἤδη ἓν ἀλλ᾽ οὐ δύο ὄντων αὐτῶν, πίστει τε καὶ φιλίᾳ συνδεθέντων τῇ ἀρραγεῖ, καὶ ἑαυτὸν

ὑποθήσειν καθυπισχνεῖτο καὶ εἰρήνην ἐργάσασθαι ἀΐδιόν τε καὶ ἀδιάπτωτον. ἡ δὲ εὐμενῶς τε ἤκουσεν αὐτοῦ, καὶ δέδωκεν ἐρήμην οὖσαν τηνικαῦτα τὴν ἀπὸ τῆς Σιδηρᾶς, [**ταύτης δὴ τότε ὅριον τυγχανούσης Ῥωμαίων τεκαὶ αὐτῶν, ἄχρι τῆς Δεβελτοῦ, ἥτις οὕτω καλεῖται Ζάγορα παρ᾽αὐτοῖς. οὕτω μὲν οὖν ἅπασα ἡ Βουλγαρία πρὸς εὐσέβειαν μετερρυθμίσθη, θεοῦ πρὸς τὴν οἰκείαν μετακαλεσαμένου γνῶσιν αὐτούς**], καὶ οὕτως ἐκ μικρῶν σπινθήρων τε καὶ πληγῶν· καὶ οὕτω γῆς τῆς τῶν Ῥωμαίων ὡς ἄλλης τινὸς ἐπαγγελίας ἀξιωθέντες πρὸς κοινωνίαν ἄρρηκτον καθυπέβαλον ἑαυτούς.

* * *

13. Now the ruler of Bulgaria comported himself with great insolence when he heard that a woman reigned over the empire. He, therefore, sent certain messengers to her, saying that he was breaking the treaties and leading an army against the land of the Romans. But the Empress informed him, "You shall find me, too, leading an army against you. I hope to gain mastery over you, but if – Heaven forbid! – you should defeat me, even so shall I surpass you, receiving conspicuous victory, for you shall have defeated a woman and not a man". Thus, he remained at peace, curbing his zeal and renewed a truce as a sign of reciprocated love.

14. [Theodora] questioned everyone about a monk named Theodore, nicknamed Kupharas, and sent him to the archon Boris to test the measure of his virtue and piety according to the rules. She also wanted to find out if he would redeem his soul for her. And he proved worthy… And, this served as a reason to send to him a sister from the Romans, who had been catechized at the imperial court. Indeed, she was successfully delivered as a sign of trust. Following the rules as well as the Christian order of worship and glorification, she, with exceptional admiration, successfully completed the procedure of spiritual rebirth and sowing the seeds of faith in God, making no break between the thanksgiving and the supplication prayer. This man, who he had already been taught and instructed a little in the mysteries, sent the sister home, where she received a reward for this…

<the passage with other stories about Boris's conversion>

15. …he wrote to the Empress regarding the land. He openly declared to her that since they were no longer two but one, inseparably bound by faith and feelings, and for his part, he offered as a pledge the conclusion of an eternal and indissoluble peace. And she graciously accepted what he said and granted him the then desolated lands near Sidera, and thus [it happened] from tiny sparks and breaths, as well as after the transfer of Roman land and other pledges of an unbreakable alliance, which they gave to each other.

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Peaches at Medieval Site Ras, Serbia: Unraveling Routes of Introduction and Local Cultivation in the Balkans

Abstract. The study combines archaeological evidence, written sources, and genetic studies to trace the routes of peach introduction to the Balkans and explore the local cultivation practices and it revisits the discovery of peach remains at the medieval site of Ras in southwest Serbia. Peach (*Prunus persica* [L.] Batsch) came to the Mediterranean from the East around the 6th/4th c. BC, and over the following centuries it spread westwards. In the Roman Empire it was an already well known fruit. One possible route for its introduction to Europe was through the Balkans ("via Balcani"), from the Black Sea region along the Danube River to other areas. However, following the Migration Period and the fall of the Western Roman Empire, the peach tree orchards remained mostly abandoned for the next three centuries. In contrast, the peach trees in the Eastern (Byzantine) Empire remained present despite repeated invasions, and destructive conflicts, which occurred between the 5th–11th/12th centuries. Peaches were generally available on the market and described in written sources. Archaeological evidence of the of peaches in the region can be found at the medieval site Ras in Serbia, where peach fruit stone fragments have been radiocarbon dated to 1021–1158 cal AD. During the 12th century, Ras served as a Byzantine fortress and later became the main defensive stronghold of the newly formed Serbian state from the middle of the 12th century to the fourth decade of the 13th century. Given the peach fruit soft texture and difficulty to transport, it is likely that they were grown locally. The Romans could have introduced peaches into the area during the 4th century. However, the area was abandoned between the 6th–9th centuries and the peach trees could not have survived if unattended. In the Balkans, including present-day Serbia, there is a significant genetic diversity of peach landraces that are grown effectively wild in vineyards ("vineyard peach") and are ancient in origins. The presence of peach stones at Ras suggests a possible continuity of practices linked to the "via Balcani" route and enduring local cultivation or trade from southern regions since ancient times. Future discoveries of peach stones in the area will enhance our

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understanding of this historical route. This study provides significant insights into the prolonged existence and local cultivation of peaches in the broader region, emphasizing the interplay between cultural exchange, trade, and agricultural practices over millennia.

Keywords: Peach (*Prunus persica* [L.] Batsch), medieval site Ras, Serbia, Byzantine Empire, vineyard peach, genetic diversity

Introduction

In this interdisciplinary study, we revisit the finds of peaches (*Prunus persica* [L.] Batsch) from the medieval site of Ras. We examine the possible routes of the arrival of peaches to the site of Ras and the Balkans, using multiple lines of evidence from archaeological records, written sources, and genetic studies of local peach landraces that have been grown wild in vineyards ("vineyard peach") since antiquity.

The site of Ras is located in southwest Serbia, 11 km southwest of the city of Novi Pazar, in the center of what was the medieval Serbian state (Fig. 1). The fortress of Ras stands atop Gradina Hill (750 m asl), overlooking the settlement of Podgradje below (620 m asl) near the confluence of the Sebečevska and Raška rivers[1] (Fig. 2). Together, they form the Complex of Ras, declared a UNESCO World Heritage site alongside nearby churches and monasteries[2].

The Ras complex exhibits various stages of occupation and development spanning from prehistory to the 13th century[3]. Evidence of a hill fort settlement dating back to the early Bronze Age and late Iron Age has been uncovered. Excavations at Podgradje reveal Roman occupation in the 3rd century AD. The initial fortress, from the 4th century, is situated at a limited area on the hill and the eastern part of the plateau. The fortress was abandoned in the end of the 6th century or beginning of the 7th century. The reconstruction of the fortress in the 9th and 10th centuries can be linked to Serbs and Bulgarians. The rebuilding of the fortress at the end of the 11th century and in the middle of the 12th century is attributed to the Byzantines. Towards the end of the third decade of the 12th century, the fortress was burnt and destroyed. Shortly after its destruction, the fortress was rebuilt in 1149 when the Byzantine emperor Manuel I Comnenus started a campaign against the Serbs. Soon after the campaign, the fortress of Ras became the main defensive stronghold in the central part of the newly formed Serbian state under the Nemanjić dynasty, which had to defend the ruler and his court from the second half of the 12th century. The fortress of Ras was abandoned after being destroyed in a fire in the 4th decade of the 13th century and was not rebuilt[4].

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1 M. Popović, *Tvrđava Ras*, Beograd 1999, *passim*.

2 Stari Ras has been declared a UNESCO World Heritage site together with a group of churches and monasteries in the vicinity. https://whc.unesco.org/en/list/96/ [21 XII 2023].

3 M. Popović, *Tvrđava Ras*…, *passim*.

4 *Ibidem*, *passim*.

Fig. 1. Map of the Byzantine Empire in 1265, indicating the location of Ras (adapted from The *Historical Atlas* by William R. Shepherd, 1911. Source: Wikipedia, File: ShepherdByzempire1265.jpg, Public domain).

The archaeological research, led by Marko Popović of the Archaeological Institute of Belgrade, uncovered buildings dating to the 12th and 13th centuries[5]. The plant samples were hand-collected where charred seeds were visible, from the hilltop fortress (Gradina) and the settlement below (Podgradje)[6]. The subsequent analysis and publication of plant remains from Ras revealed a predominant cultivation of bread wheat (*Triticum aestivum*) followed by rye (*Secale cereale*), barley (*Hordeum vulgare*) oats (*Avena sativa*), and millet (*Panicum miliaceum*) and accompanying weeds and ruderals. Noteworthy discoveries also included a piece of charred

[5] *Ibidem*, *passim*. Systematic archaeological investigations of the Ras complex were conducted by Marko Popović between 1977 and 1995. See Figs 3 and 4.

[6] The plant samples were manually picked from layers by archaeologists at Ras during the excavations between 1972 and 1984. No systematic recovery or flotation methods were employed, and the provenience information was recorded on the labels of the samples, which were provided to K. Borojević by M. Popović. The analyzed plant samples are stored at the National Museum of Serbia in Belgrade.

round bread, the contents of a pot comprising cereal porridge, and fragments of peach stones[7]. The finds of peaches are the subject of this article.

Fig. 2. Aerial view of the fortress of Ras – Gradina (photograph by I. Dimitrijevic, after M. Popović, *Tvrđava Ras*…).

Discoveries of peaches at Ras and dating

Fragments of only two peach stones (pits) were hand collected from the site of Ras, originating from two distinct areas (Fig. 3). One peach stone was discovered within the fortress located at the hilltop Gradina in the central-eastern part (Fig. 4). The other peach stone was collected from the medieval layer in the central part of Podgradje, below the fortress[8]. Both fruit stones were charred (Figs 5a and 5b), indicating their exposure to fire in ancient times.

[7] K. Borojević, *The Analysis of Plant Remains from the Fortress Ras – the 12th and the Beginning of the 13th Century*, Sta 52, 2002, p. 191–205; eadem, *Nutrition and Environment in Medieval Serbia: Charred Cereal, Weed and Fruit Remains from the Fortress of Ras*, VHA 14, 2005, p. 453–464.

[8] Visible charred peach stones were manually collected from excavation layers from at two distinct locations: 1) Fragments from one peach stone (0.80 g) were discovered within the layers at the for-

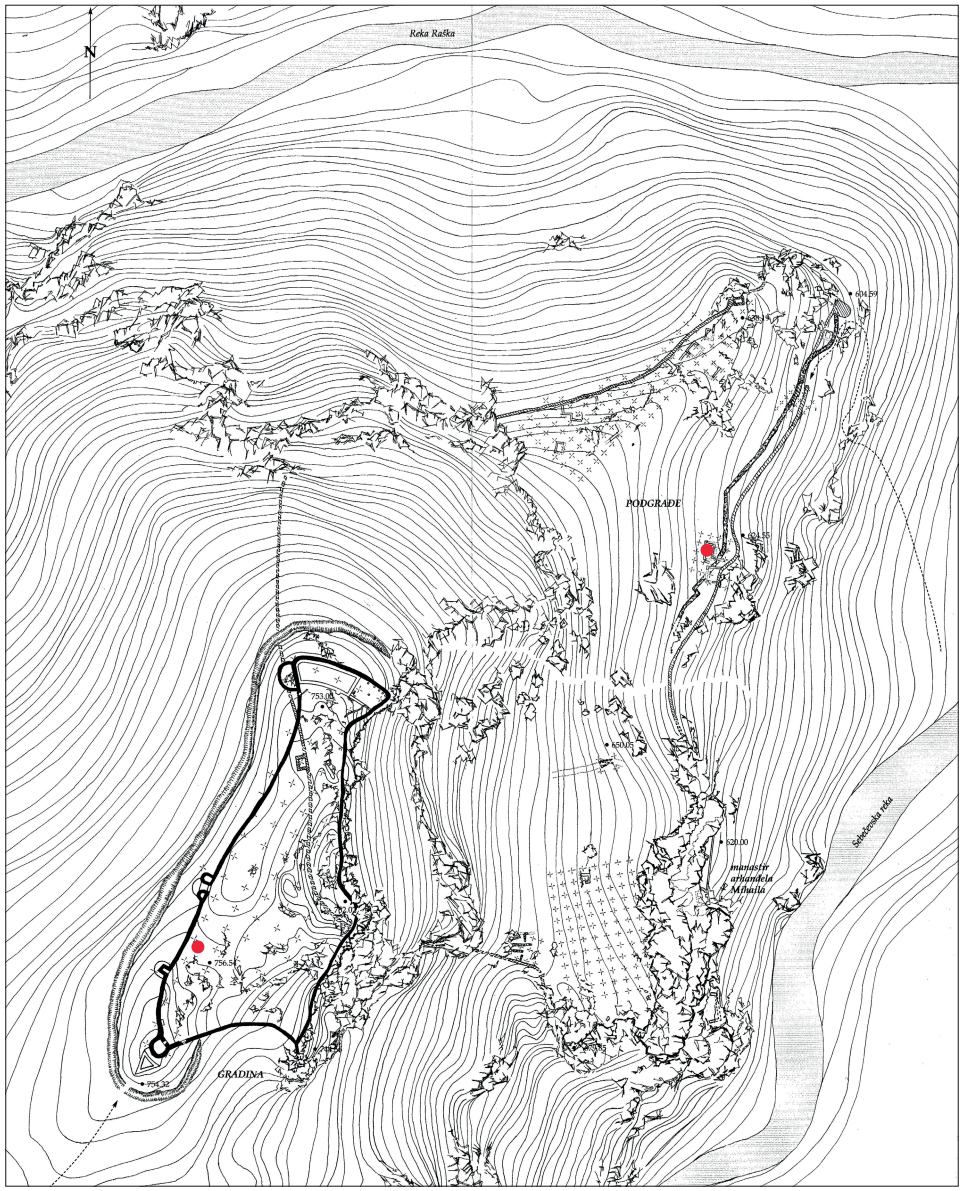

Fig. 3. Plan of the fortress of Ras (Gradina) and Podgradje below. The locations where peach finds were discovered are marked with dots. (Modified from "Situacioni plan Tvrdjave Ras (R = 1 : 1000)" in M. Popović, *Tvrđava Ras*…, Posebni prilozi).

tress situated at the hilltop Gradina (Kvadrant H/19-A, III/2 otkopni sloj), dating to the III-a Horizon; 2) Fragments of another peach stone (1.12 g) were found in the cultural layer in the central part of Podgradje, below the fortress (Ras-Podgradje; Centralni sector), dated to the Medieval layer.

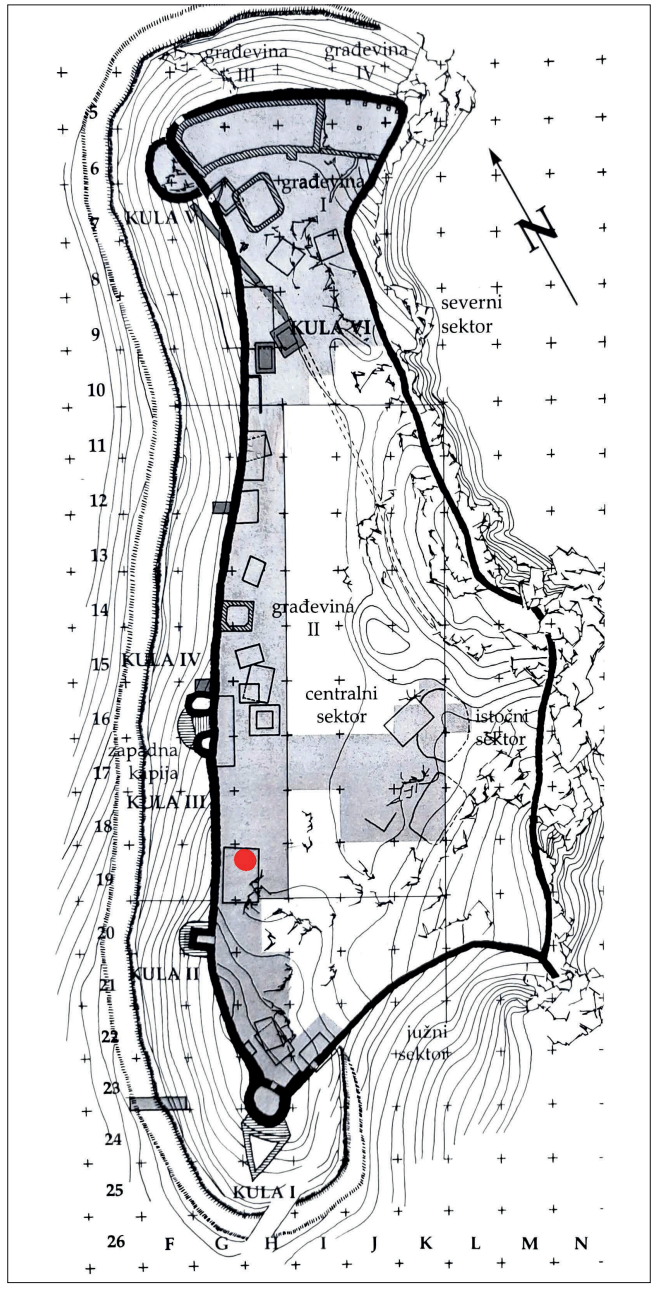

Fig. 4. Plan of the fortress (Gradina) showing the excavated area (shaded in grey) and the excavation grid (10 × 10 m squares). The location of the peach stone (submitted for radiocarbon dating) is indicated by a dot. (Modified from Figure 10, in M. Popović, *Tvrđava Ras*…, p. 50).

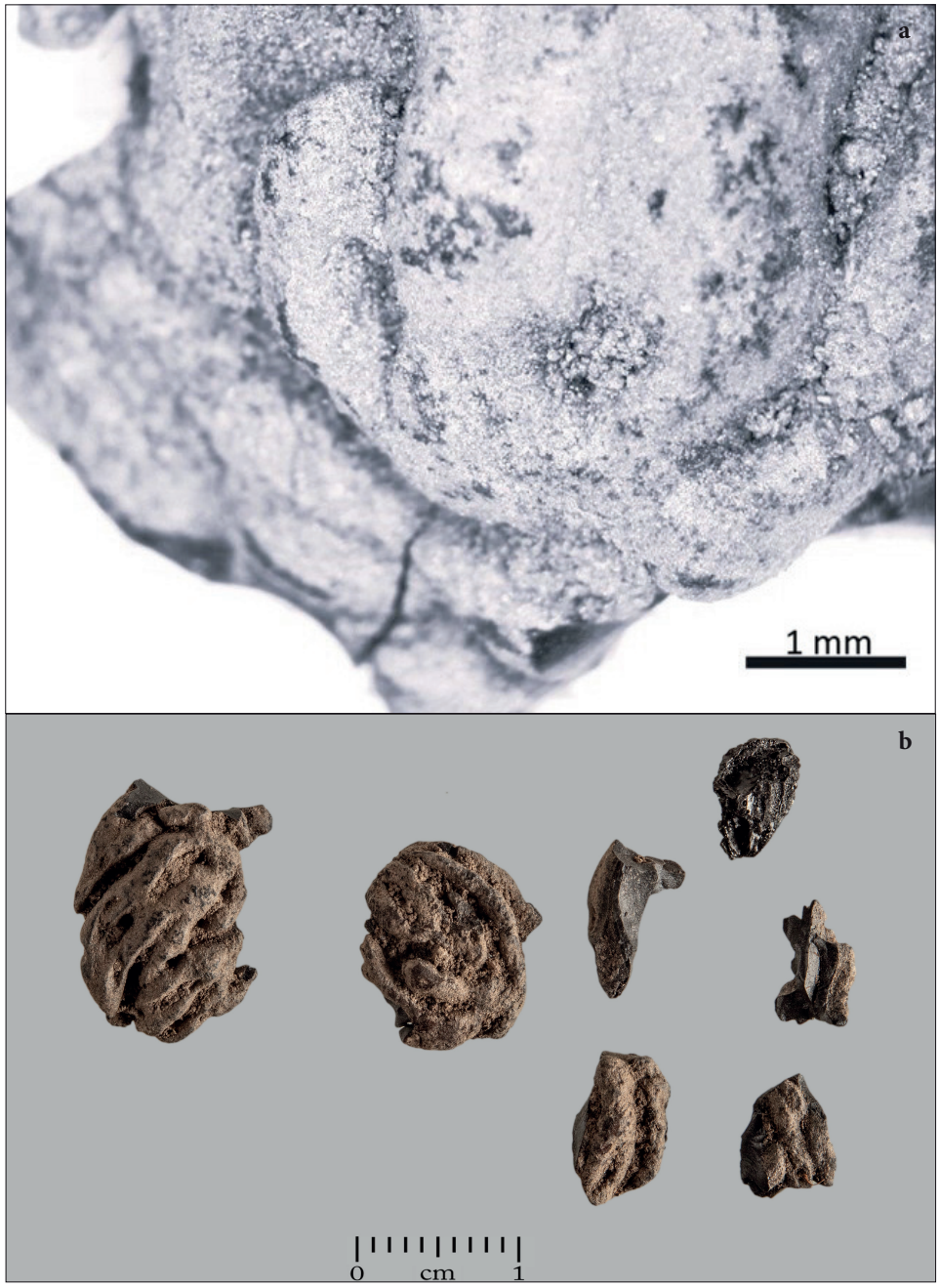

Fig. 5. Fragments of charred *Prunus persica* (peach) stones from Ras:
a) from Gradina, submitted for AMS dating (photograph by K. Borojević);
b) from Podgradje (photograph by M.M. Stojanović, National Museum, Belgrade).

The precise dating of the peach stones from Ras was not available at the time. The peach stone found from the fortress Gradina was discovered and collected from a layer associated with Building horizon III-a dated after AD 1130 until the mid-12th century[9], based on archaeological material and the coins minted during the rule of Manuel I Comnenus (1143/1180)[10]. Subsequently, fragments of the carbonized peach stones from Gradina (Fig. 5a) were submitted for AMS radiocarbon dating to confirm their age and establish their antiquity. The calibrated dates for the peach sample range between 1021 to 1158 cal AD (Fig. 6). The calibrated result of the sample indicated that the peach was growing somewhere between the early 11th and mid-12th century[11].

The archaeological dating of Horizon III and the radiocarbon dates for the peach are similar[12]. However, the direct radiocarbon dates suggest that the peach finds may be almost a century older than previously implied by the dating of Building Horizon III-a from the fortress, based on the archaeological material where the peach was found. If we accept the calibrated radiocarbon dates, the peach finds would correspond to Horizon II, dating from the early 11th to mid-12th century when Ras was a Byzantine fortress. Stratigraphic units from Horizon II show signs of conflagrations and are dated by the scyphate coin of Emperor John II Comnenus (1118–1143), marking the end of Horizon. The conflagration is associated with the destruction of the fortress. According to the Byzantine historian John Cinnamus[13], the Serbs participated in the invasions of Byzantine estates in 1127 and destroyed the fortress of Ras. The Serbs were ultimately defeated, and the Byzantines constructed a new fortress at Ras on the site where the old one was burned down. Numismatic finds, particularly those associated with John II Comnenus, provide additional dating evidence, indicating the return of the Romaic crew to the fortress. The archaeological evidence confirms this destruction event through the burning of the palisade fortification and the destruction of the rampart. It is possible that peach stones got charred during the conflagration associated with the destruction of the fortress of Ras in 1127[14].

[9] At the fortress of Ras (Kvadrant H/19-A), where a peach fragment was found, House 44 was excavated (Horizon III-b), which was built over the western rampart from Horizon III-a (cf. M. Popović, *Tvrđava Ras*…, p. 197–199).

[10] V. Ivanišević, *Nalazi novca iz trdjave Ras*, [in:] M. Popović, *Tvrđava Ras*…, p. 417–424.

[11] The charred fragments of peach stones from Gradina, Ras (collected in 1977) were sent to Beta Analytic for AMS radiocarbon dating in 2017 (Beta-465302). The conventional radiocarbon age was determined to be 970 +/– 30 BP, which corresponds to a calibrated age of 1021 to 1158 cal AD (95.4% probability), INTCal20 calibration curve used. (See Fig. 6).

[12] The radiocarbon dating of the peach, ranging from 1021 to 1158 AD, does not rule out its association with Horizon III-a. Even if we consider the peach to belong to Building Horizon III-a, it is likely that the ruler and the court of the first Serbian state, who occupied the fortress at Ras, were already familiar with peaches in the region.

[13] *Ioannis Cinnami epitome*, I, 5, C, ed. A. Meineke, Bonnae 1836 [= *CSHB*].

[14] M. Popović, *Tvrđava Ras*…, p. 404; V. Ivanišević, *Nalazi novca*…, p. 417–424. For more recent finds of seals from Ras cf. V. Ivanišević, B. Krsmanović, *Byzantine Seals from the Ras Fortress*, ЗРВИ 50.1, 2013, p. 449–460.

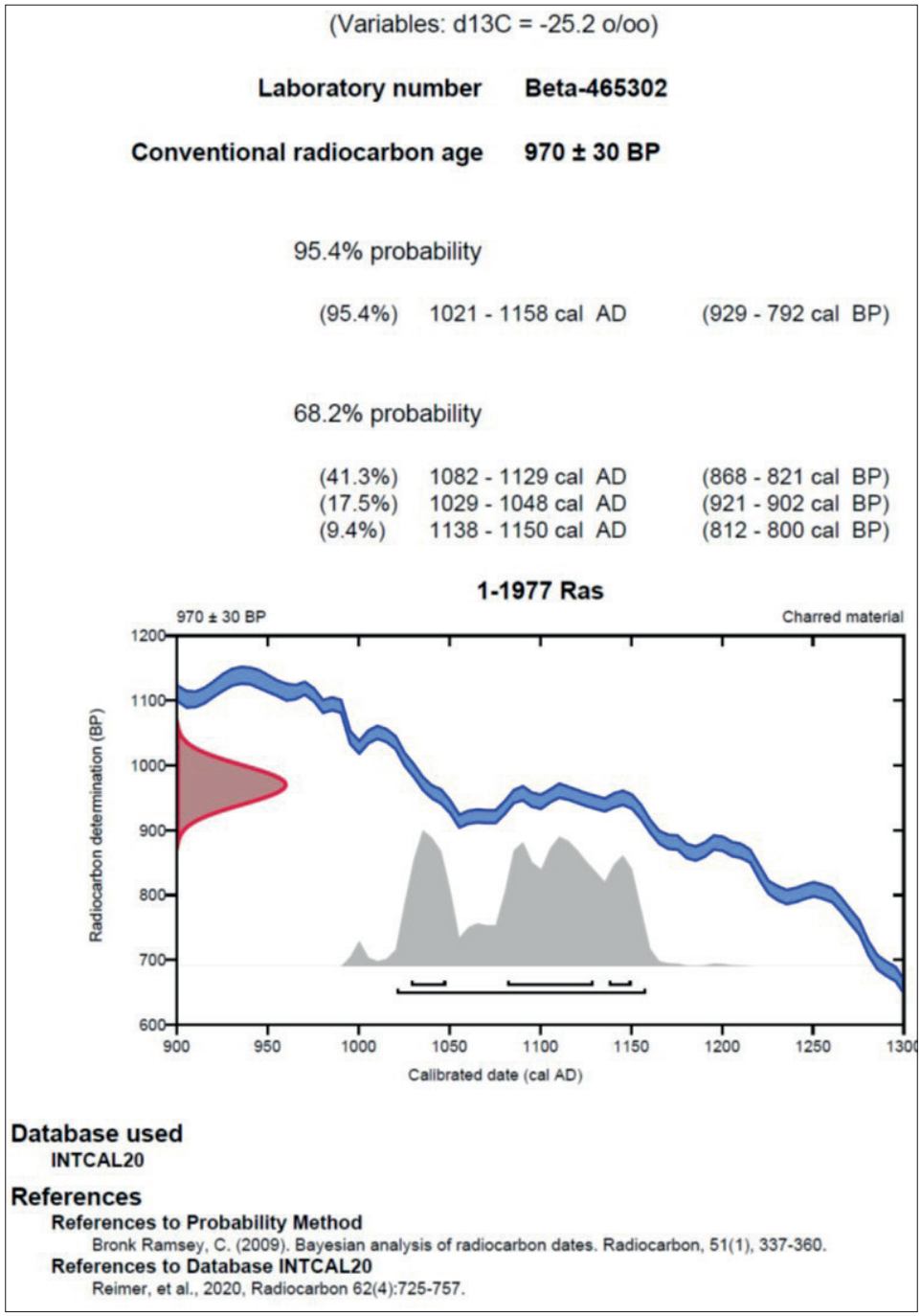

Fig. 6. Radiocarbon date calibration of the peach stone sample (*Prunus persica*) from Ras (Gradina), Serbia. (Beta Analytic Radiocarbon Dating Laboratory).

Given their soft texture, delicate nature, and high-water content, peach fruits are in general difficult to transport, suggesting that they might have been cultivated locally in the Ras region. Like many other fruits, peaches can be dried and preserved; however, their high water content makes drying them challenging. During this preservation process, the fruits are typically sliced and pitted, making the discovery of intact peach stones in archaeological contexts unlikely. Furthermore, the scarcity of finds related to fruits and nuts in archaeological sites in the region can be attributed to preservation biases[15]. The lack of systematic retrieval of plants from classical and medieval sites in this region of Southeast Europe potentially exacerbates this shortage. Hence, the discovery of peaches at the Ras site, dating back to the 11th–12th century, is of particular importance and reflects the long-standing history of peaches in Europe and the Old World, as discussed below.

Genetic diversity and continuity

Peaches (*Prunus persica* [L.] Batsch) are not native to the Balkans. They have been introduced to the region via trade routes though Persia and were distributed through the Europe and Balkans by Romans at some point in history. Peaches are native to Central and East Asia, where their cultivation dates to at least 4,000 BC[16]. They then spread through India and the territories of the Persian Empire before reaching the Greek world between the 7th and 4th centuries BC, as described in literary sources from that era[17].

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[15] Cf. C. Bakels, S. Jacomet, *Access to Luxury Foods in Central Europe during the Roman Period: the Archaeobotanical Evidence*, WArch 34, 2003, p. 542–557; A. Livarda, *Spicing up Life in Northwestern Europe: Exotic Food Plant Imports in the Roman and Medieval World*, VHA 20, 2011, p. 143–164.

[16] Archaeological discoveries push this date further and further back in time, cf. A. de Candolle, *Origin of Cultivated Plants*, New York 1959, p. 221–222; A. Steier, *Persica (Pfirsich)*, [in:] *RE*, vol. XIX.1, Stuttgart 1937, col. 1022; J. Falkowski, J. Kostrowicki, *Geografia rolnictwa świata*, Warszawa 2001, p. 324; D. Zohary, M. Hopf, *Domestication of Plants in the Old World. The Origins and Spread of Cultivated Plants in West Asia, Europe and the Nile Valley*, Oxford 1993, p. 172; M. Faust, B. Timon, *Origin and Dissemination of Peach*, HRev 17, 1995, p. 331–379; L. Sadori *et al.*, *The Introduction and Diffusion of Peach in Ancient Italy*, [in:] *Plants and Culture. Seeds of the Cultural Heritage of Europe*, ed. J.P. Morel, A.M. Mercuri, Bari 2009, p. 45; J.F. Hancock, R. Scorza, G.A. Lobos, *Peaches*, [in:] *Temperate Fruit Crop Breeding. Germplasm to Genomics*, ed. J.F. Hancock, Dodrecht 2008, p. 9; Y. Zheng, G. Crawford, X. Chen, *Archaeological Evidence for Peach (Prunus persica) Cultivation and Domestication in China*, PLOS.O 9, 2014, p. 1–9; A. Weisskopf, D.Q. Fuller, *Peach: Origins and Development*, [in:] *Encyclopaedia of Global Archaeology*, ed. C. Smith, New York 2014, p. 5840–5842. For the most recent study cf. R. Dal Martello *et al.*, *The Domestication and Dispersal of Large-fruiting Prunus spp.: A Metadata Analysis of Archaeobotanical Material*, Agr 13.4, 2023, cf. Fig. 3 Spatio-temporal distribution of *Prunus persica* remains from Eurasia and Northern Africa compiled within the database.

[17] Cf. onomastic traces of this process, as Greek names of the peach tree was *meléa persiké* (μηλέα περσική), and its fruit – *mélon persikón* (μῆλον περσικόν), abbreviated to *persiké* (περσική) or *persiká* (περσικά). Cf. *LSJ*, p. 1395; A. Steier, *Persica (Pfirsch)*…, p. 1022; *Słownik grecko-polski*,

Fig. 7. Fruit and stones (pits) of vineyard peaches from Serbia, 2012 (photos courtesy of M. Fotirić-Akšić).

In the Balkans, including present-day Serbia, there is a significant genetic diversity of peach landraces that are grown effectively wild in vineyards ("vineyard peach") and are considered ancient in origins (Fig. 7). Genetic diversity of peach germplasm at the USDA-ARS National Clonal Germplasm Repository in Davis, California, has provided valuable insights into the unique genetic profiles of peach

vol. III, ed. Z. Abramowiczówna, Warszawa 1962, p. 525. Later Greek names of the peach were: *rodákinon* (ῥοδάκινον) and *dorákinon* (δωράκινον), cf. *LBG*, vol. I, ed. E. Trapp, Wien 2001, p. 429; *LBG*, Fasz. 7, ed. E. Trapp, Wien 2011, p. 150. The lexeme for peach Slavic languages derive from *persica*, e.g., in Polish, *brzoskwinia*, in Serbian and Croatian is *breskva*, *braskva* with earlier variants such as *praskva* or *proskva*. In Hungarian, it is referred to as *barack*. These linguistic variations trace their origins to the adjective *persica*, which, in turn, signifies Persia as the originating country from which this fruit tree spread westward. Based on the linguistic evidence it has been suggested that the lexemes for peach reached the Balkan Peninsula well before the 9th century, cf. P. Skok, *Etimologijski rječnik hrvatskoga ili srpskoga jezika*, vol. I, Zagreb 1971, p. 198–199.

accessions from the Balkans and other regions of Europe[18]. This collection, which includes over 1,600 accessions representing various *Prunus* species, demonstrates how historical trade routes influenced the genetic diversity of peaches. The study utilized genotyping-by-sequencing (GBS) to analyze 510 accessions and identified significant genetic differentiation among populations from China, Persia, Europe, and the Americas. These findings suggest that the genetic diversity present in the collection is not only a result of natural adaptation but also shaped by human-mediated movements of germplasm along historical trade paths from Asia to Europe and beyond.

The analysis revealed that accessions from different geographical origins were structured into distinct genetic groups, reflecting the complex history of peach cultivation and distribution across continents. Notably, the study found that a significant portion of the accessions from the Balkans and Europe were genetically linked to germplasm from regions along the Silk Road and other trade routes that facilitated the westward spread of peach cultivars from their center of origin in China. Therefore, the Balkan Peninsula is considered a secondary center of genetic diversity in peach due to the large variability existing here resulting from different ecological conditions and human activities. Its exclusive propagation through seeds makes this native vineyard peach population an excellent reservoir of genetic diversity. The landraces of peaches grown wild in vineyards are typically small, have white flesh, are early ripening, and are found from Greece to France[19].

The region of Ras, near Novi Pazar in Serbia, is suitable for growing peaches. Serbia has a long tradition of growing fruit, and peaches are among the fruits that are commonly grown in the country. Ras has a continental climate with hot summers and cold winters, which is generally favorable for peach cultivation. In addition, the soil in the region is generally well-suited for peach trees. Peaches prefer well-drained soil rich in organic matter and nutrients, and the soil in the Ras region is typically loamy and fertile[20].

Today, the Balkans remain a significant producer of peaches, with countries such as Serbia, North Macedonia, and Bulgaria being major fruit exporters. Peaches are a popular fruit in the region, enjoyed fresh or used in various culinary preparations, such as preserves, compotes, juices, or even brewed into peach brandy.

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[18] K. Gasic *et al*., *Unlocking Genetic Potential of the Peach Collection at the National Clonal Germplasm Repository in Davis, California*, HSc 50(9S), 2015, S35; X. Li *et al*., *Peach Genetic Resources: Diversity, Population Structure and Linkage Disequilibrium*, BMC.G 14, 2013, 84.

[19] M. Faust, B. Timon, *Origin and Dissemination of Peach*, [in:] *Origin and Dissemination of Prunus Crops: Peach, Cherry, Apricot, Plum, Almond*, ed. J. Janick, Leuven 2011, p. 11–55; K. Gašić, V. Ognjanov, R. Bokošvić, K.R. Tobutt, C. James, *Characterization of Vineyard Peach Biodiversity*, AHor 546, 2001, p. 119–125; D. Nikolić, V. Rakonjac, D. Milatović, M. Fotirić, *Multivariate Analysis of Vineyard Peach [Prunus persica (L.) Batsch.] Germplasm Collection*, Euph 171, 2010, p. 227–234.

[20] P. Pavlović, N. Kostić, B. Karadžić, M. Mitrović, *The Soils of Serbia*, Dodrecht 2018, *passim*.

Archaeological evidence and insights from ancient written sources

The peaches uncovered at Ras, dating to the 11th – middle 12th century, reflect the fruit's longstanding presence in the Old World, including southeast Europe. According to archaeological evidence[21] and written sources, peaches gained popularity in the Mediterranean in antiquity, eventually becoming a delicacy in the times of the Roman Empire[22], eaten fresh and raw, dried, pickled, boiled, used as an ingredient of more complex dishes, and processed into juice[23].

The archaeological finds of peaches from the study region and Southeast Europe are still rare, due to lack of archaeobotanical work from the later periods and due to the lack of favorable preservation conditions. Furthermore, plant remains from the *Prunus* family – such as peaches, plums, almonds, cherries, and apricots – are indistinguishable based on their pollen and wood from archaeological record, making it challenging to accurately assess the extent of peach cultivation. Differentiation between these species can only be reliably achieved through the analysis of their fruit pits or stones.

In this review, we provide new and missing information about archaeological peach finds and offer a better understanding of their routes and dispersal in the Balkan region[24]. Recently published are finds of a few peach stone fragments

[21] Cf. L. Sadori *et al*., *The Introduction and Diffusion*…, p. 45–46; A. Weisskopf, D.Q. Fuller, *Peach*…, p. 5842.

[22] Cf. Pliny the Elder, *Natural History*, XV, 11, 39, vol. IV, trans. H. Rackham, Cambridge, Mass. 1968 [= LCL, 370] (cetera: Plinius, *Historia naturalis*); Lucius Junius Moderatus Columella, *On Agriculture*, X, 411, [in:] Lucius Junius Moderatus Columella, *On Agriculture X–XII; On trees*, ed. E.S. Forster, E.H. Heffner, Cambridge, Mass. 1968 [= LCL, 408]; J. André, *L'alimentation et la cuisine a Rome*, Paris 1961, p. 80. As we know from the sources, in the period of Roman Empire there were known different varieties of the peach, e.g., *gallica*, *asiatica*, *duracina*.

[23] *Pedanii Dioscuridis Anazarbei de materia medica libri V*, I, 115, 4, 6, vol. I, ed. M. Wellmann, Berolini 1906 (cetera: Dioscorides, *De materia medica*); *Oribasii collectionum medicarum reliquiae*, I, 47, 1, 1, vol. I, ed. I. Raeder, Lipsiae–Berolini 1928 (cetera: Oribasius, *Collectiones*); *Apicius. A Critical Edition with an Introduction and an English Translation of the Latin Recipe Text Apicius*, I, 26; IV, 2, 34, ed. C. Grocock, S. Grainger, Blackawton–Totnes 2006 (cetera: *De re coquinaria*); *Alexandri Tralliani de febribus*, 373, 18, vol. I; 375, 13–14, vol. I, ed. T. Puschmann, Amsterdam 1963 (cetera: Alexander Trallianus, *De febribus*). Cf. J.M. Wilkins, S. Hill, *Food in the Ancient World*, Malden 2006, p. 135.

[24] In this review of archaeological finds of peaches, we conducted internet searches, utilized Google Scholar, consulted the archaeobotany email list, and engaged in personal communication with archaeologists, archaeobotanists, and historians from Southern and Eastern Europe for further information. Notably, many *Prunus* sp. finds, including peaches from the wider area, such as Hungary, were not included in the metadata analysis of published discoveries (cf. R. Dal Martello *et al*., *The Domestication*…). While the meta-database compiled most of the finds, Excel table S1 excludes all *Prunus* finds from Roman-era archaeological sites in Hungary, mentioning only a single secondary reference to a medieval find. Relevant data from Hungary in English (cf. F. Gyulai, *Archaeobotany in Hungary*. *Seed*, *Fruit*, *Food and Beverage Remains in the Carpathian Basin from the Neolithic to the Late Middle Ages*, Budapest 2010) was available at the time of publication. Similarly, peach finds from Ras were omitted despite being documented in an English-language publication (cf. note 7).

recovered (hand-collected) from sites in Bulgaria within the Black Sea region, dating back to 4th–5th centuries BC[25]. These peach fragments were found with olive pits and often with other fruit remains and were associated with funerary offerings at the site of rural complex of Apollonia Pontica, one of the most important Greek colonies on the Western Black Sea coast (near present-day Sozopol, Bulgaria)[26]. Additionally, findings of peach and other plant remains (from excavations in Serdica [Sofia]) dated to the 4th century AD are reported based on archaeological material[27]. Further east, the earliest single find of a peach comes from the island of Samos, where waterlogged plant remains were discovered in a well associated with the sanctuary of Hera, dated to the 7th century BC[28]. The earliest documented discoveries of peaches and other charred plant remains from the southeastern region of Anatolia come from the Roman-era site of Zeugma, indicating that peaches were introduced to the area by the mid-2nd century AD[29]. Shipwrecks found in Theodosian-filled harbor, present-day Istanbul, dating back to the 9th century AD, contained a well-preserved (waterlogged) cargo dominated by fruit, particularly numerous peach remains[30]. Additionally, waterlogged two peach pits were discovered from amphorae on a shipwreck of a merchant vessel, dated to around 1025 AD, near the coast of Rhodes[31]. This suggests an established history of peach production and commerce, at least in Asia Minor by the middle Byzantine period.

Heading westward, several peach pits have been discovered in Pannonia (Hungary), dating back to the 1st century AD within Roman-era archaeological sites.

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[25] T. Popova, *New Archaeobotanical Evidence about Olea europaea subsp. europaea from the Territory of Bulgaria*, *ИИз* 27, 2022, p. 43–58.

[26] Cf. T. Popova, *New Archaeobotanical Evidence about Olea*…, Table 1, p. 46, Apollonia Pontica: Site is MESARITE 4, Unit S139, near burial N18. Plant remains identified: *Olea europaea* subsp. europaea (6 finds, 1 from the 4th century BCE, Popova, unpublished). Funeral, ritual food offerings included *Corylus avellana* (8 finds), *Prunus amygdalus* (1 find), and *Prunus persica*. Since Bulgaria is unsuitable for olive cultivation, the author deduced that olives and other fruits found in burial contexts and ritual offerings were imported from neighboring Mediterranean regions to the south.

[27] T. Popova, *New Archaeobotanical Evidence for Trigonella foenum-graecum L. from the 4th Century Serdica*, QInt 460, 2017, p. 157–166.

[28] The single peach find was identified as "*Prunus punica*" (*peche*) together with a number of pomegranate seeds and was dated based on its association with other archaeological materials found in the Sanctuary of Hera. Cf. D. Kučan, *Zur Ernährung und dem Gebrauch von Pflanzen im Heraion von Samos im 7. Jahrhundert v. Chr.*, JDAI 110, 1995, p. 1–64; idem, *Rapport synthétique sur les recherches archéobotaniques dans le sanctuaire d'Héra de l'île de Samos*, Pall 52, 2000, p. 99–108, I–IV.

[29] D. Challinor, D. de Moulins, *Charred Plant Remains*, [in:] *Excavations at Zeugma conducted by Oxford Archaeology*, vol. III, ed. W. Aylward, Los Altos 2013, p. 411–432.

[30] J. Marston, L. Castellano, *Crop Introductions and Agricultural Change in Anatolia during the Long First Millennium ce*, VHA 2023, p. 1–14 (article published online on 26 V 2023).

[31] C. Ward, *Plant Remains*, [in:] *Serçe Limani: an Eleventh-Century Shipwreck*, vol. I, *The Ship and its Anchorage, Crew, and Passengers*, ed. G.F. Bass *et al.*, College Station 2004, p. 497–501.

It is believed that the Romans introduced peach growing into present-day Hungary[32]. The earliest single find of a peach stone comes from a Late Iron Age site of Regöly, in western Hungary, dated to the La Tène period based on its association of the archaeological material (the Late Iron Age)[33]. The finds of peaches from the older excavations in present-day Austria come from the Roman sites (Kastel Lenitia and Penzendorf bei Hartberg) and are dated to the 1st c. AD[34].

Further west, in Northern Italy, the peaches can be traced back to the Augustan-Tiberian age (29 BC – 37 AD) at funerary contexts at necropolises (Angera and Manerbio). Peache stones were found in a variety of contexts including settlements and cemeteries. In the ancient Roman town of Mutina (present-day Modena), over a hundred uncharred peach pits were excavated from a Roman channel dating to between 15–40 AD[35]. There was already a wide variety of shapes and sizes in the peach endocarps found at Mutina[36]. Notably, these findings predate the introduction of peaches in central Italy by at least a decade, as suggested by Pliny's *Historia naturalis*. The earliest known artistic representation of peaches can be found in 1st-century wall paintings in Casa dei Cervi, Herculaneum[37]. The absence of early peach discoveries in Rome, the heart of the Roman Empire, may be attributed to classical archeologists' selective recovery of plant remains unless it reflected the higher social status of Northern Italian inhabitants[38]. Peaches likely entered Italy primarily through maritime routes, although the possibility of introduction from Greece through the Balkans cannot be entirely dismissed. This importation

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[32] Individual peach stones were identified from three Roman sites in Hungary, and many medieval sites. Cf. F. Gyulai, *Archaeobotany in Hungary*…, p. 38 and tables.

[33] G. Facsar, E. Jerem, *Zum Urgeschichtlichen Weinbau in Mitteleuropa: Rebkernfunde von Vitis vinifera L. aus der urnenfelder-, hallstattund latenezeitlichen Siedlung Sopron-Krautacker*, WAB 71, 1985, p. 121–144. Single peach finds come from a profile of pit cf. Tafel IV, p. 142.

[34] H.L. von Werneck, *Römischer und vorrömischer Wein- und Obstbau im österreichischen Donauraum*, VZBGW 96, 1956, p. 144–181. H.L. von Werneck only mentions finds of peach and cites references from the excavations in Linz 1953/1954, published by P. Karnitsch (*Fundberichte im Jahrbuch der Stadt Linz 1951*, PAR 3.7/8, 1953, p. 26 and idem, *Die Wehrgräben des römischen Kastells Lentia*, OHei 8, 1954, p. 182–186).

[35] L. Sadori *et al*., *The Introduction and Diffusion*…, p. 46. The earliest peach finds, dated to the early 1st century AD (29 BC – 37 AD), consisted of charred endocarps., citing report by Castelletti 1985: L. Castelletti, *Resti vegetali macroscopici e resti di cibo dalla necropoli romana di Angera (Varese, Italia)*, [in:] *Angera Romana – scavi nella necropoli*, ed. G. Sena Chiesa, Roma 1985, p. 591–595. For finds from and of Manerbio, near Brescia, Castiglioni and Rottoli unpublished article was cited.

[36] L. Sadori *et al*., *The Introduction and Diffusion*…, p. 46. Cf. G. Bosi, E. Castiglioni, R. Rinaldi, M. Mazzanti, M. Marchesini, M. Rottoli, *Archaeobotanical Evidence of Food Plants in Northern Italy during the Roman Period*, VHA 29, 2020, p. 681–697.

[37] Cf. L. Sadori *et al*., *The Introduction and Diffusion*…, p. 46, Image 1. A fragment of a fresco depicting peaches from Casa dei Cervi, Herculaneum (inv. 8645) is exhibited in the National Archaeological Museum of Naples.

[38] *Ibidem*.

probably took place relatively early, moving from the center of the Roman Empire towards its central-northern provinces[39].

The discovery of early peach finds in Cisalpine Gaul (northern Italy) and Pannonia (Hungary) raises questions whether peaches were cultivated in Gaul before making their way to Italy. It is plausible that the Celts played a significant role in the dissemination of peaches, potentially migrating from the Pontus region through the Balkans-Danube route. These early discoveries of peach stones provide secondary evidence supporting the existence of the "via Balcani" route, further reinforced by the continual presence of various vineyard peach varieties in the region since ancient times[40].

During the 1st century, peaches had already spread westwards, reaching at least Gaul, although they faced challenges adapting to cooler climates than the eastern Mediterranean climate. Additionally, a few varieties of peaches were already known at that time (see footnote 22). Conversely, due to the fragility of peach trees and the challenges in storing and transporting fresh fruits[41], peaches were scarce and expensive, making them typically unattainable for the majority of the poorer population in the Roman Empire[42].

The archaeological evidence suggests that peaches spread to northwest Europe alongside the Roman army, as they were widely present along the *limes* during Roman times. During the medieval era, peaches shifted towards the northeastern part of central Europe, and their presence in both writings and archaeological records decreased significantly between the fourth and eighth centuries. In the medieval period, these peaches were primarily found in urban deposits[43].

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[39] L. Sadori *et al*., suggest the maritime route for the introduction of peaches into Italy. D. Bassi and M.C. Piagnani (*Botanica*. *Morfologia e fenologia*, [in:] *Il pesco*, ed. R. Angelini, Bologna 2008, p. 1–17) propose the possibility of their introduction from Greece through the Balkans, as cited in Sadori *et al*.

[40] M. Faust, B. Timon, *Origin and Dissemination* 2011…, p. 11–55. D. Bassi, M.C. Piagnani, *Botanica*. *Morfologia*…, p. 1–17. D. Bassi, R. Monet, *Botany and Taxonomy*, [in:] *The Peach*. *Botany*, *Production and Uses*, ed. D.R. Layne, D. Bassi, Wallingford 2008, p. 1–30. Peach remains were found at nearly half of the surveyed archaeological sites (114) in Northern Italy, including settlements and sanctuaries from the 1st–2nd century.

[41] Because fresh peaches spoil quickly, ancient people attempted to preserve them through various methods, including drying, boiling, steaming, pickling, and pressing to obtain juice. For details on these processes, cf. Dioscorides, *De materia medica*, I, 115, 4; *De re coquinaria*, I, 26; IV, 2, 34; Alexander Trallianus, *De febribus*, 373, 18, vol. I; 375, 13–14, vol. II; *Geoponica sive Cassiani Bassi Scholastici de re rustica eclogae*, VIII, 34, rec. H. Beckh, Lipsiae 1895 [= BSGR] (cetera: *Geoponika*).

[42] Plinius, *Historia naturalis*, XV, 11, 40. Cf. N. Blan, *Charlemagne's Peaches: a Case of Early Medieval European Ecological Adaptation*, EME 27.4, 2019, p. 523, 526. On the other hand, as for the value of peaches, edict of Diocletian from AD 301 shows that they should be available in similar prices as pears and better varieties of apples, so, in other words, not expensive, cf. *Edictum Diocletiani de pretiis rerum venalium*, 7, 58–62, ed. A. Barańska, P. Barański, P. Janiszewski, Poznań 2007. This difference shows probably the general change in availability of peaches between 1st and 3rd/4th c. AD.

[43] A. Livarda, *Spicing up Life*…, p. 143–164. For the finds of peach (*Prunus persica*) from the excavations of the selected late medieval sites in Slavonia, Croatia, cf. K. Reed, A. Smuk, T. Tkalčec,

Both archaeological findings and Latin written sources indicate that peach trees were cultivated in Italy as early as the 1st century AD[44]. Pliny the Elder's detailed description suggests that peaches reached Italy from Egypt through Rhodes, but not until a few decades before he wrote about them in his work[45]. Although we should not overly trust the geographical details of this account[46], its chronology is confirmed by the results of archaeological excavations. Another possible route involved the spread of peaches to the West through the Balkan Peninsula.

Throughout the entire period of late antiquity, the popularity of peaches seems to have remained consistent, as indicated in written sources[47] and corroborated by archeological evidence, including art[48]. Interestingly, this popularity persisted despite the mixed opinions about peaches and their impact on the human body expressed by Greek and Roman physicians and medical writers. Influential figures like Galen (2nd/3rd century AD)[49] were among those who held a negative view of peaches[50].

J. Balen, M. Mihaljević, *Food and Agriculture in Slavonia*, *Croatia*, *during the Late Middle Ages: the Archaeobotanical Evidence*, VHA 31, 2022, p. 347–361.

[44] L. Sadori *et al.*, *The Introduction and Diffusion…*, p. 45–46; A. Weisskopf, D.Q. Fuller, *Peach…*, p. 5842; A. Marzano, *Plants*, *Politics and Empire in Ancient Rome*, Cambridge 2022, p. 179–181, 184–186.

[45] Plinius, *Historia naturalis*, XV, 11, 39; XV, 13, 45; cf. J. André, *L'alimentation…*, p. 81; K.D. White, *Roman Farming*, London 1970, p. 258; N. Blan, *Charlemagne's Peaches…*, p. 523.

[46] It is unlikely that Pliny had accurate geographical details when describing the process. Additionally, Pliny's description closely resembles a fragment from Theophrastus's passage about the origins of a plant called *persea* (distinct from *persica*, our peach; cf. Theophrastus, *Enquiry into Plants*, II, 2, 10, vol. I, ed. A. Hort, Cambridge, Mass. 1916 [= LCL, 70]). This suggests that Pliny may have misinterpreted his source, leading to potential errors in reconstructing the process of peach dissemination.

[47] Martial, *Epigrams*, XIII, 46, vol. III, ed. D.R.S. Bailey, Cambridge, Mass. 1993 [= LCL, 94]; *Palladii Rutilii Tauri Aemiliani viri inlustris opus agriculturae. De veterinaria medicina. De insitione*, I, 35; I, 37, ed. R.H. Rodgers, Leipzig 1975 [= BSGR]; *Historia Augusta*, XVIII, 13, 6–7, vol. II, ed. D. Magie, D. Rohrbacher, Cambridge, Mass. 2022 [= LCL, 140]; cf. also *Geoponika*, III, 1 (the fragment taken probably from the Quintilii brothers, active in the 2nd c.); X, 3 (the fragment taken from Didymos, active probably around 4th/5th c.); X, 13 (the fragment taken from Florentinus, active in 3rd c.); X, 16 (the fragment taken from Sex. Julius Africanus, active in 3rd c.). There is also a short mention of peach tree growing in Thebaida in the times of emperor Julian reign (4th c.) in *Georgii Cedreni historiarium compendium*, 322, 3, vol. II, ed. L. Tartaglia, Roma 2016.

[48] Cf. L. Farrar, *Ancient Roman Gardens*, Strout 1988, p. 145; L. Sadori *et al.*, *The Introduction and Diffusion…*, p. 47–53; M. Ciaraldi, *People and Plants in Ancient Pompeii – a New Approach to Urbanism from the Microscope Room. The Use of Plant Resources at Pompeii and in the Pompeian Area from the 6th Century BC to AD 79*, London 2007, p. 62–63, 123–124, 165; A. Marzano, *Plants*, *Politics…*, p. 184–185.

[49] *Galeni de alimentorum facultatibus libri III*, 466, 5–13; 569, 11–23; 593, 1–2, [in:] *Claudii Galeni opera omnia*, vol. VI, ed. C.G. Kühn, Lipsiae 1823; *Galeni de victu attenuante*, 77, 3–78, 1, ed. K. Kalbfleisch, Leipzig–Berlin 1923; *Galeni de rebus boni malique suci libellus*, 785, 3–7; 785, 13 – 786, 1, ed. G. Helmreich, Lipsiae 1923.

[50] For example, Gargilius Martialis, *Les remèdes tirés des légumes et des fruits*, 44, ed. B. Maire, Paris 2002; Oribasius, *Collectiones*, I, 47, 1–4; III, 14, 7, 5; III, 27, 1, 2, 1; *Oribasii synopsis ad Eustathium filium*, II, 7, 1, 8–9; IV, 13, 6, 5, [in:] *Oribasii synopsis ad Eustathium et libri ad Eunapium*,

The collapse of the Western Roman Empire brought about significant and multifaceted changes across Western Europe, affecting agriculture, horticulture, and culinary practices throughout the vast region. The peaches serve as an illustrative example of these transformations. Cultivating peach trees in the cooler areas north of the Mediterranean demanded considerable care and expertise, but after the 5th century, this practice deteriorated[51]. The precise details of this process are now lost to history and likely vary in different regions. Consequently, peaches became scarce commodities during the early medieval period compared to their abundance in Roman times. The trade challenges, particularly over long distances, would have further deepened this shift.

The case of 6th-century Gaul, ruled by the Franks, is particularly noteworthy. While there are occasional mentions of peaches in written sources from that era – like the recommendation of peaches to King Theuderic by the Constantinopolitan physician Anthimus[52] and a mention by the poet Venantius Fortunatus[53] – it is unclear whether these references were mere literary conventions or reflected the reality of the Merovingian world. However, archaeological excavations revealed a significant decline in peach remains from the end of Roman rule to the Carolingian period (between the 6th and 8th centuries)[54]. In other territories of the collapsed Roman Empire, like Italy under Ostrogothic rule, archaeological excavations from the early medieval period showed a significant decline in peach remains compared to the late Roman period[55].

Local cultivation: Byzantine legacy

The scenario of peach cultivation was distinct within the Byzantine Empire, especially within the Balkan Peninsula, which is of particular interest for this study. Some of its southern provinces, in the eastern Mediterranean and Asia Minor, had optimal climate conditions for peach tree cultivation, requiring less upkeep than in the western regions. Consequently, even invasions, the arrival of new peoples, or the decline of earlier societies did not necessarily lead to the demise of this aspect of arboriculture, as it did not require the same level of agronomical expertise needed in northern regions. The archaeological data from different

ed. I. Raeder, Lipsiae–Berolini 1926; *Aetii Amideni libri medicinales I–IV*, I, 278, 5–12, ed. A. Olivieri, Lipsiae–Berolini 1935 [= CMG, 8].

[51] A. Livarda, *Spicing up Life*…, p. 147, 149; N. Blan, *Charlemagne's Peaches*…, p. 525.

[52] Anthimus, *On the Observance of Foods. De observatione ciborum*, 85, ed. M. Grant, Totnes–Blackawton 2007.

[53] *Venanti Fortunati carmina*, VII, 14, [in:] *Venanti Honori Clementiani Fortunati presbyteri italici opera pedestria*, rec. F. Leo, Berolini 1881.

[54] N. Blan, *Charlemagne's Peaches*…, p. 525.

[55] L. Sadori *et al.*, *The Introduction and Diffusion*…, p. 53.

parts of the Byzantine Near East and Asia Minor show the presence of peach trees in the gardens in the early period (5th–7th c.)[56] and the later centuries[57].

Byzantine written sources from the early period do not offer a comprehensive understanding regarding the status of peach. Firstly, they lack direct information regarding the popularity of peaches, limiting our ability to draw precise conclusions. Alexander of Tralles (6th/7th century), an experienced physician who often deviated from his predecessors' views, did provide a positive assessment of this fruit in his treatises *Therapeutica* and *De febribus*[58]. This may indicate a significant shift in the Greeks' perspective on peaches, perhaps influenced by their more frequent presence (though not necessarily common and regular) in diets. Furthermore, Hierophilus' dietetic calendar from the 7th century advised the consumption of peaches during the arid months of the year (July, August, or September, depending on the text version) to help maintain the body's good condition[59]. However, this viewpoint is not found in the writings of other authors like Paul of Aegina[60] and the anonymous treatise *De cibis*[61] (both from the 7th century), as they continued to be strongly influenced by Galen's doctrines. Interestingly, even Alexander cautioned against the consumption of peaches in another section of his *Therapeutica*[62].

In the subsequent centuries, the cultivation of peach trees experienced a revival in the European regions where it had previously declined, e.g., Gaul[63]. Additionally,

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[56] Cf. P. Crawford, *The Plant Remains*, [in:] *The Roman Frontier in Central Jordan. Final Report on the Limes arabicus Project 1980–1989*, vol. II, ed. S.T. Parker, Washington 2006, p. 456; K.D. Politis, *The Economic Transformation of Zoara in Eastern Palaestina Tertia from the Late Antique to Early Islamic Period (6th–11th Century)*, [in:] *Transformations of City and Countryside in the Byzantine Period*, ed. B. Böhlendorf-Arslan, R. Schick, Mainz 2020, p. 96.

[57] *TIB*, vol. VII, *Phrygien und Pisidien*, ed. K. Belke, N. Mersich, Wien 1990, p. 63; *TIB*, vol. XV, *Syria (Syria Prōtē*, *Syria Deutera*, *Syria Euphratēsia)*, T. 1, ed. K.-P. Todt, B.A. Vest, Wien 2014, p. 483–510. About peaches in orchards or gardens in Byzantine monasteries – with no exact information about the period of time – writes Alice-Mary Talbot (*Byzantine Monastic Horticulture: the Textual Evidence*, [in:] *Byzantine Garden Culture*, ed. A. Littlewood, H. Maguire, J. Wolschke-Bulmann, Washington 2002, p. 52). Importantly, the number of peach remains from Byzantine sites is generally not high.

[58] *Alexandri Tralliani therapeutica*, 511, 13–14, vol. I; 251, 11–14, vol. II; 265, 1–12, vol. II; 279, 19–283, 9, vol. II, ed. T. Puschmann, Amsterdam 1963 (cetera: Alexander Trallianus, *Therapeutica*); Alexander Trallianus, *De febribus*, 373, 18; 375, 13–14, vol. I.

[59] *Hierophili de nutriendi methodo*, 8, 3, [in:] *Physici et medici graeci minores*, vol. I, ed. I.L. Ideler, Berlin 1841; cf. A. Dalby, *Tastes of Byzantium. The Cuisine of a Legendary Empire*, London 2010, p. 53, 222 (English translation based on Delatte 1939 edition of the text).

[60] *Paulus Aegineta*, I, 81, 2, 3–5, vol. I, ed. I.L. Heiberg, Lipsiae–Berolini 1921 [= CMG, 9.1].

[61] *De cibis*, 12; 22; 28, [in:] *Anecdota medica graeca*, ed. F.Z. Ermerins, Lugduni Batavorum 1840.

[62] Alexander Trallianus, *Therapeutica*, 523, 26–27, vol. I.

[63] E. Peytremann, *Rural Life and Work in Northern Gaul during the Early Middle Ages*, [in:] *The Oxford Handbook of the Merovingian World*, ed. B. Effros, I. Moreira, Oxford 2020, p. 706.

peaches were introduced into areas where they had not been documented before, such as lands inhabited by tribes that later became part of the Polish state[64].

The Medieval Byzantine Empire had considerable dominance over the Balkans, particularly between the 10th and 11th centuries, when it held substantial military power and exerted direct control over significant portions of the Peninsula, including Ras and areas inhabited by Serbs[65]. It is essential to investigate the preserved accounts regarding peaches by Byzantine individuals from that era. This exploration is particularly relevant since prolonged periods of domination frequently involve political control and extend to agricultural and culinary influences and impacts[66].

As mentioned above, peaches were known in the Northern Balkans by at least the 1st century AD. However, detailing the specific variations in its cultivation and prevalence in subsequent centuries proves challenging, particularly in the context of the pressure and settlements by the Slavs. This situation could have led to temporary declines, paralleling the impact of Germanic tribes in Western Europe.

So, what do Medieval Byzantine writings reveal about peaches? *Geoponika*, a compilation of agronomical texts from the 10th century under Emperor Constantine VII Porphyrogennitus, holds a trove of information on cultivation techniques and existing varieties during that era. This compilation, mirroring the realities of its time (despite being based on earlier treatises), presents precise and factual observations, confirming the regular occurrence of peaches in Byzantine agriculture[67].

The peach was also a subject of medical literature at that time. It is discussed in the treatise titled *Synopsis de remediis*[68], commonly attributed to Theophanes Chrysobalantes from the 10th century, as well as in *Syntagma de alimentorum facultatibus*[69] authored by Symeon Seth in the 11th century. Their accounts align with earlier ones and remain influenced by Galenic principles.

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[64] M. Lityńska-Zając, D. Nalepka, *Średniowieczny świat roślin i pożywienie w świetle źródeł paleobotanicznych*, [in:] *Źródła historyczne wydobywane z ziemi*, ed. S. Suchodolski, Wrocław 2008, p. 87; D. Błaszczyk, J. Beaumont, A. Krzyszowski, D. Poliński, A. Drozd-Lipińska, A. Wrzesińska, J. Wrzesiński, *Social Status and Diet. Reconstruction of Diet of Individuals Buried in Some Early Medieval Chamber Graves from Poland by Carbon and Nitrogen Stable Isotopes Analysis*, JAS.R 38, 2021, 103103.

[65] See footnote 16 and 17 for the linguistic evidence regarding peaches and the Slavic lexemes, particularly how they may have entered the Balkan Peninsula prior to the 9th century.

[66] Similar influences can be observed from the past such as Greek impacts on Roman culinary customs, Roman influences on the Celts and Germanic tribes, and others.

[67] *Geoponika*, III, 1; VIII, 34; X, 3; X, 14–17; X, 76. In the text one can find general information about growing of peach tree and some remarks devoted to usefulness of its fruit.

[68] *Synopsis de remediis*, 8 (II, 262, 29); 20 (II, 267, 4); 28 (II, 269, 16), [in:] *Physici et medici graeci minores*, vol. II, ed. I.L. Ideler, Berolini 1842.

[69] *Simeonis Sethi syntagma de alimentorum facultatibus*, ρ, 28–50, ed. B. Langkavel, Lipsiae 1868 [= BSGR].

Similarly, but at a later date (13th century), references to the medical application of peaches appear, notably in the Nicolaus Myrepsus's treatise[70] and in an anonymous work often attributed to a certain John, titled *Synoptic iatrosophion*[71]. Both works provide practical recommendations for treating common ailments. Significantly, these fruits are recorded alongside numerous other fruit varieties typical for the region without any indication of their being uncommon. This recurring theme further reinforces the impression of peaches' continual presence in the medieval Byzantine markets.

References to peaches and peach trees can be found in medical and agronomical sources and various other texts. For example, the *Suda*[72] lexicon, compiled in the 10th century, includes two entries about peaches (περσικαί and ῥοδακινέα), reflecting the shifts in Greek terminology from the Hellenistic to the medieval period. Unfortunately, both entries are quite brief and lack details about peach cultivation or consumption. Peaches, alongside grapes, were also mentioned in one of the letters authored by Eustathius of Thessalonike in the 12th century[73].

The significance of peaches in the medieval Byzantine world, including the Balkans around the 11th century, is evident in written sources and other evidence. It is well-established that peach trees continued to thrive in Byzantine orchards and gardens[74]. Furthermore, these fruits were actively traded and transported, sometimes over considerable distances. For instance, archaeologists discovered, as mentioned above, peaches within amphorae on a merchant vessel wrecked around 1025 near the coast of Rhodes. These observations and the remains demonstrate that peaches were neither exotic nor uncommon in the Byzantine world during the 11th century[75].

Routes of introduction and local cultivation

The finds of peaches from Ras is the only evidence we have of peach from the archaeological sites in the region of Serbia thus far. The fragments of peach stones were directly radiocarbon dated to 1021 to 1158 cal AD. The discovery of peach stones at Ras, dated between the early 11th and mid-12th centuries, suggests

[70] *Nikolaos Myrepsos' Dynameron*, δροσάτα, 8, 15, 3–5, ed. I. Valiakos, Heidelberg 2020.

[71] *John the Physician's Therapeutics. A Medical Handbook in Vernacular Greek*, ϰ 84; ω 101, ed. B. Zipser, Leiden 2009 [= SAM, 37].

[72] *Suidae lexicon*, π, 1376; ρ, 194, vol. IV, ed. A. Adler, Stutgardiae 1989 [= LG, 1.5].

[73] *Eustathii Thessalonicensis epistolae*, 1, 1–7, [in:] *Eustathii metropolitae thessalonicensis opuscula*, ed. T.L.F. Tafel, Francofurti ad Moenum 1832.

[74] A.E. Reuter, *Food Production and Consumption in the Byzantine Empire in Light of the Archaeobotanical Finds*, [in:] *Multidisciplinary Approaches to Food and Foodways in the Medieval Eastern Mediterranean*, ed. S.Y. Waksman, Lyon 2020, p. 343–354.

[75] C. Ward, *Plant Remains*…, p. 497–501; E. Todorova, *One Amphora, Different Contents*, [in:] *Multidisciplinary Approaches to Food*…, p. 403–416.

a continuity of practices linked to the 'via Balcani' route, which may have begun centuries earlier with the introduction of peaches from the Pontic region[76]. Peaches might have been transported from the Black Sea area along the Danube, through central Europe, possibly reaching northern Italy and Gaul by the first centuries AD. Historical sources propose that peaches were introduced to the Gallia province early on, not through Italy but via the Balkans. Pliny the Elder notes the presence of peaches in Gaul alongside those in Rome. In the first century, Columella, and in the fourth century, Palladius documented peaches grown in Italy with Gallic origin. This aligns with insights from peach horticulturists emphasizing the prolonged cultivation and diversity of local vineyard peach landraces in the Balkans.

The significance of peaches in the medieval Byzantine world, including the Balkans, is evident not only in written sources but also through archaeological finds, which firmly establish the persistence of peach trees in Byzantine orchards and gardens. The discovery of a wide variety of well-preserved peach endocarps of different shapes and sizes at the site of Mutina in Northern Italy suggests that, by the 1st century, diversity among peach varieties had already developed, indicating that the fruit's introduction to Italy was preceded by earlier cultivation in other regions. If the dating of peach finds dating back to 4th–5th centuries BC from Black Sea sites in Bulgaria is accurate, these discoveries could be the oldest documented peach findings in Europe[77]. As more peach remains are discovered from the Black Sea region and southeast Europe, they will further will contribute to a better understanding the of routes, and underscore the importance of using direct radiocarbon dating of peach remains from archaeological sites to trace its history across the region.

Several possible routes may have introduced peach cultivation to the Balkans over different historical periods. These routes include: 1) the ancient Silk Road: peaches could have been introduced to the Balkans along or through the ancient Silk Road, predating the Roman expansion; 2) Maritime routes: peaches may have been imported into Europe through naval routes, reaching regions like Italy through sea trade and expanding to central and eastern Europe through the Roman army; 3) Byzantine trade: the Byzantine Empire's significant influence on the Balkans, especially during the Middle Ages, might have (re)introduced peach cultivation to the region through cultural exchange.

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[76] Cf. M. Faust, B. Timon, *Origin and Dissemination* 2011…, *passim*. The early discoveries of peach remains at archaeological sites in Austria and Hungary, dating from the 1st century BC to the 1st century AD (see footnotes 32–34), may precede the Romanization of the area. Regional peach horticulturists have cited these finds, and along with the long-standing cultivation of vineyard peaches in the region, they proposed the possibility of peaches being introduced via a route from the Black Sea. This Balkan route was adopted and referred to as 'via Balkani' by Italian peach specialists c.f. D. Bassi, M.C. Piagnani, *Botanica. Morfologia*…, *passim*; A. Marzano, *Plants*, *Politics*…, p. 177–197.

[77] See notes 24 and 26; cf. T. Popova, *New Archaeobotanical Evidence about Olea*…, p. 43–58.

Future research on ancient DNA (aDNA) from well-preserved peach remains found at archaeological sites, compared with modern and historical varieties – such as vineyard peaches – could provide valuable further insights into the origins of peaches and the possible routes of their spread[78].

Conclusions

In this interdisciplinary study, we reviewed historical records and provided new insights, addressing gaps in the archaeological evidence of peach finds from Southeast Europe. Our research offers a clearer understanding of the routes and dispersal of peaches in the Balkans and beyond. Archaeological excavations at Ras uncovered peach stones and plant remains, indicating peach cultivation in the region as early as the 11th century, possibly earlier. The exact origin of these peaches remains uncertain – whether they were introduced by the Romans in the 4th century during their occupation of the region or brought from the south by the Byzantines. Nevertheless, the genetic diversity of peach landraces in the Balkans, including present-day Serbia, suggests continuity along the 'via Balcani' route and enduring local cultivation, potentially supported by trade from southern regions since ancient times.

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[78] Similar studies have been conducted on peach findings from early sites in China, Y. Zheng, G. Crawford, X. Chen, *Archaeological Evidence for Peach…*, p. 1–9; Y. Yu *et al.*, *Genome Resequencing Reveals the Evolutionary History of Peach Fruit Edibility*, NCom 9, 2018, 5404.

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Mars Pater – in the Strategy of Constantine the Great

Abstract. During his reign Constantine the Great sought protection of various gods, finally choosing the Christian God as his main protector. The iconographic material gathered from the mints remaining under his power in the early period of his rule shows that in the years 306–309 Constantine regarded Mars as his guardian deity. The author attempts to explain why the emperor sought Mars's protection during that period and why he later began to look for a new divine guardian. This issue has not yet been properly explained in scholarly literature devoted to Constantine the Great.

Keywords: Constantine the Great, Mars Pater, iconographic material

The biographer of Constantine the Great, Eusebius of Caesarea, mentions the quandary faced by the emperor before his clash with Maxentius in 312. According to the bishop of Caesarea, during his preparation for an armed confrontation with the usurper, Constantine *wondered… which God he should turn to for help and guidance*[1]. Eusebius was in direct touch with the ruler and referred in his *Life of Constantine* to conversations they both held. The situation Constantine found himself in was extremely difficult and, in line with the Roman mentality, required the choice of a divine patron. It is therefore possible to assume the credibility of the biographer's account of this. The verb ἐννοέω (to think, to consider, to reflect[2]) – which the chronicler used to highlight Constantine's dilemma – suggests that the ruler relied on a certain logic in his search for a divine guardian. The choice of a divine protector was nothing out of the ordinary for Roman commanders, who typically resorted to such a practice. It stemmed from the Romans' deep-seated

[1] Eusebius, *Vita Constantini*, I, 27, 2, ed. F. Winkelmann, Berlin–New York 2008 (cetera: Eusebius, *Vita Constantini*): ἐννοεῖ δῆτα ὁποῖον δέοι θεὸν βοηθὸν ἐπιγράψασθαι (trans. T. Wnętrzak, p. 116).
[2] *A Patristic Greek Lexicon*, ed. G.W.H. Lampe, Oxford 1961, p. 476, *s.v.* ἐννοέω.

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belief that God's power could ensure the prosperity of their *civitas*. Thanks to their extraordinary piety[3] in which they surpassed all the other nations[4], the Gods allowed them to build a great empire. Their *felicitas* was a reward for their *pietas*.

At the outset of Constantine's reign, legends on the coins struck at the mints remaining under his authority (those located in London, Lyon and Trier) can frequently be found to contain not only inscriptions devoted to Mars, but also iconographic representations of the deity. References to Mars appear on those coins significantly more often than mentions of Jupiter, Heracles or Sol Invictus[5]. It can thus be argued that in the years 306–309 Mars became Constantine's guardian deity. Why did this ruler look for Mars' protection during that period? Why did he later begin to look for a new divine guardian? Since this issue has not been properly examined in scholarly literature, my aim in this article is to try to answer those questions.

The answer to the first is tangled up in the very difficult situation that Constantine found himself in after 305. In 293, when his father, Constantius I, was appointed Caesar to Maximian Herculius[6], Constantine was invited to Diocletian's

[3] In pagan Rome, *pietas* was not only considered to be one of the essential moral virtues and later the emperor's cardinal virtue, but it was also one of the most important ideas of the Roman state; see M.P. Charlesworth, *The Virtues of Roman Emperor and the Creation of the Belief*, PBA 23, 1937, p. 105–133; J.R. Fears, *The Cult of Virtues and Roman Imperial Ideology*, [in:] *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römi-schen Welt*, vol. II, 17.2, ed. W. Haase, New York–Berlin 1981, p. 864; A. Wallace-Hadrill, *The Emperor and his Virtues*, Hi 30.3, 1981, p. 298–323.

[4] See H. Wagenvoort, *Pietas*, [in:] *Pietas. Selected Studies in Roman Religion*, ed. idem, Leiden 1980 [= SGRR, 1], p. 1–20; J. Champeaux, „*Pietas*". *Piété personelle et piété collective à Rome*, BAGB 3, 1989, p. 263–279.

[5] Legends on coins from the mint in London contain the following inscriptions: MARS VICTOR, MARTI CONSERVATORI, MARTI PACIF(ero), MARTI PATRI CONSERVATORI, MARTI PATRI PROPVGNATORI; in Lyon: MARTI PATRI CONSERVATORI, MARTI PATRI PROPVGNATORI, MARTI PATR SEMP VICTORI; in Trier: MARTI CONSERVATORI, MARTI PATRI CONSERVATORI, MARTI PATRI PROPVGNATORI, MARTI PROPUGNATORI; cf. *The Roman Imperial Coinage*, vol. VI, *From Diocletian's Reform (A.D. 294) to the Death of Maximinus (A.D. 13)*, ed. C.H.V. Sutherland, R.A.G. Carson, London 1967 (cetera: RIC VI), *passim*.

[6] The appointment most likely took place on 1 March 293 (see *In Praise of Later Roman Emperors. The Panegyrici Latini*, VIII (V), 3, 1, ed. R.A.B. Mynors, C.E.V. Nixon, B.S. Rodgers, Berkeley–Los Angeles–Oxford 1994 [= TCH, 21], cetera: *Panegyric*), that is, in the month dedicated to Mars. On the same day, the title of Caesar was conferred upon Galerius; see Lactantius, *De mortibus persecutorum*, XXXV, 4, ed. J. Moreau, Paris 1954 [= SC, 39] (cetera: Lactantius, *De mortibus persecutorum*). In his chronology of the first tetrarchy, Frank Kolb (*Chronologie und Ideologie der Tetrarchie*, ATa 3, 1995, p. *22*) indicates 1 March as the day on which both Constantius and Glaerius were elevated to the dignity of Caesar. However, he adds in his comment (p. 23) that only Constantius may have then been appointed Caesar while Galerius may have been granted the honour a little bit later, that is on 21 May 293 (the author of Chronicon Paschale dates the appointment of both Constantius and Galerius to 21 May), and, argues Kolb, it is impossible to say which date reflects the true state of affairs. According to Robert Suski (*Galeriusz. Cesarz, wódz i prześladowca*, Kraków 2016, p. 114–115), they were both appointed Caesars on 1 March 293.

court to begin his military career under Diocletian's tutelage. While beginning to serve as *tribunus* in the eastern provinces, he had reason to believe that he was just taking the first steps in his education as a future ruler[7]. It seems that at that time, he took part in the victorious war against Persia, witnessing Galerius' great military triumph[8]. Raised to the rank of *tribunus ordinis primi*[9], he participated in Diocletian's expedition to Egypt in the years 301–302. According to Eusebius of Caesarea[10], he rode across Palestine by Diocletian's side, which indicates that he must have belonged to the ruling Augustus' close, immediate circle. However, in 305, following the abdication of Diocletian and Maximian, when new Caesars were appointed under the second tetrarchy, Constantine was left out of the nomination, as was Maxentius[11], the latter despite having been already married for several years to Galerius' daughter, Valeria Maximilia[12], to whom he became engaged as early as 293. At Galerius' instigation, a Roman commander from Pannonia named Severus[13], with whom Galerius was on friendly terms, became Caesar in the West, while Maximin Daia[14], Galerius' nephew, was awarded the respective office in the East. It is thus clear that Galerius attained the dominant position in the existing political

[7] *Panegyric*, VI (VII), 6, 2. The anonymous author of *Origo Constantini* (II, 2) suggests that Constantine was the hostage (obses) of Diocletian and Galerius. See T.D. Barnes, *Constantine and Eusebius*, Cambridge, Mass.–London 1981, p. 25–26; C.M. Odahl, *Constantine and the Christian Empire*, London–New York 2004 [= RIM], p. 48.

[8] See *Origo Constantini*. *Anonymus Valesianus*, II, 2, ed. I. König, Trier 1987 (cetera: *Origo Constantini*); *Constantini imperatoris oratio ad coetum sanctorum*, XVI, 2, [in:] Eusebius, *Werke*, vol. I, ed. J.A. Heikel, Leipzig 1902. In 296, in the first phase of the war mentioned above Galerius was defeated in northern Mesopotamia. However, in 298–299, after bringing a new army from the Balkans, he won a great victory over the Persians. See T.D. Barnes, *Imperial Campaigns*, *A.D. 285–311*, Phoe 30, 1976, p. 182–186. The debate regarding the possible capture of Ctesiphon by Galerius has been covered by Robert Suski (*Zwycięska kampania Galeriusza w wojnie z Persami 298–299*, [in:] *Chrześcijaństwo u schyłku starożytności. Studia źródłoznawcze*, vol. II, ed. T. Derda, E. Wipszycka, Kraków 1999, p. 162–171; idem, *Galeriusz*…, p. 166–181).

[9] Lactantius, *De mortibus persecutorum*, XVIII, 10.

[10] Eusebius, *Vita Constantini*, I, 19.

[11] Timothy Barnes (*Constantine. Dynasty*, *Religion and Power in the Later roman Empire*, Oxford 2011, p. 57) presumes that Galerius, the fanatical advocate of traditional cults rejected the candidatures of Constantine Maxentius for religious reasons, because their pro-Christian attitudes.

[12] See *Origo Constantini*, III, 7; Aurelius Victor, *Liber de Caesaribus*, XXXX, 14, [in:] *Liber de Caesaribus Sexti Aurelii Victoris (Sextus Aurelius Victor). Praecedunt Origo gentis Romanae et liber de viris illustribus urbis Romae. Subs. epitome de Caesaribus*, rec. F. Pichlmayr, R. Gründel, Leipzig 1966 (cetera: Aurelius Victor, *Liber de Caesaribus*); Lactantius, *De mortibus persecutorum*, XVIII, 9; see also R. Donciu, *L'empereur Maxence*, Bari 2012, p. 48; T.D. Barnes, *Constantine. Dynasty*…, p. 48.

[13] The anonymous author of *Origo Constantini* (IV) wrote about Severus's friendship with Galerius: *ebrosius et hoc Galerio amicus*; According to Lactantius, in turn (*De mortibus persecutorum*, XVIII, 11–12), Sewerus belonged to Galerius's close circle. See T.D. Barnes, *The New Empire of Diocletian and Constantine*, London 1982, p. 38–39.

[14] See T.D. Barnes, *The New Empire*…, p. 39.

constellation despite the fact that Constantius, Constantine's father, formally was the higher ranking Augustus[15]. This can be considered surprising given Galerius' initially weak position under the first tetrarchy, which seems to be reflected by the account of how he was humiliated by Diocletian after his initial defeat during the clash with the Persians in 296[16]. The failure that befell Galerius at the time must have been all the more disconcerting as the memory of the defeat that Emperor Valerian suffered at the hands of the Persians several decades ago – having been taken captive, humiliated and finally killed – was still very vivid. However, the past difficulties probably only added to the joy the Romans felt at Galerius' recent success in the war against Persia. The victory he won proved that he was not only an eminent commander, but that he also enjoyed the support of the gods. According to Lactantius, Galerius gave credit for the victory to Mars, recognizing him as his parent and himself as a second Romulus[17].

It thus seems that the triumph over the Persians (which the victor believed to owe to Mars' support) had the effect of strengthening his position already under the first tetrarchy, as testified in *On the Death of Persecutors* by Lactantius[18] who was a teacher in the imperial city (that is, in Nicomedia) at least until the outbreak of the persecution of Christians. The fact that Lactantius' account is clearly partial and pro-Christian does not change the essential point, for he was as critical of Diocletian as he was of Galerius. The chronicler can thus be considered to have had no reasons to misrepresent the relations between Diocletian and Galerius, which were certainly known in the imperial court, and his account of Galerius' dominant position can be argued as credible, especially as it is confirmed by the abdication of Diocletian and Maximin (effected despite the latter's protests and benefitting mainly Galerius) and the exclusion of Constantine and Maxentius[19] (that is, the sons of the present tetrarchs, Constantius and Maximian Herculius) from the appointment as new Caesars in favour of men with close ties to Galerius. The fact that both Constantine and Maxentius accepted the choice without protest only

[15] This could result only from Konstantius's older age; see R. Suski, *Galeriusz*…, p. 115.

[16] The event probably never took place (see W. Seston, *L' « humiliation » de Galère*, REA 42, 1940, p. 515–519; R. Suski, *Upokorzenie Galeriusza przez Dioklecjana. Prawda czy mit*, [in:] *Chrześcijaństwo u schyłku starożytności. Studia źródłoznawcze*, vol. II, p. 129–152; idem, *Galeriusz*…, p. 134–150), but the very existence of this information may reflect his initially weak position.

[17] Lactantius, *De mortibus persecutorum*, IX, 9. See P. Bruggisser, *Constantin aux rostres*, [in:] *Historiae Augustae Colloquium Perusinum*, ed. G. Bonamente, F. Paschoud, Bari 2002, p. 84, n. 39. The view that Mars was Galerius's divine patron is rejected by O.P. Nicholson, *The Wild Man of the Tetrarchy: a Divine Companion for the Emperor Galerius*, B 54, 1984, p. 253–275 (who points to Dionizos-Liber as the ruler's divine guardian); Nicholson's opinion is shared by B. Leadbetter, *Galerius and the Will of Diocletian*, London–New York 2009 [= RIM], p. 105, n. 72.

[18] Lactantius, *De mortibus persecutorum*, IX–XIV, XVIII–XXI. Cf. also T.D. Barnes, *Constantine. Dynasty*…, p. 56.

[19] Cf. A. Piganiol, *L'Empereur Constantin*, Paris 1932, p. 40–41; A. Rousselle, *La chronologie de Maximien Hercule et le mythe de la Tétrarchie*, DHA 2, 1976, p. 459.

corroborates the view that they were not only aware of Galerius' position but that they also reconciled themselves to it, clearly numbering among those impressed by Galerius' victory over the Persians.

From the perspective of Constantine and Constantius, the former's failure to be appointed Caesar made his further stay in the East pointless. Hence, Galerius was requested to permit Constantine's return. Both Christian and pagan sources inform us of Constantine's escape from Nicomedia and of the hostile attitude Galerius adopted toward him despite formally consenting to his return to the west[20]. Soon, after his father's death, on 5 July 305[21] in Eburacum (now York), the army elevated Constantine to the dignity of Emperor and Augustus, which created a fait accompli for Galerius[22]. Having lost his father, his natural guardian and protector, Constantine seems to have been left with no other option since he had already to escape from Galerius before. Therefore, he staked everything on one card, simultaneously seeking recognition of his elevation by Galerius who was already officially the highest rank Augustus. Constantine's usurpation gained only partial acceptance by the princeps who awarded him the title of Caesar while conferring that of Augustus upon Severus. It is quite remarkable that Constantine accepted Galerius' decision and stopped using the title of Augustus, contenting himself with the rank of Caesar. This compromise allowed him, at least temporarily, to come out of the difficult situation unscathed. However, he had to take into account the necessity of an armed confrontation with his opponents within the empire, especially as the course of events was very dynamic. On 28 October 306, Maxentius, Maximian's son, that is the second of the tetrarchs' descendants who were left out of sharing power in 305, was clothed by the praetorians and the people of the city of Rome in purple robes and raised to the rank of Emperor[23]. This time, Galerius was unrelenting and refused to recognize Maxentius' power despite the fact that Maxentius was his son-in-law. That may have been because no tetrarch's throne was vacant. It thus became of key importance for Constantine to find a divine patron on whom he could rely and who could ensure a stable position for him within the system of tetrarchy.

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[20] Lactantius, *De mortibus persecutorum*, XXV, 5–8; Eusebius, *Vita Constantini*, I, 20–21; *Origo Constantini*, II, 4; *Panegyric*, VII (VI), 7–8; Aurelius Victor, *Liber de Caesaribus*, 40, 2–4; *Die Epitome de Caesaribus. Untersuchungen zur heidnischen Geschichtsschreibung des 4. Jahrhunderts n. Chr.*, 41, 2, ed. J. Schlumberger, München 1974; Zosime, *Histoire nouvelle*, II, 8, vol. I–III, ed. et trans. F. Paschoud, Paris 1979–2000 (cetera: Zosimos).

[21] *Fasti Furii Dionysii Philocali (p. Chr. 354) et Polemii Silvii (p. Chr. 448/449)*, ed. Th. Mommsen, [in:] *CIL*, vol. I.1, Berolini 1893, p. 268–269; Socrates, *Kirchengeschichte*, I, 2, 1, ed. G.C. Hansen, Berlin 1995 [= *GCS*].

[22] Eutropius, *Breviarum ab urbe condita*, X 1, 3, trans., comm. H.W. Bird, Liverpool 1993 [= TTH, 14]. On imperial elections see J. Prostko-Prostyński, *Roma-solium imperii. Elekcja, koronacja i uznanie cesarza w Rzymie*, Poznań 2014.

[23] See Lactantius, *De mortibus persecutorum*, XXVI, 1–4; Zosimos, II, 9, 2–3.

One of the earliest coins minted in Constantine's name in general and the earliest to contain a legend referring to a specific deity is the gold coin struck from 306 to 308 at the mint in Nicomedia. It has MARTI PATRI written on the rim and its reverse shows an image of Mars standing frontally and wearing a helmet. The god's head is turned left, his right hand is resting on a shield and the left is holding a spear[24]. It should be emphasized that at the time, the mint was not under Constantine's authority. The coin in question began to be minted there as a result of the compromise under which Constantine was appointed Caesar in the western part of the empire. In the earlier period, soon after the re-composition of the first tetrarchy, that is after the abdication of Diocletian and Maximian Herculius, the gold coin struck at the mint from May 305 to July 306 contained the same legend and displayed the image of Mars, but it was dedicated to Severus who was then expected to become Caesar in the western part of the empire[25]. The new senior Augustus, Constantius, after taking over from Maximian Herculius, offered his special worship to Hercules (with the legend HERCULI VICTORI[26]) on his coins struck in Nicomedia. On the other hand Augustus, Galerius, after replacing Diocletian, honored there Jupiter (with the legend IOVI CONSERVATORI[27]) and Diocletian's Caesar, Maximin, worshiped Sol Invictus (with the legend SOLI INVICTO[28]). After Constantius' death in 306, which entailed a change in the composition of the tetrarchy, Galerius became the senior Augustus, while Severus, Constantius' Caesar, assumed the another Augustus. At that time, legends on coins struck in Nicomedia still linked Galerius with Jupiter (with the legend IOVI CONSERVATORI[29]), Severus was assigned to Constantius' former patron, that is, Hercules (with the legend HERCULI VICTORI[30]), and Sol remained the divine patron of Maximin, who was still Galerius' Caesar (with the legend SOLI INVICTO[31]). Constantine, in turn, after becoming Severus' Caesar and thus assuming his former place, was paired with Severus' former patron, Mars (with the legend MARTI PATRI[32]). It thus seems that Constantine was assigned to Mars quite automatically. Interestingly, during the first tetrarchy, Mars was absent from the coins struck in Nicomedia that assigned particular rulers to their respective deities. The coins dedicated to Diocletian presented an image of Jupiter[33], those minted in the name of Galerius, Diocletian's Caesar, showed Jupiter[34] and Sol

[24] RIC VI, no 42; 45.
[25] RIC VI, no 34. C.H.V. Sutherland (RIC, p. 547) emphasised that *Constantine, newly recognized as Caesar in the west, has the Marti Patri formerly assigned to Severus as Caesar*.
[26] RIC VI, no 32.
[27] RIC VI, no 33.
[28] RIC VI, no 35.
[29] RIC VI, no 44.
[30] RIC VI, no 41.
[31] RIC VI, no 43; 46.
[32] RIC VI, no 42; 45.
[33] RIC VI, no 1; 5; 10–11.
[34] RIC VI, no 12.

Invictus[35], while Hercules appeared on the coins of Maximian Herculius[36] and Constantius[37], who was Maximian's Caesar. It seems fully comprehensible that Jupiter and Hercules were chosen to serve as the tetrarchs' guardian deities, because Diocletian's system was based on the idea that the rulers were born of those two gods (*diis genti*) and as such belonged to a "divine family" (*domus divina*). Diocletian adopted the nickname "Jovius" while Augustus, Maximian, began to be referred to as Herculean[38]. One might ask why Galerius was assigned to Sol as early as 294 given the fact that this seems to have gone beyond Diocletian's idea of a divine family. In all probability, it was linked with the intensive growth in solar cult[39] in the third century and was the result of a top-down arrangement. After the abdication of Diocletian and Maximian Herculius, when Galerius began to appoint his men to the position of Caesar, references to Sol, just as before, were found on gold coins struck in Nicomedia in the name of Maximin, Galerius's successor. At the same time, references to Mars appeared on coins dedicated to Severus, Constantius's Caesar, which was a novelty in relation to the coins issued during the first tetrarchy. It is likely that this novelty was introduced by Galerius who was playing a crucial role in the tetrarchy (despite the fact that he was not the senior Augustus) and who, as can be presumed, ascribed his triumph over the Persians to Mars, recognizing him as his divine patron[40].

Interestingly, on the coins from this issue Mars was referred to as father. Although such a designation was generally bound up only with the origin of Romulus, the founder of Rome, there was no official, state cult of *Mars Pater* either under the Republic or under the empire[41]. References to Mars found on the coins in question show the rulers of Imperium Romanum to have believed that, thanks to the

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[35] RIC VI, no 7; 17.

[36] RIC VI, no 2–3; 8.

[37] RIC VI, no 4; 9.

[38] Diocletian took advantage of the fact that Roman commanders had looked for the protection of Jupiter the Best and the Greatest since time immemorial. The god was worshipped on the Capitol and was linked with the ceremony of the triumph; see H.S. Versnel, *Triumphus. An Inquiry into the Origin, Development, and Meaning of the Roman Triumph*, Leiden 1970, p. 66–93; K. Balbuza, *Triumfator. Triumf i ideologia zwycięstwa w starożytnym Rzymie epoki Cesarstwa*, Poznań 2005, *passim*. In Diocletian's system, by adopting the nickname Iovius, the higher-ranking Augustus, Jupiter's chosen one became an intermediary between the highest god in Roman pantheon and all the people. The junior Augustus, bearing the nickname *Herculius*, acted as an intermediary between the people and Hercules. See H. Mattingly, *Jovius and Herculius*, HTR 45.2, 1952, p. 131–134; J. Bardill, *Constantine, Divine Emperor of the Christian Golden Age*, Cambridge 2011, p. 28–125; in Frank Kolb's opinion (*Ideał późnoantycznego władcy. Ideologia i autoprezentacja*, trans. A. Gierlińska, Poznań 2008, p. 29) Dioclecian created the perfect conception of the theocratic legitimization of power.

[39] See J.-P. Martin, *Sol Invictus: des Sévères à la tetrarchie d'après les monnaies*, CCGG 11, 2000, p. 297–307.

[40] See S. Bralewski, *"Ex Marte se procreatum" – Did the Roman Emperor Galerius Make Mars his Personal Protective Deitie?*, SCer 13, 1923, p. 239–253.

[41] See O. Hekster, *Emperors and Ancestors. Roman Rulers and the Constraints of Tradition*, Oxford 2015, p. 261.

protection of the deity, they would become the successors of Rome's founding fathers. By resorting to tradition, they hoped to bring about a religious renewal of the empire and, having secured the gods' support, to restore the power and greatness of Rome. By taking over the title of Caesar from Severus, who became Augustus, Constantine naturally adopted the legend MARTI PATRI that appeared on a series of gold coins issued at that time in Nicomedia and attached to his new title. However, it seems that he recognized the idea of relying upon the protection of Mars as his own. After all, he was witness to Galerius's victory over the Persians, which Galerius ascribed to Mars and which was actually quite unexpected as it came after the earlier defeat. Since he himself was in a difficult situation, he decided to seek help from the deity in question. Bearing witness to this are legends found on coins struck at the mints that remained under his authority. Mars is referred to on them, the same as Jupiter and Hercules, as a defender or savior (*conservator*), a fighting defender (*propugnator*), a victor, or a peace-bringer (*paciferus*). However, he is also referred to as father, a designation that was never applied to Jupiter and Hercules – neither under the tetrarchy nor in any other period of Roman history[42].

Given an uncertain future filled with various threats, Constantine's appeal to Mars the Saviour or Mars the Defender is quite comprehensible. The term *Conservator* frequently appeared on Roman coins in reference to deities – Jupiter[43], Hercules[44], Apollo[45], Sol[46] and Mars[47] – regarded by rulers as their patrons and protectors. Having recognized Jupiter as his divine guardian, Emperor Diocletian

[42] According to O. Hekster (*Emperors and Ancestors…*, p. 264) *the combination Iovi Patri does not exist at all in Latin epigraphy*. We know the coin struck for Galien in Antioch with the legend on the rim IOVI PATRI, with regard to which Ragnar Hedlund ("*…achieved nothing worthy of memory*" *Coinage and Authority in the Roman Empire c. AD 260–295*, Uppsala 2008, p. 196) wrote *one single coin-type features the more novel legend* and the coin also struck for Galien with the legend dedicated to Janus: IANO PATRI; see R. Göbl, *Die Münzprägung der Kaiser Valerianus I., Gallienus, Saloninus (253/268), Regalianus (260) und Macrianus, Quietus (260/262) (DenkschrWien, 286)*, Wien 2000, no 1625 and no 449.

[43] The antoniniani of Gordian III (238–244) – *The Roman Imperial Coinage*, vol. IV.3, *Gordian III to Uranius Antoninus*, ed. H. Mattingly, E.A. Sydenham, London 1968 (cetera: RIC IV.3, no 255 B); of Valerian (253–260) – *The Roman Imperial Coinage*, vol. V.1, *Valerian to Florian (AD 253–276)*, ed. H. Percy, H. Mattingly, E.A. Sydenham, London 1927 (cetera: RIC V.1), no 95; of Galien (253–268) – RIC V.1, no 210 k.

[44] The antoniniani of Diocletian (*The Roman Imperial Coinage*, vol. V.2, *Probus to Amandus*, ed. H. Mattingly, E.A. Sydenham, London 1933, cetera: RIC V.2, no 212 F; 214 F; 216 F; 218 F); of Maximian (RIC V.2, no 547 C; 549 C); of Diocletian (RIC V.2, no 584 C) and of Galerius (RIC V.2, no 719 C) with the legend Iovi ET Herculi CONS CAES.

[45] The antoniniani of Claudius II Gothicus (268–270) – RIC V.1, no 20; of Quintillus (270) – RIC V.1, no 44; of Valerian (253–260) – RIC V.1, no 71 A.

[46] The antoniniani of Galien (253–268) – RIC V.1, no 283 k; of Aurelian (270–275) – RIC V.1, no 353.

[47] Denarius of Commodus (172–192) – *The Roman Imperial Coinage*, vol. III, *Antoninus Pius to Commodus*, ed. H. Mattingly, E.A. Sydenham, London 1930 (cetera: RIC III), no 258.

referred to him as his saviour and defender; this is evidenced by the antoninianus with the rim inscription IOVI CONSERVATORI AUG (USTI) struck during his reign. Appeals to the god in question reflected a longstanding tradition[48].

The epithet *propugnator* was in turn used to denote Jupiter, as seen on Alexander Severus's denarii[49] and Galien's antoniniani[50], or Mars, as shown by the antoniniani with the legend MARS PROPUGNATOR/MARTI PROPUGNATORI that were struck for Gordian III (238–244) in the years 243–244[51], Hostilian (250–251)[52] and Galien (253–268)[53] or even earlier on the denarii of Caracalla (198–217) in the years 213–217[54]. However, the term was also used to designate Apolin, as supported by an antoninianus struck in the name of Valerian (253–260)[55]. The legend MARTI PACIFERI – the one referring to Mars the Peace-bringer – appeared on coins issued by emperors from the third century: Probus (276–282)[56], Galien[57] or Gordian[58], while the legend MARS VICTOR/MARTI VICTORI was found on coins minted for Geta (209–212)[59] and Probus (276–282)[60].

Legends that appeared on coins struck at the mints remaining under Constantine's authority allow us to reconstruct his expectations regarding Mars. The first mint that came under his power was located in London. Among the types of folles that were struck in the summer of 307, which was a year after the army announced Constantine Augustus, one was issued with the legend MARS VICTOR[61] while the others appeared with the legends MARTI PACIFERO[62] and MART PATR CONSERVATORI[63].

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[48] As conservator, Jupiter appeared already on coins struck for Commodus (172–192) – RIC 308, 1525, for Galien (RIC V.1, no 214) or for Diocletian – antoninian – RIC V.2, no 228; 270 – that is as early as the second century A.C., see F. Kolb, *Diocletian und die Erste Tetrarchie. Improvisation oder Experiment in der Organisation monarchischer Herrschaft?*, Berlin 1987 [= ULG, 27], p. 89, n. 263. See also C. Rowan, *Becoming Jupiter: Severus Alexander, the Temple of Jupiter Ultor, and Jovian Iconography on Roman Imperial Coinage*, AJN 21, 2009, p. 136–140.

[49] See C. Rowan, *Becoming Jupiter*…, p. 141–142.

[50] RIC V.1, no 48.

[51] RIC IV.3, no 145–147.

[52] RIC IV.3, no 175–177.

[53] RIC V.1, no 25; 152 A, 153 A and 237.

[54] *The Roman Imperial Coinage*, vol. IV.1, *Pertinax to Geta*, ed. H. Mattingly, E.A. Sydenham, London 1936 (cetera: RIC IV.1), no 307.

[55] RIC V.1, no 74.

[56] RIC III, no 42.

[57] RIC V.1, no 112; 236; 359; 492.

[58] RIC IV.3, no 212.

[59] RIC IV.1, no 103.

[60] RIC V.2, no 36–38; 82–84; 86; 89.

[61] RIC VI, no 92.

[62] RIC VI, no 94.

[63] RIC VI, no 95.

Interestingly, only rarely did the coins minted for Constantine refer to Mars the Victor. One such coin was struck at the mint in London[64] and featured an image of a naked Mars who, clad only in chlamys and armed with a spear, carried a trophy, a symbol of victory, on his left shoulder[65]. The other coin of this kind was issued in Lugdunum from 307 to 309. Bearing the legend MARTI PATRI SEMPER VICTORI (MARTI PATR SEMP VICTORI), it showed a naked Mars advancing to the right while keeping his head turned to the left. His right hand held a spear across his arms while his left supported a trophy resting on his shoulder[66]. This iconography was quite characteristic of the legend of this type, as evidenced by a denarius struck for Emperor Geta (209–212) in Laodicea[67]. The coin minted in Lugdunum was enhanced in relation to that struck in Londinium by referring to Mars as father and emphasizing that he is always a victor. However, it seems that Constantine's appeals to Mars the Victor were infrequent, since at that time he was not expecting any serious conflict with the barbarians. He found himself in a situation where he was in greater need of a defender, having to stabilize his position within the tetrarchy. Appeals to Mars the Peace-bringer or Mars the Saviour and Defender thus seemed to make more sense.

On the coin with the legend MARTI PACIFERO, the deity is shown marching in military uniform. His right hand holds an olive branch while his left hand wields a spear and a shield[68]. The coin with the legend MARTI PATRI CONSERVATORI presents the deity standing. Mars's left hand rests on a spear while his right is placed on a shield set on the ground. Mars's coat is slung over his right shoulder[69].

Folles with the legend MARTI PATRI COSRVATORI were struck at the mints subject to Constantine's power in Trier (in the summer of 307, from the fall of 307 until the end of 308[70], and in 309[71]) and in Lyon (in the fall of 307[72] and from the fall of 308 to the spring of 309[73]). On the folles from Trier, Mars is shown standing, holding a reversed spear – which sometimes assumed the form of an ordinary scepter – in his right hand and resting his left on a shield set on the ground[74].

The somewhat simplified version of the folles with the legend MARTI CONSERVATORI was issued in Trier, Pavia, Aquileia, Rome and Ostia Antica: in Trier,

[64] In Trier, in the years 295–303, Constantine's father, Constantius struck the coin with the legend MARTI VICTORI, RIC VI, no 31. Similarly, in Sisci in the years 302–305 Constantius's coin was struck with the same legend, RIC VI, no 27a.

[65] RIC VI, no 92.

[66] RIC VI, no 263; 296.

[67] RIC IV.1, no 103.

[68] RIC VI, no 94.

[69] RIC VI, no 95.

[70] RIC VI, no 772.

[71] RIC VI, no 829–831.

[72] RIC VI, no 240–241.

[73] RIC VI, no 293–294.

[74] RIC VI, no 724–729; 739–740.

the folles were struck in 309–313[75]. On the folles from Pavia, minted in 312–313, Mars is shown standing in military uniform, turned to the left. His right hand holds a globe with a statue of Victoria on top of it, while his left hand wields a spear and a shield[76]. The folles of a different kind with the same legend show Mars in a helmet, with his right hand holding a reversed spear and his left resting on a shield[77]. In Aquileia, the coins were struck in 312–313. Here, Mars is shown standing frontally, wearing a helmet, with his head turned to the right. His right hand holds a reversed spear, while his left rests on a shield set on the ground[78]. The coin of yet another kind with the same legend features Mars standing in a helmet with his coat hanging down behind him. The deity is turned to the right. His right hand holds a reversed spear while his left is lowered resting on a shield set on the ground[79]. In Rome, the folles with the legend mentioned above were struck from the end of 312 and throughout 313. On the folles, Mars is shown standing, turned to the left, with his head turned to the right. His right hand leans on a reversed spear or a scepter; his left rests on a shield[80]. Finally, in Ostia Antica, the folles were struck in 312–313. On the reverse of the coins, Mars is moving, turned to the right, with his coat fluttering. His right hand holds a spear across his arms and his left holds a shield[81]. The coin of a different kind with the same legend features Mars turned to the left, his right hand holding an olive branch[82].

The next legend, MARTI PATRI PROPUGNATORI, appeared on bronze coins struck in Trier[83] and Lyon[84] in 307–309. There was also a simplified version of the legend, MARTI PROPUGNATORI, that appeared on coins struck in Trier in 307–308[85].

It is thus clear that references to Mars the Father appeared on coins struck for Constantine only in 306–309. References to Mars the Victor were rare and appeared only on two series of the coins: one struck in London in 307 and one issued in Lyon in 307–309. The most widespread were the legends referring to Mars the Defender and Saviour (Conservatori and Propugnatori). These references appeared on coins

[75] RIC VI, no 854–864; 877–885; 896–897.
[76] RIC VI, no 121–122.
[77] RIC VI, no 124–126.
[78] RIC VI, no 139.
[79] RIC VI, no 141.
[80] RIC VI, no 305–306; 364–365; 367. Similar coins with the same legend that feature Mars standing turned to the right: no 307–309, that feature Mars standing straight-ahead, with his right hand resting on a spear and his left on a spear-sceptre: no 31, and that feature Mars moving, turned to the right, with a fluttering cloak, and his right hand holding a spear across his arms, and his left holding a shield: no 311.
[81] RIC VI, no 80.
[82] RIC VI, no 81.
[83] RIC VI, no 730–731; 741; 775–778; 832–834.
[84] RIC VI, no 242–243; 260; 295.
[85] RIC VI, no 732; 742; 779.

struck at different mints until 313. However, it should be noted that folles with the legend SOLI INVICTO COMITI[86] and gold coins with the legend SOLI INVICTO AETERNO AVG[87] were struck in Constantine's name in Pavia in the years 312–313. Similarly, Constantine's coins with the legends IOVI CONSERVATORI AVGG[88] and SOLI INVICTO COMITI[89] were struck in the same period in Aquileia. At that time, Rome also saw the minting of coins with the legends SOLI INVICTO COMITI[90] and HERCULI VICTORI[91]. Constantine's solidus was then struck bearing the legend IOVI CONSERVATORI AUGG[92]. In Ostia, in the years 312–313, Constantine's coins appeared with the legends HERCULI VICTORI[93] and SOLI INVICTO COMITI[94]. Thus, apart from Mars, there were also other divine patrons (Sol, Jupiter, Hercules) who appeared on the coins struck in Constantine's name in the years 312–313. As Constantine's divine guardian Mars dominated coin issues minted only in the period 306–309. If in light of the facts discussed above 306 was clearly the year when the deity was recognized as the ruler's divine guardian, then the closing date requires some explanation.

In 309, Constantine must have finally realized that he had to look for a new divine protector since he believed he could not rely on Mars. The situation in the empire became complicated significantly by Galerius's reluctant attitude towards the claims of Maxentius, against whom two Augustuses, first Severus[95] and then Galerius[96], organized armed expeditions, both of which ended in failure. It is likely that Constantine associated both rulers with Mars, as I have noted above. The failed expeditions to Rome seem to have changed the way in which Constantine perceived Galerius. The expeditions indicated that the senior Augustus had been abandoned by extraterrestrial powers headed by Mars and that now Maxentius enjoyed the support of the gods, ensuring his victory. While facing danger, Maxentius offered the Purple to his father, Maximian Herculius. Father and son then tried to secure Constantine's support. The alliance was sealed by Constantine's marriage to Maximian's younger daughter, Fausta, and by his being awarded the title

[86] RIC VI, no 131–133; 135–136.

[87] RIC VI, no 113. A gold coin featuring Constantine with the legend HERCULI COMITI AVGG NN (RIC VI, no 90), was struck in Pavia in 307–308. At that time, however, Pavia remained under the control of Maxentius in whose name a similar coin was struck (RIC VI, no 89).

[88] RIC VI, no 136.

[89] RIC VI, no 144–145.

[90] RIC VI, no 313–319; 321–340; 342–343; 368–369; 371–372; 374; 376–377.

[91] RIC VI, no 298–302.

[92] RIC VI, no 282. Interestingly, a solidus with the legend MARTI CONSERVATORI was also struck in Rome at that time, but it was the coin struck in the name of Licinius and not of Constantine (RIC VI, no 283).

[93] RIC VI, no 79.

[94] RIC VI, no 83; 85; 87; 89; 91; 93.

[95] See Lactantius, *De mortibus persecutorum*, XXVI, 5–10; Zosimos, II, 10, 1–2.

[96] Lactantius, *De mortibus persecutorum*, XXVII, 2–8.

of Augustus[97]. After repelling Galerius's attack, Maxentius gained in confidence, which as early as the spring of 308 resulted in a split with his father, Maximian Herculius, whom he forced into banishment. Constantine must have been aware of the imminent danger and of the ineluctable clash with the hitherto victorious Maxentius. Maxentius, who also sought Mars's divine protection[98] and presented himself and his son as the successors of the legendary founders of Rome could have become convinced that the deity whose favor allowed Galerius to win the most significant victory during the tetrarchy transferred its support to him. Constantine may have shared the belief, and this time he was quite firm in his demand for Galerius to grant him the title of Augustus[99]. Galerius's position was further weakened by the spectacular failure regarding the persecution of Christians. The edict of toleration he issued on his deathbed two years later, in 311, bearing marks of a kind of a surrender, only confirmed the failure[100]. Unable to count on Mars in the face of an impending conflict with Maxentius, Constantine decided to look for a more powerful divine guardian than Mars.

[97] Maxentius and his father sought an ally, afraid that Galerius and Maximin Daia could join forces to attack Italy; see Lactantius, *De mortibus persecutorum*, XXVII, 1. However, after Galerius's failed expedition to Rome, Constantine did not give him armed support; see Zosimos, II, 10, 6; R. Donciu, *L'empereur Maxence*…, p. 99.

[98] This is supported by the son's name that refers to the Romans' mythical progenitor and numerous coins whose legends and iconography also refer to the deity (struck in Rome in 306–307: RIC VI, no 140, 148; in 307–312: RIC VI, no 172, 186; in 307–310: RIC VI, no 189; in 308–310: RIC VI, no 218–222; minted in Ostia – in 308/309–312: RIC VI, no 3, 11–12; in 309–312: RIC VI, no 58–50). As well as the monument dedicated to Mars and his mythical twin sons, Rome's founders, Romulus and Remus set on the Forum Romanum near the Rostri. Part of the monument's base with its inscription was found in 1899 half-way between Curia and the arch of Septimius, not far from Lapis Niger, that is, Romulus's supposed grave. The monument was most likely erected on 21 April 308, after Maxentius's break with his father, Maximian. Cf. P. Bruggisser, *Constantin aux rostres*…, p. 81–83. In E. Manders' (*Coining Images of Power. Patterns in the Representation of Roman Emperors on Imperial Coinage, A.D. 193–284*, Leiden–Boston 2012 [= IE, 15], p. 118, n. 107) opinion *Maxentius wanted to distance himself from 'the Herculian house' and thus from the Tetrarchy*.

[99] In 306 Constantine accepted the decision of being awarded only the title of Caesar. However, by the end of 308 he no longer wanted to resign himself to his low status as Galerius refused to recognize his elevation to Augustus, to which the tetrarchs' decisions made in Carnuntum on 11 November 308 clearly testify. See C.M. Odahl, *Constantine*…, p. 77–78; T.D. Barnes, *Constantine. Dynasty*…, p. 70–71. Constantine was not alone in refusing to submit to Galerius and demanding the title of Augustus for himself. The same demands were put forward by Maximin Daia. In an effort to find a compromise, Galerius conferred the title of *Filii Augustorum* upon both of them, but during the following year he was forced to capitulate and agree to awarding them the rank of Augustus. (See Lactantius, *De mortibus persecutorum*, XXXII; Cf. RIC VI, p. 215–228, 513–519, 561–568, 626–644, 676–686; C.M. Odahl, *Constantine*…, p. 78).

[100] See Eusebius Caesariensis, *Historia ecclesiastica*, VIII, 17, 5–10, ed. H. Pietras, Kraków 2013 [= ŹMT, 70]; Lactantius, *De mortibus persecutorum*, XXIV. See also J.R. Knipfing, *The Edict of Galerius (311 A.D.) Re-considered*, RBPH 1.4, 1922, p. 693–705; E. Herrmann-Otto, *The So-called Edict of Millan and Constantinian Policy*, BLRev 61.3, 2013, p. 42–46; *Serdica Edict (311 AD). Concepts and Realizations of the Idea of Religious Toleration*, ed. V. Vachkova, D. Dimitrov, Sofia 2014, *passim*; R. Suski, *Galeriusz*…, p. 342–349.

Conclusions

Iconographic material from the mints subject to Constantine's authority at the beginning of his reign shows that in the years 306–309 Mars remained Constantine's protective deity. Left out of the appointment as Caesar to the second tetrarchy, Constantine found himself in a very difficult situation, and with the death of his father, Constantius, he lost his natural guardian and protector. Going down the path of usurpation, he created a fait accompli for Galerius, the senior Augustus clearly unfavorable to him. At the same time, however, he put himself in grave danger that he only temporarily staved off by reaching a compromise with Galerius who agreed to grant him the title of Caesar. Acting in line with the typically Roman mentality, he tried to secure the support of a divine guardian who could become his defender or even savior. As can be presumed, Galerius himself assigned Constantine to Mars as early as 306, when Constantius' son became Severus' Caesar under the system of tetrarchy, as evidenced by the gold coins struck in Constantine's name in Nicomedia. On the coins, Mars was referred to as father (*Marti Patri*), and Constantine, having witnessed Galerius's triumph over the Persians (with which Mars was credited), recognized the idea of relying on the protection of the deity as his own, as evidenced by legends on coins struck at the mints remaining under his authority. Mars was referred to on the coins as a savior (*conservator*), a fighting defender (*propugnator*), a victor, a peace-bringer, but also as father (*pater*). At the turn of 309, it became clear to Constantine that Galerius had lost Mars's protection and that Maxentius now enjoyed the god's support, posing an increasing threat to him. Therefore, Constantine began to look for a new divine protector who would help him defeat Maxentius.

Translated by Artur Mękarski

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Ambroise Paré and Laurent Joubert, Knowledge and Beliefs about Pregnancy in 16th Century France

Abstract. Our article is devoted to the science of female anatomy in the 16th century, particularly the practices and beliefs related to pregnancy and childbirth. We analysed the academic discourse presented in the *Œuvres* of Ambroise Paré (1510–1590), physician and surgeon, to compare it with the *Erreurs Populaires* by Laurent Joubert (1529–1583), physician and professor at Montpellier. Through our research, we were able to establish an overview of the knowledge, beliefs, and methods practiced at the time for treating the female body, not only in the medical field but also among the laypeople. Firstly, we examined the signs and progression of pregnancy as depicted in Paré's *Œuvres* and Joubert's *Erreurs Populaires*. Next, we focused on childbirth itself, the complications during delivery, and the solutions envisioned at the time to address them. After comparing these different discourses, we found that the approaches and objectives of these two physicians are quite distinct. Paré remains faithful to the theories of the ancients despite his extensive experience, whereas Joubert appears closer to practical applications in his attack on the numerous beliefs prevalent in society. However, while these differences significantly distinguish the two discourses and their targeted readerships differ in nature, both authors generally address the same questions and highlight the problems that women and physicians faced at the time.

Keywords: history of medicine, French medical discourse of the 16th century, pregnancy, woman

> I will greatly increase your pain in childbirth; with pain you will give birth to children. Your desire will be for your husband, and he will rule over you[1].

The female body has always been the subject of numerous inquiries. Pregnancy, as a visible metamorphosis of the female anatomy, has long been one of humanity's greatest mysteries. For this reason, both in medical circles and

[1] Gn 3: 16.

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among the general populace, practical knowledge intertwined with beliefs has been developed for the care of the gravid female body, this "most fertile field and garden of Nature"[2], as André du Laurens (1558–1609), university physician and chief doctor to Henry IV, calls it. To account for these beliefs, it seemed pertinent to juxtapose the information found in Ambroise Paré's *Le Livre de la génération de l'homme*[3] (1510–1590), known as the father of modern surgery, with that in Laurent Joubert's *Erreurs Populaires*[4] (1529–1583), physician and professor at the University of Montpellier.

Although both treatises were penned by physicians, their approaches and objectives differ. Paré, aiming to explain the technical aspects of childbirth, focuses on his medical knowledge and the expertise he acquired over a long practice. Joubert, on the other hand, is driven by his desire *to extinguish and annihilate several false opinions and errors (offspring of ignorance) that have long held sway in medicine, surgery, and apothecary*[5]. Moreover, as Joël Coste has demonstrated, Joubert:

> founded a literary genre that would enjoy remarkable longevity in France. For nearly three centuries, almost thirty author-physicians, whether belonging to the academic elite like Joubert or young doctoral candidates and country doctors practising in the provinces, focused on, primarily to denounce, the health-related beliefs and behaviours of their contemporaries[6].

The aim of our article is to compare the two treatises by focusing on the female body during pregnancy. First, we will analyse the information on which the presumption of conception was based, and then examine the attitudes of the physicians towards this issue to obtain a comprehensive picture of the methods, problems, and beliefs concerning pregnancy in the sixteenth century.

The signs and progress of pregnancy

Before focusing on the woman during childbirth, we would like to present some information on how the signs of pregnancy were described and interpreted in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries / or during early modern Europe.

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[2] A. DU LAURENS, *Des parties genitales*, [in:] IDEM, trans. Th. GELÉE, Rouen: Raphael du Petit Val, 1621, p. 248 v°.

[3] A. PARÉ, *Livre de la génération de l'homme*, [in:] IDEM, *Les Œuvres*, Paris: Gabriel Buon, 1599 (cetera: A. PARÉ, *Livre de la génération*), p. 733.

[4] L. JOUBERT, *Erreurs Populaires au fait de la medecine et regime de santé*, Bordeaux: S. Millanges, 1578 (cetera: L. JOUBERT, *Erreurs Populaires*).

[5] L. JOUBERT, *Erreurs Populaires*, f° a 5 v°.

[6] On the genre of *Erreurs Populaires*, we refer you to the book by J. COSTE, *La littérature des erreurs Populaires. Une ethnographie médicale à l'époque moderne*, Paris 2002, p. 9.

Ambroise Paré, in his *Livre de la génération de l'homme*[7], devotes an entire chapter to this question, entitled *Les signes que la femme aura concu, et est grosse d'enfant*[8]. The surgeon begins by describing the woman's general condition, and in the very first lines tells us that:

> The signs by which a woman will be assured that she has conceived are, firstly, if she has had children before, she will notice when the seed does not come out of the womb: for if it is retained, she will be certain she has conceived. Similarly, she feels, when the seeds are joined, a slight shiver and contraction throughout her body, and such a thing happens because the womb compresses and its opening closes to retain the seeds […][9].

This passage suggests that Paré described these signs based on practical knowledge and that he interacted with women daily. Indeed, the sensory details ("a slight shiver") were likely gathered from women themselves. He refers in this passage to the commonly held belief that the womb has the ability to move. The surgeon asserts that it closes to retain the seeds so that pregnancy can develop. Paré naturally notes that a pregnant woman does not have her periods, but this observation must be understood in accordance with this theory of the womb. Further on, the pregnant woman is considered a patient afflicted with a thousand ailments: *she has many spots and bruises on her face, pains in her breasts, and above all, she is disturbed by cold and harmful humours*[10]. *To further the matter*[11], the surgeon recommends women use *a fomentation of warm herbs, cooked in good wine or Malvasia*[12], which is then to be applied *inside the neck of the womb*[13]. We can thus highlight, in terms of practice, the strong influence of various theories on the female body, among which the humoral theory dominates. The surgeon continues to believe that female moisture has a negative impact on the rest of the body and that, indeed, the woman suffers above all from a humoral imbalance.

However, in the *Erreurs Populaires*, Joubert makes a distinction between the *women who are in very good health: that is, who do not feel differently from their usual selves and are in full health*[14] and those who suffer from the characteristic signs of a humoral imbalance. As Joubert explains, this imbalance does not occur in all cases of pregnancy, because if everything proceeds without any complications, the child

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[7] A. Paré, *Livre de la génération*, p. 733.
[8] A. Paré, *Livre de la génération*, p. 733–734.
[9] A. Paré, *Livre de la génération*.
[10] É. Berriot-Salvadore, *Un corps, un destin. La femme dans la médecine de la Renaissance*, Paris 1993, p. 131.
[11] A. Paré, *Livre de la génération*, p. 733.
[12] A. Paré, *Livre de la génération*.
[13] A. Paré, *Livre de la génération*.
[14] L. Joubert, *Erreurs Populaires*, p. 291–292.

> consumes as much blood as could be surplus in the mother's body: and this blood is well-qualified. Consequently, there are no depraved and useless humours, neither for the child nor the mother, that overflow into the stomach and other parts of the body: from which arise many ailments and annoyances, especially in the early months, for those who are otherwise full of bad humours[15].

Since menstruation disappears during pregnancy, it was concluded that it transforms into maternal blood, becoming a sort of nourishment for the fetus and maintaining a favourable temperature for the "sprout" (the embryo). According to this theory, maternal milk is the result of this conversion and is therefore also called "whitened blood"[16], which, according to Joubert, "dilates and amplifies"[17] the woman's breasts from the moment of retaining the male sperm.

The alteration of women's urine is another manifestation of pregnancy for both physicians. In the *Livre de la génération de l'homme*, Paré mentions the evolution of the urine's temperature as a symptom of pregnancy. The retention of menstruation is caused by the warming of the bladder located above the womb, *thus the bladder, which is above it, connected by certain small filaments, through which the most subtle and sap-like portion of the blood remains therein, making the urine tinged with redness*[18]. However, in *Erreurs Populaires*, Joubert firmly declares that *it is certain that one cannot reliably ascertain by the urine whether a woman is pregnant or not. For even in other conditions, whether of man or woman, be it health, illness, or neutral state, this sign is as fallacious as anything*[19]. Furthermore, within this symptomatology, the cessation of menstruation itself is not a reliable sign of pregnancy for Joubert, as he notes that *in many maidens this purgation is often suppressed, and many pregnant women do not cease to have it, at least in the first months: some even throughout the entire pregnancy*[20].

The question of urine is by no means overlooked by Joubert. The physician professes that urine faithfully reflects the state of the veins and arteries throughout the body, but he also refers to several factors that can influence it. He mentions, among other things, diet, lifestyle, or various diseases, in which case urine can become *cloudy and thick, snotty, or as white as milk; sometimes purulent,*

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[15] L. JOUBERT, *Erreurs Populaires*, p. 292.

[16] As Jean-Yves Le Naour explains: *for a long time, maternal milk was presented as "bleached blood", the menstrual blood having stopped flowing and been transformed into milk during gestation. Once again, what was impurity and a threat became, with pregnancy and childbirth, a source of life. And women are brought back to their eternal role*; J.-Y. LE NAOUR, C. VALENTI, *Du sang et des femmes. Histoire médicale de la menstruation à la Belle Époque*, http://journals.openedition.org/clio/114 [3 III 2024].

[17] L. JOUBERT, *Erreurs Populaires*, p. 283.

[18] A. PARÉ, *Livre de la génération*, p. 734.

[19] L. JOUBERT, *Erreurs Populaires*, p. 273.

[20] L. JOUBERT, *Erreurs Populaires*, p. 274.

bloody, sandy, or full of hairs and filaments, small caruncles, particles like bran, bits like coarse flour, little stones, and large gravel[21].

Next, both physicians raise the question of the sex of the child. Paré makes a clear distinction between the symptoms that allow recognition of the child's sex. For him, the matter is straightforward, referring once again to humoral theory, he observes that the formation of the child's sex depends on the predominance of one of the parental seeds, either the one that is hot and dry (the man), or the one that is cold and moist (the woman). The surgeon specifies that *nature resembles a painter, who portrays a thing naturally, striving to make children resemble their parents as much as possible*[22]. *When the seed of the father overcomes that of the mother*, Paré explains with a certain common sense, *then the child resembles the father, and when that of the woman overcomes that of the man, the child resembles the mother*[23]. As Évelyne Berriot-Salvadore reminds us, *through the semenism of Hippocrates or Galen, fertilization appears as a battle between the two seeds within the uterine field: if the feminine prevails in quantity or quality, a girl is born, if the masculine remains the most powerful, a boy is formed*[24]. In his study, the surgeon goes further by introducing *the idea of a hierarchy of qualities and therefore a hierarchy of sexes*[25]. Paré reminds us that

> It is certain that the hotter and drier seed engenders the male, and the colder and moister the female; for coldness has much less virtue than heat, just as humidity is less effective than dryness. Hence, the female is formed later than the male[26].

In addition, the embryo itself has an influence on the mother's general state and produces different symptoms depending on the sex. In the case of a girl, pregnancy will be more risky than in the case of a boy. All this is due to the humoral imbalance reinforced by the double dampness and coldness affecting a woman's body. *The decisive indication for the doctor is the state of health of the pregnant woman, because the humoral balance of the embryo necessarily affects the part that contains it and the body that carries it*[27]. Faithful to his project, Joubert refuted the theories inherited from Antiquity, according to which the colour of the mother's complexion differs according to the sex of the child, or maintaining that all the symptoms experienced by a woman on her right side are a sign that she has conceived a son. He goes on to mention other superstitions and explains that

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[21] L. Joubert, *Erreurs Populaires*, p. 278.
[22] A. Paré, *Livre de la génération*, p. 732.
[23] A. Paré, *Livre de la génération*.
[24] É. Berriot-Salvadore, *Un corps, un destin…*, p. 121.
[25] *Ibidem*.
[26] A. Paré, *Livre de la génération*, p. 731.
[27] É. Berriot-Salvadore, *Un corps, un destin…*, p. 128.

> It is also said that if one places on the head of a pregnant woman, without her noticing, a plant of sorrel with its root, if the first name she utters is masculine, she is pregnant with a son: otherwise, with a daughter. Moreover, if a pregnant woman drops a drop of her milk into water and it sinks, it is a girl: if not, a boy[28].

Considering the facts, the physician indicates that there is no certainty regarding the future sex or number of children carried, as there are several factors that can make signs deceptive. Regarding multiple pregnancies, it can happen that *within the same space there may be two, three or four, and up to nine* [children][29], and that *with two children, the mother may feel different movements at the same time: the two flanks will be more swollen and raised than the middle of the belly, where often one sees something like a small canal of depression*[30]. However, Joubert remains cautious on this matter, careful to mention, like Ambroise Paré, the possibility of a "mole"[31] formation, capable of causing symptoms similar to those of a twin pregnancy.

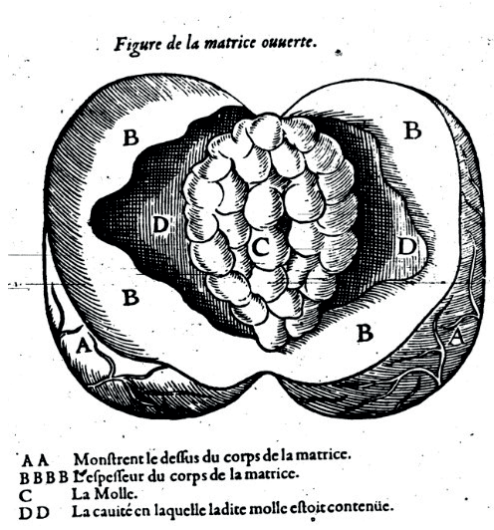

Fig. 1. La matrice ouverte, A. PARÉ, *Livre de la génération*…, p. 772.

[28] L. JOUBERT, *Erreurs Populaires*, p. 287–288.

[29] L. JOUBERT, *Erreurs Populaires*, p. 290.

[30] L. JOUBERT, *Erreurs Populaires*.

[31] The "mole" according to Paré *is a false impregnation, which is a flesh without form, of round and hard figure, contained in the matrix, like a rough and without form mass, excited of a corrupted or imbecile semen, and of an excessive flow of menstrual blood*; A. PARÉ, *Livre de la génération*, p. 733. We find a similar definition in Joubert when he explains that *It is like a wolf of flesh which has no figure or distinct manner and is angendrée an the matrix, sometimes of corrupted semances, as well of the man as of the fame, inept with the shape of an infant. By means of the menstrual blood, which flows into it, or is attracted to it, it forms such a mass and carnosity lined with filamans nerneus*; L. JOUBERT, *Erreurs Populaires*, p. 373–374. See fig. 1: La matrice ouverte.

Childbirth

Since the Middle Ages, childbirth has been explained using a floral metaphor:

> You must know that the child who is in the woman's bosom is also like the fruit of the tree, for you see first that the blossom where the fruit comes from is held weakly to the tree, and by little wind or rain it falls out, and first, when the fruit sets, it is held strong, and does not fall willingly; and when it sees that it is dying, it falls as well as the blossom lightly[32].

In view of the effort women have to make to give birth, and the pain they experience, many customs and popular practices have been devised to help and relieve them. Doctors and surgeons are fully aware of the torments and difficulties that this delivery imposes, and do not fail to treat them.

First, let us address the issue of the woman's position during childbirth. Among other beliefs, Joubert tries to assess *whether it is beneficial for a woman to sit on the bottom of a hot cauldron or to place her husband's cap on her belly for a better delivery*[33]. In the first case, the physician explains the importance of the method and location where the cauldron is placed. According to Joubert, applying it to the "os bertrand" (sacrum, coccyx) to soften it is ineffective. Similarly, placing the hot cauldron in front of the womb will, contrary to the desired effects, cause relaxation and thus obstruction during childbirth. For this solution to positively affect delivery, the cauldron must be placed, as Joubert explains, on the rump to soften it *as softening fomentations do*[34]. It should be noted that Joubert makes a subtle distinction between the "os bertrand" and the rump. Then, concerning the husband's bonnet placed on the wife's belly, Joubert first specifies that the origin of such an idea comes rather from a sort of game, having its source in the refusal of the man's participation in the sexual act. Indeed, during coitus *the woman, enjoying herself a little, gently and pleasantly shakes the buttocks: and the husband's semen makes the passage slippery, much better than the waters do*[35], which facilitates the woman's labour during childbirth. However, *if nothing else is available, the bonnet is retained, which is placed on the bosom of the woman: as they say, the man's bosom is covered with this venom, as if he had a venomous point: he, or his bonnet, applied over it, acts as a counter-venom, and makes the venom pass*[36].

Afterwards, as regards childbirth itself, doctors usually consider that delivery is complete at the moment of expulsion of the placenta, also known by Joubert as "Agnelette"[37]. In the *Erreurs Populaires*, we can find a number of superstitions

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[32] L. Landuzy, P. Roger, *Le régime du corps de maître Aldebrandin de Sienne*, Paris 1911, p. 71.
[33] L. Joubert, *Erreurs Populaires*, p. 340.
[34] L. Joubert, *Erreurs Populaires*, p. 340–341.
[35] L. Joubert, *Erreurs Populaires*, p. 343.
[36] L. Joubert, *Erreurs Populaires*, p. 342.
[37] L. Joubert, *Erreurs Populaires*, p. 366.

concerning the arrival of the child *clothed in his tunic*, *as in a shirt: which rarely covers his whole bodice*, *and more often than not does not go beyond his shoulders: and sometimes only covers his face*[38] or *all naked*[39], without the hindquarters. Joubert explains that when a newborn comes into the world wrapped in the organ, *this is taken as a good omen*, *and it is said that he will be happy: because he was born clothed*[40]. The doctor goes on to say that *it is commonly said of such babies that they are happy*, *and that their noses are all alive: that is to say*, *with a great deal of strenght acquired from their parents*[41]. On the other hand, the absence of a placenta is synonymous with poverty, and augurs well for a morose and quiet child.

A particularly important problem during childbirth is that posed by the coccyx, to which Joubert devotes an extensive passage. As he explains, *the vulgar cannot understand that such a large bone can come out through the ordinary canal*, *which is the same size as the man's member*[42]. The changes in a woman's pelvigenital canal, which guarantee the correct passage of the child during childbirth, were well known and well observed. The issue is much more problematic in the case of older women, who suffer violent pain and frequent complications during labour, as *their bodies*, *being harder and drier*[43] lack elasticity to the point of being able to kill the child during passage. Joubert points out that *the matrons and midwives of Genes*, *to avoid these difficulties*, *when the girls are born*, *separate them these bones*, *so that they remain always separated and widened: such as the women have no sorrow*, *when will come to give birth*[44]. Thus, he condemns this practice with the following satire:

> Behold a plethora of absurdities and lies, born from the most gross ignorance ever encountered. For one must understand that the Bertrand bone is the junction of two large bones, which are the sides on both sides, to which the thighs are attached. This very junction is formed by means of a tendon or cartilage, which binds them so firmly that it is impossible to separate them without damaging said cartilage. This can be easily understood if one observes them exposed, as when we perform an anatomy[45].

Complications during childbirth are a subject widely addressed by doctors, and particularly by the surgeon Ambroise Paré. To recognise pathological situations, Paré advised:

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[38] L. JOUBERT, *Erreurs Populaires*, p. 367.
[39] L. JOUBERT, *Erreurs Populaires*, p. 368.
[40] L. JOUBERT, *Erreurs Populaires*.
[41] L. JOUBERT, *Erreurs Populaires*, p. 367–368.
[42] L. JOUBERT, *Erreurs Populaires*, p. 332.
[43] L. JOUBERT, *Erreurs Populaires*.
[44] L. JOUBERT, *Erreurs Populaires*, p. 332–333.
[45] L. JOUBERT, *Erreurs Populaires*, p. 333.

> contemplate her face, as we have said, to discern if it is greatly altered from its natural state, if her nose and extremities are cold and sweating, and if she frequently falls into a faint, having almost lost all consciousness. If such signs appear, one must prognosticate that death is near, and therefore leave her to nature and commend her to God. However, on the contrary, if her strength is robust, one must diligently aid her to expel the child by means of potions, baths, fumigations made of fetid substances taken through the nose and mouth, and aromatic and delightful substances taken through the lower parts, as well as sternutatories and vomitories […][46].

As a practitioner, Paré included in his advice a description of the surgical instruments needed for difficult deliveries. We know that

> since Antiquity, surgeons (unlike doctors) have often been called in to help with disaster births, when a pregnant woman who was still alive had to be freed from a dead foetus. Trained in amputation techniques, they know how to cut out a small body trapped in the womb, in order to save the mother[47].

Numerous instruments have been known since Antiquity, but Paré proposed improvements and gave various types of accessories adapted to different situations. He states that *it is impossible to describe the true situation of the child in the mother's womb*[48]. We know that *the surgeon also had a whole arsenal of instruments at his disposal*, *the use of which was strictly forbidden to midwives*[49]. In the case of childbirth, it was the matrons who accompanied the women; the doctor was only called in in extreme situations that the midwives could not cope with. *Often he* [the doctor] *arrived too late and found himself reduced to interventions of desperation: embryotomy (breaking up the foetus with sharp instruments) and "embryulcie" (extracting the pieces with sharp hooks)*[50]. The surgeon also had experience of serious anatomical lesions such as tears, coccygeal fractures and injuries to the child. The most important thing for the practitioner was to recognise and assess the general condition of the mother and child. Paré indicates that it is necessary for the surgeon to put *his hand gently*, *without any violence*, *into the womb: by doing so*, *he will know in what situation and figure the child will be*[51].

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[46] A. Paré, *Livre de la génération*, p. 759.

[47] V. Worth, *Conjurer la mort: sages-femmes*, *chirurgiens et médecins au service des parturientes pendant la Renaissance française*, [in:] *Enfants De La Renaissance*, ed. C. zum Kolk, Paris 2019, https://www.academia.edu/40254575/_2019_Conjurer_la_mort_sages_femmes_chirurgiens_et_médecins_au_service_des_parturientes_pendant_la_Renaissance_française [7 III 2024].

[48] A. Paré, *Livre de la génération*, p. 744.

[49] V. Worth, *Conjurer la mort: sages-femmes*, *chirurgiens et médecins…*

[50] H. Stofft, *Ambroise Paré accoucheur*, https://www.biusante.parisdescartes.fr/sfhm/hsm/HSMx1998x032x004/HSMx1998x032x004x0399.pdf [7 III 2024].

[51] A. Paré, *Livre de la génération*, p. 760.

In the *Livre de la génération*, Paré again describes a personal consultation during which the child died in utero. He carefully details the steps of his intervention, noting that in such a situation, one must

> cut all the muscles with the razor, as close to the shoulder as possible, observing however that before the incision the fleshy part is pulled upwards: then the bone must be cut with incisive pincers, so that the flesh covering the extremity of the bone does not cause lesions to the genitals: then this done, the feet of the little child must be sought, and it must be extracted, as we have hereinafter stated, if possible[52].

We also find information on the use of various types of gynaecological instruments, such as hooks and pincers suitable for situations where it appears that the foetus is too large for extraction. In such situations, Paré recommends the use of *griffin feet*, *suitable for extracting the head of a child remaining in the mother's womb*[53]. He explains that this instrument *opens while in the body of the womb*[54] and allows *the mole to be pulled out*, *if it is too large*, *because of its roundness*, *because there is no grip*, *and when you want to take it by hand*, *it turns into the womb as if it were a ball*[55]. Similarly, it is also difficult to extract a fetus that is too large for the mother's womb. It is also difficult to grasp the child's head. The doctor therefore advised *pressing the mother's belly upwards and to both sides*, *so that the child's head does not turn*[56], in the same way as during natural childbirth. Then, for similar situations, when the foetus was already dead, Paré suggested using a curved knife to *empty and then pull it out piece by piece*[57], because *all hot and humid things held in a similarly hot and humid place corrupt and putrefy*[58]. In the passage describing this instrument, the doctor also mentions the swelling of the female body. This makes it impossible to extract the child, especially when *the child's testicle remains alone*[59]. According to the doctor

> place your left hand in the womb, having first anointed it with lily oil or fresh butter, and look for the child's mouth, into which you will place your fingers, and with your right hand run a hook along the window, and place it inside the mouth, or the eye, or under the chin, then pull it out, if possible[60].

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[52] A. PARÉ, *Livre de la génération*.
[53] A. PARÉ, *Livre de la génération*, p. 762.
[54] A. PARÉ, *Livre de la génération*, p. 733.
[55] A. PARÉ, *Livre de la génération*, p. 733.
[56] A. PARÉ, *Livre de la génération*, p. 762.
[57] A. PARÉ, *Livre de la génération*, p. 761.
[58] A. PARÉ, *Livre de la génération*, p. 758.
[59] A. PARÉ, *Livre de la génération*, p. 761.
[60] A. PARÉ, *Livre de la génération*.

The passages quoted show us that the doctors are clearly affected by human birth. Despite the floral, metaphorical definition of childbirth (garden), they know that it is a painful ordeal.

Pathological situations are an opportunity for doctors to share their knowledge and experience, which they see as inaccessible to midwives. However, the quest for a happy birth was of great importance to them, and this required the assistance of matrons. In Joubert's speech, we even find praise addressed to them when he writes that *matrons or washerwomen are rightly called midwives: for they must be very prudent and wise: especially when there are two or three children to be delivered*[61]. In Paré's treatise on surgery, we can see that he warns midwives against all situations that put the life of the child and that of the mother at risk, but he does so only as a headline. We see the annotation "advertissement aux matrones"[62] while the tone of the speech remains neutral, as in this advice:

> To the midwife: however, you must order the woman (when she has waves and trenches) to be as sprightly as she can, closing her nose and mouth and having a matron press the upper parts of her belly while pushing the child downwards: because this greatly helps them to give birth[63].

There are also fragments in which the surgeon gives advice directly to the matrons, anticipating that they may find themselves in situations that are difficult from a medical point of view, and which they will not be able to cope with due to lack of knowledge. The doctor mentions various positions for the child and warns that there are many possibilities for childbirth. The impossibility of describing the actual position of the embryo makes the midwife's job even more complex. Paré tries to warn that

> natural childbirth is when the head comes first and follows its waters: the other, which is less good and easy, is when it comes with the feet in front all the others are very difficult. For this reason, I would like to warn matrons that where they realise that the child will not come in these two ways, but will come with the back first, or with the stomach, or with the hands and feet together, or with one arm, or in some other unnatural way, they should turn them round and pull them out by the feet: and if they do not feel sufficiently experienced, they should call in the surgeons experienced in this matter[64].

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[61] L. Joubert, *Erreurs Populaires*, p. 345.
[62] A. Paré, *Livre de la génération*, p. 747.
[63] A. Paré, *Livre de la génération*.
[64] A. Paré, *Livre de la génération*, p. 743.

Although the question of the female body during pregnancy suggests a certain unity in its treatment, we can see from the examples of Ambroise Paré and Laurent Joubert that it was possible in the 16th century to approach the subject in very different ways. Although the two texts were written by scholars, their approaches and objectives were far apart. Paré, the surgeon in the field, seems, surprisingly, much more faithful to theory and Joubert closer to common beliefs and practices. However, we can conclude that both Paré and Joubert wanted to educate, except that the *Œuvres* of the surgeon was aimed at a medical audience, as shown by his comments and advice to midwives, whereas Joubert dedicated his book to a princess, Marguerite de Valois (1553–1615). As Audrey Gilles-Chikhaoui explains,

> this choice is meticulously explained by Joubert, who organises his presentation by gradually narrowing down the range of characteristics. Thus, if he refers to the choice of "a princess", he begins with the justification of a "person of Royal blood". He then reduces this first characteristic to sex, which not only pre-empts any criticism, but also assigns a special role to women in the mediation of knowledge […] Joubert sees his dedicatee as both reader and mediator, involving her in an intellectual exchange with himself, based on the recognition of her human, moral and intellectual qualities[65].

Although the paths taken by Paré and Joubert differed, it is not impossible to imagine, in time, an overlap in the readership they both hoped to educate. It should also be noted that, despite the differences mentioned, the authors very often addressed the same issues, which highlights the problems faced by women and doctors at the time, as well as the deep roots of the theories inherited from Antiquity.

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The Theme of the First Muslim Women in *Chronographia* of Theophanes the Confessor

Abstract. This article concerns itself with a small fragment of Chronographia by Theophanes the Confessor. The fragment is devoted to the role of women in the rise and spread of Islam. Although generally considered to express anti-Islamic propaganda, upon closer examination, it is quite consistent with some Muslim traditions. The author interprets the fragment in a way that takes those traditions into account.

Keywords: Byzantine historiography, Theophanes the Confessor, Byzantine-Muslim relations, Theophanes the Confessor's *Chronographia*

The role of women in the spread of the Muslim faith and the rise of the first Muslim community is among the important issues that Theophanes the Confessor raised in his account of the life and career of the Prophet Muhammad and the beginnings of Islam. However, this aspect of the Confessor's work has not yet been dealt with in a separate study. Scholarly attention has hitherto been drawn to Theophanes' strong criticism of Islam and to his opinions regarding Muhammad himself, especially the epilepsy from which the Prophet supposedly suffered. Fragments pertaining to women have usually been taken to supplement the negative view of the new religion which the Confessor clearly tended to offer. It is hard to disagree with the opinion that the expostulation of the role of women in the establishment of the Muslim community formed part of the efforts to create the community's deliberately negative image. However, the problem is that Theophanes was probably right to claim that women played an important role in the rise of Islam. This article deals with the chronicler's statements regarding this issue. In doing this, it also aims to contribute an answer to the question of whether Theophanes' account was created only as a kind of a pamphlet against the new religion

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or whether it also sought to reflect the real state of affairs by providing a number of true facts about the religion in question. It is also legitimate to assume that the chronicler referred to generally known and undisputed facts in order to lend credence to the views discrediting the Prophet Muhammad. The memory of women's role in the rise of Islam could also have served such a purpose. Therefore, analysis of the way in which the role is presented in *Chronographia* becomes, it is claimed here, part of the discussion about the credibility of Theophanes' account.

The first fragment to indicate the important role that women played in spreading Muhammad's message is recounting the behaviour of his wife, Khadija. There is no doubt that it was designed to contribute to the Prophet's black legend. This holds true especially for the account of the Prophet's attempts to conceal his epilepsy. Let us take a closer look at each of the lines in the account separately. First, Khadija appears in the same sentence where Theophanes mentions Muhammad's origin, pointing out that he was an orphan deprived of any means of support. We are told that the situation he was in made him go to Khadija, whom the chronicler described as Muhammad's relative, and, at the same time, as a woman who was very rich and who was involved in organizing commercial caravans to Egypt and Palestine[1]. Khadija's high status is also underlined in one of the next sentences, in which she is referred to as well-born or noble – *eugenés*[2]. The same fragment contains the motive of Muhammad's epilepsy, an illness that worried his wife[3]. According to Theophanes, the Prophet's marriage to his cousin actually came about as a result of a ruse. The chronographer reports that Muhammad kept trying to ingratiate himself with Khadija until he finally managed to become involved with her, thus taking over her wealth[4]. The Confessor was the first Christian to emphasise that the Prophet was ill. According to his account, Muhammad attempted to keep his ailment concealed, arguing that his strange behaviour was caused by the visions he had[5]. The chronicler also reports that some Christian monk played a crucial role in confirming the Prophet's version. However, the monk *had previously been banished for adhering to an immoral doctrine*[6]. Perhaps it was Waraqah ibn Nawfal, Khadija's cousin, since Theophanes clearly indicates that the legitimacy of Muhammad's message was confirmed according to the wish of his wife[7]. This passage does not seem to be equivalent to the legend of young Muhammad's

[1] *Theophanis Chronographia*, AM 6122, ed. C.G. De Boor, Lipsiae 1883 (cetera: Theophanes), p. 333.21–25; 334.1.

[2] Theophanes AM 6122, p. 334.6.

[3] Theophanes AM 6122, p. 334.5–7.

[4] Theophanes AM 6122, p. 334.1–3.

[5] Theophanes AM 6122, p. 334.5–10. In this way Theophanes suggested that Muhammad invented his message for a trivial reason. He simply tried to preserve the social status he had acquired thanks to his marriage to Khadija.

[6] Theophanes AM 6122, p. 334.10–14.

[7] Theophanes AM 6122, p. 334.10–14.

encounter with Bahira. The Christians of Mecca and Medina were too few in number to establish organised Christian communes there. However, many Christians lived in Syria. Some, such as Uthman ibn al-Huwayrith or Abu ʻAmir al-Rahib, were accused of collaborating with the Byzantines. Muslim sources report that the latter even asked Heraclius to help stop the changes that Muhammad was introducing in Medina. Abu ʻAmir al-Rahib was afraid that the changes posed a threat to the freedom of Christian worship[8].

The Confessor's belief that Muhammad suffered from epilepsy became quite widespread in Western Europe in periods to come. It can be found in works by Vincent of Beauvais or Ricoldo da Monte di Croce (the thirteenth century)[9]. George the Monk mentions it in his own work, thus testifying to its presence in the Byzantine culture[10]. It is also likely to have spread to the Christians of Syria, but we do not know when or where it came from – the work by Bartholomew of Edessa that explicitly refers to the ailment came into being as late as the thirteenth century[11]. When approaching the issue from the perspective of the evangelical accounts that linked epilepsy with possession (Mt 17: 14–20; Mc 9: 14–29; Lc 9: 37–43), of which Christian apologists were of course clearly aware, it should be remembered that Theodore Abu Qurrah, Theophanes' peer representing the Melkite branch of the Syriac Christianity (much closer to the Byzantine)[12], wrote that Muhammad was simply tormented by demons[13]. The question which remains open here is, what came first? The accounts of Muhammad's possession or the ones about his illness? One way or another, the theme of his epilepsy seems crucial in Theophanes' account. Consequently, the woman who became involved in the efforts to keep the ailment secret automatically gained importance, even if, as the Confessor emphasises, she was deceived by her cousin about the veracity of the Prophet's vision.

To sum up, Theophanes certainly discerned the important role of the Messenger's wife, Khadija, who strongly supported him in the initial period of his activity.

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[8] For more on this topic, see: G. Osman, *Pre-Islamic Arab Converts to Christianity in Mecca and Medina: An Investigation into the Arabic Sources*, MWo 95, 2005, p. 67–80.

[9] N. Daniel, *Islam and the West. The Making of an Image*, Edinburgh 1966, p. 27–28.

[10] Georgios Monachos, *Chronicon*, vol. II, ed. C. De Boor, Lipsiae 1904, p. 698–699 (= *PG*, vol. CX, ed. J.-P. Migne, Paris 1863, col. 865).

[11] Bartholomaeus Edessenus, *Elenchus et confutatio Agareni*, [in:] *PG*, vol. CIV, ed. J.-P. Migne, Paris 1857, col. 1384–1385. See Bartholomaios Von Edessa, *Confutatio Agareni. Kommentierte griechisch-deutsche Textausgabe von Klaus-Peter Todt*, Würzburg 1988.

[12] Theodore was born in Edessa around 750, and died between 820 and 825. Although he was one of the first Christian apologists who wrote in Arabic (also in Syriac), part of his legacy found its way to the empire and was translated into Greek (*PG*, vol. XCVII, col. 1461–1610). There are many significant studies on Theodore Abu Qurrah. One should mention here in the bibliography.

[13] Theodorus Abucara, *Opuscula ascetica*, XX, [in:] *PG*, vol. XCVII, ed. J.-P. Migne, Paris 1865, col. 1545–1548. The puzzlig coincidence of referring to epilepsy and possesion to explain Muhammad's revelations was pointed to me by the work: T. Wolińska, *Elity chrześcijańskie wobec islamu (VII–X wiek)*, VP 35, 2015, p. 553.

It should be emphasised that this view remains in agreement with the Muslim tradition[14], and the Confessor's account regarding the Prophet's rich wife is essentially consistent with what we know from Muslim sources. Furthermore, the references to Muhammad's poverty can hardly be interpreted in terms of a disapproval of his low descent[15]. This issue is just a matter of simple information and not of value judgments.

It should be noted that Theophanes remarked in his account that Islam was first adopted by women. Only later, through women's agency, were men converted to it[16]. His remark seems to have been aimed at further debasing the Muslim religion. However, it is important to realise that recently conducted research has shown the chronicler's "charge" to be true: women did play an important role by the Prophet's side. It should be kept in mind that the charge of 'feminization' of religion links itself with a topos that can be found in Byzantine historiography and apologetics. According to the topos, Arabs continued to adhere to the ancient cult of three female deities – Al-Lat, Al-Uzza and Manat, a cult that was also associated with the morning star and Aphrodite. This theme appears in works by John of Damascus, Nicetas of Byzantium, George the Monk, Constantine Porphyrogenitus, and George Kedrenos[17].

Accounts of the community formed around Muhammad indicate that he consulted women about various issues and that he entrusted at least one of them, Umm Waraqa, with conducting prayers, including those attended by men, which some Islamic theological schools take to be a key argument in favour of allowing women to celebrate mixed prayers (that is, those also attended by men)[18]. Umm Waraqa was also one of the few people involved in preparing the Qur'an's first

[14] For the picture of Khadija in Muslim sources (which is not always unambiguous), see: M. Dziekan, *Ḫadīǧa, żona Proroka Muḥammada w Usd al-ǧāba fī maʿrifat aṣ-ṣaḥāba ʿIzz ad-Dīna al-Aṯīra i innych klasycznych źródłach arabskich*, [in:] *Kobiety Bliskiego Wschodu*, ed. idem, I. Kończak, Łódź 2005, p. 11–23. On Khadija as the first to believe: S.W. Anthony, *The Conversion of Khadīja bt. Khuwaylid Muḥammad b. Isḥāq (d. 150/767)*, [in:] *Conversion to Islam in the Premodern Age. A Sourcebook*, ed. N. Hurvitz, Ch.S. Sahner, U. Simonsohn, L. Yarbrough, Berkeley 2020, p. 46–50.

[15] In this way, the remark seems to be interpreted by: T. Wolińska, *Elity chrześcijańskie wobec islamu*…, p. 554. Of course, if we take into consideration later and extended versions of these references, for example those in Bartholomew of Edessa who claimed that even Muhammad's appearance testified to his poor financial condition, then we can be led to recognize their unambiguously negative connotations. These references, however, date from much later.

[16] Theophanes AM 6122, p. 334.14–17.

[17] Z. Brzozowska, *Boginie przedmuzułmańskiej Arabii (Al-Lat, Al-Uzza, Manat)*, [in:] *Bizancjum i Arabowie. Spotkanie cywilizacji VI–VIII wiek*, ed. T. Wolińska, P. Filipczak, Warszawa 2015, p. 86–89.

[18] Ch. Mechert, *Whether to Keep Women out of the Mosque. A Survey of Medieval Islamic Law*, [in:] *Authority, Privacy and Public Order in Islam. Proceedings of the 22nd Congress of L'Union Europeenne des Arabisants et Islamisants*, ed. B. Michalak-Pikulska, A. Pikulski, Leuven 2006, p. 59–69.

redaction[19]. Woman prayed in mosques along with men, worked in trade, and even participated in war[20], along with still widely known Khawlah bint al-Azwar who is used as a symbol of women's participation in Jihad and who took part in the first phase of the Muslim raids on Syria and Palestine and who is compared to Islam's sword Khalid ibn Walid[21]. This information led Leila Ahmed to formulate the following conclusion:

> Broadly speaking, the evidence on women in early Muslim society suggests that they characteristically participated in and were expected to participate in the activities that preoccupied their community; those included religion as well as war. Women of the first Muslim community attended mosques, took part in religious services on feast days and listened to Muhammad's discourses. Nor were they passive, docile followers but were active interlocutors in the domain of faith as they were in other matters. Thus the hadith narratives show women acting and speaking out of a sense that they were entitled to participate in the life of religious thought and practice, to comment fothrightly on any topic, even the Qur'an, and to do so in the expectation of having their views heard[22].

Their testimonies were deemed credible in confirming particular hadiths. The important role of women in the initial phase of Islam's development is well documented both in politico-religious and socio-economic contexts. In terms of extending a number of women's rights and unifying their situation irrespective of their tribal origin, Islam initially played a definitely positive role[23]. It is important to single out the moment when they began to lose their rights[24]. As B. Koehler wrote:

> However, a comparison of female entrepreneurship in pre-Islamic society and in Mohammed's era shows that women occupied leadership roles before and after the establishment of Islam. Mohammed's wives were commercially astute, and Mohammed and his

[19] W. Wiebke, *Woman in Islam*, Princeton 1993, p. 111.

[20] See, for example F. Qazi, *The Mujahidaat. Tracing the Early Female Warriors of Islam*, [in:] *Women, Gender and Terrorism*, ed. L. Sjoberg, C.E. Gentry, Athens, Ga. 2011, p. 35.

[21] D. Cook, *Women Fighting in Jihad?*, [in:] *Female, Terrorism and Militancy, Agency, Utility and Organisation*, ed. idem, New York 2008, p. 38–39.

[22] L. Ahmed, *Women and Gender in Islam. Historical Roots of a Modern Debate*, New Heaven 1992, p. 72.

[23] F.A.A. Sulaimani, *The Changing Position of Women in Arabia under Islam during the Early Seventh Century*, MPhil., University of Salford 1986, p. 170–171. The role of women was quite significant under the Rashidun Caliphate: N. Abbott, *Women and the State in Early Islam*, JNES 1.1, 1942, p. 106–126; eadem, *Women and the State on the Eve of Islam*, AJSLL 58.3, 1941, p. 259–284.

[24] J.I. Smith, *Women, Religion and Social Change in Early Islam*, [in:] *Women, Religion and Social Change*, ed. Y. Yazbeck Haddad, E. Banks Findly, New York 1985, p. 19–35. A discrepancy between the behaviour of Muhammad and his first successors and women's later situation is characterised, among others, by: J.A. Sechzer, *Islam and Woman. Where Tradition Meets Modernity. History and Interpretations of Islamic Women's Status*, SRol 51, 2004, p. 263–272, and his text encourages us to raise the question of what should actually be regarded as Muslim societies' true traditions and which of those traditions should be respected by the conservatives.

contemporaries respected the rights of women to make decisions regarding finances, matrimony and religious affiliation[25].

The topic has been widely covered in Muslim religious literature. Khadija and Aisha were not the only women who held the title of the "Mother of the Believers". Except for Khadija and Aisha, it contains references (among others) to Sawdah bint Zam'ah, Zaynab bint Khuzayma (p. 55–60), Umm Salama bint Abi Umayya, and Umm Habibah bint Abu Sufyan. Offering guides to the faithful, they do not contain information verified in the course of historical discussion. However, they should be regarded as proof that the issue of the role of women in the rise of Islam is still considered important in Muslim discourse[26]. It must also have been important for first Muslims. Indeed, one of the most important Muslim genealogists, Muhammad ibn Sa'd, living at the turn of the ninth century, included in his great dictionary *Kitāb al-Tabakāt al-Kabīr* (the *Great Book of Generations*) biographical information about approximately 600 women, noting their contributions to the development of the early *umma* (the dictionary contains 4250 entries devoted to those who had an impact on Islam's development in the first two generations of believers, including military and tribal leaders)[27]. Women could also make their mark in Islam's unorthodox branches[28]. The important role they played in the rise of the Prophet's religion is often referred to in present-day debates about women's rights in Muslim countries[29]. It is interesting to note that reinterpretations of early Muslim law sometimes use women's initial contribution to Islam to criticise modern ideas, such as feminism[30].

Regarding the efforts to debase the religion by highlighting its supposed feminized origin, it is worth noting that further on in the same section of Chronographia, devoted to the rise of Islam, Theophanes focuses on the criticism of some Islamic beliefs (interpreted in a way that he understood them or that he wanted others to understand them) and also critically refers to the positioning of Muslim

[25] B. Koehler, *Female Entrepreneurship in Early Islam*, EcoA 31.2, 2011, p. 93–95.

[26] As indicated by popular Muslim guides to the Qur'an and hadiths containing references to the Mothers of the Believers mentioned above. See, for example, S.Z. Qasmi, M.T. Salafi, *Question and Answers on the Mothers of Believers*, Darussalam–Riyadh–Lahore–Houston [*s.a.*], p. 19–26, 55–68, 85–92.

[27] K. Abbou Hershkovits, *Women Converts and Familial Loyalty in the Tine of the Prophet Muhammad b. Sa'd (d. 230/845)*, [in:] *Conversion to Islam in the Premodern Age…*, p. 54–57.

[28] C. Baugh, *Revolting Women? Early Kharijite Women in Islamic Sources*, JIMSt 2.1, 2017, p. 36–55.

[29] Both in academic debates (E. Akhmetova, *Women in Islamic Civilisation. Their Rights and Contributions*, ICR 7.4, 2016, p. 474–491; eadem, *Women's Rights. The Qur'anic Ideals and Contemporary Issues*, ICR 6.1, 2015, p. 58–75) and in theological debates (S.A.Gh. Bukhari, *Role of Women in the Development of Islamic Civilization*, JI 5.2, 2012, p. 7–18; M. Elius, *Islamic View of Women Leadership as Head of the State. A Critical Analysis*, ArtFJ 4, 2010–2011, p. 195–205).

[30] S. Nawab, *The Contribution of Women to Muslim Society. A Study of Selected Autobiographical and Bibliographical Literature*, MA Thesis, Faculty of Arts Rand Afrikaans University 1997, p. 129–132.

women as sexual objects. Theophanes' criticism, however, only generally pertains to the sin of sensuality, and the question of how women are treated is used simply as an example to justify his accusations. The chronicler criticises the Muslims by arguing that, as a reward for living their lives properly, they can only imagine sensual and mundane pleasures. Among the latter, he singles out excessive eating and drinking, as well as intercourse with women able to be exchanged by men according to their whims[31]. The Byzantine concludes his remarks by stating that Christians should show compassion for people living in such error[32]. There was, of course, nothing new in accusing Muslims of holding the sensual and mundane image of paradise. Similar charges were made by John of Damascus[33]. The claim became quite popular in the circle of Syriac apologists. A good example of this is provided by Moshe bar Kepha[34] who contrasted the image of Muslims' mundane paradise with the spiritual vision of Christians, deriving from this contrast one of the key points of his criticism of the Prophet's religion[35].

In conclusion, it seems that the analysis presented above allows us to say that although Theophanes' intention was to subject Islam to detailed criticism and to create a negative image of it, some parts of his account clearly contain elements of truth. Theophanes' account of the origin and position of Khadija, Muhammad's first wife, as well as his remarks about the important role of women in the rise of the Muslim community, remain in agreement with the views held by present-day scholars. The popular perception of Islam, in turn, attaches importance to its image of heavenly rewards. This simplified way of presenting Islam has survived since Theophanes' days and can still be found in a significant number of texts. Theophanes's work provides a great deal of information about Muhammad. The chronicler's knowledge of the Prophet can therefore be considered to have been quite detailed. Given the fact that he had no direct contact with the Arabs, the accuracy of his account can, to some extent, come as a surprise. In this way, some scholars have been led to advance the thesis that Theophanes became acquainted with the translations of some fundamental Muslim literature regarding the topic (i.e., *Sirat* by Ibn Hisham or rather an earlier work by Ibn Ishak[36] whose fragments

[31] Theophanes AM 6122, p. 334.22–24.

[32] Theophanes AM 6122, p. 334.26–27.

[33] R. Hoyland, *The Earliest Christian Writings on Muhammad. An Appraisal*, [in:] *The Biography of Muḥammad. The Issue of the Sources*, ed. H. Motzki, Leiden–Boston–Köln 2000, p. 276 n. 2.

[34] The monk of the Syriac Monophysite Church. Remaining attached to Iraq throughout his life (around 813–903), he was the bishop of three communities – Bet-Ramman, Bet-Kionaya and Mosulu on the River Tiger. For more, see: J.F. Coakley, *Mushe bar Kipho*, [in:] *Gorgias Encyclopedic Dictionary of the Syriac Heritage: Electronic Edition*, ed. S.P. Brock, A.M. Butts, G.A. Kiraz, L. Van Rompay (Gorgias Press, 2011; online ed. B. Mardutho, 2018), https://gedsh.bethmardutho.org/Mushe-bar-Kipho [10 V 2021].

[35] A.-M. Saadi, *Ninth Century Syriac Exegete and Apologist. Moshe bar Kepha's Commentary on Luke*, H.JSS 20.1, 2017, p. 240–241.

[36] Muḥammad ibn Isḥāq ibn Yasār ibn Khiyār, he probably died in 767.

survive in Sirat)[37]. Without sharing this bold opinion, it should be stated that the Byzantine chronicler lived in a country (150 years after the Prophet's death) that maintained constant relations with the Caliphate, both in war and on peaceful terms. Therefore, it was impossible for Islam's founder to remain an unknown figure in the empire. It is necessary in this context to refer to the theory developed by Robert Hoyland. According to this scholar, Chronographia's information regarding Muhammad comes from Theophilus of Edessa. However, it should be emphasised here that scholars have attempted to revise the generally accepted interpretation indicating Theophanes's reliance on Theophilus of Edessa. The last of those attempts was undertaken a few years ago by Maria Conterno who tried to demonstrate that the chronicle of Theophilus was not the main source which Theophanes used in writing his own work. Her line of reasoning rests on a claim that the Confessor must have used and reworked several sources, and the question of what inspired him is more complex than is generally assumed. However, the problem is that we are not in a position to determine which sections of Theophanes's work were based on specific Syrian sources, especially as Theophanes did not draw directly on Theophilus, using other works that contained excerpts from Theopilus's work[38]. A successful summary of the existing discussion of the use by Theophanes of Theophilus's work has been presented by Muriel Debié. Debié notes that authors writing on Theophilus have, for more than a decade, treated his work as a certainty (as if we had some manuscripts at our disposal), while, she claims, we are dealing here with nothing but a hypothesis aimed at explaining the possibility that there was supposedly a common source for *Chronographia* – the work by Agapius of Manbij and the chronicle by Dionysius of Tel Mahre. According to the syriologist, Theophilus, who was a Christian of Chalcedonian creed, an orthodox with ties to the Abbasids' court, uninvolved in monastic life, perfectly fitted the theory of cultural exchange between Muslim and Christian worlds (to which Debié also raised her objections, claiming that it is difficult to speak of cultural differences based on faith alone. People of different religions who served at the Abbasids' court must have relied on similar, mutually comprehensible cultural codes). The above-mentioned fragments by Dionysius of Tel Mahre and by Agapius do not allow us to determine to what extent Theopilus was an important sources for them. The former emphasised that he had used only those fragments that remained consistent with his own doctrine, while the latter openly admitted that he had introduced many changes to Theophilus's work. Theophanes, in turn, never informs his readers of drawing on works by the chronicler of Edessa. Debié is therefore right to argue that while Theopilus is often mentioned, he is never directly quoted[39].

[37] Ju. Maksimov, *Prp. Feofan Ispovednik Sigrianskij ob islame*, BVe 4, 2004, p. 312–335.

[38] M. Conterno, *La "descrizione dei tempi" all'alba dell'espansione islamica. Un'indagine sulla storiografia greca, siriaca e araba fra VII e VIII secolo*, Boston–Berlin 2014, p. 21–38.

[39] M. Debié, *Theophanes 'Oriental Source'. What Can We Learn from Syriac Historiography?*, TM 19, 2015, p. 365–382.

The Byzantine chronicler's information may have been so precise because he aimed to give an account of Muhammad's life rather than of Muhammad's ideas, and therefore focused on details unnoticed by other chroniclers, whether Byzantine or from countries under Arab occupation. However, it is still puzzling that, as far as the Byzantine perspective is concerned, his chronicle offers the fullest account of the Messenger's life[40]. This is all the more reason to note that sections regarding women contain views consistent with Muslim tradition.

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[40] Cf. L. Boras, *A Prophet has appeared coming with the Saracens. The Non-Islamic Testimonies on the Prophet and the Islamic Conquest of Egypt in the 7th–8th centuries*, MA Thesis, Radboud University, Nijmegen 2017, p. 14.

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Taxonomy of Patience in Sixteenth-century Florentine Political Thought

Abstract. This article examines the concept of *pazienza* present in the writings of Machiavelli and Guicciardini. It turned out that it is closely related to key concepts for their considerations, such as Fortune, Time or Opportunity, and is classified and valued by them in social interaction within the political hierarchy. In Machiavelli, the term *pazienza* is an expression of patient enduring of an inconvenient situation, which should be assessed positively or negatively depending on who is patient and in what circumstances. In the context of social relations, Machiavelli perceives the effects of patience rather negatively, because for him it is mainly an expression of weakness, leading to or resulting from the loss of political position. For Guicciardini, patience means the ability to endure adversity, but also the ability to wait for the right moment to take action. Guicciardini emphasizes the ambivalent meaning of patience, which, on the one hand, is passive bearing of someone else's will, and on the other, as an expression of understanding the situation, turns out to be necessary when concluding alliances, negotiations and conducting military activities, i.e. it is simply indispensable in socio-political life, because it promotes implementation of plans, but also limits the use of violence.

Keywords: Machiavelli, Guicciardini, patience, *pazienza*, Florence

The term *patientia* (Latin: patience) has a long tradition in ancient literature. Researchers dealing with it have emphasized the ambiguity of this concept in antiquity and considered the criteria which influenced its classification and evaluation[1]. The term *patientia* was also present in the considerations of late antique

[1] R. Kaster conducted a very interesting study on the taxonomy of patience in antiquity (R.A. Kaster, *The Taxonomy of Patience, or When Is "Patientia" Not a Virtue?*, CP 97, 2002, p. 133–144). In his approach, the trait denoted by the Latin noun *patientia* described in antiquity the attitude of a person towards the surrounding world on one hand, and towards their own weaknesses and other individuals on the other. Kaster therefore proposes three ways of understanding it. Firstly, as the ability to

creative commons
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and medieval authors, although its semantic scope was primarily determined by the belief in the supremacy of the divine being and its dominant influence on humanity[2]. In the Renaissance era, the understanding of the word *pazienza* underwent further transformations, not without the possibility of recognizing influences from previous epochs, which, however, became part of a new quality.

The aim of this article is to demonstrate the various meanings of the concept of *pazienza*[3] that emerge from the reading of the texts of Machiavelli (1469–1527) and Guicciardini (1483–1540)[4], two politically active Florentine citizens whose

endure heat, cold, pain, and exertion, and attributes to it a significant role in human adaptation to adverse external conditions and in the process of civilization (*ibidem*, p. 135–136). Secondly, based on an analysis of Cicero's texts, Kaster also regards the trait of *patientia* as an expression of inner strength and greatness of spirit, through which a person masters themselves and consequently proves to be independent of external circumstances (*ibidem*, p. 137). Thirdly, Kaster observes that the significance of the concept of *patientia* is emphasized in social relationships when it is involved in the hierarchy among people and becomes an expression of differences in power (*ibidem*, p. 138). On the other hand, A. Pittard acknowledges that the concept of *patientia* in antiquity mainly had a social aspect and therefore was a trait full of various nuances and positively or negatively valued, depending on whether it was associated with other virtues such as strength (*fortitudo*) or steadfastness (*constantia*), or indicated submission to the orders or will of others and pointed to a low position in the social hierarchy and could be synonymous with enduring physical violence (A. Pittard, *Exemplary Negotiations of "Patientia"*, CJ 116.3, 2021, p. 331–354, here p. 335). According to Pittard, by highlighting patience in historical examples, it was used to shape appropriate attitudes among free-born Romans because demonstrating the ability to exhibit the trait of patientia by individuals in interaction with those above them in the socio-political hierarchy, such as kings or tyrants, emphasized the ability of patient individuals to generate actions that, in turn, brought beneficial effects for the entire community. This emphasis on action and its resulting effects eliminated the association of *patientia* with effeminacy, servility, or generally understood passivity (*ibidem*, p. 333–335).

[2] In Christian antiquity, the concept of *patientia* was understood as *brave endurance of dangers*, *sufferings*, *and death*, Z. Wróbel, *"De patientia" Quinti Septimi Florentis Tertuliani: zagadnienie genezy*, *rodzaju literackiego i kompozycji*, SWr 3, 2000, p. 323–333 (here p. 323). Tertullian, in his work *De patientia*, which can be considered a type of exhortatory sermon, praised the virtue of patience and simultaneously encouraged its practice, seeing it as an emulation of divine patience (*ratio patientiae*). Tertullian also preached the necessity of exercising patience and putting it into practice (*disciplina patientiae*), as it was essential in the face of various personal human misfortunes, such as loss of wealth, experiencing harm, loss of a loved one, or the desire for revenge (*ibidem*, p. 329–330). In medieval illustrated manuscripts, considered a kind of medieval encyclopedia, *patientia* is counted among the virtues (*virtutes*) and depicted as one of the jewels adorning the left arm of the cross of Christ. Cf. F. Saxl, *A Spiritual Encyclopaedia of the Later Middle Ages*, JWCI 5, 1942, p. 82–142 (here p. 105).

[3] The concept defining patience naturally appears in the texts of both Florentines in grammatically different forms: as nouns (*pazienza*, *pazienzia*, *patienza*), adjectives (*paziente*), adverbs (*pazientemente*), and their antonyms.

[4] Melani notes that Guicciardini's reputation as a well informed politician influenced the opinion of him as a good historian. I. Melani, *The Historian Francesco Guicciardini between Political Action and Historical Events*, [in:] *Historiographie des Humanismus. Literarische Verfahren*, *soziale Praxis*, *geschichtliche Räume*, ed. J. Helmrath, A. Schirrmeister, S. Schlelein, Berlin 2013 [= TAnt], p. 169–207 (here p. 180).

reflections on politics and the human condition provide valuable insights into the political culture of their time. Both Machiavelli and Guicciardini do not dedicate detailed considerations to the concept of patience. Its taxonomy can only be sought on the margins of other issues. It turns out that the term *pazienza*, appearing on the fringes of grand concepts such as *Fortuna*, *Sorte*, *Tempo*, or *Occasione*, constitutes an integral part of them and is one of the more effective tools for individuals in their unequal struggle with socio-political reality. Therefore, the discussions are primarily focused on how Machiavelli and Guicciardini classified and evaluated the concept of *pazienza* in social interaction within the political hierarchy.

1. *Pazienza* according to Machiavelli

Machiavelli argued that man is not fully independent in his actions, as he is greatly influenced by an external force called Fortuna (*Fortuna*), which helps the individual to acquire or maintain power in the state when difficulties arise, and also takes away their influence when everything seems to be going well[5]. According to Machiavelli, however, some historical examples show that although people cannot resist the influences of Fortuna, they can strengthen or weaken its impact through their actions. In addition to Fortuna, free will (*libero arbitrio*) also matters, allowing man to decide how to act in given circumstances[6]. Therefore, individuals involved in politics, especially those at a high rung of the social ladder, should be aware that although not everything depends on them, their decisions significantly influence the ultimate outcome of a given endeavour, and the trait described by Machiavelli as *pazienza* proves to be of crucial importance. From Machiavelli's texts, it emerges

[5] Machiavelli clearly distinguishes the concept of Fortuna from "blind and deaf Chance and Fate" ("Senz'occhi e senza orecchi Caso e Sorte"). N. Machiavelli, *Opere minori*, ed. F.L. Polidori, Firenze 1852, p. 491. In Machiavelli's view, Fortuna has a precise plan of action, and only people, unaware of it and subject to sudden changes in life, perceive her actions as random occurrences (G. Papparelli, *Virtù e Fortuna nel Medioevo*, *nel Rinascimento e in Machiavelli*, CSc 9, 1970, p. 76–89, here p. 77). It should be noted that Machiavelli's perspective on how it should be understood has undergone transformations. Initially, he was convinced that Fortuna cannot always favour a man, as it would require the ability to adapt to changing circumstances, and in his opinion, man cannot change because innate character traits will always determine his behaviour. Positive influence of Fortuna can be discussed only when a person possesses the character traits necessary in a given political situation. Machiavelli later acknowledged that man can control his nature through proper education. Through education, he acquires skills that allow him to complement missing character traits and meet the demands of Fortuna. Therefore, among other things, he advised rulers to study history, as drawing conclusions from the past is helpful in predicting future events and teaches a certain inevitability of events. (M. Santoro, *Fortuna*, *ragione e prudenza nella civiltà letteraria del Cinquecento*, Napoli 1967, p. 182, 200, 220). Therefore, among other things, he advised rulers to study history, as drawing conclusions from the past is helpful in predicting future events, and it also teaches the inevitability of events.

[6] N. Machiavelli, *Il Principe* XXV, ed. M. Martelli, Roma 2006 (cetera: N. Machiavelli, *Principe*).

that while it can generally be interpreted as patiently enduring an unfavourable situation, it is valued positively or negatively depending on who exhibits patience and under what circumstances[7].

1.1. *Pazienza* of individuals holding high positions in the social hierarchy

Firstly, Machiavelli argued that patience should not always be considered a virtue and valued positively because rulers should be able to adapt to the prevailing conditions at any given moment and adopt a course of action appropriate to the circumstances of time and place[8]. He does not assign a predetermined value to patient behavior in this process but presents it as one of the options and considers it a virtue only when a specific situation requires it. For example, in his work *Discorsi sopra la prima Deca di Tito Livio*, using the example of Piero Soderini, he explains that although his patient behavior was commonly regarded as one of the virtues of his character, it should only be considered such as long as the circumstances required patient waiting and he achieved success through it. However, when times requiring something other than patience arrived, it should be considered his flaw because by counting on it to persuade his political opponents, he did not destroy them, brought misfortune upon Florence, and lost both his power and good reputation[9]. Machiavelli noted that a passive stance of a ruler could be perceived by others as a sign of weakness, rather than as a virtue. Referring to the example of the Romans who did not react to the attack of the Latins on Rome's allies, the Samnites, he explained that the Latins interpreted the lack of reaction by the Romans as weakness, which strengthened their audacity. Therefore, Machiavelli advised those in power to prioritize an active stance over patient waiting and never to relinquish something voluntarily because in the eyes of others, it is better to lose something in a struggle than to risk being perceived as passive out of fear of defeat. He believed that in such situations, opponents would

[7] Machiavelli used the concept of patience in understanding the endurance of unfavourable situations both in relation to events in private life and those concerning state affairs. In a letter addressed to Luigi Guicciardini, Machiavelli expressed sorrow over the illness of his brother Iacopo and expressed confidence that Iacopo's patience would help him overcome the illness. N. Machiavelli, *Lettere* 106 (year 1509), ed. F. Gaeta, Milano 1961 (cetera: N. Machiavelli, *Lettere*). Regarding the private correspondence see J.-J. Marchand, *Le lettere familiari di Machiavelli*, [in:] *Epistolari dal Due al Seicento*. *Modelli*, *questioni ecdotiche*, *edizioni*, *cantieri aperti*, ed. C. Berra, P. Borsa, M. Comelli, S. Martinelli Tempesta, Milano 2018, p. 189–199. Meanwhile, in a letter to Vettori, he expressed hope that if the Venetians could maintain patience, it would become possible to achieve peace between France, Spain, the Pope, and Venice. N. Machiavelli, *Lettere* 129 (year 1513). Cf. N. Machiavelli, *Lettere* 147 (year 1514).

[8] N. Machiavelli, *Principe*, XXV.

[9] N. Machiavelli, *Discorsi sopra la prima deca di Tito Livio*, III, 3, vol. I–II, ed. F. Bausi, Roma 2001 (cetera: N. Machiavelli, *Discorsi*).

attack more aggressively, and rulers would risk losing their supporters, who would sense weakness and cowardice in their behaviour[10]. Machiavelli lamented that man cannot change his behaviour and believed this to be the case for two reasons: firstly, because it is human nature, secondly, if someone has always succeeded by acting in a certain way, it will never be possible to convince him that by acting the opposite he will also win[11]. He therefore concluded that since it is so difficult for an individual to tame their own nature, they should seek the other's help. He therefore recommended that especially political leaders should seek advice from counsellors and show patience in listening to their opinions, but then make decisions independently[12]. In this case, Machiavelli considers patience to be a passive attitude towards the actions taken by others and sees it as a means to achieve success[13]. However, if patience is shown by a person whose high social position and independence of decision do not raise any doubts, and their passive stance is only temporary, then patient behaviour should be positively evaluated in this case.

Secondly, Machiavelli observed that the concept of patience gains a distinctly positive value when combined with another virtue he considered a kind of "prudence", "cunning", or generally understood ability to deal with people (*industria*). He argued that precisely through the combination of these qualities (*pazienza e industria*), nobles in ancient Rome skilfully delayed the introduction of laws restricting their freedom[14]. Moreover, he not only believed that patience combined with cunningness was helpful in resolving social conflicts, but also argued that one attitude could imply the other. Advising the members of the *Signoria* on how to behave during the organization of the militia, he suggested a clever solution to announce that only those who demonstrate some skill would be exempted from service, because then those who do not want to serve in the militia would remain calm (*patienza*) and would not protest against its formation[15].

Furthermore, Machiavelli believed that only through that mental operativeness (*industria*), wielders of power and those aspiring to it could skilfully and effectively harness their eloquence (*eloquenza*), necessary for swiftly achieving their goals and interests. Therefore, the formulae of requests from those initiating any action for the patient stance of the listeners are in Machiavelli's texts an expression of a rhetorical device. In *The Art of War*, Machiavelli twice mentions the term *pazienza* in the courteous exchange of remarks between the participants of this dialogue.

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[10] N. Machiavelli, *Discorsi*, II, 14.

[11] Therefore, Machiavelli considered the republican system to be the easiest to maintain, as it involves the co-governance of people with different dispositions. N. Machiavelli, *Discorsi*, III, 9.

[12] N. Machiavelli, *Principe*, XXIII.

[13] Cf. N. Machiavelli, *Principe*, XXV.

[14] N. Machiavelli, *Discorsi*, I, 37.

[15] N. Machiavelli, *Scritto sul modo di ricostruire l'ordinanza*, [in:] *Istorie Fiorentine e altre opere storiche e politiche*, ed. A. Montevecchi, Torino 2007, p. 129–133 (here p. 132).

Fabrizio Colonna, in conversation with Cosimo Rucellai, requests patient listening so that he can thoroughly discuss the chosen matter[16]. Zanobi Buondelmonti, on the other hand, who is assigned an active role in the dialogue, although he would prefer to remain a passive listener, takes on an active role by stating that he will not hesitate to speak up, not wanting to abuse the patience of his interlocutor, Luigi Alamanni[17]. Machiavelli himself, in the introduction to one of the writings belonging to the group of texts dedicated to the organization of the citizen militia, announcing an explanation of where its members should be recruited from, asks the reader for patient reading of this work[18]. In a letter to Vettori dated August 26, 1513, Machiavelli also asks his recipient to maintain patience and listen to his arguments on disputed issues[19].

1.2. *Pazienza* of individuals lower in the social hierarchy

Firstly, Machiavelli pointed out that the patient attitude of individuals who do not hold power is conditioned by the behaviour of those above them in the socio-political hierarchy. Ironically, Machiavelli observed that sometimes those in power must patiently endure the dissatisfaction of others with this fact and obediently fulfil their demands to maintain the political *status quo*[20]. He believed that this type of behaviour could yield desirable results, as in a situation where many people have suffered harm, it is easier to avoid revenge than in the case of individual victims[21]. Therefore, the patience of those in power, in his view, implied patiently enduring inconveniences by others. However, he warned that one should always reckon with the possibility of retaliation in the form of conspiracies and alliances between political adversaries[22]. In his opinion, this stemmed from the fact that people in inferior positions in society are usually envious of the power and fame

[16] N. Machiavelli, *L'arte della guerra*, I, 44, ed. F. Cinti, Siena 2007 (cetera: N. Machiavelli, *Arte della guerra*). Fabrizio Colonna (c. 1450–1520), representative of one of the greatest Roman patrician families and a renowned commander; Cosimo di Cosimo Rucellai (1494–1519), grandson of Bernard Rucellai, a representative of the Florentine patrician family that founded the Orti Oricellari – a meeting place for intellectuals of that era, dominated by their political discussions.

[17] N. Machiavelli *Arte della guerra*, IV, 5. Zanobi Buondelmonti (1491–1527), one of the main leaders of the conspiracy against Cardinal Julius de' Medici, later Pope Clement VII; Luigi Alamanni (1495–1556), a member of a merchant family, one of the participants in the conspiracy against Julius de' Medici.

[18] N. Machiavelli, *Discorso dell'ordinare lo stato di Firenze alle armi*, [in:] *Istorie Fiorentine e altre opere*…, p. 99–104 (here p. 99).

[19] N. Machiavelli, *Lettere* 138 (year 1513).

[20] N. Machiavelli, *Istorie fiorentine*, III, 11, [in:] *Istorie Fiorentine e altre opere*…, p. 275–761 (cetera: N. Machiavelli, *Istorie fiorentine*).

[21] N. Machiavelli, *Istorie fiorentine*, III, 13.

[22] N. Machiavelli, *Istorie fiorentine*, VIII, 1.

of others, so they cannot patiently endure such situations, and unless they feel mortal threat, they will always seek to change them[23]. In *Florentine Histories*, he recounts that when the supporters of the Medici paved their return to Florence in September 1434, many Florentine patricians, such as Albizzi, Peruzzi, or Strozzi, were sentenced to exile. The Pope, who participated in negotiations with the enemies of the Medici, advised Rinaldo degli Albizzi to trust in the variability of Fortune, to maintain patience, and wait for the opportune moment to gain power[24]. From the example of Rinaldo, Machiavelli drew the conclusion that some individuals will always fight for their interests and never patiently endure situations they deem unworthy of their position. In Machiavelli's narrative, Rinaldo, during the time of the Florentine Republic as a military commissioner, invaded Lucca, appropriated all the goods for himself, and bought others from soldiers in such quantity that he began to be called a merchant. When he heard what was being said about him, he went to Florence and appeared before the Council of Ten. Acknowledging that he could no longer patiently endure criticism and thus undermining his authority, which could result in a loss of influence, he demanded official protection of his good name from the Council[25]. Machiavelli observed that there were, of course, exceptions to this rule. An example of this could be seen in the case of Antonio Giacomini, who had been entrusted with command in difficult wars fought by Florence since 1494. However, when an easy victory over Pisa was expected, Giacomini was not called into service. Incompetent leadership led the Florentines to pay the Pisans for surrender, when they could have achieved the same result through force without incurring additional financial costs. According to Machiavelli, it was only Giacomini's great patience that prevented him from seeking revenge despite considering it a personal insult, and he refrained from trying to overthrow the Florentine regime[26].

Secondly, patience in Machiavelli's view could sometimes be an expression of the ability to restrain emotions and maintain self-control. This meaning is derived from a letter dated September 23, 1505, addressed to Antonio Tebalducci. The commander of an attack on Pisa, who, due to the cowardice of the infantry, could not effectively carry out the attack and began to be blamed for the lack of success, demanded from the Florentine authorities to be recalled and threatened to leave the battlefield even without permission from the Council of Ten. Machiavelli then asked him to exercise patience by controlling his agitation, achieving

[23] N. Machiavelli, *Discorsi*, III, 30. Machiavelli was convinced that especially those who believe they should rule will not patiently endure the authority of another person. N. Machiavelli, *Discorsi*, III, 4.

[24] N. Machiavelli, *Istorie fiorentine*, IV, 33.

[25] N. Machiavelli, *Istorie fiorentine*, IV, 22.

[26] N. Machiavelli, *Discorsi*, III, 16.

inner peace, and waiting to take action until an official decision was announced[27]. On the other hand, as an example of the effect of failing to control violent emotions, equivalent to the lack of patience, one can consider the reaction described by Machiavelli as impatient, because it was lively and full of gratitude, of the Venetians to the words of the Florentine envoy, who, speaking to Doge Francesco Foscari, assured that Venice would receive military support from Florence during the clash with the Duke of Milan, Filippo Maria Visconti[28].

Summarizing the considerations regarding the concept of *pazienza* in Machiavelli, it can be stated that although he recognized the positive qualities of patient endurance in difficult situations, in the context of social relations, unless a specific situation required it and was accompanied by another virtue justifying such behaviour to some extent, he assessed the effects of its influence negatively. Generally speaking, for him, it was an expression of weakness, leading to or resulting from the loss of political position. Therefore, in his view, only those whose power was unquestionable could afford to show it. He advised everyone else to avoid it.

2. *Pazienza* in Guicciardini's perspective

Guicciardini, like Machiavelli, argued that human life is influenced by the unpredictable *Fortuna*, but unlike his fellow countryman, he considered its influence on the individual to be decisive and not subject to any modifications[29]. Furthermore, he believed that history was evidence that no event ever repeated itself in exactly the same version, so he considered seeking and formulating general principles to be futile[30]. Therefore, he recommended carefully and meticulously studying each political situation individually (*discrezione*) and making decisions based on the conclusions drawn, which would be appropriate and beneficial for the specific individual and their interests (*il particulare*). The concept of patience in the context of this theory gained dual meaning. On the one hand, it could be understood as the ability to endure adversity, and on the other hand, as the skill of waiting for the right moment to take action[31].

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[27] N. Machiavelli, *Lettere* 68 (year 1505).

[28] N. Machiavelli, *Istorie fiorentine*, V, 21.

[29] Guicciardini conceived Fortuna (*Fortuna*) as a force that determines the ultimate success or failure of human actions, unlike Fate (*Sorte*), which he understood as the force by which everything follows a predetermined path from above. M. Czapińska-Bambara, *Èthos przywódcy politycznego w myśli starożytnej i renesansowej. Platon, Cyceron, Machiavelli, Guicciardini*, Łódź 2019, p. 180.

[30] *Ibidem*, p. 188–189.

[31] Guicciardini, similar to Machiavelli, spoke about the importance of maintaining patience both in private life (F. Guicciardini, *Oratio Accusatoria*, [in:] *Opere di Francesco Guicciardini*, vol. I, ed. E. Lugnani Scarano, Torino 1983 (cetera: F. Guicciardini, *Accusatoria*), p. 513–568; here p. 533) and in public affairs (F. Guicciardini, *Accusatoria*, p. 519).

2.1. *Pazienza* of individuals high in the social hierarchy

Firstly, Guicciardini regarded patience as the ability to endure difficult situations. In his collection of *Ricordi*, he stated that patience is most desirable in significant, far-reaching political endeavors. He reached this conclusion through an analysis of the behavior of popes and how their character traits influenced the ultimate outcome of their actions[32]. In his view, it was patience that distinguished the early Roman popes, starting from the apostle Peter to Pope Sylvester I, and the gradual decline of patience among subsequent church dignitaries marked a change in the character of the Church's policy, which, according to Guicciardini, over time became primarily focused on the earthly power struggle of individuals, as papal dignitaries indulged in the respect shown to them and the privileges associated with it[33].

Secondly, Guicciardini understood patience as the ability to wait for an opportune moment. He believed that especially individuals in high social positions actively engaged in politics should be characterized by it, as in their case, showing hatred towards anyone or visibly seeking revenge on anyone could be interpreted as using their public office for private matters. He advised them, therefore, to maintain patience and wait (*Abbia pure pazienza e aspetti tempo*), as it is impossible that an opportunity (*occasione*) to achieve the same thing won't eventually arise, but in a justifiable manner and without causing offence to anyone[34]. He considered the inability to wait for the right opportunity as the cause of the political failure of Ludovico Sforza, who first brought French troops into Italian territories and then was deprived of power by the king of France[35]. Guicciardini believed

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[32] F. Guicciardini, *Ricordi*, B 159, ed. R. Spongano, Firenze 1951 (cetera: F. Guicciardini, *Ricordi*). Cf. F. Guicciardini, *Ricordi*, A 135.

[33] F. Guicciardini, *Storia d'Italia*, IV, 12, vol. I–III, ed. E. Mazzali, Milano 2006 (cetera: F. Guicciardini, *Storia d'Italia*). Initially, Guicciardini also appreciated the trait of patience understood as endurance of adversities in the contemporary Pope Clement VII (F. Guicciardini, *Ricordi*, B 159). However, over time, when he became disillusioned with him, during the re-editing of his *Ricordi*, he stopped mentioning him by name and consequently gave his reflections a more general character.

[34] F. Guicciardini, *Ricordi*, C 175. Cf. F. Guicciardini, *Ricordi*, A 13 and B 37, it can be inferred that the absence of offence from the person on whom potential revenge is taken simply results from their lack of knowledge about who caused them harm: *aspetti el tempo e la occasione*, *perché sanza dubio a lungo andare gli verrà di sorte*, *che sanza scoprirsi maligno o passionato*, *potrà in tutto o in parte satisfare al suo desiderio* [*wait for the time and the opportunity*, *because without a doubt*, *eventually it will come about*, *so that without revealing oneself as malicious or passionate*, *one may fully or partially satisfy their desire*]. In ancient and medieval tradition, anger, which led to crimes, was considered the opposite of patience. Medieval illustrated manuscripts depict the virtue of Patience as the adversary of Anger, and any doubts about which path one should follow are dispelled by the figure of a divine angel, who inclines towards Patience. F. Saxl, *A Spiritual Encyclopaedia*…, p. 103.

[35] F. Guicciardini, *Storie fiorentine dal 1378 al 1509*, XIX, ed. R. Palmarocchi, Bari 1968, p. 190 (cetera: F. Guicciardini, *Storie fiorentine*). He states that Ludovico Sforza's impatience hindered him from pursuing a consistent policy even when he supported the Florentines in capturing

that every undertaking should be carried out in its own time, when the appropriate opportunity arises, because then things not only almost happen by themselves but are also perceived as done wisely[36]. In the *Dialogo del reggimento di Firenze* Bernardo del Nero, in conversation with Florentine politicians about the best form of government, explains that patient people are considered wise because the ability to wait for the right moment is a sign of wisdom. Only then can one efficiently and effectively realize their intentions. Otherwise, not only may the goal remain unattained, but harm may also be done to oneself and others[37].

Guicciardini observed that patience could be perceived as passive waiting and thus might be negatively valued. An example of this, in his opinion, was Pope Alexander VI reaction to Ferdinand I encouragement to Franceschetto Cibo, Count of Anguillara, to sell lands near Rome to Duke Bracciano Virginio Orsini, whom Ferdinand then lent most of the money for the purchase, without Alexander VI knowledge[38]. When the pope learned of this, he assumed that the actions of Ferdinand I were not influenced by the greed of Virginio Orsini or the value of the purchased lands, but by a desire to test his patience (*tentare la sua pazienza*[39]). The pope then concluded that one cannot patiently endure (*tollerando con pazienza*) even the slightest insults and injuries, as such behaviour results in a lack of respect in the eyes of others and encourages further harmful actions. He believed that only his immediate reaction could confirm the greatness and majesty of the Roman pontificate[40].

Patience understood as passivity in the face of political actions from states outside the Italian Peninsula was criticized by Guicciardini, who claimed that it had encouraged the King of France to attack the Duchy of Milan[41]. The Florentine observed that delaying decisions by those conducting military operations also results in soldiers losing patience, which can ultimately lead to defeat[42].

Pisa, thus failing to reap the rewards of his earlier efforts made in this direction. F. Guicciardini, *Storia d'Italia*, II, 4.

[36] F. Guicciardini, *Ricordi*, B 117.

[37] F. Guicciardini, *Dialogo del reggimento di Firenze*, II, [in:] *Opere di Francesco Guicciardini*, vol. I, p. 297–473 (here p. 447). Bernardo del Nero was a supporter of the Medici. In the opinions presented by him, some researchers perceive the views of Guicciardini himself. D. Cantimori, *Machiavelli, Guicciardini, le idee religiose del Cinquecento*, Pisa 2014, p. 167.

[38] Franceschetto Cibo was the illegitimate son of Pope Innocent VIII, and after his death, he came under the protection of Pietro II de' Medici, the brother of his wife Magdalena, and moved to Florence.

[39] F. Guicciardini, *Storia d'Italia*, I, 3.

[40] F. Guicciardini, *Storia d'Italia*, I, 3. Cf. F. Guicciardini, *Storia d'Italia*, IV, 6: the Venetians raised the same issue during the discussion regarding providing support to King Charles VIII of France against Ludovico Sforza, whom they wanted to retaliate against because, in their opinion, he had benefited greatly from their side without reciprocating.

[41] F. Guicciardini, *Storia d'Italia*, VII, 7. Cf. F. Guicciardini, *Storia d'Italia*, V, 1.

[42] F. Guicciardini, *Storia d'Italia*, IX, 13.

In *the Prosecutorial Oration* written after the papacy's defeat in the war against Charles V, he portrayed Piero Soderini as a man full of virtues, among which he also mentioned patience[43]. However, he believed that due to it, Soderini had waited too long for solid evidence of some citizens' ill intentions towards the city and its inhabitants, which was interpreted as negligence or even cowardice[44]. Therefore, in Guicciardini's assessment, the former gonfalonier died in exile, and the city endured captivity[45]. Francesco acknowledged that those who vigorously seek power rely on the excessive patience of their political opponents[46]. He stated that Filippo Strozzi married Peter Medici's daughter Clarice at the instigation of people who, by paving the way for the Medicis' return to Florence, believed they would succeed because good citizens would only passively observe their actions without taking any remedial measures[47]. The concluding warning in the speech, that such great patience in merely observing those who act to the detriment of citizens should not turn into great anger, which will destroy not only those harming the state but also those who passively observed them and thus became complicit in the misfortune, is an expression of the belief that only waiting supported by a proper assessment of the situation and readiness for counteraction can bring the expected results[48].

Thirdly, according to Guicciardini, patience should be particularly valued if it is accompanied by other useful political virtues, such as cunning (*industria*) or craftiness (*astuzia*). He regarded this combination as essential in the behaviour of military leaders. He believed that by combining cunning and patience (*con la industria e con la pazienza*), they could thwart the actions of their opponents and achieve victory without shedding the blood of their soldiers[49]. Guicciardini believed that King Ferdinand I of Naples was distinguished by his ability to overcome obstacles and difficulties through patience combined with cleverness (*astuzia*)[50].

2.2. *Pazienza* of individuals lower in the social hierarchy

Guicciardini regarded enduring adversity not only as a crucial skill for those in power who seek to maintain their primacy. In Guicciardini's view, enduring inconveniences (tolerating inconveniences patiently) was particularly necessary

[43] F. Guicciardini, *Accusatoria*, p. 550.
[44] F. Guicciardini, *Accusatoria*, p. 551.
[45] Cf. N. Machiavelli, *Discorsi*, III, 3.
[46] Guicciardini, who was blamed for the papacy's defeat, attempting to demonstrate the baselessness and injustice of those accusations, portrayed himself in the worst light, and the Florentine people, in contrast to his faults, ironically labeled "patient" (F. Guicciardini, *Accusatoria*, p. 522). Cf. D. Cantimori, *Machiavelli*, *Guicciardini*…, p. 166.
[47] F. Guicciardini, *Accusatoria*, p. 552.
[48] F. Guicciardini, *Accusatoria*, p. 568.
[49] F. Guicciardini, *Storia d'Italia*, XV, 14. Cf. F. Guicciardini, *Storia d'Italia*, XVII, 10.
[50] F. Guicciardini, *Storia d'Italia*, V, 3.

during the formation of political alliances, conducting negotiations, or serving in the military, thus also characterizing individuals lower in the social hierarchy and therefore playing a secondary role in the power game[51]. In their case, however, the clear boundary between understanding *pazienza* as the ability to endure adversity and the skill of waiting blurs, as if merging both meanings into one. Guicciardini believed that patience was an essential element of military tactics for each of the warring parties. In his *History of Italy*, he explained that the desire of the people of Milan to resist the French king led them to patiently endure all the obstacles imposed on them by the French commander Odetto di Foix, who, on the other hand, hoped that over time, by cutting off food and water supplies to the city and patiently waiting, he would conquer Milan[52]. He also noted that military patience is conditioned by other circumstances, such as the purpose for which soldiers engaged in battle. In his account, Swiss soldiers in the French army changed their behaviour and lost patience after their pay was delayed for too long. They then announced that they were leaving the French ranks not out of fear of the enemy but due to the lack of respect for their dedication evident in the failure to pay them what they were owed[53]. Similarly, in his narrative, German soldiers acted in Pavia[54]. Guicciardini considers the lack of ability to endure inconvenience and wait in some cases as an evident flaw and a cause of political failures. In his opinion, Cardinal Alfonso Petrucci's conspiracy against the pope was uncovered due to Alfonso's impatience, who, unable to refrain from complaining about the pope's ingratitude, aroused suspicion among the pope's supporters[55]. Opponents of the Medici accused them of lacking patience in enduring the consequences of officials' decisions and used this argument as their main point, trying to prevent their return to Florence from exile[56]. On the other hand, Guicciardini reproached Bernard Rucellai for his impatience, despite being a respected and esteemed citizen, because he couldn't assess situations well and, as a result, didn't make a political career[57].

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[51] F. Guicciardini, *Storia d'Italia*, I, 5; IX, 11; X, 16. Guicciardini believed that the peoples conquered by Rome patiently (*pazientemente*) endured its domination because the Romans dealt with them skilfully. F. Guicciardini, *Considerazioni sopra ai Discorsi del Machiavelli sopra la prima Deca di Tito Livio*, XIII, [in:] *Opere*, vol. VIII, ed. R. Palmarocchi, Bari 1933.

[52] F. Guicciardini, *Storia d'Italia*, XIV, 13.

[53] F. Guicciardini, *Storia d'Italia*, XIV, 14.

[54] F. Guicciardini, *Storia d'Italia*, XV, 14. On the other hand, he regarded the inability to wait (*impazienza*) as an innate trait of the French (F. Guicciardini, *Storia d'Italia*, I, 8. Cf. F. Guicciardini, *Storia d'Italia*, VII, 3).

[55] F. Guicciardini, *Storia d'Italia*, XIII, 7. Similar behavior raised suspicions among royal supporters. F. Guicciardini, *Storia d'Italia*, XIII, 10.

[56] F. Guicciardini, *Storia d'Italia*, XI, 3.

[57] F. Guicciardini, *Storie fiorentine*, XXVI, p. 284. Cf. F. Guicciardini, *Accusatoria*, p. 553; F. Guicciardini, *Storia d'Italia*, I, 3.

Moreover, Guicciardini sometimes understood patience as enduring adversities and waiting, which he saw as expressions of mere powerlessness. This can be observed in the lively correspondence Guicciardini, as Lieutenant General of the allied forces of the League of Cognac, maintained with its representatives to exchange information, advice, issue and receive orders. In letters from 1526 to Giammatteo Giberti, faced with the unfavourable turn of events for the League's interests, he urged him to maintain patience: enduring difficulties and accepting them[58]. In a letter from 1529 written in response to an accusation that he acted in favour of the Medici against the state, he explained that he had nothing to do with the return to power of the Medici in 1512, as he was then an ambassador in Spain and was absent from Florence. Moreover, since he had never been indebted to the city, conspired with anyone, or even said or done anything suspicious, he was convinced that eventually his innocence and truth would come to light, and therefore assured that he would patiently endure the difficult situation in which he found himself[59].

Concluding the above reflections, it can be stated that while Guicciardini observed that in social relations, patiently enduring adversity may be perceived by political opponents as a sign of powerlessness, in most cases, he regarded it as a *sine qua non* condition for political success. Guicciardini was convinced that patience is also a form of waiting skill, which in his opinion was necessary to take action at the right time and consequently triumph in political struggle.

* * *

Summarizing the considerations on the taxonomy of the concept of *pazienza* by both Florentines, it can be observed that the examples of the use of the term *pazienza* drawn from the writings of the Florentines are extremely useful. They demonstrate not only how patience was manifested during the Renaissance depending on an individual's social status and identity but also that its reception among others was conditioned by the position of the person exhibiting patience. It turns out that reconstructing the concept underlying the term *pazienza* also allows us to briefly observe the changes that occurred in the understanding of this

[58] F. Guicciardini, *Lettere e istruzioni*, XXV, p. 75, [in:] *Opere inedite di Francesco Guicciardini. Lettere e istruzioni scritte durante la luogotenenza generale per il papa Clemente VII*, vol. IV, ed. P. Guicciardini, L. Guicciardini, Firenze 1863 (cetera: F. Guicciardini, *Lettere e istruzioni*); F. Guicciardini, *Lettere e istruzioni*, CXLIII, p. 403; CCXIX, p. 592–593.

[59] F. Guicciardini, *Lettere (1499–1540)*, XXIII (year 1529), ed. P. Moreno, Torino 2022, cetera: F. Guicciardini, *Lettere (1499–1540)*. Regarding the latest edition of Guicciardini's Letters published by P. Jodogne and P. Moreno, L. Battistini, *Recenti studi su Francesco Guicciardini (2009–2020). Prima parte*, SRin 18, 2020, p. 103–116 (here p. 112–113). This kind of understanding of patience also appears in private condolence correspondence that Guicciardini conducted with his sister Costanza after the death of her husband, Lodovico Alamanni. In a letter dated August 6, 1526, he asked her to endure this difficult situation with patience. F. Guicciardini, *Lettere (1499–1540)*, XL.

concept under the influence of socio-political changes that took place in sixteenth-century Florence[60]. In Machiavelli's early letter from 1505, written during the time when Piero Soderini held the position of the civil ruler of the Florentine Republic (*gonfaloniere di giustizia*) and Machiavelli served as his secretary and "right-hand man"[61], the word patience appears basically only in the sense of self-control. Machiavelli certainly observed patience in Piero, who was valued in Florence precisely for this quality, but apparently did not attribute it a greater role in Soderini's political decisions. Only the writings[62] produced after Piero's exile in 1512 serve as evidence that he began to consider its meaning and question its generally positive evaluation, which had been enjoyed in common opinion since ancient times[63]. He then advised against adopting a passive stance in politics, as it could be perceived by political opponents as weakness and encourage confrontation. Later, when the Medici returned to power and he finally managed to gain their favour, evidenced by the commission in 1519 to write the history of Florence, he concluded that since holding power is inevitably associated with the threat of its loss, patience proves essential in maintaining social peace and can serve as a guarantee of limiting opportunities for violence to preserve or seize power.

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[60] Cf. S. Schwandt, who notes that the concepts used by historians to describe the intriguing issues they encounter reflect the complexity of the socio-political structure of a given period. S. Schwandt, *Virtus as a Political Concept in the Middle Ages*, CHC 10.2, 2015, p. 71–90 (here p. 77).

[61] Machiavelli's duties included handling correspondence related to the administration of the Florentine land in Tuscany, the military, and foreign policy. He was also dispatched as an envoy to conduct observations, analyses, and notes on important matters. However, he did not engage in negotiations or conclude pacts. F. Bausi, *Machiavelli*, Roma 2005, p. 42–43.

[62] Although the history presented by Machiavelli in the *Florentine Histories* (N. Machiavelli, *Istorie fiorentine*) was shaped according to the humanistic scheme of recording history, it reflects the political interests of its author and the political issues of his time. F. Gilbert, *Machiavelli e Guicciardini. Pensiero politico e storiografia a Firenze nel Cinquecento*, Torino 1970, p. 165.

[63] Cicero in his treatise *On Invention* (*De inventione*) – an unfinished rhetoric manual, which was his youthful work, expressed the conviction that patience is one of the qualities constituting human strength (*fortitudo*), specifying that it is the voluntary and enduring endurance of adversity and hardships in order to achieve noble and useful goals (*patientia est honestatis aut utilitatis causa rerum arduarum ac difficilium voluntaria ac diuturna perpessio*. M.T. Cicero, *De inventione*, II, 163, with an English trans. by H.M. Hubbell, London 1960). In *Rhetorical Partitions* (*Partitiones Oratoriae*), which he wrote in 46 BCE as an experienced orator, he explained that while courage (*fortitudo*) enables one to face impending misfortunes, patience allows one to endure persistently those that have already come (*nam quae venientibus malis obstat fortitudo, quae quod iam adest tolerat et perfert patientia nominator*. M.T. Cicero, *Partitiones oratoriae*, 77, ed. R. Giomini, Roma 1996). In both cases, he treated it as one of the *virtus* of man. Cf. A. Pittard, *Exemplary Negotiations*…, p. 333–335. However, it should be noted that in antiquity, when the significance of the concept of *patientia* was entangled in a hierarchy among people, it became an expression of differences in power and was perceived as passive submission to the will of others. At that time, it was considered an ambiguous quality and not always valued as a virtue (*virtus*). In this context, the trait of patience was regarded as the quintessence of slavery and expressed "a complete absence of will". R.A. Kaster, *The Taxonomy of Patience*…, p. 139.

In the *Florentine Histories*[64] written between 1508 and 1509, during the period of popular rule in Florence, Guicciardini observed that if patience was not a strong suit of individuals widely esteemed, despite many virtues, they ultimately experienced political failure. His later texts attest that the concept of patience began to intrigue him more and he devoted some more attention to it. In works drafted during the subsequent exile of the Medici, between 1527 and 1530, he stated that demonstrating patient conduct should be contingent on external circumstances, as it should not always be regarded as an individual virtue. Patience should be considered as a form of skilful waiting, conditioned by the given situation, as it then becomes crucial and contributes to the ultimate victory[65]. In *The History of Italy*, written between the end of 1536 and 1540[66], therefore towards the end of the author's (an experienced diplomat and politician's) life, and at a time when Cosimo I de Medici took over undisputed rule in Florence, the theme of patience recurs several times. Guicciardini emphasizes in it the ambivalent significance of patience, which on the one hand means passive endurance of someone's will, and on the other hand, becomes an expression of situational awareness; it proves indispensable during the formation of alliances, negotiations, and military actions. In other words, it is simply essential in socio-political life, as it facilitates the implementation of plans, but also limits the use of violence.

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[64] Due to the fact that Guicciardini himself repeatedly apologizes for not strictly adhering to the method of recording history and allows for various digressions, scholars emphasize the more political than historical character of the work. D. Cantimori, *Machiavelli, Guicciardini*…, p. 187. However, some argue that the political dimension of the work only enhances the reconstruction and historical analysis of Florentine past and in a way allows for a better understanding of it. E. Cutinelli-Rendina, *Guicciardini*, Roma 2009, p. 153.

[65] *Ricordi*, like *Storia d'Italia*, were published after Guicciardini's death. According to Raffaele Spongano, series A was created before the year 1525 (around 1523), series B in 1528, and series C in 1530. R. Spongano, *Francesco Guicciardini, Ricordi*, Firenze 1951, p. 41–42. Cf. E. Cutinelli-Rendina, *Guicciardini*…, p. 229, 238, 255.

[66] E. Cutinelli-Rendina, *Guicciardini*…, p. 188.

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Byzantine Reconquista (10th–11th Centuries) and the Attacks on Christians in the Lands of Islam (Egypt, Syria and Iraq)*

Abstract. The paper discusses a wave of attacks on Christians in the lands of Islam that accompanied Byzantine victories on the battlefield in 10th–11th centuries, including pogroms and attacks in the capital of Egypt, Antioch, Alexandria, and Daqūqā', which were clearly linked with the fear or anger towards Byzantines, as well as events in Damascus, Al-Ramla, Caesarea, Ascalon and Tinnis, in case of which the link with Byzantium is not mentioned by the sources. It is argued that these events paved the way for the persecutions of Al-Ḥākim.

Keywords: pogrom, Christians, Islam, Byzantium

Christians, and most of all Melkites, were always in danger of being accused of being the fifth column of Byzantium[1]. It was less significant when Muslims were strong, and Byzantium was defending itself. But in the 10th century the Muslim world was in crisis, and Byzantium was at the new peak of its power. In the 10th century Shia movements and states took control of most of the ʿAbbāsid Caliphate. Fāṭimids conquered North Africa, Egypt, Great Syria and Hejaz. The Qarmaṭians took much of Arabia. Buwayhids took control of Iran and Iraq, including Baghdad. Sunni caliphs were being overthrown and mutilated by them. The looting and

* The text was originally used as a chapter of thesis: M. Czyż, *Sytuacja chrześcijan za panowania Al-Ḥākima bi-Amr Allāha*, MA thesis written under the supervision of dr P. Lewicka, Institute of Oriental Studies, University of Warsaw 2007, p. 43–55.

[1] Not always without a reason; Al-Antākī, *Tārīḫ Al-Anṭākī ăl-maʿrūf bi-ṣilat tārīḫ Awtīḫā*, ed. ʿU. Tadmurī, Tripoli 1990 (cetera: Al-Anṭākī), p. 162 – Christian secretary Kulayb submitted fortresses Barzūya and Ṣahyūn (today Qalʿat Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn); p. 193–194 – an Armenian captive with her family took the fortress of Raʿbān and submitted it to Byzantium.

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cracking of the black stone from Mecca by Qarmaṭians can be a symbol of these unquiet times. The internal conflicts were accompanied by military defeats, especially at Byzantine hands.

The Byzantines under the Macedonian dynasty were knocking out one "front tooth"[2] after another and moving the border more and more into the lands that Muslims once took from them and got used to treating as their own. The Byzantine danger loomed over the very centre of the Muslim world, that is Syria and Iraq. Byzantines temporarily subjected the former capital of the Caliphate, Damascus[3], and even Baghdad was not free from danger[4]. The fear of Byzantine conquest reigned among the Muslims of the Middle East, especially during the reign of Nikephoros Phokas[5]. The (ahistorical) legends have Nikephoros say, after conquering Tarsus, that he is in Jerusalem already, because – as the capital of the frontier Al-Ṯugūr region, filled with fortresses – Tarsus was the only obstacle on the way to the holy city[6]. In an alleged letter to caliph Al-Muṭīʿ ascribed to him, Nikephoros was threatening to march on Jerusalem, Baghdad and Al-Fusṭāṭ, foretold the conquest of Mecca and called on Arabs to return to Yemen, which he wanted to conquer as well[7]. Although the letter is a forgery, it shows the level of fear associated with Nikephoros. It's worth noting that it was he who, according

[2] *Al-Ṯuḡūr*; that's how the Muslim fortressed at the border with Byzantium were called.

[3] AL-ANṬĀKĪ, p. 162 – Damascus was forced to ransom itself from Tzimiskes.

[4] AL-ANṬĀKĪ, p. 149–151: *ʿIzz al-Dawla Baḫtiyār went from Baghdad to Kufa. A group of elders of these lands went to him and met him. They lamented their fear of Romans* (Byzantines) *which torments them and the inhabitants of Baghdad, and that they do not have enough strength to defend themselves from them if they returned to fight them* (my own translation).

[5] AL-ANṬĀKĪ, p. 136–137 – a part of the chronicle of Al-Anṭākī shows the mood of these times. Ironically it's written next to a remark about a place that, in the future, will become a symbol of Muslim triumph over the Byzantines. Al-Anṭākī says that no one doubted that Nikephoros would capture the entirety of Syria and Al-Ǧazīra. In *Al-Kāmil fī ăl-tarīḫ* these words are repeated, and Egypt is added to the potential Byzantine conquests, albeit it's likely a typo, mistaking Muḍar (مضر) for Egypt (Miṣr: مصر): ʿIZZ AL-DĪN ABŪ ĂL-ḤASAN ʿALĪ ĬBN AL-AṮĪR, *Al-Kāmil fī ăl-tārīḫ*, vol. V, Beirut 1994 (cetera: IBN AL-AṮĪR), p. 363 – The author mentions that no one fought Nikephoros during his Syrian campaign and also mentions a great fear which the Byzantines inspired in Muslims at that time; p. 367 – Again he mentions the Muslims' fear of the Byzantines; p. 369 – The author mentions that Nikephoros was a staunch enemy of the Muslims and enumerates his conquests; p. 370 – the author mentions that Nikephoros made raiding the lands of Islam his goal and repeats Al-Anṭākī's description of his tactics, as well as that Muslims feared him much and believed that he would take, without a fight, Great Syria, Al-Ǧazīra and Egypt.

[6] KAMĀL AL-DĪN IBN AL-ʿADĪM, *Zubdat al-ḥalab min tārīḫ Ḥalab*, ed. Ḫ. AL-MANṢŪR, Beirut 1996 (cetera: ZUBDA), p. 84. On the city of Tarsus, see C.E. BOSWORTH, *The City of Tarsus and the Arab-Byzantine Frontiers in Early and Middle ʿAbbāsid Times*, Or.JPTSIS 33, 1992, p. 268–286.

[7] TĀĞĞ AL-DĪN AL-SUBKĪ, *Ṭabaqāt al-Šāfiʿiyya al-Kubrà*, vol. II, p. 179–181, [apud:] N.M. EL CHEIKH, *Byzantium Viewed by the Arabs*, Cambridge–London 2004, p. 173–174 – It is uncertain whether the letter ascribed to Nikephoros is authentic, especially since it was, for the one creating polemic with it, a pretext for criticising the Daylamits while praising the Chorasanians. Even if not authentic, the letter could have been expression of Muslim fears.

to the advice of *Tactic* of Emperor Leo the Wise, tried to transplant the Muslim idea of martyrdom – death in a fight against infidels – to Byzantium[8]. Nikephoros was murdered, but his successors – John Tzimiskes, less so Basil the Bulgar-slayer – lead successful campaigns against Muslims as well.

Byzantine conquests were accompanied by rapes[9], killings[10] and destruction of lands within the range of military operations[11]. To force fortified border towns to surrender, imperial forces were destroying cultivations and causing famine, often accompanied by pestilence[12]. It meant great suffering for the nearby population, both local Muslims and Christians. Christians were, however, sometimes treated differently to the Muslims[13]. Perhaps that's why even Christian refugees from lands conquered by the Byzantines were suspected of treason[14]. Byzantines often destroyed mosques in conquered cities[15], and many Muslims were "suffering poverty and harassment"[16] in Byzantine slavery. Those who escaped death and slavery were going into exile, crossing hundreds of kilometres in search of safe haven and sometime dying on their way[17]. Many local Muslims remained, or returned to

[8] M. Canard, *La guerre sainte dans le monde islamique et le monde chrétien*, RAfr 1936, p. 605–623; N.M. El Cheikh, *Byzantium Viewed…*, p. 174; Leo Philosophus, *Tactica*, XVIII, 128–133, [in:] *PG*, vol. CVII, ed. J.-P. Migne, Paris 1863, p. 975–978; G. Dagron, *Byzance et le modèle islamique au Xe siècle. À propos des Constitutions Tactiques de l'empereur Léon VI*, CRAIBL 127.2, 1983, p. 221–224. Interestingly, Ibn al-Aṯīr believed that Nikephoros II Phokas was of Muslim descent. In reality he came from an old aristocratic family. Muslims, used to Byzantines and Christians being defeated and humiliated, were struck with cognitive dissonance when faced with the victories of the Macedonian dynasty. Some of them overcame it by striking against local Christians. Meanwhile, someone from whom Ibn al-Aṯīr took his information overcame it by making Nikephoros II descendant of Muslims. In reality it was Nikephoros I that was a Christian Arab – Ph.K. Hitti, *History of the Arabs*, 10th ed., London–Basingstoke 1984, p. 300, n. 2 – which again shows how easy it was to confuse historical personas, especially if they had similar names, and the mistake fit with the author's worldview– Ibn al-Aṯīr, vol. V, p. 369; a case of conversion to Christianity of defeated Arab tribes shows another way of solving this dissonance.

[9] The rapes are hinted at in *Al-Kāmil fī ăl-tārīḫ* – Ibn al-Aṯīr, vol. V, p. 325 AH 351.

[10] Al-Anṭākī, p. 92.

[11] Which influenced the attitude of local population to the Byzantines, and its anger was released by attacks on Christians.

[12] Al-Anṭākī, p. 105–106, 107, 128, 136–137.

[13] Al-Anṭākī, p. 135 – Byzantines released the Christians from among the captives taken in Antioch and settled them in the city. Ibn al-Aṯīr, vol. V, p. 323 – an information which can be understood that Byzantines captured Muslims only (and left Christians alone).

[14] Ibn al-Aṯīr, vol. V, p. 366–367 – According to the author Christian refugees from Lūqā (Būqā) assisted Byzantines in the capture of Antioch. But Al-Anṭākī, better informed about his hometown, does not mention that. It is likely that the story of Ibn al-Aṯīr came about because in Antioch the Byzantines treated the Christians well and allowed them, and likely also the refugees from Lūqā, to stay in the city. Ibn al-Aṯīr must have believed it was the reward for their betrayal.

[15] Ibn al-Aṯīr, vol. V, p. 337 – Nikephoros turned the Friday mosque in Tarsus into a stable, and burnt its minbar; p. 300 – Byzantines burnt the mosques in Sarūğ; Al-Anṭākī, p. 95 – Nikephoros destroyed the mosques in Crete. Etc.

[16] Al-Anṭākī, p. 42.

[17] Ibn al-Aṯīr, vol. V, p. 324 AH 351.

their houses[18] as soon as the situation stabilised. But it was likely that – subject to similar pressure as Christians in Muslim-conquered lands – they would convert to Christianity[19]. ʿUbayd Allāh, one of the elders of Melitene (Malatya), converted and played a major role in Byzantine politics[20]. As the governor of Antioch, he represented Byzantium in Syria. Some of the Bedouins, dazzled by the victories of Nikephoros, changed their religion as well[21]. In the aforementioned letter to Muslims, Nikephoros said himself that he is making his conquests in order to spread Christianity[22]. The letter is a forgery, but shows how Nikephoros was seen in Muslim lands. All of this had to intensify the sense of danger among Muslims in the lands threatened by Byzantine expansion, which is seen e.g. in a popular revolt in Syria, directed against Byzantines[23].

Common Muslims were aware of the immense danger posed by the Byzantines and their atrocities, but not always of the subtle difference between the Byzantines beyond the sea and the local Christians. Thus they launched attacks on churches, calling for fight against Byzantium. This should not come as a surprise, because victory against Byzantines was also, as Al-Mutanabbī claims, a victory over crosses and churches[24]. Here are a few examples of what were the effects of victories of imperial armies in the neighbouring Muslim lands[25].

In year 960 (AH 349) the Muslims of Al-Fusṭāṭ, having learnt about a Christian victory on the distant Syrian border, turned against their Christian neighbours[26]:

> The news of [the Byzantine victory] reached Miṣr on Sunday, the third of Al-Muḥarram of year 349[27]. The people of Miṣr and its scoundrels were greatly stirred, and Christians closed

[18] Al-Anṭākī, p. 108.

[19] Such fear was expressed in: Ibn Ḥawqal, *Kitāb ṣūrat al-arḍ*, p. 179–180, 180, [apud:] N.M. El Cheikh, *Byzantium Viewed…*, p. 168.

[20] Al-Anṭākī, p. 167, 170 – by changing sides as the duke of Antioch he contributed to Basil's victory.

[21] Ibn al-Aṯīr, vol. V, p. 363.

[22] Tāǧǧ al-Dīn al-Subkī, vol. II, p. 179–181, [apud:] N.M. El Cheikh, *Byzantium Viewed…*, p. 174: *I will conquer east and west and propagate everywhere the religion of the cross.*

[23] Al-Anṭākī, p. 254–255 AH 395–397.

[24] Al-Mutanabbī, *Dīwān*, ed. F. Dietrici, Berlin 1861, 453.12, [apud:] N.M. El Cheikh, *Byzantium Viewed…*, p. 166.

[25] I enumerated only these cases of assaults on Christians for which the sources themselves mention Byzantium as the reason for the attacks. Among the other ones, one should mention the murder of the patriarch of Jerusalem, John. It was accompanied by the destruction of several churches in Jerusalem, including the Holy Sepulchre, and it took place at the same time as the murder of the patriarch of Antioch Christopher – Al-Anṭākī, p. 110–113 AH 355. One should also mention the destruction of the last pseudo-Sabeans' temple, in Ḥarrān – Al-Anṭākī, p. 428–429 AH 422.

[26] Al-Anṭākī, p. 92–93 AH 348/349; it's interesting that one attack took place during a holiday, and another on Sunday. Perhaps it was the sight of happy or celebrating Christians that enraged Muslims. Perhaps (at least in the first case) they thought they celebrated Byzantine victories?

[27] 5 III 960, Monday.

their churches quickly that day[28]. Early morning Monday a mob gathered and headed to the Melkite church of angel Michael in Qaṣr al-Šamʿ. They smashed the gate, vandalised the church and robbed what they got in it. [Next] they returned to the Jacobite [Coptic] church of anbā Cyrus, which is in Qaṣr al-Šamʿ, and did the same to it as in the previous one. When Friday, the eighth of Al-Muḥarram of this year[29] came, after the midday prayer[30], a commotion and stirring occurred in the Old Mosque. Many people were robbed and their clothes were taken. The mob returned to the church of angel Michael. The door was smashed again, and the church was robbed and demolished. A similar thing occurred to a Jacobite [Coptic] church in the upper part of the Channel, under the invocation of the Lady, known as -B-RĪS.

Also in the next year, after the news of the Byzantine conquest of Crete arrived, a devastation of churches happened[31].

The news of [the conquest of Crete] reached Miṣr on Friday [after which comes] the Saturday night, the eighth of Ṣafar of this year[32], and this was the day of the feast of St Lazarus, which takes place two days before the Palm Sunday. Soon the mob and the common folk of Miṣr gathered. They went to the Melkite church of angel Michael, vandalised it and injured it greatly. They robbed everything they found inside. They pillaged and vandalised also the Nestorian church[33] and the church of St Theodore, as well as the church of St Lady Mary known as the patriarchal church – they vandalised it as well. It was in the hands of Jacobites [Copts] back then, and today is a Roman church, because the patriarch of Alexandria Arsenios, who was the metropolitan of Cairo, took it over from the Jacobites in the times of Al-ʿAzīz bi-Āllāh. When the riots intensified that day, one of Iḫšīdid commanders came with a group of ġulāms, dispersed the crowd and put the riots down. When it comes to the church of angel Michael, it remained closed and ruined for a long time. The prayers of Christians Melkites took place in the church of Isidore, which is close to the Mosque of the Dome in Qaṣr al-Šamʿ. The church of St Michael remained closed, and its gate was covered with dust. It remained in such a state until Elijah became the patriarch of Alexandria. He was

[28] Such protective measures often confirm in the eyes of the would-be pogromists that a pogrom is about to begin, encouraging it. The same attempts on the part of the minority to arm itself before a pogrom can be seen as a threat. See Rumors, p. 241 (7), 245 (11).

[29] 10 III 960, Saturday.

[30] The Midday Prayer (Ar. *ṣalāt al-ẓuhr*) is the second out of five daily prayers in Islam. See G. Monnot, *Ṣalāt*, [in:] *EI²*, vol. VIII, ed. C.E. Bosworth, E. Van Donzel, W.P. Heinrichs, G. Lecomte, Leiden 1995, p. 928.

[31] Al-Anṭākī, p. 95–96 AH 349. An event mentioned by A. Kaldellis, *Streams of Gold, Rivers of Blood*, Oxford 2017, p. 37.

[32] 29 III 961.

[33] The Nestorians had a good reputation amongst Muslims, and these were Melkites who were associated with the Byzantines, but they were still Christian, and pogroms can spread from one group to another, see W. Bergmann, *The Role of Rumors in the Emergence and Diffusion of Pogroms*, CRQ 41.3, 2024, p. 247 (13). See also E. Lohr, *1915 and the War Pogrom Paradigm in the Russian Empire*, [in:] *Anti-Jewish Violence. Rethinking the pogrom in East European History*, ed. J. Dekel-Chen, D. Gaunt, N.M. Meir, I. Bartal, Bloomington 2010, p. 44 about Russian World War I commander-in-chief N. Ianushkevich who was convinced that not only Germans, but also Jews and foreigners in general spied for Germany. As a result, after the military defeats, pogroms of Jews and Germans took place.

coaxing and exerting himself, until he opened it. Because, before that, Muslims have forbidden its opening. Elijah cleared the church out of rubble and restored it as he could, and Melkites begun praying in it again.

In year 967 (AH 356) many Chorasanians arrived in Antioch to raid Byzantium. When they were routed, some of the Muslim elders accused the patriarch Christopher of cooperation with the Byzantines. The patriarch was killed (AD 967, AH 357), and many churches were destroyed. The perpetrators were punished only when the city was captured by the Byzantines[34].

[34] Al-Anṭākī, p. 108–109 AH 354, 116–120 AH 355–356 – according to Al-Anṭākī, the story of this murder started when, during his absence in Syria, Sayf al-Dawla nominated governors in Aleppo and in Antioch. The Antiochenes revolted and handed over the city to Rašīq al-Nusaymī, whom Byzantines pushed out of Tarsus. The patriarch Christopher did not want to be accused of supporting the rebels, thus he left the city, and, despite the attempts of Al-Ahwāzī (Antiochene supporter of Al-Nusaymī) to get him to return, remained in the neutral ground of the monastery of St Simon. When Sayf al-Dawla returned, the patriarch went to him and was rewarded for his fidelity, and simultaneously interceded on the behalf of other Antiochenes. When Sayf al-Dawla died, Antioch immediately rebelled. During the rebels' rule, Chorasanians, on their way to fight Byzantium, came to the city. The patriarch was killed under the pretext of encouraging Byzantines to take the city; Abū ăl-Faraǧ Ǧamāl al-Dīn Ibn al-ʿIbrī (Bar Hebraeus), *Tārīḫ al-Zamān*, trans. I. Armaleh, Beirut 1986 (cetera: Ibn al-ʿIbrī), p. 65 – Ibn al-ʿIbrī claims that the patriarch was killed due to frustration of the Antiochenes and Chorasanians after a failed expedition against Byzantium, and the murder was accompanied by the destruction of the majority of the churches in Antioch. In the text, I decided to merge these versions, but it's not the only possibility. It's strange that Al-Anṭākī, well informed about the history of his city, does not mention the expedition of Chorasanians prior to the murder, or that he mentions the destruction of just one church, albeit the most important one, while Ibn al-ʿIbrī claims many were destroyed. The information of Ibn al-ʿIbrī is very typical, while the story of Al-Anṭakī is complicated and multithreaded. On the other hand, Al-Anṭākī seems almost hagiographical in his description of Christopher's relations with the elders of Antioch, and he must have taken information from the Melkite circles, to which he also belonged. See also: Jean Skylitzès, *Empereurs de Constantinople*, trans. B. Flusin, Paris 2003 "Nicéphore Phocas" XIV, 21, p. 234, who first mentions the death of the patriarch of Jerusalem John – who, according to him, was burned alive by "Saracens" under the pretext that he was encouraging Nikephoros to come and attack them – and follows it by saying that Antiochenes have done the same to their patriarch Christopher. But as we know from Al-Anṭākī, p. 110–112, patriarch John was burned after being killed, and the reason of this murder (and the destruction of the Holy Sepulchre) was his refusal to submit to extortions of the local governor. *The History of Leo the Deacon. Byzantine Military Expansion in the Tenth Century*, VI, 6, trans., ed. A.-M. Talbot, D.F. Sullivan, Washington 2005, p. 149–150, who mentions that *former Hagarene ruler killed the patriarch Christopher, an apostolic and divinely inspired man, by driving a javelin through his chest, bringing against the man the charge of reverence for Christ the Savior*. The subject of this patriarch is mentioned by K. Kościelniak, *Grecy i Arabowie*, Kraków 2004, p. 222. Finally, there exists a hagiography of Christopher by Ibrāhīm Ibn Yūḥannā (J. Mugler, *The Life of Christopher*, "Al-ʿUṣūr al-Wusṭā" 29, 2021, p. 112–180), which is surmised to have been the source of Al-Anṭākī, but the relationship between the texts is more complicated (p. 116–117: *Counterintuitively, therefore, much of the material shared between the two texts was actually added from Al-Anṭākī's text to Ibrāhīm's by a later editor, not borrowed from Ibrāhīm's work by Al-Anṭākī himself*). The text praises Sayf al-Dawla (p. 152 / 113r-v, 160 / 119v–120r, 163 / 121v etc), but also

In 985 (AH 375), in response to a Byzantine raid of Killiz, the Ḥamdānid army plundered the famous monastery of Saint Simon (today Qalʿat Samʿān)[35].

When in 996 (AH 386) the fleet prepared by caliph Al-ʿAzīz burned, Byzantine traders and caulkers were accused of sabotage, and a pogrom[36] took place in which 160 Byzantines were killed. Next, the mob attacked local Christians – Melkites and Nestorians. Their churches were robbed, and the Nestorian bishop died from his wounds[37].

Another interesting story is told by Severus Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ who informs us that, sometime around 907–909, a Coptic bishop brought persecution upon Melkites, including cutting of two fingers of the Melkite patriarch and tearing the robes of six Melkite bishops, by suggesting that Melkites are Byzantines and that he's afraid that the Melkite patriarch would spy for the Byzantines, and that the Byzantine emperor would come with his navy to Alexandria[38].

But the most telling is the story of year 997 (AH 387), which shows how easily the hatred of Byzantium could turn into an attack on the local Christians, and the other way round: how easily the hatred of local Christians could be associated with the fear of Byzantium:

> In this period, two Christian scribes in Daqūqā'[39] were oppressing this city and its environs[40]. It coincided with that Ǧabrā'īl Ibn Muḥammad, a Persian leader, was passing the city, heading for the land of the Romans (Byzantium), in order to raid it. The inhabitants went out to him, saying: "there's no need to go far. There are, in our city, two Christians who oppress us more than Romans (Byzantines) would do if they captured our city. So show your bravery, if you can". Ǧabrā'īl attacked the scribes, killed them and possessed the city according to a deal with its inhabitants. They gave him the title of Dabbūs al-Dawla[41].

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mentions the lowly status of *ḏimmīs* under Ḥamdānids (p. 157 / 117r-v, also 160 / 119r-v). What's noteworthy, the author explains better than Al-Anṭākī does, why the intercession of Christopher on behalf of Muslims caused them to hate him: he reduced the amount of money one of them had to pay to Sayf al-Dawla, and vouched for him paying the requested sum. When he was thus asking the Muslim for the money, *it was like his heart was being pierced, as the arrows of envy worked within him* (p. 165 / 122v–123r). He also mentions that the conspirators received a *fatwà* against Christopher, as someone who "plots against a Muslim fortress". The matter is also mentioned in K. Kościelniak, *Grecy i Arabowie*…, p. 162.

[35] Al-Anṭākī, p. 204 – The monastery was at the very Byzantine-Arab border and perhaps it was considered a fortress. The event is mentioned by A. Kaldellis, *Streams of Gold*…, p. 93.

[36] Pogrom to be understood as "an excess against a certain section of the population", see D. Engel, *What is a Pogrom? European Jews in the Age of Violence*, [in:] *Anti-Jewish Violence*…, p. 20.

[37] Al-Anṭākī, p. 233–234. The event is mentioned by A. Kaldellis, *Streams of Gold*…, p. 107 and by M. Gertz, *Shiʿite Rulers, Sunni Rivals, and Christians in Between. Muslim-Christian Relations in Fāṭimid Palestine and Egypt*, Piscataway 2023, p. 124–125.

[38] Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ, *History of the Patriarch of the Egyptian Church* (cetera: Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ), ed., trans. A.S. Atiya, Y. ʿAbd al-Masīḥ, p. 78 (Ar.), 114–115 (Eng).

[39] In the Arab version of Ibn al-ʿIbrī's work the name "Daqūqa" was used. Daqūqā' is a city between Baghdad and Irbil, today called Dāqūq.

[40] Or "took control of it", or even "became its independent rulers".

[41] Ibn al-ʿIbrī, p. 74; Ibn al-Aṯīr, vol. V, p. 528 – the same history.

It is characteristic that in all the cases when the fear of Byzantium was clearly stated by the sources, the attacks on Christians were preceded by an arrival of people or of information. In Daqūqā' and Antioch it was the appearance of Muslim expeditions against Byzantium. It was not the newcomers who initiated the attacks on Christians, but – coming from a land with few Christians – the locals were inclined to believe the accusations made against them[42]. In Al-Fusṭāṭ these were news from the front, most likely brought by refugees from Syria and Crete[43]. The waves of refugees from the border regions[44], apart from the network of mosques[45], likely were the best transmitter of information about the looming danger and the catalyst of anti-Christian feelings and excesses perpetrated by the Muslims[46]. In the belles-lettres of the time (*Qaṣīda Sasāniyya* and *Maqāmāt* of Badīʿ al-Zamān al-Hamaḏānī) one can find a mention of the formation of a class of beggars claiming they were mutilated by the Byzantines. There were also those who claimed that

[42] Their religious zeal was so great that they were killing as infidels even the mainly Shia Daylamīs – IBN AL-AṮĪR, vol. V, p. 344.

[43] As the main political centre and one of the main cities in the region, Al-Fusṭāṭ was a natural target of emigration from the lands conquered by Byzantium or endangered by such conquest. This concerned Crete the most, but also the cities of Syria. That's why one should surmise that the information about Byzantine conquests in Syria, and most certainly in Crete, was brought to Al-Fusṭāṭ by refugees.

[44] AL-ANṬĀKĪ, p. 105–106: *Many people moved from Al-Ṯaġr to Damascus, Al-Ramla and other lands, escaping the high prices and out of fear of Romans*; p. 108 – when the Byzantines captured Tarsus, they let its inhabitants head to Muslim-controlled lands; IBN AL-AṮĪR, vol. V, p. 333 – *domestikos* directed these words to the inhabitants of Al-Ṯuġūr: *I will return to you. The one who will move out, will be saved. And the one I find here after I come back, I will kill*; p. 345: *Many people from Al-Ṯuġur and Syria escaped out of fear of Romans, with their families and possessions, to Mecca, to go from there to Iraq* etc.; N.M. EL CHEIKH, *Byzantium Viewed*…, p. 166 – the motif of an escapee from the lands conquered by Byzantium appeared also in the *Maqāmāt* of Badīʿ al-Zamān al-Hamaḏānī. Etc.

[45] AL-ANṬĀKĪ, p. 92: *On Friday, after the midday prayer, on the eighth of Al-Muḥarram of this year, shouts and stirring occurred in the Old Mosque. Many people were robbed and stripped out of clothes. The mob returned to the church of angel Michael. The door was smashed again, and the church was pillaged and destroyed*; It is not a coincidence that the pogrom started at the mosque. As W. Bergmann states, the probability of pogrom increases in situations like festivals, market days or assemblies, where a "critical mass" is already gathered. The large number of participants is important for reducing the sense of individual responsibility as well as the individual risk of punishment. See W. BERGMANN, *The Role of Rumors*…, p. 239–240 (5–6). AL-JAZĀ'IRĪ ṬĀHIR BEN ṢĀLIḤ, *Šarḥ ḥuṭab Ibn Nubātah (Explenation of Ibn Noubata's orations)*, ed. A.F. AL-MIZIYADI, Beirut 2007 – Ibn an-Nubāṭa, the preacher of Sayf al-Dawla, was mentioning Byzantine raids in his sermons (in this case the propaganda was anti-Byzantine, and not anti-Christian).

[46] About the role of refugees from Caucasus and Balkans in the attacks on Armenians, and Christians in general, in the Ottoman Empire in the late 19th – early 20th centuries (which I see as an analogous situation) see B. MORRIS, D. ZE'EVI, *The Thirty-Year Genocide*, Cambridge–London 2019, who mention extensively the participation of Circassians, Chechens and *muhacirs* (Muslim refugees from the Balkans) in the attacks on Armenians (and other Christians), see especially p. 149: "*They arrive in Turkey with the memory of their slaughtered friends and relations fresh in their minds*," *the British consul in Salonica wrote. "They remember their own sufferings" and find "themselves without means or resources"* and *The muhacirs saw "no wrong in falling on the Greek Christians of Turkey and meting out to them the same treatment that they themselves have received from the Greek Christians of Macedonia*" […].

they were gathering money for buying their families out of the Byzantine slavery[47]. They would call armies to fight against their alleged oppressors and it seems they were successful at it. Al-Anṭākī mentions that, soon after the news about the success of Byzantium came, Egyptian authorities started preparing for war, even though they were not directly threatened by it[48]. In another place he mentions a citizen of Tarsus (captured by the Byzantines), who returned from Egypt to the Byzantine border with troops (most likely composed by volunteers or other refugees), to fight the infidels[49].

One cannot assume that the attacks happened only where the Byzantines were a real danger. One example to the contrary was the case of Antioch. Al-Fusṭāṭ was far away, but it was a capital of a threatened state. Most likely there was a group of refugees present there[50], and the presence of many Byzantine captives settled in the same location[51] was fuelling the flame of memory of the Byzantine danger and helped with associating of Christians with Byzantines. Daqūqāʾ and Al-Kūfa were far away and it's unlikely that someone in Byzantium knew about their existence. Their fear was likely fuelled by refugees, some of whom escaped to Iraq[52].

When it comes to the cities in Palestine, Steven Runciman mentioned the topic I discuss in his history of the crusades, when he wrote:

> When in the tenth century things were going badly for the Arabs in their wars against Byzantium and Arab mobs attacked the Christians in anger at their known sympathy with the enemy, the Caliph always made restitution for the damage done. His motive may have been fear of the renascent power of the Emperor, who by then had Moslems within his dominions whom he could persecute in revenge.

And, in the footnote:

> In 923 and 924 Moslem mobs destroyed Orthodox Christian churches in Ramleh, Askelon, Caesarea and Damascus; whereupon the Caliph Al-Muqtadir helped the Christians to rebuild them[53].

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[47] C.E. Bosworth, *The Mediaeval Islamic Underworld. The Banu Sasan in Arabic Society and Culture*, Leiden 1976, 2, 8.37 and 8.45, [apud:] N.M. El Cheikh, *Byzantium Viewed…*, p. 165–166.

[48] In Al-Fusṭāṭ in 960 (AH 349) and in Baghdad in year 974 (AH 363) the mob, creating riots, forced the ruler to start war preparations against Byzantium.

[49] Al-Anṭākī, p. 134.

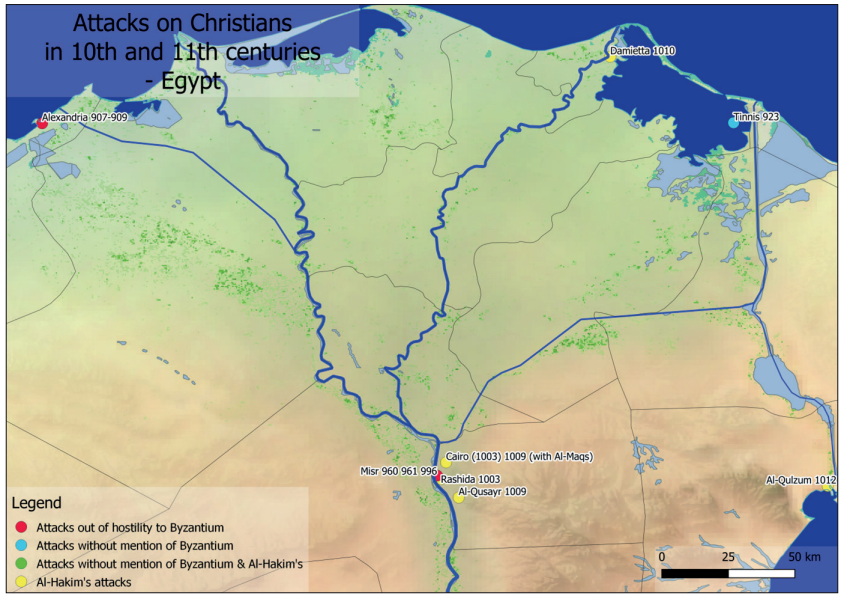
[50] Taqī ăl-Dīn Aḥmad Ibn ʿAlī ăl-Maqrīzī, *Ittiʿāẓ al-Ḥunafā*, vol. I, Cairo 1996 (cetera: Ittiʿāẓ), p. 209 mentions the kadi of Adana in Egypt.

[51] Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ, p. 75 (the Arabic text), 110 (the translation) – Ṭūlūnids settled many Byzantine captives in Al-Fusṭāṭ.

[52] Ibn al-Aṯīr, vol. V, p. 345.

[53] S. Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, vol. I, Cambridge 1995, p. 27 and n. 3. The topic itself is also mentioned briefly by A.M. Eddé, A.M. Eddé, *Communautés Chrétiennes en Pays d'Islam du début du VII^e siècle au milieu du XI^e siècle*, Paris 1997, p. 69; K. Ikonomopoulos, *Byzantium and Jerusalem, 813–975: From Indifference to Intervention*, [in:] *Papers from the First and Second Postgraduate Forums in Byzantine Studies: Sailing to Byzantium*, ed. S. Neocleous, Cambridge 2009, p. 19, 21, and K. Kościelniak, *Grecy i Arabowie…*, p. 161–162, apparently repeating the claim of Runciman. The destruction of the church in Damascus is mentioned in *ibidem*, p. 148, 161.

Map 1. Attacks on Christians in 10th and early 11th century.



Map 2. Attacks on Christians in 10th and early 11th century – Egypt.

Runciman based his claims on Eutychius where there are, on two consecutive pages, four stories about Muslim-Christian relations[54]. Runciman bases his assumption on the first one, while merging it with the third, and assumes the reason for the destruction of the churches was Byzantium, but it is but a surmise.

The first story mentions that Muslims in Al-Ramla have risen (against Christians) and destroyed two Melkite churches there, of St Cosma and Kūrqis (?George). They also destroyed the (main) churches of Ascalon and Caesarea. It happened in Ǧumādà ăl-Āḫar 311 AH (16 IX – 14 X 923). Christians reported it to the caliph Al-Muqtadir, who "ordered" them (Christians) to rebuild what was destroyed. No help concerning the rebuilding is mentioned, and the "order" should be interpreted as granting permission.

The second story, immediately after it, mentions that in Rağab of the same year (15 X –13 XI 923) Muslims in Tinnīs have risen (against Christians) and destroyed a Melkite church "outside Ḥimṣ, in Tinnīs", called the Church of Būṭūr. The Christians rebuilt the church, but when it was nearly complete, Muslims have risen against the Christians again and destroyed what was rebuilt, burning it. Afterwards, however, the ruler/sultan (the caliph? Al-Iḫšīd?) assisted the Christians so that they rebuilt the church once more.

Reading the stories side by side, one can deduct from them additional information. It was forbidden for Christians to rebuild a destroyed church. If the caliph "ordered" Christians to rebuild it, it simply meant he allowed it by issuing an order, so that the Muslims did not protest – and act – against the reconstruction. What happened when such an "order" was absent can be seen in the second story, in which Muslims destroy the church again. Also, the "help" Christians received in rebuilding the church most likely consisted of allowing it to happen and protecting Christians from Muslims, and it is unlikely any additional practical help was included.

The third story is about the Muslims, in the middle of Rağab 312 (around 17 X 924), rising (against Christians) in Damascus and destroying the cathedral (*al-kāṭūlūkiyya*) church of Mary there. It was a great church, large and beautiful: one hundred thousand dinars were spent on it (which either is an assessment of its value, or it was repaired for that much prior to the described events; a renovation would be a possible reason for its destruction). The buildings adjacent to it ("in it") were looted, in addition to other things that were stolen – such as jewellery and curtains. The monasteries were looted as well, especially the nunnery next to the church. (Muslims) vandalised many Melkite churches and destroyed the church of Nestorians. This time there is no mention of rebuilding the churches, or informing the caliph about their fate.

[54] Aftīšiyūs al-mukannà bi-Saʿīd Ibn Biṭrīq, *Kitāb al-tārīḫ al-maǧmūʿ ʿalà ăl-taḥqīq wa-ăl-taṣdīq*, ed. L. Cheikho, B. Carra de Vaux, H. Zayyat, Beirut 1909, p. 82–83.

The fourth story is the one of vizier ʿAlī Ǐbn ʿĪsà visiting Egypt and forcing the *ǧizya* tax on monks, bishops, weak and poor people, and Al-Muqtadir being informed of that and reversing his decision.

Even though one cannot be sure if the attacks mentioned by Runciman were linked to Byzantium, it is a fact confirmed by historical sources that, due to Byzantine reconquista, a wave of attacks on Christians under Muslim rulers did happen. This state of affairs is to a notable extent analogous to the situation in the late 19th – early 20th century Middle East, when the danger posed by (among others) self-proclaimed successor of Byzantium – Russia – again roused suspicion of Muslims towards local Christians[55] and an outburst of intolerance followed.

In the context of the aforementioned events, one should ask oneself three questions. The first is about the scale of this phenomenon; the second, whether the Byzantine military victories were the only reason for the deterioration of the situation of Christians. The third question is whether this phenomenon had any far-reaching consequences.

Written sources provide information only about the most significant attacks, and primarily about the main cities or centres of Christianity, such as Al-Fusṭāṭ, Jerusalem, Antioch or Baghdad. Although these attacks were serious, one can assume that there were many other smaller attacks, in smaller cities or villages, especially since *it is typical for pogroms to spread concentrically from one place, usually a town, further and further into the surrounding places*[56], something W. Bergmann called the *ripple effect*[57]. Yet, until the middle period of the reign of Al-Ḥākim, that is until the end of 10th century, one cannot be sure if they had a mass character.

Moreover, the anti-Christian feeling didn't concern all of the Muslim society. Patriarch Christopher was killed with the assistance of his Muslim friends, however at the same time one of them tried in vain to save his life[58]. Many Muslims were eager to participate in Christian feasts and it's telling that in the early reign of Al-Ḥākim Muslims were called upon to neither hinder Christian celebrations, nor to participate in them[59].

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[55] It is a common situation. E.g. the long and destructive wars of Poland with protestant Sweden caused decrease in tolerance in Poland, including the banishment of Antitrinitarians, and Arab defeats by Israel caused banishment of Jews from Arab countries etc.

[56] W. Bergmann, *The Role of Rumors*…, p. 246 (12).

[57] J. Tokarska-Bakir, *The Pogrom as an Act of Social Control: Springfeld 1908 – Poland 1945/46* [A keynote at the international conference], "Pogroms: Collective anti-Jewish violence in the Polish lands in 19th and 20th centuries", Warsaw, 10–12 June 2015, p. 5.

[58] Al-Anṭākī, p. 108–109, 116–120; J. Mugler, *The Life of Christopher*…, p. 166 / 123v–124r. The difference is that in the hagiography, the patriarch deliberately chose martyrdom, while Al-Anṭākī claims he believed in the friendship of the Muslim he decided to visit after he learnt of the plot.

[59] Al-Anṭākī, p. 276.

The rulers of this age, such as Al-Muʿizz, Al-ʿAzīz[60] or Sayf al-Dawla, seem friendly towards Christians, even though they fought Byzantium, and Sayf al-Dawla is the symbol of that fight. The state – with exception of the times of Al-Ḥākim and the financial extortions of Iḫšīdids and Kāfūrids[61] – rarely manifested aversion towards Christians, although it was also not eager to defend Christians from the attacks once they happened, probably being afraid of openly opposing a popular sentiment.

In the discussed period, there is only a single mention of the authorities punishing the participants of a pogrom[62], and it was done by a Christian vizier of the Fāṭimids, ʿĪsà Ǐbn Nasṭūrus[63]. Fāṭimids were the most Christian-friendly Muslim dynasty. Moreover, another account of these events (Al-Maqrīzī) says the attackers were punished only because they destroyed the caliph's property[64]. The tolerance was still quite common in the Fertile Crescent, but never, and in no place under Muslim rule, did Christians gain as much influence on the state as during the reign of Fāṭimid imams-caliphs. Michael, the bishop of Tinnīs, writes about "great peace in the churches" during the reign of Al-Muʿizz and Al-ʿAzīz[65]. But this[66] would enrage Muslim fanatics. One can see how irritated they were by the strong position of *ahl al-ḏimma* in the Fāṭimid state in two poems allegedly circulating in these times:

> Become a Christian, because Christianity is the religion of truth;
> That's what our times indicate.
> Speak in three: "three almighty"[67]

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[60] S.M. Gertz, *Shiʿite Rulers*…, p. 102 claims that Al-ʿAzīz was treating Christians better when he was successful, and worse (forbidding them to celebrate holidays) when he experienced military defeats.

[61] Al-Anṭākī, p. 25–28.

[62] Lack of punishment surely could act as an incentive for further attacks.

[63] Al-Anṭākī, p. 233–234. Ibn Nasṭūrus was killed most likely as soon as the tolerant caliph Al-ʿAzīz died, and the families of the executed people received money for their burial (Al-Anṭākī, p. 238 about the killing, Taqī ăl-Dīn Aḥmad Ibn ʿAlī ăl-Maqrīzī, *Al-Ḫiṭaṭ*, vol. III, ed. M. Zaynuhum, M. al-Šarqāwī, Cairo 1997, p. 22–23 about the money for the burial). Note that pogromists often do not feel they commit a crime. Moreover, one of the common rumours that is attested to before many pogroms is that the violence against the target group was sanctioned by the authorities, or is even expected by them – see W. Bergmann, *The Role of Rumors*…, p. 239–240 (5–6). This results in anger if a crack-down occurs (see *ibidem*, p. 241 (7)).

[64] Ittiʿāẓ, vol. I, p. 290.

[65] Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ, p. 100 (Ar.), 150–151 (Eng.).

[66] Even assuming it was true, and not a view created ex post by comparison with the age of persecution during Al-Ḥākim's reign. Note that *fear of upward mobility of the Jews after positions unattainable for them in pre-war Poland* was one of the reasons for pogroms after the Second World War, see J. Tokarska-Bakir, *The Pogrom*…, p. 6.

[67] This is reference to the expression *ʿizza wa-ǧalla*.

> And let go all the rest, because it would harm you[68]
> Because vizier Yaʿqūb is the Father,
> Al-ʿAzīz the Son, and Faḍl is the Holy Spirit[69].
>
> * * *
>
> The Jews of our times have fulfilled their dreams and grew strong
> The dignities and money are theirs!
> The advisors and commanders are chosen from among them
> Oh Egyptians! I advise you: become Jews, because the Heaven did[70].

Even stronger is the content of a letter Al-ʿAziz received when his vizier was Christian ʿĪsà Ǐbn Nasṭūrus, and his deputy in Syria Jew Manaššā (Manasses). The author wrote to the father of Al-Ḥākim:

> In the name of God who exalted Jews through Manaššā and Christians through ʿĪsà Ǐbn Nasṭūrus, and humiliated Muslims through you[71].

According to Ibn al-Aṯīr, after reading this message Al-ʿAzīz "understood what was wanted from him" and exacted money from both these officials. According to some of the other historians he also made ʿĪsà promise that from now on he would hire only Muslims for the offices[72].

Fāṭimids (ruling Egypt and Syria, and indirectly also Maghreb), and likely also Buwayhids (ruling Iran and Iraq), because of being Shia, a minority among Muslims, likely were less inclined towards persecuting religious groups which did not have – unlike Sunnis – any ambitions to gain the supreme power in their

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[68] Precisely "because it's a loss (a mistake)" – *fa-huwa ʿuṭl*. If read *fa-huwa ʿaṭal* it can mean "because it's unemployment"; Christian clerks were sometimes accused of supporting their coreligionists when staffing offices.

[69] Vizier Yaʿqūb is Yaʿqūb Ibn Killis, a Jewish convert to Islam, and the famous vizier of Al-ʿAzīz. Al-Anṭākī mentions Al-ʿAzīz's attachment to him. Al-ʿAzīz is the caliph Al-ʿAzīz bi-Amr Allāh. Al-Faḍl is Al-Faḍl Ibn Ṣāliḥ, a Christian convert to Islam and a famous Fāṭimid general – IBN AL-AṮĪR, vol. V, p. 515.

[70] ǦALĀL AL-DĪN AL-SUYŪṬĪ, *Ḥusn al-Muḥadara fī Aḫbār Miṣr wa-ăl-Qāhira*, vol. II, Cairo 1909, p. 129, [apud:] http://www.ismaili.net/histoire/history05/history555.html [25 V 2024]; Translation according to: A.S. TRITTON, *The Caliphs and their Non-Muslim Subjects. A Critical Study of the Convenant of ʿUmar*, Oxford 1930, p. 25.

[71] IBN AL-AṮĪR, vol. V, p. 515 AH 386 – one should note that all these poems are mentioned by late sources and are not necessarily authentic (note also that Ibn al-Aṯīr's story of transmitting a message to the caliph via an effigy placed along his way is a variant of a famous story about Al-Ḥākim). Likely the poems were composed to explain the later persecution of Al-Ḥākim.

[72] ǦAMĀL ĂL-DĪN ʿALĪ ǏBN AL-ẒĀFIR, *Al-Duwal al-munqaṭiʿa*, Ms., Greek Papyri in the British Museum, No Or. 3685, fol. 56A [apud:] S.A. ASSAAD, *The Reign of Al-Hakim Bi Amr Allah. A Political Study*, Beirut 1974, p. 43.

states[73]. Sunnis could always have been surmised to support the Sunni caliphate of ʿAbbāsids. Christians, on another hand, were neutral in the internal conflicts within Islam, and if anything, they could sympathise with the rule of a minority, less inclined to force upon them any limitations and having fewer coreligionists it would be supporting, at their expense, in the administration of the state[74]. As the riots in Baghdad have shown, a mob incited against Byzantium could turn not even against Christians, but against Shias[75]. Thus a symbiosis existed between Christians and the Shia states, or at least that of the Fāṭimids, benefitting both sides. The tolerance of Al-ʿAzīz can be partly explained by the fact that he had a Melkite (Greek Orthodox) wife. Apart from this, the might of Byzantium, which was turning Muslim folk against local Christians, could – on the other hand – discourage Muslim states from taking any actions against them[76]. Irrespective of what the reason for the tolerance of the rulers was, there was a discrepancy between the attitude towards Christians presented by the tolerant rulers and the attitude of the, hostile to Christians, population[77]. This discrepancy was brought to an end, against the traditions of his dynasty, by Al-Ḥākim. Thanks to his spies and personal travels to Cairo, he knew the popular attitudes well. The influence of the Byzantine Reconquista on the persecution of Christians by this caliph was surprisingly neglected. While it may be considered the expression of anti-Christian tendencies in these affairs which, as the limitation of *ḏimmī* dress, needed cooperation of the ruler.

The anti-Christian acts can be divided into two categories. Firstly, there were financial extortions, pogroms and murders and attacks on churches; secondly, introduction of restrictions resembling the so-called Pact of ʿUmar[78]. The populace limited itself to destroying churches, robberies and attacks on Christian communities. We do not have direct information on whether it also demanded any restrictions similar to Pact of ʿUmar. We do know, however, that some of the Muslims at this time were against displays of the Christian cult in public[79], that some

[73] I am not alone in that opinion. André Raymond writes that the marginal position of Ismāʿīlism undoubtedly is one of the reasons for Fāṭimid tolerance, in accordance with a rule that minorities, if in power, are more tolerant towards other minorities – A. Raymond, *Cairo*, trans. W. Wood, Cambridge–London 2000, p. 44–45.

[74] Just like today the Christians of Syria seem to be more supportive of the Alawite rules than the Sunnis are. This is the case even though the Shias tended to group *ahl al-kitāb* with *mušrikūn*, while Sunnis gave them intermediate status. See S.M. Gertz, *Shiʿite Rulers…*, p. 148.

[75] Al-Anṭākī, p. 149–151 – a crowd armed to fight the Byzantines turned against the Shia rules.

[76] G. Dagron, P. Riche, A. Vauchez, *Historia Chrześcijaństwa*, vol. IV, trans. J. Kłoczowski, Warszawa 1999, p. 339 – Sitt al-Mulk, when attempting to conclude peace with Byzantium, mentioned the end of persecutions of Christians which took place under her brother, Al-Ḥākim.

[77] Note that in the case of patriarch Christopher, the positive attitude of rulers towards him made Muslims more hostile to him.

[78] Such discriminatory measures increase the impression that the minority can be attacked with impunity. See W. Bergmann, *The Role of Rumors…*, p. 240 (6).

[79] Al-Anṭākī, p. 276; A.S. Tritton, *The Caliphs…*, p. 117.

Muslims destroyed churches that were renewed under Islam[80], that the Daqūqā'ans saw the rules of Christian officials as a foretaste of Byzantine conquest. Thus the tendency to limit the rights of Christians did exist, irrespective of whether these were attempts to renew old anti-Christian laws, or independent from them outbursts of feelings that lead to these restrictions in the first place. One can assume that the atmosphere of distrust and fear of Christians, which reigned among some Muslims during these times, influenced that. However, such influence is much more uncertain than the events leading to funerals and church ruins.

Note that certain forms of collective violence can be understood as exercising social control by a group in response to deviant behaviour – in this case, the local Christians being victorious by proxy through their Byzantine brethren[81]. The victories of Byzantines created what Allen Grimshaw calls disorders in the classic accommodative pattern of superordination-subordination[82]. In the context of Byzantine victories, attacks on local Christians must have seemed a just punishment or revenge[83]. Moreover, the pogromists often believe that their victims wanted to hurt them, they felt threatened and acted in "self-defence"[84]. It is likely that – after hearing of victories of a Christian power – Muslims felt threatened by the presence of Christians. What's more, many of them likely had a "hostile belief system", that is, a negative set of generalised views, perceptions and convictions regarding Christians (including that they regarded them as a dangerous enemy). With the news of Christian victories over Muslims, or a fire of the fleet in an area frequented by the Byzantines, this hostile belief system was confirmed while associated with an actual event[85]. The pogroms were usually started by rumours or by events that symbolised a threat to the majority[86], and the difference of culture (language, religion and clothing) was one of the factors that, according to Senechal de la Roche, made them more likely to occur[87].

The fear that Muslims felt due to the Byzantine danger could have contributed to the rise of Messianic tendencies which had some influence on the situation of Christians. Crises often turn people to God, thus towards His law and against the unbelievers. Both meant turning against Christians. This was not because Islam, at its core, was hostile towards them. During the time of Muḥammad and

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[80] Al-Anṭākī, p. 28, 96, 252.

[81] See W. Bergmann, *The Role of Rumors*…, p. 236 (2).

[82] J. Tokarska-Bakir, *The Pogrom*…, p. 3 *in which whites, the dominant group, have expected deference, obedience and complicity*. Such deference was also expected from *ahl al-ḏimma*.

[83] See W. Bergmann, *The Role of Rumors*…, p. 236 (2).

[84] *Ibidem*, an example in R. Dhattiwala, M. Biggs, *The Political Logic of Ethnic Violence: The Anti-Muslim Pogrom in Gujarat, 2002*, PSoc 40, 2012, p. 486, 488.

[85] W. Bergmann, *The Role of Rumors*…, p. 237 (3) and T.A. Knopf, *Rumors, Race and Riots*, London–New York 1975, p. 117 [apud:] W. Bergmann, *The Role of Rumors*…, p. 237 (3).

[86] W. Bergmann, *The Role of Rumors*…, p. 238 (4).

[87] Cited by J. Tokarska-Bakir, *The Pogrom*…, p. 4.

early Caliphate Christians were only burdened with a poll tax (*ğizya*). However, several rulers of the first half-millennium of Islam – ʿUmar II, Al-Mutawakkil, Al-Ḥākim – introduced short-lived laws deteriorating their situation. These were never forgotten by the jurists, served as an inspiration, and were creatively developed by them, and thus the jurists created the tradition that eventually formed the "Pact of ʿUmar"[88] – a set of restrictive laws in the form of an alleged treaty between ʿUmar I and a Christian town in Syria. The situation of Christians was deteriorating gradually both before and after the discussed period[89]. There were many reasons for that. One of them was the uncompromising result of the development of sharia (*al-šarīʿa*). Another was that in Christian cities, conquered by the Caliphate, Muslim societies were growing. The restrictions were not necessarily enforced when there were no Muslims around. For example, some belfries survived in Egypt, but only where there were no adherents of Islam[90]. And such places were fewer and fewer. Moreover, the demands posed by fundamentalists in 10th century, such as removal of Christians from offices, were unrealistic, but would have been unthinkable three centuries earlier, when the Muslim rule was young, uncertain, shallow and lacking its own staff which could replace the non-Muslim one. With time the situation changed, also due to the rise of the number of Muslims. Another perceived reason why the situation of Christians changed was that in the 7th century Muslims were the victors and they didn't feel the fear or the need to take revenge. In the 10th century, due to growth of Byzantine might, it was different. The negative tendencies that already existed were strengthened, and the tension that encompassed the Muslim Middle East paved the way to the persecutions of Al-Ḥākim.

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[88] A.M. Eddé, *Communautés*…, p. 188 – no known version of Pact of ʿUmar is older than 12th century, so the events of 10th and 11th century may have influenced it.

[89] A.S. Tritton, *The Caliphs*…, *passim*.

[90] A.J. Butler, *The Ancient Coptic Churches of Egypt*, vol. I, Oxford 1884, p. 15; A.S. Tritton, *The Caliphs*…, p. 49.

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The Revolts of the Varangians in Constantinople: Two Incidents at the Palace

Abstract. This article deals with the revolts staged by the Varangians at the imperial palace in 1068 and 1078. The first part of the article focuses on the revolt at the beginning of Romanos IV Diogenes's reign as described by the Continuator of Skylitzes. The detailed analysis of the chronicler's account of the Varangians' uprising in 1068 offers a new perspective on the relevant passage in his work. It reveals important details regarding the sources of the account in question, including its relationship with the works of Psellos and Bryennios. The author argues that the Varangians were not hostile to Romanos IV Diogenes at the beginning of his reign and that the Continuator of Skylitzes misplaced the relevant story in his narrative. The information he provided was indebted to Psellos and Bryennios. The second part of the article is devoted to the last revolt which the Varangians raised in April–May 1078. Analysis of the accounts of three historians: Michael Attaleiates, Continuator of Skylitzes, and Nikephoros Bryennios, supports the conclusion that the Continuator of Skylitzes and Bryennios recounted the first part of the story while Attaleiates (and partially the Continuator of Skylitzes) reported its end.

Keywords: Varangians, Constantinople, revolt, Continuator of Skylitzes, Attaleiates, Nikephoros Bryennios

Katakalon Kekaumenos wrote in his *Advice and Anecdotes* that *the Emperor who sits in Constantinople always wins*[1]. Kekaumenos employed these lines as a moral warning for his family. As he mentioned earlier *if someone should revolt, and declare himself emperor, don't enter into his plot but leave him*[2]. Kekaumenos

[1] Kekaumenos, *Consilia et Narrationes*, ed. Ch. Roueché, London 2013: ὁ γὰρ ἐν Κωνσταντίνου πόλει καθεζόμενος βασιλεὺς πάντοτε νικᾷ (https://ancientwisdoms.ac.uk/library/kekaumenos-consilia-et-narrationes/, [15 VIII 2024]).

[2] Kekaumenos, *Advice and Anecdotes*, ed. Ch. Roueché: Ἐάν τις μουλτεύσῃ καὶ βασιλέα ἑαυτὸν ἐπιφημίζῃ, μὴ ἔλθῃς εἰς βουλὴν αὐτοῦ ἀλλ᾽ἀπόστηθι ἐξ αὐτοῦ.

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wrote his work at a time when the advice on how to survive the revolt was particularly valuable. This period was filled with particularly disastrous rebellions that changed the role of mercenaries. The issue of rebellions in the political history of Byzantium has so far been dealt with in only a few works. Focusing on various aspects of the problem, such as usurpations or the decline of the Byzantine army between 1060 and 1081, these works have paid little attention to the rebelling mercenaries and have not displayed much interest in the role of the Varangians[3]. Therefore, what follows below is a contribution to a relatively unexplored topic that certainly deserves a detailed discussion: the Varangians' revolts and their role in the contest of power[4]. One of the most significant changes in the nature of the rebellions in the eleventh century concerned mercenaries' interference in the process of transferring power. The Varangians played a role in a number of power transfers, especially those between the death of Michael V in 1042 and the rise of Alexios I Komnenos in 1081[5]. Despite the recent works by Anthony Vratimos and Leonora Neville covering the mercenaries and civil wars of the 1070s[6], the Varangians revolts at the palace remain barely studied.

The focus of this article is only on two incidents which, while involving the Varangians, took place at the imperial palace in the 1060s and the 1070s. Looked at from a wider perspective, the following analysis concerns the interrelationship between the emperors and the mercenaries living in Constantinople, as well as beyond the city's borders. The first part of the article deals with the issue of the Varangians' revolt against Emperor Romanos IV Diogenes. The topic raises many questions, such as whether the Varangians turned against Romanos IV Diogenes, on 1 January, 1068. After highlighting the sources which the Continuator of Skylitzes used while writing his account, I discuss in detail the last revolt staged by the Varangians within the imperial palace in April–May 1078.

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[3] J.-Cl. Cheynet, *Pouvoir et contestations à Byzance (963–1210)*, [2]Paris 1996 [= ByzSor, 9], p. 339–344; Γ. Λεβενιωτης, *Το στασιαστικό κίνημα του Νορμανδού Ουρσελίου στην Μικρά Ασία (1073–1076)*, Θεσσαλονίκη 2004, p. 143–192; J. Shepard, *The Uses of the Franks in Eleventh-century Byzantium*, ANSt 15, 1992, p. 275–305, see p. 299–304; reprinted [in:] *Byzantine Warfare*, ed. J. Haldon, [2]London–New York 2016, p. 189–222, see p. 213–218; D. Krallis, *Serving Byzantium's Emperors. The Courtly Life and Career of Michael Attaleiates*, Cham 2019 [= NABHC], p. 139–188; A. Kaldellis, *Streams of Gold, Rivers of Blood. The Rise and Fall of Byzantium, 955 AD to the First Crusade*, Oxford 2017, p. 256–260.

[4] R. Scheel, *Skandinavien und Byzanz. Bedingungen und Konsequenzen mittelalterlicher Kulturbeziehungen*, Göttingen 2015 [= HSem, 23], p. 171–182; S. Jakobsson, *The Varangians. In God's Holy Fire*, Cham 2020 [= NABHC], p. 83–87; G. Theotokis, *The Rus'-Varangian Guard in Byzantium*, [in:] *Byzantium and Kievan Rus'*, ed. G. Kardaras, Athens 2020, p. 57–73.

[5] J.-Cl. Cheynet, *Pouvoir et contestations*…, p. 55–103, 352–358; A. Kaldellis, *How to Usurp the Throne in Byzantium: The Role of Public Opinion in Sedition and Rebellion*, [in:] *Power and Subversion in Byzantium*, ed. D.G. Angelov, M. Saxby, Farnham–Burglinton 2013, p. 43–56.

[6] A. Vratimos, *The Identification of the Scythians in the Service of Romanos IV's First Expedition to Anatolia*, BSl 67.1/2, 2009, p. 191–198; L. Neville, *Heroes and Romans in Twelfth-century Byzantium. The Material for History of Nikephoros Bryennios*, Cambridge 2012, p. 63–74.

Did the Varangians turn against Romanos IV Diogenes, on 1 January, 1068?

On 1 January, 1068, Romanos Diogenes married Empress Eudokia Makrembolitissa and was made emperor. The Continuator of Skylitzes recounted the Varangians' role in the events that took place at the palace during that day:

> Immediately there was a great uproar among the Varangians who, contrary to what had been collectively decided by everyone else, refused to acclaim him. Her son Michael appeared before them along with his brothers and announced that the event had taken place with their approval. They came round right away and with loud, piercing cries they too acclaimed him[7].

The Varangians' hostile attitude toward Romanos IV Diogenes remained unknown to all contemporaries. One of them, Psellos, was in the palace at the time and offered a detailed account of the transfer of power from Eudokia Makrembolitissa to Romanos Diogenes. However, he made no mention of any conflict between the guards and the emperor. Attaleiates, who stated somewhat ambiguously that Romanos Diogenes *had ascended to the Capitol bearing arms*, *in such a way that her sons did not find out*[8], also did not report any resistance of the Varangians to the proclamation of the new emperor. As has long been known, the work of the Continuator of Skylitzes is based primarily on the *History* of Attaleiates. However, Ataleiates said nothing of the Varnagians' revolt and the Continuator of Skylitzes reported it in his account of the events that unfolded that night at the palace. After referring to the revolt, the chronicler instantly returned to Attaleiates's text. Thus, he followed *History* both before and after the passage about the Varangians[9]. Why did he modify Attaleiates's version? How reliable is the Continuator of Skylitzes's evidence? What is the primary source of the latter's account of the revolt?

The Continuator of Skylitzes's view of the Varangians' conduct at the palace has received relatively little attention. In the first publication devoted exclusively to the Varangians in Byzantium, V.G. Vasilievskii regarded the Continuator of Skylitzes's ambiguous statements as reliable, but he doubted that the chronicler correctly

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[7] Skylitzes Continuatus, *Ἡ συνέχεια τῆς χρονογραφίας τοῦ Ἰωάννου Σκυλίτση*, ed. E. Tsolakes, Thessalonica 1968 (cetera: Skylitzes Continuatus), p. 124.3–7: Γίνεται παραυτίκα τάραχος παρὰ τῶν Βαράγγων πολὺς μὴ ἀνεχομένων εὐφημῆσαι αὐτὸν παρὰ τὰ κοινῇ δόξαντα. Ἐπιφανεὶς δὲ αὐτοῖς ὁ ταύτης υἱὸς Μιχαὴλ σὺν τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς γνώμῃ αὐτῶν ἀπαγγέλλουσι γενέσθαι τὸ γεγονός, καὶ αὐτίκα μετατραπέντες μεγάλαις καὶ διατόροις φωναῖς αὐτὸν καὶ αὐτοὶ ἀνηγόρευσαν; *Byzantium in the Time of Troubles. The Continuation of the Chronicle of John Skylitzes (1057–1079)*, trans. E. McGeer, J. Nesbitt, Leiden 2020 [= MMe, 120], p. 81.

[8] Michaelis Attaleiatae, *Historia*, ed. E. Tsolakes, Athens 2011 [= *CFHB*, 50] (cetera: Michaelis Attaleiatae, *Historia*), p. 80.20–21; Michael Attaleiates, *The History*, trans. A. Kaldellis, D. Krallis, Cambridge–London 2012 [= DOML, 16], p. 185.

[9] Skylitzes Continuatus, p. 124.8–9: Ὡς δ' οὖν ἐφάνη ἐκ τούτου, {ὡς} οὐ μάτην ἠλπίκασιν ἐπ' αὐτῷ οἱ πολλοί. The Continuator of Skylitzes' adapted the next words of Attaleiates: καὶ ὡς τὰ πράγματα ἔδειξαν, οὐ πάνυ μάτην ἠλπίκασιν οἱ πολλοί (Michaelis Attaleiatae, *Historia*, p. 80.22–23).

recounted the Varangians' role in the story. Vasilievskii also noted that the Continuator could have borrowed it from unknown sources[10]. Later research into this issue did not try to question the plausibility of the Continuator of Skylitzes's statements. Sigfús Blöndal and Benedikt S. Benedikz speculated that Romanos IV Diogenes was very unpopular with the mercenaries, so from this they drew the conclusion that the Varangians started the rebellion in Constantinople. The Varangians, claimed these scholars, showed *uncompromising loyalty to the legitimate heirs of the emperor to whom they had originally taken oaths of loyalty*[11]. The account in question has recently been argued as reliable by Anthony Kaldellis, according to whom the Varangians objected to the acclamation of Romanos IV Diogenes, defending the rights of Doukas' sons[12]. In this context, Blöndal and Benedikz supposed that the Varangians were *suspicious that the favor they had enjoyed under the reign of Constantine X* might not be theirs during the reign of Romanos IV Diogenes[13].

The interpretations of the Continuator of Skylitzes's remarks about the Varangians cannot be fully understood unless more is known with regard to the scholarly insight into the sources on which the account was based. As has been mentioned above, where the description of the so called revolt of the Varangians within the palace is concerned, the Continuator of Skylitzes's text significantly differs from the *History* of Attaleiates in its view of the beginning of the reign of Romanos IV Diogenes. The question of why the Continuator of Skylitzes gave such prominence to his account of the Varangians' revolt is quite complex. It is obvious that he could not have found it in the *History* of Attaleiates. However, although our sources say nothing of the revolt of the mercenaries on 1 January, 1068, both Psellos and Bryennios wrote about the Varangians' involvement in the conspiracy against the return of Emperor Romanos IV Diogenes to the palace after the battle of Mantzikert. It comes as a surprise that Attaleiates made no mention of their role in the conspiracy. Thus, from where did the Continuator of Skylitzes learn about it?

Analysis of other accounts, such as Psellos's *Chronographia* and Bryennios's *Material for History*, can help us shed some light on the Continuator of Skylitzes's remarks. According to all contemporary sources, Eudokia Makrembolitissa and Michael VII were acting together after the disappointing news of the defeat of Romanos IV Diogenes at Mantzikert[14]. Attaleiates reports that Eudokia invited the *kaisar* John Doukas with his sons to the palace, where *they all of a sudden proclaimed her first-born son, whom she brought forth from her marriage with*

[10] В.Г. Васильевскій, *Варяго-русская и варяго-английская дружина в Константинополе XI и XII веков*, [in:] idem, *Труды*, vol. I, Санкт-Петербург 1908, p. 333–334.

[11] S. Blöndal, B. Benedikz, *The Varangians of Byzantium*, Cambridge 1978, p. 112.

[12] A. Kaldellis, *Streams of Gold, Rivers of Blood*…, p. 240.

[13] S. Blöndal, B. Benedikz, *The Varangians of*…, p. 113.

[14] J.-Cl. Cheynet, *Intrigues à la cour de Constantinople: le délitement d'une faction (1057–1081)*, [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 [= ByzSor, 29], p. 71–84.

Doukas – emperor and despot[15]. Attaleiates therefore notes that *her plan for her husband's disowning and pursuit turned against her*[16]. However, Anthony Vratimos has recently argued that it is highy unlikely for Eudokia to have harboured such plans[17]. Moreover, when in October 1071 Romanos IV Diogenes's letter arrived in Constantinople, the *kaisar* John Doukas and his sons used the Varangians to proclaim Michael VII the sole emperor, and they deposed Eudokia. While Attaleiates offered no comments on the Varangians' participation in these events, Psellos provided a longer account of the contest for power during the last days of October. Of particular importance here are Psellos's remarks concerning the mercenaries' reaction to the Doukai's conspiracy at the palace:

> Then, on the advice of his cousins, the Caesar's sons, he won over to his allegiance the palace guards. (These men are, without exception armed with shields and the *rhomphaia*, a one-edged sword of heavy iron which they carry suspended from the right shoulder). Well, the guards banged on their shields all together, bawled their heads off as they shouted their war-cry, clashed sword on sword, with answering quells, and went off in a body to the emperor, thinking he was in danger. Then, forming a circle about him, so that no one could approach, they carried him off to the upper parts of the palace[18].

Although Psellos was highly rewarded for helping the Doukai to take power for Michael VII, he did not refrain from revealing important details regarding the uprising of the Varangians. In particular, he wrote that he was together with Eudokia at a time when the Varangians rebelled against her:

> Meanwhile those who were with the empress and I was one of that number not knowing what was happening, were almost petrified with fear. We thought that terrible things were about to befall us. The empress did indeed lose her nerve, and pulling her veil over her head she ran off to a secret crypt below ground. While she was hiding in the depths of this cavern, I stayed by the opening that led to it[19].

In his *Material for History*, Bryennios almost verbatim copied the passage about the Varangians from Psellos's *Chronography*. To enhance a brief story about the Doukai, Bryennios made some small changes to the *Chronography*, of which he made extensive use:

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[15] Michaelis Attaleiatae, *Historia*, p. 130; Michael Attaleiates, *The History*, trans. A. Kaldellis and D. Krallis, p. 307.

[16] Michaelis Attaleiatae, *Historia*, p. 130; Michael Attaleiates, *The History*, trans. A. Kaldellis and D. Krallis, p. 307.

[17] A. Vratimos, *Eudokia Makrembolitissa: Was she Implicated in the Removal of her Husband, Romanos IV Diogenes from Power?*, REB 71, 2013, p. 277–284, see p. 282.

[18] Michaelis Pselli, *Chronographia*, VII, 149, ed. D. Reinsch, Berlin 2014 [= Mil.S, 51] (cetera: Michaelis Pselli, *Chronographia*), p. 274–275; *Fourteen Byzantine Rulers. The Chronographia of Michael Psellus*, trans. E.R. Sewter, Harmondsworth 1966 [= Pcl, L169], p. 359.

[19] Michaelis Pselli, *Chronographia*, VII, 150, p. 275; *Fourteen Byzantine Rulers*…, p. 359.

> Those who were around the Caesar [i.e., the Varangians], after they suddenly beat their shields, and shouted barbaric war cries loudly, and clashed their axes against one another, and gathered themselves together, they moved towards the chamber of the empress. When she heard the tumult and the loud noise, she no longer held back, but, after she took off the cover from her head, she rushed into an underground, like a cave, place. And while she had entered the burrow, the others [the guards] had positioned themselves around its entrance, shouting loudly and transmitting enormous fear towards her. And she would have nearly died, if the Caesar, entering <there>, had not relaxed much of her fear. At least then, he advised her to leave the palace so as not to have an incurable suffering from the guards[20].

It may be of some importance to say here that Bryennios added little to Psellos's words. Furthermore, Bryennios made use of these very words and the particulars of the Varangian uprising. Bryennios may also have presumed some 'loyalty' of the Varangians, as no mercenaries' rebellion was heard of between 1081 and 1130 (he started working on the *Material for History*[21] in 1120). With regard to the last days of October 1071, the 'loyalty' of the Varangians was far from clear. Both Psellos and Bryennios could have suggested something about the relationship between the Doukai and the Varangians. However, later readers of the *Chronography* could have been made to view the revolt of the mercenaries as resulting from earlier disagreements between Romanos IV Diogenes and the Varangians[22]. The Continuator of Skylitzes, who was clearly and importantly one of those readers, wrote that Psellos took the leading role in Eudokia's deposition in October 1071, of which – the Continuator added – *he boasts himself in one of his own writings*[23]. Some passages of the Continuator's work are clearly based on the *Chronography*[24]. In his edition of the *Chronography*, Eudoxos Tsolakes expresses the opinion that the *Chronography* remained an important source for the Continuator of Skylitzes[25]. However, Warren Treadgold has more recently contended that the chronicler *avoided using*

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[20] Nicéphore Bryennios, *Histoire*, ed. P. Gautier, Bruxelles 1975 [= *CFHB*, 9] (cetera: Nicéphore Bryennios, *Histoire*), p. 123.23 – 125.7; A. Vratimos, *Eudokia Makrembolitissa*…, p. 277–284, see p. 280–281.

[21] L. Neville, *Heroes and Romans in Twelfth-century Byzantium*…, p. 16; W. Treadgold, *The Middle Byzantine Historians*, Basingstoke 2013, p. 347, n. 22.

[22] The relationship between Romanos IV Diogenes and the Varangians during the latter's final campaign remains largely uncharted due to a paucity of available sources. In particular, Byzantine sources do not record the participation of the Varangians in the battle of Mantzikert (G. Theotokis, *The Campaign and Battle of Manzikert 1071*, Leeds 2024, p. 120). Subsequent accounts by Arab historians about the Rus' involvement in this battle and their casualties may be credible, yet the question remains unresolved (C. Hillenbrand, *Turkish Myth and Muslim Symbol. The Battle of Manzikert*, Edinburgh 2007, p. 58–66). If, indeed, some of the Varangians participated in this battle, it seems that they sustained such significant losses that even those who survived did not join Romanos IV Diogenes' army upon his return from captivity.

[23] Skylitzes Continuatus, p. 152.23–24; *Byzantium in the Time of Troubles*…, p. 129.

[24] Skylitzes Continuatus, p. 118.14–18, 118.18 – 119.4, 154.25 – 155.3.

[25] Skylitzes Continuatus, p. 72–74.

it because he disliked its author so much[26]. Nonetheless, the Continuator of Skylitzes seems to have made extensive use of the *Chronography* in constructing his narrative of the reigns of Eudokia, Romanos IV Diogenes, and Michael VII. In fact, his account of the revolt of the Varangians at the beginning of Romanos IV Diogenes' reign is very similar to corresponding passages in the *Chronography*. Some of the phrases, such as 'loud' and 'piercing cries', were borrowed from Psellos. It is noteworthy that, upon reexamination of Psellos' account of Eudokia's final days, the Continuator of Skylitzes placed the revolt of the Varangians at the beginning of Romanos IV Diogenes' reign[27].

Skylitzes Cont., p. 124.3–7.	**Psellos, VII, 149–151, p. 274–275.**	**Bryennios, I, 20, p. 123.12–125.7.**
Γίνεται παραυτίκα τάραχος παρὰ τῶν Βαράγγων πολὺς μὴ ἀνεχομένων εὐφημῆσαι αὐτὸν παρὰ τὰ κοινῇ δόξαντα. Ἐπιφανεὶς δὲ αὐτοῖς ὁ ταύτης υἱὸς Μιχαὴλ σὺν τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς γνώμῃ αὐτῶν ἀπαγγέλλουσι γενέσθαι τὸ γεγονός, καὶ αὐτίκα μετατραπέντες μεγάλαις καὶ διατόροις φωναῖς αὐτὸν καὶ αὐτοὶ ἀνηγόρευσαν.	149. […] τοὺς περὶ τὴν αὐλὴν φύλακας οἰκειοῦται. τοῦτο δὲ τὸ γένος, ἀσπιδηφόροι σύμπαντες· καὶ ῥομφαίαν τινὰ ἀπὸ τοῦ ὤμου ἑτερόστομον καὶ βαρυσίδηρον ἐπισείοντες. κτυπήσαντες γοῦν τὰς ἀσπίδας ἀθρόοι· καὶ ἀλαλάξαντες, ὅσον ἐχώρουν αἱ κεφαλαί, τάς τε ῥομφαίας πρὸς ἀλλήλας συντρίψαντές τε καὶ συνηχήσαντες, ἐπὶ τὸν βασιλεύοντα ὡς κινδυνεύοντα συνανίασι· καὶ χορὸν περὶ αὐτὸν ἑλίξαντες ἀθιγῶς, ἐπὶ τὰ ὑψηλότερα τῶν ἀνακτόρων ἀνάγουσιν. 150. […] οὐδὲ καθεκτὴ ἦν· ἀλλὰ τῆς κεφαλῆς περιελομένη τὸ κάλυμμα, κατατείνει δρόμον ἐπί τι σπήλαιον ἄδυτον. καὶ ἡ μὲν ἐδεδύκει τῷ φωλεῷ· ἐγὼ δὲ περιειστήκειν τὸ στόμιον, οὐκ ἔχων ὅ τι γενοίμην· οὐδ' ὅποι τραποίμην.	20. […] τοὺς περὶ τὴν αὐλὴν φύλακας εὐθὺς οἰκειοῦται· τοῦτο δὲ τὸ γένος ὥρμητο ἐκ τῆς βαρβάρου χώρας τῆς πλησίον ὠκεανοῦ, πιστὸν δὲ βασιλεῦσι Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῆθεν, ἀσπιδηφόρον ξύμπαν καὶ πέλεκύν τινα ἐπὶ ὤμων φέρον. Οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν καίσαρα κτυπήσαντες τὰς ἀσπίδας ἀθρόοι καὶ βαρβαρικὸν ἀλαλάξαντες τάς τε ῥομφαίας πρὸς ἀλλήλους συντρίψαντές τε καὶ συγκροτήσαντες περὶ τὴν βασιλίδος ἐχώρουν σκηνήν. […] οὐδὲ καθεκτὴ ἔτι ἦν, ἀλλὰ τῆς κεφαλῆς περιελομένη τὸ κάλυμμα ἐπί τι οἴκημα ἄδυτον ἐμφερὲς σπηλαίῳ ἐξώρμα, καὶ ἡ μὲν ἐδεδύκει τῷ φωλεῷ, οἱ δὲ περιειστήκεισαν τὸ στόμιον ἀλαλάζοντες καὶ φόβον μέγιστον αὐτῇ ἐπισείοντες, καὶ μικροῦ ἂν ἐτεθνήκει…

[26] W. Treadgold, *The Middle Byzantine*…, p. 338.

[27] In fact, the Continuator of Skylitzes invented this mini-revolt, which in his imagination ended very quickly. It is of particular interest to note that the Continuator of Skylitzes dealt with the purported resistance of the Varangians, incorporating Psellos' statements in a manner that was reflective of his own perspective.

The last revolt of the Varangians

Attaleiates reported another curious incident regarding the Varangians' conduct at the palace. After his description of the end of Nikephoros Bryennios's revolt, he noted that Botaneiates *offer thanks and please God through his overwhelming munificence* and *the demon begrudging the virtuous could not bear to behold such happiness prevailing among people and so he planned*[28]. These people were the mercenaries who unexpectedly attacked Emperor Botaneiates in around April–May 1078[29]. Attaleiates did not explain why these warriors were involved in the uprising. If we accept the veracity of Attaleiates' account of the various rebellions against Botaneiates as presented in the section of his narrative dedicated to this topic, which claims:

> He spurred within the raging spirits of the foreign men who guard the palace an evil impulse and an audacity full of murder and savagery. Around dusk, while holding, according to tradition, their shields and weapons and presenting themselves in tight formation before the ruler, they rushed against him with a great and murderous charge, burning with rage, as he was leaning out over them from one of the elevated and exposed passageways of the palace. Some, using bows, shot arrows at him, while others attempted to climb the stairs that led up to him and forced the ascent with their swords and much pushing and jostling. It was at that moment also that one of the secretaries who was standing beside him was struck in the neck by the point of an arrow and forthwith ended his life in excruciating pain. The emperor was unprepared because of the sudden and unexpected nature of the attack, and did not have a strong enough force at hand to suppress it. Yet, as he was used to hand-to-hand combat and the confrontations of war, he did not panic and did not consider fleeing, as anyone else would surely have done if he were being shot at on all sides. Gathering his wits, he defended himself valiantly along with a few others who were present, fighting with disciplined order and fearless purpose. He pushed those inhuman barbarians away from the stairs – they were burning with unjust wrath and were already thoroughly drunk, as it was late in the evening, when they lose the ability to think on account of their excessive guzzling of unmixed wine, for they cannot drink enough of that – and, with his irresistible force, hurled them to the ground on their necks and heads. But they became utterly shameless and were contending over who would do the most abominable injury to God. But slowly the Romans who made up the emperor's guard gathered and battle was joined lasting a long time, whereupon the barbarians had the worst of it. Still they resisted, using their own ramparts as a kind of fort – for an elevated citadel in the palace is set aside for the habitation – until, worn out by the emperor's strength and skill, they put an end to their mischief and asked for forgiveness, and then they found that the emperor's lenience inclined in their favor[30].

[28] Michaelis Attaleiatae, *Historia*, p. 226.80.20–21; Michael Attaleiates, *The History*, trans. A. Kaldellis and D. Krallis, p. 537.

[29] J.-Cl. Cheynet, *Pouvoir et contestations*…, p. 86; A. Kaldellis, *Streams of Gold, Rivers of Blood*…, p. 267–268; Sz. Wierzbiński, *U boku bazyleusa. Frankowie i Waregowie w cesarstwie bizantyńskim w XI w.*, Łódź 2019 [= BL, 37], p. 184–191.

[30] Michaelis Attaleiatae, *Historia*, p. 226–227; Michael Attaleiates, *The History*, trans. A. Kaldellis and D. Krallis, p. 538–541.

Attaleiates, however, directs greater attention to the emperor's benevolence towards these rebels. In particular, he posits that Botaneiates was not inclined to inflict punishment upon all the Varangians:

> In this way, then, did he defeat this plot too with the courage that God inspired in him. He did not seek the punishment of the entire unit of the barbarian guards, but rather took pity on them as they were imploring him and kept their eyes lowered to the ground, deeming them worthy of compassion. He corrected their thinking with his prudent advice, explaining to them that not even many myriads of men would be able to topple him, if they sought to do so, given that he had received his authority from God. Some of them, who were seen to reject his attempt to improve them and were convicted by their own compatriots as well as by the judgment and the inquiry conducted by the emperor, after they were threatened in the right way, he cast out and assigned to guard certain forts. With such honorable exile did he punish the thoughtless among them[31].

In the texts quoted above, particular attention is paid to the emperor's bravery[32]. It is known that during the revolt, one of the secretaries standing beside Botaneiates was killed. Attaleiates did not mention the secretary's name, nor did he explain why the man had been killed. Revealing the Varangians' culpability, the chronicler said nothing of the motives for their involvement in the described events. Instead, he informed his readers of the death of the *hypertimos*, a monk named Michael, pointing out that *the killing of the secretary*, *in fact*, *presaged his own death*[33]. Attaleiates provided no adequate details to determine the monk's part in the events, but his testimony does not seem indicative of the monk's participation in the Varangians' uprising against Botaneiates[34]. The context in which the *History*'s account was placed does not suggest any connection between the monk Michael and the Varangians. In recounting the Varangians' revolt, the Continuator of Skylitzes reported a similar incident pertaining to Emperor Botaneiates. Here is how the incident was depicted:

> Bryennios' brother was killed in Byzantium by the Varangians. When Bryennios rebelled and the Varangians outside the City sided with him, the Varangians in the palace picked one of their comrades and sent him to his fellow countrymen in an effort to persuade them to abandon the rebel and support the emperor's cause. After being discovered and seized, the

[31] Michaelis Attaleiatae, *Historia*, p. 227–228; Michael Attaleiates, *The History*, trans. A. Kaldellis and D. Krallis, p. 541.

[32] Michaelis Attaleiatae, *Historia*, p. 32.12–5.8, 44.26 – 45.3; D. Krallis, *Serving Byzantium's Emperors*…, p. 203.

[33] Michaelis Attaleiatae, *Historia*, p. 228.7–14; Michael Attaleiates, *The History*, trans. A. Kaldellis and D. Krallis, p. 541.

[34] A. Kaldellis argues that Psellos was not the 'Michael of Nikomedeia', who Attaleiates says died in 1078 (see A. Kaldellis, *The Date of Psellos' Death*, *Once Again*: *Psellos Was Not the Michael of Nikomedeia Mentioned by Attaleiates*, BZ 104, 2011, p. 651–663, see p. 662).

> man was subjected to a brutal interrogation and revealed everything that had been disclosed to him. He had his nose cut off, suffering this outrage at John's hands. The barbarian did not meekly accept the indignity inflicted upon him, but murdered John as he was going out of the palace, slashing him with the knives which those people carry. The Varangians rose up against the emperor and tried to get their hands on him, but when the emperor's soldiers deployed for battle against them, they turned to supplication and after making their peace with the emperor they received his pardon[35].

Although the Continuator of Skylitzes repeated Attaleiates's phrases, he must also have had an independent knowledge of the respective facts. Integrating Attaleiates's account of the Varangians' rebellion against Botaneiates into his own narrative, the Continuator of Skylitzes shortened it significantly. On the one hand, he borrowed Attaleiates's final statements regarding the emperor's attitude toward the Varangians, preserving the structure and chronology of the direct source. Following Attaleiates, he wrote about the Varangians' behaviour at the palace after the defeat of Nikephoros Bryennios's rebellion, yet he omitted Attaleiates's following story concerning the death of the *hypertimos*, the monk Michael. On the other hand, in his description of the Varangians' revolt, he also showed a profound knowledge of the nature of the conflict between the mercenaries and the emperor. The first part of the Continuator of Skylitzes's passage can be taken to complement the conclusion that the Varangians' riot within the palace had special causes connected with John Bryennios.

It is also significant that, unlike Attaleiates, the Continuator of Skylitzes outlined the different stages of the revolt. Pointing out the long-term conflict between the Varangians and John Bryennios during Nikephoros Bryennios's rebellion, he treated the events at the palace in April–May 1078 as the climax of this conflict. It is worth mentioning that similar information, coupled with the supporting evidence of the various causes for the Varangians' revolt against Botaneiates, can be found in the chronicles of George Hamartolos and John Zonaras[36]. There is no reason to doubt that Zonaras had direct knowledge of the work of the Continuator of Skylitzes directly. The author of the Continuation of George Hamartolos, in turn, knew the Continuator of Skylitzes only through Zonaras.

[35] Skylitzes Continuatus, p. 181.9–21; *Byzantium in the Time of Troubles*…, p. 181.

[36] *Georgii monachi, dicti Hamartoli, Chronicon ab orbe condito ad annum p. chr. 842 et a diversis scriptoribus usq. ad ann. 1143 continuatum*, ed. E. de Muralt, Sankt-Petersburg 1859, p. 897; Ioannis Zonarae, *Annales*, vol. III, ed. M. Pindar, Th. Büttner-Wobst, Bonn 1897, p. 722.

Scylitzes Continuatus, p. 181.9–21.	**Ioannis Zonarae, III, p. 722.**	**Georgii Monachi, *Chronicon*, ed. E. de Muralt, p. 897.**
Ἀναιρεῖται δὲ καὶ ὁ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ ἐν τῷ Βυζαντίῳ παρὰ τῶν Βαράγγων. Τοῦ γὰρ Βρυεννίου ἀποστατήσαντος καὶ τῶν ἐκτὸς Βαράγγων ὁμοφρονησάντων αὐτῷ οἱ ἐν τῷ παλατίῳ Βάραγγοι ἕνα τινὰ ἑαυτῶν ἐπιλεξάμενοι πρὸς τοὺς ὁμοέθνους ἀποστέλλουσιν, ἀξιοῦντες ἀφεῖναι μὲν τὸν ἀποστάτην, φρονῆσαι δὲ τὰ τοῦ βασιλέως. Γνωσθεὶς δὲ καὶ κρατηθεὶς ἐτασθείς τε σφοδρῶς πᾶσαν ἀνεκάλυψε τῶν μηνυθέντων τὴν δήλωσιν, στερεῖται δὲ καὶ τῆς ῥινός, παρὰ τοῦ Ἰωάννου ταύτην λωβηθείς. Ὅθεν καὶ μὴ πράως ἐνεγκὼν τὴν ὕβριν ἣν πέπονθεν ὁ βάρβαρος, ἀναιρεῖ τὸν Ἰωάννην ἐξιόντα τοῦ παλατίου, μαχαίραις ἐθνικαῖς κατακόψας αὐτόν. Ἐπανέστησαν δὲ καὶ τῷ βασιλεῖ οἱ Βάραγγοι καὶ διαχειρίσασθαι αὐτὸν ἔσπευδον. Ἀντιταξαμένων δὲ τούτοις τῶν τοῦ βασιλέως εἰς ἱκετείας ἐτράποντο καὶ τὸν βασιλέα ἐξιλεωσάμενοι συγγνώμης ἔτυχον	καὶ ἡ μὲν τοῦ Βρυεννίου εἰς τοῦτο τέλους κατήντησεν ἐπανάστασις· ἐπανέστησαν δὲ καὶ οἱ Βάραγγοι κατὰ τοῦ βασιλέως, ἀνελεῖν αὐτὸν μελετήσαντες. ἀντιταξαμένης δ᾽ αὐτοῖς χειρὸς ἑτέρας Ῥωμαϊκῆς, εἰς ἱκεσίαν ἐτράποντο καὶ συγγνώμης ἐπέτυχον.	καὶ ἡ μὲν τοῦ Βρυεννίου εἰς τοῦτο τέλος κατήντησεν ἐπανάστασις· Ἐπανέστησαν δὲ καὶ οἱ Βάραγγοι κατὰ τοῦ βασιλέως ἀνελεῖν αὐτὸν μελετήσαντες· ἀντιταξαμένης δ᾽ αὐτοῖς χειρὸς ἑτέρας Ῥωμαϊκῆς, εἰς ἱκεσίαν ἐτράποντο καὶ συγγνώμης ἐπέτυχον.

If Attaleiates did not mention the killing of John Bryennios, then what the source on which the Continuator of Skylitzes relied was. According to G.G. Litavrin, there were two separate revolts of the Varangians. Litavrin argues that the first part of the Continuator of Skylitzes's account pertains to the revolt of the 'external Varangians' during Bryennios' rebellion, and that only the second part of his remarks should be regarded as relating to the Varangians' revolt[37]. Jonathan Shepard follows Litavrin in concluding that *in fact*, *these were two separate incidents*[38].

[37] Г.Г. Литаврин, *Византия*, *Болгария*, *Древняя Русь (IX–начало XII в.)*, Санкт-Петербург 2000, p. 280.

[38] J. Shepard, *The English and Byzantium: A Study of their Role in the Byzantine Army in the Later Eleventh Century*, T 29, 1973, p. 53–92, see p. 67.

However, Litavrin's observations are not supported by the context in which the account of the Continuator of Skylitzes was placed. This scholar's interpretation is therefore very arbitrary. The Continuator of Skylitzes never signalled that the Varangians had staged two revolts, and his account focused only on details explaining how the Varangians' rebellion against Botaneiates was possible. However, the crucial information regarding the relations between the Varangians and John Bryennios was provided by Nikephoros Bryennios. It is also interesting to note that, when describing John Bryennios to the mercenaries, Nikephoros Bryennios made the following remarks:

Scylitzes Continuatus, p. 181.9–21.	**Bryennios, III, 5, p. 217–218.**
Ἀναιρεῖται δὲ καὶ ὁ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ ἐν τῷ Βυζαντίῳ παρὰ τῶν Βαράγγων. Τοῦ γὰρ Βρυεννίου ἀποστατήσαντος καὶ τῶν ἐκτὸς Βαράγγων ὁμοφρονησάντων αὐτῷ οἱ ἐν τῷ παλατίῳ Βάραγγοι ἕνα τινὰ ἑαυτῶν ἐπιλεξάμενοι πρὸς τοὺς ὁμοέθνους ἀποστέλλουσιν, ἀξιοῦντες ἀφεῖναι μὲν τὸν ἀποστάτην, φρονῆσαι δὲ τὰ τοῦ βασιλέως. Γνωσθεὶς δὲ καὶ κρατηθεὶς ἐτασθείς τε σφοδρῶς πᾶσαν ἀνεκάλυψε τῶν μηνυθέντων τὴν δήλωσιν, στερεῖται δὲ καὶ τῆς ῥινός, παρὰ τοῦ Ἰωάννου ταύτην λωβηθείς. Ὅθεν καὶ μὴ πράως ἐνεγκὼν τὴν ὕβριν ἣν πέπονθεν ὁ βάρβαρος, ἀναιρεῖ τὸν Ἰωάννην ἐξιόντα τοῦ παλατίου, μαχαίραις ἐθνικαῖς κατακόψας αὐτόν. Ἐπανέστησαν δὲ καὶ τῷ βασιλεῖ οἱ Βάραγγοι καὶ διαχειρίσασθαι αὐτὸν ἔσπευδον. Ἀντιταξαμένων δὲ τούτοις τῶν τοῦ βασιλέως εἰς ἱκετείας ἐτράποντο καὶ τὸν βασιλέα ἐξιλεωσάμενοι συγγνώμης ἔτυχον.	Οὔπω βραχὺς διῆλθε καιρὸς καὶ τῶν βαρβάρων τις τῶν πελεκηφόρων, οἷς ἡ τῶν βασιλείων πεπίστευτο φυλακή, ἐν Ὀδρυσοῖς ἐφοίτα πρὸς τὴν πάλαι μὲν Ὀρεστιάδα καλουμένην, νυνὶ δὲ Ἀδριανούπολιν, ὃς καταλύσας ἔν τινι πανδοχείῳ, ἐπειδὴ ἱκανῶς οἴνου ἐνεφορεῖτο, ἀπεφοίβαζε τὰ ἐντὸς ὡς πεμφθείη πρὸς τοῦ λογοθέτου δόλῳ μετελθεῖν καὶ ἀνελεῖν τὸν Βρυέννιον. Μηνυθέντων δὲ τούτων τῷ Βρυεννίῳ, ὁ βάρβαρος εὐθὺς ξυλλαμβάνεται καὶ πρὸς ἐξέτασιν ἤγετο καὶ εἴθ' ἑκὼν εἴτε ἄκων ξυνετίθετο ταῦθ' οὕτως ἔχειν. Τὴν ῥῖνα οὖν αὐτοῦ προστάξας τμηθῆναι ὁ Βρυέννιος Ἰωάννης πρὸς τὸν ἀδελφὸν εὐθὺς ἐξέπεμψε γράμματα πρὸς ἀποστασίαν αὐτὸν ἐρεθίζοντα

The Continuator of Skylitzes and Nikephoros Bryennios presented one version of the conflict between the Varangians and John Bryennios. However, upon describing John's motivation in detail (using words similar to those used by the Continuator of Skylitzes), Bryennios offered no further account of the events that unfolded in the spring of 1078. Contrary to the Continuator of Skylitzes, he made no reference to any incident at the palace. There are small differences between the two authors. Nikephoros Bryennios focused on the plan of John Bryennios's murder, adding that the events he recounted took place in Adrianople, where Varangians were sent from Constantinople[39]. It is hard to explain why the Continuator of Skylitzes and Nikephoros Bryennios have similar readings. Bryennios wrote his

[39] NICÉPHORE BRYENNIOS, *Histoire*, III, 5, p. 217–218.

Material for History shortly after the Continuator of Skylitzes, but he showed no familiarity with the latter's work[40].

Moreover, Bryennios also did not read the *History* by Attaleiates[41]. As Warren Treadgold has recently noted, some similarities between Bryennios and the Continuator of Skylitzes (first implied by Paul Gautier[42]) are very trivial[43]. On the other hand, in his account of Isaac Komnenos' reign, Bryennios used a version of the Skylitzes's *Synopsis*[44]. Treadgold claims that this version ended with the year 1059[45]. However, this view is difficult to accept. First, among the numerous manuscripts found in the Skylitzes's *Synopsis* there is no version that ends with 1059[46]. It is very unlikely that such a version (supposedly available for Bryennios in the 1120s) would have left no traces in the manuscript tradition.

Second, if we take into account the fact that Bryennios read the part of the Skylitzes's *Synopsis* dated to 1059, then this continuation can be ascribed exclusively to the work of the Continuator of Skylitzes[47]. Therefore, Bryennios could have used the manuscript of Skylitzes's *Synopsis* and his continuation. Nonetheless, there can be no doubt that the circumstances of John Bryennios' death were well known to his family. In his *Material for History*, Bryennios dealt at length with the actions taken by John Bryennios during his brother's rebellion. Although his work was not finished, references to his family were the core of his information about the rebellion against Botaneiates[48].

Based on the detailed analysis of primary sources, I have arrived at the conclusion that the Varangians' disloyalty, displayed at the palace in 1078, was not long-lasting. The circumstances of their riot within the palace were completely reversed in the events of Nikephoros Bryennios's rebellion. In this context, the Continuator of Skylitzes and Bryennios presented us with the first part of the story, and Attaleiates (and partially the Continuator of Skylitzes) reported its end. According to the Continuator of Skylitzes's testimony, the Varangians killed John Bryennios *as he was leaving the palace*[49]. After his murder, the Varangians attacked Botaneiates and his men in the palace. The conflict seems to have escalated because of the presence of John Bryennios. Nikephoros Bryennios reported that Botaneiates had put

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[40] L. Neville, *Heroes and Romans in Twelfth-century Byzantium*…, p. 46–48; eadem, *A History of the Caesar John Doukas in Nikephoros Bryennios' Material for History?*, BMGS 32, 2008, p. 168–188.

[41] W. Treadgold, *The Middle Byzantine*…, p. 348.

[42] Nicéphore Bryennios, *Histoire*, 1.1; Skylitzes Continuatus, p. 155.15.

[43] W. Treadgold, *The Middle Byzantine*…, p. 348, n. 27.

[44] Nicéphore Bryennios, *Histoire*, I, 1–10, p. 75–99.

[45] W. Treadgold, *The Middle Byzantine*…, p. 348.

[46] Ioannis Scylitzae, *Synopsis historiarum*, ed. H. Thurn, Berlin 1973 [= *CFHB*, 5], p. XX–XIX; C. Holmes, *Basil II and the Governance of Empire (976–1025)*, Oxford 2005 [= OSB], p. 75–80.

[47] Ε.Σ. Κιαπιδου, *Ἡ πατρότητα τῆς Συνέχειας τοῦ Σκυλίτζη καὶ τὰ προβλήματά της. Συγκλίσεις καὶ ἀποκλίσεις ἀπὸ τὴ Σύνοψη ἱστοριῶν*, ΕΕΒΣ 52, 2004–2006, p. 329–362, see p. 350.

[48] L. Neville, *Heroes and Romans in Twelfth-century Byzantium*…, p. 56–57.

[49] Skylitzes Continuatus, p. 181.9–21; *Byzantium in the Time of Troubles*…, p. 181.

an end to the confiscations and persecution which the Bryennios's family had been subjected to[50]. As John Bryennios's return to the palace must have been a painful experience for the Varangians, any favours he may have received from Botaneiates would have been deeply resented by the 'palace' Varangians who had not forgotten the wrongdoing they suffered at the hands of Bryennios's family. John Bryennios was murdered by the same Varangian who had his nose cut off by John's order. This act of vengeance did not put an end to the conflict, but only served to intensify it, provoking further action against the emperor.

In conclusion, the two incidents involving the Varangians in the palace can be distinguished by their different natures. The first incident demonstrated the Varangians' loyalty to the emperor, a tradition that began with the rebellion in Constantinople in 1042. In contrast, the second incident pertained to a direct conflict with the emperor. Although the instances of conflict between the Varangians and the emperor were not common, the incident during the reign of Nikephoros III Botaneiates illustrates the varying strategies employed by these soldiers in dealing with discontent or even rebellion. It is regrettable that Byzantine authors present us with only the macro-level of these conflicts, not without a degree of fiction as in the case of the Continuator of Skylitzes. Consequently, the microstructure of these incidents, their direct participants, and their subsequent impact on the functioning of Varangian units remain poorly understood.

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Garum, Fish Blood Taboos in the Judaeo-Christian World and the Evolving Nature of Ancient Fish Sauce

Abstract. The consumption of a fermented fish sauce appears as a fundamental part of Roman and Greek cuisine at every level of society and, in terms of amphora distribution, it was popular and widely consumed in every region of the empire. In the late Roman period, the fish sauces that were available appear to have subtly evolved in ways that reflect different attitudes to the consumption of fish blood. Sauces fermented using indigenous digestive enzymes from the viscera are in some instances rejected and replaced with the already familiar eviscerated and aged saltfish brines. These changes, though difficult to discern, may in part be related to the Judaeo-Christian prohibition on the consumption of blood which, though normally associated with meat, can also be understood to relate to fish blood. These differing attitudes towards fish sauce in relation to blood are to be found in orthodox Jewish and Christian communities in Palestine, Syria and Cyprus. In the late republic/early empire there appears to be three types of sauce and immense differences in quality depending on the species of fish employed, presence and absence of blood and viscera, salinity and the duration of fermentation. Under the Byzantine empire there is continuity in the consumption of an enzyme fermented sauce, though not as widespread, while in the West, fish sauce had become unpopular in some quarters, and scarce in terms of trade. This period of transition between what was widespread popularity and consumption in the Roman empire to irregular scarcity in the Christian West is discussed in this paper in relation to perceptions of food prohibitions.

Keywords: *garum*, ancient fish sauce, Roman and Greek cuisine, taboos

Ancient *garum* was once poorly understood. It was seen as profoundly strange and disturbing to modern western palates. Seneca spoke for many modern historians and archaeologists when he says that

> *garum sociorum*, that costly extract of poisonous fish, burns up the stomach with its salted putrefaction (*Ep*. 95).

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Ancient fish sauces were viewed with distaste, largely because no-one could quite comprehend how a sauce made with fermented fish viscera could ever produce something that could be perceived as a desirable and expensive commodity. We have moved on of course, South East Asian fish sauces and modern versions of *garum* are becoming popular and the their ability to provide umami: a meaty, savoury deliciousness that deepens flavour, is now valued.

This paper is a development from research gathered for my book *The Story of Garum*[1]. In this work I attempted to combine the archaeological, historical, and epigraphic data, in order to understand the wider trade in fish sauce and engage with amphora and fish bone specialists who needed a holistic picture of that trade. My main focus was the nature of these sauces and how they inhabited the *cetariae* – processing tanks – and the amphorae. The complexity of that picture is difficult to untangle and has led to much confusion and debate as to the nature of the various ancient fish sauces and how to distinguish the various products by their Latin names and how to attribute those names to the archaeological residues of fish sauce in amphorae and shipwrecks.

In the process of researching the book it became clear that over the period of about a thousand years – i.e. 500 BCE to 500 CE – these sauces appear to have evolved at key periods, changing character and usage, and it has been very difficult to pin them down. Robert Curtis memorably said that it was like pinning jelly to the wall (pers. com.). The sauces under discussion are *garum*, *liquamen*, and *muria* and *allec*. The key period of interest to me for the book was the late Republic and early empire, where the archaeology, epigraphy and elite perspectives from satire are extensive, and they allowed the possibility of pinning down and clarifying what these terms referred to in this period. Using the evidence chronologically and ensuring that the later confusion in terminology does not affect the earlier period led to some clarity. I acknowledge there are always going to be conflicting views[2].

It is in the late Roman and early Byzantine periods that the sources begin to present evidence suggesting that the consumer perceived these culinary products differently, and that in some instances production methods had changed. These changes are often cited when the late republican and early empire evidence is discussed. However, while it might be tempting to use later evidence to fill in the gaps

[1] S. GRAINGER, *The Story of Garum. Fermented Fish Sauce and Salted Fish in the Ancient World*, Abingdon 2021.

[2] *Ibidem*. I began this study by disagreeing with Curtis and his definition of the various sauces (R.I. CURTIS, *Garum and Salsamenta. Production and Commerce in Materia Medica*, Leiden 1991 [= SAM, 3]). Many scholars still rely on Curtis' original ideas. Essentially, he understood the umami imparting sauce of the ancients as a single entity with a constantly changing name, so that it was *garos/garum* in the early empire and *muria/liquamen* in the late empire but he failed to address the reason for constant name change. Archaeologists largely hold on to this idea: see, for example, Á. RODRÍGUEZ-ALCÁNTARA, A.M. ROLDÁN-GÓMEZ, D. BERNAL CASASOLA, E. GARCÍA-VARGAS, V.M. PALACIOS-MACÍAS, *New Technological Contributions to Roman Garum Elaboration from Chemical Analysis of Archaeological Fish Remains from the 'Garum Shop' at Pompeii (I. 12.8)*, "Zephyrus" 82, 2018, p. 149–163.

in our knowledge, it would be anachronistic to allow these changes to influence our understanding of the sauces in the earlier period. In what follows I shall trace the chronology of *garum* from early classical Greek sources to the early Byzantine period, highlighting the changes in the nature and the terminology utilised. This chronological approach has in fact led to an understanding that the main driver for change was the presence and absence of blood and viscera in the sauces. I will then discuss the implications and the possible reason for this phenomenon.

Garum: Chronology

It has been noted by Wilkins that the incidence of references to *garos* in Greek sources in any era is remarkably scarce and despite its apparent popularity in the Rome of Athenaeus (early 2nd Century CE), it is not found in the contemporary material within this text[3]. References to *garos* are in fact found in the numerous quotations that Athenaeus takes from his sources, namely Old, Middle and New Comedy from Athens in the 5th–3rd centuries BCE. *Garum* also does not figure at all in the mid. 4th century BCE culinary poem by Archestratus, which is remarkably odd given that this writer has fish as his main theme.

When the term γάρος appears for the first time in Greek drama from the 5th Century BCE, its meaning is somewhat obscure, and is much later that we begin to understand it as a liquor derived from salted and dissolved fish. Pliny the Elder suggests that it originally referred to a species of small fish that the Greeks subsequently made their sauces from, but this species is unknown today[4]. Pliny also tells us[5] that in ancient Greek the small fry species such as juvenile anchovy and sprat were collectively known as ἀφύη (*aphuee*), and that this term came from the idea of their similarity to raindrops (Greek ἀφρος, *aphros*, means 'rain'), while the mature anchovy, μεμβραφύα (*membraphua*) is one of the most common fish sauce species in later residue evidence. At some point in modern Greek the anchovy became known as γαύρος clearly suggesting a linguistical link between the ancient and modern species of anchovy and the sauce known as *garos*.

Our Greek sources for *garos* are all gathered together in one section of Athenaeus. The earliest is a 5th BCE satyr play by Sophocles called *Triptolemus*[6]:

> οὐδ<ἐν> ἡ τάλαινα δοῦσα τοῦ ταριχηροῦ γάρου

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[3] J. Wilkins, *Fish as a Source of Food in Antiquity*, [in:] *Ancient Fishing and Fish Processing in the Black Sea Region*, ed. T. Bekker-Nielsen, Aarhus 2005, p. 28.

[4] Pliny the Elder, *Natural History*, XXXI, 93, 1, trans. H. Rackham, Cambridge, Mass. 1938 [= LCL, 330] (cetera: Pliny the Elder).

[5] Pliny the Elder, XXXI, 95, 10.

[6] Athenaeus, II, 67c. Fragment 606 of Sophocles, from the play *Triptolemus*, is only quoted in part in Athenaeus. See Athenaeus, *The Learned Banqueters*, vol. I–VII, ed. et trans. S.D. Olson, Cambridge, Mass. 2007 [= LCL, 204] (cetera: Athenaeus); Sophocles, *Fragments*, ed. et trans. H. Lloyd-Jones, Cambridge, Mass. 1996 [= LCL, 483] (cetera: Sophocles).

There is no context for this intriguing line concerning a 'wretched woman' (τάλαινα) who had not given any pickled *garos*. τάριχος just means preserved or pickled fish, the implication being that *garos* was made in the process of preserving the fish. This may be a reference to the whole fish or a sauce, it is not clear. The term τάλαινα has an association with poverty and misery but also has a connotation with annoying or mean spirted[7]. A fragment from the satyr play *Proteus* by Aeschylus refers to τόν ἰχθύων γάρον, 'and the fish *garos*'[8]. There is no real sense of this product be a sauce as yet, though commentators have assumed that the term already refers to the fully-formed and elite form of *garum* made with mackerel and their intestines from the height of the Roman period[9].

References in 5th-century BCE Old Comedy are equally ambiguous. We have an unknown play by Pherecrates, which suggests that someone could get their beard dirty with *garos*[10]. *Garos* in later Roman sources is a crystal clear, limpid liquid, but one might think that a product that was thicker, more like a paste and somewhat more clinging, would be more visible on a beard. Does this mean that this early *garos* had become a semi-processed paste? A fragment from Cratinus, a 5th-century BCE comic writer contemporary with Aristophanes, is intriguing as it says *your basket will be full of 'garos'*[11]. The basket (τάλαρος) is associated with cheese making and was surely full of holes, in which case we are entitled to wonder how such a basket could be full of a liquid or even a sauce with a paste-like consistency. A comic fragment from Plato, *they are going to choke me to death by dipping me in rotten 'garos'* (ἐν σαπρῷ γάρῳ), implies for the first time that this *garos* was being fermented and a semi-liquid or mashed fish product and being made locally in quite large amounts, given that the vessel was, in principle, large enough to allow a person to drown within it[12]. The use of σαπρός ('rotten', 'putrid') is typical from later sources and tells us that this product right from the beginning was viewed with distaste, but it also implies, I think, that it was a poverty food[13].

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[7] In *The Story of Garum*…, p. 44, I took this line to be a reference to poverty food, but given that the context is entirely absent, it is perfectly possible to see the satyr play as providing a more socially diverse context for the encounter. The women may either have had *garos* and refused to give it hence she is 'wretched' for refusing or she was so wretched she didn't even have *garos* hence a potential association with poverty foods.

[8] ATHENAEUS, XI, 67c (AESCHYLUS, frag. 211).

[9] SOPHOCLES, p. 305.

[10] ATHENAEUS, XI, 67c, frag. 188.

[11] ATHENAEUS, XI, 67c, frag. 312.

[12] ATHENAEUS, XI, 67c, frag. 215.

[13] *Garos* does not appear to be particularly desirable. Fishermen seem to make it from their haul of the tiniest fish, which are always viewed as low status in ancient texts. We have reference to fishermen being condemned for taking fish too small, i.e., not letting them come to full size, in a play by Alexis (*Odysseus Weaving*, frag. 159; ATHENAEUS, frag. 303a), and this may be connected to the fact that fishermen were largely poor men who were exploited by the middle men selling fresh fish in the markets and were reduced to making this kind of *opson* with the tiniest fish for themselves (see

A reference to *garos* in the letters of Alciphron, written in the 2nd century CE but potentially using extant New Comedy plays from the 3rd centuries BCE, makes the suggestion that fishermen made *garos*, by boiling the little fish. A fisherman called Sosias is known for *boiling that tasty and useful 'garos' from the tiniest fish that he catches in his net*[14]. It is quite possible, therefore, that some of the earliest *garos* was cooked rather than fermented, that is, made quickly with the simplest of technology. It is not clear to what extent the 'tasty and useful' epithet can be applied to the 3rd century BCE *garos*. The idea of its general culinary utility may have been a concept from Alciphron's era.

Alongside these obscure references to *garos* from a lower-class social milieu, we find from similar sources that the elite are consuming something different, a salted fish brine associated with the trade in a cleaned salted fish from the Black sea and Spain and which seemed to be much more popular and desirable in the elite culinary world of Athens in the 4th and 3rd centuries. This is a brine known as ἅλμη (*halmē*) and ἁλμυρίς meaning 'saltiness', from which the Latin term *muria* was derived. Archestratus suggests that tuna steaks should be served hot from the coals, dipping them in pungent brine[15]. There are also references from drama in Athenaeus to what was called 'Thasian *halmē*', which we can assume was a pickled fish brine from the island of Thasos. Thasian brine is sharp, a term associated with *muria* in later Roman sources, and yet it could also be used as a cooking medium to stew fish[16]. In an Aristophanes fragment we see that this kind of fish

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D. Mylona, *Fish-Eating in Greece from the Fifth Century B.C. to the Seventh Century A.D. A Story of Impoverished Fishermen or Luxurious Fish Banquets?*, Oxford 2008 [= BAR, 1754], p. 67–74).

[14] Alciphron, 18.2. The letters of Alciphron are responsible for a style of literary imitation known as the 'second sophistic'. These 2nd century CE writers composed literature in imitation of the Attic comedy world of 4th century BCE Athens. Alciphron's fictional letters are written between stock comedy characters such as farmers, fishermen, courtesans and parasites: *We are dealing with a kind of literature that is based on literature* (Benner and Fobes 1959: 6). It is clear that many now-lost Middle and New comedies were almost certainly extant and available when Alciphron composed his letters, and it can also be demonstrated that some passages were lifted verbatim or were simply rewrites of portions of the lost plays (Benner and Fobes 1959: 12). Alciphron, Aelian, Philostratus, *The Letters*, ed. et trans. A.R. Benner, F.H. Fobes, Cambridge, Mass. 1959 [= LCL, 383]. For a more recent treatment of the issue see M. Biraud, A. Zucker, *The Letters of Alciphron. A Unified Literary Work?*, Leiden 2019 [= Mn.S, 424].

[15] Archestratos, frag. 37, [in:] *Archestratos of Gela. Greek Culture and Cuisine in the Fourth Century BCE*, text, trans. et comm. S.D. Olson, A. Sens, Oxford 2000; Athenaeus, 303e.

[16] Athenaeus, 164e, 306b. We cannot know what species these brines were derived from; later sources are dominated by the trade in mackerel and tuna, though smaller species such as anchovy and sardine are possible. A fragment from Aristophanes refers to the *unfortunate one who was first to be immersed in pilchard-brine* (*Merchantships*, frag. 426, ἐν ἅλμῃ τριχίδων; Athenaeus, 329b), which may be a brine made from small, particularly bony, insignificant anchovy, τριχίδιον, and therefore of less value than one of tuna and mackerel. Wilkins suggests that all the salted fish dishes that Archestratus praises were part of a luxury cuisine, and that the only fish that the ordinary people of Greece could access were the small-fry, which were eaten rotten, either dried or salted down into

sauce was mixed into dressings. The chorus recites a list of repetitive physical activities that happen in the kitchen, fanning the fire, kneading bread and beating the Θασίαν λιπαράμπυκα; this is obscure but may reflect a Thasian (brine) with an oily headdress, i.e. a layer of oil. This certainly implies that the oil and brine was beaten together[17]. Saltfish brine was also served with oil; fragments from a comedy by Sotades, 'Captive Women', has a slave serve red mullet ἅλμῃ τε λιραρᾷ, 'with brine and oil', 'placed beside the fish'[18].

A late 4th century comedy by Archedicus, *The Treasure*, has a cook who stews his fish and serves it with a *perfect brine sauce which any free man could dip his food into*[19]. This has a hint of exclusivity: only free men of status dip their food in brine. Is this in contrast to that 'other' sauce, so little mentioned in our sources, that poorer people dipped their food into, i.e., *garos* and its fish-paste residue? In 4th and 3rd century BCE Athens, this salt fish brine seems to have had a culinary cultural value among elite diners which is absent from references to *garos*. At some point we have to imagine that this embryonic *garos* changed from a thicker fish-paste product, eaten as an *opson* or relish by ordinary people, into a crystal-clear, amber-coloured sauce utilised in sauces and in the kitchen as a seasoning ingredient, one utilised in high-end cuisine rather than amongst fishermen and peasants. One suspects it did not become more widely used in Greek cooking until it had become more appealing and desirable. A clear salt-fish brine is fundamentally different from this early idea of *garos*, as the salting process is clean and devoid of the digestive enzymes that are present in the viscera. Fish viscera are fundamentally repugnant to mankind, but it is only when this material is retained that the transformation takes place whereby solid protein is converted into a liquid form. Fish brine was potentially less nutritious, which in turn may give it a less umami rich taste, certainly in relation to *garos*, but this lighter taste may have been desirable. A brine derived from freshly salted tuna has a delicate flavour, quite appealing in fact, but

garos (J. WILKINS, *Cooking and Processing Fish in Antiquity: Questions of Taste and Texture*, JMarA 13.3, 2018, p. 231). I am sceptical of such a polarised view. There is a tendency to assume any food item mentioned in elite texts is automatically inaccessible to the poor majority without evidence to the contrary. These dried salted fish from the Black Sea made with small species such as anchovy, sprat and horse mackerel were called saperdês and were traded in baskets called sarganê (ARCHESTRATUS, frag. 39, 3–4; S.D. OLSON, A. SENS, *Archestratos of Gela…*, p. 165. See also E. LYTLE, *The Economics of Saltfish Production in the Aegean During the Classical and Hellenistic Periods*, JMarA 13.3, 2018, p. 407–418, at p. 410).

[17] ARISTOPHANES, *Acharnians*, 671, [in:] ARISTOPHANES, *Acharnians. Knights*, ed. et trans. J. HENDERSON, Cambridge, Mass. 1998 [= LCL, 178]. It is not immediately clear what is happening: we have a Thasian brine which is oily from the λιπα. An ἄμπυξ is a lady's headdress, so an oily band of oil on the surface would seem to be the best guess. The 'activity' is the beating of the mixture to create an emulsion. One immediately thinks of a vinaigrette. This is very reminiscent of the later use of *garos* to make *oenogarum* sauces blended to make a similar type of dip. This implies that the very ideas of a blend of oil and fish sauce was developed using fish brine not *garos*.

[18] ATHENAEUS, 293c.

[19] ATHENAEUS, 292f.

with none of the umami of *garos*. One can quite easily imagine someone attempting to unite the clean, crystal-clear image of a salt-fish brine with the umami rich taste, but negative image of *garos* in a new processing technique that removed the fish paste and the bones and made a rich darker liquid that had the potential to transform everyday food. We can see a different and possibly new image of *garos* as a useful seasoning in the story in Athenaeus reported by Clearchus about Philoxenus, a 4th century food writer who…

> …in his native city (Leucus) and elsewhere, would bathe and then go round from one house to the next with his slaves following him carrying oil, wine, *garos*, vinegar and other seasonings. Then he would go into other people's houses, season whatever was being cooked for everyone, adding what was needed[20].

Garos here has become a regular and useful liquid, 'tasty and useful' as Alciphron claims later, to season all manner of foods in the kitchen and this is how we find *garos* being used in the later Hellenistic and Roman periods. The techniques that we have seen whereby fish brine and oil were blended to make dipping sauces were subsequently transferred to this new form of *garos*, and as a result the concept of an *oenogarum* was born.

Greek literary and archaeological evidence for the fish sauce trade and its utilization in Hellenistic food during the 3rd and 2nd centuries BCE is very scarce. There is an absence of evidence to suggest that fish sauce of the *garos* type was widely traded in a systematic way within Greece or from Greece to the wider Mediterranean. This is not the case with salted fish however, as a trade in tuna and mackerel from Spain is well documented[21]. One can only surmise that it was made in a small scale and local fashion which is difficult to see in the archaeology. There has also been a long-standing assumption within archaeology that *garos*/*garum* was made in bulk and traded into the Mediterranean as early as the Punic fish salting industry alongside *salsamenta* from the 4th century BCE, but this is not in fact well documented archaeologically[22]. Crucially there does not appear to be a demand for a widely traded bulk *garos* fish sauce in Italy, and it is likely that until its use had spread down through the social classes, a bulk industry was not viable. As we will see, the first evidence of a *garos* fish sauce in Roman cuisine is undoubtedly

[20] Athenaeus, 6a.

[21] S. Grainger, *Story of Garum*…, p. 56.

[22] The structures and amphorae that are later associated with the bulk fish sauce trade are missing in the archaeology. Fish sauce was either made in small-scale way around the Mediterranean, in dolia, a method of production which is difficult to identify archaeologically, or the structures have not emerged yet. See S. Grainger, *Story of Garum*…, p. 51–62. But other views prevail in archaeology. See P.A. Corrales, J.M.C. Prieto, M.C. Aguilar, J.S. Padilla, *Salsamenta malacitano: avances de un proyecto de investigación. Itálica*, RACA 1, 2011, p. 29–50 and D. Bernal Casasola, A. Arévalo, L. Lorenzo, L. Aguilera, *Imitations of Italic Amphorae for Fish Sauce in Baetica. New evidence from the salt-fish factory of Baelo Claudia (Hispania)*, RCRFA 38, 2003, p. 305–313.

elite, and there is even a suggestion that the use of *garos* was condemned as un-Roman and decadent, a reflection of undesirable Hellenistic practices which the majority of traditional Romans rejected. After the 2nd Punic war, we begin to see fish sauces in Italy from the plays of Plautus (fl. 210 – 180 BCE), albeit obliquely, in that the residue of *garos* (i.e. *allec*, the fish paste) was at least familiar to his audience[23]. The paste is consumed as a *pulmentaria* or dip for ham, and also vegetables. The term *garos* or *garum* does not appear in the plays, though we can be fairly certain that *garos* would have been simply transliterated into *garum* at this time. Given that there is always great difficulty in distinguishing between what was the Greek and Roman social behaviours within the plays of Plautus, it not clear that *garos* itself was consumed widely among the sub-elites and hangers-on that peopled his plays in the early 2nd century BCE. It may have been an elite and Hellenistic foodstuff that the Roman audience would have laughed at, as 'foreign' food often has been. Cato the Elder, writing his agricultural manual in c. 150 BCE, makes no reference to *garos* either, but does give his slaves a ration of fish paste (*allec*) when the figs have run out, suggesting that such an item was available, though whether this was because the sauce and its residue was widely available to buy in local markets or because small quantities of a fish sauce paste were made for the use of the estate is not clear[24].

The Hellenization of food in the Roman Republican era is actually difficult to see, and there are many gaps in our knowledge in relation to when and how fish sauce was introduced into the Roman diet and how it was perceived by the various social groups in this early period of Rome's gastronomic education. We are informed that the Roman elite appears to have fallen under the spell of Greek gastronomy in the mid-2nd century BC and particularly with the conquest of Corinth in 146 BCE. Prior to this 'fall' the Romans considered themselves to be unspoilt

[23] In Plautus' plays, *allec* seems to be a commonplace commodity: a fragment from *Aulularia* has the line *those who offer me raw vegetables should add 'allec'* (frag. V *Aulularia*, [in:] PLAUTUS, *Amphitryon. The Comedy of Asses. The Pot of Gold. The Two Bacchises. The Captives*, ed. et trans. W. DE MELO, Cambridge, Mass. 2011 [= LCL, 60]). In the play *Persa*, which is peopled by characters from the world of slaves, prostitutes and unlucky parasites, *allec* is a suitable accompaniment to reheated ham (*Persa*, I, III, 107, [in:] PLAUTUS, *The Merchant. The Braggart Soldier. The Ghost. The Persian*, ed. et trans. W. DE MELO, Cambridge, Mass. 2011 [= LCL, 163]). The parasite is offered reheated leftovers, and shows a hint of disappointment when he says *Ecquid hallecis?*, *Is there any 'allec'?* The fact that the parasite asks for *allec* indicates that this combination, meat with a strongly flavoured relish, was a recognisable everyday combination. He is expressing some distain for the plain leftovers, particularly as the slave indicates that other meats are being freshly cooked indoors which are clearly not being offered to the parasite. Two hundred years later, Martial can suggest that a poor miserly man who rejects luxury fare in public is apparently satisfied in private with 'capers and onions floating in putrid allec and *allec* with a dubious ham' (MARTIAL, III, 77, 5). We may be dealing with a literary trope garnered from Plautus, or this may simply reflect what modest men could get to eat.

[24] CATO, VARRO, *On Agriculture*, trans. W.D. HOOPER, H.B. ASH, Cambridge, Mass. 1934 [= LCL, 283]; CATO, *DA*, 58.

'porridge-eating barbarians' with simple tastes according to Plautus[25]. Only later writers suggest what attitudes to it in the Republic might have been, as for instance in a little-known reference to *garos* in Pliny the Elder. When talking of the consumption of *caules*, spring cabbage shoots, Pliny says:

> Nor did the people approve very highly of *caules* as they do now, (mid-1st century AD) since they (looking back at the Republic) condemned a *pulmentaria* (relish = that which is eaten with bread) which needed other *pulmentaria* to get them down. That meant sparing the oil for the desire for *garum* was a matter of disapproval[26].

These lines need unpicking carefully. *Caules* refers to a form of spring cabbage that need cooking, and it seems it needed a sauce too, which the Republicans saw as an extravagant Hellenism. To have a sauce required not only oil but *garum*. Pliny appears to be saying that he believes the early use of *garum*, and in fact the use of *oenogara* dressings, was frowned on as extravagant, and a culinary idea from *Magna Graecia* that the Romans further north collectively disapproved of because it was foreign. It is difficult to say to what extent this passage is indicative of a widespread lack of 'sauces' and *garum* in the Roman diet. Nevertheless, in step with other phenomena of cultural assimilation, the increasing use of fish sauce was almost certainly infiltrating Roman society but from the top down. Clearly, *garum* became immensely popular over time, but from this we might conclude it took time to be accepted and that the trade in fish sauce was slow to develop in Italy.

During the first century BCE, gastronomy took off in Rome. Cooks became *de rigueur* in the households of the powerful, and feasting in style became a necessity in the political climate of the time. This new atmosphere was particularly conducive to an emerging group of gourmets: men competed over the size and variety of fish they could breed, over knowledge of the food itself and how it was prepared, and over the size and number of dining-rooms they could use. Some who were unable to control their appetites were publicly condemned and often satirized, and it is within this milieu that we first hear about fish sauce in a distinct Roman cuisine.

The first indication of any kind of Roman elite interest in fish sauce comes quite late in 35–33 BC, and the first recorded use of *garos*, rendered as *garum* in a Horace satire. The passage ridicules the idea of an elite gourmand who has become a bore about the food he serves to his guests. The host, Nasidienus, describes at great length the dish of eel and the sauce served with it, which as we discover later is an *oenogarum*, a blended sauce made with oil, wine, vinegar, spices and *garo de sucis*

[25] Plautus, *Mostellaria*, 828, [in:] Plautus, *The Merchant…*; See also M. Leigh, *Food in Latin Literature*, [in:] *A Companion to Food in the Ancient World*, ed. J. Wilkins, R. Nadeau, Hoboken 2015, p. 48; E. Gowers, *The Loaded Table. Representations of Food in Roman Literature*, Oxford 1993, p. 53.

[26] Pliny the Elder, XIX, 58, 1.

piscis Hiberii, 'garum from the juices of a Spanish fish'[27]. This dressing of fish sauce with spices and other liquids will appear ubiquitous in later sources, a standard accompaniment to all manner of vegetables and meats and across the entire social classes in Rome. At the time of writing, it certainly appears sophisticated, but was also probably a quite well-established culinary practice to serve these blended sauces either with expensive valued fish sauces, wines and oils, or, among the less affluent, with the cheap and basic varieties of these same liquids. Ultimately from *Apicius* and the *Colloquia of the Hermeneumata*, Latin and Greek phrase-books, we see that these *oenogara* rapidly became commonplace[28]. The fish sauce cited here as *garum* was undoubtedly a Spanish whole-mackerel fish sauce of Greek origin, i.e. *garos* – transliterated into *garum* – and subsequently renamed *liquamen*, which we later learn represented the best quality of this type of fish sauce[29].

Nasadienus also serves *allec* blended with the lees from Coan wine as an appetiser. We may also conjecture that this *allec* would have been a mackerel *allec* derived from the mackerel *garos* and of a much higher quality than the *allec* made from smaller species, likely given to slaves at Cato's farm[30]. Elsewhere in Horace's *Satires* a gourmet-philosopher recounts the precepts of fine living to a passer-by in the form of philosophical lesson. The details are trivial nonsense about what constitutes fine cuisine, including another indication that wine lees and *allec* were blended and served at Roman dinners. He also tells us more about these vinaigrette-like sauces:

> It is worth the effort to get to know thoroughly the nature of the double sauce. Simple sauce is made from sweet olive oil, which is worthy of being blended with fragrant pure wine and *muria*, provided that it comes with a powerful whiff from a Byzantine jar[31].

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[27] HORACE, *S.* II, 8, 42sqq, [in:] HORACE, *Satires*. *Epistles*. *The Art of Poetry*, trans. H. RUSHTON FAIRCLOUGH, Cambridge, Mass. 1926 [= LCL, 194] (cetera: HORACE).

[28] These phrase books cannot be dated with more precision than to the 2nd–4th centuries CE. They consistently translate liquamen for garos and bend with oil or vinegar. See *Colloquium Monacensia-Einsidlensia*, 9d, [in:] *The Colloquia of the Hermeneumata Pseudodositheana*, ed. et trans. E. DICKEY, Cambridge 2012 [= CCTC, 53] (cetera: *Colloquium Monacensia-Einsidlensia*).

[29] I have in the past assumed that these Spanish mackerel 'juices' were blood and viscera and that this was therefore a very early reference to a blood viscera *garum*, but now I think that this is an error. J.M. LEON, *A propósito de la marca Soc y en torno al Garum Sociorum*, Habis 32, 2001, p. 171–184 at p. 175) has suggested that we should expect *sociorum* indicative of elite garum here, but clearly this special black *garum* had not yet been invented. See below.

[30] HORACE, *S.* II, 8, 2–9. There is considerable confusion as to the nature of *allec*. How could a product that was fed to slaves in 150 BCE and perceived as a *faex*, a waste material or residue and at best a fish paste with the bones still in it, also be some things served at an elite banquet? For a discussion see S. GRAINGER, *Story of Garum*…, p. 206sqq, 229sqq.

[31] HORACE, *S.* II, 4, 63–71.

The sauce is boiled with herbs and saffron and more oil is added. The identity of this *muria* is greatly disputed, for numerous, complicated reasons. For the present, it is sufficient to note that at this stage, this product can only be a Greek *halmē*, i.e. a salt fish brine which was part of the Hellenistic culinary practices that the Romans embraced[32]. Confirmation that this is a light delicate fish brine at this time comes from another description of *muria* from the same poem. The philosopher-gourmet suggests that the juices from a sea urchin have the essence of the sea about them and are superior to *muria*. Such an association clearly indicates that they are both light delicate fish brines rather than the intense umami hit of either *garum* or *liquamen*[33].

We now learn that at the close of 1st century BCE a new kind of *garum* was developed which appears to have been made solely with fish blood and viscera. Our first indication of this new sauce is an obscure reference in Pliny the Elder:

> Marcus Apicius… thought it especially desirable for mullets to be killed in a *garum sociorum* (a *garum* of its companions/allies), *nam ea quoque res cognomen invenit* (for this thing also has procured a designation)[34].

This passage requires delicate unpicking, as it is the most important piece of evidence we have on the origin of this elite Roman sauce. When Pliny says that even 'this thing' has got a name, it surely cannot be the original Greek idea of a dissolved whole-fish *garos*, even if made with mullet, as this had been around in Rome for decades and centuries as a Greek sauce. The sauce in question must refer to something new that was being used to flavour the mullet dish[35].

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[32] Later references have been read to indicate that a *muria* could also be a *garum sociorum* and even a *garos*/*liquamen* but they are dated to the period after Martial speaks about fish sauces in c. 90 CE. See below. There are numerous other views which continue to maintain that *muria* should be identified with *garum*. I disagree. See for instance J. Studer, *Roman Fish Sauce in Petra, Jordan*, [in:] *Fish Exploitation in the Past. Proceedings of the 7th Meeting of the ICAZ Fish Remains Working Group*, ed. W. Van Neer, Tervuren 1994 [= AMRAC.SZ, 274], p. 191–196; R.I. Curtis, *Garum*…, p. 7–8; T.H. Corcoran, *Roman Fish Sauces*, CJ 58, 1962, p. 204–210 at p. 205; Á. Rodríguez-Alcántara, A.M. Roldán-Gómez, D. Bernal Casasola, E. García-Vargas, V.M. Palacios-Macías, *New Technological Contributions*…, p. 150.

[33] On muria, see Horace, *S.* II, 4, 63–71.

[34] Pliny the Elder, IX, 66, 4. The *sociorum*, allies or friends and companions, have previously been associated with the trading allies, i.e. the trade guilds processing fish for Rome from Spain, but this is no longer credible. The 'companions' are simply more of the same fish.

[35] The background to this gourmet behaviour sheds more light on Pliny's remark: Seneca provides a description of mullet being cooked/asphyxiated in front of the guests; he writes that they are in a glass vessel and change colour as they do so, for the guest's entertainment. He then says *alios necant in garo et condiunt vivos*, *they kill others (mullet) in garum, and season them while alive* (*QN*, III, 17, 2, 9). This process is also described in the feast of Trimalchio (*Satyricon*, 6.3.2). A little later Seneca remarks *How inconceivable it would sound to them to hear that a fish swam in 'garum' and was killed during dinner* (*QN*, III, 17, 3, 4).

It is not till Martial's *Xenia* gift poems (ff 86 – 103 CE) that we get a clear confirmation that a *garum sociorum* was a sauce made entirely from fish blood and viscera, and in this poem, it is mackerel[36]. This process is further illustrated by a descriptions in Manilius' *Astronomica* of fish being drained of their precious fluids to make sauces[37]. *Garum sociorum* is later associated with a *garos haimation* (bloody) in the Geoponica and also described as black (*melan*) by Galen[38]. In Egyptian papyri *garos* fish sauce was described as *leukos*, light and bright, in contrast to a dark and black variety[39]. It is apparent from these details that in the 1st Century CE there were three types of sauce and that they were distinguishable by colour: pale amber *muria salsamenta*, i.e. fish brine; a pale light amber liquor that was a small/medium-whole-fish *liquamen*; and black/red blood-viscera *garum*[40].

Crucially this new bloody sauce had a limited appeal and was not utilised in the cooking of Roman food, but there are clear indications that *garum sociorum* was a table condiment[41]. It took time to be incorporated into the didactic culinary sources, and in fact it was not often acknowledged as a separate entity, so that it is difficult to see the distinction between the sauces in texts. When the term *garum* is used in early material, recipes, remedies, satires etc. we must assume that the essential substance, the original small/medium-whole-fish sauce, is intended, and it is only when an additional adjective is used such as *sociorum*, and also later terms like *melan* (black) and *haimation* (bloody), or when such terms as *nobile* and *arcano* are used in Martial, that it actually corresponds to the new blood-viscera sauce. However, it is still unfortunately frequently very unclear which variety of sauce was being referred to when the terms occur in didactic texts[42].

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[36] MARTIAL, XIII, 102: *Garum sociorum Expirantis adhuc scombri de sanguine primo accipe fastosum munera cara, garum, garum sociorum: receive lordly garum an expensive present made from the blood of a still breathing mackerel.* Confirmation of the use of blood and viscera alone is from the *Geoponica* recipe, 46.6: *A rather high quality 'garos', called haimation, is made thus. Take tunny entrails with the gills, fluid and blood, sprinkle with sufficient salt, leave in a vessel for two months at the most; then pierce the jar, and the 'garos' called 'haimation' flows out*. A. DALBY, *Geoponika: Farm Work. A Modern Translation of the Roman and Byzantine Farming Handbook*, Totnes 2011. The viscera are added first in the *Geoponica* recipe, which has led to some to conflate this recipe with the description in PLINY THE ELDER, XXXI, 93, 1, where he suggests that viscera alone (no blood) is used. *There is yet another kind of choice liquor called 'garum', consisting of the viscera of fish and other things that would normally be thrown away, soaked with salt so the 'garum' is really a putrid exudation.*

[37] MANILIUS, *Astronomica*, V, 669, ed. et trans. G.P. GOOLD, Cambridge, Mass. 1977 [= LCL, 469]; for detailed discussion, see S. GRAINGER, *Story of Garum*…, p. 35.

[38] GALEN, *De compositione medicamentorum secundum locos*, 12.637, [in:] *Claudii Galeni opera omnia*, ed. C.G. KÜHN, Hildesheime 1965 (repr. of 1823 ed. G. OLMS).

[39] S. GRAINGER, *Story of Garum*…, p. 95. P Herm. Rees 23.6. 4th century CE.

[40] MARTIAL, XIII, 103, *Amphora muria: e Antipolitani, fateor, sum filia thynni: essem si scombri, non tibi missa forem, An amphora of 'muria': I am the daughter, I admit, of tuna from Antibes; had I been of mackerel, I should not have been sent to you*. The implication is that mackerel *muria* was perceived as superior to that made from tuna.

[41] S. GRAINGER, *Story of Garum*…, p. 81.

[42] MARTIAL, VII, 22, *arcano garo*, 'arcane', 'mysterious and sacred' *garum*. The gift of oysters from the *Xenia*, XIII, 82, includes a further reference: *Ostrea: a shellfish, I have arrived drunk from Baian*

We lack a point of departure for the introduction of the new term *liquamen*; It appears on amphorae from the early 1st century CE, while its appearance in texts, other than *Apicius*, is relatively late and contemporary with Palladius in the 4th century CE[43]. The individual recipes preserved in the text that is entitled *Apicius* (the title *De re coquinaria* is a medieval addition) were undoubtedly written over many years by numerous slave cooks, rather than in a single publishing event by a literary gourmet of the same name[44]. These cooks use *liquamen* as the fish sauce seasoning of choice with some very rare exceptions[45]. The compilation of *Apicius* is undoubtedly late in date, but the recipes are more difficult to pin down, and many display characteristics suggesting an early Greek origin[46]. The word *liquamen* was derived from *liquescere*, to liquify, and entirely apposite given that the process is one in which fish fully dissolve into a liquid. In order to explain the need for a new term at this time I have conjectured that the gourmet community appropriated the term *garum* for the new black and bloody sauce and the fish processing industry had no choice but acquiesce and a new term therefore had to be coined by the manufacturers to refer to the original Greek type of *garos* in order to prevent chaos in the industry. There is admittedly very little direct evidence that this was the motivation for the new term, but nevertheless there is no doubt that henceforward *liquamen* became the generic term for *garos*, the original sauce of Greek origin[47].

Lucrine, now in my extravagance I thirst for 'nobile garum'. For a wider discussion on the development of the black bloody *garum* see S. Grainger, *Story of Garum*…, p. 65sq.

[43] See Palladius, *Opus Agriculturae. The Work of Farming*, III, 25, 12, trans. J.G. Fitch, Totnes 2013 (cetera: Palladius), where he uses the word *liquamen* to refer to a fermented salty liquid derived from pears, implying that the term had that generic function at this time. Other undated sources such as the *Colloquia of the Hermeneumata* (2nd–4th centuries) use *liquamen* to translate *garos* (ed. E. Dickey, vol. I, p. 119, *Colloquium Monacensia-Einsidlensia*, 9d).

[44] Research into Apicius manuscript tradition seems to agree that the title *De re coquinaria* refers more precisely to the Renaissance tradition of copying and reading Apicius (cf. M.E. Millham, *Toward a Stemma and Fortuna of Apicius*, IMU 10, 1967, p. 263).

[45] This is largely because *garos*/*liquamen* was always an ingredient used in the kitchen, whereas the blood *garum* and *muria* were more visible table condiments. *Garum per se* is hardly to be found in *Apicius*. S. Grainger, *Story of Garum*…, p. 81.

[46] Greek is retained for the chapter titles. There are numerous recipes that retain Greek technical terminology, and some recipes contain dating information placing their original composition in the 1st century CE. Two recipes require that the cook uses either silphium from Cyrenaica or Parthia (I, 30; VII, 1, 1). As we are informed by Pliny that the Cyrenaican silphium was extinct by c. 50 CE one must conclude that this recipe was composed while it was still available. Pliny the Elder, XIX, 35–38; XXII, 100–106. See *Apicius. A Critical Edition with Introduction and English Translation*, C. Grocock, S. Grainger, Totness 2006 (2nd ed. 2020), p. 13–72.

[47] Where Greek sources use *garos*, Latin invariably translate this as *liquamen*. See Diocletian's price edict, III, 6–7: Γαρου Γευματος πρωτιου, *Garos food supplies of first quality*; γαρου δευτερου Γευματος, *garos second quality food supply*. In the Latin this is rendered as 'first quality liquamen' and 'second quality liquamen'. *Diokletians Prisedikt*, ed. S. Lauffer, Berlin 1971. The *Geoponica* translates *garos* as *liquamen* (A. Dalby, *Geoponika*…), as do the Hermeneumata phrase books (see *Colloquium Monacensia-Einsidlensia*, 9d).

Within the industry it is clear, from amphora labels, that the term *garum* was used specifically to refer to the new blood viscera sauce[48].

The subsequent vast industrial production and distribution process of all three sauces reflects a huge market for consumption in every area of the empire. The use and popularity of *garum*/*liquamen*/*muria* spreads to new generations of local 'Romans' in Northern Europe, Africa, and the East, initially spread by the armies. Amphora inscriptions found in Northern empire indicate that all three sauces were widely traded. The data from amphora inscriptions in terms of numbers of surviving names alone suggest that the bloody *garum* sauce was widely consumed and statistically vastly more popular than *liquamen*. I believe there is not enough attention given to the numbers of fish sauce amphora that remained unlabelled because they always carried *liquamen*. The perception is that the new *garum* dominated the trade, yet there are many reasons to doubt its dominance. Black *garum* was an acquired taste and was undoubtedly used in relatively small amounts in gourmet *oenogara* served to elites and sometimes poured onto cooked food at elite banquets, while *liquamen* was used in bulk during the cooking process in virtually every type of cooking, across every social class and over the huge geographical spread of the empire. It inevitably must have been the dominant product of trade and commerce, yet the blood *garum* and its negative image always retains its prominence in scholarly debate. The identification of *liquamen* with the original *garos* and a separate commodity from *garum* is simply not considered[49]. This author has further challenged the received tradition on the prevalence of *garum* by proposing that amphorae were often initially used to carry high-end *garum* manufactured and labelled in Spain but then subsequently reused, with or without relabelling, many times to carry 2nd and 3rd extractions of *liquamen*. This proposal would vastly increase the volume of *liquamen* traded such that it would overtake the apparent statistical prominence of *garum* on amphora labels, many times over[50].

Muria, when it was a brine derived from *salsamenta* rather than simply salt and water, always retained its popularity and usefulness, and this is clear from Martial's *Xenia* gifts[51]. How its use differs from *liquamen* is not always clear. It does not appear in *Apicius* as a separate cooking sauce, and yet over time it does appear to have become much more prominent and at the same time its social status is downplayed, so that it seems cheaper and more commonplace. Our sources are

[48] S. GRAINGER, *Story of Garum*…, p. 253.

[49] Current thinking is that the term *garum* simply ceased to be used and *liquamen* replaced it. However, this is not accurate as *garum* was frequently used alongside *liquamen* in late Roman veterinary texts: *ibidem*, p. 13–43; R.I. CURTIS, *Garum*…, p. 8.

[50] S. GRAINGER, *Story of Garum*…, p. 207sqq, 218. These extractions were generated from a traded *allec*, i.e., a semi-processed fish sauce. I am grateful to Susan Weingarten for new evidence that has emerged from Rabbinical sources which suggests that three extractions were taken from an amphora containing a rich and thick *allec*. See n. 60, below.

[51] See n. 23, above.

unfortunately silent on these issues through the later 2nd and 3rd centuries BCE until we hear from Ausonius, whose letter written in c. 390 CE to a friend to thank him for a gift of *muria* brings this sauce back into focus. A full quote is necessary:

> Paulinus my son, …fearing that the oil you sent me had not pleased me, you repeated your gift and distinguished yourself more fully by adding a condiment (of *muria**) from Barcelona. But you know that I have neither the custom nor the ability to say the word *muria*, which is (or 'because it is') used by the common folk, although the most learned of our ancestors and those who shun Greek expressions do not have a Latin expression for the appellation garum. But I, by whatever name that liquor 'of our allies' (*sociorum* = bloody sauce) is called, "will now fill my patinas so that that juice, too sparingly used in our ancestors' tables, will flood the spoons".

This little letter throws up many complex questions which we cannot deal with fully. Why is the word *liquamen* ignored here when it is precisely what he seems to want, a genuine Latin term for fish sauce and one that was current. He claims not to want to use the term *muria* because it is a vulgar term in common usage, yet he has already done so. A way out of that is to see the first occurrence of *muria** as a gloss, as grammatically the 'condiment from Barcelona' is perfectly adequate, though it gets us no closer to a definitive answer. That he has received a black bloody *garum* seems fairly clear from his reference to *sociorum*, as is the idea that the sauce he has received and wants was poured at table by the consumer or slave onto a finished dish: in this case a *patina*: frittata. The question how to distinguish *muria* from *liquamen* in terms of usage and consumption practices is immensely difficult at this point. As we will shortly see in the wider empire, *muria*, i.e. a clean fish brine, will become the preferred form of fish sauce among certain communities, and this may be at least in part an explanation for the anomaly found in Ausonius' letter. He is reflecting with some irritation on a recognised confusion about the numerous names for the various types of fish sauce. His use of *muria* here may reflect a recognition that a fish brine was still in common usage and may have been utilised in the same way as *liquamen*/*garos*.

Discussion

Garos and *liquamen* were fundamentally dependant on the presence of indigenous and additional fish viscera. Viscera contain digestive enzymes which rapidly liquefies the fish muscle protein. The liquor generated in these circumstances would naturally be highly nutritious as they were both rich in protein and also polyunsaturated fatty acids. The fermenting process imparts *umami*, the 5th taste, alongside salt sweet sour and bitter and which is described as meaty deliciousness. This taste greatly increases the pleasure experienced by the consumer, whether it be in simple basic stews or more elite fare. That much is clear. It is not clear to what extent the viscera were essential to generating a sauce with the requisite desirable umami or,

alternatively, that the length of time for which the sauces were stored and matured could compensate for the absence of digestive enzymes. Does maturing time also compensate for the potential reduction in liquefied protein and therefore potential nutrition[52]? Consumers may have been unable to tell the difference, which is the conclusion we might draw from the fact that a cleaned fish brine, i.e. *muria*, subsequently became equivalent to and used as *garos*/*garum*/*liquamen* in some regions.

In a description by Alfredo Carannante of the modern methods employed for making *colatura di alici* (the traditional fish sauce originally made in the village of Cetara, and the surrounding villages on the Amalfitan Coast, in the bay of Naples), we may see reflections of the production method employed in the past to make *muria*. The fish are eviscerated and beheaded, and salted overnight to draw out the blood. The liquid from this process is discarded and then the fish layered with more salt and compressed with weights. After four to six months of ageing, the *colatura* 'filterings' drip out, leaving the anchovy a compressed salted fish product. This was the product aimed at in the early history of *colatura* production, as Carannante says: *in the traditional process of storage of the anchovies (for consumption), that liquid was taken and eliminated*[53]. However, it is the liquid 'filterings' which are the aim of the production of the colatura today. Carannante explains that some of the locals utilised the liquid as a seasoning, even though the principal purpose was to preserve the anchovy. Then in the early 1990s the local utilisation of the liquor became more widespread, and its reputation and value among foodies spread outside Italy. Some of the manufacturers made the decision

[52] There is a huge range in the protein levels of high-quality modern fish sauces today. In South East Asia personal taste dictates that lower levels of protein and higher levels of salt and umami are more desirable. The highest levels are found in a sauce called Red Boat, which prides itself on levels of 50g per litre. This sauce is marketed world-wide but does not sell well in South East Asia. Conversely the protein levels of *Colatura di Alici* ranges greatly. The original process whereby the anchovy was preserved resulted in a protein level of 10g per litre, while the later process whereby the fish are reduced to waste and aged, and can achieve the same protein levels as Red Boat. See Cetara anchovy sauce – Organoleptic properties of Cetara anchovy sauce, https://www.colaturadialici.it [18 XII 2023]; Characterization of the production process, chemical and microbiological quality of the traditional anchovy sauce "Colatura di alici" from Cetara, Italy, https://www.researchgate.net/publication/264537169 [18 XII 2023]. Sauces can and probably were made from fish viscera alone which though considered waste would still provide a protein source. Such material is not only easier to extract but a form of fish waste matter that normally causes environmental problems in modern fisheries. We can see that this kind of sauce was a traditional product in the parts of modern Turkey that still have cultural links to their medieval Eastern Roman Empire ancestors: a pre-Islamic culture, known as Rûm, a term derived from the Greek for Roman. Today in parts of Anatolia local fishermen make fish sauces from fish waste and they are utilised in the same way as the Romans to flavour every day food. See A. DALBY, *Flavours of Byzantium*, Totnes 2003.

[53] A. CARANNANTE, C. GIARDINO, U. SAVARESE, *In Search of Garum. The "Colatura d'alici" from the Amalfitan Coast (Campania, Italy): an Heir of the Ancient Mediterranean Fish Sauces*, [in:] *Atti del 4° Convegno Nazionale di Etnoarcheologia (Roma, 17–19 Maggio 2006) / Proceedings of the 4th Italian Congress of Ethnoarchaeology (Rome, 17–19 May, 2006)*, ed. F. LUGLI, A.A. STOPPIELLO, S. BIAGETTI, Oxford 2011 [= BAR, 2235], p. 69–79.

to switch the emphasis to concentrating on the liquor as a seasoning and discarding the fish. I believe it is still possible to obtain an original *colatura di alici* which is aged for about 4–6 months, but the bulk of the commercial product is obtained from a 2–4-year extraction process that leaves the fish paste as a waste product[54].

In the ancient world *muria* was not just a simple brine, i.e. salt dissolved in water, and there were different terminologies associated with the various concentrations of sea water[55]. *Muria* could be light in colour, but after a relatively short ageing process, oxidation causes the brine to darken. *Muria* was probably saltier then *garos* and potentially weak in umami when young. We can conjecture that a young fresh *muria* was traded and utilised, yet it is also clear that some *muria* remained with the salted fish for up to four years according to the amphora labels[56]. It does not seem remotely possible to consume four-year-old salted fish. This is an open question as samples have never been tasted. I suspect that this aged fish was not consumed and the process was meant to exhaust and then discard the fish just as *colatura di alici* does, while creating an intense and umami rich sauce that resembled *liquamen* in every sense: colour and taste while being ritually clean. An aged colatura is as good as a good South East Asian sauce in terms of umami. I have experimented with making *muria*; it could not be distinguished visually from liquamen after six months, and it was difficult to distinguish by taste too. Both had the umami salty hit. However, an experienced consumer would be able to detect the absence of the complexity brought about by the higher protein levels that would have been expected and required by a connoisseur. One way to understand Ausonius' letter is to understand that over time, *muria* had become an alternative form of *liquamen*, utilised in the same way as *liquamen* but acceptable in the wider Christian world. We can see this distinction clearly in the differences between the original *colatura di alici* as anchovy filterings, which was relatively weak and low in protein, and the aged version, which is comparable to a quality modern fish sauce such as Red Boat[57]. The original *colatura*, for all its umami, did not have the depth and rich long lasting after-taste of an enzyme fermented sauce. Among the liquamen-type sauces available to the ancients there were always going to a huge variety in quality which was dependant on the species utilised, duration of production and salt levels. A fine aged mackerel *liquamen* was highly distinctive, while basic *liquamen* type sauces made with multiple smaller species were less distinctive and could also be diluted, and were consequently very similar to each other. I suspect that most everyday consumers would not be able distinguish them from a sanitised aged *muria*. It must be stated that these sauces, whether *liquamen*

[54] Despite this switch in emphasis the manufacturers continue to eviscerate and discard the initial bloody fluid, despite that fact that this material would surely enhance the product through the presence of digestive enzymes.

[55] See Pliny the Elder, XLII, 90sqq.

[56] S. Grainger, *Story of Garum*…, p. 256sqq.

[57] See n. 49 above.

or *muria*, were not made with additional blood harvested from other fish, as some scholars continue to believe[58].

The manufacturers of the original *colatura di alici* took great pains to eliminate all the blood from the fish, as the slightest residue would spoil the anchovy. This is clearly important if the anchovies are meant to retain their integrity as a salted fish product. All salted fish was naturally cleansed in this way to ensure it was free of blood before salting. It is also apparent that in many modern orthodox Jewish communities, fresh meat and fish is subject to the same process, i.e. a brief period of salting to draw out the blood before preparation and consumption. These practices are documented in orthodox communities both Jewish and Christian[59]. The basis for these long-held practices comes from the Old Testament.

> You must not eat any blood whatever, either of bird or of animal, in any of your settlements. Any one of you who eats any blood shall be cut off from your kin (Lv. 7: 26–27).

[58] The distinction between *garos*, *garum*, *muria* and *liquamen* is still greatly disputed among scholars of ancient history largely because of the immense confusion engendered by the distinction between transliterating *garos* into *garum*, before the blood viscera sauce was invented and *liquamen* coined, and translating *garos* into *liquamen* after that point. The idea of the universal fish sauce that simply changed its name every few decades is understood by scholars who follow the original work by R.I. CURTIS, *Garum*… This universal sauce is believed to have been made from small and medium sized fish with both extra blood and viscera, all blended together into one single entity. For these scholars the distinction in terminology is to be found in the size and species utilised rather than the presence or absence of blood and or viscera. See for instance V. PALACIOS, E. GARCIA, D. BERNAL CASASOLA, A. ROLDAN, Á. RODRIGUES, J. SANCHEZ, *Conservas antiguas y gastronomía contemporánea*, [in:] *Un Estrecho de Conservas. Del Garum de Baelo Claudia a la melva de Tarifa*, ed. D. BERNAL CASASOLA, J.Á. ESPÓSITÓ ÁLVAREZ, L. MEDINA GRANDE, J.S. VICENTE-FRANQUEIRA GARCA, Cádiz 2016, p. 89–105 at p. 92. See also S. GRAINGER, *The Story of Garum*…, p. 114sqq. I would argue that there are five recipes in total for fish sauce of the *garos*/*liquamen* type, four in the *Geoponica* and one from a Byzantine gloss to a 3rd Century medical treatise by Gargilius Martialis. Only one adds extra viscera, and that is to fish that are small enough not to be cut open. The remaining four do not add extra and state or imply that the fish are cut open, exposing the viscera and thus removing the requirement for external digestive enzyme to dissolve the fish. This was the principal reason that extra viscera were added. Conversely, none of these recipes mention fish blood. Fish blood is immensely difficult to harvest as a separate ingredient, and is the principal ingredient along with viscera in the elite tuna *garos haimation* in the *Geoponica*, which is equivalent to the mackerel *garum sociorum* from Martial's *Xenia* gifts (see n. 21 above, and S. GRAINGER, *Story of Garum*…, p. 13–79).

[59] *The salting is done with coarse grain salt, commonly referred to as kosher salt, after which the meat is laid over a grating or colander to allow for drainage, remaining so for the duration of time that it takes to walk one biblical mile (approximately 18–24 minutes). Afterwards, the residue of salt is rinsed away with water, and the meat cooked. Meat that is roasted requires no prior salting, as fire causes a natural purging of blood. Some Orthodox Jewish communities require the additional stricture of submersing raw meat in boiling water prior to cooking it. This was believed to constrict the blood lodged within the meat, to prevent it from oozing out when the meat was eaten. The raw meat is left in the pot of boiling water for as long as it takes for the meat to whiten on its outer layer*, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kashrut#Permitted_and_forbidden_animals [10 XII 2023].

> Only be sure that you do not eat the blood; for the blood is the life, and you shall not eat the life with the meat. Do not eat it; you shall pour it on the ground like water (Dt. 12: 23–24).

All creatures intended for consumption had to be sacrificed, i.e. slaughtered ritually by severing arteries and allowing the blood drain on to the ground. Whether this injunction to sacrifice originally included fish in the ancient world turns out to have been a subject of considerable debate.

The whole body of Jewish dietary law, the Torah, was derived from the laws found in the Old Testament: this is a text that posed great difficulties in terms of interpretation, hence the need for Rabbinical debate. Prior to the destruction of the temple in 70 CE, Judaism included a broad number of sectarian groups such as the Pharisees, Sadducees, and Essenes, who frequently argued over biblical interpretation of the dietary laws. Urban practices were different from rural and sectarian enclaves where stricter rules were adhered too. The Essenes are understood to have lived outside of Jerusalem in the desert at Qumran, and it is here that the dead sea scrolls provide examples of dietary debates. Jodi Magness has highlighted the issues that continued to be controversial after the destruction of the Temple 70 CE and the consumption of fish blood is one them. Magness confirms that *The biblical verses refer only to animals and birds in connection with the blood prohibition, but from the Damascus Document we can see that the Qumran sect extended this prohibition to include fish and locusts, thereby making (un)necessary ritual*[60]:

> The blood of fish is strictly prohibited: they shall not eat them unless they have been torn while still alive and their blood poured out.

Evidence from other Rabbinical sources suggests that other rabbis condemned the slaughtering of fish as heterodoxy, as it was seen as an unworkable prohibition due to the fact that few consumers had access to fish early enough to bleed them[61]. One can comprehend that large species of scombrids such as tuna and mackerel could and should be bled where they are freshly caught and the process was clearly practiced quite widely either as a means of simply cleaning the fish or, as the Romans subsequently developed, a means of obtaining blood for *garum*. To extract fresh liquid fish blood the process had to take place immediately the fish were caught and before the heart stops pumping otherwise the blood coagulates and remains hidden in the cranium. The subsequent salting process allows the blood to re-liquefied and be drawn out, but it would inevitably alter the texture

[60] J. Magness, *Sectarianism Before and After 70 CE*, [in:] *Was 70 CE a Watershed in Jewish History?*, ed. D.R. Schwartz, Z. Weiss, Leiden 2012 [= AJECh, 78], p. 69–89 [downloaded 18 XII 2022].

[61] Another rabbinical debate from the Dead Sea Scrolls, 'Jubilees', states that *only the blood of beasts and birds were forbidden*, which may reflect the on-going debate in action as clearly not everyone at Qumran was prepared to adhere to this.

of the fish and would probably be unsuitable for *garum sociorum*. To be obedient to these laws meant you could not consume truly fresh fish[62].

Despite these strict practices in certain communities, it is apparent that from amphora data in the cities, elite Hellenistic and Roman practices were common, and fish sauces of the *liquamen* and *garum* type seem to have been popular in Palestine. There is also the possibility that a local fresh water version was made from Nile species[63]. Jerusalem elites would publicly observe biblical food laws, yet in private consume imported delicacies and exotic types of Roman cuisine. From a rare bilingual amphora label depicting '*garum*' in Latin letters followed by *basileus*, meaning 'of the king,' we can see that in the early 1st century CE, Herod the Great was probably consuming the new and very fashionable blood *garum* at Masada. There is little doubt that since the fish sauce of the *garos*/*liquamen* type was originally Greek there would have been no logic to the bilingual label unless the Roman blood *garum* was meant here and they had to use the Latin to convey it. It was so new that terms like *haimation*/*melan* were simply not in use[64]. The regular fermented *liquamen*-type sauce continued to be traded into urban Palestine throughout the mid- to late-imperial periods alongside a local product, though not in immense quantities. The fifth-century CE rabbinical debates quoting the earlier Palestinian Mishnah (3rd c. CE) are specifically about the number of times that an amphora of unfiltered fish sauce (the bony fish paste known as *allec*) could be re-brined to extract sauces. These sauces were collectively known as *muries*: a term that is clearly associated linguistically with *muria*. Given that this fish material described as *muries* could be re-brined three times, it seems highly likely that this was an enzyme-fermented *liquamen*-type sauce of unknown origin, rather than a cleaned salted fish in brine, which logic might dictate could not generate more than one liquid from its aging process[65].

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[62] That a ritually pure liquamen was necessary in Jewish dietary laws is clear from the confused suggestion from Pliny the Elder that a sauce was created with fish without fins and scales for this purpose, whereas it was clearly the reverse: see PLINY THE ELDER, XLIV, 95. Palladius also gives a recipe for a *liquamen de piris castimoniale*, meaning a ritually pure *liquamen* made with pears (PALLADIUS, III, 25, 12). The term is defined as pertaining to abstinence and is associated with ecclesiastic, biblical and religious purity.

[63] C. VIEGAS, *Long-distance Imported Pottery at Horvat Kur (Galilee, Israel): Categories and Quantities*, RCRFA 46, 2020, p. 559; W. VAN NEER, A. ERVYNCK, P. MONSIEUR, *Fish Bones and Amphorae: Evidence for the Production and Consumption of Salted Fish Products Outside the Mediterranean Region*, JRA 23, 2010, p. 161–195, at p. 187. N.N. RAAD, *Roman Amphorae in the Near East: a Study of the Distribution of Spanish, North African, and Local Types* (MA. Dissertation, American University of Beirut. Department of History and Archaeology, 2015), p. 34, http://hdl.handle.net/10938/10937 [19 XII 2023].

[64] P. BERDOWSKI, *Garum of Herod the Great (a Latin-Greek Inscription on the Amphora from Masada*, AAR 1, 2006, p. 239–257; H. COTTON, O. LERNAU, Y. GOREN, *Fish Sauce from Herodian Masada*, JRA 9, 1996, p. 223–238.

[65] On the re-brining of *allec*, see S. GRAINGER, *Story of Garum*…, p. 229sq. *Hileq* (*allec*) and *muries* were permitted in the Talmuds when prepared commercially by a non-Jewish expert if the fish pieces

Muries also referred to a grain-based umami-generating liquor, but it seems to have only been utilised in the Babylonian Talmudic sources[66]. However, it is noteworthy that switching to a grain umami liquor removes all fear of inadvertent blood consumption. The term *muries* remains obscure, but I think it reflects a tendency for a word associated with *muria* to be the term that travelled rather than *garos*. Susan Weingarten tells me that loan words from Latin were very rare in Hebrew, while the word *garon* was already in use to mean 'throat' and also *tzir* was used to denote a local form of *muria salsamenta*. One can almost hear the trader and merchant negotiating the new terminology to make life easier for them and their customers so that *muries* was coined to accommodate the changing commercial situation just as the term *liquamen* was conjured up to solve a similar problem in Rome.

The rabbinic debates about sacrificing fish in order to avoid fish blood continued into the 4th century. The rabbi Jacob of Kefar Neburaya was advocating in Tyre that fish should be ritually slaughtered, i.e. bled at death, and his fellow rabbis objected and threatened him with flogging for advising his followers to adhere to such onerous prescriptions[67]. Nevertheless, rejecting fish blood was surely going to be an outlier in terms of practices and so we cannot determine to what extent these prohibitions were followed by Jews generally. It is equally difficult to judge when considering Jews newly converted to Christianity. It is not impossible to imagine that the prohibition on the consumption of blood of all creature was maintained by some Jewish converts and through their influence and insistence taken up by some early Christians. There is evidence in biblical sources that Jewish converts remained strictly observant of dietary laws. A group of converts escaping from persecution in Jerusalem in the mid-1st century CE, newly arrived in Antioch were able to influence the behaviour of their fellow gentile converts in relation to diet. A letter in Acts is said to have been written by a council of apostles from the Judaean Christians in Jerusalem to the Gentile Christians in Antioch, Syria, and Cilicia, where there had been considerable conflict over purity laws. There is no suggestion that fish blood played any part in the conflict as it was mainly concerned with communal dining and circumcision. The letter suggest that the

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were identifiable as kosher, i.e. with fins and scales, before the *muries* was extracted. *The Mishnah teaches that 'muries' of non-Jews is prohibited. But the rabbis taught that 'muries' prepared by an expert is permitted. Rabbi Judah ben Gamliel says in the name of Rabbi Ḥanina ben Gamliel: 'Ḥileq' (allec) prepared by an expert is also permitted. Avimi the son of R. Abbahu learned that 'muries' of an expert is permitted; but he added a further explanation: only the first and second [extracts] are permitted, but the third is forbidden, because there is plenty of fat and they do not need wine, but after this wine is put into it* (Babylonian Talmud *Avodah Zarah* 34b). I am grateful to Susan Weingarten for this information.

[66] S. Weingarten, *Fish and Fish Products in Late Antique Palestine and Babylonia in their Social and Geographical Contexts: Archaeology and the Talmudic Literature*, JMarA 13, 2018, p. 235–245.

[67] https://www.jewishencyclopedia.com/articles/8429-jacob-of-kefar-neburaya [18 XII 2022]; see also J. Magness, *Sectarianism before…*, p. 84.

gentiles should abstain from anything that the Jews converts found particularly offensive, and there were four criteria:

> For it has seemed good to the Holy spirit and to us to impose on you no further burden then these essentials: that you abstain from what has been sacrificed to idols, and from blood and from what is strangled and from fornication[68].

Having been formally instructed in this way, abstaining from blood without any clarification could easily have been taken to include fish and would have been taken very seriously and a prolonged observance of the rule is possible among many Christians in Syria. Biblical commentaries question the fact that this instruction was only sent to Syria and did not become an injunction everywhere. It obviously did not, as animal blood consumption was normalised in many parts of the Christian world. Clearly as the new church developed the injunction against the consumption of blood generally became less enforced and enforceable. Blood sausage was a popular cheap and nutritious food resource that it was always going to be difficult to reject when protein resources were scarce. The blood prohibition was always more concerned with meat, of course. It is my contention that this letter and its instruction to abstain from blood led to a rejection of fish sauces that utilize blood and viscera in their production amongst some members of these Syrian Christian communities. We can see a suggestion that this abstinence was maintained and became normalised in the apparent use of the term *muria* in place of *garos* or *liquamen* in 5th century CE Syria as recounted in an (albeit confused) scholia to Horace. The unknown writer is commenting on the satire in which the composite sauce made with a *muria* rather than a *garum* is described[69]:

> *muriam antique dicebant liquamen et Syrorum lingua sic dicitur*
>
> The ancients called *liquamen muria* and this is what it is called in the Syrian language.

This is immensely difficult to unpick. The writer is unfamiliar with these sauces and appears to have taken the lines in Horace literally. The comment is presumably contemporary with a time when *garum or garos* as terms for a fermented sauce had virtually disappeared from usage and consumption in all areas of Roman influence, and the blood viscera *garum* was part of myth and legend. *Liquamen* was the vernacular term for the umami-imparting sauce available at the time of writing, and the commentator assumes that is what Horace meant by the term *muria*[70]. As we

[68] Act. 15, 28–29.

[69] HORACE, *S.* II, 4, 63–71.

[70] Scholia to HORACE, *Satire*, 2.4.65. In the west, fish sauce declines rapidly after the 5th century and only survives in tiny pockets of production. Anthimus (9) advises consumers to reject liquamen entirely. In later Byzantine cuisine sauces made with *garos* are not that commonplace and it is still a relatively elite consumption practice, and as has been noted by Ilias Anagnostakis (pers. comm.),

have noted, the use of *muria* here meant a *muria salsamenta* in Horace's satire as its use reflected a Hellenistic practice embraced by Rome in the 1st century BC. The writer simply notes in passing that *muria* has become the preferred term in Syriac Aramaic for whatever form of umami imparting sauce was available in that area.

We have some corroborating evidence that there was a continuing use of a fish brine instead of a fermented sauce from medieval Cyprus. William Woys Weaver is working on the food of Medieval Cyprus, and has noted that, though *garos* was the preferred term for the umami imparting sauce in use, it was in fact a sanitised fish brine[71]. Woys Weaver is working on the unpublished tax records from the 1250s from Cyprus. They are written in Greek, Italian, and French and even versions in Aramaic are believed to exist in Turkey. He tells me that Cypriot Greeks relied on salted fish from Christian Armenia or from Egypt for their *garos*. The salt cured fish from Egypt is called *pisson salé de Babiloine*, 'Babylonian salted fish' in the French version of the tax records, i.e. Egyptian salted perch, but in the Greek translation of these records this was known as Coptic *garos* without clarification. Woys Weaver believes that these communities rejected fermented sauces because of the blood/viscera and this injunction was more strictly enforced by the Cypriot Church than in other parts of the Greek Orthodox world. Here at this time *garos* was not fermented with digestive enzymes.

Conclusion

It seems likely from this disparate evidence that in some regions of the east a viscera-fermented *liquamen* was rejected and replaced with a ritually clean version. It seems likely that the distinction between the two types of production gradually became less important as the desired and required effect on the food was the same. Sauces that impart umami could also be quickly cooked and frequently were as the complex supply chain of a commercial product broke down in the late empire. The recipes for fish sauce in the *Geoponica* also include a cooked and reduced version and we find many similar recipes for cooked and heavily spiced versions of fish sauce in Late and Byzantine sources[72]. The recipes for fish sauce in the *Geoponica* are understood to reflect a Byzantine idea of these products. Sauces were either

with the reduction in access to oil in the Byzantine period, the idea of sauces made with *garos* also declines. An episode that took place during the embassy of Liutprand of Cremona to the Byzantine court in 969 demonstrates the gulf that was opening up between the different food preferences of the Western Europe and Byzantium courts. Liutprand, seated at the table of the first banquet the Basilean Nicephorus Phocas offered to him, came face to face with *garos* and complained that the meal was *foul with an exceedingly bad fish liquor*. Liutprand of Cremona, *Relatio de legatione constantinopolitana*, ch. 11.914.

[71] W. Woys Weaver, *Food and Drink in Medieval Cyprus: The French Court, The Greek Gentry, and the Village Serfs*, Wiesbaden (forthcoming).

[72] S. Grainger, *Story of Garum*…, p. 39, 88sq.

cooked or enzyme fermented and the idea of a recognised sanitised fish brine is absent from this text. We might therefore assume that the idea of a *muria* in place of *garos* was not a common phenomenon in the Western empire and the Byzantine Greek world[73]. Salted fish continued to be traded very widely and there must have been immense quantities of both aged and fresher fish brines circulating throughout the Mediterranean at ports and markets and one must ask what was it used for? There is always the potential for reuse: Archestratus recounts the process whereby fish pieces are initially preserved in layers of dry salt and then after three days the fish is placed into amphora in pre-prepared and potentially reused fish brine[74]. We also know from Pliny that fish brines were boiled again to extract the salt from them and apparently a salt derived from sardine brine was considered the best[75]. Certainly, *muria* from this trade appears absent from recipe texts as a separate seasoning like *garos*. We may still conclude that it may have continued to be utilised in the same way as it was in Hellenistic times, though at a much lower social scale to that of the readers of recipe books. It may have been used as a dipping sauce or as a potential cooking medium to poach fish and as a low value young fish brine that had little flavour, it still may have been a commonplace *garos* substitute for the very poor, as reflected in the dismissive attitude in Ausonius letter.

To bring this fish sauce discussion into the modern era: in the mid-16th century, Bruyerins' culinary work *De re cibaria* recommends a recipe that melts salted anchovy in vinegar and oil to create a sauce that that he calls *garum* and considers superior in every way to a Roman *garum*. The sources at this time talk about the blood and viscera with some incomprehension while enthusing about their sanitised *garum*[76]. I think we can agree that there will always be something disturbing about fermented fish viscera.

[73] However, I suspect the *Geoponica* recipes for fish sauce reflect a much earlier period. Andrew Dalby has pointed out that over 50% of the text is derived from Hellenistic and early Roman sources rather than any agricultural and culinary practices contemporary with the manuscripts date of 11th century (A. DALBY, *Geoponica*…, p. 36–49).

[74] S. GRAINGER, *The Story of Garum*…, p. 177, Frag. 39, ATHENAEUS, 117a.

[75] PLINY THE ELDER, XXXI, 83. Modern fish sauce manufacturers extract salt from their fish sauces for the gourmet market.

[76] BRUYERIN, *De re cibaria*, p. 572–573; T.S. PETERSON, *Acquired Taste. The French Origins of Modern Cooking*, Ithaca 1994, p. 138.

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4th-Century Orations on Farming: The Case of Themistius and Libanius

Abstract. The paper analyses two rhetorical texts from the 4th century – one by Themistius, found in the corpus of his so-called private speeches, titled *Should one engage in agriculture* (Θέσις εἰ γεωργητέον), and another by Libanius included in his collection of progymnasmata *Praise of Agriculture* (Ἐγκώμιον γεωργίας). An analysis of the two encomia shows great convergence in terms of the motifs and topoi used, e.g., in reference to the deities who take care of agriculture, praise of those who cultivate the land, emphasising their physical and spiritual qualities, the usefulness of their work for others. The purpose of the creation of the two works was different. While the purpose of Libanius' encomium was didactic, Themistius' piece was addressed to a mature audience and was probably part of some ongoing public discourse.

Keywords: Themistius, Libanius, farming, agriculture

Orations (encomium/ἐγκώμιον) were an essential part of rhetoric culture in Late Antiquity, delivered, for instance, on the occasions of various celebrations and situations in public life, and were also an important element of school training. The latter element finds its fullest reflection in sets of didactic exercises known as *progymnasmata*, which would prepare students to create elaborate and more sophisticated rhetorical forms (*meletai*). The encomia were devoted to numerous topics, from people, objects, professions and localities to plants and animals[1]. The structure and composition of orations were also referred to in treatises

[1] On the topic of encomium see: M. Volozza, *Enkomion*, [in:] *Historisches Wörterbuch der Rhetorik*, vol. II, ed. G. Ueding, Tübingen 1994, p. 1152–1160; M. Korolko, *Sztuka retoryki*, Warszawa 1990, p. 144, 148; *Libanius's Progymnasmata. Model Exercises in Greek Prose Composition and Rhetoric*, trans. et ed. C.A. Gibson, Atlanta 2008, p. 195–197; the issue of orations is most broadly presented in: L. Pernot, *La Rhétorique de l'Éloge dans le monde gréco-romain*, vol. I–II, Paris 1993;

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on the theory of rhetoric by their authors – such as Theon of Alexandria, Hermogenes and Aphthonius[2].

In the rhetorical material from the 4th century AD we find two texts of a laudatory nature devoted to farming and authored by outstanding intellectuals of the period. The first one, composed by Themistius and belonging to the core of his so-called private orations, entitled *Should one engage in farming?* (Θέσις εἰ γεωργητέον) and the second one, by Libanius, included in his collection of progymnasmata *Praise of agriculture* (Ἐγκώμιον γεωργίας)[3]. Both texts, although falling within the current of conventional, seemingly semi-scholarly rhetorical works, due to their similarities are worth comparing and analysing. Themistius' oration, stipulated in the title as *thesis*, is in reality a classical encomium and in the light of all of his works, Or. 30 is considered to be an early work, suffused with school-like, progymnasmatic spirit, composed probably in the early fifties of the 4th century AD, although it is only one of many dating possibilities[4]. Attempts to explain the genesis of this text have been made more than once in the literature on the subject, having taken into consideration the fact that there are no typical school texts among Themistius' works, as the sophist himself was not active didactically in the field of rhetoric, unlike with philosophy. They pointed to its autobiographical roots, referring to the figure of philosopher Eugene, the author's father, who in the last period of his life devoted himself to farming[5]. Themistius valued and respected his father greatly and perhaps wanted to commemorate him as well as

for progymnasmata in general see: H. Cichocka, *Progymnasmata as a Literary Form*, SIFC, ser. 3, 10, 1992, p. 991–999; M. Kraus, *Progymnamsata*, *Gymnasmata*, [in:] *Historisches Wörterbuch der Rhetorik*, vol. VII, ed. G. Ueding, Tübingen 2005, p. 159–164; R. Webb, *The Progymnasmata as Practice*, [in:] *Education in Greek and Roman Antiquity*, ed. L. Too, Leiden 2001, p. 289–316; R.J. Penella, *The Progymnasmata in Imperial Greek Education*, CW 105, 2011, p. 77–90.

[2] Theon, *Prog.*, 109.19 – 112.21; Ps.-Hermogenes, *Prog.*, 7; Aphthonius, *Prog.*, 8.

[3] The text of both the encomia on the basis of: Themistius, Or. 30, [in:] *Themistii Orationes quae supersunt*, vol. II, ed. H. Schenkl, A.F. Norman, Leipzig 1971 (cetera: Themistius), p. 181–186; Libanius, *Encomium*, 7, [in:] *Libanius's Progymnasmata…* (cetera: Libanius), p. 250–255; on the topic Themistius Or. 30 see: *The Private Orations of Themistius*, trans. et ed. R.J. Penella, Berkeley 2000, p. 33–34; in detail on the subject of Libanius's progymnasmata see: B. Schouler, *La tradition hellénique chez Libanios*, vol. I, Paris 1984, p. 51–138; *Libanius's Progymnasmata…*, p. XX–XXII; C.A. Gibson, *Libanius' Progymnasmata*, [in:] *Libanius. A Critical Introduction*, ed. L. van Hoof, Cambridge 2014, p. 128–143; *Progymnasmata. Greckie ćwiczenia retoryczne i ich modelowe opracowanie*, trans. et ed. H. Podbielski, Lublin 2013, p. 299–302.

[4] *The Private Orations…*, p. 33–34 (therein an explanation of the discussion over dating and genesis of the above text).

[5] *Ibidem*, p. 34; on the topic of Eugenius' work on the farm see: Themistius, Or. 20, 236d–237b; on the figure of Eugenius see: *PLRE*, vol. I, *s.v.* Eugenius 2, p. 291–291; see: J. Vanderspoel, *Themistius and the Imperial Court. Oratory, Civic Duty, and Paideia from Constantius to Theodosius*, Ann Arbor 1995, p. 84; M. Kosznicki, *Obraz ojca-filozofa w późnoantycznych mowach Temistiusza*, [in:] *Społeczeństwo i religia w świecie antycznym. Społeczeństwo i religia w świecie antycznym. Materiały z ogólnopolskiej konferencji naukowej (Toruń, 20–22 września 2007)*, ed. S. Olszaniec, P. Wojciechowski, Toruń 2010, p. 401–409.

his agricultural activities this way. The social/political dimension of the analysed encomium was raised as well. It was supposed to be an encouragement for greater productivity in farming and to honour the importance of agriculture in ensuring stability of the state, which according to R.J. Penella might have been an allusion to Visigoths settling in the area of northern Thrace as *foederati* after the treaty of 382 AD and spread hope for a settled farming life in this region[6]. The author was also credited with the intentions of publicly defending farming communities against fiscal oppression and abuse of authority by imperial administration[7]. In juxtaposition to the text by Themistius, Libanius' work does not lead to such far-fetched speculation. His encomium is an example of a model exercise used in teaching of speech composition, maintaining all characteristic features of the genre[8]. It is also worth mentioning that material which is partially similar to the analysed texts is found in the works of Maximus of Tyre (2nd century AD), who devoted one of his declamations to farmers[9].

For both authors the opening element of the texts is the reference to Hesiod and his works, yet that sequence in Themistius' oration is considerably more developed. Libanius only states laconically that for Hesiod farming was a good and important thing, worthy of poetic stanzas[10]. Themistius highlighted that Hesiod had permanently associated farming with virtue so that both elements became one and then added: *when learning one we at the same time learn the other as well*[11]. Themistius, while contemplating the ethical dimension of farming, also included a reference to the popular legendary account of poetic rivalry between Homer and Hesiod known as Ἀγὼν Ομήρου καὶ Ἡσιόδου[12]. The rivalry would proceed over "wisdom and poetry" (περὶ σοφίας καὶ μουσικῆς) during the funeral of Amphidamas,

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[6] *The Private Orations*…, p. 34; According to R.J. Penella references in the very text may provide for it Or. 30, 349c–d, 350c, 351c. This interpretation would indicate a later creation date of the encomium (i.e. the eighties of the fourth century). Another possible, earlier, dating of this work, is to the times of Valens' reign, who paid particular attention to agricultural matters and this could have been reflected in the works of Themistius, see: N. Lenski, *Failure of Empire. Valens and the Roman State in the Fourth Century A.D.*, Berkeley 2002, p. 54, 308–309.

[7] R. Pollina, *La transparenti allusioni nell'Elogio dell agricultura di Temistio*, SEIA N.S. 12–13, 2007–2008, p. 63–67.

[8] The appraisal of farming was referred to by the 9th-century Byzantine commentator John of Sardes in his study of Antonius' progymnasmata (*Ioannis Sardiani Commentarium in Aphthonii Progymnasmata*, ed. H. Rabe, Leipzig 1928, p. 126.10–12).

[9] Maximus Tyrius, Diss. XXIII, [in:] Maximus Tyrius, *Philosophumena – ΔΙΑΛΕΞΕΙΣ*, ed. G.L. Koniaris, Berlin–New York 1995, p. 280–289; see also: Maximus of Tyre, *The Philosophical Orations*, ed. M.B. Trapp, Oxford 1997, p. 194–205; The declamation of Maximus was structured in the *synkrisis* formula.

[10] Libanius, *Encomium*, 7, 1 (…γὰρ ὅτι μέγα τε καὶ ἀγαθὸν ἡγούμενος τῆς αὐτοῦ μούσης ἠξίωσε); see: B. Schouler, *La tradition*…, p. 489.

[11] Themistius, Or. 30, 348c (…γεωργίαν καὶ ἀρετὴν δι' ἀλλήλων καὶ ἅμα μαθόντας εἰδέναι).

[12] Themistius, Or. 30, 348c–d; see: Hesiodus, Op. 654–657; on the topic of the aforementioned agon see: P. Bassino, *The Certamen Homeri et Hesiodi. A Commentary*, Berlin 2019 (text p. 83–115).

king of Chalcis. The winner of this agon was to be Hesiod, who admired the beauty of all-year work on a farm, as opposed to Homeric stanzas praising wars, battles and heroes. According to the sophist, it was the wisdom of Hesiod, who valued peace and labour, which was decisive in reaching verdict in his favour by the judges. In this fragment of his oration Themistius used the contrasted comparison of Homer as a poet of war and Hesiod as a poet of farming, thus highlighting the positive and productive, not destructive one as Homer's, influence of the Boeotian author on the collective human life[13].

Another element present in both encomia was the reference to deities, who were supposed to support men in their agricultural struggles. Libanius mentions three deities, i.e. Athena, Demeter and Dionysus, who bestowed upon humanity various blessings and conveniences related to farming, such as the yoke, plough or wheat:

> For you have heard how Athena led the ox under the yoke a gave the plough to men, while Dionysus revealed the boon of the vine, and wheat and barley were the gift of Demeter. It was made clear in the contest with Poseidon over Attica that the olive was sacred to Athena and that this tree was the goddess's discovery[14].

Themistius treated that issue more maturely, at the same time proving his undeniable erudition. First of all, he pointed out the fact that these are the gods, especially those connected with farming, who receive from people various forms of fruits of the land, such as offerings, libations or feasts, as an expression of thanksgiving for the support, care and favour given to the human community[15]. Here the sophist recalls Dionysus, Persephone the daughter of Demeter, Zeus "the rain bringer" (ὑέτιόν τε Δία), Poseidon "the feeding" (Ποσειδῶνα φυτάλμιον) or even nymphs, but this was merely a rhetorical device, skilfully referring to religious associations of the audience and aiming at introducing a more convincing philosophical and religious argumentation. Themistius reaches for the views of Prodicus of Ceos (…τὴν Προδίκου σοφίαν)[16]. Invoking the opinions of the philosopher he stated that all the important manifestations of mankind's religious life, such as mysteries, festivals or rites are connected with the blessings of farming[17]. The very idea

[13] P. Bassino, *The Certamen*…, p. 35–37; the motif of Hesiod's poetry praising the work of a farmer was also used by Themistius in Or. 15, 184c–d; for Hesiod in Themistius' works see: B. Colpi, *Die Paideia des Themistios. Ein Beintrag zur Geschichte der Bildung im 4 Jh. nach Christus*, Bern 1987, p. 29–34.

[14] Libanius, *Encomium*, 7, 2; H. Podbielski, *Progymnasmata*…, p. 431.

[15] Themistius, Or. 30, 349a (ἐπειδὴ καὶ τὰς ἐνιαυσίας [καὶ τὰς] ἀμοιβὰς οὐχ ὑπὲρ τούτου μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑπὲρ πάντων ὧν ἐκ θεοῦ ἔχουσιν ἄνθρωποι παρὰ γεωργίας κομίζονται, σπονδὰς καὶ θυσίας καὶ δαῖτας, καὶ ὅσα φύουσιν ἐκ τῆς γῆς Ὧραι).

[16] See: *The Private Orations*…, p. 185, n. 3 (therein a detailed explanation of the relation of the aforementioned gods with farming).

[17] Themistius, Or. 30, 349b (ὃς ἱερουργίαν πᾶσαν ἀνθρώπων καὶ μυστήρια καὶ πανηγύρεις καὶ τελετὰς τῶν γεωργίας καλῶν ἐξάπτει…); Iss. Prodicus 77 B 5 (*Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker*, vol. II,

of gods, as well as all piety, if one were to follow Prodicus' thoughts, was supposed to have occurred as a result of the agricultural toil of people[18]. Unfortunately, Themistius neither explained Prodicus' concept more broadly nor commented on it, yet he would quickly link it with statements referring to Orphism and present his own interpretation of certain elements of the myth of Orpheus. He admitted that even though the Orphic rites and mysteries (Ὀρφέως τελετάς τε καὶ ὄργια) are not directly linked with farming, the figure of Orpheus might be associated with it in two ways. First of all, using a kind of wordplay the sophist marked that thanks to the fruit grown and provided by farming (τῶν ἡμέρων) Orpheus tamed (ἡμερῶσαι) not only all nature and behaviours of wild animals, but also uprooted and civilised (ἡμερῶσαι) that which is wild in human souls. Secondly, Orpheus was to use the fruit of the land in all religious rituals, which he conducted to honour gods[19].

In both the encomia their authors highlight the civilisational role of farming, which fundamentally changes the lives of men. For Themistius farming, a common social experience (…πάντες ἐδέξαντο γεωργίαν), was a determinant of the welfare of a given community. As he argued – *the more [advanced] people are in farming, the happier they are*[20]. Those nations which do not lead a farming lifestyle are, according to the sophist, similar to wild animals, as they lead a homeless life just like vagrants do[21]. Farming did indeed trigger a whole cycle of changes in social life, releasing people from constant fight for meeting elementary food needs. According to Themistius, switching to the farming way of life resulted in urbanisation, creating a developed religious life, culture and, most of all, a system of laws regulating social relations. The sophist saw in farming one of the most important sources of law and a factor shaping the essence of humanity[22]. Then, he propos-

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ed. H. Diels, Berlin 1922, p. 274–275); for views of Prodikos see: K. Fritz, *Prodikos (3)*, [in:] *RE*, vol. XXIII, Stuttgart 1957, col. 85–89; C. Cooper, *Prodicus*, [in:] *The Sophists. An Introduction*, ed. P. O'Grady, London 2008, p. 71–83; R. Mayhew, *Prodicus the Sophist. Text, Translation and Commentary*, Oxford 2011, *passim*.

[18] Themistius, Or. 30, 349b (…νομίζων καὶ θεῶν εὔνοιαν ἐντεῦθεν εἰς ἀνθρώπους ἐλθεῖν καὶ πᾶσαν εὐσέβειαν ἐγγυώμενος). See: explanations concerning the amendment θεῶν εὔνοιαν / θεῶν ἔννοιαν (the good will of the gods / the idea of gods) in: *The Private Orations*…, p. 185, n. 4; see also: B. Colpi, *Die Paideia*…, p. 120–121.

[19] Themistius, Or. 30, 349c; See: *The Private Orations*…, p. 186, n. 5.

[20] Themistius, Or. 30, 349d (…καὶ οἷς πλείω τὰ τῆς γεωργίας, οὗτοι μᾶλλον εὐδαίμονες).

[21] Themistius, Or. 30, 350a; see: *The Private Orations*…, p. 186, n. 6; Themistius recalls the Scythians here (ἄξενος Σκυθῶν) as an example of a non-farming nomadic people and refers to the popular text by Dionysius Periegetes, 186–194 (see: *Geographi Graeci Minores*, vol. II, ed. K. Müller, Parisii 1861, p. 112) on the wildness of people living without farming.

[22] Themistius, Or. 30, 350b (Οἷς δὲ ὁ βίος ἥμερος καὶ ὑπόστεγος, οὗτοι τῆς περὶ τροφὴν ἀνάγκης ἀπαλλαγέντες πρὸς οὐρανόν τε ἀνέβλεψαν θεούς τε ἐτίμησαν καὶ δίκῃ καὶ νόμοις ἐχρήσαντο πρῶτοι,οὐκ ἔτ' οὔσης ἀνάγκης τοῖς ἀναγκαίοις προσκαρτερεῖν, ἀλλ' εὐπορίᾳ βίου σοφίαν ἀσκοῦντες. οἱ δὲ πόλεις τε ἐδείμαντο καὶ νεὼς ἤγειραν καὶ δίκῃ χρῶνται καὶ νόμους ἔθεντο· ὥστε καὶ τῶν νόμων αὐτῇ περίεστι μᾶλλον ἢ τοῖς ἄλλοις πᾶσιν . ἡδὶ καὶ εἶναι ἀνθρώπους…).

es a thesis that farming had always been under a special care of lawmakers, who protected it against disastrous results of wars and provided favourable conditions for trade in farm products[23]. Libanius repeated all of the above arguments, adding at the same time that as long as there was no agriculture, the law of force was the deciding factor[24].

The pivotal coinciding element in both analysed texts is the moral dimension of farming, so deeply underlined by both authors, which affects the attitudes and behavioural patterns of people who are occupied with it. Libanius pointed to the nobility of farmers (…ἐστιν αὐτοὺς ἀγαθοὺς εἶναι), who are naturally far from the urban life full of disputes, wickedness and rivalry. Their religiousness is authentic and straightforward, stemming from the rhythm of farm work. The sophist also highlighted the self-control (σωφροσύνη) of farmers in the sphere of sexuality as well as their courage (ἀνδρεία), which was the consequence of difficult working conditions[25]. It also translates into the physical wellbeing of farmers, who are strong, hardened and fall ill less often, which was summed up by Libanius in the statement that *if health is in fact the most important thing among men*, *farming includes this*, *as well*[26].

When praising farmers Themistius puts stress on the idea of justice (δικαιοσύνη) as particularly associated with this social group and one which through farming settled down in human society. According to the sophist, farmers cannot adhere to injustice (ἀδικία) in their actions, because they live in prosperity focussed entirely on that which is simple and noble, while at the same time avoiding interference into other people's lives. Only justice and following the law gives the possibility of making use of the results of farm work[27].

Further in his encomium Libanius goes down a somewhat different than Themistius path of argumentation. He contemplates general benefits which farming brings to society and conducts a comparison of rural and urban life. Libanius is intrigued by the question – what would our lives be like if there was no agriculture. With no harvest, according to the sophist, human beings, deprived of natural produce essential to life, would not be capable of withstanding their enemies, whereas food would be gained in rivalry with wild animals[28]. When juxtaposing living in town to living in a village, Libanius sketches a bucolic image of rural existence:

[23] Themistius, Or. 30, 350b–c.

[24] Libanius, *Encomium*, 7, 3.

[25] Libanius, *Encomium*, 7, 4–5; according to Libanius sexual relations in peasant marriages are of exclusively procreative character (…προσέχουσι δὲ τὸν νοῦν τῇ γυναικὶ καὶ τὰς δικαίας ἐπίστανται μόνον μίξεις τὰς ὑπὲρ παίδων γονῆς); see: C.A. Gibson, *Libanius' Progymnasmata*…, p. 142.

[26] Libanius, *Encomium*, 7, 8; H. Podbielski, *Progymnasmata*…, p. 433.

[27] Themistius, Or. 30, 351a.

[28] Libanius, *Encomium*, 7, 10; Libanius invokes the authority of Homer here (Homerus, *Ilias*., 9.705–706; 19.16–172) claiming that the humans draw their strength from the produce of farmer's labour in the form of wine and bread.

> But if someone thinks that life in the city is more delightful, let him contemplate for himself what it is like to see a vine and grapes hanging from it, what it is like to sit under a pine or plain tree at midday, what it is like to see crops stirred by the breezes of the west wind, what it is like to hear oxen lowing and sheep bleating, what it is like to see calves suckling and bounding about[29].

In the words of the sophist even such urban life attractions as theatre plays do not outbalance the pleasures of countryside living[30]. Final conclusions of both author are very similar. For Libanius, farming is an indispensable factor for all, no matter the ethnic descent or social status. It upholds social life and enables the existence of townsfolk. In the words of Libanius', a man fully committed to the art of rhetoric, its extraordinary meaning is expressed in the following manner – *whoever admires rhetoric*, *let him ponder for himself the fact that cities could exist without rhetoric but without farming they could not*[31]. Themistius similarly summarised his speech, placing stress on the fundamental importance of farming for functioning of all social and professional groups as well as for the rulers, who must place it even before the needs of the army. It is only through farming, as the sophist argues, that self-sufficiency and prosperity are secured[32].

The analysis of both encomia shows considerable convergence of motifs and topoi used, for instance appealing to deities supporting farming, praising those who cultivate the land, highlighting their physical and spiritual virtues, the usefulness of their work to others. However, the reasons behind the creation of the texts differ. While the template of an encomium, developed by authors of theoretical rhetorical treatises in great detail, was most often directed towards praising of persons, Libanius adopted it in this case in order to praise farming, having been driven by didactic reasons and, as one may presume, his rich teaching experience[33]. In Themistius' case, as was mentioned at the beginning, the motivation for creating the analysed text is unclear, yet it cannot be simply narrowed down only to a progymnasmatic exercise. The sophist freely operates with the arguments, supporting himself with references to mythology, religion and philosophy. His praise of farming

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[29] Libanius, *Encomium*, 7, 11; H. Podbielski, *Progymnasmata*…, p. 433; The appraisal of farming life is contrasted with the intensive urban life of Libanius himself see: J. Wintjes, *Das Leben des Libanius*, Rahden 2005, *passim*.

[30] Libanius, *Encomium*, 7, 12.

[31] Libanius, *Encomium*, 7, 14; H. Podbielski, *Progymnasmata*…, p. 433. Here a remark by Libanius' occurs, noting that while there is no mythical story on the subject of rhetoric, there are myths referring to farming. For example, the myth of Triptolemos, son of Keleos, the King of Eleusis is cited, upon whom Demeter bestowed the ability to cultivate land. See: Ovidius, *Metamorphoses*, 5.642–661.

[32] Themistius, Or. 30, 351.

[33] Theoretical clues concerning the structure of encomium praising particular works (πράγματα) are found in, for instance, Ps.-Hermogenes, 7, 12 (hunting serves as an example – *Hermogenes Opera*, ed. H. Rabe, *Rhetores Graeci*, vol. VI, Stuttgart 1985, p. 17).

has a more pragmatic tone, devoid of trivial idyllic images of rural life. We may only suspect that with his oration the sophist wanted to join an important current public discourse (e.g., related to the authorities' policy of improving agricultural productivity). Using modern terminology we could say that this way Themistius implemented a form of civic advocacy in the complex reality of late-Roman empire, faced with many, such as economic, problems. What seems essential is that in both works the authors present a unitary standpoint, indicating the civilisational role of farming, which made it possible for people to abandon the state of savagery. They also accentuate the indispensability of farming in society's existence. Farmers are for them the embodiments of positive values – nobility, justice, moderation.

It is impossible to treat both texts only in the category of testimony of the rhetorical culture of the time or the literary and erudite skills of the authors, although they can also be analysed in this way. In the case of Libanius' encomium we are dealing with a school text, which constituted a small element of the wider body of the literature of late Antiquity, and of a rhetoric "school" with its curriculum, objectives and methods of education. Achieving competence in rhetoric was associated not only with acquiring the technical skills of pronunciation, learning mythology, classical Greek literature and history but also with moral upbringing of students through transmission of values, norms and patterns of behaviour of the educated elite of society of the period[34]. Elements of this world of values are found in both orations, where σωφροσύνη by Libanius and δικαιοσύνη by Themistius were to be a determinant of actions and moral choices, whereas the topic of farming served as a good theme for their presentation. While in the case of Libanius' text the audience were young people studying rhetoric, Themistius' encomia may have had a wider and more mature audience that not only appreciated the author's rhetorical prowess, but was also able to read the subtly veiled subtext of the speech.

[34] C.A. Gibson, *Portraits of Paideia in Libanius Progymnamsata*, [in:] *Libanios, le premier humaniste. Études en hommage à Bernard Schouler. Actes du colloque de Montpellier, 18–20 mars 2010*, ed. O. Lagacherie, P.L. Malosse, Alessandria 2011, p. 69–78.

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Representing the *atra bilis*: The 'Said' and 'Unsaid' of the Melancholic in Cesare Ripa's Iconologia*

Abstract. This article is the third in a series of works which aims to contribute to documenting the influence of the medical theory of individual temperaments, derived from the theory of the four humors, through the major work *Iconologia* by the Italian humanist Cesare Ripa (1555–1622). Here, we studied the allegory of the melancholic. Beyond the work aimed at situating it within the medical tradition, we were particularly interested in the relationship between text and image and the interplay between expression (*explicite*) and silence (*implicite*) that is so frequent in the work. We thus undertook to analyse all the symbolic attributes of Ripa's composition according to whether they appear in the engraving, in the text, in both, and whether they are commented on or not. The importance given at the end of the text to the teachings of the School of Salerno also allowed us to better understand the synthetic thought of the Italian humanist and, consequently, the overall economy of the *Iconologia*. Thus, in the course of our reflection on the modes of expression of the 'said' and 'unsaid' in the definition of the melancholic temperament in Ripa, we attempted to account for the internal mechanics of his work and the nature of the rhetorical strategies (both textual and visual) of his discursive architecture.

Keywords: Cesare Ripa, *Iconologia*, quaternary theory, complexions, melancholic, iconographic attributes, symbolic syntax, textual and visual rhetorical strategies

In her introduction to *Miroirs de la mélancolie*, Hélène Cazes revisits the key ideas that have accompanied this illness throughout history and rightfully declares that *at the wedding of Philology and Medicine*, *melancholy holds the place*

* We would like to point out that this publication is the result of a scientific project titled "Fantastiquer les chimères en l'air': l'*atra bilis* et les *passiones animi* aux XVI[e] et XVII[e] siècles en France. Médecine, Littérature, Iconologie". It was also funded by the scientific development fund of the Faculty of Philology at the University of Lodz (2023–2024).

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of honor from its invention to our most recent and post-modern continuations[1]. Indeed, one can no longer count the works where Its Majesty *Atra Bilis* appears in its most impenetrable attire, and the number of works dedicated to it bears witness to the *perpetual inspiration of a tradition beyond disciplines and languages*[2]. Placing our contribution within this long tradition of works dedicated to melancholy, we continue here our studies on the influence of the medical theory of individual temperaments, derived from the theory of the four humors, through the major work that is Cesare Ripa's *Iconologia* (1555–1622)[3]. Therefore, following the *Collerico per il fuoco* and *Flemmatico per l'acqua* which we have previously explored, we will now focus on the allegory of the melancholic. We will analyse the engraving illustrating the *Malencolico per la terra*[4] and the accompanying commentary by Ripa to reflect on the textual and visual strategies employed. The overall philological approach will remain consistent with our previous work, but in the case of this melancholic, we will specifically study the modes of expression of "said" and "unsaid" that make the relationship between image and text significantly different from a mere illustration or reference.

1. *Ante oculos ponere*

"Iconology", this new term coined by Ripa raises the question of the status of the image and representation in a much more direct manner than André Alciat's *Emblems* could. Regarding these two related works, it has been argued that they ultimately pursue opposite approaches: *chez Alciat*, *une série de signes chargés de significations*, *chez Ripa*, *une série de réalités en quête de représentations*[5]. It is at least certain that Ripa, as he states in his preamble, devotes his entire project to *Images faites pour signifier une chose différente de celle qui se voit avec l'œil*[6]. Further on, he specifies:

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[1] H. CAZES, *Introduction*, [in:] *Miroirs de la mélancolie. Mirrors of Melancholy*, ed. IDEM, A.-F. MORAND, coll. P. DUHAMEL, A.-M. HANSEN, Paris 2015, p. 9.

[2] *Ibidem*.

[3] We have chosen the edition by Pietro Paolo Tozzi from 1625 (C. RIPA, *Della novissima iconologia*, Padova: per Pietro Paolo Tozzi, 1625); later in the text, we will use the abbreviation C. RIPA (It.) whenever we cite this edition. Our choice was initially guided by the presence of beautiful and detailed woodcuts accompanying the author's commentary, and subsequently by the fidelity of the French translation by Jean Baudoin, which we will also cite in this work (C. RIPA, *Iconologie ou Explication nouvelle de plusieurs images, emblèmes, et autres figures hyerogliphiques*, seconde partie, Paris: chez Mathieu Guillemot, 1664). Further in the text, we will use the abbreviation C. RIPA (Fr.) whenever we cite this edition.

[4] C. RIPA (It.), p. 112.

[5] P. LAURENS, F. VUILLEUMIER-LAURENS, *Cesare Ripa lecteur d'Alciat: Emblématique et Iconologie*, JS 1, 2016, p. 69 [*with Alciat, a series of signs laden with meanings; with Ripa, a series of realities in search of representations*].

[6] P. CHONÉ, *Iconologie du Chevalier Cesare Ripa de Pérouse*, EMod 2, 2011, p. 110 [*images made to signify something different from what is seen with the eye*].

> Laissant de côté l'Image dont se sert l'Orateur, et dont traite Aristote au livre troisième de sa *Rhétorique*, je parlerai seulement de celle qui appartient aux Peintres ou à ceux qui par le moyen des couleurs ou d'une autre chose visible peuvent représenter une chose différente […][7].

As numerous and significant as the engravings that enrich it may be, the *Iconologia* is primarily a textual discourse[8]. Ripa does not describe the engraved personifications. Moreover, strictly speaking, he does not describe his allegorical figures either but defines them in the Aristotelian sense of Topics. Description only appears in the voice of the poet who would bring to life a completed composition "before the eyes" of his audience, so Ripa establishes with his work, which precedes creation, a genealogy that connects the expression of the essence of things to ekphrasis, through the intermediary of mechanical arts.

> La définition écrite, bien qu'elle soit faite de peu de mots, et que son imitation en peinture doive pareillement être laconique, cependant il n'est pas mauvais de faire l'observation de beaucoup de propositions [cose proposte]; de la sorte, ou bien l'on pourra dans le nombre en choisir quelques-unes qui soient le plus à propos, ou bien toutes ensemble elles formeront une composition, plus semblable à la description qu'élaborent les Orateurs et les Poètes, qu'à la définition propre aux Dialecticiens[9].

1.1. The engraving, mute poetry

From this perspective, the engraving appears to function as an illustration aimed at imprinting essential elements in memory. However, it is crucial to understand what Ripa considers essential and ensure that it is indeed conveyed in the engraving. Instead of moving from text to engraving, let us imagine ourselves as readers of an illustrated edition and describe what they would see first and foremost.

The engraving is entirely dominated by a middle-aged man with a beard flowing down to his chest. His mouth is bandaged, his head tilted forward, and his gaze immersed in a large folio book held open in his left hand. A bird perches atop his head as if nesting there, calmly surveying the surroundings. With his right hand,

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[7] *Ibidem*, p. 110. *Setting aside the Image used by the Orator, which Aristotle discusses in the third book of his Rhetoric, I will speak only of that which belongs to Painters or to those who, through colors or some other visible means, can represent something different* […].

[8] Let us recall that, regardless of Ripa's initial intention, the first edition of the *Iconologia* (1593) does not include any engravings, and only a portion of the allegories in subsequent editions benefited from iconographic enrichment.

[9] *Ibidem*, p. 113. [*Although the written definition is made up of few words, and its imitation in painting must likewise be laconic, it is nevertheless not a bad idea to make the observation of many propositions* [cose proposte]; *in this way, either we will be able to choose from the number some which are the most appropriate, or all together they will form a composition, more similar to the description drawn up by the Orators and Poets, than to the definition proper to the Dialecticians*].

the man brandishes a large, heavy purse made of leather or canvas. He is dressed in a long robe with short sleeves and a large collar, which appears scholarly yet of modest quality. The man stands upright, with his right foot placed on a curious small square base lying on the ground. This base is only sketched, as is typical in the *Iconologia*, reduced here to its simplest form. There is no background or vegetation. This description encapsulates what Ripa depicts through the figure of the Rider of Arpin.

Fig. 1. The *Malenconico per la terra*, C. RIPA, *Della novissima iconologia*, Padova: per Pietro Paolo Tozzi, 1625, p. 112.

1.2. Iconographic elements

The iconographic elements may appear few due to the simplicity of the composition, but it would be a mistake to believe that more complex or dynamic compositions found in the collection are richer in information. On the contrary, the representation of the melancholic contains more attributes than many other allegories, certainly more than the other temperaments. The age of the character / beard, the bandaged mouth, the book / attention given to the book, the bird, the clothing, the purse, and the square stone bring the number of symbolic units to seven (with an eighth element mentioned in the commentary), compared to five or six for the choleric, five for the phlegmatic, and five or six for the sanguine.

2. Said, unsaid, approximations and negligence

We have grouped the attributes into four categories based on whether they appear in the engraving, in the text, in both, commented upon or not. This variety, encompassing nearly all possibilities, justifies the focus of the present study.

2.1. Attributes present in the engraving and explained

The commentary following the engraving tells us that *la benda che gli cuopre la bocca*, *significa il silenzio*, *che nel malinconico suol regnare*, *essendo egli di natura fredda*, *e secca*, *e si come la calidità fà loquace*, *così per lo contrario la frigidità cagione del silentio*[10].

Depicted with bandaged lips ("cinta la bocca da una benda")[11], the melancholic (cold and dry in the Galenic tetrad) is primarily taciturn. By his coldness, he embodies silence, in contrast to the sanguine (warm and moist), who, due to his humoral warmth, is seen as an amiable and very talkative person.

If he values silence so much, it's because it fosters study. The open book ("il libro aperto"), the second attribute commented on by Ripa, and "l'attentione del studiare" reinforce the idea of withdrawal into silence and signify that *malenconico esser dedito alli studii*, *e in essi far progetto; fugendo l'altrui conversazione*[12]. To illustrate this idea, a quote from Horace embellishes the text and, above all, lends it true authority:

> onde Horario nell'ultima Epistola del 2 lib. dice:
> *Scriptorum chorus omnis amat nemus*
> *Et fugit Urbes*[13].

The bird perched on the head of the melancholic reinforces this idea but raises some questions. It is characterized in the commentary by the expressions "passero ucello solitario" and then "passero solitario"[14]. Is it a sparrow that Ripa depicts as

[10] C. Ripa (It.), p. 113. Cf. C. Ripa (Fr.), p. 55: *la bendelette signifie que le Melancolique ne parle pas beaucoup*, *pour estre d'un naturel froid et sec ; comme au contraire la chaleur rend les hommes babillards* [*The bandage signifies that the Melancholic does not speak much*, *being of a cold and dry nature; whereas warmth makes people talkative*].

[11] C. Ripa (It.), p. 113.

[12] C. Ripa (It.), p. 113. Cf. C. Ripa (Fr.), p. 55: *Il tient un Livre ouvert*, *pour que les gens de cette complexion s'addonnent volontiers aux bonnes Lettres et que pour y vacquer plus commodément ils recherchent la solitude* [*He holds an open book*, *so that people of this temperament willingly engage in literature and seek solitude to pursue it more comfortably*].

[13] C. Ripa (It.), p. 113. Cf. C. Ripa (Fr.), p. 55: *Ce qui fait dire à Horace*, */ Que tous les Escrivains et de Prose et de Vers/Preferent à la Cour les champs et les deserts* [*This is why Horace says*, */ That all writers of prose and verse prefer fields and deserts to the Court*]. See also Horace, *Épîtres*, LIV, II, 2, 77, ed. et trans. F. Villeneuve, Paris 1964, p. 171: *All the writers in the chorus love the woods and shun the cities*.

[14] C. Ripa (It.), p. 113. Cf. C. Ripa (Fr.), p. 55.

solitary for the purposes of his figure? Modern taxonomy offers a more promising alternative. Indeed, "passero solitario" is today the Italian vernacular name for *Monticola solitarius*[15], known in French as the blue rock thrush. This subspecies of the thrush family is predominantly found across Mediterranean countries and prefers nesting in isolated places such as rocky crevices in mountainous or coastal areas, but it is also known to favor ruins. Its epithet derives from its solitary nature, unlike most common sparrows. Therefore, there is no reason to believe that Ripa refers to a different bird when he writes that, like the melancholic, the "passero solitario" inhabits deserted places and does not associate with other birds (*abita in luoghi solitarii*, *e non conversa con gli altri uccelli*)[16]. The birds in the *Iconologia* always correspond to fairly familiar European species (the nightingale, the swan, the swift, the crow, the swallow, etc.). We would therefore venture to guess that in the 16th century – at least for the Italians, the blue rock thrush was a sufficiently recognisable and familiar species to be used symbolically.

What about the position of the bird on the figure's head? It should be pointed out first that the blue rock thrush is also the attribute of the *Solitudine* (p. 618)[17], allegorised as a *Donna vestita di bianco*, *con un Passaro solitario in cima del capo*. The motif therefore seems to go hand in hand with its position, so that the full symbolic attribute is actually "passero solitario sopra il capo". So why on the head?

A brief examination of the *Iconologia* allows us to observe a certain syntax in the spatial distribution of its avian bestiary. For example, the stork (*cigogna*) of the *Aiuto* (p. 17) is on the ground, the swallow (*rondine*) of the *Architetura Militare* (p. 43) is perched on the left hand, the peacock (*pauone*) of the *Arroganza* (p. 49) is held under the left arm, etc. Therefore, there must be some reason for perching this blue rock thrush on a head. Let us remember that these compositional choices do not fall under the freedom of the engraver. Ripa always takes care to say that such an attribute is above, below, to the right of this, to the left of that, but he never provides the reasons, not even implicitly.

Referring to the *Hieroglyphica* by Pierio Valeriano offers us some interpretative solutions. The head ("chef") in this symbolic tradition represents the beginning of all things and, by extension, a number of divine or creative meanings. There are many variations, but one seems to fit our figure: the head is used to signify the "eminent in doctrine and command"[18] due to the immense honor bestowed upon the most exceptional individuals by depicting their heads on medals and coins. The connection with Pseudo-Aristotle's *Problème XXX* is evident[19]. Moreover,

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[15] https://avibase.bsc-eoc.org/species.jsp?lang=FR&avibaseid=41D76F4B19ACB4BD&sec=summary [13 IV 2024].

[16] C. RIPA (It.), p. 113. Cf. C. RIPA (Fr.), p. 55.

[17] For the rest of the text, the page numbers indicated after the allegories quoted in italics always refer to C. RIPA (It.).

[18] J.P. VALÉRIAN, *Les Hiéroglyphiques*, Lyon: Paul Frellon, 1615, p. 400–401.

[19] Cf. *Pour quelle raison tous ceux qui ont été des hommes d'exception, en ce qui regarde la philosophie, la science de l'État, la poésie ou les arts, sont-ils manifestement mélancoliques, et certains au point même*

Ripa states that all iconology has *pas de règle plus certaine ni plus universelle, que l'imitation des mémoires* [« memorie »] *qui se trouvent dans les Livres, dans les Médailles et dans les Marbres sculptés par l'industrie des Latins et des Grecs* […][20]. The head of the melancholic and its perched bird might be related to the obverse and reverse of a coin[21].

However, this solution does not fit well with the *Solitudine*, unless it refers to the *Malenconico*. A second interpretation of the symbolic syntax is possible, as another allegory caught our attention. Indeed, the *Loquacita* (p. 402) *Terrà in cima del capo una rondine, che sia nel nido in piedi in atto di cantare, e con la destra mano una Cornacchia*; Ripa explains that *La Rondinella* […] *ne dimostra la noiosa, e importuna natura de i loquaci, che essendo simile a quella della Rondine impediscono, e offendono gl'animi delle persone quiete, e studiose*[22]. Ripa is clearly inspired here by one of the hieroglyphs that Valeriano proposes for the swallow, both for the symbol and its location on the head, drawn from an anecdote[23]. Could we not imagine that the solitary and studious blue rock thrush stands on the head of the melancholic as a mirror image of the bothersome and chattering swallow of loquacity[24]? Or perhaps we should understand more simply and literally that the solitary melancholic enjoys isolating himself in the heights of his thoughts.

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d'être saisis par des maux dont la bile noire est l'origine, comme ce que racontent, parmi les récits concernant les héros, ceux qui sont consacrés à Héraclès? [*For what reason are all those who have been exceptional men, in regard to philosophy, the science of state, poetry, or the arts, manifestly melancholic, and some to the point of being seized by ailments originating from black bile, as is told in the stories about heroes, especially those about Heracles*?] (J. Pigeaud, *Aristote, l'homme de génie et la mélancolie*, Paris 1988, p. 83). Alexander the Great, Aristotle's disciple and Heracles' heir, is obviously the most illustrious figure of the melancholic 'éminent en doctrine et commandement' ['eminent in doctrine and command'].

[20] P. Choné, *Iconologie du Chevalier Cesare Ripa…*, p. 110. [*no rule more certain or more universal than the imitation of memories* ['memorie'] *found in Books, in Medals, and in Marble Sculptures crafted by the industry of the Latins and the Greeks* […]].

[21] Birds are common on the reverse of ancient coins. The silver tetradrachm minted under Philip III of Macedonia is an example. The reverse of this tetradrachm shows Zeus seated on his throne, an eagle in his outstretched right hand and a sceptre in the other. The poses of the personifications in the *Iconologia* are often found in numismatics. Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Gallica, https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8480780q [13 IV 2024] (Monnaie: Tétradrachme, argent, types d'Alexandre III le Grand, Sidon, Phénicie).

[22] C. Ripa (It.), p. 402–403.

[23] J.P. Valerian, *Les Hiéroglyphiques…*, p. 280: *Au reste Saint Jerome et Sainct Cyrille consentants avec Aristote, entendent par le precepte de Pythagoras, qu'on ne tienne point d'Arondelles chez soy, qu'il fault eviter la fréquentation des babillards et flagorneurs. C'est advis est fortifié par l'histoire d'Alexandre, le repos duquel une fois interrompu par le caquet d'une Arondelle qui voltigeoit importunément au-dessus de sa teste* [*Moreover, Saint Jerome and Saint Cyril, in agreement with Aristotle, understand by the precept of Pythagoras, that one should not keep swallows at home, and that one should avoid the company of babblers and sycophants. This advice is strengthened by the story of Alexander, whose repose was once interrupted by the cackle of a swallow which fluttered importunately above his head*].

[24] Especially as the *Complessioni and the Loquacita* were introduced at the same time, in the second 1603 edition of the *Iconologia*.

Fig. 2. *La Loquacità*, C. RIPA, *Della novissima iconologia*, Padova: per Pietro Paolo Tozzi, 1625, p. 402.

Finally, let us address the tied, closed purse ("borsa serrata"), the fourth and last attribute commented on by Ripa, which, he tells us, reflects the miserly nature of melancholics ("l'avara natura")[25]. The author does not elaborate on his assertion and resolves the issue in a very short sentence, except for the reference he makes to the following verses. We will return to this question later. However, the brevity of this comment should be related to the remarkable development given to the allegory of *Avaritia* (p. 57), which benefits from five iconological propositions over four pages[26]. The second, the most interesting for us, is the only one with an engraving. The commentary describes an *Donna vecchia pallida*, *e magra*, *che*

[25] C. RIPA (It.), p. 113. Cf. C. RIPA (Fr.), p. 55: *les Melancoliques sont peu genereux et grandement avares* [*Melancholics are not very generous and very miserly*].

[26] A "borsa strettamente legata" is still used for the *Malvagita* [Wickedness], cf. C. RIPA (It.), p. 451, with a strictly identical meaning. Guy DE TERVARENT (*Attributs et symboles dans l'art profane 1450–1600. Dictionnaire d'un langage perdu*, Genève 1958) does not mention avarice as such in the "Bourse" (purse) entry in his repertoire of *Attributs et symboles dans l'art profane*. It is an attribute of Mercury, felony, selfishness, vice, wealth, fortune and abundance. From this we can deduce that we are more likely to find the miser's purse in religious art, but this remains to be verified. Does Ripa treat Avarice in a particularly Christian way? Here again, a detailed analysis would be necessary. He quotes Horace and Claudian (*paganus pervicassimus* according to Orose), as well as Saint Gregory and Pope Urban VIII Barberini. The term *peccato* does not appear anywhere.

nell'aspetto mostri affanno, e malinconia […] *tenga una borsa legata, e stretta, nella quale miri con grandissima attentione*[27].

For our subsequent analyses, let us note the pallor of his melancholic *Avaritia* and observe that the attention the *Malenconico* pays to his book interferes with the attention he should be paying to his purse, as a true miser would.

Fig. 3. L'*Avaritia*, C. Ripa, *Della novissima iconologia*, Padova: per Pietro Paolo Tozzi, 1625, p. 58.

2.2. Attribute present in the engraving, mentioned in the text but left unexplained

This category concerns only one motif. Ripa defines a figure *che posandosi con il piede destro sopra di una figura quadrata, ò cuba*[28] without telling us what it is. We have now got into the habit of looking elsewhere in the *Iconologia* for clues to interpretation. The Melancholic is said to have some links with *Sapienza Divina* (p. 583), part of whose definition reads as follows:

[27] C. Ripa (It.), p. 58, "borsa serrata" a few lines later and in the third proposition (p. 59).
[28] C. Ripa (It.), p. 113; C. Ripa (Fr.), p. 55.

> Una donna di bellissimo, e fantissimo aspetto, sopra un quadrato. Si pone sopra il quadrato, per significare che è fondata stabilmente sopra ferma sede, dove non può vacillare, ne titubare da nivuolato. Pierio Valeriano lib. 39 de quadrato nel titolo della Sapienza[29].

Valeriano's discussion of the square follows that of the sphere, which is associated with Fortune[30]. Fortune, unstable by nature, is opposed to divine knowledge, which cannot change. In this case, the square signifies the immutable balance and unalterable perfection of divine wisdom, which is both the foundation and the bulwark of the good life, as Valeriano explains:

> Chap. XXXI. Sapience. Et comme les anciens avoyent accoustumé de peindre la Fortune assise sur une boule, aussi colloquoyent-ils la Sapience sur une pierre quarrée, ignisians par cest hiéroglyphique, comme nous disions n'agueres, que ceste là est mobile, et ceste cy ferme et constante. Et les nostres disent, que la charpenterie quarrée qui fut apprestee pour faire l'arche de Noé par le commandement de Dieu, signifie les Docteurs et maistres en l'Eglise, par la sagesse desquels les peuples qui sont dedans, sont fautiez, et preservez des assauts des hérétiques. Car Adamance nous exhorte de bastir une bibliothèque de charpenterie en quarré, non d'un bois champestre, rude et mal raboté : mais bien des livres des Prophètes, et des Apostres, esquels seulement est comprise la vraye sapience, pource que retranchans tous vices, ils nous apprennent la forme et teneur de bien[31].

It should be noted that to ensure stability, the *Sapienza Divina* stands with both feet on the square, but we do not think that this has the slightest effect on the interpretation we should make of the Melancholic's attribute. In fact, the *Historia* (p. 304) also places only one foot on the square, this time the left foot, and we read the same explanation there[32]. The precision "ò cuba", found only in the *Malenconico*, is perhaps worth exploring further. Valeriano devotes a section to the meaning of the cube, not in the chapter dedicated to the square, but to the triangle:

> S'enfuit le Cube, ou quarré, constant de figures à trois angles, ayant quatre triangles, dont l'hieroglyphique est la Supreme Divinité. Ainsi la pyramide paroist la première entre les

[29] C. RIPA (It.), p. 583.

[30] Ripa proposes nine different compositions for his *Fortuna*, C. RIPA (It.), p. 255–257; the sphere is present in the third and fourth: *Donna co'l globo celeste in capo* […] *si come egli è in continuo moto, cosi la fortuna sempre si move*, C. RIPA (It.), p. 256.

[31] J.P. VALÉRIAN, *Les Hiéroglyphiques*…, p. 18. [*Chap. XXXI. Wisdom. And as the ancients were accustomed to depict Fortune seated on a ball, so they put Wisdom on a square stone, unaware by this hieroglyphic, as we said before, that this one is mobile, and this one firm and constant. And the others say, that the square carpentry which was used to make Noah's ark by the commandment of God, signifies the Doctors and Masters of the Church, by whose wisdom the peoples within are saved and preserved from the assaults of the heretics. For Adamance urges us to build a library of quartered carpentry, not of rough, poorly planed wood, but of the books of the Prophets and the Apostles, which alone contain true wisdom, because they cut out all vices and teach us the form and content of a good life*].

[32] C. RIPA (It.), p. 305: *Donna alata, e vestita di bianco* […] *posandosi col piè sinistro sopra d'un sasso quadrato* […]. *Tiene posato il piede sopra il quadrato, perche l'Historia deve star sempre salda, ne lassarsi corompere, ò soggiogare da alcuna banda con la bugia per interesse, che perciò si veste di bianco.*

> solides, dont la base monstre trois angles: le quatriesme mis au coupéau de cette figure, comme il reçoit la forme de la divinite, aussi les Pythagoriens luy en donnent le nom. Les Mages adjoustent, que le simple triangle esgal de tous costéz est l'indice de la divinité, ou l'effigie des choses celestes, lequel pour estre de tous costez égal, mal-aisement se peut mouvoir, et ne peut décliner au mal[33].

We will not draw a meaning from the cube that is very different from that associated with the square: the cube, stemming from the triangle, is the symbol of supreme divinity. But what exactly can we do with this stability, this divine incorruptibility, in the case of the Melancholic? The doctor and adviser to Henri IV, Nicolas Abraham de la Framboisière, provides the beginnings of an answer:

> Or ce qui se trouve plus admirable en eux [les mélancoliques] c'est que quand les vapeurs de cette humeur eschauffée parmi de sang viennent à monter au cerveau, les voilà aussi tost ravis en contemplation, et comme transportez et poussez d'une fureur divine qu'on appelle *enthousiasme*, les uns à philosopher, les autres à poetiser, aucuns à prophetiser, ou profondement mediter chose saincte: tellement qu'il semble à voire qu'ils soient inspirez du sainct Esprit à ce faire. Aussi sont ils en cela vrayment imitateurs de Dieu, qui est tout exprès nommé en Grec, *Theos*, pour estre continuellement en theorie, qui vaut autant à dire comme[34].

We finally propose, in accordance with the medical tradition, to interpret the foot of the Melancholic remaining on the ground as a sign of his terrestrial element, cold and dry, by which he is defined. This seems all the more necessary as it is nowhere mentioned in Ripa's text, except in the title of his allegory. Regarding the origins of this connection to the terrestrial element, we refer the reader to our previous work on the ancient debate of assimilating or distinguishing madness and melancholy. There, they will find a detailed study of the very rich medical emblem that Louis de Caseneuve dedicated to the atrabilious[35].

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[33] Valérian, *Les Hiéroglyphiques*…, p. 521. [*The Cube, or square, constant of figures with three angles, having four triangles, of which the hieroglyphic is the Supreme Divinity. Thus the pyramid appears the first among the solids, whose base shows three angles: the fourth put to the cut of this figure, as it receives the shape of the divinity, also the Pythagoreans give it the name. The Magi add that the simple triangle, equal on all sides, is the index of divinity, or the effigy of celestial things, which, because it is equal on all sides, can only move with difficulty and cannot decline into evil*].

[34] N.A. de la Framboisière, *Le Gouvernement propre à chacun selon sa complexion*, [in:] idem, *Le Gouvernement necessaire à chacun pour vivre longuement en santé*, Paris: Charles Chastellain, 1608, p. 152–153 [*What is most admirable about them* [the melancholics] *is that when the vapors of this heated humor among the blood rise to the brain, they are immediately seized by contemplation and seem transported and driven by a divine fury called 'enthusiasm'. Some turn to philosophy, others to poetry, some to prophecy, or to deeply meditating on holy matters, so much so that it seems they are inspired by the Holy Spirit to do so. Thus, they are true imitators of God, who is expressly named in Greek, 'Theos', for being continually in theory, which means as much as contemplation*].

[35] M. Koźluk, *Folie et mélancolie. Un débat dans l'histoire*, [in:] *The Concept of Madness from Homer to Byzantium. Manifestations and Aspects of Mental Illness and Disorder*, ed. H. Perdicoyianni-Paleologou, Amsterdam 2016, p. 245–276.

2.3. Attributes present in the engraving but absent from the text

The next two attributes, the beard and the garment, which are visible on the engraving, pose no difficulty of interpretation. We are particularly surprised that there is no mention of them in the text.

Both attributes are part of the traditional senescence of the melancholic, which is part of the original set of tetrads that Galen of Pergamon constructs and justifies[36]. The four complexions thus correspond to the four ages of life, a motif that is itself widespread in European culture[37]. The characterisation of figures by age is an elementary symbolic tool in Ripa's work, and the length of the beard in the engravings is proportional to maturity. Thus, the "huomo vecchio" of the *Consuetudine* (p. 125) wears a beard as long as our Melancholic, while a man with a short beard illustrates the *Credito* (p. 145), which Ripa defines as a "huomo di eta virile". The *Malenconico's* talar robe, which has no equivalent in the *Iconologia*, is a garment reminiscent of both monks and academics. We know of no example in medieval and Renaissance art of an elderly man wearing anything other than a long robe, and it would be a curiosity if there were. The fashion for the short costume gradually spread throughout Europe from the 14th to the 16th century, but as the costume historian François Boucher points out, *le costume long ne disparaît pas complètement avec l'apparition du costume court*, *on le sait: les gens d'un certain âge lui restent fidèles*, *les souverains également*, *pendant un certain temps* […][38]. The elderly do not like to show their legs much; in Ripa's time, only they wore such long garments, except for judges and members of certain administrative bodies who took advantage of the abandonment of long clothing in the population to distinguish themselves. Therefore, the Melancholic's attire is indeed a sign of his advanced age, of the wisdom that comes with years, but also, due to the modesty in cut and ornamentation, a symbol of withdrawal into the silence of study.

Let us note that the adherence to medical tradition here is impeccable. Yet, Ripa's text provides only a meager "huomo", no mention of age, even though his *Malinconia* (p. 407) is described as a "Donna vecchia"; not a word about attire, despite Ripa qualifying the clothing of his allegories down to the color in many cases. Isn't the *Credito* (p.145) mentioned earlier defined as "vestito nobilmente d'habito lungo"? It is exceedingly surprising from this humanist, usually so rigorous in defining the dispositions and qualities of his allegories[39]. We have seen how

[36] *Ibidem*, p. 13.

[37] J.-M. SHAEFFER, *Âges de la vie*, *esthétique et arts*, Comm 2, nº 109, 2021, p. 11–34.

[38] F. BOUCHER, *Histoire du costume en Occident*, *de l'Antiquité à nos jours*, Paris 1983, p. 201: *the long costume did not disappear completely with the appearance of the short costume, as we know: people of a certain age remained faithful to it, as did sovereigns, for a time* […].

[39] The matter is clearly proclaimed in the preamble; concerning dispositions, Ripa declares: *Pour la tête, la disposition sera la position haute ou basse, joyeuse ou mélancolique et diverses autres passions qui se découvrent comme au Théâtre dans l'apparence, dans le visage de l'homme. C'est aussi dans les*

crucial these are in the case of the Choleric ("giovane magro quasi nudo")[40] and the Phlegmatic ("huomo di corpo grasso vestito di pelle di tasso")[41]. Therefore, it is the engraving alone that bears the burden of signifying, without justification, a crucial traditional element of the melancholic.

2.4. Attribute present only in the text and left unexplained

The eighth and final attribute we shall address is the skin color of the melancholic, absent from the engraving for an obvious reason. The atrabilious figure in the *Iconologia* is "di color fosco", "le teint basané" in Jean Baudouin's French translation ("dark-skinned") and, let us say it at once, this skin color is likely to surprise the reader familiar with the history of melancholy.

Before proceeding further, let us clarify that the word "fusco" comes from the Latin "fuscus", which means "dark", "black" of a "matte color". It so happens that Annie Dubourdieu and Élisabeth Lemirre have questioned this color present in Roman erotic elegy: *In two texts, one by Ovid and the other by Propertius, a woman's complexion is described as fuscus, an adjective which, according to J. André, designates the Mediterranean type with a brown complexion, as opposed to the pale complexion (candidus) of the Nordics: fuscus therefore designates a color less dark than niger*[42].

Medical and literary traditions[43] gave the melancholic a rather pale, even pallid complexion, which is the hallmark of studious people and nocturnal observers of the sky. What's more, the two stars associated with him (Mercury and Saturn)[44] also radiated a weak, cold light that was very much in keeping with his temperament. A representation in keeping with this tradition can still be found in Louis de Caseneuve, who describes his figure as "impalescentem (libro tenens)".

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bras, dans les mains, dans les jambes, dans les pieds, dans les cheveux tressés, dans les vêtements, et dans toute autre chose que devra se marquer la disposition, ou position distincte et réglée. [*For the head, the disposition will be the high or low position, joyful or melancholic, and various other passions that are revealed as if on stage in the appearance, in the face of the man. It is also in the arms, in the hands, in the legs, in the feet, in the braided hair, in the clothing, and in every other thing that the disposition or distinct and regulated position should be marked*], P. Choné, *Iconologie du Chevalier Cesare Ripa…*, p. 112. As for the qualities: *Les qualités ensuite consisterons dans le fait d'être blanche ou noire, proportionnée ou disproportionnée, grasse ou maigre, jeune ou vieille et chose semblable qui ne se peuvent pas facilement séparer de la chose dans laquelle elles sont fondées* [*The qualities will consist in being white or black, proportionate or disproportionate, fat or thin, young or old, and similar things that cannot easily be separated from the thing in which they are grounded*], *ibidem*, p. 113.

[40] M. Koźluk, *Représenter la flaua bilis: le portait du colérique dans l'Iconologia de Cesare Ripa*, SCer 12, 2022, p. 633–650.

[41] Eadem, *Representing the Phlegm: the Portrait of the Phlegmatic in Cesare Ripa's Iconology*, SCer 13, 2023, p. 1–29.

[42] A. Dubourdieu, É. Lemirre, *Le maquillage à Rome*, [in:] *Corps Romains*, ed. Ph. Moreau, Grenoble 2002, p. 91.

[43] On this subject, see Ch. Orobitg, *Gracilaso et la mélancholie*, Toulouse 1997, p. 69–71.

[44] M. Koźluk, *Folie et mélancolie…*

What can be said then of this Mediterranean melancholic, tanned by the sun? Ripa addresses this in his allegory of the Choleric by Fire (p. 109), which opens his series on temperaments, through a general paragraph aimed at explaining that the predominance of the humors is manifested notably by the color they impart to the skin:

> d'onde nasce, che per il color bianco si dismostra la flemma, per il pallido, overo flavo la collera, per il rubicondo misto con bianco la complessione sanguigna, e per il fosco la malinconia, secondo Galeno nel 4. De Sanitate tuenda al cap. 7. e nel I. de gli Afforisimi nel Commento[45].

The melancholic's skin, according to Ripa, is simply tinged with black bile. It turns out that the Italian humanist very rigorously applies Galenic doctrine[46], contrary to the overwhelming majority of authors who describe a pale complexion. We are tempted to say all other authors, as we are not aware of another melancholic described in this manner. It is surprising that this motif did not gain wider diffusion, but the melancholic pallor undoubtedly corresponds to a much older reality[47]. The choice to disregard common usage in favor of a return to Galen is quite remarkable, but let us remember that his melancholic *Avaritia* is perfectly "pallida". Thus, this doctrinal fidelity is only observed in the context of temperaments, the medical motif par excellence.

3. Deux ex machina: a strange resolution

Cesare Ripa explains the meaning of only four of the eight attributes we have identified, so the traits of the Melancholic that are truly emphasized are, in order, his taciturnity, his disposition to study, his taste for solitude, and his avarice. Other peculiarities are implied by the presence (mentioned or represented) of other attributes, but this seems rather limited for a complexion that has inspired so much writing since Antiquity, in medicine, literature, and philosophy. The first three developed attributes reinforce each other, and one can consider that all are

[45] C. RIPA (It.), p. 109.

[46] Cf. [GALIEN], *De Sanitate tuenda*, IV, cap. 7, [in:] *Claudii Galeni Opera omnia*, vol. VI, ed. C.G. KÜHN, Leipzig 1823 and [GALIEN], *Galeni in Hippocratis librum de alimento commentarius III*, VI (*Succi varii et coloribus et facultatibus*), [in:] *Claudii Galeni Opera omnia*, vol. XV, ed. C.G. KÜHN, Leipzig 1828, p. 275 (the entire scope of the treaty 251–374): *Si vero nihil extrinsecus adveniat, veluti frigus aut color aut aliqua animi perturbatio, humores ex coloribus revera dignoscentur. Ergo sicut corpus, quod se ipso sit factum candidus, iudicat pituitosum humorem in ipso dominari, pallidus vero aut flavius biliosum, sic si ad rubicundius quam natura ferat sit facta conversio, superare sanguinem inteligimus, sic si nigrus, atram bilem.*

[47] It is above all the Hippocratic tradition that defines the melancholic as pale, a characteristic taken from the description of Democritus of Abdera in the *Letters* of pseudo-Hippocrates, cf. M. KOŹLUK, *Folie et mélancolie…*

linked to the cold and dry nature of the Melancholic, a medical justification that the humanist takes care to specify early on before enriching it with the words of Horace. The fourth opens the way to an unexpected resolution. Indeed, the humanist concludes his text by reproducing six lines from the School of Salerno, introduced in a manner that suggests they will address avarice[48]:

> Restat adhuc tristis cholera substantia nigra
> Quae reddit pravos, per tristes pauca loquentes.
> Hi vigilant studiis, nec mens est dedita somno,
> Servant propositum sibi nil reputant fore tutum.
> Invidus et tristis, cupidus dextraeque tenacis,
> Non expers fraudis, timidus luteique coloris[49].

In fact, the purpose of this versification is not to explain but to transmit; the medical teaching is set out in hexameter to make it easy to memorise. It is therefore an enumerative portrait of the melancholic complexion, faithful to the canon defined by and since Hippocrates. We find some of the traits already explained by Ripa (*pauca loquentes* – "little talker"; *hi vigilant studiis* – "are great students, and fond of reading"), the mention of avarice (*cupidus*[50]), the colour of the skin (*luteique coloris*[51] – "of earthly colour") but above all, succinct as it is, this portrait offers a more detailed outline of the temperament: the *Malenconico* is sad by nature (*tristis*), perverse (*pravos*), jealous (*invidus*), insomniac (*nec mens est dedita somno*), suspicious (*servant propositum sibi nil reputant fore tutum*), fearful (*timidus*), opinionated (*dextraeque tenacis*). At the end of the text, Ripa strangely rejects what could have been the source of many other attributes, as if he were aware of the thinness or incompleteness of his figure. Did he find himself embarrassed by so many possibilities? Certainly, but we understand his choices better now because,

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[48] *La borsa serrata significa l'avara natura, come dicono i segunti versi della Scuola Salernitana*, C. Ripa (It.), p. 113.

[49] *Reste à parler encor de la mélancolie / qui la personne rend de tristesse remplie, / Perverse, et peu parlant ceulx de telle nature / Sont grands estudians, et aymantes la lecture, / Promptz à veiller, et gens en leurs propos constans, / N'estimans rien de seur, et envieux estans, / Avares, et entiers cauteleux et craintifz. / De terrestre couleurs, au surplus fort tardifz, Retardement de la mort par bon regime ou conservation de santé, jadis envoyé par l'escolle de Salerne, au Roy d'Angleterre, traduit de Latin en rythme françoise par Geofroy le Tellier advocat, présenté et dedié au Duc de Savoye*, Paris: Martin le Jeune, 1561, f° F 2r°. [*It remains to speak further of melancholy / Which makes the person full of sadness, / Perverse, and little speaking those of such a nature / Are great students, and fond of reading, / Prompt to watch, and people in their constant remarks, / Esteeming nothing of true, and envious estans, / Avaricious, and entirely cautious and fearful. / Of earthly colours, in addition very late*].

[50] Ripa establishes a strict equivalence between avarus and cupidus. While both adjectives express a strong desire to possess and monopolise, the latter can also imply something more libidinous. Indeed: *Melancholics, for the most part, are obsessed with sex* (Pr. XXX, 91).

[51] This reference no doubt reinforced Ripa's idea of defining his figure with a brown complexion.

upon reflection, the humanist condenses much of the material into a few simple ideas: sadness, fearfulness, and irrationality can be linked to the need for solitude, the rejection of all commerce with men, wakefulness, and critical sense are dispositions that serve study, just as the constancy of speech can be attributed to the divine wisdom that animates the melancholic.

One remains somewhat astonished at the rather casual manner in which Ripa eventually enriches his allegory. Could it be that he felt he no longer had much time to devote to the temperaments, or was it intended this way? For it is indeed a series, and the melancholic is the last temperament treated. Through developments, allusions, or citations of authorities, Ripa has already outlined the general medical framework in the previous temperaments, which likely explains the progressive tightening of his text[52]. Ripa's industrious endeavour may also have suffered from the material conditions of its execution: producing such a volume of text, with such variety, inevitably leads to treating certain matters more superficially than others, or concluding them hastily under the pressure of the printer.

* * *

It is difficult to determine how Ripa's readers, whether painters or sculptors, consulted the *Iconologia*, but the question is worth considering. They likely perused it in various ways, as we have done here, to understand, enrich, and compose. Naturally, some things that seem obscure to us today were not so for contemporaries. However, we have shown that consulting related concepts can answer many questions and give voice to the silences, and this is undoubtedly an implicit mechanism of the *Iconologia*. We do not believe it necessary to rely on a cultural subtext here. Ripa makes a visible effort to avoid repetition, which is challenging in such a work. He sometimes shortens his explanations when he feels he has developed them sufficiently elsewhere, but without cross-referencing, at the risk of seeming to abandon his reader or hastily finish his text. This intratextual navigation also allows us to appreciate the ingenuity of his allegories, even if some interferences or inconsistencies may appear here and there.

Next, what can be said about Ripa's *Melancholic* in the medical tradition? While *Malinconia*, which is merely sadness, sterility, pain, and despondency, is undoubtedly the manifestation of a pathological excess of black bile, akin to Cicero's acute madness[53], the *Malenconico* more willingly, albeit timidly, embraces the fruits of the seeds sown by (Pseudo)-Aristotle in *Problem XXX*, surrounding himself, by the presence of the cube, with an aura of knowledge, wisdom, and divine spirit. It is

[52] The *Collerico* is defined in 73 lines, the *Sanguigno* in 47, the *Flemmatico* in 34 and finally the *Malenconico* in 33.

[53] M. KOŹLUK, *Folie et mélancolie*…

worth emphasising that, in terms of the atrabilious colour of his allegory, Ripa demonstrates an orthodoxy towards the Galenic tradition, which paradoxically leads him to create a non-traditional composition. This observation sheds light on the Italian humanist's relationship with authorities and the quality of his interpretations. Nevertheless, we cannot explain the absence of any information regarding the age and attire of the *Melancholic* in the text. These elements are fundamental to the text of the *Iconologia*, and the reference to the fourth age of life in the traditional portrait of the *Melancholic* is of utmost importance; the fact that age is *finally* indicated in the engraving does not address the question. An implicit reference to the "vecchia" *Malinconia* remains possible, but we favour the hypothesis of an oversight.

At last, Ripa certainly follows the path carved by others, but he shows ingenuity in his choice of attributes. The solitary blue rock thrush perched on the head, an invention that could be considered personal and perhaps even regional, is a striking example. This simple motif, based on a basic analogy with the melancholic temperament, is surprisingly the one that has sparked the most reflections, as it involves a symbolic syntax whose origins are not always easy to determine. Ripa tells us that the statement must be concise, but perhaps it may be judged too synthetic in the case of the *Malenconico*. While we understand the internal mechanics of his choices, there is a certain unease when confronted with the verses from the School of Salerno, which suddenly introduce a richer material than all the preceding development.

The *Iconologia* is not merely a symbolic repertoire but aims to be effective and comprehensive in the realities it addresses, if not in their definition. Ripa's deliberate laconism in his contributions undoubtedly serves the requirement of memorization. In this sense, it participates in emblematics. Ripa's *Malenconico* is innovative but cannot be termed original, a label reserved for the extraordinary medical emblem by Louis de Caseneuve, as we have mentioned several times in the notes of this article[54]. Conceived as a true lesson in medicine, organized around an extremely erudite symbolic network, the work of this French physician will provide a complete and definitive understanding of the fascinating melancholic temperament.

Translated by Justyna Sowińska

[54] L. de Caseneuve, *Hieroglyphicorum et medicorum emblematum DWDEKAKROUNOS*, [in:] Ioahnes Pierius Valerianus, *Hieroglyphica*, Lugduni: Paulum Frellon, 1626, p. 40.

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Civil Authority in the Byzantine Provinces (7th–9th Centuries)*

Abstract. The issue of the rise of the thematic system of administration sparked off an intense debate that has engaged scholars for the past few decades. Those inclined to the view of a one-time reform have argued that the *themata* formed administrative units into which the Byzantine state was divided in the 7th century, and that the *strategoi*, who served as governors and commanders of particular *themata*, combined civil and military authority. However, it now seems that the changes in provincial administration were gradual, having been implemented over a period of more than three centuries. At some point in time, army units became permanently based in specific areas which evolved into military districts and which were then referred to by the names of those units. At the same time, the system of the Late Roman provinces headed by the praetorian prefects, the proconsuls and the *praesides*/*consulares* (*archontes*) continued to operate until the dawn of the 8th century. These officials must have retained at least some of their civil-judicial functions, since the state finances had been centrally administered by the mid-7th century. However, during that period, the military officials began to play an increasing role in civil administration, which affected not only the power held by the old civil officials, but also the extent to which their activity was reflected in primary sources.

From the 730s to the 750s Leon III and Konstantinos V introduced a number of reforms that consolidated the new system. The emperors dissolved the old provinces (most likely altogether) and abolished the office of provincial governor. At the same time, the terms *thema* and *strategia*, which were used synonymously, began to appear on various seals. Soon after that, the entire civil administration was re-organized along thematic lines. New officials were appointed (*protonotarios*, *chartoularios*, *anagrapheus*, etc.) to control the finances of the *themata*. However, judicial authority was left in the hands of the military governors. A century later, after a period of internal turmoil, possibly during the reign of Theophilos (829–842), the government appointed new judicial officials with a view to undermining the power of the strategos. These new officials were initially referred to by classicizing names (*anthypatos*, *praitor*). By the early 10th century, the Greek title *krites* (judge) had become dominant.

Keywords: Byzantium, civil authority, thematic system, administration, *themata*

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Etymologically, the word *thema* derives from the verb τίθημι. However, the wide range of meanings which the verb conveys – more than two dozen, including 'to bear arms' – renders this information quite redundant. The greatest problem posed by research regarding the origin of the *themata* is the scarcity of surviving evidence from the 7th and the 8th centuries. Contemporary sources, both literary and normative, are almost non-existent; they only sparingly resume in the late 8th century. This void is to some extent filled by analysis of lead seals that have recently come more to the forefront. However, the 6th and the 7th century seals are very concise – they bear only the rank and, less often, the office of the person, while provincial offices in particular are almost never mentioned. The information they contain becomes much more detailed around ca. 700.

Before proceeding any further, it is advisable to bear in mind some facts regarding sigillographic evidence. Byzantines used lead seals mostly to authenticate documents and secure official correspondence. During the Ptolemaic period of Egypt, clay seals were used for private correspondence and lead seals for official communications. During the Roman period, the practice of sealing private correspondence was totally abandoned[1], and there is little evidence that private communications were sealed in Byzantium. Wax was used by the imperial chancery for official letters addressed to low-ranking officials, and this simpler approach may have been applied in private correspondence[2]. From the practices of the 10th and 11th centuries (when documentary evidence resumes), we know that sealers did not necessarily include all of their offices and dignities on their seals[3]. With the exception of some professionals and other members of the elite, who may have issued documents in their private capacity (testaments, contracts, receipts etc.), most of the seals were used by imperial officials.

The variety of officials represented on seals reflects both their administrative roles and the extent of their involvement in bureaucratic paperwork. Naturally then, civil officials used seals more often than military officials who confined themselves to sealing only their official communications. It can also be assumed that governors and heads of central departments had more acts to authenticate than lower-ranking officials, and therefore used seals on a larger scale than the latter[4].

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[1] K. VANDORPE, *Seals in and on the Papyri of Greco-Roman and Byzantine Egypt*, [in:] *Archives et Sceaux du monde hellénistique*, ed. M.-Fr. BOUSSAC, A. INVERNIZZI, Paris 1997 [= BCH, Suppl. 29], p. 231–291.

[2] J.-Cl. CHEYNET, B. CASEAU, *Sealing Practices in the Byzantine Administration*, [in:] *Seals and Sealing Practices in the Near East. Developments in Administration and Magic from Prehistory to the Islamic Period. Proceedings of an International Workshop at the Netherlands Flemish Institute in Cairo on December 2–3, 2009*, ed. I. REGULSKI, K. DUISTERMAAT, P. VERKINDEREN, Leuven–Paris–Walpole 2012, p. 137.

[3] For example, Christophoros Kopsenos put merely his full name on his seal but used his full title in his signature: *Βυζαντινά έγγραφα της μονής Πάτμου*, vol. II, *Δημοσίων Λειτουργών*, rec. M. ΝΥΣΤΑΖΟΠΟΥΛΟΥ-ΠΕΛΕΚΙΔΟΥ, Ἀθῆναι 1980, no. 54.

[4] For example, the online catalogue of the Dumbarton Oaks seals collection [1 VIII 2024] contains 233 seals of *strategoi* from the 8th century and only 5 seals of their subordinates *komites tes kortes* from the same century.

Contrary to what might be expected, provincial officials are not underrepresented. The *strategoi* from the 8th century and the provincial judges from the 11th century, for example, are the most widely attested officials of these two centuries, respectively[5]. Furthermore, the areas of jurisdiction of provincial officials are often omitted from their seals; therefore, several of the *chartoularioi* or *dioiketai*, for example, whose seals do not specify the areas to which these officials were attached, were actually provincial officials[6].

The number of known lead seals now exceeds 80,000, with some scholars suggesting it may reach 100,000 – a figure that continues to grow. Until the 1980s, only a few thousand seals had been published. Since then, dozens of thousands more have been made available, including almost 16,000 in the online seals catalogue of Dumbarton Oaks, as well as numerous others in online and printed sales catalogues. This wealth of evidence has greatly expanded our understanding, and the majority of seals are now accessible in some form. Consequently, the absence of evidence can now be more meaningfully interpreted as indicating either the nonexistence or limited significance of a given institution or office, especially when considering positions that we consider important. Additionally, the dating methods and analytical criteria used in sigillography have been refined, allowing experts in the field to apply a more sophisticated methodology, despite variations in approach.

The *strategia* and the *thema*

One of the most interesting and productive debates held over the last century about middle Byzantine administration has been devoted to the establishment and character of the Byzantine *themata*[7]. Thanks to the hierarchical lists of Byzantine

[5] In the online catalogue of the Dumbarton Oaks seals collection [1 VIII 2024], the eighth-century seals of nine high-ranking ministers of the central administration (*sakellarios*, general *logothetes*, *logothetes of the dromos*, *logothetes of the stratiotikon*, *logothetes* of the herds, *koiaistor*, *protasekretis*, *parakoimomenos*) are much fewer in number than the seals of the *strategoi* of nine *themata* from the same century (Anatolikoi, Armeniakoi, Boukellarioi, Thrakesioi, Kibyrraiotai, Thrake, Hellas, Sicily, Kephallenia): 74 to 233.

[6] Clearer evidence of this tendency is provided by the ecclesiastical offices of bishops. No bishop could have been devoid of his see, and of the 34 eighth-century seals of bishops found in the online catalogue of Dumbarton Oaks [1 VIII 2024], nine do not mention any town.

[7] From the older literature: H. Gelzer, *Die Genesis der byzantinischen Themenverfassung*, Leipzig 1899; M. Γρηγοριου-Ιωαννιδου, *Παρακμή και πτώση του θεματικού θεσμού. Συμβολή στην εξέλιξη της διοικητικής και στρατιωτικής οργάνωσης του Βυζαντίου από το 10ο αιώνα κ.ε.*, Θεσσαλονίκη 1985; J. Karayannopulos, *Die Entstehung der byzantinischen Themenordnung*, Munich 1959; R.-J. Lilie, *Die zwei-hundertjährige Reform: Zu den Anfängen der Themenorganisation im 7. und 8. Jahrhundert*, *I. Die Reform der Verwaltung*, Bsl 45.1, 1984, p. 27–39; G. Ostrogorsky, *Sur la date de la composition du Livre des Thèmes et sur l'époque de la constitution des premiers thèmes d'Asie Mineure*, B 23, 1953, p. 31–66; A. Pertusi, *La formation des thèmes byzantines*, [in:] *Berichte zum XI. lnternazionalen Byzantinistenkongresses*, Munich 1958, p. 1–40; E. Stein, *Studien zur Geschichte*

functionaries from the 9th and the 10th centuries, the works of Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus and the various *taktika* (especially that of Leon VI), it has been possible to obtain a significant knowledge of their organization in the period under consideration. Beginning with George Ostrogorsky, the period was referred to as the 'Golden Age' of Byzantium. The empire, in which independent farmers and village communities (rather than big landowners) were the rule, was defended by a native and land-based army (as opposed to later mercenaries), and was ruled by strong emperors who resisted a feudal system and relied on an efficient bureaucratic apparatus to exercise their power.

This 'brilliant story' could not withstand the weight of overwhelming evidence, whether newly discovered or previously known, or the glaring lack thereof, and has been significantly reshaped by modern perspectives. In the case under discussion, *themata*, viewed as pertaining to the organization of the provincial administration and the army that eventually saved the empire from the Arab danger in the 7th and 8th centuries, formed part of the grand narrative mentioned above. Hoverer, the issue has received various interpretations from scholars. The origin, character, the time of their establishment, and even the name of the *themata* itself, all have been a matter of heated debate.

Regardless of the differences in their views of the origin of *themata*, most historians of this school agreed on what should be regarded as two essential features of the *themata* (at least in the 9th and 10th centuries): a) they were military in nature, and their governors combined military and civil authority, b) the conscription and maintenance of the thematic forces relied on hereditary farmer-soldiers and the allocation of so-called military lands. According to this line of thought, after the death of Basileios I (976–1025), the aforementioned method of recruiting and supporting soldiers was abandoned and, consequently, the institution decayed into non-existence.

This perspective was pursued even by those who have dated the establishment of the *themata* as late as the 9th century. However, this point of view overlooks the larger context. First, the *themata* was an institution that endured for three centuries after the death of Basil II. Second, the two fundamental features of the *themata*, previously mentioned, were relatively short-lived and likely rarely coexisted, certainly not in a 'pure' form. Evidence connecting military service with land is sparse before the 10th century, and by the time such evidence emerges, *thema*tic forces were already in decline, increasingly replaced by professional mercenary forces. These mercenaries played a crucial role in Byzantium's significant territorial expansion beginning in the mid-10th century[8]. Besides, before the end of the 10th century, the

des byzantinischen Reiches, vornehmlich unter den Kaisern Justinus II. und Tiberius-Konstantinus, Stuttgart 1919, p. 117–140; F. WINKELMANN, *Byzantinische Rang- und Ämterstruktur im 8. und 9. Jahrhundert*, Berlin 1985 [= BBA, 53], p. 137–143.

[8] J. HALDON, *Military Service, Military Lands, and the Status of Soldiers: Current Problems and Interpretations*, DOP 47, 1993, p. 1–67.

civil authority of the strategos was already undermined by the establishment of the *thema*tic judges. From the late 11th century onward, combined civil and military authority was once again vested in the office of the governor of a *thema*, now designated as *doux* rather than *strategos*[9]. However, many scholars choose to disregard this period as irrelevant for the institution of *themata*[10].

This is not the place to review all the scholarship on the issue under discussion. Nor is it necessary to deal with the entire institution in question. Instead, I will discuss the evidence pertaining to changes in the provincial civil administration between the 7th and the 9th centuries, focusing especially on the judicial aspects of those changes. I will be less concerned with financial matters. Twenty years ago, Wolfram Brandes and other authors carried out detailed research into the latter issue, including in particular the institution of *kommerkiarioi*[11].

Traditionally, most historians have been inclined to the view that during the inception of the system of *themata*, the provincial organization of the Late Roman era either continued unchanged or was subjected to the authority of the *strategos*. This view was clearly based on questionable evidence: names of provinces mentioned both in written sources and on seals of the *kommerkiarioi*, as well two sources of court protocol from the mid-9th century containing references to the *thema*tic officials: *anthypatoi*, *praitores*, and *eparchoi* (on this see below, p. 28).

In recent years, there has been a revival of the debate on the origin of the *themata*. Almost twenty years ago John Haldon argued that the thematic system existed only in the minds of modern historians, and that the Late Roman provincial administration continued to function well into the first half of the 9th century[12]. However, new sigillographic evidence appeared, including seals of imperial *kommerkia* bearing the term *strategia* to denote the circumscriptions that later became *themata* (such as 'the imperial *kommerkia* of the *strategia* of the Anatolikoi')[13].

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[9] N. Oikonomides, *L'évolution de l'organisation administrative de l'empire byzantin au XIe siècle (1025–1118)*, TM 6, 1976, p. 148–150.

[10] See, for example, K. Λουγγης, *Εισαγωγή*, [in:] *Η Μικρά Ασία των θεμάτων. Έρευνες πάνω στην γεωγραφική φυσιογνωμία και προσωπογραφία των βυζαντινών θεμάτων της Μικράς Ασίας (7ος–11ος αι.) (= Asia Minor and its Themes. Studies on the Geography and Prosopography of the Byzantine Themes of Asia Minor (7th–11th Century))*, ed. V. Vlyssidou *et al.*, Athens 1998, p. 37–67; M. Γρηγοριου-Ιωαννιδου, *Παρακμή…*

[11] W. Brandes, *Finanzverwaltung in Krisenzeiten. Untersuchungen zur byzantinischen Administration im 6.–9. Jahrhundert*, Frankfurt am Main 2002 [= FBR, 25], p. 239–426; L. Brubaker, J. Haldon, *Byzantium in the Iconoclast era, c. 680–850. A History*, New York 2011, p. 682–705; F. Montinaro, *Les premiers commerciaires byzantins*, [in:] *Constructing the Seventh Century*, ed. C. Zuckermann, Paris 2013 (= TM 17), p. 351–538; E. Ragia, *The Geography of the Provincial Administration of the Byzantine Empire (Ca. 600–1200): I.3. Apothekai of Africa and Sicily, Final Notes and Conclusions*, EE 8, 2012, p. 113–144.

[12] J. Haldon, *Seventh-century Continuities: the "Ajnad" and the "Thematic Myth"*, [in:] *Arab-Byzantine Relations in Early Islamic Times*, ed. M.D. Bonner, Aldershot 2004, p. 95–139.

[13] J.-Cl. Cheynet, *La mise en place des thèmes d'après les sceaux: les stratèges*, SBS 10, 2010, p. 1–14.

Constantin Zuckerman has rejected the claim that *thema* and *strategia* were synonymous, arguing that those seals, all of which are dated to around the 730s–760s, document the slow emergence of *themata* as a result of the transition of military districts (*strategia*) into administrative units, a reform carried out by the Iconoclast emperors by the end of the 8th century[14]. Taking this view a step further, John Haldon has claimed that the *themata* were only created by emperor Nikephoros I (802–811) who established a civil infrastructure within the purely until then military districts by appointing members of the *protonotarioi* to each of them. He has further argued that the term *thema* refers to the fiscal arrangement supporting the military forces of particular regions[15].

Aside from the increase of references to *strategiai*, the sigillographic material also provided the earliest known mention of the term *thema*. It dates from no later than the mid-8th century and was apparently used around the same time as the term *strategia*[16]. Vivien Prigent has argued in favour of drawing a distinction between the two terms. Since the term *thema* first appeared on seals related to Opsikion, Prigent has claimed that the *thema* was a cavalry detachment from the central forces of Opsikion sent over to the *strategiai* as a permanent detachment, which also constituted the campaign force of the *strategia*, something that allowed the term *thema* to gain the upper hand over *strategia* as a designation for these administrative units[17].

Within the framework of the *TAKTIKON* project, the first organized effort to tackle the complex issues surrounding *thema*tic administration through both sigillographic and non-sigillographic evidence, Olga Karagiorgou examined the appearance of the term *thema* on seals. She observed that the term was primarily associated with civil officials. Notably, the earliest seals from the 8th century bearing the term *thema* exclusively reference civil officials. Karagiorgou defines a *thema* as

[14] C. ZUCKERMAN, *Learning from the Enemy and More. Studies in "Dark Centuries" Byzantium*, Mil 2, 2005, p. 125–134.

[15] J. HALDON, *A Context for Two 'Evil Deeds': Nikephoros I and the Origins of the Themata*, [in:] *Mélanges Michel Kaplan*, Paris 2016 (= TM 20.1), p. 245–265.

[16] The earliest references are: Anonymus (…sos), *imperial spatharios* and *ek prosopou* of the God-guarded *thema* of Opsikion (ed. V. PRIGENT, *Retour sur l'origine et la nature des thèmes byzantins*, TM 24.2, 2020, p. 118–121) (date: mid-8th century); Anonymus, protonotarios of the Christ-loving *thema* of Opsikion (ed. C. MALATRAS, *In the Service of the Imperial Opsikion: the Corpus of Officials*, [in:] *TAKTIKON. Studies on the Prosopography and Administration of the Byzantine themata*, ed. O. KARAGIORGOU, P. CHARALAMPAKIS, C. MALATRAS, Athens 2021, p. 436–437) (date: late 8th century); and Niketas, *imperial spatharios* and *ek prosopou* of the *thema* of Opsikion (ed. J.-Cl. CHEYNET, *Les sceaux byzantins de la collection Savvas Kofopoulos*, Paris 2022, no. 3.163) (date: first third of 9th century, according to the editor, or late 8th / beginning of 9th century, since it looks to me chronologically closer to the seal of Michael (Lachanodrakon), *patrikios*, *imperial protospatharios* and *magistros* of the divine imperial *offikia* (ca. 790–792) [ed. J.-Cl. CHEYNET, *Les sceaux byzantins de la collection Yavuz Tatış*, Izmir 2019, no. 2.38]).

[17] V. PRIGENT, *Retour*…, p. 122–135.

a well-defined district or administrative province of the empire, whose resources were systematically registered, monitored, and managed by state civil authorities[18]. However, it should not be forgotten that temporarily (perhaps already at its inception), the term may also have been used to designate the army of a province, as evidenced by sources from the 9th century[19].

Alexandra-Kyriaki Wassiliou-Seibt has recently provided a summary of research findings on the establishment dates of the supreme military commands in the 7th and early 8th centuries. In addressing this issue, she has taken up the old thesis of George Ostrogorsky that the earliest commands (Opsikion, Anatolikoi, Armeniakoi) were founded during the reign of Herakleios. But unlike Ostrogorsky who treated *themata* as administrative units, she has linked them with 'military commands'. However, the study does not deal with the question of the structure and role of those 'military commands', which concerns us here, especially their relation to the older *magisteria militum*: were these 'military commands' structurally different from the older *magisteria militum* or did they simply acquire a new name (e.g., *Anatolikoi* instead of *per Orientem*) while their structure as military divisions remained the same[20]?

Central administration and the praetorian prefectures

Until the sixth century, the Late Roman provincial system was based on large praetorian prefectures, headed by praetorian prefects (*hyparchoi* and *eparchoi ton praitorion* in Greek) and subdivided into dioceses and provinces. As the most important officials, the praetorian prefects held the financial and judicial authority, managed the budgets and exercised control over the civil provincial governors

[18] O. Karagiorgou, *Yet another TAKTIKON?*, [in:] *TAKTIKON. Studies on the Prosopography*…, p. 88–95.

[19] Such as in *Theophanis Chronographia*, vol. I, rec. C. De Boor, Leipzig 1883 (cetera: Theophanes), p. 358: καὶ κελεύει περᾶσαι πάντα τὰ θέματα ἐν τῇ Θρᾴκῃ.

[20] A.-K. Wassiliou-Seibt, *From magister militum to strategos: the Evolution of the Highest Military Commands in Early Byzantium (5th–7th c.)*, TM 21.1, 2017, p. 789–802. For the remaining 'military commands', she draws on the well-known results of modern research: for Thrake ca. 680, for Hellas before 695, for Sicily before 700, for Thrakesioi ca. 694/695. The author claims that all the seals of the Karabesianoi date from between 700 and 740 and that the command was disbanded before 632 [sic: 732!] when a completely different command, the Kibyrraiotai was created. A more reliable analysis of the Karabesianoi and the Kibyrraiotai has recently been provided by P. Charalampakis, *Towards a New Prosopographic Corpus of the Kibyrraiotai: Sources, Methods, Benefits*, [in:] *TAKTIKON. Studies on the Prosopography*…, p. 544–551. Regarding the situation in Africa, it is advisable to consult: C. Morrisson, V. Prigent, *Les bulles de plomb du Musée National de Carthage, source méconnue pour l'histoire del'Afrique byzantine (533–695/698)*, CRAIBL 162.4, 2018, p. 1803–1834. The treatment of Opsikion is equally misleading as the author fails to discern that it was initially composed of palatine units, including the well-known *spatharioi*. For the origins of Opsikion, see the survey of research in C. Malatras, *In the Service of the Imperial Opsikion*…, p. 413–418.

in their prefecture. Each praetorian prefecture was divided into two sectors, civil-judicial and financial. Each of these sectors contained different *scrinia*, that is, special bureaus which discharged specific tasks, which were led by officials known as *numerarii*. Officials known as *cornicularii* were in charge of the judicial sector. The sector was subdivided into at least nine *scrinia*, of which four (one for each diocese) handled requests from, and communications with, the provinces. Lower in rank to the *cornicularii* were a number of junior officials collectively called *exceptores*. The junior officials of the financial sector, in turn, were referred to as *scriniarii*. The financial sector was divided into at least eight *scrinia*, one for each of the four dioceses, one for Constantinople, one for the prefecture's treasury (*arcae*), one for the public works (*operum*), and one for the state factories (*fabricae*). The number of those *scrinia* for both sectors changed according to the needs of the administration[21].

Since Ernst Stein, most scholars agree that the empire's administrative apparatus became increasingly centralized during the 7th and the 8th centuries. Comprising Thrace, Asia Minor, Syria, Palestine, and Egypt and covering a wide range of administrative responsibilities, the large prefecture of the East 'suffered hypertrophy' and was broken into its constituent services. Independent bureaus that managed those services were taken over by *logothetai*, officials whose authority was not limited to the provinces of the prefecture, but extended over the whole empire[22].

The process involving the breakdown of the prefectures and the subsequent establishment of bureaus, each tasked with responsibilities across the entire empire, is often an assumption justifiably grounded primarily in the administrative structures of the 9th century. However, the sigillographic material provides evidence documenting this change. It also allows us to date it to the late 6th century, that is, a bit earlier than previously assumed. The Dumbarton Oaks collection contains a seal edited by George Zacos approximately fifty years ago, which reads: Σκρινίου ἐργών τῶν ἐνδοξοτάτων ὑπάρχων, ('department of the works of the most-glorious prefects')[23]. The legend refers to *scrinium operum*, the bureau responsible for public works into which every prefecture was divided. The seal could be assumed to date back to the late 6th century, definitely after the creation of the praetorian prefecture of Africa, since under the law establishing the administrative structure of the territories reconquered in 534, this prefecture maintained a separate *scrinium operum*, indicating that full unification of all *scrinia operum* into one had yet

[21] W. BRANDES, *Finanzverwaltung*…, p. 63–116; A.H.M. JONES, *The Later Roman Empire. A Social, Economic, and Administrative Survey*, vol. II, Oxford 1964, p. 586–591; C. KELLY, *John Lydus and the Eastern Praetorian Prefecture in the Sixth Century AD*, BZ 98.2, 2005, p. 431–458; E. STEIN, *Untersuchungen über das officium der prätorianerpräfektur seit Diokletian*, Vienna 2022.

[22] E. STEIN, *Studien zur Geschichte*…, p. 147–151.

[23] DO BZS.1958.106.2381 (ed. G. ZACOS, A. VEGLERY, *Byzantine Lead Seals I*, Basel 1972, no. 764).

to be achieved[24]. The two Ξ letters used in the abbreviation for ἐνδοξοτάτων are an influence from Latin epigraphy. Only rarely are such abbreviations found on seals in Greek. Seals inscribed with the rank *endoxotatos* also point to a period no later than the early 7th century, and the seal's epigraphy looks quite similar to that used on the seal of Diogenes and Diomedes, 'most glorious *kommerkiarioi* of Tyros'. Dated to ca. 574–578, the latter contains the same rare abbreviation with the two letters Ξ[25].

However, the seal's most interesting aspect is its grammar. Σκρινίου is in singular form, and ὑπάρχων is in plural form, and there is no geographical specification. This means that the seal pertains to a *scrinium* that had already been unified with all the other *scrinia* of this kind from different prefectures. Therefore, it is clear that the seal reflects the continuity and the process of centralization which took place soon after the reign of Justinian I.

Aside from public works departments, general tax administration also centralized, passing from the praetorian prefectures to the *genikon logothesion* at some point in the 7th century. The *genikos logothetes* appeared before the late 7th century[26], but it is impossible to say whether this official was already placed in charge of tax administration in the early stages of his activity. Were, for example, the *kommerkiarioi* immediately subordinated to his authority, as was the case in the 9th century? The two institutions were probably related, which is suggested by the title *genikos* used by the *kommerkiarioi* (i.e., '*genikos kommerkiarios*'). However, the usually high dignities held by the *kommerkiarioi* speak against their initially subaltern relationship to the *genikoi logothetai*, as does the fact that after 729/730, following the introduction of imperial *kommerkia* and the later reduction of the *kommerkiarioi*'s role to that of mere collectors of the commercial tax, the institution changed its character[27].

The official who appeared in the same period as the *genikos logothetes* was the *dioiketes* of the provinces. *Dioiketes* was a simple tax collector, but the *dioiketes* of the provinces was a high-ranking official responsible for all (or at least many of the) provinces. Confirmed holders of the office usually held high dignities. According to the latest list drafted by Jean-Claude Cheynet, there were nine different officials holding the office between the mid-7th century and the early 8th century, which is an unusually large number for such a period, underlining the significance of the office[28].

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[24] *CIC*, 1.27.

[25] J.-Cl. Cheynet, C. Morrisson, W. Seibt, *Les sceaux byzantins de la collection Henri Seyrig*, Paris 1991, no. 144.

[26] See C. Malatras, *The Early genikoi logothetai: Status, Seals and Prosopography (mid-7th to mid-9th c.)*, [in:] *In memoriam Jordanov*, Sofia 2024 (forthcoming).

[27] W. Brandes, *Finanzverwaltung*…, p. 365–426.

[28] J.-Cl. Cheynet, *Les sceaux byzantins de la collection Savvas Kofopoulos*…, p. 80.

Similarly to the *kommerkiarioi*, the high-ranking *dioiketai* of the provinces could hardly have been ordinary officials of the *genikon logothesion*. They held either the same or even higher dignities than their contemporary *genikoi logothetai*, their alleged superiors. It is important in this context to take note of the seals' inscription: it does not pertain to a *dioiketes* of (an unspecified number of random) provinces; but to a *dioiketes* of *the* (i.e., of all, or of a specified number of) provinces. The references to Paulos and Stephanos, *dioiketai* of the eastern provinces, seem to link this office with the eastern prefecture[29]. Except for the eastern provinces, there is no mention of another 'group of provinces' for this office.

According to many scholars, the praetorian prefects disappeared in the first half of the 7th century[30]. It can be wondered whether the *dioiketes* of the provinces assumed the remnants of the defunct office of the praetorian prefect of the East (the *eparchos*)[31] or whether this was just a new name for the existing office of the prefects. *Dioiketes* can also mean administrator, which suggests that the tasks attached to the office did not necessarily involve only tax collection, a function that had probably by that time become the responsibility of the *genikos logothetes*. After all, there was no need to create a new office for the function that was already within the capacity of the praetorian prefect of the East, a top-ranking official. There was no reason to abolish such an office in such a short period of time, even if its capacity or function had been reduced merely to supervision.

Indeed, the office of the praetorian prefect was not abolished in the first half of the 7th century. Financial officials of the prefectures such as *discussores*, *tracteutes*, and *scriniarii* are attested to in primary sources until the first half of the 8th century[32]. The *primiskrinioi*, responsible for enforcing the prefectural court's

[29] Paulos: C. MALATRAS, *The thema of the Anatolikoi: Prosopography and Administrative Structure*, [in:] *TAKTIKON. Studies on the Prosopography*…, p. 278 (not mentioned in the aforementioned list of J.-Cl. Cheynet); Stephanos: Sales catalogue Olympus 3 [20 V 2023], no. 587. Paulos was a high-ranking official with the dignity of *apo hypaton*. He attended the 6th Ecumenical Council as '*dioiketes* of the eastern provinces' (διοικητὴς τῶν ἀνατολικῶν ἐπαρχιῶν) (*Concilium universale Constantinopolitanum tertium (pars 1: concilii actiones 1-XI; pars 2: concilii actiones XII–XVIII)*, 1–11, ed. R. RIEDINGER, Berlin 1990–1992 [= *ACO*, series II, 2.1–2], p. 14, 38, 46 and *passim*), while his seal records him as '*dioiketes* of the eastern (provinces)' (διοικητὴς τῶν ἀνατολικῶν). Similarly, Stephanos issued a seal as *hypatos* and *dioiketes* of the eastern provinces (τῶν ἀνατολικῶν ἐπαρχιῶν). However, on his later seals with the dignities of *apo hypaton* and *patrikios*, he records himself simply as *dioiketes of the eparchiai*. It is obvious that we are dealing here with the same office. Stephanos and Paulos are the earliest attested holders of the office. One could argue that the office's name was soon turned into *dioiketes of the eparchiai*. The 'eastern' was not specified for reasons of concision, just as was the case with the offices of the (*chartoularios*) *epi tou kanikleiou* or the (*chartoularios*) *epi tou bestiariou*.

[30] W. BRANDES, *Finanzverwaltung*…, p. 48–62.

[31] As has been surmised by W. BRANDES, *Finanzverwaltung*…, p. 153–161.

[32] Georgios, *stratelates* and *diskoussor* (early 8th century): DO BZS.1955.1.1988 (ed. G. ZACOS, A. VEGLERY, *Byzantine Lead Seals*…, no. 836); Leontios, *apo eparchon* and *trakteutes* of the Islands (second half of the 7th century): DO BZS.1947.2.80 (ed. J. NESBITT, N. OIKONOMIDES, *Catalogue of*

verdicts, are also attested to until the late 7th century[33], perhaps as late as 809, when Theodosios Salibaras is mentioned as a *promoskrinios*, obviously a distorted form of *primiskrinios*[34]. The seal of a *trakteutes* of Crete, an official of the prefecture of Illyricum, from the late 7th / early 8th century has also survived to our day[35].

As has been shown, the praetorian prefect of Illyricum continued to operate exercising his jurisdiction beyond the city of Thessalonike, the capital city of Illyricum[36]. The praetorian prefects of Africa, still vested with high dignities, and the officials of their prefecture, are sigillographically well attested until the end of the 7th century and the fall of Africa to the Muslims[37]. Also attested are two *eparchoi* of Italy: one in the second half of the 7th century and one in the early 8th century[38].

Byzantine seals at Dumbarton Oaks and the Fogg Museum of Art [cetera: DO Seals], vol. II, *South of the Balkans*, *the Islands*, *South of Asia Minor*, Washington, D.C. 1994, no. 43.5b); Gregorios, *hypatos* and imperial *skriniarios* (late 7th century at the earliest, due to the use of Dative): DO BZS.1947.2.598.

[33] Anthimos, *primiskrinios* (ed. M.D. Metcalf, *Byzantine Lead Seals from Cyprus*, Nicosia 2004, no. 239) (first half of 7th century); Hypatianos or Ploutinos, *primiskrinios* (ed. M.D. Metcalf, *Cyprus*…, no. 327, the monogram of the name was solved by the editor as *palatinos*, which is a function, but a first name is expected) (first half of 7th century); Theodoros, *primiskrinios* (of Africa?) (ed. K. Zografopoulos, *Die byzantinischen Bleisiegel aus Karthago*, PhD thesis, University of Vienna 2005, Θ.33) (first-second third of 7th century); Ioannes, *skriniarios* and *primiskrinios* (DO BZS.1958.106.2321, ed. G. Zacos, A. Veglery, *Byzantine Lead Seals*…, no. 646) (mid-7th century); Marinos, *chartoularios* and *primiskrinios* (DO BZS.1955.1.2497, ed. G. Zacos, A. Veglery, *Byzantine Lead Seals*…, no. 1180) (late 7th century). These four seals are not few in number, if one bears in mind that no seals of *primiskrinioi* from the 6th century have so far been identified. However, not all of them were necessarily officials of the prefecture, since *primiskrinioi* were officials also included in the bureaus of the *magistri militum* or the *comes rei privatae*.

[34] Theophanes, p. 486.

[35] DO BZS.1977.34.48 (ed. DO Seals 2, no. 36.5).

[36] A. Gkoutzioukostas, *The Prefect of Illyricum and the Prefect of Thessaloniki*, Βκα 30, 2012–2013, p. 45–80; W. Seibt, A.-K. Wassiliou-Seibt, *Die byzantinischen Bleisiegel in Österreich*, vol. II, *Zentral- und Provinzialverwaltung*, Vienna 2004, p. 148; A. Ζαφρακα, *Τα θέματα του Μακεδονικού χώρου. Το θέμα της Θεσσαλονίκης ως τις αρχές του 10ου αι.*, Βυζ 19, 1998, p. 160–165.

[37] K. Zografopoulos, *Die byzantinischen Bleisiegel*…, nos. A.39, Θ.26, Θ.33, Θ.35, I.35, Π.1: Arsaphios, *apo hypaton patrikios* and *eparchos* (third quarter of the 7th century); Ioannes, *eparchos of the praitoria* (the editor solved the monogram as 'ἀπὸ ἐπάρχων πατρίκιος', an invalid combination of dignities; the monogram can be instead solved as ἐπάρχου τῶν πραιτωρίων) (first half of 7th century); Pantherios, *apo hypaton* and *eparchos* (late 7th century); Theodoros, *praefecturius* (second half of the 7th century); Theodoros, *primiskrinios* (first to second third of the 7th century). There are a couple more which are not included here because the reading of the legend is uncertain. Since all of these seals have been found in Carthage, they most likely belonged to officials of the prefecture of Africa and no other prefectures.

[38] Theodoros, *apo eparchon* and *eparchos* of Italy: DO BZS.1947.2.95 (ed. DO Seals 1, no. 2.2) (second half of 7th century); Ioannes, *hypatos* and *eparchos* of Italy: DO BZS.1955.1.2768 (ed. DO Seals 1, no. 2.1) (early 8th century). Another praetorian prefect of Italy but from the first half of 7th century is Ioannes: G. Zacos, A. Veglery, *Byzantine Lead Seals*…, no. 354. The *eparchoi* of Rome also continued well after that date. The latest known were Mousilios, *patrikios* and *eparchos* of Rome from the second half of the 7th century (ed. G. Zacos, A. Veglery, *Byzantine Lead Seals*…, no. 746)

Finally, the *quaestura exercitus*, the new prefecture created by Justinian I, survived likely until the late 7th century. The head of the prefecture was soon known as *eparchos* of the Islands, *praefectus insularum*[39].

The only missing *eparchos*, rather strangely in this perspective, is the most-powerful praetorian prefect of the East. Two seals, regrettably badly-preserved at the bottom, record Marinos, ἀπὸ ὑπάτων καὶ ἔπαρχος τῶν…, and Platon, μάγιστρος καὶ ἔπαρχος .ω.π.. . Both have been identified as τῶν πραιτωρίων, a most logical solution, although the reading remains uncertain. The office *magistros* (it was still considered an office, even if mainly ceremonial) of the latter, the highest office in the state hierarchy, points indeed to a very high position of this *eparchos* in the state hierarchy, and not to a lesser office. A third seal, dated to the second half of the 8th century, has been read as Σεργί[ῳ] ὑπ(άτῳ) β(ασιλικῷ) σπα[θ(αρίῳ) (καὶ)] ἐπάρ[χῳ Π]όλ[εως], however, I can see the remains of yet another line below, with the seal reading in my opinion: ἐπάρ[χ(ῳ)] τοῦ πρ[αιτ] ορ[ίου][40]. Seals naming the *eparchos* 'of the City' (i.e., of Constantinople) first appeared after the mid-9th century, to the extent of my knowledge. Besides, many eparchs without any specification are known from the 7th century. Could not any of them have been a praetorian prefect of the East, the prefect *par excellence*? An alternative option is that his name may have changed from prefect (ὕπαρχος/ἔπαρχος) to administrator (διοικητής) of the (eastern) provinces[41].

This does not mean that the praetorian prefects retained the power they held in the 6th century. Although the sources from the 7th century and the first half of the 8th century are very scarce, the fact that none of the surviving sources contains mentions of praetorian prefects acting after the reign of Heraclius (610–641) (the only exception being the prefect of Illyricum, i.e., the *eparchos* of Thessalonike) can only indicate that their authority and power had been severely curtailed, especially after the emergence of the *genikos logothetes*. The *genikos logothetes* was in charge of taxation, or even of the whole financial sector of the prefecture, if we agree with Wolfram Brandes's view that some of the other services, such as the production of silk (*blatteion*), the *kommerkiarioi*, or even the *logothesia* of the

and possibly Niketas, *patrikios* and *eparchos* of Rome (?) (πατρικίῳ (καὶ) ἐπάρχῳ [P]ώμ[ης]: DO BZS.1958.106.3870 (ed. G. ZACOS, A. VEGLERY, *Byzantine Lead Seals*…, no. 2251, without identifying the place) dated to the early 8th century.

[39] Α. ΓΚΟΥΤΖΙΟΥΚΩΣΤΑΣ, Ξ. ΜΟΝΙΑΡΟΣ, *Η περιφερειακή διοικητική αναδιοργάνωση της Βυζαντινής Αυτοκρατορίας από τον Ιουστινιανό Α' (527–565). Η περίπτωση της Quaestura Iustiniana Exercitus*, Θεσσαλονίκη 2009.

[40] Marinos: DO BZS.1958.106.1727 (ed. G. ZACOS, A. VEGLERY, *Byzantine Lead Seals*…, no. 1179) (late 7th century); Platon: DO BZS.1951.31.5.2694 (dated to early 8th century, on account of the epigraphy and the use of the Dative on the legend); Sergios: DO BZS 1947.2.571 (ed. DO Seals 5, no. 22.8). Similarly, on an earlier seal (6th century) of a Markellos, the monogram on the reverse should be resolved rather as ἐπάρχου τῶν πραιτωρίων instead of ἐπάρχου Πόλεως: DO BZS 1958.106.2038 (ed. DO Seals 5, no. 22.5).

[41] L. BRUBAKER, J. HALDON, *Byzantium in the Iconoclast Era*…, p. 671–672.

stratiotikon and the *logothesia* the *eidikon*, were part of, or sprung later from the *genikon logothesion*[42]. We do not know what happened with the judicial sector of the prefecture. It is likely that the prefect remained in charge of the court of ultimate appeal until the demise of his office.

However, with provincial governors losing their power in favour of the emerging local generals (see *infra*), and with the disruption of communication with the capital after the mid-7th century (already earlier in Italy), the judicial power of the prefect must also have been diminished. From the 8th century, appeals from provincials were handled by the *koiaistor*, the only judicial official mentioned in the *Ecloga*. By the time the *Basilica* were compiled, this responsibility also fell to the *eparchos* of Constantinople, with appeals formally included among the duties of the *eparchos*. Under this perspective, Zachariä von Lingenthal's idea that the authorities of the two *eparchoi*, the praetorian prefect and the City eparch (both based in Constantinople), eventually merged, appears well-founded[43].

The civil governors of the provinces: the *anthypatoi*, the *archontes*, and the *strategoi*

The prefectures were divided into dioceses and further into provinces. The dioceses were governed by *vicarii* (*eparchoi* in Greek), but these mostly disappeared under Justinian. Later in his reign, Justinian decided to revive the institution of vicars for Thrace and Pontica. New vicars combined civil and military authority. The vicar of Thrace is encountered until the mid-7th century[44]. Vicars without geographical identification are encountered until the first half of the 8th century. They appear, for example, on the seals of Georgios, who was also a member of the palatine corps of the *exkoubitoi* (the late 7th / early 8th centuries), and on the seal of Ioannes (first half of the 8th century)[45]. Although we do not know in which diocese they were placed, the institution of the vicar likely persisted until the early 8th century.

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[42] W. Brandes, *Finanzverwaltung*…, p. 180–238.

[43] See A. Γκουτζιουκωστας, *Η απονομή δικαιοσύνης στο Βυζάντιο (9ος–12ος αιώνες). Τα κοσμικά δικαιοδοτικά όργανα και δικαστήρια της πρωτεύουσας*, Θεσσαλονίκη 2004, p. 38; K.-E. Zachariä von Lingenthal, *Geschichte des griechisch-römischen Rechts*, Berlin 1892, p. 365–366, which has been based on a title of *Basilica*, VI, 4 (*Basilicorum Libri LX. [Series A]*, vol. I–VIII, *Textus Librorum I–LX*, rec. H.J. Scheltema, N. van der Wal, Groningen 1955–1988): Περὶ τάξεως ἐπάρχου πόλεως καὶ περὶ τάξεως ἐπάρχου πραιτωρίων, which seems to associate the two offices.

[44] A. Γκουτζιουκωστας, *Η διοίκηση Θράκης κατά την πρώιμη βυζαντινή περίοδο, στο Ανατολική Ρωμυλία (Βόρεια Θράκη). Ιστορία και Πολιτισμός*, Θεσσαλονίκη 2009, p. 105–121; J. Wiewiorowski, *Βικάριος Θράκης (Vicarius Thraciae) as the Roman Official of the New Type*, BMed 4–5, 2013–2014, p. 297–306.

[45] G. Zacos, A. Veglery, *Byzantine Lead Seals*…, nos. 822 (DO BZS.1958.106.3133) and 2063. There is also the seal of Sergios with the additional office of *magistrianos*, however, the reading *bikarios* is not entirely certain (ed. J.-Cl. Cheynet, C. Morrisson, W. Seibt, *Les sceaux byzantins*…, no. 42).

The governors of the provinces carried out mostly civil duties, but their titles varied according to the importance of the province: the most important governors held the title of *consulares*, the less important were known as *praesides*. Later, the officials in question were also designated by other names such as *praetor* or *moderator*[46]. These later and less frequent ranks are rarely attested after Justinian. *Moderator* is believed to appear on a seal published and drawn by Gustave Schlumberger[47]. Epigraphically, the seal seems to come from the 9th century, but the unusual abbreviations used for the office of *moderator*, as well as the long-time interval between the 6th and the 9th centuries, raise suspicions about the identification of the office. *Moderator* is more clearly visible on the seal of Theopemptos (the late 6th century or the early 7th century), who also held the financial office of *monetarios*[48].

The highest rank held by governors was the proconsul, *anthypatos*. Around 400, there were only two proconsuls, one for the province of Achaea and one for that of Asia. Later, Justinian added the proconsul of Cappadocia, who held extensive powers, including the administration of Cappadocia's state properties. The proconsul of Asia answered directly to the emperor, bypassing the praetorian prefect of the East. I have been able to identify the total of 14 *anthypatoi* from 24 lead seals datable to the 7th or the 8th centuries (see Table at the end). Since the known seals from these two centuries run to several thousands and those from the 7th century are very concise, the number of *anthypatoi* mentioned above is not particularly impressive, but it is sufficient to regard it as documenting the survival of the office. The seals are chronologically evenly distributed until the disappearance of the office after, in all probability, the early 8th century. Unfortunately, they contain no geographical locations in which their owners held their office, and it cannot be ruled out that the number of provinces governed by proconsuls changed after the reign of Justinian, that is whether new proconsuls were added or some of them abolished. It is worth noting that six of the seven seals of a rather certain provenance, those belonging to Ioannes (no. 1) and Tryphon (no. 9) were found in or around the province of Asia, one of the few provinces steadily governed by proconsuls.

The title of *praeses* was usually rendered in Greek as *hegemon* or *archon*, which means 'commander', 'ruler'. For example, Kallinikos was the *archon* of Cappadocia Secunda, and Iakobos signed a papyrus letter as the 'magnificent *komes* and *archon* of Thebaïs' in the early years of Justinian's reign[49]. The other important rank held by governors, *consularis*, was mostly rendered as *hypatikos* (ὑπατικός)[50]. The title

[46] B. PALME, *Die Officia der Statthalter in der Spätantike. Forschungsstand und Perspektiven*, ATa 7, 2000, p. 85–133; C. ROUECHÉ, *Provincial Governors and their Titulature in the Sixth Century*, ATa 6, 1998, p. 83–89.

[47] G. SCHLUMBERGER, *Sigillographie de l'empire byzantin*, Paris 1884, p. 544 (no. 2).

[48] DO BZS.1951.31.5.2673 (ed. G. ZACOS, A. VEGLERY, *Byzantine Lead Seals*…, no. 2870).

[49] PROKOPIUS, *Historia Arcana*, 17.2–4, [in:] *Procopii Caesariensis opera omnia*, rec. G. WIRTH, Leipzig 1963; P. Cairo Masp. 3.67321, l.1.

[50] For example, Flavius Ortellinus (*CIC*, Nov. 166, title).

is encountered a few more times in the 7th and 8th centuries: on the seal of Ioannes, dated to the first half of the 7th century[51]; on the seal of a certain Philippos, in Greek but with Latin letters, dated to around the middle of the 7th century on account of the epigraphy and the representation of a Theotokos of the type of *Hodegetria* (holding Christ in her left arm)[52]; on the seal of Eutychianos, dated to the second half of the 7th century on account of the cruciform invocative monogram but with a legend still in Genitive and not in Dative case[53]; finally, in the *Synaxarium* of Constantinople, when Kalybios, *archon hypatikos* in Nikaia (i.e., of Bithynia) was ordered by Leon III (717–741) to interrogate Theophilos the Confessor on the issue of Iconoclasm[54]. However, the generic title *archon* was regularly used, either alone or in combination with the *hypatikos*, as in the aforementioned case of Kalybios. Therefore, the term *archon* retained a technical meaning as well, that of the civil governor of a province.

Evidence about civil provincial governors diminishes by the late 7th century, even though seals from this period became more detailed, more frequently including references to offices and geographical areas of jurisdiction than before. The seals of Michael, *archon* of Isauria are dated by Jean-Claude Cheynet to the end of the 7th or the first third of the 8th century, the dating with which I fully agree[55]. Another seal is that of Maurianos, *archon* of Lydia. Its epigraphy, the use of a cruciform invocative monogram of the type Laurent V (the type became dominant after 700 but appeared shortly earlier), and the use of Dative on the legend, all speak in favour of dating it to the early 8th century[56]. Two more *archontes* of Lydia from the early 8th century are recorded: Thalassios, with the dignity of *stratelates*, and Staurakios, with the dignity of imperial *spatharios*[57].

Significantly for our purposes, Isauria and Lydia were, by that time, fully integrated into a *thema*, an established military command with well-defined boundaries already in place. Therefore, despite the establishment of the *thema*tic institution in various regions, the office of the civil provincial governor, though perhaps diminished in power and authority, remained unaffected and was not formally

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[51] Private collection R. Feind, M–125 (unpublished).

[52] G. Zacos, A. Veglery, *Byzantine Lead Seals*…, no. 1197.

[53] A. Αβραμεα, *Ανέκδοτα μολυβδόβουλλα από τα νησιά του Αργολικού κόλπου*, ΒΣυμ 10, 1996, no. 16. Significantly, the seal has been found in Hellas, a province headed by a *consularis*.

[54] *Synaxarium ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae (e codice Sirmondiano nunc Berolinensi)*, rec. H. Delehaye, Brussels 1902, p. 100 and 127/128.

[55] J.-Cl. Cheynet, *Les sceaux byzantins de la collection Savvas Kofopoulos*…, no. 3.113; J.-Cl. Cheynet, *Sceaux de la collection Zacos (Bibliothèque nationale de France) se rapportant aux provinces orientales*, Paris 2001, no. 38.

[56] DO BZS.1958.106.4297 (ed. DO Seals 3, no. 24.1).

[57] E. Lafli, W. Seibt, D. Çağlayan, *Middle and Late Byzantine Sigillographic Evidence from Western Anatolia: Eighth- to Early Twelfth-century Lead Seals from Bergama (Ancient Pergamon)*, BMGS 46.1, 2022, no. 2 (first half of 8th century; rather in the second quarter of that century, according to my view); H. Voegtli, *Die Fundmünzen aus der Stadtgrabung von Pergamon*, Berlin–New York 1993 [= PerF, 8], p. 72 (the early 8th century).

linked to the *thema*tic administration, assuming such an administration existed outside the military structure in the early 8th century.

In view of the above, it is possible to identify more provincial governors, *archontes*, who exercised authority within '*themata*'. Among them were the *archon* of Hellas, who held office in the old province of Hellas[58], and the *archon* of the Kibyrraiotai[59]. Kibyra may have served for some time as an important regional metropolis, as the other ancient cities of Caria and Lycia (Aphrodisias, Halicarnassus, Miletus) were in decline, which further explains how the city gave its name to such an important *thema*. In fact, several 7th-century seals have been excavated on the site of the city, including the seal of an *archon*, who could well have been the *archon* of the entire province, considering that it was found in the place where he held authority[60]. There is also the possibility that a new and larger province emerged by uniting the neighbouring provinces of Caria, Lycia, and Pamphylia, which soon afterward evolved into the maritime *thema* of the Kibyrraiotai. Finally, a lead seal from the early 8th century records an *eparchos* of Nikaia. As I have suggested elsewhere, this *eparchos* can be considered indicative of the survival of provincial governors. His authority extended beyond the city of Nikaia, quite possibly throughout Bithynia[61], or even throughout a larger region, if *eparchos* is regarded here as the title for *vicarius* (i.e., of Pontica).

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[58] DO BZS.1958.106.996 (ed. DO Seals 2, no. 8.2): Petros, *hypatos* and *archon* of Hellas (end of 7th / beginning of 8th century); it assimilates epigraphically the seal of Marinos, bishop of Athens (deceased in 704): see DO Seals 2, no. 9.3). There is also the later seal of Dargaskabos (end of 8th / beginning of 9th c.) but, due to his evidently Slavic name, it should be associated with the rest of the seals of *archontes* of Slavic tribes. All these seals began to appear in the late 8th century.

[59] The only known *archon* of the Kibyrraiotai is Tarasios, *hypatos* (early 8th century); on his seals see P. CHARALAMPAKIS, *Towards a New Prosopographic corpus*…, p. 565 (PN_1566). J.-Cl. CHEYNET (*Les sceaux byzantins de la collection Yavuz Tatış*…, no. 3.17) has published a later seal which he read as Christophoros, imperial *kandidatos* and *archon* of the Kibyrraiotai (late 8th / early 9th century). In fact, instead of the Kibyrraiotai it reads '*konchyle*'. It is parallel to a seal that appeared in an online sales catalogue: Gert Boersema, no. 18670, https://www.vcoins.com/en/stores/gert_boersema/25/product/christophoros_imperial_kandidatos_and_archon_of_purplefishing_byzantine_lead_seal_30mm_1733_gram_2nd_half_8th_centur1st_half_9th_century/1856818/Default.aspx [21 VIII 2024].

[60] Ü. DEMIRER, N. ELAM, *Lead Seals of the Kibyra Excavations*, Ada 21, 2018, no. 1 (found in the Upper Agora). All the seals from Kibyra, with one exception, come from late 6th century to the early 8th century.

[61] G. ZACOS, A. VEGLERY, *Byzantine Lead Seals*…, no. 3156; C. MALATRAS, *In the Service of the Imperial Opsikion*…, p. 439. A. GKOUTZIOUKOSTAS, *The Prefect*…, p. 75, considers it likely that he was a *thema*tic and not a city eparch. A case similar to that of the *eparchos* of Nikaia seems to be presented by the *hyparchos* Loukios who is mentioned in the *Life* of Leon, bishop of Catania. It is obvious that the *hyparchos* held a prestigious judicial office. Unfortunately, the episcopacy of Leon cannot be securely dated and might have even been entirely fictitious. It has been dated to between the late 7th century and the mid-8th century, while the two earliest *Lives* date probably from the 9th century, see *The Greek Life of St Leo Bishop of Catania (BHG 981b)*, ed. A.G. ALEXAKIS, trans. S. WESSEL, Brussels 2011 [= SHa, 91], p. 73–85 (the *hyparchos* is mentioned several times in the *Life*; see particularly chapters 16, 17 and 30).

Similarly, the lower-ranking civil servants from the older provinces continued to function. Unfortunately, the information regarding these civil servants comes from the late 7th century, when seals had become less concise. Isidoros, a *chartoularios* of Bithynia is attested for the late 7th century[62]. The notable seal of Niketas, *eparchikos kankellarios* of Seleukeia (ἐπαρχικῷ καγκελλαρίῳ Σελευκείας), a clerk, or secretary to the governor of the province of Seleukeia, is dated to the early 8th century. Seleukeia was not the name of a Late Roman province but was instead the capital of the province of Isauria, and later, of an administrative unit with the same name. This unit evolved over time: it became a droungariate by the mid-8th century, a *kleisoura* in the early 9th century, and eventually a *thema* by the early 10th century[63]. By using the designation *eparchikos*, Niketas distinguished himself from the *kankellarioi* of the *droungarios* of Seleukeia, who likely had his own secretaries. Beyond documenting the survival of a minor provincial office, this seal provides additional insight into the gradual replacement of older provincial names with new names, often reflecting either the stationed military unit (such as the Anatolikoi or Armeniakoi) or the capital city (as with Seleukeia, Thessalonike, and possibly the Kibyrraiotai). This process of adopting names for the later *themata* may have begun with the informal adoption of these new, popularly recognized names for provinces, thereby accelerating the decline in common usage of the names of the ancient provinces.

Another seal from the early 8th century is that of Euphemios, 'public' *chartoularios* of the province of Asia[64]. The use of the 'public *chartoularios*' (δημοσίῳ χαρτουλαρίῳ) on the seal suggests that there may also have been other *chartoularioi* active in the province (in addition to the 'public' one), such as *chartoularioi* of the bureau of the governor, provincial (ἐπαρχικοὶ) *chartoularioi* (as in the previous seal). As the editor of the seal mentioned above noted, this 'public *chartoularios*' belonged to the *genikon logothesion*. As such, the office is probably identified to the *chartoularios* of the *arkla*, who was responsible for the tax records of a *thema*-province. If this hypothesis is followed, the *genikon logothesion* can be considered to have initially retained the structure of the praetorian prefecture of the East and was divided into sub-departments (*scrinia*), one for each province, but not yet for each *thema*, as was the case later.

However, the seals of *anthypatoi*, *hypatikoi*, and *archontes* of provinces converted to *themata*, which before the early 8th century were already few in number, are absent from later in the eighth century. The *eparchos* of Illyricum continued

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[62] DO Seals 3, no. 76.1.

[63] J.-Cl. Cheynet, *Les sceaux byzantins de la collection Savvas Kofopoulos*…, no. 3.18. On Seleukeia see P. Charalampakis, C. Malatras, *Seals of Officials in Seleukeia*, [in:] *ΧΕΡΣΩΝΟΣ ΘΕΜΑΤΑ. Империя и Полис. XI Международный Византийский Семинар. Материалы Научной конференции*, Севастóполь 2019, p. 228–232.

[64] A.-K. Wassiliou-Seibt, *Ὁ Χριστὸς αὐτὸς σφραγὶς ἀσφαλεστάτη – Byzantinische Bleisiegel der Sammlung Gert Boersema*, Thessaloniki 2022, no. 14.

to function in Thessalonike, as has already been mentioned, until the region was converted to a *thema* and placed under the authority of a *strategos*. Similarly, the *archontes* continued to function in the peripheral regions that had not yet been converted to *themata*, namely Cherson, Cyprus, Crete, Dyrrachion, Dalmatia, and Sardinia[65]. At the same time, the title *archon* began to be conferred on rulers of Slavic tribes and later even on governors of ordinary islands and cities[66]. It thus no longer designated the civil provincial governor, a meaning which it had retained until the mid-8th century.

Like the office of the praetorian prefects, the bureau of the provincial civil governor was organized into two primary sectors: finance and justice. These civil governors were responsible for addressing everyday administrative issues that arose within their jurisdictions, communicating with the capital at Constantinople, as well as coordinating with officials both within and outside their provinces. They managed provincial finances, where aspects of this role had not yet been fully centralized, giving them a broader administrative role compared to generals or *strategoi* tasked solely with military duties. Civil governors also presided over legal cases, handling not only minor criminal cases (often resulting in corporeal punishments, which may not have left extensive documentary evidence, and therefore fewer seals) but also overseeing fines, property disputes, commercial disagreements, and other civil conflicts. Therefore, the civil governors would have likely sealed more documents than the strategoi (who in this case would only have military authority), if civil authority had remained consistently tied to their office.

However, despite their extensive administrative and judicial responsibilities, the surviving seals of civil governors remain relatively sparse up until the early 8th century, as we saw, and there are none from provinces that had been converted

[65] Scholars tended to see these *archontes* either as officials responsible for ports (H. AHRWEILER, *Byzance et la mer*, Paris 1966, p. 54–61), or as the remnants of municipal autonomy, evolving from the *defensor civitatis* (*ekdikos* in Greek) who could have survived with greater autonomy in peripheral regions and could have become the local governor (J. FERLUGA, *Ниже војно-административне јединице тематског уређења*, ЗРВИ 2, 1953, p. 88–93). It is essential to distinguish between the fourth to mid-eighth centuries, when *archon* as a technical term referred to provincial governors or leaders of federated foreign groups, and the ninth to eleventh centuries, when it denoted lesser officials across various cities and islands, ranging from Patras and Demetrias to Lopadion in Asia Minor, as well as Chios, Rhodes, and Skyros, without losing its use as a title for leaders of Slavic tribes within the empire. This distinction has been noted by Hélène Ahrweiler (H. AHRWEILER, *Recherches sur l'administration de l'empire byzantin aux IX–XIème siècles*, BCH 84, 1960, p. 72), though she did not analyze the function and origins of the earlier *archontes*. Limited evidence suggests that the later group of *archontes* were indeed tied to municipal administration (see C. MALATRAS, *In the Service of the Imperial Opsikion*…, p. 439). Whether these later *archontes* were, in fact, the *ekdikoi* remains to be demonstrated. However, for our purposes, these lesser judicial officials could not have evolved into governors of entire regions in the seventh and eighth centuries, such as Crete, Lydia, Isauria, Hellas, or the Kibyrraiotai, which also included multiple cities, each with their own *ekdikoi*.

[66] W. SEIBT, *Siegel als Quelle für Slawenarchonten in Griechenland*, SBS 6, 1999, p. 27–36.

into *themata* after that date, aside from the seals of *archontes* in peripheral areas outside the thematic system. This scarcity of seals highlights a transition in administrative practices.

At the same time, the existing sigillographic record from the 8th century speaks for itself. With the exception of some *kommerkiarioi* appointed to *thema*tic provinces (such as the *kommerkiarioi* of the Anatolikoi) and a handful of civil thematic officials who slowly appear on our record (see *infra*), the remaining seals of the *thema*tic administration are military in nature. The sigillographic material contains mainly *strategoi*, *tourmarchai*, *domestikoi*, *komites tes kortes*, and *droungarioi*. It is particularly interesting to note that these military officials are proportionately more attested for the 8th century than for any other later period, including the 11th century although there is then a three-to-four-fold increase in the amount of the sigillographic material. In two of the largest sigillographically *themata*, Anatolikoi and Opsikion, the evidence pertaining to the lesser military thematic officials decreased in the 9th century and almost disappeared thereafter. The *strategoi* are not only more comprehensively attested, but they also seem to have been more involved in carrying out administrative duties than their successors in the centuries to come, such as the *komites*, the commanders of Opsikion who issued 77 seals struck by 47 different *boulloteria* in the 8th century. This number is higher than the total of all the surviving seals from the next three centuries (47 seals struck by 36 *boulloteria* during the 9th–11th c). The data is similar for the largest *thema* of Asia Minor, the Anatolikoi[67].

The only plausible explanation for the sparse records and eventual disappearance of provincial governors, alongside the increased presence and activity of *strategoi* (and other military officials), is to support the older theory: that *strategoi* took on civil authority, either through formal decree or as a de facto development.

Given that civil governors did not disappear until the early 8th century, the phrase 'by decree' should be taken to mean that some *strategoi* were given both civil and military authority at different times and in some provinces and not at a given moment throughout the empire, as was believed in the older theory. Such arrangements were not new. In Late Antiquity, there were provincial governors who exercised civil and military authority on a temporary basis. This is well reflected by the administrative changes introduced during Justinian's reign in the face of varying circumstances, of which we are well informed thanks to the survival of this emperor's *Novels*[68]. The administrative system did not need to be comprehensive and universal. It only needed to respond to the needs of the empire, of a particular region, or at a particular time. For this reason, primary sources testify more to various administrative adjustments than to deep and thorough reforms. If this perspective

[67] C. Malatras, *In the Service of the Imperial Opsikion*…, p. 434–435 and compare figs. 5–8.

[68] See lately summarized by A. Γκουτζιουκωστας, Ξ. Μονιαρος, *Η περιφερειακή διοικητική*…, p. 31–65.

is followed, the few remaining governors of provinces within the *themata*, excluding the peripheral regions, must have disappeared before the mid-8th century.

The *de facto* authority seems to have been closer to reality and is also better documented. Military officials, due to their power and especially due to their ability to enforce their decisions, intervened from time to time in civil matters during the Late Antiquity. Their power grew in the second half of the 6th century, as known in relation to certain regions such as Italy where military officials received requests that were civilian in nature. The *doukai* and the *magistri militum* in Italy and their subaltern *tribuni* in the various cities of the region controlled both civil and military administration. The military officials were involved in civilian trials and were asked even to grant sailing permits. The *tribuni* in particular acquired the judicial title *dativus* (δάτιβος), which designated the lower judges[69].

Furthermore, there is no reason to doubt that during the Arab invasions in the second half of the 7th century, the *strategoi* in Asia Minor, similarly to the military officials in Italy, rose in importance to the point of holding more power than civil officials, which involved, for example, the task of provisioning their armies. People began to rely more on them for administering justice and for handling a variety of civil matters[70]. The militarisation of the Byzantine state, culture and society in the 7th and 8th centuries has been well described by Brubaker and Haldon[71]. The civil governors were becoming increasingly obsolete until the Isaurian emperors decided to abolish their offices and dissolve the older provincial administration in the regions where the *themata* had already been established.

The strongest argument against the judicial capacity of the *strategoi* is that no surviving source reports these military officials hearing court cases. The evidence from Italy contradicts this view and there is no reason to suppose that Italy was the exception where the civil administration was suppressed in favour of the military administration, since the conditions in Asia Minor in the 7th and 8th centuries were similar to those existing in Italy. The scant surviving evidence regarding the functioning of the administration in Asia Minor provinces after the early 8th century suggests that it was the *strategoi* who were in charge of some of its actions. It is reported that Michael Lachanodrakon arrested monks and confiscated monastic properties during Iconoclasm, and that Theodoros Stoudites was arrested by the

[69] V. BILETA, *At the Crossroads of Late Antiquity and Early Middle Ages. The Rise and Fall of the Military Elite of Byzantine Histria*, AMSCEU 11, 2017, p. 100–123; F. BORRI, *Duces e magistri militum nell'Italia esarcale (VI–VIII secolo)*, RMR 6.2, 2005, p. 1–46; T.S. BROWN, *Gentlemen and Officers. Imperial Administration and Aristocratic Power in Byzantine Italy A.D. 554–800*, London 1984, p. 46–60. The letters of popes Gregory the Great (590–604) and Honorius (625–638) are very instructive for the assumption of civil authority by military officials. For the sailing permit in particular see *S. Gregorii Magni Opera: Registrvm epistvlarvm*, IX, 160, ed. D. NORBERG, Turnhout 1982 [= *CC.SL*, 140].

[70] See also R.-J. LILIE, *Reform*…, p. 37–39.

[71] L. BRUBAKER, J. HALDON, *Byzantium in the Iconoclast Era*…, p. 625–642.

komes tes kortes sent by a *strategos*[72]. Besides, the argument can also be turned the other way around, for there is also no reference to any civil provincial official hearing a court case from the time of the aforementioned Kalybios to the 10th century.

The most important legal text of the period, *Ecloga*, was promulgated in 741, but had been prepared in the preceding decade or two. Unfortunately, it provides little information on the judicial personnel in the provinces and their exact powers, although there is a single reference to the low-level official *ekdikos* in the section for private contracts. In most of the cases, the text speaks generally of judges, usually referred to as *dikastai* or *akroatai*, in a non-technical sense. According to the text, some of those judges were '*archontes*' but some others were not, as indicated by the Justinianic legislation that drew a distinction between the actual judges who held the office and authority and the inferior judges who dealt with simple cases (*iudices pedanei* = χαμαιδικασταί = δάτιβοι), such as the military *tribuni* in Italy mentioned above[73]. In what concerns us here, the text uses the term *archontes* generally as 'officials', 'magistrates', and they can be both civil (*politikoi*) and military (*stratiotikoi*)[74]. The '*archontes* of provinces', who were the civil governors of the provinces, so frequently encountered in Justinianic legislation and later in the *Basilica*, are nowhere to be found. Even in the case where *archon* is understood as a 'governor', the text no longer speaks of a 'province' (*eparchia*), but generally of a 'place'[75]. Therefore, the official was not necessarily a civil governor, but could well have been the *strategos*, who was by that time serving as the governor of the 'place'.

Ecloga was not an original piece of legislation. As implied by its title, it was a 'selection' of laws from the Justinianic corpus of laws; a compendium that relied heavily on the works of later commentators of the corpus, but was designed to be simple and serve current needs[76]. In spite of such a reliance and of the ideological weight of the Justinianic legislation, the compilers of *Ecloga* changed every technical designation for civil officials, including governors, to the vague term of 'officials/magistrates'. As a consequence, they chose to deviate from the text

[72] Theophanes, p. 445–446; *Theodori Studitae Epistulae*, vol. II, ed. G. Fatouros, Berlin 1992 [= *CFHB*, 31], no. 382.

[73] The distinction can be found in *Ecloga. Das Gesetzbuch Leons III. und Konstantinos' V.*, 8.3, ed. L. Burgmann, Frankfurt am Main 1983 [= FBR, 10] (cetera: *Ecloga*), and for the *ekdikos* 10.1,2. See, in general: A. Γκουτζιουκωστας, *Η απονομή…*, p. 38–42; F. Goria, *La giustizia nell'impero romano d'Oriente: organizzazione giudiziaria*, [in:] *La giustizia nell'alto medioevo (secoli V–VIII). Settimane di studio del Centro ltaliano di Studi sull' Alto Medioevo, XLII, 7–13 aprile 1994*, Spoleto 1995, p. 312–327; M.T.G. Humphreys, *Law, Power, and Imperial Ideology in the Iconoclast Era, c. 680–850*, Oxford 2015 [= OSB], p. 105–113.

[74] *Ecloga*, 2.38 and 12.6.

[75] *Ecloga*, 17.5: εἰ δὲ καὶ ἀλλότριόν τι ἐπῆρεν, ὑπὸ μὲν τοῦ κατὰ τὸν τόπον ἄρχοντος δερέσθω.

[76] L. Burgmann in *Ecloga*, p. 4–7; M.T.G. Humphreys, *Law, Power…*, p. 84–93.

of the Justinianic corpus only because the administrative structures of the mid-6th century no longer corresponded to the realities of the reign of Leon III. This was not the case with the compilers of the *Basilika* law project in the 9th century. The *Basilika*, which relied to a greater extent on the text of the Justinianic laws, regularly referred to '*archontes* of provinces' and to other terms and offices that no longer corresponded to the current administrative, political or social conditions.

At the same time, the text does not describe the new situation, first because ideologically it would deviate too much from the corpus of Justinian. Secondly, because it was compiled exactly around the time of the reforms. The situation was still fluid, when the old provinces and their governors were being abolished while the *strategoi* were *de facto* assuming civil authority. According to the proemium of the *Ecloga*, the book was compiled by the *patrikioi*, the *koiaistor* and his *antigrapheis*, and the *hypatoi*[77]: It contains no mention of proconsuls, governors of provinces, or prefects. *Koiaistor* was the only one of those officials who was institutionally responsible for legislation. The others were simply the higher officials of the state. The *patrikioi* of the first half of the 8th century were mostly the *strategoi* of the *themata* in addition to two or three higher civil officials: the *magistros* and sometimes the *logothetai*, the ministers of the central services.

The re-organisation of provincial administration along the lines of *themata*

The disappearance of the older provincial officials was not the only administrative change brought about in the mid-8th century. Other significant reforms were carried out by Leon III (717–741) and Konstantinos V (741–775) at a time when the term *thema* began to appear on seals. Military commands multiplied. Primary sources provide first references to the Kibyrraiotai, Aigaion Pelagos, Kephallenia, the Boukellarioi, and the Thrakesioi[78]. The institution of the *kommerkiarioi* was reformed with the imperial *kommerkia* emerging in 729/730. The *Ecloga* was promulgated in 741, and tax reform was introduced by Konstantinos V[79].

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[77] *Ecloga*, proem. l. 40–44.

[78] Kibyrraiotai: THEOPHANES, p. 410 (date: 727/732) and discussion in P. CHARALAMPAKIS, *Towards a New Prosopographic Corpus of the Kibyrraiotai*…, p. 544–546. Aigaion Pelagos: I. ΚΟΛΤΣΙΔΑ-ΜΑΚΡΗ, *Βυζαντινά μολυβδόβουλλα συλλογής Ορφανίδη-Νικολαΐδη Νομισματικού Μουσείου Αθηνών*, Ἀθῆναι 1996, no. 34 (date: second quarter of the 8th century, particularly on account of the epigraphy of the obverse, as the reverse is extensively corroded). Kephallenia: DO Seals 1, no. 1.15; for the creation of the *thema* of Kephallenia see also C. TSATSOULIS, *Some Remarks on the Date of Creation and the Role of the Maritime Theme of Cephalonia (End of the 7th–11th Century)*, SBS 11, 2011, p. 153–158. Boukellarioi: C. MALATRAS, *The Early History of the thema of the Boukellarioi (8th Century)*, BZ 116.1, 2023, p. 131–136; Thrakesioi: V. VLYSSIDOU, *Θέμα Θρακησίων*, [in:] *Η Μικρά Ασία των θεμάτων*…, p. 201–204.

[79] For these reforms see in general L. BRUBAKER, J. HALDON, *Byzantium in the Iconoclast Era*…, p. 695–722.

The disappearance of the dignities of *apo eparchon* and *stratelates* is also relative to the topic under discussion. Over a century and a half later both titles appeared in the *Taktikon of Philotheos* (date: 899) where they were made to refer to the same dignity[80], although it is known that this was not the case: *apo eparchon* translates as 'ex prefects', that is, former praetorian prefects, and *stratelates* is rendered as '*magister militum*', the commanders of field divisions in Later Roman empire. Despite their mention in the *Taktikon of Philotheos*, they had both disappeared from primary sources long ago. Thus far, I have found no seal dating from later than the mid-8th century and containing references to these two dignities. One may conclude here that the dignity of *apo eparchon* disappeared as a result of the abolition of the older provincial system, as there were simply no more praetorian prefects to later become 'ex prefects'.

The other important change was the introduction of a new civil apparatus to the *themata*. By 900 the civil officials who are known to have been part of the thematic administration included: the *krites*, the *protonotarios*, the *chartoularios*, the *anagrapheus*, and the *epoptes*. The *anagrapheus* and the *epoptes* were entrusted with the task of periodically drafting and maintaining the cadaster. The earliest such officials appeared in the late 8th century[81].

The *chartoularioi* were officials of the *logothesion of the stratiotikon*. Although the first sources providing references to this department date back to the first half of the 7th century, the department's thematic *chartoularioi* only emerged around the mid-8th century[82]. They are attested until the 11th century. However, their imprint on primary sources is lesser than that of the *protonotarioi*. *Chartoularioi* were also assigned to the *themata* from other departments, specifically from the *genikon* (that is, the *chartoularios* of the *arkla*), who maintained a *thema*'s tax records, and from the *dromos* (that is, *chartoularioi* of the *dromos*), who were likely responsible for managing the road network within a *thema*. Both types of officials emerged only after the mid-9th century[83].

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[80] N. Oikonomides, *Les listes de préséance byzantines des IXe et Xe siècles*, Paris 1972, p. 89.

[81] One of the earliest *epoptes* is Niketas, *epoptes* of the Armeniakoi: DO Seals 4, no. 22.15 (date: second half of the 8th century). One of the earliest *anagrapheis* is Leon, imperial *balnitor* (a dignity that disappeared before the drafting of *Taktikon Uspenskij*) and *anagrapheus* of Opsikion (late 8th / early 9th century): C. Malatras, *In the Service of the Imperial Opsikion*…, p. 482 (PN_552).

[82] One of the earliest *chartoularioi* should be Michael, *chartoularios* of Thrake: DO Seals 1, no. 71.3 (date: mid-8th century) and Stephanos, *hypatos* and *chartoularios* of the Boukellarioi: C. Malatras, *The Early History of the thema of the Boukellarioi*…, Appendix, no. 15 (date: 770s–780s). The earliest attested *logothetes of the stratiotikon* should be Eustathios: DO BZS.1955.1.4422; ed. G. Zacos, A. Veglery, *Byzantine Lead Seals*…, no. 870 (first half of the 7th century).

[83] G. Zacos, A. Veglery, *Byzantine Lead Seals*…, no. 2648: Anonymus, imperial *spatharios* and *chartoularios of the dromos* of Thrake (second half of 9th century); Auction catalogue Münz Zentrum Rheinland 174 [2–3 IX 2015], no. 574: Niketas, imperial *spatharios* and *chartoularios of the arkla* of the Thrakesioi (end of 9th / beginning of 10th century).

In the words of Leon VI, the *pronotarios* was the head of the civil *thema*tic administration, but as the surviving evidence suggests, his duties were limited to supplying the army and administration with food through the use of *synone* tax[84]. The *protonotarios* is indeed the best sigillographically attested civil official from the 9th century. According to John Haldon, the appointment of *protonotarioi* by Nikephoros I (802–811) was crucial to building the thematic administration. Since the *Taktikon of Uspenskij* contains no mention of these officials, scholars were led to believe that they only appeared after the drafting of that *taktikon*. Earlier, seals of the *protonotarioi* were often assumed to date back to the second half of the 9th century, or to within the 9th century generally. Nevertheless, some recently published seals of *protonotarioi* have been reliably dated to the mid-8th century, much earlier than the reign of Nikephoros I[85].

The *Taktikon of Uspenskij* presents a variety of interpretive problems, including its chronology above all. A hierarchical list of ceremonial precedence, it has been variously dated, but the date of ca. 843, proposed by its latest editor Nikos Oikonomides, has gained the widest acceptance. Twenty years ago, Tibor Živkovič proposed to date it to 812–813[86]. While this dating resolves some of the issues involved, such as the reference to a *strategos* of Crete (which fell to the Arabs in ca. 827), and the lack of any reference to Seleukeia as *kleisoura* (which is also not mentioned in the *Taktikon of Philotheos* from 899), Živkovič's proposal also creates problems, such the cases of the foundation of the *themata* of Cherson/Klimata and Kappadokia. Therefore, it has come under criticism from scholars[87]. This is not the place to discuss the dating of the *Taktikon* at length. No interpretation can solve all the problems it poses, such as the absence of *protonotarioi*. One way of dealing with these issues is to assume that the *Taktikon* was partially amended after its first compilation, for example, by adding new officials without removing older ones, which contributed to the existing confusion. Until further arguments or evidence is presented, in what follows the traditional date of ca. 843 is accepted, although not without some reservations.

In short, the collapse of the Late Roman provincial organisation was not followed by a vacuum in civil administration. Following the abolition of the provincial governors, whose authority the *strategoi* had already surpassed for decades,

[84] *Leonis VI Tactica*, rec. G. DENNIS, Washington, D.C. 2010 [= DOT, 12, 49], p. 56.127–128; Д.С. БОРОВКОВ, *Протонотарии фем в Византии IX–X вв.: происхождение института и основные функции*, АДСВ 42, 2014, p. 90–100; W. BRANDES, *Finanzverwaltung*…, p. 161–165.

[85] For these seals see C. MALATRAS, *The thema of the Anatolikoi*…, p. 290–293 and also IDEM, *The Early History of the thema of the Boukellarioi*…, p. 161–162.

[86] T. ŽIVKOVIČ, *Uspenskij's Taktikon and the Theme of Dalmatia*, ΒΣυμ 17, 2005, p. 49–85.

[87] V. PRIGENT, *Retour*…, p. 112–113 with note 53. It should be noted that the sigillographic material testifies to the existence of the *strategoi* of Cherson shortly before the mid-9th century. The earliest attested *strategoi* of Kappadokia, Paphlagonia, and Chaldia are also dated to that period (not earlier), and the *eparchoi* of Thessalonike are attested until the early 9th century.

the state appointed the first civil officials who were subordinate to the *strategoi* and began to function within the system of *themata*.

These officials could have stemmed from one of two possible sources. The first scenario is that they were originally part of the *strategos*'s administrative bureau, later integrating responsibilities from central departments. Supporting this view, some sources describe officials as specifically attached to a *strategos* rather than to a *thema*. For instance, the *Chronicle of Theophanes* mentions both a *notarios* and a *protomandator* assigned to the *strategos* of the Anatolikoi, while a seal of an Anastasios, an imperial *kandidatos* and *protonotarios* of the *strategos* of the Anatolikoi (and not of the Anatolikoi), further exemplifies this practice[88]. Besides, the bureau of the *magister militum*, the predecessors of the *strategoi*, used to include lesser civil officials, such *numerarii*, *primiscrinii*, and *exceptores*, according to the *Notitia Dignitatum*. In this model, the scarcity of seals for these officials in the 8th century could be attributed to their use of the *strategos*' seal; thus, documents they issued bore the *strategos*'s name and seal, rather than their own. Alternatively, in the second scenario, these officials may have been primarily organized and appointed in Constantinople by the departments they represented, with assignments to specific *strategoi* being a secondary posting.

In both scenarios, the appointment of these officials marked an additional step in the state's centralization process and served as an effort to curb the expanding authority of the *strategoi*. By centrally overseeing the implementation, collection, and standardization of taxation practices, as well as the upkeep of tax records, the state reinforced direct control over the financial mechanisms. Notably, for nearly a century after the reign of Leon III, there is no evidence of judicial officials operating in the provinces; judicial duties, it seems, remained exclusively in the hands of the *strategoi* and their military subalterns.

The emergence of new judicial thematic officials

References to judicial officials in the provinces begin to appear shortly before the mid-9th century, first in the *Taktikon of Uspenskij*, where *anthypatoi*, *eparchoi*, and *praitores* of the *themata* are listed. The *anthypatoi* and *eparchoi* ranked higher than the officials holding the title of *protospatharios*. They were lower in rank than the *strategoi* and the ministers of the central administration, but they outranked the 'lesser' governors of the provincial districts (the *droungarioi*, *kleisourarchai*, etc.). The *praitores* were positioned a little lower, around the same level as the 'lesser' governors, yet ahead of any other low-ranking thematic official, including the *tourmarchai*.

[88] C. Malatras, *The thema of the Anatolikoi*…, p. 290–293.

Second, in his account of a feast included in *De Ceremoniis*, Konstantinos VII Porphyrogennetos (944–959) mentions the *hyparchos of the praitoria*, the *anthypatoi* of *themata*, and the *eparchoi*. As feast participants, they were grouped together with the *koiaistor*, a high-ranking judicial official, forming the fourth ranking group of officials. As such, their group ranked lower than the groups of high dignitaries (*magistroi*, *anthypatoi patrikioi*, *patrikioi*) but higher in rank than any other official, including some ministers. The feast was once dated to 809, but most recently its editors have convincingly dated it to the reign of Michael III (842–867)[89].

Except these court protocol texts, Michael the Syrian also referred to an unnamed 'prefect' who was captured at the fall of Amorium to the Arabs in 838. This 'prefect' was not Aetios, the *strategos* of the Anatolikoi, who is also separately mentioned in the text[90]. In regard to the sigillographic record, the seal of one *praitor* of Thrake from the first half of the 9th century survives[91]. Finally, dating from closer to the mid-9th century are the seals of four *anthypatoi*: two of Anatolikoi, one of Thrakesioi[92], and one containing no reference to any geographical location. The latter was issued by Ioannikios, imperial *spatharios* and *anthypatos* but since the seal is included in the archives of a monastery in Catania, Ioannikios may have been an official from the *thema* of Sicily[93].

Two different views have been held on the references made to the older civil officials in the *Taktikon of Uspenskij* and *De ceremoniis*. According to the first view, these officials continued to function, if not independently, then under the supreme authority of the *strategos*. Many scholars have sought to identify the function of each of the three officials. It has been claimed that the *eparchoi* served as the so-called *ad hoc* prefects. Representing higher-ranking praetorian prefects, they were sent to provinces where they were responsible for provisioning the army[94]. Since the offices of *anthypatos* and *eparchos* are mentioned together [οἱ ἀνθύπατοι καὶ ἔπαρχοι τῶν θεμάτων (*Taktikon of Upsenskij*) / ἀνθυπάτους τῶν θεμάτων καὶ ἐπάρχους (*De ceremoniis*)], Brubaker and Haldon have suggested that at some point, their offices were merged into one. The *anthypatoi* and *eparchoi* no longer dealt with financial matters, retaining only their judicial duties. They were

[89] N. OIKONOMIDES, *Les listes*…, p. 51–53; *Constantini Porphyrogeniti Liber de cerimoniis. Le livre des Cérémonies*, I, 18, rec. G. DAGRON, B. FLUSIN, Paris 2020 [= *CFHB*, 52], p. 119, and for the relevant chronology see p. 110–119. Additional supporting evidence for this date is the references to *magistros* and *anthypatos patrikios* as dignities, something that occurred in the first half of the 9th century, maybe during the reign of Theophilos, when the rank *anthypatos patrikios* is mentioned for the same time.

[90] *Chronique de Michel le Syrien*, vol. III, rec. J.-B. CHABOT, Paris 1899–1905, p. 101.

[91] I. JORDANOV, *Corpus of Byzantine Seals from Bulgaria*, vol. III, Sofia 2009, no. 2865.

[92] C. MALATRAS, *The thema of the Anatolikoi*…, p. 291–292.

[93] *CIG* 4, no. 9020.

[94] W. KAEGI, *Two Studies in the Continuity of Late Roman and Byzantine Military Institutions*, BF 8, 1982, p. 100–112, the first who made this association; W. BRANDES, *Finanzverwaltung*…, p. 136–153, who rejects the association only on the grounds of the time elapsed since the 6th century.

appointed to supervise provinces within a *thema*[95]. For most scholars, the *praitores* were the provincial governors, who must have by that time been deprived of their *spectabilis* rank, having been demoted to below the proconsuls[96].

However, one may point out a number of facts that make this idea difficult to accept: 1) there are no surviving references to these officials from over a century and two centuries in the case of the office of *praitor*; 2) beginning in the mid-8th century the Late Roman provinces ceased to play any role in imperial administration; 3) the borders of particular provinces often did not coincide with the borders of *themata* (would the supposed *praitor* of Phrygia Kapatiane answer both to the proconsul of Opsikion and to that of Anatolikoi, the two *themata* into which the former province was divided?); 4) in the *Taktikon of Uspenskij* both the *praitores* and the *anthypatoi* were linked to a *thema* and not to a province (πραίτωρες τῶν θεμάτων); 5) the transition from an *ad hoc* appointment, the *ad hoc* prefect, to a permanent office with a defined function (specifically, provisioning the army) seems improbable, especially given that this role was fulfilled by the *kommerkiarioi* until the mid-8th century and later by the *thema*tic *protonotarioi*.

Instead, I believe that if these offices had continued to exist until the mid-ninth century, their names would have reflected the different ranks of governors from the Late Antiquity, which were subjected to circumstantial changes. The *anthypatoi* would be the *proconsuls* of the Late Roman provincial organization, and the *eparchoi* would be the *vicarii*. Both the *anthypatoi* and *eparchoi* used to hold in the old Late Roman organization the rank of a *spectabilis* and this is why they are mentioned in the same position in the *Taktikon of Uspenskij*. The *praitores*, in turn, who are placed lower in the hierarchy than the *anthypatoi* and the *eparchoi*, would most likely be the *praesides* and *consulares*, the provincial governors who used to hold the lower rank of a *clarrisimus*.

If the civil governors had continued to operate, then, given their century-long disappearance from our sources, it would be necessary to assume that they issued their verdicts in the name of the *strategos* and that they acted more as legal advisors than as actual judges. This would further support the idea of an uninterrupted continuity from late Roman provincial governors to the *kritai* of the 10th century, which is one more reason why I am inclined to reject it.

The second explanation was to view these references as anachronistic or as a brief revival of older titulature without substantive duties. Wolfram Brandes has recently endorsed this interpretation, linking it to the antiquarian interests that emerged in the mid-9th century[97]. His theory is further supported by the absence of any mention of these significant offices for over a century, as well as by the omission of the *hyparchos* of the *praitoria* in both the *taktika* of Uspenskij (dated

[95] L. Brubaker, J. Haldon, *Byzantium in the Iconoclast Era*…, p. 672–678.
[96] H. Ahrweiler, *Recherches*…, p. 43–44.
[97] W. Brandes, *Finanzverwaltung*…, p. 118–135.

ca. 843) and of Philotheos (dated 899). This absence makes a temporary revival of at least this latter office more plausible.

The most indubitable evidence for the re-establishment of civil judicial officials in the *themata* is provided by the seals of the *anthypatoi* of the Anatolikoi, of the Thrakesioi, and maybe of Sicily. The unnamed 'prefect' captured at the fall of Amorion in 838 should probably be placed in the same context. There is no reason to postulate the existence of city prefects, an institution that probably did not exist outside Constantinople, including Thessalonike whose prefect, as has been mentioned, was really the prefect of Illyricum. The 'prefect' of Michael the Syrian was the *anthypatos* of the Anatolikoi, an office well-attested by the two aforementioned and almost contemporary seals.

This was a new office that was initially given a number of 'proper' Roman classicizing names by which it was referred to a few years later in the *Taktikon of Uspenskij* and in the account of the feast that took place during the reign of Michael III (842–867). According to the information provided by Leon VI at the end of the 9th century, the '*praitores*' served as the judges of *themata* and were appointed to supervise the affairs of the local administration[98]. Apart from the references in the *taktika*, *praitor* appears only on a single seal from the late 9th century[99]. Both *anthypatos* and *praitor* correspond to the more popular Greek term *krites*. Used from around 900, it soon replaced these two classicizing titles. Primary sources reflect the slow emergence of the judge as a very important official during the 10th century. In the 11th century the judge surpassed the power of the *strategos*[100]. The process was slow, as most of the changes in Byzantium, which is evident by the very few references testifying to the existence of *thema*tic judges from their appearance until the mid-10th century[101].

The emergence of a new provincial judicial official came after a major crisis, the revolt of Thomas the Slav (821–823), the last great revolt of *thema*tic armies. Apart from the partition of the eastern *themata*, the creation of the *themata* of Kappadokia, Paphlagonia and Chaldia, and the establishment of the *kleisourai* of Seleu-

[98] LEON VI, *Taktika*, p. 56, l. 130–133: εἰ καὶ τῷ στρατηγῷ ἔν τισιν ὑποτάττεσθαι χρή, ἀλλ' οὖν τοὺς λόγους τῶν ἰδικῶν αὐτῶν διοικήσεων πρὸς τὴν βασιλείαν ἡμῶν ἀφορᾶν, ὥστε δι' αὐτῶν μανθάνειν τάς τε τῶν πολιτικῶν καὶ τῶν στρατιωτικῶν πραγμάτων καταστάσεις καὶ διοικήσεις ἀσφαλέστερον ἡγούμεθα.

[99] G. ZACOS, *Byzantine Lead Seals* II, compiled and edited by J.W. NESBITT, Bern 1984, no. 93, he also held the office of *kourator*.

[100] V. VLYSSIDOU, *Quelques remarques sur l'apparition des juges (première moitié du X^e siècle)*, [in:] *H Βυζαντινή Μικρά Ασία (6ος–12ος αι.)*, ed. Σ. ΛΑΜΠΑΚΗΣ, Athens 1998, p. 59–66.

[101] Of the 37 known judges of the Anatolikoi, only 3 are datable to the first half of the 10th century (see C. MALATRAS, *The thema of the Anatolikoi*…, p. 367–370) and an equal number in Opsikion (IDEM, *In the Service of the Imperial Opsikion*…, p. 484–486). The earliest seal of a judge with the title of *krites* that I have so far managed to identify is G. ZACOS, *Lead Seals*…, no. 221 (end of 9th – beginning of the 10th century).

keia and Charsianon, the entire institution underwent a number of structural reforms. Efforts were made to undermine the civil authority of the *strategoi* by appointing new officials that were never attached to the bureau of the *strategos*. The reform coincided with the reign of Theophilos (829–842), whom many sources describe as an emperor who took care of justice[102], and, judging by the results, succeeded in reforming it. The *thema*tic armies never again posed any serious threat to the imperial government.

Concluding remarks

For six centuries the Byzantine provinces were referred to as *themata*. Regardless of its origin and etymology, the term had certainly appeared by the mid-8th century. It coexisted for a time with the term *strategia*. In my opinion the two terms were synonymous.

At some point in the 7th century, the main field divisions of the Byzantine army were established in Asia Minor. Soon after their establishment, or even immediately afterward, these divisions were assigned to specific locations which they were supposed to defend and on which they had to rely for their maintenance and supplies. The regions and the provinces where they were quartered became eventually known by the names of these armies, thus forming new administrative military districts. In most cases, the districts did not coincide with the borders of the Late Roman provinces. One can guess at the reasons for such an arrangement: the lack of resources to pay and equip the army and the choice of a strategy to constantly defend the hinterland instead of engaging in border-wars or decisive battles. However, both the origin and the chronology of this process remain unknown. We can only see the impact that the process had once it had been completed in the 8th century.

Throughout this time, the older organisation continued. The Late Roman provinces and their governors (*eparchoi*, *bikarioi*, *anthypatoi*, *archontes*, *hypatikoi*), the praetorian prefects, and the staff of their bureaus were continuously attested until the early 8th century. Regrettably, the evidence regarding the century following the reign of Heraclius (610–641) does not provide much insight into the scope of their activities. Their assignments seem to have been limited to those of a judicial nature, as the transfer of financial responsibilities to the *genikos logothetes* and to other bureaus of the central administration and the involvement of a provincial governor, Kalybios, in a judicial affair seem to suggest. However, their role decreased during this century, which probably stemmed from the fact that the civil administration was already moving into the hands of local military commanders, a development observed in Italy already in the 7th century.

[102] *Chronographiae quae Theophanis Continuati nomine fertur. Libri I–IV*, rec. M. Featherstone, J. Signes Codoñer, Boston–Berlin 2015 [= *CFHB*, 53], p. 124–136.

Eventually, during the late reign of Leon III (710–741) and the early reign of Konstantinos V (741–775), a serious of reforms were introduced to rationalise this dual organisation. The older provinces and provincial governors were abolished in the regions where thematic organisations were already in place. At the same time, new *themata* were brought into being. Mainland Italy retained its traditional administrative structures and was governed by lower-ranking military officials, including *doukai*, a *magister militum* in Istria, and an exarch in the Ravenna region. Regions with naval units were organized under a *droungarios*. Nevertheless, all these administrative units followed an internal organizational pattern similar to that of the *themata*.

Some peripheral regions, generally the former western prefectures, remained excluded from the process of creating *themata* and continued to be governed by the civil governors: Thessalonike, Crete, Dalmatia, Dyrrachion, Sardinia, in addition to Cyprus, Cherson, and maybe Chaldia (although the inclusion of an *archon* of Chaldia in the *Taktikon of Uspenskij* is the only surviving evidence on which to rely in dealing with this issue).

Over the next few decades, the state gradually reorganized provincial administration based on the *themata* model and appointed financial officials in each province, centralizing control over state finances and tax collection within the palace. However, the dispensation of justice and other key civil matters remained fully under the authority of local military commanders. This development further strengthened the integration of the army with local societies, a process that had begun with the army's permanent establishment in these regions in the mid to late 7th century.

These changes led to a century of the internal turmoil that culminated in the revolt of Thomas the Slav (821–823). In reaction to this development, the state divided the larger *themata*, while at the same time extending the institution throughout the empire. By the mid-9th century, almost all of the remaining *archontes*, *doukai*, and *droungarioi* were upgraded to *strategoi*. Most importantly the government decided to circumcise the influence of the *strategos* and other local military officials on the local society by reviving the institution of provincial judges, awarding them titles from the Late Roman repertoire. These new officials became the well-known figures later referred to as *kritai*.

From a long-term perspective regarding civil authority, continuity can be seen from the structures, institutions, and practices of the 6th century. However, there was also considerable change, much of it occurring unconsciously and without central direction, often intensified during short periods of reforms, especially under the reigns of Leo III and Constantine V, and later Michael II and Theophilos. These reforms and changes unfolded gradually, without a predetermined or uniform direction. They were not necessarily rational or universally applied, but instead aimed to address the immediate needs of the state, or marked the culmination of longer, incremental processes of transformation.

The combination of civil and military authority was not something new, unique, or even distinctive to the system of *themata*. It was a recurring measure that dated back to the Late Antiquity, even if it was not then used as a rule. Besides, even if we disregard the second half of the history of the *themata* (mid-11th to early 14th century), the official combination of civil and military authority in the hands of the *strategos* lasted merely about a century, a parenthesis to the general trend.

***Anthypatoi* of the 7th and 8th centuries**			
	Name	**Dignity**	**Date**
1	Ioannes[103]		550–650
2	Ioannes[104]		600–650
3	Kyros[105]		600–650
4	Konstantinos[106]		600–650
5	Philippos[107]		600–650
6	Ioannikios[108]		600–700
7	Konstantinos[109]		600–700
8	Georgios[110]		625–675
9a	Tryphon[111]	*stratelates*	650–700
9b	Tryphon[112]	*illoustrios*	650–700
10	Ioannes[113]	*illoustrios*	650–700

[103] G. Zacos, A. Veglery, *Byzantine Lead Seals*…, no. 2881.
[104] J.-Cl. Cheynet, *Les sceaux byzantins de musée de Selçuk (Ephèse)*, RN 154, 1999, nos. 5 and 6; idem, *Les sceaux byzantins de la collection Yavuz Tatış*…, no. 5.1; E. Lafli, W. Seibt, *Seven Byzantine Lead Seals from the Museum of Ödemiş in Western Anatolia*, BMGS 44.1, 2020, no. 3; DO BZS.1947.2.1643.
[105] Private collection Robert Feind, S-11 (unpublished).
[106] G. Zacos, A. Veglery, *Byzantine Lead Seals*…, no. 775.
[107] DO BZS.1955.1.446.
[108] DO BZS.1958.106.722.
[109] G. Schlumberger, *Sigillographie*…, p. 438–439 (no. 6); Auction catalogue Leu Numismatik, Web Auction 15 [27–28 II 2021], no. 2661.
[110] Auction catalogue Classical Numismatic Group, E-376 [15 VI 2016], no. 563.
[111] Cheynet, *Selçuk*…, no. 3; G. Zacos, A. Veglery, *Byzantine Lead Seals*…, no. 1085.
[112] V. Bulgurlu, A. Ilasli, *Seals from the Museum of Afyon (Turkey)*, SBS 8, 2003, no. 4.
[113] Κ. Κωνσταντοπουλος, *Βυζαντιακὰ μολυβδόβουλλα τοῦ ἐν Ἀθήναις Ἐθνικοῦ Νομισματικοῦ Μουσείου*, Ἀθῆναι 1917, no. 295.

	Name	Dignity	Date
11	Theodosios[114]		675–725
12	Isidoros[115]	*apo eparchon*	675–725
13	Georgios[116]		700–733
14	David[117]		700–900

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Merchants in Early Byzantine Hagiographic Texts*

Abstract. This article deals with accounts devoted to merchants and merchant activity that can be found in hagiographic texts from the early Byzantine era. Such accounts are few and far between, which is surprising, especially when compared to the patristic texts of the time. The accounts pertain both to rich merchants and to small "retail" vendors whom the merchants employed to distribute the imported goods or to sell them at market fairs. As shown by the cases dealt with in this article, merchants ran a serious risk of losing their merchandise, which could either be stolen (the case described by Theodoret of Cyrus) or destroyed as a result of naval disasters (cases described by Leontios of Neapolis).

Keywords: early Byzantium, early Byzantine hagiography, money, merchants, trade and markets in early Byzantium

In the accounts of the lives of holy men and of wonders done through their intercession with God, authors of early Byzantine hagiographical texts usually offered passing remarks regarding the social and economic issues of the time. It can thus come as a surprise that they provided relatively little information about merchants and their trades[1]. Among those who did offer such information was Theodoret of Cyrus. His work contains remarks pertaining to some mechanisms to which trade, specifically sale at the market fair, is subject. One of the protagonists of his *Historia Religiosa* is a monk Polybius. Living in Syria at the turn of the fifth century, Polybius, the leader of a group of other monks, is reported to have

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[1] I. Milewski, *Einige Bemerkungen zum Markt in der spätantiken christlichen Literatur*, [in:] *Market(s) Market Buildings – Market Squares, Seminar für Alte Geschichte Universität Kassel, 26.–28. Februar 2019*, Wiesbaden 2022, p. 584–586.

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quickly gone from the organisation of a hermitage to the organisation of the whole community. Since his co-brothers were not convinced about the line of action he followed, Polybius, in arguing for his agenda, drew their attention to a positive interdependence, a kind of harmony existing between those who trade at the market fair:

> As at town fairs, one sells bread and the other sells vegetables, one deals in clothing and the other makes shoes, and all of them, satisfying their own needs, make their lives more comfortable: He who sells clothes buys shoes, and he who sells vegetables buys bread…[2]

What a concise descritption of macroeconomic logic. Let's turn to more specific cases. *Historia monachorum in Aegypto* contains a reference to an anonymous merchant who travelled down the Nile river from Thebaid to Alexandria, leading a "fleet of 100 ships" (…μετὰ ἑκατὸν πλοίων…), with a cargo worth twenty thousand pieces of gold (…δύο μυρίαδας χρυσίνων). In the Latin version of the text, the merchant transported the same value of cargo using only three ships[3]. As can be inferred from further account, the merchant traded in vegetables. Ten sacks of those vegetables were given to the hero of the story, a monk named Paphnutius[4]. Although the account is brief and laconic, two issues can be noted. The first concerns the figures. Symbolical is the number of ships used to transport the cargo worth twenty thousand pieces of gold. Let's keep in mind the fact that the Greek text mentions 100 ships while the Latin version of it mentions only three[5]. Both numbers are characteristic of the "Greek" way of expressing numerical amounts. The account also testifies to the fact that Egypt in the early Byzantine era sold its food products mainly in big urban centres, primarily Alexandria, which was not only their greatest consumer, but with its large harbour also served as a "window to the world" for everything that was produced in Egypt. Indeed, in Thebaid in the early Byzantine period, food products (grain, vegetables, and fruit) were traded on a massive scale, as were various articles of craftsmanship[6]. Because of the general nature of the account mentioned above, it is hard to say anything specific about its content. The merchant may have brought artisanal products from Alexandria and Lower Egypt and then may have gone back to the north with food products he bought in Upper Egypt. Since the account is very terse, it only permits for such a general assumption.

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[2] THEODORETUS CYRENSIS, *Historia religiosa*, 5, 4, ed. P. CANIVET, A. LEROY-MOLINGHEN, Paris 1977–1979 [= SC, 234, 257] (cetera: THEODORETUS, *Historia religiosa*).

[3] *Historia monachorum in Aegypto* (Lat.), 16, 3, ed. A.J. FESTUGIERE, Bruxelles 1971 [= SHa, 53] (cetera: *Historia monachorum in Aegypto*). Cf. also I. MILEWSKI, *Money in Historia monachorum in Aegypto*, SCer 11, 2021, p. 653–662.

[4] *Historia monachorum in Aegypto*, 14, 18–20.

[5] *Historia monachorum in Aegypto* (Lat.), 16, 3, 2: *…(Paphnutius) occurit cuidam negotiatori Alexandrino viginti millibus solidorum mercimonia tribus navibus deferenti ex Thebaide*.

[6] R. ALSTON, *The City in Roman and Byzantine Egypt*, London–New York 2002, p. 337–344.

Some information regarding merchant activities can be found in *Vita Joannis Eleemosynari*. From this work, we learn that Alexandrian ἔμποροι, just like merchants from other cities of the empire (for example, Antioch), made some financial contributions to the shared savings[7]. However, the nature and amounts of these contributions were not clearly specified. Spots at the market fair were also paid for, obviously. Some of the fairs belonged to the Church, which derived some financial benefits from local leaseholders. As can be inferred from the account in question, these payments were burdensome for petty merchants who intervened with the Patriarch to lower them. The local prefect, Nicetas, is reported to have unsuccessfully attempted to tax the income the Church in Alexandria derived from leasing the fair plots[8].

One issue that appears in the analysed material concerns insolvent merchants who incurred loans to pursue commercial activity. However, accounts that touch upon this issue are far and few between and contain few details. Thus, we are led to conclude that some merchants did not have enough cash to pursue their trade, or did not want to use their own means for fear of loss to pirates or a naval disaster. One way or another, this caused financial difficulties for both sides: the usurer or banker who temporarily, and sometimes irretrievably, lost the lent capital and the merchant who, having lost his merchandise, had no means to pay off the loan or refused to sell his property to obtain funds for repayment. The latter case is described in the work by John Moschus. Moschus' account pertains to the owner of a ship who lost his cargo in a naval disaster. When he returned to his home town (Palestinian Ashkelon), his creditors captured him and brought him before the local prefect who threw him in jail. The creditors then went to his home and took everything that could be removed, including his and his wife's clothes which were then sold to recoup part of the loss[9].

References to commercial activity at the market fairs can also be found in Theodoret of Cyrus and Palladius of Helenopolis. The bishop of Cyrus mentions a cyclically organised fair in the village of Imma, 40 kilometres away from Antioch. The event is known to have attracted many merchants, not only from Syria. It lasted the whole day and when it was getting dark, the merchants folded up their stalls and with all their takings and unsold merchandise set off for their homes, becoming easy targets for various prowling bands of thieves. Theodoret describes the

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[7] W. Ceran, *Artisans et commerçants à Antioche et leur rang social (seconde moitié du IV^e siècle de notre ère)*, Łódź 2013, p. 153–155.

[8] Leontios, *Vita Joannis Eleemosynarii*, 13, [in:] H. Gelzer, *Leontios von Neapolis Leben des hl. Johannes des Barmherzigen*, Freiburg im Breisgau 1893 (cetera: Leontios, *Vita Joannis Eleemosynarii*). The same text informs us that the local patriarchate let out space to be used as a tavern (καπηλεῖον), Leontios, *Vita Joannis Eleemosynarii*, 14. See also R.S. Lopez, *The Role of Trade in the Economic Readjustment of Byzantium in the Seventh Century*, DOP 13, 1959, p. 76; E. Wipszycka, *The Alexandrian Church. People and Institutions*, Warszawa 2015, p. 216.

[9] Joannes Moschos, *Pratum spirituale*, 189, [in:] *PG*, vol. LXXXVII, ed. J.-P. Migne, Paris 1863.

case of a merchant who was robbed and murdered. In keeping with the convention of hagiographic works, the just punishment meted out to the assassins was obviously inevitable[10]. Palladius of Helenopolis, in turn, refers in the life of Moses the Ethiopian to another issue bound up with trade at the fair. As can be inferred from Palladius' account, butchers selling meat had to fend off intrusive dogs that tried to take advantage of their inattention and steal the "assortment" they offered. For the entire trading day the dogs kept close to the sellers[11].

There is one special type of "merchandise" that is mentioned in hagiographical texts. Other than the food sellers and representatives of a variety of other professions, the market fairs were also attended by slave traders. This issue was raised by Gerontius of Jerusalem and Leontios of Neapolis[12]. In the Life of John the Almsgiver, Leontios refers to some low-ranking clergymen who derived financial benefits from buying and selling slaves. The value of those benefits is not specified. If the information is quite peculiar, then the way in which the Patriarch supposedly reacted to these clergymen's dealings is even more so. He did not condemn them, but increased their pay so that they should give up this practice[13].

Analysed texts provide some information regarding the amount of money earned by petty traders. John of Ephesus gives an account of a merchant who earned five to six pieces of gold a year with his trade in an unspecified range of goods pursued in a city located on the border with Persia. John adds that some brothers who earned their living in this way, received a pay raise of up to 10 pieces of gold after a period of honest work. After a few more years, they were given a raise of up to 20 pieces of gold. Finally, their pay was as high as 30 pieces of gold a year. As can be inferred from what John wrote later on in his account, the brothers acted as wholesale distributors of unspecified merchandise which their employer brought from Persia. The latter is reported to have owned many warehouses, pursuing his business in various corners of the empire[14]. An analogous case regarding this form of employing a seller is recounted by Leontius in *Vita Symeonis*. The protagonist

[10] THEODORETUS, *Historia religiosa*, 7, 2.

[11] *The Lausiac History of Palladius*, 19, 6, vol. II, *The Greek Text Edited with Introduction and Notes*, ed. C. BUTLER, Cambridge 1904 (cetera: PALLADIUS, *Historia Lausiaca*). Saint Basil the Great also confirms this obvious fact when describing the market day in Caesarea of Cappadocia (BASILIUS MAGNUS, *In Haxaemeron*, 2, 5).

[12] GERONTIUS, *Vita Melaniae Iunioris (graeca)*, 62, ed. D. GORCE, Paris 1962 [= SC, 90].

[13] LEONTIOS, *Vita Joannis Elemosynarii*, 4. On the issue of the clergy's extra-church gainful activity in the early Byzantine period, see LEONTIOS, *Vita Joannis Elemosynarii*, 47; CYRILLUS SCYTHOPOLITANUS, *Vita Sabae*, 78, [in:] E. SCHWARTZ, *Kyrillos von Skythopolis*, Leipzig 1939. See also H.J. MAGOULIAS, *Trades and Crafts in the Sixth and Seventh Centuries as viewed in the Lives of the Saints*, Bsl 37, 1976, p. 25; S.R. HÜBNER, *Der Klerus in der Gesellschaft des spätantiken Kleinasiens*, Stuttgart 2005, p. 213–229.

[14] JOANNES EPHESINUS, *Lives of the Eastern Saints*, 31, ed. E.W. BROOKS, Paris 1923 [= *PO*, 17.1] (cetera: JOANNES EPHESINUS, *Vitae*), p. 578. See also D. CLAUDE, *Die byzantinische Stadt im 6. Jahrhundert*, München 1969, p. 177.

of Leontius' account clearly failed to discharge his duties diligently. Not only did he binge on the lupine he was supposed to sell, but he also gave it to some of his clients free of charge, causing significant losses for the stall's owner[15].

Some information about petty traders can be found in *Miracula Sancti Artemi*, a work illustrating the reality of life in Constantinople in the latter half of the seventh century. In large measure, this information seems rather insignificant. We are told, for example, that one wealthy wine dealer could afford a big house in the district of Argyroupolis, located on the other side of the strait[16]. The work also refers to a silver dealer from Constantinople and his underpaid assistant[17], a silver dealer from the Capital, named Akakios[18], a lumber trader[19], and a wealthy merchant from Chios who was rich enough to spend three months on business in the capital[20].

Hagiographical texts also provide references to the commercial activity of the Church, including the Patriarchate of Alexandria, especially in the lifetime of John the Almsgiver. *Vita Joannis Elemosynari* informs us that at the beginning of the pontificate of John (610/611), the Patriarchate had a fleet of at least 13 large freighters. Once, during a storm, the crews had to dump the cargo in order to save the ships. The resulting losses were estimated at the substantial sum of 34 centenaria of gold[21]. Although this amount is not certain, it gives us an idea of the extent of the commercial activity of the Patriarchate of Alexandria at the beginning of the seventh century. In the same work, Leontius describes the case of a ship owner who, after his ship loaded with grain was wrecked, went to the Patriarch for a loan that would allow him to continue his business and recoup his losses. John lent the merchant five pounds of gold, which the merchant used to buy new grain. Unfortunately, the new cargo ship also sank, not far off the coast of Alexandria. Another loan was as high as 10 pounds of gold. After losing his grain a third time, the merchant was on the verge of committing suicide. However, John dissuaded him by saying that he kept losing his merchandise because he had dishonestly speculated on grain. The bankrupt merchant was then given another chance. The patriarch entrusted him with the command of one of the ships belonging to the Patriarchate. Supposedly loaded with as many as twenty thousand modii of grain (σίτον), the ship embarked on a 20-day voyage, arriving safely to Britain, where the grain was sold at one piece of gold per modius. The money earned from the grain was

[15] *Das Leben des heiligen Narren Symeon von Leontios von Neapolis*, 147, ed. L. Rydén, Uppsala 1963.
[16] *The Miracles of St. Artemios. A Collection of Miracle Stories by an Anonymous Author in Seventh Century Byzantium*, 32, ed. V. Crisafulli, J. Nesbitt, New York–Leiden 1997 (cetera: *Miracula sancti Artemii*), p. 165.
[17] *Miracula sancti Artemii*, 32, p. 165.
[18] *Miracula sancti Artemii*, 95.
[19] *Miracula sancti Artemii*, 7, p. 91.
[20] *Miracula sancti Artemii*, 5, p. 85.
[21] Leontios, *Vita Joannis Eleemosynarii*, 28. See also E. Wipszycka, *The Alexandrian Church*…, p. 215.

used to buy 50 pounds of tin (κασσίτερον), which was then sold at a considerable profit at the market fair in Alexandria. As the author of the account emphasises, all of the silver obtained from the sale of the tin was given to local church charities[22]. Although the core of the account seems to be pure fiction, it can be taken as a testament to the widespread economic activity pursued by the Patriarchate of Alexandria in the early Byzantine period, which ranged from lending activity to trading in grain and other food products that were usually produced on Church estates. Leontius offers an account of one more Alexandrian merchant who made regular and very profitable business trips to African harbours. On one occasion, the merchant did not return from his trade expedition as his ship was wrecked near Alexandria, not far from the Pharos lighthouse[23].

The issue of the trading and lending activities of the Church is also raised in the account by the author of the collection of legends illustrating the life of Spyridon, the bishop of Trimythous. The original version of the text came into being at the end of the fourth century while that used by modern scholars dates back to the mid-seventh century and most likely reflects the socio-economic reality of the early Byzantine period. From this account, we learn that Spyridon's bishopric made financial loans. It is reported that the loans were made to only one borrower (which needs to be considered dubious as long as we are inclined to believe that the bishopric was actually involved in the lending business), a local cargo ship owner whom we are told often turned to the bishop for loans. The author of the account points out that the bishop had full confidence in the merchant and, consequently, allowed him to go into the church's treasury vault on his own and return the money he had borrowed. This situation continued until the merchant committed fraud (he simply returned less than he had borrowed), which was quickly exposed.

The account goes on to suggest that the incident led the bishop to end his practice of providing loans. It could hardly come as a surprise that this type of hagiographical text makes no mention of the interest rates charged for these loans[24]. However, the account in question, similar to that by Leontius, can clearly be adduced as evidence that the bishop gave loans subject to interest, and it is above all hard to assume that he could have been so disregardful of the financial interests of the Church.

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[22] LEONTIOS, *Vita Joannis Eleemosynarii*, 8. See also E. WIPSZYCKA, *The Alexandrian Church*…, p. 233.

[23] LEONTIOS, *Vita Joannis Eleemosynarii*, 24.

[24] *La légende de s. Spyridon, évêque de Trimithonte*, 92–95, ed. P. VAN DEN VEN, Louvain 1953. See also A. SAMELLAS, *The Anti-usury Arguments of the Church Fathers of the East in their Historical Context and the Accommodation of the Church to the Prevailing "Credit Economy" in Late Antiquity*, JAH 5, 2017, p. 161.

Examples of commercial activity in the early Byzantine period are also provided in accounts illustrating the everyday life of monks. These accounts indicate that, apart from receiving alms and significant financial donations[25], both individual monks and monastic communities relied on manual labour for their livelihood by weaving mats, and making ropes, baskets and simple clothing[26]. Egyptian monks are known to have exercised the specialized and well-paid profession of being a calligraphist[27]. Some general references to the income monks earned from selling their own handmade products at the market fair can be found in the *Apophthegmata Patrum*[28].

In conclusion, early Byzantine hagiographers, when describing the background of their heroes, paid little attention to merchants or the merchant trades. The same can be said of all other kinds of economic activity pursued by those about whom they wrote. The scarcity of this information is puzzling, especially as it significantly contrasts with contemporary patristic texts created in the East.

Translated by Artur Mękarski

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[25] See, for example, Palladius, *Historia Lausiaca*, 10, 2 and 4; 54–55, 6; 58, 2 and E. Wipszycka, *Le monastere d'Apa Apollôs: un cas typique ou un cas exceptionnel?*, [in:] *Les archives de Dioscore d'Aphrodité cent ans apres leur découverte*, ed. J.–L. Fournet, Paris 2008, p. 261–273.

[26] Cf. I. Milewski, *Money in Apophthegmata patrum*, SCer 9, 2019, p. 605–607; E. Wipszycka, *The Economy of Syrian Monasteries (Fifth–Eighth Century)*, USS 19, 2020, p. 257.

[27] Palladius, *Historia Lausiaca*, 45, 3.

[28] *Apophthegmata Patrum*: *De abbate Lucio* (75), [in:] *PG*, vol. LXV, col. 253; Agathon 16 (98). See Joannes Ephesinus, *Vitae*, 33, p. 595. See also R.S. Bagnall, *Monks and Property: Rhetoric*, *Law and Patronage in the Apophthegmata Patrum and the Papyri*, GRBS 42, 2001, p. 7–24.

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Sardinia and the Byzantine West
Paradigm Shifts and Changing Perceptions*

Abstract. The paper focuses on Sardinia from the fall of Carthage (698) to the rise of its autonomous rulers, the *iudikes*, in the mid-9th c. During these centuries, the island managed to convey a sense of historical standing between different 'worlds': the Latin West, the Byzantine empire, and the Muslims in North Africa and Spain. Albeit traditionally considered as a proof of 'periphery' and 'isolation', Sardinia's insularity condition and its development as an unconquered liminal polity among the major powers in the Western Mediterranean received renewed interest through the re-assessment of the archaeological, sigillographic and numismatic record. As such, the paper is an account of the key features of this transition and offers new perspectives on the island's resilience within the formative phases of a Medieval Mediterranean that we increasingly understand in terms of its connectivity.

Keywords: Byzantine Sardinia, sigillography, numismatics, Western Mediterranean, trade

After the fall of Carthage (698 CE) and the subsequent capture of *Septem* (711 CE) Sardinia became the last outpost of the erstwhile Exarchate[1], and a frontier zone between the Latin West, the Eastern empire, and the Muslims in North Africa and Spain[2]. While remaining within the Byzantine sphere

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1 For a general overview on this topic see W.E. Kaegi, *The Islamic Conquest and the Defense of Byzantine Africa. Reconsiderations on Campaigns, Conquests, and Contexts*, [in:] *North Africa under Byzantium and Early Islam*, ed. S.T. Stevens, J.P. Conant, Washington, DC 2016 [= DOBSC], p. 67–70; A. Louth, *Byzantium Transforming (600–700)*, [in:] *The Cambridge History of the Byzantine Empire c. 500–1492. Revised Edition*, ed. J. Shepard, Cambridge 2021, p. 222, 235–236, 239.

2 The liminality of Sardinia from the late 600s CE onwards still fuels the historiographical debate (see R. Martorelli, *I cd. "secoli bui" della Sardegna: problematiche, metodi, filoni d'indagine da una*

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of influence, from the 8th c. CE to the beginning of the autonomous rule under the so-called *iudikes* in the 10th c. CE, the island has shown different levels of resilience from the Motherland to its surroundings[3]. To this end, the aim of this paper is therefore to provide a critique of Sardinia's transition through the magnifier lens of numismatics, archaeology, and prosopography.

Regarding the coin circulation, the debate tends to focus on whether there was a Byzantine mint on the island. Striking coinage for Sardinia was first suggested after the discovery of a hoard of several *solidi* of Constantine IV in Carthage. The specimens bear a retrograde 'S' on the reverse, which was interpreted as the first letter of *Sardinia*[4]. From the first reign of Justinian II, prior to the capture of Carthage, solidi with a regular 'S' on the reverse are documented on the island. From coin finds of *solidi*, *tremisses*, *folles* and half-*folles* bearing the same letter 'S' in the reverse, a mint can be inferred to have been operational on the island from at least the period following the first fall of Carthage in 695 CE[5] (fig. 1). The design and

storiografia consolidata e aspettative dal nuovo progetto, [in:] *Settecento-Millecento. Storia, Archeologia e Arte nei "secoli bui" del Mediterraneo. Dalle fonti scritte, archeologiche ed artistiche alla ricostruzione della vicenda storica. La Sardegna laboratorio di esperienze culturali*, vol. I, ed. EADEM, Cagliari 2013, p. 20–33). Due to the sparseness of the Byzantine sources (see the overview in M. MURESU, *La moneta "indicatore" dell'assetto insediativo della Sardegna bizantina (secoli VI–XI)*, Perugia 2018, p. 326–333), a number of *ex silentio* arguments have come to the fore, such as the traditional conception of the island as a model of conservatism (see R.J. ROWLAND, *The Periphery in the Center. Sardinia in the Ancient Medieval Worlds*, Oxford 2001 [= BAR.IS, 970]) 'despite' its central position in the Western Mediterranean (on this, see S. COSENTINO, *Byzantine Sardinia between West and East. Features of a Regional Culture*, Mil 1, 2004, p. 329–332; F. SULAS, *Landscapes, Archaeology, and Identity in Sardinia*, [in:] *Sardinia from the Middle Ages to Contemporaneity. A Case Study of a Mediterranean Island Identity Profile*, ed. L. GALLINARI, Bern–Berlin–Bruxelles–New York–Oxford–Warszawa–Wien 2018, p. 17–23) and the overestimation of some of the alleged 'turning points' in its development as a frontier, such as the early Muslim raids (which have been recently re-assessed as to their extent: see A. METCALFE, *Early Muslim Raids on Byzantine Sardinia*, [in:] *The Making of Medieval Sardinia*, ed. A. METCALFE, H. FERNÁNDEZ-ACEVES, M. MURESU, Leiden–Boston 2021 [= MMe, 128], p. 126–131).

[3] The extent of Byzantinisation in Sardinia relies on detecting cultural influence in the documentary, administrative and material record. This is the case with the medieval *curatorias* – territorial divisions of the island attested since the 1000s CE – and their interpretation as a derivation from the Medieval Greek κουρατωρία (see M. ORRÙ, *Nota sull'amministrazione dell'isola in età bizantina e altomedievale. Κουράτορες in Sardegna?*, ThHi 25, 2016, p. 361–366). Similar assumptions of continuity involve a series of terms and toponyms of Vernacular Sardinian which may also be partly of Byzantine origin (on which see G. PAULIS, *Lingua e cultura nella Sardegna bizantina. Testimonianze linguistiche dell'influsso greco*, Cagliari 1983) as well as the transition of political rulership from *archontes* to *iudikes* (see A. SODDU, *Il potere regio nella Sardegna giudicale (XI–XII secolo)*, [in:] *Linguaggi e rappresentazioni del potere nella Sardegna medievale*, ed. IDEM, Roma 2020, p. 44–56, 73–84; L. GALLINARI, *The Iudex Sardiniae and the Archon Sardanias between the Sixth and Eleventh Century*, [in:] *The Making of Medieval Sardinia*…, p. 204–239).

[4] C. MORRISSON, *Un trésor de solidi de Constantin IV de Carthage*, RN 22, 1980, p. 155–160; EADEM, *Supplément au "trésor de Constantin IV"*, BSFN 36, 1981, p. 91–94.

[5] M. MURESU, *La moneta "indicatore"*…, p. 387–416. For more recent information, see IDEM, *The Coinage of Byzantine Sardinia*, [in:] *The Making of Medieval Sardinia*…, p. 170–203.

fabrication of the coins suggests that at least some of the staff of the erstwhile mint at Carthage would have been transferred in Sardinia, while the remaining moneyers would have continued to strike coins in North Africa under the Muslims[6].

Gold coinage from 'Sardinia' is mostly made up of unique specimens. Aside from a few sporadic findings, the majority of the gold issues were found in a hoard from an undisclosed rural location between Porto Torres (ancient *Turris Libisonis*) and Stintino, on the Northern coast of the island[7] (fig. 2). This raises important questions on the extent of their circulation, which appears to be limited only to the island, with no evidence of discoveries in other contexts of the Western Mediterranean[8]. Silver issues date back to the reigns of Justinian II (685–695 CE) and Leontius (695–698 CE) and were made up primarily of unique specimens of fractions of *siliquae*[9] (fig. 1, c–d). Finally, the bronze issues were crudely made mainly by reusing older coins, with significant shifts in weight and module[10]. The last two gold series bearing the letter 'S' were struck during the reign of Leo III. The former between 720 CE – when Leo co-opted his son into power, changing

[6] Gradual transition from Byzantine to Islamic types over a period of twenty years, from 698 to 717 CE, while maintaining the older features – weight standards, globular fabric, rough surface – as well as Latin inscriptions suggests continuity of the minting operation, with the Byzantine moneyers assisting Arabs. See T. Jonson, *The Earliest Dated Islamic Solidi of North Africa*, [in:] *Arab-Byzantine Coins and History*, *Papers Presented at the Seventh Century Syrian Numismatic Round Table held at Corpus Christi College*, *Oxford on 10th and 11th September 2011*, ed. T. Goodwin, London 2012, p. 1–11; T. Jonson, M. Blet-Lemarquand, C. Morrisson, *The Byzantine Mint in Carthage and the Islamic Mint in North Africa*. *New Metallurgical Findings*, RN 171, 2014, p. 655–699.

[7] M. Muresu, *La moneta "indicatore"*…, p. 132, with further bibliography.

[8] See below, p. 515.

[9] For the coinage issued during the reign of Justinian II see C. Morrisson, *L'Argent d'une île: nouvelles siliques de Justinien II en Sardaigne*, [in:] *Suadente Nummo Vetere*. *Studi in onore di Giovanni Gorini*, ed. M. Asolati, B. Callegher, A. Saccocci, Padova 2016, p. 337–343. Regarding Leontius' coinage, a unique (as problematic) fraction of *siliqua* was minted in Sardinia during his reign. At the current state, the latter appears to be the last Byzantine silver coin struck on the island (see M. Muresu, *The Coinage*…, p. 193).

[10] Such is the case of a Sardinian *follis* of Justinian II (685–695 CE) overstruck on *follis* of Constantinople (*Catalogue of the Byzantine Coins in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection and in the Whittemore Collection*, vol. II.1, *Heraclius Constantine to Theodosius III (641–717)*, ed. P. Grierson, Washington, DC 1968 (cetera: DOC, II.2), p. 591, no. 38, pl. XXXVIII). The practice of reusing older currency in minting bronze coinage on the island is attested to also from the reigns of Leontius (695–698 CE), Tiberius III (698–705 CE), and Anastasius II (713–715 CE). To the former refer two half-*folles*, overstruck on a Sicilian (DOC, II.2, p. 617, no. 11, pl. XL) and a Sardinian *folles* of Justinian II respectively (E. Piras, *Le monete della Sardegna dal IV secolo a.C. al 1842*, Sassari 1996, p. 89, no. 48; M. Muresu, *La moneta "indicatore"*…, p. 403, no. 2.c.3.d). A half-*follis* of Tiberius III from Sardinia was overstruck on a *follis* of Constans II (641–668 CE) (L. Laffranchi, *La numismatica di Leonzio II. Studio su un periodo della monetazione italo-bizantina*, Firenze 1940, p. 32, no. 5–6; DOC, II.2, p. 634, n. 20). Finally, two Sardinian half-*folles* of Anastasius II have been identified as overstruck: the former was obtained from an unknown earlier specimen (M. Muresu, *La moneta "indicatore"*…, p. 403, no. 2.c.6.d, fig. 304) and the latter was issued on a pre-existing half-*follis* of Justinian II from Sardinia (R.M. Zanella, *L'individuazione di un inedito follis Sardo-Bizantino attribuibile a Anastasio II Artemio, 713–715*, [in:] *Atti I e II Giornata di Studi Numismatici*, Dolianova 2013, p. 41–55).

iconography of the coins[11] – and 726 CE, the latter from the interpretation of the Greek *theta* in the reverse of two specimens, as an indiction date or a regnal year (fig. 1, g). The second is a series of tremisses of poor quality, with garbled legends and schematic portraits[12]. Their features led to them being considered an imitation of the previous series, providing a hypothetical chronology between 720s/730s and 741 CE (the end of Leo III's reign) and had them identified as the last Byzantine coin issue in Sardinia (fig. 1, h).

Framing the 'rise and fall' of the coinage production on the island is far from clear. The closure of the mint and/or the dramatic reduction of available currency may be read as a local effect of a wider monetary crisis, which took place in the Western Mediterranean during the first half of the 8th c. CE. Indeed, at that time, the mints of Ravenna, Rome, Naples, and Syracuse struck gold currency that was suffering from an increasing and sometimes critical debasement, among a general decrease in the number of coins in circulation[13]. The closure of the 'Byzan-

[11] *Catalogue of the Byzantine Coins in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection and in the Whittemore Collection*, vol. III.1, *Leo III to Michael III (717–867)*, ed. P. GRIERSON, Washington, DC 1973, p. 226.

[12] Despite their poor quality, the authenticity of the specimens is not in question. Three examples were included in the hoard found between Porto Torres (ancient *Turris Libisonis*) and Stintino (see above at footnote no. 8). Two other issues have been found through archaeological excavation and in contextual association with artefacts dating to the same period: the former during exploration of a monumental underground tomb in the locality of Cirredis, near Villaputzu (Cagliari: D. SALVI, *Monili, ceramiche e monete (bizantine e longobarde) dal mausoleo di Cerredis (Villaputzu-Sardegna)*, QFA 11, 2001, p. 115–132), and the latter during archaeological research at the area of Santo Stefano-Part'e Sole in Posada (Nuoro) during the 1980s (M. MURESU, *La moneta "indicatore"*…, p. 297–300, with previous bibliography).

[13] The purity of Ravenna's gold series started to decline from 90% to between 83% and 65% under Justinian II; at the very beginning of Leo III's reign, the fineness was around 60%; twenty years later, at Constantine V's ascension to the throne, the maximum fineness was 8%, with most of the 'tremisses' devoid of any gold (a discussion is in V. PRIGENT, *A Striking Evolution: the Mint of Ravenna during the Early Middle Ages*, [in:] *Ravenna. Its Role in Earlier Medieval Change and Exchange*, ed. J. HERRIN, J.L. NELSON, London 2016, p. 170). See also C. MORRISSON, B. CALLEGHER, *Ravenne: le déclin d'un avant-poste de Constantinople à la luère de son monnayage (v. 540–751)*, CRMH 28, 2014, p. 255–278. At Rome, between 695 and 720 CE, the average fineness of gold coins had undergone a dramatic decrease from 90% to slightly above 20% (W.A. ODDY, *The Debasement of the Provincial Byzantine Gold Coinage from the Seventh to Ninth Centuries*, [in:] *Studies in Early Byzantine Gold Coinage*, ed. W. HAHN, W. METCALF, New York 1988, p. 141; V. PRIGENT, *Les empereurs Isauriens et la confiscation des patrimoines pontificaux de l'Italie du Sud*, MEFR.MÂ 116.2, 2004, p. 582–584; for a general update, see F. MARANI, *The Circulation of Coinage in Two Byzantine Cities. Rome and Naples in Comparison*, [in:] *Perspectives on Byzantine Archaeology: from Justinian to the Abbasid Age (6th–9th Centuries)*, ed. A. CASTRORAO BARBA, G. CASTIGLIA, Turnhout 2022, p. 194–195). The debasement of the coinage minted in Naples was even more marked, as it shifted from 60–65% (late 600s CE) to 20–25% (720s–730s CE) and to near 0% (740s CE) (W.A. ODDY, *The Debasement*…, p. 141, fig. 3; see also A. ROVELLI, *Naples. Ville et atelier monétaire de l'empire byzantin: l'apport des fouilles récentes*, [in:] *Mélanges Cécile Morrisson*, Paris 2010, p. 699–700). Regarding the situation in Sicily, from 695 to 717 CE its gold currency suffered a decline in fineness from 97% to 60%, before rising to approximately 83–84% following the monetary reform of 730s–740s CE (see V. PRIGENT,

tine mint of Sardinia' and the progressive distancing from the monetary influence of Byzantium could also have been a collateral effect of the conflicts between the Emperor and the Apostolic See, primarily after the fiscal reforms of 730/731 CE, which caused the tax revenues of Calabria and Sicily that were until then received by Rome to now flow to the treasury of the Patriarchate of Constantinople[14], or the final seizure of the Sicilian patrimonies of the Roman Church in 741/743 CE[15]. While this last possibility still requires further evidence, one may consider such pivotal events in the wider Mediterranean did not pass without having an impact on the economic assets of the Byzantine Sardinia[16].

In fact, after the minting activity ceased, until the end of the 8th c. CE the Byzantine coinage circulating on the island was reduced to a small number of *folles*[17]. Interestingly, the material evidence from the same period shows the coinage of Sardinia was supplemented with currencies coming from elsewhere, mostly by Lombard and – to a small extent – Muslim coins (fig. 3). Notably, Sardinia is the land with the largest number of Lombard coin finds in the whole Mediterranean[18]. These consist primarily of tremisses issued by Liutprand, found as reused artefacts (i.e., grave goods) or collected in hoards[19] – both unsurprising outcomes, considering the low fineness of the metal used for this series[20]. Regarding the Arabic coins, both gold and silver, their discovery was made in urban and rural contexts

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Monnaie et circulation monétaire en Sicile du début du VIIIe siècle à l'avènement de la domination musulmane, [in:] *L'Héritage Byzantin en Italie (VIIIe–XIIe siècle)*, vol. II, *Les cadres juridiques et sociaux et les Institutions publiques*, ed. J.M. Martin, A. Peters-Custot, V. Prigent, Rome 2012, p. 458–461).

[14] V. Prigent, *Les empereurs Isauriens*…, p. 563–565; idem, *Un confesseur de Mauvaise foi. Notes sur l'exactions financières de l'empereur Léon III en Italie du Sud*, CRMH 28, 2014, p. 281–282.

[15] J.M. Martin, *Rural Economy: Organization, Exploitation and Resources*, [in:] *A Companion to Byzantine Italy*, ed. S. Cosentino, Leiden–Boston 2021 [= BCBW, 8], p. 288, see there for further references.

[16] See also M. Muresu, *La moneta "indicatore"*…, p. 420–430.

[17] Evidence consists in *folles* of Constantine V (741–775 CE) and Leo IV (775–780 CE) coming from both Private Collection (3 *folles* of Constantine V of unknown provenance: see G. Biamonti, *Monete vandaliche e bizantine provenienti dalla Sardegna sud-occidentale. La collezione Lulliri*, QSA.CO 13, 1996, p. 233–254) and surveys (17 *folles* of Constantine V and an uncertain number of *folles* of Leo IV from Ruinas-Ozieri: see M. Muresu, *La moneta "indicatore"*…, p. 368).

[18] M. Baldassarri, *Le monete di Lucca dal periodo longobardo al Trecento*, Firenze 2022, p. 39.

[19] M. Muresu, *Monete longobarde della Sardegna bizantina. Un'apertura dell'isola verso la Penisola?*, [in:] *Atti Congresso Nazionale di Archeologia Medievale*, vol. II, ed. P. Arthur, M. Leo Imperiale, Firenze 2015, p. 432–435. For an update, see idem, *La moneta "indicatore"*…, p. 428; idem, *La Sardegna nel Mediterraneo di VII–VIII secolo attraverso il dato archeologico, numismatico e sfragistico*, MEFR.MÂ [*En ligne*] 132.2, 2020.

[20] The tremissis of Liutprand had an average fineness of 58% (0,71g of pure gold) (E.A. Arslan, G. Pertot, *Moneta e tecniche costruttive nel Memoratorio de mercedes commacinorum*, [in:] *I Magistri Commacini. Mito e realtà del medioevo lombardo*, *Atti del XIX Congresso Internazionale di Studio sull'alto Medioevo (Varese–Como, 23–25 ottobre 2008)*, Spoleto 2009, p. 86). On this see also V. Prigent, *Mints, Coin Production and Circulation*, [in:] *A Companion to Byzantine Italy*…, p. 339; M. Baldassarri, *Le monete di Lucca*…, p. 39.

as individual finds[21]. Compared to the Lombard coins, they share more similarities with Byzantine gold currency in terms of weight and metrics, which increased their viability as a currency (despite the progressive debasement throughout the early 8th c. CE)[22]. It may have been an attempt to use other currencies *in lieu* of the Byzantine coinage, all the more likely if one were to consider the intrinsic weakness of the 'S' coins. As already outlined before[23], the latter have never been discovered outside of Sardinia itself – unlike the contemporary coinage from Syracuse, which can be found all over the Mediterranean and even in the Baltic area[24]. Arguably, the situation in Sardinia could be interpreted as resulting not only from the scarce internal circulation, but also as an effect of the new orientation towards the West, especially the Italian Peninsula.

Evidence related to trade is pointing in a similar direction, as it suggests the development of a market less interested in North-African and Eastern amphorae after the fall of the Byzantine Africa, in favour of vessels and other goods from Campania, Apulia, Rome, and Sicily[25]. In this regard, it is worth noting the existence of globular amphorae in Sardinia, from both terrestrial and underwater archaeological contexts; the case of Cagliari stands out in particular[26]. Many frag-

[21] For a summary of the findings see M. MURESU, *La moneta "indicatore"*…, p. 430. For a wider analysis of the coins, with respect to the evidence documenting relations between Sardinia and the Muslims from 700s to 1000s CE, see A. METCALFE, *Early Muslim Raids*…, p. 152–153.

[22] In terms of metrology, the comparison between a set of no. 69 Byzantine *solidi* struck at Carthage between 641 and 695 CE and a series of no. 37 Islamic post-conquest *solidi* (699–709 CE) shows an average weight of 4.32gr for the former and of 4.25–4.28gr for the latter. Regarding the fineness, the Byzantine mint at Carthage struck gold coinage with an average gold content of 96.6% right up until the Islamic conquest. The Muslims continued to strike gold issues, recycling the coinage of their Byzantine predecessors; they also debased their coinage (to, on average, between 86–88%) through the addition of unrefined, native gold. See T. JONSON, M. BLET-LEMARQUAND, C. MORRISSON, *The Byzantine Mint in Carthage*…, p. 665–674.

[23] See above, page **3**.

[24] As is well known, the fiscal reform of Leo III of establishing a new standard of 22 carats and 83–84% of fineness made the Sicilian *solidus* remain stable until the beginning of the reign of Michael I (811–813 CE). Over that period, Byzantine coins struck in Syracuse circulated throughout the Mediterranean and beyond, as findings from Continental Europe, England and Norway are also documented (C. MORRISSON, *La Sicilie byzantine: une lueur dans les siècles obscurs*, QTNAC 27, 1998, p. 307–334; E. VACCARO, *Sicily in the Eighth and Ninth Centuries AD: A Case of Persisting Economic Complexity?*, Al-Mas 25, 2013, p. 47–51. For a list of other findings see M. MURESU, *La moneta "indicatore"*…, p. 425–426).

[25] For an authoritative account, see M. MCCORMICK, *Origins of the European Economy. Communications and Commerce, A.D. 300–900*, Cambridge 2001, p. 592–604; C. WICKHAM, *The Mediterranean around 800: on the Brink of the Second Trade Cycle*, DOP 58, 2004, p. 170–172. For recent views see A. MOLINARI, *Le anfore medievali come proxy per la storia degli scambi mediterranei tra VIII e XIII secolo*, ArM 45, 2018, p. 296–297; P. ARTHUR, M.L. IMPERIALE, G. BUCI, *Amphoras, Networks, and Byzantine Maritime Trade*, [in:] *Maritime Networks in the Ancient Mediterranean World*, ed. J. LEIDWANGER, C. KNAPPETT, Cambridge 2018, p. 219–237.

[26] See L. SORO, *L'approdo portuale di Cagliari in età tardoantica e bizantina: traffici commerciali e relazioni di scambio*, [in:] *Know the Sea to Live the Sea. Conoscere il mare per vivere il mare, Atti del*

ments with engraved symbols and letters have been found in urban archaeological excavations, such as in the areas of Vico III Lanusei, Bonaria and Santa Caterina[27]. Bonaria's artefacts, based on comparing shape, fabric, and graffiti with products from Comacchio, Venice (Cinema San Marco), Sicily (Palermo; Cefalù), Egadian Islands (Marettimo), and Naples (Santa Patrizia) were dated to the early 8th c. CE[28]. This evidence is especially significant because of a globular amphora bearing the same type of engraving. Bonaria's amphora could also postdate 8th c. CE, as well as the artefacts from St. Caterina. Both have been contextually associated, among other vessels from the medieval period, with sparse glaze pottery *Forum Ware*, produced and traded in Southern Italy[29].

It is also possible to identify the presence of Byzantine officers in Sardinia, from both inscriptions and lead seals, to the same few decades. Of these, among many titles of military and civil servants dated to the seventh century – δοῦκες, ἀπὸ ὑπάτοι, ὕπατοι, ἀπὸ ἐπάρχοντες[30] – only a single specimen of unclear origin

Convegno di Studi (Cagliari, 7–9 marzo 2019), ed. R. Martorelli, Cagliari 2019, p. 278, 281; eadem, *Traffici commerciali e approdi portuali nella Sardegna meridionale*, Oxford 2022, p. 83–93, 99–101.

[27] On Vico III Lanusei see S. Cisci, *Contenitori per la conservazione ed il trasporto (VI a.C. – VIII d.C.)*, [in:] *Archeologia urbana a Cagliari. Scavi in Vico III Lanusei*, ed. R. Martorelli, D. Mureddu, Cagliari 2006, p. 112–136. On Bonaria, see R. Martorelli, D. Mureddu, *Cagliari: persistenze e spostamenti del centro abitato fra VIII e XI secolo*, [in:] *Settecento-Millecento*…, vol. I, p. 215. On Santa Caterina, see S. Cisci, M. Tatti, *Cagliari. Indagini archeologiche presso il Bastione di Santa Caterina. Campagna 2012–2013. Notizia preliminare*, QSA.CO 24, 2013, p. 1–24. On the archaeology of Byzantine Cagliari see (among others) R. Martorelli, *Cagliari bizantina: alcune riflessioni dai nuovi dati dell'archeologia*, *PCA*, EJPCA 5, 2015, p. 175–199; eadem, *L'assetto del "quartiere portuale" nella Cagliari bizantina. Dai dati antichi e attuali alcune ipotesi ricostruttive*, [in:] *Know the Sea*…, p. 83–98; eadem, *Cagliari: un centro a continuità di vita fra spostamenti e ritorni. Aspetti della valorizzazione delle "assenze"*, [in:] *Ancient Modern Towns. I centri urbani a continuità di vita: archeologia e valorizzazione. Studi in memoria di Anna Maria Giuntella*, ed. M.C. Somma, Roma 2021, p. 137–150.

[28] For an overview on the mentioned sites see E. Sanna, *Contenitori da trasporto anforici tra VIII e XI secolo: dati e problemi*, [in:] *Settecento-Millecento*…, vol. II, p. 675–704. For an update on Comacchio, see *Un emporio e la sua cattedrale. Gli scavi di piazza XX Settembre e Villaggio San Francesco a Comacchio*, ed. S. Gelichi, C. Negrelli, E. Grandi, Firenze 2021. On Sicily see E. Vaccaro, *Sicily in the Eighth*…, p. 57–59; L. Arcifa, *Contenitori da trasporto nella Sicilia bizantina (VIII–X secolo): produzioni e circolazione*, ArM 45, 2018, p. 125–127. For more recent information on Naples see P. Arthur, *Byzantine 'Globular Amphorae' and the Early Middle Ages: Attempting to Shed Light on a Dark-Age Enigma*, ArM 45, 2018, p. 281–287; finally, on Sardinia see L. Soro, *Traffici commerciali*…, p. 162.

[29] L. Soro, *Traffici commerciali*…, p. 162. On the sparse glazed pottery "Forum Ware", see M. Muresu, *La moneta "indicatore"*…, p. 162, with further bibliography.

[30] The first of the offices is testified by the seal of Πετρόνας, πατρίκιος (καί) δούξ Σαρδινίας (C. Morrisson, V. Prigent, *Les bulles de plomb du Musée National de Carthage, source méconnue pour l'histoire de l'Afrique byzantine (533–695/698)*, CRAIBL 162.4, 2018, p. 1803–1834). The seals of ἀπὸ ὑπάτοι belong to Θεοπέμπτος, Διομήδης, Κωνσταντῖνος, plus a fourth with unreadable name (P.G. Spanu, R. Zucca, *I sigilli bizantini della* Sardenia, Roma 2004, p. 62, 112–113, no. 14–17). The ὕπατοι are named Ἰσάχιος, Κωνσταντῖνος and Πέτρος, in addition to a fourth officer of unidentifiable

dates to the 8th c. CE and mentions a ὕπατος καὶ δούξ called Θεόδοτος[31]. The seal of Θεόδοτος shares distinctive features, notably the personal name in the inner monogram on the reverse (fig. 4, a). The latter was usually reserved for offices, as can be concluded from comparisons with many examples of seals of the Dumbarton Oaks Seals collection (Washington, DC – USA)[32]. Based on this composition and on other details, such as the 'Laurent V' typology, the τῷ σῷ δούλῳ in the quarters, the circular inscription surrounding a monogram at reverse, and the module of some letters – for instance the round *theta* in the centre of the monogram at obverse – the object could date back to the first half of the 8th c. CE[33]. Its existence recalls the presence of nobles and administrators, many of whom were probably not from Sardinia, and some of whom used Greek as the administrative language[34]. If its dating is correct, the seal could therefore slightly predate the mention of the island's second known ὕπατος καὶ δούξ, whose existence is attested by an inscription in Greek letters carved on a limestone block found near a reused Roman thermal complex known as 'Palazzo di Re Barbaro' in Porto Torres[35]. The artefact is currently kept in the Romanesque cathedral of San Gavino and it was likely part of a public building. This is thought to be the case because of its message, which celebrates a victory by Konstantinos, ὕπατος καὶ δούξ, against the Lombards 'and other Barbarians', as well as praising the glory of the emperor – also named Konstantinos, most likely Constantine V, dating the text to the final decades of the 8th c. CE – as one enjoying good fortune, triumphant, and especially a bringer of peace, as the legitimate representative of God on Earth[36]. The latter

name (*ibidem*, p. 110–111, nos. 8–13). Finally, the seals of the ἀπὸ ἐπάρχοντες belonged to the officials named Γεώργιος, Πατρίκιος, Ἰωαννης and Κάτζης, the latter also δρουγγάριος (*ibidem*, p. 113–116, nos. 18–20, 22).

[31] Obv. cruciform invocative monogram (type V: Θεοτόκε βοήθει); in the quarters, TW CW ΔOY ΛW (τῷ σῷ δούλῳ). Rev. in the centre, a cruciform monogram with stars in the quarters: ΘЄOΔOTW. Within concentric borders of dots, a circular inscription beginning at the top: ΥΠΑ-TW S ΔOYKI CAPΔINIAC (G.L. SCHLUMBERGER, *Sigillographie de l'Empire byzantin*, Paris 1884, p. 222, no. 1; V. LAURENT, *Les sceaux byzantins du Médailler Vatican*, Città del Vaticano 1962, p. 115, no. 112). A second example was reportedly kept in the *Medagliere Reale* of Turin (Italy). The object is known only from an illustrated reproduction and is now missing, presumed lost. See S. COSENTINO, *Byzantine Sardinia*…, p. 341–342, n. 48.

[32] For instance, the seals of the *hypatoi* Athanasios (BZS.1955.1.1320; BZS.1958.106.2046) and Theodoros (BZS.1947.2.1611). All the objects date back to the 8th c. CE. See *doaks.org/resources/seals/byzantine-seals*.

[33] See N. OIKONOMIDES, *A Collection of Dated Byzantine Lead Seals*, Washington, DC 1985, p. 153; R. FEIND, *Byzantinische Siegelkunde. Eine Einführung in die sigillographie von Byzanz*, Mainz 2010, p. 66, 68. For an update, see M. MURESU, *La moneta "indicatore"*…, p. 338–339.

[34] See G. PAULIS, *Lingua e cultura*… For an update, see I.E. PUTZU, *Il repertorio linguistico sardo tra tardo- antico e alto medio evo. Un breve status quaestionis*, [in:] *Itinerando. Senza confini dalla preistoria ad oggi. Studi in ricordo di Roberto Coroneo*, vol. I, ed. R. MARTORELLI, Perugia 2015, p. 497–518.

[35] For a bibliographical summary of the discovery, see M. MURESU, *La moneta "indicatore"*…, p. 336–338.

[36] The inscription has been read by several scholars, with different interpretations and chronological attributions. The most authoritative interpretation is in F. FIORI, *Costantino hypatos e doux di Sarde-*

was emphasised in contrast to the Lombard enemies, whose were defeated because their power was illegitimate (τυραννία)[37]. The text composition implies not only that Sardinia was still within the Byzantine sphere of influence, but also that its ruling hierarchy was capable of acts of patronage[38].

By the end of the 8th c. CE, Sardinia had already begun its political transition from Byzantium to the Latin West. A wide range of hypotheses have been suggested to explain this[39]. An intriguing way of gauging the extent of Byzantinisation of the island comes, again, from lead seals, particularly two specimens belonging to Torbennios and Zerkis, who were both *archontes* of Arborea (a geographical term which we will discuss later).

The seal of Torbennios (fig. 4, b) has been found in 2013 in the storerooms of the *Antiquarium Arborense* Museum at Oristano. Aside from this information, nothing is known about its provenance. It features a 'Laurent V' cruciform monogram on the obverse and an inscription in Greek letters on the reverse. The name TOPBЄNN(IOY) is followed by the mention of the office APKWNTOC APBOPЄ(AC)[40].

The seal of Zerkis (fig. 4, c) was found in uncertain conditions in the rural area of San Giorgio, in the proximity of Cabras (Oristano)[41]. Similarly to the object of Torbennios, it bears the monogram of the *Theotokos* and the invocation formula in the quarters. Its inscription on the obverse is on four lines, preceded by a cross. The text mentions the name of the officer (Ζερκις, with retrograde letter *Zeta*), followed by his office (APXWN) and a problematic series of letters interpreted as AP[B]O[P] (and integrated as APBOPЄAC), continuing the last line and ending unreadable due to the major damage to the object's surface[42].

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gna, Bologna 2001. For an updated reading, see M. Orrù, *Le fonti greche di età bizantina per lo studio della Sardegna altomedievale (VI–XII secolo)*, PhD Thesis, Cagliari 2013, p. 171–173, with previous references.

[37] See M. Gallina, *Incoronati da Dio. Per una storia del pensiero politico bizantino*, Roma 2016, p. 30–36.

[38] F. Fiori, *Costantino hypiatos e doux*…, p. 37–40. See also eadem, *Epigrafi greche dell'Italia bizantina (VII–XII secolo)*, Bologna 2008, p. 11; M. Muresu, *La moneta "indicatore"*…, p. 338.

[39] For a summary see M. Muresu, *La moneta "indicatore"*…, p. 339–359. See also L. Gallinari, *The Iudex Sardiniae*…, particularly p. 204–206.

[40] Obv. cruciform invocative monogram (type V: Θεοτόκε βοήθει); in the quarters, TW CW Δ[OY] [ΛW] (τῷ σῷ δούλῳ). Rev. inscription of four lines (bottom line with a decoration): +TOP / BЄNN AP / XWNTOC / AP[B]OPЄ. Wreath border. Unknown diameter, module and weight (P.G. Spanu, P. Fois, R.M. Zanella, R. Zucca, *L'Arcontato di Arborea tra Islam e eredità bizantina*, [in:] *Tharros Felix*, vol. V, ed. A. Mastino, P.G. Spanu, R. Zucca, Roma 2013, p. 527–531. For an update see M. Muresu, *I sigilli "arcontali" della Sardegna bizantina: una nuova proposta di datazione*, [in:] *IX Congresso Nazionale di Archeologia Medievale*, ed. M. Milanese, Firenze 2022, p. 207–211).

[41] A series of surveys and chance discoveries in the area allowed to theorise the existence of a vast settlement between 500s and 700s CE. For a bibliographical summary see M. Muresu, *La moneta "indicatore"*…, p. 220–232.

[42] Obv. cruciform invocative monogram (type V: Θεοτόκε βοήθει); in the quarters, TW CW ΔOY [ΛW] (τῷ σῷ δούλῳ). Rev. inscription of four lines (bottom line partially illegible): +ZЄP / KIC APX /

They seem to be the first *archontes* attested in Sardinia. Their existence certainly postdates the fall of the Exarchate, before which no seal of *archon* is attested; they also predate the visit of the ἄρχων Σαρδάνιας in Constantine VII's *De Ceremoniis* (mid-10th c.), particularly as it was mentioned in the paragraph dedicated to foreign authorities (like Venice, Naples, Gaeta, Salerno, and Amalfi, among the others)[43]. However, this dating is fundamentally at odds with the received wisdom that dates the seals to 200 years later: according to this interpretation, based essentially on homonymy, both Torbennios and Zerkis would have been *iudikes* of Arborea, one of the four small realms (*iudikati*) into which Sardinia was divided in the Latin West[44]. Such problematic hypothesis has recently been re-assessed through a new diplomatic study and a comparative interpretation of the seals themselves. Based on this research, the seal of Torbennios shows features which can be compared to objects dating from the late 8th to the first half of the 9th c. CE; the seal of Zerkis, on the other hand, seems more a later product of the 9th c. CE[45].

The appearance of Zerkis and Torbennios as *archontes* represents a variation from the earlier series of distinctly Eastern names – Πετρόνας, Θεοπέμπτος, Κωνσταντῖνος, Ἰσάχιος, Γεώργιος, Ἰωαννης, *etc.*[46] – to anthroponyms that are more difficult to explain. The name Torbennios was likely of local origin and was first documented in the *Torveni* and *Torbenius* variations on inscriptions from central Sardinia dating to the 1st–2nd c. CE[47]. As for Zerkis, it appears to be a *uni-*

WN [A]P[B] / O[P][---]. Wreath border. Diameter 27.5 mm; field 24 mm; weight 14.5 gr (P.G. SPANU, R. ZUCCA, *I sigilli bizantini*…, p. 145–146, no. 77; M. MURESU, *I sigilli "arcontali"*…, p. 207–211).

[43] CONSTANTINUS PORPHYROGENITUS, *De Cerimoniis Aulae Byzantinae Libri Duo*, II, 48, 16, [in:] *Constantine Porphyrogennetos' The Book of Ceremonies*, ed. et trans. A. MOFFATT, M. TALL, Leiden–Boston 2012 [= BAus], p. 609. For a historiographical interpretation see L. GALLINARI, *Reflections on Byzantine Sardinia between 7th and 11th Centuries in the Light of Recent Historiographical Proposals*, [in:] *Ricordando Alberto Boscolo. Bilanci e prospettive storiografiche*, ed. M.G. MELONI, A.M. OLIVA, O. SCHENA, Roma 2016, p. 83–107; IDEM, *The Iudex Sardiniae*…, p. 212–213.

[44] Torbennios was identified with the *iudike* mentioned in two charters of the earliest years of the 12th c. (P.G. SPANU, P. FOIS, R.M. ZANELLA, R. ZUCCA, *L'Arcontato di Arborea*…, p. 529–530). Zerkis has been dated to the mid-11th c., because of eight mentions of the name *Cerkis* in the Condaghe (fiscal register) of the Camaldolese Abbey Santa Maria di Bonarcado (Oristano). One of these specifically mentioned a *iudice Cerkis* which, according to the traditional view, would have been the same as the owner of the seal (R. ZUCCA, *Zerkis*, *iudex arborensis*, [in:] *Giudicato d'Arborea e Marchesato d'Oristano: proiezioni mediterranee e aspetti di storia locale*, *Atti del Convegno Internazionale di Studi (Oristano*, *5–8 dicembre 1997)*, vol. II, ed. G. MELE, Oristano 2000, p. 1103–1112; P.G. SPANU, R. ZUCCA, *I sigilli bizantini*…, p. 146–147).

[45] M. MURESU, *I sigilli "arcontali"*…, p. 207–211.

[46] See above, p. 517.

[47] S. BORTOLAMI, *Antroponimia e società nella Sardegna medioevale: caratteri ed evoluzione di un 'sistema' regionale*, [in:] *Giudicato d'Arborea*…, vol. I, p. 183. See also P.G. SPANU, P. FOIS, R.M. ZANELLA, R. ZUCCA, *L'Arcontato di Arborea*…, p. 529–530. For updated more recent reading, see G. PAULIS, *Sociolinguistic Dynamics and Dynastic Names in Byzantine and Medieval Sardinia*, [in:] *The Making of Medieval Sardinia*…, p. 306.

cum in Byzantine prosopography and its origin is still unclear[48]. The use of the term *archon* also raises several questions because of its vagueness in the Byzantine administration between the 8th and the late 9th c. CE[49]. It denotes a role of a 'governor' of a city or a region, and many seals from the same period mention *archontes* of coastal towns of strategic importance, like Abydos[50]. Such officers were also found in Athens, Cherson, and Mesembria[51]. Other *archontes* were appointed to govern islands of the Eastern Mediterranean, such as Cyprus, Chios, and Crete[52], and its Western counterpart, as we shall see shortly. The temptation to argue from analogy is best resisted here, as the Byzantine East was substantially different from the West, and even more so during the period of the thematic reorganization, from which Sardinia seems to have been left out[53]. Nevertheless, the evidence of *archontes* in Sardinia offers intriguing comparisons with the existence of homologous officers in the Balearics (*Gordio*/*Iordanes*? of Maiorca, from Minorca), Gozo (*Theophylactos*) and Sicily, specifically Palermo (…γηω for Γεώργιος or Σέργιος), all of whom are attested to by lead seals. The artefact from Minorca is dated to the mid-8th c. CE and was found under archaeologically uncertain conditions[54].

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[48] On the name Zerkis, see S. Bortolami, *Antroponimia e società*…, p. 184; *Prosopographie der mittelbyzantinischen Zeit. Erste Abteilung (641–867)*, vol. V, ed. R.J. Lilie, C. Ludwig, T. Pratsch, I. Rochow, B. Zielke, Berlin–New York 2001, p. 123, no. 8651. On the possible origin of the paleonym, see the hypotheses in G.D. Serra, *Nomi personali d'origine greco-bizantina fra i membri di famiglie giudicali o signorili del Medioevo sardo*, B 19, 1949, p. 235–236; G. Paulis, *Lingua e cultura*…, p. 186.

[49] For a summary of the possible meanings of the term ἄρχων in Late Antiquity and Byzantium see *A Patristic Greek Lexicon*, ed. G.H.W. Lampe, Oxford 1969, col. 241b; *LSJ*, col. 254a; *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, vol. I, ed. A. Kazhdan, New York–Oxford 1991, p. 160. See also J. Shea, *Politics and Government in Byzantium. The Rise and Fall of the Bureaucrats*, London 2020, p. 60–62, 101.

[50] *Catalogue of Byzantine Seals at Dumbarton Oaks and in the Fogg Museum of Art*, vol. III, *West, Northwest, and Central Asia Minor and the Orient*, ed. J. Nesbitt, N. Oikonomides, Washington, DC 1996, p. 73–74, 78.

[51] *Catalogue of Byzantine Seals at Dumbarton Oaks and in the Fogg Museum of Art*, vol. I, *Italy, North of the Balkans, North of the Black Sea*, ed. J. Nesbitt, N. Oikonomides, Washington, DC 1991, p. 173–174, 183–184 (Cherson, Mesembria); *Catalogue of Byzantine Seals at Dumbarton Oaks and in the Fogg Museum of Art*, vol. II, *South of the Balkans, the Islands, South of Asia Minor*, ed. J. Nesbitt, N. Oikonomides, Washington, DC 1994, p. 49–50 (Athens). On the *archontes* of Byzantine Cherson see also the paper of Martina Čechová in these Proceedings.

[52] *Le Taktikon du Cod. Hierosol. Gr. 39 dit Taktikon Uspenskij*, [in:] *Les listes de préséance byzantines des IXe et Xe siècles*, ed. N. Oikonomides, Paris 1972, p. 53, no. 5; 57, nos. 11–13, 15. For other examples of Byzantine archontal seals, see M. Muresu, *I sigilli "arcontali"*…, p. 209–210.

[53] For a general account, see A. Louth, *Byzantium Transforming (600–700)*…, p. 239–240. On the research into the role of Sardinia in the thematic organization, see M. Muresu, *La moneta "indicatore"*…, p. 327.

[54] Obv. cruciform invocative monogram (type V: Θεοτόκε βοήθει); in the quarters, TW-C[W] ΔOY-Λ [W]. Rev. inscription of five lines (partly missing) [---]OPΔ / [O/N]I AP / […]ONTI M / [A]IOVPI / KW. Wreath border. Diameter 33mm; field 28mm. Unkown weight. The seal was discovered with no stratigraphic reliability, in an area affected by both the previous settlement phases (dating back

The seal from Gozo was discovered during the mid-20th c. and dates to the late 8th–early 9th c. CE[55]. Lastly, the one of the ἄρχων Πανόρμου dates to the 9th CE. Its primary historical importance rests on being the only seal of an *archon* known from Sicily, as well as certainly predating the Muslim conquest of Palermo in 831 CE[56]. In addition to the aforementioned artefacts, historiography made known the existence of another seal, mentioning Nicetas, *droungarios* and *archon* of Malta. The object was first studied by Gustave Schlumberger who dated it to the 7th–8th c. CE[57]. There is no known image of the seal, which is now missing, presumed lost. Thus, it cannot be considered in detail.

The many caveats associated with the available evidence make the task of understand the rise of the *archontes* in Sardinia an intricate one. Not only because of the potential differences between the imperial theory of how things were meant to be managed, and the on-the-ground, provincial practice in outlying regions; such task is complicated further when one considers the lack of the documentary record. Thus, what the *archontes*' political roles might have been in Sardinia; their relationships with Byzantium; their length in office or how many of them there were at any one time remain open questions. It may be suggested that between the end of the 8th and the 9th c. CE, instead of a remote control exerted from overseas, a local representative was preferred. This would guarantee a more effective management of Sardinia by Byzantium, by reinforcing its sphere of influence towards an increasingly 'distant' land, while simultaneously respecting its geopolitical and commercial prerogatives. Similar practices are known in the Western Mediterranean in the same period. For instance, local notables were chosen as rulers in Naples by the *patrikios* of Sicily during the mid-8th c. CE onwards, although the city maintained a high degree of independence and good relationships with the

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to the Late Antiquity and the 6th c. CE) and coeval artefacts. The latter include a semissis of Leo III and Constantine V (720–741 CE) of 'Uncertain Italian Mint', and a bronze belt-buckle variation of a 'Syracuse' typology (7th–8th c. CE). See J.C. DE NICOLÁS MASCARÒ, B. MOLL MERCADAL, *Sellos bizantinos de Menorca. Un arconte mallorquín para las Baleares en el siglo VIII*, [in:] *Tharros Felix*, vol. V…, p. 540, 545–547.

[55] Obv. cruciform invocative monogram (type V: Θεοτόκε βοήθει); in the quarters, TW-CW ΔΟΥ-[ΛW]. Rev. + ΘЄO / ΦVΛAK(T) / W APXO / (N)[T]H. Worn wreath border. Diameter 27 mm; weight 25 gr (*Core and Periphery. 'Mdina and Hal Safi in the 9th & 10th centuries*, ed. N. CUTAJAR, La Valletta 2018, p. 7).

[56] V. PRIGENT, *Palermo in the Eastern Roman Empire*, [in:] *A Companion to Medieval Palermo. The History of a Mediterranean City from 600 to 1500*, ed. A. NEF, Leiden–Boston 2013 [= BCEH, 5], p. 24. On the Muslim conquest of Palermo see A. METCALFE, *I Musulmani dell'Italia Medievale*, Palermo 2019, p. 14–15.

[57] Obv. cruciform invocative monogram (type V: Θεοτόκε βοήθει); in the quarters, TW-CW ΔΟΥ-ΛW. Rev. + NIKHTA ΔPOYTΓ[APIW] KAI APXONT[I] MЄΛЄT[HC]. Unknown border. Unknown diameter, module and weight (G.L. SCHLUMBERGER, *Sceaux byzantins inédits (quatrième série)*, REG 55, 1900, p. 492, no. 203). See also T.S. BROWN, *Byzantine Malta: A Discussion of the Sources*, [in:] *Medieval Malta. Studies on Malta before the Knights*, ed. A.T. LUTTRELL, London 1975, p. 77.

Apostolic See[58]. Another 'typical' case is Venice, where the office of the *doge* was entrusted to a local family, passing from elective to (substantially) dynastic[59]. Even in this case, and despite the inevitable and progressive consolidation of ducal power, the city was always an object of great interest to Byzantium, the reasons for which are easy to imagine, as already since the early 9th c. CE it was the terminus of an internal road that departed from the Middle Danube basin, as well as a port of prime importance[60].

Leaving aside the hypotheticals, what emerges from the documentary and material evidence is that even during the 9th c. CE Sardinia played an active part in the reconfigured Western Mediterranean. The *Annales Regni Francorum* mentioned an embassy from the island that came to Louis the Pious in 815 CE, bearing gifts[61]. The same source reported the Muslims repeatedly attacked Sardinia, but they were repelled during several naval skirmishes[62]. Diplomatic contacts involved trade as well. Again, the *Annales* mention eight merchant ships, plundered and sunk while returning to Italy from Sardinia in 820 CE[63]. Pope Leo IV asked the *Iudex* for a consignment of byssus, to be acquired at any price, in 851 CE[64]. Finally, John VIII in 882 CE ordered the *Principes Sardiniae* to stop the slave trade at once: it was a highly lucrative business in which Sardinia was eventually involved, not only as a victim[65]. As a matter of fact, slave trade was present in the entirety of the Western

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[58] See J.M. Martin, *Byzance et l'Italie Méridionale*, Paris 2014, p. 102–103, with further discussion.

[59] A. Carile, *L'Istria tra Bisanzio e Venezia*, [in:] *Storia della marineria bizantina*, ed. idem, S. Cosentino, Bologna 2004, p. 43–58. See also J.M. Martin, *Byzance*…, p. 100.

[60] M. McCormick, *Origins of the European Economy*…, p. 225–226, 299–301.

[61] Einhardus, *Annales regni Francorum inde ab a. 741 usque ad a. 829, qui dicuntur Annales Laurissenses maiores et Einhardi*, ed. F. Kurze, Hanover 1895 [= *MGH.SRG*, 6] (cetera: Einhardus, *Annales regni Francorum*), p. 143. On the event, see the critical reading of L. Gallinari, *The Iudex Sardiniae*…, p. 206–210. See also M. Muresu, *La moneta "indicatore"*…, p. 340–341, with further discussion.

[62] The Frankish *Annales* recorded Muslim naval defeats in attacks against Sardinia (among the other lands of Western Mediterranean) in 806/807, 810, 812, 816/817, and 821/822 CE (Einhardus, *Annales regni Francorum*, p. 124, 130, 136–137, 139). See L. Gallinari, *The Iudex Sardiniae*…, p. 207–208.

[63] *In Italico mari octo naves negotiatorum de Sardinia ad Italiam revertentium a piratis captae ac dimersae sunt* (Einhardus, *Annales regni Francorum*, p. 153). See M. Muresu, *La moneta "indicatore"*…, p. 341.

[64] […] *Si apud sublimitatem vestram vel in quibuscumque locis vestris lana marina, quod nos usu nostro pinnino dicimus, fuerit inventa, illam emere non dedignemini, quantuncumque fueri precii et ad nos dirigere, quia nobis pontificalibus vestimentis valde nobis necessaria esse videtur* […] (*Leonis IV Papae Epistolae selectae*, Berlin 1899 [= *MGH.EK*, 3], p. 596, no. 17).

[65] […] *Grande peccatum incurritis* […]. *Igitur Grecorum studiis, sicut didicimus, multi a pagani captivi sublati in vestris partibus venundantur et a vestratibus empti sub iugo servitutis tenentur, cum constet pium et sanctum esse, veluti Christianos decet, ut, cum eos vestrates ab ipsis Grecia emerint, pro amore Christi liberos esse dimittant* […] (*Fragmenta registri Iohannis VIII Papae*, Berlin 1928 [= *MGH.EK*, 5], p. 288–289, no. 27).

Mediterranean, as is clear from the letter of Stephen V who was threatening Naples – one of the most active hubs for slave merchants – in an effort to end it in 886, otherwise the pontiff would have ordered the closure of the ports of all Christianity, including Sardinia[66]. Even the analysis of the archaeological record – which can't be discussed in this paper in its entirety – suggests the island's ongoing ability to participate in trade and to import goods, despite the scarcity of coinage in circulation. These, for the 9th c. CE, were primarily composed of gold and (fewer) bronze coins struck in Constantinople and Syracuse[67]. The most substantial discovery was made in Porto Torres, where 37 *solidi* of Theophilus and Basil I (868–879 CE) were found near the church of St. Gavino a Mare, at Balai, alongside 3 Aghlabid *dananir* of the emir Abu Ishaq Ibrahim II ibn Ahmad of Ifrīqya and many fragmented gold objects[68]. The hoard could potentially be interpreted as evidence of a dramatic event[69] – nevertheless, its composition and state also point to wider trade links. Hoards of Muslim and Byzantine gold coins were discovered in numerous finds of Mediterranean and European provenance, with repeated discoveries made along the river routes (from the Po valley to the Rhone and Mesa)[70]. The presence

[66] […] *Nam nos et Romam Sardiniam Corsicam et totam christianitatem contra te claudemus* […] (*Stephani V Papae Fragmenta registri*, Berlin 1298 [= *MGH.EK*, 5], p. 337, no. 7). For an updated account on the slave trade in the Byzantine Mediterranean see Y. ROTMAN, *Byzantium and the International Slave Trade in the Central Middle Ages*, [in:] *Trade in Byzantium. Papers from the Third International Sevgi Gönül Byzantine Studies Symposium*, ed. P. MAGDALINO, N. NECIPOĞLU, Istanbul 2016, p. 129–142. See also M. MURESU, *La moneta "indicatore"*…, p. 429.

[67] For a summary see M. MURESU, *La moneta "indicatore"*…, p. 368–369.

[68] A. TARAMELLI, *Porto Torres. Scoperta di monete d'oro di età bizantina in regione Balai*, NSA 1922, p. 294–296. Although the Byzantine coins have never been photographed and they are currently missing (presumed lost), the transcription of their legends and features allows comparisons with issues minted at Constantinople (*Catalogue of the Byzantine Coins in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection and in the Whittemore Collection*, vol. III.2, *Basil I to Nicephorus III (867–1081 CE)*, ed. P. GRIERSON, Washington, DC 1973, p. 426–427, n. 3d, pl. XXII; *ibidem*, p. 487–489. As concerns the *dananir*, their traditional dating to 261 H/874–875 CE to 269 H/881–882 CE by Taramelli was adjusted by McCormick to the years 236 H/850–851 CE, 267 H/880–881 CE, and 270/883–884 CE (M. MCCORMICK, *Origins of the European Economy*…, p. 945–946, no. A32).

[69] As already described (see above, footnote nos. 62–63), medieval sources recorded forays to Sardinia in the early 800s from al-Andalus (by a northern route via Corsica) and, with the rise of the Aghlabids, from Ifrīqiya as well. None of these raids appear to have been an outright success for the Muslims (see A. METCALFE, *Early Muslim Raids*…, p. 130–131). In the case of Balai, the composition of the hoard with golden coins and fragments and a certain degree of consumption from the most recent specimens up to the oldest, suggest it is possible to consider it as pertaining to the category of 'emergency treasures', the main features of which were a small size and being formed from whatever was available at the time, from coinage to jewellery and fragments of precious metals (see J.P. CASEY, *Understanding Ancient Coins. An Introduction for Archaeologists & Historians*, London 1986, p. 51–67).

[70] M. MCCORMICK, *Origins of the European Economy*…, p. 391; C. MORRISSON, *La monnaie sur les routes fluviales et maritimes des échanges dan le monde Méditerranéen (VIe–IXe siècle)*, [in:] *L'ac-*

of gold in a time when silver dominated the nascent European economy could seem striking – and, in a certain way, it is. It may be noted that Byzantium and the Islamic world – and later the Duchy of Benevento – supplied the gold coins, which would thereafter continue to circulate[71]. After all, Muslim *dinar* maintained a high level of fineness among the other currencies in use in transactions of Italy, including the account currencies such as the *solidos lucanos* (tremisses of Lucca)[72]. This opportunism as regards utilising coins from different sources is more intriguing in the context of a Mediterranean that we increasingly understand in terms of its connectivity; in this context it seems possible to view the Balai hoard as evidence of trade networks on an 'international' level.

In conclusion, it is unfortunate that to date Sardinia's historical significance has not been conveyed with a sufficient emphasis. Even considering the limited extent of evidence relating to the island when compared with other important and better-studied regions, this state of affairs seems more a consequence of history-writing rather than history *per se*[73]. As has been demonstrated above, the critical assessment of coinage, archaeological and prosopographic record offers new perspectives on Sardinia's place in the vibrant Western Mediterranean during the 8th and 9th c. CE. Gauging the extent of Byzantinisation in Sardinia and its role as an unconquered liminal polity among the major powers of the Mediterranean must be reconsidered through the lens of connectivity and resilience, because therein lies the island's historical importance.

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qua nei secoli altomedievali, *Atti della LV Settimana di Studio del Centro Italiano di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo (Spoleto*, *12–17 aprile 2007)*, Spoleto 2009, p. 631–670. More discussion and examples in M. Muresu, *La moneta "indicatore"*…, p. 130–131.

[71] See E.A. Arslan, *Emissione e circolazione della moneta nei ducati di Spoleto e Benevento*, [in:] *I Longobardi di Spoleto e Benevento*, *Atti del XVI Congresso internazionale di studi sull'alto medioevo (Spoleto*, *20–23 settembre 2002; Benevento*, *24–27 settembre 2002)*, Spoleto 2003, p. 1047–1050; idem, *La monetazione longobarda di Benevento e Salerno*, [in:] *Longobardi. Un popolo che cambia la storia*, ed. G.P. Brogiolo, F. Marazzi, C. Giostra, Milano 2017, p. 413–415. See also V. Prigent, *Mints*…, p. 344.

[72] M. McCormick, *Origins of the European Economy*…, p. 370–372. For updated more recent discussion see M. Baldassarri, *Le monete di Lucca*…, p. 3, 9, 13, 36.

[73] For instance, in his recent monograph on the Mediterranean economy between 950 and 1180 CE, Chris Wickham stated to have left out Sardinia (among other regions) because it was *terribly documented as it is for our period*, despite being *fascinatingly strange in its socio-economic structure* (C. Wickham, *The Donkey and the Boat. Reinterpreting the Mediterranean Economy*, *950–1180*, Oxford 2023, p. 8).

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ILLUSTRATIONS

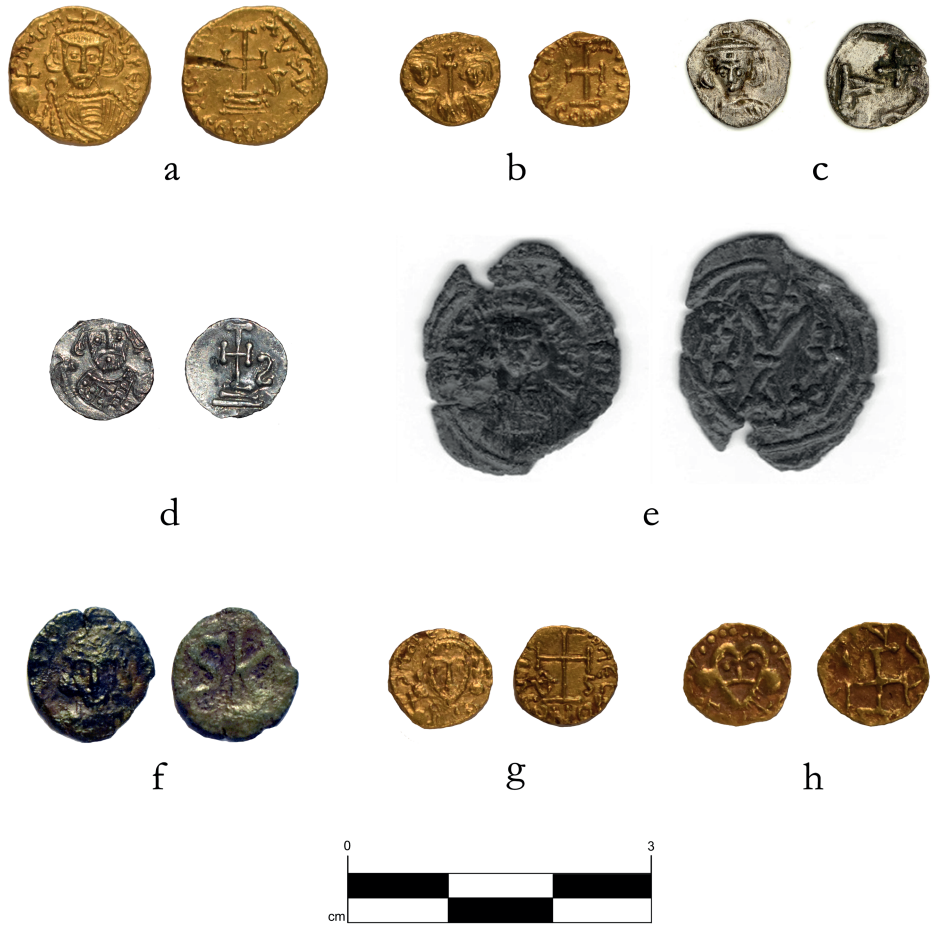

Fig. 1. Coinage from the 'Byzantine Mint' of Sardinia.

a. Justinian II (685–695 CE), solidus. Obv. δI IчSTI ANS PЄX; frontal bust, bearded, wearing chlamys and crown with cross. Globus cruciger in right hand. Rev. VICTORI […] AVϛVϛ; cross potent on base and three steps. Exergue: CONO. Dotted border. AV, Diameter 16 mm, weight 3.68 gr. Private Collection.

b. Justinian II (705–711 CE), tremissis. Obv. […]чSτI[…]; standing figures (Justinian II and Tiberios), between globus cruciger with PAX and long cross. Rev. […]IA AVϛч; cross potent on base. S in right field. Exergue: ONOB. Traces of linear border. AV, Diameter 11 mm, weight 1.08 gr. Private Collection.

c. Justinian II (685–695 CE), siliqua. Obv. Frontal bust, beardless, wearing paludamentum and a crown with cross. Faint trace of fibula (?) in left field. No inscription. Rev. [P] AX. AR, Diameter 10.5 mm, weight 0.45 gr. Washington, DC, Dumbarton Oaks.

d. Leontius (695–698 CE), fraction of siliqua. Obv. Frontal bust, bearded, wearing loros and crown. Raised akakia in right hand, globus cruciger in left hand. No inscription. Rev. Cross potent on base and two steps. Retrograde S in right field. AR, Diameter 11.6 mm, weight 0.39 gr. Cagliari, Museo Archeologico Nazionale.

e. Justinian II (685–695 CE), *follis*. Obv. DN IчST[…]ANVS PP; frontal bust, wearing chlamys and crown with cross. Rev. M and PAX below. Three crosses on the sides and above the M. AE, Diameter 24 mm, weight 11.2 gr. Private Collection.

f. Tiberius III (698–705 CE), half-*follis*. Obv. Frontal bust, bearded, wearing chlamys and crown with cross. Spear held over left shoulder. Traces of inscription. Rev. K. S in left field. AE, Diameter 25 mm, weight 5.1 gr. Private Collection.

g. Leo III (717–741 CE), tremissis. Obv. Frontal bust, bearded, wearing chlamys and crown with cross on circlet. Globus cruciger in right hand. Traces of inscription. Rev. VI[…]Λε[…]; cross potent on base. Θ in the left field. S in the right field. Exergue: CONOB. Diameter 10 mm; weight 0.84 gr. Private Collection.

h. Leo III (717–741 CE), 'imitative' tremissis. Obv. Schematic frontal bust, bearded. Traces of letters (?) alternated with dots. Rev. Greek cross potent. Traces of letters (?). Diameter 12 mm; weight 0.6 gr. Private Collection (photos by Marco Muresu – CC BY SA)

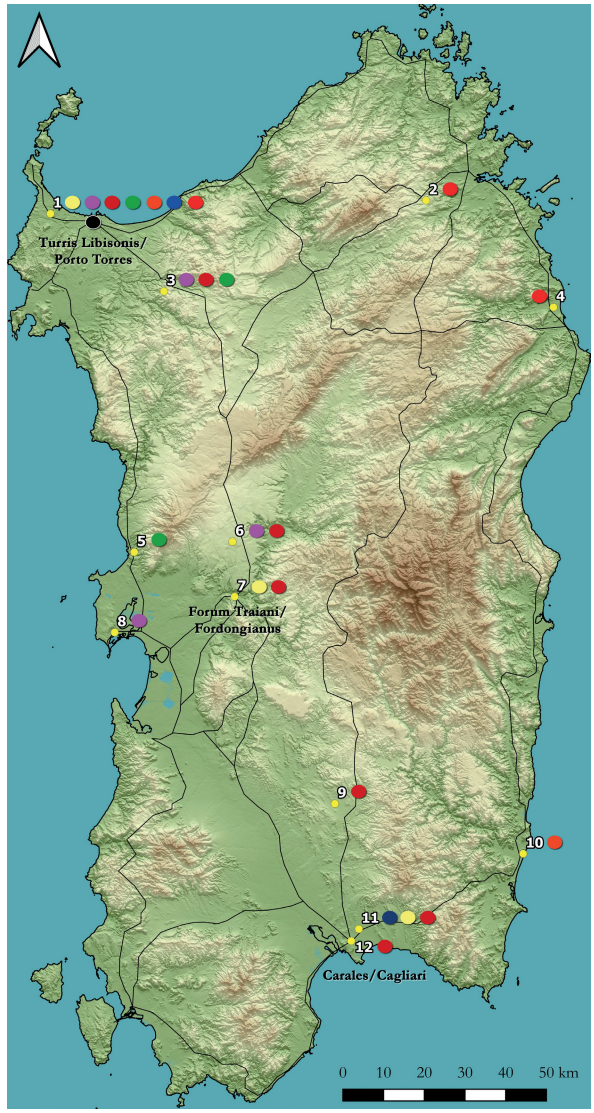

Fig. 2. Map of the findings of the 'Byzantine Mint' of Sardinia. 1. Porto Torres/Stintino ('Nurra hoard'); 2. Telti, Santa Vittoria; 3. Ossi, San Giovanni di Noale; 4. Posada, Santo Stefano/Part'e Sole; 5. Santa Caterina di Pittinuri, Cornus-Corchinas; 6. Abbasanta, nuraghe Aiga, nuraghe Losa; 7. Fordongianus; 8. Cabras, San Giorgio; 9. Ortacesus (Unknown provenance); 10. Villaputzu, Cirredis; 11. Selargius, Salux; 12. Cagliari, Vico III Lanusei, Santa Caterina. Each colour corresponds to an emperor: Constantine IV (668–685 CE): purple; Justinian II (685–695 CE): light yellow; Leontius (695–698 CE): fuchsia; Tiberius III (698–705 CE): dark red; Justinian II (705–711 CE): green; Anastasius II (713–715 CE): orange; Theodosius III (715–717 CE): blue; Leo III (717–741 CE): light red (elaboration by Marco Muresu – CC OA).

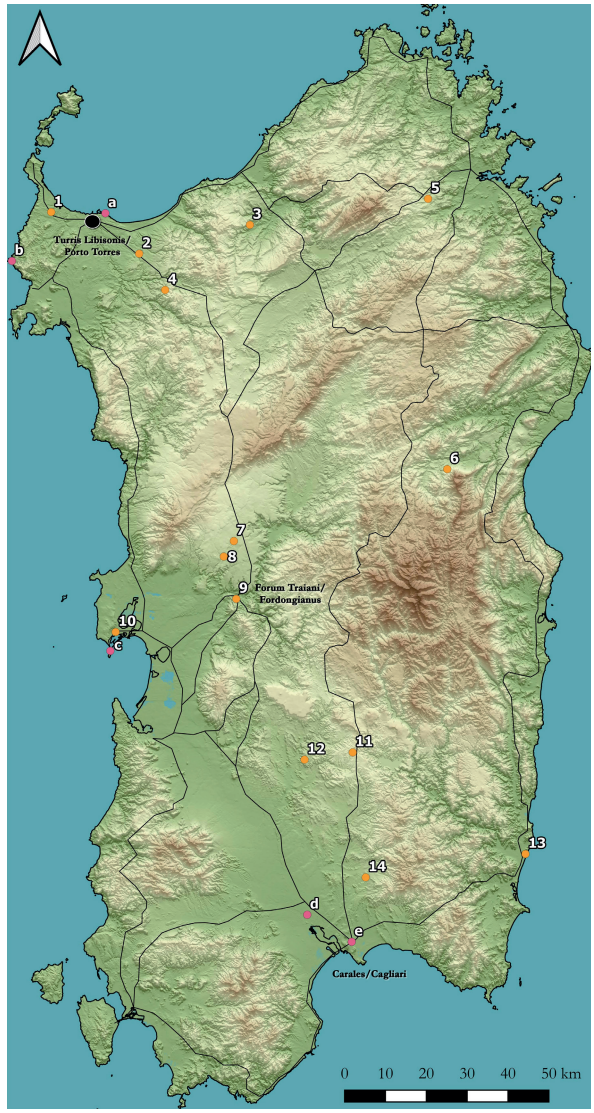

Fig. 3. Map of the findings of Lombard and Muslim coins in Sardinia.

Lombard coins (orange): 1. Porto Torres/Stintino ('Nurra hoard'); 2. Sassari, Li Punti (Unknown provenance); 3, Laerru, Boppittos/Monte Ultana; 4. Ossi, San Giovanni di Noale; 5. Telti, Santa Vittoria; 6. Oliena, Domus de Janas Fenosu; 7. Abbasanta, nuraghe Losa; 8. Paulilatino (U.p.); 9. Fordongianus, San Lussorio; 10. Cabras, San Giorgio; 11. Mandas (U.p.); 12. Villanovafranca, nuraghe Su Mulinu; 13. Villaputzu, Cirredis; 14. Dolianova, Bruncu Is Piscinas.

Muslim coins (pink): a. Porto Torres, Balai; b. Sassari, Argentiera (U.p.); c. Cabras, Tharros (U.p.); d. Assemini (U.p.); e. Cagliari (G. Spano Collection, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, U.p.) (elaboration by Marco Muresu – CC OA).

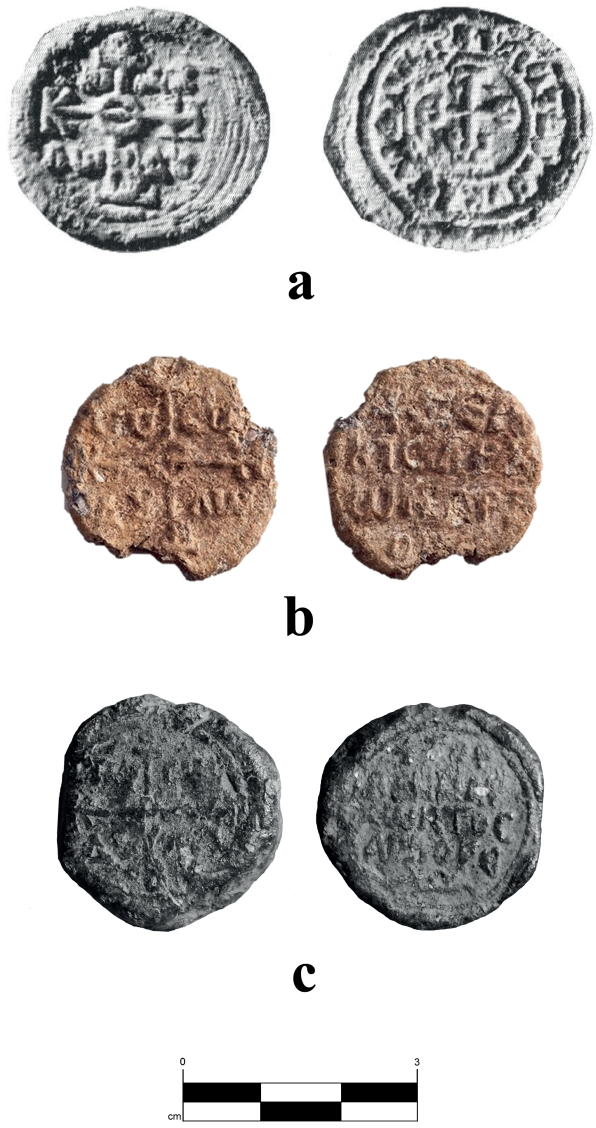

Fig. 4. Seals of Theodotos, *hypatos kai doux* of Sardinia (a: from V. Laurent, *Les sceaux byzantins*…, p. 114–115, no. 112); Zerkis, *archon* (b: from P.G. Spanu, R. Zucca, *I sigilli bizantini*…, tav. VII); Torbennios, *archon* (c: from P.G. Spanu *et al.*, *L'Arcontato di Arborea*…, p. 530, fig. 3) (elaboration by Marco Muresu – CC BY SA).

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A Sixth-century Story in a Nineth-century Tract? *Torna, torna, frater* Revisited

Abstract. This article focuses on the Latin words *torna* and *frater*. According to the accounts of Theophylact Simocatta and Theophanes the Confessor, the words were used by soldiers participating in the Byzantine-Avar war campaign in the Haemus mountains in 587. Relying mainly on the passage from the chronicle of Theophanes, Romanian scholars have interpreted the words as an early form of a Balkan Romance idiom spoken by the local population. The two words would not be strong enough evidence to support the view that this is a sample of early Balkan Romance language in the sixth-century Thrace. The analysis of the words, as well as of the context in which they were used, links the phrase "*torna*, *torna*, *frater*" to Vulgar Latin and *sermo castrensis*. The author also argues that the chroniclers dramatized the accounts of the episode where the words were used. Additionally, the form *fratre*, which is found in two manuscript copies from the eleventh and twelfth centuries, seems to be an interpolation from a medieval Western Romance language, likely early Italian, and should not be identified with any language used in the Balkans. "*Torna torna fratre*" should be viewed as indicating a grasp of Italianate Latin within the Middle Byzantine context. This view contradicts the earlier assertions on the subject.

Keywords: Theophylact Simocatta's *Universal History*, Theophanes Confessor's *Chronicle*, *torna*, *torna*, *frater*, Late Latin, genesis of Romance languages

Taking place near Thracian Beroe (Stara Zagora in modern Bulgaria) in 587[1], one of the episodes of the Byzantine-Avar war campaign in the Haemus Mountains has sparked off a lengthy academic debate, as accounts of it seemed to provide proof of the existence of a Romance-speaking population in Thrace

[1] Michael Whitby dated this event to 587, linking it with a two-year military campaign of 586–587; M. Whitby, *The Emperor Maurice and his Historian. Theophylact Simocatta on the Persian and Balkan Warfare*, Oxford 1988 [= OHM], p. 145–150. The view that Beroe was where the episode took place was expressed by Whitby in his article: *Theophylact's Knowledge of Languages*, B 52, 1982, p. 426.

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in the late sixth century[2]. Burden carriers from the army of General Comentiolus provoked a trivial incident that caused a disturbance among the soldiers who thus failed to carry out a successful attack on the Avar army. The first to recount the episode was Theophylact Simocatta who wrote in his *Universal History* (c. 610–638) that as one of the baggage animals shook its load loose, burden carriers called for the animal's master to go to the rear and adjust the baggage. The carriers' words

[2] The majority of historians and linguists considered the words to be a sample of spoken language. However, they were divided in their views on whether the accounts of this episode demonstrated evidence of a vulgar Latin idiom or a spoken Proto-Romance language, specifically an early form of Aromanian or Romanian. Beginning with Konstantin Josef Jireček, the key phrase that appears in these accounts was linked with a common military command in Latin; K.J. JIREČEK, *Über die Wlachen von Moglena*, ASP 15, 1893, p. 98–99. The bibliography of the subject is large: J. THUNMANN, *Untersuchungen über die Geschichte der östlichen Europäischen Völker*, Leipzig 1774, p. 342; G. ȘINCAI, *Hronica românilor și a mai multor neamuri* (1st ed. 1853), [in:] *Opere*, vol. I, *Hronica românilor*, trans. et praef. F. FUGARIU, București 1967, p. 178–179; O. DENSUȘIANU, *Histoire de la langue roumaine*, vol. I, Paris 1901, p. 390; N. IORGA, *Geschichte des rumänischen Volkes im Rahmen seiner Staatsbildungen*, vol. I, Gotha 1905, p. 106; D. RUSSO, *Elenismul în România*, București 1912, p. 20; A. PHILIPPIDE, *Originea românilor*, vol. I, Iași 1923, p. 504–508; P. PAPAHAGI, *Quelques influences byzantines sur le macédo-roumain ou aroumain*, RHSEE 2, 1925, p. 187–190; H. ZILLIACUS, *Zum Kampf der Weltsprachen im oströmischen Reich*, Helsinkgfors 1935, p. 130; Γ. ΚΟΛΙΑΣ, *Τόρνα – επιχώριος γλῶσσα*, ΕΕΒΣ 14, 1938, p. 295–299; G. POPA-LISSEANU, *Limba română în izvoarele istorice medievale. IV. Arătările cronicarilor bizantini: torna, retorna și fratre*, AAR.MSL series III, 9, 1940, p. 284–295; G.I. BRĂTIANU, *Une énigme et un miracle historique. Le peuple roumain*, Bucharest 1942, p. 67–68; M. GYÓNI, *Az állitólagos legrégibb román nyelvemlék*, EPhK 66, 1942, p. 1–11; G. NANDRIȘ, *The Development and Structure of Rumanian*, SEER 30.74, 1951, p. 7–39; A. ROSETTI, *Istoria limbii române*, București 1956, p. 592; P.Ș. NĂSTUREL, *Torna, torna, fratre. O problemă de istorie și de lingvistică*, SCIV 7, 1956, p. 179–186; G.C. LEPSCHY, *Giusto Lipsio e il volgare nel VI secole (torna torna, frater et l'Instrumentum plenariae sentientiae)*, SMV 8, 1965, p. 296–307; P.Ș. NĂSTUREL, *Quelques mots de plus à propos du «torna, torna fratre», de Théophylacte et de Théophane*, BBg 2, 1966, p. 217–222; A. ROSETTI, *Despre torna, torna, fratre*, [in:] *Omagiu lui Constantin Daicoviciu*, ed. E. CONDURACHI, D. PRODAN, M. MACREA, București 1960, p. 467–468; I. GLODARIU, *În legătură cu «torna, torna, fratre»*, AMN 1, 1964, p. 483–487; G. MIHĂILĂ, *Studii de lingvistică și filologie*, Timișoara 1981, p. 178; E. COȘERIU, *Theophylactus, II, 15. Ein Beitrag zur Deutung von torna, torna, frater*, AUAIC.L 28–29, 1982–1983, p. 21–27; I. FISCHER, *Latina dunăreană. Introducere în istoria limbii române*, București 1985, p. 21–22; M. AVRAM, *Torna, torna, fratre, in Enciclopedia limbilor romanice*, ed. M. SALA, București 1989, p. 310–311; V. BARBU, *Vechi mărturii despre limba română. I. Torna, torna, frate (I)*, LR 39.1, 1990, p. 29–35 (I); 39.2, 1990, p. 143–148 (II); A.B. ČERNJAK, *Vizantijskie svideteľstva o romanskom (romanizirovannom) naselenii Balkan V–VII vv.*, BB 53, 1992, p. 97–105; H. MIHĂESCU, *La romanité dans le Sud-Est de l'Europe*, București 1993, p. 420–429; N.-Ș. TANAȘOCA, *«Torna, torna, fratre» et la romanité balkanique au VIe siècle*, RRL 38.1–3, 1993, p. 265–267. Lately, the idiom has been identified as part of a vulgar Late Latin: M. WHITBY, *Theophylact's Knowledge of Languages…*, p. 426–427; or as a Late Latin idiom arguably on the point of turning into a Balkan Romance language: B. BALDWIN, *Torna, torna, frater: What Language*, B 67.1, 1997, p. 264–267; G. MIHĂILĂ, *Contribuții la etimologia limbii române*, București 2002, p. 9–10, 105; N. SARAMANDU, *Torna, torna, fratre et la romanité orientale au VI-e siècle*, RESEE, 40.1–4, 2002, p. 41–60; IDEM, *Romanitatea orientală*, București 2004, p. 93–111; K. DUMITRAȘCU, *Torna, torna, fratre – precizări bibliografice*, [in:] *Studii și articole. Contribuții filologice*, vol. I, ed. IDEM, A. IORGULESCU, M. MARCU, Craiova 2006, p. 20–24.

were interpreted by the nearby soldiers as *torna*, a military signal for troops to change direction during a sudden attack. Confused, the soldiers began to cry out to one another "turn, turn", and "run".

> […] ἕν τι τῶν ὑποζυγίων τὸν ἐπικείμενον παραπέρριψε φόρτον. συνέτυχε δὲ τὸν κεκτημένον εἰς τὸ πρόσω βαδίζειν. ὁι δὲ παρεπόμενοι καὶ ὁρῶντες τὸ νωτοφόρον ζῶον τὰ ἐπικείμενά πως αὐτῷ ἐπισυρόμενον ἀκοσμότερον εἰς τοὐπίσω τραπέσθαι τόν δεσπότην ἐκέλευον, τὸ τε σκευοφόρον ζῶον ἐπανορθοῦσθαι τοῦ πλημμελήματος. τοῦτό τοι τῆς ἀταξίας γέγονεν αἴτιον καὶ τὴν εἰς τοὐπίσω παλίρροιαν αὐτοματίζεται· παρηχεῖται γὰρ ποῖς πολλοῖς ἡ φωνή, καὶ παράσημον ἦν τὸ λεγόμενον, καὶ φυγὴν ἐδόκει δηλοῦν, ὡς οἷα τῶν πολεμίων ἐπιφανέντων ἀθρόον αὐτοῖς καὶ παρακλεψάντων τὴν δόκησιν. μεγίστου δὲ συμπεσόντος τῷ στρατεύματι θρύλου, θροῦς παρ᾽ αὐτῶν πολὺς ἐπανίσταται, παλλινοστεῖν τε ἐβόα πᾶς γεγωνὼς διασπρύσιον, ἐπιχωρίῳ τε γλώττῃ εἰς τοὐπίσω τραπέσθαι ἄλλος ἄλλῳ προσέταττεν "τόρνα, τόρνα" μετὰ μεγίστου ταράχου φθεγγόμενοι, οἷα νυκτομαχίας τινὸς ἐνδημούσης ἀδοκήτως αὐτοῖς.[3]

> one of the baggage animals shed the load it was carrying. It happened that the animal's owner was marching in front; those following behind saw that the beast of burden was dragging in some disarray its intended load and ordered its master to turn to the rear and to rectify the baggage-beast's miscarriage. This in fact became the cause of disorder and produced a spontaneous backward rush to the rear. For the utterance was incorrectly repeated by the majority, the word was distorted, and it appeared to indicate flight, as if the enemy had suddenly appeared before them and cheated their expectation. The army fell into tremendous uproar, a great outcry arose among them, with piercing shouts everyone cried out to return, and one man ordered another in native parlance to turn to the rear, amidst utmost confusion, shouting 'Turn, turn', as if a night battle had unexpectedly come upon them.[4]

Theophanes the Confessor, who retold the episode in his *Chronicle* (c. 810), offered an account of it that seems even clearer than the one provided by Simocatta. As a result, interpreters have been led to conclude that Theophanes relied on the same source as Simocatta in describing the Balkan campaign of Emperor Maurice[5].

> […] ἑνὸς γὰρ ζώον τὸν φόρτον διαστρέψαντος, ἕτερος τὸν δεσπότην τοῦ ζώου προσφωνεῖ τὸν φόρτον ἀνορθῶσαι τῇ πατρῴᾳ φωνῇ · "τόρνα, τόρνα, φράτερ". καὶ ὁ μὲν κύριος τῆς ἡμιόνου τὴν φωνὴν οὐκ ἠσθάνετο, οἱ δὲ λαοὶ ακούσαντες καὶ τοὺς πολεμίους ἐπιστῆναι αὐτοῖς ὑπονοήσαντες εἰς φυγὴν ἐτράπησαν, "τόρνα, τόρνα" μεγίσταις φοναῖς ἀνακράζοντες.[6]

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[3] *Theophylacti Simocattae Historiae*, II, 15, 6–9, rec. C. De Boor, Lipsiae 1887 (cetera: Theophylact, ed. C. de Boor), p. 100.

[4] *The History of Theophylact Simocatta*, II, 15, 6–9, ed. et trans. M. Whitby, M. Whitby, New York–Oxford 1997 (1st ed. 1986) (cetera: Theophylact, ed. M. Whitby, M. Whitby), p. 65–66.

[5] A. Philippide, *Originea românilor*…, vol. I, p. 506; P.Ş. Năsturel, *Torna, torna, fratre*…, p. 184; M. Whitby, *Theophanes' Chronicle Source for the Reigns of Justin II, Tiberius and Maurice (A.D. 565–602)*, B 53, 1983, p. 328; *The Chronicle of Theophanes Confessor. Byzantine and Near Eastern History, AD 284–813*, ed. C. Mango, R. Scott, Oxford 1997, p. 383 n. 18, p. 384, n. 26, 28 and 29.

[6] *Theophanis Chronographia*, AM 6079 (AD 587), 14–19, vol. I, rec. C. De Boor, Lipsiae 1883 (cetera: Theophanes, ed. C. De Boor), p. 258.

> For when the load on one animal had slipped, a man called to the animal's master to put the load right, speaking in his native tongue, '*Torna*, *torna*, *frater*'. The driver of the mule did not hear the words, but the army heard them and suspecting that the enemy was upon them, turned to flight shouting '*torna*, *torna*' in loud voices.[7]

There are indeed some significant differences between the account of Theophylact and that of Theophanes. According to Simocatta, when burden carriers saw that one of the loads had become loose and was being poorly carried by the animal (τι τῶν ὑποζυγίων, ζῶον), they told the animal's master to proceed to the rear and fix the problem. However, Simocatta did not report the actual words that were uttered. In turn, Theophanes reported that one of the burden carriers, upon seeing that the load on one of the mules (ἡμιόν) had slipped, called to his driver to set it right, allegedly using words from his native tongue: *torna*, *torna*, *frater*. Simocatta further explains that the soldiers mistook the carriers' words for the command "retreat" and began to rush to the rear, ordering one another to *torna*, *torna*, as if they had been suddenly attacked from the front. Theophanes briefly recounts that upon hearing the carriers' words, the soldiers thought they were facing defeat and turned to flee, shouting *torna*, *torna*.

Historians have discussed at length the multiple meanings that the Latin word *torna* seems to have in the two texts (to turn to the rear, to turn about, to change direction, to turn back, possibly also to overturn the load)[8], trying to answer whether it bears any traces of an incipient Balkan Romance language[9]. Earlier in the text we are told that Comentiolus assembled his army at Anchialus in Thrace (present-day Pomorie, in the Gulf of Burgas on the Bulgarian Black Sea coast), relying probably both on ordinary inhabitants and on soldiers who were part of the Eastern Thracian system of military forts. Of the 10,000 soldiers assembled by Comentiolus, 4000 were poorly prepared and were thus given the task of transporting the baggage. The army was then grouped into three divisions[10]. While assembling his troops at Anchialus, Comentiolus held the position of Magister Militium Praesentalis, and his force likely comprised a combination of praesental units and provincial units. The men responsible for managing the baggage train

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[7] THEOPHANES, AM 6079 (AD 586–587), 258, [in:] *The Chronicle of Theophanes Confessor. Byzantine and Near Eastern History, AD 284–813*, ed. C. MANGO, R. SCOTT, Oxford 1997 (cetera: THEOPHANES, ed. C. MANGO, R. SCOTT), p. 380–381.

[8] P. PAPAHAGI, *Quelques influences byzantines*…, p. 187–190; I. GLODARIU, *În legătură cu «torna, torna, fratre»*…, p. 487.

[9] An extensive discussion in E. COȘERIU, *Theophylactus, II, 15*…, p. 21–27.

[10] THEOPHYLACT, II, 10, 8–9, ed. C. DE BOOR, p. 90. *In this particular year Comentiolus came to Anchialus, assembled the army, carefully reviewed the bravest of the throng, and separated them from the ineffectual force. He arranged three divisions and dispersed these separately against the barbarians. He appointed Martin brigadier of the right flank, while he made Castus captain of the other wing; the general took charge of the centre of the force. The number of the fighting force was six thousand; for four thousand were non-combatant because of feebleness of spirit, and these the general ordered to stand guard over the rampart, as it is called, along with the baggage* (ed. M. WHITBY, p. 57).

were usually long-standing aid servants and as such would have been familiar with the ways of army units[11]. The *Strategikon*, the manual of war of Emperor Maurice, completed by the late 590s, prescribed that *on the march when the enemy is nearby, the baggage train must always be in the middle, so it may not be subject to harassment for lack of protection. Troops on the march should not be mixed in or confused with the train, but they must be kept apart*[12]. The manual prescribes the marching pattern known as *agmen quadratum*, when the army is divided into four units. The formation featured cavalry and infantry at the front and rear and on both wings. In the centre, there was the baggage train and military equipment. The square configuration enabled rapid combat readiness on all sides, while safeguarding the legion's assets, but demanded precise organization. However, this does not appear to be what Comentiolus organized. When he saw that the chagan idled a short distance away, he *marshalled the army, arranged it into a single formation, and permitted it to march*[13]. It seems he used the more common line array. The baggage train and troops moved together in a single line, with the supply carriers probably marching among troops in the convoy, which put them in confusion that quickly spread to the soldiers.

Details regarding the origin of the people forming this army remain unknown. Evagrius Scholasticus mentions in his *Ecclesiastical History* that Comentiolus, who himself had a Latin name, was Thracian by race (Θράξ γένος)[14]. By the times of Justinian, the Byzantine armies could include many provincials like Illyrians, Thracians, Armenians, Isaurians, Lycaonians, as well as various barbarian groups like the Heruls, Gepids, Goths, Lombards, Moors, Vandals, Persians, and others. However, during the reign of Maurice, the situation changed because of the Avaro-Slavic incursions into the Balkan Peninsula. These invasions virtually eliminated Illyricum (the Illyriciani were the most significant Latin-speaking military group within the Eastern Roman Empire[15]) as a source of recruits and reduced Thrace's military potential[16]. Consequently, the region constituted a poor military resource.

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[11] I am grateful to the anonymous reviewer for providing clarifications regarding the composition of the army, as well as invaluable insights and suggestions that have allowed me to enhance the overall quality of this article.

[12] *Maurice's Strategikon. Handbook of Byzantine Military Strategy*, III, 5, ed. et trans. G.T. Dennis, Philadelphia 1984 (cetera: Mauricius, ed. G.T. Dennis), Book V, 'On Baggage Trains', p. 58sqq. For the *terminus ante quem* date of the Strategikon, see M. Whitby, *The Strategikon of Maurice*, [in:] *Military Literature in the Medieval Roman World and Beyond*, ed. C. Whately, Leiden–Boston 2024 [= RMS, 8], p. 151–173, in 152.

[13] Theophylact II, 15, 4.

[14] *The Ecclesiastical History of Evagrius Scholasticus*, trans. et praef. M. Whitby, Liverpool 2001 [= TTH, 33], p. 307; N.-Ş. Tanaşoca, «*Torna, torna, fratre*»…, p. 266.

[15] D. Dzino, *Becoming Slav, Becoming Croat. Identity Transformations in Post-Roman and Early Medieval Dalmatia*, Leiden–Boston 2010 [= ECEEMA, 12], p. 66.

[16] See P. Charanis, *Ethnic Changes in the Byzantine Empire in the Seventh Century*, DOP 13, 1959, p. 31–32; M. Whitby, *Recruitment in Roman Armies from Justinian to Heraclius (ca. 565–615)*,

Because the peasantry became scarce, the soldiers garrisoning forts built by Justinian on the Thracian limes had a hard time securing food for themselves, which twice led to rebellion against Maurice[17].

Based on the similarity between *torna* and Aromanian second person singular imperative form / third person singular indicative form *toarnă* (turn, return, also respond, and pour, or overturn, as in "mula toarnă", the mule overturns [the baggage]), some scholars have suggested that these "local carriers" came from the Balkan mountainous area and can be seen as the precursors of the Vlachs (Aromanians) who spoke an incipient Aromanian[18]. Although Theophylact only tells us about Captain Castus (on the left flank) heading for Haemus (Beroe, via Aquae Calidae) and General Comentiolus following him (which of course took place after the army was raised on the seashore at Anchialus)[19], the presumption that the troops were gathered from the populace of the Eastern Haemus can be sustained[20], provided it is accepted that the Byzantine defence line extended along the Eastern Stara Planina (Haemus) and less so along the Black Sea coast[21]. However, this does not necessarily mean that the soldiers and servants stationed in these *castra* were of local origin[22]. It seems that there was a division between the militarized and probably local population inhabiting the fortified settlements (*limitanei*) and the regular army (*comitatenses*) serving in fortresses[23].

Torna was a Latin military command that meant "to change direction", which was still used by the sixth-century Byzantine army and was included in the *Stra-*

[in:] *The Byzantine and Early Islamic Near East*, vol. III, *States, Resources and Armies*, ed. A. CAMERON, Princeton 1995, p. 61–124.

[17] F. CURTA, *Peasants as 'Makeshift Soldiers for the Occasion'. Sixth-Century Settlement Patterns in the Balkans*, [in:] *Urban Centers and Rural Contexts in Late Antiquity*, ed. T.S. BURNS, J.W. EADIE, Ann Arbor 2001, p. 212.

[18] The idea is first put forward by J. THUNMANN, *Untersuchungen über die Geschichte*…, p. 342, with P. Papahagi and P.Ș. Năsturel among its supporters. A thorough literature review can be found in V. BARBU, *Vechi mărturii despre limba română*…, p. 29–35 and N. SARAMANDU, *Torna, torna, fratre*…, p. 41–57.

[19] THEOPHYLACT, II, 10, 10; 11, 4, ed. C. DE BOOR.

[20] Nicolae-Șerban Tanașoca suggested that Comentiolus *avait recruté cette armée sur place, pas précisément en Thrace, mais plutôt dans la région montagneuse de l'Haemus, c'est-à-dire dans la zone de langue latine de la Péninsule Balkanique*, from locals who must have known the paths of the mountains and the proper places for ambush; N.-Ș. TANAȘOCA, *«Torna, torna, fratre»*…, p. 266.

[21] В. Динчев, *Ранновизантийските крепости в България и съседните земи (в диоцезите Thracia и Dacia)*, София 2006, p. 78–79; see also V. DINCHEV, *The Fortresses of Thrace and Dacia in the Early Byzantine Period*, [in:] *The Transition to Late Antiquity on the Danube and Beyond*, ed. A.G. POULTER, Oxford 2007 [= PBA, 141], p. 479–546.

[22] The current map of Romance-speaking population spread in Bulgaria do not contain an eastern group, but only south-western and southern ones related to groups from Gramos and Macedonia; N. SARAMANDU, *La carte des parlers aroumains et mégléno-roumains de la péninsule balkanique*, RESEE 39.1–4, 2001, p. 118–119.

[23] В. Динчев, *Ранновизантийските крепости*…, p. 79.

tegikon[24]. The words cited from the passage in *Strategikon* III.5, the interjection *Torna, mina!* meant "about-turn [and] charge"[25]. On this command, soldiers were to reverse the direction they were facing in and attack. The standard order to retreat was '*Cede* (give way)'[26]. Other commands for turning during a sudden attack were *Transfurma* and *Transmuta*: *If a small enemy force suddenly attacks from the rear, the command is given: 'About face (Transforma)'.* […] *If a large enemy force appears behind them, the order is: 'Change place (Transmuta)'. And the unit marches about by bandon*[27]. All of these verbs were invariably in second person singular imperative form, similar to the word *torna* cited in the two chronicles[28].

The faulty understanding of the *torna* command among the locally assembled troops seems to indicate their diverse origin. Some of the carriers may have been locals, while some of the soldiers might have come from outside the local population. The differences could not only be ethnic but also professional, related to occupation or education. Two communication codes overlapped: a non-military one and a military one, which inevitably shared common words. Simocatta specifies that the soldiers ordered *torna, torna*[29] and Michael and Mary Whitby translated the words ἐπιχωρίῳ τε γλώττῃ as "in native parlance"[30]. However, the two translators point out that this imprecise adjective is widely used throughout Theophylact's work to convey the simple meaning of Latin, e.g. τοῦτον ἐπιχωρίῳ Ῥωμαῖοι φωνῇ

[24] K.J. Jireček, *Über die Wlachen von Moglena*…, p. 98–99; *Maurice's Strategikon*…, p. 39; Mauricius, *Arta militară*, III, 5.8, ed. Greek text et trans. H. Mihăescu, București 1970 (cetera: Mauricius, ed. H. Mihăescu), p. 108–109; H. Mihăescu, *Les élèments latins des Tactica-Strategica de Maurice-Urbicius et leur écho en néo-grec*, RESEE 7.2, 1969, p. 278; H. Mihăescu, *Termes de commandement militaires latins dans la Strategicon de Maurice*, RRL 14, 1969, p. 269; H. Mihăescu, *La langue latine dans le sud-est de l'Europe*, Bucarest–Paris 1978, p. 11. See also M. Whitby, *Theophylact's Knowledge of Languages*…, p. 426–428; idem, *Theophanes' Chronicle Source*…, p. 327–328; P. Rance, *The De Militari Scientia or Müller Fragment as a Philological Resource. Latin in the East Roman Army and Two New Loanwords in Greek: Palmarium and *Recala*, Glo 86.1–4, 2010, p. 63–92, with treatment of *Torna* on p. 90–91 n. 56.

[25] The passage explains that these manoeuvres should be made repeatedly in different directions (not only forward or backward) so as to enable soldiers to exercise a rapid response; see Mauricius, III, 5, 3.8–10, ed. H. Mihăescu, p. 108–109. When the commander shouts: *'Turn. Threaten'. They then wheel around as though to face the enemy. They should practice this manoeuvre frequently, not only charging forwards, but also to the right and to the left, and as though they were heading toward the second line*; Mauricius, ed. G.T. Dennis, p. 39.

[26] Mauricius, ed. G.T. Dennis: *to fall back a bit and then to wheel about, when the commander wants to fall back in open order he shouts: 'Give way'.*

[27] Mauricius, ed. G.T. Dennis, p. 39; cf. Mauricius, III, 5, 3.10, ed. H. Mihăescu, p. 108–109.

[28] B. Baldwin, *Torna, torna, frater*…, p. 266.

[29] *Torna*, in Vat. gr. 977, tenth century, the only authoritative manuscript of Theophylact's History; *retorna*, in its much newer copies; Theophylact, ed. C. de Boor, p. 100 and n. 20. For dating Vat gr. 977, see P. Schreiner, *Die Historikerhandschrift Vaticanus Graecus 977: Ein Handexemplar zur Vorbereitung des konstantinischen Exzerptenwerkes?*, JÖB 37, 1987, p. 1–29.

[30] Theophylact, ed. M. Whitby, M. Whitby, p. 66.

ἀποκαλοῦσι κυαίστορα (= quaestor)[31], where ἐπιχωρίῳ φωνῇ obviously means "Latin" and has nothing to do with either a locality or a Romance language. Another example is provided by a "sandy canal". In the language spoken across the narrow passes and upland valleys of the Eastern Haemus, the counterpart of the phrase in question is rendered as *Sabulente Canalion* (Σαβουλέντε δὲ Κανάλιον ὁ τόπος ὠνόμασται ἐπιχωρίῳ προσηγορίᾳ τινί)[32]. However, the toponym is a vulgarized and Graecized form of the Latin syntagm *sabulensis/sabulens canalis* and, given that it may very well have been adapted by the chroniclers themselves, it is difficult to discuss it as presenting traits of an incipient Aromanian language. Thirdly, ἦν σύνηθες Ῥωμαίοις τῇ ἐπιχωρίῳ φωνῇ τοῦλδον[33] also refers to the Vulgar Latin or *sermo castrensis*.

The *sermo castrensis*, as used by the local army, was not simply spoken Latin but rather a fusion of official nomenclature, technical terminology, military slang, and foreign words that the soldiers had to familiarize themselves with during their cantonment preparation[34]. Theophylact specified that soldiers shouted to one another an order (προσέταττεν) *torna*, *torna*; in his text the word is understood as designating the military command to "turn about". As Barry Baldwin notes, the word *torna* is not documented for Latin in any period in the main Latin dictionaries[35]. Therefore, the Aromanian verb "toarnă" could be equally attributed to the regional influence of *sermo castrensis* or to the dialectal evolution of a close Latin term (*retorna*, *detorna*).

Michael Whitby has concluded that the seventh-century historian knew little about the Balkans and was unfamiliar with military campaigns conducted there. Simocatta's account follows the patterns of late classical historiography, relying on a sophisticated and florid literary style that masked information gaps[36]. It is believed that Simocatta drew on a chronicle by a partisan author who, while writing his work during Phocas's reign, was sympathetic to General Priscus (magister militum for Thrace and a key combatant in the Byzantine-Avar war) and unfavourable to Maurice and Comentiolus. Known as "the military source", or "the Priscus

[31] THEOPHYLACT, I, 1, 3, ed. M. WHITBY, M. WHITBY.

[32] THEOPHYLACT, II, 11, 4, ed. M. WHITBY, M. WHITBY, p. 58; THEOPHYLACT, ed. C. DE BOOR, p. 92.

[33] THEOPHYLACT, II, 4, 1, ed. M. WHITBY, M. WHITBY. See M. WHITBY, *Theophylact's Knowledge of Languages*…, p. 427 and n. 17. Τοῦλδος (or -ον) "baggage train" is a military term (see Book 5 of Maurice's Strategicon 'On the τοῦλδος' which may come from a Vulgar Latin *toltum, from tollere, to lift, to raise, or to remove; V. NEDELJKOVIĆ, *Justinian's πάτριος φωνή*, Balc 47, 2016, p. 64, n. 42.

[34] M.G. MOSCI-SASSI, *Il sermo castrensis*, Bolognia 1983, p. 27–28; P. RANCE, *Simplicitas militaris: Ammianus Marcellinus and sermo castrensis*, [in:] *Ammianus Marcellinus. From Soldier to Author*, ed. M. HANAGHAN, D. WOODS, Leiden–Boston 2022 [= HRE, 16], p. 83–139, which includes a general "status quaestionis" on *sermo castrensis*.

[35] B. BALDWIN, *Torna*, *torna*, *frater*…, p. 267.

[36] See, for instance, the description of the luxuriant Sabulente Canalion valley in the Haemus, inspired by the rhetor Aelian, THEOPHYLACT, II, 11, 4–8 (see p. 58, n. 32 in ed. M. WHITBY, M. WHITBY).

source", this first-hand and probably eye-witness account of the Byzantine-Avar war[37] was an official campaign journal of which Theophylact made use in writing this part of his chronicle. However, this was not the only source on which he drew. Whitby maintains that his account of the episode in question was based on a different source, a Constantinopolitan chronicle devoted mainly to imperial actions, natural disasters, and minor military events. Whitby argues that the compilation of the second source by an anonymous author known as the *Great Chronographer* was independently used by Theophanes the Confessor. There are only a few important fragments in Greek that survive from this compilation. These, however, do not include the one that specifically concerns us here[38]. Following Whitby, scholars tend to support the view that both Theophylact and Theophanes drew in their account of the episode in question on this Constantinopolitan chronicle[39].

M. Whitby has also argued that although Simocatta was possibly one of the last secularly educated historians of Late Antiquity[40], he did not seem to have a good command of Latin, as this was a skill which, by 600 AD, was no longer essential to pursue a career in administration[41]. Similarly, neither Theophanes, a self-educated monk, nor George Syncellus, whose chronicle Theophanes continued[42], seem to have been familiar with Latin to the point of being able to use Latin sources[43]. These chroniclers, like the author they relied on, were Greek speakers. Despite using a refined rhetoric, Simocatta was ambiguous about the exact words that were actually uttered by the burden carriers. In his view, it "resembled in sound" (παρηχεῖται) *torna*, and so was "marked falsely" (παράσημον)[44] by the soldiers. It is not

[37] Theophylact, ed. M. Whitby, M. Whitby, Preface; M. Whitby, *The Emperor Maurice and his Historian*…, p. 92–93, 105–108, 138.

[38] M. Whitby, *The Great Chronographer and Theophanes*, BMGS 8, 1982–1983, p. 1–20; idem, *Theophanes' Chronicle Source*…, p. 312–345; idem, *The Emperor Maurice and his Historian*…, p. 105–108, 121–124, 355.

[39] M. Whitby, *Theophanes' Chronicle Source*…, p. 318. Although C. Mango flatly rejects the view that Theophanes made use of the Great Chronographer (Theophanes, ed. C. Mango, R. Scott, Introduction, p. LIV) he admits that in writing this passage, the Confessor did not rely on Theophylact but on some other source; Theophanes, ed. C. Mango, R. Scott, p. 384 n. 26, 28 and 29.

[40] M. Whitby, *The Emperor Maurice and his Historian*…, p. 105, 353.

[41] Idem, *Theophylact's Knowledge of Languages*…, p. 427–428.

[42] See C. Mango, *Who Wrote the Chronicle of Theophanes?*, [reprinted in:] C. Mango, *Byzantium and its Image. History and Culture of the Byzantine Empire and its Heritage*, Burlington–London 1984, p. 9–17; P. Yannopoulos, *Les vicissitudes historiques de la Chronique de Théophane*, B 70.2, 2000, p. 527–553; Theophanes, ed. C. Mango, R. Scott, Introduction, p. XLIII–LXIII. For Syncellus, see the more recent W. Treadgold, *The Life and Wider Significance of George Syncellus*, TM 19, 2015 (= *Studies in Theophanes*, ed. M. Jankowiak, F. Montinaro), p. 9–30.

[43] W. Treadgold, *The Middle Byzantine Historians*, Basingstoke 2013, p. 68.

[44] Theophylact, ed. M. Whitby, M. Whitby, p. 65. This syntagm was curiously omitted by older Romanian translators: A. Philippide, *Originea românilor*…, vol. I, p. 505; G. Popa-Lisseanu, *Limba română în izvoarele istorice*…, p. 312. H. Mihăescu abreviates and adapts it: H. Mihăescu, G. Ştefan, R. Hîncu, V. Iliescu, V.C. Popescu, *Fontes Historiae Daco-Romanae*, vol. II, Bucureşti 1970, p. 539.

clear from his account if the word uttered by the burden carriers was *torna*, or whether it was a different word that was similar in form, such as *retorna*, *detorna*[45]. Simocatta's paraphrase for it was εἰς τοὐπίσω τραπέσθαι, "to turn to the rear"[46].

The words actually spoken by the carriers are quoted only by Theophanes, who reports that a peasant carrier addressed his comrade "in his native tongue" (τῇ πατρῴᾳ φωνῇ) using the words *torna*, *torna*, *frater*. The chronicler does not say anything about the military command *torna*, of which he seemed unaware. He seems more interested in giving details about the carriers. Focusing his account only on two drivers, he specifies that they were muleteers[47], and reproduces words from their native tongue. He even introduces a parergon, which helps him dramatize the event. We are told that the muleteer apparently did not hear the words, τὴν φωνὴν οὐκ ἠσθάνετο, which B. Baldwin has chosen to translate as "did not understand these words"[48]. The translation is open to debate, as αἰσθάνομαι is primarily intended to convey the meaning of 'perceiving with the senses' (hearing, in this case), and it only denotes 'perceiving with the mind' (that is, understanding) as a secondary meaning. None of these details are found in Simocatta.

Born to an aristocratic family from Constantinople[49], Theophanes lost his father at a young age, and according to his biographer, Patriarch Methodius, his mother saw to his formal education at home[50]. From 18 to 21 years of age, he worked in the imperial stables as *strator* (groom)[51]. In the year 780, at the age of 21, he became a monk and entered the Polychronius Monastery (probably located near today's Kurşunlu, on the southern shore of the sea of Marmara) and he

[45] Perhaps this is why the much later copyists felt the need to correct the word *torna* to *retorna* (a clearer lexical form which, however, does not convey the connotation of military command); THEOPHYLACT ed. C. DE BOOR, p. 100 and n. 20.

[46] Some historians have considered the words uttered by the carriers and those used by the soldiers to refer to the same thing, i.e. the demotic Late Latin spoken in the sixth-century Balkans; Γ. ΚΟΛΙΑΣ, *Τόρνα – επιχώριος γλῶσσα*…, p. 295–299; H. MIHĂESCU, *Torna*, *torna*, *fratre*, Βυζ 8, 1976, p. 28.

[47] Earlier Romanian editors translated ἡμιόν (mule) as "animal"; A. PHILIPPIDE, *Originea românilor*…, vol. I, p. 505–506; G. POPA-LISSEANU, *Limba română în izvoarele istorice*…, p. 314; at H. Mihăescu, mule (H. MIHĂESCU, G. ŞTEFAN, R. HÎNCU, V. ILIESCU, V.C. POPESCU, *Fontes Historiae*…, vol. II, p. 605).

[48] B. BALDWIN, *Torna*, *torna*, *frater*…, p. 265.

[49] Theophanes was born in 759, probably on the island of Chios, when his father Isaakios, a drungarios, served as the governor of the Aegean thema; P. YANNOPOULOS, *Le lieu et la date de naissance de Théophane le Confesseur*, RÉB 68, 2010, p. 225–230.

[50] *Methodii Vita S. Theophanis Confessoris*, [in:] *Mémoires de l'Académie de Russie*, 8th series, vol. XIII–XIV, ed. V. LATYSEV, Saint-Petersburg 1918, p. 4–5, 22.

[51] THEODORE STOUDITE, *Laudatio Theophanis*, 3, [in:] S. EFTHYMIADIS, *Le Panégyrique de S. Théophane le Confesseur par S. Théodore Stoudite (BHG 1792b). Édition critique du texte intégral*, AB 111.3–4, 1993, p. 271. He must have clearly understood the incident he wrote about, as his biographer Methodius reports that he had a passion for riding horses when he was young; METHODIUS, p. 6. For his biography by Theodore the Studite, see THEOPHANES, ed. C. MANGO, R. SCOTT, Introduction, p. XLIV. His constant attitude toward his former appointment is revealed in a joke about the imperial horses that he discretely slips into the account of Justin II; THEOPHANES, AM 6065, ed. C. MANGO, R. SCOTT, p. 364 and n. 4, p. 365.

then served as abbot of Megas Agros in Bithynia. After being imprisoned for two years for his iconodule beliefs, he was banished to Samothrace, where he died in 818[52]. The fact that Theophanes seems to have been unfamiliar with the old military command *torna* would, therefore, not be difficult to explain. By the time he wrote his chronicle, the imperial chancellery had not used Latin for about 200 years[53]. Its use had decayed to such an extent that in the mid-860s, Emperor Michael III was referring to it in his letter to Pope Nicholas I as a "barbarous and Scythian tongue"[54]. Middle Byzantine patriographers noted that those who understood Latin in Constantinople in the ninth century were few and far between[55]. In sixth-century Byzantium, Latin remained in official use, as there were still many native speakers of the language. This was, however, no longer the case in the ninth century, as, by that time, Latin had completely lost its former prominence. Southern Italy and the areas that stretched over the north-western borders of the empire – coastal Dalmatia[56], Moesia, and Dacia (i.e. the land of the "Scythians" that Michael III linked with the use of Latin) – were closest to the empire where Latin was still used as a mother tongue.

However, there were some everyday words, as well as administrative, military, and judicial terms, of Latin origin that had been preserved in the Byzantine vocabulary[57]. The Greek language also contained many terms with the same root as the Latin *tornare* (to turn, to round off, and make round), like τορνεύω (to turn), τορνεύσις (turning), and τορνευτής (turner)[58]. φράτηρ was also part of ancient

[52] More on his life and work in P. Yannopoulos, *Théophane de Sigriani le Confesseur (759–818). Un héros orthodoxe du second iconoclasme*, Brussels 2013.

[53] The Latinization of the Eastern Roman Empire began with Emperor Constantine and gained momentum between the fourth and sixth centuries. Between the seventh and ninth centuries, the use of Latin became generally discontinued in all the main areas of Byzantine civilization. It first ceased to be spoken at the imperial court. Latin had to surrender its position as the main language of the army and administration, once the Eastern Roman Empire had lost Illyricum, its most important Latin-speaking region. See bibliography on military usage of Latin in P. Rance, *The De Militari Scientia*…, p. 64–65, n. 1–2. Generally, see the numerous contributions, with bibliography in *Latin in Byzantium*, vol. I, *Late Antiquity and Beyond*, ed. A. Garcea, M. Rosellini, L. Silvano, Turnhout 2019 [= *CC.SL*, 12].

[54] *Nicolai I pontificis romani Epistolae et decreta*, [in:] *PL*, vol. CXIX, ed. J.-P. Migne, repr., Brepols 1992, col. 932.

[55] *Accounts of Medieval Constantinople. The Patria*, 3.30, ed. A. Berger, Washington, D.C. 2013 [= DOML, 24], p. 154–155: *In the reign of Leo* [VI, 886–912], *the son of Basil, a Roman came to pray in the churches of the city, and when he saw Latin letters in stone on the pier, he understood their meaning and revealed it to the emperor, and he gave him properties and made him an illoustrios, giving him thirty pounds of gold coins.*

[56] D. Dzino, *Becoming Slav, Becoming Croat*…, p. 161–162.

[57] H. Mihăescu, *La littérature byzantine, source de connaissance du latin vulgaire*, RESEE 16, 1978, p. 195–215, and 17, 1979, p. 39–60; B. Baldwin, *Latin in Byzantium*, [in:] *From Late Antiquity to Early Byzantium*, ed. V. Vavrínek, Prague 1985, p. 237–241.

[58] P. Chantraine, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue grecque. Histoire des mots*, fasc. IV.1, Paris 1977, p. 1126–1127, *s.v.* τόρνος; E. Trapp et al., *Lexikon zur byzantinischen Gräzität besonders des 9.–12. Jahrhunderts*, fasc. 1–8, Vienna 2001, *s.v.*, https://stephanus.tlg.uci.edu/lbg/#eid=1 [20 II 2023];

Greek[59]. Originally a synonym of ἀδελφός, it was often used in a political sense, indicating a member of a φράτρα, a clan, or, more broadly, a citizen[60]. Theophanes's *Chronicle* contains several other Latin terms, such as *scala*, *porta*, *sella*, *furca*, *familia*, *numeros/numerus*, *laccos/lacus*, *campos/campus*, *castron/castrum*, *armata/arma* etc., that had been adopted into Greek and then served as bases from which new words were derived[61]. Latin seems to have penetrated the colloquial language in Byzantium. It can also be found in popular texts[62]. The words *torna* and *frater*, cited by Theophanes, but unattested in other Middle Byzantine Greek texts, probably did not sound strange to cultivated Byzantines, even if unfamiliar with Latin.

However, the evidence drawn from the manuscripts of Theophanes's Chronicle helps us clarify the Latin origin of the word *frater*. The dating of the earliest surviving manuscripts of the Chronicle remains a topic of debate. The translation by Anastasius Bibliothecarius (c. 871–874) employs *frater*[63], but the phrase may have been adopted into Latin. Nonetheless, all other ninth-century manuscripts, the BnF gr. 1710, Oxon. Christ Church Wake 5, and Vat. gr. 155[64], utilize the Latin spelling φράτερ instead of the Greek φράτηρ (see fig. 1), which suggests that Theophanes did not invent the phrase himself (to do so, he would have had to be familiar with Latin phonetics) but derived it from a source which he used in writing his own work.

Thesaurus Linguae Graecae, ed. M. PANTELIA, *s.v.*, https://stephanus.tlg.uci.edu/index.php; https://logeion.uchicago.edu/torna [20 II 2023].

[59] *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae*, ed. M. PANTELIA, *s.v.* φράτηρ.

[60] P. CHANTRAINE, *Dictionnaire étymologique*…, fasc. IV.2, Paris 1980, p. 1226, *s.v.* φράτηρ; *LSJ*, p. 1953–1954, *s.v.* φράτηρ.

[61] G. POPA-LISSEANU, *Limba română în izvoarele istorice*…, p. 300–301. See derivates in E. TRAPP et al., *Lexikon zur byzantinischen Gräzität*…, https://stephanus.tlg.uci.edu/lbg/#eid=1 [20 II 2023].

[62] G. DAGRON, *Aux origines de la civilisation byzantine: langue de culture et langue d'état*, RH 241, 1969, p. 55.

[63] *Anastasii Chronographia tripertita*, vol. II, ed. C. DE BOOR, Leipzig 1885, p. 158.

[64] P. Yannopoulos considered BnF. gr. 1710 to be the earliest of them and the source for Anastasius's translation. For dating these manuscripts, see: N.G. WILSON, *A Manuscript of Theophanes in Oxford*, DOP 26, 1972, p. 357–360; Б.Л. Фонкич, *О датировке и происхождении Парижского списка «Хронографии» Феофана (cod. Paris. gr. 1710)*, [in:] *Византийские очерки. Труды российских ученых к XIX Международному конгрессу византинистов*, ed. Г.Г. Литаврин, Москва 1996, p. 183–186, 258–265; P. YANNOPOULOS, *Les vicissitudes historiques*…, p. 550; IDEM, *La question théophanienne et la langue de la Chronique de Théophane*, [in:] *Thesaurus Patrum Graecorum. Thesaurus Theophanis Confessoris. Chronographia*, ed. B. COULIE, P. YANNOPOULOS, Turnhout 1998, p. XXVII–LVIII; F. RONCONI, *La première circulation de la «chronique de Théophane»: notes paléographiques et codicologiques*, TM 19, 2015 (= *Studies in Theophanes*…), p. 121–148; B. NEIL, *Theophanes Confessor on the Arab Conquest: the Latin Version by Anastasius Bibliothecarius*, TM 19, 2015 (= *Studies in Theophanes*…), p. 149–157.

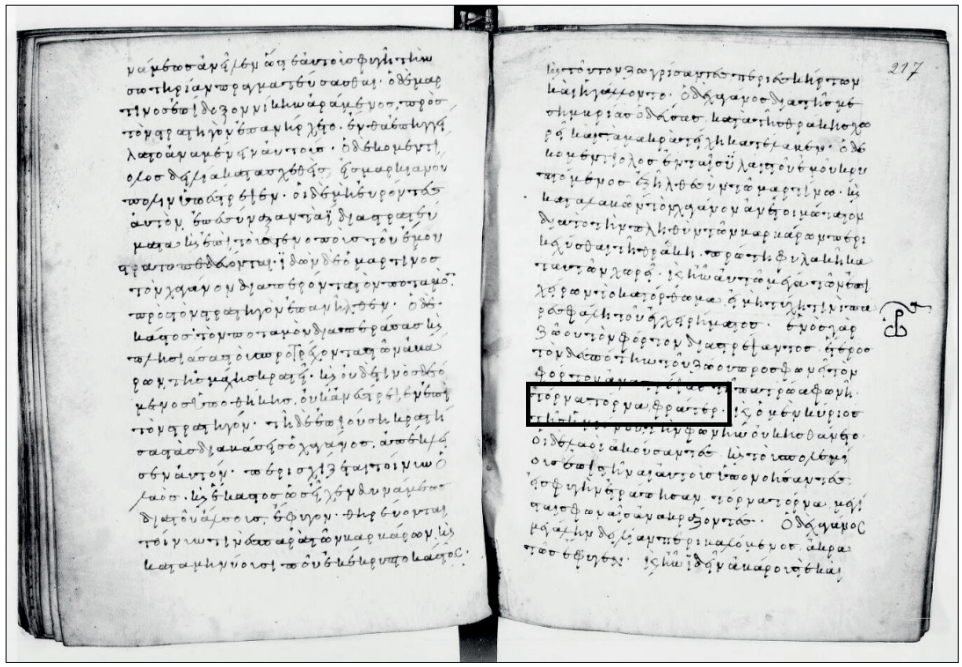

Fig. 1. BnF gr. 1710, p. 217 (photo source: Bibliothèque nationale de France).

Before discussing whether the words *torna* and *frater*, as used by Theophanes, were intended to convey some specific local meaning, or whether they can be considered to have had a general Latin character, it is worth noting that from the late third century onward, Thrace was subject to continuous invasions and wars. As a result, it was characterized by a mixed population and a constant military presence. What could Theophanes have possibly known about the Romance populations of the empire? He was a historian, a supporter of the icons and – arguably – a participant at the Seventh Ecumenical Synod in Nicaea[65], which was conducted in Greek. By the time the iconoclast dispute arose, the Byzantine Church had lost most of its bishoprics in Moesia and Scythia Minor (former provinces of the diocese of Thrace[66]), having been cut off from them by the Bulgar invasions. Apparently, none of the bishops from the occupied territories were able to participate

[65] Following his biographer Methodius's explicit statement, most historians believe that Theophanes was a participant at the Synod of Nicaea in 787. However, some scholars express doubts as to his or George Syncellus's attendance at the synod, as their names do not appear either among the attendees or among the signatories; P. Varona, Ó. Prieto, *Three Clergymen against Nikephoros I. Remarks on Theophanes' Chronicle (AM 6295–6303)*, B 84, 2014, p. 493.

[66] For the hierarchy of the provinces of the diocese of Thrace, see R. Janin, *La hiérarchie ecclésiastique dans le diocèse de Thrace*, RÉB 17, 1959, p. 136–149.

at the Council. Of all the six former provinces of the diocese of Thrace, only southern Thrace was represented. Philippoupolis and Marcianoupolis had no representatives present at the Council's meetings. The Archbishopric of Tomis in Scythia Minor had already been lost for over a century[67]. However, the suffragan bishops of Haemimont were in attendance[68].

There is a story from the late seventeenth century, believed to have originated in a ninth-century source, regarding the Athonite Monastery Kastamonitou and focusing on both the Slavs as well as Vlachs from southern Macedonia. During the era of iconoclast emperors, families belonging to the tribes mentioned above got to Mount Athos, where they were introduced to Christianity by the monastery's monks[69]. It is recounted that they soon took the side of the iconoclast rulers, and the monks encountered a great deal of trouble from the iconomachs and barbarians. The story confirms the widely shared view that some of the Romanized Illyrians, Thracians and Macedonians retreated from the occupied regions into the mountains in order to avoid being assimilated by the occupants. They then engaged in animal husbandry (breeding sheep and mules in particular) and continued to speak Latin. However, their Latin evolved, resulting in the rise of Vlachs (between the tenth and the eleventh centuries), a group of people who spoke a number of distinct Romance dialects[70].

Some historians have maintained that Theophanes used the word frater, as it was a common Latin military term, a synonym of *commilito*[71]. The term "brother" also had Christian connotations, and it could thus be used as a common nomenclature by the local Latin-speaking Christians[72]. It is more likely, though, that Theophanes,

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[67] J. DARROUZÈS, *Listes épiscopales du concile de Nicée (787)*, RÉB 33, 1975, p. 11, 13; E. LAMBERTZ, *Die Bischofslisten des VII. Ökumenischen Konzils (Nicaenum II)*, München 2004, p. 18, 21, 22, 42, 45.

[68] J. DARROUZÈS, *Listes épiscopales*…, p. 54–55; E. LAMBERTZ, *Die Bischofslisten*…, p. 74–75.

[69] ПОРФИРИЙ УСПЕНСКИЙ, *История Афона*, vol. III, Київ 1877, p. 31. During that period the Byzantine administration managed to build two important churches in the region, trying in this way to strengthen the Balkan population's ties to the Byzantine state: the Saint Sophia Cathedral in Thessaloniki which probably began to be built by Constantine V but was finished under Empress Irene (by 790) and the Saint Sophia church at Vize (Thrace), which was at the time the northernmost Byzantine city. Its construction is dated by C. Mango to after 833; C. MANGO, *The Byzantine Church at Vize (Bizye) in Thrace and St. Mary the Younger*, ЗРВИ 10, 1968, p. 9–13. Dendrochronology has recently confirmed Mango's dating; R. OUSTERHOUT, *Reconstructing Ninth-Century Constantinople*, [in:] *Byzantium in the Ninth Century. Dead or Alive?*, ed. L. BRUBAKER, Hampshire 1998 [= SPBSP, 5], p. 127–128. Empress Irene also rebuilt Beroe (Stara Zagora) – the place where the *torna*, *torna*, *frater* episode happened – and renamed it Irenopolis; F. CURTA, *Southeastern Europe in the Middle Ages, 500–1250*, Cambridge 2006 [= CMT], p. 110.

[70] P.Ş. NĂSTUREL, *Les Valaques balcaniques aux X–XIII siècles. (Mouvements de population et colonisation dans la Romanie grecque et latine)*, BF 6, 1979, p. 89–112.

[71] IDEM, *Torna*, *torna*, *fratre*…, p. 184; H. MIHĂESCU, *Termes de commandement militaires*…, p. 269; B. BALDWIN, *Torna*, *torna*, *frater*…, p. 265. They mainly extended Franz Dölger's observations to this term; F. DÖLGER, *Die Familie der Könige im Mittelalter*, HJb 60, 1940, p. 410.

[72] A.-M. BURSUC, *De la latinul frater (REW) la protorom. */Fratr–e/ (DÉRom)*, D (New Series) 20.1, 2015, p. 31, 34.

who used the word and dramatized the scene in question, understood the term *frater* in its Greek usage. In Greek, φράτηρ designated specifically a member of a φράτρα, a clan, which was a subdivision of a φυλή, a tribe. It was also meant to convey a broader meaning of a "member of an ethnos" or simply a "citizen"[73]. This meaning related to clan seems to be in keeping with the view held by some scholars about the seventh-century Balkan population. It is believed that especially after succumbing to the Slavic invasions, it regressed to a society concentrated on hilltops and promontories, with groups coalescing in a tribal fashion around particular individuals[74]. According to the archaeological evidence, this situation did not improve during the seventh to tenth centuries[75].

In conclusion, one is not justified in considering the phrase τόρνα, τόρνα, φράτερ to be a sample of a sixth-century Balkan Romance idiom. This holds even more true for the phrase τόρνα, τόρνα, φράτρε (see the discussion of this form in the Appendix). The words were part of *sermo castrensis*, and there is not enough evidence to suggest that Aromanian form "toarnă" did not develop from *sermo castrensis* "torna" but emerged as a dialectal form of *retorna*/*detorna* by the sixth century already. Words from the Latin *tornare* evolved in all Romance languages, both Western and Eastern, with some of them manifesting unstressed vowel *o* reduction to *u*: Aragonese *tornar*, Aromanian *turnari*/indicative *tornu*, Asturian *tornar*, Catalan *tornar*, Dalmatian *tornuar*, Franco-Provençal *tornar*, French *tourner*, Friulian *tornâ*, Galician *tornar*, Istriot *turnà*, Istro-Romanian *turnå*, Italian *tornare*, Norman *touônner* (Jersey), Occitan *tornar*, Piedmontese *torné*, Portuguese *tornar*, Romanian *turna*/indicative *torn*, Romansch *turnar*, *turner*, *tuornar*,

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[73] *LSJ*, p. 1953, *s.v.* φράτρα.

[74] W. Bowden, *Epirus Vetus. The Archaeology of a Late Antique Province*, London 2003, p. 180. Some of the population took refuge in *kastra*, that is, in fortified settlements on hilltops that gradually replaced ancient *poleis*. For the settlement pattern of the Dark-Age Balkans, which can, to some extent, be compared to the Italian medieval *incastellamento*, see F. Curta, *Southeastern Europe in the Middle Ages*…, p. 100.

[75] M. Veikou, *Byzantine Epirus. A Topography of Transformation. Settlements of the Seventh-Twelfth Centuries in Southern Epirus and Aetoloacarnania*, *Greece*, Leiden–Boston 2012 [= MMe, 95], p. 307sqq. The process of integrating the Slavic tribes within the imperial administration was quite similar to that of (re)incorporating the Vlach ones within that administration – the *sclavinias* and the *vlachias*. Like Slavs' rulers, the Vlachs' *archon*, their clan leader, became an imperial official who had mainly military duties, but who also exercised some authority over civil jurisdiction; M. Cvetković, *The Slavs and Vlachs in the Byzantine System of Provincial Organization in the Southern Balkans until the 11th century. Similarities and Differences* (in Serbian), ЗРВИ 49, 2012, p. 19–41. Over time, the Vlachs will serve the empire as border guards; A. Madgearu, *Vlach Military Units in the Byzantine Army*, [in:] *Samuel's State and Byzantium. History*, *Legend*, *Tradition*, *Heritage. Proceedings of the International Symposium "Days of Justinian I", Skopje*, *14–18 October 2014*, ed. M.B. Panov, Skopje 2015, p. 47–55. However, certain forms of their self-organization as well as their constant, traditional resistance to attempts to assimilate them within the empire led the Byzantines to express negative views of the population; P. Lemerle, *Prolégomènes à une édition critique et commentée des "Conseils et récits" de Kekauménos*, Bruxelles 1960, p. 74; *O City of Byzantium. The Annals of Niketas Choniates*, ed. et trans. H.J. Magoulias, Detroit 1984 [= BTT], p. 205.

Sardinian *torràe*, *torrài*, *torrare*, Sicilian *turnari*, Spanish *tornar*, Venetian *tornar*, Walloon *tourner*, and Proto-West Germanic **turnēn* (with further descendants in English *turn*, Scots *turn*, and German *turnen*)[76]. The polysemous nature of the word *torna* cited in the two Byzantine texts, a singular second-person active imperative form derived from *torno*, *tornare*, bearing, in various lexical contexts, meanings such as "turn" (about, back, around), to the rear and "overturn" certainly existed in Vulgar Latin, as it was transmitted later on in the Romance languages and dialects. The carriers could have shouted the words possibly with distorted grammatical forms, as Theophylact's account suggests: *the utterance was incorrectly repeated… the word was distorted*.

One also needs to exercise caution in trying to date the phrase and determine the phrase's author. The figurative and classicizing language used by Theophylact was somewhat inconsistent with a plain annalistic chronicle, and Theophanes frequently rewrote his accounts. He also tried to enliven his own narrative with short passages of direct speech and inserted words that could only be inferred from the general sense of Theophylact's account but were not actually found in it[77]. The meaning of the text could, of course, be distorted, in the process of rewriting[78]. P. Yannopoulos has suggested that Theophanes was a rather passive compiler of the work prepared by George Syncellus and made little or no attempt to rewrite it. Consequently, the content should be attributed to Syncellus[79]. This, however, seems to be too far-reaching a conclusion. M. Whitby supports the view that the account of the Romans' night attack on the Avars, where the load on one of the baggage animals slipped, alerting the soldiers and causing both Roman and Avar troops to flee from each other, is indebted to another source (the Great Chronographer). According to Whitby, Theophanes's account is fuller than that of Theophylact[80], and it is unlikely that it would be based on the latter's vague version. It is thus reasonable to assume that both writers relied independently on a third source[81]. The noun φράτερ spelled in Latin and not Greek (cf. φράτηρ) shows that Theophanes almost certainly drew on a source different from Theophylact in writing this passage. Even though in Whitby's view *most of Theophanes' information and phraseology are taken over directly from his sources* […] [and] *Theophanes found the narrative style of the Great Chronographer more acceptable and so tended to preserve his language more closely*[82], in recounting this episode, he also gave details and parerga

[76] See *Romanisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch* (REW), ed. W. MEYER-LÜBKE, 1st ed., Bonn 1911, *s.v*. tornare, p. 666.
[77] M. WHITBY, *Theophanes' Chronicle Source*…, p. 314–315.
[78] *Ibidem*, p. 326 and n. 64.
[79] P. YANNOPOULOS, *Les vicissitudes historiques*…, p. 530–531.
[80] M. WHITBY, *Theophanes' Chronicle Source*…, p. 327–328.
[81] *Ibidem*, p. 328.
[82] IDEM, *The Great Chronographer*…, p. 9.

that are absent from Theophylact's account. This difference (although Simocatta's account is much more florid in style) is easy to explain. Theophanes failed to recognize *torna* as a military command and offered a misguided interpretation of it as a "flight". An attempt to resolve the issue in question is further complicated by the tendency of both Theophylact and Theophanes to engage in imaginative extrapolation from their sources. Insertions of fictive quotes by historians was – as Warren Treadgold puts it – a well-known practice. It was considered legitimate as long as the invented speech seemed plausible and consistent with "what actually happened"[83]. The phrase τόρνα, τόρνα, φράτερ reveals the features of a stylistic construction. This stylistic effort can be found in the repetition of the word *torna* first by the burden carrier and then by shouting soldiers. Both Theophylact and Theophanes, and probably also the source on which they drew, resorted to disguising information gaps through rhetorical discourse. Dramatizing events in a narrative manner was a way in which they tried to fill those documentary gaps[84].

Appendix

In his edition of Theophanes Confessor's *Chronicle* (1883), Carl de Boor mentions both forms, i.e. φράτρε and φράτερ, the former as a variant found in the manuscripts BnF. gr. 1711 p. 202, 11th cent. (see fig. 2) and Vat. gr. 978, f. 140v[85] (11th–12th cent.) and stemming from the now lost common source[86]. The early bilingual editions of the *Chronicle* by Jacopus Goar (1655) and Johannes Classen (1838), which are based mainly on BnF gr. 1711, contain the form φράτρε in the Greek text[87]. De Boor opted for φράτερ, which is found in most of the surviving manuscripts.

[83] W. Treadgold, *The Unwritten Rules for Writing Byzantine History*, [in:] *Proceedings of the 23rd International Congress of Byzantine Studies, Belgrade 22–27 August 2016. Plenary Papers*, ed. S. Marjanović-Dušanić, Belgrade 2016, p. 278, 292.

[84] See the rhetorical discourse used by Theophylact in sections where we find the tribune and the veteran addressing the troops of General Comentiolus, in Theophylact II, 13, 2–14 and 14, 1–12.

[85] I express my gratitude to Vladimir Agrigoroaiei from Centre d'Études Supérieures de Civilisation Médiévale, Poitiers, for verifying the phrase in the manuscript and for the valuable comments on this article.

[86] Theophanes, ed. C. De Boor, vol. I, p. 258. English edition, Theophanes, ed. C. Mango, R. Scott, p. XCVI, 381. A newer reconstruction of the manuscript tradition, at P. Yannopoulos, *Les vicissitudes historiques*…, p. 536sqq.

[87] *Theophanis Chronographia. Leonis Grammatici vitæ recentiorum Impp*., ed. R.P.J. Goar, Venetiis 1729, p. 173; *Theophanis Chronographia*, ed. J. Classen, Bonn 1838 [= *CSHB*], p. 397.

Some have even argued that φράτρε is simply a mistake made by one of the later copyists of Theophanes' *Chronicle*[88] and therefore must be ignored[89]. Indeed, in Vat gr. 978, a manuscript full of Latin marginal annotations, the phrase in question is accompanied by the following note: "NT. torna torna frater", which appears to be a later correction in chancellery Latin[90]. However, recent research conducted as part of the European project *Dictionnaire Étymologique Roman* (*DÉRom*) has demonstrated that in Romance languages the nominative/vocative singular "brother" has evolved from both Latin nominative/vocative singular *frater* and accusative *fratrem*. The Romance languages in the south-east of Europe evolved through distant dissimilation, while the others, more compact groups, including French, Old Spanish, and Old Italian, were not dissimilated and the root *fratre* remained visible[91]. The process of dissimilation began in the fourth-century Late Latin[92].

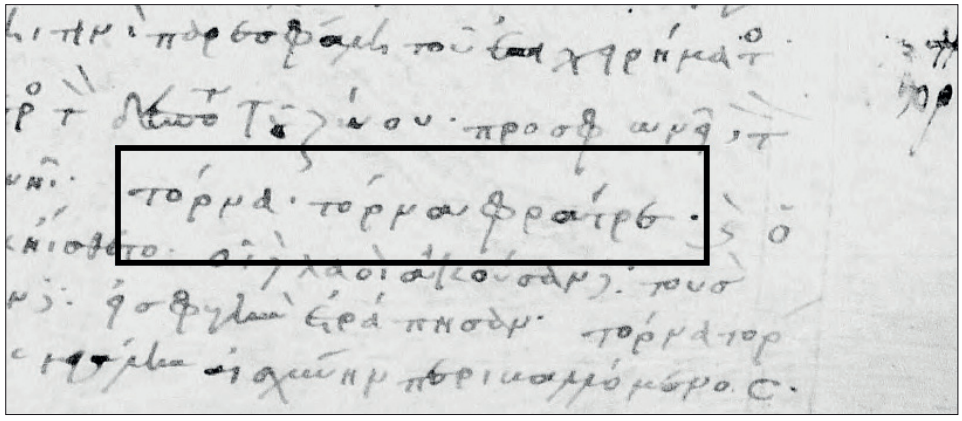

Fig. 2. BnF gr. 1711, p. 202 (photo source: Bibliothèque nationale de France).

[88] The alteration of the *Chronicle* at the hands of the copyists began as early as the mid-ninth century, when the text began to be widely popularized (post 843); THEOPHANES, ed. C. MANGO, R. SCOTT, Introduction, p. LXIV, XCVII–XCVIII.

[89] V. BARBU, *Vechi mărturii despre limba română*…, p. 145–147 (I thank Andrei Mirea from the "Nicolae Iorga" History Institute in Bucharest for bringing this article to my attention and for the discussions on the draft of this paper); P. ZUGUN, *Glose și comentarii la torna*, *retorna și fratre*, LR 60.2, 2011, p. 152–155.

[90] The manuscript contains additions by John Santamaura, a Cypriot familiar with Latin who was *scriptor graecus* at the Bibliotheca Vaticana in the late sixteenth century. However, the manuscript has many Latin annotations from different periods.

[91] *Dictionnaire Étymologique Roman (DÉRom)*, vol. I, *Genèse*, *méthodes et résultats*, ed. É. BUCHI, W. SCHWEICKARD, Berlin 2014, *s.v.* */'Φratr–e/ (A.-M. BURSUC et al.), p. 440–444; online at: http://www.atilf.fr/DERom/ [20 II 2023]. DÉRom replaces the outdated *Romanisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch* (REW), 1911 (*s.v.* frater, p. 260). See, discussion of the accusative hypothesis in A.-M. BURSUC, *De la latinul frater*…, p. 33.

[92] See the form "frate" (year 361 CE), in *CIL*, vol. VIII, *Inscriptiones Africae Latinae*, *Supplementum III. Inscriptiones Mauretaniae*, ed. T. MOMMSEN, Berlin 1904, p. 2061, no. 21728. Cf. *Dictionnaire Étymologique Roman (DÉRom)*, s. v. */'φrat-e/ s.m.

*/Φratr-e/ non-dissimilated type	/'Φrat-e/ dissimilated type
Logudorese Sardinian *fratre*	Campidanese Sardinian *fràde*
Vegliot Dalmatian *frutro*	Romanian *frate*
Old Italian *fratre*	Istroromanian *frâte*
Friulian *frari*	Meglenoromanian *frati*
Retoromanian *frar*	Aromanian *frate*
French *frère*	Istriot *fra*
Franco-Provençal *frare*	Italian *frate*
Occitan *fraire*	Ladin (Judeo-Spanish) *frè*
Gascon *frai*	Asturian *frade*
Old Catalan *frare*	Galician-Portuguese *frade*
Old Spanish *fradre*	
Spanish *frare*	

After *Dictionnaire Étymologique Roman (DÉRom)*, vol. I, *Genèse, méthodes et résultats*, ed. É. Buchi, W. Schweickard, Berlin 2014, p. 440–444, *s.v.* */'Φratr-e/ (A.-M. Bursuc et al.).

Φράτρε is found in two related manuscripts, Paris. gr. 1711 and Vat. gr. 978[93], and very likely did not exist originally in Theophanes' text. However, it is likely that the form *fratre* was actually in use at the time when the manuscript copies of the eleventh and the twelfth centuries were produced. *Fratre* looks to be a vestige of an eleventh-century Western Romance language, most probably early Italian. It is attested to in thirteenth-century Italian texts[94]. The eleventh-century copies of the Theophanes manuscript, BnF gr. 1711 and Vat. gr. 978, which contain the early Western Romance form φράτρε, add another layer to the story, testifying to language contacts between Byzantium and the Romance peoples in the era of their formation (the eighth to twelfth centuries)[95]. It can be seen that the Byzantines, who saw themselves as the true "Romans", separated the term (Romans) from the Latin language, linking the language with Western Romance speaking peoples whom they referred to as "Latins"[96]. The view that the form *fratre* was used

[93] P. Yannopoulos, *Les vicissitudes historiques*…, p. 536sqq.

[94] See *Tesoro della lingua italiana delle origini*, ed. P.G. Beltrami, L. Leonardi, Florence 1998, *s.v.* frate, http://tlio.ovi.cnr.it/TLIO/ [20 II 2023].

[95] The twelfth-century poet and grammarian, Joannes Tzetzes recounted some of his encounters with the "Latins" in the Byzantine capital and the conversation he held with them in the Latin of the times: *Bene venesti domine, bene venesti frater, unde es et de quale provincia venesti? Qomodo frater venesti in istan civitatem?*, H. Hunger, *Zum Epilog der Theogonie des Johannes Tzetzes*, BZ 46, 1953, p. 305; H. Kahane, R. Kahane, *The Western Impact on Byzantium: The Linguistic Evidence*, DOP 36, 1982, p. 150.

[96] More on this topic, at H. Hunger, *Graeculus perfidus – Italos itamos. Il senso dell'alterità nei rapporti Greco-romani ed italo-bizantini*, Rome 1987, p. 32–33, 40–42. I express my gratitude to

by contemporary Romance-speaking people scattered in former Thrace is highly questionable, since it can be assumed that by the eleventh century, the process of dissimilation, which began as early as the fourth century, would have generated the form *frate* in the Balkans. In the eleventh-century copies of the chronicle, in line with the Middle Byzantine perception of Latin language as characteristic of the West, the two terms noted by the copyists – who likely lacked a thorough understanding of Latin but were familiar with some Medieval Italian terms – became conflated with Italian itself. The two manuscripts necessitate a more detailed examination to further clarify their place of origin.

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The Clergy during the Fourth Crusade as Portrayed in Robert of Clari's Chronicle

Abstract. This article deals with the view of clerical participants in the Fourth Crusade found in Robert of Clari's Old-French chronicle *La conquête de Constantinople*. The author has analysed the chronicler's references to members of the clergy, specifying three different types of clergymen who took part in the expedition to Constantinople.

Keywords: clergy of the Fourth Crusade, Constantinople, Robert of Clari

Robert of Clari is among the authors who offered Old-French accounts of the Fourth Crusade, an event that resulted in the fall of Byzantium[1]. The redaction of Robert's chronicle was prepared in 1924 by the French medievalist and palaeographer, Philippe Lauer (1874–1953). Relying on Lauer's critical edition of the chronicle in question, I will analyse Robert's representation of the clergy who participated in the Crusade to Constantinople, just as I did with the chronicle by Geoffrey of Villehardouin[2].

The work by the Picardy crusader is of lesser literary and historical value than that of Villehardouin. Written from the perspective of a rank-and-file participant in the Crusade, Robert's chronicle seems quite spontaneous and sometimes

[1] Robert de Clari, *La conquête de Constantinople*, ed. Ph. Lauer, Paris 1924 (cetera: Robert de Clari); The work has been translated into a number of contemporary languages. For the bibliography of its editions, see Robert de Clari, *Zdobycie Konstantynopola*, trans. from Old French, praef. et comm. Z. Pentek, Poznań 2017, p. XXX–XXXI, there is also the list of the most important secondary literature, p. XXXI–XXXIII.

[2] Z. Pentek, *The Clergy during the Fourth Crusade as Portrayed in Geoffrey de Villehardouin's Chronicle*, SCer 13, 2023, p. 643–641.

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chaotic. It can be viewed as a somewhat naïve account by a man who found himself thrown into the midst of a religious war in which the traditional infidels were replaced by the Christians of Byzantium. However, the unusual position he had been put in did not prevent him from persuading himself that he was participating in a just war.

Although the chronicler did not devote as much attention to the Crusade's clerical participants as Villehardouin did, he also gave them some space in his work. (His account regarding the clergy is limited probably because he himself had limited access to the information regarding the events that took place in the course of the Crusade).

However, the number of clergymen whom Robert of Clari mentioned in his chronicle is quite similar to that mentioned by Villehardouin. The latter made references to nine members of the clergy who participated in the Crusade (not all of whom are mentioned by name), excluding Pope Innocent III, and the propagator of the Crusade, Fulk of Neuilly. Robert of Clari, in turn, mentioned eight clergymen (with the pope and Fulk excluded).

The first clergyman to appear in Robert's account is Pope Innocent III (sec. I, XIV, XV, LXV). Taking no direct part in the expedition, the pope is known to have been paying close attention to the actions carried out by the crusaders. His role as head of the Church is clearly underlined in the preface to the chronicle and he is occasionally mentioned further on in the text. References to the remaining members of the clergy in question start with those to **Fulk of Neuilly** whom Robert of Clari portrays as the most ardent proponent of the Crusade and whom he views as his master, providing a number of biographical details from his life: *maistres Foukes avoit a non*, *qui estoit de Neulli*, *une parroisse qui est en l'evesquié de Paris*[3]. The chronicler means here Neuilly-sur-Seine located north-west of Paris[4]. The account of Fulk's attitude is filled with references to qualities typical of a warrior and a priest (*Ichis prestres estoit molt preudons et molt boins clercs*). Fulk is also presented as an itinerant apostle travelling with a cross (*et aloit preeschant par les teres des crois*) who attracted crowds of men seduced by his words. Robert is thus led to conclude that God made numerous wonders through Fulk's valour: […] *estoit si preudons que Damediex faisoit molt grans miracles pour lui*. These wonders were estimated to be of quite a tangible value ([…] *et molt conquist chis prestres d'avoir a porter en la sainte tere d'outre mer*), as tangible as to become a substantial contribution to an expedition to Palestine. The chronicler returned to Fulk after presenting the most distinguished knights. It was because of his unexpected death during the organization of the Crusade that Fulk reappeared in Robert's account. Unaware of when Fulk died, the chronicler linked his death with

[3] Robert de Clari, sec. I.

[4] Fulk came from Neuilly near Paris. He was an itinerant preacher, as also confirmed by Geoffroy de Villehardouin, *La conquête de Constantinople*, vol. I–II, ed. E. Faral, Paris 1938–1939, sec. I.

that of Count Tibald of Champagne, who passed away on 24 May 1201[5]. Thus, the phrase that appears in Chapter III regarding sorrow and sadness arising from someone's death pertains to both men: […] *leur sires*, *fu mort*, *et maistres Foukes ausi*, *si en furent molt dolent et molt corchié*. *et molt esmari* […][6]. The qualities of a warrior and a priest are also mentioned in relation to other clergymen to whom Robert referred elsewhere in his work.

The group of clergymen going on the Crusade and mentioned in Robert's chronicle included dignitaries wearing episcopal and abbatial robes, some of whom remain anonymous. The first among them to be identified by name is **Nivelon of Cherisi** (diceased in 1207), the bishop of Soissions (1175–1207)[7], whom Robert of Clari mentioned four times (chapters: I, LXXIII, LXXIV, XCV), ascribing to him (just as he did to Fulk) qualities of a warrior: […] *qui molt y fu preudons et vallans en tous commans et en tout besoins* […][8]. It seems that the chronicler was witness to Nivelon's sermon (on Sunday, 11 April 1204) in the course of which the clergyman, accompanied by others, cheered those gathered on to attack Constantinople, justifying the idea of fighting against the Greeks, who were […] *traiteur et mordrisseuur et qu'il estoient desloial* […]. Then, even more abusive words followed: […] *quant il avoient leur seigneur droiturier mordi*, *et qt'il estoient pieur que Juis*[9]. As a way of lending credence to these words, crusaders were granted absolution. It was supposed to make them feel no fear in attacking the Greeks, the enemies of God. Some conditions were also customarily attached to it. The soldiers were ordered to confess their sins and to accept holy communion: *Et disent li vesque qu'il assoloient de par Dieu et de par l'apostoile tous chiaus qui les asaurroient*, *et quemandarent li vesque as pelerins qu'il se confessaissent et kermeniaissent tout molt bien*, *et qu'il ne doutaissent mie a assalir les Grieus*, *car il estoient enemi Damedieu*[10]. This appears to have been a reaction to the sins that had already been committed by the pilgrims, as Robert revealed in the conclusion of this sequence of events that *toutes les foles femmes de l'ost* were forced to leave[11], meaning that the troops were separated from the prostitutes who were plying their trade in the camp. In describing the tensions and disagreements that arose in the course of organizing the election of a new Latin emperor, Robert indicated that in view of the impasse

[5] For a discussion of the date of Tibald's death, see Z. Pentek, *Geoffroy de Villehardouin*. *Rycerz i kronikarz IV wyprawy krzyżowej*, Poznań 1996, p. 94, 289.

[6] Robert de Clari, sec. III.

[7] *Hierarchia catholica medii aevi*, vol. I, ed. C. Eubel, Monasterium 1913, p. 493 [cetera: *Hierarchia catholica*]; P. Gams, *Series episcoporum Ecclesiae catholicae*, Graz 1957, p. 633, 9 VIII 1175 – 14 IX 1207 [cetera: Gams]; J. Longnon, *Les compagnons de Villehardouin*. *Recherches sur les croisés de la quatrième croisade*, Genève 1978, p. 115–116.

[8] Robert de Clari, sec. I.

[9] Robert de Clari, sec. LXXIII. The sermon is also confirmed by Robert de Clari, sec. LXXIV.

[10] Robert de Clari, sec. LXXIII.

[11] Robert de Clari, sec. LXXIII.

regarding the selection of electors from the camp of the lords who did not represent the Venetians, it was approved to entrust the task of carrying out the election to bishops and abbots[12]. Unfortunately, Robert provided no details about the group of the clerical electors; he focused only on Nivelon who was in fact a leading figure in this group. His key position was made clear in the next chapter in which the chronicler cast him in the role of representing the electoral college announcing the outcome of the debate: *Si comme il estoient si coi*, *si se leva li vesques de Sessons em pié* […][13]. There is no doubt that Nivelon participated in the imperial coronation of Baldwin I (1204–1205), but there is no mention of his presence at the enthronement in Robert's chronicle.

Another bishop mentioned by Robert of Clari in his chronicle is **Garnier** (1149–1205), the bishop of Troyes: […] *et li vesques Warniers de Troyes* […][14]. The chronicler refers to him in the account of a skirmish between Alexios V Doukas and Henry of Flanders, which took place near Constantinople, at the beginning of February, 1204. Although Alexios later maintained that he emerged victorious from this engagement, he actually suffered a humiliating defeat and lost Hodegetria[15]. Robert claimed that the icon ended up in the hands of the bishop of Troyes ([…] *et balla on au vesque de Troies*[16]) who was asked to hide it in a church: *si l'emporta li vesques en l'ost*, *a une eglise ou il repairoent*, *et canterent li vesque*, *et fisent ent molt grant feste*, *et tres chu jour qu'ele fu conquise*, *otrierent tout li baron que ele seroit donnée s Chistiax*, *et puis i fu ele portee*[17]. The bishop was also one of the participants in the aforementioned sermon delivered on 11 April 1204[18].

The third bishop who took part in the expedition was, according to the chronicler, **Conrad of Krosigk** (deceased on 21 June 1225), the bishop of Halberstadt (1201–1209). In August of 1202, Conrad joined the crusaders in Venice, which may be why Robert did not know much about him[19]. At that time, the chronicler

[12] Robert de Clari, sec. XCIV.

[13] Robert de Clari, sec. XCV.

[14] Robert de Clari, sec. I; J. Longnon, *Les compagnons*…, p. 13–15.

[15] This fact is attested to by V. sec. 226–228; *Chronica Albrici Monachi Trium Fontium*, ed. L. Weiland, Hannover 1874 [= *MGH.SS*, 23], p. 833, v. 13–24; *Nicetae Choniatae Historia*, rec. I.A. van Dieten, Berolini–Novi Eboraci 1971, p. 567.

[16] Robert de Clari, sec. LXVI.

[17] Robert de Clari, sec. LXVI. Worth noting here is a still important article P. de Riant, *Des dépouilles religieuses enlevées à Constantinople au XIII^e siècle par les Latins et documents historiques nés le leur transport en Orient*, MSNAF sér. IV, 6, 1875, especially p. 41–42, 190–191, but there is no evidence to argue that it was brought to Cîteaux, where no relic stolen in Constantinople was found. For information regarding the relics collected by the bishop Nivelon during the expedition to Constantinople, see *Exuviae sacrae Constantinopolitanae. Fasciculus documentorum minorum ad Byzantina Lipsana in Occidentem saeculo XIII^o translata, spectantium et historiam quarti belli sacri imperiique gallo-graeci illustrantium*, vol. I, ed. P. de Riant, Genevae 1877, p. 6–8 (Anonymi Suessionensis' account) [cetera: Riant, *Exuviae*].

[18] Robert de Clari, sec. LXXIII.

[19] D.E. Queller, *The Fourth Crusade. Conquest of Constantinople 1201–1204*, Philadelphia 1977, p. 11, claimed that it had taken place on 29 June 1202, although Anonymous of Halberstadt re-

was staying with other pilgrims on the island of St. Nicholas in Lido. The bishop of Halberstadt is mentioned twice in the chronicle, but not by name, which suggests that it must have been unknown to the chronicler. He first appears in the list of the crusaders in Chapter I (*et li vesques de Hanetaist en Alemaingne* […][20]) and then once more in Chapter 73 (*li veskes de Hanestaist*[21]).

Robert had some trouble dealing with **John of Noyon** (deceased in 1204). A clerk and chancellor to Baldwin, Count of Flanders (*maistres Jehans de Noion*[22]), John held the position of the bishop of Acre (*qui estoit eslis a cestre evesques d'Acre*), a fact reported by the chronicler. In Chapter 73, however, he is referred to as John of Faicete, which is consistent with the findings of Charles du Cange[23].

Among the abbots appearing in Robert's chronicle is Simon (not mentioned by name), a Cistercian from Loos, located near Lille in the north of France (*Et si y fu li abbes de Los en Flandres*, *qui estoit de maisons de l'ordre de Chistiax*). In a way typical of the literary scheme that Robert followed in characterizing other clergymen, Simon was ascribed qualities of wisdom and bravery (*ichis abbes estoit molt sages hons et molt preudons*)[24]. He is also reported to have been among the contributors to the sermon delivered by Nivelon on 11 April 1204. Referring to the abbot's participation in the sermon was supposed to lend credence to Robert's account and to emphasise the gravity of the situation described[25].

As one of the subjects of the lords of Amiens, Robert found himself obliged to mention **Thomas** – a brother of Peter of Amiens (deceased in 1204). As a clerk and canon of Amiens, Thomas joined the Crusade along with Robert (*et Thumas*, *uns clers*, *ses freres*, *qui canoines estotit d'Amiens*[26]).

In addition to the clergymen mentioned above, Robert's chronicle enumerates a number of prominent brothers of Boves, three of whom are mentioned by name, while the fourth, a clergyman, remains anonymous (*et uns clers leur freres*[27]).

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ported that it had happened on 13 August 1202 – *Gesta episcoporum Halberstadensium*, ed. L. Weiland, Leipzig 1925 [= *MGH.SS*, 23], p. 116. In the second edition of this book: D.E. Queller, Th. Madden, *The Fourth Crusade. Conquest of Constantinople*, 2nd ed., Philadelphia 1997, p. 50, the authors revised their previous views. On Conrad's life and career see the article by A. Andrea, *Conrad of Krosigk. Bishop of Halberstadt, Crusader and Monk of Sittichenbach his Ecclesiastical Career, 1184–1225*, ACi 43, 1987, p. 11–91; HC, vol. I, p. 270; J. Longnon, *Les compagnons…*, p. 242–243.

[20] Robert de Clari, sec. I.

[21] Robert de Clari, sec. LXXIII.

[22] Robert de Clari, sec. I; B. Hendrickx, *Les institutions de l'Empire Latin de Constantinople (1204–1261). La chancellerie*, AClas 19, 1976, p. 123–131. *Hierarchia catholica*, vol. I, p. 68; Gams, p. 434.

[23] Robert de Clari, sec. LXXIII; Ch. Du Cange, *Les familles d'Outre-Mer*, Paris 1869, p. 779, which is confirmed by Gunther's account: *magister Johannes Parisiensis homo francigena*, *nobiliter eruditus et sermone affabilis* – Riant, *Exuviae*, vol. I, p. 74; J. Longnon, *Les compagnons…*, p. 165–166.

[24] Robert de Clari, sec. I; J. Longnon, *Les compagnons…*, p. 165.

[25] Robert de Clari, sec. LXXIII.

[26] Robert de Clari, sec. I; J. Longnon, *Les compagnons…*, p. 204.

[27] Robert de Clari, sec. I.J. Longnon, *Les compagnons…*, does not mention this character.

The chronicler did not miss the chance to mention his younger brother, **Alaum** (Aleaumes de Clari), a clerk who also decided to embark on the Crusade. It cannot be ruled out that Alaum provided Robert with information regarding those (not only clergymen) who took part in the expedition to Constantinople. The chronicler offered a detailed description of his brother (*Aleaumes de Clari en Aminois li clers*, *qui molt y fu preus et molt y fist de hardement et de proesches* […][28]), endowing him with qualities expected more of a knight (bravery, pride, boldness) than of a clergyman. In giving an account of the second assault on the city, which took place in April of 1204, Robert highlighted his brother's exceptional bravery, juxtaposing his deeds with those of the knight, Peter of Bracheux. According to the chronicler, Alaum did not hesitate to risk his life, displaying great courage in all of the storms of Constantinople, especially during the capture of the tower of Galata: […] *un clerc*, *Aliaume* [sic] *de Clari avoit a non* [sic], *qui si estoit preus en tous besoins que ch'estoit li premiers a tous les assaus ou il estoit*, *et a le tor de Galatha prendre fist chis clers plus de proeches par sen cors*, *un pour un*, *que tout chil de l'ost*, *fors seigneur Pierron de Braiechioel*[29]. In the account devoted to Alaum, the chronicler also referred to his own involvement in the fighting, mentioning the admonitions he gave to his brother, who was itching to throw himself into battle:

> Quant Aliaumes [sic] li clers vit que nus n'i osoit entrer, si sali avant et dist qu'il i enterrroit. Si avoit illuec un chevalier, un sien frere, Robers de Clari avoit a non [sic], qui li desfendi et qui dist qu'il n'i enterrroit mie; et li clers dist que si feroit, si se met ens a piés et a mains; et quant ses freres vit chou, si le prent par le pié, si commenche a sakier a lui, et tant que maugré sen frere, vausist ou ne dengnast, que li clers i entra. […] Quant li clers vit chou, si sake le coutel, si leur keurt sus, si les faisoit aussi fuir devant lui comme beste.[30]

In Robert's opinion, the impetuosity, courage, and determination displayed by Alaum were worthy of great admiration, hence all the praise that he lavished on his brother's conduct. However, Alaum was a clergyman, not a secular pilgrim. The chronicler last referred to him in his account of the division of the spoils from the plunder of Constantinople. We are told that Alaum demanded as great a share of the spoils as the other knights because he fought on horseback just like they did and was wearing chainmail armour. It is reported that Hugo, Count of Saint-Pol, testified to Alaum's heroic deeds[31].

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[28] Robert de Clari, sec. I.
[29] Robert de Clari, sec. LXXV.
[30] Robert de Clari, sec. LXXVI.
[31] Robert de Clari, sec. XCVIII.

Robert decided to devote the entire chapter to an account of his brother's bravery due to his indignation that the share of the spoils set aside for his brother was only half that given to the other knights. Only after the intervention of another significant participant in the Crusade, Hugo, Count of Saint-Pol, was Alaum allotted the same share of the spoils as the rest of the knightly crusaders (*La si desraisna li clers que li clerc partiroient tout aussi comme li chevalier*[32]).

Conclusions

The account by Robert of Clari can be taken to supplement that by Villehardouin. Similarly to the latter, Robert offered only an outline of the clergymen's participation in the Fourth Crusade. He presented it as forming the religious and moral backbone of the expedition. Such a perspective certainly arose from his pious attitude, which bordered on an unreflective naivety. It is interesting to note that the small number of clergymen who took part in the Crusade were schematically endowed with qualities typical of warriors. Except for Alaum, all the other clergymen – especially the bishops and abbots – must have been viewed by the chronicler as distant figures. Consequently, he ascribed to them traits which they were expected to possess, but did not actually have. Robert's focus was only on those clergymen who were known to all, including to other crusaders. His knowledge of the roles they played apparently went no further than the account offered in his chronicle. Unlike Villerhardouin, he provided no information regarding the dilemma that arose among the clergy in connection with the expedition's change of direction. Robert's account can be juxtaposed with the meaning of sermons delivered on the eve of important events, a meaning well-reflected in Villerhardouin's account. The picture of clerical participants in the Crusade to Constantinople, as created by Robert of Clari, can thus be argued as vague and encumbered by the idea of their qualities that seem inconsistent with reality. He set out on the Crusade holding this view of the clergy, and he gave expression to it in his account of it.

Translated by Artur Mękarski

[32] Robert de Clari, sec. XCVIII.

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Imagining One's Own Infidel: Balkan *Dhimmī* Christians in Ottoman Historical Writing until 1600*

Abstract. Non-Muslim *dhimmī*s, i.e. Christians and Jews, were an integral part of Ottoman society but left a negligible – and so far, largely neglected – trace in Ottoman (Muslim) historical writing of the fifteenth and the sixteenth centuries. While seeking to explain this phenomenon, the present paper analyzes the few identified historical accounts of Balkan Christians in the light of their authors' personal backgrounds, ideological positions, and narrative strategies. It argues that there was no real historiographic discourse on the role of local Christians in the formation and functioning of the Ottoman state and society. Historians' occasional interest in the topic was based on subjective factors such as greater access to relevant information or a penchant for thematic experimentation, with only a couple of accounts serving more pronounced didactic or ideological goals. The narratives primarily concern the utility and involvement of militarized Christian groups such as *voynuq*s and *martolos*es in Ottoman warfare, but some more abstract as well as visual representations are also discussed in the paper.

Keywords: Balkan Christians, *dhimmī*s, Ottoman historical writing, Ottoman warfare, *voynuq*s, *martolos*es

1. Introduction

The debate on the role of non-Muslim peoples and institutions in the rise of the Ottoman Empire is at least as old as modern Ottoman studies and has been without doubt shaped by the predominant or competing trends in historiography, politics, and ideology. In the early twentieth century, Herbert Gibbons

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stressed on Byzantine-Ottoman continuity and the contribution of ex-Christian converts, before next generation scholars like Mehmed Fuad Köprülü and Paul Wittek shifted the focus towards Turkic and Islamic traditions in Ottoman state building, respectively[1]. While more recent research has hardly reached a consensus, it is by now safe to argue that Turco-Mongol (Seljuk as well as Ilkhanid) and Muslim legacies were central to the formation of the Ottoman state and its ideology, but its great political success from the fourteenth through the sixteenth centuries owed much to its ability to exploit local traditions and resources in the form of demography, knowhow, legitimation strategies, etc.[2] Meanwhile, explorations into the "image of the other" in the Ottoman context have accumulated a significant body of literature themselves, but have been largely confined to the mutual perceptions of "external others" by focusing on foreigners' views of the "Ottomans" and vice versa[3]. The rare exceptions include some studies on the attitudes of the

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[1] See the discussion in C. KAFADAR, *Between Two Worlds. The Construction of the Ottoman State*, Berkley 1995, Chapter 1 (p. 29–59).

[2] See, among others, H. İNALCIK, *Ottoman Methods of Conquest*, StI 2, 1954, p. 103–129; IDEM, *The Problem of the Relationship between Byzantine and Ottoman Taxation*, [in:] *Akten des XI. Internationalen Byzantinistenkongresses, München 1958*, ed. F. DÖLGER, H.G. BECK, München 1960, p. 237–242; B. CVETKOVA, *Influence exercée par certaines institutions de Byzance et des Balkans du Moyen Age sur le système féodal ottoman*, BBg 1, 1962, p. 237–257; С.Ф. ОРЕШКОВА, *Византия и Османская империя: проблемы преемственности*, [in:] *Византия между Западом и Востоком. Опыт исторической характеристики*, ed. Г.Г. Литаврин, Санкт-Петербург 1999, p. 478–494; H. LOWRY, *The Nature of the Early Ottoman State*, Albany 2003; L.T. DARLING, *The Development of Ottoman Governmental Institutions in the Fourteenth Century. A Reconstruction*, [in:] *Living in the Ottoman Ecumenical Community. Essays in Honour of Suraiya Faroqhi*, ed. M. KOLLER, V. COSTANTINI, Leiden 2008 [= OEH, 39], p. 15–34; D.A. KOROBEINIKOV, *How 'Byzantine' were the early Ottomans? Bithynia in ca. 1290–1450*, [in:] *Османский мир и османистика. Сборник статей к 100-летию со дня рождения А.С. Тверитиновой (1910–1973)*, ed. И.В. Зайцев, С.Ф. Орешкова, Москва 2010, p. 215–239; D. KOŁODZIEJCZYK, *Khan, Caliph, Tsar and Imperator: the Multiple Identities of the Ottoman Sultan*, [in:] *Universal Empire. A Comparative Approach to Imperial Culture and Representation in Eurasian History*, ed. P.F. BANG, D. KOŁODZIEJCZYK, Cambridge 2012, p. 175–193.

[3] See, e.g., *Europa und die Türken in der Renaissance*, ed. B. GUTHMÜLLER, W. KÜHLMANN, Tübingen 2000; A. PIPPIDI, *Visions of the Ottoman World in Renaissance Europe*, London 2012; B. LEWIS, *The Muslim Discovery of Europe*, New York 1982; S. FARQOHI, *The Ottoman Empire and the World around it*, London 2004, esp. chap. 8, p. 179–210; M. KALICIN, *The Image of the "Other" in 15th–16th Century Ottoman Narrative Literature*, EB 30.1, 1994, p. 22–27; М. Йонов, *Европа отново открива българите: XV–XVIII век*, София 1980. See also *European Perception of the Ottomans*, ed. I. BELLER-HANN, K. FLEET, special issue of JMS 5.2, 1995.

Empire's Christian subjects towards the state and the "Turks"[4] as well as on particular authors – most notably, the famous seventeenth-century traveler Evliyā Chelebi[5] – and aspects such as the notion of *alterophobia* within Ottoman society[6].

Even more limited is research specifically focused on the image of local non-Muslims in Ottoman historical writing, once again dealing with particular historians or events[7]. Indeed, on the face of it, such an image was almost non-existent in fifteenth and sixteenth-century historiography. This fact, while worth of an explanation itself, makes it possible to provide a relatively comprehensive overview of the few relevant accounts. The focus on historical writing, on the other hand, is aimed at revealing how varying authors conceptualized the place of non-Muslims in Ottoman society and their role in Ottoman history. The paper thus seeks answers to the following research questions, among others: How did Ottoman historical narratives portray Balkan Christians, and why did some historians pay more attention to this topic than others? How and why did their attitudes towards the sociopolitical roles of *dhimmī*s differ, and can we identify particular patterns and trends? What do we learn from this evidence about the functioning of Ottoman society and Christian-Muslim relations?

Methodologically, the first step is the text-critical survey of the available evidence, which allows for subjecting it to both synchronic and diachronic analysis, i.e. the collation of independent contemporary accounts of one and the same event and tracking the developments of particular accounts over time, respectively[8].

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[4] I. Dujčev, *La conquête turque et la prise de Constantinople dans la littérature slave contemporaine*, Bsl 14, 1953, p. 14–54; 16.2, 1955, p. 318–329; 17.2, 1956, p. 276–340; V. Kacunov, *On the Ethnic Self-Consciousness of the Bulgarians during the 15th–17th Century*, BHR 24.2, 1996, p. 3–24, see esp. p. 18–23; R. Gradeva, *Turks and Bulgarians*, *Fourteenth to Eighteenth Centuries*, JMS 5.2, 1995, p. 173–187; idem, *Turks in Eighteenth-Century Bulgarian Literature: Historical Roots of Present-Day Attitudes in Bulgaria*, ELe 1.2, 1996, p. 421–426; Р. Градева, *Турците в българската книжнина, XV–XVIII век*, [in:] *Балкански идентичности в българската култура от модерната епоха*, vol. I, ed. Н. Аретов, Н. Черкокожев, София 2001, p. 112–134; K. Petrovszky, *Geschichte schreiben im osmanischen Südosteuropa. Eine Kulturgeschichte orthodoxer Historiographie des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts*, Wiesbaden 2014, p. 116–170; K. Nikolovska, *Tsar or Son of Perdition. South Slavic Representations of Ottoman Imperial Authority in Church Slavonic Paratextual Accounts (1466–1710)*, RESEE 54.1–4, 2016, p. 71–86.

[5] S. Faroqhi, *Istanbul and Crete in the Mid-1600s: Evliya Çelebi's Discourse on Non-Muslims*, MHJ 22.2, 2019, p. 321–342.

[6] *Disliking Others. Loathing, Hostility, and Distrust in Premodern Ottoman Lands*, ed. H.T. Karateke, H.E. Çıpa, H. Anetshofer, Boston 2018.

[7] J. Schmidt, *Pure Water for Thirsty Muslims. A Study of Muṣṭafā ʿĀlī of Gallipoli's Künhü l-aḫbār*, Leiden 1991, p. 138–142. On relevant research concerning the events of the late 17th century, see fn. 123–124 below.

[8] The text-critical analysis of Ottoman historical writings, particularly those of the fifteenth and the early sixteenth centuries, is unthinkable without due consideration of the critical editions and studies published by a generation of scholars between roughly the 1920s and the 1950s. For a key recapitulation, reconsideration, and upgrade of their work, see V.L. Ménage, *A Survey of the Early*

Whether accounts were unique to a particular work or became part of a textual tradition, each version is explored against the background of its specific historical context and authorship. The historians are viewed, in the first place, as individuals with particular educational, career, and social backgrounds as well as, respectively, as representatives of different professional, political, and social groups with their collective views on state, authority, and social order. Thus, although the factual substance of the narratives cannot be left out of consideration, the focus here rather falls on their intended messages or the sociopolitical views that they reflect. These are evaluated against the background of the authors' narrative strategies and, more broadly, of their positions within the ideological spectrum of Ottoman society. In this regard, the study draws on a number of in-depth intellectual biographies of influential Ottoman historians from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries like ʿĀshıqpashazāde, Idrīs Bitlīsī, and Muṣṭafā ʿĀlī[9]. A useful theoretical template is provided by the concepts of *Lebenswelt* – i.e. "lifeworld" or, broadly speaking, the realm of lived experience of a particular group defining the stock of knowledge and the interpretative patterns of its members – as well as "collective identity" and "mentality" as applied by Şevket Küçükhüseyin to narratives of the self and the other (Christians included) in late Seljuk, Ilkhanid, and early Ottoman Anatolia[10].

A few remarks are due here on the thematic confines of the current study. Despite some welcome recent arguments for a more inclusive understanding of "Ottoman historiography" that would also accommodate non-Muslim historical accounts composed in the Empire[11], the very conception of this research limits its focus to the works of Muslim authors. Meanwhile, the notion of "historiography" – difficult as it is to apply it to pre-modern realities in any strictly defined manner – is taken here in its narrow sense excluding related genres such as hagiography and popular tales (*menāqıb*) despite their obvious intertextuality with some historical narratives (*tevārīkh*). The study still covers a wide range of works

Ottoman Histories, with Studies on their Textual Problems and their Sources, vol. I–II, PhD diss., Univ. of London, 1961.

[9] C. FLEISCHER, *Bureaucrat and Intellectual in the Ottoman Empire. The Historian Mustafa Âli (1541–1600)*, Princeton 1986; C. MARKIEWICZ, *The Crisis of Kingship in Late Medieval Islam. Persian Emigres and the Making of Ottoman Sovereignty*, Cambridge 2019; L. ÖZDEMIR, *Ottoman History through the Eyes of Aşıkpaşazade*, Istanbul 2013.

[10] Ş. KÜÇÜKHÜSEYİN, *Selbst- und Fremdwahrnehmung im Prozess kultureller Transformation. Anatolische Quellen über Muslime, Christen und Türken (13.–15. Jahrhundert)*, Wien 2011 [= SKAW.PHK, 825], esp. p. 11–43, 381–411. A similar approach based on the concept of "interpretative communities" has been applied by T. Krstic in her study of narratives of conversion in the Ottoman setting: T. KRSTIĆ, *Contested Conversions to Islam. Narratives of Religious Change in the Early Modern Ottoman Empire*, Stanford, CA 2011, p. 27–28 and *passim*.

[11] B. TEZCAN, *Ottoman Historical Writing*, [in:] *The Oxford History of Historical Writing*, vol. III, *1400–1800*, ed. J. REBASA *et al.*, New York 2012, p. 192–211; A. KALDELLIS, *A New Herodotos. Laonikos Chalkokondyles on the Ottoman Empire, the Fall of Byzantium, and the Emergence of the West*, Washington, D.C. 2014 [= Suppl. to DOML, 33–34], p. 126–147.

in Ottoman Turkish and Persian such as universal and dynastic histories as well as "holy war accounts" (*ghazavātnāme*s) dealing with the reigns or military campaigns of particular rulers[12]. The choice of narratives is determined by the identified accounts of Balkan Christians, which may admittedly not exhaust all the available material[13]. Nevertheless, in terms of their authors' backgrounds, perspectives, and positions vis-à-vis the court, they are diverse enough to be considered representative for the attitudes of a significant portion of Ottoman Muslim society or at least – as far as the relationship between text and audience is not always obvious – of its literate elite.

Finally, it should be noted that the more numerous occasions when non-Muslims appear in accounts of Ottoman conquests in the Balkans generally remain outside of the scope of the study[14]. In such a context, it is usually difficult to differentiate between the position of "infidels" as belonging to the Abode of War (*dār al-ḥarb*) or the Abode of Islam (*dār al-islām*). The focus here falls on those who ultimately became part of the latter. In order to understand the social and political roles attributed to them in historical narratives, it is necessary to first outline their formal status within the Ottoman state and, hence, the norms that shaped the partially shared *Lebenswelt* of Ottoman Muslims and Christians.

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[12] Arabic was rarely used in Ottoman historical writing of this period, especially when it comes to Ottoman history per se. The works of Qaramānī Meḥmed Pasha (d. 886/1481) and Muṣṭafā Jenābī (d. 999/1590–1591) are noteworthy exceptions.

[13] Already in 1927, Franz Babinger listed more than one hundred (Muslim) "historians of the Ottomans" who wrote in the fifteenth and the sixteenth centuries: F. Babinger, *Die Geschichtsschreiber der Osmanen und ihre Werke*, Leipzig 1927. I am far from having examined all these historical writings – many of them still unpublished or only known by their titles – and I may have overlooked some relevant evidence in the texts that I have studied (some of them also available in manuscript only). Some subperiods like the mid-sixteenth century – with notable historians such as Maṭrāqchī Naṣūḥ (d. 971/1564), Jelālzāde Muṣṭafā (d. 975/1567), and Ramaḍānzāde (d. 979/1571) – and geographies like the Southern Balkans are hardly represented in the accounts discussed here.

[14] For relevant studies touching upon some aspects of *imagology*, see, e.g., P. Wittek, *The Taking of the Aydos Castle: A Ghazi Legend and its Transformation*, [in:] *Arabic and Islamic Studies in Honor of Hamilton A.R. Gibb*, ed. G. Makdisi, Leiden 1965, p. 662–672; M. Kalicin, *The Image of the "Other"…*; C. Kafadar, *Between Two Worlds…*; K. Moutafova, *On the Problem of the Ottoman Methods of Conquest (According to Neşri and Sultan Murad's Gazavatname)*, EB 31.2, 1995, p. 64–81; H. Çolak, *Tekfur, fasiliyus and kayser: Disdain, Negligence and Appropriation of Byzantine Imperial Titulature in the Ottoman World*, [in:] *Frontiers of the Ottoman Imagination. Studies in Honour of Rhoads Murphey*, ed. M. Hadjianastasis, Leiden 2015, p. 5–28; A. Gheorghe, *Zerstörung und Umwandlung von Kirchen zu Moscheen in der frühosmanischen Geschichtsschreibung (XV. Jh.). Eine selective Quellenevaluation*, REcS 8.2, 2016, p. 271–307; В. Обрешков, *Ранните османски хроники. Културно-исторически коментар (Ахмеди, Шюкруллах, Оруч, Ашъкпашазаде, Анонимните хроники)*, София 2009; idem, *Анонимният каталонски автор и неговата Història de Jacob Xalabín (История на Якуб Челеби)*, София 2022, p. 168–201 (and other works cited there regarding the Battle of Kosovo in 1389); Д. Русев, *Сведенията на Енвери за Кера Тамара и хронологията на нейния брак с Мурад I*, BMd 12, 2021, p. 67–107.

2. Non-Muslims in Ottoman society: Legal framework and administrative practice

The coordinates of non-Muslims' place in Ottoman society were set in the main pillars of the Ottoman legal system: Islamic and dynastic law (*sharīʿa* and *qānūn*). The difficult coexistence of these two major sources of legal norms, the latter of which was meant to compliment the former but often circumvented or confronted it, is not a subject of the present study but should be kept in mind[15]. Put simply, *sharīʿa* regulates the status of non-Muslims under Muslim rule via the concept of *dhimma* meaning "treaty" or "obligation" and, more specifically, the ruler's obligation to grant protection to non-Muslim "people of the Book", i.e. Christians and Jews, who have voluntarily submitted to him. They thus become "protected people" (*ahl al-dhimma* or *dhimmī*s) in return for their obedience, obligation to pay a poll-tax (*jizya* or *kharāj*), and compliance with a number of restrictions[16].

Practices uncovered by or deviating from the *sharīʿa* norms were in part legalized in the *qānūn*, which showed greater sensitivity towards local customs and the needs of the day[17]. The first Ottoman law codes (*qānūnnāme*s) composed between the mid-fifteenth and mid-sixteenth centuries were rather inconsistent in their terminology regarding the status of different social groups. In *qānūn* usage, the term *reʿāyā* (lit. "flock") came to increasingly denote the regular tax-payers as opposed to the privileged *ʿaskerī* class of state officials and paid military[18].

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[15] See, e.g., U. HEYD, *Studies in Old Ottoman Criminal Law*, ed. V.L. MÉNAGE, Oxford 1973, p. 180sqq; R. REPP, *Qānūn and Sharīʿa in the Ottoman Context*, [in:] *Islamic Law. Social and Historical Contexts*, ed. A. AL-AZIMEH, London 1988, p. 124–145; C. FLEISCHER, *Bureaucrat*…, p. 261–267; C. IMBER, *Ebuʾs-suʿud. The Islamic Legal Tradition*, Edinburgh 1997, p. 24–62; S. BUZOV, *The Lawgiver and his Lawmakers: The Role of Legal Discourse in the Change of Ottoman Imperial Culture*, PhD diss., Univ. of Chicago, 2005. M. SARIYANNIS, *A History of Ottoman Political Thought up to the Early Nineteenth Century*, with a chapter by E.E.T. ATIYAS, Leiden 2019 [= HOS.NME, 125], p. 100–123.

[16] *EI²*, *s.v.* "Dhimma" (C. CAHEN). On theoretical as well as practical applications of the *dhimma* concept in the Ottoman dominions and the Balkans in particular, see, e.g., С. ИВАНОВА, *Преди да се роди българският милет*, [in:] *Държава и църква – църква и държава в българската история. Сб. по случай 135-годишнината от учредяването на Българската екзархия*, ed. Г. ГАНЕВ, Г. БАКАЛОВ, И. ТОДЕВ, София 2006, p. 142–146; К. МУТАФОВА, *Религия и идентичност (християнство и ислям) по българските земи в османската документация от XV–XVIII век*, Велико Търново 2022, p. 31–41 and *passim*; R. GRADEVA, *Rumeli under the Ottomans, 15th–18th Centuries. Institutions and Communities*, Istanbul 2004, esp. studies nos. 6, 9, and 11 published there; IDEM, *On Zimmis and Church Buildings: Four Cases from Rumeli*, [in:] *The Ottoman Empire: Myths, Realities and 'Black Holes'. Contributions in Honour of Colin Imber*, ed. E. KERMELI, O. ÖZEL, Istanbul 2006, p. 203–237.

[17] In addition to the works cited in fn. 16 above, see *EI²*, *s.v.* "Ḳānūn" (Y. LINANT DE BELLEFONDS, C. CAHEN, H. İNALCIK); A. AKGÜNDÜZ, *Osmanlı Kanunnâmeleri Ve Hukukî Tahlilleri*, vol. I, Istanbul 1990, § 4–7; H. İNALCIK, *Suleiman the Lawgiver and Ottoman Law*, [in:] IDEM, *The Ottoman Empire. Conquest, Organization and Economy. Collected Studies*, London 1978, pt. VII, p. 105–138.

[18] *EI²*, *s.v.* "Raʿiyya" (C.E. BOSWORTH, S. FAROQHI); Й. КАБРДА, *Рая*, *ИИД* 14–15, 1937, p. 172–185. In some sources, the term *reʿāyā* is more specifically applied to the rural taxpaying population

The *reʿāyā* category included the majority of the Muslim and nearly all non-Muslim Ottoman subjects. As the latter's tax status differed from that of the Muslim *reʿāyā* on a number of points, they had to be referred to with another common term. In *qānūn*, this was very rarely *dhimmī* and most often *kāfir* ("unbeliever", plural *küffār*), sometimes accompanied by or replaced with the term *kharājgüzār* (*kharāj*-payers) in order to differentiate them from non-Ottoman "infidels" dwelling in the Empire[19]. *Qānūnnāme*s also referred to some partly or entirely non-Muslim groups with specific lifestyle or state duties by means of their ethnic or occupational designations: e.g., the confessionally mixed Roma (*qıpṭī*, *chingene*) and the Christian *voynuq*s with military functions[20].

Coupled with the legal restrictions on non-Muslims and their generally higher tax burden as compared to the Muslim *reʿāyā*, the use of the pejorative term *kāfir* in legal documents clearly emphasizes their inferior status and the state's conception of them as its "not-entirely-own" subjects – a sense of alienation that was arguably shared by many non-Muslims with regard to the state itself[21]. On the other hand, the legal usage of the term *dhimmī* in the *sharīʿa* sphere also implied their unequal social position but brought to the fore their right to royal protection, which was embedded in the very concept of *reʿāyā* as well. These theoretical considerations had profound practical implications in the judicial sphere and were undoubtedly kept in mind by Ottoman historians who were often eager to engage in discussions on the nature of royal authority and state-subject relations.

Other generic terms such as *naṣrānī* (Pl. *naṣārā*), *gebr* (Pl. *gebrān*), and *mesīḥī* are also occasionally encountered in different kinds of official Ottoman documents as referring to Orthodox Christians, but they seem to have had less of a footing within the Ottoman legal system[22]. They are also rarely found in historical writings, especially with respect to Ottoman Christians[23]. As to the famous *millet* system, the

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as opposed to the "townspeople" (*shehirlü*). On later changes in the meaning of *reʿāyā*, which became increasingly limited to the non-Muslim Ottoman subjects, see *ibidem* as well as A. Fotić, *Tracing the Origin of a New Meaning of the Term Reʿāyā in the Eighteenth-Century Ottoman Balkans*, Balc 48, 2017, p. 55–66.

[19] On the meanings and development of the term *kāfir*, see *EI²*, *s.v.* "Kāfir" (W. Björkman). On the uses of the terms *dhimmī* and *kāfir* in Ottoman fiscal-administrative and legal documents, sometimes alongside each other, see K. Мутафова, *Религия и идентичност*…, p. 66–67, 69–70.

[20] A. Akgündüz, *Osmanlı Kanunnâmeleri*…, vol. I, p. 146 and *passim*.

[21] Cf. the works cited in fn. 5 above.

[22] See, e.g., P. Konortas, *From Tâʾife to Millet: Ottoman Terms for the Ottoman Greek Orthodox Community*, [in:] *Ottoman Greeks in the Age of Nationalism. Politics, Economy, and Society in the Nineteenth Century*, ed. D. Gondicas, Ch. Issawi, Princeton, NJ 1999, p. 173; С. Иванова, *Преди да се роди*…, p. 153, 156. *Naṣārā* seems to appear often in documents related to the administration of the Eastern Orthodox Church, while *gebr(ān)* is more commonly encountered in tax registers, see К. Мутафова, *Религия и идентичност*…, p. 57, 66–67, 69–70. On the origins of those terms, see *EI²*, *s.v.* "Naṣārā" (J.M. Fiey), including an explanation of *mesīḥī*; *EI²*, *s.v.* "Gabr" (A. Bausani).

[23] The Koranic term *naṣārā* is sometimes to be found in Ottoman historical accounts of Christians in the pre-Ottoman era, which were largely based on earlier Arabic and Persian literature: see, e.g.,

chronology of its formation and the specifics of its functioning remain a subject of debate, but it is safe to say that, prior to the Tanzimat reforms of the nineteenth century, it was rather loosely institutionalized and hardly centralized. The same goes for the *rūm millet* conceived as the community of all Orthodox Christians in the Empire. In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, Christian as well as Muslim groups of various types – e.g., professional, religious, or ethnic – were usually referred to as *jemāʿat*s or *ṭāʾife*s (lit. "groups", "bands", "communities", "peoples"). Ethnonyms also appear in pre-modern Ottoman archival practice more often than it is generally believed, either in combination with the term *ṭāʾife* or alongside personal names, despite the fact that ethnicity had no particular bearing on the legal status of the Ottoman subjects[24].

Albeit rather limited, such uses can be encountered in historical narratives, too. Thus, Kemālpashazāde (d. 940/1534) incorporated in his history of the Ottoman dynasty a lengthy excursus on pre-Ottoman Rumeli tracing the deeds of "the sovereign sultans of the Bulgarian people" (*selāṭīn-i takht-nishīn-i ṭāʾife-yi bulghār*), and then he readily used ethnic designations when referring to the Balkan states and peoples facing the conqueror[25]. Muṣṭafā ʿĀlī's (d. 1008/1600) famous universal history includes accounts of the "historical communities" (*ümem-i māḍiye*), where Romans (*ümmet-i rūm*) and Christians (*naṣārā*) are featured alongside Armenians, Bulgarians, Wallachians, Transylvanians, Moldavians, Greeks, and others; he further provides quasi-ethnographic and rather stereotypical descriptions of various groups (alternatively termed *ṭāʾife*, *jins*, or *millet*) of Christians under Ottoman rule who are equally defined along either geographic or ethnic

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the passages from Muṣṭafā ʿĀlī cited below (fn. 27). For an exceptional usage referring to Ottoman Christians, see fn. 50 below.

[24] For recent reviews of the scholarly debate on the *millet* system and its applicability to pre-nineteenth-century realities, see T. PAPADEMETRIOU, *Render under the Sultan. Power, Authority, and the Greek Orthodox Church in the Early Ottoman Centuries*, Oxford 2015, p. 19–62; К. МУТАФОВА, *Религия и идентичност*…, p. 41–65. On uses of the terms *ṭāʾife* and *jemāʿat* see, e.g., P. KONORTAS, *From Tâʾife to Millet*…, p. 171–172; С. ИВАНОВА, *Преди да се роди*…, p. 146–155 and *passim*. Svetlana Ivanova has proposed the concept of "proto-*millet* structures" as an umbrella term for those similar but varying and decentralized structures shaping the social life and organization of Ottoman non-Muslims prior to the Tanzimat reforms. She also provides numerous references to the use of ethnonyms in Ottoman administrative practice of that time and argues that before the emergence of the broader *rūm millet* the term *rūm* was usually applied to Greek or Greek-speaking communities in an ethnic/cultural sense (*ibidem*, p. 150–152, 155–160). Cf. К. МУТАФОВА, *Религия и идентичност*…, p. 70–79, 216–220. Ethnicity could serve as an official marker of legal status in the specific case of the Roma and some minorities whose ethnic confines largely coincided with their confessional and/or professional profiles (e.g., Jews and Armenians in the Balkans): С. ИВАНОВА, *Преди да се роди*…, p. 146–150.

[25] D. RUSEV, *Kemālpaşazāde's History of Medieval Bulgaria: A Sixteenth-Century Ottoman Recension of the Bulgarian Apocryphal Chronicle (Tale of the Prophet Isaiah)*, [in:] *Laudator temporis acti. Studia in memoriam Ioannis A. Božilov*, vol. I, ed. I.A. BILIARSKY, Sofia 2018, p. 435–510; KEMALPAŞAZÂDE, *Tevârih-i Âl-i Osman*, vol. III, ed. A. SATUN, Istanbul 2014, *passim*.

lines[26]. These accounts and others of the like deserve a separate study with a focus on identities and identity formation in the premodern Ottoman setting – not least because, as clearly stated by ʿĀlī, a large share of the Muslim Rūmī elite in the Empire traced its origins back to such Christian communities[27]. The following discussion, on the other hand, is concerned with the sociopolitical roles of these communities as viewed by Ottoman historians, and less so with the matters of ethnic identity and Islamization.

3. Non-Muslims and Sultanic Order

As outlined by Linda Darling, the so-called Circle of Justice postulating the interrelation between just rulership, faithful subjects, and strong political power, formed a central discourse in Middle Eastern political theory ever since Antiquity and was firmly incorporated in its Islamic reformulations[28]. It was a major topic for Ottoman men of letters and featured – explicitly or implicitly – in various historical narratives. These were, however, hardly identical in their ideological outlook. Historians projected their own ideas of political justice on the Ottoman past in order to promote their views on contemporary authority and society. Ottoman non-Muslims were rarely referred to in this context, but two examples will be given here to illustrate the diverging perspectives of authors with differing narrative strategies, social backgrounds, and intended readerships.

In a recension of the so called *Anonymous Chronicles of the Ottoman Dynasty* (*Tevārikh-i āl-i ʿOthmān*) composed in the reign of Bāyezīd II (1481–1512), a number of politically charged interpolations were made to the original narrative of fourteenth-century events, which had been compiled in the early 1420s and served as a basis for all works of the popular tradition in early Ottoman historiography[29]. One of these passages was inserted after an account of how Murād I's (1362–1389) famous commander Evrenos Beg conquered several fortresses in Southern Thrace whose (Christian) population was obliged to pay *kharāj*. The anonymous late fifteenth-century redactor added:

> At that [i.e. Murād's] time, the *kharāj* was small. They took so much as not to offend the infidels (*kāfirler*). They did not take that much as to make them sell or pawn their clothes or oxen, their sons and daughters. Padishahs were not avaricious in those times. Whatever came in their hands, they gave it back to the stouthearted. They did not know what is a treasury. It was only when Khayreddīn Pasha came to the Porte that the padishahs surrounded

[26] J. Schmidt, *Pure Water*…, p. 138–144.

[27] C. Fleischer, *Bureaucrat*…, p. 254–255. The place of converts in the formation of Ottoman Rūmī identity has been studied in greater detail by T. Krstić, *Contested Conversions*…, esp. p. 1–25, 51–74.

[28] L.T. Darling, *A History of Social Justice and Political Power in the Middle East. The Circle of Justice from Mesopotamia to Globalization*, London 2013.

[29] V.L. Ménage, *A Survey*…, p. 183–202.

> themselves with greedy scholars (*dānishmendler*). They left piety aside and went along with the fatwa saying that treasury is necessary to those who are padishahs. […] Greed and oppression became manifest[30].

It is evident that rather than a historical account, this text is a pronounced critique of the author's own time. The works of the popular tradition were not intended for the court but meant for wider dissemination. They idealized the distant past by presenting the first Ottoman rulers as modest and generous leaders, first among equals in a frontier society engaged in holy war (*ghazāʾ*, pl. *ghazavāt*) against the infidels. This image was contrasted with the process of imperial building, centralization, and bureaucratization of the state, which culminated under Meḥmed II and his successors, the codification of the *qānūn* being one of its significant landmarks. As the quoted passage clearly shows, the culprits were the religious scholars and learned administrators – the use of the Persian term *dānishmed* laying the accent on the strong Ilkhanid influence on Ottoman state building – who introduced features of the sedentary state such as the central treasury (or in another passage, the tithe on war bounty)[31]. As pointed out by Marinos Sariyannis with respect to ʿĀshıqpashazāde, another representative of the popular tradition of early Ottoman historical writing, in his political terminology "justice is meant, in a sense, as synonymous with generosity and in contrast with greed" – a view differing from both contemporary and later more sophisticated conceptions circulating among learned Muslims[32]. In this context, the local *kharāj*-liable "infidels" in the Balkans were conceived by the anonymous author of the above-quoted excerpt as fellow victims of the "greedy" administrators who abused both the *sharīʿa* and, above all, the egalitarian ethos of Turco-nomadic society. The purely informative aspect of the implicit suggestion that non-Muslims found it hard to cover their poll-tax at the time of writing is also valuable, since it is generally difficult to establish the real bearing of this tribute on the *dhimmīs*' economic situation in the fifteenth century. It is usually believed to have become a significant burden in later times when it contributed to increased Islamization[33].

A different perspective on royal justice was put forward by Seyyid Loqmān, the official historiographer (*shehnāmeji*) at the Ottoman court in the late sixteenth century, in his lavishly illustrated work *Hünernāme*, the "Book of Talents" or "Book of Merits", completed in the 1580s. The work contains short biographies of Ottoman rulers with a focus on their qualities, hobbies, characters, etc.[34] When

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[30] *Die altosmanischen anonymen Chroniken*, T. I, *Text und Variantenverzeichnis*, ed. F. GIESE, Breslau 1922, p. 25; *Anonim Osmanlı Kroniği*, ed. N. ÖZTÜRK, Istanbul 2015, p. 28–29.

[31] See C. KAFADAR, *Between Two Worlds*…, p. 95–97, 110–113.

[32] M. SARIYANNIS, *A History*…, p. 37.

[33] See, e.g., Е. РАДУШЕВ, *Помаците. Християнство и ислям в Западните Родопи с долината на р. Места, XV – 30-те г. на XVIII в.*, vol. I, София 2005, p. 47–49, p. 80–84, and *passim*.

[34] For a general description of the *Hünernāme*, see *TDV İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, *s.v.* "Hünernâme" (Z.T. ERTUĞ). I have consulted a copy of the first part of the work's sole manuscript: *Topkapı Sarayı*

recounting a military campaign of Sultan Meḥmed I (1413–1421), Seyyid Loqmān digresses on an anecdotal story that transpired while the army, on its way to Wallachia, was stationed near the "big village of Ūrūsjuq" (i.e. Ruschuk, the present-day town of Ruse) on the Danube. As noted by the author, the place was "close to the frontiers of Islam" (*ḥudūd-i islāma qarīb*) but within the "Abode of Islam" (*dār al-islām dākhilinde*) and had been given as a source of revenue (*tīmār*) to one of the frontier *ghāzī*s. However, some brigands (*eshqıyā'*) from the imperial army assaulted the local *reʿāyā* and stole the honey from a couple of their hives. The sultan, who was hunting in the vicinity, heard of the incident and ordered an investigation. He then gathered the army and a local woman identified a certain soldier called Qarapıyıqlu as the ringleader of the perpetrators. The defendant denied the allegation but was found out through a clever device: The sultan ordered the execution of those who would be found to have been stung by bees and Qarapıyıqlu started looking at himself in panic. Ultimately, he was punished and had to pay double the price of the stolen honey. Seyyid Loqmān concludes the episode with praise for the sultan's justice (*ʿadālet*)[35].

The confessional profile of the *reʿāyā* involved in the incident is not directly mentioned in the text, but its setting in the predominantly Christian Balkans, at "the frontiers of Islam", is indicative. Indeed, the accompanying miniature is more explicit. It depicts the final scene in much detail, with an evidently non-Muslim settlement (ostensibly Ruschuk) in the background, and the distressed local woman in the center, accompanied by her daughter and a man in Christian priestly attire[36]. In terms of the narrative, and for that matter visual, strategy of the story, the participation of Christian *reʿāyā* comes to reinforce the notion that the sultan's benevolence and care are due to all his subjects, including *dhimmī*s, and that he would even side with them at the expense of his Muslim soldiers if the latter transgress law and order. At the time when Seyyid Loqmān was composing the *Hünernāme*, political justice was a hot topic in the context of perceived political decline in the post-Süleymānic era. Ottoman literati like the bureaucrat historian Muṣṭafā ʿĀlī were promoting royal justice as the main pillar of statehood and a remedy for what they saw as widespread social, political, and moral corruption[37].

Müzesi Kütüphanesi, Hazine 1523 (cetera: Seyyid Loqmān, *Hünernāme*). On Ottoman *shehnāmeji*s and Seyyid Loqmān in particular, see C. Woodhead, *An Experiment in Official Historiography: The Post of Şehnāmeci in the Ottoman Empire, c. 1555–1605*, WZKM 75, 1983, p. 157–182; idem, *Reading Ottoman Şehnames: Official Historiography in the Late Sixteenth Century*, StI 104/105, 2007, p. 67–80; E. Fetvaci, *The Office of Ottoman Court Historian*, [in:] *Studies on Istanbul and Beyond. The Freely Papers*, vol. I, ed. R. Ousterhout, Philadelphia 2007, p. 7–21.

[35] Seyyid Loqmān, *Hünername*, fol. 119v–120v. See also the commentary by F. Çağman, *Sultan Sencer ve Yaşlı Kadın Minyatürlerinin İkonografisi*, [in:] *Sanat Tarihinde İkonografik Araştırmalar. Güner İnal'a Armağan*, Ankara 1993, p. 105–106.

[36] Seyyid Loqmān, *Hünernāme*, fol. 121r.

[37] See C. Fleischer, *Bureaucrat*…, p. 293–307 and *passim*; L.T. Darling, *A History of Social Justice*…, p. 144–148; M. Sariyannis, *A History*…, chap. 4 and 5 and the studies cited there.

In some respects, this discourse was similar to that of the anonymous fifteenth-century author discussed above but had a broader appeal and greater historical relevance against the background of the state's lagging expansion and increasing financial difficulties. As an official historian, Seyyid Loqmān – whose style was ridiculed by his contemporary and rival ʿĀlī[38] – was not in a position to expose deficiencies in the imperial order of his time. Yet, in view of his intended courtly audience, anecdotes like the one summarized above can be read as projections of ideal rulership and, thus, as pieces of political advice.

It should be noted that this was not simply a literary fiction. The right of all Ottoman subjects, including the non-Muslim *reʿāyā*, to appeal directly to the sultan was a central tenet of his image and was regularly (if not always effectively) practiced, especially when local authorities could not solve a problem or created the problem themselves[39]. In 1657, for example, an imperial order was recorded in the court register of the same town of Ruschuk following a petition from the Christian and Muslim inhabitants of a nearby village, who complained of unlawful treatment by the local tax officials (including inflated taxation on beehives). The sultan ordered that "no *aqche* should be taken beyond what is specified by law", but there was, unfortunately, no historian to record the further development of the case[40].

4. Balkan Christians as servitors of the State

As mentioned, some *reʿāyā* groups enjoyed certain tax alleviations in return for specific services to the state. Some of them, and those performing military or court duties in particular, enjoyed the greatest "visibility" in Ottoman historical writing among Christian subjects in general – in figurative as well as literal terms. The *Hünernāme*, for instance, contains a series of miniatures depicting various Ottoman sultans in hunting scenes. Falconers feature prominently in these images, and it is noteworthy that some of them wear typical Muslim attire while others have distinctive hats with four dangling ends[41]. As a number of existing falconer (*doghanji*) registers from the fifteenth and sixteenth-century Balkans show that both local Muslims and Christians were engaged in this profession in its various

[38] C. FLEISCHER, *Bureaucrat*…, p. 105, 249.

[39] See, e.g., H. İNALCIK, *Şikayet Hakkı: ʿArż-ı Ḥâl ve ʿArż-ı Maḥżar'lar*, OAra 7–8, 1988, p. 33–54; E. GARA, *Popular Protest and the Limitations of Sultanic Justice*, [in:] *Popular Protest and Political Participation in the Ottoman Empire. Studies in Honor of Suraiya Faroqhi*, ed. IDEM, M.E. KABADAYI, C.K. NEUMANN, Istanbul 2011, p. 89–104, and the works cited there, esp. in fn. 3.

[40] *Турски извори за историята на правото в българските земи*, vol. II, ed. Б. ЦВЕТКОВА, София 1971, p. 134. The confessional profile of the villagers is not stated explicitly but can be deduced from the taxes mentioned.

[41] See, e.g., SEYYID LOQMĀN, *Hünernāme*, fol. 105r, 116r, 182v, 207v.

specializations, it is very likely that the curious hat depicted in the miniatures is indeed meant to indicate "non-Muslimness"[42]. A further argument in this regard can be found in the accounts of European travelers in the Balkans. Thus, when passing through the "Bulgarian village called Belitsa (*Welicze*) where, however, only Serbians (*ratzen*) live now", that is, in the mid-1550s, Hans Dernschwam noted that the hats of local men were "split both at the front and back side"[43]. Just when Seyyid Loqmān was completing the *Hünernāme* in the 1580s, Salomon Schweiger composed a narrative of his own travel from Vienna to Constantinople and Jerusalem a few years earlier and adorned it with a large number of self-made illustrations. One of them shows a Bulgarian couple, with the man wearing nearly the same type of hat as those painted by the Ottoman miniaturists[44]. A very similar "ridiculous" hat (*une especе de bonnet qui est ridicule*) of a Bulgarian man is also depicted in the travel account of Louis Deshayes, baron de Courmenin (d. 1632), tracing his journey to the Levant in 1621 and published three years later[45]. It is difficult to say whether this was a common headgear for Balkan Christians or a sign of a particular social position. The latter is not impossible as many villagers along the Diagonal Road and other main routes of the Empire had the duty to guard the roads and passes, and thus a special *derbendji* status similar to that of *doghanji*s[46]. Be that as it may, there is enough evidence to suggest that portraying Christian servants of the sultan was not a taboo and might have even served to demonstrate his supra-confessional authority.

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[42] On falconers in the 15th and 16th century Balkans, with a focus on Ottoman Bulgaria, see К. Йорданов, *Организационно устройство на соколарската институция, числен състав и географско разпределение на соколарите от Централните Балкани през XV–XVI в.*, ИП 72.1–2, 2016, p. 227–289; idem, *Войнуците от имперските конюшни в османската провинция Румелия (XV – първите десетилетия на XVIII век)*, София 2023, p. 405–411. For the significance of clothing as a marker of social and confessional differentiation in the Ottoman context, see S. Ivanova, *Masquerade – Imperial Preludes*, EB 39.1, 1994, p. 28–36, and p. 29–30 on hats in particular.

[43] *Hans Dernschwam's Tagebuch einer Reise nach Konstantinopel und Kleinasien (1553/1555)*, ed. F. Babinger, München 1923, p. 14.

[44] S. Schweigger, *Eine newe Reiß Beschreibung auß Teutschland Nach Constantinopel und Jerusalem*, Nürnberg 1639, p. 42. The work was composed in the 1580s but first published in 1608.

[45] L.D. de Courmenin, *Voiage de Levant. Fait par le commandement du Roy en l'année 1621*, Paris 1624, p. 73–74. The image is also reproduced with an attribution to Edward Brown in К. *Йорданов, Шрихи върху ежедневието на дербентджийското и войнушкото население през XVI–XVII век*, ИИИ 36, 2021, p. 51.

[46] On *derbendji* settlments along the Belgrade–Constantinople road, their status and residents, see О. Зиројевић, *Цариградски друм од Београда до Софије (1459–1683)*, Београд 1970, p. 96–110; К. Йорданов, *Шрихи върху ежедневието…*, p. 37, 40–54.

4.1. Origin and functions of the *voynuq*s

Another hunting scene in a miniature from an unidentified work, but certainly in the same Ottoman courtly style of the late sixteenth century, depicts a groom with the very same four-pointed hat[47]. It is well-known that the main servants in the royal stables by that time were the Christian *voynuq*s from the Balkans – another distinct category some of whose members had been utilized as auxiliary and even regular troops in earlier times. Indeed, Ṭūrsūn Beg, who accompanied the Ottoman army that conquered Sinope and Trebizond in 1461 as a scribe of the Imperial Divan, writes in his later *History of the Conqueror* that a *voynuq* company (*ṭāʾife-yi voynū[q]*) participated in this campaign[48]. An account of the formation of the *voynuq* corps circulated in several Ottoman histories from the sixteenth and the seventeenth centuries, but its original and most detailed version comes from the monumental work *The Eight Paradises* (*Hasht bihisht*) composed in Persian by Idrīs Bitlīsī in 1502–1506 and revised in the next decade. *The Eight Paradises* was commissioned by Bāyezīd II and traces the dynastic history, with a separate book dedicated to each of the eight Ottoman rulers until that time, in the most ornate style of Ilkhanid and Timurid court historiography[49]. The *voynuq*s appear for the first time in the third book, on the reign of Murād I, in a chapter dealing with the Bulgarian tsar Ivan Shishman's submission to Ottoman suzerainty and the military reforms introduced by the new commander-in-chief of Rumeli Tīmūrtash:

> First, he [i.e. Tīmūrtash] ordered the formation of a large army in the province of Rumeli from among the infidels (*az miyān-i kuffār*) of those lands as it was of great necessity to the campaigns of the sultans. Thus was created the military unit, which is now known as the "*voynuq* army" (*lashkar-i voynuq*). This corps is [made of] protected people (*ahl-i dhemmet*, i.e. *dhimmī*s) who live within the Abode of Islam. They were engaged in soldiery and military operations from olden times, before the appearance [in these lands] of the people of faith (*millat-i īmān*, i.e. the Muslims), and now they have already established themselves in the same category as the Islamic army by virtue of their martial disposition and valor. This is why the submissiveness of subjects and servants (*madhallat-i raʿīyatī va maḥkūmī*) is very difficult for their temperament [to accept]. This community (*jemāʿat*) being soldiers is very useful for opposing and resisting the [foreign] infidels. This *voynuq* troop (*ṭāyfa-yi voynuq*) is engaged in guarding some buildings and equipment of the padishah such as the warehouses, the arsenals, the imperial stables, and the like. As this innovation found approval in the time of Tīmūrtash's office, ever since [his time] that entire group (*ṭāyfa*), from the whole province of Rumeli, is listed in a register, and they are exempted from the agricultural tithe (*ʿushr-i zirāʿat*) in lieu of a remuneration and a compensation for their service[50].

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[47] E. BINNEY, *Turkish Miniature Paintings and Manuscripts from the Collection of Edwin Binney*, [3]New York 1973, p. 46–47.

[48] TURSUN BEG, *The History of Mehmed the Conqueror*, ed. H. INALCIK, R. MURPHEY, Minneapolis 1978 (cetera: TURSUN BEG), p. 91v–92r.

[49] On Bitlīsī and his oeuvre, see in detail C. MARKIEWICZ, *The Crisis of Kingship*…

[50] IDRĪS BITLĪSĪ, *Hasht bihisht*, MS Istanbul, Nuruosmaniye Kütüphanesi 3209 (cetera: IDRĪS BITLĪSĪ), fol. 143r. In a section of the seventh book of *The Eight Paradises* (on Meḥmed II) dealing with

This lengthy quotation is vindicated by the impressive detail and objectivity of Bitlīsī's account. To begin with, it is worth asking what was his source of information, considering that no earlier history of the Ottomans (or any other known narrative source, for that matter) deals with the establishment and the nature of the *voynuq* corps. The author's biography and some additional evidence from *The Eight Paradises* may provide a well-grounded answer. In 1502, Bitlīsī fled to the Ottoman lands from Tabriz, where he had served as a state secretary of the Aqqoyunlu before the dissolution of that tribal confederation and the advent of the Shiite Safavids. In the first years of his immigration, he found himself in an unsatisfying position at the periphery of the Ottoman court and some of his early works testify to his grievance. It was reinforced by the fact that he had to settle in the provincial city of Sofia that was, in his bitter words, "at the extremity of the lands of Rūm"[51]. However, some passages in *The Eight Paradises* – which he started composing at the time in hope of career promotion – suggest that he gradually developed an affection for this region[52]. He also seems to have benefited from local oral history, with his legendary account of the Ottoman conquest of Sofia one of several examples in this regard[53]. The passage quoted above is most probably also based on Bitlīsī's own observations, considering that the wider region of Sofia had one of the greatest concentrations of *voynuq* population in the Balkans[54]. This may also explain his uncharacteristic interest in and positive attitude towards the corps as well as the relatively precise data he provides about its taxation privileges. As a *zeʿāmet* holder who had to take care of collecting his revenue in the town of Dupnitsa, he may well have witnessed some of the registrations of the local *voynuq*s who had to be distinguished from the ordinary *reʿāyā* providing his income[55].

It is impossible to verify Bitlīsī's statement about the time and circumstances of the *voynuq*s' incorporation in the Ottoman army, but given that they were

various detachments of the Ottoman army (*ibidem*, fol. 364r–364v), Bitlīsī once again discusses the *voynuq*s (*qavm-i voynuq*) with a focus on their functions as auxiliaries (*anṣār-i lashkar-i islām*). Here, Bitlīsī explicitly describes them as Christian *dhimmī*s (*az naṣārā-yi ahl-i dhemmet*) and reiterates his evaluation of their great worth in the wars with the foreign (*ḥarbi*) infidels. This latter passage is partly reproduced in the original Persian in H. İnalcık, *Stefan Duşan'dan Osmanlı İmperatorluğuna. XV. Asırda Rumeli'de Hıristiyan Sipâhiler ve Menşeleri*, [in:] idem, *Fatih Devri Üzerinde Tetkikler ve Vesikalar*, vol. I, Ankara 1954, p. 177; for a full yet loose Turkish translation of the passage, see İdrîs-i Bitlîsî, *Heşt Behişt. VII. Ketîbe: Fatih Sultan Mehmed Devri, 1451–1481*, trans. M.İ. Yıldırım, Ankara 2019 (cetera: Idrīs Bitlīsī/Yıldırım), p. 52.

[51] C. Markiewicz, *The Crisis of Kingship*…, p. 25–65, 75.

[52] Idrīs Bitlīsī, fol. 139r, 149v–150r. Bitlīsī describes the "paradisiacal" nature of Sofia, comparing it to Tabriz.

[53] Idrīs Bitlīsī, fol. 150r. For a survey of Bitlīsī's chronology and sources of information on the reign of Murād I, see Д. Русев, *Сведенията на Енвери*…, p. 88–95.

[54] See К. Йорданов, *Войнуците*…, p. 159–199.

[55] For Bitlīsī's *zeamet* in Dupnitsa, see the evidence given in the biographical lexicon of ʿĀshıq Chelebi: ʿÂşık Çelebi, *Meşâʿirüʾş-Şuʿarâ*, vol. I, ed. F. Kılıç, Istanbul 2010, p. 297–298.

indeed heirs of the pre-Ottoman military establishment in the Balkans, this could have surely happened in the reign of Murād I and under the guidance of his commander Tīmūrtash Pasha[56]. The historian's account of their tax status is largely corroborated by numerous archival documents, and he rightfully noted the duality in the *voynuq* duties, although there were actually two types of *voynuq*s who performed actual military service (the so-called *jebelü*) and auxiliary tasks (including work at the imperial stables), respectively[57]. The terms that Bitilisi uses to describe the *voynuq*s as a distinct entity – namely, *ṭāʾife*, *jemāʿat*, and *qavm* – are equally noteworthy. As mentioned, the former two terms were utilized by Ottoman administrators and historians alike to refer to groups of various kinds, including ethnic communities; the term *qavm* could be used along the same lines but had the primary meanings of "people", "nation", or "tribe". Although Bitlīsī himself seems to have conceived the *voynuq*s as merely a professional group, such a terminological ambiguity was typical of Ottoman realities where some communal names that had or would receive ethnic connotations (e.g., Vlach and Yörük) were used in administrative practice to denote multiethnic groups with a shared legal and/or professional status[58]. This may be one of the reasons why, in the seventeenth century, Evliyā Chelebi considered the *voynuq*s as one of the "Christian peoples" (*qavm-i naṣārālar*; elsewhere he uses the terms *millet*, *ṭāʾife*, and *qabīle*, "tribe") having a particular post-Deluge descent and speaking a specific language

[56] Cf. Y. ERCAN, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda Bulgarlar ve Voynuklar*, Ankara 1989, p. 2–8. Y. Ercan's attempt to search for a specific year of the formation of the corps as well as his use of the Ottoman historical narratives to this end, without regard for the genealogy of their accounts and the logic behind the (largely incorrect) chronological data they provide, is questionable at best. So is also his hypothesis that the Ottoman historians may have drawn their information on the *voynuq*s' emergence from one of Süleymān I's *qānūnnāme*s, which also attributes the establishment of the corps to Tīmūrtash Pasha in the reign of Murād I (*ibidem*, p. 7). In fact, the *qānūnnāme* postdates Bitlīsī's account and may be based on it. Krastyo Yordanov also accepts that the *voynuq* corps was likely founded on the advice of the *beglerbeg* Tīmūrtash Pasha in 1376/1377: К. ЙОРДАНОВ, *Войнуците*…, p. 35–36, 46, 57. Yet, Tīmūrtash was actually not appointed *beglerbeg* before the death of Lālā Shāhīn in the early 1380s (see Д. РУСЕВ, *Сведенията на Енвери*…, p. 90–93). For the pre-Ottoman basis of the Balkan *voynuq*s, see К. ЙОРДАНОВ, *Войнуците*…, p. 36–50.

[57] К. ЙОРДАНОВ, *Войнуците*…, p. 62–70 as well as p. 371–392 on the *voynuq*s' tax status; cf. Y. ERCAN, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda Bulgarlar*…, p. 10–14, 38–42, 75–92.

[58] See, e.g., A. KALIONSKI, *Yürüks in the Ottoman Balkans*, Sofia 2020; V. KURSAR, *Being an Ottoman Vlach: On Vlach Idendity (Ies), Role and Status in Western Parts of the Ottoman Balkans (15th–18th Centuries)*, OTAUMD 34, 2013, p. 115–161. V. Kursar (*ibidem*, p. 143–144) argues that *voynuq*s and *martolos*es were largely overlapping with Vlach communities and may have been military organizations of Vlach origin. This observation seems to be relevant mainly to the situation in the Western Balkans, however. In present-day Bulgaria, where the majority of the *voynuq*s of the Imperial Stables were located, such a relationship was less evident (e.g., in organizational terminology and occasional Vlach names: see A. KALIONSKI, *Yürüks*…, p. 116). In general, these *voynuq*s lived intermixed with the sedentary Bulgarian population and showed no signs of alterity other than their state duties and tax status. See also Y. ERCAN, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda Bulgarlar*…, p. 42–43; К. ЙОРДАНОВ, *Войнуците*…, p. 38–40, 423–428 and *passim*.

belonging to the "Latin" (i.e., in Evliyā's usage, Slavic) linguistic family alongside the tongues of Croats, Bosnians, Serbs, Bulgarians, and others from beyond the Ottoman borders[59].

Bitlīsī's statement that the *voynuq*s had "established themselves in the same category as the Islamic army" can be read as an acknowledgement of their *ʿaskerī* status which is indeed confirmed in extant *qānūnnāmes*, although it contradicts the *sharīʿa*[60]. His concern with this contradiction, or perhaps the lack of it, shows through his statement that the utilization of the *voynuq*s was seen by Ottoman sultans as advisable from both religious and temporal points of view (*ṣalāḥ-i dīnī va dunyevī*)[61]. The military involvement of *dhimmī*s is among the *qānūn*-regulated practices that circumvent Islamic law and this may be one of the reasons why most Ottoman historians avoided the topic. Moreover, it also went against the predominant tendency of both court-centered and popular histories to present the dynastic history as a continuous performance of *ghazavāt*, or holy wars, in which the "infidels" could only be enemies or vassal contingents at best. It thus took a foreigner whose conception of Ottoman history was strongly linked to military affairs – he calls each separate book of *The Eight Paradises* a "squadron" (*katība*) – and who had on-the-ground experience to acknowledge the significance of Balkan Christians for Ottoman warfare and the rise of the Ottoman state itself[62]. Not that Bitlīsī can be accused of lesser Islamic piety as compared to his Ottoman colleagues, and *ghazāʾ* is a central feature of his narrative, too. Yet, his greater allegiance to the Perso-Mongol historiographic tradition, his professional background in bureaucracy rather than religious scholarship, and his self-confidence may have made him more open to thematic experimentation.

It is perhaps no coincidence that Idrīs Bitlīsī's work did not receive the reception he had hoped for after its initial presentation at the court. The short passage on *voynuq*s was certainly not the reason, but it cannot be deemed unrelated either. *The Eight Paradises* was criticized by some high-ranking officials both for its extremely ornate style untypical of earlier Ottoman historiography as well as

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[59] Evliyā Chelebi discusses these traits of the *voynuq*s in various sections of this ten-volume travel account; see, e.g.: Evliyâ Çelebi b. Derviş Mehemmed Zillî, *Evliyâ Çelebi Seyahatnâmesi*, vol. III, ed. S.A. Kahraman, Y. Dağli, Istanbul 1999, p. 206, 212, 219; vol. V, ed. Y. Dağli, S.A. Kahraman, İ. Sezgin, Istanbul 2001, p. 72, 240; vol. VII, ed. Y. Dağli, S.A. Kahraman, R. Dankoff, Istanbul 2003, p. 256, etc.

[60] H. İnalcik, *Stefan Duşan'dan…*, p. 175; Y. Ercan, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda Bulgarlar…*, p. 8–10. Y. Ercan argues that the *voynuq*s maintained their *ʿaskerī* status throughout the existence of the corps, but he also quotes an official document referring to the *voynuq*s of the Imperial Stables as *reʿāyā* (*ibidem*, p. 38). It is possible that the *ʿaskerī* status was more pertinent to the *jebelü voynuq*s before their gradual transformation into auxiliary troops or ordinary *reʿāyā* since the reign of Süleymān I; cf. H. İnalcik, *Stefan Duşan'dan…*, p. 176; К. Йорданов, *Войнуци…*, p. 50–61.

[61] Idrīs Bitlīsī, fol. 364r–364v; H. İnalcik, *Stefan Duşan'dan…*, p. 177.

[62] As will be shown below, other Ottoman historians mentioned the participation of Ottoman Christians in military campaigns, yet only in passing.

for some content-related peculiarities such as its excurses on the rulers of Iran contemporary to each Ottoman sultan[63]. Apparently, Bitlīsī's approach to historical writing was not (yet) suited to the "mentality" of the Ottoman ruling elite in the early sixteenth century and, hence, to the narrative of Ottoman history that this elite expected. More than two centuries earlier, another representative of high Persianate culture and historiography, Ibn Bībī, had his pretentious history of the Seljuks rewritten in a more straightforward summary form following similar accusations of prolixity at the waning Seljuk court. This has been recently interpreted as an example of how current literary tastes – and, thus, group identities or mentalities – could impose themselves on authors' personal mindsets and concepts[64]. In contrast, Bitlīsī himself, and the wave of Persian émigrés to the Ottoman domains of which he was a part, played an instrumental role in shaping the nascent Ottoman imperial culture, and it is no surprise that *The Eight Paradises* ultimately found its due appreciation and became a standard source for later Ottoman historians[65]. This fact shows that, under particular circumstances, individual (historiographic) attitudes could be transformative on a collective (political and ideological) level. It also provides us with the rare opportunity to trace how an account of Ottoman non-Muslims was reproduced and reshaped over time.

A comparison with *The Crown of Histories* (*Tāj üt-tevārīkh*), a well-known history of the Ottomans composed by the madrasa professor, sultan's advisor, and *sheykh ül-islām* Khoja Saʿdeddīn (d. 1008/1599), is indicative that the stylistic and informative influence of Bitlīsī's work – well evident in Saʿdeddīn's Turkish prose – did not necessarily go hand-in-hand with conceptual imitation. Saʿdeddīn closely follows Bitlīsī's exposition of Murād I's reign in a summary form and mentions the *voynuq* corps (*voynuq ʿaskerī*) among the military innovations of Tīmūrtash Beg, yet without much of the detail and enthusiasm of the Persian original. He passes over in silence the *voynuq*s' origin, qualities, and, most notably, their non-Muslimness as he only writes that the corps was founded "to take care of the provisions in the case of military campaigns as well as to cater for the [imperial] horses and mules"[66]. By the late sixteenth century, the former Christian soldiers had indeed been largely limited to the role of imperial grooms, but

[63] C. MARKIEWICZ, *The Crisis of Kingship*…, p. 230–234.

[64] Ş. KÜÇÜKHÜSEYİN, *Selbst- und Fremdwahrnehmung*…, p. 28–30, 143–145.

[65] C. MARKIEWICZ, *The Crisis of Kingship*…, p. 20, 238–239 and *passim*.

[66] KHOJA SAʿDEDDĪN, *Tāj üt-tevārīkh*, vol. I, Istanbul 1279/1862–1863 (cetera: KHOJA SAʿDEDDĪN), p. 94. A recension of this work from the late 16th or the early 17th century, i.e. possibly contemporary to the author, which partly deviates from the printed version (itself based on two Istanbul MSS of the same period) is kept at the Bulgarian National Library in Sofia (OR 546). The only difference in the passage under consideration here concerns the spelling of the word *voynuq*, which is interestingly given as *voynīq* in the Sofia MS (fol. 54v) – a form closer to the original Slavic pronunciation. For a description of the Sofia MS, see *И.* ТАТАРЛЪ, *Османски извори за походите на Владислав III Ягело и Ян Хуниади (1443–1444)*, [in:] *Варна 1444. Сборник от изследвания и документи в чест на 525-та годишнина от битката край гр. Варна*, ed. Д. АНГЕЛОВ *et al.*, София 1969, p. 440–441.

Saʿdeddīn's revision of the account cannot be simply understood as a summary-cum-actualization of the information in his main source. Non-Muslims' contribution to and necessity for Ottoman expansion, well-formulated by Bitlīsī, was incompatible with Saʿdeddīn's highly ideologized image of early Ottoman history, conceived as a culmination of the Islamic struggle against the infidels in strict adherence to the *sharīʿa* norms[67]. As he was, on the other hand, eager to produce a factually sound narrative of the past[68], he was apparently unwilling to entirely omit the account of the *voynuq*s, so he kept it in a "harmless" form. This is one of many examples that the popularity of *The Eight Paradises* did not entail a corresponding change of mentality in all sections of the elite[69].

With the risk of transcending the chronological confines of this study, it is worth looking at even later versions of Bitlīsī's account of the *voynuq*s, which differed from Saʿdeddīn's approach. As late as the 1730s, ʿAbdülbāqī Saʿdī completed an Ottoman Turkish rendering of *The Eight Paradises* on the commission of Sultan Maḥmūd I (1730–1754). Conceived as a translation of Bitlīsī's Persian text, Saʿdī's work was supposed to follow closely the latter but did in fact omit significant portions of it, which were for the most part rhetorical digressions but sometimes contained factual information as well. Nonetheless, the passage on the *voynuq*s is almost verbally reproduced while maintaining even most of the vocabulary of the original narrative[70]. In between the times and approaches of Khoja Saʿdeddīn and ʿAbdülbāqī Saʿdī comes the work of the Bosnia-born state secretary Koja Ḥüseyin (d. after 1056/1646–1647) who, after his retirement in the 1640s, wrote a universal history titled *Astonishing Events* (*Bedâyiʿ ul-veqāyiʿ*) and complimented it with a second volume dedicated to the Ottoman past until 1520. While Saʿdeddīn's *The Crown of Histories* had become very popular itself and was certainly known to Ḥüseyin, he chose as his main source *The Eight Paradises* of Idrīs Bitlīsī, and this is clearly evident in the passage on *voynuq*s, which he too borrowed from the latter[71]. Unlike Saʿdeddīn's truncated version or Saʿdī's nearly verbatim reproduction

[67] See other relevant observations in М. Калицин, *Корона на историите на Ходжа Садеддин*, Велико Търново 2000, p. 17, 34–36.

[68] М. Калицин, *Корона на историите*…, p. 18.

[69] For a similar example of selective use of Bitlīsī's work by Saʿdeddīn with respect to another non-Sharia-compliant practice, the "child levy" (*devshirme*), see V.L. Ménage, *Sidelights on the devshirme from Idrīs and Saʿduddīn*, BSOAS 18.1, 1956, p. 181–183.

[70] İdris-ı Bitlisi, *Heşt Bihişt*, vol. I, ed. M. Karataş, S. Kaya, Y. Baş, Ankara 2008, p. 344. The only noticeable difference is Saʿdī's avoidance of the term *dhimmī* in relation to the *voynuq*s, but it would be overdone to search for a specific agenda behind that single, if significant omission. Like Bitlīsī, he explicitly states that these soldiers were recruited "from among the infidels of Rumeli" (*Rūmeli küffārının beyninde*) and applies to them the multifaceted term *ṭāʾife*.

[71] For the passage, see the facsimile published in Хюсейн, *Беда'и' ул- века'и' (Удивительные события)*, vol. I, ed. А.С. Тверитинова, Москва 1961, fol. 69v. For Ḥüseyin's reliance on Saʿdeddīn and especially Bitlīsī, see *ibidem*, p. 12–13. See *ibidem*, p. 6–11 for biographical data on Ḥüseyin, his historical work, and the specifics of its sole preserved manuscript.

of the account, that of Ḥüseyin is a thoughtful Turkish paraphrase of the original Persian text with elements of factual refinement. The author spared Bitlīsī's explicit praise for the *voynuq*s but kept the substance: they used to be soldiers "in the times of infidel rule" (*küffār ḥükūmetī zamānında*) and due to their military stature, they were now more privileged than the other non-Muslim "protected people" (*sāʾir ehl-i dhimmetden mümtāz*); they took part in military campaigns, but in times of peace they served in the Imperial Stables. Of particular interest is the precise account that the members of that *ṭāʾife* own estates called *bāshtina* and are exempted not only from the tithe on their agricultural production, but from some extraordinary taxes (*tekālīf-i ʿörfiyye*), too – an addition to the original narrative that demonstrates Ḥüseyin's professional familiarity with the Ottoman financial and administrative system as well as his attentive approach to historical writing, reaching beyond simple compilation of earlier sources.

It is thus obvious that later versions of Bitlīsī's account of the *voynuq*s hardly followed a linear development. The evidence discussed so far suggests that his recognition of local Christians' contribution to Ottoman warfare was less readily accepted by sixteenth-century Ottoman intellectuals than it was by later generations. However, such a chronological distinction between historiographic attitudes towards a particular topic may be partly misleading. While historians were surely men of their own time and projected a particular collective identity, the latter was certainly not all-encompassing, even if we only consider the level of the learned class. In other words, the views of Saʿdeddīn and Ḥüseyin cannot be taken as representative for the *whole* Ottoman elite in the late sixteenth and the mid-seventeenth centuries, respectively. Self-evident as it is, this inference gains further strength when we compare contemporary accounts of one and the same event, as will be done below.

4.2. The "useful" *martolos*es in action

The utility of the *dhimmī*s to the Ottoman military and their usual loyalty are also attested in a number of fifteenth-century historiographic references to another militarized group of Ottoman subjects, which was at the time almost exclusively composed of Christians – the *martolos*es. In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, they were mostly enlisted from among the population of the frontier zones (*serḥad*) and had to perform a variety of tasks in return for tax exemption: maintaining and guarding the frontier fortresses, making small-scale attacks on foreign territory to disrupt enemy defenses and gather intelligence, etc. The origin of this military structure is obscure, but the evidently Greek etymology of the term *martolos* (likely from *armatolos*, "armed man") suggests that it was related to and probably inherited from earlier Byzantine practice[72]. While the *martolos* institution is

[72] The theories about the etymology of the term and the origins of the institution are summarized in М. ВАСИЋ, *Мартолоси у југословенским земљама под турском владавином*, Бања Лука 2005,

mainly attested in the European provinces of the empire since the first half of the fifteenth century, it may have its origins in the context of early Ottoman expansion in Anatolia, when the emerging principality was confronted with the local Byzantine *akritai* – frontier warriors with very similar functions to those of the *martolos*es. Indeed, the fifteenth-century historian ʿĀshıqpashazāde, who relies here on a now lost narrative of early Ottoman history by Yakhshī Faqīh, reports how "a *martaloz* [sic] of Othmān Ghāzī by the name of Araṭūn" revealed to the "warriors of faith" (*ghāzīler*) the ambush of the "infidels" (*kāfirler*) near İnegöl[73]. The author does not dwell on the role of a Christian for the Muslim military enterprise in what he depicts as a holy war under Ottoman leadership, and the non-Muslimness of that *martolos* is only implied by his uncharacteristic name as well as by his familiarity with the local geography and the enemy.

The *martolos*es were particularly important for Ottoman expansion in the predominantly Christian Balkans, and this is well attested by ʿĀshıqpashazāde. The "useful" or "capable" (*yarar*) *martolos*es are featured, without further comment, in his story of the first Ottoman conquests in Europe when they spied the Byzantine governor of Qonurḥiṣār and thus helped the Ottoman prince Süleymān Pasha (d. 1357) capture him and, consequently, his fortress[74]. In another episode that the author arguably recounts from his own participation in the second Battle of Kosovo in 1448, a *martolos* called Ṭoghan was able to infiltrate among the Christian army and reveal its composition to the Ottomans before the fight[75].

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p. 24–45. See further E. Radushev, *Ottoman Border Periphery (Serhad) in the Nikopol Vilayet, First Half of the 16th Century*, EB 31.3–4, 1995, p. 140–160; *TDV İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, *s.v.* "Martolos" (A. Özcan); A. Kayapinar, *Les filorici dans la région timoko-danubienne à l'époque ottomane (XVe–XVIe siècles)*, [in:] *Enjeux politiques, économiques et militaires en Mer Noire (XIVe–XXIe siècles). Études à la mémoire de Mihail Guboğlu*, ed. F. Bilici, I. Cândea, A. Popescu, Braïla 2007, p. 262–267; idem, *Le sancak ottoman de Vidin du XVe à la fin du XVIe siècle*, Istanbul 2011, p. 225–229; К. Йорданов, *Войнуците*…, p. 399–405.

[73] *Die altosmanische Chronik des ʿĀšikpašazāde*, ed. F. Giese, Osnabrück 1972 (cetera: ʿĀshıqpashazāde/Giese), p. 9; *Âşıkpaşazâde Tarihi*, ed. N. Öztürk, Istanbul 2013 (cetera: ʿĀshıqpashazāde/Öztürk), p. 10. Cf. M. Васић, *Мартолоси*…, p. 42, 47–49, who considers the term *martolos* in this account either anachronistic or related to its use in a Byzantine setting, and not yet as an Ottoman institution such as it became in the fifteenth century.

[74] ʿĀshıqpashazāde/Giese, p. 46 (here: *martolozlar*); ʿĀshıqpashazāde/Öztürk, p. 69 (*martalozlar*).

[75] ʿĀshıqpashazāde/Giese, p. 124; ʿĀshıqpashazāde/Öztürk, p. 179. The Turkish name of this personage raises some questions because even in the sixteenth century, when Muslims began to appear in the *martolos* ranks more often, they were mostly converts to Islam: M. Васић, *Мартолоси*…, p. 268–290. Ṭoghan may have been a *martolos* commander, although these were also mainly Christians in the fifteenth century: *ibidem*, p. 290–292. There were, however, cases in which Cristian soldiers in the Ottoman army bore Turkish names, such as the one recorded as the "infidel (*kāfir*) Tīmūrtash" in a *tīmār* register from Thessaly dated 859/1454–1455: see H. İnalcik, *Stefan Duşan'dan*…, p. 146 (n. 46), 169 (n. 124). It is possible that in such cases a process of Turkification preceded the Islamization of the person as suggested by Metin Kunt, although the evidence is too scarce

Ṭoghan reported that the Christians were led by the Ottoman archenemy Hunyadi János (*Yanqo Khūnyād*) who is denigratingly referred to elsewhere in the text – in a speech attributed to the Rumelian commander-in-chief Qula Shāhīn – as a *martolos* (*martaloz*)[76]. This account suggests that the term was informally used as a pejorative for Christian soldiers, which also hints that their presence in the Ottoman ranks may have caused some dissatisfaction among their Muslim counterparts. Indeed, *voynuq*s, *martolos*es, Christian cavalrymen (*sipāhī*s) and raiders (*aqınjı*s) formed a significant part of the Ottoman army in the fifteenth century and the expected tensions that this situation produced left a trace in other contemporary sources. A case in point is the vita of the soldier George from Sofia who was killed for his faith in a military camp near Edirne in 1437[77].

Around the time of St. George's martyrdom, ʿĀshıqpashazāde entered the retinue of Isḥāq Beg of Üsküp (Skopje) whose frontier domains (*uj*) had a significant presence of Christian *sipāhī*s even two decades later[78]. As a scion of a famous Sufi family and himself a dervish, the historian was supposed to preach among the Muslim soldiers and provide religious justification for the campaigns of the sultan and his frontier lords like Isḥāq Beg[79]. It can be argued that his first-hand experience on the battlefields yielded a half-hearted recognition of *martolos*es' utility while his intellectual background kept him silent about their religious profile and non-Muslims' role in Ottoman warfare in general. In comparison, the contemporary *Anonymous Chronicles* and that of Ūrūj b. ʿĀdil, which share much of the narrative of fourteenth-century events with ʿĀshıqpashazāde and are considered part of the same popular tradition of early Ottoman historical writing, completely disregard the military involvement of local Christians with the exception of converts. On the other hand, ʿĀshıqpashazāde's work was also one of the main sources for Neshrī, who composed his universal history for the court and made some significant

for general conclusions: see M. KUNT, *Transformation of Zimmî into Askerî*, [in:] *Christians and Jews in the Ottoman Empire: The Functioning of a Plural Society*, vol. I, *The Central Lands*, ed. B. BRAUDE, B. LEWIS, Teaneck, NJ 1982, p. 59–60.

[76] ʿĀSHIQPASHAZĀDE/GIESE, p. 117; ʿĀSHIQPASHAZĀDE/ÖZTÜRK, p. 170.

[77] See T. KRSTIĆ, *Contested Conversions*…, p. 56; К. Йорданов, *Войнуците*…, p. 161–163. On the significant Christian participation in the Ottoman military of the time, see H. İNALCIK, *Stefan Duşan'dan*…; E. RADUSHEV, *Ottoman Border Periphery*…; H. LOWRY, *The Nature*…, p. 48–54; М. Васић, *Мартолоси*…, p. 56–65.

[78] ʿĀSHIQPASHAZĀDE/GIESE, p. 114–115; ʿĀSHIQPASHAZĀDE/ÖZTÜRK, p. 167–168. On Christian *sipāhī*s in the region at the time of Isḥāq Beg's son ʿĪsā Beg, see H. İNALCIK, *Stefan Duşan'dan*…, p. 149–151; H. ŠABANOVIĆ, *Krajište Isa-bega Ishakovića. Zbirni katastarski popis iz 1455. godine*, Sarajevo 1964.

[79] On ʿĀshıqpashazāde's lineage and his legitimizing role as well as that of his ancestors, both biological and spiritual, vis-à-vis the Ottoman dynasty, see H. İNALCIK, *How to Read ʿĀshık Pasha-Zāde's History*, [in:] *Studies in Ottoman History in Honour of Professor V.L. Ménage*, ed. C. HEYWOOD, C. IMBER, Istanbul 1994, p. 139–141, 147–156; L. ÖZDEMIR, *Ottoman History*…, p. 161–168.

ideological interventions to the original narrative but kept all the *martolos*-related accounts in almost verbatim form[80].

Like the already discussed account of the *voynuq*s by Idrīs Bitlīsī demonstrates, court-related historians seem to have been more open to the recognition of Christian contributions to Ottoman expansion, but their attitudes were also determined by their personal backgrounds and the sources of information to which they had access. This is evident in an episode recounted by a number of authors with some differences in detail. In 1464, Hunyadi's son and then king of Hungary Matthias Corvinus (1458–1490) attacked Bosnia, which had been conquered by Meḥmed II the previous year, and laid siege to the important fortress of Zvornik on the Drina River. The sultan sent his grand vizier Maḥmūd Pasha Angelović (d. 1474) to relieve the town, but he struggled to get there on time due to the difficult mountainous terrain. He then came up with a stratagem. Neshrī reports how the pasha sent forward "a man" (*bir ādam*) to encourage the defendants and tell them that the grand vizier is approaching, followed by the sultan. The message was also made known to the Hungarians who were struck by fear, and when they saw the Ottoman vanguard approaching, they retreated in panic and were then pursued and heavily defeated[81]. Neshrī borrowed this account from a chronicle of unknown authorship completed in 1484, the so-called *Oxford Anonymous*, where the person who was sent to deliver the message is described as "well-informed" (*ṣāḥib-i vuqūf*)[82]. Enverī, who completed his rhymed universal history, the *Düstūrnāme* (*Book of the Vizier*), one year after the events, recounts them in a chapter on the exploits of his patron, the grand vizier Maḥmūd Pasha himself, and writes that the messengers he sent to the besieged fortress were actually *martolos*es (*mārtolozlar*)[83]. Probably due to the stylistic limitations of his rhymed narrative, Enverī says nothing about the origin or confession of the *martolos*es and just mentions the term for this one and only time in his work. Ṭūrsūn Beg, however, who was also a protégé of Maḥmūd Pasha and was again accompanying the Ottoman army on that occasion, adds in his *History of the Conqueror* that the grand vizier sought specifically for "an infidel *martolos* who is a skillful and experienced messenger faster than the wind". When such a person was found, he and his companion, who was chosen from

[80] Mevlânâ Mehmed Neşri, *Cihânnümâ. Osmanlı Tarihi (1288–1485)*, ed. N. Öztürk, Istanbul 2013 (cetera: Neshrī), p. 37, 77, 266, 274.

[81] Neshrī, p. 310–311. For a general reconstruction of the events, see T. Stavrides, *The Sultan of Vezirs. The Life and Times of the Ottoman Grand Vezir Mahmud Pasha Angelović (1453–1474)*, Leiden 2001, p. 157–160.

[82] H.E. Cengiz, Y. Yücel, *Rûhî Târîhi*, Bgr 14.18, 1992, p. 459; D. Kastritsis, *An Early Ottoman History. The Oxford Anonymous Chronicle (Bodleian Marsh 313). Historical Introduction, Translation, and Commentary*, Liverpool 2017 [= TTB, 5], p. 196.

[83] *Düsturname-i Enverī*, ed. M. Halil, Istanbul 1928, p. 106; *Düstūrnâme-i Enverî (19–22. Kitaplar)*, ed. N. Öztürk, Istanbul 2012, p. 60.

among the grand vizier's slaves (*qul*), were promised "good *tīmār*s", i.e. sources of annual revenue, if they were to succeed in the dangerous task, which they did[84].

It is also worth looking at the portrayal of these events in later historical works. The next-generation historians Idrīs Bitlīsī and Kemālpashazāde, both writing on the commission of Sultan Bāyezīd II, clearly followed Ṭūrsūn Beg's account with some minor changes. Bitlīsī notes that those summoned by Maḥmūd Pasha belonged to "the rank of *martoloses* and spies" (*jamāʿat-i martolosān va jāsūsān*) but, for some reason, he does not explicitly refer to them as Christians or "infidels" and says nothing about the *tīmār*s[85]. Lexical similarity suggests that the late-sixteenth-century historians Khoja Saʿdeddīn and Muṣṭafā ʿĀlī have both used Bitlīsī as a main source in this case. Consequently, the involvement of Christians in the events remains obscure from their accounts, with Saʿdeddīn even omitting the term *martolos* itself[86]. In contrast, Kemālpashazāde has kept Ṭūrsūn's description of the man performing the mission as an "unbeliever" (*kāfir*) and even added a short clarification of who were the *martolos*es: a "group" or "people" (*ṭāʾife*) who had come (to the Ottomans), running away from the Hungarians (or Hungary: *Engürūs*)[87].

Kemālpashazāde's statement is probably deduced from some other relevant passages in Ṭūrsūn Beg's work. The first one refers to the "famous *martolos* infidels of cursed nature, who had come to friction with the Turks on many occasions", among the defendants of the Serbian capital city of Smederevo (Semendere) during its siege by Maḥmūd Pasha's forces in 1458[88]. A little later in the same campaign, however, the grand vizier – notably, a convert born in a Christian aristocratic family in Serbia – employed some "old cunning *martolos* infidels" (*eski qurnaz martolos kāfirler*) for reconnaissance tasks against the Hungarians at the Sava river, once again offering them *tīmār*s as a reward[89]. There is a good reason to believe Ṭūrsūn in this case, too, for he personally served as the financial agent (*emīn*) in charge of the campaign and was likely tasked with allotting the *tīmār*s[90]. Taken in their entirety, his references to the *martolos*es create an image very similar to that of the Anatolian *akritai*: a militarized Christian frontier population that was engaged in thwarting the Ottoman advance, but some of its members were prone to offering their experience and good knowledge of the local geography to the conquerors in return for remuneration (in the form of *tīmār*s) and entry into the Ottoman

[84] TURSUN BEG, fol. 119a–119b.

[85] IDRĪS BITLĪSĪ, fol. 446v; IDRĪS BITLĪSĪ/YILDIRIM, p. 180–181.

[86] KHOJA SAʿDEDDĪN, p. 506–507; GELIBOLULU MUSTAFA ʿÂLĪ EFENDI, *Kitâbü't-Târīḫ-i Künhü'l-Aḫbâr*, ed. A. UĞUR *et al*., Kayseri 1997, p. 633–634.

[87] İBN KEMAL, *Tevârih-i Âl-i Osman*, vol. VII (tenkidli transkripsiyon), ed. Ş. TURAN, Ankara 1957 (cetera: İBN KEMAL, vol. VII), p. 258.

[88] TURSUN BEG, fol. 79a.

[89] TURSUN BEG, fol. 81b.

[90] TURSUN BEG, p. 42.

military class. The contemporary archival sources confirm this situation as well as Kemālpashazāde's report that many *martolos*es had come from Hungary and other Christian territories along the expanding Ottoman frontiers. A register for the Sanjak of Vidin from 1454–1455 features no less than five Christian *tīmār*-holders who had "fled from Hungary", while in another register from ca. 1479, we find the *martolos* Dragan to receive a *tīmār* after "coming from the Wallachian lands"[91].

4.3. Balkan Christians as ʿ*askerī*

To be sure, *tīmār*s were reserved for the most distinguished among the *martolos*es and their leaders, while the majority were closer to a *reʿāyā* status, but the question remains of why historians with a background in religious scholarship such as Ṭūrsūn Beg and the future *sheykh ül-islām* Kemālpashazāde were not averse to revealing the practice of Christians joining the Ottoman military class (ʿ*askerī*) in contradiction with the *sharīʿa* norms. We should of course not disregard the authors' effort to reproduce historical facts objectively, particularly when they had first-hand knowledge of the events like in the case of Ṭūrsūn Beg or, for that matter, his contemporary dervish-historian ʿĀshıqpashazāde[92]. However, their conceptions of Ottoman statehood were quite different. Those of Ṭūrsūn Beg and Kemālpashazāde were based on a particular understanding of law and justice, which made them significantly more inclusive.

Ṭūrsūn was among the first Ottoman scholars to incorporate in his work more complex discourses on kingship and society derived from the Perso-Islamic philosophical tradition and *The Nasirean Ethics* (*Aḫlāḳ-i Nāṣirī*) by Nāṣir al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī (d. 672/1274) in particular. The elaborate introduction to his *History of the Conqueror* represents a piece of political advice with a focus on the desirable virtues of the ruler who is viewed as the mainstay of statehood. An outstanding topic in this text is the sultan's commitment to justice (ʿ*adl*), while Ṭūrsūn also stresses

[91] Д. Боянич-Лукач, *Видин и Видинският санджак през 15–16 век. Документи от архивите на Цариград и Анкара*, ed. В. Мутафчиева, М. Стайнова, София 1975, p. 64 (nr. 33), 67 (nr. 52), 71 (nr. 74), 73 (nr. 89), 86 (nr. 170); *Турски извори за българската история*, серия XV–XVI [в.], vol. II, ed. Н. Тодоров, Б. Недков, София 1966, p. 374. For evidence from the Western Balkans, see М. Васић, *Мартолоси*…

[92] In addition to the evidence quoted above, ʿĀshıqpashazāde also recounts how the Christian lord of Enez (Dorino Gattiluso) submitted to Meḥmed II "between 857 and 858" (i.e. the winter of 1453/1454; actually, the incident took place in early 1456) and was given, together with his soldiers, "nice revenues and good *tīmār*s" (ʿĀshıqpashazāde/Giese, p. 136; ʿĀshıqpashazāde/Öztürk, p. 196). Despite the wrong dating and some imprecise details, this account is corroborated by the sultan's Greek biographer Kritobulos who was involved in the events. He adds that Gattiluso's estate ("some villages […] for a living") was located in the region of Zichna and that he fled to the Latin possessions in the Aegean shortly thereafter: Kritovoulos, *History of Mehmed the Conqueror*, trans. C.T. Riggs, Princeton, NJ 1954, p. 109–111; C. Imber, *The Ottoman Empire 1300–1481*, Istanbul 1990, p. 165–166.

on the importance of gratitude (*shükr*) for the power given to the ruler by God, one of its manifestations being "just law" (*qānūn-i ʿadl*) as a means of respite for those suffering oppression (*bīmār-i ẓulm*)[93]. These ideas were further developed within the context of dynastic history in Kemālpashazāde's own historical work whose first, eight-volume part was presented to Bāyezīd II towards the end of his reign. In Kemālpashazāde's view, one of the main factors for the superiority of the Ottomans over previous and contemporary dynasties was the obedience of both the *reʿāyā* and the *ʿaskerī* to Ottoman royal order (*emr-i emāret*) and the sultan's decree (*fermān-i sulṭāna iṭāʿat*)[94]. What is meant thereby is undoubtedly *qānūn*, dynastic law. That these historians acknowledged its centrality to Ottoman statehood is no surprise. The first *qānūnnāme*s were promulgated in the 1470s and the 1480s, when Ṭūrsūn Beg commenced his work, while Kemālpashazāde is credited with composing at least one *qānūnnāme* himself, for the province of Karaman in 1518[95]. He also played a role in Ottoman attempts to reconcile *qānūn* and *sharīʿa* in his later capacity as the empire's chief mufti, or *sheykh ül-islām* (1526–1534), with some of his fatwas referring to both Islamic and dynastic law or even implying the latter's precedence[96]. Unlike the more strictly *sharīʿa*-minded Khoja Saʿdeddīn, sixteenth-century historians of the bureaucratic mold like his contemporary Muṣṭafā ʿĀlī developed what Cornell Fleischer aptly termed *qānūn*-consciousness and placed the increasing digressions from the "old" dynastic law – i.e. the authoritative *qānūnnāme*s issued until the time of Süleymān the Lawgiver, 1520–1566 – at the heart of their discussions of perceived decline in Ottoman politics and society[97].

It should be noted that *tīmār* grants to non-Muslims were not explicitly regulated in the extant *qānūnnāme*s, but they were not forbidden either and were certainly considered to be in the realm of uncodified *qānūn* as a product of custom and state necessity[98]. After all, the *berāt*s (diplomas) of the *tīmār* holders,

[93] TURSUN BEG, fol. 20b, p. 21–24. See also M. SARIYANNIS, *A History*…, p. 68–70.

[94] İBN-I KEMAL, *Tevârih-i Âl-i Osman*, vol. I, ed. Ş. TURAN, Ankara 1970 (cetera: İBN KEMAL, vol. I), p. 18–19.

[95] A. AKGÜNDÜZ, *Osmanlı Kanunnâmeleri Ve Hukukî Tahlilleri*, vol. III, Istanbul 1991, p. 306–311; cf. R. REPP, *The Müfti of Istanbul. A Study in the Development of the Ottoman Learned Hierarchy*, London 1986, p. 231.

[96] U. HEYD, *Studies*…, p. 183–192; R. REPP, *Qānūn and Sharīʿa*…, p. 134; C. IMBER, *Ebuʾs-suʿud*…, p. 120–122; A. İNANIR, *Şeyhülislâm İbn Kemal'in Fetvaları Işığında Kanûnî Devrinde Osmanlı'da Hukukî Hayat*, Istanbul 2011, p. 22–29; E. ÖKTEN, *Ottoman Society and State in the Light of the Fatwas of İbn Kemal*, MA Thesis, Bilkent University 1996, p. 80–90. Cf. also S. BUZOV, *The Lawgiver*…, p. 77–78, where Kemālpashazāde's approach to (*qānūn*-regulated) land law is compared with that of Ebuʾs-Suʿūd. Kemālpashazāde's reasoning that state ownership of the land is legitimate since "it is not known in what way it [i.e. the land] was taken or surrendered during the conquest" is particularly striking against the background of the numerous pages that he dedicated to Ottoman conquests in his own historical oeuvre.

[97] C. FLEISCHER, *Bureaucrat*…, p. 191–200.

[98] *Ibidem*, p. 198: "Imperial custom, as *kanun*, had prescriptive force even when unwritten…".

regardless of their religion, were issued by the same authority that promulgated *qānūn* – the sultan. Thus, while Christian *ʿaskerī* feature on the pages of Ottoman historical writings far more rarely than on those of the *tīmār* registers, and hence in real practice, occasional historiographic references to their role in Ottoman expansion are surely based on an understanding of their legality within dynastic law. The customary nature of the phenomenon is underlined by the requirement that ordinary Christian *reʿāyā* could not become *tīmār* holders and the latter had to be either military men "of old" themselves, i.e. members of the pre-Ottoman military class in a particular region, or descendants of such people – a requirement that, alongside Islamization, gradually led to the almost complete extinction of this social group in the Balkans (unlike in the newly conquered Hungary) by the sixteenth century[99].

This brings us to another factor in Ottoman superiority according to Kemālpashazāde's schema, namely the "lands of Rūm", i.e. the Balkans and Anatolia, as a geographical-cum-political stage of the dynasty, which had not yet expanded its authority over parts of Central Europe and the Arab lands by the time he completed the first version of his *Histories* in 1510. The "Roman Abode of War" (*dār al-ḥarb-i rūmī*) not only gave legitimacy to Ottoman state building through the plentiful opportunities for waging holy war against the unbelievers that it offered, but it also provided the dynasty with all kinds of riches, both natural and demographic, including "a greater army and more abundant slaves (*qul*) and servants (*nöker*) than other lands [could furnish]"[100]. Indeed, Christian and Muslim servants (*nöker*, *khidhmetkār*) of ordinary *sipāhī*s (cavalrymen), military commanders, and especially of semi-autonomous frontier begs such as the Isḥāqoghlu s of Üsküp are commonly encountered in the extant fifteenth-century registers, often becoming *tīmār* holders themselves. The same goes for the numerous slaves (*qul*, *gulām*), the difference being that they were mainly acquired by their masters on military campaigns or slave markets and had to convert to Islam before being manumitted and given their own source of revenue. The servants, on the other hand, seem to have been local freemen who sought entry into the *ʿaskerī* class through their service to the begs and could maintain their faith[101]. Of course, the term *qul* came

[99] H. İnalcık, *Ottoman Methods…*, p. 113–116; idem, *Stefan Duşan'dan…*, p. 166–170.

[100] İbn Kemal, vol. I, p. 17, 19–22.

[101] H. İnalcık, *Stefan Duşan'dan…*, p. 145–146, 149–150, 159–160; idem, *Ottoman Methods…*, p. 120–122. The semantics of the different terms is not always clear due to the limited context. H. İnalcık has proposed that in the register for Arvanid (Albania) from 835/1431, the terms *nöker* and *gulām* were synonymous, but the presence of a Christian *tīmār* holder who was a *nöker* of another Christian (judging by the non-Muslim names) suggests that a servant of a local nobleman is meant here, i.e. what is more commonly described in other registers as *khidhmetkār*: see H. İnalcık, *Hicrî 835 Tarihli Sûret-i Defter-i Sancak-i Arvanid*, ²Ankara 1987, p. 86. The largest number of *khidhmetkār*s, including many Christians, is to be found in the 1455 register for the *uj* (frontier province) of Isḥāqoghlu ʿĪsā Beg in present-day Northern Macedonia and Kosovo, see H. Šabanović, *Krajište Isa-bega…*, *passim*. See also M. Kunt, *Transformation of Zimmî…*, p. 62, according to whom

to be increasingly associated with a particular category of Muslim officials and soldiers with a convert background who became a significant if not the dominant part of the imperial elite[102]. Some Ottoman historians discussed this process as well as the related practices of the *penjik* and (more rarely) the *devshirme*, but their views thereof remain beyond the scope of the present paper[103].

5. Balkan Christians siding with the enemy

While *dhimmī*s were an indispensable part of early Ottoman military and, especially in the sixteenth century, an increasing source of new Muslims including janissaries and state officials, they could occasionally become disobedient as well. Such was the case during the crusading campaign led by the Polish-Hungarian King Władysław (1434/1440–1444) in 1443. The most detailed Ottoman account of these events is provided by a *ghazavātnāme* titled *The Holy Wars of Sultan Murād Son of Sultan Meḥmed Khan* and composed shortly after the crusades of 1443–1444 by an unknown author who drew on his own and/or others' eyewitness evidence. It is only preserved in a later, slightly defective manuscript of an uncertain date, which contains some (arguably minor) interventions to the original text not earlier than the late sixteenth century[104]. The narrative is very lively, abounds of direct speech and colloquial vocabulary, and regularly jumps from the Muslim to the Christian camp and back – a feature that is rather uncharacteristic of early Ottoman historical writing and certainly had the dual purpose to enhance the literary value of the text as well as its claim to historical reliability. This is evident in a passage which traces the interactions between the crusaders and the local Christians in the region between Niš and Sofia in 1443 and is particularly relevant to the present study. One of the leading figures in the crusading army, the abovementioned Hungarian general Hunyadi János (Yanko in the Ottoman text), recommends the following:

> 'The best thing to do now is to send letters to all the priests (*pāpāslar*) who are round about, and get them to help us and bring us food.' This is what the King [Władysław] did. He wrote letters to the priests and to people who worshipped idols and the cross to the effect that, on the instructions of the Pope of Rome (*Rīm papā*), if anyone refused to bring him assistance, he would kill them and take their wives and daughters prisoner. However, anyone who offered to help, by bringing and selling provisions or by acting as guides, would escape these

"it seems by the mid-sixteenth century the distinction between "slave" and "servant" was obscure and perhaps totally irrelevant" in the big households of Ottoman courtiers (often with *qul* background themselves). See also V.L. MÉNAGE, *Some Notes on the Devshirme*, BSOAS 29.1, 1966, p. 66–67.

[102] For a short outline of this much studied process, see *EI*[2], *s.v.* "Ghulām, iv. – Ottoman Empire" (H. İNALCIK).

[103] See, e.g., the works cited in fn. 28 and 70 above.

[104] *Gazavât-ı Sultân Murâd b. Mehemmed Hân. İzladi ve Varna Savaşları (1443–1444) Üzerinde Anonim Gazavâtnâme*, ed. H. İNALCIK, M. OĞUZ, [2]Ankara 1989 (cetera: *Gazavât-ı Sultân Murâd*), p. VII–VIII.

> perils. Matreman Yandulus would be pleased with them, and Narnur would bring joy to their spirits. He wrote a great deal of such nonsense and despatched the letters. Most of the people (*reʿāyā*) in fact submitted to these accursed men. Some began to bring provisions to sell. Some mounted their horses and acted as guides. In short, that year they paid their jizya to the infidels (*küffār*) who are as low as the dust, and many of the subject infidels (*reʿāyādan bir vāfir kāfir*) mounted their horses and joined Yanko's army. Now Yanko thought to himself: 'It really is excellent that these people have mounted their horses and come to us. I will immediately form them into a contingent and send them ahead of us. If the Turks attack us they will make an excellent shield.' He gave the command and the infidel subjects (*reʿāyā kāfirī*) set off as a contingent. That day they crossed the Dragoman Pass and entered the plain of Sofia[105].

The quoted passage is important for a number of reasons. First, it projects a sense of (feigned) familiarity with the religious beliefs and hierarchy of the Christians. *Mātermān Yandūlūs* is a distorted name of a Christian saint or rather the Holy Trinity, which appears throughout the narrative in different spellings, whereas *Nārnūr* is how the Christians called God according to the author, who seems to thus imply their idolatry through the Arabic meanings of the composite words *nār* (fire) and *nūr* (light)[106]. The Pope plays an important role in *The Holy Wars* as a distant puppet master of the crusaders and, for that matter, a head of all Christianity, which may be a reflection of the unionist attempts led by Emperor John VIII Palaeologus (1425–1448) and Pope Eugene IV (1431–1447)[107]. Although, on a political level, the Ottomans were well aware and made good use of the long-standing animosity between the two Churches and the widespread antiunionist sentiments in the East, however, the anonymous chronicler apparently paid little attention to the confessional differences among the Christians. It should be noted that the crusading army itself was hardly homogeneous in confessional terms, especially in 1443 when it also included a Serbian contingent under Despot George Branković. Moreover, there was apparently some on-site collaboration between the crusaders and the Orthodox clergy. When the crusaders entered Sofia, which had been reportedly burnt down by the retreating Ottoman forces, they are said to have "brought the metropolitan bishop (*vlādīqa medropolīdī*) and, appointing him their priest, recited a lot of nonsense as their infidel rites required"[108]. There is no doubt that the local Orthodox bishop is meant here, and it is noteworthy that he is

[105] *Gazavât-ı Sultân Murâd*, p. 16–17, fol. 14v–15r. I reproduce here the English translation by Colin Imber, to which I have added the original terms in the brackets: C. Imber, *The Crusade of Varna, 1443–1445*, Aldershot 2006, p. 56.

[106] C. Imber, *The Crusade*…, p. 43, n. 12, 13. The term *Mātermān* seems to be derived from the Greek address to God as "Our Father", *Pater ēmōn* (Πάτερ ἡμῶν): see Γ. Αϊβαλη, Ε. Ζαχαριαδου, Α. Ξανθυνακης, *Το χρονικό των ουγγροτουρκικών πολέμων (1443–1444)*, Ηράκλειο 2005, p. 80–81. I thank one of the anonymous reviewers for this reference.

[107] On the ideological role of the Pope in the narrative, see also N. Antov, *Crusading in the Fifteenth Century and its Relation to the Development of Ottoman Dynastic Legitimacy, Self-Image and the Ottoman Consolidation of Authority*, [in:] *The Crusade in the Fifteenth Century. Converging and Competing Cultures*, ed. N. Housley, London 2016, p. 20–22.

[108] *Gazavât-ı Sultân Murâd*, p. 17, fol. 15v; C. Imber, *The Crusade*…, p. 57.

referred to with both the Greek (*medropolīd*) and the Slavic (*vlādīqa*) form of the title, with the latter being used alone later in the text[109]. Along with some other words of Slavic and Hungarian origin dispersed in the Turkish text[110], this observation invites some considerations about the possible convert-background of the author or – given his confused knowledge of Christian beliefs – of his hypothetical informer(s).

Returning to the passage quoted above, it should be noted that the image of Ottoman and foreign Christians is not entirely indiscriminate. The chronicler may have disregarded their confessional differences but not their sociopolitical status. Although he applies the same term for both groups of "infidels" (*küffār*, *kāfir*), he clearly distinguishes between them by additionally referring to the locals as *reʿāyā*, i.e. Ottoman tax-paying subjects. Moreover, he implies a level of mistrust between the crusaders and the locals despite the latter's willing support of the campaign. In his message to the Orthodox priests, the King is supposed to have used the carrot and stick approach, and Hunyadi was later ready to utilize the local contingents as a "shield" – a statement likely meant to demonstrate the crusaders' cynical attitude towards the Eastern Orthodox under Muslim rule as opposed to their purported aim to fight for the salvation of Christendom. The evidence from earlier crusades, the writings of many western chroniclers and travelers about the "schismatics" as well as the strong anti-Catholic sentiments evident in late medieval Orthodox literature and practice all add credence to *The Holy Wars*' representation of these relations[111]. However, it rather serves a rhetorical function to underline the negative image of the invaders and Hunyadi in particular, the ultimate evil figure of the narrative. The local Christians' enthusiasm and support for the crusaders during the campaign of 1443 is well attested in contemporary documents including letters written by Hunyadi himself, who also entered Bulgarian folklore in a positive light[112]. *The Holy Wars* provides the most detailed account

[109] In the sole MS (*Gazavât-ı Sultân Murâd*, fol. 15v), the word *vlādīqa* does not stay before the word *medropolīdī* but is added beneath it. It may have not been meant as an addition but as a clarification of the Greek term. Given that on later occasions the text refers to that Bishop as *vlādīqa* only, it is likely that this is one of the 16th-century scribe's manipulations of the original text, which must have used only *medropolīd* instead.

[110] See the dictionary of uncommon words in the text in *Gazavât-ı Sultân Murâd*, p. 114.

[111] For a recent study of mediaeval Slavic anti-Catholic literature with references to the abundant research on the relations between the Eastern Orthodox and Catholic worlds following the Great Schism of 1054, see A. Николов, *Между Рим и Константинопол. Из антикатолическата литература в България и славянския православен свят (XI–XVII в.)*, София 2016, and esp. chap. 3 on the 15th–17th centuries.

[112] H. Kolarov, *Die Teilnahme der Bulgaren am „Langen Feldzug" des Königs Wladislaw III. Jagiello von 1443–1444*, BHR 1.1, 1973, p. 65–71; Б. Цветкова, *Паметна битка на народите (Европейският югоизток и османското завоевание – края на XIV и първата половина на XV в.)*, [2]Варна 1979, p. 268–269; В. Гюзелев, *„Дългият поход" на полско-унгарския крал Владислав III Ягело от 1443–1444 г. и българите*, [in:] *Извори за кръстоносните походи от 1443–1444 година в българските земи*, ed. idem, София 2019, p. 280–281.

of the *reʿāyā*'s involvement, as biased and rhetorical as it is. The anonymous author's statement that they submitted the equivalent of their poll-tax (*jizya*) to the invading "infidels" ought not to be understood literally, but rather as a testament to the violation of their status of "protected people" (*dhimmī*s) for which they owed the *jizya* as well as obedience to the sultan. Indeed, according to *The Holy Wars*, they were severely punished for this violation. This is what happened when the Pasha of Sofia entered the city after the crusaders had left it:

> When he arrived, he knocked down the church door and either cut off the heads or gouged out the eyes of the priests, monks and infidels who were inside. They cut off the head of the dog called the Bishop (*vlādīqa*), put it in a bag and turned to go. They handed the heads of the Bishop and of a few important men to a courier, who carried them to the Sultan. As soon as the Padishah saw the heads, he knew that all the subjects had given their allegiance to the infidels (*jümle reʿāyā küffāra ṭaptı*). He straightaway gave the order that whoever so wished could go and cut off the head of anyone they captured, whether voynuk or subject (*eğer voynuq ve eğer reʿāyā*), who had supplied provisions to the infidels, seize their property and take their women and children prisoner. […] Whenever they reached a village, they slaughtered the men and took the women and children prisoner. They plundered the provisions in their stores and seized their property and sustenance. […] The subjects of Sofia and Radomir were crushed beneath the horses' hooves, and whoever presented the Padishah with a head received a bonus of five gold florins[113].

Given the archival evidence demonstrating a relatively dense Christian population in a stable network of settlements around Sofia one or two years after the events[114], the graphic violence displayed in this passage may be somewhat exaggerated by the chronicler in order to emphasize the consequences of *dhimmī* disobedience or rather to satisfy his Muslim readership's expectations thereof. It is also important to note his mention of *voynuq*s among those liable to retribution. It comes to support the logical assumption that the local contingents in the crusading army were mostly made of *voynuq*s with military experience who were, as mentioned, well-represented in the region of Sofia. The pass-guarding *derbendji*s, who are attested in numerous settlements along the Diagonal Route (Belgrade–Sofia–Istanbul) and especially in mountainous areas, may have also played an important role in guiding the Christian troops. Of particular interest is the fact that this author, too, seems to consider the *voynuq*s in a different category than the ordinary *reʿāyā*, although by mentioning the two social groups alongside each other he may have simply tried to highlight the unruliness of the former. It may even have been what the sultan did say in fact. In any case, *The Holy Wars* implicitly recognizes the importance of the Balkan Christians for military encounters on Ottoman territory

[113] *Gazavât-ı Sultân Murâd*, p. 17–18, fol. 15v–16r. Translation by C. Imber, *The Crusade*…, p. 57 (original terms added).

[114] Ц. Георгиева, *Пространство и пространства на българите XV–XVII век*, София 1999, p. 94–96.

and their extremely negative image in this text is not just a generic trope, but also a reflection of Ottoman resentment at their actions. Such resentment would have been particularly strong with regard to the *voynuq*s and other groups of supposedly "privileged" status who were expected to fight the Ottoman enemies and not to join them.

A similar case occurred two decades later, during the already discussed Hungarian attempts to take the fortress of Zvornik after its recent conquest by Meḥmed II. Although, as was shown, the Christian *martolos*es were instrumental in relieving the siege, other, seemingly larger local communities aided the Hungarians. The eyewitness Ṭūrsūn Beg reports that in order to prevent Ottoman reinforcements reaching the besieged town, "the Vlach people who are the infidels' woodsmen (*ṭāʾife-yi eflāq ki kāfirin chıtaghıdır*), having become hostile and disobedient, had blockaded the mountain pass so no bird could fly by"[115]. Given the common historiographic usage of the term *eflāq* as referring to Wallachia in a geographical and political sense, Ṭūrsūn's wording is rather ambiguous in this case, but the Vlachs' description as "disobedient" (*ʿāq*) and *chıtaq* – which seems to be used here in its original meaning of "mountain-dweller" without its secondary pejorative connotations – suggests that he meant the population of the local mountains who had already become Ottoman subjects. To be sure, this is what Kemālpashazāde understood form Ṭūrsūn's account for he calls the Vlachs "the infidels of those lands" who "grew in strength by asking the Hungarians for help, having found a window of opportunity to oppose the people of Islam…"[116]. Neither Ṭūrsūn Beg nor Kemālpashazāde – or, for that matter, Idrīs Bitlīsī, who also paraphrased Ṭūrsūn Beg's account but left aside all characterizations of the Vlachs except for "infidels" (*kuffār*)[117] – found it necessary to provide any particular commentary on the actions of the local population besides their qualification as an act of disobedience.

It is also worth reminding that these historians contended themselves with only reporting the *martolose*s' support for Maḥmūd Pasha's troops during the same events without any notable discussion. It thus seems that the varying allegiance of Balkan Christians in the fifteenth century was seen, to some extent, as a natural behavior that was to be expected. However, such an inference is at odds with the acrimonious reaction of the anonymous author of the *ghazavātnāme* to the *reʿāyā*'s support for the crusaders in 1443. Apart from personal and generic specifics – with the *ghazavātnāme* providing a more detailed, vivid, and polemic account of a single military operation – the difference in approach may be due to the fact that the area of Zvornik had become Ottoman possession only a few years prior to the campaign of 1464 and the loyalties of the local population were still a matter of dispute.

[115] TURSUN BEG, fol. 118b.
[116] İBN KEMAL, vol. VII, p. 257.
[117] IDRĪS BITLĪSĪ, fol. 445v; IDRĪS BITLĪSĪ/YILDIRIM, p. 180.

Kemālpashazāde's insightful remark that the Vlachs' actions were due to them "having found a window of opportunity to oppose the people of Islam" goes a long way to explain why Ottoman accounts of military collaboration between local and foreign "infidels" were rare – there were simply not too many "windows of opportunity" for such collaboration between the mid-fifteenth and the late sixteenth centuries. The same can be said of the actions of the *voynuq*s and the ordinary *reʿāyā* during the Crusades of 1443–1444. Judging by Idrīs Bitlīsī's early-1500s image of the *voynuq*s as important and reliable soldiers as well as by the longevity of the corps, it is safe to say that their disobedience half a century earlier was rather an exception caused by the palpable opportunity for restoration of Christian statehood in the Central and Eastern Balkans. When speaking of the same region, the next such opportunity would not come until the late sixteenth century. But while the reactions of the Christian *reʿāyā* were equally varied, their reflection in Ottoman historical writing were rather muted.

6. Turning a blind eye on the Christian *reʿāyā*

The sixteenth century saw significant changes in the social structure of Ottoman Christian society. The old Balkan aristocracy, and Christian *sipāhī*s in particular, almost entirely left the historical scene (with the exception of higher Church circles), and militarized groups such as *voynuq*s and *martoloses* had some of their earlier privileges abolished, their functions limited to inner-imperial duties, and their status largely reduced to that of ordinary *reʿāyā* with some tax exemptions. Against this background, the Ottoman historians' usual selectiveness and laconicism when discussing the contribution of Christian detachments to Ottoman warfare seems to become even more conspicuous when it comes to the involvement of the ordinary Christian *reʿāyā* in military encounters. A case in point is the Long War against the Habsburgs (1593–1606) and their allies, including the Wallachian voivode Michael the Brave (1593–1601) whose forces made several significant incursions to the south of the Danube, causing wholesale destruction along the way. Notably, archival evidence shows that the Christian inhabitants of Silistra put up strong resistance against the Wallachian troops besieging the city in 1595, which earned them some tax exemptions throughout the next century[118]. The first couple of years of the war occupy the last pages of Muṣṭafā ʿĀlī's *The Essence of Histories* (*Künh ül-akhbār*) but his account thereof is rather concise, and he fails to note the events around Silistra altogether. Of greatest interest in this regard is the narrative of ʿĀlī's contemporary Muṣṭafā Selānīkī – likely a native of Thessalonica (Selānīk) who wrote a detailed history of the imperial affairs between 1563 and

[118] С. Първева, *Създаване и запазване на колективната памет за военни конфликти в османската погранична периферия: битките на Михай Витязул с Османската империя по време на войната със Свещената лига (1593–1606)*, ИП 71.3–4, 2015, p. 15–16.

1600. Selānīkī vaguely hints at the involvement of the local population (*vilāyet khalqī*) in the Ottoman countermeasures at Silistra, but his wording rather denotes the local Muslims and, moreover, he describes the subsequent confrontation along the lines of holy war in the name of Islam (*jihād*)[119]. Given his apparent access to the imperial archives and high officials, lack of knowledge is not a credible explanation for his silence. It was rather Selānīkī's presupposed conception of the events that shaped his narrative strategy and denied his explicit acknowledgement of Christians fighting on the Ottoman side.

The historian, however, is somewhat more precise when reporting that during Michael the Brave's next largescale attack in Rumeli in 1598 his army included "renegades, Hungarians, Austrians, Croats, Bulgarians, Serbs, and Greeks"[120]. The original lands of the latter three communities were at the time all within the Ottoman domains. Their representatives in Michael's army must have been soldiers with an immigrant background given that the participation of Bulgarians and other Balkan peoples in the Wallachian, Transylvanian, and Habsburg armies during the war is well attested in a number of contemporary Christian sources[121]. Selānīkī's account may also have some relation to the broad anti-Ottoman conspiracy of local Bulgarian notables, Ragusan tradesmen, and (primarily Greek) Church officials in Ottoman Bulgaria, which culminated in the so-called Tarnovo Uprising amid Michael's campaign in 1598[122]. Be that as it may, the enumeration of various subject peoples – notably, in ethnic rather than religious terms – as participants in the enemy forces implies the mass disobedience of Balkan Christians during the war, while also highlighting Selānīkī's reluctance to elaborate on the topic. The reasons may lie in the chronicle-like structure of his work – although he was not averse to expressing his own opinion – as well as in the clandestine nature of the conspirators' activities, with the resulting uprising being less documented and perhaps not particularly noteworthy.

In many ways, Selānīkī's approach resembles that of late-seventeenth-century Ottoman bureaucrat historians such as Silāḥdār Meḥmed Agha and Defterdār Ṣarı Meḥmed Pasha reporting on the war of 1683–1699, when the deep penetration of Holy League forces in Ottoman territory provoked equally varied responses by

[119] SELÂNİKÎ MUSTAFA EFENDİ, *Tarih-i Selânikî*, vol. II, ed. M. İPŞİRLİ, [2]Ankara 1999 (cetera: SELĀNĪKĪ), p. 452–453.

[120] SELĀNĪKĪ, p. 782: *Mihal leşkerinün ekseri mürtedd ve Macar ve Nemçe ve Hırvad ve Bulgar ve Sırf ve Rumdur*. (The edition's transcription has been preserved). Selānīkī notes a similar composition of the Habsburg army itself when describing earlier events at the beginning of the war; see SELĀNĪKĪ, vol. I, p. 370, s. a. 1002.

[121] М. ЙОНОВ, *Засилване на освободителното движение в края на XVI в. Първо търновско въстание*, [in:] *История на България*, vol. IV, *Българският народ под османско владичество (от XV до началото на XVIII в.)*, ed. Х. ГАНДЕВ *et al.*, София 1983, p. 196–197.

[122] On the conspiracy and the uprising, see Н. МИЛЕВ, *Един неиздаден документ за българската история (1597 год.)*, ИИД 4, 1915, p. 89–99; М. ЙОНОВ, *Засилване на освободителното движение*…, p. 186–196.

the local Christians. These authors similarly showed greater sensitivity towards the actions of Balkan non-Muslims who joined the Habsburg troops or aided them with revolts and *haydut* raids in the Ottoman rear[123]. Yet, they ignored or treated more vaguely some occasions when the local population hardly viewed the coreligionist (but confessionally different) invaders as liberators and tried to protect itself against them with all available means, effectively supporting the Ottoman cause. Thus, in 1689, a Habsburg vanguard was attacked "with sticks and slings" by the inhabitants of Dragoman, a Christian *derbendji* settlement in the same region between Sofia and Niš whose population, notably, had sided with the crusaders two centuries and a half earlier. In contrast to the detailed account of the *ghazavātnāme*, however, Silāḥdār simply described them as *reʿāyā*, without specifying their religious profile, while Defterdār failed to note their involvement altogether and accentuated on the heroics of the Muslim army[124].

7. Conclusion

Selānīkī's attenuated attention to the historical role of Balkan Christians in the late sixteenth century is in fact representative of the historiographic norm. Thus, the large majority of fifteenth-centuries Ottoman historians ignored the *dhimmī* involvement in the Crusades of 1443–1444, with the *ghazavātnāme*'s anonymous author being clearly the exception that proves the rule[125]. Ṭūrsūn Beg's accounts of *martolos*es, Vlachs, and *voynuq*s as well as Idrīs Bitlīsī's positive depiction of the latter resulted, in the first place, from the greater access of these writers to relevant information due to their professional and/or geographical positions. Because of the significant popularity that their works gained among subsequent generations, their accounts became part of the tradition but, more often than not, later

[123] See Д. Бојаниќ-Лукач, *Нова видувања за Карпошевото востание*, [in:] *Австро-турската војна 1683–1699 со посебен осврт на Карпошевото востание во Македонија*, ed. А. Стојановски *et al.*, Скопје 1997, p. 13–51; D. Ivanova, *The Impact of the 1683–1699 War on the Ottoman Rear: The Story of Silâhdar Mehmed Ağa about the Haydut Raid on Kyustendil in 1689/90*, [in:] *Empires and Peninsulas. Southeastern Europe between Karlowitz and the Peace of Adrianople, 1699–1829*, ed. P. Mitev, I. Parvev, M. Baramova, V. Racheva, Berlin 2010, p. 217–229; idem, *Ottoman Subjects, Habsburg Allies. The Reaya of the Chiprovtsi Region (Northwestern Bulgaria) on the Front Line, 1688–1690*, [in:] *The Treaties of Carlowitz (1699). Antecedents, Course and Consequences*, ed. C. Heywood, I. Parvev, Leiden 2019, p. 110–130.

[124] Дж. Иванова, *Театри на войната – сражения и историография (османски историци за участието на раята на Драгоман във войната между Свещената лига и Османската империя 1863–1699)*, [in:] *Из живота на европейските провинции на Османската империя през XV–XIX век. Сборник изследвания в памет на проф. д. и. н. Елена Грозданова*, ed. О. Тодорова, С. Първева, София 2016, p. 389–405.

[125] See И. Татарлъ, *Османски извори…*; Б. Цветкова, *Обзор на основните османски източници от XV в. за походите на Владислав Варненчик и Ян Хуниади през 1443/1444 г.*, [in:] *Варна 1444. Сборник от изследвания и документи в чест на 525-та годишнина от битката край гр. Варна*, ed. Д. Ангелов *et al.*, София 1969, p. 168–192, esp. p. 175.

historians stripped them of important details instead of elaborating on the topic of Ottoman Christians – an approach particularly evident in Khoja Saʿdeddīn's selective usage of Bitlīsī's *The Eight Paradises*.

Besides the quality of personal observations and access to sources, other factors shaping historiographic attitudes – in general terms as well as with respect to *dhimmī*s in particular – were the specific ideological position of each author and, hence, his narrative goals and strategy. These were usually premised on authors' personal backgrounds and aims as much as on some more abstract concerns with the didactic power of historical writing. Background and aims could sometimes come to friction as it is once again most visible from Bitlīsī's case. As an immigrant scholar, he did his best to penetrate the courtly circles by following the established models of high Persian historiography, but his experimental approach came a step too far for his contemporary Ottoman audience. Recognition of his work would come belatedly, but he bequeathed to us the most explicit accounts of previously unpopular or even taboo topics such as the *voynuq*s' utility and the *devshirme*.

Considering the limited place of the subject under consideration here in premodern Ottoman historiography, it is risky to locate the isolated accounts firmly within the major ideological streams that shaped this large body of literature. Still, it is possible to distinguish some general trends and patterns. In the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, authors who were commissioned by the ruling elite or sought its patronage were more open to a recognition, hesitant as it was, of non-Muslim contributions to the Ottoman cause as compared to the representatives of the popular tradition. Such a distinction is reflective of the tension between the process of empire building, which entailed greater involvement of Christians and especially converts in the military and governmental spheres, and the anti-imperial sentiments of the old frontier aristocracy, which gained expression in the popular tales of early Ottoman history and some hagiographic narratives. Historians related to the court like Ṭūrsūn Beg and Kemālpashazāde were also less hesitant to write about *qānūn*-related practices like the admission of *dhimmī*s to the privileged *ʿaskerī* class (by granting them *tīmārs*). Kemālpashazāde's work is particularly noteworthy with its discourse on the centrality of the lands of Rūm – with their largely Christian demographic potential – to the Ottoman enterprise. In later decades, such considerations would become deeply rooted in the oeuvre of bureaucrat historians like Muṣṭafā ʿĀlī who, unsurprisingly, indicated his allegiance to the same historiographic tradition[126]. In contrast, his contemporary *sheykh ül-islām* Khoja Saʿdeddīn, who had access to roughly the same sources, diligently avoided or veiled the topic of *dhimmī* involvement in Ottoman politics and higher society out of concerns for the conformity of such practices with the *sharīʿa*. With the tendency towards Sunnitization and greater adherence to Islamic piety in the

[126] C. FLEISCHER, *Bureaucrat*…, p. 248.

Ottoman public sphere culminating in the seventeenth century, it is appealing to hypothesize that Saʿdeddīn's approach would become dominant in historical writing. Muṣṭafā Selānīkī's comparatively greater focus on the anti-Ottoman actions of the Balkan peoples is another indication thereof. Further research into that period could prove or disprove this hypothesis, but Koja Ḥüseyin's willing reproduction of the Bitlīsī's account of the *voynuq*s in the 1640s is a red lamp indicating that historiographic attitudes remained varied and subjective.

In general, despite the variety of approaches, there is enough evidence or, indeed, enough lack of it to conclude that Ottoman Christians were a minor and occasional topic in Ottoman historical writing of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The few relevant accounts are understandably focused on military affairs, particularly in the first half of that period when *dhimmī*s had a greater role in Ottoman warfare. The few exceptions to that military-centrism were rather anecdotal or purely visual. They served to support some more general didactic or ideological aims of the respective narratives, and the authors' ideals of just rulership in particular. Sporadic references to priests and bishops only come to underline the historiographic obscurity of such a major structure of the Christian community like its Church organization – an Ottoman institution per se that operated in accordance with Islamic law. In other words, there was no real historiographic discourse on non-Muslims' place in Ottoman society. Does this recapitulation tell us something about the functioning of Ottoman society itself? When searching for the answer, the historians' reluctance to engage with this subject should be neither neglected nor overstated. It is indicative of the mentality of a Muslim elite, which – and some sections of it more than others – was not at ease with its largely Christian surroundings and sought to limit the latter's standing in its own historical memory. On the other hand, sources of other kinds reveal much greater interaction between Muslims and Christians on both the political and everyday levels, i.e. a largely shared *Lebenswelt*. Was Ottoman historical writing, then, detached from reality? It is perhaps better said that it created selective images of reality, much like the national historiographies of the modern age. It does, however, contain original pieces of information that can help us reconstruct premodern identities in the Ottoman domains – a potential that has not yet been sufficiently utilized.

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The Incantation against Snakebite from Norov's Psalmbook – Linguistic and Historical Aspects

Abstract. The paper explores the linguistic and cultural patterns behind an oral incantation against snakebite that appears on the last page of a Middle Bulgarian book of psalms. The manuscript dates back to the 14th century, and was created in the Eastern regions of Medieval Bulgaria, observing the orthography of the Tarnovo Literary traditions. The Russian traveller Norov found the book of psalms during a trip to the Holy Land at the beginning of the 19th century and brought it to Russia. The incantation contains a significant number of words of unclear origin. Yatsimirskiy – the first researcher of this incantation – offers two possible explanations about the source language that allude either to its derivation from an Oriental tongue, or to local folklore practices. Modern Russian researchers maintain the hypothesis about its folklore origin and emphasise its opening words *sarandara*/*marandara* as an example of ritual nonsense speech – in their view, this could have been a popular phenomenon in the ethnic religious practices of Slavic communities. After a linguistic analysis of the text and its unclear words, I hypothesise that the words belong to one of a range of secret languages. I also attempt to identify the group that used the incantation.

Keywords: incantation, ecstatic speech, secret language, Norov's Psalmbook

Norov's Psalmbook is a Medieval Bulgarian manuscript dated back to the first half of the 14th century. It was found in 1835–1836 by the Russian pilgrim Avraam Norov in the St. Sava Monastery in Palestine. Its orthographic and linguistic peculiarities supposedly ascribe it to a group of manuscripts created in the North-eastern Bulgarian lands[1]. A prayer, or more exactly an incantation, against snakebite was included on page № 263b after the main text. It was added below the main text without any relevance to either the book of psalms, nor to the graduals

[1] Е. Чешко, И. Бунина, В. Дыбо, О. Князевская, Л. Науменко, *Норовская псалтырь*, *Среднеболгарская рукопись XIV века*, vol. I, София 1989, p. 93–112.

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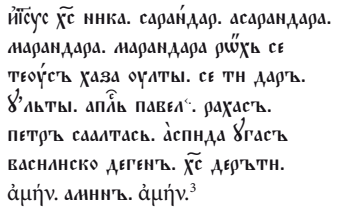
and prayers which were read between individual cathismas during the liturgy. According to the researchers of Norov's Psalmbook the handwriting of incantation differs from that of the main text[2].



The Latin transcription of the incantation is: *Jesus Christ nika. sarandar asarandara. marandara. marandara. roh se teos haza ulti. se ti dar ulîti. Apostol Pavel. rahas. Petr saalats. aspida ugas. vasilisko degen. Christ derûti. amin. amin. amin*[4].

The meaning of the words from the initial phrase in the text is comprehensible. They represent a variant of the traditional Christian invocation "IC XC NIKA", the names of the Holy Apostles Saint Paul and Saint Peter, the Middle and Old Bulgarian words **аспнда** (aspida) – from the Greek ἀσπίς/ἀσπίδες (plurality) and the Middle and Old Bulgarian **васнлнскъ** from the Greek βασιλίσκος – both meaning *venomous snake*[5], as well as ἀμήν/**аминъ** – Greek and Middle Bulgarian transcriptions of *amen*. The meanings of the other lexemes remain unclear.

It is obvious that the incantation is a medieval interpolation added after the compilation of the book. The unknown interpolator defines it as "a prayer". A short description of ritual referring to incantation is given as well. Its text is in Middle Bulgarian and is completely comprehensible. According to it, following a snakebite the "prayer" must be read over water. After the incantation, the bitten man must drink the water.

In the description of the ritual, between the verb "to read" and the noun "water", there is an unclear sign – a combination of two elements. The first one somewhat resembles a trident. The second element is placed above it and resembles a crescent[6]. This obscure sign cannot be identified as any known astrological or alchemical symbol, and indicates that most likely the interpolator did not know the incantation and ritual by heart, but used an existing record of its words.

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[2] Е. Чешко, И. Бунина, В. Дыбо, О. Князевская, Л. Науменко, *Норовская псалтырь*…, vol. II, p. 735.

[3] *Ibidem*. Bellow I will use the Latin transcription of the incomprehensible words.

[4] Below I will use the Latin transcription of the incomprehensible words.

[5] *Старобългарски речник*, София 1999, p. 44, 142.

[6] Е. Чешко, И. Бунина, В. Дыбо, О. Князевская, Л. Науменко, *Норовская псалтырь*…, vol. II, p. 735.

Surprisingly, more than four centuries later, an incantation very similar to the one in Norov's Psalmbook appeared in one of the popular works of the 19th century Ukrainian literature – "Кайдаше́ва сім'я́" (The Family of Kaydashes). The novel, written by the famous Ukrainian author Ivan Nechuy-Levyts'kyy, was published in 1879 in the Russian Empire. It includes the description of an incantation, referring to the 19th century practice of treating snakebite in Ukrainian countryside: *Сарандара*, *марандара*, *гаспіда угас*, *василиска попер! Амінь біжить*, *амінь кричить*, *амінь доганяє! Баба Палажка дмухнула на воду тричі навхрест і дала Кайдашеві напитись*[7].

The Ukrainian text partially repeats the incantation from Norov's Psalms and can be regarded as its short variant. At the same time, one of the female characters in the novel, Grandmother Palazhka, performs the water ritual included in Norov's Psalms in its entirety.

Contemporary literary critics do not link this passage of the novel to the Middle Bulgarian incantation, but fully ascribe it to the authorship of Ivan Nechuy-Levyts'kyy who, in their view, tried to intensify the comedic effect of the story[8]. It is difficult to say whether the author, who graduated from a seminary and a theological academy, had borrowed the incantation from some unknown source or if a similar ritual really existed in the 19th century Ukrainian folk traditions. The words "гаспіда" (gaspida) and "василиска" (vasiliska) which are obviously Eastern Slavonic phonetic adoptions of the Middle Bulgarian **аспнда** (aspida) and **васнлнско** (vasilisko) support the second hypothesis. The above cited passage indicates that different variants of the incantation existed in the medieval period, and most likely their spread in the north-eastern direction was one of the consequences of the so-called "Second South Slavic influence" (14th–15th century) on the Eastern Slavs.

Ivan Nechuy-Levyts'kyy's novel shows that the first fragment was *sarandara sarandara* not *sarandar asarandara*, as in Norov's Psalms. The Ukrainian variant of the incantation also indicates that over time it had lost many of its Middle Bulgarian features and only a few initial elements were preserved by the 19th century – *saranadara marandara* and *aspida ugas*, *vasilisko*. Apparently, most of the incomprehensible "lexemes" were abandoned and replaced with words from the popular vocabulary of the Eastern Slavs.

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[7] *Sarandara*, *marandara*, *gaspida ugas*, *vasiliska poper! Amin' bizhit'*, *amin' krichit'*, *amin' doganyae! Baba Palazhka dmuhnula na vodu trichi navherst i dala Kaydashevi napitis'* – І. Нечуй-Левицький, *Кайдашева сім'я*, Київ 2010, p. 271.

[8] О. Авраменко, В. Пахаренко, *Укарінська Литература. Підручник для 10 класу загальноосвітніх навчальних закладів (рівень стандарту, академічний рівень)*, Київ 2010, p. 30.

1. Attempts at explanation and decoding of the incantation

The first mention of the incantation in the academic literature dates back to 1836. It was published in the journal of the Russian Ministry of Education, in a paper describing the manuscripts and printed books from Norov's collection. The author of this paper (A. Vostokov) suggests that it could have been written in some Oriental language[9].

At the beginning of the 20th century, the Russian scholar Alexander Yatsimirskiy published the text of the incantation in his investigation of the so-called "false prayers" in the South Slavic written traditions and suggested that all of the incomprehensible words in their incantations may possibly have been derived from Syriac. However, he based this assumption not on a linguistic analysis, but on cultural factors – the assumption, widely spread in the Middle Ages, that demons spoke Syriac[10].

Later Russian scholars abandoned the hypothesis of an Oriental language and adopted the view of the folklore origin of the incantation. Its initial words *sarandara*, *marandara* were usually cited as an example of the so-called "заумная речь" – i.e. 'abstruse/absurd speech'[11]. In her investigation of the nonsense texts in the South Slavic folklore traditions the Russian ethnologist Plotnikova also mentioned the first part of the incantation:

> Например, болгарский заговор от укуса змеи: "Сарандара, сарандара, марандара, марандара"; хорватский девичий заговор на любовь: "Ja djelsun, ja gebersun, ja batersun, ja divani deli olsun", типичная южнославянская загадка, имеющая русские, белорусские, польские аналоги.
>
> For example the Bulgarian incantation against snakebite: "Sarandara, sarandara, marandara, marandara"; the Croatian virginal love incantation "Ja djelsun, ja gebersun, ja batersun, ja divani deli olsun" are typical South Slavic mysteries, having Russian, White Russian and Polish analogies[12].

However, Plotnikova has certainly made an incorrect claim with respect to the "Croatian virginal love incantation". It is not an absurd text and it is not a "South Slavic mystery". In fact, it is in Turkish and is completely intelligible and strongly resembles a curse: 'Let him perforate, let him kick the bucket, let him sink, let

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[9] А. Востоков, *Описаніе рукописныхъ и печатныхъ книгъ Словенскихъ, принадлежащихъ Г. Норову*, ЖМНП 11, 1836, p. 532–533.

[10] А. Яцимирскій, *Апокрифы и легенды. Къ исторіи апокрифовъ, легендъ и ложныхъ молитвъ въ южнославянской письменности*, Петроградъ 1915, p. 271.

[11] Е. Левкиевская, *Заумь как разновидность ритуальной речи славян*, [in:] *Славянские древности. Этнолингвистический словарь*, vol. II, ed. Н. Толстой, Москва 1999, p. 281.

[12] А. Плотникова, *Фольклорный текст абсурд в южнославянском селе XX века*, [in:] *Абсурд и вокруг*, ed. Г. Ритц, Д. Вайс, Москва 2004, p. 405.

him become insane'[13]. The mistake of Plotnikova reveals her ignorance of the non-Slavonic languages spoken on the Balkans. Therefore, her conclusions about the incantation from Norov's Psalms can also be doubted.

On the whole, Russian scholars considered *sarandara*, *marandara* to be a Bulgarian incantation, however they did not mention the fact that these lexical components were only the opening phrase of the incantation.

In literature, there have been attempts to explain the Greek and Turkish origins of the incantation. Some authors suggest that *sarandara* stands for the Modern Greek word combination 'forty years', *marandara* for the Persian *marandar* – 'viper' (here a Turkish mediation is proposed), *degen* for the Turkish word for 'touching', *derôti*/*derûti* for the Turkish word *dertli* – 'passion'. However, in spite of these attempts, authors admit that most of the words are unclear and the whole meaning cannot be reconstructed[14].

Indeed, the Modern Greek σαραντάρα can be explained as 'forty something' (including the age of forty) but its connection to the popular Bulgarian belief according to which *a snake unseen by a man for forty years becomes a demon*[15] seems unconvincing.

The Persian word for 'snake' is *mār*, in plurality *mārān* (snakes). Viper is *māri afá*[16] but the existence of a single word, or a combination of words *marandara* or *marandar* in Modern and Middle Persian is an unfounded hypothesis. Besides, there is no evidence that the Persian word has been loaned to popular Turkish, excluding the designation of the mythological creation *Şahmeran* (Shamaran – the king of snakes)[17]. The plural form of *mār* – *mārān* was registered in the Ottoman poetry from the 18th–19th century[18] as a literal loan from Persian, but the word *marandara* or *marandar* existed neither in Ottoman Turkish, nor in popular Turkish.

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[13] The lexeme "ja" is a disjunctive "or", "djelsun", "gebersun", "batersun", "divani deli olsun" are the third person singular imperative/optative forms of the verbs *delmek* – 'to perforate, to pierce, to pick', *gebermek* (to kick the bucket), *batırmak* (to cause, to make something sink), *divane deli olmak* (to become insane). The borrowing of the incantation took place after the 17th century, when the third person imperative forms replaced the third person forms of optative. The ending/suffix "sun" indicates that the donor of this incantation was some of the Western Balkan Turkish vernaculars where the 4 variants of vowel harmony were reduced to only one. Besides, it must have been strongly influenced by local Slavonic languages – for example, the verb *batırmak* (to cause, to make something sink) is wrongly used instead of *batmak* (to sink), i.e. the difference between the active voice and the causative has been lost.

[14] W. Budziszewska, *Z problematyki obcości w języku magii*, [in:] *Język a kultura*, vol. IV, *Funkcje języka i wypowiedzi*, ed. J. Bartmiński, R. Grzegorczykowa, Wrocław 1991, p. 88.

[15] *Ibidem*.

[16] F. Steingass, *A Comprehensive Persian-English Dictionary*, London 1963, p. 1139; D. MacKenzie, *A Concise Pahlavi Dictionary*, London 1986, p. 54.

[17] Y. Çağbayır, *Orhun Yazıtlarından Günümüze Türkiye Türkçesinin Söz Varlığı*, vol. VIII, İstanbul 2016, p. 5382.

[18] *Ibidem*, vol. VI, p. 3786.

The connection between *degen* and the Turkish verb *değinmek* (to touch) seems implausible as well. If the assumption of Budziszewska is correct, then *degen* should be the second person singular imperative of *değinmek* – i.e. 'you touch', possibly 'you, venomous snake touch', but from a semantic perspective such a construction is odd. The supposed etymological connection between *derôti/derûti* and the Turkish word *dertli* (worried, distressed, pained, in trouble) – i.e. Christ is worried, distressed, pained, in trouble, is also unconvincing. Besides, in the context of the history of Turkish-Bulgarian language contacts, there are obvious chronological and lexical discrepancies in Budziszewska's hypothesis. The first Turkish loan words in Bulgarian were personal names and a few titles. They were loaned no earlier than the last decades of the 14th century – that refutes the hypothesis of the appearance of Turkish loan words in Middle Bulgarian texts from the first half of the 14th century.

In 2015, Svetlana Tsonkova claimed in her dissertation on the incantations in Medieval Bulgarian sources that the text of the incantation from Norov's Psalmbook was written in an Oriental language that could be Arabic or Hebrew, or a non-existing abracadabra language imitating Oriental languages[19]. However, she did not give any arguments in favour of these hypotheses and effectively repeated Yatsimirsky's opinion, with some nuances.

2. Linguistic analysis

2.1. Ecstatic speech (*glossolalia*)

The Byzantine chronicler Niketas Choniates described the preparation of the anti-Byzantine uprising of the brothers Assen and Theodor (Peter) which marked the beginning of the Second Bulgarian Tsardom in 1185 in the following way:

> At first, the Vlachs were reluctant and turned away from the revolt urged upon them by Peter and Asan, looking askance at the magnitude of the undertaking. To overcome the timidity of their compatriots, the brothers built a house of prayer in the name of the Good Martyr Demetrius. In it they gathered many demoniacs, they were instructed to say in their ravings that the God of the race of the Bulgarians and Vlachs had consented to their freedom and assented that they should shake off after so long a time the yoke from their neck; and in support of this cause, Demetrius, the Martyr for Christ, would abandon the metropolis of Thessaloniki and his church there, and the customary haunts of the Romans and come over to them to be their helper and assistant in their forthcoming task. These madmen would keep still for a short while and then, suddenly moved by the spirit, would rave like lunatics; they would start up and shout and shriek, as though inspired, that this was no time to sit still but to take weapons in hand and close with the Romans…[20]

[19] S. TSONKOVA, *Charms, Amulets, and Crisis Rites: Verbal Magic in Daily Life in Medieval and Early Modern Bulgaria*, PhD Thesis, Budapest 2015, p. 133.

[20] NIKETAS CHONIATES, *O City of Byzantium. Annals of Niketas Choniates*, Detroit 1984, p. 205.

This passage indicates that the initial kernel of the anti-Byzantine uprising led by Assen and Theodore (Peter) were Bulgarian and Romance-speaking communities inhabiting the region of the Haemus mountains, united by the common cult of Saint Demetrius. However, this cult included non-liturgical ecstatic practices that strongly resembled the state of trance of seers in ancient religions. Similar practices have in fact been well-testified in the Balkans even in modern times and it is interesting that they are present across ethnically mixed population. For instance, until the beginning of the 20th century, in many Greek and Bulgarian-speaking villages from the region of the Strandzha mountain – the most southeastern part of the peninsula, next to the Black Sea, the so-called *nestinarstvo*/*anastenaria* was widely practiced by women who "were possessed by the spirit of St. Constantine" on the day of St. Constantine and St. Helen and during other religious holidays, and performed a ritual dance on hot embers. During this ecstatic dance, they often spoke prophesies[21].

This phenomenon must have been widely spread in the Middle Ages and the testimony of Niketas Choniates shows that it was common among the population in the very centre of the Second Bulgarian Tsardom. It is well known that *glossolalia*, 'a vocalization of sounds that are only alike, but in their semantic meaning and syntax they are different from any known languages'[22] often appears in similar ecstatic states.

One of the possible explanations of the incantation from Norov's Psalmbook is that it represents an ecstatic speech. Apparently, in Medieval Bulgaria, there were groups who could produce or borrow similar speech from Byzantine sources.

However, some specific details of the text of the incantation challenge this hypothesis. *Glossolalia* includes unconsciously pronounced and frequently repeated rhythmic sound combinations with the most common sonorous consonants – "r", "l", "m", "n". Often pseudo-suffixes and prefixes were added to an initial root. Reduplication of roots, change of the initial and root sounds and unification of different sound combinations were common phenomena, too.

All of these variants of *glossolalia* were well represented in the South Slavic "false prayers" published by Yatsimirskiy in 1915 – **врись** (vris), **чаврись** (chavris), **деврись** (devris), **наврись** (navris), **дꙋвлись** (duvlis), **финовриси** (finovrisi), **аврися** (avrisa), **иврися** (ivrisa), **навриса** (navrisa), **гедиврисани** (gedivrisani), **евриссень** (evrisen), **гка** (gka), **пагка** (pagka), **пагканана** (pagkanana), **пагканива** (pagkaniva), **пагкарарата** (pagkararata), **понопоно** (ponopono), **понопоидосорь** (ponopoidosor), **поропокеты** (poropoketi), **порометато** (porometato), **поромстате** (poromstate), **сарьсарь** (sarsar), **фарьфарь** (farfar), **диза** (diza), **диза** (diza), **даза** (daza)[23].

[21] И. Георгиева, *Нестинарството в Странджа*, [in:] *Културно-историческо наследство на Странджа-Сакар*, ed. В. Фол, София 1987, p. 108.

[22] E. Koić, P. Filaković, S. Nađ, I. Ćelić, *Glossolalia*, CAnt 1, 2005, p. 373.

[23] А. Яцимирскій, *Апокрифы*…, p. 240, 242, 265, 269, 270, 271.

Some researchers try to explain the phonetic structure of some of these expressions as an imitation of the words from Solomon's square[24]. However, similar rhythmic and nonsense constructions were known from other traditional incantations – for example in Syriac: *argi*, *drgi*, *zrgi*, *mrgi*, *hrgi; asima*, *thsima*, *zusima*, *abrhima*[25].

At first glance, the initial sound combinations *sarandara*/*marandara* correspond to some of the characteristics of ecstatic speech. However, the relatively large number of comprehensible words such as "aspida", "vasilisko", "apostle Paulus", "Peter", "Hristos", "amin" brings into question the hypothesis of ecstatic speech, which is a result of an unconscious "vocalization of sounds", while the above lexemes definitely indicate conscious speech.

2.2. Corrupted or secret language

The language of the incantation could be a distorted variant of a real language. Distortion, confusion and omission of sounds, words and phrases commonly occur in the process of copying and transliteration of texts, as well as in cases when the text in one language has been continuously memorised and pronounced by heart by the speakers of other language(s). The incantation from the Norov's Psamlbook actually offers a relevant hint: the first phrase *sarandara sarandara* appeared incorrectly as *sarandar asarandara*.

However, distortion could be the result of a conscious interference. For instance, in the 19th century several secret languages used by Bulgarians were recorded and described. They were widely used by isolated craftsmen and mountain communities, and included three types of lexemes: words knowingly corrupted by means of sound shifts or change of meaning. They were loaned from different Balkan languages – Albanian, Bulgarian, Turkish, Greek, Balkan Romance, and even Romani and Sephardic. There were both words artificially created from real roots and suffixes/prefixes and entirely new words without connection to the vocabulary and grammar of real languages[26]. The existence of groups who used some type of secret language(s) in the Middle Ages cannot be entirely ruled out, either.

The previously mentioned unclear sign/symbol that is obviously connected to the incantation offers additional arguments in favour of the hypothesis of a secret language. Many parts of the incantation actually strongly resemble Aramaic or corrupted Aramaic. Below I will try to discuss these fragments:

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[24] A. KIER, *"Instruments of the Old Faith". Magical Words in Three Medieval South Slavic Healing Rites for Snakebite*, PSS 3, 2012, p. 86–87.

[25] H. GOLLANCZ, *Book of Protection Being a Collection of Charms*, London 1912, p. LXIX, LXXXI–LXXXII.

[26] С. АРГИРОВ, *Към българските тайни езици. Брациговски мещровски (дюлгерски) и чалгаджийски таен език*, СБКДС 1, 1901, p. 7–37.

- *sarandara*/*marandara*: The first letter combinations can be identified with the Aramaic words śr, śrʾ "(śar"/"śara")[27] – angel, guardian angel, lord, prince, leader[28], mar/mara[29] – development from "mry"/"mry?"(mārē, māryā, mārā) – master, Lord, owner[30] and "ndar" – the third person masculine singular perfect form of the verb "ndr" – to vow, to impose a vow upon someone, to forbid one from getting benefits from someone[31]. The last five sounds (ndara) could be identified with the verbal derivative ndrʾ (nḏārā) – vowing[32]. However, the verbal form seems more convincing. The final "a" could be the result of a subsequent omission of "ndr" with "ndr?" or a late interpolation that occurred in the Bulgarian or possibly Greek speaking milieu to intensify the rhythm of the phrase.

As a whole, *sarandara*/*marandara* could be explained as "śara ndar" and "mara ndar" – "the master/angel has vowed, imposed a vow or forbidden" and "Lord has vowed, imposed a vow or forbidden". Another possible explanation refers to the first person plural possessive construction: "śaran ndar" and "maran ndar" – "Our master/angel has vowed, imposed a vow or forbidden" and "Our Lord has vowed, imposed a vow or forbidden".

Similar language construction is known from the New Testament, more specifically from St. Paul's Letters: *If any man love not the Lord Jesus Christ*, *let him*

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[27] The word in the various ancient and medieval Aramaic dialects is pronounced with initial š or s. The Latin transcription ś reflects this ambivalence of the initial sound.

[28] M. Jastrow, *A Dictionary of the Targumim*, *the Talmud Babli and Yerushalmi*, *and the Midrashic Literature*, London–New York 1903, p. 1627; J. Hoftijzer, K. Jongeling, *Dictionary of the North-West Semitic Inscriptions*, vol. II, Leiden 1995, p. 1190; M. Sokoloff, *A Dictionary of Jewish Palestinian Aramaic of the Byzantine Period*, Ramat Gan 2002, p. 572. The meaning of 'angel, leader, prince' is widely used in the Palestinian branch of Aramaic. The same word with the meaning of "master" is used in the antique inscriptions from Palmyra (Syria) – D. Hillers, E. Cussini, *Palmyrene Aramaic Texts*, Baltimore–London 1966, p. 417. The consonant group "sr" appears in some early Syriac incantations but its exact interpretation continues to be a matter of discussion. Some researchers share the opinion that "sr" has the same meaning as in Palestinian Aramaic – "prince" but others tend to explain it as "visiting spirits" or "Initiator" – M. Moriggi, *A Corpus of Syriac Incantation Bowls. Syriac Magical Texts from Late-Antique Mesopotamia*, Leiden 2014 [= MRLLA, 3], p. 97–98. According to the *Comprehensive Aramaic Lexicon* the word śr, śrʾ with meaning of "angel", "genius" is known in different branches of Aramaic, including Syriac (*Comprehensive Aramaic Lexicon*, https://cal.huc.edu/ [31 VIII 2024], śr, śrʾ (śār, śārā).

[29] Śara and mara are the emphatic (definite) forms of "śar" and "mar". The emphatic form became the main form of the words during the Late Antiquity.

[30] C. Brockelmann, *Lexicon Syriacum*, Niemeyer 1928, p. 401; J. Payne-Smith, *A Compendious Syriac Dictionary*, Oxford 1903, p. 298; M. Jastrow, *A Dictionary of the Targumim*…, p. 834; M. Sokoloff, *A Dictionary of Jewish*…, p. 329.

[31] J. Payne-Smith, *A Compendious*…, p. 328; M. Sokoloff, *A Dictionary of Jewish*…, p. 342; M. Jastrow, *A Dictionary of the Targumim*…, p. 880.

[32] C. Brockelmann, *Lexicon*…, p. 416; *Comprehensive Aramaic Lexicon*, https://cal.huc.edu/ [31 VIII 2024], ndr, ndrʾ (nḏārā).

be Anathema Maranatha (1Cor 16: 22). Usually "Maranatha" is explained as "Our Lord has come"[33].

The other letter combinations do not make sense, but many of them have very close phonetic analogies in Aramaic and partly in Greek. The latter makes me think that they appear to be artificial secret words created on the basis of Aramaic and probably Greek prototypes[34].

- roh – rwh (rūḥ) – wind, spirit, ghost[35]
- haza – ḥzʾ (ḥezzā) – an abyss, a depth[36] or eventually variant of the demonstrative pronoun hdʾ (hāḏā) – this (feminine)
- dar – dr (dar) – to fight, Eccle procession and generation[37]
- ulti/uliti – ʾwlytʾ (ʾōlīṯā) – lamentation, wailing[38]
- degen (from vasilisko degen) – the Syriac verb dgn – to be(come) weak-eyed and degana/dagana – ophthalmia/blindness[39]
- ugas (from aspida ugas) – possible connection with the Aramaic verb gsy – to vomit, to throw up[40] can be suggested. Brockelmann reconstructs its third person perfect form as $g^{u}aś$ʿa / $g^{u}a$ ś$'e$[41]
- teus – the Greek θεός (God)

The most important arguments in favour of the hypothesis of corrupted Aramaic come from the letter combinations added to the personal names:

- Apostle Paul rahas: it could be connected to the Syriac word rḥsʾ – power, which is attested in Syriac incantations[42]. The name of Apostle Paul often appears in the incantations against snakes published by Yatsimirskiy. On this basis alone,

[33] J. PAYNE-SMITH, *A Compendious*…, p. 298; According to other explanations: "Come, O Lord".

[34] In order to support the hypothesis of a secret language I am going to present several examples of the 19th century secret languages spoken by Bulgarian population in the Rhodope mountains: burkač (man) from the Albanian word burr – man; bring/brič – bread from the Albanian brum – dough, gluf – chimney; according to Argirov the word comes from the Albanian glofkë – hole (С. АРГИРОВ, *Към българските*…, p. 11–12). These and many other examples from the secret language show that in the best case we can reconstruct only the initial roots of some of the words, but their meanings remain uncertain.

[35] J. PAYNE-SMITH, *A Compendious*…, p. 533.

[36] *Ibidem*, p. 136.

[37] *Ibidem*, p. 97.

[38] *Ibidem*, p. 6.

[39] C. BROCKELMANN, *Lexicon*…, p. 142; *Comprehensive Aramaic Lexicon*, https://cal.huc.edu/ [31 VIII 2024], dgn.

[40] J. PAYNE-SMITH, *A Compendious*…, p. 75.

[41] C. BROCKELMANN, *Lexicon*…, p. 126.

[42] *Ibidem*, p. 476.

it could be attributed to this cycle of incantations referring to St. Paul. However, all of them refer to the event from Act 28: 2–6[43]. The same motif is also included in the Serbian incantations against snakebite[44]. In this case, if the identification with rḥsʾ is correct, the word must be attributed to several passages from St. Paul's letters where he spoke about God's power which acted in him (2Cor 12: 9; Eph 1: 19–20; Col 1: 29).

- Peter saaltas – the second element stays very close to the Syriac slṭʾ (salṭā) – flint/flinty stone[45].
- Chris derûti/derôti – it resembles the Syriac drwsthyd – resurrection[46] or drwt – peace, benediction[47].

Yatsimirskiy published several other incantations against snakebite which were entirely or partially written in an 'unknown' language. They were preserved in later manuscripts created between the 15th and 17th century that mentioned similar rites – they must be read over bread or water that would be then consumed by the man bitten by a snake[48]. Most of them were composed in a language that is a typical example of *glossolalia*. Only an incantation found in the 15th century Cyrillic manuscript shares some common features with the language of the incantation from Norov's Psalms[49].

3. The social/religious environment of the incantation

Another important problem concerning the origin of the incantation is the community that initially created and used it. On the one hand, it contains common elements with many other apocryphal incantations – direct naming of the sources of evil, invocation of saints (St. Paul and St. Peter), God and possibly of God's/Angel's vow. All of these components of the apocryphal incantations have been well described already by the first researchers of this phenomenon[50]. Incantations against snakebite which must be said/read over water and the invocation of St. Paul were well known in the Byzantine and Slavic apocryphal tradition. However, just like the above-mentioned Slavic incantations, they were based on the Act 28: 2–6[51].

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[43] А. Яцимирскій, *Апокрифы…*, p. 246–253.

[44] L. Radenković, *Apocryphal Prayers and Apotropaisms among Southern Slavs*, Balc 28, 1997, p. 154.

[45] C. Brockelmann, *Lexicon…*, p. 476.

[46] *Ibidem*, p. 167.

[47] J. Hoftijzer, K. Jongeling, *Dictionary of the North-West…*, p. 260.

[48] А. Яцимирскій, *Апокрифы…*, p. 238–240.

[49] I will not discuss it here, however it also contains elements which can be explained as of Aramaic origin and elements which resemble "distorted" Aramaic.

[50] А. Алмазов, *Апокрифические молитвы, заклинания и заговоры*, Одесса 1901, p. 14.

[51] M. Zellmann-Rohrer, *The Tradition of Greek and Latin Incantations and Related Ritual Texts from Antiquity Through the Medieval and Early Modern Periods*, Berkeley 2016, p. 399–402; A. Kier, *Magical…*, p. 80; А. Яцимирскій, *Апокрифы…*, p. 239–240.

Nevertheless, so far, texts identical or similar to the incantation from the Norov's Psalm book have not been found in other medieval written traditions. It could be suggested that the incantation appeared in a community professing Christianity different from the classical Greek Orthodoxy. Indeed, ecstatic cults – most of them inherited from the pagan past – were present within popular Christianity, and that stimulated the appearance of phenomena such as ecstatic speech and secret/magical languages. However, the popular emergence of secret languages based on Aramaic words and roots seems more then doubtful. In my opinion, the latter directs to the heretical groups which were active in Bulgaria and the Byzantine Empire during the medieval period. The written sources inform about different non-Orthodox groups, but the evidence about their doctrines and religious practices is not always unambiguous. For instance, according to the *Biography of St. Theodosius of Tarnovo*, in the mid-14th century a healer, whose name was Theodorite, came from Constantinople to Tarnovo and gained adherents and a considerable popularity among the local population and aristocracy. He used magical rituals and even introduced oak worship[52]. The same biography and other sources attest to the existence of groups which practiced ritual nudity, spread Jewish and Bogomil religious views, or were followers of contemporary and ancient heretical teachings. In practice, each of these groups could create or adopt some kind of magical or secret rite language. However, in this case, the Aramaic influence seems inexplicable. The water ritual also cannot be an identifying feature. In the Middle Ages it was widespread and used together with incantations against snakebite. It could, therefore, be rooted in the ancient notions of serpentine water creatures – for example the Biblical Leviathan.

Here I am going to present arguments in favour of the hypothesis of a possible connection of the incantation to the Paulician community in Medieval Bulgaria.

- According to the explicit evidence by Theophanes Confessor, Syrian and Armenian migrants were the first who started to spread and preached Paulicianism in the Balkans (in Thrace) in the mid-8th century[53]. Moreover, the medieval Bulgarian legend about the origin of Paulicians indicates that even in the 14th century Bulgarians preserved the memory of their initial Eastern origin.

- Anna Komnene asserts that in the 11th century representatives of the Armenian and Syrian churches made a political alliance with the largest Paulician community in the Balkans – the one in Philippopolis[54].

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[52] *Пространно житие на Теодосий Търновски от патриарх Калист*, [in:] *Стара българска литература IV. Житиеписни творби*, ed. Д. Петканова, София 1986, p. 452.

[53] Theophanes Confessor, *Chronographia*, [in:] *FGHB*, vol. III, ed. И. Дуйчев, Г. Цанкова-Петкова, В. Тъпкова-Заимова, Л. Йончев, П. Тивчев, Sofia 1960, p. 270–271.

[54] Anna Comnena, *Alexies*, [in:] *FGHB*, vol. VIII, vol. VIII, ed. M. Voynov, V. Tapkova-Zaimova, L. Yonchev, Sofia 1972, p. 137.

- Paulicians in the 16th and 17th century spoke Bulgarian, used texts in Slavonic and had popular Bulgarian names. However, the linguistic analysis of the personal names of Paulician leaders in Philippopolis/Plovdiv from the 11th century shows many non-Slavic anthroponyms of popular Greek, Semitic and local Balkan origin[55]. This mixed anthroponomical layer indicates that in the 11th century the Balkan Paulicians were a multilingual community, which can explain the traces of Aramaic (Syriac) and Greek in the text of the incantation. Indeed, the linguistic processes that were taking place among the medieval Paulician community are an obscure and not easily addressed problem. But there is no doubt that they also used Greek – they took part in the campaigns of the Byzantine army and their leaders communicated with the Byzantine emperor. Besides, the final exclamation of the incantation – "amen" was written in Greek and Bulgarian. This gives reason to think that in the 14th century it was recorded in two different scripts: Greek and Cyrillic.
- One of the constant elements in the Paulician doctrine was the extreme respect with which Paulicians treated the person of St. Paul the Apostle. This respect dates back to their earliest Anatolian period when they named their communities and leaders after the churches established by St. Paul and his disciples[56]. A medieval Bulgarian legend concerning the origin of the Bulgarian Paulicians notes that *these people are called Paulicians and they glorify Paul*[57]. Even in the 17th century the English diplomat Paul Rycaut mentioned the respect to St. Paul as a distinctive feature of the religious beliefs of the Bulgarian Paulicians[58]. On the other hand, Paulicians rejected the authority of St. Peter the Apostle and reduced the number of the canonical books of the New Testament – the epistles of St. Peter were excluded from the New Testament books used by Paulicians[59]. This information by Petrus Sicilius from the 9th century was confirmed by Peter Bogdan Bakshev in the 17th century – he found among the Bulgarian Paulicians only the four gospels, Acts of the Apostles, the letters of St. Paul the Apostle and the Book of Revelation – all of them in Slavonic[60]. This peculiarity of the Paulician doctrine can explain the unusual fact that in the text of the incantation only St. Paul is called an "Apostle" but St. Peter is mentioned only by name without the title of an "Apostle".

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[55] I have regarded this anthroponymical layer in another publication.

[56] Petri Siculi, *Historia Manichaeorum seu Paulicianorum*, Gottingae 1846, p. 48–49.

[57] *Слово как се появиха павликяните*, [in:] Д. Радева, *Павликяни и павликянство в българските земи – архетип и повторения VII–XVII век*, София 2015, p. 518.

[58] Пол Рико, *Сегашното състояние на Османската империя и на гръцката църква (XVII век)*, София 1988, p. 175.

[59] Petri Siculi, *Historia Manichaeorum*…, p. 14.

[60] Fr. Petri Bogdani Bakšić, *Episcopi Gallipoliensis et coadiutoris Sophiensis, de statu ecclesiae suae relatio accuratissima cum notis cuiusdam in margine adpostis L.A. 1640*, [in:] *Acta Bulgariae ecclesiastica*, ed. E. Fermendzsin, Zagrabiae 1887, p. 80.

- In the context of the great prestige which St. Paul's epistles were accorded, a connection between the initial phrase *sarandara marandara* and Heb 7: 21 *The Lord swear and will not repent…* could be suggested.
- The ritual described in Norov's Psalms requires the man bitten by a snake to drink the water after the reading of the incantation. The latter suggests that this water was collected in a vessel – most probably a cup. This suggestion is confirmed by the texts of other Slavic incantations against snakebite where the role of the ritual cup is explicitly mentioned[61]. In the 17th century Peter Bogdan Bakshev noticed that during wedding ceremonies the Paulician priests blessed the cups with some prayers and drunk from them together with the grooms[62]. The prototype of this ceremony was probably the Wedding at Cana, but the testimony of Bakshev shows that Paulicians knew and performed rituals with cups.
- According to the evidence of Catholic missionaries, the Bulgarian Paulicians adopted some elements of the Orthodox clerical system long before their conversion to Catholicism in the first half of the 17th century – the Friday fasting, the Easter lent, the fast preceding the day of the Virgin Mary (15 August), the celebration of Sundays, the main Christian holidays fixed in accordance with the Julian calendar. They celebrated some "personal" holidays, such as these of St. Barbara or St. Sava[63] and performed rituals identical to those of the Orthodox Bulgarians and even Muslims[64]. Obviously, Paulicians in the late medieval period interacted with the popular Orthodoxy, which essentially changed their normative culture. Peter Solinat noticed that Paulicans often married their daughters to Orthodox Christians and even to Turks[65]. Most likely, the practice of close relations between popular Paulicanism and popular Orthodoxy allowed some of the ritual practices of the former to gain popularity among the Orthodox Christians. In fact, the first sentence of the incantation – **ї҃сꙋс х҃с ннка** can be regarded as an element of the adoption of the incantation in the Orthodox milieu.

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[61] A. KIER, *Magical…*, p. 80; А. ЯЦИМИРСКІЙ, *Апокрифы…*, p. 239–240.

[62] ПЕТЪР БОГДАН БАКШЕВ, *Описание на царство България*, [in:] *Петър Богдан Бакшев. Петър Богдан Бакшев български историк и политик от XVII век*, ed. Б. ДИМИТРОВ, София 2001, p. 135.

[63] АНТОН СТЕФАНОВ, *Доклад за посещението на Никополския епископ*, [in:] *Документи за католическата дейност в България през XVII век*, ed. Б. ПРИМОВ, П. САРИЙСКИ, М. ЙОВКОВ, София 1993, p. 482.

[64] S. NOTARFONSO, *Il rito del kurban tra i pauliciani bulgari: le fonti missionarie (secoli XVII–XVIII)*, Stor 18, 2022, p. 9–11.

[65] ПЕТЪР СОЛИНАТ, *Доклад на софийския епископ Петър Солинат до съборната кнорегация в Рим от 1622 г.*, [in:] *Документи за католическата дейност в България през XVII век*, ed. Б. ПРИМОВ, П. САРИЙСКИ, М. ЙОВКОВ, София 1993, p. 22.

The incantation from Norov's Psalms is a manifestation of medieval Balkan popular culture. It can shed light on the religious and cultural interactions between Orthodox and non-Orthodox communities that were taking place during the 14th century on the Balkan Peninsula. These ties have also influenced the contacts between southern and eastern Slavs from the medieval and later eras.

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Toponyms in the Slavonic Excerpt from the Chronicle of Julius Africanus*

Abstract. For a long time, Julius Africanus' Chronicle has only been known through hundreds of fragments scattered across Greek, Latin and Oriental (Syriac, Arabic, and Armenian) manuscripts. About fifteen years ago, a long and coherent Slavonic excerpt from Africanus' Chronicle was found in a chronographic compilation that survives in the five Russian witnesses of the 15th–16th centuries. The compilation has been erroneously identified as a Slavic translation of an abridged version of the Chronicle of George Synkellos. The excerpt contains Africanus' main narrative devoid of the pre-Olympic history of nations except for the history of the Judeans. Taking up about two thirds of the whole text, it covers the years from the Creation to Christ's Resurrection. The compilers complemented it with an excerpt from a common edition of the Chronicles of George Synkellos and Theophanes the Confessor, thus taking their account to the foundation of Constantinople. Created most likely in Greece, the Compilation was translated in the early 10th century in Bulgaria, during the reign of Simeon the Great, only a few decades after the nation's conversion to Christianity. This paper analyses the periphrastic practices of the Bulgarian translators who had to adequately render the biblical and non-biblical toponyms, adapting them to the Old Bulgarian phonetics and morphology. The analysis is complicated by the fact that the Greek original of the Compilation has been lost (or has not yet been identified). In order to identify the toponyms and their meanings, the author, where appropriate, makes use of parallels from the Septuagint and the Chronicle of Synkellos. The analysis shows that the Bulgarian translator/s had a good command of Greek and a good knowledge of the biblical geography – the number of correctly translated toponyms exceeds the number of those that were misspelled (the misspellings probably occurred during the long text transmission).

Keywords: Julius Africanus' Chronicle, manuscripts, Slavic translation

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As we have recently learned, the transmission of a long and coherent excerpt from the chronicle of Julius Africanus is owed to the Slavic manuscript tradition. The chronicle has only been known through hundreds of fragments scattered across Greek, Latin and Oriental (Syriac, Arabic, and Armenian) manuscripts[1]. The excerpt, which served as a basis for a chronographic compilation preserved in five Russian witnesses of the 15th and the 16th centuries, contains Africanus' main narrative, devoid of the pre-Olympic history of nations except for the history of the Judeans[2]. Probably created in Greece at the beginning of the 9th century, the compilation aimed to provide the newly converted peoples with a comprehensive account of the history of Christianity[3]. For this reason, the narrative of Africanus, covering the period from the Creation to Christ's Resurrection – and taking up about two thirds of the text – was complemented with a short excerpt from a common edition of the chronicle of George Synkellos and the concluding parts of the chronicle of Theophanes the Confessor. This second excerpt ends with the foundation of Constantinople. The Slavonic translation was made in the early 10th century in Bulgaria, during the reign of Simeon the Great, only a few decades after the nation's conversion to Christianity. The adoption of the new religion required the whole range of foreign proper and geographic names to be domesticated and adapted to Slavic morphology. Africanus' excerpt actually concisely paraphrases the Old Testament, and its toponyms reflect the periphrastic practices of the Septuagint translators who tried to adequately render the double meanings of the toponyms from the Hebrew text[4]. The Greek *Vorlage* that Bulgarian men of letters had at their disposal predetermined how they rendered the borrowings at the earliest stage of building the literary norm of the OCS.

Given the fact that the Compilation's Greek original is not surviving, I draw on respective parallels from Septuagint[5], the Chronicle of George Synkellos[6] (which is

[1] Africanus's excerpts were first published by Routh in *Reliquiae Sacrae*, vol. II, ed. M.J. Routh, Oxford 1846 (cetera: *Reliquiae Sacrae*), p. 225–309. The recent edition by Wallraff can be found in Iulius Africanus, *Chronographiae*. *The Extant Fragments*, ed. M. Wallraff, Berlin–New York 2007 [= *GCS.NF*, 15] (cetera: Iulius Africanus, *Chronographiae*).

[2] For the whole text of the compilation by three extant witnesses, enhanced by respective commentaries and a linguistic analysis of the translation, see A. Тотоманова, *Славянската версия на Хрониката на Георги Синкел*, София 2008.

[3] Eadem, *Греческая историография после иконоклазмы и распространение християнства*, [in:] *Laudator temporis acti*. *Studia in memoriam Ioannis a*. *Božilov*, vol. I, *Religio*, *historia*, ed. I.A. Biliarsky, Serdicae 2018, p. 231–239.

[4] On that see Russel Thomas Cherry III, *Paronomasia and Proper Names in the Old Testament*. *Rhetorical Function and Literary Effect* (PhD Diss., Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, 1988); H. Ausloos, *Judges 3:12–30*. *An Analysis of the Greek Rendering of Hebrew Wordplay*, [in:] *Text-critical and Hermeneutical Studies in the Septuagint*, Leiden 2012, p. 53–68.

[5] Hereinafter, Septuagint is cited according to the site https://sacred-texts.com/bib/poly/gen.htm [4 VIII 2024] which is based on *Septuaginta*, ed. A. Rahlfs (Stuttgart: Württembergische Bibelanstalt, 1935; repr. in 9th ed., 1971) and contains the respective Hebrew and Latin parallels.

[6] Synkellos' Chronicle is cited according to *Georgii Syncelli Ecloga chronographica*, ed. A. Mosshammer, Leipzig 1984 [= BSGR] (cetera: Georgius Syncellus).

strongly influenced by Africanus' Chronography) and a number of other sources such as Josephus[7] and St Jerome's Chronological tables[8]. Only in two cases are the toponyms attested in the extant Africanus' fragments. The text on 407a24–26 **фарра же поⷭ́мъ ⷭ́враⷭ́ама с̑на сво|ⷭ́его. ⷭ̔ лоⷭ́та в҃ноука. ⷭ̔ сар҃роу сноχоу своⷭ́. премнноу зⷭ́|млю халⷣⷭ́ⷦⷭ́скоу въ хар҃роу. посредоурⷭ́ⷦⷭ́ьскоую**, which is part of the account of Abraham's arrival in the promised land (407a20–407b1), has no parallel in Synkellos's Chronicle and the respective verse in the Septuagint (Gn 11: 31) does not mention the location of Haran. However, it is obvious that the adjective **посредоурⷭ́ⷦⷭ́ьскъ** must have rendered only the Greek Μεσοποταμίας or μεσοποταμίος. This example shows that the Slavic men of letters followed their Greek original and translated the toponym in the same way as the Septuagint translators did the Hebrew toponyms.

The etiological explanation of the toponyms inherited from the Hebrew Text was another challenge faced by the Slavic copyists and translators. In the Hebrew tradition, the etiology of the proper name was usually marked by paronomastic phenomena[9]. However, these are absent from the translation under discussion, since Africanus' text merely paraphrases the Greek Old Testament narrative, and paronomasia (word play) was not always adequately rendered in the Septuagint.

414b8 ⷭ̔ прⷭ̈ⷭ̔|доⷭ́ша въ мⷭ́сто ѥ̀же прозвашѧ ѕапаленнѥ̀. ⷭ̔зъгорⷭ́ⷦ бо ⷭ̔ҍ | мⷭ́колнко ⷭ̑ⷦкнⷭ́мъ ѡ̑гнⷭ́мъ ⷭ̔мⷭ́ъ χоулѧχоу ⷭ̑ⷣ corresponds to Nm 11: 3 and that is the end of the story of the Jewish people who complained that they were forced to eat only manna, and who thus caused the Lord's fire to consume some of them. The Slavic word **ѕапаленнѥ** renders the Septuagunt ἐμπυρισμός, replacing the Jewish toponym *Taberah*, which conveyed the same meaning[10]. In the same way, this toponym was rendered in the Slavic translation of the Old Testament[11].

After the burning, the Lord provided them with quails from the sea. The people then became so gluttonous for meat as to bring God's terrible plague upon themselves, and many of them died. That is why the place was called **жюпн|ща желанїⷭ́**. The respective verse in Nm 11: 34 provides μνήματα τῆς ἐπιθυμίας, which explains the Slavic translation and matches the original meaning of the biblical toponym

[7] Flavius Josephus, *Antiquitatum iudaicarum libri I–XX*, [in:] *Flavii Iosephi Opera*, vol. I–IV, ed. B. Niese, Berlin 1955 (cetera: Flavius Josephus, *Antiquitatum iudaicarum)*; Flavius Josephus, *De bello iudaico*, [in:] *Flavii Iosephi Opera*, vol. VI, ed. B. Niese, Berlin 1955 (cetera: Flavius Josephus, *De bello iudaico*).

[8] St. Jerome, *Cronological Tables* on R. Pearse, Jerome, Chronicle (2005) (cetera: St. Jerome, *Cronological Tables*), p. 16–187, https://www.tertullian.org/fathers/jerome_chronicle_02_part1.htm and p. 188–332, https://www.tertullian.org/fathers/jerome_chronicle_03_part2.htm [4 VIII 2024].

[9] R.Th. Cherry defines the paronomasia as *The deliberate use of a word or combination of words as a rhetorical device designed to create within the hearer (or reader) feelings of ambiguity and curiosity. This use is primarily based upon resemblances of sound, but may also include willful exploitation of the meaning or written appearance of these expressions* (R.Th. Cherry III, *Paronomasia*…, p. 21).

[10] https://www.sacred-texts.com/bib/poly/h8404.htm [4 VIII 2024].

[11] В. Желязкова, ***н прозъва сѧ нмѧ мⷭ́стоу томоу*…** *За превеждането на географските имена в старобългарския превод на Стария завет*, [in:] ***рьцн слово тврьдо. Сборник в чест на проф. д.ф.н. Татяна Славова***, София 2022, p. 458.

Kibroth hat Taavh 'graves of the longing'[12]. Here the Slavic Old Testament reads **гроби похотѣниꙗ**[13].

415a20 нарє̑ же сѧ во́да та клеѣ́наа́ corresponds to Nm 20: 13 and the adjective **клеѣ́наа́** renders the Greek genitive in the word formation ὕδωρ ἀντιλογίας[14]. In the parallel text, Synkellos uses the combination τὸ δε ὕδωρ λοιδορίας ἐκλήθη[15]. Both variants translate as the Jewish toponym *Meribah*, which means 'quarrel; provocation, strife'[16]. The Slavic word, however, means 'slanderous, defamatory', which is closer to Synkellos's translation.

416a23–25 и̑ погре|бенъ бы̑ въ дрѧ́ѕѣ моа́витьстѣи̑, блнзъ жилище фого|ро́ва informs us of Moses' burial place. The text is in agreement with that of Synkellos and the Septuagint (Dt 34: 6), where it reads καὶ ἐτάψαν αὐτὸν ἐν Γαι ἐν γῇ Μοάβ ἐγγὺς οἴκου Φογὼρ[17]. Οἶκος Φογὼρ is a literal translation of the Hebrew geographic name Beth-Peor[18] and the Slavic **жилище фогорово** matches it. The Slavic translator perceived the toponym Γαι as a common noun and used the word combination **въ дрѧ́ѕѣ моа́витьстѣи̑**, which restores the reading of the Hebrew text[19]. The Old Bulgarian word **дрѧзга** is used here to denote *a valley*, which is absent from historical dictionaries. In our text on 417a11, however, the same word also translates as the Greek φάραγξ, which refers to the valley of Ailon.

In **417a20–22 вѣшѣ | же въ давиръ. и̑же прежѣ гра́ ѕовѧа́ше сѧ книжьскыи̑,| ѽ́ѕоу же дꙋе́рь ѽ́бѣщꙗ датн же́нѣ** we come across a toponym, translated in Greece, cf. the parallel text in Synkellos καταλαμβομένῳ τὴν πόλιν τῶν γραμμάτων Καριαθσεφαρεὶ ἐν Δαβείρ, Ὀχὰν ἔπαθλον τὴν ἑαυτοῦ θυγατέρα εἰς γυναῖκα[20] and Septuagint Ios 15: 15 καὶ ἀνέβη ἐκεῖθεν Χαλεβ ἐπὶ τοὺς κατοικοῦντας Δαβιρ τὸ δὲ ὄνομα Δαβιρ ἦν τὸ πρότερον Πόλις γραμμάτων. It is worth noting that while Synkellos mentions the original Hebrew name of the city of *Kirjath-sepher*[21], it is missing both from Septuagint and from Africanus' excerpt. V. Željazkova finds an alternative variant in the Old Bulgarian translation of the Old Testament **градъ**

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[12] https://www.sacred-texts.com/bib/poly/h6914.htm [4 VIII 2024].

[13] В. Желязкова, ***и проѕъва сѧ***…, p. 458.

[14] Rendering the attribute in genitive with a relative adjective is the usual practice of the Bulgarian men of letters.

[15] Georgius Syncellus, p. 160.28–29.

[16] https://www.sacred-texts.com/bib/poly/h4808.htm [4 VIII 2024].

[17] Georgius Syncellus, p. 166.10.

[18] *Cyclopedia on Biblical*, *Theological and Ecclesiastical Literature*, vol. I–XII, ed. J. McClintock, J. Strong, Baker Academic, Div of Baker Publishing Group, 1982, https://www.biblicalcyclopedia.com/B/bethpeor.html [4 VIII 2024]. See also *The Chronography of George Synkellos. A Byzantine Chronicle of Universal History from the Creation*, trans. et praef. W. Adler, P. Tuffin, Oxford 2002, p. 205, n. 4.

[19] https://sacred-texts.com/bib/poly/h1516.htm [4 VIII 2024].

[20] Georgius Syncellus, p. 170.27–29.

[21] *Kirjath Sannah* or *Kirjath Sepher* means 'city of branches', or 'city of a book', https://www.sacred-texts.com/bib/poly/h7158.htm [4 VIII 2024].

пнсменъ / градъ пнсменьнъын[22], which is not surprising, given the fact that in the early Old Bulgarian texts the *plurale tantum* **кънигы** might mean both 'letters' or 'a book', cf. in the translation of Gospels **бѣ же і напсанье напⷭсано • надъ нїмь • кънїгами елинъскими • і римьскими • і еврѣискими** γράμμασιν Lc 23: 38 Zogr Mar As Sav Ostr[23].

The text on **417b9–10 ѡ҃нн же покорѣ ѿвѣщавше. вины сѧ тоа̀ простн|ша. и҃ требище то свѣтѣлство прозвашѧ** concludes the story of a clash between the tribes of Judah and the tribes of Israel after Joshua's death. It also covers their reconciliation. It is a paraphrase of Ios 22: 34 καὶ ἐπωνόμασεν Ἰησοῦς τὸν βωμὸν τῶν Ρουβην καὶ τῶν Γαδ καὶ τοῦ ἡμίσους φυλῆς Μανασση καὶ εἶπεν ὅτι μαρτύριόν ἐστιν ἀνὰ μέσον αὐτῶν ὅτι κύριος ὁ θεὸς αὐτῶν ἐστιν. In the Hebrew text the altar is called *ayd*, which means 'witness'[24].

In **418a11–12 тоа̀ вⷬ҃ъ предасть а̀ | хоусⷭарⷭфемоу цⷬ҃рю. оу҃соурїнскꙗ҃ рѣкъ** the word combination **оу҃соурїнскꙗ҃ рѣкъ** corresponds to Idc 3: 8 καὶ ἀπέδοτο αὐτοὺς ἐν χειρὶ Χουσαρσαθαιμ βασιλέως Συρίας ποταμῶν and a toponym in genitive is again rendered by a possessive adjective formed from the same root. The Slavic translation matches the Septuagint reading while Synkellos recognizes the toponym and says Συρίας Μεσοποταμίας[25].

419a20 и҃збон челю҃стныи҃ is the name of the place where Samson slew a thousand Philistines with the jaw bone of an ass. In Hebrew, the name *Ramath Lechi* means *height of a jaw bone*[26], while our toponym follows the Septuagint reading in Idc 15: 17 ἀναίρεσις σιαγόνος and should be translated as *annihilation with a jaw bone*. The same version is also preserved in a 14th century manuscript of Judges, kept in the Holy Trinity-St. Sergius Lavra[27]. According to V. Željazkova, this is typical of the Slavic translation of the Old Testament[28].

424a19–22 то же ноколѣⷭнницн (sic!) **| фнлнсьстїн на дв҃да прнше҃ше с вои҃. побⷱже҃нн бышѧ | на раздо́лѣ фнтаньстѣмъ. да и҃ мѣстоу подо́бно нмѧ | сътво́ршѧ. растонъ.** The topos **на раздо́лѣ фнтаньстѣмъ** (**424a21**) refers to the first of the many battles that David fought against the Philistines (2Sam 5: 18, 22; 23: 13 and 1Par 11: 15). In Septuagint, the same location is referred to as κοιλὰς τῶν τιτάνων (2Sam 5), where the Slavic translation of the attribute in *gen pl*, accompanied by a possessive adjective **тнтаньскъ**, is derived from. The spelling **фнтаньскъ**

[22] В. Желязкова, *Вирсавия или Колодец клятвы? К вопросу о наименованиях мест в древнеболгарском переводе ветхозаветных книг*, [in:] *Славянское и балканское языкознание*, vol. XXI, *Палеославистика. Лексикология и текстология. К 100-летию Р.М. Цейтлин*, Москва 2021, p. 183.

[23] http://gorazd.org/gulliver/?recordId=6507 [4 VIII 2024].

[24] https://www.sacred-texts.com/bib/poly/h5707.htm [4 VIII 2024].

[25] Georgius Syncellus, p. 176.17–18.

[26] https://www.sacred-texts.com/bib/poly/h7437.htm [4 VIII 2024].

[27] И.И. Срезневский, *Словарь древнерусского языка. Репринтное издание*, vol. I, Москва 1989, p. 1032.

[28] В. Желязкова, ***и прозъва сѧ***…, p. 461.

is due to the confusion of the letters **т**, **ѳ** and **ѳ** in Russian and in the early OCS[29]. It is worth mentioning that 1Par speaks of giants (τῶν γιγάντων), as does Josephus in *Antiquitatum iudaicarum* VII.4.1, and in 2Sam 23: 13, we read ἐν τῇ κοιλάδι Ραφαϊμ. The reason for this variety lies in the fact that the Rephaims, called after their progenitor Rapha, were known for their tall stature. The Slavic translation **растонъ** can in turn be regarded as relating to an old denominative of the verb **растѧти, растьнѫ, растьнеши** analogical to **пѧти – опона, пр҃пона, – ѹѧти – законъ** and so on. The archaic verb **растѧти** is not attested in the classical OCS corpus, but according to the *Dictionary of Sreznevskij*, it can be found in the *Tale of Bygone Years*, where it also has a variant **ростѧти** and means 'to breach, cut'[30]. The latter means that **растонъ** represents a translation of the Hebrew toponym *Baal peratsim* or 'possessor of breaches'[31]. In the same way, the toponym is rendered in the Septuagunt 1Par 14: 11 διὰ τοῦτο ἐκλήθη τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ τόπου ἐκείνου ἐπάνω διακοπῶν – literally *above breaches*. The medieval Slavic and Russian Bible renders this toponym with the word combination **съ вышныхъ сѣчен** 'from the above battles'[32].

436b3–4 вѣ|а҃ше ѡ҃логм҃пна҃. г҃. сѵ̈внаа (sic!). **рогм҃ѣнаа҃вь. тоу҃а бѧше** is at first glance rather unclear, since it has no connection to other notes on the same page. The strange adjective **сѵ̈внаа** is an obvious scribal error and the other text witnesses mention correctly the word **сѵ̈вила**. On 437a4–5 we find a similar record **ѡ҃лѵ̈мпна҃, к҃н. се҃вн|лаа҃. вторая҃. въ са҃мѣ. зна҃на бы҃** that corresponds to a record in Synkellos' Chronicle: Ἔτι Σιβύλλη Σαμία χρησμῳδὸς ἡ καὶ Ἡροφίλα ἐγνωρίζετο…[33] This record refers to the second sibyl living in Samos and bearing the name of Herofila. The same sibyl is also known as the sibyl of Erythrea (Σιβύλλη Ἐρυθραία). The latter allows us to presume that the first record pertains to the same sibyl, and that the strange word **рогм҃ѣнаа҃вь** could be interpreted as a merged form between the adjective **рогм҃ѣнаа҃**, (which means 'ruddy, of reddish face') and the numerical designation **в҃** 'the second'. The final jer must have appeared later, when one of the copyists ommitted the diacritic above the letter **в**. The Slavic translator therefore perceived the geographic name as a prosopic feature.

449a26–27 а҃ въ ѥ҃ѡ҃лов҃ѣ ѡ҃стров҃ѣ и҃ зв҃ѣрь нарица҃ѥ҃ ѥ҃ѣ҃ръ. ѡ҃стро҃ъ | ꙗ҃вн is similar to Νῆσος μεταξὺ Θήρας καὶ Θηρασίας σταδίων λ᾽ ἐφάνη[34]. The Greek text offers a clear account of the emergence of a small isle between the islands of Thera and Therasia. This account is placed under year 5546 from the Creation,

[29] А. Тотоманова, *Славянската*…, p. 605–606.

[30] И.И. Срезневский, *Словарь*…, vol. III, p. 95.

[31] https://www.sacred-texts.com/bib/poly/h1188.htm [4 VIII 2024].

[32] *Иллюстрированная полная популярная библейская энциклопедия*, труд и издание архимандрита Никифора, Москва 1891 (repr. 1990), p. 873.

[33] Georgius Syncellus, p. 253.1, cf. Jerome's Latin version of Eusebios' Canons where this sibyl is called *Sibylla Erythraea* in St. Jerome, *Cronological Tables* (1), https://www.tertullian.org/fathers/jerome_chronicle_02_part1.htm [4 VII 2024].

[34] Georgius Syncellus, p. 405.9.

i.e. AD 46, according to Synkellos. The authors of the English translation of Synkellos's Chronicle regard it as coming from Eusebius of Caesarea[35]. In the Chronological Tables, however, the account is recorded under the 145th Olympiad. It relates the emergence of a new island, known by the name of Hiera and located near the island of Fera (Thera)[36]. In the text under discussion, the account comes between 163rd and 164th Olympiad, i.e. between 126 and 123 BC, according to Africanus' chronology. The islands of Thera (today's Santorini) and Therasia are part of the Cyclades archipelago. They were formed around 1520 BC, following the eruption of an underwater volcano and the resulting gigantic tsunami that flooded the island of Crete, destroying the ancient Minoan civilization. From then on, islands of various sizes emerged as the result of numerous volcanic eruptions in the volcano's sea-filled crater. From our perspective, the important fact is that in 197 BC, the island of Giera (in our text **и҆́ѥръ**), followed by the island of Fia in 46 AD, emerged between the two islands mentioned above. Both islands subsequently disappeared, as reported by Seneca[37]. It is obvious that the Greek version refers to the island of Fia; the Slavic one, in turn, concerns itself with the earlier event. Moreover, in the Slavic version, the names of the two islands are not mentioned. The unnamed islands are also wrongly connected to the Aeolian Islands, which are also of volcanic origin, but are located near the island of Sicily. The name of the island of Thera is probably echoed in the word **ꙁвѣрь**. A Slavic man of letters just translated the toponym, perceiving it as a form of the noun θήρ, θηρός. In Jerome's chronological table 228e, however, it is recorded under the 163rd Olympiad that the isle, known as Giera, emerged next to the Aeolian Islands after a volcanic eruption. The comparison between the accounts in Synkellos's Chronicle and in the Slavic Chronicle shows that the latter preserves an older version of the text containing the name of the new isle. With all probability, some Greek editors moved the event to a later date and the isle name was lost afterwards. This older version is closer to that found in Eusebius, without matching it completely.

In two cases, the Slavic man of letters left the Greek words explaining a place name untranslated, cf. **407b24 съ҇нидоша сѧ на раꙁо|лїи҃н а҆лꙋ̈кїнстѣ́мъ. и҆́же сѧ нн҃ѣ ꙁоветъ море мр҃твоѥ́**, which refers to the battle of Abraham against Chodollagomor, King of Ailam. The respective Greek text reads: συνέβαλλον δε παρά τὴν θάλασσαν τὴν ἀλικήν, ἡ καλείται νῦν θάλαττα νεκρά[38]. It can be discerned that the Slavic translator had a problem with the adjective ἁλυκός 'salty'. Perceiving it as a geographic name, he used its stem to produce a possessive adjective with the Slavonic suffix **-ьскъ**. He also translated the Greek παρά την

[35] *The Chronography*…, p. 482, n. 9.

[36] St. Jerome, *Cronological Tables* (2), p. 218a, https://www.tertullian.org/fathers/jerome_chronicle_03_part2.htm [4 VIII 2024].

[37] Seneca, *Cuestiones Naturales*. *Naturales Quaestiones*, VI, 21, vol. II, Salamanca 1979.

[38] Iulius Africanus, *Chronographiae*, F26; *Reliquiae Sacrae*, XIII. That is the first of the two cases, in which we have the original Greek text.

θάλασσαν with **на раꙁо|лїи**, where **раꙁдолиⷣ** means 'valley'. It seems that the translators of the LXX faced the same problem and glossed the word ἀλυκός, cf. Gn 14: 3 πάντες οὗτοι συνεφώνησαν ἐπὶ τὴν φάραγγα τὴν ἁλυκήν αὕτη ἡ θάλασσα τῶν ἁλῶν.

430a21–430b6 pertains to the lawless Achaab's son Ochozias, according to 2Reg 1: 6–18. **430a26–27 то поⷭтн | слы̑ къ комоуⷣ. капнщоу в ꙁе́мли а̀каронъ** includes the name of an idol temple where Ochozias sent his men to receive an oracle after he fell ill. **къ комоуⷣ. капнщоу в ꙁе́мли а̀каронъ** corresponds to 2Reg 1: 6 ἐν τῇ Βααλ μυῖαν θεὸν Ακκαρων. It is close to the respective place in Synkellos' Chronicle ἐν εἰδωλίᾳ μυίας Ἀκκαρὼν[39]. The Slavic translator did not translate the Greek μυῖα. He just adapted it to his own grammar, perceiving it as **моуⷣ**. Later on, some of the copyists repeated by mistake the preposition **къ**, and another scribe most likely took it as part of the geographic name, replacing the jer with the letter *o*, according to the Russian ponunciation. In our text **а̀каронъ** is definitely a toponym, but Adler and Tuffin think that μυίας Ἀκκαρὼν should be "understood as the 'Akkarians' fly' , i.e. Baal-zebub the god of Ekron, whose name ('Baal [= Lord] of the fly') is possibly a deliberate distortion of Baal-zebub ('Baal of the height')"[40].

443a16–20 а̀|ρ꙾такⷭерскоу̀ о҆у҃мр҃шоу. цр҃твова, а̀ртаксѣкъ (sic!). **ѡ̀хозъ про|ꙁ-ваный, лѣ҃. к҃. и в҃. сѣ̀ на е҆гѵ̀пт҃ѣ вѣ́ѫ, ѿ даⷣмонна̀ и҆оу҆де|и҆скна̀. и҆ пр҃ѣсе́ли та̀ въ и҆р҃канию́, къ каспїнскомоу мо́рю.| а̀ дроугна̀ е҆ вавилонъ**. The text almost matches S. Jerome's tables: Ochus Apodasmo Judaeorum capta in Hyrcanum accolas translatos juxta mare Caspium collocavit[41] and give us an idea what stays behind the unclear **ѿ даⷣ-монна̀ и҆оу҆де|и҆скна**. The Slavic man of letters, similarly to St. Jerome, perceived the Greek noun ἀποδασμός as a toponym, but decomposed it in prefix ἀπὸ and in a geographic name. With all probability, our translator connected ἀποδασμός to the related words δασμός, δασμολγία *'division of spoil*, *collection of tribute'*. In the same record, Synkellos uses the word αἰχμαλωσία, which conveys a similar meaning, cf. Ὦχος Ἀρταξέρξου παῖς εἰς Αἴγυπτον στρατεύων μερικὴν αἰχμαλωσίαν εἴλεν Ἰουδαίων, ὧν τοὺς μὲν ἐν Ὑρκανίᾳ κατῴκισε πρὸς τῇ Κασπίᾳ θαλάσσῃ, τοὺς δὲ ἐν Βαβυλώνι, οἱ καὶ μεχρὶ νῦν εἰσιν αὐτόδι ὧς πολλοὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἱστοροῦσιν[42]. The Latin text helps us reconstruct Africanus' original text as εἰς Αἴγυπτον στρατεύων ἀποδασμόν (αἰχμαλωσίαν) εἴλεν Ἰουδαίων, ὧν τοὺς μὲν ἐν Ὑρκανίᾳ κατῴκισε πρὸς τῇ Κασπίᾳ θαλάσσῃ, τοὺς δὲ ἐν Βαβυλώνι…

[39] GEORGIUS SYNCELLUS, p. 224.20.

[40] *The Chronography*…, p. 277, n. 9. For the variations in rendering the stable word combination ἐν τῇ Βααλ μυῖαν θεὸν Ακκαρων in the Slavic translation of Kingdoms, see M. ТОТОМАНОВА-ПАНЕВА, *Книги Царства в славянската хронографска традиция*, София 2019 [= KMc, 27], p. 89–90.

[41] ST. JEROME, *Cronological Tables* (2), p. 203b. H. Gelzer reckons that Eusebius borrowed it directly from Africanus (Gelzer I:117–118). https://www.tertullian.org/fathers/jerome_chronicle_03_part2.htm [4 VIII 2024].

[42] GEORGIUS SYNCELLUS, p. 307.14–18.

Similar errors could also occur between prepositions and toponyms, see also: **423a11–12 мелꙗхолѹ во| саоу́лъ, валтню́ сн̃ѹ селнмовѹ. ѿ грома женѣ давъ** corresponds to 1Sam 25: 44: καὶ Σαουλ ἔδωκεν Μελχολ τὴν θυγατέρα αὐτοῦ τὴν γυναῖκα Δαυιδ τῷ Φαλτι υἱῷ Λαις τῷ ἐκ Ρομμα. Josephus reports the same[43], but the name of Phalti's father is Lisos (Λίσος) of Ghetla (confused with Gallim, which is found both in the Hebrew text and in the text by St. Jerome). Obviously **отъ грома** comes from the incorrectly decomposed Septuagint reading ἐκ Ρομμα. There is no explanation of why Lais/Lis is replaced by Selym. In the Church Slavonic and Russian texts, however, **аминъ**[44] was usually used instead of Lais/**ланшь**, which is indicative of the variative nature of the tradition. The same texts also contain **рамма** instead of Gallim, which matches the Septuagint reading.

447b24–25 а҃фрнкан отъ кнпїн. плѣкнꙗнн | каа́рхи̑а refers to the grandson of Scipio Africanus (Scipio Africanus the Younger, the hero of the third Punic war who destroyed Carthage), as indicated by the fact that it is recorded under the 158th Olympiad, i.e. the period between 5355 and 5358 years, according to Africanus' Chronology, or 146/145 and 142/141 BC. This is the only reference to the Punic Wars in the compilation, and it is no wonder that the Slavic translator misconceived the Greek transliteration Σκηπίων ὁ Ἀφρικανός of the Latin *Scipio Africanus* and twisted the victorious Roman general's name into **а҃фрнкан отъ кнпїй**, confusing it with the homonymous name of the historian, Julius Africanus, whom the compilation mentions twelve times[45]. This confusion led to the erroneous decomposition of Σκηπίων into ἐκ κηπίων, cf. the same toponym in Synkellos's part of the compilation 467b20 **въ кнпѣхъ** in place of ἐν κήποις Σαλουστιανοῖς[46].

Untranslated toponyms were very often replaced by similar-sounding ones, which occurred more often in the biblical narrative. The phenomenon could be explained as a specific case of paronymic attraction caused by the resemblance of spelling and the pronunciation of the names.

On **415a23 въ сѷ̈рьскоѹю го́роѹ** corresponds to εἰς ὄρος τὸ Ὤρ in Synkellos's Chronicle[47] and to the respective verse in Nm 20: 22 εἰς Ωρ τὸ ὄρος and stays obviously for **въ wрьскоѹю го́роѹ**. Most probably the replacement occurred during the process of the text transmission[48].

On **415b2 въ и̑шпъ и̑же въ полн моа́внтьстѣ** corresponds to εἰς Νάπην ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ Μωαβ in the Chronicle of Synkellos[49]. Like Synkellos, the Slavonic translator perceived the word νάπη as a toponym, but copyists must have confused it with

[43] Flavius Josephus, *Antiquitatum iudaicarum*, VI, 8, 13.

[44] *Иллюстрированная…*, p. 883.

[45] А. Тотоманова, *Славянската…*, p. 210. Another five times the famous historian is referred to as **иоѹлии** or **иоѹлиосъ**.

[46] Georgius Syncellus, p. 423.1–2.

[47] Georgius Syncellus, p. 160.30 – 161.1.

[48] The text refers to the wandering of Jews in the Idumean desert, but there is another peak bearing the same name also in Syria (https://www.sacred-texts.com/bib/poly/h2023.htm [4 VIII 2024]).

[49] Georgius Syncellus, p. 161.18.

the more familiar **нопъ** (today's Jaffa) due to the resemblance between letters **н** and **и**. Another reading of the verse is also possible because the word νάπη means 'woodland vale, dell, glen', which is found in Septuagint Nm 21: 20 εἰς νάπην ἥ ἐστιν ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ Μωαβ.

Behind the toponym **галаатъ** on **416b21–22** **манноу же. м҃. л҃ѣ҃ їа҆дъше. їа҆ко҆ҁ҃ въкоусиша ѕемна҆̂ пло́да. | токо́ манны не бы҆̂, та́ме наро҆̀ сѧ оу҆селн въ галаа҆тѣ҃** comes Gilgal (Gr. Γάλγαλα), a name designating the place located in the vicinity of Jericho, where the Jews encamped after crossing the River Jordan (Ios 4: 19–20). Its confusion with **галаатъ** may link itself to the latter's derivatives, a number of which can be found in the text: two relative adjectives **галаадьскъ**, **галаадовъ**, and the noun **галаднтнди** that refers to the inhabitants of the mountain Γαλαάδ. On 431a12, the toponym Γάλγαλα is rendered correctly – **в галгалѣ҃**.

417a16–18 speaks of Jabin the king of Hazor, according to Ios 11: 1–4, 9. The adjective **а҆сѫ҃р҆скыи҆** on 417a16 stays for **асорьскын** and the unknown toponym is again confused with the more familiar one, cf. Ios 11: 1 Ιαβιν βασιλεὺς Ασωρ.

420a8 corresponds to Idc 19: 14 and reads **доше҆̀ до гава҆́на. вень҆а́минѧ** but Gibeon (Γαβαών) is a city of Chanaan, which evokes the names of Joshua, David, Saul and Solomon, and the Septuagint records that καὶ παρῆλθον καὶ ἐπορεύθησαν καὶ ἔδυ ὁ ἥλιος αὐτοῖς ἐχόμενα τῆς Γαβαα ἥ ἐστιν τῷ Βενιαμιν. The latter allows us to presume that Γαβαα (Gaba, Geba, Gibeah) was perceived as Gabaon. It most likely began to be perceived as such in Greece, given the fact that the previous text tells the story of a dismembered woman of Gibeon. However, it should be kept in mind that in the Slavic translation of the Old Testament the names of other cities are often replaced[50].

417b11–12 reads **ѿстоупи же |и҆̀ сѫ҃рскїи҆. раа҆ѕъскїи҆ рабъ. а҆драѕара҆ъ. ц҃рѧ сѫ҃рьска҆́го.** Rezon (῾Ρεζών in Septuagint, ῾Ραζών with variant readings Ραάζων and even ῾Ραάζαρος in Josephus)[51] is a former slave of Hadadezer, King of Zobah (1Reg 11: 23), who later fought against David and proclaimed himself King of Syria. As **ѕннъ** from Greek Ζήνων, **раѕъ** (**раазъ**) is a normal OCS adaptation of the name ῾Ρααζών, which justifies a presumption that the text initially read **ѿстоупи же и҆̀ сѫ҃рскїи҆. раа҆ѕ(ар)ъ рабъ. а҆драѕара. ц҃рѧ сѫ҃|вьска҆́го.** However, during the text transmission the personal name **раазъ** was distorted and transformed under the influence of **сѫ҃рскїи҆** into an adjective **раа҆ѕъскїи҆**, which in turn caused a change in the meaning of the text and the replacement of the genitive form of the name of Hadadezer by a nominative one, as well as the replacement of **сѵвьскаго** by **сѵрьскаго.**

427a4–14 retells 1Reg 9: 10–14 about the exchange of gold between Solomon and Hiram; 1Reg 9: 16–18 about the building of Geser and Tadmor and 1Reg 9:

[50] *Иллюстрированная*…, p. 145.

[51] The name actually means 'prince, ruler', https://www.sacred-texts.com/bib/poly/h7336.htm [4 VIII 2024].

26–28 about the ships and gold coming from abroad. However, the glosses to **нтаминоръ** and **ѥ҃ѕфнръ** are missing from the biblical version. Africanus must have taken them from Josephus, cf. the reference to **нтаминоръ: ѥ҃гѡ҃ ѕовоуть, и҆ пал҃моура** that renders οἱ δ᾽Ἕλληνες αὐτὴν προσαγορεύουσι Πάλμυραν[52], and the one to **ѥ҃ѕфнръ: ѣ҆ше же мѣ́сто и҆ндн|и҆́ско** that points to τῆς Ἰνδικῆς ἐστιν αὕτη[53]. The geographic name **ѥ҃ѕфнръ** refers us to Septuagint and to Josephus where we find Σώφηρ and Σώφειρ, respectively. The Slavic man of letters merged the toponym with the preposition ἐκ. The Hebrew name of Palmyra **нтаминоръ** differs from Θάδαμορ used in Josephus. The word form starting with **н** points to two other names conveying similar meanings – *Itamar* (the land of palms) and *Tamar* 'palm tree', which is indicative of the variations that penetrated Greek in the Hebrew-speaking areas.

433a11–13 въ та́рсъ хо́тѧ бѣжа̀ сїи́ же со҆̀ ѡ҆стро́вн. родо́съ, и҆ кнт҃посъ. а҆́ и҆ѡ҃снфъ| гл҃ть, въ тар҆съ кнлнкїи́нскыи́, cf. …καὶ Ἰωνᾶς ἐκπεμφθεὶς εἰς Θαρσεὶς φεύγει καὶ ὑπὸ κήτους τριήμερος ἀνέμεται. Θαρσεὶς δὲ ῾Ρόδον καὶ Κύπρον Ἀφρικανὸς λέγει εἶναι[54]. The remark is identified as belonging to Africanus[55]. It can be seen that Synkellos's version refers only to Africanus. The Slavic version, in turn, contains a reference to Josephus. The reference probably comes from Africanus himself. The name of the isle of Cyprus was distorted during the text transmission and the error is reported in all witnesses.

In the story of the Maccabees on **446a7–20**, according to 1Mac 2: 1–5, 23–28, 32–45. (446a7–15) the name of Mattathias' native city Μωδεΐν (Modin) was replaced with the more familiar **мадиамъ**.

446b22 въ а҆соу҃̑ прншѣ̀ the toponym should be deciphered as the name of the Galaad city of Kaspin (2Mac 12: 13), also referred to as Casphor (1Mac 5: 26, 36). The word form in our text derives rather from the Greek Χασφῶ than from Κάσπιν.

447b8 ѿ а҆мврнт҃̑ъ и҆ а҆рав҃̑ъ и҃̑ ѿ мидеи҆̀ пакостн прїа̀ша is a note regarding Jonathan, according 1Mac 9: 36. The word combination **и҃̑ ѿ мидеи** corresponds to Greek οἱ ἐκ Μηδαβα, but the toponym Medaba is confused with **мидиа** (Μηδία). The confusion must have occurred on Slavic soil.

444a8–9 ѿ҃нгндїаноу а҆лексѧ̈ндръ разо́рн. а҆лексѧ̈ндр҃̑ъ| и҆ѡ́рниьскыи́ ка́мы прїа. и҆ и҆ндїи́скоую рѣкоу҃ прои҆́де corresponds partially to the text of Synkellos: ὁ Ἀλεξάνδρος Σογδιανὴν κατεστρέψατο. ὁ αὐτὸς τὴν Αὸρνὴν πέτραν ἐχειρώσατο καὶ Βερναβοᾶν πόταμον πρὸς Δάνδαμιν διέβη Βραχμάνον[56]. The note refers to Alexander the Great's Indian march, specifically to the capture of one of the most important border strongholds of India, known as Αὸρνὰ πέτρα (literally *the rock*, *on which the birds do not live*). The Bulgarian man of letters does not recognize the

[52] Flavius Josephus, *Antiquitatum iudaicarum*, VIII, 6, 1.
[53] Flavius Josephus, *Antiquitatum iudaicarum*, VIII, 6, 2.
[54] Georgius Syncellus, p. 238.22–24.
[55] Iulius Africanus, *Chronographiae*, F 66, 3; *Reliquiae Sacrae*, XXXII.
[56] Georgius Syncellus, p. 314.24–26.

toponym and renders its second part with the noun **камы** 'stone'. The first one, having assumed the form of an adjective with suffix **-ьскъ** (*дорньскъıн), was probably distorted during the text transmission.

454b16–455a7 provides an account of the division of Palestine into four parts. The account is more detailed than that found in the Chronicle of Synkellos[57]. Our story follows Josephus who offered a detailed description of the domains of the four Ethnarchs[58]. The toponyms **ѡ҃норїа. и҆ самаѳьскоую҆ страи҃** (in acc.) on 454b23–24 are missing both from Synkellos and from Josephus. We can only presume that *Onoria* (**ѡ҃норїа**) stands for the Jewish city of Beth-horon (Bethoron), mentioned in *Antiquitatum iudaicarum*, XIV.1.4 (the reading is corrupted, but Ὡροναί" can be found in variant readings). The same city appears in *Antiquitatum iudaicarum*, VI.2.2, but the work refers to it by the name of Κορραί. The Slavic form could be explained as derived from **ороннꙗ** with metathesis. In the Russian translation of *Antiquitatum iudaicarum* the city is for the first time referred to as *Корея* and for the second time as *Орон*. The Samathian country could be identified only as the region of Ἀμάθα, τὰ near to *Gadara*, where lots of thermal springs were located. This is the toponym spelling in Josephus *Antiquitatum iudaicarum* I.6.2, III.14.2, VII.5.4, VIII.6.3, and its counterpart in Septuagint 1Sam 8: 9 is Ἡμαθ (Hemath in the Vulgata). Philip's domains are listed (453b26–455a2) according to Josephus *Antiquitatum iudaicarum* XVII.11.4 and XVII.8.1, where it is said that Αὐρανίτις (Hauran) is part of Philip's domain and it probably hides under the unclear **атрапетъ**[59].

In two cases, the spelling both of the toponym and of its adjectival derivative was not twisted, but the toponyms coincided with Slavic words, which changed the meaning of the whole phrase, cf. **454a24–25 послѣ҆же҆ и҆ а҆нти|патр҆ъ. съ҆з҆а на людїи полѣ. своѝ ѡ҃ц҃емь и҆мѧновавъ** vs. ὕστερον δέ καὶ Ἀντιπατρίδα κτίζει ἐν τῷ Λυδῳ πεδίῳ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἑατοῦ πατρός[60]. Slavic readers must have perceived **на людїи полѣ** as *'in the people's field'*. This was also the case with the adjective pertaining to the same geographic place **449b19–20 и҆ равꙋ̀ людьскоую҆ расказ҆и҃ и҆ а҆мнїю при морѧ и҆ прилѡ|рїе сѷрьскоѣ и҆ фоуниуьскоѣ**. The pronunciation of the Cyrillic *yshitza* as **ю** /*ju*/, which prevailed in Slavic manuscripts until the 13th century and was typical of the witnesses' compilation[61], brought about the change in meaning.

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[57] GEORGIUS SYNCELLUS, p. 384.18–21.

[58] FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS, *Antiquitatum iudaicarum*, XVII, 11, 4 and FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS, *De bello iudaico*, II, 6, 3.

[59] On 453b22 the name of the city is reported as **оу҆̀раніи҃тоу** with metathesis from the correct **аоуранитоу** that we find in the other witnesses of the compilation.

[60] GEORGIUS SYNCELLUS, p. 373.5–6.

[61] А. ТОТОМАНОВА, *Употребата на знака за ижица като белег за датирането на текста (според данните на най-ранния препис на славянската версия на Хрониката на Георги Синкел)*, ECom 8, 2008, p. 81–98.

Africanus' excerpt is the earliest parabiblical narrative translated into Old Bulgarian (OCS). It played a significant role in shaping the impressive chronographic compilation preserved in the so-called *Jewish Chronograph* or *Chronograph of the Archive*. In fact, the paraphrase of the first nine biblical books was replaced in this *Chronograph* with a large Old Testament compilation[62]. The analysis of the toponyms in Africanus' excerpt clearly highlights two types of biblical toponyms preserved in the text: translated toponyms and misspelled toponyms that were twisted during the text transmission due to paronymic attraction. In all probability, the first group can be traced back to the original translation, while the second reflects the scribal errors of later copyists. It is worth noting that the number of the translated toponyms exceeds the number of those that were misspelled. This fact indicates that the Bulgarian translator's knowledge of biblical topography and biblical narrative was pretty good, as were his literary skills, which enabled him to correctly render the toponyms' meanings and make these toponyms understandable to the readers. Deviations in this regard are mostly observed when the toponym comes from a non-biblical source, as in the case with **рогмѣнаа** for Ἐρυθραία, **звѣрь** for Θήρα, **ѡ даѯмонна** for ἀποδασμός, **ѧфрикан отъ книїи** for Σκηπίων ὁ Ἀφρικανός (see above). These types of mistakes, when a toponym was perceived as a noun or vice versa, or a wrong morphological decomposition took place, are typical of the early translation of the Bible. Some of the metaphrastic findings of the Bulgarian man of letters such as **запаленіе** Nm 11: 3 and **ѵзвон велю́стныи** Idc 15: 17 survived throughout the centuries in the Slavic Old Testament translation. This allows us to presume that he might have been involved in the translation of the respective biblical books as well.

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Book reviews

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Il re e le sue lingue. Comunicazione e imperialità / Le roi et ses langues. Communication et impérialité, ed. Fulvio Delle Donne, Benoît Grévin, Basilicata University Press, Potenza 2023 [= Imperialiter, 2], pp. 176, https://doi.org/10.6093/978-88-31309-20-2

In the first chapter of the volume under review, its editor Benoît Grévin outlines the basic premise of the book and the questions it seeks to answer (p. 7–30). From a theoretical perspective, the author looks primarily for instances of the use of local languages as an assertion of a particular person's authority over a given territory, the use of imperial languages, or those associated with a religion considered dominant or even universal, such as Latin and Greek (but also Mandarin, Persian, Arabic), and finally the search for linguistic motifs, with the reconstruction of old languages no longer in use, in order to reference the glorious past of a given territory or of a ruler who exercised imperial power in centuries past, from where a given emperor or king derived his own *potestas* and *imperium*. The author stresses that it is important in this research not to succumb to eighteenth- and nineteenth-century paradigms giving priority to national languages which, although spoken, did not usually achieve the status of an imperial language. When we consider French, for example, we should be asking which dialect we are referring to, and secondly, how many of the French king's subjects actually spoke the same French used in the royal chancelleries of France or England – this leads us to the conclusion that the matter of nationality was hardly relevant here. The question of High German and its significance for the Holy Empire, or the Tuscan dialect of Italian, sometimes used at the court of the Austrian Habsburgs, could be treated similarly. Another issue is also related to the above – to what extent were the languages of power, the imperial ones, artificial, used only for certain specific forms of communication, as opposed to being living, and to what extent was their basic version used for royal communication regulated by the court. An important issue raised by the author is also the tension between attributing greater importance to national languages at the end of the Middle Ages and the continuing polyglotism of the elite at the same time, or possibly, between declared ethnicity versus actual subordination to a specific ruler in control of a particular territory.

In the second chapter, Guido Cappelli and Fulvio Delle Donne consider the question of the functioning of Latin as the language of empire and the imperial language (as one of the equivalents of *imperium*) in the west of Europe during the late Middle Ages, from the 12th to the 16th century (p. 31–49). In a sense, then, this is an essay dealing with the relationship between power and its exemplifications, including linguistic ones, often functioning independently of the *imperium* actually exercised, even being its substitute or existing in places abandoned by it: *il latino è la lingua dell'antico impero romano, ma è anche lo strumento imperiale per eccellenza: è essa, anzi, che crea veramente l'impero e lo rende superiore a ogni cosa* (p. 45). The second part of the article is devoted to a consideration

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of the importance of particular languages in the courts of European rulers, primarily of the late Middle Ages, especially in the context of the relationship of Latin to the local languages or those dominant at the court of the rulers (the example of southern Italy: Latin, Castilian, Catalan, or southern dialects of Italian).

In the third chapter, Lars Boje Mortensen presented a study of imperial propaganda and the self-presentation of rulers in the literature of medieval Western Europe in the 11th–13th centuries (p. 51–67). One of the author's main theses is that in the period discussed in the text, despite the use of national languages in the literature, it is difficult to speak of national literature; rather, these were linguistic variations referring to earlier, Carolingian and Ottonian ambitions of *renovatio imperii Romanorum*. In the text, the author develops Christian Høgel's idea that medieval literature was not so much trans-national as trans-imperial[1], characterised by the emergence of a specific canon of texts used in the territory belonging to the *imperium* in schools, the use of a specific language in administration in the territories remaining in the orbit of the *imperium* and a specific linguistic code used to create ideas/images of the *imperium* – through propaganda and self-presentation. In other words, an imperial language would be one that is produced at the intersection of politics, education and culture, encompassing all these aspects. According to this view, the status of an imperial language in the Middle Ages was acquired by the following three: Latin, Greek and Arabic, as opposed to languages that were perhaps widely used but had no state status, such as Old Church Slavonic or Hebrew. At the same time, the above definitions make it possible to consider whether a few more languages acquiring imperial status, such as French, High German and Castilian, can be singled out in the late medieval period. The author decided to focus his text on the issue of propaganda or self-presentation of power, discussing examples of literature defined by being created for such a purpose, regardless of the genre they represented: panegyrics, historiography, epics and so on. The works of such authors as Lambert of Hersfeld, Gunther of Pairis, Otto of Freising, Frutolf of Michelsberg and Godfried of Viterbo, who were exponents of imperial ideas, were briefly analysed, pointing out that some of them referred to the writing experience of the authors from the time of the Roman Empire. The author also addressed the interpretation of such historians from the periphery of the *imperium* as Saxo Grammaticus and Wincenty Kadłubek[2], observing that although they were far from claiming an imperial heritage, significant elements of universalism can also be seen in their works, e.g. through references to the papacy[3]. It is worth noting at this point, however, that certain universalist themes present in the aforementioned authors had after all already been noted[4], also from a Polish perspective[5].

In the next text in the volume, Benoît Grévin comments on the use of propaganda clichés of imperial discourse in the works from western and central Europe in the late Middle Ages, using the example of the transmission of ideas

[1] C. HØGEL, *World Literature is Trans-Imperial: A Medieval and a Modern Approach*, MeW 8, 2018, p. 3–21.

[2] The juxtaposition of Polish and Scandinavian authors in relation to dealing with Roman issues is also not the author's original idea, see for example from recent years: R. RUTKOWSKI, *Jak opowiedzieć o zwycięstwie nad Cezarem? Próba nowego spojrzenia na przekaz Mistrza Wincentego (I, 17)*, KH 126, 2019, p. 453–480.

[3] The themes concerning the Master Wincenty's reference to Roman universalism are not new in the scholarship, see, e.g. J. SONDEL, *Rola „Kroniki" Wincentego zwanego Kadłubkiem w upowszechnianiu prawa rzymskiego w średniowiecznej Polsce*, ZP.UKSW 11, 2011, p. 39–68; K. CHMIELEWSKA, *Recepcja rzymskiej literatury antycznej w Kronice polskiej Mistrza Wincentego*, [in:] *Onus Athlanteum. Studia nad Kroniką biskupa Wincentego*, ed. A. DĄBRÓWKA, W. WOJTOWICZ, Warszawa 2009, p. 215–230.

[4] For example, research into the relationship between Frutolf's work and texts written almost five hundred years earlier e.g. in honour of Byzantine emperors: W. AMARANTIDOU, *Uwagi o zależnościach między „Chronicon univervale" Frutolfa z Michelsbergu a „Getica" i „Romana" Jordanesa*, CPhil 3, 1999, p. 191–198.

[5] The place of Poland in the thought of some of the above writers, treated as part of the *imperium*: A. PLESZCZYŃSKI, *Wiadomości Ottona z Fryzyngi i Rahewina o Polsce na tle ich doniesień o wschodnich sąsiadach Niemiec*, RHi 81, 2015, p. 87–106.

contained, among others, in the so-called *Letters of Peter della Vigna*, i.e. documents produced by the chancelleries of Frederick II, Conrad IV and Manfred (p. 69–103) on the periphery of the empire (e.g. in Bohemia or southern Italy), the Iberian peninsula, the Capetian, Plantagenet and Valois states, in Poland (interesting remarks on a certain backwardness in imitation, but there is no mention of the fact that it was only with the Angevins that certain formulas came to Poland) or in Hungary (interesting remarks on how the Angevins, then the house of Luxembourg, emphasised their universalist ambitions). On the one hand, some of them became the model for rulers and their chancellors at other European courts, from the Iberian peninsula to Scandinavia; on the other hand, research into these texts leads to the conclusion that they were not independent creations, as they were significantly influenced by the experiences of authors originating from papal circles. In the article, we can get to know the *Letters* in some detail, learn about their structure indicating that their compilers intended for them to be used as a guide (who divided the content into thematic sections to facilitate their use). The author compares the work with others written at the same time but originating in papal circles, such as the *Summa dictaminis* of Thomas of Capua, or the collection of letters by Richard of Pofi, pointing out that, for all intents and purposes, the hostile chancelleries represented the same traditions, since they were run by people who came from the same schools, belonged to similar court circles and had links with the same families. This is especially true of the so-called Campanian notaries, from southern Lazio and northern Campania.

The text by Annick Peters-Custot on the methods of presenting power by means of specific linguistic formulas at the Sicilian court of the house of Hauteville (p. 105–121) alludes to the above conundrums. At the same time, the article in question presents for the first time in the book a precise definitional distinction between the imperial language – used for political and thus, among other things, religious communication – and the language of *imperium*, i.e. the *de facto* language used in the territories subject to a given power. The remarks on the Byzantine imperial language should also be regarded as relevant, although the overemphasis placed on the importance of Latin as a political language is a bit striking. At the same time, the author observes that Greek was a language of culture creation and philosophy, so what is missing here is the observation that its recognition in the eastern part of the empire as the main language was not only for strictly administrative reasons – the language used by the majority of subjects – but also for ideological reasons – the continuation of Roman traditions, where Greek had the status of a language of fundamental importance for defining political concepts. The introductory issues presented above lead the author to the analysis of the imperial languages of the Sicilian Norman state – according to her, such a status should be given primarily to Greek and Arabic, as it was in these cultural circles that the new rulers of southern Italy searched for models of power, only in third place leaving Latin. An important addition to the above considerations is certainly the observation that the apparent trilingualism supposed to testify to the multiculturalism of the Norman rule *de facto* confirms certain linguistic limitations faced by the rulers, since ruling such a multicultural society required the presence of parallel translations into several languages, so that the imperial language could be understood by the users of the languages of the *imperium*. From the perspective of Byzantinologists, the essay is an interesting piece on the attractiveness of the Byzantine imperial idea, which was also adapted by representatives of the 'West'.

In Chapter Six, Aude Mairey discussed the methods by which representatives of the Plantagenet dynasty created the language of power in the context of consolidating their rule in the British Isles (p. 123–146). She mentioned, among other things, the evident references in royal rhetoric to the Byzantine heritage, e.g. Constantine the Great, the well-known Arthurian myths, and the making of the British Isles as the territory of the dynasty's exclusive hegemony (e.g. through the actions of Edward I the Longshanks, the Hammer on the Scots). These ideas also resulted in universalist ambitions,

evident, for example, in the life course of the king of the Romans, Richard of Cornwall. The bulk of the article, however, is devoted exclusively to questions of the relationship between the Anglo-Norman conquerors and the Celtic vanquished, primarily in Wales and Ireland, not least in the context of the former's reformulation and appropriation of Arthurian traditions invoking imperial ideology.

The final text of the volume, by Benjamin Landais, takes us to a slightly later era, but nevertheless deals with virtually the same issues as the articles describing practices strictly derived from the Middle Ages. The author dealt with the communication strategies of officials representing the Habsburg dynasty in the peripheral territories of the empire (p. 147–174), taking Banat as his point of reference. Drawing on a study of the requirements for representatives of the imperial administration in the area, the historian points to the much greater importance of local languages in the administration of the province than might appear given both the fact of German colonisation (Donauschwaben) and the official, state language, which was German. It appears that not only were the then popular French and Italian often in use, with the Latin tradition playing an important role, but a great deal of importance was placed on the knowledge of local, folk languages among the imperial officials posted in this multinational area. Here, too, there is an important observation: multinational does not always mean difficult, for in such a polarised society it is easier to establish a single point of reference for all through propaganda, which would be the emperor. This is why efforts were made to ensure at least a minimum of communication between the representatives of the emperor and his subjects in the language of the latter. It seems that the general remarks in this text can be considered inspiring in the context of research on the tactics adopted by the metropolis towards the periphery in different eras and states with imperial ambitions.

A few technical comments. The individual articles have abstracts in English, likewise keywords. The texts have been published in French and Italian (on a choice basis, they are not bilingual). However, there is no listed bibliography, we can only find literature in the footnotes. The book is supplied with brief biographical notes on the individual authors (p. 175–176), but lacks any indices. Thus, as can be seen, the work is virtually devoid of the critical apparatus required of academic publications. Despite some misinterpretations indicated above, given the substantive value of the monograph, it should have been mentioned and the book should be suggested for reading, especially to those who are interested in medieval historiography and the development of imperial ideas over the centuries.

Translated by Artur Mękarski

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Paul Magdalino, *Roman Constantinople in Byzantine Perspective. The Memorial and Aesthetic Rediscovery of Constantine's Beautiful City, from Late Antiquity to the Renaissance*, Brill, Leiden–Boston 2024 [= Brill Research Perspectives in Byzantine Studies, 1], pp. 177, https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004700765

Paul Magdalino's study of Constantinople has been published as the first volume of a new publishing series: Brill Research Perspectives in Byzantine Studies. However, it is not another book on the City's history and monuments. It is an attempt to present a new method of dealing with Byzantine source texts on Constantinople because the author believes that they should be treated not just as sources from which we can glean hard facts about buildings and other monuments but texts whose authors had their own goals and assumptions and who were the first to create Constantinople as a subject of research. Magdalino also emphasises that he is keen for the study to show what the people who had to do with the City thought about it: how they prepared the ground for contemporary research on Constantinople.

Thus, he examines Constantinople as a literary construct on which numerous authors have worked. The researcher divides these contributions into two main groups, which he distinguishes by taking the purpose of the text as the main distinctive feature. Thus, he indicates the "memorial mode" and the "aesthetic mode". The first mainly contains inquiries about the City's origins and explanations of the history of the ancient statues still there. On the other hand, the second focuses on explaining the sensory aspects of perceiving Constantinople – above all, its beauty and grandeur. The texts of the first group were mainly intended to satisfy curiosity, and according to Magdalino, they represent a research attitude – mostly dominated by the period from the 5th to the 10th century. Those of the second, on the other hand, satisfy aesthetic needs and are associated with rhetoric – they predominate between the 11th and 13th centuries, when, the researcher believes, the demand to rediscover the qualities of Constantinople increased.

The book has a clear layout – broadly chronological but also aligned with the two modes of writing about the City discussed above – and is divided into five main parts. A brief abstract, keywords (p. 1), and an introduction precede these (p. 1–7). At the end of the book, there is also a short summary in which the researcher recapitulates his main conclusions (p. 143–150). This is followed by a bibliography divided into primary sources and secondary literature (p. 150–169), as well as an index of persons and places (p. 171–177).

Part One (*Historical Research on Constantinople, 330–600*) covers historical research on Constantinople from the founding of the City to the year 600 (p. 7–38). In this section, Magdalino pays close attention to the differences in the narratives of Christian and non-Christian authors. In doing so, he shows distinct perspectives on writing about the City, with the non-Christian one somewhat on the sidelines.

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It is only clearly revealed in the 6th century, with earlier accounts of it not surviving. Magdalino proposes that including non-Christian narratives can be seen as a response to the decline of the empire in the West. Since there was a need to identify a new capital, the image of Constantinople also had to be adjusted and made more similar to that of Rome.

As a result, on the one hand, we can read Zosimus (fl. ca. 500), who would see salvation in a reversal of Constantine's revolution and, therefore, in a return to traditional cults. On the other hand, some authors proposed less radical solutions. In practice, they undertook the task of preparing a worthy lineage for the people of Constantinople, no worse than the Roman one. Thus, we have an adaptation of the Roman past by copying institutions and monuments, the most famous example of which are the statues of Constantine brought from all over the Empire. In addition, it also revealed the peculiarities of the City and its ancient Greek origins. In this way, it was possible to show that, by going back to Greek tradition itself, Constantinople's origins may be even more ancient than those of Rome.

For authors such as Hesychius (5th/6th), John Lydus (ca. 490 – ca. 565), and John Malalas (ca. 491–578), a genuine city had to have mythological roots, heroes, and ancient prophecies concerning its fate, its Tyche, and her statue. From this point of view, Constantinople could not be reduced to the city of Christ if it was to deserve to be called a true city. Instead, from the perspective of these authors, such a city would be some novelty without context, without being rooted in history. It would, therefore, be difficult for such a city to claim the status of imperial capital. In short, without its ancient – including mythological – origins, Constantinople would not have been a city worthy of such a high position.

As Magdalino states, the literary response to these needs was literary genre of *patria* dedicated to inquiring into the ancient origins of cities. Thanks to the *Souda Lexicon*, we know of the twelve-book *Patria* of Constantinople written in hexameter by Christodorus of Coptos (fl. 5th/6th). It seems that they were intended to satisfy the intellectual needs of the elite – accustomed to this kind of literature on other great cities. In this case, however, the poet certainly had to reconcile the genre's requirements with the city's Christian status – the mythological references were probably somewhat relegated to the background or presented as allegories. There may have been some explicitly non-Christian *Patria*, for example, those associated with the brief reign of Julian the Apostate. Nevertheless, as Magdalino makes clear, there is no hard evidence for the existence of 4th-century *Patria*: his vision is plausible, but with the current state of knowledge, it is impossible to prove. In any case, the *Patria* disappeared at the beginning of the 6th century. Magdalino sensibly assumes that this most likely had to do with the recognition of Christianity as the only possible context for the functioning of the state.

An important insight is that Magdalino treats the discussed authors of the 6th century as researchers. For him, they formed a research culture (developed from the 6th to 9th century), the essence of which was accumulating knowledge and information, prioritised over the cultivation of sophisticated literary forms. The researcher sees this as a significant *novum* in Byzantine writing about Constantinople. As he indicates, this trend continued at the imperial court, where the encyclopaedist community was active. Part two (*Memorial Literature and Research Culture, 6th–10th Centuries*) is primarily devoted to texts produced in this milieu (p. 38–66).

Magdalino points out that from the late 9th century onwards, we observe a rash of scholarly texts written from the court's perspective at the behest and use of the state. At that time, extensive research was carried out, sources were collected and copied, and extracts were made. Their authors used to write about state institutions, the City's history, and the liturgy. The researcher suggests that other texts, such as the *Parastaseis syntomoi chronikai* and the *Patria of Constantinople* (*Scriptores originum Constantinopolitarum*), may have been produced on the sidelines of those official encyclopaedic works. As for the first of the texts, *Parastaseis* seems somewhat bizarre. One can notice the manipulation of evidence, impossible chronologies, fantastic information, and gross simplifications of historical explanations. Hence, Magdalino

asks if it is a parody or a satire. He recognises it is a collection of diverse stories and a pamphlet of ancient families linked to the imperial bureaucracy at the same time. These people had proper knowledge, were connoisseurs of the arts and could not accept the ignorance of the nouveaux riches at the court. They considered themselves the guardians of oral traditions and histories concerning the City. And the *Parastaseis* was a way of perpetuating them.

Another work is the *Patria of Constantinople*; Magdalino indicates that the author may have been Pseudo-Symeon. In general, he believes it is another trace, like the *Souda*, of collateral research carried out at the court in Constantinople. The text may have been written in the milieu of Basil Lekapenos (the Parakoimomenos). Aesthetic issues are not addressed in this work. What matters is the commemoration of antiquity, especially of ancient statues. They were valued at the time not so much as sources that spoke of the past but as sources containing knowledge of the present and the future, for it was assumed that they concealed encoded prophecies. Thus, they began to acquire apocalyptic significance in the 10th century: the world's end was expected as the year 1000 approached.

Notably, the scholar emphasises that statues were essentially one element of urban identity. A decent city boasting an ancient origin had to have statues. They were a source of pride and could not be disposed of because they were part of the cultural heritage. Interpreting them in this way, in a sense, safeguarded their existence – ancestral heirlooms should not be destroyed, even if the religion has changed. Here, the author also introduces the term "antiquarian aesthetics", the manifestations of which are both texts and works of art, referring to antiquity, indicating its value and cultural validity.

Returning to the *Patria*, it is a text that is like a historical work. As Magdalino demonstrates, its audience was concerned with metahistory (drawing on contemporary terminology) rather than *stricte* historical research. Hence, the text accumulates anecdotes, unusual stories, riddles, prophecies, etc. The text was intended to teach, amuse, and provide entertainment. The *Patria* undoubtedly fulfilled this kind of intellectual need.

Part Three (*Cultural Heritage and Tourist Disinformation 1000–1453: from Bureaucratic to Scientific Antiquarianism*) deals with texts on cultural heritage and tourist (dis)information from 1000 to 1453 (p. 66–91). Magdalino points out that there were professional guides for those arriving in Constantinople. In addition, from the 10th century onwards, more exclusive guided tours were offered for the most important visitors. These had a political purpose – to make a particular impression on significant guests. They also included a visit to the Great Palace, which was treated like a museum then. However, not all visitors were enamoured by Constantinople. Some, like Liutprand of Cremona (ca. 920–972) and Odo of Deuil (1110–1162), were more critical and did not hesitate to voice their discontent. Though only sometimes positive, their perspectives provide a valuable insight into the City's functioning. Over time, visitors from Italy, lovers of antiquity, also used to tour the City. But for them, Constantinople was just one of many Greek cities.

The following significant phase of writing about Constantinople is the letter of Manuel Chrysoloras (ca. 1350–1415), in which he juxtaposes Old and New Rome. As the first Byzantine author, he made this kind of comparison in a single coherent text. His attitude was that of a diligent researcher. He used to observe and interpret the monuments without resorting to legendary stories. Chrysoloras also taught his Italian pupils this scholarly attitude. He was a historian, but he paid attention to aesthetic issues, referring to the elements that determined the beauty of a city. His interest in antiquity found fertile ground in Italy and influenced the intellectuals in his circle. Significantly, Chrysoloras also adapted some elements of Latin writing about cities in his text.

As far as strictly panegyric literature is concerned, Constantinople waited a long time for a work of this kind: the work of Constantine of Rhodes (10th century) is, as Magdalino writes, more a poem composed of ekphraseis dedicated to the various "wonders" of Constantinople than a single and consistent encomium of the City; the work of Theodore Prodromos (died ca. 1170), on the other hand, is more a praise of the emperor; the City also appears there, but

it is a relatively "romantic" vision of it. On the other hand, Nicholas Mesarites (ca. 1163 – after 1216) gave an ekphrasis of the Church of the Holy Apostles. Among other things, these texts are addressed in Part Four (*The Rhetorical Rediscovery of Constantinople, 10th–13th Centuries*; p. 91–109).

An important caesura is 1204. The Fourth Crusade also influenced literature about Constantinople. Hellenism becomes the centre of identity: understood as a state of moral and aesthetic perfection, synonymous with true civilisation. This notion is particularly evident in the Choniates brothers. Michael (ca. 1140–1220) writes about Athens; Niketas (ca. 1155–1217) contrasts Hellenistic art with Latin barbarians, greedy and primitive. They preferred to melt the beautiful statues, the heritage of their culture, into coins; they were incapable of appreciating them, and thus, they mindlessly destroyed part of their own heritage. So, after Niketas Choniates, Byzantine Hellenism was in opposition to Latin barbarism. It is another valuable observation of Magdalino.

As the researcher points out, the culmination of Byzantine writing about Constantinople is the *Byzantios* of Theodore Metochites (1270–1332). The last fifth part of the book (*The "Byzantios" of Theodore Metochites and Its Legacy*) is devoted mainly to this work (p. 109–143). It is an encomium of Constantinople in the style of the late antique praises given to Athens, Antioch and Rome. In Metochites' work, Constantinople becomes an ancient Greek polis. It appears as an ideal city, a beautiful city – full of statues and bustling marketplaces; he focuses entirely on the civic character of Constantinople, not the imperial one. According to Metochites, Constantinople's success was determined by Nature because it flourished due to favourable natural conditions. Notably, he sees Constantinople as a fully mature form of Byzantion. The city grew up like a living organism. On the other hand, the violation of natural laws was the Latin occupation. Constantinople is also the home of the Muses – they had to leave other vital ancient centres and can now only be active there – a centre of education, of all knowledge at the highest level.

Significantly, Metochites was the first author to write about Constantinople's most ancient past without mentioning its mythology. He tried to present the City and its history in opposition to mythical stories. Moreover, for Metochites, Constantinople was entirely the work of Constantine. Hence, he did not address the question of the *translatio imperii* at all, and he did not mention Rome. Moreover, for him, Constantine was a Christian ruler, and Constantinople was a city that had always been orthodox, the only one of its kind among the important ancient urban centres.

Magdalino's book is valuable and interesting. On the one hand, it provides a handy guide to Byzantine texts on Constantinople. Significantly, the author has not limited himself to only the best-known sources but has successfully presented a comprehensive panorama of texts devoted to the City without omitting those we know only from fragments or mentions made by other authors (e.g. the *Patria* of Christodorus of Coptos). One must admit that such an overview is valuable in itself, all the more so because the author has provided it with information on studies, including the most recent ones. The work also abounds in numerous quotations from the source texts discussed. One drawback is that these are always only translations. Versions in the original languages are missing. Only essential terms and concepts are referred to in their original languages.

What primarily determines the value of this book, however, is the author's approach to the source texts under discussion. As I mentioned, he explains his assumptions in the introduction, emphasising that he is analysing these texts not because of the historical facts described in them but because of their authors' specific assumptions and objectives. From such a perspective, it becomes apparent that the texts can differ considerably, even if they share a common genre framework. Another vital aspect of Magdalino's book is that the author outlines the problem and poses many questions – only some of which he carefully answers. As a result, he encourages detailed research, developing barely hinted threads. Thus, it can also be hoped that the work will provoke further lively and in-depth discussion of Constantinople.

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Българска национална история, vol. IV, *Византийското владичество и епохата на Второто българско царство (1018 г. – средата на XV в.)*, ed. П. Павлов [*The Bulgarian national history*, vol. IV, *The Byzantine rule and the epoch of the Second Bulgarian Tsardom (1018 – the mid-fifteenth century)*, ed. P. Pavlov], Абагар, Велико Търново 2023, pp. 727

The book under review appears as the fourth volume in the series of the *Bulgarian national history*, initiated by Professor Grigor Velev. Its main authors come from two Bulgarian academic centres: the St. Cyril and Methodius University of Veliko Tărnovo and the St. Kliment Ohridski University of Sofia. The first of those centres is represented by Plamen Pavlov, Ivan Lazarov and Anelija Markova, while Georgi N. Nikolov and Krasimir Krăstev represent the second institution. The book also contains texts by Ivan Tjutjundžiev, Venelin Grudkov, Plamen Săbev, Tervel Popov, and – which is particularly worth mentioning from the perspective of the author of this review – Kirił Marinow from the University of Lodz. Marinow's contribution to the volume is a testament to the recognition of his scholarly achievements by Bulgarian scholars.

The work covers the history of the Bulgarian lands from their conquest by Basil II the Bulgar Slayer to the mid-fifteenth century (the fall of the so-called Despotate of Zagora with its centre in Nesebăr). It is thus clear that the authors do not end their work at the capture of Tărnovo (1393) or Vidin (1396) by the Turks, as it is traditionally ended. Rather, they take their narrative to *the actual end of the medieval statehood across the ethno-cultural areas of the Bulgarian nation*.

The book is divided into six main parts. Written by Plamen Pavlov and Georgi N. Nikolov, Part 1 (*България под византийска власт*, *1018–1086*) [*Bulgaria under Byzantine rule*, *1018–1086*, p. 15–108] encompasses the history of the Bulgarian lands under Byzantine rule. It consists of four chapters devoted to social and economic processes, the raids of nomads and their effects, attempts to regain independence, and the Bulgars' spiritual life.

Part 2 discusses the history of the Bulgars in the years 1186–1241 (*Епохата на Велики Асеневци*) [*The Epoch of the Great Asens 1186–1241*, p. 109–262]. Written by Plamen Pavlov, Georgi N. Nikolov, Anelija Markova and Ivan Lazarov, this part is divided into five chapters that cover such issues as: the uprising of Peter Asen and the rebirth of the Bulgarian statehood, the reigns of Kaloyan (1197–1207), Boril (1207–1217), and Ivan Asen II (1217–1241), independent rulers in the Bulgarian lands during the era of the first Asens.

Part 3 provides an account of the history of Bulgaria in the years 1241–1332 (*Пълзящата политическа криза в Българското царство и търсенето на изход от нея*) [*The crawling crisis of the Bulgarian Tsardom and attempts to overcome it*, *1241–1232*, p. 263–350]. This part is authored by Ivan Lazarov, Krasimir Krăstev, and Plamen Pavlov. It consists of six chapters.

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The first chapter is devoted to the history of Bulgaria in the years 1241–1257, the second to the reign of Konstantin Tih (1257–1277), the third to the life of Ivaylo and his rule, the fourth to the history of Bulgaria in the last two decades of the thirteenth century, the fifth to the reign of Theodore Svetoslav, and the sixth to independent rulers in the Bulgarian lands in the second half of the thirteenth century and the first decades of the fourteenth century.

Part 4 is devoted to the Bulgarian statehood and its various aspects in the period from 1322 to the mid-fifteenth century (*Средновековната българска държавност (1322 г. – средата на XV в.)*) [*The medieval Bulgarian statehood (1322 – the mid-fifteenth century)*, p. 367–506]. Its authors are: Plamen Pavlov, Ivan Tjutjundžiev and Anelija Markova. This part is divided into four sections. The first three sections pertain respectively to the reigns of Michael III Shishman (1323–1330), Ivan Alexander (1330–1371), and Ivan Shishman (1371–1395). The fourth presents the history of Bulgarian lands until the mid-fifteenth century.

Part 5 discusses the society, the church and Bulgarian culture in the period from the end of the twelfth century to the beginning of the fifteenth century (*Общество, църква и култура (краят на XII – началото на XV в.)*) [*Society, the church and culture (the end of the twelfth century – the beginning of the fifteenth century)*, p. 507–665]. The authors of this part are: Plamen Pavlov, Ivan Lazarov, Venelin Grudkov and Plamen Săbev. It is divided into four sections. The first section is devoted to Bulgaria's socio-economic development from the end of the twelfth to the end of the fourteenth centuries, the second to the history of the Bulgarian church, the third to Bulgaria's literary life and the fourth to its art and architecture.

The sixth part of the book is composed of annexes. The first annex contains Tevel Popov's characterization of the boyars in the Bulgarian lands under Byzantine rule in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. The second provides Palamen Pavlov's discussion of the methods of a "psychological war" used in the struggle for independence carried out during the reign of Peter and Asen. The third provides Pavlov's perspective on the Bulgarian state's allies in the northern coasts of the Black Sea, and the fourth annex is devoted to Kirił Marinow's discussion of Tărnovo as the Bulgars' holy city.

It should be noted that all the chapters and annexes are equipped with bibliographies. The book also contains lots of illustrations.

The work under review provides a comprehensive account of the history of the Bulgars and their state from the beginning of the ninth century to the mid-fifteenth century. Written by distinguished scholars, it will be useful and inspiring both for the experts and for those interested in history whom modern Bulgaria is not short of.

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Николай Хрисимов, *България и европейският Запад през първите десетилетия на IX век* [Nikolay Hrissimov, *Bulgaria and the European West in the First Decades of the Ninth Century*], Изток–Запад, София 2023, pp. 294

The autor a distinguished Bulgarian scholar from the St. Cyril and Methodius University of Veliko Tărnovo, aimed to present the Bulgars' relations with the Avars (until the end of the latter's statehood) and the Franks (until the end of the third decade of the eleventh century).

The work is divided into six essential parts, enhanced with a foreword by Plamen Pavlov (*Когато България беше Велика сила в Европа*, p. 7–9), a preface (p. 11–14), conclusions (p. 247–252), a bibliography (p. 253–280), a list of abbreviations (p. 283), an annex (p. 283–287), and a summary in English (p. 281–294).

The first chapter (*За панонския произход на кан Крум и „Крумовата династия"*) [*On the Pannonian origin of Khan Krum and "Krum's dynasty"*, p. 17–24] deals with the well-established view that Khan Krum was descended from the Pannonian Bulgars and was the founder of a new dynasty. The author points out that there is no evidence to support this view, which was first put forward at the end of the eighteenth century by the Austrian scholar, Johann Christian von Engel. However, there are reasons to believe that Krum was related to Kardam, the last known Bulgar ruler before Krum.

Chapter 2 (*Българи и авари в отношенията си в периода на съществуване на ранносредновековната българска държавност*) [*Bulgaria and the Avars in their mutual relations in the early Middle Ages*, p. 25–87] is devoted to the history of Avar-Bulgar relations (which are unevenly reflected in primary sources), focusing on the controversy surrounding the Bulgars' participation in the eradication of the Avars' state.

Chapter 3 (*Какво цели кан Крум с подновяване на договора от 716 г. Западната връзка*) [*What were Krum's goals in resuming the agreement of 716. The Western context*, p. 89–104] discusses Krum's demand in 812 to resume the Bulgar-Byzantine agreement of 716. According to the author, the agreement contained a reference to the title of Caesar held by Tervel. The demand in question may have arisen as a result of Michael I Rangabe's recognition of Charles I's imperial title in April 812. We are told that Krum found this to be the right moment to secure for himself, under the renewed Bulgarian-Byzantine agreement, the title reflecting the position of the Bulgarian ruler after the victory over Nikephoros I in 811.

Chapter 4 (*Българо-франкският сблъсък в Централна Европа през 20–30-те години на IX век*) [*The Bulgaro-Frankish clash in Central Europe in the 820s and the 830s of the 9th century*, p. 105–174] analyses the causes and course of the conflict that arose in the 820s between Bulgaria and the Franks over the areas that had once been part of the Avars' Khaganate. As a result of the annexation of the lands of the Slav tribes, who sought to win and preserve their independence, the Bulgars began to border with the Franks, with whom

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they first engaged in long negotiations and then in an armed conflict.

Chapter 5 (*За произхода на комитатите в ранносредновековната българска държава и някои проблеми, свързани с тях*) [*On the origin of the komitaty in Early Medieval Bulgaria and on some of the problems that arise in this connection*, p. 175–197] offers N. Hrissimov's perspective on the origin of "*komitaty*" (counties) in the Bulgarian state. The widely held view is that the *komitaty* were modelled on Byzantine themes. However, the author provides serious arguments in favour of linking them with the Franks' *marches*.

The sixth and final chapter (*Земите на Първото българско царство през IX век на север и запад от Карпатите – безспорно и спорно*) [*The Lands of the First Bulgarian State to the north and west of the Carpathian mountains – indisputably and arguably*, p. 198–246] is devoted to the issue of Bulgaria's north-western border in the ninth century. The author's analysis is based mainly on archaeological evidence. In dealing with this issue, one can hardly hope to offer clear-cut answers. According to the author, beyond the Carpathian mountains, Bulgarian influences can certainly be identified as having existed in the present Romanian city of Alba Iulia. N. Hrissimov takes a definitely negative view of the widely held opinion that the lands between Tiša and Danube belonged to the Bulgarian state in the early Middle Ages. He points out that the only territories west of Tiša that could have been annexed to the Bulgarian state were those located east of the so-called Great Roman rampart in Bačka.

The book under review is a successful attempt at showing Bulgaria's relations with its western neighbours: the Avars and the Franks (until the end of the third decade of the ninth century). The author has provided a thorough analysis of the available sources, arriving at original conclusions, which often contradict earlier findings. I am convinced that Hrissimov's book will inspire further discussion of Bulgarian rulers' western policy in the first three decades of the ninth century.

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Abbreviations

AAR	Analecta Archaeologica Ressoviensia
AAR.MSL	Analele Academiei Române. Memoriile Secţiunii Literare
AAth	Archives de l'Athos
AB	Analecta Bollandiana
ACi	Analecta Cisterciensia
AClas	Acta Classica: Proceedings of the Classical Association of South Africa
ACO	*Acta conciliorum oecumenicorum*, ed. E. Schwartz and J. Straub, Berlin 1914–
Ada	Adalya
Ae	Aevum. Rassegna di scienze storiche, linguistiche e filologiche
Aev	Aevum Antiquum
AFP	Archivum fratrum praedicatorum
Agr	Agronomy
AHor	Acta Horticulturae
AJECh	Ancient Judaism and Early Christianity
AJN	American Journal of Numismatics
AJSLL	American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literature
Akro	Akroterion: Quarterly for the Classics in South Africa
Al-M	Al-Mashriq
Al-Mas	Al-Masāq. Journal of the Medieval Mediterranean
Al-Q	Al-Qantara. Revista de Estudios Árabes
AMi	Annales du Midi
AMN	Acta Musei Napocensis
AMRAC.SZ	Annales du Musée Royal de L'Afrique Centrale, Sciences Zoologiques
AMSCEU	Annual of Medieval Studies at the Central European University
ANSt	Anglo-Norman Studies
Anti	Antiquity

AnzSP	Anzeiger für slavische Philologie
AOC	Archives de l'Orient Chrétien
ArM	Archeologia Medievale: cultura materiale, insediamenti, territorio
ArtFJ	Arts Faculty Journal
ASP	Archiv für slavische Philologie
ASRel	Annali di Scienze Religiose
ATa	Antiquité tardive
AUAIC.L	Analele Universității Alexandru Ioan Cuza din Iași. Secțiunea Lingvistică
AUS.SL	Acta Universitatis Szegediensis de Attila József Nominatae. Dissertationes Slavicae. Sectio Linguistica
B	Byzantion. Revue internationale des études byzantines
BAGB	Bulletin de l'Association Guillaume Budé
Balc	Balcanica. Annual of the Institute for Balkan Studies
BAMA	Bibliothèque d'Archéologie Méditerranéenne et Africaine
BAR.IS	BAR. International Series
BArchiv	Byzantinisches Archiv
BASP	Bulletin of the American Society of Papyrologists
BAus	Byzantina Australiensia
BBA	Berliner byzantinistische Arbeiten
BBg	Byzantinobulgarica
BCBW	Brill's Companions to the Byzantine World
BCEH	Brill's Companions to European History
BCH	Bulletin de correspondance hellénique
BF	Byzantinische Forschungen. Internationale Zeitschrift für Byzantinistik
BG.E	Byzantinische Geschichtsschreiber. Ergänzungsband
Bgr	Belgeler
BHG	Bibliotheca Hagiographica Graeca
BHR	Bulgarian Historical Review/Revue bulgare d'histoire
BIFAO	Bulletin de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale
BKP	Beiträge zur klassischen Philologie

BL	Byzantina Lodziensia
BLRev	Belgrade Law Review
BMC.G	BMC Genetics
BMd	Bulgaria Mediaevalis
BMGS	Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies
BSA	Bulletin on Sumerian Agriculture
BSFN	Bulletin de la Société française de numismatique
BSGR	Bibliotheca scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana
Bsl	Byzantinoslavica. Revue internationale des études byzantines
BSOAS	Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London
BTT	Byzantine Texts in Translation
ByzSor	Byzantina Sorbonensia
BZ	Byzantinische Zeitschrift
CA	Classical Antiquity
CAnt	Collegium Antropologicum
CC.SL	*Corpus christianorum, Series latina*
CCGG	Cahiers du Centre Gustave-Glotz
CCTC	Cambridge Classical Texts and Commentaries
CFHB	*Corpus fontium historiae byzantinae*
CFHB.SBe	*Corpus fontium historiae byzantinae. Series Berolinensis*
CFHB.SV	*Corpus fontium historiae byzantinae. Series Vindobonensis*
CFHB.SW	*Corpus fontium historiae byzantinae. Series Washingtonensis*
CHC	Contributions to the History of Concepts
Chi	Chiron. Mitteilungen der Kommission für alte Geschichte und Epigraphik des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts
CIL	*Corpus inscriptionum latinarum*, Berlin 1862–
CJ	Classical Journal
CMC	Cambridge Medieval Classics
CMG	Corpus Medicorum Graecorum
CMT	Cambridge Medieval Textbooks
Comm	Communications

CP	Classical Philology
CPG	*Clavis patrum graecorum*, ed. M. Geerard, F. Glorie, Turnhout 1974–1987 et subs.
CPhil	Collectanea Philologica. Cathedra Philologiae Classicae Universitatis Lodziensis
CRAIBL	Comptes rendus des séances de l'année de l'Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres
CRMH	Cahiers de recherches médiévales et humanistes
CRQ	Conflict Resolution Quarterly
CS	Cristianesimo nella Storia. Ricerche storiche, esegetiche, teologiche
CSc	Cultura e scuola
CSHB	*Corpus scriptorum historiae byzantinae*
CSMLT	Cambridge Studies in Medieval Life and Thought
CStFC	California Studies in Food and Culture
CW	Classical World
D	Dacoromania
DHA	Dialogues d'histoire ancienne
DOBSC	Dumbarton Oaks Byzantine Symposia and Colloquia
DOML	Dumbarton Oaks Medieval Library
DOP	Dumbarton Oaks Papers
DOT	Dumbarton Oaks Texts
EB	Études balkaniques. Revue trimestrielle publiée par l'Institut d'études balkaniques près l'Académie bulgare des sciences
EBot	Economic Botany
ECEEMA	East Central and Eastern Europe in the Middle Ages, 450–1450
EcoA	Economic Affairs
ECom	Eslavistica Complutense
ECR	Eastern Churches Review
EI	*Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Leiden–London [1]1913–1934, [2]1960–
EJPCA	European Journal of Post-Classical Archaeologies
Ele	Electrum. Studia z Historii Starożytnej
ELeg	The European Legacy: Toward New Paradigms
EME	Early Medieval Europe

EMod	Europa Moderna. Revue d'histoire et d'iconologie
EPhK	Egyetemes Philologiai Közlöny
EUph	Euphytica
FBR	Forschungen zur Byzantinischen Rechtsgeschichte
FGHB	*Fontes graeci historiae bulgaricae*
FoFo	Food and Foodways. Explorations in the History and Culture of Human Nourishment
FoHis	Food and History
GA	Graeco-Arabica
Gal	Galenos
GCS	*Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten [drei] Jahrhunderte*
GCS.NF	*Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten [drei] Jahrhunderte. Neue Folge*
Glo	Glotta. Zeitschrift für griechische und lateinische Sprache
GRBS	Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Studies
H.JSS	Hugoye. Journal of Syriac Studies
Habis	Habis
Here	Heresis
Hi	Historia
HJb	Historisches Jahrbuch
HOS.NME	Handbook of Oriental Studies. Section 1, The Near and Middle East
HRE	Historiography of Rome and its Empire
HRev	Horticultural Reviews
HSc	Horticultural Science
HSem	Historische Semantik
HTR	The Harvard Theological Review
I	Der Islam. Journal of the History and Culture of the Middle East
IAS	Islamic Area Studies
ICR	Islam and Civilisational Renewal
IE	Impact of Empire
IHC	Islamic History and Civilization

IMU	Italia medioevale e umanistica
JAH	Journal of African History
JAS.R	Journal of Archaeological Science: Reports
JCopS	Journal of Coptic Studies
JDAI	Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts
JEcH	Journal of Economic History
JESHO	Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient
JGA	Journal of Greek Archaeology
JHS	Journal of Hellenic Studies
JI	Jihat al-Islam
JIMSt	Journal of Islamic and Muslim Studies
JLA	Journal of Late Antiquity
JMArch	Journal of Maritime Archaeology
JMH	Journal of Medieval History
JMS	Journal of Mediterranean Studies
JNES	Journal of Near Eastern Studies
JÖB	Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik
JRA	Journal of Roman Archaeology
JRH	Journal of Religious History
JS	Journal des Savants
JWCI	Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes
KH	Kwartalnik Historyczny
KHA	Kölner Historische Abhandlungen
LBG	*Lexikon zur byzantinischen Gräzität*, ed. E. Trapp et al., Wien 2001–
LCL	Loeb Classical Library
LG	Lexicographi Graeci
LR	Limba Română
LSJ	H.G. Liddell, R. Scott, H.S. Jones et al., A Greek-English Lexicon, ^{9}Oxford 1996
Medi	Mediaevalia
MEFR.MÂ	Mélanges de l'École Française de Rome. Moyen âge et temps modernes

MeW	Medieval Worlds
MGH	*Monumenta Germaniae historica*
MGH.EK	*Monumenta Germaniae historica, Epistolae Karolini aevi*
MGH.Ep	*Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Epistolarum*
MGH.SRG	*Monumenta Germaniae historica, Scriptores rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum ex Monumentis Germaniae historicis separatim editi*
MGH.SS	*Monumenta Germaniae historica, Scriptores*
MHis	Medical History. A Quarterly Journal Devoted to the History of Medicine and Related Sciences
MHJ	The Medieval History Journal
MHR	Mediterranean Historical Review. Aranne School of History, Tel Aviv University
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.
Mill	Millenium
MJou	Medizinhistorisches Journal
MLR	Mediterranean Language Review
MLSDV	*Monumenta linguae slavicae dialecti veteris*
MMe	The Medieval Mediterranean
MME	Manuscripts of the Middle East
MMM	Medicine in the Medieval Mediterranean
Mn.S	Mnemosyne. Bibliotheca Classica Batava. Supplementum
MRLLA	Magical and Religious Literature of Late Antiquity
MSNAF	Mémoires de la Société nationale des antiquaires de France
MWo	The Muslim World
NABHC	New Approaches to Byzantine History and Culture
NCom	Nature Communications
NgrMA	Neograeca Medii Aevi
NPFC	*Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers of Christian Church*
NSA	Notizie degli scavi di antichità, Accademia nazionale dei Lincei
OAra	Osmanlı Araştırmaları. The Journal of Ottoman Studies

OCM	Oxford Classical Monographs
OCP	Orientalia Christiana Periodica
ODB	*The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium,* ed. A. Kazhdan et al., vol. I–III, New York–Oxford 1991
OEH	Ottoman Empire and its Heritage
OHei	Oberösterreihische Heimatblätter
OHM	Oxford Historical Monographs
Or.JPTSIS	Oriens. Journal of Philosophy, Theology and Science in Islamic Societies
OSB	Oxford Studies in Byzantium
OSHC	Onassis Series in Hellenic Culture
OTAUMD	Osmanlı Tarihi Araştırma ve Uygulama Merkezi Dergisi
Pall	Pallas
PAR	Pro Austria Romana
PBA	Proceedings of the British Academy
Pbg	Palaeobulgarica / Старобългаристика
Pcl	Penguin Classics
Per	Peripatoi
PerF	Pergamenische Forschungen
PG	*Patrologiae cursus completus*, *Series graeca*, ed. J.-P. Migne, Paris 1857–1866
Phoe	Phoenix. Journal of the Classical Association of Canada / Revue de la Société canadienne des études classiques
PIOL	Publications de l'Institut Orientaliste de Louvain
PL	*Patrologiae cursus completus*, *Series latina*, ed. J.-P. Migne, Paris 1844–1880
Ple	Pleiadi (La Spezia, Italy)
PLOS.O	PLOS One
PLRE	*The Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire*, 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
PO	*Patrologia orientalis*
POC	Proche-Orient chrétien

PPC	Petits Propos Culinaires
PSoc	Politics & Society
PSS	Poznańskie Studia Slawistyczne
PZH	Piotrkowskie Zeszyty Historyczne
QFA	Quaderni Friulani di Archeologia
QInt	Quaternary International
QSA.CO	Quaderni della Soprintendenza Archeologica per le Province di Cagliari e Oristano
QTNAC	Quaderni Ticinesi di Numismatica e antichità classiche
RACA	Revista de Arqueología Clásica de Andalucía
RAfr	Revue Africaine
RBPH	Revue belge de philologie et d'histoire
RCRFA	Rei Cretariae Romanae Fautorum Acta
RE	*Paulys Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, ed. G. Wissowa, W. Kroll, Stuttgart 1894–1978
REA	Revue des Études Anciennes
REB	Revue des études byzantines
REcS	Review of Ecumenical Studies
REG	Revue des études grecques
RESEE	Revue des études sud-est européennes
RH	Revue historique
RHi	Roczniki Historyczne
RHSEE	Revue historique du sud-est européen
RHT	Revue d'histoire des textes
RIM	Roman Imperial Biographies
RMR	Reti Medievali Rivista
RMS	Reading Medieval Sources
RN	Revue numismatique
RPal	Revue de Paléobiologie
RRL	Revue Roumaine de Linguistique
RSBS	Rivista di studi bizantini e slavi
RSLi	Rivista di Studi Liguri

S	Speculum. A Journal of Medieval Studies
SAI	Studia Arabistyczne i Islamistyczne
SAM	Studies in Ancient Medicine
SB	Studia Balcanica
SBAW	Sitzungsberichte der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften
SBS	Studies in Byzantine Sigillography
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
SCIV	Studii şi Cercetări de Istorie Veche
Scri	Scrinium
SEER	The Slavonic and East European Review
SEIA	SEIA. Quaderni del Dipartimento di Scienze Archeologiche e Storiche dell'Antichità dell'Università di Macerata
SeS	Scripta & e-Scripta
SFFBU	Sborník prací Filozofické fakulty brněnské univerzity
SGRR	Studies in Greek and Roman Religion
SHa	Subsidia hagiographica
SIFC	Studi italiani di filologia classica
SK	Seminarium Kondakovianum
SKAW.PHK	Sitzungsberichte der Kaiserlichen (Österreichischen) Akademie der Wissenschaften, Wien, Philosophisch-historische Klasse
SLA	Studies in Late Antiquity
SlOc	Slavica Occitania
SMV	Studi Mediolatini e Volgari
SMW	Studies in the Mediterranean World
SO.SOF	Studia orientalia, ed. Societas Orientalis Fennica
SOC	Studi sull'Oriente Cristiano
SPBS.P	Society for Promotion of Byzantine Studies, Publications
SRin	Studi Rinascimentali. Rivista internazionale di letteratura italiana

SRol	Sex Roles. A Journal of Research is a global, multidisciplinary, scholarly, social and behavioral science journal with a feminist perspective
Sta	Starinar
STB	Studien und Texte zur Byzantinistik
StI	Studia Islamica
Stor	Storicamente
SWr	Studia Wrocławskie
T	Traditio: Studies in Ancient and Medieval Thought, History, and Religion
TAnt	Transformationen der Antike
TCH	Transformation of the Classical Heritage
ThHi	Theologica & Historica. Annali della Pontificia Facoltà Teologica della Sardegna
TIB	*Tabula imperii byzantini*, ed. H. Hunger, Wien 1976–
TM	Travaux et mémoires du Centre de recherches d'histoire et civilisation byzantines
TTB	Translated Texts for Byzantinists
TTH	Translated Texts for Historians
ULG	Untersuchungen zur antiken Literatur und Geschichte
USS	U Schyłku Starożytności. Studia Źródłoznawcze
VHA	Vegetation History and Archaeobotany
VP	Vox Patrum. Antyk Chrześcijański
VZBGW	Verhandlungen der Zoologisch-Botanischen Gesellshaft in Wien
WAB	Wissenschaftliche Arbeiten aus dem Burgenland
WArch	World Archaeology
WZKM	Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes
Zeph	Zephyrus
ZP.UKSW	Zeszyty Prawnicze UKSW
ZPE	Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik
ZSVG	Zeitschrift für Semitistik und Verwandte Gebiete
ŹMT	Źródła Myśli Teologicznej

* * *

АДСВ	Античная древность и средние века
Ап	Археографски прилози
БВе	Богословский Вестник
ВВ	Византийский временник
Вв	Византийский временник
ВВгу	Вестник Волгоградского государственного университета
ВВолГУ.И	Вестник ВолГУ = Вестник Волгоградского государственного университета, Серия 4, История
ВХну.І	Вісник Харківського національного університету імені В.Н. Каразіна. Історія
Епо	Епохи
ЖМНП	Журнал Министерства Народного Просвещения
ЗРВИ	Зборник Радова Византолошког Института
ИЗ.ЕН	Историјски записи/Ecrits historiques. Орган Историјског института НР Црне горе
ИИД	Известия на историческото дружество в София
ИИз	Интердисциплинарни изследвания
ИИИ	Известия на Института за исторически изследвания
ИП	Исторически преглед
ИРИМГ	Известия на Регионалния исторически музей – Габрово
КМс	Кирило-Методиевски студии
ПИФ	Пловдивски исторически форум
СБкдС	Сборник на Българското книжовно дружество в София
СНУНК	Сборник за народни умотворения, наука и книжнина
ТОДЛ	Труды Отдела древнерусской литературы Института русской литературы Академии наук СССР

* * *

Αθ	Ἀθήνα. Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν τῆς ἐν Ἀθήναις Ἐπιστημονικῆς Ἑταιρείας
Βκα	Βυζαντιακά
ΒΣυμ	Βυζαντινά Σύμμεικτα / Byzantina Symmeikta
Βυζ	Βυζαντινά. Ἐπιστημονικό Ὄργανο Κέντρου Βυζαντινών Ἐρευνών Αριστοτελείου Πανεπιστημίου
ΕΕΒΣ	Ἐπετηρίς Ἑταιρείας Βυζαντινῶν Σπουδῶν
ΔΧΑΕ	Δελτίον της Χριστιανικής Αρχαιολογικής Εταιρείας
Λα	Λαογραφία
ΕΕ	Εώα και Εσπέρια
ΕΕΒΣ	Ἐπετηρὶς Ἑταιρείας Βυζαντινῶν Σπουδῶν
Θη	Θησαυρίσματα
Κοι	Κοινωνία: Collana di Studi e Testi
ΝΕ	Νέος Ἑλληνομνήμων

Studia Ceranea
Journal of the Waldemar Ceran Research Center for the History and Culture of the Mediterranean Area and South-East Europe

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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.

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[25] Zonaras, XV, 13, 11.
[26] Zonaras, XV, 13, 19–22.

2. Books by modern authors should be referenced as follows:

[21] M. Angold, *A Byzantine Government in Exile. Government and Society under the Laskarids of Nicaea, 1204–1261*, Oxford 1975, p. 126.
[22] И. Илиев, *Св. Климент Охридски. Живот и дело*, Пловдив 2010, p. 142.

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[23] G. OSTROGORSKI, *Geschichte...*, p. 72.
[24] A. VAN MILLINGEN, *Byzantine Constantinople...*, p. 123.
[25] G. OSTROGORSKI, *Geschichte...*, p. 72.
[26] A. VAN MILLINGEN, *Byzantine Churches...*, p. 44.

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P. GAUTIER, *Le typikon du sebaste Grégoire Pakourianos*, REB 42, 1984, p. 5–145.

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Г. ТОДОРОВ, *Св. Княз Борис и митът за мнимото: избиване на 52 болярски рода*, [in:] *Християнската култура в средновековна България. Материали от национална научна конференция, Шумен 2–4 май 2007 година по случай 1100 години от смъртта на св. Княз Борис-Михаил (ок. 835–907 г.)*, ed. П. ГЕОРГИЕВ, Велико Търново 2008, p. 23.

5. Examples of notes referring to webpages or sources available online:

Ghewond's History, 10, trans. R. BEDROSIAN, p. 30–31, www.rbedrosian.com/ghew3.htm [20 VII 2011].
www.ancientrome.org/history.html [20 VII 2011].

6. Reviews:
P. SPECK, [rec.:] *Nikephoros, Patriarch of Constantinople: Short History / Nicephori patriarchae Constantinopolitani Breviarium Historicum...* – BZ 83, 1990, p. 471.

Footnote numbers should be placed before punctuation marks.

cetera:
cf.
col. [here: columna]
coll. [here: collegit]
e.g.
ed.
et al.
etc.

ibidem (note: only used for secondary literature)
idem/eadem
iidem/iidem/eaedem
[in:]
l. cit.
p. [here: *pagina*]
passim

rec. [here: *recensuit / recognovit*]
[rec.:] [here: *recensio*]
s.a. [here: *sine anno*]
s.l. [here: *sine loco*]
sel. [here: *selegit*]
sq, sqq
trans.
vol.

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These are:

References to the Bible are also indicated using the standard Latin abbreviations:

Gn Ex Lv Nm Dt Ios Idc Rt 1Sam 2Sam 1Reg 2Reg 1Par 2Par Esd Ne Tb Idt Est Iob Ps Prv Eccle Ct Sap Eccli Is Ier Lam Bar Ez Dn Os Il Am Abd Ion Mich Nah Hab Soph Ag Zach Mal 1Mac 2Mac

Mt Mc Lc Io Act Rom 1Cor 2Cor Gal Eph Phil Col 1Thess 2Thess 1Tim 2Tim Tit Philm Heb Iac 1Pe 2Pe 1Io 2Io 3Io Ids Apc

Greek and Latin terms are either given in the original Greek or Latin version, in the nominative, without italics (a1), or transliterated (a2) – italicized, with accentuation (Greek only):

(a.1.) φρούριον, ἰατροσοφιστής
(a.2.) *ius intercedendi, hálme, asfáragos, proskýnesis*

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(O)CS: (Old) Church Slavic, **Rus.:** Russian, **Blr.:** Belarusian, **Ukr.:** Ukrainian, **Bulg.:** Bulgarian, **Mac.:** Macedonian. Note: for Serbian, the official Serbian Latin script should be used.

Cyr.	(O)CS	Rus.	Blr.	Ukr.	Bulg.	Mac.
а	a	a	a	a	a	a
б	b	b	b	b	b	b
в	v	v	v	v	v	v
г	g	g	h	h	g	g

Cyr.	(O)CS	Rus.	Blr.	Ukr.	Bulg.	Mac.
ґ			(g)	g		
д	d	d	d	d	d	d
ѓ						ǵ
е		e	e	e	e	e
ё		ë	ë			
є	e			je		
ж	ž	ž	ž	ž	ž	ž
з	z	z	z	z	z	z
ѕ	dz					dz
и	i	i		y	i	i
і	i	(i)	i	i		
ї	i			ї		
й		j	j	j	j	
ј						j
к	k	k	k	k	k	k
л	l	l	l	l	l	l
љ						lj
м	m	m	m	m	m	m
н	n	n	n	n	n	n
њ						nj
о	o	o	o	o	o	o
п	p	p	p	p	p	p
р	r	r	r	r	r	r
с	s	s	s	s	s	s
т	t	t	t	t	t	t
ќ						ḱ
ћ	ǵ					
у	u	u	u	u	u	u

Cyr.	(O)CS	Rus.	Blr.	Ukr.	Bulg.	Mac.
ў			ŭ			
ф	f	f	f	f	f	f
х	ch	ch	ch	ch	h	h
ц	c	c	c	c	c	c
ч	č	č	č	č	č	č
џ						dž
ш	š	š	š	š	š	š
щ	št	šč		šč	št	
ъ	ъ	″			ă	
ы	y	y	y			
ь	ь	′	′	′	j	
ѣ	ě	(ě)	(ě)	(ě)	(ě)	
э		è	è			
ю	ju	ju	ju	ju	ju	
я		ja	ja	ja	ja	
‘			(omit)	(omit)		‘
ѡ	o					
ѧ	ę					
ѩ	ję					
ѫ	ǫ					
ѭ	jǫ					
ѯ	ks					
ѱ	ps					
ѳ	th					
ѵ	ü					
ѥ	je					
ѣ	ja					

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