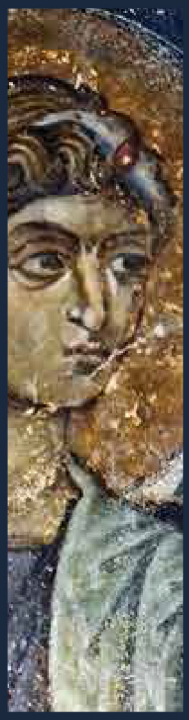


BARBARIANS, RHOMAIOI AND THOSE IN BETWEEN

Integrating the Christians of the Central Balkans into the Byzantine Empire (late 10th – mid-13th century)

II

BELGRADE 2025

The Institute for
Byzantine Studies, SASA

BARBARIANS, RHOMAIOI AND THOSE IN BETWEEN

I–II

Institute for Byzantine Studies
Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts

MONOGRAPHS

№ 51/1–2

BARBARIANS, RHOMAIOI AND THOSE IN BETWEEN

I–II

Editor-in-Chief
Bojana Krsmanović
Director of the Institute for Byzantine Studies,
Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts

Editor
Bojana Krsmanović

Editorial Board
Miloš Cvetković
Predrag Komatina
Bojana Krsmanović
Ljubomir Milanović
Jovana Šijaković

Editorial Secretaries
Veljko Goganović
Zoran Jovanović

Reviewed by
Jelena Bogdanović
Vujadin Ivanišević
Günter Prinzing
Mihailo St. Popović
Anna Zakharova

The Institute for Byzantine Studies, SASA

STOA

Science Fund of the Republic of Serbia

Institute for Byzantine Studies
Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts

MONOGRAPHS
№ 51/2

BARBARIANS, RHOMAIOI AND THOSE IN BETWEEN

Integrating the Christians of the Central Balkans into the Byzantine Empire (late 10th – mid-13th century)

VOLUME II

Editor
Bojana Krsmanović

Belgrade 2025

Approved for printing at the session of the Department of Historical Sciences
Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts
On 28 May 2025

This book has been published with the financial support of the Science Fund of the Republic of Serbia within the project *From Barbarians to Christians and Rhomaioi. The Process of Byzantinization in the Central Balkans (late 10th–mid-13th Century)* [acronym: BarByz_10–13, grant number 7748349] and of the Ministry of Science, Technological Development and Innovation of the Republic of Serbia.

The Institute for
Byzantine Studies, SASA

Science Fund
of the Republic of Serbia

Contents I–II

Volume I

The Project XIII

Preface 1

Part I
Dealing with "Barbarians" 5

The Balkans between Byzantium and Bulgaria 7
Bojana Pavlović

Territory 7
Terms 7
Thematic focus on the Balkans 10
Knowing the lay of the land 10
Struggle for domination in the Balkans 14

Byzantine Policy toward "Barbarians" in the Southern Balkans from the 7th to the 10th Century and the Beginning of the *Reconquista* 23
Miloš Cvetković

Role of central authorities 25
Role of provincial authorities 28
Role of the Church 32

Part II
On the Outside Looking In:
Indirect Byzantinization 35

Indirect Byzantinization: Bulgaria as a Case Study 37
Bojana Pavlović

Christianization 38
Christian culture and everyday life: Introducing new cultural models 43
Modeling the capital city after Constantinople 50
Accepting the Byzantine political and ideological doctrine 54
Dynastic marriage 57
Economic interests 59

Bulgarian Church Architecture and Art: From Origins to 1018 65
Ljubomir Milanović – Marka Tomić

Introduction 65
First Bulgarian Empire 67
The capitals of the First Bulgarian Empire 67
Pliska 67
Preslav 70
Seats of the autocephalous Bulgarian Church 83
Preslav 83
Dristra 89
The Bishopric of St. Clement and its successors 99
"Dragvista and Velitsa" 100
The question of Glavinitza 104
Bregalnica 110
Devol 130
Pelagonia 132
Revival of Christian and Byzantine tradition 141
The Bishopric of Serdica 141
The Bishopric of Ohrid 145
Monasteries in focus: Founders, functions, architecture, and geographic distribution 149
Monastery at the Great Basilica, Pliska 151
Ravna Monastery 152
Karaačteke Monastery 158
Černoglavci Monastery 161
Ohrid at the time of Clement and Naum 164
Monasteries in Preslav 174
Murfatlar Monastery 179
Samuel's state 180
Prespa as the seat of state and church 180
The Bishoprics of the Bulgarian Church and their monuments 198
Vodena/Moglena 200
Velbăžd 202
Herakleia 204
Morovizd and Strumica 206
Sirmium 215
Prizren and Lipljan 219
Ohrid 227
Fortifications 230
Zone I: The central region of Samuel's Bulgaria:
Ohrid, Bitola, Moglena, Skopje, and Kastoria 231
Zones II and III: The regions of Thessalonike, Larissa, Epirus, and Naupaktos 244
Zones IV and V: The regions of Bregalnica, Triaditza and the Strymon River 246
Zone VI: The Danube and Sava borderlands 251
Zone VII: The western borderlands 254
Contact zones 256
Kastoria 256
Byzantine town in the Slavic milieu 256

The churches of Kastoria: Typological diversity 259
The building tradition of Kastoria: From local ground to the Bulgarian frame 265
Dating criteria: Construction methods and monumental painting 267
Ras 272
Where Serbia "approaches" Bulgaria 272
The Church of St. Peter: A monument that speaks for itself 275
Ras and its fortified settlements: A landscape of borderland society? 281
Conclusion 285

Part III
Warfare, Governance and Integration Policy 293

From *Pax Basiliana* to *Pax Byzantina* 295
Bojana Krsmanović – Vladan Zdravković

The founding charters of the Archbishopric of Ohrid 297
On the bishopric ranking 302
The inscription at the Church of St. Achilleos as a source
for the church organization of Samuel's age 305
On the overlapping of Bulgarian military organization
with the diocesan structure of the Archbishopric of Ohrid (Zone I–VII) 318
Zone I: The central area of Samuel's Bulgaria:
The Bishoprics of Ohrid, Bitola, Moglena, Skopje, and Kastoria 319
Zone II: The area of Thessalonike and Larissa:
The Bishoprics of Berroia, Servia, Petra, and Stagoi 337
Zone III: The area of Epirus and Naupaktos 343
Zone IV: The area of Bregalnica:
The Bishoprics of Strumica and Morovizd 348
Zone V: The area of Triaditza and the Strymon River:
The Bishoprics of Serdica and Velbăžd 352
Zone VI: The Danube and Sava borderlands:
The Bishoprics of Dristra/Dorostolon, Vidin, Belgrade, Braničevo, Sirmium, and Niš 355
Zone VII: The western borderlands:
The Bishoprics of Prizren, Lipljan, and Ras 362
The demographic landscape of the central Balkans in the late 10th and early 11th centuries 365
From *Pax Basiliana* to *Pax Byzantina* 376

Provincial Administration in the Service of Pacification 385
Miloš Cvetković – Bojana Krsmanović

Tzimiskes' advance into the Balkans 388
Basil's approach to organizing governance in the Balkans 395
Response 404
The Komnenian iron fist in the central Balkans 426
The age of local lords 436
Concluding remarks 443

Volume II

Part IV
Church and Social Integration 1

The Archbishopric of Ohrid from the 11th to the 13th Century: Territorial and Ideological Framework 3
Predrag Komatina

Territorial development of the diocesan organization of the Archbishopric of Ohrid 4
The Archbishopric of Ohrid and the identity of Byzantine Bulgaria 22

The Good Shepherds and the Others 37
Jovana Šijaković

"Hooked up" with a diocese 37
Ambitions of the archbishops 40
- Improving reputation and pushing boundaries 40
- Promoting the use of the Bulgarian name for the Slavic Christian culture 41
- Appropriating Apostles of the Slavs as their predecessors 43
- Integrating the holy history of the Archbishopric into the Greek mainstream 44
- Recruiting acclaimed scholars and monks 45

The Slavic bride 46
Between loyalty and rebellion 53

The Sacral Topography of the Archbishopric of Ohrid: Architecture, Art, Patronage, and the Cult of Saints in the 11th–13th Century 75
Ljubomir Milanović – Miloš Živković

Introduction 75
Architecture and art 78
- Exploring the free cross and tetraconch churches 78
- Basilical plan churches and their architectural significance 93
- Architectural diversity of cross-in-square churches 110
- Variations of single-aisle churches 126
- Church paintings: artistic expressions of faith 142

The heart of worship 159

Archbishopric cathedral:
The Church of Hagia Sophia in historical and artistic context 159
The cathedrals of the Archbishopric of Ohrid:
Centers of ecclesiastical power and artistic innovation 169
Ktetors and the creation of art: Patronage in the 11th–12th century 200
Power and piety: The role of patrons in 11th-century religious art and architecture 200
A shift in patronage: Ecclesiastical and artistic trends under the Komnenoi 211
The rise of the Nemanjić dynasty and the shaping of sacral topography 242
Hierarchs, martyrs, anchorites. Saints and their cults in the Archbishopric of Ohrid 264
Conclusion 288

A Glimpse of Daily Life in the Archbishopric of Ohrid 295
Jovana Šijaković

Between the imperial yoke and personal burdens 295
Between the courts of Ohrid and of Heaven 315

Between Custom and Law:
Marriage in the Territory of the Archbishopric of Ohrid 327
Tamara Ilić

Affinity as a marriage impediment 332
Polygamy 340
Custom and local custom 346

Conversations on Sin in the Slavic Language 353
Stanoje Bojanin

The rite of confession: Conversations in the parish 353
The penitentials: An analysis of the sources 358
The Latin text 360
The Greek texts 361
The Russian influence on the South-Slavic penitentials 363
The old nomokanons and the *Law for Judging the People* in the penitentials 364
Serbian Late Medieval penitentials 366
The Penitential Nomokanon of John the Faster 369
Sins: Between transgression and custom 371
Purity 371
Dietary rules 375
Festivity 378
Sexuality 381
Instead of a conclusion 385

Part V
Successes and Failures
of Byzantine Integration Policy 389

The Balkans in the Eyes of Constantinople 391
Maja Nikolić

Bulgaria and Bulgarians 392
The perception of the territory 392
The perception of the state and ruler's title 393
The people 396
Barbarians or Christians? 397
Indirect Byzantine influence in Bulgaria 399
Serbian lands and the Serbs 400
The perception of Serb-inhabited territories 400
The perception of the state and ruler's title 401
The people 404
Indirect Byzantine influence in Serbia 405
Barbarians or Christians? 406
The Archbishopric of Ohrid – Michael VIII Palaiologos' argument ex nihilo? 408

Final remarks 411
Bojana Krsmanović – Jovana Šijaković

List of illustrations 419

Bibliography 427

Part IV
CHURCH AND SOCIAL INTEGRATION

10.46793/Barb.Rhom.II.003K

The Archbishopric of Ohrid from the 11th to the 13th century: Territorial and Ideological Framework

The Archbishopric of Ohrid was undoubtedly the most significant instrument in the implementation of Byzantine policy on the territory of conquered Bulgaria following the year 1018. It was the only institution hailing from the era of the First Bulgarian Empire that survived and persisted under new circumstances, playing a key role within them. It contributed to the preservation of the very term *Bulgaria* and the defining of its geographical identity and, as the most important instrument of imperial policy, it directly influenced the shaping of the identity of the local population. A number of significant figures were appointed as representatives of imperial policy in the position of archbishop residing on the throne in Ohrid, and their appointment fell under the direct jurisdiction of the emperor – a few of these individuals were amongst the most notable intellectuals of Byzantine society in the period between the 11th and 13th century, such as Leo of Ohrid, Theophylact of Ohrid, Demetrios Chomatenos, some even hailing from amongst the closest of imperial relatives, as was John (Adrian) Komnenos. Scholarship has had much to say regarding the history of the Archbishopric of Ohrid in the period between the year 1018 and the beginning of the 13th century, and the life and activities of its most significant hierarchs,[1] thus we will limit our research in this chapter to two aspects of its activity in the said period, which are of immense interest for the phenomenon of *Byzantinization* – the territorial development of its diocesan organisation and its influence on the identity of Byzantine *Bulgaria*.

1 From the extensive bibliography of works dedicated to the Archbishopric of Ohrid in the 11th–13th century, and its leadership, the following works are worth highlighting: *Gelzer*, Patriarchat von Achrida; *Novaković*, Ohridska arhiepiskopija, 1–62; *Snegarov*, Istorija na Ohridskata arhiepiskopija I; *Stiernon*, Notes (1963), 179–192; *Angold*, Church and Society, 158–172, 240–252; *Mullet*, Thophylact of Ohrid; *Podskalsky*, Two Archbishops, 139–148; *Prinzing*, A Quasi Patriarch, 165–182; *Idem,* Byzantine ecclesiastical province, 355–3383; *Idem*, Authority, 137–150; *Idem*, Dēmētrios Chomatēnos, 341–360; *Idem*, Jurisprudence, 159–172; *Iliev*, Ohridskijat arhiepiskop; *Idem*, First Two Centuries, 237–252; *Büttner*, Erzbischof Leon; *Delikarē*, Archiepiskopē Achridōn; *Komatina*, Crkva, 91–123.

I. Territorial development of the diocesan organization of the Archbishopric of Ohrid

Following decades of war against Samuel and his successors, and the destruction of their state in 1018,[2] Emperor Basil II (976–1025) issued a charter in 1019 regulating the position of the church across the conquered Bulgarian territory,[3] since "the Bulgarian state had been added to the Roman state so that they both might be under the same yoke," at the request of Archbishop John of Bulgaria, who asked "to have it put in writing the *klerikoi* and the *paroikoi* that were to serve the churches of his diocese and of his bishops."[4] The emperor then ordered "that the archbishop himself have, in the cities of his diocese, namely, in Ohrid, Prespa, Mokro and Kičava, forty *klerikoi* and thirty *paroikoi*; the Bishop of Kastoria, in the cities of his diocese, namely, in Kastoria itself, *Kourestos*, Koloneia, Devol, Vjosa and Tomorr, forty *klerikoi* and thirty *paroikoi*; if, however, he has acquired a higher number previously, we do not wish him to exceed the archbishop in the number of *klerikoi* and *paroikoi*; we order that the Bishop of Glavinitza, in Glavinitza itself, and in Kanina, and *Neaniska,* have forty *klerikoi* and thirty *paroikoi*; the Bishop of Moglena, in Moglena, itself, and Prosek and Mariovo, and Setena, and Ostrovos, and in Zaodrya, fifteen *klerikoi* and fifteen *paroikoi*; and the Bishop of Bitola, in Pelagonia, and in Prilep, and in Debrešte, and in Veles, fifteen *klerikoi* and fifteen *paroikoi*; and the Bishop of Strumica, in Strumica, itself, and Radoviš, and Konče, twelve *klerikoi* and twelve *paroikoi*; and the Bishop of Morovizd, in Morovizd, itself, and Kozjak, and Slavište, and Zletovo, and Lukovac, and Pjanec, and Maleševa, fifteen *klerikoi* and fifteen *paroikoi*; and the Bishop of Velbăžd, in Velbăžd, itself, and Suteska and Germania, and Terimer, and Stob, and lower Suteska, and Razlog, fifteen *klerikoi* and fifteen *paroikoi*; and the Bishop of Serdica, in Serdica, itself, and Pernik, and Sukovo, and Znepolje, we order that he have forty *klerikoi* and forty *paroikoi*; and the Bishop of Niš, in Niš, itself, and in Mokro, and *Komblo,* and Toplica, and Svrljig, forty *klerikoi* and forty *paroikoi*; and the Bishop of Braničevo, in Braničevo, and Moravski, and Smederevo, and Grot, and *Dibisiskos*, and Stalać, and Brodarski, fifteen *klerikoi* and fifteen *paroikoi*; and the Bishop of Belgrade, in Belgrade, itself, and Gradac, and *Omtzos,* and Glavetin, and Bela Crkva, forty *klerikoi* and forty *paroikoi*; and we order that the Bishop of Sirmium have in his entire diocese fifteen *klerikoi* and fifteen *paroikoi*; and the Bishop of Skopje, in Skopje, itself, and in Binač, and Premor, and Lukovo, and Prinip, forty *klerikoi* and forty *paroikoi*; and the Bishop of Prizren, in

2 On Samuel's state, cf. *Pirivatrić*, Samuilova država.

3 The Charter of Emperor Basil II to the Archbishopric of Ohrid from 1019, as well as the two charters that followed, in 1020, and 1020–1025, have been preserved within the charter issued by Emperor Michael VIII Palaiologos (1259–1282) to the same recipient in 1272. The literature on the Ohrid charters of Emperor Basil II, their authenticity, character and significance, and the character of the ecclesiastical organization established by them, with its seat in Ohrid, within the territories of the conquered Bulgarian state, is also very extensive, cf. *Gelzer*, Bistümerverzeichnisse II, 40–72; *Beneševič*, Opisanie, 542–554; *Ivanov*, Bŭlgarski starini, 547–562; Dokumenti I; *Birnbaum*, Slavic Translation, 173–182; *Müller*, Zur Datierung, 427–432; *Komatina*, Crkva, 91–101; *Antonović, Ivanov*, Još jednom o ubikaciji, 129–135; *Forțiu*, 1020: Dibisiskos, 565 sq.

4 *Gelzer*, Bistümerverzeichnisse II, 42.1–12.

Prizren, itself, and Hvosno, and Leskovac, and Bret, fifteen *klerikoi* and fifteen *paroikoi*; and the Bishop of Lipljan, in his entire diocese, thirty *klerikoi* and thirty *paroikoi*; and we order that the Bishop of Servia have in his entire diocese thirty *klerikoi* and thirty *paroikoi*.[5] All such clergymen shall be exempt from *oikomodion* tax and other duties, as they were exempt under Samuel. Therefore, through this action, and in making this known to the emperors succeeding us, we have bestowed the archbishop with this sigillion, sealing it with the lead seal of our Empire."[6]

In May 1020, the Bulgarian archbishop requested from the emperor that "since the first sigillion was issued, which elaborates on each Bulgarian bishopric, on the diocese it holds, he further compose yet another sigillion regarding the remaining bishoprics that were not listed in the first sigillion in connection to the other bishoprics under his jurisdiction, because neighbouring metropolitans were seizing them from the Bulgarian diocese and appropriating them for themselves." By this new charter, the emperor decreed "that all Bulgarian bishoprics which were ruled and governed by the incumbent archbishops under Emperor Peter and Samuel, and all other cities, were to be owned and controlled by the incumbent all-holy archbishop," also granting them, as well as the others, *klerikoi* and *paroikoi*.[7] The emperor, furthermore, ordered "that the Bishop of Dristra have forty *klerikoi* and forty *paroikoi* in the cities of his diocese, and other towns around it, because, during the reign of Peter in Bulgaria, Dristra had shone with the dignity of an archbishopric. And, since the archbishops moved from one place to another, one to Serdica, the other to Vodena and Moglena, we find the incumbent archbishop to be in Ohrid, and (we order) that the archbishop be given Ohrid, itself, and that a bishop be ordained in Dristra."[8] The emperor then orders "that the Bishop of Vidin have forty *klerikoi* and forty *paroikoi* in the cities of his diocese," emphasizing the benefits that this city brought him during the war of conquest of Bulgaria, which is why he is awarding it as many as ten *paroikoi* more than to the archbishop. He further orders "that the Bishop of Ras shall have fifteen *klerikoi* and fifteen *paroikoi* in his entire diocese; the Bishop of Horaia shall have twelve *klerikoi* and twelve *paroikoi* in his entire diocese; the Bishop of Tzernik shall have fifteen *klerikoi* and fifteen *paroikoi* in his entire diocese; the Bishop of Chimara shall have twelve *klerikoi* and twelve *paroikoi* in his entire diocese."[9] This is followed by a warning to the metropolitan of Dyrrachion to "keep to his throne and be content with his assets and revenues and not to infringe upon the bishoprics of Bulgaria," since these are assigned to "the Archbishop of Bulgaria, as his administration and authority had been determined by the elders since antiquity," and this provision is then extended to other neighbouring metropolitans, who are equally called upon "not to quarrel about the bishoprics of Bulgaria, but to be content with their own, as established by elders

5 *Gelzer*, Bistümerverzeichnisse II, 42.12–43.35.

6 *Gelzer*, Bistümerverzeichnisse II, 44.1–5.

7 *Gelzer*, Bistümerverzeichnisse II, 44.7–33.

8 *Gelzer*, Bistümerverzeichnisse II, 44.33–45.3.

9 *Gelzer*, Bistümerverzeichnisse II, 45.4–19.

in antiquity."[10] It is further stated that "the Bishop of Dryinoupolis is to have fifteen *klerikoi* and fifteen *paroikoi* in his entire diocese; the Bishop (of *Bela*) is to have fifteen *klerikoi* and fifteen *paroikoi* in his entire diocese; the Bishop of Bouthroton is to have twelve *klerikoi* and twelve *paroikoi* in his entire diocese; the Bishop of Ioannina is to have fifteen *klerikoi* and fifteen *paroikoi* in his entire diocese; the Bishop of Kozel is to have fifteen *klerikoi* and fifteen *paroikoi* in his entire diocese; the Bishop of Petra is to have forty *klerikoi* and forty *paroikoi* in his entire diocese.[11] The emperor also decrees that "the all-holy Archbishop of Bulgaria shall have not only the bishoprics that are listed by name, but also the others that are omitted by mistake and are not listed, and are located within the Bulgarian borders," as well as other towns that are not mentioned in his sigillion,[12] "all of which shall be held by the same all-holy archbishop and he shall take *kanonikon* from all of them, and from the Vlachs throughout Bulgaria, and from the Turks around the Vardar River, who are within the Bulgarian borders," while the representatives of the military, tax, and administrative authorities, shall respect and honour him and not interfere "neither in the Bulgarian monasteries, nor in the church, nor in any ecclesiastical matter, in general, nor shall they interfere with him or the most God-loving bishops subordinate to him.[13] "Therefore," the emperor further states, concluding his charter, "let it be known to the emperors succeeding us, having composed this present sigillion, we offer it to the all-holy archbishop, sealed with the lead seal of our Empire, in the month of May, year 6528 (1020)."[14]

Similarly, between 1020 and 1025, the emperor issued another sigillion to the Archbishop of Bulgaria "which contains, in the following order, these bishoprics: Servia and Stagoi and Berroia (Ber); because they too are," the emperor further states, "within Bulgarian borders, we have joined them to the other bishoprics through the present sigillion and assigned them to the Archbishop of Bulgaria, and decided to grant them *klerikoi* and *paroikoi*, to (the Bishop of) Stagoi twelve *paroikoi* and twelve *klerikoi*, to (the Bishop of) Berroia thirty *klerikoi* and thirty *paroikoi*, to the Bishopric of Servia they were bestowed by the first sigillion and (that is) not to be disturbed."[15]

The episcopal organisation of the Archbishopric of Ohrid as described in the charters of Emperor Basil II, was the product of long historical development prior to this period.[16] Since the First Ohrid Charter lists the cities and regions that each bishopric covers, it is possible to determine their territorial scope. It should be emphasised here that the cities and regions listed within the territorial jurisdiction of each bishop (referred to in the charters as ἐνορία) are not simple geographical terms defining the

10 *Gelzer*, Bistümerverzeichnisse II, 45.20–30.

11 *Gelzer*, Bistümerverzeichnisse II, 45.31–46.4.

12 *Gelzer*, Bistümerverzeichnisse II, 46.5–10.

13 *Gelzer*, Bistümerverzeichnisse II, 46.10–20.

14 *Gelzer*, Bistümerverzeichnisse II, 46.20–24.

15 *Gelzer*, Bistümerverzeichnisse II, 46.26–36.

16 *Komatina*, Diocesan Structure, 789–814.

extent of each episcopal jurisdiction, but are probably better understood as units of territorial organisation at a level lower than the ἐνορία i.e. diocese, namely, the smaller territorial units into which each episcopal jurisdiction was sub-divided. The charters use the general term "city" (κάστρον) for all of them, although some were not cities at all, but broader areas, such as counties (župa), districts, etc.[17] Many of the listed cities appear as significant military and administrative strongholds during the Byzantine-Bulgarian war of 976–1018, and there is no doubt that these were places where important Byzantine forts were established during Basil's conquest, according which the new military-administrative organisation was to be based.[18] A number of them had been episcopal sees in earlier times, and we have discussed their relationship with the episcopal sees mentioned in Basil's charters as part of an earlier study.[19] The toponyms cited in the charters are predominantly recorded in Greek transcriptions of their original Slavic names,[20] and most of them are known, so we will not dwell on them at length, focusing instead on those toponyms that have not yet been sufficiently illuminated.

In addition to Ohrid, itself, and the former archiepiscopal see of Prespa, the archiepiscopal diocese also included Mokro, which was located west of Lake Ohrid, as well as Kičava, present-day Kičevo, at the headwaters of the Treska River.[21] The Bishopric of Kastoria included, in addition to Kastoria and Devol, Gorica, present-day Korçë, in southern Albania, or Korešta north of Kastoria (ὁ Κούρεστος), Koloneia (ἡ Κολώνη), in northern Epirus, Vjosa, undoubtedly in the upper reaches of the eponymous river, and the area of Mount Tomorr (ὁ Μῶρος), amidst the Devol and Osum rivers, where, according to John Skylitzes, the three sons of the last Bulgarian ruler John Vladislav were dwelling in seclusion at the end of the war against the Byzantine emperor.[22] The Bishopric of Glavinitza included Glavinitza, itself, and Kanina, in the vicinity of Valona, while the third toponym cited, Neaniska (τὴν Νεανίσκαν, its roots perhaps in the Greek word νεανίσκος = "young man"), has not been identified to this day, but it is clear that the bishopric included the coastal strip from Glavinitza, in the north, to Chimara in the south, and from the sea coast, near Valona, to Tomorr, and the upper reaches of the Vjosa, which belonged to the Bishopric of Kastoria, including the former Byzantine stronghold of Jericho (Orikos) – and that it separated the area of the Metropolitanate of Dyrrachion, in the north, from the area of the Metropolitanate

17 *Komatina*, Crkva, 93.

18 *Krsmanović*, Bulgarian fortresses, 843–870.

19 *Komatina*, Diocesan Structure, 789–814.

20 As has long been established, the scribe of the Emperor's Greek charter had before him a template written in Old Church Slavonic, so the listed toponyms represent the Greek transcription of Old Church Slavonic forms, *Novaković*, Ohridska arhiepiskopija, 4–5; *Loma*, Rani slojevi, 3.

21 *Gelzer*, Bistümerverzeichnisse II, 42.12–15; *Novaković*, Ohridska arhiepiskopija, 7–9. For toponyms in the area of the Ohrid Archbishopric west of the Vardar River, cf. *Kravari*, Villes, for those in the southern part of that area, located in the territory of present-day Greece, cf. TIB 11.

22 *Gelzer*, Bistümerverzeichnisse II, 42.16–20; Scylitzes, 359; VIINJ III, 129 (*J. Ferluga*); *Novaković*, Ohridska arhiepiskopija, 9–11; *Ivanov*, Bŭlgarski starini, 551; *Krsmanović*, Bulgarian fortresses, 760–761. On Kastoria and Devol as military-administrative strongholds and ecclesiastical centres of Samuel's state, see the chapter *From* Pax Basiliana *to* Pax Byzantina.

of Naupaktos, in the south, which belonged to the Patriarchate of Constantinople.[23] The Bishopric of Moglena included, in addition to the region of Moglena, itself, in the valley northeast of Vodena, Prosek, a well-known fortress in Demir Kapija, above the Vardar River, Marihovo (Mariovo), in the middle reaches of Crna Reka, Setena, which was located southwest of Mariovo, Ostrovo, on the lake of the same name, west of Vodena, and Zaodrya (τὰ Ζαόδρυα), which was most likely located south of Lake Ostrovo.[24] Based on the above toponyms, one may observe that this bishopric, which emerged from the originally Byzantine city Bishopric of Edessa (Vodena), at that time also included a vast area inhabited by the Slavic population that surrounded the mountain ranges of Nidže and Kožuf, reaching the Vardar in the northeast.[25] The Bishopric of Bitola included Pelagonia, Prilep, Debrešte, north of Prilep, and Veles, and in addition to the Pelagonian Plain, it also expanded to the area on the right bank of the middle reaches of the Vardar River.[26]

East of Vardar, the Bishopric of Strumica included Strumica, Radoviš and Konče, all of which were located in the region of the Strumica River Valley.[27] The Bishopric of Morovizd included Morovizd, Kozjak, Slavište, Zletovo, Lukovac, Pjanec and Maleševo, namely, the areas in the Bregalnica, Pčinja and Kriva Reka valleys, east of the Vardar River.[28] Further northeast, the Bishopric of Velbăžd, included Velbăžd, Suteska (present-day Stensko), Germania (German, present-day Sapareva Banya), the unidentified Terimer, Stob, Lower Suteska (at the entrance to the Strymon Gorge) and Razlog, therefore, the entire area of the upper reaches of the Strymon River, and even the headwaters of the Mesta River, on the other side of Rila Mountain,[29] but it is not clear whether it extended along the Strymon Valley to the south, up to the Roupel Pass and Melnik, which, according to later *notitiae,* belonged to the Metropolitanate of Serres.[30] The Bishopric of Serdica included Serdica, Pernik, Sukovo and Znepolje, therefore, the area around Sofia, and the headwaters of the Nišava River.[31]

Across the territory of the Serbian lands, the Bishopric of Niš included Niš, Mokro, near today's Bela Palanka, the mysterious *Komblos*, Toplica and Svrljig, therefore, the valleys of Nišava and Toplica, on both sides of the South Morava River, and

23 *Gelzer*, Bistümerverzeichnisse II, 42.21–23; *Novaković*, Ohridska arhiepiskopija, 11–16; *Komatina*, Pojam *Bugarske*, 53–54; *Idem*, Oblast Vagenitija, 92–96; *Idem*, Diocesan Structure, 808.

24 *Gelzer*, Bistümerverzeichnisse II, 42.24–26; *Novaković*, Ohridska arhiepiskopija, 16–21; *Ivanov*, Bŭlgarski starini, 551; TIB 11, 743–745, 796–798, 978–979.

25 On the status of Vodena as a Byzantine stronghold after it was conquered by Basil II in 1001/1002, see the chapter *From* Pax Basiliana *to* Pax Byzantina.

26 *Gelzer*, Bistümerverzeichnisse II, 42.27–29; *Novaković*, Ohridska arhiepiskopija, 21–22, mistakenly states that the Greek Δευρέτη from the charter refers to Debar, which certainly belonged to the Bishopric of Ohrid.

27 *Gelzer*, Bistümerverzeichnisse II, 42.30–43.2; *Novaković*, Ohridska arhiepiskopija, 22–23.

28 *Gelzer*, Bistümerverzeichnisse II, 43.3–6; *Novaković*, Ohridska arhiepiskopija, 23–28.

29 *Gelzer*, Bistümerverzeichnisse II, 43.7–10; *Novaković*, Ohridska arhiepiskopija, 28–31.

30 Notitiae, 17.56 (comm.), 20.44.

31 *Gelzer*, Bistümerverzeichnisse II, 43.11–13; *Novaković*, Ohridska arhiepiskopija, 31–33.

the headwaters of the Timok River.[32] The Bishopric of Braničevo included Braničevo, Moravski, i.e. the city of Morava at the confluence of the Great Morava and the Danube, Smederevo, Grot, *Dibisiskos,* Stalać and Brodarski, and extended, undoubtedly, on both sides of the Great Morava and the lower reaches of the South Morava.[33] According to the text of the charter, the Bishopric of Belgrade included Belgrade, Gradac, *Omtzos*, Glavetin, and Bela Crkva.[34] Apart from Belgrade itself, the ubication of other toponyms is uncertain, which renders determining the territorial scope of the Bishopric of Belgrade difficult. Scholars generally assume that it encompassed parts

32 *Gelzer*, Bistümerverzeichnisse II, 43.14–16; *Novaković*, Ohridska arhiepiskopija, 33–36; *Loma*, Jezička prošlost, 108–109; *Idem*, Neue Substratnamen, 224–225, identifying Κόμπλον as present-day Kambelevac, in the municipality of Babušnica; *Komatina*, Crkva, 111.

33 Gelzer, Bistümerverzeichnisse II, 43.17–20; *Novaković*, Ohridska arhiepiskopija, 36–42; *Loma*, Rani slojevi, 3; *Komatina*, Crkva, 111. While the first three listed toponyms are clear, as is the fact that behind the form Ισταάλαγγα (<*Stlalatь < *Stlatlatь) lies Stalać, there are certain disagreements regarding the identification of the toponym Γρότον, which is listed as Γρόντσον (?) in H. Gelzer's edition and reconstructed as **Grǫžъ, *Grǫža*, and identified as present-day *Gruža*, cf. *Novaković*, Ohridska arhiepiskopija, 39, or even *Grocka* near Belgrade (Γρόντζον < *Grod(ь)сь), cf. *Loma*, Rani slojevi, 3. However, the form that can be read in the manuscript appears as τὸν Γρότ(ον), https://www.loc.gov/resource/amedmonastery.00271074992-ms/?sp=121&st=image&r=0.098,0.051,0.672,0.322,0, cf. Documents I, 87, which allows it to be identified as Grot, which is the name of a peak in the Gledić Mountains east of Gruža and southwest of Kragujevac, in the headwaters of Grošnica River, where the remains of the eponymous fortress from the Early Byzantine period can be found, cf. *Bugarski*, *Dodić*, *Zdravković*, Kasnoantička i ranovizantijska utvrđenja, 153–154. The identification of the toponym Διβίσισκος is also disputed in historiography, cf. *Novaković*, Ohridska arhiepiskopija, 39–40, suggesting the localities of Divostin near Kragujevac or Devojačka stena in Temnić; *Loma*, Rani slojevi, 3, believes that this is Đunis (<*Divonysiiskь), which seems most acceptable to us; *Katić*, Divičmeđ, 219–220, points to the site of Divičmeđ near Mladenovac; *Antonović, Ivanov*, Još jednom o ubikaciji, 129–135, opts for the site of Devojačka stena, mainly on the basis of archaeological traces, but without additional historical and philological arguments. An exhaustive review of the issue is given by *Forţiu*, 1020: Dibisiskos, 565–710, who specifically refers to the undoubtedly unfounded attempts to identify the mentioned toponym with certain toponyms in the area north of the Danube. Βροδάρισκος < *Brodarьskь is identified by *Lom*a, Četiri toponomastičke opaske, 106; *Miljković*, *Krstić*, Braničevo, 124, with the village of Brodar, formerly Brodarci, on the Mlava River, mentioned in the first Ottoman censuses from the 15th century, which is linguistically closest to the form recorded in the charter, but seems to be geographically too close to Braničevo, itself. Judging by the etymology of the name, it is certainly a place where *a boat* was located, i.e. a ferry across a river, most likely a larger natural obstacle, such as the Great or South Morava. Later sources mention *Parakin's ford*, now Paraćin, or *a ford* near the place Ravno, now Ćuprija, which was of particular importance, as well as Brodsko polje, south of Paraćin, cf. *Novaković*, Ohridska arhiepiskopija, 41; Šumadija u XV veku, 181–183 (A. Uzelac); *Miljković*, *Krstić*, Braničevo, 243–244. However, in the 11th–12th century, this area was very sparsely populated, covered with a dense, difficult-to-pass forest, which Western travel writers of that time referred to as the "Bulgarian forest", "Bulgarian desert", *Uzelac*, "Skitski razbojnici", 59–76; *Idem*, "Čuvaj se Belijalovih sinova", 97–107; *Idem*, Krstaši i Srbi; *Komatina*, Srbi na putu krstaša, 55–83, in which in the sources of that time only the city of Ravno, the Smilis region and Strymon, i.e. Strumen (Zastruma) are mentioned, cf. *Kalić*, Oblast Smilis, 29–38; *Blagojević*, Sečenica, 67–69; *Mišić*, *Đokić*, Kapija Pomoravlja, 121. However, south from there, on the right side of the lower reaches of the South Morava, is the village of Bradarac, also mentioned in the earliest Ottoman censuses of the region, cf. *Amedoski*, Sumarni defter, 75, 405, located on the route of the Via Militaris, in the immediate vicinity of the remains of the ancient Praesidium Pompei and at the foot of the Late Medieval Bovan fortress, where in the 14th–15th century the seat of the Bovan or Lipovac March was located, *Mišić*, Petruško i Lipovačko Krajište, 121–128; *Mišić, Đokić*, Kapija Pomoravlja, 121–131, which allows for the possibility that a significant military-administrative centre was located in that area in an earlier period, as well. Thus, in administrative terms, Stalać would cover the area on the right bank of the Great Morava, Đunis the area between the lower reaches of the South and West Morava, Bradarac the area on the right bank of the lower reaches of the South Morava, and Grot, if identical with Grošnica, above Kragujevac, the area in the corner between the Great and West Morava. This would mean that the Bishopric of Braničevo was physically divided, by a sparsely populated and difficult-to-pass area in the middle course of the Great Morava, into two parts, the southern one, around the confluence of the three Moravas, and the northern one, around the confluence of the Great Morava into the Danube, where Braničevo, Moravski and Smederevo were located.

34 *Gelzer*, Bistümerverzeichnisse II, 43.21–23.

of northwestern Serbia, so Gradac is identified with Moravian Gradac in present-day Čačak, or with the eponymous locality in present-day Valjevo, *Omtzos* with present-day Užice, Bela Crkva with the one near Krupanj, while Glavetin is associated with the place named Glava, Glavica, Drvenglava in Markovac, near Mladenovac.[35] Nonetheless, since the charter lists Gradac immediately after Belgrade, it is unlikely that this was a place that was located at a significant distance from it, such as Valjevo or Čačak. Therefore, there is a possibility that, according to an old idea of K. Jireček, present-day Grocka can be identified as Gradac, and present-day Smederevska Palanka as Bela Crkva,[36] while *Omtzos* and Glavetin could hence be located somewhere between these two places, on an important travel route that connected Belgrade with the Morava Valley and the interior of the Empire. The charter does not list other toponyms within the borders of the Bishopric of Sirmium – although it had been commonly accepted in scholarship that it extended on both sides of the Sava River, it in fact included only the area between the Sava and the Danube.[37] The Bishopric of Skopje included Skopje, Binač, the headwaters of the South Morava (later also Upper Morava), Premor, downstream from that location (later the župa of Izmornik or Lower Morava), Lukovo, in the valley of the Lukovo River, a few kilometers east of Vranje, and the enigmatic *Prinip*, that must have stretched between Vranje and Skopje, thus occupying the Skopje Basin, Vranje and Kosovo Pomoravlje, and the Pčinja Valley.[38] The Bishopric of Prizren included Prizren, Hvosno, Leskovac, which is probably the later known town of Leški, in Lower Polog, on the other side of the Šar mountain range, and Bret, around the confluence of the White, Black and great Drin.[39] The Bishopric of Lipljan, undoubtedly, included the area of Kosovo Polje, and the fact that no other toponyms are listed within its territory seems entirely consistent with the reality that it was a sparsely populated border area at that time.[40] Finally, the Bishopric of Servia included the eponymous town in southern Macedonia, and its immediate surroundings.[41]

---

35 *Novaković*, Ohridska arhiepiskopija, 42–45. For the identification of Gradac with Čačak, cf. *Veselinović*, Čačanski kraj, 59–61, with Valjevo, cf. *Kalić*, "Gradac" in Valjevo, 11–22. When it comes to Užice, *Popović*, Užički grad, 74–75, points out that there are no archaeological remains from the period of 11th–12th centuries in Užice.

36 *Jireček*, Vojna cesta, 125–126. Grocka is also recorded in Ottoman sources of the 15th–16th century as Hisardžik ("Gradac") and Hisarlik ("Gradište"), Smederevska Palanka as Ak Kilisa, i.e. "Bela Crkva", cf. *Zirojević*, Carigradski drum, 23–25, 119–121, 150–152.

37 *Gelzer*, Bistümerverzeichnisse II, 43.24–25; *Novaković*, Ohridska arhiepiskopija, 45; *Dinić*, Srednjovekovni Srem, 2–3; *Bubalo*, *Mitrović*, *Radić*, Jurisdikcija, 40–42; *Komatina*, Crkva, 111–112; *I. Komatina I. – Komatina P.*, Srem, 144–152.

38 *Gelzer*, Bistümerverzeichnisse II, 43.26–28; *Novaković*, Ohridska arhiepiskopija, 46–48; *Komatina*, Crkva, 111.

39 *Gelzer*, Bistümerverzeichnisse II, 43.29–31; *Novaković*, Ohridska arhiepiskopija, 48–51; *Komatina*, Crkva, 111. In the manuscript itself, Hvosno is probably recorded as Χοστνόν, тј. X(v)ostno, and not as Χοσνόν, i.e. X(v)os(t)no, as stated in the edition, cf. https://www.loc.gov/resource/amedmonastery.00271074992-ms/?sp=121&st=image&r=0.137,0.248,0.672,0.322,0. Judging by the data from the acts of Demetrios Chomatenos, from the beginning of the 13th century, and Serbian charters from the 14th century, the Polog region belonged to the Bishopric of Prizren also in the later times, Chomatenus, Ponemata, 205*–207*, no. 103; *Sofronievski – Petrovski*, Dokumentite No. 58 and No. 103, 201–223; *Koprivica*, Polog, 73–81.

40 *Gelzer*, Bistümerverzeichnisse II, 43.32–33; *Novaković*, Ohridska arhiepiskopija, 51; *Maksimović*, Zigos, 75–91; *I. Komatina*, Crkva, 111; *P. Komatina*, Diocesan Structure, 811.

41 *Gelzer*, Bistümerverzeichnisse II, 43.34–35; *Novaković*, Ohridska arhiepiskopija, 51.

Unfortunately, the second and third charters do not name the cities and regions that each of the bishoprics listed in them covered, so their territorial scope cannot be determined more precisely. Regardless, amongst all of them, only the bishoprics of Vidin and Ras permanently remained part of the Archbishopric of Ohrid, while the rest probably quite quickly found themselves part of the neighbouring metropolitanates of the Patriarchate of Constantinople.[42] Of particular interest amongst them is the Bishopric of Dristra, the former seat of the Bulgarian Church during the First Bulgarian Empire, until 971.[43] The seal of "Stephen, Metropolitan of Ioannopolis", i.e. Preslav, from the period of Byzantine rule in 971–986, testifies that in that period the ecclesiastical seat was moved from Dristra to Preslav, and that a metropolitanate had been established there, certainly within the Patriarchate of Constantinople.[44] Later, however, in the aftermath of Samuel's conquest in 986, or the Byzantine re-conquest in 1000/1001, it was returned to Dristra.[45] In any case, it did not remain part of the Archbishopric of Ohrid for long, as it already appeared as a metropolitanate within the Patriarchate of Constantinople in the mid-11th century.[46] The emperor's charter from 1020 states that "the Bishop of Dristra has forty *klerikoi* and forty *paroikoi* in the cities of his diocese and other towns around it,"[47] which means that the cited provision does not apply only to the Bishopric of Dristra, but also to neighbouring bishoprics. These are certainly bishoprics of cities that later belonged to the Metropolitanate of Dristra in the eparchy of Haemimontus, within the Patriarchate of Constantinople, namely, its five suffragans mentioned by Neilos Doxapatres.[48]

Regarding the *klerikoi* and *paroikoi* assigned by the emperor's charters to the archbishop and each of his subordinate bishops, more space will be devoted to them elsewhere in this publication,[49] as well as to the issue of the immunity of the archbishop and his subordinate bishops in all church affairs in relation to representatives of the military, tax and administrative authorities.[50] In his second charter of 1020, the emperor also

42 *Prinzing,* Byzantine ecclesiastical province, 374–378; *Büttner*, Erzbischof Leon, 21; *I. Komatina*, Crkva, 91–94; *P. Komatina*, Pojam *Bugarske*, 51–53; *Idem*, Oblast Vagenitija, 91–93; *Idem*, Diocesan Structure, 811–813. On the affiliation of the bishoprics of Poulcheriopolis, Tzernik and "Glavinitza or Akrokeraunia (Chimara)" to the Metropolitanate of Dyrrachion, the bishoprics of Dryinoupolis, Bela (Photike), Bouthroton and Ioannina to the Metropolitanate of Naupaktos, the bishoprics of Petra, Berroia and Servia to the Metropolitanate of Thessalonike and the Bishopric of Stagoi to the Metropolitanate of Larissa, according to *Notitia* 10, from 971–976, and *Notitia* 13, from the end of the 11th or beginning of the 12th century, cf. Notitiae, 10.217, 219, 222, 524, 536–540, 616–617, 621–622, 13.227, 229, 572, 587–590, 823, 825, 828, with the bishoprics of Horaia (Poulcheriopolis) and Tzernik no longer being mentioned in sources after the year 1020.

43 *Nikolova*, Ustrojstvo, 144–174; *Pirivatrić*, Samuilova država, 148–160.

44 *Jordanov*, Pečatite, 187; *Tăpkova-Zaimova*, Notices episcopales, 538; *Nikolova*, Ustrojstvo, 106–113, 118–120.

45 On the political position of Dristra and Preslav in the period 971–986, i.e. after the year 1000, cf. *Pirivatrić*, Samuilova država, 95–96, 115–116; *Krsmanović*, Byzantine Province, 132–145, 194–198.

46 Notitiae, 11.73, 12.40 comm, 63 comm, 71, 13.781; Nilus Doxapatrius, 301.295; *Kugeas*, Gramma, 575; *Oikonomides*, Un decret synodal, 57[29], 60–61; *Tăpkova-Zaimova*, Notices episcopales, 538–541.

47 *Gelzer*, Bistümerverzeichnisse II, 44.33–35.

48 Nilus Doxapatrius, 301.295; *Ivanov*, Bŭlgarski starini, 564. At the beginning of the 13th century, the patriarch of Tarnovo and the metropolitans of Preslav, Cherven, Lovech, Ovech and Dristra are mentioned in that area, Borilov sinodik, 168–173.

49 See the chapter *From* Pax Basiliana *to* Pax Byzantina.

50 *Gelzer*, Bistümerverzeichnisse II, 46.13–20; see the chapter *From* Pax Basiliana *to* Pax Byzantina.

determines that the Archbishop of Bulgaria "take the *kanonikon*" from all his subordinate bishoprics "and from the Vlachs throughout Bulgaria, and from the Turks around the Vardar River, who are within Bulgarian borders."[51] These were two ethnic communities that were engaged in transhumant livestock breeding, who were not permanently settled within the territory of Bulgaria, but stayed there as part of their seasonal herding activities, and were, therefore, obliged to pay the *kanonikon*, like other members of the flock.[52] The Vardariot Turks, who were of Hungarian origin, lived in the area of the Theme of Thessalonike, where they also had their own bishop, who was subordinate to the metropolitan of Thessalonike.[53] According to Kekaumenos in the 1070s, the Vlachs lived in Epirus, Macedonia and Hellas, and in the summer months, between April and September, they took their herds "to the mountains of Bulgaria",[54] where they were mentioned as early as the Bulgarian uprising of 976,[55] but their permanent settlement within the territory of Byzantine Bulgaria began at the end of the 11th and beginning of the 12th century, when a separate bishopric was established for them as part of the Archbishopric of Ohrid in the area of Mount Vernon, near Florina.[56]

As has already been noted in scholarship, the episcopal centres listed in the First Ohrid Charter of 1019 were located on the territory of Samuel's state at the time of its subjugation by Emperor Basil II, in 1018, while those listed in the Second Charter of 1020, and the Third, between 1020–1025, existed on the territory that the Empire had regained from Samuel and his successors, in the period between the years 1000–1018, or, like Ras, on the territory of the Serbian lands, which were not under the direct rule of Samuel's state.[57] However, at the time of the issuing of the First Charter in 1019, the entire territory covered by the bishoprics listed in it was under the direct rule of the Empire, since the last remnants of Samuel's state had been subjugated, Constantine Diogenes conquered Sirmium, and due to his actions, Serbia had previously also found itself under the direct rule of the Empire.[58] All of the listed bishoprics, with their entire territory, were hence located within the territory of the Empire. Their mutual demarcation certainly rested largely on the earlier diocesan organisation from the time of the First Bulgarian Empire and Samuel's state.[59] In regards to its relationship with the newly established administrative organisation, there is no doubt that the largest number of them were located on the territory of the freshly founded military district

51 *Gelzer*, Bistümerverzeichnisse II, 46.5–13.

52 Kanonikon, ODB II, 1102–1103 (*A. Papadakis*).

53 *Cvetković*, Jedna pretpostavka, 20–32.

54 Kekavmen, 258, 270.

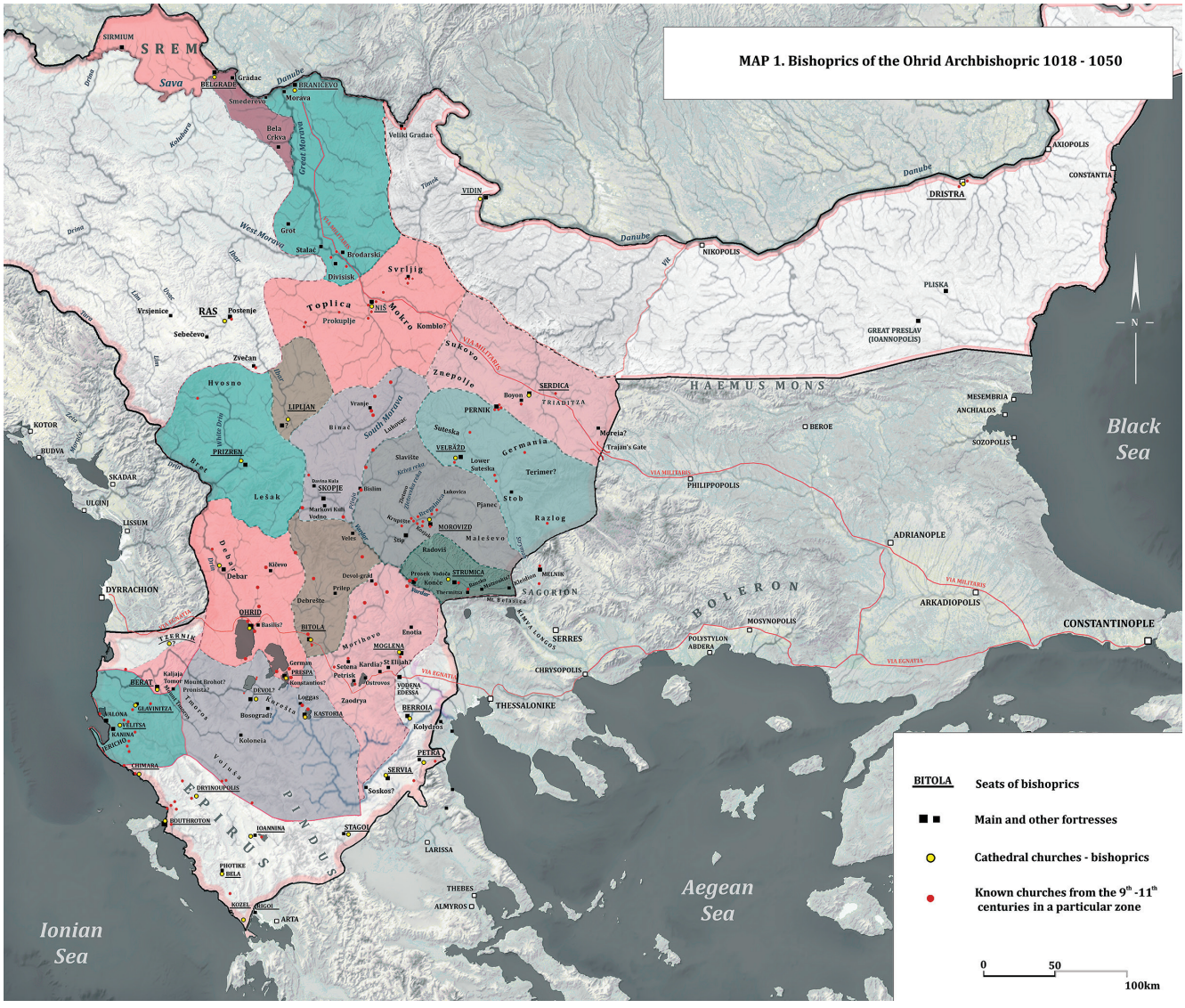
55 Scylitzes, 329, 348; VIINJ III, 71–76, 104–105 (*J. Ferluga*); *Pirivatrić*, Samuilova država, 79–80; *Cvetković*, O statusu Vlaha Helade, 46–60.

56 Notitiae, 13.856; *Bubalo*, Vlaho episkop, 207–219.

57 *Komatina*, Crkva, 87–91.

58 *Maksimović*, Organizacija, 39–42; *Krsmanović*, Byzantine Province, 198–200; *Ista*, O odnosu, 17–35; *P. Komatina*, Srbija i Duklja, 172–180; *Maksimović – Krsmanović*, Byzantine Administration, 194–197; *Komatina I. – Komatina P.*, Srem, 144–149.

59 *Komatina*, Diocesan Structure, 789–814.



Map 1. Bishoprics of the Archbishopric of Ohrid 1018–1050

of Bulgaria,[60] while the bishoprics of Vidin, Dristra and the towns in its area were located in the region of Paristrion, the Bishopric of Sirmium coincided with the administrative area of the eponymous city, which included only the region between the Sava and the Danube rivers, while the Bishopric of Ras was located on the territory of the newly founded Theme of Serbia.[61]

When describing how Constantine Diogenes defeated Sermon and took control of Sirmium, in the work of John Skylitzes it is stated that Diogenes was at that time "the *archon* of those regions" and that the Sava River divided his territory from that ruled by Sermon.[62] Since, as it has been pointed out, "the *archon* of those regions" is a

60 See the chapter *Provincial administration in the service of pacification*.

61 *P. Komatina*, Srbija i Duklja, 172–180; *Komatina I. – Komatina P.*, Srem, 144–152. See the chapter *Provincial administration in the service of pacification*.

62 Scylitzes, 365–366; *Komatina I. – Komatina P.*, Srem, 148–149.

formulation referring to Diogenes' administration in Serbia, which he took over after the destruction of Samuel's state in 1018, later to be appointed the first *strategos* of the "Theme of Serbia",[63] it can be concluded that it extended north to the Sava River. As the area in question was west of the discussed borders of the bishopric of Belgrade and Braničevo, it could be assumed that it belonged to the Bishopric of Ras.

The information given by the Latin hagiographer of Bishop Lietbert of Cambrai, who, in 1054, travelled across the Balkan Peninsula on pilgrimage to the Holy Land, that his protagonist, after many hardships experienced in the "wilderness of Bulgaria", entered "Dalmatia", where he passed through places in which Emperor Diocletian built hot springs, and executed the martyrs of Christ,[64] which certainly refers to Toplica, indicates that, at that time, the region was within the Serbian state,[65] established after Serbia was freed from imperial rule in the uprisings of 1034–1036 and 1039.[66] Therefore, this also means that the Bishopric of Niš of the time, in the region of Toplica, extended over parts of the territory of the Serbian state.[67] Certain circumstances equally lead to the conclusion that the region of Hvosno, in the valley of the White Drin, northwest of the Byzantine cities of Prizren and Lipljan, had also been within the borders of the Serbian state during the 11th–12th centuries,[68] which indicates that the Bishopric of Prizren, in that part of its area, had been located on the territory of the Serbian state in that time period, as well.

The territorial organisation outlined in the charters of Basil II remained largely stable over the next two centuries. New bishoprics were founded mainly in places listed in the charters as cities and districts within existing bishoprics, and through separation from them.[69]

In the letters of Theophylact of Ohrid, from the end of the 11th to the beginning of the 12th century, the bishops of the following cities are mentioned: Ohrid and Debar, Kastoria and Devol, Glavinitza and Kanina, Pelagonia, Strumica, Maleševo, Semna, Serdica, Morava, Belgrade, Prizren, Lipljan, Vidin and Slanitza.[70] One can observe that new bishoprics had been established in the meantime in places that are listed in

63 *Komatina*, Srbija i Duklja, 172–180.

64 Vita Lietberti, 854–855; *Uzelac*, "Skitski razbojnici", 59–74; *Idem*, Krstaši i Srbi, 26–30.

65 On this, cf. *Komatina*, „Dalmacija". On "Dalmatia" as a name for Serbia, cf. *Pirivatrić*, Srbi, 170–177; *Nikolić – Pavlović*, Dalmatai.

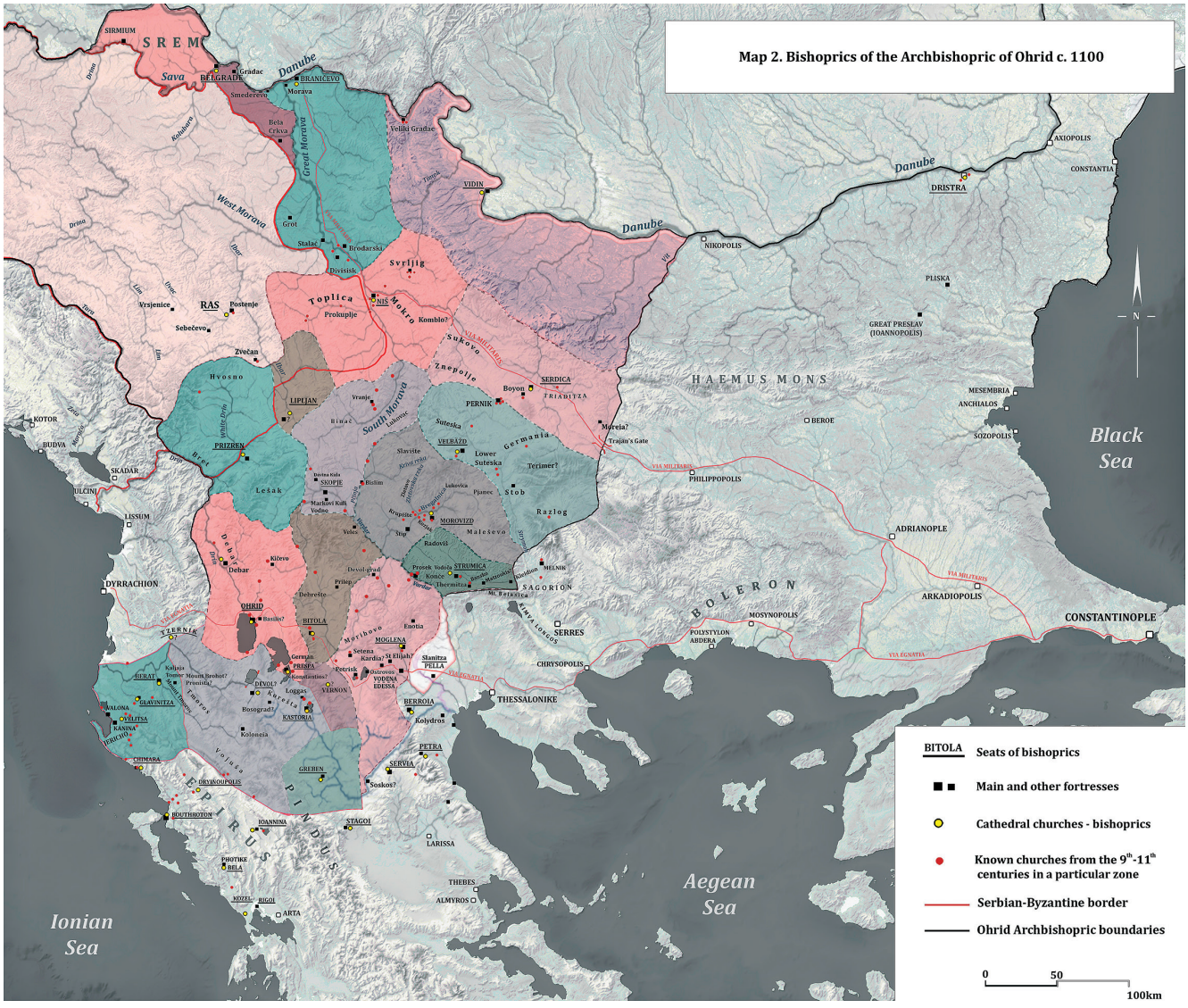
66 *Komatina*, Srbija i Duklja, 172–180.

67 Scholars also believe that at the time when Stefan Nemanja was regional lord of Toplica, in the mid-12th century, it still belonged to the Bishopric of Niš of the Archbishopric of Ohrid, cf. *Kalić*, Srpska država, 197–208; *Stevović*, Istorijski izvor, 73–92; *Komatina*, Crkva, 159–163.

68 The mountainous region of Zygos, which, according to Anna Komnene, at the end of the 11th century represented the Serbian-Byzantine borderland, encompassed Kosovo Polje, bordered by the surrounding mountain ranges of Čičavica, Crnoljeva, Nerodimka, Šar, Skopska Crna Gora, Žegovac, Koznica and the southern parts of Kopaonik, while the Drin River downstream of Debar "flowed along the border of the Dalmatians", Alexias, IX.1.1, 4.2–5, XII, IX.6; VIINJ III, 385–389, 393–394 (*B. Krekić*); *Maksimović*, Zigos, 75–91.

69 For a review of the original data on the dioceses of the Ohrid Archbishopric in the 11th–13th century, cf. *Prinzing,* Byzantine ecclesiastical province, 364–367, 374–378.

70 Theophylactus, Epistulae, no. 15, 18, 21, 22, 31, 35, 36, 40, 48, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 64, 74, 75, 77, 87, 122; *Mullet*, Thophylact of Ohrid, 291–346; *Komatina*, Crkva, 106–107.



Map 2. Bishoprics of the Archbishopric of Ohrid c. 1100

the charters of Basil II only as sub-divisions of larger bishoprics. Thus, the Bishopric of Devol was established on the territory of the Bishopric of Kastoria, the Bishopric of Kanina on the territory of the Bishopric of Glavinitza, and the Bishopric of Maleševo on the territory of the Bishopric of Morovizd. The new Bishopric of Debar was probably separated from the Ohrid Archdiocese – and since the First Ohrid Charter does not mention Debar as a territorial unit within it, the formation of a separate ecclesiastical-administrative entity in its area had undoubtedly occurred in the meantime.[71] In addition, a new bishopric in the mysterious Semna is also listed, as well as the one in Slanitza, which is connected to Pella.[72]

71 Prespa, Mokro and Kičevo were still part of the Ohrid Archdiocese at the time of Theophylact of Ohrid, cf. Theophylactus, Epistulae, no. 31, 58, 59, 60, 75, 77, 78, 87, 108 (Prespa); 82.16–17 ("Kičevo... is a diocese that belongs to our archbishopric"); 120.29–31 ("Mokro is a part of Ohrid").

72 *Prinzing*, Byzantine ecclesiastical province, 364–365. Pella is mentioned only in *Notitia* 3 within the Metropolitanate of Thessalonike, Notitiae, 3.264.

In the episcopal *Notitia* 13a, the following bishoprics are listed as under the Archbishop of Ohrid: Kastoria, Skopje, Velbăžd, Serdica or Triaditza, Maleševo or Morovizd, Edessa or Moglena, Herakleia or Pelagonia, and Prizren, Tiberiopolis or Strumica, Niš, Kephalonia or Glavinitza, Morava or Braničevo, Singidunum or Belgrade, Vidin, Sirmium, Lipljan, Ras, Selasphoros, Slanitza or Pella, Illyricum or Kanina, Greben, Debar, Vrenoga (Vrenova, Vernon) or Vlachs.[73] When we compare the above list with the list of bishoprics mentioned in the correspondence of Archbishop Theophylact, it can be concluded that almost all the bishoprics mentioned by Theophylact are listed in the aforementioned *notitia*, with the exception of the Bishopric of Semna. Based on this, we can reliably date *Notitia* 13a to approximately the time of Theophylact – the late 11th and early 12th century.[74] Furthermore, with the help of the data in *Notitia* 13a, which mentions the Bishopric "Maleševo or Morovizd", we can conclude that meanwhile the seat of the Bishopric of Morovizd had been moved to Maleševo, and not that the Bishopric of Maleševo had been separated from the one of Morovizd as a new bishopric.

In connection with the proposed dating of the cited *notitia* to the time of Archbishop Theophylact in the last decades of the 11th and first decades of the 12th century, there is also the question of the affiliation of the Bishopric of Ras, which is explicitly remarked upon in that *notitia* as one of the bishoprics subordinate to the Archbishop of Ohrid.[75] Since the Bishop of Ras is not mentioned in the correspondence of Theophylact of Ohrid, scholars have frequently insisted that his see was made part the Archbishopric of Bar in Duklja in 1089.[76] It has been convincingly argued however, that the alleged charter of Antipope Clement III (Wibert) to Bishop Peter of Bar, on 8 January 1089, which subordinates to him, amongst all else, the "Bishopric of Serbia", and the charters of similar content, purportedly issued by Pope Alexander II in 1067, and Callixtus II (1119–1124), are indisputably forgeries, and that, at the end of the 11th and beginning of the 12th century, the Bishopric of Ras, in accordance with the data of the aforementioned *Notitia* 13a, was in no way beyond the boundaries of the Archbishopric of Ohrid.[77]

Conversely, when the Hungarians conquered Sirmium in 1071,[78] the Bishopric of Sirmium became part of Hungary, but remained, in an ecclesiastical sense, within the

73 Notitiae, 13.834–856 (col. a). There are two variants of the above list in the manuscripts, the earlier of which contains the following registry: Kastoria, Skopje, Velbăžd, Triaditza, Maleševo, Moglena, Pelagonia, Prizren, Strumica, Niš, Glavinitza, Braničevo, Belgrade, Vidin, Lipljan, Sirmium, Ras, Devol, Slanitza, Greben, Kanina, Debar, Vlachs, cf. *Gelzer*, Bistümerverzeichnisse I, 256.214–257.237, 257.III.1–24; *Idem*, Bistümerverzeichnisse II, 40–41; *Diller*, Byzantine lists, 27–42; *Prinzing*, Entstehung, 274; *Idem*, Byzantine ecclesiastical province, 365.

74 *Prinzing,* Byzantine ecclesiastical province, 365, dates the aforementioned *notitia* to the middle of the 12th century, while *Mullet*, Theophylact of Ohrid, 272–273, recognises Theophylact's influence within it. For the dating to the end of the 11th – beginning of the 12th century, cf. *Komatina*, Crkva, 107–108.

75 Notitiae, 13.850 (col. a), 846 (col. b).

76 *Kalić*, Crkvene prilike, 143–145; *Pirivatrić*, Ćirilometodijevske tradicije, 113–115; *Idem*, Between Constantinople, Rome and Ohrid, 659–660; *Idem*, Serbs and the Overlapping Authorities, 227–229; *Mitrović*, "Kraljevstvo od iskona", 47–77; *Marković*, *Vojvodić*, Crkva svetih Apostola, 46–53.

77 *Komatina*, Crkva, 103–110, 132–133, 140–147.

78 *Komatina I. – Komatina P.*, Srem, 149–152.

Archbishopric of Ohrid, as evidenced by its mention in *Notitia* 13a.[79] Under Hungarian rule, the very name Sirmium slowly became associated with Hungary, as evidenced by a geographical list, the basis of which dates back to the 12th century, mentioning "Sirmium or Hungary; these Hungarians were called Gepids in antiquity."[80] This data testifies equally to the fact that the area of the Bishopric of Sirmium was identified with the political borders of Hungary, and that it cannot be said that the Bishopric of Sirmium survived on the right bank of the Sava River after the Hungarian conquest of the area between the Sava River and the Danube in 1071.[81] Over time, however, within the Hungarian state, the Bishopric of Sirmium became connected to the Metropolitanate of Hungary (Τουρκία) within the Patriarchate of Constantinople, and its centre was transferred to Bács, where it is mentioned on the occasion of the Byzantine army's entry into that city in 1164. After the Byzantine conquest of Sirmium, during the reign of Emperor Manuel I Komnenos, it found itself again within the Empire, in 1164–1180, but after the Hungarian re-conquest in 1180, neither the Bishopric of Sirmium nor the Metropolitanate of Hungary are mentioned in the sources anymore.[82]

It is worth noting that, in addition to narrative sources, data on the diocesan organisation of the Archbishopric of Ohrid has also been preserved in sigillographic material dating back to the 11th–12th centuries, which records the bishops of Belgrade, Velbăžd, Glavinitza, Greben, Kastoria, Maleševo, Niš, Pelagonia, Strumica, Serdica,[83] all of whom are also known from narrative sources.

According to the list of suffragans of the Archbishop of Ohrid from the manuscript *Genevensis* 23, published as column *b* within *Notitia* 13 in the edition of J. Darouzès, the bishops of the following cities were subordinate to the Archbishop of Ohrid: Pelagonia, Devol, Prespa, Kastoria, Greben, Moliskos, Moglena, Vodena, Ostrovos, Skopje, Polog, Serdica, Ras, Niš, Slanitza, Radoviš, Velbăžd, Lipljan, Prizren, Strumica, Kanina or Illyricum, Debar and Vrenoga (Vernon) or Vlachs.[84] Clearly, the bishoprics of the Danubian cities of Vidin, Belgrade, Braničevo and Sirmium are missing, but Ras, Prizren, Lipljan, Niš and Serdica are still part of the Archbishopric of Ohrid. The Bishopric of Glavinitza is also missing. In addition to the Bishopric of Moglena, the bishoprics of Vodena (Edessa) and Ostrovos appear on its territory, as well as Moliskos, which was located near Setena, and probably took over its role in the church administration. A new Bishopric of Radoviš appears in the area of the former Bishopric of Strumica, which may have also included the area of the Bishopric of Morovizd, which is not mentioned in the list, unless it is actually the latter, but incorrectly written down (ὁ Ῥαβδοβισδίου vs. Μοροβισδίου). A new Bishopric of Polog is mentioned in the area of the Bishopric of Prizren, while a separate Bishopric of Prespa was split from the archiepiscopal diocese of Ohrid.

79 Notitiae, 13.848 (col. a).

80 *Diller*, Byzantine lists, 29–30 (A.16–17), 31 (B.35–36), 33 (C.32).

81 *Bubalo*, *Mitrović*, *Radić*, Jurisdikcija, 40–42.

82 *Stojkovski*, Byzantine Diocese, 769–783.

83 *Jordanov*, Pečati na episkopi, 103–121.

84 Notitiae, 13.834–856 (col. b).

Sirmium was certainly omitted after it was recaptured by the Hungarians in 1180, Belgrade and Braničevo were conquered and held by the Hungarians in 1182–1186, and returned to the Empire in 1186,[85] Niš, Lipljan and Prizren then belonged to the Serbian state, which itself also belonged to the Archbishopric of Ohrid, so they remained part of it,[86] Vidin fell under the restored Bulgarian Empire and the Archbishopric of Tarnovo in 1186,[87] but Serdica remained Roman until 1192–1194, when it also fell under the new Bulgarian state.[88] These circumstances suggest that *Notitia* 13b can be dated to a narrow timeframe circa 1186, after Vidin fell under the restored Bulgarian Empire, and Belgrade and Braničevo were returned from Hungarian to Byzantine hands, but before the episcopal sees were restored there.

The Bishopric of Glavinitza, at that time, could have been merged with the neighbouring Bishopric of Kanina. In the charter of Emperor Alexios III to the Venetians, from 1198, "provintia Dirrachii" and "provincia Jericho et Caninon"[89] are cited to be in this area, while the agreement between the Crusaders and the Venetians on the division of the Roman Empire, known as the *Partitio Romaniae*, from the spring of 1204, mentions the province of "Kanina" and "provintia Dirrachii et Arbani, cum chartolaratis de Glaviniça, de Bagenetia",[90] which indicates that Glavinitza did not belong to Kanina in an administrative sense, but to Dyrrachion. The newly established Bishopric of Moliskos probably owes its origins precisely to the development of the administrative organisation, namely, the importance of Moliskos within it, since the charter of Emperor Alexios III to the Venetians, from 1198, cites "provincia Prilapi et Pelagonie, ac Moliscii nec non et Mogreno", and the *Partitio Romaniae* agreement from 1204 mentions "provintia Moliscu et Moglenon".[91] Both documents also cite "provincia Prespae",[92] so it is clear that the emergence of a separate Bishopric of Prespa is linked to the administrative reorganisation, as well. However, it is specified in Chomatenos' acts that Polog was under the jurisdiction of the Bishop of Prizren, circa 1200–1202, and the Bishop of Polog is not mentioned in them,[93] so a separate Bishopric of Polog could probably only have existed at some earlier time, prior to the beginning of the 13th century, and the separate bishoprics of Vodena, Ostrovos and Radoviš should also be placed into that timeframe. They too, like the one in Polog, were ephemeral, since there is no further mention of them in the acts of Demetrios Chomatenos. The

85 *Simpson*, Byzantium and Hungary, 192–197.

86 *Komatina*, Crkva, 179–185; *Ista*, "I obnovi dedovinu svoju," 41–54.

87 According to Demetrios Chomatenos, the Bishop of Vidin ordained the first Archbishop of Tarnovo in 1186, cf. Chomatenus, Ponemata, no. 8.94–110, 146.29–43; *Komatina*, Crkva, 183–184.

88 *Božilov*, *Gjuzelev*, Istorija, 421–436; *Božilov*, Istorija II, 282–298; *Madgearu*, Asanids, 35–113; *Pirivatrić*, *Translatio*, 415–416.

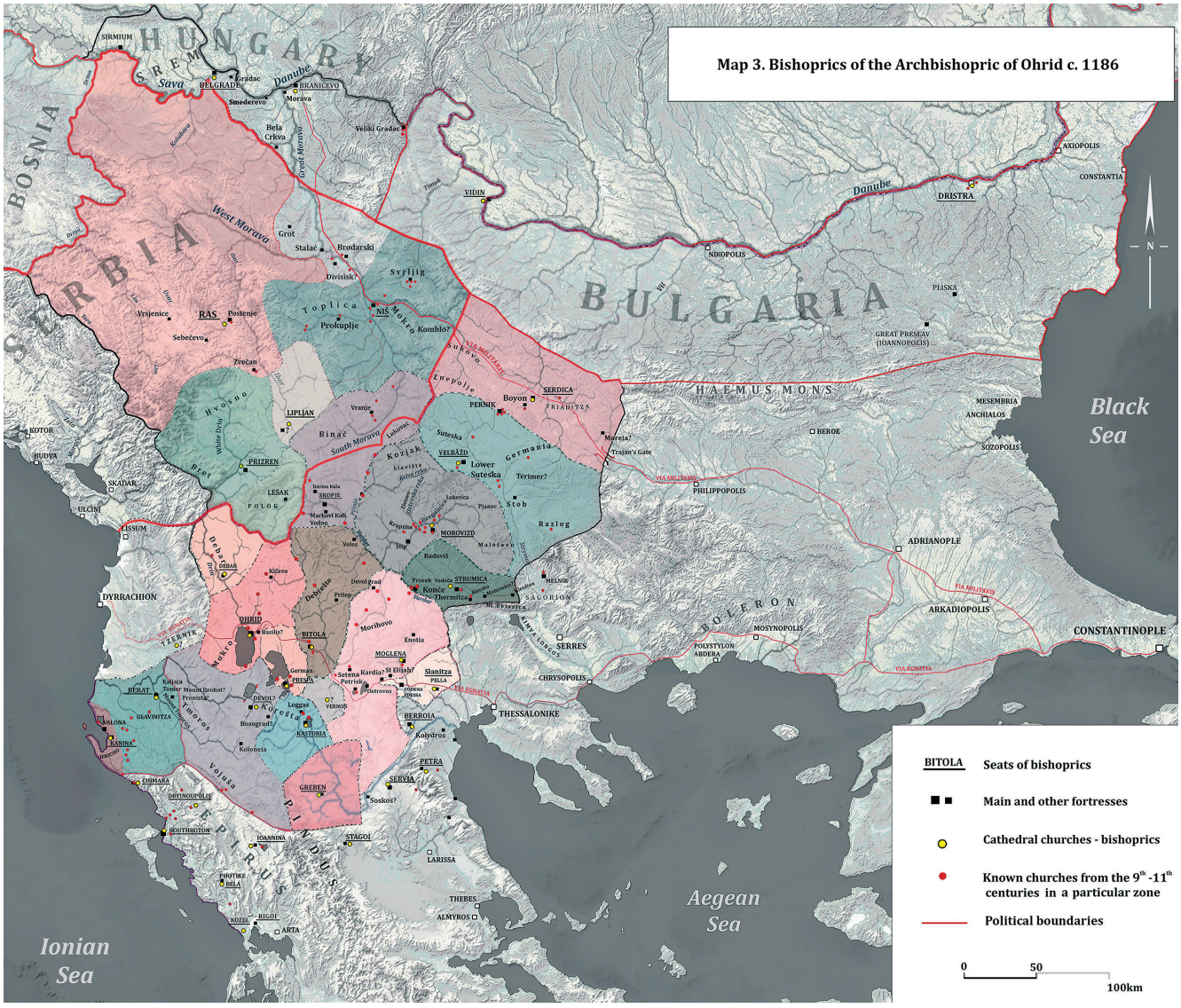
89 *Tafel – Thomas*, Urkunden, I, 258, 278.

90 *Carile*, Partitio, 219–220, ll. 55, 65.

91 *Tafel – Thomas*, Urkunden, I, 262–263, 278; *Carile*, Partitio, 221, l. 104.

92 *Tafel – Thomas*, Urkunden, I, 260, 278; *Carile*, Partitio, 221, l. 106.

93 Chomatenus, Ponemata, 205*–207*, no. 103; *Sofronievski*, *Petrovski*, Dokumenite No. 58 i No. 103, 201–223; *Koprivica*, Polog, 73–75.



Map 3. Bishoprics of the Archbishopric of Ohrid c. 1186

aforementioned charter of Emperor Alexios III Angelos to the Venetians, from 1198, lists the following administrative units of the Empire on the territory of the Archbishopric of Ohrid – the provinces of Ohrid, Prespa, Kastoria, Devol, Jericho and Kanina, Prilep and Pelagonia and Moliskos and Moglena, Strumica, Maleševo and Morovizd, Serdica and Velbăzhd, Niš and Braničevo, Skopje,[94] so it can be assumed that the diocesan organisation also corresponded to a significant extent to such a landscape.

With the expansion of the Second Bulgarian Empire, during the Roman Empire's disintegration in the early 13th century, numerous episcopal cities that belonged to the Archbishopric of Ohrid fell under Bulgarian rule, and became part of the Archbishopric of Tarnovo. In the *Partitio Romaniae* treaty of 1204, in relation to the Charter of Emperor Alexios III to the Venetians of 1198, Strumica, Maleševo and Morovizd,

94 *Tafel – Thomas*, Urkunden, I, 258–264, 278.

Serdica and Velbăzhd, Niš and Braničevo, and Skopje were no longer listed among the Byzantine provinces. Belgrade and Braničevo in 1202–1204 belonged to the Hungarians, and Niš to the Serbs, but in 1204–1207 they belonged to the Bulgarians again.[95] In the correspondence between Pope Innocent III and the Bulgarian emperor Kaloyan, from 1203–1204, the bishops of Skopje, Prizren, Niš and Braničevo, as well as Vidin and Velbăzhd, are mentioned as being within the borders of the Archbishopric of Tarnovo of the Second Bulgarian Empire.[96] Nevertheless, the bishoprics of Prizren and Niš were returned to the Archbishopric of Ohrid, when they again fell to the Serbian state, after the death of Emperor Kaloyan in 1207.[97] Ohrid itself, and other episcopal cities in the central part of the Archbishopric, west of the Vardar River, also found themselves under the rule of the Second Bulgarian Empire, after the fall of Constantinople in 1204, when the incumbent Archbishop of Ohrid, John Kamateros (c. 1183–1215), was himself forced to abandon his see, and flee into exile to Nicaea.[98]

Ohrid and other episcopal cities in the Vardar region yet again came under the rule of the Romans when they fell under the Epirote state in 1214–1215, and instead of John Kamateros, who died shortly after his return to Ohrid, the archiepiscopal see was occupied in 1216 by his former chartophylax and learned canonist Demetrios Chomatenos (1216–1236).[99] His rich correspondence mentions the following bishoprics that were then or previously subordinate to the archiepiscopal see of Ohrid: Debar, Kastoria, Devol, Greben, Glavinitza, Kanina, Pelagonia, Moglena, Slanitza, Strumica, Skopje, Prizren, Ras and Vidin.[100] The last three were permanently excluded from its bounds by the era of Chomatenos – Vidin in 1186, Ras and Prizren in 1218/1219. This list coincides more with *Notitia* 13a, in the part that refers to the same geographical area, than with *Notitia* 13b, indicating that most of the bishoprics that appear in *Notitia* 13b from the end of the 12th century were ephemeral. Chomatenos' acts also mention places within certain bishoprics, thus explicitly stating that Prilep is located in the bishopric of the Bishop of Pelagonia, as well as the "village of Nahovo of the Skopje area", the village of Vrastijane in the Kastorian area, Nemelčište and Banjani, in the Slanitza

95 *Dinić,* Braničevo, 95–96; *Božilov*, *Gjuzelev*, Istorija, 441–457; *Božilov*, Istorija II, 305–321; *Komatina*, Crkva, 253–254; *Madgearu*, Asanids, 114–174; Bŭlgarska nacionalna istorija IV, 152–159.

96 *Theiner*, Vetera monumenta slavorum meridionalium I, 15–17, 24–25, 28–30.

97 *Komatina*, Crkva, 183–184, 253–254, 257, 283–286; *Ista*, "I obnovi dedovinu svoju", 57–58.

98 *Božilov*, *Gjuzelev*, Istorija, 441–457, 463–475; *Božilov*, Istorija II, 305–323, 333–343; *Prinzing*, A Quasi Patriarch, 172; *Iliev*, Ohridskijat arhiepiskop, 77–84; *Pirivatrić*, Kriza, 123–125; *Madgearu*, Asanids, 114–194; Bŭlgarska nacionalna istorija IV, 152–195.

99 On Demetrios Chomatenos, cf. Chomatenus, Ponemata, 3*–45*; *Angold*, Church and Society, 240–242; *Prinzing*, A Quasi Patriarch, 165–182; *Idem*, Authority, 137–150; *Idem*, Dēmētrios Chomatēnos, 341–360; *Iliev*, Ohridskijat arhiepiskop, 65–148.

100 Chomatenus, Ponemata, 28*–31*, 387* (map), no. 8.102–104, 146.29–33 (Vidin), 50.6, 102.42–47, 60–64 (Greben), 147.3 sq (Glavinitza), 102.42–47 (Debar), 129.50–57 (Devol), 146.129–130 (Kanina or Illyricum), 85.41–52, 146.46–50 (Kastoria), 138.8–13, 146.67–74 (Moglena), 12.1–3, 17.2–3, 22.214–217, 79.2–10, 116.2–5 sq., 148.23–27, 56–64, 149.19–20 (Pelagonia), 86.94–100, 103.2–13, 30–38 (Prizren), 86.68–72 (Ras), 50.6, 116.19–20 (Slanitza), 35.11, 59.5–17, 76.2–3, 86.204–207 (Skopje), 14.4–8, 131.44–49 (Strumica); *Prinzing*, A Quasi Patriarch, 168–169; *Idem*, Byzantine ecclesiastical province, 365–366; *Idem*, Papstvo, 96–97 (maps); *Delikarē*, Archiepiskopē Achridōn, 172–179.

area, and Lower Polog in the Bishopric of Prizren.[101] It is interesting that Prosek, which is mentioned in the First Ohrid Charter of Emperor Basil II as a town in the bishopric of the Bishop of Moglena, is now cited as belonging under the Bishop of Strumica,[102] which indicates that, in the meantime, there was a change in the borders between the bishoprics. It is also stated that Prespa, the seat of a separate bishopric at the end of the 12th century, once again belonged to the archiepiscopal diocese of Ohrid, as did Mokro; that Koloneia fell under the Bishopric of Devol, while Vodena, Moliskos, also the seat of a separate bishopric at the end of the 12th century, and Soskos, belonged to the Bishopric of Moglena, Stanos to the Bishopric of Pelagonia, and Korita to the Bishopric of Skopje, as well as Polog, after Prizren became part of the independent Serbian Church.[103] However, Chomatenos' acts do not mention the Bishopric of Maleševo and Morovizd, nor the places in its area, so its status at that time is uncertain.

Upon the creation of the autocephalous Serbian Archbishopric in 1218/1219,[104] the bishoprics of Ras, Prizren, Lipljan and Niš were separated from the Archbishopric of Ohrid.[105] Hence, during the era of Demetrios Chomatenos, following the Bulgarian conquest of the northeastern bishoprics in the late 12th and early 13th century and the independence of the Serbian Archbishopric in 1218/1219, only the bishops of those cities that were at that time under the political authority of the Epirote ruler Theodore Doukas (1215–1230) remained under the jurisdiction of the Archbishop of Ohrid – Devol, Kastoria, Glavinitza, Kanina, Debar, Pelagonia, Moglena, Slanitza, Strumica, Skopje.[106] However, they too would fall under the rule of the Bulgarian emperor John Asen II (1218–1241), after his victory over Theodore Doukas, in the Battle of Klokotnitsa, in 1230.[107] In the *Synodicon of Emperor Boril*, within the Church of the Second Bulgarian Empire, after the patriarchs of Tarnovo, and along with the metropolitans of Preslav, Cherven, Lovech, Ovech and Dristra,[108] the metropolitans of Serdica are also mentioned.[109] Equally cited are "the metropolitans who were at the time of the venerable Emperor Asen under the jurisdiction of the Patriarchate of Tarnovo, who reposed at that time, as well," which refers to the period of the establishment of the Patriarchate of Tarnovo in 1235, wherein the names of the metropolitans of Serres, Velbăzhd, archbishops of Ohrid, as well as bishops of Braničevo, Belgrade, Niš and metropolitans of Vidin,

101 Chomatenus, Ponemata, no. 17.2 sq., 76.1–5, 85.21–27, 102.12 sq., 103.2 sq., 116.2–5 sq.; *Kravari*, Villes, 62, 83, 141, 156.

102 *Gelzer*, Bistümerverzeichnisse II, 42.24–26; Chomatenus, Ponemata, no. 131.2–7 sq.

103 Chomatenus, Ponemata, 29*–30*, 192*–193*, no. 94.

104 *Komatina*, Crkva, 247 sq; *Pirivatrić*, Autocephalous Orthodox Archbishopric, 179–201.

105 *Komatina*, Crkva, 281–290.

106 Chomatenus, Ponemata, 387* (map); *Prinzing*, A Quasi Patriarch, 165–182; *Idem,* Byzantine ecclesiastical province, 365–366, 371–373; *Delikarē*, Archiepiskopē Achridōn, 172–179. On the Epirote State of Theodore Doukas, *Stavridou-Zafraka*, Political Ideology, 311–323; *Dželebdžić*, Društvo, 8–13; *Osswald*, Épire, 50–70; *Idem*, State of Epirus, 13–20.

107 *Božilov*, *Gjuzelev*, Istorija, 479–495; *Božilov*, Istorija II, 348–365; *Madgearu*, Asanids, 195–227; Bŭlgarska nacionalna istorija IV, 205–220.

108 Borilov sinodik, 168–173.

109 Borilov sinodik, 171–172.

Philippi and Mesembria are also listed.[110] The archbishops of Ohrid mentioned are Ioannikios and Sergios, who held that position after Demetrios Chomatenos.[111] It is indicative that in the then territory of the Archbishopric of Ohrid, which, after 1230, was entirely under the rule of the Bulgarian emperor, only the archbishops of Ohrid were listed, but not the bishops of individual cities, and on this basis one could conclude that they, unlike the bishops of Serdica, Velbăzhd, Braničevo, Belgrade, Niš and Vidin, at that time were still suffragans of the archbishop of Ohrid. The further development of the diocesan organisation on the territory of the Archbishopric of Ohrid under the renewed Epirote and then Nicaean rule, that is, from 1261, under the rule of the restored Byzantine Empire, goes beyond the chronological framework of our topic.[112]

II. The Archbishopric of Ohrid and the identity of Byzantine *Bulgaria*

After the fall of Samuel's state, in 1018, the Archbishopric of Ohrid preserved the name *Bulgaria* within the extent of its territory, the development of which has been presented in previous analysis, and with it – the political traditions of Samuel's state and the First Bulgarian Empire.[113] In the period between 1018 and 1185, the name *Bulgaria* denoted that part of Byzantine territory on the Balkan Peninsula, which, from an ecclesiastical point of view, had been under the jurisdiction of the Archbishopric of Ohrid, and defined it as a separate political and geographical entity, distinct from what contemporaries called "Greece" or "Romania", on one side, and Serbia, often termed "Slavonia" or "Dalmatia", on the other. It did not include the old Bulgarian lands in the northeastern part of the peninsula, on the right bank of the Lower Danube, which, while annexed to the Archbishopric of Ohrid in the Second Charter of Emperor Basil II in 1020, soon found themselves again under the jurisdiction of the Patriarchate of Constantinople, nor did it include the Serbian territories in the northwestern part of the peninsula, which, although they belonged to the Archbishopric of Ohrid, after a short-lived existence of the *Theme of Serbia*, from the second quarter of the 11th century were no longer under the direct political rule of the Empire.[114]

The name *Bulgaria* equally had a decisive influence on the identification of the population of that area. The inhabitants of Byzantine *Bulgaria* are, therefore, often referred to in the sources as *Bulgarians*, in a geographical sense, regardless of their ethnic affiliation. In an ethnic sense, two peoples were distinguished in that region during

110 Borilov sinodik, 26–52, 173–174; *Božilov*, *Gjuzelev*, Istorija, 491–493; *Božilov*, Istorija II, 360–363; *Gjuzelev*,Vŭzobnovjavaneto, 155–169; *Hannick*, Cheminements, 130–132; Bŭlgarska nacionalna istorija IV, 221–224.

111 *Prinzing,* Byzantine ecclesiastical province, 381; *Komatina*, Crkva, 389.

112 On some instances of *ktetorial* activity in the remaining territory of the Archbishopric of Ohrid at that time, see the chapter *The Sacral Topography of the Archbishopric of Ohrid: Architecture, Art, Patronage, and the Cult of Saints in the 11th–13th Century*.

113 See the chapter *Provincial administration in the service of pacification*.

114 *Komatina*, Pojam *Bugarske*, 41–55; *Idem*, Srbija i Duklja, 159–180; *Dinić*, O nazivima, 161–171; *Pirivatrić*, Srbi, 163–177; *Nikolić – Pavlović*, Dalmatai.

the 11th century – the *Romans* and the *Bulgarians*.[115] In the immunity formulas of the imperial chrysobulls from the second half of the 11th century, "Bulgarians" are regularly listed among the foreign peoples within the imperial military units.[116] There is no doubt that "Bulgarians" in this sense denoted the Slavic population. The name "Slavs" is sometimes used as a synonym for the name "Bulgarians". Thus, the Georgian *Life of St. George the Hagiorite*, written shortly after the saint's death, in 1065, mentions "Bulgarians, who are called Slavs" in Chalkidike.[117] Nikephoros Bryennios, conversely, states that following the uprising of 1072, Emperor Michael VII Doukas sent his grandfather Nikephoros Bryennios the Elder to Bulgaria, "in order to use him to suppress the Slavic people who had seized it," and that he, "having appeared in Bulgaria, subdued the Slavic people in a short period of time, so they would place themselves yet again under the yoke of the Romans, and allow him rule over affairs in Bulgaria."[118] Theophylact of Ohrid, who, in his epistles and literary works, often speaks of the "Bulgarians", "the land of the Bulgarians", "the people of Bulgaria", "the language of the Bulgarians", "the Bulgarian language", "the *archon* of the Bulgarians", i.e., Boris, the "Emperor of the Bulgarians",[119] also mentions the "Slavic scripts" by which "the divinely inspired writings were translated from the language of Hellas into Bulgarian",[120] and in one place, at the beginning of his *Life of St. Clement*, also "the Slavic people, namely, the Bulgarians" (τὸ τῶν Σθλοβενῶν γένος εἴτουν Βουλγάρων),[121] thus indicating the identical nature of these terms. In a short manuscript on the origins of the Archbishopric of Ohrid, from the end of the 12th century, the language is also called "Slavic or Bulgarian".[122] Nevertheless, the term "Slavs" had a broader meaning and included Slavs outside Byzantine Bulgaria – Serbs and Croats, as well as the Slavic population in the northeastern part of the Balkan Peninsula, which did not belong to Byzantine Bulgaria.[123] The Slavic population there, although of Bulgarian origin, is not termed *Bulgarian* in Byzantine sources of the 11th and 12th century. For Anna Komnene, the ancient capital of the Bulgarian rulers on the Lower Danube, Veliki Preslav (Μεγάλη Πρισθλάβα), bears the name derived "from the Greek meaning of the word *great* and from a word that stemmed from those of Slavic origin" (ἀπὸ τῶν Σθλαβογενῶν). Two slaves of Emperor Nikephoros III Botaneiates (1078–1081), Borilo and German, for her represent "Scythians", i.e. "barbarians of Slavic origin", who, according to Constantine Manasses, spoke the "Scythian language", while for Anna's husband Nikephoros Bryennios, Borilo is "Scythian or Moesian",

115 *Komatina*, Pojam *Bugarske*, 54–55; *I. Komatina*, Srbi na putu krstaša, 57-63; *Nikolić – Pavlović*, Bulgarians, Serbs, and the Rus, 750–753; *Simeonov*, Alltagsleben, 50–62.

116 *Miklosich – Müller*, Acta, V, 137 (year 1074), 143 (year 1079); VI, 47 (year 1088); Lavra I, 198 (no. 33, year 1060), 218 (no. 38, year 1079), 243 (no. 44, year 1082), 258 (no. 48, year 1086); *Gautier*, "Diataxis de Michel Attaliate", 105 (1075).

117 *Martin-Hisard*, Vie de Georges L'Hagiorite, 63.790.

118 Bryennius, 213.

119 *Iliev*, Long Life, I.3 (23), II.5 (41), 6 (49, 60–61), IV.15 (179), 16 (193–195), XXII.66 (879–881); Theophylactus, Epistulae, no. 22.

120 *Iliev*, Long Life, II.6 (60).

121 *Iliev*, Long Life, II.5 (41).

122 *Prinzing*, Entstehung, 279.

123 *Nikolić – Pavlović*, Bulgarians, Serbs, and the Rus, 748–749.

which means that the two Slavs from Moesia are mentioned as "Scythians", "Moesians" and barbarians of "Slavic origin", but not as "Bulgarians".[124] Alternatively, across the territory of Byzantine Bulgaria, itself, there existed an equally Slavic population that was not Bulgarian, primarily Serbian, in the area of Pomoravlje and Podunavlje.[125] Hence, the term "Bulgarians", when likewise used in an ethnic sense, had a geographical implication, i.e. it denoted the Slavic population of Byzantine Bulgaria, regardless of whether it was of Bulgarian, Serbian or other origin. Slavs outside of Byzantine Bulgaria were not considered Bulgarians, not even ones who were ethically so, such as those in the old Bulgarian lands, in Moesia, between the Danube River and Balkan Mountains.

The first Archbishop of Ohrid, John (prior to 1015–1037) had held this position since the time of Samuel and his successors. He was of Slavic origin, believed to be from Debar (ἐκ Δεύρης), and the *hegoumenos* of the local Monastery of the Holy Mother of God.[126] In his place, by the will of Emperor Michael IV the Paphlagonian, in 1037, the emperor's compatriot Leo the Paphlagonian (1037–1056) became the archbishop. The former chartophylax of St. Sophia in Constantinople, as "the first of the Romans" (πρῶτος ἐκ Ῥωμαίων),[127] Archbishop Leo was an exceptionally well-educated man, distinguished by his intellectual abilities, and left behind a number of significant theological writings.[128] As has already been noted in the literature, his appointment was intended to more firmly bond the Archbishopric of Ohrid to Constantinople, primarily on an ideological level. While the Bulgarian origins and identity of the Archbishopric of Ohrid are in no way disputed in the charters of Emperor Basil II,[129] it could be claimed that with Leo its ideological "Byzantinization" began in earnest. In the iconography of the cathedral church of St. Sophia in Ohrid, of which he was *ktetor*, created between 1052 and 1056, one can clearly, although still only implicitly, find the first traces of the association of the Archbishopric of Ohrid with the former Archbishopric of the *Iustiniana Prima*, which had been founded by Emperor Justinian I in 535 – through the portraits of the Roman popes Innocent I, who, in 412, founded the Vicariate of Thessalonike, as a lieutenancy of the Roman Church in the Prefecture of Eastern Illyricum, or Vigilius, who, in 545, according to the Novella CXXXI of Emperor Justinian I, transferred this right in the bishoprics of the northern part of the Prefecture to the archbishop of the newly founded *Iustiniana Prima*, and the Patriarch of Constantinople Eustathios (1019–1025), during whose time Emperor Basil II issued his charters to the Archbishopric of Ohrid. This was an obvious manifestation of the

124 Alexias, I.16.2, II.1.3, VII.3.4; Bryennius, 283; Manasses, 356–357; *Komatina*, Pojam *Bugarske*, 47–48; *Nikolić – Pavlović*, Bulgarians, Serbs, and the Rus, 746, 749. On Boril and German, cf. *Cheynet*, Pouvoir et contestations, 183, 304–305; https://pbw2016.kdl.kcl.ac.uk/person/106860/; https://pbw2016.kdl.kcl.ac.uk/person/107190/.

125 *Komatina*, Srbi na putu krstaša, 55–81.

126 *Ivanov*, Bŭlgarski starini, 566; *Tăpkova-Zaimova*, Du Cange Catalogue, 227–228; *Komatina*, Crkva, 94.

127 Scylitzes, 400.32–38, 433.40–434.50; VIINJ III, 170 (*J. Ferluga*); *Ivanov*, Bŭlgarski starini, 566; Tăpkova-Zaimova, Du Cange Catalogue, 229–230; *Büttner*, Erzbischof Leon, 23–70; *Komatina*, Crkva, 95–98.

128 Particularly significant are those concerning the dogmatic differences between the Byzantine and Roman churches, which led to the Great Schism of 1054 during his time as archbishop of Ohrid. On Leo of Ohrid and his works, cf. *Büttner*, Erzbischof Leon.

129 *Komatina*, Crkva, 91–95.

need to obscure and conceal the barbarian, Bulgarian origins of the Archbishopric of Ohrid and replace them with Roman ones, embodied in the Archbishopric of *Iustiniana Prima*, the homeland of the great Emperor Justinian I (527–565).[130]

There is not much information in the sources about Leo's successors, except for the data relating to their ordination and repose. There are records of Leo's passing in 1056, and Archbishop Theodoulus, from Tetrapolis, near Iconium in Asia Minor, being appointed as his successor, who was further succeeded, in 1064, by John II Lampenos, while he was further succeeded in 1078/1079, by John III Aoinos.[131] During the Slavic uprising of 1072, the Ohrid area suffered from military operations, especially the old cathedral church of St. Achilleios on Lake Prespa.[132] The incumbent Archbishop John II Lampenos played a significant role in the turbulent political events of his time, when, in 1078, he prevented the usurper Nikephoros Basilakes, who was staying in Ohrid while in transit with his army from Dyrrachion to Thessalonike, from proclaiming himself emperor there.[133]

The most significant of the archbishops of Ohrid in the 11th–12th centuries was undoubtedly Theophylact (c. 1088–1125).[134] Another exceptionally educated individual, a representative of the capital's intellectual elite, who found himself in a distant province, encountering the local "barbarians", was not over-fond of his new environment, and his negative attitude towards Bulgaria and the Bulgarians are evident from his letters.[135] Despite this, he was nevertheless interested in the historical, especially Christian past of the country of which he was the ecclesiastical head, within which there were already established and developed cults of local saints from the time of the First Bulgarian Empire, and hence he devoted a significant part of his literary activity to the historical heritage of Byzantine Bulgaria. Theophylact composed his famous extensive *Life of St. Clement* on the basis of the unpreserved *short life* of St. Clement, that was written in the first half of the 10th century, and mentioned at the beginning of the short *Life of St. Naum of Ohrid*,[136] as well as Clement's writings that were kept in his monastery in Ohrid at the time.[137] He also used the existing traditions regarding Clement, as well as Cyril and Methodios, shaped in Bulgaria prior to his era, but he did not directly rely on the Slavic hagiographies of the Thessalonian

130 *Todić*, Arhiepiskop Lav, 119–134; *Komatina*, Crkva, 95–98. For an opinion that such a theory was not developed before the end of the 11th century, cf. Chomatenus, Ponemata, 24*–26*; *Prinzing*, Byzantine ecclesiastical province, 363–364.

131 Scylitzes, 479.18–23; Skylitzes Continuatus, 117, 185; VIINJ III, 176, 186–187 (*B. Radojčić*); *Ivanov*, Bŭlgarski starini, 566–567; *Jordanov*, Corpus of Byzantine Seals 1, 55, no. 19.5; *Tăpkova-Zaimova*, Du Cange Catalogue, 230–232.

132 Skylitzes Continuatus, 162–166; VIINJ III, 185–186 (*B. Radojčić*).

133 Skylitzes Continuatus, 182; VIINJ III, 186 (*B. Radojčić*); *Cheynet*, Pouvoir et contestations, 86–87, 349–357.

134 On Theophylact, cf. *Obolenski*, Šest vizantijskih portreta, 45–89; *Angold*, Church and Society, 158–172; *Mullet*, Thophylact of Ohrid; *Komatina*, Crkva, 98–101.

135 Theophylactus, Epistulae, no. 4, 5, 6, 24, 25, 29, 30, 44, 50, 57, 82, 89, 90, 96, 101, 103, 108, 110; *Mullet*, Thophylact of Ohrid, 266–277; *Filiposki*, Theophylact, 87–102.

136 *Ivanov*, Bŭlgarski starini, 306; *Iliev*, Long Life, 72–74; *Simeonov*, "Greek" and "Greeks", 104–105.

137 *Iliev*, Long Life, XXII, 66–67.

brothers, while his dogmatic views were fully expressed in his exposition of theological material related to their activities.[138] On numerous occasions Theophylact speaks about the Bulgarians, their land, language and rulers.[139] Amongst Clement's works he likewise encountered the sermon to the Fifteen Holy Martyrs of Tiberiopolis, and hence wrote their hagiography, in which the ancient Roman origin of their cult is skilfully supplemented by an exposition on the beginnings of the Christian history of the Bulgarians, who, having converted to Christianity in the 9th century, overtook and further expanded the cult of the Fifteen Holy Martyrs.[140] In these writings and the existing tradition, with which Theophylact was familiar, he found information about Bulgarian and local history from the 9th–10th centuries, a great many details about the Bulgarian rulers Krum, Boris, and Simeon, and included them in his literary works, written in Greek, as well as in some of his epistles.[141]Thus, he recorded and preserved numerous particularities that would otherwise have been forgotten and lost, making his works historical sources of exceptional importance for our understanding of the history of the First Bulgarian Empire.[142]

Among the other cults that Theophylact dedicated his works to, that of St. Achilleios was of particular significance amongst the local saints venerated in the area of the Archbishopric of Ohrid, especially because of the saint's connection to the very core of the Archdiocese. The relics of St. Achilleios had been transferred by Samuel from Larissa following the conquest of that city in 985/986, and placed in a church dedicated to the saint, that Samuel had built on Lake Prespa, the location of the seat of the head of the Bulgarian Church of the time, until, shortly after, it was moved to Ohrid.[143] Even though the church was devastated during the uprising of 1072,[144] it remained an important place of worship even during the time of Archbishop Theophylact, serving as an alternative cathedral church of the Diocese of Ohrid, in which Theophylact held the council of hierarchs of his archbishopric, and attended the celebration of the church feast day on 15 May 1103.[145] The cult of St. Achilleios

138 *Iliev*, Long Life, 72–79.

139 Cf. *Iliev*, Long Life, I.3 (23, "the land of the Bulgarians"), II.5 (41, "Slavic people, namely, the Bulgarians"), 6 (49, "the language of the Bulgarians", 59–61, "they found Slavic scripts, interpreted the divinely inspired writings from the language of Hellas into Bulgarian"), IV.15 (179, "Boris, *archon* of the Bulgarians"), 16 (193–195, Cyril and Methodios "separated the Bulgarian people from the Scythian heresy"), XXII.66 (879–881, Clement had "...handed over everything concerning the Church... to us Bulgarians..."), which *Iliev*, Long Life, 77, considers a later interpolation.

140 GIBI XI/2, 42–79; *Dragova*, Starobŭlgarskite izvori, 105–131; *Cheshmedjiev*, Notes on the Cult, 155; *Vukanović*, Legend of the martyrs, 52–53; *Velev*, Himnografskite sostavi, 113–115; *Turilov*, Kliment Ohridskij, 127–128, 132; *Simeonov*, "Greek" and "Greeks", 100–104; *Ivanova*, Seeing like a church, 675–695.

141 Theophylactus, Epistulae, no. 22.

142 *Mullet*, Thophylact of Ohrid, 235–239. For more details on Theophylact's attitude towards the historical heritage of Bulgaria, see the chapter *The Good Shepherds and the Others*.

143 *Grabar*, Deux témoignages, 163–166; *Moutsopoulos*, Basilikē, 3–42; *Pirivatrić*, Samuilova država, 154–156; *Komatina*, Diocesan Structure, 803–809.

144 Skylitzes Continuatus, 166; *Mullet*, Thophylact of Ohrid, 238–239.

145 Theophylactus, Epistulae, no. 31, 58, 59, 60, 75, 77, 78, 87, 108; *Mullet*, Thophylact of Ohrid, 89–91. On the cult of St. Achilleios in the Ohrid Archbishopric, see the chapter *The Sacral Topography of the Archbishopric of Ohrid: Architecture, Art, Patronage, and the Cult of Saints in the 11th–13th Century*.

spread from the centre of the archbishopric throughout its territory, all the way to the Serbian lands in the north. Indisputably, prior to the early 13th century, a large temple dedicated to this saint had been built in Moravica, and was designated by Archbishop Sava as the centre of the newly founded Bishopric of Moravica in 1219. On the site of this church King Stefan (Dragutin) built a new temple, at the end of the 13th century – his most celebrated endowment. According to tradition, fragments of the saint's relics were kept there as well.[146] It is not clear, however, whether the participation of Serbian detachments in the uprising of 1072, in the battles around Ohrid, Kastoria and Devol, at the very source of the cult,[147] played any role in the spread of the cult of St. Achilleios to the Serbian lands.

A significant part of the historical heritage of the First Bulgarian Empire preserved during Byzantine rule in the territory of the Archbishopric of Ohrid is related to the cult of St. John of Rila (c. 876–946), a hermit who practiced asceticism on Mount Rila, where he reposed, in 946, during the reign of the Bulgarian emperor Peter (927–969), after which his body was transferred to Serdica. The two oldest hagiographies of the saint were written in the 12th century, before the new transfer of the saint's relics from Serdica to Esztergom in Hungary in 1183.[148] The earlier of the two, the so-called Slavic folk hagiography, describes his exploits, the reputation he enjoyed with Emperor Peter, his repose, and the transfer of his relics to Serdica during the reign of the said emperor.[149] The second hagiography was written in Greek, by the incumbent Byzantine governor of Serdica, George Skylitzes, sometime between 1166 and 1183, prompted by the miraculous healing of Emperor Manuel I Komnenos (1143–1180) at the saint's tomb during his visit to Serdica, but it too has survived only in its Slavic translation. In contrast to the Slavic folk hagiography, Skylitzes' Greek hagiography, although it does not dispute that the saint was "Bulgarian by birth, his fatherland the city of Serdica... a village called Skrino," does not mention the Bulgarian emperor Peter at all, and connects the saint's life to the time of "Emperor Constantine" (913–959), after whose death "John received the statehood of the empire, its Greek territories, up to Iskar," while the transfer of his relics from Rila Monastery to Serdica is linked to the reign of the "Twice-born" emperor, namely, Romanos IV Diogenes (1068–1071).[150] This example hence best illustrates the appropriation of a Slavic cult by the then ruling Byzantine milieu and an attempt at its Byzantinization.

146 *Janković*, Episkopije i mitropolije, 32, 157, 181–182; *Vojvodić*, Zidno slikarstvo; *Subotin-Golubović*, Kult svetog Ahilija, 21–33; *Ista*, Nova služba, 159–174; *Ista*, Ahilije – Arhilije, 37–46; *Ista*, Slovenski prepisi, 29–34; *Ista*, Još jedan prepis, 245–257; *Ivanova*, Služba na sv. Ahil, 11–22; *Ista*, Neizvestna srŭbska služba, 24–40; *Ista*, Vŭzpjavam te, otče Ahilie, 143–176; *Komatina*, Crkva, 289.

147 Skylitzes Continuatus, 162-166; VIINJ III, 177–186 (*B. Radojčić*); *Živković*, Dukljansko-vizantijski rat, 35-57; *Komatina*, Srbi na putu krstaša, 59–60.

148 On St. John of Rila and his cult, cf. *Ivanov*, Bălgarski starini, 345–383; *Idem*, Žitija 3–27; *Dujčev*, Rilskijat svetec; Stara bŭlgarska literatura. 4, 544; *Ivanova*, Naj-staroto žitie, 37–47; *Špadijer*, Južnoslovenski pustinjaci, 108–111; *Češmedžiev*, Za vremeto na prenesjaneto, 79–87; *Pirivatrić*, Prvi prenosi, 18–30; *Idem*, Translatio, 261–278; *Vasiljević*, Kultovi svetih, 262–282.

149 *Ivanov*, Žitija, 28–37; *Ivanova*, Naj-staroto žitie, 37–47.

150 *Ivanov*, Žitija, 38–51; *Češmedžiev*, Za vremeto na prenesjaneto, 79–87.

The tradition of eremitic monasticism in the central Balkans, which was ignited in the 10th century by John of Rila, was continued by Slavic ascetics of the 11th–12th centuries – Prohor of Pčinja, Gabriel of Lesnovo, Joachim of Osogovo, who practiced asceticism in the region bordering the Vardar River in the west, and the Osogovo Mountains in the east. Their cults, nevertheless, were initially local in nature, and experienced full growth only later, during the 13th–14th centuries, when the territories where they had practiced asceticism fell within the boundaries of the Slavic states of the Second Bulgarian Empire and the Serbian Kingdom of the Nemanjić dynasty.[151] Their Slavic hagiographies and other celebratory writings were drafted at that time, but place no particular insistence on the Slavic tradition, and along with the saints themselves, the protagonists of these writings are often Byzantine emperors of the period, such as Romanos IV Diogenes and Manuel I Komnenos.[152]

As surmised, the first traces of the ideology of the Archbishopric of Ohrid as an extension of the Archbishopric of *Iustiniana Prima* in Roman Illyricum appear as early as the time of Archbishop Leo, in the mid-11th century, but there is no indication of this in the works of Archbishop Theophylact. In this context, we could also emphasise the fact that the older of the two surviving copies of the list of suffragan bishops of the Archbishopric of Ohrid, according to *Notitia* 13a, approximately from the period of Theophylact of Ohrid, contains only the title "Bishoprics which are subject to the throne of Bulgaria", while the later one, created in the second half of the 12th century, bears the title "Order of the thrones of *Iustiniana Prima*".[153] The said ideology is found, nonetheless, in the addenda that Bishop Michael of Devol made to the manuscript of Skylitzes' *History*, in 1118, stating that Emperor Basil II "confirmed once more the Bishopric of Bulgaria to be autocephalous, as it had been previously, under the Old Romanos, having learned from the orders of Emperor Justinian that it was *Iustiniana Prima*, which he calls his fatherland, and which at that time was under the Bishop Castelion."[154] Nevertheless, it is believed, not without reason, that Bishop Michael, who made this significant addition to his manuscript of Skylitzes' *History*, as well as many others concerning the history of Samuel's Bulgaria, as well as the Archbishopric of Ohrid of the time, had been appointed and probably ordained to the episcopal see of Devol by Theophylact himself, and acted under his influence.[155] Be that as it may, this ideology had completely prevailed by the mid-12th century, when Neilos Doxapatres, in 1143, in his treatise on patriarchal thrones, intended for the Sicilian king Rogerius II (1105–1154), wrote that "Bulgaria, like Cyprus, is autocephalous, not subordinate

151 *Pavlović*, Kultovi lica, 20–33; *Popović*, Monah-pustinjak, 552–585; *Moljković*, Žitija Svetog Save, 217; Špadijer, Sveti Petar Koriški, 133–136; *Ista*, Južnoslovenski pustinjaci, 108–111; *Komatina*, Crkva, 120–123; *Bubalo*, Da li je postojala Dioklitija Hvostanska, 953–954.

152 *Ivanov*, Bŭlgarski starini, 394–418; Stara bŭlgarska literatura. 4, 563–568. See the chapter *The Sacral Topography of the Archbishopric of Ohrid: Architecture, Art, Patronage, and the Cult of Saints in the 11th–13th Century*.

153 *Gelzer*, Bistümerverzeichnisse I, 256.214, 257.III.1; *Idem*, Bistümerverzeichnisse II, 40–41; *Prinzing*, Entstehung, 274; *Idem*, Byzantine ecclesiastical province, 365.

154 Scylitzes, 365.8–11; VIINJ III, 136 (*J. Ferluga*).

155 *Mullet*, Thophylact of Ohrid, 272.

to any of the greatest thrones, but independent, led and ordained by its own bishops," however, it "was not Bulgaria from its beginnings, but later on, after the Bulgarians seized it, it was then called Bulgaria; remaining autocephalous because it was taken from the hands of the Bulgarians by the imperial authority, namely, by Emperor Basil Porphyrogennetos, and hence was never subordinate to the Church of Constantinople. That is why, even to this day, Cyprus and Bulgaria receive bishops from the emperor, these are ordained by their own bishops, as has been stated, and they are called archbishoprics, as they are autocephalous. Bulgaria, still, has more than thirty bishops, presided over by the city of Ohrid."[156] A short document from the second half of the 12th century states that it is autocephalous based on the provisions of Emperor Justinian, and that it got the right to ordain and consecrate bishops "not only by Emperor Basil and the old Romanos Lekapenos, when there was an agreement with Emperor of the Bulgarians Peter, but also according to ancient privileges."[157] This ideology was legally formalised by Theodore Balsamon, in the second half of the 12th century, and Archbishop John (Adrian) Komnenos was the first to use the title "Archbishop of *Iustiniana Prima* and all Bulgaria" (ἀρχιεπίσκοπος τῆς Πρώτης Ἰουστινιανῆς καὶ πάσης Βουλγαρίας), which was then employed intensively from the time of Demetrios Chomatenos, in the first decades of the 13th century.[158] Demetrios Chomatenos himself, emphasises in his acts the origins of his archbishopric extending from *Iustiniana Prima*, basing his rights precisely on the Novella CXXXI of Emperor Justinian, stating that the archiepiscopal throne of Bulgaria "is also called *Justiniana*," because Emperor Justinian "hailed from there, and by his own labour and sweat from battle annexed that Bulgarian territory within Roman borders."[159] He also refers to this when explaining his rights to Serbia, emphasising that it "falls under the diocese of the throne of Bulgaria," that it "has as its bishop the hierarch of Ras, who is ordained by the Archbishop of Bulgaria," and that its hierarchs "have been subordinated to the diocese of Bulgaria from the beginning, according to the declared Justinianic regulation."[160] It is also interesting that at this point Chomatenos mentions that his rights were equally violated by the appointment of a separate ecclesiastical leader in "Zagora", i.e. the Second Bulgarian Empire, stating that Tarnovo was similarly part of his diocese.[161] In the act by which he justifies his ordaining of the new Bishop of Servia, that belonged to the Metropolitanate of Thessalonike of the Patriarchate of Constantinople, after

156 Nilus Doxapatrius, Hieroclis Synecdemus, 285–286; *Morton*, A Byzantine canon law scholar, 724–754.

157 *Prinzing*, Entstehung, 277–287; *Nikolov*, Bulgarian, 146–147, 149. It is interesting that in this document *Iustiniana Prima* is identified with Velbăžd, which is why its creation is attributed to the bishop or one of the clerics of the Bishopric of Velbăžd, *Prinzing*, Entstehung, 277, 281–283.

158 Photii Nomocanon, I.5, Syntagma, I, 42–45; II. Ecum. (Constantinopolis I) 2, ibid., II, 171; Carthago 55, ibid., III, 450; Acta synodica, PG 140, 197 C; Chomatenus, Ponemata, no. 10.3–5, 28.2–3, 86.3–4, 111.4–5, 112.5–6, 118.10–12; *Prinzinig*, Enstehung, 269–287; *Idem*, A Quasi Patriarch, 169–170; *Idem*, Jurisprudence, 159–172, with a review of source data on the ideology of the connection between the Ohrid Archbishopric and *Iustiniana Prima*, cf. 169–172; *Popović*, Titulatura, 279–285; *Komatina*, Crkva, 95–98.

159 Chomatenus, Ponemata, no. 114.204–215; *Macrides*, Bad Historian, 187–194.

160 Chomatenus, Ponemata, no. 86.68–71, 114.232–237; *Prinzing*, Jurisprudence, 164–165.

161 Chomatenus, Ponemata, no. 114.249–254.

Theodore Doukas liberated the city from the Latins, he states that the ruler of Epirus, since Thessalonike itself was still ruled by the Latins, addressed "the cross-border synod and its superior, i.e. (the synod) of the hierarchs of the Illyrians, who later inherited the name (of the synod) of the Bulgarians."[162] However, the true origins of the Archbishopric of Ohrid, i.e. its connection to the Church of the First Bulgarian Empire, was not completely forgotten even at that time. By all accounts, it was during the era of Archbishop John Komnenos that the so-called *Du Cange Catalogue* of Bulgarian archbishops was created, where the origins of the Bulgarian archbishopric are linked to Protogenes, the Early Christian bishop of Serdica in the 4th century, and the Enlighteners of the Slavs, Cyril and Methodios, as well as their disciples Gorazd and Clement. After them, Damian of Dristra is mentioned, during whose tenure the Bulgarian Church became autocephalous, and who was proclaimed patriarch by the Imperial Senate by orders of Emperor Romanos I Lekapenos (920–944), and then deposed by John I Tzimiskes (969–976). His successors, thereafter, from Dristra, following a series of relocations, finally arrived in Ohrid,[163] in a manner that essentially corresponds to the one recorded in the Second Ohrid Charter of Emperor Basil II from 1020.[164]

Although the name "Bulgaria" was used throughout the 12th century as a geographical designation for the area of the central part of the Balkan Peninsula, i.e. the Archbishopric of Ohrid, the term "Bulgarians" was much less frequent during the 12th century as a designation for the inhabitants of that territory, who, in the sources of the period, are most often referred to as "Greeks" and "Romans", along with whom, in the area of the Morava Valley Cumans, Pechenegs, and Serbs are also mentioned.[165] A charter of Emperor Andronikos I Komnenos (1183–1185), granted in 1184 to the Monastery of the Great Lavra at Mount Athos, regarding the monastery's possessions in the Theme of Moglena, mentions pastoral Vlachs and Bulgarians, in addition to the local Cumans.[166] If this is an ethnic designation, and not merely a geographical name for the inhabitants of Byzantine Bulgaria, who, like the Cumans and Vlachs, were engaged in transhumant pastoralism, their survival could be seen as a consequence of the isolation of pastoral communities, which were less susceptible to the assimilationist influences of the Byzantine milieu.[167] Nonetheless, the term "Bulgaria" itself, after the emergence of the Second Bulgarian Empire, following the uprising of Peter and Asen in 1185–1186, was used increasingly less as a geographical designation for the region of the central Balkans. In this respect, it had still been utilised by Latin historians of the Third Crusade in 1189–1191,[168] amongst whom pseudo-Ansbert is particularly significant, noting

162 Chomatenus, Ponemata, no. 150.59–78; *Prinzing*, Jurisprudence, 165–166.

163 *Ivanov*, Bŭlgarski starini, 565–568; *Tăpkova-Zaimova*, Du Cange Catalogue, 209–235; *Iliev*, Ohridskijat arhiepiskop, 49–55; *Hannick*, Cheminement, 127–128.

164 *Gelzer*, Bistümerverzeichnisse II, 44.33–45.3; *Komatina*, Diocesan Structure, 803–804.

165 *P. Komatina*, Pojam *Bugarske*, 41–55; *I. Komatina*, Srbi na putu krstaša, 66–80.

166 Lavra I, 343–344 (no. 66, 1184. r.); *Anastasijević*, *Ostrogorski*, Koumanes pronoïaires, 19–29.

167 On transhumant livestock farming in the area of Macedonia in the Middle Ages, cf. *Simeonov*, Alltagsleben, 127–137, with earlier literature.

168 *P. Komatina*, Pojam *Bugarske*, 45; *I. Komatina*, Srbi na putu krstaša, 75–80.

that, at the time in "the largest part of Bulgaria, and along the Danube, up to the place where it flows into the sea, tyrannical power was wielded by Kalopeter the Vlach, and his brother Asen, with the subordinate Vlachs," and that another "part of Bulgaria was subjugated to the rule... of the Grand Župan of Serbia and Rascia, having concluded an alliance with Kalopeter against the Emperor of Constantinople."[169] This best defines the historical fate of Byzantine Bulgaria, at least in its northern parts – its territory was divided between the Serbian state of the Nemanjić dynasty and the restored Bulgarian empire of the Asenids, which also inherited its name.[170] The idea of unifying Byzantine Moesia of the Lower Danube and "Bulgaria" in the central part of the peninsula within the new Bulgarian empire of Peter and Asen is best expressed by Niketas Choniates, who noted that the rebels aimed "to unite the regions of the Moesians and the Bulgarians into one, as it was in the old times."[171] The brother and successor of Peter and Asen, Emperor Kaloyan (1197–1207), in his correspondence with Pope Innocent III (1198–1216), between 1202–1204, quite openly refers to the political traditions of the First Bulgarian Empire and finds in them the historical foundation of his own state.[172]

Subsequently, the name "Bulgaria" within the Byzantine state survived only due to the church terminology and titulature of the archbishops of Ohrid. In the acts of Demetrios Chomatenos, the name "Bulgaria" still denotes the "Bulgarian diocese" (Βουλγαρικὴ ἐπαρχία), a territory that was ecclesiastically subordinate to the Archbishop of Ohrid, within the state of Theodore Doukas; he bestowed on himself the title of the "Archbishop of Bulgaria" (ἀρχιεπίσκοπος Βουλγαρίας), and was addressed as such by those who approached him on various occasions.[173] While Chomatenos refers to his flock in an ethnic sense as "Romans" and calls his country "Romania", "Romais",[174] the name "Bulgarians" is used in his acts primarily as a designation for the inhabitants of the Second Bulgarian Empire, whom he considered foreigners and aliens.[175] When Chomatenos speaks of the synod of "the hierarchs of the Illyrians, which later inherited the name (of the synod) of the Bulgarians,"[176] he is actually referring to the rights of the

169 Historia de expeditione Friderici imperatoris, 33.

170 *Komatina*, Pojam *Bugarske*, 55.

171 Choniates, Historia, 374; *Komatina*, Pojam *Bugarske*, 46–47; *Nikolić – Pavlović*, Bulgarians, Serbs, and the Rus, 750–751.

172 *Theiner*, Vetera monumenta slavorum meridionalium I, 15–16, 27–29; *Božilov*, *Gjuzelev*, Istorija, 443–448; *Božilov*, Istorija II, 308–312; *Gjuzelev*, Papstvoto i bŭlgarite, 138–143, 328–360; *Nikolov*, Age of coronations, 263–270; Bŭlgarska nacionalna istorija IV, 152–159.

173 Chomatenus, Ponemata, no. 1.4–5, 19.8–10, 33.7–10, 38.6, 40.15–16, 50.6 comm, 76 comm, 53.33–34, 61.6–7, 62.2–4, 65.14–15, 72.28–29, 73.2–5, 77.3–4, 80.19–20, 119–121, 81.21–22, 83.36–38, 84.24–25, 86.3–4, 68–72, 86.101–107, 94.12–13, 98.5–6, 101.7–8, 103.3–4, 104.4–5, 106.15, 111.4–5, 112.5–6, 114.1–2, 22–27, 204–208, 219–223, 232–248, 116.3–5, 118.10–12, 120.3–4, 121.5–7, 126.2–3, 127.41–42, 129.5–6, 133.2–3, 135.3–4, 139.3–4, 142.5–6, 143.3–4, 146.33–38.

174 "Romans" in the Acts of Chomatenos, cf. Chomatenus, Ponemata, no. 8.102–104, 119–127, 11.4–23, 35.66–68, 52.30–33, 54.11–20, 59.71–83, 64.11–14, 81.268–282, 87.20–27, 114.37–57, 146.29–31, 67–73, 96–104, 150.35–43, 151.14–21; "Romania", "Romais", cf. no. 8.104–107, 22.53–58, 102–106, 274–279, 26.14–19, 80.25–29, 114.142–145, 204–208, 146.70–71.

175 Chomatenus, Ponemata, no. 8.104–107, 123–127, 148–149, 48.20–26, 52.22–40, 81.89–96, 268–282, 146.33–40, 96–104.

176 Chomatenus, Ponemata, no. 150.59–78; *Prinzing*, Jurisprudence, 165–166.

archbishopric of *Iustiniana Prima*, which, in his time, was called Bulgaria, while the mention of "Demetrius, the bishop of the land of the Bulgarians" on the imprint of his seal, in one of the acts, is only a stylisation of his usual title of "Archbishop of Bulgaria" and also has a geographical designation.[177] On one occasion alone, in a letter to Metropolitan of Corfu Basil Pediadites, does Chomatenos speak of himself as a "barbarianized man... having been amongst the *Bulgarians* (ἐν Βουλγάροις) for years,"[178] while in a letter to his successor George Bardanes he complains that he has recently been living amongst the "barbarians."[179] The inhabitants of his "Bulgarian diocese" were certainly "barbarians" in his view, in the linguistic sense, since they predominantly spoke the Slavic language, foreign and "barbaric" to him. The Slavic linguistic identity, or ultimately the Slavic linguistic origins of the majority of Chomatenos' flock is undisputable, but it is undoubtable that by his time it had undergone significant influences from the dominant Byzantine culture, and had been largely exposed to Byzantinization, i.e. Romanization.[180] Hence, the Slavic linguistic identity of that part of Chomatenos's flock cannot be taken as an indicator of its Bulgarian ethnic identity, as is often presumed in the literature.[181] Chomatenos, himself, makes a sufficiently clear distinction between his own flock, whether they speak Slavic or Greek, who he judged and who lived according to Roman law – and the Bulgarians as subjects of the Second Bulgarian Empire. So, for example, in an act regarding a dispute that he presided over in Berroia, within the family of Manuel, Leo Svenilos and Theodore Svenilos, which, judging by the surname, was of Slavic origin, he rejected the act that had been issued earlier regarding that dispute during the "tyranny of the Drugubites", issued by a Bulgarian who was then the Bishop of Berroia, "because Bulgarians are always barbarians, and the laws of the Romans are not necessary for Bulgarians and are not worth a single word; the law is to the barbarians their own will."[182]

The political power of the Second Bulgarian Empire across the territory of the archbishopric of Chomatenos, in the period from circa 1204 to 1214/1215, led to numerous significant consequences, which he often refers to in his acts.[183] However, the most notable were certainly those concerning the church organization, as evidenced by his synodal act from 1217/1218 and the related epistle he sent to the metropolitan of Corfu at that time, Basil Pediadites, where he writes about the establishment of the Bulgarian Empire in the "land of the Zygos", or "Zagora", as he calls Bulgaria north of the Balkan Mountains, the expansion of its power to many other countries of the Byzantine West, and the appointment of a Bulgarian patriarch in Tarnovo, with the help of a cardinal of the pope of Old Rome. However, before he was elevated

177 Chomatenus, Ponemata, no. 50.76 comm.

178 Chomatenus, Ponemata, no. 8.17–19.

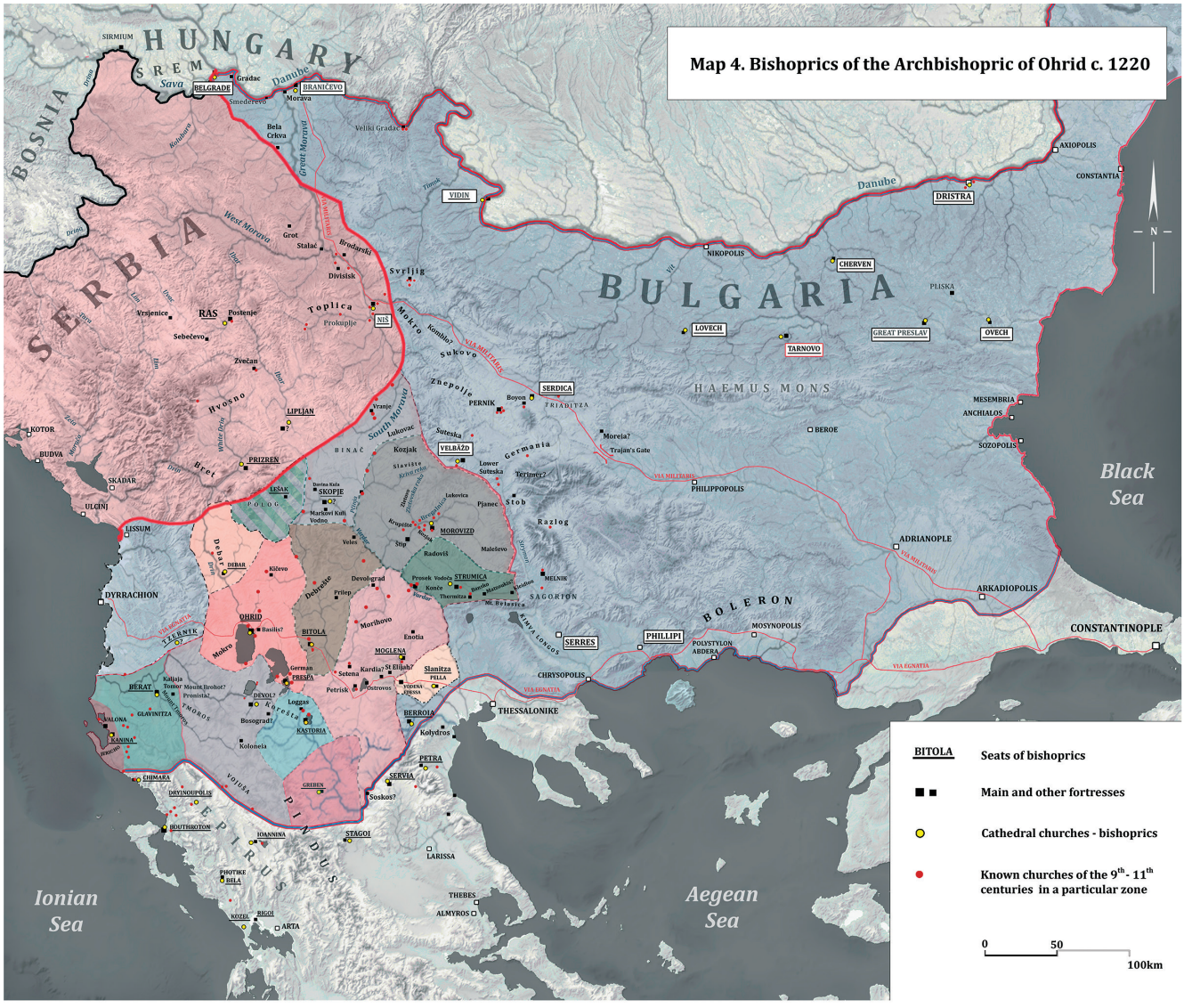
179 Chomatenus, Ponemata, no. 107.35–40; *Iliev*, Ohridskijat arhiepiskop, 215–218.

180 *Dželebdžić*, Slovenski antroponimi, 483–498. On the relationship between Chomatenos and his flock, see the chapter *The Good Shepherds and the Others*.

181 Cf. *Iliev*, Ohridskijat arhiepiskop, 182–234, with older literature.

182 Chomatenus, Ponemata, no. 81.

183 Chomatenus, Ponemata, no. 8.74–86, 154–158, 48.10–19, 59.71–83, 146.51–58, 96–98, 150.21–25.



Map 4. Bishoprics of the Archbishopric of Ohrid c. 1220

as patriarch, he was ordained as a hierarch by the Bishop of Vidin, who was "a legitimate and a Roman", and two other bishops. Taking advantage of the spread of Bulgarian political power into Roman territories (i.e. "Romania"), "Bulgarian bishops" (βουλγαροεπίσκοποι) came from "Zagora" and with the help of the Bulgarian secular authorities illegally occupied episcopal seats, which legitimate bishops had abandoned while fleeing the invaders, further ordaining priests, deacons and subdeacons into these positions. After the Epirote conquest of that area, at the synod held in Ohrid in 1217/1218, their actions were condemned as uncanonical, not because they were followers of heresy, but because they occupied the episcopal seats with the help of secular authorities. Nevertheless, since they were Orthodox Christian, and adhered to the true faith, according to all the holy scriptures and the hagiographies of the saints that had been translated from Greek into their language, the synod decided to treat the ordained priests, deacons, and subdeacons humanely, and to accept them as fellow

ministers.[184] In his short *Life of St. Clement of Ohrid*, Chomatenos states that the saint "hailed from European Moesians, known to many as Bulgarians,"[185] thereby identifying the Bulgarians as the inhabitants of Moesia along the Lower Danube, while elsewhere he states that Clement was "exalted to the episcopal throne, becoming bishop of all Illyricum and the Bulgarian people who ruled the land, by St. Methodios," thus making a distinction between the "Bulgarian people" that "ruled the land" at the time the saint lived, and his own flock that inhabited that area at the beginning of the 13th century.[186] As for the independent political creation by the Bulgarian nobleman Strez, which in c. 1211–1214 included the territory of the Archbishopric of Ohrid in the Vardar region, Chomatenos, in order to distinguish it from the direct authority of the Second Bulgarian Empire in that area, which he designated with a Bulgarian name, resorts to the name of the long-extinct Slavic tribe of *Drougoubitai* (Drugubites), who inhabited that region in the Early Middle Ages.[187] However, this territory, which to a significant extent coincided with the area of the Archbishopric of Ohrid during the time of Demetrios Chomatenos and Theodore Doukas, was already at that time referred to in political terms as the "Land of Strez" (illa /terra/ quae fuit de Straces) and as such represented part of the "Greek Land" which after the Battle of Klokotnitsa in 1230 fell under the Bulgarian emperor John Asen II.[188] When, after a decade and a half of Bulgarian rule, in 1246, it again found itself in Roman, i.e. Nicaean and Epirote hands, this territory was no longer referred to in political and geographical terms in Byzantine sources as "Bulgaria", but mainly by its ancient name of Macedonia.[189]

* * *

The presented data testifies to the significant degree of Byzantinization to which the area of the Archbishopric of Ohrid was exposed, during the bicentennial period of direct Byzantine rule, and its results at the beginning of the 13th century. However, the degree and intensity of this process and, therefore, its results, were not equal throughout that area. The Slavic folk hagiography of St. John of Rila, created in the region of Serdica, in the middle of the 12th century, represents an unmistakable trace of the survival of the Bulgarian identity in that area, while the participation of the Bishop of Vidin in the ordination of the Archbishop of Tarnovo in 1186 should surely be understood as a sign of the area's inclination towards the idea of reviving the Bulgarian Empire. In this sense, attention should equally be paid to the *Du Cange Catalogue*, which emphasizes the historical connection of the Archbishopric of Ohrid with the first historical Bishop of Serdica, Protogenes, Enlighteners of the Slavs, and the church traditions of the First Bulgarian Empire, while not mentioning the tradition of *Iustiniana Prima* at all. At the time of the passage of the Crusader armies of the Third Crusade through the Morava Valley in 1189,

184 Chomatenus, Ponemata, 69*–70*, 261*–262*, no. 8, 146; *Prinzing*, A Quasi Patriarch, 173.

185 *Milev*, Grŭckite žitija, 174; *Iliev*, Ohridskijat arhiepiskop, 173–181.

186 *Milev*, Grŭckite žitija, 176.

187 Chomatenus, Ponemata, no. 81.89–92, 94.25–28; *Barišić – Ferjančić*, Vesti, 43–56.

188 *Buchon*, Recherches, I/2, 22; *Komatina I. – Komatina P.*, "Srpska zemlja", 168–171.

189 Cf. VIINJ VI, s. v.; *Maksimović*, Makedonija, 29–50; *Koder*, Macedonians and Macedonia, 12–28.

mention is made of the "Greeks, Bulgarians and Serbs and Vlachs" as subordinate to the Byzantine *doux* of Braničevo, whereby the term Bulgarians does not refer to the Slavic inhabitants of Byzantine Bulgaria in a geographical sense, but rather the Bulgarians in an ethnic sense, who, together with the Vlachs, identified themselves with the then already established Second Bulgarian Empire.[190] The idea of its founders Peter and Asen to reunite "the region of the Moesians and the Bulgarians, as it was in the old times," was a clear expression of political aspirations based on Bulgarian ethnic identity.

There were no such aspirations in the remaining territory of the Chomatenos' archbishopric; the nobles there, even those who, judging by their names, were of Slavic origin, generally did not identify with the forces of the Second Bulgarian Empire, but with the existing Roman social order.[191] After two centuries of Byzantine rule, Chomatenos' *Bulgaria* was, in his time and in every sense, just another Roman province. Constantine Kabasilas, yet another archbishop of Ohrid who occupied the cathedra in the mid-13th century,[192] in his short *Life of St. Naum of Ohrid*, written in Greek, speaking about the arrival of the disciples of St. Cyril and Methodios after their expulsion from Moravia in 885, to the Bulgarian state of Boris-Michael, considers the area of Ohrid and Devol in a narrower geographical sense to be "Illyricum", emphasising that Naum and his associates enlightened "Dacia, Moesia, Pannonia, Triballi up to Illyricum" with their teachings.[193] In the mid-14th century, Nikephoros Gregoras, describing how Demetrios Chomatenos, Archbishop of Bulgaria, crowned Theodore Doukas as emperor in Thessalonike, states that the Bulgarians, when they crossed the Ister, "passed through both Moesias, settling in Macedonia and Illyricum, which lie beyond... and later considered their imperial capital to be the city which Justinian... honoured to be the cathedra of the archbishop and called it *Iustiniana Prima*. After the name of its inhabitants, the country was called Bulgaria, and *Iustiniana Prima* was named the "metropolis of all Bulgaria". Many years later, Emperor Basil the Bulgar-Slayer subjugated these people in numerous battles. He moved the rest of the populace from that area to Lower Moesia on the Danube, but the name remained with the archbishopric in memory of them."[194] The former connection between Danubian Bulgaria and the Archbishopric of Ohrid is also emphasised a little further in the text, stating that the Church of Tarnovo is autonomous, but that it was previously subordinate to the archbishop of *Iustiniana Prima*, due to the "ancient kinship of the people there."[195] As has already been noted in historiography, Gregoras' data most eloquently testifies to the fact that, at the time he wrote the aforementioned lines, the Bulgarian name in the territory of the Archbishopric of Ohrid was only a memory.[196]

Predrag Komatina

190 Historia de expeditione Friderici imperatoris, 28; *Komatina*, Srbi na putu krstaša, 76–80.

191 *Dželebdžić*, Društvo, 41–178.

192 *Pitsakis*, Nouveaux témoignages, 491–513.

193 *Trapp*, Viten, 174–176; *Podskalsky*, Bemerkungen, 109–115.

194 Gregoras, I, 26–27.

195 Gregoras, I, 30.

196 VIINJ VI, 155–156, n. 6 (*S. Ćirković*, *B. Ferjančić*).

10.46793/Barb.Rhom.II.037S

The Good Shepherds and the Others

I. "Hooked up" with a diocese

The relationship of a bishop to his Church was often described through metaphors of matrimony,[1] where the bishop corresponded to the groom (νυμφίος) and the Church to the bride. The groom was required to live a holy life and inspire others to a true devotion to God. He was in charge of overseeing souls and inner dispositions, as well as estates and the various worldly pursuits of everyone under his care. His commitment to his bride was to be unwavering, regardless of the tribulations she might put him through. This spiritual marriage (πνευματικὸς γάμος) was demanding for the husband and it ordinarily ended with his death. The grieving widow was expected to remarry. In the following example, the concept is displayed in an elaborate manner. George Bardanes was staying in Greben (Γρεβενόν), a suffragan see of the Byzantine archbishopric of *Bulgaria*, when he wrote a charming letter[2] explaining why he was reluctant to accept the call to become a suffragan bishop of the Metropolitan John Apokaukos of Naupaktos. He was offered Vondica (Βόνδιτζα). The name of the see, derived from the Slavic word for "hook,"[3] became the main pun in the exchange that took place in the first half of 1218.[4] Since Apokaukos' suffragan see had become vacant, she was a "widow" to be married to Bardanes as her next "handsome bridegroom," and Apokaukos himself was the "father" who would give the bride away.[5] Bardanes was unsure if he was ready for the responsibilities that come with such a spiritual marriage (1.34), that is, he was fearful if he would be able to handle the sacred duties of a bishop.[6] Apokaukos appreciated the niceties of the letter cleverly crafted by the cleric never destined to become his "son-in-low". The promising churchman would

1 The basic reference framework is the comparison of Christ to the bridegroom and the Church to the bride in the New Testament, see *Schmid*, "Brautschaft, heilige." Cf. e.g. Canon 25 of the Council of Chalcedon, which describes the Church without a bishop as a widow, *Rhalles – Potles*, Syntagma II, 273; Evagrius, The ecclesiastical history, 58, on a canonical bishop as the *spouse* and, consequently, on usurpation of an episcopal see as *adultery*; Theophylactus, Ad Timotheum I, 41.

2 Bardanes, ed. *Galoni*, Epistulae, 1.

3 The name is believed to refer to the surrounding landscape: the hook-shaped promontory, see *Grégoire*, Deux étymologies, 267–268.

4 *Galoni*, Bardanes, 119.

5 *Vasiljevskij*, Epirotica, ep. 6, 250.27–251.2. Cf. NT, Luke 5:4.

6 Bardanes, ed. *Galoni*, Epistulae, 1.31–41.

have been quite a catch for Vondica and the failed attempt was disheartening for the "elderly father in need of support." [7] However, considering Bardanes' superior ("matrimonial") prospects and the secular turmoil around them, Apokaukos was willing to let Bardanes off the hook.

The letter of Bardanes contains a description of a diocese one would wish to be "betrothed" to.[8] Such a one is endowed with all that "captivates a human soul." She enjoys lasting prosperity which is sustained through grain fields and vineyards, large congregations, freedom from the ravages of the tax collectors, a well-kept (κομώσῃ) temple of beauty beyond words and well-educated clerics to complement it. Furthermore, she provides opportunities for engaging in charming and highbrow conversation in Greek. Greben, which Bardanes was probably expecting to *wed*,[9] possessed all the attributes mentioned, except for the charm of Greek discourse. Apparently, the *brides* within the jurisdiction of the autocephalous see in Ohrid were sought after and worth the wait despite this drawback. They had long eclipsed even metropolitan sees of high repute, according to Apokaukos. The contrast between the two is described as comparable to that between a body and a shadow, or between reality and a dream. He dwells on this matter at the time when Constantinople was held by the Latins and Chomatenos occupied the throne of the Byzantine archbishopric *Bulgaria*:[10]

> "... the bishoprics throughout *Bulgaria* were extolled and lauded on account of their revenues and natural setting, so that even many of those raised in the Great Church, including myself, would want to ascend to a Bulgarian throne had not reputational concerns deterred us. And although all of these [qualities] have been no doubt hazardously affected by the temporary aberration, still, if the truth be told, I believe that even to this day the bishopric of Greben has an advantage over Vondica. The latter surpasses the former only in one respect – the all-presence of the Hellenic idiom and she lies surrounded by Greeks."

These remarks bring to the fore a more pressing disadvantage than the one of language and ethnicity. The *brides* had many charms, but impressive lineage was not among them. In other words, the thrones in the province of Bulgaria were not perceived as venerable. They lacked the eminence of the age-old cathedrae distinguished by their renowned history and the glory of their prior incumbents. Apokaukos' impressions reflect the standing of the diocese at the end of the 12th century, when he himself became *betrothed* to Naupaktos. Although reputation concerns persisted, the archbishopric of *Bulgaria* at that time appeared to enjoy a better standing than it had before Theophylact

---

7 *Vasiljevskij*, Epirotica, ep. 6, 250.32.

8 Bardanes, ed. *Galoni*, Epistulae, 1.51–58.

9 Eventually, Bardanes was elected for the bishop of Greben, but before he was ordained, the throne of Corfu became vacant and he assumed it, probably by the decision of Doukas, who coordinated the church appointments in the region he controlled, see *Galoni,* Bardanes, 124–127; *Prinzing*, Bedeutung. At the time Chomatenos was the archbishop in Ohrid.

10 *Vasiljevskij*, Epirotica, ep. 6, 251.32–252.6. Cf. below 69–70. All translations are mine, unless otherwise indicated.

Hephaistos had become her *husband* more than a century before. As a newlywed, Theophylact likened his *marriage* to Heracles' slavery under Omphale. But unlike demeaned Heracles, who suffered under a radiant, rich and beautiful barbarian queen, he slaved away among "filthy barbarian slaves, who exude the foul smell of sheepskins, lack everything in life and are wealthy only in bad character."[11] Despite his infamous writings during his first years in Ohrid,[12] he came to terms with his *marriage* and labored to better the reputation of his Church. It was common for educated churchmen to portray service away from Constantinople as exile among barbarians, when they were writing to their literary-inclined fellows.[13] The letters from the imperial provinces, no matter who their inhabitants were and how prevalent the Greek language was in the area, usually are written in the spirit of one exiled from the "promised land." What was lacking in the provincial cities that made them foreign, barbaric, and harsh abodes? It was not the hallowed streets and agoras, as Metropolitan Michael Choniates "turned barbarian" in his own Athens.[14] Nor was it the economy and thriving markets, as Archbishop Eustathios lamented, battling the "Laestrygonians" in his Thessalonike.[15] It was about the companionship of individuals shaped by common formative experience and creative exchange, who kept a finger on the pulse of imperial culture. In this respect no community was like that of Constantinople. An admission of actually enjoying life away from Constantinople would be akin to portraying oneself as a rustic, unworthy of high society. The bishops in the provinces could obviously not attract enough highbrow churchmen to match the circles they enjoyed while they were in Constantinople. However, a bishop's influence in the central ecclesiastical structures, his social standing, and his potential place in history was determined in great part by the renown of the throne to which he was *exiled*. Thus, the archbishops of Ohrid had a personal stake in improving the reputation of their throne, which in general entailed a lofty origin story. They tried to uphold the distinction of Ohrid by associating the establishment of the see to the jurisdiction reforms brought about under Emperor Justinian.[16] Already the first archbishop who came to Ohrid from Constantinople made sure that his throne was not to be treated as the heritage of the church organization shaped under Bulgarian rule, but as an outgrowth of the evolving Church order beginning with the changes in Papal jurisdiction in the area during the 5th and 6th centuries.[17]

11 Theophylactus, Epistualae, 5.34–37.

12 *Mullett*, Theophylact of Ohrid, 269–274; cf. *Angelov*, Bůlgarija i bůlgarite, 83–134.

13 Cf. VIINJ III, 266 (*Katičić*); *Mullett*, Originality. Furthermore, it is important to have in mind that they spoke about themselves in the same extremely deprecating manner. Psellos' purported self-portrait is that of a worm among men (Psellus, Epistulae, 250. 14–15), Michael Choniates deemed himself a rotten corpse, unfitting even to be used as manure (Michael Choniates, Epistulae, 170.2–12), Apokaukos described himself as filthy in soul, unclean in body, intemperate in tongue, unjust in hand (*Bees*, Unedierte Schriftstücke, ep. 70. 6–15). Cf. *Chernoglazov*, «Obraz dushi»; below 72.

14 Michael Choniates, e.g. Epistulae, 28.2–5.

15 Eustathius, De emendanda vita monachica, 126.

16 See the chapter *The Archbishopric of Ohrid from the 11th to the 13th century*; *Prinzing*, Entstehung, 269–287; *Komatina*, Crkva, 91–95.

17 On the iconographic program of Saint Sofia in Ohrid which gives an account of the origins of the Archbishopric see *Todić*, Arhiepiskop Lav.

II. Ambitions of the archbishops

Improving reputation and pushing boundaries

When the Byzantine archbishopric of Bulgaria was established on the subjugated territories previously ruled by Bulgarian rulers Peter[18] and Samuel, the central area was administered as a single province, the Theme of Bulgaria. By the end of the 11th century, the province had dissolved into smaller administrative units under different names.[19] The church province, however, retained the name *Bulgaria*. *Iustiniana Prima*, as the tacit ecclesiastical ground for the autocephaly of the Church in Ohrid,[20] is first attested as part of the official titulature of the Ohrid hierarchs in 1157: ἀρχιεπίσκοπος τῆς πρώτης Ἰουστινιανῆς καὶ πάσης Βουλγαρίας.[21] After Chomatenos, it became a regular part of the archbishops' *Intitulatio*.[22] The earliest account of Ohrid Church as an heir to that of *Iustiniana Prima* survives in the annotations by Michael of Devol from around 1118.[23] However, this view was predominantly espoused by the clergy of the archbishopric and the canonists. Theophylact in his time had to stand up against the patriarch of Constantinople when he believed that the patriarch was infringing on the autocephalous rights of his archbishopric.[24] It is doubtful that the patriarchs of Constantinople were pleased with the use of *Iustiniana Prima* in the archbishops' self-designation.[25] The title was accepted by the patriarchate and the imperial chancery only after 1261.[26]

As for the stable part of the title – "(all) of Bulgaria" – one might wonder if the impetus to retain Bulgaria in the name of the archbishopric after the imperial apparatus dispensed with the province of Bulgaria[27] came from ecclesiastical authorities wary of former Bulgarian aspirations to an independent Church. In 880, the decision to exempt the territory of Boris' Bulgaria from the dioceses under the jurisdiction of the see of Constantinople came as a result of pressure and the political struggles of the Byzantine Empire with the pope in Rome.[28] Despite this, the education of Slavic priests took time, and Bulgaria remained dependent on the Greek clergy. The assumption is that the number of native Slavic priests gradually increased during Simeon's reign under the

18 Peter, the emperor of Bulgaria, has been celebrated as a legitimate ruler conforming to God's will and venerated as a saint since the 11th century, see the chapter *Indirect Byzantinization: Bulgaria as a Case Study*, I, 55–56. Cf. *Kaymakamova*, The Cult of the Bulgarian Tsar Peter, 476.

19 See the chapter *Provincial Administration in the Service of Pacification*, I.

20 Cf. Balsamon's commentary on Justinian's decree (Novella CXXXI), Nomocanon cum commentariis, PG 104, 988–989.

21 *Prinzing*, Entstehung, 273.

22 *Prinzing*, Byzantine ecclesiastical province, 364.

23 Scylitzes, 43.61–64. Cf. *Prokić*, Postanak, 188; *Ljubinković*, Tradicije Justinijana Prime; *Prinzing*, Entstehung.

24 Cf. Theophylactus, Epistulae, 82 (to Michael of Chalcedon).

25 *Prinzing,* Entstehung, *279; Idem*, A Quasi-Patriarch, 169.

26 *Prinzing*, Byzantine ecclesiastical province, 364.

27 The jurisdiction of the Byzantine archbishopric Bulgaria was wider than the domain of the Theme of Bulgaria while it was still in existence, hence *all of* Bulgaria implies the territories from the *sigillia* of Emperor Basil II, see the chapter *Provincial Administration in the Service of Pacification*, I, 426; *Oikonomides*, Évolution, 149–150.

28 *Komatina*, Crkvena politika, 349.

supervision of the Church of Constantinople.[29] Through the translation of Greek books, Methodios' pupils and subsequent Slavic students, who were sent to Constantinople for their education, played a key role in Byzantinization. In other words, the Christian education they received and disseminated also included the cultural outlook of the Byzantine Empire. In the first instance, this meant they would remain loyal to the Byzantine Church, but it ultimately served as a means of achieving self-sufficiency and pursuing a patriarchal throne. The imperial ecclesiastical authorities could not have been content with the developments in Preslav, after the 927 treaty between Byzantium and Bulgaria included the recognition of the imperial dignity of Peter I.[30] The title of the archbishop in Ohrid suggests that the Byzantine ecclesiastical hierarchy was of the opinion that no other local (autocephalous) Church should be allowed to arise in between Rome and Constantinople, as had formerly been permitted with the Bulgarian hierarchs. The nomenclature used by the chancellery in Ohrid after 1185, when the Bulgarians again sought recognition for the Church in Tarnovo, reflect the same attitude. The *acta* of Chomatenos reference the Bulgarian hierarch in Tarnovo as the so-called patriarch in Zagora.[31]

Promoting the use of the Bulgarian name for the Slavic Christian culture

The Slavic vernacular and preliterate tradition,[32] alongside Slavic Christian culture, had a far wider reach than the Bulgarian polity. By subsuming the first under the name of the second, the Byzantine archbishops sought to craft a more favorable legacy for their archbishopric. Thus the Early Byzantine missions among the Slavs in the 9th century are described by Theophylact and Chomatenos as missions among the "Bulgarians." Theophylact explains that he uses "Bulgarians" to designate Slavic people in general, that is, the designations *Slavs* and *Bulgarians* are understood to be interchangeable (τῶν Σθλοβενῶν γένος εἴτουν Βουλγάρων).[33] In an analogous manner, the adjectives *Slavic* and *Bulgarian* are used synonymously, but he opts for the designation *Bulgarian* even when referring to the language of the Slavic translations introduced by Saints Methodios and Cyril.[34] The given explanation was warranted since the text breaks with the tradition of its sources. The pre-existing *Lives* of Cyril, Methodios and Clement referred to the language as Slavonic, as did all the scribes who actually wrote the Slavic texts.[35] The

29 *Dvornik*, Byzantine missions, 251–252.

30 Cf. *Nikolov*, Bulgarian Church.

31 Chomatinus, Ponemata, 114.249–254. Cf. *Prinzing*, Bedeutung; *Madgearu*, Asanids, 81–83.

32 On the common Slavic language background see *Greenberg*, Slavic; *Vereščagin*, K izucheniyu semantiki; *Idem*, Istoriya; cf. reflection of the Slavic oral poetry in the psalm translation by Saints Cyril and Methodios in *Loma*, «Svetloe oružie». Cf. also on the sense of unity among South Slavs, *Komatina*, Rani južnoslovenski etnonimi.

33 *Iliev*, Long Life – Bios kai politeia, 5.41.

34 Saints Methodios and Cyril invented the Slavic letters (τὰ σθλοβενικὰ γράμματα) and translated the divinely inspired writings from Greek language into the *Bulgarian* (ἐκ τῆς ἑλλάδος γλώττης εἰς τὴν βουλγαρικήν), *Iliev*, Long Life – Bios kai Polieia, 3.22.

35 See *Lavrov*, Materialy. Cf. *Ivanova*, Inventing Slavonic, 217–235. For the Greek sources of early Slavic texts and the main features of the corpus see *Podskalsky*, Theologische Literatur, 144–147; *Temchin*, O perevodnom kharaktere; *Idem*, O grecheskom proiskhozhdenii; *Turilov*, K izucheniiu velikomoravskogo literaturnogo naslediia.

language was designated as словѣньскъ.[36] In the Slavic texts, the audience is addressed as "the Slavs," the "Slavic peoples," "the Slavic tribe."[37] A short note, likely authored by a certain bishop of Velbăžd and dated to the 12th century,[38] explains the meaning of a Latin title in Slavonic. The author notes the variant names of the Slavonic language in the following order: σθλοβενική, βουλγαρική, σθλαβική.[39] All this suggests that Theophylact felt compelled to explain his use of *Bulgarian* for *Slavic*, because such use was indeed an innovation. However, the logic behind the innovation, that is behind the renaming of Slavonic language as *Bulgarian* based on the name of the polity that largely adopted it, was neither new nor unusual. It was not rare for the Greek language to be called *Rhomaic* (Ῥωμαϊκή).[40] Theophylact had no interest in building up the history of Bulgarian ethnicity. His concern was the historical image of his province Bulgaria. He was seeking to uplift perceptions of his archbishopric. To that effect, Theophylact also chose to support the cult of Saint Achilleos and hold synods in his church in Prespa.[41] The dedication to the saint who attended the council of Nicaea and the features of the Church envisioned as a patriarchal cathedral were important attributes of his "bride."

In his *Short Life of Clement*, Chomatenos gives an account of *European Mysians,*[42] *whom the common man knows as Bulgarians,* descending upon the Danube, conquering Pannonia and Dalmatia, Thrace and Illyricum, and a large part of Macedonia and Thessaly. Clement himself was from the latter region, he notes, and Cyril used "the dialect of the *Bulgarians* from there" in his translation. Methodios, who is the teacher of the Slavs[43] in the earliest account of his life dating from the late 9th century, is therefore in Chomatenos' parlance the "teacher (of piety and Orthodox faith) to the population of the Mysians" (τῷ Μυσῶν ἔθνει).[44] The idiom consisting of *ethnos* with the genitive of an *ancient ethnonym* was commonly applied to designate a provincial territory[45] and through the idealized imperial map its current inhabitants. Thus, by the time of Chomatenos, everything concerning Slavs is called *Bulgarian* in the vernacular without additional explanation, and a lexicon from the 13th century clarifies the entry *Sclavinia* (Σκλαβινία) as *Bulgaria* (ἡ Βουλγαρία).[46]

---

36 Cf. Slovník jazyka staroslověnského IV, 115. The adjective *Bulgarian* in early Slavic texts relates to the ruler and the the land.

37 *Vaillant*, La Préface de l'Évangile, 10.9; 10.23; cf. *Ivanova*, Inventing Slavonic, 221–225.

38 *Prinzing*, Entstehung, 277–286. The text is found in the 13th century manuscript, Codex Scorialensis. gr. X–II–10, fol. 377r.

39 Cf. *Prinzing*, Entstehung, 279, l. 28–29.

40 Cf. examples below 48, 49.

41 Cf. *Mullet*, Theophylact of Ochrid, 238–239. See the chapter *The Sacral Topography of the Archbishopric of Ohrid: Architecture, Art, Patronage, and the Cult of Saints in the 11th–13th Century*, II, 169.

42 *Milev*, Grŭckite žitija – Vita Clementis, 1.1–3. The 14th-century archbishop of Ohrid, Gregory (PLP 91716), who recorded in 1313/1314 his work on the cathedral church of Hagia Sophia with an inscription on the main façade, styles himself as a teacher of the Mysians. On the use of *Mysia* and *Mysians* see *Nikolić – Pavlović*, Bulgarians, Serbs, and the Rus, 750–752; *Papadopoulou*, Oi oroi Mysia kai Myso.

43 See the text of Vita Methodii in *Lavrov*, Materialy, 70; *Grivec – Tomšič*, Constantinus et Methodius, 153.

44 *Milev*, Grŭckite žitija – Vita Clementis, 1.5–2.9.

45 Cf. *Mitthof*, Zur Neustiftung von Identität; *Kaldellis*, Provincial Identities.

46 Zonarae lexicon, 1653.3.

Appropriating Apostles of the Slavs as their predecessors

The archbishops in Ohrid strived to incorporate the cults thriving in their province[47] in the main currents of Byzantine culture. They partcularly made an effort to introduce to the wider imperial audience the life and works of the Saints Methodios (the Arcbishop of Pannonia) and Clement (the Bishop of Velitsa). Both Theophylact and Chomatenos authored hagiographies and canons on Saint Clement in order to promote his celebration in Greek services. Their accounts sought to appropriate the glory of the missionary saints for "their (archbishopric) Bulgaria" and portray themselves as their successors. In Theophylact's *Life of Clement,* the mission of Cyril and Methodios is presented as central for the enlightenment of the "Bulgarians." The text emphasizes that Clement emulated Methodios as it was his time to lead the Slavic mission in the region around Devol, Ohrid, and Glavinitza, on the western outskirts of Bulgarian realm. Theophylact devotes much of his text about Clement to Saint Methodios making Methodios indirectly his own forerunner. That Methodios was viewed as a predecessor of the cathedra in Ohrid becomes explicit in Chomatenos' *Short Life of Clement*. According to the text, the pope of old Rome appointed Methodios as "archbishop of Moravia and Bulgaria," and Methodios afterwards elevated Clement to the episcopal throne and ordained him the "bishop of the whole of Illyricum and of the Bulgarian people who ruled the land" (παντὸς τοῦ Ἰλλυρικοῦ καὶ τοῦ κρατοῦντος τῆς χώρας Βουλγαρικοῦ ἔθνους).[48] The text further notes that Clement spent most of his time in the region of the Illyrian city Lychnidos, now called Ohrid according to the language of the Mysians, and around Kephalonia, renamed Glavinitza in the vernacular of the *Bulgarians*.[49]

Chomatenos recounts how Clement convinced the Bulgarian rulers (whose names he mixed up) to govern according to the traditions established among Christians (πολιτεύεσθαι ... κατὰ τὸ εἰθισμένον Χριστιανοῖς).[50] The accent is on the "Bulgarians" as foreign people, barbarians, because that makes Clement not just into a saint, but into one of the Equals-to-the-Apostles. His toils on evangelization of the *barbarian and cruel people* (βάρβαρον οὕτω καὶ ὠμὸν ἔθνος), due to which they were converted into *holy people* (ἔθνος ἅγιον), make him an exceptional figure comparable in significance to the original apostles. Through Saint Clement the throne in Ohrid therefore becomes a distinctly elevated throne comparable to the thrones of the apostolic sees. This was a view advocated explicitly by Chomatenos by other means as well.[51] He puts the throne in Ohrid, as the third in line of most distinguished thrones, just behind those of Old Rome and Constantinople.[52]

---

47 See the chapter *The Sacral Topography of the Archbishopric of Ohrid: Architecture, Art, Patronage, and the Cult of Saints in the 11th–13th Century*, II, 264–288.

48 *Milev*, Grŭckite žitija – Vita Clementis, 5. Cf. the 12th–century list of "Archbishops of Bulgaria" (below n. 129) and *Pentkovskij*, Počitanie svjatitelja Klimenta, 86.

49 *Milev*, Grŭckite žitija – Vita Clementis, 6.

50 *Milev*, Grŭckite žitija – Vita Clementis, 11. 1–7.

51 Cf. *Prinzing*, A Quasi-Patriarch., 174–175.

52 Chomatinus, Ponemata, 114.198–208. Chomatenos defends his own authority citing the Church order arranged by Justinian with regards to "the throne of Bulgaria which he calls Iustiniana."

Integrating the holy history of the Archbishopric into the Greek mainstream

The 11th century texts, the Greek *Life of Clement* and *Martyrdom of the Fifteen Martyrs of Tiberiopolis* concern the two biggest local cults in the western part of the province. Both are ascribed to Archbishop Theophylact[53] and reflect efforts to gain wider recognition for the holy history of the archbishopric. The archbishops were chosen from among their peers by the emperor as trusted individuals who aligned with Constantinople's interests in pacifying the provinces that had been wrested from Bulgarian rule. However, in addition to this, the Byzantine ecclesiastical authorities had a distinct interest in shaping the autocephalous archbishopric according to their own agenda. The strong cult of ancient martyrs was a way for the archbishops to address the antiquity of their see and impress their peers. The direct equivalence of ancient Tiberiopolis with the episcopal seat of Strumica is found in the 1080 typikon of the Monastery of the Mother of God Eleousa and in the title of the Bishop Manuel, who authored and signed the Rule of the monastery he founded.[54] The *Martyrdom* describes the fate of the early Christians martyred in the region and their subsequent cult, which outlived all false authorities. It reads as a history of Christian triumph against all odds, that is, despite the renegades led by Julian the Apostate in the 4th century and later newcomers to the region. Local Christians, from apostolic times and onwards, were content to suffer under distress, persecutions, godless rulers, brute invaders, and barbaric customs for Christ's sake. As a result, those who came in contact with them, either perished due to their evil ways or were transformed and remade in the image of God.[55] In a history spanning many volatile centuries, the Christian rebirth of the savage Bulgarians who gave the region its current name is extensively covered. It is portrayed as a glorious episode, a testament to the invincibility of the Church.

These hagiographical works stemming from Ohrid relied on preexisting sources.[56] Regardless of how their authors used the historical accounts, it is clear that the bishops had a strong interest in the history of the region. Six extant manuscripts of the Chronicle of John Skylitzes stem from the area of Ohrid.[57] More than 300 comments written in the margins of the Ohrid manuscript of Skylitzes, dated to the beginning of the 12th century, are said to reveal the annotator's interest in the earlier history of these lands and his personal involvement with prominent actors in the events described in the Chronicle. It has been argued that Theophylact himself is the author of these comments.[58] The corrections and additions to the Chronicle of Skylitzes by Bishop of Devol, Michael[59] might be

53 See *Lourié*, The New Critical Edition, for remaining doubts.

54 Acta Monasterii Theotoci Eleusae, 93.25–26: Μανουὴλ ὁ ἐλάχιστος μοναχὸς καὶ ἐπίσκοπος Τιβεριουπόλεως ἤτοι Στρουμπίτζης. Cf. below 57. For the discussion on the origins of the cult of the fifteen Tiberiopolitan martyrs, see *Cheshmedjiev*, Notes on the Cult.

55 Theophylaktos, Martyrio.

56 Cf. *Kiapidou*, Critical Remarks; *Idem*, Theophylact; *Trapp*, Die sieben Slavenapostel. Cf. *Pentkovskij*, Počitanie svjatitelja Klimenta. For the early Lives of Slavic hermits see *Špadijer*, Južnoslovenski pustinjaci.

57 *Schreiner*, The Manuscript, 420.

58 *Schreiner*, Ohridskaja rukopis'; *Idem*, The Manuscript.

59 For contents see *Prokić*, Zusätze; *Ferluga*, John Skylitzes and Michael of Devol; *Schreiner*, Die Chronik des Michael, 250–252.

regarded as a separate work written in 1118 as a chronicle with local focus based on the revised text of Skylitzes.[60] The Bishop of Devol wrote from a Byzantine perspective, but he was familiar with Slavonic and had a good understanding of the social and geographical complexity of the region.[61] It is believed that he gained insight into the circumstances of the demise of the Kometopouloi from local chronicles.[62]

Recruiting acclaimed scholars and monks

Besides their efforts to portray the history of their see in an elevated manner, the archbishops made efforts to raise its reputation by ordaining only eminent men. Sometimes that meant going against pressure exerted on them by influential officials trying to impose on them candidates of low standing. A letter of Theophylact informs us that he was highly selective when choosing his suffragans. [63] Moreover, he was eager to ensure that all his clerics were men of virtues, not least of which were their outstanding vocal abilities. Remarkable singing could significantly impact the experience of the grandness of the liturgy as a reality that transcends earthly life. He found his lead psalm cantor for the cathedral in Ohrid in a Constantinopolitan monastery and he was eager to secure this singer for his church.[64] Maintaining the majesty (εὐπρέπεια) of the House of God was a matter of episcopal responsibility.[65] The singing during services and the candle lighting were symbolic of a thriving, living Church.[66] The churches in the archbishopric reflect the impressive efforts put into building, rebuilding, and renovating the temples in the archbishopric.[67] The responsibility of preaching was taken seriously. Theophylact insisted that the sermons be grounded in devout contemplation of the Holy Bible and the Fathers. To this effect he provided exegetical guidance to one of his bishops[68] and wrote exegetical commentaries.[69] The

60 *Schreiner*, Die Chronik des Michael.

61 E.g., *Prokić*, Die Zusätze, n. 34. Cf. *Dudek*, Bishop Michael of Devol.

62 *Schreiner*, Die Chronik des Michael von Devol, 251.

63 Theophylactus, Epistulae, 18, cf. below 58–59. In the first half of the 12th century the suffragan in Velbăžd was a brother of the Archbishop of Ohrid, see below n. 223.

64 The monk Gregory, a eunuch and a deacon, is described as outstanding in every respect, but he failed to obtain an orderly discharge from his superiors, see Theophylactus, Epistulae, 66 (to chartophylax of Patriarch Nicholas III Grammatikos).

65 Cf. Theophylactus, Epistulae, 15.29–31.

66 Cf. the description of the abandoned church in Devol, Theophylactus, Epistulae, 22.9–10. For circumstances, see below 60.

67 See the chapter *The Sacral Topography of the Archbishopric of Ohrid: Architecture, Art, Patronage, and the Cult of Saints in the 11th–13th Century*, II.

68 Theophylactus, Epistulae, 36 (to the bishop of Pelagonia). Theophylact also demanded that the bishops overseeing unorthodox Armenians be vigilant about remnants of unorthodox beliefs and practices and offered help in this regard, Theophylactus, Epistulae, 15.

69 His New Testament commentary (see PG 123–126) is primarily based on Saint Chrysostom. It was translated into Slavic in 1348 in Tarnovo and his other works were also popular in Slavonic translations, see *Podskalsky*, Theologische Literatur, 230; *Podskalsky*, Two Archbishops, 144, and cited literature. It seems that the later Slavic reception of his commentaries and the scribal misinterpretation of his title according to which he was perceived as a Bulgarian contributed to his renown and inclusion among saints, *Snegarov*, Les sources, 112. By the time of Patriarch Gennadios Scholarios (1454–1456), with whom Serbian despot Djuradj Branković (1427–1456) inquires about the Orthodoxy of Theophylact's Gospel interpretations, he was still not regarded as a saint.

incoming clergymen schooled in Constantinople were tasked with teaching in the archbishopric.[70] The archbishop's immediate staff had to be highly competent people. Books were copied and produced in Ohrid. For his suffragan seats, Theophylact considered only candidates that had earned acclaim either as monks, or as scholars and teachers in Constantinople or through their service in the archbishopric of Bulgaria. The frontier bishoprics, subject to repeated incursions, were the hardest to "marry off," because they needed a "husband" both deeply pious and pragmatic.[71]

III. The Slavic bride

The epistles of learned Greek bishops from the provinces leave little doubt that provincial Greek invited disdain from the newcomer educated in Constantinople. It is therefore hardly surprising that the sounds of Slavonic didn't appeal to them either. The irritating experience was mutual, it seems. To the ears of Slavs, the sound of Greek resembled the noise of a copper bell.[72] The issue in this case goes beyond the aural perception of a language and concerns comprehension. The moment of having the church services performed in Slavonic is described in the *Life of Constantine* through the prophet Isaiah's words on the presence of the Savior:[73] "the ears of the deaf were unstopped, the Words of the Scriptures were heard, and the tongues of stammerers spoke clearly." An educated Roman could extract information from any kind of spoken Greek, regardless of the "barbaric features" of an idiom or its unpleasantness to his ears. On the other hand, Slavonic was barbaric to them in the original sense, that is foreign and unintelligible. Language was an element of identity.[74] The word for language (γλῶσσα) in Slavonic (ѩзъıкъ) could also be used to render Greek ἔθνος or γένος.[75] Thus the *Rhomaioi* in Slavic sources are mainly referred to as Greeks.[76] Since the Church is regarded as the crucial component of the acculturation process, the assumption of some scholars is that imperial consolidation necessarily involved a re-Hellenization of the church, so as to eventually Hellenize the congregation. The first step was to staff the church hierarchy with *Rhomaioi*. They were supposed to do the rest.

Scholarios describes him as wise and Orthodox (and his exegesis as derivative), Epistulae diversae II. 3.1–4. An Athonite codex from the 16th c. (Lambros, Catalogue I, 400, No.13) containing hagiographical excerpts attributed to Theophylact refers to him as among the saints (ἐν ἁγίοις). This description likely evolved from the customary address for bishops ἁγιώτατος ("the most holy") found in an older manuscript of the Long Life of Clement, dated to the 14th c. and discovered in the Church of St. Clement in Ohrid. In an 18th-century text written by Paisios of Hilandar Istoriya slavyanobulgarska, Theophylact is a saint and patriarch of Tarnovo, see *Snegarov*, Les sources, 112–114.

70 The practice was customary. Cf. the letter in which Theophylact may be addressing his local pupils, Theophylactus, Epistulae, 103. The mentioned Bardanes was an esteemed teacher, cf. n. 113 below.

71 Theophylactus, Epistulae, 18. 32–34. Cf. *Gautier*, Théophylacte, 67–68; see below 58–59.

72 *Vaillant*, La Préface de l'Évangile 11.48–49. Annunciation to the Gospel, Slavic text attributed to a certain Constantine, dated by most scholars to the 10th century, often associated with Constantine of Preslav.

73 Septuaginta, Isaiah 35:5; 32:4.

74 *Koder*, Sprache als Identitätsmerkmal.

75 Slovník jazyka staroslověnského IV, 1020.

76 *Nikolov*, Empire of the Romans, 32 with literature (n 2).

Various assessments have been put forward[77] both for and against the proposition that large-scale Hellenization in the province was posited as the goal of Constantinople. It is hard to imagine how such an attempt could even have been conceived. The region had been home to Slavonic-speaking clergymen and influential centers of Slavic literacy and education for well over a century.[78] The tradition established by Saint Clement of Ohrid and his predecessors in Slavic lands was cherished. Constantine and Methodios and their students were commemorated as saints and their legacy as the revered teachers of the Slavs was preserved through liturgical hymns and written accounts of their lives composed in Slavonic. However, it is important to keep in mind that Greek was still used among Slavonic speakers in the Balkans throughout the 9th and 10th centuries. Some type of Greek-language education must have existed in at least some monasteries.[79] The surviving inscriptions in Slavonic, which began to appear more frequently during the 10th century, are mainly private in character.[80] In contrast, inscriptions of official character were Greek throughout the 9th and 10th centuries, as was the case with the seals of Bulgarian rulers. All their surviving seals are in Greek.[81] In addition to its use in the palace chancellery, Popkonstantinov points out that Greek was also used in ecclesiastical administration, liturgical practice, monastic schools and scriptoria, as well as in everyday religious life.[82] The introduction of the Slavonic liturgy did not mean the banishment of the Greek language from the Church or the liturgy altogether. Aside from the walls of their Churches, the Slavic inhabitants would have encountered Greek in their personal possessions, such as cross-shaped pendants, encolpia, small icons and other items of personal piety.[83]

Therefore, the stance towards the presence of Greek was rather receptive even in the period of Bulgarian rule.[84] Likewise, the Byzantine authorities were also not rigid towards non-Greek languages in contained spheres.[85] The 11th-century Byzantine high dignitary and military commander Gregory Pakourianos founded a monastery on his Bačkovo estate in which the language of the monks and the services was his native

77 Mošin suspected that most of the Slavic manuscripts were destroyed under the pretence of containing heresy, *Mošin*, Iluminacija, 215, cf. e.g., *Litavrin*, Bolgarija i Vizantija, 25 sqq; 367 sqq; *Avenarius*, Die byzantinische Kultur und die Slawen, 174. In opposition to that view, *Dostâl*, Les relations entre Byzance et les slaves, argues that the Slavic scriptorium in Ohrid was still quite productive in the Byzantine period. Cf. *Trifunović*, Ka počecima, 128–135, 138–141, 279, *Pentkovskij*, Počitanie svjatitelja Klimenta, 84.

78 See the chapter *Indirect Byzantinization: Bulgaria as a Case Study*, I, 44–50. Cf. *Pentkovskiy*, Slavjanskoe bogosluženie v arhiepiskopii.

79 Cf. *Popokonstantinov*, Greek Inscriptions, 196.

80 Cf. Samuel's Cyrillic epitaph for his deceased parents and brother from 993, *Popkonstantinov – Kronsteiner*, Altbulgarische Inschriften, 37.

81 *Popkonstantinov*, Greek Inscriptions, 196–197; cf. *Ivanova*, Inventing Slavonic, 231, on this matter as shaping the cultural context that gave rise to the text *On the Letters*; cf. O pismeneh.

82 *Popkonstantinov*, Greek Inscriptions, 198.

83 *Špehar*, Centralni Balkan, 193, 194, 196. For the liturgical items and crosses of clerics see 121, 188, 191; *Špehar*, Lična pobožnost, 52–54, 60, 62–64, 66–68, 74, 77–78, 87,169, 171.

84 Cf. the discussion in *Ivanova*, Inventing Slavonic, concerning bilingual monastic centers, in which monks were literate in both Slavonic and Greek. She points to evidence suggesting that certain monastic communities were overly enamored with Greek culture, as perceived by critics of the time. See below n. 107.

85 Cf. *Dagron*, Pluralisme linguistique.

Georgian.[86] The official monastic Rule written in Greek (ῥωμαϊκόν)[87] (and signed by him in Armenian) demands that no Greek should ever be allowed to serve as a priest or a monk in the monastery. The Empire was home to many ethnicities whose native tongue was not Greek, but who were incentivized by the prospect of advancement to adopt Greek and the social norms of *Rhomaioi*. In case of some smaller communities, the incentives provided for assimilation were enough to make them disappear as a group with a distinct identity in the course of a few generations. Often the only trace of their former identity survived in the name of the organizational unit which had been initially formed for the sake of particular concessions granted to them.[88] Other *ethnikoi* seem never to have blended in. Despite living in the Empire and among the *Rhomaioi*, they retained a separate identity and are perceived as such.[89] Likewise, the language was the dominant identity marker in the perception of Slavonic-speaking people as well. As pointed out, while the Byzantines thought of themselves as Romans, Slavic writers addressed them predominantly as Greeks.[90]

Besides being home to a large Slavonic-speaking population, the archbishopric was organized on the ruins of the Bulgarian Empire, which had an officially recognized autocephalous Church where Slavonic was the liturgical language. It has been noted that in organizing the province of Bulgaria, Basil probably took into account the approach of John Tzimiskes in administering the reconquered territories in the East.[91] The Byzantinization of the Patriarchate of Antioch (970–1084) centered on organizational, liturgical, and canonical uniformity. As in the case of the archbishops of Ohrid, the patriarchs of Antioch were appointed by the emperor and chosen from the ranks of the Constantinopolitan clergy.[92] The efforts to administer the city and essentially subvert the autonomy of the autocephalous Church by not allowing the local bishops to choose their hierarch did not extend to forcing the Greek language on Antioch. In the cathedral church, the service was conducted in Greek and in Syriac. The unity was not one of language but of content and rite. The emphasis was on translations of the Greek patristic, theological, canonical, and liturgical texts into Syriac and Arabic, which became pervasive among the Melkites during the centuries of Arab rule.[93] The translators were clergy, monks or Byzantine dignitaries, who knew Greek but whose native tongue was Arabic.

The case of the ecclesiastical province of Bulgaria posed a more demanding challenge since the autocephaly of the Church under Bulgarian rule was directly attached to the imperial ambitions of the Bulgarian rulers. It is likely that Constantinople would be wary of its Slavonic-speaking high clergy and their allegiances. But it hardly seems

86 Le typikon du sébaste Grégoire Pakourianos, 21.12–13.

87 Accompanied by Georgian and Armenian translations (ἰβηρικόν τε καὶ ἀρμενικόν) for the benefit of the monks who didn't know Greek.

88 See the chapter *Byzantine Policy toward "Barbarians" in the Southern Balkans from the 7th to the 10th Century and the Beginning of the Reconquista*, I.

89 Cf. *Kaldellis*, Romanland, 52–68, 128, 211–225, 258, 267.

90 Cf. *Nikolov*, Empire of the Romans.

91 *Todt*, Patriarchat von Antiocheia, 258; *Prinzing*, Byzantine ecclesiastical province, 359, 361.

92 *Todt*, Patriarchat von Antiocheia, 260.

93 *Todt*, Patriarchat von Antiocheia, 262.

necessary to suppose a Byzantine plan to eradicate Slavonic. Furthermore, the Greek *Long Life of Clement* from the 11th century authored by Theophylact, is an important testimony to the stance of Byzantine archbishops in Ohrid towards their "Slavic bride." The text celebrates the achievement of Cyril, Methodios and Clement as preachers of God's Word in Slavic. It champions the importance of Slavic literacy as a crucial development in making the Slavic people into a people of God. It complements the arduous task of translating the Lives of the holy fathers. The espoused views are not consistent with the enforcement of Greek on Slavonic speakers or the insistence that services be in the Greek language. Still, Slavonic has its limits according to Theophylact. The homilies Clement composed in Slavonic were neither deep nor very contemplative (μηδὲν βαθὺ μηδὲ περινενοημένον), but they were successful because even the simpletons in his flock could grasp the meaning of the sacraments and the feasts.[94] The analogy used is the popular one of Saint Paul where those immature in faith are like newborns who are not ready for solid food, and need milk. Given that the text suggests that Theophylact and his like-minded successors would be supportive of preaching and services in Slavonic, it appears unwarranted to posit that they would have a problem with local priests and lower clergy using only Slavonic, let alone with laymen that did so. One might, however, assume that they would expect their bishops, and possibly the clergy in their immediate sphere, to get around to solid food, that is, to Greek literacy as a prerequisite for authoritative espousal of the theology, canons, and dogmatic decrees of the Church. The text seems to imply that reading and voicing Greek was not a problem for many church readers, deacons, and priests whose native language was Slavonic, but few were able to understand complex Greek texts. Theophylact's letters suggest he was working on educating the local clergy and probably looking to prepare them for "solid food." The Byzantine view on the crudity of the Slavonic language remained unchanged for centuries. Chomatenos notes to the Serbian king Stefan Radoslav that Slavonic[95] is unable to convey the meaning of even the basic (philosophical and theological) notions pertaining to the understanding of God: οὐσία, φύσις, μονάς, ὑπόστασις, πρόσωπον, etc.[96] The perceived limitations of Slavonic in allowing for the depth and nuances of dogmatic issues came from the fact that the language had not been sophisticated through disciplinary knowledge, that is, its speakers did not engage in the rigorous training of systematic inquiry and logical reasoning in search of wisdom.[97] The unrefined language does not imply that Slavic preachers are not Orthodox or knowledgeable. On the contrary, they are often an object of high praise.[98] However, the stance on the weakness of Slavic purports that Slavic discourse should adhere to Greek theology

94 *Iliev*, Long Life – Bios kai politeia, 66.

95 The archbishop of of the Byzantine ecclesiastical province of *Bulgaria* calls the Slavonic language *Bulgarian* and the Greek language *Roman* (Ῥωμαϊκή).

96 *Granić*, Odgovori, 176.

97 Cf. *Granić*, Odgovori, 156.

98 Cf. Chomatenos on Stefan Radoslav and his pious and devout ancestors, *Granić*, Odgovori, 154; on Serbian clergy, see Ponemata, 114.232–237; on trust in the orthodoxy of Bulgarian clergy despite the union with the pope which did not include any changes to their beliefs and practices, see below 70; cf. Bardanes on clergy in Greben in the letter cited above 38, n. 8.

and look to Greek-educated theologians whenever it questions a course or an action. As far as we can tell from the sources, the posts of suffragan bishops in the Byzantine archbishopric *Bulgaria* were largely occupied by Greek-educated bishops.[99] The majority of *Rhomaioi* bishops (to ensure the positive reception of the archbishop sent from Constantinople and a trouble-free Synod)[100] and the presence of Greek (services) in the major churches,[101] to which a Greek administration was attached, would be enough to ensure effective oversight of the ecclesiastical province.

The described appreciation of Slavic literacy as "infant-food" is a recognition of its instrumental value and not an equivalent to cultural appreciation. An interesting palimpsest codex (Vat. gr. 2502) contains a plain Greek lectionary written in the 12th or 13th century over the mostly effaced 10th or 11th century Slavonic text of Gospel readings which was richly illuminated.[102] The well-known disregard with which the imperial elite approached other contemporary cultures was a value judgment with ancient roots. Foreign languages were generally perceived as infinitely less sophisticated and thus restricting for expression and thought process. The flawed understanding and incorrect promulgation of faith was often associated with the nature of Latin or Armenian.[103] An underdeveloped language was perceived to reflect the inferior approach to knowledge taken by its speakers. For much the same reasons, the imperial elite felt obliged to show disdain for vernacular Greek. Up until the 13th century, the opinion that nothing created in other languages could measure up to the Greek cultural canon was firmly entrenched. The story about Cyril visiting the Arab court, before his mission among the Slavs, has him succinctly putting this belief into words: "All arts come from us."[104] The perspective of the learned *Rhomaioi*, which is dominant in our sources and, undoubtedly, was prevalent in the imperial culture of its day, was not undisputed[105] in cultures under its pervasive influence. In the Balkans, already around 900, one of the earliest preserved Slavic texts, *On Letters*, argues for the preeminence of the Slavonic alphabet over Greek. The author of this treatise was a monk, cited as the Chernorizets Hrabar (Чрьнори́зьць Хра́бръ) in some manuscripts. He points out that the Greek language was initially written in Phoenician letters, and eventually, over many years, various

99 *Angold*, Church and Society, 171. Cf. below 45–46, 58–60, 65 n. 223, 70–71.

100 Over time, all the appointed bishops were likely Greek-speaking. Chomatinus notes that the Bulgarians who occupied Ohrid and other parts of the archbishopric to the east of the Vardar in the early 13th century appointed bishops who spoke their language, see below 68.

101 Greek was still sung in Sirmium under Hungarian control by the people and clergy who assembled to greet Emperor Manuel on a campaign against the Hungarians in 1164 with an Orthodox chant, see Cinnamus, 2211–8, cf. VIINJ. IV, 69 n. 171, 172 (*Kalić*); *Makk*, The Árpáds, 161–162 n.181.

102 Mussakova, Der kyrillische Palimpsest; *Džurova*, Ukrasata.

103 Cf. *Dagron*, Pluralisme linguistique, 228–229.

104 *Ševčenko*, Byzantium and the Slavs,

105 E.g., the Armenian monk Matthew from Edessa wrote about the superiority of Armenian clerical scholars, vardapets, over "Greek philosophers," the highly educated clergy surrounding the Emperor in Constantinople. According to his Chronicle, the Armenian sages, including both Armenian churchmen and royalty, prevail over Byzantine court intellectuals not solely due to their superior knowledge of theology and astronomy but also due to their oratory skills. Cf. *Andrews*, Mattʿēos Uṙhayecʿi, 28–29, 32–33, 74–100.

Greeks put together and revised the alphabet.[106] Slavic letters are a creation of one saintly man (Constantine the Philosopher, also called Cyril). Their creation by a holy man is the reason why the author considers Slavic letters superior and consecrated, as opposed to the Greek letters, which were created by Greek pagans.[107] Leaning on Greek literature, the author sketches the history of languages in order to challenge the view that there is a sort of innate superior quality of Greek over Slavonic language. Greek was not the original language of all humanity, prior to the tower of Babel, and the introduction of the Greeks to the holy books also proceeded through translation. The independent-minded writer was well versed in the imperial curriculum, but chose to advocate his own agenda without embracing the superiority of Hellenic learning (or even paying reverence to it).[108] A later adaptation of the same text might be from the time of Byzantine rule.[109] The pastiche appears to be aimed at encouraging Slavonic speakers to adhere to the Slavic liturgy in a setting where Greek services were also present.

When the mentioned Pakourianos, *megas domestikos* of the West, demanded that a Greek could only serve as a notary in the monastery, and that no Greek may be appointed a priest or a monk in his monastery, it was out of fear that the Greeks would find some devious way to gain control over the monastery or cause harm as, he noted, was often the case. In this context, the 24th chapter of his typikon describes the *Rhomaioi* as "violent, devious, or grasping," but recognizes them as "teachers in faith" and professes obedience to "their doctrines."[110] Similarly, Chomatenos and other Byzantine bishops speak of the appalling behavior of the *Bulgarobishops* appointed by the Tarnovo authorities, but harbor no doubt that they were Orthodox since they adhered to theology and hagiography translated from Greek.[111] The institutional aspects of the Church, that is jurisdiction, rules governing its organization, and the various worldly interests of the clergy, were distinct from the purpose for which the church organization was established. This purpose was outlined through Revelation, and approached through the liturgy, the Holy Bible, and Patristic Tradition. Unity on the front of purpose did not rule out disagreements or even open enmity on the organizational front.

106 O pismeneh', 1. –25.

107 Cf. *Dostál*, Les origines de l'apologie slave. The motivation behind the text has been interpreted in various ways. Among other views, the author has been regarded as a representative of the Ohrid literary circles which at that point had an issue with the intellectuals of Preslav, who were more prone to follow closely the Greek models. The tension in this interpretation primarily concerns the two Slavonic alphabets now known as Glagolitic and Cyrillic, the latter being closely modeled on the Greek script, *Schenker*, The Dawn of Slavic, 173–174, 177–178, 227. More recently, *Ivanova*, Inventing Slavonic, 225–235, argued that the audience of the text was bilingual. In such a monastic environment, the use of the Slavonic alphabet might have been regarded as redundant. The monks were literate in both Greek and Slavonic, and their Greek education essentially fostered uncritical Graecophilia. According to Ivanova, the text aimed to dispel this infatuation.

108 O pismeneh', 12.9–11.

109 Found as part of a Miscellany, Berlin State Library, Ms. Slav. Wuk 48, see *Miklas – Taseva – Jovčeva*, Berlinski Sbornik, 11, 218–226. Cf. *Dragova*, Vtorata apologija; *Avenarius*, Die byzantinische Kultur und die Slawen, 176; *Jagić*, Opisi i izvodi, 46, who sees in the selection of texts the interests of the Bulgarian priests of 11th, 12th and 13th c.; *Stipčević*, Marčanska varijanta; *Podskalsky*, Theologische Literatur, 241.

110 Cf. above n. 87.

111 Cf. below n. 70–71.

Thus, on the whole, the issue of language seems less important than compliance throughout the province in terms of exposition of the faith and adherence to the regulations governing ecclesiastical and civic life according to the Byzantine canons and laws. In such a framework, the *mores* shaped by the influence of episcopal authority were likely to induce loyalty to Byzantine norms without provoking rebellion, as opposed to the cases where Hellenization was not a corollary but the primary objective of the same efforts. The Christian way of life, which was understood to be the supreme way of life, was posited as the reason why one should want to adhere to these norms. It was not the emperor or the Greek-speaking bishop who required that anyone should change their ways. The Byzantine hierarchy was responsible for protecting and administering the norms, but the norms themselves were predicated by the Church understood as the whole body of the faithful united in Christ. The cultural or ethnic background of the faithful was irrelevant in this sense. It was understood that the norms were defined primarily for the sake of living a life worthy of eternal salvation for those who sought it of their own free will. Therefore, translation of the norms into any language was beyond reproach as long as it remained true to the original, formulated in Greek. On the other hand, locals involved in the civil and church administration of the territory of the archbishopric, or those interacting with it, must have had at least a basic knowledge of Greek, just as the same administration could not get by without locals.[112] It is likely that they served as translators and intermediaries between the Greek-speaking hierarchy and the rural Slavonic-speaking communities, which could get by without Greek. The cited letter of Bardanes, for instance, informs us that the see of Greben in the early 13th century was still home to such a community. The duties assigned to him as a deacon at the time are unclear. It might be that he was tasked to help educate clerics in Greek and Scripture.[113] Despite the blurry image of the sources, it seems safe to conclude that Byzantine bishops and the clergy they recruited were directly steering the cultural currents they oversaw. They were nonetheless themselves as long-term residents directly influenced by the local Slavic culture.[114] Both the Greek and Slavic cultural currents were at that time streams of a single Christian culture, in which the ideal attitudes and values were defined in the same way. The lives of local saints that the populace celebrated in Slavic were introduced to the Greek speaking public of the Empire.[115] Slavic saints' Lives were inspired by or based on Greek hagiography. The integration of Slavic culture into Byzantine culture aligned with incorporating the archbishopric's residents into the civic body of the Empire.

112 An interesting note is preserved in the 12th-century typikon of St. Sabas near Jerusalem, where it is stated that both *Rhomaioi* and Syrians are welcomed but Syrians should occupy the posts of steward and treasurer, because they were "more efficient and practical in their native country." The same pragmatic logic drives the sole exceptions of a *Rhomaios* as a notary in the monastery of Pakourianos in Bačkovo, established as *Rhomaioi*-free zone, see Byzantine Monastic Foundation Documents, xxii, 1317.

113 Cf. *Angold*, Church and Society, 209. His contemporaries praised him as a teacher. It has been speculated that a theology school in Vondica was the main motive for Apokaukos to reach out to Bardanes to supervise its work, *Galoni*, Bardanes, 119. See above n. 9.

114 Cf. *Avenarius*, Die byzantinische Kultur und die Slawen, 176, who speaks about the acculturation process that took place in two directions.

115 See above 44.

As for the contemporary activity of Slavic men of letters, it is not obvious that the Greek prelates went beyond neglecting it (and directly suppressed the development of Slavic literature). The lack of episcopal and royal sponsorship would have been enough to minimize it in the era of Byzantine rule. It is however beyond doubt that the composition of texts in Slavonic continued[116] and influenced literary activity in areas governed by Serbian rulers.[117] During the second half of the 11th century, a number of apocalyptic apocrypha emerged with a peculiar profile.[118] Their core narrative is based on Greek sources, but they contain additional material which introduces contemporary events and persons as part of a historical chain leading to the End Times. The so-called historical apocalypses were popular among Byzantines, too. But these Slavic versions reference Bulgarian rulers and, apparently, the leader of the 1040/1041 upraising, Peter Delyan, as Gagen (Khagan) Odolyan, as well as his military maneuvers in the region of Skopje, Grahovo Polje, Zemen, Pernik, Serdica, Ovče Pole, Vitosha Mountain. The Slavic literary circles which were behind this corpus of texts were probably themselves attached to some of the monasteries in this pre-apocalyptic topography. Ascribing a single outlook to all communities literate in Slavonic would be unfounded. The particular outlook demonstrated in this corpus however points to an interesting interplay between the local rebellious culture and the Byzantine culture. It attributes significance to local historical turns and twists inside a larger eschatological framework where the Antichrist is to establish his rule after the last Byzantine emperor, the Last King. The subjects are aware that they have overlords whose strongholds can be undermined, but they do not envision the downfall of the Empire nor its vital social structures before the End Times. Their own views and conduct are modeled according to those (imperial) structures, wherefore the imperial culture fuels the cultural aspirations of the subjects rebelling against the Empire.

IV. Between loyalty and rebellion

Through its prominent role in public life, the Church shaped the cultural traditions, values, and practices of the society. The faithful aspired to conduct themselves in accordance with the teachings of Christ and they sought the guidance of the churchmen in their parish for decisions about their family and private life. A priest would advise them on how to overcome sinful inclinations and prepare for the Eucharist.[119] They gathered in their church, "the earthly heaven," to attend holy services and participate in the holy liturgy according to the church calendar. The cycle of Orthodox worship marked the passage of time in their daily lives. Their priest was there to

116 See above n. 77

117 *Savić*, Srpska književna reč, 173, 176–179, 197–199, 236–239, 242–244.

118 *Miltenova*, Historical Apocalypses, 712–714; *Miltenova – Kajmakamova*, The Uprising; *Tăpkova-Zaimova – Miltenova*, Historical-Apocalyptic Literature, 141–300. According to one version of the Slavonic text of the Vision of the Prophet Daniel, the Antichrist will originate from Strumica, see *Tăpkova-Zaimova – Miltenova*, Historical-Apocalyptic Literature, 160.56, with commentary on p. 172.

119 See the chapter *Conversations on Sin in the Slavic Language*, II.

baptize their infants, wed their kin, anoint their sick, and pray for their deceased.[120] In the newly conquered or unruly provinces the Byzantine emperors thus looked to the Church to mitigate any adversarial response of the locals and represent the Empire as a universal unifying force.[121]

The bishops, who were appointed to lifelong service, had the potential to gain an authority in the local community far greater than that of imperial governors and other officials of the provincial administration in the area, who came and went. They were able to provide a reliable account of the situation in their province. It was expected of them to cooperate with the incoming servants of the imperial apparatus. On the other side, they had a profound obligation to take care of the people who were entrusted to them. As a result, their pastoral duties were often at odds with the agenda of the provincial officials, whose main activities were geared towards maximizing tax revenues, drafting recruits, and supplying and equipping the army. The main activities of ecclesiastical dignitaries involved administering sacred mysteries and commemorating holy events and saints through communal celebrations. These tasks pertained to the public realm, but not to worldly matters. However, over time, the Church became increasingly responsible for a wide range of social contracts and for adjudicating secular disputes.[122] The ecclesiastical courts fundamentally affected the quality of everyday life in the region by protecting the rights of all. The perception of godly laws that the synodal court in Ohrid enforced and its sound decisions inspired loyalty in the inhabitants.[123] As a landowner, the Archbishopric also leased its property together with the benefits of state tax exemption attached to church land. In this way the Church was able to foster a clientele among the locals, beholden to the Emperor who was the guarantor of these privileges. However, the cases of *paroikoi* seeking support in Constantinople for their own cause and against their bishop demonstrate that their allegiances were to the Emperor, and not to the Church, which was at times perceived as a burdensome intermediary. A bishop's access to influential people in Constantinople mattered greatly not just when a resourceful member of his flock complained against him. Oftentimes, the shepherds had to exercise their authority against the power of provincial officials. It was not uncommon for officials to show disrespect towards the bishops and the interests of the Church.[124] In most recorded cases the grievances concern the unchecked fiscal pressures put on local communities, the disregard for the church's fiscal privileges, or individual fates.

120 On the opinion of Byzantine bishops in the archbishopric about the importance of parish life for the very existence of a Christian polity, see the chapter *A Glimpse of Daily Life in the Archbishopric of Ohrid*, II, 312–314.

121 Cf. *Ahrweiler*, Byzantine Concepts of the Foreigner, 6, with comments on the differing viewpoints of the state and the Church, particularly in the example of Patriarch Nicholas Mystikos, who writes to Simeon advocating for peace between the Bulgarians and the Romans. The patriarch professes to care equally for the salvation of Bulgarians and Romans, Nicholaus I Epistolae, 19.37–39. However, the Roman domain is, according to him, a matter of God's will.

122 See the chapter *Between Custom and Law: Marriage in the Territory of the Archbishopric of Ohrid*, II.

123 See the chapter *A Glimpse of Daily Life in the Archbishopric of Ohrid*, II.

124 The bulk of Theophylact's administrative letters are addressed to officials in Byzantine Bulgaria or prominent individuals who have the power to influence local officials or even remove them from their posts. He complains about evil and conniving *praktores*, a *katepano*, a *kastroktistes*. Although he was displeased with the *doux* of Skopje John Taronites, ep. 49, the relation remained respectful. On tension with the *doux* of Dyrrachion, ep. 42, see *Angold*, Church and Society, 161. Cf. *Mullett*, Patronage, 132–133.

Little is known about the challenges the first archbishop[125] John (1018–c.1037) faced in the aftermath of the long-standing war, except that he had to assert his authority over the suffragan seats in his province[126] and resist the pressure of imperial administrators who tried to impose exactions on the Church and her estates.[127] He is thought to have been the head of the church under Samuel.[128] In any case, he had to be a figure well-known to the local population across all strata with a significant past record that commanded respect. According to the mid-12–century List of Archbishops of Bulgaria,[129] John was a *hegoumenos* of the Monastery of the Mother of God in Debar, having come from a village in the same area. It appears that he organized a revision of the Slavic liturgical books to bring them in line with current Byzantine liturgical practices.[130] His successor, archbishop Leo, was first in the long line of *Rhomaioi* that would shepherd the province from 1037.[131] Appointed by Emperor Michael IV, as his confidant and a fellow Paphlagonian, he came to the province from Constantinople, where he excelled in both general and theological studies, and served for a time as chartophylax of the Great Church before retiring due to some controversy.[132] How was he received by the local council of bishops, who presumably ordained him,[133] evades us. At the beginning of the next century, Michael the Bishop of Devol[134] (a suffragan see of Ohrid), who notes the problematic circumstances of Leo's service as chartophylax, describes him as a virtuous archbishop. However, three years into his stewardship, a rebellion broke out in the northern parts of the archbishopric and it took about a year for the Byzantine army to regain control throughout the province.[135] Some sources cite the changes in fiscal policies and the insensitive approaches of the local administration as reasons which provoked the locals to fight on the side of the proclaimed descendants of Samuel and the Bulgarian royals. One account views the turmoil as a result of the lingering aspirations of certain Bulgarian men of influence who looked for an opportunity to cast off the yoke of Byzantine/Roman rule.[136] The dissent in the

125 For the overview of the archbishops and dating see *Prinzing*, Byzantine ecclesiastical province. Cf. *Gelzer*, Patriarchat von Achrida, 4–19; *Snegarov*, Istorija na Ohridskata arhiepiskopija I, 195–211; *Delikarē*, Archiepiskopē Achridōn, passim. On the information contained in the Boril Synodic see the chapter *The Archbishopric of Ohrid from the 11th to the 13th century – Territorial and Ideological Framework*, II, 21–22

126 Some of the suffragan sees were coveted by the neighbouring metropolitans (Dyrrachion, Larissa, Naupaktos Thessalonike) who presumably were not keen on shaping the ecclesiastical order as a peace pledge to the subdued Bulgarian overlords, but wished to restore their jurisdiction in the territories that belonged to them before the Bulgarian conquests, see *Prinzing*, Byzantine ecclesiastical province, 364; the chapter *The Archbishopric of Ohrid from the 11th to the 13th century – Territorial and Ideological Framework*, II.

127 *Oikonomides*, Tax Exemptions, 320.

128 See *Pirivatrić*, Samuilova država, 158 and n. 70; *Pirivatrić*, Between the East and the West, 505–508. For doubts about this identification see PMBZ, "Ioannes".

129 The list of archbishops of Bulgaria is found in Cod. Par. gr. 880, fol. 440v; ed. *Gelzer*, Patriarchat von Achrida, 6.

130 See *Pentkovskij*, Materialy.

131 *Büttner*, Erzbischof Leon, 27–28.

132 Scylitzes 400.34–36.

133 Nilus Doxapatrius, 21.24–33.

134 Cf. *Ferluga*, John Skylitzes and Michael of Devol, 337–344; *Iliev*, Devolskoto središte, 561–562; *Schreiner*, Die Chronik des Michael von Devol, 240–252.

135 See the chapter *Provincial Administration in the Service of Pacification*, I, 408–414.

136 Psellus, Chronographia, 40.

region was sometimes aggravated by renegade Byzantine officials. In 1043, locals sided with the rebellious Byzantine general George Maniakes.[137] The question whether the first Byzantine archbishop and any clergy he brought in may have contributed to the discontent in the area remains a matter of guesswork. Nothing is reported about his specific activities in the archbishopric except for the building of the cathedral church dedicated to the Holy Wisdom of God and modeled on its great namesake, Saint Sophia in Constantinople.[138] The majestic undertaking took years and included an iconographic program that molded the Byzantine character of the see. He was an influential figure overall in Byzantine society, as he was at the forefront of the debates with the Latins, which culminated with the schism of 1054.

The next three bishops are recorded as monks who originated in Asia Minor and were recommended for the post through their connections within the ecclesiastical network in Constantinople. Theodoulos (1056–1063) came to Ohrid from a Constantinopolitan monastery.[139] He built a church with the support (συνδρομή) of a local, John Antzō. Patronage was usually a joint effort between a bishop and a local official.[140] His seal survives with the title *archbishop of all Bulgaria*.[141] Upon his passing, John II Lampenos (1064?–1078) was appointed as his successor.[142] He had belonged to the same brotherhood of the Olympos Monastery (Bithynia) as then Patriarch of Constantinople, John Xiphilinos. The Archbishop of Ohrid John II must have been a witness to the revolt which sprang up in the adjacent Theme of Hellas in 1066 and spilled over to the southern border region of his diocese. The Vlachs around Larissa were singled out as the ringleaders, and they apparently had co-conspirators in the territory of Bulgaria.[143] The rebels made use of the mountainous regions of Bulgaria as pastures and were counted among the congregation that was obliged to pay ecclesiastical taxes (kanonikon) to the archbishop of Ohrid.[144] The same archbishop was on the throne during hostilities in the early 1070s when "the uprising of the Slavic people affected the whole of Bulgaria."[145] The unrest broke out around Skopje and military support came from outside the Empire (Diokleia) led by Constantine Bodin. At one point, Ohrid itself was a battle ground. The turmoil must have had a considerable impact on the inhabitants of Ohrid and Devol,

137 Scylitzes, 409–415.

138 See the chapter *The Sacral Topography of the Archbishopric of Ohrid: Architecture, Art, Patronage, and the Cult of Saints in the 11th–13th Century,* II, 159–167.

139 *Gelzer*, Patriarchat von Achrida, 6. He was the hegoumenos of the Monastery of the Saint and martyr Mokios, Scylitzes 479.20–21, cf. an imperial ceremony that took part in this church, De ceremoniis II 52.

140 *Mouriki*, Stylistic Trends.

141 *Seibt – Zarnitz*, Bleisiegel, no. 5.2. 10: Μήτηρ Θεοῦ. Θεοτόκε βοήθει τῷ σῷ δούλῳ / Θεοδούλῳ ἀρχιεπισκόπῳ πάσης Βουλγαρίας.

142 Three seal specimens are identified as his (DOSeals I, no. 29.6a; no. 29.6b; no. 29.6c; cf. *Laurent*, Corpus V/2, no. 1494). The text inscribed on them is the same: Θεοτόκε βοήθει τῷ σῷ δούλῳ Ἰωάννῃ μοναχῷ καὶ ἀρχιεπισκόπῳ πάσης Βουλγαρίας. For the seals of other bishops in the archbishopric see *Jordanov*, Pečati na episkopi.

143 Cf. *Ferluga*, Byzantium on the Balkans, 391–393. On the rebellions see the chapter *Provincial Administration in the Service of Pacification*, I, 406–419

144 *Gelzer*, Bistümerverzeichnisse, II, 46.

145 Bryennius, 213.13–16.

who were rounded up in an effort to have them acclaim Bodin, the son of a Serbian ruler, who had been proclaimed earlier as basileus and successor to Bulgarian emperor Peter in Prizren by his supporters. Not long after that, the same people of Ohrid and Devol, together with their bishops, were forced to choose sides in an uprising led by the Byzantine military commander Nikephoros Basilakes.[146] As the usurper assembled an army in 1078 at Dyrrachion, drawing forces from neighboring regions, including the province of Bulgaria, he enlisted the help of Bishop of Devol Theodosios, who on his behalf presented gifts to the Franks in Italy and negotiated an alliance with them.[147] The see of Devol was presumably well off at the time, if one is to judge by the fact that its bishop was a cousin of the late Emperor Constantine IX Monomachos.[148]

It is interesting that Basilakes, moving from Dyrrachion to Thessalonike wished to be proclaimed emperor of the Romans in Ohrid. Unlike his suffragan bishop Theodosios, who sided with the usurper, the archbishop in Ohrid was defiant and managed to prevent Basilakes from doing so.[149] It may be that these efforts cost him his life, as it is recorded that John II died during Basilakes' transit through the town.[150] Such involvement of bishops could sway the alliances of the congregation. One case was recorded as particularly egregious since it resulted in the murder of the bishop who was still wearing sacred liturgical vestments when he fell victim to the gruesome attack.[151] The appalling bloodshed took place during the time of the Archbishop John III *Aoinos* (1078–before 1089).[152] The unrest broke out in the eastern part of the province, and ringleaders Leka and Dobromir sacked areas around Serdica and Mesembria. The Bishop of Serdica Michael urged the inhabitants of his diocese to remain loyal to the emperor in the face of the rebellion. Leka, identified by different sources as a *Rhomaios* and a Paulician,[153] murdered the bishop who he found, apparently around the time of the holy service, trying to dissuade his congregation from defecting. The event was recorded with abomination and at least some have attributed it to the heretical background of Leka. Manuel, the Bishop of Strumica, who came to his post from the Monastery of St. Auxentios near Chalcedon, refers to "the newly appearing" heretical teaching in the Rule for the Monastery of the Mother of God Eleousa which he founded in 1080.[154] It appears that there were strongholds in the area tied to various sects, including the elusive Bogomils, which the bishops

146 Skylitzes Continuatus 185.15–17.

147 Skylitzes Continuatus 182.16–18.

148 Zonaras 18.1.10. Cf. PBW 2016, Theodosios 101.

149 Skylitzes Continuatus 182.21–22

150 Skylitzes Continuatus 182.15–17. The text is a bit vague: Τοῦ δὲ ἀρχιερέως τῆς Βουλγαρίας Ἰωάννου τελευτήσαντος ἐν τῇ τοῦ Βασιλακίου διόδῳ ἕτερον ἀντ' αὐτοῦ ὁ βασιλεὺς προεβάλετο, Ἰωάννην καὶ αὐτὸν καλούμενον... "Since the archbishop of Bulgaria John met his end in Basilakes' transit the Emperor put forward another in his place, this one was also called John..."

151 Skylitzes Continuatus 184.20–21. The same source notes that Leka belonged to Paulicians from Philippopolis, Skylitzes Continuatus 184.13.

152 Cf. *Laurent*, Corpus V/2, no. 1492, the aniconic seal of a John, archbishop of Bulgaria and former abbot, was likely to be that of John Aoinos.

153 Attaliatus 302.2; Skylitzes Continuatus 184.13. Cf. *Cheynet*, Pouvoir et contestations, 85, 392.

154 Acta Monasterii Theotoci Eleusae, 71.3, cf. Byzantine Monastic Foundation Documents, 174, tr. by A. Bandy.

had to suppress. However, the weight of their influence on social movements in the region is questionable.[155] In any case, heresy was hardly a problem specific to the region. Even the people of Constantinople needed help in discerning Orthodoxy from the current deviations. The Patriarch of Constantinople, Nicholas Grammatikos, after he assumed his throne in 1084, thus had to assign a selected group of preachers dedicated to this task alone.[156] Preaching in the city and, for instance, in the mountainous region of Moglena, where one could expect to encounter a community of Vlachs, Cumans, Pechenegs, Paulicians, Bogomils or Armenians[157] certainly did not entail equal challenges. Archbishop Theophylact (1088/89–1120/26) condemned some individuals outside of Ohrid for heresy.[158] They began to smear him and engage in a murky sort of conflict driven by Byzantine officials.[159] At the time, the tax officials were the ones who fomented dissent among the locals. Theophylact, a former *maistor of the rhetors*, had been a prominent figure in imperial court politics,[160] before his enthronement at Ohrid (1088–1089). In administering the archbishopric, he was able to rely on his political experience and contacts, demonstrating a fine-tuned approach to wielding influence.[161] His letters read like a private diplomatic mission concerned with protecting and promoting the interests of his church, flock, and allies, while ascertaining the conditions that affected their well-being, and negotiating the best outcomes. He devoted a lot of attention to incoming civil officials, and demanded the same from his suffragans.[162] In cases where he found the officials' cooperation to be faulty, he sought to subvert their authority and advance his own interests.[163] The daily administrative matters were handled with the help of the *strategoi*, *doukes* or archons stationed in his archbishopric.[164] Thus Theophylact writes[165] to the archon of Prespa, Makrembolites, asking for his help in preparing for a synod to be held at the monumental St. Achilleos cathedral.[166] He reached out to officials in Dyrrachion, Thessalonike, or Constantinople for assistance with fiscal problems. For military matters, he complained to the governor of Dyrrachion.[167] He was unwilling to let the *doux* of Skopje, John Taronites, influence his choice of suffragans. His suffragans in Morava and Prizren were chosen

155 Cf. *Obolensky*, The Bogomils; *Angelov*, Le mouvement bogomile; *Koledarov*, Bogomil Teaching.

156 *Angold*, Church and Society, 487. Cf. also *Morton*, Law and Orthodoxy under the Komnenoi, for further evidence that there was a need to make the arguments that concern contemporary heretical and Latin teachings more easily available in a handbook form.

157 *Mullett*, Theophylact of Ohrid, 56–57,

158 Theophylactus, Epistulae, 96.38.

159 On the conflict, see below 61–62

160 Cf. *Todorović*, Theophylact of Ohrid. On his life and work see *Obolensky*, Six Byzantine Portraits, 34–82; *Angold*, Church and Society, 158–172; *Mullett*, Theophylact of Ohrid. Cf. DOSeals I, 29.9.

161 Cf. *Mullet*, Theophylact of Ochrid, 163–222; *Krsmanović – Todorović*, Τοῦτό μοι τέλεσον.

162 Cf. Theophylactus, Epistulae, 21, to the bishop of Pelagonia.

163 *Mullet*, Patronage, 141.

164 See the chapter *Provincial Administration in the Service of Pacification*, I.

165 Theophylactus, Epistulae, 108. Dated to 1103.

166 On the cathedral see the chapters *Bulgarian Church Architecture and Art: From Origins to 1018*, I, 180–193; *From* Pax Basiliana *to* Pax Byzantina, I, 305–317; Final Remarks, II, 412–414.

167 Cf. *Mullett*, Theophylact of Ohrid, 62.

in recognition of their prior service in the Archbishopric of Ohrid. The bishops in Kastoria and Belgrade were chosen for their posts as acclaimed scholars and teachers in Constantinople, while the bishop of Triaditza was elevated to the episcopal throne as a monk of high reputation.[168] The suffragan in Triaditza, however turned out to be a lively figure.[169] He did not comply with the wishes of his archbishop or the pleas of the local Synod. The Synod in Prespa heard about the feud between him and the bishop of Lipljan and a separate case that involved an elderly Bulgarian hieromonk (*geron*) in his see who he had expelled from his monastery.[170] Theophylact called on his suffragan in Triaditza to stop his hostile behavior towards the monk and treat him with kindness. Despite promising to amend, the bishop failed to change his ways. The anguished monk eventually turned to the emperor, who intervened to defend him. Even that did not save him. The old man was served a suspension and compelled to leave Triaditza. He travelled to Theophylact and approached the archbishop as he was going into the church with a large entourage of clerics and laymen. As he recounted what he had been through, the old monk wept before everyone. He asked the archbishop to make another appeal in favor of his return to his monastery. The behavior of the bishop reflected badly on Theophylact's authority.[171] The bishop of Triaditza held his ground for a while. He opted not to attend the Synod and discuss the pending issues in person, explaining that his absence was due to a journey to Constantinople. The purpose was to showcase before the emperor his accomplishments with the Armenians, who he had converted to Orthodoxy.[172] The Synod was attended by another "Bulgarian" monk from the same brotherhood. He spoke on behalf of the banished elder, alleging that the bishop had proclaimed that no one was permitted to interact with the expelled monk. The actions of the bishop of Triaditza regarding this case are described in the synodal letter as utterly unbecoming of a bishop who should act out of love for humankind.[173] Furthermore, the bishop's absence from the Synod not only exacerbated the problems he himself had caused, but also hindered the widowed churches (vacant sees) from "marrying" their bishops.[174] The letters convey that the bishop of Triaditza had a monastic background and that he was of advanced age when all this was happening. He was, however, able to make his way from Triaditza to Constantinople, and defame Theophylact there in the highest of circles.[175] It is possible that he was poorly

168 Theophylactus, Epistulae, 18, dated by Gautier to 1092/1093.

169 It could be that he is refferring to two different persons as bishops in ep. 18 and in ep. 58, 59, 60, 87.

170 A monastery located in the kastron of Saint John, Theophylactus, Epistulae, 59.79–86. Cf. *Mullett*, Theophylact of Ohrid, 89.

171 Cf. Theophylactus, Epistulae, 58.7–10.

172 Ep. 59.31–48.

173 Cf. ep. 59.85.

174 Ep. 59.76.

175 Ep. 87.12–18. The Synod ultimately suspended him, after which he wrote to Theophylact to make amends, ep. 87. Despite being informed that the bishop had defamed him in Constantinople, Theophylact was willing to allow him to officiate. In light of the bishop's old age and declining health, Theophylact believed that all bishops would approve of lifting the suspension. He notes that he will write to them and that the same courier who came from Triaditza will deliver the letters to Pelagonia, Strumica, and Malesova on his way back..

educated or that Greek was not his first language. His official statement in response to the synodal letter was replete with inconsistencies and unsigned by the bishop himself.[176] According to Theophylact, the bishop had failed even to understand the letter asking him to reconsider his actions towards the elderly monk he had sanctioned.[177] The archbishop suggested that those who had the capacity to comprehend it should read him the letter clause by clause.[178] Furthermore, the bishop of Triaditza was said to have completely misunderstood the documents issued by the emperor pertaining to the Bulgarian monk.[179] He is accused of attempting to lecture Theophylact about the canon and laws while writing in a manner that would make even young students burst into laughter due to his egregious language mistakes.[180] His demeanor is characterized as savagery (ἀγριότης) and bestiality (θηριωδία).[181] The implication is that the bishop was perceived as a barbarian, but it is unclear whether he was barbarian in terms of education or in terms of foreign descent.[182]

In Theophylact's collected letters, there are no further cases in which he had to go against his suffragan, and overall, he enjoyed amicable relations with his episcopal bench. Suffragans who encountered difficulties could count on his help. He asked for favors on behalf of his bishops in Pelagonia, Glavinitza and Devol. Devol found itself in grave danger of a kind that could easily be resolved by a charter (sigillion) of the *doux* of Dyrrachion.[183] The church was empty, bereft of cantors, candlelight, and bishop and was being pillaged by people passing by. The bishop, whose name is not known,[184] suffered greatly under brazen intimidation from certain persons and was forced to flee. The local *paroikoi* followed suit and hid themselves in the woods. There were no priests or deacons in sight. It is believed that the episode depicts the insolence of Byzantine (tax) officials,[185] who could be deterred from their lawlessness by the *doux*. The church itself is described as one of Bulgarian churches endowed with exceptional beauty and blessings.[186] It was believed to have been among the seven built by Boris and the *doux* had the opportunity to restore it to its former splendor. *Paroikoi*, in accordance with the imperial sigillion, were settled around the church on the land of their ancestors.[187] Theophylact went to Devol to learn about all the circumstances. He

176 Ep. 59, 32–33. On the issue of logical inconsistencies see the letter as a whole.

177 Ep. 60.8–10.

178 Ep. 60.11–14.

179 Ep. 60.37–40. The βασιλικὰ ἔγγραφα obtained by the monk.

180 Ep. 60.32–36.

181 Ep. 60.93–94.

182 Cf. below 72.

183 John Komnenos, ep. 22, dated by Gautier to 1092–1093.

184 The previously mentioned Theodosios, above 57, was the bishop of Devol in 1078. The mentioned Michael, above 44–45, 55, was the bishop in April 1118.

185 *Gautier*, Théophylacte, 203 n.5–7; *Obolensky*, Six Byzantine Portraits, 51; *Mullett*, Theophylact of Ohrid, 236–237; *Obolensky*, Six Byzantine Portraits, 51.

186 See the chapter *Bulgarian Church Architecture and Art: From Origins to 1018*, I, 130–132.

187 Cf. the chapter *From* Pax Basiliana *to* Pax Byzantina, I, 302–305; the location of Devol is discussed in detail in the same chapter, 336–337.

was overwhelmed with grief after witnessing what was happening. At a later time, he himself was subjected to a similar exile from his seat.[188]

The vile taxmen[189] and their accomplices are the most notable opponents in his letters and he raised numerous complaints about the abuses of tax-officials. Among the most appalling notices is his allegation that tax-collectors had seized not only all produce from the locals, leaving them with nothing, but also one in five of their children, as if they were livestock.[190] He pleaded on behalf of the abused before the imperial administrators, relying on his personal civil and ecclesiastical contacts of influence in an effort to exert pressure on rogue tax officials. The problem was not solved once the individual official was brought into line, because the system was like a hydra. It had the monstrous capacity to regenerate its crippled parts.[191] Even the dependent peasantry assigned to a church or a monastery could end up registered on the tax rolls despite their privileges, protected by an existing chrysobull.[192] It was bound to hurt the income of the church if a bishop was absent during the tax-assessment.[193] The taxmen campaigned against him, even going as far as to slander him before the emperor. According to Theophylact, in order to promote their sordid lies, they approached the locals and they were successful with the sinful and bribable amongst them. Their most prominent accomplice was *paroikos* Lazaros,[194] who kept company with them. They showered him with fancy clothes and other gifts.[195] In turn, he sought out throughout Bulgaria those who the archbishop had condemned for heresy or chastised for immorality and transgressions.[196] He persuaded them to declare themselves Ohridians. Together with the actual Ohridians, who felt slighted by the archbishop's judgment on their transgressions, they would claim that their interests were harmed. They would fabricate all kinds of issues, alleging the archbishop was behaving like a tyrant in order to enrich himself. At one point, the oppressive actions of the tax authority compelled Theophylact to flee from Ohrid and seek refuge in Pelagonia.[197] With an elaborate "Bulgarian" performance involving tears and groans, Lazaros was able to convince the emperor that the archbishop had set him on fire, even though Theophylact was not present in Ohrid when the supposed arson occurred.[198] A

188 See below 61.

189 For a survey of Theophylact's charges against them see *Xanalatos*, Beiträge; *Harvey*, The Land and Taxation, 144–153; *Idem*, Financial Crisis, 167–184; *Mullett*, Theophylact of Ohrid, 131.

190 Ep. 57.22–24. Cf. the image of *praktores* confiscating all harvested crops leaving the populace with nothing, ep. 45.20–21. On slaves in Byzantium at the time see *Ilić* – Šijaković with literature.

191 Cf. ep. 85.27–30; *Mullett*, Theophylact of Ohrid, 130–132.

192 Byzantine Monastic Foundation Documents, 168. Cf. Theophylactus, Epistulae, 19; 22.

193 Cf. ep. 31.25–27; 59.42–46. The bishop of Triaditza uses the tax-appraiser's expected visit to justify his absence from the Synod.

194 Ep. 96, cf. ep. 89; 98.

195 Ep. 98.36–38.

196 Such as too many successive spouses or an unlawful marriage (due to consanguinity impediments and the like), ep. 96.38–39, see the chapter *Between Custom and Law: Marriage in the Territory of the Archbishopric of Ohrid*, II, 340–346.

197 Ep. 94, dated between 1097 and 1104 by Gautier.

198 Ep. 98.48–54. For a possible timeline that includes these and other connected letters see *Mullet*, Patronage, 125–127; *Angold*, Church and Society, 161–162; cf. *Filiposki*, The Dispute.

lapsed hieromonk was also among the delinquent members of his flock, who colluded with the tax officials. He gave up monastic life to live with a woman, and then disgraced himself further by engaging in all kinds of ungodly pursuits for personal gain.[199] Theophylact compares the hardships his Vidin suffragan endured because of the Cuman attacks (1095) to the misery inflicted on him by Ohridians who complain against him in Constantinople.[200] He assures the bishop of Vidin, who previously spent time in Ohrid, that Vidin's vile *kastrenoi* are children compared to his "Bulgarian *kastrenoi*," not to mention the wild inhabitants of a part of Ohrid called Mokros. To what extent these antagonistic townspeople (*kastrenoi*) were a part of the same front, spearheaded by Lazaros, is not clear.[201] The agricultural potential of the church estates and the revenues that could be extracted from them were a bone of contention throughout the Empire's provinces.[202] The imperial officials aspired to extract as much as they could from episcopal estates and often did so illegally, disregarding chrysobulls and tax exemptions. Likewise, it was becoming increasingly common for powerful townspeople to confront their bishop, as later cases in Thessalonike, Athens, and Naupaktos show.[203] The private interests of the provincial elites were infringing on the rights and estates of the episcopal clergy and bishops, and domineering townsmen were capable of mobilizing and manipulating popular support against the bishops for their own aims.

The Archbishopric was also troubled by incursions from outside the Empire. Theopylact together with his suffragans lamented the suffering caused by the wars and hostilities with the Pechenegs (ep. 13, 1091), Serbs,[204] Cumans (ep. 57, 1095), Normans (ep. 120, 1108). Curiously, in his letters we find that the Byzantine military camps in the archbishopric did not feel welcoming to a bishop. He believed that the reign of sin in the army was the cause.[205] The incursions from outside could exacerbate local instability, but they could also result in a visit from the emperor. During earlier hostilities with the Normans, under Theophylact's predecessor, Emperor Alexios stayed in Ohrid on more than one occasion.[206] The Norman army appears to have received some support from the inhabitants around Ohrid in the winter of 1082 when they besieged the town. Byzantine forces inside the fortification resisted the attack, and the Normans gave up.[207] However, in 1096/97 when the Crusaders progressed along the *Via Egnatia*, which leads through Ohrid, the situation was different. Although the Franks

199 Ep. 11.

200 Ep. 57.24–29.

201 Angold perceives it as such, above n. 198. He believes the conflicts were caused by a dispute over church land outside of Ohrid city, which was acquired due to older rights to tax the nomads in the area. The taxman did not recognise the purchase as legitimate and was defiant in acknowledging any tax privileges. *Kastrenoi*, on the other hand, had their eyes set on the land, too.

202 *Angold*, Church and Society, 256.

203 *Angold*, Church and Society, 189 (Eustathios was forced to flee Thessalonike, cf. *Schönauer*, Flucht); 204–206; 219–220 (Apokaukos had to flee Naupaktos).

204 Serbs under Vukan raided the region of Skoplje and burned down Lipljan in 1093, Alexias, IX 4.2.

205 Ep. 77.72–74, cf. a mention of a menacing feeling on another visit to the military camp, ep. 30 (both before 1094/5).

206 Alexias, IV 8.4.3; V 1.4.1. Cf. below n. 211.

207 Alexias, V 5.1.7. Cf. *Angold*, Church and Society, 160.

committed assaults and caused fear in the region, they did not, it seems, spark a rebellion in the diocese.[208] At the time, Devol and Lipljan had bases for military operations, while Ohrid served as a resting and recruitment site.[209] There were also bishoprics and other districts in the archbishopric, like chartoularata of Glavinitza, Slanitza and Dobrochouvista near Berroia, where horses and pack animals were reared and assembled for the needs of the imperial army.[210] It seems that provisioning of the army was mostly done by the Slavonic speakers in the area.[211] During the middle of the 12th century, Emperor Manuel I Komnenos would often camp in Pelagonia. Due to his long-term campaigns, the elaborate tents he put up housed many of his family members and elite courtiers, male and female alike, making the base-camp a kind of summer court.[212] Theophylact in his time was sympathetic to the plight of local inhabitants burdened by military obligations. He wrote to the *doux* of Dyrrachion, John Komnenos, on behalf of his flock to decrease the number of recruits sought from the Theme of Ohrid, explaining that current requirements are too heavy to bear for such a small theme, deprived of resources and sparsely populated.[213] The letter suggests that someone had complained about Theophylact's involvement in this matter. For this reason he felt compelled to point out that the duty of an archbishop is to intervene to protect his people. [214] He then reiterates his determination to remain true to this purpose:

> "Of course I will speak and write on behalf of those who are entrusted to me and I will beg from the very heart, as they say, the one who has the power to take pity on them."

In a different context, we find the archbishop's depiction of an ideal governor.[215] He provides security for those who are well-off, relief to those who are struggling, support to orphans, and protection to widows. He shows compassion for the victims of injustice while remembering that the perpetrators of unjust deeds do more harm to themselves. Thus he endeavors to make both parties free from harm. He stands up for the poor against the rich who are preying on them and he defends the rich from the poor who are attacking them with criminal intent. He serves the servants of God and rejects the lure of power that the adversaries of God's servants are drawn to. He considers the ministers of Christ as his superiors because he truly believes in the Holy

208 Cf. ep. 52.1–20.

209 Cf. *Mullett*, Theophylact of Ohrid, 62.

210 *Magdalino*, Manuel I Komnenos, 235.

211 *Jeffreys*, Manuel Komnenos' Macedonian military camps, 189.

212 On the tent decoration, tent worship spaces, parties, hunting, feuds in social events, and sleeping arrangements with a twist see *Jeffreys*, Manuel Komnenos' Macedonian military camps; *Mullett*, Tents in Space.

213 Ep. 24.10–11. He is described as exploiting Ohrid. Cf. *Ferluga*, Byzantium on the Balkans, 182–183.

214 Ep. 24.4–6.

215 Ep. 79.34–59, Theophylact praises a governor who held a post near him (ep. 79.21). This letter implies that the governor was a rare exception. However, for our purposes, it is not relevant if the praise was justified. The ideal depicted in the praise is in itself revealing. Gautier identifies him as Gregory Pakourianos and suspects he was *archon* of the Theme of Ohrid, cf. *Mullett*, Theophylact of Ohrid, 130. The praise was expressed on the occasion of his departure from the archbishopric in a letter to Adrian Komnenos, the grand domestic.

Orders and the gifts conferred on them by the Spirit. To keep the Bulgarians from grumbling (γογγύσαιεν), he is prepared to deprive himself of the necessary resources.

Despite the generalities, the most significant predicaments we hear about in Theophylact's letters are all given here as a list of issues that a successful governor should tackle. The collection demonstrates that these issues persisted. The archbishop paints a gloomy picture of Byzantine provincial government in general:

> "All those who govern us are rather immature in terms of both age and intellect; moreover, they are always youthful in terms of injustice too. Far from growing old or abating, each time they devise a new sort of greed and *rejuvenate* the crooked *spirit within them*. They are hindered neither by a warning nor by fear of people; instead, they strive for greater power with which to advance their evil ways and cultivate and reinforce their injustice."[216]

In his letter dated to 1108, we hear that the whole Ohrid region is filled with fear. An aggressor, described as a slave, a rebel (apostate), and a lizard, ravaged a part of Ohrid called Mokros (τῆς Ἀχρίδος τμῆμα) while the archbishop was at Thessalonike planning his horse ride back to Ohrid.[217] The aggressor is understood to be Bohemond, and it has been presumed that his capitulation in 1108 alleviated pressure on the imperial regime to impose levies and seek recruits.[218] A less oppressive fiscal policy may account for the scarcity of reports about the happenings in the church province in the next decades.[219] For all those who would be reading his exegesis of the Gospel according to John, Theophylact wanted them to know, that he was the shepherd of Bulgaria, that Euboea was the place of his fathers (πατρίς), learning (λόγοι) was his life, his service (κλῆρος) was to God, and Bulgaria was the place of his grave (τάφος).[220] Both toponyms come across as integral parts of a whole.

No works survive from his two immediate successors whose terms are dated to the second quarter of the 12th c. Leo II Moungos, known also as the Philosopher, was engaged in missionary work prior to becoming archbishop. He held the post *didaskalos* to the heathen (διδάσκαλος τῶν ἐθνῶν) that at the time likely involved preaching the Gospel to Turkic peoples.[221] The note about his Jewish descent is usually taken

---

216 Ep. 45.21–27, to the patriarch of Constantinople about the woes of archbishops: Πάντες ἡμῖν ἐφιστάμενοι νεώτεροι τὴν ἡλικίαν ὁμοῦ καὶ τὸ φρόνημα, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν ἀδικίαν ἀεὶ νεώτεροι, οὐ γηρῶντες ἢ παρακμάζοντες, ἀλλ᾽ κάστοτε πλεονεξίας εἶδος προσεξευρίσκοντες καὶ τὸ στρεβλὸν *πνεῦμα τοῖς ἐγκάτοις αὐτῶν ἐγκαινίζοντες* καὶ μήτε νουθεσίας μήτε φόβου ἀνθρώπων ἀνακοπτόμενοι, ἀλλὰ πρός τι κραταιότερον ἀφορῶντες ᾧ τὴν κακίαν εὐροοῦνται καὶ τὴν ἀδικίαν ἀνατρέφονται καὶ ῥωννύονται.

217 Ep. 120.29–48. He encouraged the bishop of Debar to pray for his return to his see and to the flock of God entrusted to his care in a letter 122, dated to about 1108, and linked to the advances of Bohemond.

218 *Angold*, Church and Society, 165.

219 See the chapter *Provincial Administration in the Service of Pacification*, I, 406–407.

220 Cf. his own epigram, *Gautier*, I, 12. For the "local *patris*" see the chapter *A Glimpse of Daily Life in the Archbishopric of Ohrid*, II, 307.

221 *Gelzer*, Patriarchat von Achrida, 7; *Stone*, The Missionaries of Manuel I. Cf. the 15th-century Inventory of the Monastery of the Mother of God Eleousa in Stroumitza, which mentions now-lost documents of Leo the Philosopher and John Komnenos (below n. 227), *Petit*, Le monastére, 123.

to mean that he was a convert himself. An epigram on the Annunciation icons from Ohrid in which the donor refers to himself as *a pitiful servant Leo, the minister of God* is ascribed to him.[222] Archbishop Michael, also called Maximos, was likewise a cleric of the Great Church, but he seemed to have had a less distinguished profile[223] in Constantinople than his predecessors. Around 1140, a churchman Basil from Ohrid was making a name for himself in Constantinople among the deacons on the staff of the Great Church.[224] He might have been a beneficiary of the Greek education efforts that were conducted under the wing of the previous archbishops. There is no record of his family or Slavic heritage, possibly because of his obscure origin. He went on to become archbishop of Thessalonike, playing an important part in imperial politics and the doctrinal disputes of his time, but prior to that he was simply known as Basil the Ohridian. At about the same time, another superbly educated protégé of a certain archbishop of Bulgaria and the superior (*hegoumenos*) of the Monastery of Oxeia gained a reputation for wisdom in Constantinople. His name was Gregory, and he was a spiritual advisor to members of the imperial family and other notables.[225] An unnamed cleric from Pelagonia, who left the archbishopric of Bulgaria because he had a feud with the archbishop in Ohrid, was teaching at the capital's renowned Pantokrator Monastery and competing with Tzetzes for students.[226] Notwithstanding the missing details in these cases, they suggest that Greek schooling organized on the ground in Byzantine Bulgaria was taken seriously by the archbishops. Their social reach enabled them to recruit educated clergymen for their archbishopric and support their protégés in their advancement through higher education and elite ecclesiastical circles in the capital.

By 1143, John IV, a member of the house of Komnenoi, became the archbishop of Bulgaria.[227] This appointment has been understood as a further sign of the growing importance of the archbishopric.[228] Unlike his predecessors who were monks or clergy, Adrian Komnenos, the son of the *sebastokrator* Isaac, had a military background and had served as a provincial governor in Asia Minor. At one point, he separated himself from his wife and children in order to devote himself to Christ.[229] John was the name he assumed upon taking monastic vows. He was close to his cousin, the Emperor John Komnenos. During the latter's Syrian campaigns, he accompanied him as a monk and visited Antioch, Jerusalem, and numerous holy places. His friend, Michael Italikos, a

222 *Djurić*, Icônes de Yougoslavie, 17; *Drpić*, Epigram, 284–290.

223 He was a eunuch and a patriarchal *ostiarios*, *Gelzer*, Patriarchat von Achrida, 7; *Prinzing*, Byzantine ecclesiastical province, 380; *Laurent*, Corpus V/2, no. 1495; DOSeals I, 29.8. A seal belonging to Bishop Gabriel of Velbăžd, dated to the first half of the 12th century (DOSeals I, no. 31.1), is noteworthy because it records that this suffragan post was held by a brother (σύγγονος) of the Archbishop of Ohrid ("the chief pastor of Bulgaria").

224 *Šijaković*, Basil from Ohrid.

225 *Šijaković*, Basil from Ohrid, 880.

226 Tzetzes, Epistulae, 79.3–9. Archbishop John IV, referred to in the letter (79.6–8), is discussed below.

227 *Stiernon*, Notes; *Prinzing*, Wer war der „bulgarische Bischof Adrian".

228 *Angold*, Church and Society, 173–174.

229 Basilaces, Orationes, 39.17–28; DOSeals I, 29.7. Cf. the farewell of Italikos, *Epistulae*, 34, written to Adrian who was about to leave for Bulgaria, complimenting his character and eloquence.

deacon of Saint Sofia and a didaskalos, expresses[230] envy towards the Bulgarians once John departed Constantinople to assume the throne in Ohrid. He lauds, among other things, the archbishop's spiritual guidance, eminent background, mind, soul, generosity, and especially the way he speaks. The depiction presents the novice shepherd as a captivating speaker who could bring peace to troubled people and alleviate their suffering. He went on to play a prominent role in the ecclesiastical struggles and related church councils in Constantinople during Emperor Manuel's reign, signing official documents as the *Archbishop of Iustiniana Prima and all Bulgaria*.[231] While in Ohrid, he edited a shortened version of the *Nomokanon*. This points to a deep interest in ensuring the competence and astuteness of his clergy and episcopal court. The work bears on order in the Church, on providing spiritual guidance, and handling various disputes between people who were coming before his synod and seeking justice.[232] By the time of Chomatenos, whose whole casebook survives, we see that inhabitants of the archbishopric would come before the court not only trusting that its decisions would prove just and correct, but also trusting its authority in terms that the party they were complaining against would comply with its rulings.[233]

After the relatively short term of Eustathios (1163–1170), Constantine I Boukinator/Bykinator[234] was appointed archbishop in 1170. He seems to have been on the throne[235] when Andronikos, as co-emperor with Manuel's son Alexios, was determined to arrange an unlawful marriage for his illegitimate daughter Irene. The patriarch of Constantinople strongly opposed the proposed marriage before the Synod. Since he was unable to stop it, he retired from his post, and Andronikos had the archbishop of Bulgaria, who was in Constantinople at the time, officiate at the marriage. The episode suggests that the archbishop of Bulgaria could not easily exercise his authority independently of the Emperor's will. The relationship between the archbishops of Ohrid and the Constantinopolitan court got even closer with his successor John Kamateros, who was a civil official occupying the post of emperor's clerk (ἐπὶ τοῦ κανικλείου, the keeper of the emperor's inkstand). There is no report that he intended to serve God or take on any ecclesiastical duties before his appointment as the archbishop of Bulgaria at some time after 24 September 1183.[236]. On the contrary, a gruesome narrative about the bestial way Andronikos had his co-emperor Alexios strangled, includes Kamateros as one of two prominent men who took part in disposing of the murdered emperor's beheaded

230 Italikos, Epistulae, 34.

231 See the final redaction of the tome pertaining to the 1157 Synod held in Constantinople, Acta synodica, PG 140, 197. On the doctrinal issues discussed at the Synod and the Ohridians involved in the controversy, see *Šijaković*, Basil the Ohridian, 889–890.

232 Cf. *Beneševič*, Nomokanon Ioanna Komnina; *Morton*, Frequently Asked Questions; *Idem*, A Twelfth-Century Handbook.

233 See the chapter *A Glimpse of Daily Life in the Archbishopric of Ohrid*, II.

234 Choniates, Historia 260.10–262.7.

235 In 1182 according to PBW 2016, Eirene 150.

236 Choniates, Historia 274.10–18. See *Prinzing*, Byzantine ecclesiastical province, 380, for the proposed dating of his term (c. 1191–1215).

body. It was tossed into the sea from a fishing boat, while the two men were singing and dancing. He was to see the collapse of the archbishopric.

By the end of August 1185, the Normans occupied Thessalonike. They massacred and abused its inhabitants while the Byzantine army was unable to effectively respond for three months. Following the harsh Byzantine taxation measures which included cattle confiscations in the region of Anchialos, the population below Mount Haemus (Stara planina) were up in arms.[237] Choniates speaks of them as of barbarians, formerly named *Mysians*, now called *Vlachs*.[238] Peter and Asen, identified as *Vlachs*, led a successful uprising in 1185. It is noted that they were disrespected by Emperor Isaac II Angelos when they tried to renegotiate the conditions of their military service to the Empire. It seems that the locals were not at once on board with joining them in a rebellion. Apparently, they had to sponsor the building of a church dedicated to Saint Demetrios and demonstrate devotion to his cult in order to convince those of the same descent (ὁμογενεῖς) that their cause was just and pious.[239] The story implies that it was necessary to persuade the people that loyalty to God and his Church does not entail loyalty to the Byzantine Empire. Conversely, the Byzantine writer portrays the rebels and their actions in demonic terms.[240] Since the Empire championed Orthodoxy and its ecclesiastical structures were embedded in the imperial apparatus, differentiating between their religious, ethnic, and political allegiances was presumably a challenge for local Christians. Although the Empire lost territory in the east and north of the church province of Bulgaria in the aftermath of the 1185 rebellion,[241] it could not afford to be lenient to the Balkan heartland it still controlled. Upon reaching the outskirts of Ohrid in 1189, the Byzantine army, hoping to find a break from fighting with the crusaders who had seized Philippopolis, decided to save themselves by looting their own province, as Choniates relays reluctantly.[242] Around 1190, the Archbishop Kamateros saw to it that the Church of Saint George at Kurbinovo, overlooking Lake Prespa, be built and richly decorated. It is believed that the Emperor Isaac II Angelos (1185–1195) and his wife were *ktetors*. The archbishop himself is identified in the altar fresco.[243] After Tarnovo became the seat of a new polity and a local Church,[244] the area

237 Choniates, Historia 368.16–21; Chomatenos, Ponemata, 146.17–22. Cf. *Magdalino*, Manuel I Komnenos, 134–135; *Prinzing*, Demetrios-Kirche und Aseniden.

238 It is generally presumed that ethnic Bulgarians played a significant role in these events. They were numerous in Paristrion, next to Vlachs and various nomads who settled there on agreement with the Empire to provide military service, cf. *Dall'Aglio*, The Interaction; *Idem*, Paristrion, 43–44.

239 Choniates, Historia, 371. Cf. *Stephenson*, Byzantine Frontier, 293. The eldest of the Asen brothers, whose birth name was Theodore, assumed the name Peter before he was presented to the crowd gathered on this occasion in order to evoke the tradition of the Bulgarian emperor Peter, cf. above n. 18.

240 Furthermore, the depiction of their worship is infused with pagan elements from Greek literature.

241 On the events see *Madgearu*, Asanids, 35–83.

242 Historia, 409.19–23.

243 See the chapter *The Sacral Topography of the Archbishopric of Ohrid*, I, 436–443.

244 The Patriarchate of Tarnovo would be recognized only 50 years later (1235), but the Archbishopric in Ohrid in practice lost 7 bishoprics following the events in 1185 (Velbăžd, Serdica/Triaditza, Morovizd, Niš, Morava/Braničevo, Belgrade, Sirmium, *Prinzing*, Byzantine ecclesiastical province, 365. After the establishment of the

around Strumica was the seat of another rebellion in 1196–1197. It was led by Dobromir Chrysos of Vlach origin, who had 500 of his own men and had previously been an unreliable ally of the Byzantine army against the Asen brothers. It is said that he made problems for the *Rhomaioi* in the neighborhood of Strumica.[245] The Archbishop Kamateros witnessed the Latin onslaught on Constantinople in 1204 and the subsequent Bulgarian offensive on the territory of his archbishopric, on account of which he had to leave for Nicaea.[246] Some of the towns, including Ohrid and Prilep, fell into the hands of Kaloyan; others, such as Berroia, were governed for a time by a rogue warlord.[247] The Byzantine bishops were forced to leave their bishoprics to save themselves, and some met a tragic end.[248] The Bulgarian authority selected its own church head from the archbishopric's legitimate priests.[249] He proclaimed bishops who spoke the same language (ἀρχιερεῖς ὁμογλώσσους) in all of the areas under Bulgarian control.[250] The new bishops ministered in Slavonic and ordained priests and deacons of their choice. And yet, this did not necessarily mean that the Slavic element of the population – as far as can be judged by their Slavic personal names[251] – aligned themselves with the Bulgarian rulers. Some were killed during the Bulgarian offensive.[252] We are told about Slavic families stemming from the region (οἱ ἰθαγενεῖς) having to flee their ancestral homes in order to avoid captivity or death.[253] As some locals temporarily left their property and sought shelter with their relatives in other locations less affected by the conflict, those who remained acted in their own self-interest using whatever they could get their hands on in the absence of the rightful owners of these resources. As the hostilities settled down, returnees had difficulty reclaiming their belongings until the Byzantine government was reestablished.[254] The period under Bulgarian rule, the *apostasy* as the *Rhomaioi* termed it, is overall described as marked by *mayhem*, *terror,* and *lawlessness* in Chomatenos' records.[255] The new authorities in

---

Serbian autocephalous Church with a seat in Žiča in 1219, the bishoprics Prizren, Lipljan and Ras were lost too. See *Pirivatrić*, Kriza. Still, the recorded protest by archbishop Chomatenos falls almost ten years later, see *Dželebdžić*, Pitanje osnivanja Srpske crkve. On overlaping jurisdictions see *Prinzing*, Byzantine ecclesiastical province of Bulgaria, 365. Chomatenos was left with 11 core suffragans: Kastoria, Skopje, Herakleia/Pelagonia, Kephalonia/Glavinitza, Moglena, Selasphoros/Devol, Strumica/Tiberiopolis, Slanitza/Pella, Kanina, Greben, Debar. Cf. map 4, vol. II, 33.

245 Choniates, Historia, 487.6–14.

246 *Prinzing*, Chomateni Ponemata, 10*–11*.

247 Acropolitus, 14.24–25; Chomatenos, Ponemata 81.91, 94.27; *Prinzing*, Bedeutung, 14, 101, 102; *Nicol*, Despotate of Epirus, 20; *Barišić – Ferjančić*, Vesti.

248 Chomatenos, Ponemata, 146.33–48.

249 On Vassily see below 70–71.

250 Chomatenos, Ponemata, 8.74–78. This is consistent with the mentioned earlier sources which suggest that during the Byzantine rule the bishops were Greek-speaking, and the priests spoke Slavic.

251 To some extent they can serve as an indicator. See the chapter *A Glimpse of Daily Life in the Archbishopric of Ohrid*, II, 304–306.

252 Chomatenos, Ponemata, 52.12–26.

253 Chomatenos, Ponemata, 52.27–30.

254 See the chapter *A Glimpse of Daily Life in the Archbishopric of Ohrid,* II, 310.

255 Cf. e.g. Ponemata, 8, 48, 52, 59, 81, 146; cf. *Maksimović*, Varvarska vlast.

certain instances chose not to address the ongoing private complaints.[256] When they took them into consideration, they reached decisions that did not inspire confidence in their judgment from the locals. A case that was later reviewed before Chomatenos' court involved a decree (σημείωμα) of a Bulgarian at the head of the Church of Berroia (προστάντος τῆς ἐν τῇ Βερροίᾳ ἐκκλησίας Βουλγάρου), which went against an existing will, both of which were presented among other documents.[257] Chomatenos utterly ridicules even the notion that a decree drafted by a "barbarian" could contain the legal knowledge and judicial reasoning in accordance with Roman (καθ' ἡμᾶς) pious laws.[258] Their own will is the sole law for barbarians. According to him, Bulgarians (οἱ Βούλγαροι) are in every respect barbarians. They consider Roman laws useless and unworthy of attention. The dismissive tone is due to Bulgarians being perceived as usurpers of power. The new Bulgarian polity with its center in Tarnovo[259] is termed *Zagora*[260] or the *Bulgarian authority* (ἡ Βουλγαρικὴ ἐξουσία).[261] The bishops appointed on the territory of Chomatenos' *Bulgaria* while it was under the control of the Bulgarian authority are referred to as the "*Bulgarobishops* of Zagoa."[262]

After Theodore Doukas regained control of Ohrid in 1215, Archbishop Kamateros went back to his see where he was joined by his future successor Demetrios Chomatenos, in the capacity of chartophylax, and the synodal court could start to mend the wrongs and adjudicate the claims of civilians impacted by the upheaval.[263] Following the passing of Kamateros that same year or in 1216, Chomatenos, a former *apokrisiarios* in Constantinople, was chosen by Theodore Doukas,[264] ruler of Epirus, to be the archbishop. This was the first time that the archbishop in Ohrid was appointed by someone other than an emperor.[265] Theodore I Laskaris in Nicaea was anointed the Emperor of the Romans already in 1208. However, the Epirote rulers sought to have men they trusted in episcopal positions who did not recognize Laskaris as the emperor, despite acknowledging the patriarch of Constantinople elected in Nicaea.

256 Chomatenos, Ponemata, 59. 71–76.

257 Chomatenos, Ponemata, 81.

258 Chomatenos, Ponemata, 81.270–279.

259 Chomatenos, Ponemata, 114.249–254.

260 Chomatenos, Ponemata, 8.122; 114.250; 146.134.

261 Chomatenos, Ponemata, 8.74, 156; 48.13, 24–25; 59.82; 146.54–55.

262 Chomatenos, Ponemata 146.12–13. According to titles to 8 and 146 in the pinax (stemming from an editor, not Chomatenos himself, see *Prinzing*, Ponemata, 352*) "Bulgaroepiscopi who came from Zagora."

263 *Prinzing*, Chomateni Ponemata, 11*.

264 Theodore Komnenos Doukas and his wife, Maria Doukaina Komnene, gifted a richly embroidered silk cloth (aer) to the archbishopric. It has been suggested that the donation was made to the cathedral church either on the occasion of reinstating John Kamateros (c. 1191–1215) on the throne of Ohrid, after Theodore's reconquest from the Bulgars in 1215, or during the time Chomatenos occupied the throne but before he anointed Theodore emperor in 1227. *Drpić*, Epigram, 276–280; *Dušanić*, Prilog sfragistici. Theodore Doukas was proclaimed emperor after the reconquest of Thessalonike at the turn of 1225/26. On the Church in the realm of Epirus see *Stavridou-Zafraka*, The Relations between Secular and Religious Authorities.

265 On Chomatenos' life and legal expertise see *Prinzing*, A Quasi-Patriarch; *Idem*, Convergence and Divergence. Cf. *Iliev*, GIBI XIII, 11–44.

The Patriarch Manuel I (1217–1222) protested from Nicaea regarding the nomination of Epirote bishops without his approval, denouncing the uncanonical practices of the Epirote clergy.[266] The worsening ecclesiastical division led the patriarch to suspect that Chomatenos was to blame for the innovations and transgressions.[267] He described the archbishop in no kind terms[268] as a man oriented towards worldly matters, oblivious to ecclesiastical norms and culture.[269] Chomatenos, on the other hand, saw himself as a champion of Roman norms during a time of unprecedented turmoil on the world stage. Byzantine power was humiliated. The norms it established and uncorrupted faith itself were under attack.[270] In his archbishopric he was dealing with "Bulgarobishops ordained in Zagora"[271] and the clergy ordained by them during the rule of the Bulgarians over territories that were under Chomatenos' jurisdiction. In 1219, when Chomatenos' Synod deliberated whether they should accept the Bulgarobishops into their ranks, those bishops were still active.[272] According to the canons, as espoused by the bishop of Kastoria and his likeminded fellows, Bulgarobishops were "transgressors" and "adulterers," that is, unlawful bishops who had no rights to their "brides." However, one faction in the Synod, led by the bishop of Moglena, was of a far more lenient view.[273] They took into account that these were challenging times when even the (Byzantine) archbishops in the West, who were subordinated to the Patriarchate of Constantinople, were not ordained with his permission, as required by sacred custom.[274] It was agreed that the Bulgarobishops of Zagora should be removed from all the churches for which they were proclaimed. The lawful bishops should return to their *brides,* and widowed churches were to be remarried to new bishops.[275] The decree negates any hope that they may be summoned to return. The mention of such a possibility suggests that these Slavonic-speaking bishops would have preferred to stay. Some likely had close ties with the local clergy or even with the lawful bishops who were inclined to excuse the dubious circumstances of their ordination.

266 *Karpozilos*, Ecclesiastical Controversy, 53–69.

267 *Karpozilos*, Ecclesiastical Controversy, 62–64.

268 Letter of Patriarch Manuel to Apokaukos: ed. *Vasilievsky*, Epirotica, no. 16, 269.9–17.

269 Chomatenos, on the other hand, defended his own ingenuity before Patriarch Germanios with the skill of a shrewd lawyer. The argument was constructed around the exceptional circumstances, the preeminence of his liberated see, as opposed to the lowly province Bithynia, hardly an obvious heir of Constantinopolitan splendor, see *Macrides*, Bad Historian; *Karpozilos*, Ecclesiastical Controversy, 92–93, *Prinzing*, Die „Antigraphe."

270 Ponemata, 114.37–40. The surviving members of the Senate in the west, high clergy and the army are presented as the rebuilders of the *Rhomaic* order, Ponemata, 114.40–45.

271 Chomatenos, Ponemata, 146. 134–135. On the issue and the political situation see *Prinzing*, Bedeutung, 139–154.

272 Cf. Chomatenos, Ponemata, 146.40–43.

273 The lenient had the support of Theodore Doukas, Chomatenos, Ponemata, 146.127–134.

274 According to this point of view, due to the colossal power vacuum created by the Emperor of Constantinople's exile, the Bulgarian control of the west of the Empire is to some extent a kind of blessing in disguise. The Bulgarians made it possible for all the widowed bishoprics to have a bishop. This would have otherwise been impossible since these areas could not be restored under Byzantine rule at this period, Chomatenos, Ponemata, 146.92–110.

275 Chomatenos, Ponemata, 8.122.

The Synod of the Archbishopric of Ohrid (Byzantine Bulgaria), nevertheless, chose not to dismiss the clergy (priests, deacons and subdeacons) ordained by these Bulgarobishops on account of two reasons. Firstly, although the Bulgarians of Zagora did not respect the canons and despite the union with Old Rome, they were considered Orthodox given that their beliefs and their way of life were shaped by translations from the Greek holy books, theology, and hagiography. The Bulgarian hierarch with a seat in Tarnovo Vassily[276] is referenced in the acts of Chomatenos as their so-called patriarch (ὁ λεγόμενος πατριάρχης). Chomatenos holds the belief that the pope gave him the status of a patriarch, but he rejects it as invalid. It is acknowledged that he had been a legitimate priest in the archbishopric before being ordained a bishop by the legitimate Byzantine bishop of Vidin (ἐννόμου καὶ Ῥωμαίου) and two others.[277] This bishop of Vidin was later murdered and scorned by the Bulgarians because of his loyalty to Byzantium (Ῥωμανία).[278] This, however, did not negate Vassily's Orthodox episcopal ordination. The second reason why the Synod did not decide to deprive those ordained by Bulgarobishops of the priesthood was to avoid creating confusion in their congregations. According to the reasoning, a well-functioning state depends on a sound parish life. Baptisms, prayers, offerings, and other sacred rites performed by priests are argued to be the substance of a Christian polity and what binds it together.[279] However, the clergy was lightly disciplined for a period of 4 months with additional fasting and kneeling in prayer so that the offenses would be remembered and not dismissed.[280]

The discussion around these questions suggests that, prior to the turmoil, the bishops were Greek-speaking, but the lower clergy ministered in Slavonic irrespective of their familiarity with Greek. It is probable that quite a few people had a basic understanding of both languages for practical reasons.[281] In Chomatenos' collection of records Βούλγαροι can denote the Bulgarians whose *basileus* sits in Tarnovo as well as the inhabitants of his archbishopric (8.18) who were in older times referred to as Illyrians (150.61[282]). Illyrians and Bulgarians are regarded as synonymous when referring to the population of the Archbishopric, due to the use of these names being based on the territory inhabited by the population. Thus despite, struggles with the Bulgarian authorities of Tarnovo, on account of which a *Bulgarian* is the epitome of a barbarian, when referring to his flock, the same noun is used as a regional demonym

276 He received from Pope Innocent III the dignity of primate of all Bulgaria and Vlachia in 1203. It has been argued that his investiture was commemorated on a fresco in the Church of St. Nicholas at Melnik dated between 1204 and 1207, *Todić*, Symbolical Investiture. Cf. *Princing*, Papstvo, 77–85.

277 Chomatenos, Ponemata, 8.102–103; 46.29–33.

278 Chomatenos, Ponemata, 8.104–110. In 1204, Vidin was the centar of the unrest. The Bulgarian ruler Boril had to suppress the resistance to his rule with the assistance of Hungarian troops, *Madgearou*, Asanids, 191.

279 Chomatenos, Ponemata, 146.81–83.

280 Chomatenos, Ponemata, 146.166–172.

281 Cf. *Prinzing*, Bedeutung, 77.

282 In reference to the council of bishops from his archbishopric (...τῇ τῶν Ἰλλυριῶν ἱεραρχῶν δηλαδή, τῇ καὶ τὴν τῶν Βουλγάρων ὕστερον <κε>κληρωμένη ἐπίκλησιν (ἀσάλευτα γὰρ ἐς δεῦρο ἔκειτο ταύτῃ...). Cf. Chomatenos, Vita Clementis, 6.

with no negative overtones.[283] He is the "shepherd of the Bulgarians" even in his poetry. The dedicatory quatrain he had inscribed on the silver revetment with which he adorned an icon of Christ identifies him as Δημητρίου ποιμενάρχου Βουλγάρων.[284] When Chomatenos adheres to the epistolary norm of the provincial woes, he himself is supposedly an acculturated resident among the people of his province, and therefore inevitably barbarized.[285] The connotation of barbarian in this sense, as already discussed,[286] customarily betrays the absence of high culture shaped by education in the capital and personal erudition. The barbarians' use of a foreign, Slavonic language, rather than "lowly" Greek, reinforced the notion of the cultural otherness of *Rhomaic* Bulgaria. Who are the *Rhomaioi* among his Bulgarians? Some scholars think all of them are because they were Byzantine subjects and Christians, and their "culturally semi-barbarian identity" was not that different from "the common Greek-speaking Romans" who were also described as semi-barbarian in culture.[287] Likewise, some understand that the image of the "smelly Bulgarian," as Theophylact describes himself,[288] and descriptions of the same type do not depict a Bulgarian who is barbaric because of his ethnicity, but rather because he is a peasant.[289] Others hold that Roman/Byzantine identity necessarily includes Greek language, thus no native Slavonic speaker of his flock would have passed as Roman.[290] Pertaining to his archbishopric and its surroundings, Chomatenos speaks of the Roman Empire (βασιλεία),[291] the rule (ἀρχή) of the Romans,[292] the Roman authority (ἐξουσία), the Roman territories (χώραι),[293] the laws (νόμοι) of the Romans,[294] the Church (ἐκκλησία) of the Romans,[295] but he rarely speaks of individuals who are Romans/Rhomaioi. In the two relevant instances,

283 In other words, Βούλγαρος may be used both as an ethnonym (a foreign group of people with shared defining characteristics) and as a demonym (residents of the Byzantine ecclesiastical province called *Bulgaria*). Cf. *Prinzing*, Chomateni Ponemata – Indices, 468; *Madgearu*, Asanids, 50.

284 *Kisas*, Natpis Dimitrija Homatijana; *Drpić*, Epigram, 118–119. An acrostic of his hymn (canon) to St. Clement of Ohrid also has him as ποιμενάρχης Βουλγάρων, *Prinzing*, Ponemata diaphora, 50*. Cf. metrical inscription on his seal which styles the title as archpriest of the land of the Bulgarians (Σωτηρίου πλῆσόν με χαρᾶς, Παρθένε, Δημήτριον γῆς Βουλγάρων ἀρχιθύτην: O Virgin, with the joy of salvation fill me, Demetrios, archpriest of the land of Bulgarians), Laurent, Corpus V.3 no. 2017; *Prinzing*, Chomateni Ponemata, 186, ad 50.76.

285 Chomatenos, Ponemata, 8.9–25. Cf. Ponemata, 26.14–16, pertaining to Chomatenos' judgment concerning a case from Berroia, which was dismissed by a local judge as though it had originated from barbarians.

286 See above 39.

287 *Stouraitis*, Roman identity, 199–200, with literature. Cf. *the chapter The Archbishopric of Ohrid from the 11th to the 13th century – Territorial and Ideological Framework*, II, 31–32; *Page*, Being Byzantine, 46.

288 Theophylactus, Epistulae, 4.58–60. Cf. an image of a smelly Cypriot in Constantine Manasses, *Horna*, Hodoiporikon, 344.

289 *Messis*, Du topos de la barbarie.

290 *Kaldellis*, Romanland, 270–271. Cf. *Laiou*, The Foreigner and the Stranger, on the changing conceptions of Rhomaic identity; *Page*, Being Byzantine, 46–67, on the distinction between the "political Roman identity" and the "ethnic Roman identity;" *Shawcross*, The Lost Generation, 32 n.24.

291 Chomatenos, Ponemata, 59.73; 146.70.

292 Chomatenos, Ponemata, 8.127; 11.7; 114.40; 146.104.

293 Chomatenos, Ponemata, 52.31.

294 Chomatenos, Ponemata, 59.71; 81.272; 87.24.

295 Chomatenos, Ponemata, 54.24; 96.3; 150.216.

he describes himself[296] and the bishop of Vidin.[297] In both cases, the identification is justified by the context, which could lead some to question whether they conducted themselves according to the laws. Them being *Rhomaioi* is to suggest that their commitment to the laws is to be expected.[298]

There is evidence that shared ancestry and language gained a more prominent place in the self-perception of the *Rhomaioi* after the fall of Constantinople. Decentralization provoked the fear of dissolution.[299] When Akropolites argues against the Epirote polity, he describes Theodore Komnenos, anointed Emperor by the Archbishop of Bulgaria Chomatenos in 1227,[300] as an ignorant usurper and impersonator of established imperial traditions whose conduct is *pretty Bulgarian* (Βουλγαρικώτερον).[301] In light of the political importance asserted by Chomatenos' throne of Bulgaria in the Epirote polity, the likely target of the pun is the Archbishop of Bulgaria.[302] The disparaging remarks exploit the negative associations attached to Bulgarians as foreign disruptors of the Roman realm. Even when the designation *Bulgarian* conveys only the location of a person in the Byzantine church province of Bulgaria (and not their ethnic identity or ties with the Bulgarian polity),[303] Chomatenos' political adversaries played on its negative overtones in order to diminish his standing. In light of the political importance asserted by Chomatenos' throne of Bulgaria in the Epirote polity, *Bulgarian* became a pejorative to downgrade all subjects of the *Rhomaic* Emperor proclaimed in Epirus, irrespective of ancestry and language. Namely, as enemies, "the Epirots" assume all the attributes of the proverbial barbarians: they break their oaths, and exhibit ignorance of Roman customs and traditions. In Akropolites' narrative they are seemingly treated as an *other*, not truly Roman, a "western sort (genos)."[304] The political and ideological name-calling does not convey much about how the inhabitants of the Church province of Bulgaria perceived themselves. Ohrid itself changed hands more than once during the terms of archbishops Jacob[305] and Constantine Kabasilas.[306]

---

296 Chomatenos, Ponemata, 64.12. Chomatenos delibarates on a case outside of his jurisdiction, cf. *Prinzing*, Chomateni Ponemata, 31*.

297 Chomatenos, Ponemata, 146.30. The bishop of Vidin ordained the cleric who later became the head of the Church in Tarnovo. Similarly, in case 106, which concerns Thessalonike, it is relevant that the *doux* of Thessalonike was a *Rhomaios* (Ponemata, 106.364) because he was involved in a verdict that had to do with the conduct of a Latin metropolitan of Thessalonike.

298 Cf. Chomatenos, Ponemata 151.17. See the chapter *A Glimpse of Daily Life in the Archbishopric of Ohrid*, II, 298.

299 *Shawcross*, The Lost Generation.

300 *Nicol*, Despotat of Epirus, 92.

301 Acropolitus, 21.

302 Cf. *Macrides*, Akropolites, 165 n. 8. On the absence of his iconographic depictions in the revived Byzantine Empire as a kind of *damnatio memoriae* on account of his "separatist role" see *Prinzing*, A Quasi Patriarch, 180–181.

303 Cf. above 42.

304 Cf. *Macrides*, Akropolites, 94–95; *Smarnakis*, Political Power.

305 See Iacobus, Opuscula; Blemmydes, Ad Jacobum; *Mercati*, Giacomo di Bulgaria; *Dujčev*, Die letzten Jahre; *Idem*, Un nouveau temoignage.

306 The control of Ohrid and the surrounding region shifted between Epirote and Nicaean authorities, see *Macrides*, Akropolites, 244, 259, 322, 358; *Nicol*, Despotate of Epirus.

Archbishop Constantine Kabasilas was at one point detained by Emperor Theodore II Laskaris due to his ties to Chomatenos and Epirote politics.[307] Archbishop was later freed, and he accompanied Nicaean troops in 1259 on their reconquest of Ohrid. As the army laid siege around the town, he spoke with the besieged persuading them to yield. Due to his long-standing episcopal service in the archbishopric, Kabasilas was likely a well-known figure among the local population.[308] Akropolites attributes cowardice to the inhabitants of the entire area around Devol, Prespa, Pelagonia, Soskos, Moliskos, which fell into Nicaean hands. In the account, charged with the mentioned political enmity towards the Byzantine authorities in the region, he deems the residents of the territory too willing to submit to all aspiring rulers in order to avoid death and protect their wealth.[309]

Jovana Šijaković

307 He was bishop of Strumica prior to 1234, when he was appointed metropolitan of Dyrrachion. Cf. PLP 10097. He came to be venerated as a saint shortly after his passing. In the late 13th or early 14th century, people who knew him composed a service for his celebration, see *Nichorites,* Grečeskaja služba; *Idem*, Prouchvanija, 65–88; *Pitsakis*, Nouveaux témoignages. On his frescoes see the chapter *The Sacral Topography of the Archbishopric of Ohrid*, II, 286–287.

308 Acropolitus, 80.40–43.

309 Acropolitus, 80. 44–62; cf. *Macrides*, Akropolites, 359–260 n. 11–12.

10.46793/Barb.Rhom.II.075M

The Sacral Topography of the Archbishopric of Ohrid: Architecture, Art, Patronage, and the Cult of Saints in the 11th–13th Century

I. Introduction

Medieval Sacral Topography elucidates the spatial arrangement and positioning of sacred sites, churches, monasteries, shrines, and other religious buildings within medieval cities, towns, and landscapes. This concept is important because the location and architectural organization of religious structures often reflect not only religious beliefs and practices but also political, social, and cultural dynamics. The study of sacral topography involves both archaeological and historical approaches, revealing how the physical layout of sacred spaces was influenced by theological ideas, political power, and local traditions.

This chapter examines the sacral topography of monuments within the Archbishopric of Ohrid, spanning the period from its Byzantine restoration following the fall of the First Bulgarian Empire in 1018 to the pivotal event of Constantinople's fall in 1204, the two turning points in the political and artistic landscapes of the region. The artistic processes in this region under the Frist Bulgarian Empire (864–971) and especially under rulership of Samuel and his successors (976–1018) were marked by large-scale and distinctive characteristics. While the main centers of artistic development were in the eastern parts of the Bulgarian Empire, particularly in the capitals of Pliska and Preslav, and later in Ohrid from the 9th century, the last quarter of the 10th century witnessed a significant socio-political and cultural shift. With the Byzantine onslaught and the relocation of the Preslav capital, the focus of building construction moved to Ohrid, Kastoria and the shores of the nearby Lake Prespa. During this period, several notable ecclesiastical buildings were constructed, including the cathedral church of St. Achilleos in Little Prespa, the smaller Church of St. Germanos in the eponymous village in Prespa, the Church of St. Leontios in Vodoča, near Strumica and several churches in Kastoria. These structures likely played a significant role in shaping architectural developments in the 11th century.[1]

1 See the chapter *Bulgarian Church Architecture and Art: From Origins to 1018*, I; *Ćurčić*, Architecture, 332–334; *Čilingirov*, Cŭrkvata; *Moutsopoulos,* Ē basilikē tou Agiou Achilleiou stēn Prespa.

Following the Byzantine emperor Basil II (976–1025) deposition of the Bulgarian monarchs in 1018, the church-political initiative led to the creation of the Archbishopric of Ohrid in 1019. This new ecclesiastical structure was intended to organize and coordinate the large Slavic-speaking population across the territories united under Byzantine rule.[2] The establishment of the Archbishopric had a notable impact on the expansion of church architecture, particularly in areas that had not seen significant construction during the Bulgarian period. Under the first Ohrid Archbishops, John of Debar (1019–1037) and especially Leo of Ohrid (1037–1056), construction activity spread across various parts of the Balkan Peninsula. Old episcopal sees were renovated and expanded, new churches were built, and monasteries were founded.[3]

The primary goal of this study is to examine the emergence and development of Christian sacral topography and the corresponding visual culture within the territory of the Archbishopric of Ohrid. This analysis is based on available material, including fully or partially preserved sacred objects that are associated with approximately two centuries of architectural and ecclesiastical activities within the Archbishopric of Ohrid, from its establishment in 1019 until 1204, when Constantinople was conquered by the Crusaders (Map 1). Numerous locations are included in this work, offering insight into the diverse architectural and painting styles represented. The architectural variety of these sites reflects the broad spectrum of congregations they served, ranging from monastic communities to urban centers.Churches, as focal points of social attention and economic activity, provide evidence of stability, continuity, and economic growth, which are essential factors in the study of a particular region or bishopric. The study of these churches significantly contributes to discussions on settlement patterns and the identification of socio-economic activities. Since historical texts are often lacking, church buildings can serve as crucial tools for understanding the socio-economic development of a region.

The establishment of the Archbishopric of Ohrid and the reintegration of its territories into the Byzantine Empire likely increased the demand for the construction of new churches and the renovation of old ones during the 11th and 12th centuries, with approximately 200 churches recorded.[4] The creation of new bishoprics, as well as the transfer of certain bishoprics to the Patriarchate of Constantinople in the mid-11th century, brought changes to the local population and undoubtedly influenced the construction of churches. The preserved monuments attest to the development of a distinct regional tradition in both architecture and monumental painting. By examining church architecture and art, this study explores which elements were inherited from the preceding period and which innovations emerged after the territory was incorporated into the Byzantine Empire. The issue of dating, due to the lack of material and literary sources, will also be addressed. This critical topic of dating objects includes

2 See the chapter *Bulgarian Church Architecture and Art: From Origins to 1018*, I.

3 *Zaharova – Mal'ceva*, Hudožestvennye tradicii, 174–199; *Mal'ceva – Freze,* Baziliki, 179–203; *Mal'ceva – Freze*, Stroitel'stvo v Severnoj Makedonii, 422–436.

4 For the number of churches in the bishoprics, refer to the *Project* of the book.

examining the extent to which a distinction can be made between monuments constructed under Bulgarian rule and those built during Byzantine administration, and whether notable differences can be identified – specifically, to what degree Byzantine integration had already taken place. The analysis of painting will also consider the theological changes that became evident during this period. The adoption of older church forms, which symbolize the political and legal continuity of the Archbishopric of Ohrid, will be explored as well. This research argues that continuity of older church forms helped strengthen the reputation of the Archbishopric and its founders.

As centers of their respective bishoprics, the origins of their cathedrals will be analyzed, including the characteristics that distinguish cathedrals from other churches. This analysis considers the variety of architectural forms – from traditional basilicas to domed basilicas, inscribed cross plans, rotundas, and simple single-aisled churches. The location of these structures also plays a crucial role in the creation and interpretation of sacral topography. The study will consider all known cathedrals with precisely identified locations, as well as those presumed to have served as cathedral churches, based on historical texts.

The decentralization of the Byzantine state will also be reflected in changes in the development of art. With the rise of new "aristocracy" and the accumulation of wealth, the mobility of artists creates new models of art that, although connected to the capital, take on certain local characteristics. Through the identity of the founders and their affiliation to certain social strata, the political, ideological, and above all religious reasons for the construction of churches and monasteries in this area will be explored. The respect for older cults and the development of new ones within the Archbishopric of Ohrid will be given particular attention. The creation of each cult is studied as a process that was more or less conditioned by contemporary events. Therefore, the focus is on analyzing how current events and social circumstances are reflected in the process of creation and in the content of the cult, followed by an interpretation of the functions of celebrating the new saint and the impact on the population of the archbishopric. Special phenomenon is of eremitic monasticism. Hagiographic sources cast light on ascetics who were mainly of South Slavic origin, among whom prominent are St. John of Rila, St. Joachim of Osogovo (Sarandopor), St. Gabriel of Lesnovo, St. Prohor of Pčinja and St. Peter of Koriša, who continued the anachorite practice of the Early Byzantine saints.

In defining sacred space, in addition to the social aspect, other equally determining material, spatial, and historical aspects are included. This approach raises the question of the formation of the sacral topography of a space, but also its use and eventual transformation. Hence, research into this transformation and use of sacred space in the area encompassed by the Archbishopric of Ohrid represents an excellent source of information regarding the integration of Byzantium into various spheres of society. Despite extensive analysis of the available material, many questions will inevitably remain unresolved, due to the limited archaeological evidence and the scarcity of comprehensive historical sources from this period. A more detailed insight into the

recorded churches within the territory of the Archbishopric of Ohrid during the 11th and 12th centuries will be provided in the *Corpus of the Sacral Topography of the Archbishopric of Ohrid*, which will follow this publication.

II. Architecture and Art

Exploring the free cross and tetraconch churches

Considering architecture and monumental arts in the Archbishopric of Ohrid, it is essential to contextualize artistic activities in the Ohrid area within broader historical framework of the ecclesiastical and political changes that transpired between the First Bulgarian Empire under Samuel's rulership (976–1014) and its ultimate decline in 1018 when the Byzantines reconquered this territory and established a new Archbishopric in Ohrid, in 1019. The socio-political and changes in church authority can be best related to a group of buildings built during this transitional period (between 976 and 1019). Yet, due to limited historical records and the poor preservation of these structures, dating them accurately remains challenging. Moreover, because the Ohrid region was previously part of the First Bulgarian Empire and Samuel's state, much of the historiography situates these monuments within the Bulgarian architectural tradition. This study finds it essential to analyze these buildings and their art within the broader context of the Byzantine resurgence of church activities within the Archbishopric of Ohrid.

The group of monuments in question includes several churches with central foundations, particularly those of the free cross type. During Samuel's reign, churches of this type expanded, especially in the areas of Morovizd and Glavinitza, which became important strongholds during his rule.[5] Significant building activity in the First Bulgarian Empire, happened particularly in the urban centers such as Pliska, Preslav, Ohrid, and Kastoria, marked by similar church layouts, like the compact triconch form.[6] Remarkably, no churches with a free cross plan were constructed in these areas. The examples from the Morovizd bishopric stand out, such as those in the villages of Žiganci, Teranci, and the Gradište site (Fig. 26, vol. I, 125). All three are characterized by their small size (approximately – 5.8 by 5.8 meters), and likely functioned as cemetery churches, because necropolises have been discovered around them. Based on archaeological evidence only the church in Teranci featured a cylindrical dome.[7] The churches in Teranci and Žiganci have small niches on the eastern wall of the side arms of the cross, a characteristic shared by the church in Gornji Kozjak and the Church of St. Basil Gephyras, both not precisely dated.[8] By comparing churches in Teranci and Žiganci with similar structures, all with cylindrical domes – such as the churches of Zoodochos Pege in Marmiro (Fig. 17, vol. I, 109), Dormition of the Virgin on

5 For more on these bishoprics during Samuel's rule see the chapter *Bulgarian Church Architecture and Art: From Origins to 1018*, I, 198–230.

6 See the chapter *Bulgarian Church Architecture and Art: From Origins to 1018*, I.

7 *Okunjev,* Krstoobrazne crkve, 279–306; *Miljković-Pepek*, L'église de la Vierge, 449–457.

8 *Korać*, Sveti Đorđe, 29–34; *Čilingirov*, Cŭrkvata, 118–119, n. 23; *Ćurčić,* Architecture, 326–327.

the Island of Zvërnec, Koubelidiki in Kastoria, St. Germanos in the village of Prespa, and St. Basil Gephyras near Arta – it has been concluded that most of these churches were likely built in the second half of the 10th century and the early 11th century.[9] In historiography, the churches in Teranci and Žiganci are often compared to those of St. Theodore in Boboševo and St. Nicholas in Sapareva Banja, both located in the Velbăžd Bishopric, which is geographically adjacent to the Morovizd Bishopric.[10]

The Church of St. Theodore is located 2 km north of the town of Boboševo, on a hill on the right bank of the Strymon River, at the site of Selište (Fig. 1).[11] The church is built in the form of a free cross and its dimensions are 7.4 by 6.21 meters. It is built without a narthex and features a wide apse on the eastern side (Fig. 2). The church is partially preserved, with only the central part surviving up to the height just below original dome. The cylindrical dome rests on a round base and has four windows. The dome's diameter is 2.5 meters. The vaults and dome are constructed from brick, while the rest of the building is made of stone, joined with mortar. The dome incorporates Byzantine elements in its masonry, such as the use of brick and wide mortar joints. However, it is noteworthy that the dome is semicircular both externally and internally, which is considered unusual in Byzantine architecture. Scholars dated this church anywhere between the 11th and 14th centuries.[12] Dora Panayotova places its construction in the first quarter of the 11th century, arguing that the architectural style reflects the Byzantine construction techniques of the 11th centuriy.[13] Svetlana Maltseva dates the church to the middle or second half of the 11th century, while Vasil Mikov and Krastyo Miyatev place it in the 13th or 14th century.[14]

The influence of Byzantine architecture is clearer in the Church of St. Nicholas in Sapareva Banja (Fig. 3). The church follows a free cross plan with a dome, and lacks a narthex. It measures 7.2 by 5.5 meters, with relatively short arms of the cross (Fig. 4). The dome is low, compact, and twelve-sided, resting on a low base. It is adorned with arched, blind double niches, which incorporate windows on the south, north, east, and west sides. The apse, located on the eastern side of the church, is semicircular both externally and internally. The church was built using the recessed-brick construction technique.[15] On the southern and northern façades of the church, there are two double blind arcade, each containing one window in every niche. On the western side, there is a single double-blind arcade that houses the church's only entrance. The church serves

9 More on these churches and their dating see the chapter *Bulgarian Church Architecture and Art: From Origins to 1018*, I, 124–130.

10 *Mal'ceva,* Arhitektura, 795–796.

11 *Mikov*, Starini, 333–334; *Nikolova*, Pravoslavnite cŭrkvi, 82–83; *Čilingirov,* Cŭrkvata, 118, n.17; *Mijatev*, Arhitekturata, 250; *Panajotova,* Cŭrkvata Sv. Todor, 101–141.

12 *Mikov*, Starini, 333–334.

13 *Panajotova,* Cŭrkvata Sv. Todor, 101–141.

14 *Mal'ceva,* Arhitektura, 796–799; *Mikov*, Starini, 333–334; *Mijatev*, Arhitekturata, 250.

15 *Mavrodinov*, Starobŭlgarskoto izkustvo, 21; *Panajotova*, Arhitekturno nasledstvo, 130–131; *Miljković-Pepek*, L'église de la Vierge, 456; *Čaneva-Dečevska,* Cŭrkovnata arhitektura v Bŭlgaria, 101; *Čilingirov,* Cŭrkvata, 118, n.16; *Nikolova,* Pravoslavnite cŭrkvi, 175; *Ćurčić*, Architecture, 403–404; *Mal'ceva,* Arhitektura, 782–805.

Fig. 1.
Boboševo,
Church of St. Theodore, remains

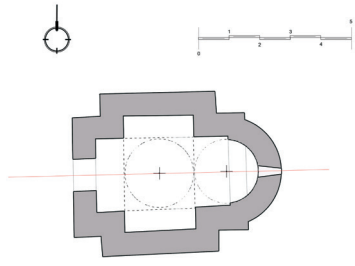


Fig. 2.
Boboševo,
Church of St. Theodore, plan

as a good example of the influence of Byzantine church architecture in the central Balkans. Given the absence of certain characteristic features typical of Constantinople, Slobodan Ćurčić suggests that the church was likely built by a local master who had learned the craft from builders trained in the Byzantine capital.[16]

The Church of St. Nicholas in Sapareva Banja is architecturally similar to churches in Boboševo, Teranci, and Žiganci, and is therefore dated to the period between the 11th and 13th centuries.[17] Due to its Byzantine references, Svetlana Maltseva suggests that the commissioner of the Church of St. Nicholas may have been part of the Byzantine military aristocracy. She draws a parallel between this church and the Church of St. Nicholas in Koluša, proposing that the two churches were constructed by the same team and dating them to the period between 1028 and the first half of the 12th century.[18]

16 *Ćurčić*, Architecture, 403–404.

17 *Nikolova,* Pravoslavnite cŭrkvi, 175.

18 *Mal'ceva,* Arhitektura, 795–797.

Fig. 3.
Sapareva Banja,
Church of St. Nicholas, view from the north

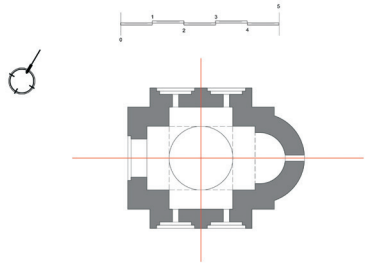


Fig. 4.
Sapareva Banja,
Church of St. Nicholas, plan

Both the churches in Boboševo and Sapareva Banja, based on their small dimensions, likely served a funerary or memorial purpose. The Church of St. Nicholas in Sapareva Banja was probably part of a larger complex. In 1838, when villagers attempted to build a new church west of the existing Church of St. Nicholas they uncovered the old foundations and columns of a much larger church.[19]

The free cross plan was apparently well-suited for churches located in cemeteries or those with a funerary function. The Church of St. Nicholas in Đunis, near Niš, follows this plan. Although the church collapsed at the beginning of the 20th century, it was originally smaller in size, measuring 8.5 by 10 meters, and was situated in the cemetery in Đunis (Fig. 5). The church took the form of a Greek cross, with a semi-circular apse on the eastern, longer arm. It is assumed that it had a dome, though no material evidence of it remains. A narthex was added later to the western end of the church. Based on the remains of frescoes in the narthex that were still visible at the

19 *Mavrodinov*, Ednokorabnata i krŭstovidnata cŭrkva, 62.

time of the church's discovery, it is believed that the narthex was added in the 13th or 14th century.[20] The church was constructed using a technique involving a row of hewn stone with two or three rows of bricks, a method adopted from Byzantine architecture. This construction method was maintained up to a height of 1.5 meters, after which the building became more irregular. The upper part of the church was renovated later, likely at the time when the narthex was added.

One of the interesting features of this church is the series of niches both inside and outside the structure. In addition to the two niches in the apse, there are niches located in the side arms of the cross. These niches are made of brick and are positioned about one meter above the floor. The niche on the eastern wall of the side arms of the cross is analogous to those found in the churches of Žiganci, Teranci, and Gornji Kozjak (Fig. 27, vol. I, 128).[21] Based on these architectural features, the proposed date for the Church of St. Nicholas in Đunis is the mid-11th century.

By examining the churches of the 11th and 12th centuries with a free cross plan and comparing them to those from Samuel's period in the last quarter of the 10th century and first fifteen years of the 11th century, it can be concluded that they were very similar in terms of layout, construction materials, building techniques, and possibly even their funerary functions. This architectural similarity makes it difficult to date the churches with precision or to clearly identify the origin of the builders. Moreover, considered as architectural group, these analogies with churches built during Samuel's reign suggest that there were no significant construction disruptions in the region during the transition of political and state power within the Archbishopric of Ohrid. There was a clear continuity in both the architectural plans of the churches and their construction methods. This continuity can be traced back to the common origins in Byzantine tradition that began with the Christianization of the population in the central Balkans in 7th century. Furhtermore, construction activity continued in certain bishoprics where building had flourished during Samuel's period in the 10th and early 11th centuries. Such uninterrupted and rich architectural endeavour suggests not only economic stability but also a strong, settled population and the strategic importance of these regions despite the change of ruling and political regimes.

A group of churches based on the centralized, free cross plan, both by analogy and, in some cases, perhaps also by function, were widespread in the area of the Archbishopric of Ohrid. These include churches with a triconch or quatrefoil plan, essentially based on the free-cross plan. Such churches were not common in the eastern parts of the First Bulgarian Empire, especially not in the capitals of Pliska and Preslav. However, as previously noted, thanks to the endowments of Sts. Clement and Naum in Ohrid in the late 9th and early 10th centuries, this type of church became widespread in the region.[22]

---

20 *Jovanović*, Stare crkve, 149–165.

21 *Jovanović*, Stare crkve, 149–165; *Ćurčić*, Architecture, 403–404; *Đurić,* Počeci umetnosti, 65.

22 See the chapter *Bulgarian Church Architecture and Art: From Origins to 1018*, I, 164–174.

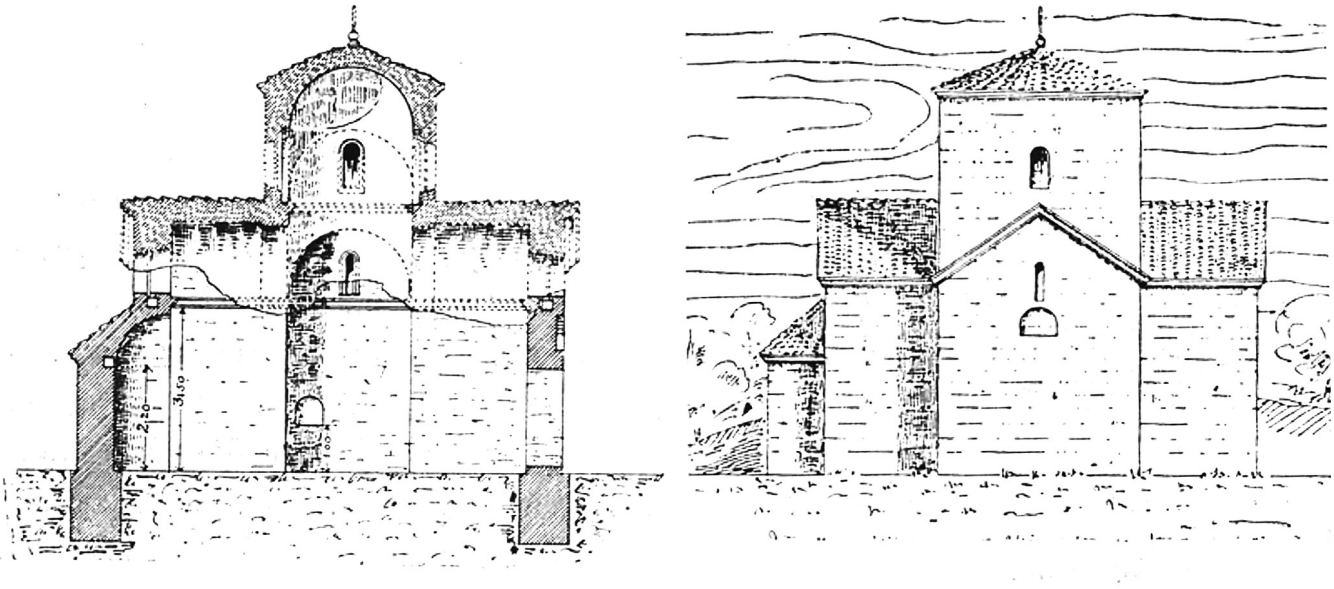


Fig. 5.
Đunis, Church of St. Nicholas, proposed reconstruction

It is difficult to determine whether the triconch churches of the 11th and 12th centuries were modeled on those of the First Bulgarian Empire built in Ohrid, influenced by churches along the Adriatic coast, or directly inspired by Byzantine examples.[23] What is evident, though, is that the central structure of these churches may have had particular functions. This is especially true in areas with a strong connection to Early Christian and Byzantine traditions, where such churches commonly served as burial sites or baptisteries.[24]

The best-preserved building from this period that can be accurately dated is the Church of the Mother of God Eleousa in Veljusa (Fig. 6). According to the inscription above the entrance doors, which lead from the narthex to the nave, the church was originally built in 1080 by Manuel, the former bishop of Tiberiopolis (Strumica), who later became a monk.[25] This monastic church with overall dimensions 13 by 13 meters features a highly recognizable architectural layout, which will be discussed further in this chapter. It consists of three key elements that together form a unique architectural structure. The nave is designed in the shape of a tetraconch, with a narthex and a centralized chapel on the south side. The nave itself is square in plan, framed by four semicircular conches and a dome. The northern and apsidal conches are five-sided on the exterior and round on the interior. The church is constructed using brick in the recessed technique, and its façade is articulated with triple blind arches and two-story niches.

The domes over the nave and narthex are octagonal, while the southern chapel dome is hexagonal.[26] The façade decoration, featuring two-story niches, is reminiscent of 11th-century churches in Constantinople, such as the Gül Mosque and Kilise Camii,

23 *Maltseva*, Ohrid triconch churches, 291–304; *Vežić*, Dalmatinski trikonhosi, 27–66.

24 *Ćurčić*, Architecture, 322–327; *Mal'ceva,* Trikonkhi, 34–58.

25 *Miljković-Pepek,* Veljusa; *Dimitrova,* The Church, 13–24.

26 *Mal'ceva – Freze*, Stroitel'stvo v Severnoj Makedonii, 422–436; *Ćurčić,* Architecture, 406–407; *Korunovski – Dimitrova,* Vizantiska Makedonija, 47–51.

Fig. 6. Veljusa, Church of the Mother of God Eleousa, view from the east

as well as churches from the Monastery of Christ Pantokrator, Constantinople and Nea Moni on the island of Chios.[27] In addition to serving as a monastery church, the church of Veljusa also had a funerary function, serving as a mausoleum.[28]

The tetraconch plan of the church in Veljusa closely parallels that of the small tetraconch church in Zanjevac, Serbia, located in the Vidin Bishopric, measuring 10.5 by 11.5 meters (Fig. 7). All apses, except for the western one, are semicircular on the outside. To the west, two short walls extend perpendicular to the building, creating an unusual rectangular space. Based on the remains of blocks from the layer that collapsed in 1924, the external and internal dimensions of the drum can be determined with greater precision. The drum had a regular cylindrical shape and likely featured four windows, aligned with the axes of the conches.[29] The church is constructed of irregularly laid broken stone and brick, with some bricks and stone parts sourced from a Roman structure in nearby Gamzigrad.

Several later burials have been found within the church, as indicated by the damage to the original floor. The only contemporary structure associated with the church is a tomb discovered beneath the walls of the western apse. Its eastern end extends partly into the apse, while the western end reaches into the vestibule area. The tomb is

27 *Miljković-Pepek,* Veljusa; *Ćurčić,* Architecture, 406–407; *Korunovski – Dimitrova,* Vizantiska Makedonija, 47–51; *Dimitrova,* The Church, 13–24; *Mal'ceva – Freze*, Stroitel'stvo v Severnoj Makedonii, 422–436; *Ousterhout,* Eastern medieval architecture, 409–410; *Mihaljević*, Change, 102–109.

28 *Milanović,* Ever Ready Throne, 1079–1109.

29 *Bošković,* Srednjovekovni spomenici, 203–206.

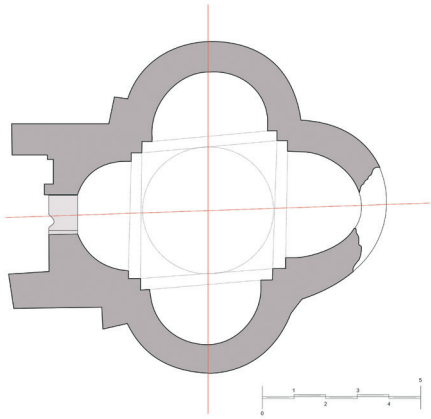


Fig. 7.
Zanjevac,
Church, plan

covered by a barrel brick vault. A recess above the western part of the tomb suggests the possibility of a niche, perhaps once containing a figure of the deceased.[30]

Due to the poor condition of the church and insufficient research, the church's precise dating remains uncertain. Scholars generally believe it was constructed after the establishment of the Archbishopric of Ohrid, likely in the 11th or 12th century. Although its cylindrical dome suggests an earlier date, as seen in examples like the Zoodochos Pege in Marmiro, the Dormition of the Virgin on the Island of Zvërnec, Koubelidiki, or St. Germanos in the eponymous village of Prespa, there are exceptions, as demonstrated by the church in Boboševo. Fragments of paintings found on site suggest they were created in the 14th century, while painted ceramics dating from the 12th or 13th century have also been uncovered. Marinko Stanojević notes the presence of frescoes depicting the Expulsion of Adam and Eve from the garden of Eden.[31] Based on the church's elevated position above the water, Đorđe Stričević proposes that it may have been dedicated to the Archangel Michael, who is also the patron saint of funerary churches. The presence of a tomb could support this theory, and the depiction of the Expulsion of Adam and Eve may be part of a cycle dedicated to St. Archangel Michael.[32]

Some scholars have compared the layout of the Zanjevac church to that of the churches at the St. Clement and St. Naum monasteries in Ohrid. It is likely that the church's design was influenced by the architectural styles of the Byzantine capital, while its construction retains a distinct local character.[33] Given its structure and the relatively uncommon layout of its plan, the church most likely had a funerary function. It may have served as a mausoleum or been an endowment of some kind. There is evidence suggesting that the church was connected to a Holy site, as seen in the tomb on the western side, which was likely planned before the construction of the church began. However, this is difficult to confirm without more information. Nonetheless, the church serves as a good example of the spread of Byzantine influences northward.[34]

30 *Stričević – Subotić*, Iskopavanje Zanjevačke crkve, 307–315.

31 *Stanojević,* Prilozi, 3–8.

32 *Stričević – Subotić*, Iskopavanje Zanjevačke crkve, 307–315.

33 *Ćurčić,* Architecture, 405–406.

34 *Stričević – Subotić*, Iskopavanje Zanjevačke crkve, 307–315.

The church of Zanjevac provides a clear example of how Byzantine influence with local characteristics spread into the northern territories of the archbishopric, areas primarily inhabited by Slavic people. However, as with many churches from the First Bulgarian Empire or the Samuel's state, the lack of extensive archaeological research and the poor preservation of these buildings make it challenging to date them precisely. This is particularly true for churches with a triconch base from the Niš, Braničevo and Skopje bishoprics, and their current dating should be approached with caution.

We have seen that Niš, both as a city and region, served as a waypoint during the time of the Bulgarian state, a role that shifted under Byzantine rule after 1019. Its significance grew further after the establishment of the Theme of Bulgaria in Skopje, when it became an important military base and, at times, a center for *doux* and *katepano* at the end of the 11th century.[35] This shift likely influenced the region's sacral topography, with related architectural expansion. Of particular interest are buildings with a triconch plan, such as the churches of St. Roman near Đunis, St. Nestor in Vitkovac in the Bishopric of Braničevo, St. John above Gornji Matejevac, and the Mother of God in Toplica in the Bishopric of Niš, as well as the Church of the Dormition of the Mother of God in Mrtvica in the Skopje Bishopric.

The Church of St. Roman is located at the foot of Poslonska Mountain, near the village of Praskavče, on the road to Đunis (Fig. 8).[36] The church features a triconch base, with all three conches being semicircular both inside and outside. There is no eastern bay in front of the apse, and the eastern conch is slightly wider, almost horseshoe-shaped (Fig. 9). In the 18th century, a closed narthex was added to the church, with a baptistery on the south side, as indicated by an inscription at the entrance from the narthex.[37] Along the south wall, a chapel marks the tomb of St. Roman. The church also has a polygonal dome. Based on a preserved fragment of a 14th-century painting in the apse, it is believed that the original church was likely renovated in the 14th century.[38]

Architecturally, the church most closely resembles the Church of the Dormition of the Mother of God in Mrtvica, located in the bishopric of Skopje (Fig. 10). The site of the church itself is called Gradište, which indicates the presence of some form of fortification. This is supported by the discovery of a semicircular stone wall to the east of the church, suggesting that an ancient fortification once stood there.[39] The church is a single-aisled triconch building without a dome. Characteristically, it also lacks an eastern bay in front of the apse (Fig. 11).[40] Like the Church of St. Roman, the eastern apse is horseshoe-shaped and nearly as wide as the nave. This apse shape

35 See the chapter *From* Pax Basiliana *to* Pax Byzantina, I, 361–362.

36 *Rakocija*, Manastiri, 198–199; *Petković*, Pregled crkvenih spomenika, 298; *Stanić*, Srednjovekovne crkve, 67; *Veselinović*, Sveti Roman; *Rakocija*, Crkva Sv. Jovana, 121–158.

37 *Riznić*, Starine, 73–77; *Jovanović*, Stare crkve, 49.

38 *Stevović*, Crkva, 167–173.

39 *Jovanović*, Arheološka istraživanja, 512.

40 *Rakocija*, Manastiri, 55–56; *Rakocija*, Crkva Sv. Jovana, 121–158.

Fig. 8.
Đunis, Church of St. Roman, view from the east

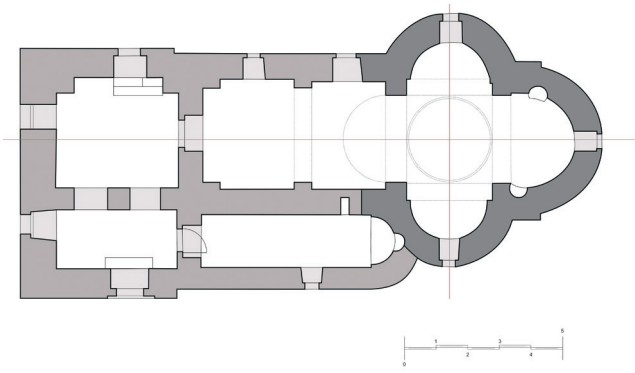


Fig. 9.
Đunis, Church of St. Roman, plan

is characteristic of 6th-century Early Byzantine buildings, leading to the belief that the structure was created by renovating an older church. Additionally, the current apse window has been noticeably shifted to the south. It is presumed that this window is located in the southern opening of the original bifora, with its remains still visible in the apse of the sanctuary wall. The triconch structure may contain remnants of an early 6th-century building,[41] supporting the suggestion that both the Church of St. Roman and the church in Mrtvica were rebuilt during the Middle Ages and later modified during the Ottoman period.[42] However, further archaeological excavations will be needed to confirm this thesis and dating of the structure.

The Church of St. John above Gornji Matejevac has a similar foundation, which, due to the absence of a bay between the altar and the side conches, is classified as an

41 *Pešić*, Crkva Bogorodičinog Uspenja, 93–107.

42 *Stevović*, Crkva, 171–172.

Fig. 10.
Mrtvica, Church of the Dormition of the Mother of God, view from the east

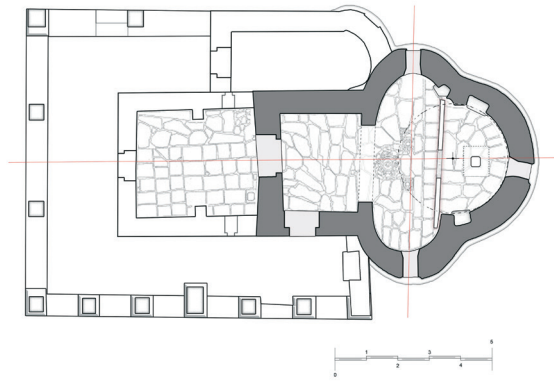


Fig. 11.
Mrtvica, Church of the Dormition of the Mother of God, plan

older church that was most likely rebuilt during the period of the re-establishment of Byzantine rule in the Balkans (Fig. 12, 13).[43] Typologically, churches of St. Roman near Đunis, St. John above Gornji Matejevac, and the Church of the Dormition of the Mother of God in Mrtvica closely resemble the Zanjevac church, as well as those at the monasteries of Sts. Clement and Naum in Ohrid.[44] It is assumed that all three churches had a cemetery function, although the possibility that they were monastery churches should not be ruled out. At the Church of St. Roman, an additional chapel was dedicated to the saint's cult, but without more thorough archaeological research, it is difficult to determine the exact time of the chapel's construction and the observance of the saintly shrine in this church.

43 *Rakocija*, Manastir Sv. Jovana, 117–121; *Rakocija*, Crkva Sv. Jovana, 121–158.

44 *Korać*, Réflexions tu sujet des sources byzantines, 263.

Fig. 12.
Gornji Matejevac,
Church of St. John
view from the east

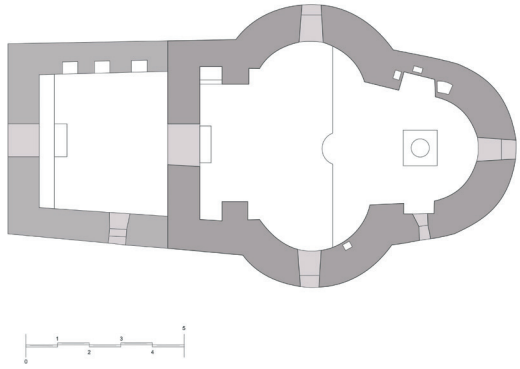


Fig. 13.
Gornji Matejevac,
Church of St. John, plan

The Church of St. Nestor in Vitkovac has a somewhat different design. The current church dates from the 19th century, but its foundation is triconch, with a bay between the altar sanctuary and the side conches. The sanctuary conch is noticeably larger than the other two, suggesting that the basic plan of the church may repeat the design of an older structure. The foundations of the earlier church, which are still visible in some areas, have been largely excavated and replaced by newer ones. A photograph from 1876 shows foundations next to the church that may belong to an even older building. One factor suggesting a possible Middle Byzantine period dating for the church is its proximity to the Gradac fortress, which was likely built originally in the 6th century during the time of Emperor Justinian, but also saw activity between the 10th and 12th centuries. A gold coin of Emperor Manuel I Komnenos (1143–1180) was found at the fortress, further supporting this timeline.[45]

45 *Riznić*, Starine, 73; *Đokić*, Sveti Nestor, 87–112; *Dumić – Đokić – Stević*, Planina nedosanjanih snova, 7–88.

The possible reconstruction and expansion of older Early Byzantine churches during the restoration of Byzantine rule in the Balkans in the 11th and 12th centuries is best illustrated by the Church of the Mother of God in Toplica, in the Bishopric of Niš (Fig. 14). The church was constructed in the 12th century by the Serbian ruler Stefan Nemanja (1166–1196, †1199), as will be discussed in more detail later. Nemanja built the church on the foundations of an older triconch-plan church, where the eastern apse is three-sided on the outside (Fig. 15).[46] The church, dimensions, featured an open vestibule to the west with square side rooms. Although no remains were found during excavations to suggest the existence of an atrium, it has been proposed that one may have existed, based on the discovery of capitals and columns. These, along with the original *tribelon* on the western façade, could have been used in the atrium. The church was constructed from bricks on stone foundations, and the walls of the narthex likely incorporated both stone and brick. The dating of the triconch foundation to the 6th century is now widely accepted and is supported by archaeological findings [47]

The architectural interventions made by Nemanja in the 12th century were primarily focused on the altar partition, of which two piers with three arches between them, as well as the adjacent walls, remained intact until 1935. The central part of the nave was covered by an elliptical dome, which rested on the transverse arch of the western extension of the conch and a corresponding arch on the eastern side, by the altar partition.[48] In terms of its layout, the older church most closely resembles the Byzantine Church E at Caričin Grad from the 6th (Fig. 49, vol. I, 171) century. The layouts of both churches are very similar to those of the monasteries of Sts. Clement and Naum in Ohrid.[49]

A similar foundation plan is also found in Church No. 4 within the Pernik fortress, in the Bishopric of Serdica. This church, measuring approximately 5.75 by 7 meters, has a triconch base with an elongated nave in the east-west direction and lacks a narthex. The apse is three-sided on the outside, while the side conches are semicircular. The eastern arm of the cross is slightly shorter than the western one, and the altar space is undivided. The church was built on the remains of earlier ruins after an earthquake in 1063, indicating that it was constructed after that time. Based on the foundation plan, it closely resembles the Church of St. Panteleimon in Ohrid, which was built in the final decades of the 9th century (Fig. 44, vol. I, 166).[50] Located within the fortress, the church may have served as a private funerary chapel. Of the similar plan is the main church (katholikon) of the Monastery of Panagia Molyvdoskepastos, located near the village of Molyvdoskepastos (formerly Depalitsa) in Konitsa, near the present-day Greek-Albanian border. The eastern part of the church is constructed as a triconch with a dome, featuring side niches that are semicircular in plan, while the

46 *Zečević*, Nemanjine crkve, 292–301.

47 Ibid., 292–301.

48 *Čanak-Medić – Bošković*, Arhitektura I, 40–47; *Zečević*, Nemanjine crkve, 301–313; *Stričević*, Srednjevekovna restauracija, 199–211.

49 See the chapter *Bulgarian Church Architecture and Art: From Origins to 1018*, I, 164–174.

50 *Nikolova*, Pravoslavnite cŭrkvi, 156; *Čangova*, Gradoustrojstvo, 66; *Vasilieva*, Rekonstruki na crkvite, 93–99.

Fig. 14.
Toplica,
Church of the Mother of God,
view from the east

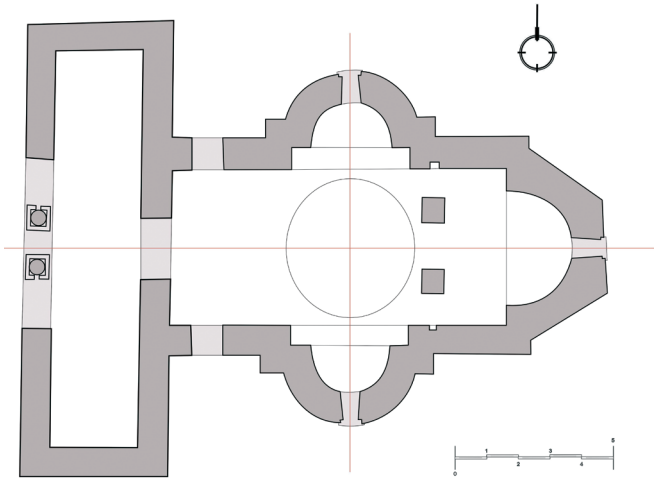


Fig. 15.
Toplica,
Church of the Mother of God,
plan

Fig. 16.
Little Prespa Lake, Lefkoni,
Church of St. Anna, view
from the northwest

sanctuary apse is polygonal. The original dome likely rested on a cylindrical drum. The eastern section of the church is dated to the 11th century.[51]

The popularity of the triconch that emerged with activities of Sts. Clement and his follower Naum in Ohrid, and somewhat later in Kastoria, apparently continued in the geographically close area of Prespa. This is evidenced by the 2012 discovery of the Church of St. Anna in Lefkoni on the east shore of Little Prespa Lake (Fig. 16). The church is preserved to a height of 1.5 to 2 meters. The church's base consists of three conches that are semicircular both inside and out. To the west is the narthex that was probably built at the same time as the church or shortly after its construction. What makes the interior layout of the church interesting is the inclusion of two niches set within the thickness of the east wall. The exterior is constructed from rough local limestone with mortar, giving it a crude and austere appearance, devoid of ornamentation. Brick is used primarily in the interior walls, including the arched eastern niches. The triconch design of the church at Lefkoni, most clearly expressed in its plan, raises important questions regarding its date and historical context. Monastic architecture under the influence of Sts. Clement and Naum in Ohrid became a significant model for small-scale triconch churches. The church at Lefkoni clearly shares similarities in architectural design, scale, and construction technique with churches from Ohrid and Kastoria, such as those of St. Clement, St. Naum, Zlesti, Gorica, Izdeglavje, Koubelidiki, and Transfiguration. However, the semicircular shape of the lateral and eastern apses aligns it more closely with the churches of Koubelidiki and, especially, that of the Church of the Transfiguration.[52] This is easily understood in the context of the geographical spread of compact triconch churches and the connections between Kastoria and Prespa during the final phase of Samuel's state and within the Archbishopric of Ohrid. The uneven quality of the masonry suggests later building repairs.

The best basis for dating the church is likely the partially preserved frescoes. Among the preserved figures are depictions of six standing bishops in the lower zone of the sanctuary apse. They are shown frontally, holding closed codices in their hands. The frontal bishop with a closed codex, an innovation of the late 10th century, which became a common feature in the apsidal decoration of Byzantine churches by the late 11th and early 12th centuries. This arrangement can be found in churches like St. Achilleos, Panagia Chalkeon, and Hagia Sophia in Ohrid, while Veljusa marked a change in iconography, featuring two frontal bishops and two in a three-quarter pose sharing the central apse.[53] By the 12th century, the iconography shifted to depict bishops in a three-quarter pose, holding open scrolls inscribed with the text of the liturgy, facing the center of the apse.[54] Based on these representations, the church can be dated to the period between the 11th and 12th centuries. Regrettably, although the church has been archaeologically investigated, no publications have been made about it as of writing this chapter.

51 *Mamaloukos*, Ē naodomia (in print), with older bibliography.

52 See the chapter *Bulgarian Church Architecture and Art: From Origins to 1018*, I, 164–174, 256–271.

53 *Milanović*, Ever Ready Throne, 1079–1109.

54 *Gerstel*, Beholding, 15–48.

Basilical plan churches and their architectural significance

Basilicas, due to their larger size and simplicity of construction, were widespread in the Central Balkan region, particularly during the Early Christian and Early Byzantine periods.[55] They saw a resurgence with the Christianization of the Slavic population in the mid-9th century. This type of building was particularly favored by the Bulgarian rulers of the First Bulgarian Empire, especially in the capitals and early monasteries. Following the establishment of the Archbishopric of Ohrid, basilicas experienced a renewed prominence, not only as cathedral churches, as will be discussed in more detail, but also as parish or monastery churches.[56] The difficulty in precisely dating these basilicas, as a group of typologically related buildings, complicates our understanding of the architectural changes that took place after Byzantium regained control of these territories. This is further compounded by the fact that the majority of the basilicas were constructed on the sites of earlier Christian or Early Byzantine basilicas, often replicating their scale and layout to varying degrees. Additionally, most basilicas were constructed using materials and building techniques common throughout the 9th to 12th centuries, further challenging their precise dating.

This is the case with the basilica in Velušina, near Bitola, located in the vicinity of the Early Christian episcopal see and archaeological site of Herakleia Lynkestis. The three-aisled basilica, more modest in scale with a central nave width of 5.4 meters, was constructed atop the foundations of an Earlier Christian or Early Byzantine basilica (Fig. 17). It shares similarities with basilicas in Thessaly, Epirus, and Macedonia, particularly in Kastoria. Geographically, it is most closely related to the Church of the Holy Apostles on the island of St. Achilleos in Prespa, dating to the end of the 10th or the first quarter of the 11th (Fig. 62, vol. I, 194) century.[57] The church has been preserved in a modified form. One of the key features of this basilica is the three-arched passages, or *tribelons*, located on the western, southern, and northern sides of the nave (Fig. 18). These passages provide communication between the narthex, the central nave, and the side aisles. *Tribelons*, surrounding the central space of the church, originate from Early Christian architecture and were used in some of the most significant and monumental domed basilicas or cruciform churches with an ambulatory during the period from the 9th to the 11th centuries, such as the Church of the Monastery of Christ at Chora in Constantinople, Hagia Sophia in Thessalonike, and the Church of the Dormition of the Mother of God in Labovo, Albania. Based on the architectural features and the earliest layer of frescoes, it has been proposed that the building dates to the 10th-early 11th century.[58] The church underwent a complete renovation in the 18th century, during which its shape was partially altered. The graves discovered in the central nave and near the northern aisle, where burials were conducted in two levels, suggest the church had a funerary function. Still, the jewelry finds from the graves are chronologically atypical,

55 *Altripp*, Die Basilika in Byzanz, 8–12.

56 *Korać,* O srednjovekovnim bazilikama, 68–76.

57 *Mihajlovski*, The Basilica of the Dormition, 225–241.

58 *Paligora*, Crkvata Uspenie na Sv. Bogorodica, 15–22; *Mihajlovski*, O duhovnoto nalsedstvo, 141–156.

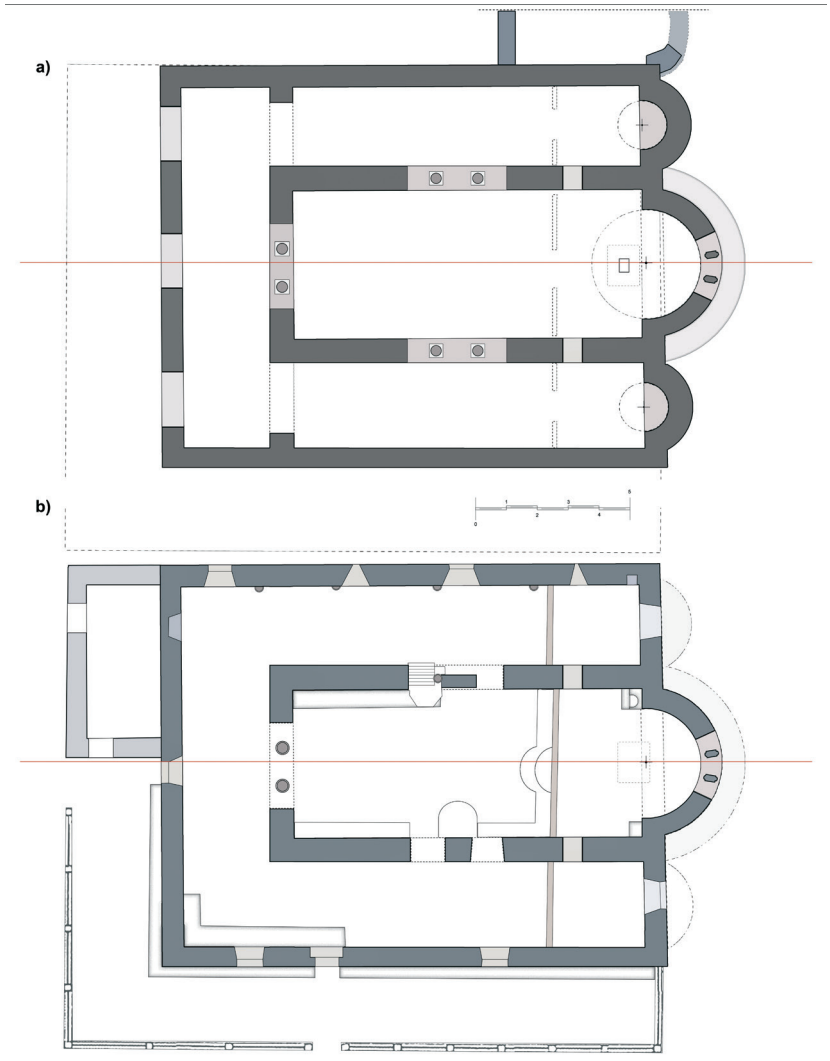


Fig. 17.
Velušina,
Church of Dormition
of the Mother of God, plan

Fig. 18.
Velušina,
Church of Dormition
of the Mother of God,
interior, ambulatory space

making it difficult to determine the exact date of the burials. The shape of some earrings indicates that the population was likely Slavic and of middle-class status.[59]

Two basilicas, located in the territory of present-day Greece and Albania in the bishoprics of Bela and Bouthroton, are distinguished by their design, featuring a three-aisled plan with two apses in the eastern part, which cover the central and northern aisles. These regions were annexed to the Archbishopric of Ohrid by Emperor Basil II's second charter in 1020, which fulfilled the demands of the Archbishop of Ohrid. As part of this annexation, a modest number of *klerikoi* and *paroikoi* were assigned to the area – 15 and 12 *klerikoi* and *paroikoi* respectively.[60] However, following the death of Emperor Basil II, the bishoprics of Bouthroton, Bela, Dryinoupolis, and Ioannina soon became part of the Metropolitanate of Naupaktos again, as evidenced by *Notitia* No. 13, dated to the late 11th and early 12th centuries.[61]

The remains of the Church of St. Donatos were discovered in the village of Glyky in Epirus. The church was built on the site of a destroyed Early Christian structure and features the base of a three-aisled basilica with a three-part sanctuary area and a narthex. The central altar apse is three-sided on the outside and semicircular on the inside. The eastern wall of the *prothesis* was originally flat, with a semicircular apse added later. Between the central and side naves, there is a colonnade consisting of three pillars on each side. The narthex, which has a second story, also has a three-part structure. The building employs the *pseudoisodomum* stone masonry technique, alternating rows of wider and narrower stone blocks, with occasional use of horizontally placed bricks, one or two courses at a time. Material from the earlier structure was reused in the construction of the Byzantine basilica.[62]

Of particular interest is the dedication of the church to St. Donatos, Bishop of Euroea, during the reign of Emperor Theodosios I (379–395). It is not possible to definitively determine whether the identified Early Christian building corresponds to the episcopal church that was established by Bishop Donatos during Emperor Theodosios I's reign. However, the popularity of St. Donatos' relics likely influenced the dedication of the Byzantine church. The secondary use of Early Christian architectural elements suggests that the ancient episcopal seat of Euroea was located not far from the present-day village of Glyky. Scholars date the basilica to the period between the 9th and 11th centuries. Based on the preserved sculptural decoration – featuring motifs such as a two-pointed cross with cypresses, a Maltese cross, palmettes, and zoomorphic figures that correspond to 11th-century sculpture – it is likely to have been built in the late 10th or early 11th century.[63]

59 *Filipovska-Lazarevska*, Arheolški naodi, 9–20.

60 See the chapter *From* Pax Basiliana *to* Pax Byzantina, I, 343–348.

61 See the chapter *The Archbishopric of Ohrid from the 11th to the 13th century – territorial and ideological framework*, II.

62 *Pallas*, Anaskaphē eis to Glyky, 194–200; *Pallas*, Anaskaphē tēs byzantinēs basilikēs, 82–89; *Pallas*, Symplērōmatikē ereuna eis tēn basilikēn, 99–108.

63 *Vanderheyde*, Les reliefs de l'église Saint-Donat, 697–717; *Vokotopoulos*, Ē ekklēsiastikē architektonikē, 95, 208–209.

The remains of a three-aisled basilica near the village of Çiflik, in the Saranda district of present-day Albania, feature a design with two apses in the eastern part, covering the central and northern aisles. This layout is reminiscent of the Church of St. Donatos. The church likely served a monastic function. In terms of its ground plan, it also shares similarities with the Church of St. John in Delvine (Shën Janit), which dates from the first half of the 11th century. Based on these comparisons, the church can be approximately dated to the end of the 10th century or the beginning of the 11th century.[64]

The construction of basilicas on the foundations of Early Christian or Early Byzantine churches continued throughout the 11th and 12th centuries. A notable example is the large church located at the site of the Orta Mosque in Strumica (Fig. 19). The foundations of a medieval church, built atop an Early Christian basilica, were discovered beneath the mosque. Due to the difficulty of excavating fully under the mosque's existing walls, only a small portion of the church was uncovered, suggesting that it had larger dimensions than the typical three-aisled basilica. So far, the apse area, the southwestern section of the nave with an entrance on the western side, and the southern outer wall have been revealed. The medieval basilica is estimated to be approximately 20 meters long and 13 meters wide. The rectangular structure is divided internally by two massive piers, each measuring 1.5 by 2 to 2.5 meters. It had an apse at the east end, but no traces of a narthex at the west. Based on the available archaeological evidence, it is difficult to determine whether the church was a domed basilica. It was constructed using a crude masonry technique, incorporating stone and mud, with bricks used for leveling. Based on the numerous fresco fragments found in situ, which have yet to be fully analyzed, the church is generally dated to the late 11th or early 12th century. However, one fresco fragment suggests an earlier phase of painting. Using analogies with similar artworks, particularly from the first phase of the Church of the Hagioi Anargyroi in Kastoria, it could be dated to the first half of the 11th century. The basilica's construction, though using relatively low-quality materials, combined with the high-quality frescoes, provide insight into Strumica's urban and economic development, particularly during the period of the re-establishment of Byzantine rule.[65]

Only the foundations of the church identified as the Forty Martyrs of Sebaste at Bansko near Strumica have been discovered. It was a single-aisle basilica with a unique arrangement of the tripartite sanctuary. The building has a length of 19.20 meters, with the width changing from 7.11 meters at the west to 14.46 meters at the east. The shift in width results from a departure from the standard basilical design. Specifically, monumental chambers extend an additional bay, flanking both sides of the main apse and bema. The size and design of these side chapels suggest that they functioned both

64 *Meksi*, Dy bazilika Mesjetare, 71–74; *Meksi*, Arkitektura mesjetare, 146–148; *Meksi*, Arkitektura e Kishave, 197–199; *Mučaj – Hobdari – Vitaliotis*, Kisha mesjetare e Peshkëpisë (Nivicë), 299, n.53.

65 *Atanasova,* Kontinuitet na sakralnata gradežna aktivnost, 325–331; *Cvetanov,* Srednovekovni tvrdini, 167–169, 354, Table 14. 10; *Lazarevska,* Orta džamija, 143–144; *Rujak – Maninski (ed.),* Strumica, 76–80; *Stamenova,* Preliminaren izveštaj, 351–355; *Stamenova-Atanasova,* Duhovnite tradicii, 14–57; *Stamenova-Atanasova,* Overview of the Results, 507–514.

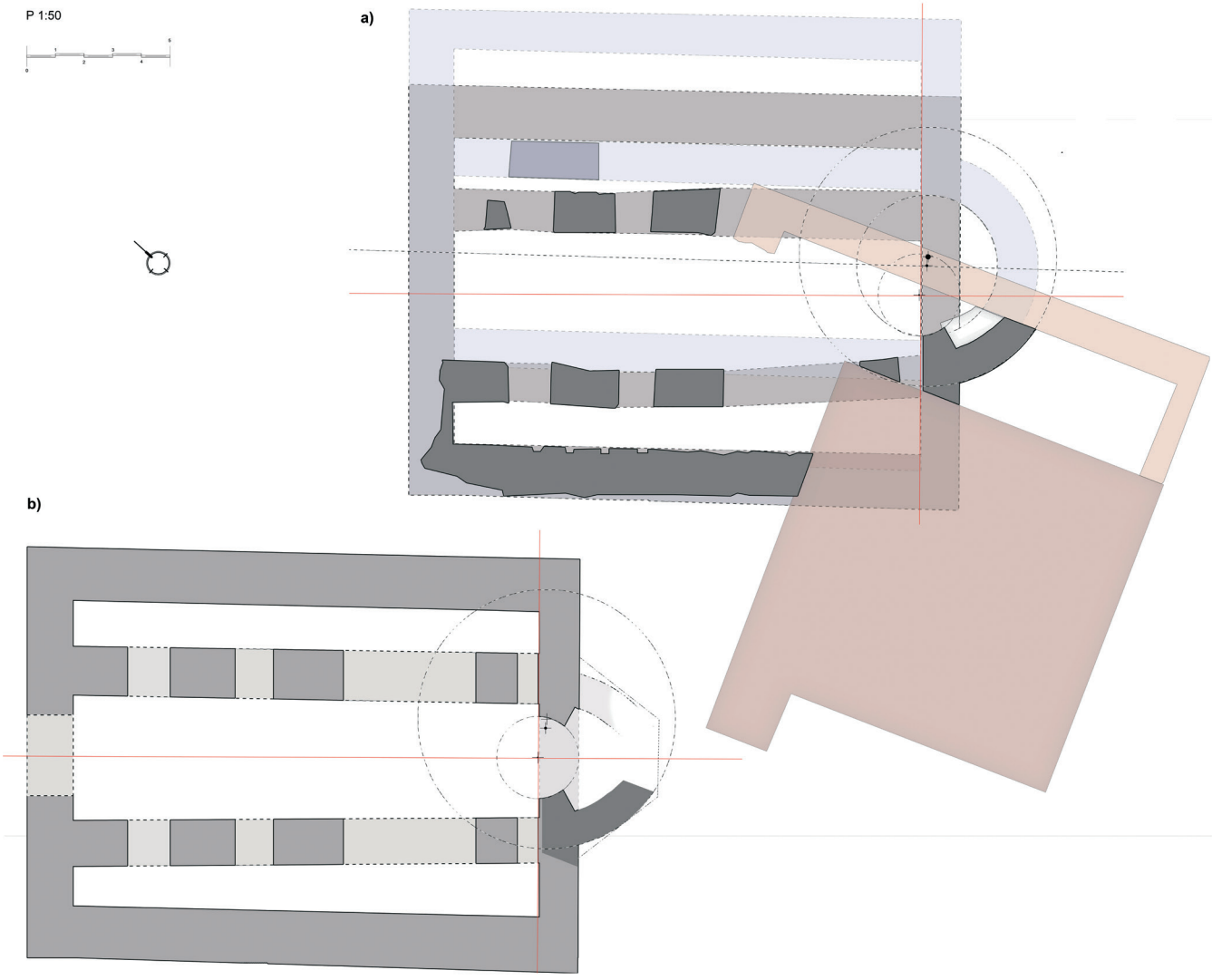


Fig. 19. Strumica, Orta Mosque, remains of the basilica, plan

as *pastophoria* and as independent chapels. In the central apse, a two-stepped *synthronon* was located (Fig. 20). To the east, there were three apses, initially semicircular both inside and outside, which were later rebuilt into polygonal apses on the exterior. A similar transformation occurred in the episcopal church in Morovizd, where the semicircular apses of the *pastophoria* from the earlier church were altered into polygonal apses during the second phase in the 11th century.[66]

The two phases of construction of the church walls differ, with two distinct *cloisonné* techniques employed. While most of the church was built with unhewn stone, the niches were constructed using hewn stone. The façade of the basilica featured a system of blind arcade. There is no surviving evidence of a vaulted superstructure. Given the width of the walls, it was most likely covered with a timber roof, with a barrel vault probably used in the sanctuary area. The plan of the Church of the Forty Martyrs of Sebaste, while adhering to traditional architectural forms, also incorporates

66 See the chapter *Bulgarian Church Architecture and Art: From Origins to 1018*, I, 206–212.

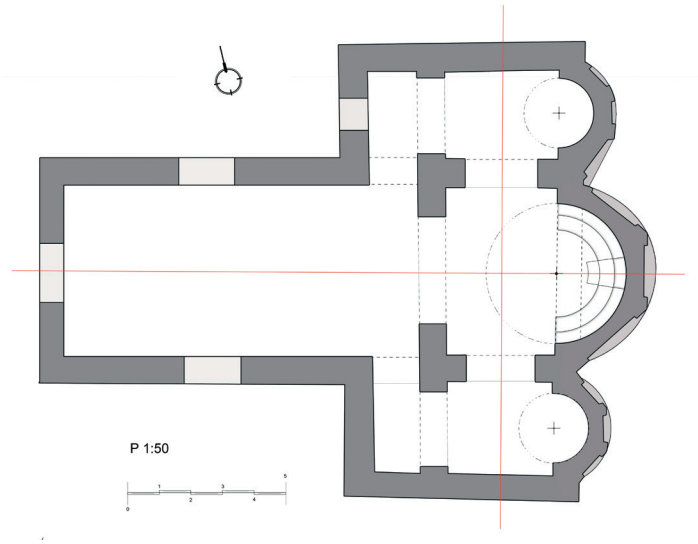


Fig. 20.
Bansko,
Church of the Forty
Martyrs of Sebaste, plan

certain innovations and changes, likely in response to the church's functional requirements. The arrangement of the sanctuary in this church finds close analogies in two 11th-century basilicas that functioned as cathedrals: the Metropolis of Sts. Theodores in Serres and the second construction phase of the church at the Crkvište site in Morovizd.[67] The discovery of parts of the original sanctuary screens at the Church of the Forty Martyrs of Sebaste reveals two phases. The first phase, as reconstructed by Aleksandar Cicimov, shows structural, decorative, and ornamental similarities to Middle Byzantine sanctuary screens, particularly those found at the Crkvište site in Morovizd and the Veljusa Church. The second phase of decorative sculpture, dating to the late 12th century, is attributed to less skilled craftsmen. Artifacts uncovered in the necropolis near the church suggest that it remained in use until the 13th century, after which it was primarily used for burials.[68]

Based on the two different construction phases and the decorative sculpture, it is reasonable to date the first phase of the church to the late 11th or early 12th century. The church's size, along with the presence of a *synthronon*, suggests a connection to episcopal functions. Located in the area of an ancient Roman health resort and only 15 kilometers from the episcopal center in Vodoča, it is possible that this basilica served as part of the bishop of Strumica's residence. If the original dedication of the church at Bansko is indeed preserved in the toponym Forty Martyrs of Sebaste, a close connection with the complex of churches dedicated to St. Leontios at Vodoča can be inferred. The bishop of Strumica, who succeeded Bishop Manuel – the founder of Veljusa – may have been involved in the creation of two significant projects around 1100: the third construction phase of Vodoča and the initial phase of the Forty Martyrs of Sebaste.[69]

67 *Cvetanov*, Thermal Springs, 522, 524–525; *Koco – Miljković-Pepek*, Novootkrienata crkva, 65–69; *Miljković-Pepek,* L'architecture, 491; *Rujak – Maninski* (ed.), Strumica i Strumičko, 82–83; *Taseva – Sekulov,* The Great Bath.

68 *Cicimov,* Mermernata oltarna pregrada, 101–103; *Filipova,* Arhitektonska dekorativna skulptura, 43, 68, 70, 93, 108.

69 On the cult of the Forty Martyrs of Sebaste, see below, 273–275.

The example of the Church of the Hagioi Anargyroi in Kastoria, which will be discussed in more detail later, best illustrates the continuity as well as the changes that occurred when the city was returned to Byzantine control. The church was built according to the plan of a shortened basilica, following earlier examples such as the churches of Hagios Stephanos and Taxiarches Metropoleos.[70] The change is evident in the fact that the height of the central part, once a distinctive feature of the Basilica of Hagios Stephanos, is somewhat lower in the Church of the Hagioi Anargyroi. Additionally, while the façade largely follows the design of the 10th-century churches in Kastoria, it incorporates elements such as blind niches that are more characteristic of Constantinople's architecture.[71]

Certainly, the influence of Kastoria spread during the 11th century to various regions within the Archbishopric of Ohrid. In the Bishopric of Berat/Horaia, elements of Kastorian architecture can be observed in the Church of St. Nicholas in Perondi, Berat, also known as Kisha e Shën-Kollit (Fig. 21). The earliest mention of the church dates to 1399, where it is referred to as the Monastery of Shën-Kollit të Pentarhondëve, listed among the possessions that were taken and given to Teodor I Muzaka (Theodhorit I Muzakës) from Berat to protect them from Turkish attacks.[72]

The church follows a three-aisled basilica plan and retains the oldest section, which includes the altar space, nave, and narthex. The nave, altar space, and portions of the northern and southern walls of the narthex are still preserved. However, the western wall of the narthex from the first Byzantine phase can only be traced through its plan. (Fig. 22). The second phase of construction added a narthex and bell tower to the west, built on the foundations of the original narthex. The central nave is both higher and wider than the side aisles, which are separated by a single column with two arches and covered by a timber roof. At its eastern end, the nave terminates in a pediment. It is illuminated by six windows set high in the northern and southern walls, rising above the roofs of the side aisles. The altar space consists of three parts: the bema, the *prothesis*, and the *diakonikon*. The bema is directly connected to the central nave and is covered by a semicircular vault. It is separated from the *pastophoria* by L-shaped pilasters and arched passages. The *pastophoria* are also accessible from the side aisles. The main apse is five-sided, while the side apses are three-sided on the outside. Archaeological intervention in the apsidal area revealed that the foundation was originally semicircular, rather than the polygonal shape of the current apse. This discovery has led researchers to interpret the wall as part of an earlier church. This is similar to the situation in Crkvište at Morovidz and the Forty Martyrs of Sebaste in Bansko.

Inside the church, the capitals on the antique columns of the arcade are noteworthy. They are of the impost capital type and imitate the Ionic capital. The impost in the northern arcade features a stylized animal face with two leaves on either side, while

70 For the churches see the chapter *Bulgarian Church Architecture and Art: From Origins to 1018*, I, 256–271.

71 *Zakharova,* On the 10th–11th Century Churches, 171–188.

72 *Meksi*, Arhitektura e Kishave, 152.

Fig. 21.
Perondi, Church of St. Nicholas
(Kisha e Shën-Kollit),
view from the northeast

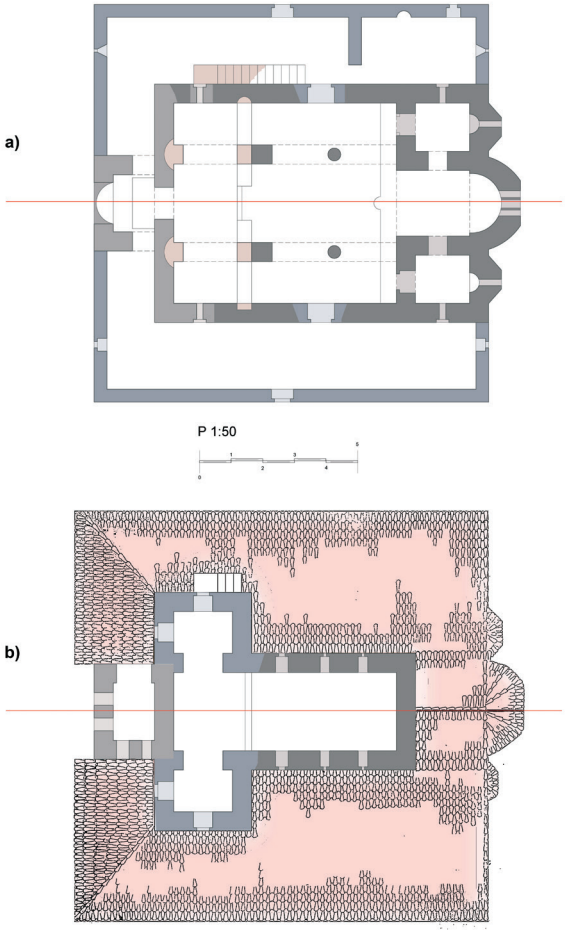


Fig. 22.
Perondi, Church of St. Nicholas
(Kisha e Shën-Kollit), plan

the one in the southern arcade displays a cross between two flowers. Both are facing the interior of the central nave only. During the first phase, masonry was done using rows of bricks and stones, with bricks arranged in horizontal courses and rough, more or less regular stones.

In the absence of written sources, the construction date can only be determined through typological comparisons, both in terms of planning and construction techniques, with other churches in what is now Albania or the Balkans. Basilicas of similar size were built across the Balkans in the 11th century, and some share parallels in both appearance and specific elements. The church shares similarities in plan with the churches of Hagios Stephanos and Hagioi Anargyroi in Kastoria (Fig. 119). Its nearly square shape, along with the separated eastern space, further suggests an 11th-century construction date. Based on these characteristics, the first phase of the church was most likely completed in the second half of the 11th century.[73]

The transformation of buildings into basilicas in the Dryinoupolis Bishopric is a fascinating example of architectural evolution. The Bishopric of Dryinoupolis is listed as part of the Naupaktos Metropolis in the earliest episcopal *Notitiae* of the Church of Constantinople, from the 10th century. Afterward, the region of Dryinoupolis was annexed by Samuel's state and subsequently became part of the Bulgarian Church. As part of the Byzantine reconquest, the local bishoprics of Bouthroton, Bela, Dryinoupolis, and Ioannina returned to the Metropolitanate of Naupaktos, under the Patriarchate of Constantinople.[74] However, because these areas had previously belonged to Samuel's domain, Emperor Basil II, responding to the demands of the Archbishop of Ohrid, re-subordinated the Bishopric of Dryinoupolis to the Archbishopric of Ohrid in his second charter of 1020.[75] Nonetheless, as we have seen, following the death of Emperor Basil II, the bishoprics of Bouthroton, Bela, Dryinoupolis, and Ioannina were once again placed under the Metropolitanate of Naupaktos.[76]

In the case of the Church of St. John (Kisha e Shën Janit) in the village of Shijan, Delvine (Delvinë) municipality, the excavation reveals significant changes through multiple construction phases (Fig. 23). In the first phase, likely dating from the 9th or 10th century, the church initially had single-aisled plan dimensions of 14.35–14.50 meters by 4.75–4.95 meters, with a simple altar apse equipped with a *synthronon*, of which the first step remains. The church also had five entrances: one to the west and four symmetrically on the north and south sides, which hints at the church's importance and accessibility.[77]

During the second phase, the church was expanded into a three-aisled basilica by adding two side aisles, resulting in final dimensions of 14.50 by 11.50 meters. These aisles were separated by arcade supported by pillars, each arcade comprising

73 *Meksi*, Arkitektura, 19–43; *Meksi*, Arhitektura e Kishave, 152–154.

74 *Komatina,* Oblast Vagenitija, 91–93.

75 See the chapter *From* Pax Basiliana *to* Pax Byzantina, I, 343–348.

76 *Komatina,* Oblast Vagenitija, 93.

77 *Mučaj et al.,* Shën Janit, Delvinë, 93–123.

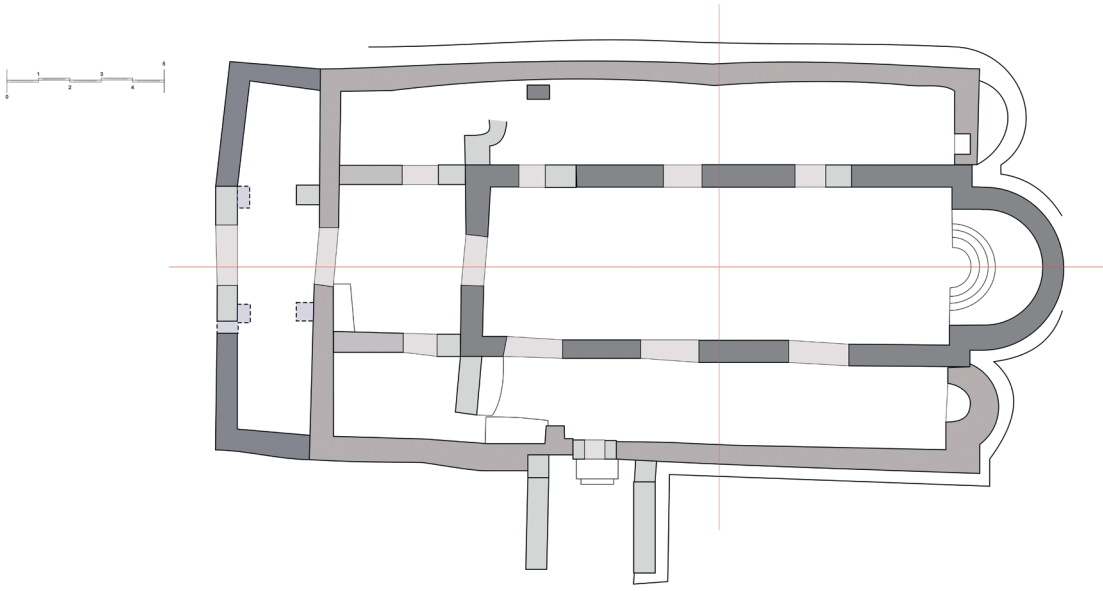


Fig. 23.
Shijan, Delvine,
Church of St. John
(Kisha e Shën Janit), plan

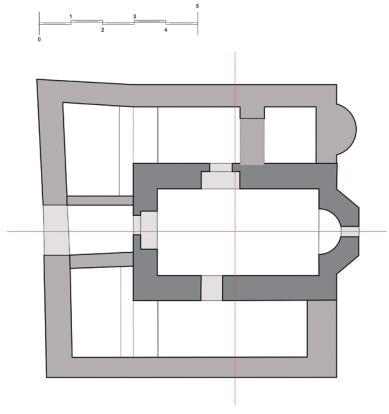


Fig. 24.
Fiqt'e Lape, Kamenica,
Church No. 9, plan

three arches. Each of the three aisles featured its own apse, with the apse of the northern aisle having a flat wall. This expansion reflects growing architectural complexity and the desire for a larger, more functional space. The masonry of the second phase remained similar to the first phase, but with lower quality stone and a greater use of mortar. The floor of the altar area has been preserved, consisting of three large limestone blocks, with traces of holes where four pillars from the original altar partition stood. In front of the altar partition, there was a passage leading from the altar to the ambo. The floor also featured frames in an *opus sectile* design, enhancing the aesthetic value of the space.

Fragments of the ambo have been preserved, along with pieces of architectural plastic and sculptural decoration from the liturgical furniture, including a transenna with an eagle figure and the base of the ciborium, with remnants of its arches. The preserved marble capitals of the ciborium, which feature decoration similar to the capitals in the Church of St. Donatos in Glyke, suggest that the second phase took place during the first half of the 11th century. The church also served a funerary function, as

indicated by a sarcophagus made of stone slabs, partially embedded in the wall, found in the western part of the southern nave. A significant number of burials were carried out inside the church – primarily in the apse and side aisles. Several graves date to the period after the church was abandoned.[78]

Church No. 9 in Fiqt'e Lape, near the village of Kamenica, also in the Dryinoupolis Bishopric, follows a similar pattern to the transformation of the Church of St. John in Delvine (Fig. 24). Originally built as a single-aisled church it was later expanded with the addition of north and south aisles, as well as a narthex. This expansion transformed the church into a three-aisled basilica, featuring two apses and a narthex. This design closely resembles that of the Church of St. Donatos and the basilica in the village of Çiflik, both of which also have two apses.[79]

The northern apse is semicircular on the outside but flat on the inside. The central apse contains a raised platform, indicating the likely presence of a *synthronon*. Since no stone remains of the *synthronon* are found, it is plausible that the seating was made of wood, in contrast to the more permanent stone structures often seen in other basilicas. The masonry technique used in the renovation of this church mirrors that of the Church of St. John in Delvine, suggesting a similar construction method, likely involving a combination of stone and mortar. The similarities in construction with the Church of St. John in Delvine, along with the layout resembling the basilicas of St. Donatos and the one in the village of Çiflik, could indicate an earlier construction date, possibly in the first half of the 11th century. However, the presence of certain ceramics and the fresco decoration point to a construction date in the second half of the 12th century. During this period, the church had already been re-incorporated into the Naupaktos Metropolis.[80]

This renovation process demonstrates the continuity of basilical architecture, with both functional changes and aesthetic enhancements, as churches adapted to the growing needs of their communities while maintaining links to earlier architectural traditions. The motive for the expansion of churches in this manner may indicate several factors: an increased number of parishioners, a change in the church's status, or a shift in its function. In Dryinoupolis, both churches featured some form of *synthronon* in the apse, suggesting a connection to episcopal functions, similar to the Basilica of the Forty Martyrs of Sebaste in Bansko near Strumica.

In the central area of the Archbishopric of Ohrid, within the bishoprics of Niš, Ras, Prizren, and Serdica, several basilicas were built. Only the basilica in Porkuplje has been preserved, though in an altered form. The others are known mainly through archaeological finds, or through their segments that have been incorporated into newer buildings.

---

78 *Mučaj et al.,* Shën Janit, Delvinë, 93–123; *Hobdari*, Ambonët, 325–350; *Xhyheri*, Nuovi dati sui "bacini" murati, 366–370; *Xhyheri*, I vasi acustici, 1–18.

79 On 5th and 6th century basilicas with two apses, along the Adriatic, *Ćurčić,* Architecture, 160–169, 234–238.

80 *Ristani – Muçaj – Xhyheri*, Të dhëna të reja për fshatin, 215–236; *Ristani et al.,* Fshati mesjetar, 431–449.

The Church of St. Prokopios in eponymous town Prokuplje, located in the Bishopric of Niš, may have been built during the time of Samuel and later renovated in the 11th century (Fig. 25). The church is situated at the foot of the medieval Hisar in Prokuplje. The church has undergone several renovations in recent history, beginning with a major renovation in 1734, as documented in two records by the Bishop of Niš and Toplica, Ioannikios (1702–1734).[81] Today, it is primarily a five-aisled basilica, which makes it difficult to determine much about the original appearance of the building.

The central part of the church consists of a nave with two aisles, measuring 12.5 by 9.25 meters, and a narthex measuring 9.25 by 3.8 meters. On the eastern side, it ends with three apses, semicircular both inside and outside. On the northern side, there is an additional aisle known as the tutor's department, along with a bell tower, while to the south lies the chapel housing the tomb of St. Prokopios. The church has a gable roof and lacks a dome. The exterior is plastered and painted, except for the southern façade, which displays masonry made of irregularly stacked bricks and broken stone.

The first possible mention of Prokuplje in the Middle Ages is found in the first *sigillion* of Basil II from 1019, where it refers to places belonging to the Niš Bishopric, listing the names Κόμπλος and Τόπλιτζα.[82] It has traditionally been assumed that Κόμπλος refers to Prokuplje, and Τόπλιτζα to Kuršumlija. However, it is more likely that Prokuplje was called Τόπλιτζα (Toplica) due to its natural characteristics of warm place/warm river (toplica) in Serbian/ Slavic languages.[83] Reliable information about the church comes much later from the end of the 14th century, particularly referring the event in 1386 when the relics of St. Prokopios were transferred to Prokuplje from the cathedral church in Niš.[84] Prokuplje is also mentioned in the 1395 charter of Princess Milica (1335–1405) and her sons to the Russian Monastery of St. Panteleimon on Mount Athos, where it is referred to as being in Toplica, the city of St. Prokopios. It was only with the transfer of the relics that the church and the city received the name St. Prokopios.[85]

Gabriel Millet was the first scholar to publish the foundation of the building the Church of St. Prokopios and believed it was modeled after the Church of Hagia Sophia in Ohrid.[86] Đurđe Bošković dated the church to the 9th–11th century.[87] Archaeological investigations conducted between 1983 and 1985 revealed two medieval construction phases. Of the original church, only the extensive walls of the apse, the western wall of the nave, and the walls of the southern and probably northern aisles have survived.

The first phase is most clearly visible in the apse of the *diakonikon*, which is built from broken stone with rare use of brick. There is a possibility that the church during

81 *Stojanović*, Stari srpski zapisi, 26–25

82 *Gelzer*, Ungedruckte, 42–46.

83 *Milošević – Đurić*, Crkva Sv. Prokopija, 83–106.

84 *Jireček*, Vojna cesta od Beograda, 126, 133; *Ruvarac*, Predlošci k obasneniju, 9–13.

85 *Novaković*, Zakonski spomenici, 518.

86 *Millet,* L'ancient are serbe, 45.

87 *Bošković*, Rad na proučavanju, 301.

Fig. 25.
Prokuplje, Church of St. Prokopios, view from the east

this phase was cross-in-square, with a dome above the central area supported by pillars. It is hypothesized that the dome was supported by two pillars on the eastern side and two pillars on the western side. This design aligns with the monastery architecture of the First Bulgarian Empire, such as the churches in Avradaka No. 1 and No. 2 in Preslav.[88] This phase is indirectly dated to the period of Samuel's rule, likely towards the end of the 10th century.

After the establishment of Byzantine rule in the region, the church was renovated. The basilical form of the church belongs to this later construction phase. The basilica's shape was achieved by inserting two rows of pillars and two semi-pillars between the apse and the western wall. The nave is divided by four pillars, which support the barrel vault of the main nave, as well as the barrel vaults of the side aisles. The side aisles are half the width of the main nave. The connection between the two phases is evident in the differing construction techniques. The addition of piers closed the windows on the western façade. In this phase, the masonry was done exclusively with bricks and mortar joints 3–5 cm thick. Based on a preserved fragment of the painting, this phase was originally dated to the first half of the 11th century. However, according to a new interpretation by Dragan Vojvodić, the painting is now dated to the first decade of the 13th century.[89] Therefore, the question of an 11th-century architectural phase remains open. Between 1386 and 1395, a tomb was added to the south side to accommodate the newly arrived relics of St. Prokopios. In the westernmost arch of the south aisle,

88 *Ćurčić*, Architecture, 292.

89 *Vojvodić*, Ostaci starijeg slikarstva, 223–225.

17th-century paintings have been preserved.[90] Other construction phases relate to renovations in the 18th century and later.[91] In the *diakonikon*, several graves from two stratigraphic layers were discovered: one older than the original church and the other likely from the 15th century.

Traces of the original, oldest paintings remain in the apse of the *diakonikon*, just above the current floor level. This decoration imitates a rather crude marble inlay. Paintings from the second phase were found in the south aisle, which is the only aisle so far explored. On the east side of the second pier, there is a bust of a monumental, once-standing figure of a holy warrior (Fig. 26). Although the painting was originally dated to the first half of the 11th century, new stylistic analysis suggests that the warrior saint may represent St. George and was likely painted in the first decade of the 13th century. [92]

On the western wall of the second column in the soffit of the arch, between the first and second columns, a third layer of painting has been preserved. On the upright fresco surface, the figure of St. Pachomios, with an inscription, is visible. Above St. Pachomios, at the very top of the vault, is a six-winged cherub. This painting is most likely from the 17th century. [93]

The basilicas in the bishoprics of Prizren and Ras are located beneath later medieval buildings, and our knowledge of them is limited to partial archaeological findings. While investigating the complex of churches of the Peć Patriarchate, archaeologists discovered that part of an older church had been incorporated into the nave of the Church of the Holy Apostles, constructed in the 13th century (Fig. 27). This older building includes the western and both side walls of the longitudinal nave, along with pilasters at the eastern end, near the dome area. On the ground to the north and south of the Church of the Holy Apostles, the beginnings of walls built along the longitudinal walls of the church were found, structurally connected to it. These walls remained at their full height until the construction of the current side churches of the complex. Fresco remnants were discovered within the space formed by these walls. The masonry indicates that the older building was preserved up to a height of about 4 meters. Of this older structure, only part of the western door and one on each side remain. The findings thus far suggest that beneath the Peć churches and within their walls lie remnants of buildings from two earlier periods, preceding the 13th-century church.

Two construction stages have been identified on the western side. The older phase includes the base of the southern part of the western wall of the narthex. More complete information is available about the second stage, which allows for a proposed reconstruction of its spatial configuration. The western part of the main space of this

90 *Milošević – Đurić*, Crkva Sv. Prokopija, 88–89.

91 Ibid., 99.

92 *Milošević – Đurić*, Crkva Sv. Prokopija, 92–95.

93 Ibid., 92–95.

Fig. 26. Prokuplje, Church of St. Prokopios, east face of the southeast pier of the nave, St. George?, fragment

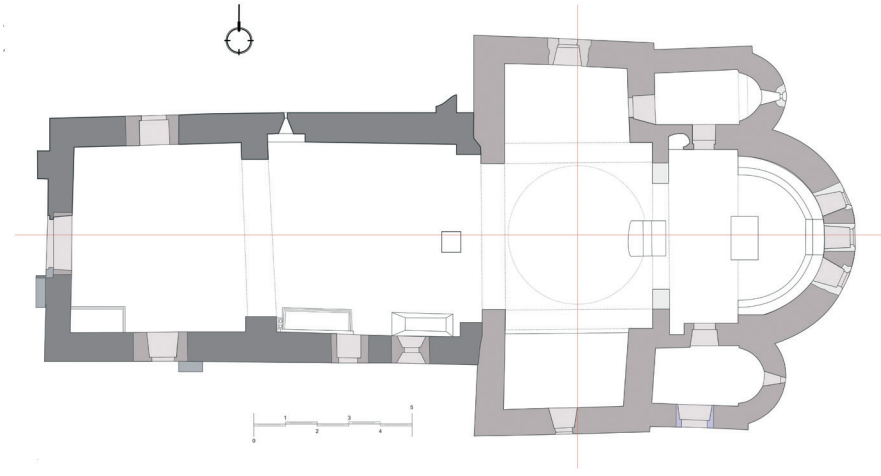


Fig. 27. Peć, Patriarchy of Peć, Church of the Holy Apostles, plan

church is known, and based on the inferred rhythm of the pilasters dividing it into bays, we can hypothesize how far it extended. The doors on the side walls reveal that parts of this building were designed as a basilica, with side sections separated from the central space by solid walls. Remains of free-standing supports to the west of the narthex indicate the presence of a porch, suggesting that there was a wall some distance away from them. The existence of this wall is crucial for reconstructing the spatial layout of the basilica, as it implies a larger, enclosed space between the wall and the porch. In this expansive chamber, we can identify the narthex of the basilica, while the remains in front of it correspond to the atrium and side chambers of the church.[94]

94 *Čanak-Medić*, Arhitektura prve polovine XIII veka II, 24–29.

Small remnants of the lower layer of frescoes behind the pilasters, belonging to the older architectural phase of the Church of the Holy Apostles, were also discovered. These frescoes depict an imitation of stone cladding, a style known from better-preserved examples dating to the 11th century. Archaeological investigations conducted north and south of the Holy Apostles additionally uncovered fragments of paintings, which were part of the decoration of the original side aisles of the basilica.[95]

Much attention was paid to the dating of the described architectural ensemble, for which no direct historical data exists. The dating was compared with similar basilicas from the neighboring region of Bosnia, where side aisles separated by a solid wall are considered Early Christian. Additionally, reference was made to the so-called „three-church basilica" type, to which the older church in Peć also belongs.[96] Such buildings are rare in Greece and Constantinople, but they are common in neighboring Bosnia and were frequently constructed in Georgia between the 6th and 10th centuries.[97]

The dating of the Peć basilica to an early phase is complicated by remains from the first construction stage. The construction technique, particularly the use of alternating rows of stones with one or more layers of *opus listatum* bricks, suggests that the basilica belongs to the Middle Byzantine period. Therefore, the second stage of construction, to which the basilica corresponds, could not have occurred before the 11th century. The lower layer of frescoes behind the pilasters, which currently divide the aisles in the nave, is likely contemporary with this construction phase. Though only small remnants have survived, these frescoes are identifiable as part of a system that imitates stone cladding, a decorative style found in better preserved examples from the 11th century.[98]

It is possible that the basilica was built shortly after the establishment of Byzantine rule in these areas. The expansion of church architecture into the central regions of the Archbishopric of Ohrid is also suggested by the newly discovered basilica in the Bishopric of Ras, found beneath the foundations of the Church of the Ascension in the Mileševa Monastery, an endowment of Vladislav Nemanjić (1234–1243) from the 13th century.[99] The first suggestion of an older church beneath the foundations of the current church was proposed by Đurđe Bošković, who interpreted the striking irregularity of the temple's foundation (narrowing towards the west), and specifically the absence of a bay in front of the altar, as evidence that the central part of the sanctuary originally belonged to an older temple and was incorporated into a new architectural ensemble.[100] Some twenty years later, Bošković, in collaboration with Milka Čanak-Medić, revisited this architectural and stratigraphic problem, offering preliminary

95 *Ivanović*, Konzervatorski radovi, 206; *Čanak-Medić*, Arhitektura prve polovine XIII veka II, 24–29; *Đurić – Ćirković – Korać*, Pećka Patrijaršija, 26–32.

96 *Čanak-Medić,* Prilog proučavanju crkve Sv. Apostola, 165–169; *ISN* I, 396 (*V. J. Đurić*).

97 *Čanak-Medić,* Arhitektura prve polovine XIII veka II, 29.

98 Ibid., 29.

99 *Čanak-Medić – Kandić*, Arhitektura prve polovine XIII veka I, 119–173.

100 *Bošković*, Arhitektura, 281.

archaeological support and reiterating the view that the altar area of the Mileševa church is older than its other parts.[101]

In recent years, this opinion has been expanded with hypotheses regarding the appearance of the original Mileševa church. According to Radovan Bunardžić, Vladislav's endowment was built atop the foundations of a three-aisled Byzantine basilica. Bunardžić further suggests that the remains of two square-shaped buildings found in the northeast and northwest parts represent traces of towers, while the remains of the wall south of the existing church likely belong to the original Byzantine structure. In his reconstruction of the Byzantine complex, Bunardžić suggests the walls on the western side, near the so-called ‚new residence,' as well as those on the northern side of the complex. To date the Byzantine church and its walls, the author cites 17th-century sources that refer to the great antiquity of the Mileševa Monastery, tracing its origins back to the reign of Byzantine emperor Alexios I Komnenos (1081–1118).[102]

In the Bishopric of Serdica, at the Pernik fortress, the foundations of a relatively spacious three-aisled basilica No. 2 have been excavated. The church appears to have a central nave and two lateral aisles, ending with three semicircular apses in the east, with the central one being larger. There is no narthex, and the entrance to the basilica was probably only from the west side. Its dimensions are 21.60 by 15.75 meters. The central nave was separated from the side aisles by four columns or pillars. The church was built in a clumsy manner, with very thin walls, leading to the assumption that it had a wooden roof structure. It has been preserved only in its foundations, which remain about 0.40 cm high. It is unclear whether the building was originally a single-aisled structure and later divided into three naves, or if it was designed that way from the start.[103]

The basilica has a rather simplified plan and slightly reduced proportions, characteristics not typical of central Byzantine Constantinopolitan architecture but common in provincial Byzantine and Bulgarian church construction in the 10th–11th centuries. As an architectural form, the basilica from Pernik is comparable to the Church of St. Stephen in Nessebar from the 11th century. However, in terms of external plan outlines, it is closest to the Church of St. Nicholas in Melnik, dated variously spanning from late 9th to 13th century.[104] Church No. 2 was likely constructed around the same time, as its foundations were laid over the remains of a church destroyed in the 11th century.[105] Its construction would have occurred before the destruction of Pernik by Stefan Nemanja in the 1180s, as noted in his biography.[106]

---

101 *Bošković – Čanak-Medić*, Neka pitanja, 7–23.

102 *Bunardžić*, Prilozi za stariju istoriju, 343–359.

103 *Vasilieva*, Rekonstruki na crkvite, 93–99; *Nikolova,* Pravoslavnite cŭrkvi, 156; *Čangova*, Gradoustrojstvo, 12–88.

104 See the chapter *Bulgarian Church Architecture and Art: From Origins to 1018*, I, 249–250.

105 *Čangova*, Gradoustrojstvo, 64–66.

106 *Stefan Prvovenčani*, Život Stefana Nemanje, 41.

Architectural diversity of cross-in-square churches

The cross-in-square architectural type originated from Constantinople, where it became dominant from the 10th century, as evidenced by churches such as the Theotokos *tou Libos* (907) and Myrelaion (920). The influence of this style in Constantinople led to its widespread adoption across the Balkans between 1000 and 1250.[107] The key characteristics of this church type include: a square nave with a central dome supported by four free-standing columns; a three-part altar space in the east; and a narthex in the west. Notably, the eastern and western sections of the church are usually of nearly equal dimensions, ensuring the dome is centrally located within the architectural layout. Additionally, a significant feature, also borrowed from Constantinople, is the clear articulation of all spatial volumes both inside and outside, using pilasters.[108] On the façades, these pilasters are often connected by blind arcade, creating a distinctive form of articulation.

This type of church, originating in Constantinople, spread throughout the Balkans, especially during the First Bulgarian Empire, where it became common in monastery churches in Preslav.[109] The expansion of the cross-in-square type beyond Preslav during the period of Bulgarian rule is exemplified by the Church of the Fifteen Martyrs of Tiberiopolis in Strumica, which closely resembles the monastic churches excavated along the right bank of the Ticha River in Preslav.[110] Unlike the Constantinople models, where four free-standing columns often supported the dome, churches in the Balkans more commonly employed piers.[111] This adaptation likely occurred in regions where Late Antique columns were unavailable for reuse as *spolia*. These churches served various purposes, including as palatial, monastic, parish, or funerary spaces. They were typically small-scale structures, designed for smaller congregations or private use.

The history of the Church of St. Leontios in Vodoča, near Strumica, and its significance have already been discussed.[112] Here, the focus is on the history of this building complex after the Byzantine reconquest in 1018. The Eastern Church, dedicated to St. Leontios and likely built during the reign of Bulgarian ruler Samuel, was destroyed during the Byzantine invasion under Basil II. One of the first buildings constructed as a church with an inscribed cross plan and a dome supported by four free-standing piers within the newly established Archbishopric of Ohrid was the so-called Western Church, dedicated to the Presentation of the Virgin Mary, located in the monastery complex of Vodoča (Fig. 28). The church was constructed to the west of the ruins of the earlier eastern church and is dated between 1019 and 1037, linking it to the tenure of

107 For these churches, see *Ćurčić*, Architecture, 274–277; *Marinis*, The Original Form, 267–303; *Marinis,* Architecture and Ritual, 172–175; *Ousterhout*, Eastern medieval architecture, 319, 354–357.

108 *Ćurčić*, Articulation of Church facades, 17–27.

109 This activity is detailed in the chapter *Bulgarian Church Architecture and Art: From Origins to 1018*, I, 174–179.

110 See the chapter *Bulgarian Church Architecture and Art: From Origins to 1018*, I, 110–130.

111 *Ćurčić,* Architecture, 328–329.

112 See the chapter *Bulgarian Church Architecture and Art: From Origins to 1018*, I, 212–215.

Fig. 28.
Vodoča,
Church of the
Presentation of
the Virgin Mary
(Western Church),
view from the south

Archbishop John. However, its construction may have begun during the reign of Archbishop Leo. Rather than rebuilding the monumental Bulgarian church, the new commissioner opted for a more modestly proportioned structure, featuring a dome with a diameter of about 2.5 meters and dimensions of 9.6 by 12.5 meters. The church lacked both an eastern bay and a narthex. The design and masonry of the Western Church are likely of local origin, influenced by architectural traditions in Epirus and Macedonia (Fig. 29). In terms of design concept and scale, the Western Church closely resembles churches such as St. Germanos in Prespa and the church of Zemen Monastery, both from the first half of the 11th century. Additionally, the southern façade is articulated by triple arched niches, similar to those of Hagioi Anargyroi in Kastoria (Fig. 117).[113]

113 *Ćurčić*, Architecture, 331–332, 407–408; *Bošković – Tomovski,* Vodoča, 33–37; *Jovanović*, O Vodoči i Veljusi, 131–135; *Miljković-Pepek*, Kompleksot crkvi vo Vodoča; *Dimitrova*, Ars Inimitabilis, 343–356; *Korunovski*

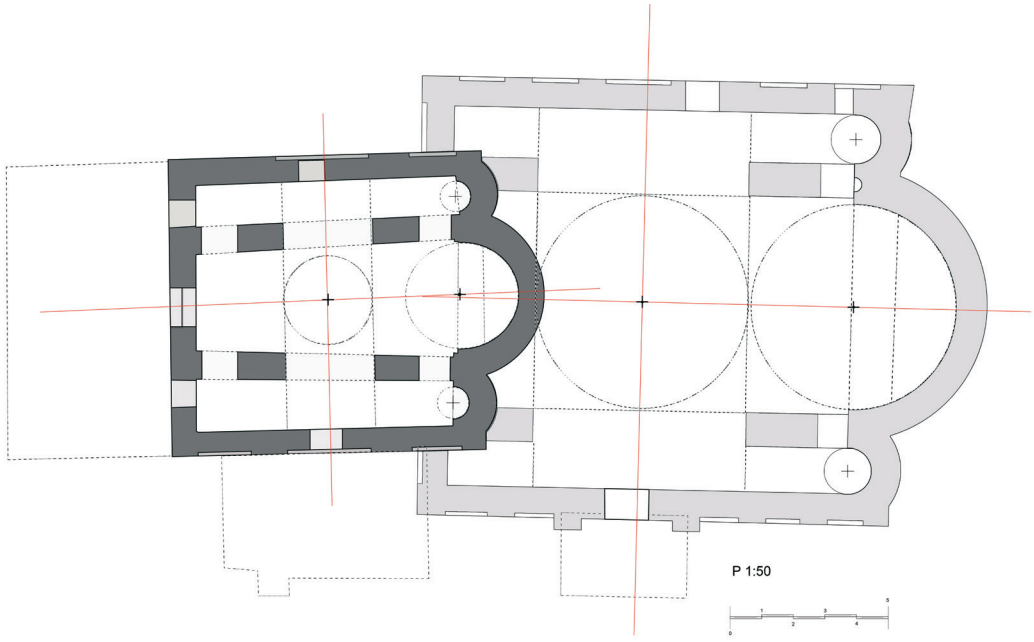


Fig. 29.
Vodoča, Church of the Presentation of the Virgin Mary (Western Church), plan

The construction of churches in the Bishopric of Velbăžd is particularly noteworthy. The significance of Velbăžd dates back to Roman times when it was the center of Ulpia Pautalia, a name given to the region during the reign of Emperor Trajan (98–117 CE). In late antiquity, a fortress was constructed on Hisarlaka Hill, which was later rebuilt by Justinian in the 6th century. Velbăžd likely became a separate bishopric during the time of Samuel or even earlier.[114] The 1019 charter of Basil II confirms that this territory was incorporated into the Bishopric of Velbăžd, which included the towns of Suteska, Germania, Terimer, Stob, Lower Suteska, and Razlog.[115] While the first charter of Basil granted a smaller number of *klerikoi* and *paroikoi* – 15 for each – the region seems to have held particular importance within the Archbishopric of Ohrid as the main military and administrative center of the Byzantine Empire.[116] This is further evidenced by the several significant churches built under strong Byzantine influence.

In the Velbăžd Bishopric, alongside the previously mentioned free cross churches, the earliest preserved church with an inscribed cross plan and a dome is the Church of St. John the Theologian in the Zemen Monastery (Fig. 30).[117] The monastery is located near the slopes of Konyavska Mountain in the Strymon River Valley, approximately 76 km from Sofia and about 15 km from the main road connecting Sofia with Kyustendil.

– *Dimitrova*, Vizantiska Makedonija, 45–47; *Mal'ceva – Freze*, Stroitel'stvo v Severnoj Makedonii, 429; *Zaharova – Mal'ceva*, Hudožestvennye tradicii, 189–191.

114 See the chapter *Bulgarian Church Architecture and Art: From Origins to 1018*, I, 202–204.; *Komatina*, Diocesan Structure, 801–802.

115 *Gelzer*, Ungedruckte, 43.7–10.

116 See the chapter *From* Pax Basiliana *to* Pax Byzantina, I, 354–355.

117 *Mavrodinov*, Starobŭlgarskoto izkustvo, 16–18; *Čilingirov,* Cŭrkvata, 118, n.3; *Nikolova,* Pravoslavnite cŭrkvi, 173–174; *Ćurčić,* Architecture, 483–485; *Hristova-Trifonova*, Zemen Monastery, 3–7; *Mal'ceva,* Arhitektura, 787–792.

Fig. 30.
Zemen, Church of St. John the Theologian, view from the west

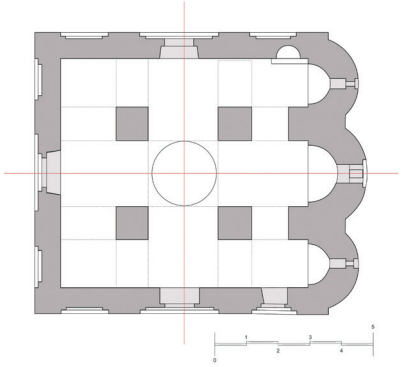


Fig. 31.
Zemen, Church of St. John the Theologian, plan

The church's dedication to St. John the Theologian probably dates back to its construction period, but it is certainly confirmed by the 14th century, when a bust of the patron saint was painted in a niche above the western entrance.[118]

The Zemen monastery katholikon is part of the group of cross-in-square churches with a dome supported by four free-standing pillars (Fig. 31). The dimensions of the church are 9.18 by 8.71 meters. In essence, it is a square structure with three semicircular apses on the east, which are noticeably tall and almost reach the roof of the church. Smaller semicircular niches are inserted into the thickness of the wall on the northern and southern sides, corresponding to the *prothesis* and *diakonikon*, respectively. The church lacks a pre-apsidal space and narthex. The dome is supported by four massive pillars, and the structure's slender silhouette is crowned by an elongated

118 *Mavrodinova*, Zemenskata cŭrkva, 23.

drum. The drum is cylindrical on the outside and inside, with two rows of alternating windows and niches. Four shallow semicircular niches alternate with four windows in the lower part of the dome. This design recalls the Church of St. John the Baptist in Nessebar (late 10th century), as well as the Panagia Chalkeon (1028) and the Church of the Holy Archangels in Bačkovo (11th century). However, since the upper part of the dome, with its eight shallow semicircular niches, is part of a later reconstruction, these analogies should be considered with caution.[119]

The three façades – southern, northern, and western – are similarly divided, each featuring three double-sided semicircular blind niches, with the central one being wider and higher. The church has two entrances: the main one on the west and a smaller one on the south, which was added during a subsequent renovation. A fragment of a marble slab with a relief ornament, resembling a network of palmettes, is set into the threshold of the southern entrance. The ornament's style is reminiscent of reliefs found in the Ionian and Adriatic coastal regions, suggesting the slab could be part of a lost sanctuary partition.[120] The church is built entirely of stone, with occasional use of brick. Notably, the contours of the arches on the western façade feature thin strips of brick separating the arch from the wall, a technique that became widespread in churches where stone predominated in the masonry, such as the Church of the Mother of God in Drenovo, around the mid-11th century.[121] The exterior was once covered with pink plaster, designed to imitate the stone and brickwork typical of 11th-century construction. Traces of red pigment decorations, resembling the letter „K" or its mirrored image, can still be seen. Similar decorative motifs, executed in ceramic, have been documented in Kastoria and on the Church of the Dormition of the Mother of God in Labovo, both dating to the second quarter of the 11th century (Fig. 38). The Zemen Church shares several similarities with the church in Labovo, particularly in its square plan and lack of a narthex. The main difference is that the church in Labovo includes an ambulatory space.[122] It is believed that Byzantine founders employed Bulgarian craftsmen, resulting in a mix of construction methods.[123]

The dating of the church is debated. In the early 1970s, older frescoes were discovered, suggesting the church was likely built in the 11th or 12th century. Nikola Mavrodinov argues for an earlier date, pointing to the high semi-cylindrical apses, a cylindrical dome-shaped tambour typical of 10th- and 11th-century churches, and decorative elements reminiscent of Panagia Chalkeon and certain 12th-century Russian churches. Based on these features, Mavrodinov dates the church to the late 11th or early 12th century.[124] Slobodan Ćurčić also places the church in the 11th or 12th century,[125]

119 *Ćurčić*, Architecture, 483; *Mavrodinov*, Starobŭlgarskoto izkustvo, 16–18.

120 *Mal'ceva,* Arhitektura, 787–792.

121 *Mal'ceva* – Freze, Stroitel'stvo v Severnoj Makedonii, 428–431.

122 *Mal'ceva,* Arhitektura, 787–792.

123 *Ćurčić*, Architecture, 485.

124 *Mavrodinov*, Starobŭlgarskoto izkustvo, 16–18.

125 *Ćurčić*, Architecture, 483–485.

while Svetlana Maltseva dates it to the 11th century, finding parallels with the Epirus Church of the Mother of God in Peshkëpi village, present-day Albania, from the 10th or 11th century. Both churches share a square base, a uniform interior arrangement with shallow protruding semi-circular apses, and a high cylindrical drum. Additionally, both are built primarily of stone with minimal use of brick.[126]

The Church of St. George in Koluša, Kyustendil, is first mentioned in a written source in a charter (*chrysobull*) of the Bulgarian emperor Constantine Asen Tikh (1257–1277). This charter was intended for the Monastery of St. George Gorgos near Skopje (Fig. 32).[127] The charter describes and confirms the donations made by the Bulgarian emperor to the monastery, which had been founded by Byzantine emperor Romanos. In the charter, following the name of the founder, Byzantine emperor Romanos III Argyrus (1028–1034), the name of Emperor Romanos IV Diogenes (1067–1071) is also recorded.[128] Among the lands and possessions donated to the monastery, the charter mentions the metochion of St. Nicholas in Koluša.[129] This is further supported by a later charter (1299–1300) from Serbian king Stefan Uroš II Milutin (1282–1321), where the name Koluša is clearly legible – unlike in the earlier charter of the Bulgarian emperor, where two letters remain unclear.[130] According to Liliana Mavrodinova, the depiction of a standing figure of St. Nicholas on the northern pier next to the altar partition suggests that the church was originally dedicated to this saint.[131]

The Church of St. George has an inscribed cross plan with a dome, resting on four piers that are connected by arches to the adjacent walls. Two additional piers were added in the eastern part, expanding the pre-apsidal space (Fig. 33). The church is almost cube in shape, measuring 10 by 8.70 by 9.86 meters.[132] The eastern end of the church is composed of three semicircular apses. The arms of the cross inside the church feature barrel vaults, while the corners of the nave contain four small calottes. On the north side is the *prothesis*, and on the south side is the *diakonikon*.

The church is constructed entirely of brick on the exterior, with one row of bricks alternately indented and covered with plaster, creating the appearance of wide decorative joints. It rests on a carved stone foundation, and double-arched blind niches decorate the façade. In the Church of Koluša, these niches are not only decorative but also structural, aligning with the internal division of the space. Most of the niches at the arms of the cross end in triangular gables, which are contemporary reconstructions, and the tympana of the large niches on the façades are decorated with brick crosses.

126 *Mal'ceva,* Arhitektura, 787–792.

127 *Živojinović*, O Caru Petru, 43–53.

128 *Marković*, Sveti Nikita kod Skoplja, 46–48 with older bibliography.

129 *Mavrodinova*, Données historiques, 101–104; *Mitov*, Srednovekovnata tsarkva, 3–4.

130 *Ivanov*, Bŭlgarski starini, 578–587; *Marković*, Sveti Nikita kod Skoplja, 46–48.

131 *Mavrodinova*, Données historiques, 103.

132 *Mavrodinov,* Ednokorabnata i krŭstovidnata cŭrkva, 106; *Mijatev*, Arhitekturata, 165; *Čaneva-Dečevska*, Cŭrkovnata arhitektura v Bŭlgaria, 75–77; *Nikolova,* Pravoslavnite cŭrkvi, 134; *Ćurčić*, Architecture, 412–413*; Dončeva,* Kŭm srednovekovnoto arhitekturno nalsedstvo, 249–262; *Mal'ceva*, Arhitektura, 782–805.

Fig. 32.
Koluša, Church of St. George,
view from the west

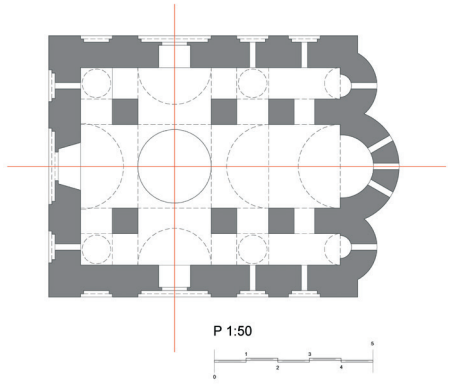


Fig. 33.
Koluša, Church of St. George, plan

The dome is octagonal, with eight niches, four of which have pierced windows. This type of church, featuring a cruciform base with a dome on a high base and a pre-apsidal space, was common in Byzantine church architecture during the 10th–12th centuries, but the style is attested in Bulgaria only during the Byzantine domination.

The dating of the Church of Koluša has been debated. André Grabar proposed the 12th–13th century.[133] Nikola Mavrodinov places it in the 12th century based on comparisons with the Zemen Monastery, its semicircular apse, and the blind niches on the façade. Archaeological research conducted from 1971–1976 suggests that the church was most likely built in the 11th–12th century, with no older layers found beneath it.[134] Liliana Mavrodinova, basing her conclusions on restoration and architectural studies from 2004 and the discovery of the first layer of paintings from the 11th century, argues that the construction of the Church of St. George likely took place in the 11th century.[135]

133 *Grabar*, Njakolko srednovekovni pametnici, 293–295.

134 *Mavrodinova*, Données historiques, 102.

135 *Mazakova*, Proučvane, 19–36; *Mavrodinova,* Novootkriti srednovekovni stenopisi, 194–210.

The Church in Koluša, with its inscribed cross plan without a narthex and its façade articulated with blind two-tiered arches, follows the design of the Church of Zemen. However, According to Svetlana Maltseva the Koluša church also incorporates innovations that are atypical for the 11th century. Some of these innovations include the double-arched blind niches that decorate the façades and serve a structural function; the use of cobblestones for the church's base; and semi-columns placed at the corners of the drum's niches, which support an overlying arcade above profiled windows. A notable new feature, which likely originates from the architecture of Constantinople, is the bema with extended space articulated by additional bay, causing the church's plan to take on a more elongated shape rather than remaining square (Fig. 34). Another new feature found in the architecture of the northern Balkan administrative provinces is the retention of square pillars. Simultaneously, the side naves become narrower, and their corner cells are capped with domed vaults.[136] Slobodan Ćurčić attributes these innovations to the influence of Constantinople, suggesting that masters from the capital participated in the construction of the church, and that it was built in the 12th century.[137] In contrast, Svetlana Maltseva identifies stronger influences from Thessalonian architecture, particularly in the design of the drum with an overlying arcade supported by columns, the composition of the side façades, and the presence of false gables above the tympanums of the cross arms – features especially notable in Panagia Chalkeon (1028). The similarities, especially in the construction method, are also apparent in the church in Sapareva Banja, indicating that the commissioners of both churches were likely unknown Byzantine dignitaries. Based on these architectural characteristics, Maltseva dates the church to the period between 1028 and the first half of the 12th century.[138]

Another church built in the Bishopric of Velbăžd is located in the town of Rila, 18 km from the monastery of the same name in southwestern Bulgaria. The Church of the Holy Archangel Michael was erected on a cemetery. It follows the plan of an inscribed cross with a dome supported by four L-shaped pillars (Fig. 35). Two semicircular niches are carved into the thickness of the eastern wall, serving as the *prothesis* and *diakonikon*. The eastern end of the church culminates in an apse that is semicircular on the inside and three-sided on the outside. The rest of the church is covered with semicircular vaults.

The façades – specifically the northern and eastern ones, which have been preserved – feature a standard decorative scheme typical of churches in the Balkans from the 12th to 14th centuries. This solution includes three semicircular blind niches, with the central one being larger and aligned with the inner arm of the cross, as seen in the Church of St. Demetrios in Patelinitsa from the 12th century. On the outside of the apse, double blind niches extend the full height of the apse, except for the area around the window. In this section, two niches are present: the upper one is blind, and the lower one contains a bifora window. The bifora window on the apse is similar to the

136 *Mal'ceva,* Arhitektura, 794–795.

137 *Ćurčić*, Architecture, 412–413.

138 *Mal'ceva,* Arhitektura, 796–799.

Fig. 34.
Koluša, Church of St. George, south façade

one in Zemen. The church is built irregularly from broken stone, likely with plaster covering. On the lower part of the eastern façade, deep joints were cut into the plaster to imitate ashlars, a solution similar to the façade at Zemen. In the late 18th and 19th centuries, the church was repaired and expanded to the west. The dome and the southern part of the church were destroyed in the 1929 earthquake.

In terms of plan, the church is similar to the Church of the Zemen Monastery, although the blind niches on the façade are executed more closely to the contemporaneous Byzantine practice. The construction method also shows similarities, especially the use of bricks in the masonry of arches and niches. As with the Zemen Church, this church is plastered on the outside with painted decoration imitating masonry.

By comparing the Church of the Holy Archangel Michael in Rila with similar churches such as those in Zemen, Patelinitsa, and Ruen monasteries, Slobodan Ćurčić concluded that the church belongs to a group of monuments that demonstrate the influence of Byzantine architecture in Bulgaria but still derives from the mainstream Byzantine architecture. These churches all share the plan of an inscribed cross with a dome resting on four free columns or pillars.[139] Based on the preserved older layer of paintings from the late 11th to mid-12th century, scholars now place the construction of the church within that period.[140]

139 *Ćurčić*, Architecture, 485.

140 *Praškov*, Novootkrytye rospisi rubeža XI–XII vv, 100–114; *Praškov*, Novi otkritia v dekoracijata, 3–8.

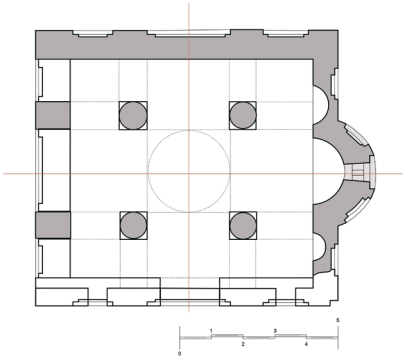


Fig. 35.
Rila, Church of the Holy Archangel Michael, plan

To the southwest of the Archbishopric of Ohrid, in the Bishopric of Glavinitza, the church dedicated to the Mother of God Hodegetria was built as part of the Mother of God Apollonia Monastery (Kisha e Shën Mërisë në Apoloni), located in today's Fier district of southern Albania. (Fig. 36).[141] During the first phase of construction, the church received the foundation of an inscribed cross with a dome, a five-sided apse in the east, and a narthex in the west. The dimensions of the church's foundation, excluding the narthex and side chapels on the north side, are 11 by 20 meters (Fig. 37). The northeastern chapel is connected to the altar area, although its function remains unknown. The dome is supported by a cylindrical drum with twelve blind niches, but without windows. The sub-dome space was extended to the east with an additional bay to accommodate the altar space, similar to the design in Koluša. The vault of this bay is supported by two quadrangular piers. In the horseshoe-shaped sanctuary apse, several elements have been preserved, including a bench for seating, an altar table, and the bases of the columns of the original ciborium. The exterior of the church presents an eclectic mix of Byzantine and Western styles. The sculptural decoration is stylistically linked to Romanesque architectural sculpture from Italy.[142]

The second phase of construction includes a spacious exonarthex – an open portico nearly twice the size of the original narthex – which features characteristics of Western architecture, as well as an additional chapel on the northern side of the church. A prominent feature of this architectural ensemble is the arcade, consisting of twelve arches on columns with rich sculptural decoration on the capitals.[143] The church was built using massive, finely worked ashlars sourced from the ruins of the ancient Apollonia theater, while brick was used only in the upper parts of the building, such as for the dome and vaults. Bifora windows are present on the north, south, and west walls.

141 The dedication of the church to the Mother of God Hodegetria is supported by the donor-regent composition, which includes depictions of Emperor Michael VIII Palaiologos and Empress Theodora (1281/1282) in the exonarthex. Although the fresco depicting the Virgin Mary holding the model of the temple has been completely destroyed, a 19th-century description of the fresco has been preserved. Based on this description, it can be concluded that the representation of the Mother of God Hodegetria was originally located in the lunette above the western entrance. *Kalopissi-Verti*, Dedicatory Inscriptions, 29–30, n. 56; *Kalopissi-Verti*, Aspects of Byzantine art, 41–42; *Giakoumis – Christidou,* Image and power, 77–79; *Buschhausen*, Die Marienkirche von Apollonia, 141–182.

142 *Buschhausen*, Die Marienkirche von Apollonia, 43–97; *Meksi*, Arkitektura mesjetare, 166–176; *Meksi,* Arkitektura, 222–227; *Meksi*, L'architecture, 1161–1163; *Ćurčić*, Architecture, 428.

143 *Buschhausen,* Die Marienkirche von Apollonia, 99–140.

Fig. 36.
Apollonia, Church of the Mother of God Hodegetria (Kisha e Shën Mërisë), view from the north

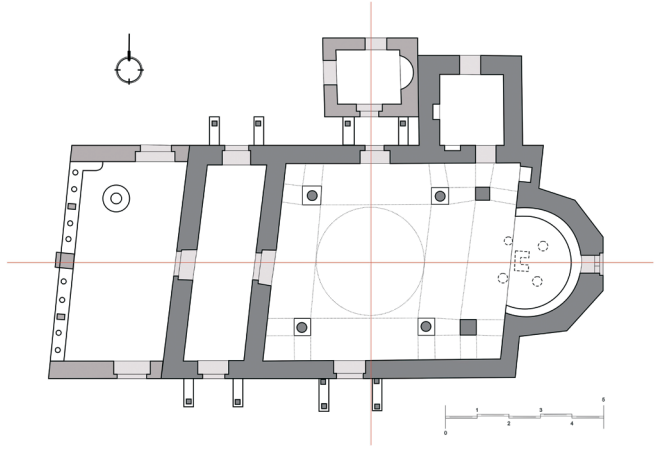


Fig. 37.
Apollonia, Church of the Mother of God Hodegetria (Kisha e Shën Mërisë), plan

The church also preserves architectural sculpture, most notably in the capitals of the four columns supporting the dome and in those of the portico above the entrances. These capitals feature sculptural decorations with vegetal motifs that are stylistically linked to Romanesque architectural sculpture from Italy. It is believed that these sculptures were crafted by Norman stonemasons who accompanied Robert Guiscard during his military campaign against Alexios I Komnenos between 1081 and 1085.[144]

The katholikon is located within a relatively well-preserved medieval monastery fortification that has a trapezoidal shape. The walls of the ancient Apollonia fortification are partially integrated into the monastery walls, particularly the eastern wall.

The Church of the Mother of God in Apollonia has been dated variously, with estimates ranging from the late 11th to the 13th century. Heide and Helmut Buschhausen suggest that the katholikon was built during the reign of Alexios I Komnenos (1081–1118). They argue that the church follows the Byzantine style of an inscribed cross

144 *Meksi*, Arkitektura, 222–227.

with a dome, but its construction likely carried out by Norman builders.[145] Skënder Muçaj holds a similar view, deeming that the architectural sculpture offers the most reliable evidence for dating, extending the timeframe to the entire 11th century when Norman influence in southern Italy can be observed.[146] Slobodan Ćurčić analyzes the church within the typological group of inscribed cross churches with domes from the 12th century but does not offer a precise date. He finds the closest parallel in terms of construction in the exonarthex of the Church of Porta Panagia in Trikala, Thessaly, dated to around 1200.[147] Aleksandër Meksi dates the church to the late 12th or early 13th century.[148] While there is no definitive information about the construction date, a tombstone inscription of the monk Theodoulos from 1250, found near the apse, provides a *terminus ante quem* for the construction of the katholikon.[149]

Of particular interest is the type of church with an inscribed cross and an ambulatory, a plan that appears in several locations within the Archbishopric of Ohrid. This church type has been present in the Balkans since the construction of the Church of Hagia Sophia in Thessalonike in around the 7th or 8th century.[150] This early church likely served as a model for later builders, although the exact reasons for choosing this particular building plan remain unclear. It is evident that Byzantine architectural influences came not only from the capital but also from other cities in the Empire, particularly from geographically closer Thessalonike.

Possibly the oldest known example of this church type within the Archbishopric of Ohrid from the 11th and 12th centuries is the Dormition of the Mother of God in Labovo (Kisha e Shën Mërisë së Labovës së Kryqit) (Fig. 38). The church is situated in the village of Labovë e Kryqit, at the foot of Mount Bureto, in the Drinos River Valley, approximately 25 km northeast of Gjirokastër (formerly Argyrokastro), in what is now southern Albania, Bishopric of Dryinoupolis. This church follows a domed-cross plan with an ambulatory that surrounds a central domed space on the north, south, and west sides (Fig. 39). It ends in the east with three semicircular apses, which were later renovated in 1776. The central domed space, with a nearly square base, measures approximately 12.5 by 13.5 meters in its renovated form. Originally, L-shaped piers at the corners of the central domed space supported the upper structure, including the dome. The central space is separated from the ambulatory by three triple arches with columns, forming a *tribelon*. This arrangement is repeated on the upper level. The ambulatory is separated from the naos by two-tiered arcades, with a gallery located on the west side. The interior of the church is characterized by its emphasized verticality.

145 *Buschhausen*, Die Marienkirche von Apollonia, 16–17, 73–85.

146 *Mučaj*, Disa të dhëna arkeologjike, 293–303.

147 *Ćurčić*, Architecture, 428. Stavros Mamaloukas dating the exonarthex to the 14th century, see *Mamaloukos*, The Chronology of the Exonarthex, 237–250.

148 *Meksi*, Arkitektura, 222–227; *Meksi,* Arkitektura mesjetare, 166–176; *Meksi,* Arkitektura dhe datimi, 103–117.

149 *Fingarova*, Die Stifterin par excellence, 284.

150 For different dating to 7th or 8th century with older literature see, *Zaharova – Mal'ceva*, Hudožestvennye tradicii, 191, n. 79. Also, *Korać – Šuput*, Arhitektura, 306–307. For review of scholarship on the architecture of the Thessalonian Hagia Sophia, see *Kappas,* Experimenting in Domed Constructions, 95–125, esp. 100–101.

Fig. 38.
Labovo, Church of the Dormition of the Mother of God (Kisha e Shën Mërisë), view from the northeast

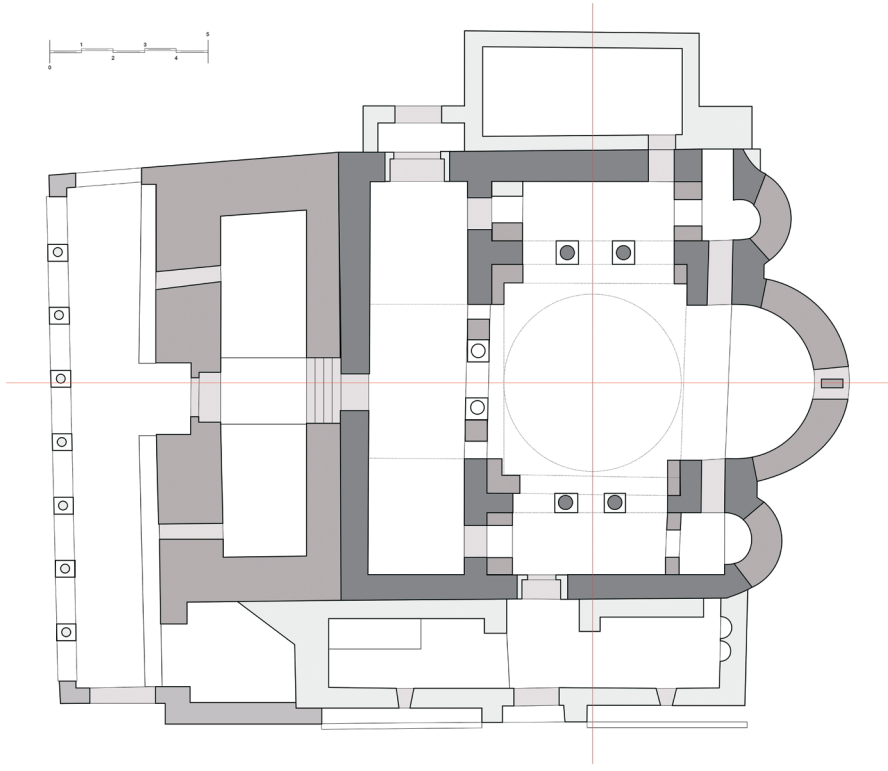


Fig. 39.
Labovo, Church of the Dormition of the Mother of God, plan

The upper zone is dominated by the arms of the cross, which are covered with gable roofs. Bifora window openings are placed in the middle of the northern, southern, and western arms of the cross, with a fourth bifora in the central apse, positioned significantly lower than the other three. The cylindrical drum features four bifora on the main axes and four semicircular niches on the diagonals.

The church is constructed using the *opus cloisonné* technique, which is characteristic of the Middle Byzantine period in the Balkans.[151] Rich ceramo-plastic decoration adorns the drum and the upper parts of the building. The drum's decoration is done in the *opus reticulatum* technique, which stands out as the most striking feature, with close analogies found in churches in Kastoria, such as Hagios Stephanos (10th century), Taxiarches Metropoleos (10th century), and Koubelidiki (late 10th century), as well as churches in Prespa, including St. Achilleos (10th century) and St. Germanos (early 11th century). From this, it can be inferred that the church in Labovo was built by a local workshop familiar with the architectural traditions of Kastoria and Prespa.[152] The imposing nature of the church in Labovo allows it to be compared to significant churches of Constantinople, such as St. George of Mangana (1040s) or the Gül Camii (12th century), which also has an ambulatory.[153]

No original records regarding the construction date or the donor of this monumental building in Labovo have been preserved. The dating of the church is based on an analysis of typological and morphological features, proportions, and wall decoration. The church follows models of churches built around the year 1000, which representative decorative elements. It is most likely that the church was constructed in the first half of the 11th century, after the collapse of Samuel's state and the establishment of the Archbishopric of Ohrid.[154] Still, some researchers suggest it could date to the 10th[155] or 13th century.[156] The façade decoration, cylindrical dome, and similarities between the monumental domes of Vodoča and Labovo suggest the possibility that the church was potentially built even during Samuel's reign. The dating has been shifted to the first half of the 11th century due to the discovery of a fresco that is stylistically very similar to those in Hagia Sophia in Ohrid, which belong to the second quarter or middle of the 11th century.[157] It should be noted, however, that this painting in the Labovo church may be part of a later layer of frescoes. According to historical data from the late 11th and early 12th centuries, which do not specify exact years, the Bishopric of Dryinoupolis left the jurisdiction of the Archbishopric of Ohrid and was subsequently returned to the Naupaktos Metropolis shortly after the death of Emperor Basil II.[158] Based on the stylistic characteristics of both the architecture and the fragmentary preserved paintings, the church in Labovo was undoubtedly built under the influence of,

151 *Ćurčić,* Architecture, 321; *Koch*, The Church of Saint Mary, 61–75; *Meksi*, L'architecture, 1162–1165; *Meksi*, Arkitektura e Kishave, 230–235; *Meksi,* Arkitektura mesjetare, 179–184; *Zaharova – Mal'ceva*, Hudožestvennye tradicii, 190–193; *Vokotopoulos*, Ē ekklēsiastikē architektonikē, 86–92; *Damoulos*, O naos tēs Koimēseōs, 119–148.

152 *Vokotopoulos,* Ē ekklēsiastikē architektonikē, 86–92; *Koch,* The Church of Saint Mary, 67–78; *Zaharova – Mal'ceva*, Hudožestvennye tradicii, 190–193.

153 *Ćurčić,* Architecture, 364–367; *Zakharova,* Some Observations, 160.

154 *Damoulos*, O naos tēs Koimēseōs, 119–148; *Zaharova – Mal'ceva*, Hudožestvennye tradicii, 190–193; *Zakharova,* Some Observations, 157–172 with detailed older bibliography.

155 *Koch*, The Church of Saint Mary, 61–75.

156 *Meksi,* L'architecture, 1162–1165; *Meksi,* Arkitektura e Kishave, 230–235; *Meksi*, Arkitektura mesjetare, 179–184.

157 *Zakharova,* Some Observations, 160–172; *Zaharova,* O nedavno raskrytoj freske, 33–45.

158 See the chapter *The Archbishopric of Ohrid from the 11th to the 13th century – territorial and ideological framework*, II.

and likely by, craftsmen working within the circle of the Archbishopric of Ohrid. Its re-dating to the first half of the 11th century suggests that, at that time, the Bishopric of Dryinoupolis may still have been under the jurisdiction of the Archbishopric of Ohrid.

A similar plan of a cross-in-square church with an ambulatory can be found at the Church of the Mother of God in Drenovo, near Kavadarci in the Bitola Bishopric (Fig. 40). The church has not been preserved in its original form. The first reconstruction took place during the reign of the Serbian king – and later emperor – Stefan Dušan (1331–1355). The most extensive renovation occurred in the early 19th century. During this period, the northern and western walls were rebuilt, and the southern wall was lowered. At the same time, a wooden gallery was added on the western side. Despite these alterations, it is still possible to reconstruct the original architectural composition of the building.

From an architectural typology standpoint, the church is a unique example. It is a special type of inscribed cross church with an ambulatory, measuring 13 by 16 meters (Fig. 41). The base of the inscribed cross includes a nave with four massive pillars that likely once supported a dome, which has not survived.[159] These pillars are connected on the southern, northern, and western sides by double-arched passages, each supported by a single column. All four massive pillars have niches oriented towards the east. On the east side, there is a spacious altar area featuring a semicircular apse on the interior and a five-sided apse on the exterior, at the easternmost end. The central nave is surrounded by an aisle on three sides, with *pastophoria* located at the eastern ends. The *diakonikon* terminates in a five-sided apse, while the *proskomedia* concludes in a three-sided apse on the exterior. The side aisles of the ambulatory were equipped with galleries, and the central bay of its western section – the narthex – was once topped by a dome or blind calotte, which no longer exists.[160] The original south façade retains its monumentality, expressed through two-storied blind arcade.

A significant portion of the original sculptural decoration has been preserved in the Church of the Mother of God in Drenovo. The first group of architectural sculptures consists of *spolia*, likely taken from the nearby Early Christian basilica in Mutičanski Dol. The second group includes sculptures still present in the church, as well as fragments preserved in the Archaeological Museum in Sofia. These sculptures are decorated with floral motifs, crosses, and fantastic animals. Based on stylistic analysis, with the closest analogies to the sculpture in the Church of Hagia Sophia in Ohrid and fragments from the Church of St. Stephen in Konče, the architectural sculpture of Drenovo most likely dates to the 11th century. It is even speculated that the Drenovo and Konče sculptures were created by the same stonemason workshop.[161]

---

159 *Ćurčić*, Architecture in the Balkans, 401.

160 *Mal'ceva* – Freze, Stroitel'stvo v Severnoj Makedonii, 428–429; *Ćurčić*, Architecture in the Balkans, 400–401.

161 *Nikolajević-Stojković*, Prilog proučavanju vizantijske skulpture, 167–169; *Filipova*, Sculptures médiévales, 183–197, passim.; *Pejić*, Arhitektonska plastika, 161–167; *Filipova*, Novi naodi, 277–283.

Fig. 40.
Kavadarci, Drenovo,
Church of the Mother of God,
south façade

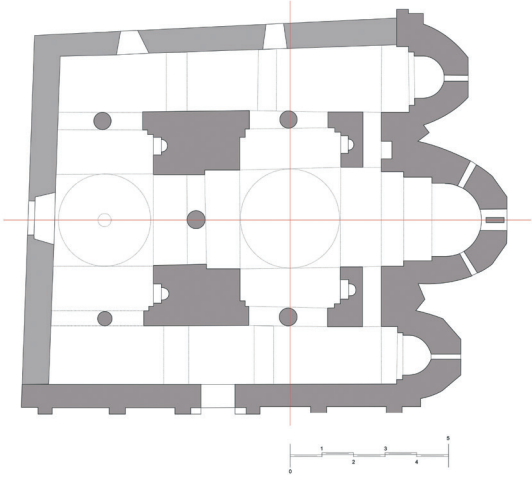


Fig. 41.
Kavadarci, Drenovo,
Church of the Mother of God, plan

Given the presented architectural features and the stylistic elements of the sculptural decoration, the prevailing view among scholars is that this church is a work of Byzantine architecture from the 11th century.[162] However, Marica Šuput suggests that the church was built in the 1350s, possibly as an endowment of a Serbian nobleman during the reign of King/Emperor Stefan Uroš IV Dušan (1331/1346–1355).[163] Further research, particularly into the architectural sculpture, is necessary to confirm this later dating.

162 *Nikolajević-Stojković*, Prilog proučavanju vizantijske skulpture, 168–170; *Pejić*, Arhitektonska plastika, 164–165, 170, 171; *Gabelić*, Manastir Konče, 66–67.

163 *Šuput*, La chiesa della Vergine, 139–144.

In terms of its plan, the church in Drenovo most closely resembles the Church of the Mother of God in Labovo from the 11th century. It also shares similarities with the Church of Stara Pavlica in Ras, which is the northernmost example of a church with an inscribed cross with ambulatory within the Archbishopric of Ohrid (Fig. 42). Located in the village of Brvenik, 6 km north of Raška, on a hill above the left bank of the Ibar River, the Church of Stara Pavlica remains enigmatic due to the lack of information about its original dedication, construction date, and patron. The nave of the church follows the plan of a concise inscribed cross with a dome, surrounded by an ambulatory measuring 8.5 by 9 meters. The central part of the church is defined by four massive pillars, with one column on each side supporting an arcade (Fig. 43). The eastern pillars are cut to form a passage, similar to the arrangement in the church in Drenovo. Niches are hollowed out in the eastern pair of pillars, with counterparts on the opposite eastern wall.[164] The church terminates in the east with a semicircular apse on the interior and a three-sided apse on the exterior. The aisles also end in semicircular apses, both inside and outside. The dome is situated above an octagonal vestibule. Constructed primarily of irregular stones with considerable use of mortar, the church also features a very spacious narthex, almost the same size as the nave with the ambulatory. The narthex was likely built in the late 14th or early 15th century, though some scholars believe it could date back to the 12th or 13th century.[165] The presence of an ambulatory has drawn comparisons to the church in Drenovo near Kavadarci, as well as the church in Labovo, dated to the 11th century. The inclusion of the ambulatory may have been influenced by the Church of Hagia Sophia in Thessalonike, a well-known model for similar buildings.[166]

Due to the small size of the structure and the lack of evidence for a monastic complex, scholars speculate that the church's founder might have been part of the Byzantine military aristocracy.[167] Based on its architectural features, the church is commonly dated to the 12th century. There are also suggestions that its type and construction method align more closely with the 11th-century Byzantine architectural tradition.[168] Future research and more detailed analysis of the building should focus on the additional niches – similar to those in the church in Drenovo – which may indicate the presence of relics and suggest a pilgrimage or memorial function for the church, potentially explaining the existence of the ambulatory.

Variations of single-aisle churches

There arose a need for churches that offered more interior space than the traditional cross-in-square plan could accommodate, while still maintaining a cross-shaped layout and domed structure. In response, an adapted Greek-cross plan with an

164 *Ćurčić*, Architecture, 401; *Mal'ceva,* Arhitektura, 784–786.

165 *Kandić*, Arhitektura, 261–274.

166 *Bošković*, L'*é*glise, 109–115; *Korać – Šuput*, Arhitektura, 306–307.

167 *Mal'ceva,* Arhitektura, 786.

168 Ibid., 786.

Fig. 42.
Ras, Church of Stara Pavlica,
view from the south, remains

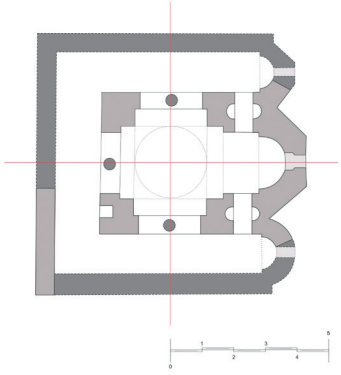


Fig. 43.
Ras, Church of Stara Pavlica, plan

elongated single aisle was developed. This modification enabled the construction of larger domes without relying on four supporting piers, resulting in a more open and unified interior space. During the 11th and 12th centuries, several notable single-aisled churches, both with and without domes, were constructed within the territory of the Archbishopric of Ohrid. Despite their small size, these churches served various functions. They were often built as aristocratic endowments, such as the churches in Kurbinovo, the Church of St. Nicholas in Kuršumlija or in Studenica.[169] Additionally, some cathedral churches, such as the cathedral in Kozel, were built as single-aisled structures with domes.[170] Smaller single-aisled churches are most commonly found within fortified cities, often serving as court churches at residences within fortresses.

169 See below, 200–264.

170 See below, 159–200.

Two particularly significant single-aisled churches with domes, displaying noticeable Byzantine influence, have been preserved in the bishoprics of Niš and Serdica: the so-called Latin or Great Church in Gornji Matejevac near Niš, and the Church of St. Nicholas and St. Panteleimon in Boyana near Sofia. The Latin Church is situated above the village of Gornji Matejevac on a hill called Metoh (Fig. 44). It is not mentioned in any known historical sources. The church is a single-aisled structure shaped like a condensed cross measuring 4.8 by 9.2 meters and featuring a dome. A narthex was later added to the western side (Fig. 45). On the east, the church ends with a semicircular apse both inside and outside. The nave is divided by pilasters into three unequal bays. The dome is octagonal on the outside, with four windows. The façade features alternating courses of stone and brick, enriched with ceramo-plastic decorations and blind arches that enliven the surface. Three blind arches are located on the lateral walls in the upper part of the church and do not align with any structural elements inside.[171] The construction technique, though partially influenced by Byzantine standards, deviates in certain aspects. Roman *spolia* are often used throughout. In terms of plan and size, the church is comparable to numerous similar structures in Dalmatia. It shares many characteristics with Stara Pavlica in Ras, particularly in construction style and methods. Slobodan Ćurčić additionally noted that the building's height is notably pronounced, a deviation from contemporary Byzantine standards.[172]

The first archaeological excavations in 1969 and 1978 resulted in recovering a necropolis around the church. Excavations also revealed the remains of a church narthex. These findings, alongside the results of archaeological and conservation work, suggest that the church underwent two phases of construction.[173] The narthex was added later, and the western façade near the entrance was rebuilt. A coin from the time of Despot Stefan Lazarević (15th century) was found during the excavation.

In the 16th century, the church was used by the people of Dubrovnik and was known as the Latin Church. No traces of frescoes were uncovered during excavation, suggesting that the church may never have been painted. Based on the masonry with angled plaster joints, Miša Rakocija dates the church to the 11th century. He suggests that the Matejevac Church should be placed in the first half of the 11th century, prior to the uprising under Peter Delyan in 1040–1041, which affected Niš. The instability of this period may explain why the church was never painted.[174]

A little further east, in the suburbs of Serdica, a strong bishopric center of the Archbishopric of Ohrid, the Church of Boyana was built, dedicated to St. Nicholas and St. Panteleimon (Fig. 46). Boyana is mentioned in three medieval sources. The earliest reference appears in the John Skylitzes' *Synopsis* from the second half of the 11th century, which reports that at the end of 1015, the Byzantines captured the fortress of Boyo

171 *Rakocija*, Crkva, 7–24; *Andrejević*, Latinska crkva, 183–195.

172 *Ćurčić*, Architecture, 401.

173 *Deljanin*, Latinska, 146–147.

174 *Rakocija*, Obnova, 35–36; *Rakocija*, Crkva, 7–24.

Fig. 44.
Gornji Matejevac, Latin Church, view from the northeast

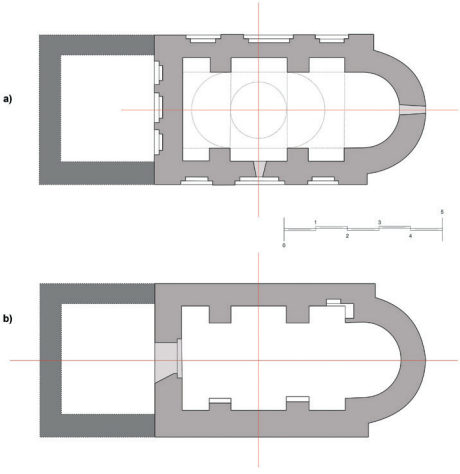


Fig. 45.
Gornji Matejevac, Latin Church, plan

(ὅ Βοιὼ).[175] The term used refers to a fortified place rather than a fortress.[176] The next mention is by historian Kekaumenos from the 11th century, who refers to Boyanos (ὁ Βοϊάνος) as a strong Bulgarian fortress. In his report, he mentions Boyana four times as a *kastron* and once as a *polis*.[177] The final mention comes from the Slavic source *The Last Vision of Prophet Daniel*, a historical-apocalyptic text that recounts the battle that took place around Boyana. It also references the rebellion of Peter Delyan in 1040–1041 in the Serdica region, followed by a Pecheneg attack in the winter of 1048–1049.[178]

175 GIBI VI, 283. Cf. Scylitzes, 354.

176 *Milanova*, Tipologija na ukrepenite selišta, 239–252.

177 GIBI VII, 18–19.

178 The basic Greek version of the work entitled *The Last Vision of Prophet Daniel* is most likely dated to the 13th century. However, there is a belief that it is based on an older text, possibly from the 11th or 12th century, or even as far back as the 9th century. The Slavonic copies date from the third quarter of the 13th century, found in the so-called Miscellany of Priest Dragolj (No. 651, NLS, Belgrade), see *Tăpkova-Zaimova – Miltenova*, Historical-Apocalyptic Literature, 109–115.

Fig. 46.
Sofia, Boyana, Church of St. Nicholas and St. Panteleimon, north side

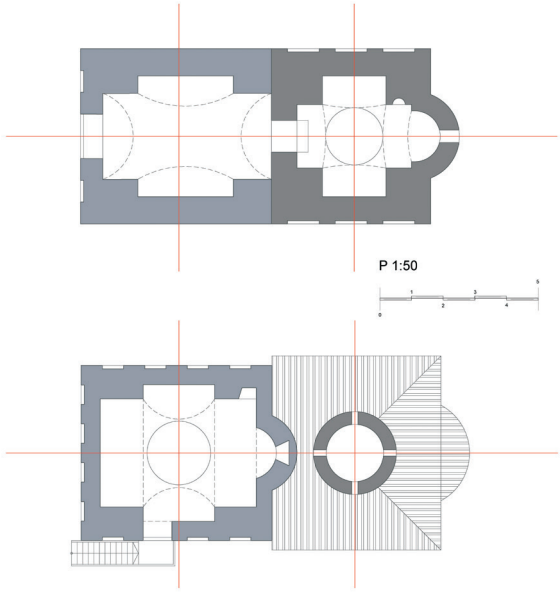


Fig. 47.
Sofia, Boyana, Church of St. Nicholas and St. Panteleimon, plan

The Church of Boyana was built as a lower and upper church. The Lower Church is dedicated to St. Nicholas, while the Upper Church is dedicated to the St. Panteleimon. There were three construction phases: first probably during the 12th century, followed by the next phase in the mid-13th century, and then, in the mid-19th century, an exonarthex was added to the church. The oldest section, the eastern church, is a small, compact building with an inscribed cross plan measuring 5.75 by 6.75 meters (Fig. 47). The sub-dome space rests on four massive leaning pillars, supporting a cylindrical dome. The apse is semicircular both inside and outside. On the exterior of

the northern and southern walls, a cross-domed construction with three decorative arched niches is symbolically expressed, with the middle niche being narrower and higher. A small, narrow window is placed in the top of the narrow niche. Together with the gentle curve of the later roof cornice, this creates a visual hint of the transverse arch of the spatial cross. The church is constructed in brick and wide mortar joints.[179] Historians have suggested a broad dating of the church from the 10th to the 12th century.[180] Based on Greek inscriptions preserved on individual fragments of the original painting, it is believed to have been built as a Byzantine private endowment during Byzantine rule, following Basil II's conquest, and certainly by the second half of the 12th century, when it was painted by Byzantine masters.[181] The cylindrical dome and semicircular apse of the Boyana church demonstrate a connection with earlier local architectural traditions. The church's later history dates back to the mid-13th century, when it was renovated and painted by *sebastokrator* Kaloyan and his wife Desislava, as indicated by the founding inscription from 1259.[182] The Upper Church follows the plan of the original eastern church, with the only difference being the building materials. The old church was constructed entirely of brick, while the new church was built using a combination of brick and stone.

The development and construction of the Morovizd Bishopric after its incorporation into the Archbishopric of Ohrid is further evidenced by the intriguing Church of St. George in Gornji Kozjak (Fig. 27, vol. I, 128). This church was discussed before, particularly regarding the challenges of its exact dating.[183] It should be noted that the church was built in the shape of a compact, inscribed, equal-sided cross with a dome and a narthex. Its dimensions are 12.70 by 4.80 meters. The church features a semicircular apse on the inside and a three-sided apse on the outside (Fig. 28a, vol. I, 128). On the north and south walls, there were originally tall windows, or bifora, above which are round oculi. The window mullions of the bifora were later taken from the site of Bargala. The dome of the church rests on four wide pilasters. A distinctive feature of the church is the niches located on the western sides of the eastern supports of the dome, where they are semicircular, and on the eastern sides of the western supports, where they are square. The nave is accessed from the narthex through a three-arched passage, a *tribelon*, which, as previously discussed, was most likely taken from the Early Christian bishopric site of Bargala. A similar passage between the narthex and nave, in the form of a *tribelon*, existed in the Early Christian basilica in Bargala, in the open exonarthex, and in Naum's church in Ohrid. The dome of the church is octagonal on the outside, with a window on each side. The church was built using broken

179 *Grabar*, Bojanskata cŭrkva; *Stojkov*, Arhitekturni problem, 59–64; *Valens*, Srednovekovnite gradežni fazi, 162–177; *Ćurčić,* Architecture, 483, *Mal'ceva,* Arhitektura, 786–787.

180 On dating with earlier bibliography see *Mal'ceva,* Arhitektura, 786–787; *Valens*, Srednovekovnite gradežni fazi, 162–177.

181 *Penkova – Cvetkov*, Stariji slojevi, 43–59; *Penkova,* O sisteme dekoracii fresok XII v, 49–56; *Ćurčić,* Architecture, 483.

182 On inscription, *Subotić et al*., Natpisi, 45–51. More on ktetors, see, *Pirivatrić*, The Boyana Church Portraits, 16–32.

183 See the chapter *Bulgarian Church Architecture and Art: From Origins to 1018*, I, 127–130.

stone, carefully hewn during construction. Brick was primarily used for the upper zones of the arches, pendants, and possibly the dome cap, which has not survived.[184] As noted in the previous section, based on the structure, the concise plan of the inscribed cross, and the polygonal drum of the dome, the church should certainly be dated to a period after the establishment of Byzantine rule, following 1019.[185]

In addition to single-aisled churches with domes, several single-aisled churches with wooden ceilings or barrel vaults have also been preserved. The cramped terrain of the urban area, along with a specific, but unfortunately unknown, function, likely contributed to the construction of several single-aisled churches in Kastoria after 1019. One such church is St. Stylianos, located in the very center of Kastoria (Fig. 48). It is likely that the church was originally dedicated to St. George, based on the original painted program. St. George Diasoritis is depicted on the south wall, next to the iconostasis, seated on a throne under a painted arcade supported by columns. During the Middle Byzantine period, depictions of patron saints were often painted on the south wall next to the iconostasis, as seen in examples like St. George in Kurbinovo and Nicholas tou Kasnitzi in Kastoria.

The church has been preserved in a modified form. Originally built as a single-aisled structure with a wooden ceiling and a semicircular apse on the east, it was later renovated. During this renovation, the western wall was demolished, and the church was expanded on the western side. There are no clear indications regarding the church's original function, though it is possible that it was an endowment by a merchant or, given its dedication to a holy warrior, could have been commissioned by a military commander. Based on the preserved frescoes, the church is dated to the late 12th century.[186]

Located 3 km southeast of the city of Kastoria, on the shores of the lake of the same name in western Macedonia, in the valley of the Bistrica (Haliakmon) River, the Church of the Panagia Mavriotissa was built. The architecture of the katholikon of the Monastery of the Panagia Mavriotissa is that of a small, single-aisled building with a gable roof.[187] To the east, there is a semicircular apse with side niches embedded in the thickness of the wall (Fig. 49). To the west is a large narthex, with entrances on both the west and south sides. In the 16th century, a chapel dedicated to St. John the Theologian was added to the south side of the nave. Of the original windows, only one survives today, located in the east wall above the apse. The outer walls of the church are plastered, but where the plaster has fallen off, it is evident that the church was built using the *cloisonné* technique, typical of older churches in Kastoria. The western pediment of the nave is adorned in the center with a cross-shaped brickwork design, framed by two stylized cypresses and arches that mimic niches.

184 *Mihajlov,* Kozjak, 5–19*; Aleksova,* Krstovidnata crkva, 277–280*; Aleksova,* Episkopijata na Bregalnica, 145–147*; Čaneva-Dečevska,* Cŭrkovnata arhitektura v Bŭlgaria, 105–106*; Korać,* Sveti Đorđe, 29–34*; Dončeva,* Krŭstokupolnite cŭrkvi*,* 242–244.

185 See the chapter *Bulgarian Church Architecture and Art: From Origins to 1018*, I, 127–130.

186 *Tsigaridas*, Ereunes stous naous, 381–382; *Tsigaridas*, La peinture, 309–319.

187 On the church architecture, *Pelekanidis – Chatzidakis*, Kastoria, 66–75; *Moutsopoulos*, Ekklēsies tēs Kastorias, 412–430; *Wharton Epstein,* Middle Byzantine Churches*,* 202–207.

Fig. 48.
Kastoria, Church of St. Stylianos
view from the east

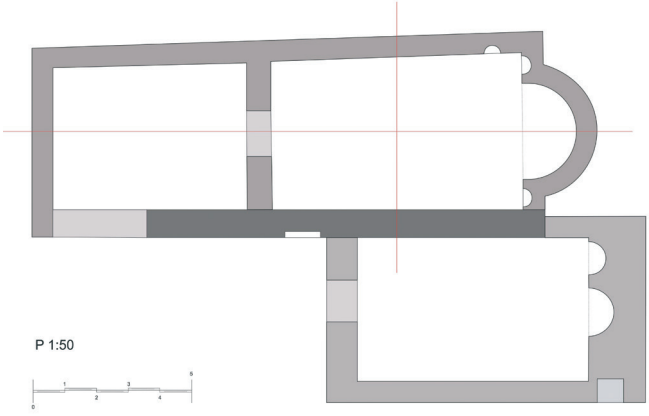


Fig. 49.
Kastoria, Church of the Panagia
Mavriotissa, plan

To date, no historical sources provide information about the Monastery of Mavriotissa until the 17th century, when it was first mentioned. Based on the preserved paintings, the church's architecture is dated to the end of the 11th or early 12th century.[188] In terms of the monastery's history, Michel Lascaris once proposed that Mavriotissa was the modern name of the ancient Monastery of Mesonisiotissa, referenced in a 1385 document. [189] This identification was later refuted by Gojko Subotić.[190] Several attempts have been made to decipher the remains of the founder's inscription in the altar area, placed next to an image of a kneeling monk on a later layer of plaster. Due

188 *Pelekanidēs*, Chronologika problēmata tōn toichographiōn, 147–159; *Wharton Epstein*, Middle Byzantine Churches, 202–207; *Zaharova*, Freski cerkvi, 189–197.

189 *Lascaris*, Deux chärtes, 320.

190 *Subotić*, Manastir, 125–168.

to the poor preservation of the inscription, it is difficult to read with confidence. Another potential clue to the monastery's founding date is the depiction of two emperors on the outer wall of the narthex – one identified as Michael VIII Palaiologos (1261–1282) and the other likely Alexios I Komnenos (1081–1118) (Fig. 50).[191] This image is believed to have been painted between 1259 and 1264, based on a graffito dated to 1265, which provides a *terminus ante quem* for the façade frescoes.[192] However, some scholars argue that the emperor depicted beside Michael VIII Palaiologos is not Alexios I Komnenos, but rather emperor's brother, John Palaiologos (1225/30– 1274/75).[193] Titos Papamastorakis, who studied the 13th-century frescoes on the outer side of the southern wall of the narthex, provided another clue to the monastery's history. He was the first to decipher the inscription next to the image of the Virgin in the niche on the façade: η Μαυριώτισσα. This inscription indicates that the monastery may have already been known by this name as early as the mid-13th century.[194]

In the Niš Bishopric, near the village of Orljane, there is a preserved church dedicated to St. John (Fig. 51). The church is located on Komiga Hill, near the former Roman road that connected Niš to Lješ/Lezhë (Naissus/Lissum). In this section, the road departs from the Morava Valley and enters the Toplica Valley. The church is a single-aisled structure in the shape of a compact, inscribed cross (Fig. 52). To the east, there is a semicircular apse, both inside and outside. The interior is divided into three bays of unequal size by pilasters. The side façades of the church are also divided by pilasters, though these do not correspond to the internal structure of the building. Pilasters are also present on the apse. While earlier historiography has suggested that the church was constructed with a gable roof,[195] there are indications, based on the internal division of the bays, that the church may have originally had a dome.[196] The church is built using bricks, with the thickness of the bricks matching the height of the mortar joints. This feature is characteristic of Byzantine architecture and is also seen in the church in Gornji Matejevac.[197]

Fragments of frescoes have been discovered in the arch surrounding the apse opening, where a decorative strip with a regular row of crosses is painted. Above the altar apse, three medallions with busts of holy bishops were found. Next to these medallions are illegible inscriptions in Old Slavonic, with only the first one possibly identifying St. Spyridon (Fig. 53). These frescoes are considered to date from a later period, most likely the 14th century.[198]

---

191 *Papamastorakis*, Ena eikastiko enkomio, 221–240. Cf. *Zaharova*, Freski cerkvi, 190.

192 *Moutsopoulos*, Kastoria, Panagia ē Mauriōtissa, 35ff. Cf. *Pelekanidis – Chatzidakis*, Kastoria, 73.

193 *Pelekanidis – Chatzidakis*, Kastoria, 72–73; *Gerstel*, Beholding, 93–94.

194 *Papamastorakis*, Ena eikastiko enkomio, 221–240. Cf. *Zaharova*, Freski cerkvi, 190.

195 *Petković*, Pregled crkvenih spomenika, 231.

196 *Rakocija*, O crkvi, 75–107.

197 *Rakocija*, Novootkriveni fragmenti, 41–46.

198 *Rakocija*, Obnova, 37–39.

Fig. 50.
Kastoria, Church of the Panagia Mavriotissa,
Michael VIII Palaiologos (1261–1282) and
Alexios I Komnenos? south wall façade

Fig. 51.
Orljane, Church of St. John,
view from the west

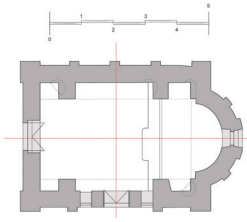


Fig. 52.
Orljane, Church of St. John
in Orljane, plan

Fig. 53.
Orljane, Church of St. John,
altar space, St. Spyridon, south arch

The first research on the church was conducted by Mihailo Valtrović and Dragutin Milutinović, who dated the church to the 12th century.[199] Gabriel Millet agreed with this dating, noting that various motifs from Niš and Ras spread into the interior of the Balkans, similar in technique to those from Constantinople, though differing in architectural plan.[200] In a more recent study, Miša Rakocija, based on the method of construction, the treatment of the façade, and the possibility of a dome, dates the church to either the 11th or 12th century. He additionally classifies it as a domed church of Byzantine origin, built on the Adriatic coast.[201]

The numerous preserved single-aisled churches from the 11th and 12th centuries within fortified settlements in the territory of the Archbishopric of Ohrid suggest that this type of church was particularly favored in such contexts. The most likely reason for their prevalence is the size of the churches, which often corresponded to the limited space within the fortifications. One of the oldest churches built within fortifications after the establishment of Byzantine rule is the single-aisled church in the fort on the island of St. Achilleos in the Little Prespa Lake. The fort is situated on Kale Hill, at an altitude of 1,025 meters in the southeastern part of the islet of St. Achilleos. Within the

199 *Milutinović – Valtrović*, Izveštaj, 461–462; V*altrović*, Pogled, 34.

200 *Millet,* L'ancient art serbe, 44, 45.

201 *Rakocija*, O crkvi, 75–107; *Rakocija*, Novootkriveni fragmenti, 41–46.

enclosure, at the summit of the hill, are the foundations of the single-aisled, apsidal church, measuring 3.10 by 5.60 meters. Based on the limited surviving architectural evidence, the apse was likely semicircular, both inside and outside.

The church was built on rocky ground, with the rock incorporated into the altar niche. It was constructed using small stones similar to those used in the fortification walls. As part of the fortress, the church's function was closely tied to the military establishment.[202] This complex may be identified as Konstantios, a fortress built by Emperor Basil II following the conquest and annexation of Bulgaria in 1018, after thirty years of warfare. [203] Although the fortress and church at Kale are in a poor state of preservation, they offer significant architectural evidence that sheds light on the character of military and civil imperial administration in the newly conquered regions of Ohrid and Prespa after 1018. The fortress was intended to secure the peace established through the surrender of the Bulgarian elite and the local population.

In the chapter From Pax Basiliana to Pax Byzantina, the importance of the region east of the Vardar River for the defense of Samuel's Bulgaria is explored, particularly focusing on a network of fortresses that protected the Strumica area.[204] Carevi Kuli in Strumica was one of the fortresses acquired by Basil II following the surrender at the end of the war in 1018. Its commander, Dragomouzos, handed over the stronghold along with other nearby forts, as recorded by John Skylitzes.[205] Carevi Kuli was completely rebuilt in the late 11th to early 12th century as part of a broader fortification renewal program in the Balkans under the Komnenian emperors (1081–1180). This effort was driven by invasions by the Normans, Crusaders, Cumans, and Pechenegs.[206] Emperor Alexios I (1081–1118) took command of the defense of Strumica, stationing a large army and numerous military and administrative officials there, as documented in contemporary records from the Veljusa Monastery. Additionally, the charter of Emperor Alexios I Komnenos from 1085, issued to Veljusa, mentions καστροφύλαξιν (keepers of the fort). By the end of the 11th century, Strumica had become the Byzantine military and administrative headquarters for this part of Macedonia.[207]

In the far eastern part of the fortress, adjacent to the walls and near the northern entrance, the foundations of a single-aisled church with a semicircular apse have been uncovered. The church, measuring 12 by 5 meters, was built directly on living rock. The surviving section of the church's north wall reveals construction with alternating layers of stone and brick bound by mortar. Several fragments of a marble sanctuary barrier, stucco panels featuring a serpentine ornament, and bricks decorated with a zigzag pattern provide some insight into what the original interior of the church might

202 *Ivanov,* Samuilovata stolica, 76; *Krsmanović,* Bulgarian Fortresses, 850; *Miljukov,* Hristianskie drevnosti, 46–47; *Moutsopoulos*, Anaskaphes, 18–22; *Moutsopoulos,* Ekklēsies tou Nomou Flōrinas, 61–62.

203 John Skylitzes' *Synopsis* of Byzantine history from the 11th century, provides valuable evidence for these events, *Scylitzes*, 359[39–42]; VIINJ III, 130, n. 176–177 (*J. Ferluga*).

204 See the chapter *From* Pax Basiliana *to* Pax Byzantina, I, 348–350.

205 VIIJN, III, 124 (*J. Ferluga*).

206 *Panov*, Srednovekovna Makedonija, 409–498; *Cvetanov,* Razvoj i kontinuitet, 89–100.

207 *Petit,* Le monastère, 28, *Prilozi za istorijat*, 23–25.

have looked like. The church was likely constructed during the same period as the fortress, specifically at the end of the 11th century. A necropolis, located to the north of the church, also dates to this period. At some point, probably during the 12th or 13th century, a chapel with a semicircular apse was added to the south side of the church. Later, likely in the second half of the 13th century, the church within the Carevi Kuli fortress was expanded by adding a porch to the north side.[208]

Further south, on the outskirts of Bansko village, at an elevation of 485 meters above sea level – approximately 250 meters above the Strumica plain – the remains of a church were discovered near the ruins of a fortification at the Mal Kayasi site, also known in scholarship as the Kitka site. The fortress, built during the Late Antique period and renovated in the Early Byzantine time, was partially repaired in the late 10th to early 11th century. This fortification is identified as Thermitza (Θερμιτζα), based on both written and archaeological evidence, and played a significant role as part of the defensive line of Strumica during the reign of Samuel.[209]

The church was located approximately 70 meters to the north of the fortress. It was built as a single-aisled structure with dimensions of 9.85 by 5.60 meters (Fig. 54). At its eastern end, the church has a semicircular apse, both internally and externally. The original church was later expanded with the addition of a narthex on the west side. The church was accessed from the north side of the narthex, with the main entrance located on the western side of the naos. It was built with stone and mortar. Based on the archaeological finds, the construction of the church at Mal Kayasi is dated to the late 12th century.[210] The church remained in use until the Ottoman conquest of Strumica and is assumed to have been part of a small monastery complex.

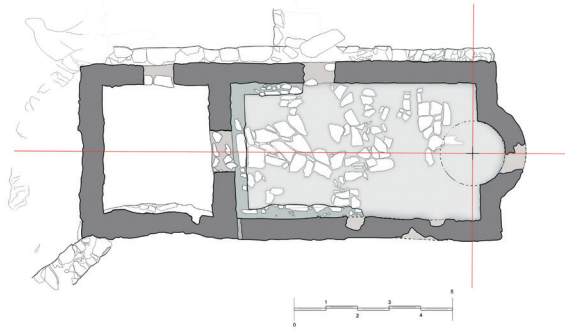


Fig. 54.
Strumica, Mal Kayasi,
Church, plan

In the Servia fortress, north of the cathedral church but in its vicinity, on a cliff where its eastern part rests on the rock, the Church of Sts. Theodore was built (Fig. 55). The church is remarkably small single-aisled structure with internal dimensions

208 *Cvetanov,* Razvoj i kontinuitet, 90–97; *Cvetanov,* Srednovekovni tvrdini, 141–158, 171; *Rujak*, Carevi kuli: Strumica, *Rujak,* Srednovekovnata fortifikacija, 80–100.

209 The site was mentioned by John Skylitzes in connection with the Battle of Belasica in July 1014. VIINJ, III, 119 (*J. Ferluga*).

210 Its ruins were uncovered during archaeological research at the Mal Kayasi site in 2017 and 2019. *Cvetanov,* Srednovekovni tvrdini, 245–247; *Cvetanov*, Thermal Springs, 514–524, *Nacev – Cvetanov,* Arheološki lokalitet Mal Kajasi, 333–342, 593–605.

Fig. 55.
Servia, Church of Sts. Theodore, Servia fortress, view from the east

of 4.10 by 2.42 meters, covered by a wooden gable roof (Fig. 56). The apse on the eastern side is tall, nearly reaching the roof cornice, and features a small narrow window. The apse is semicircular both inside and outside. The southern wall has two narrow arched windows. The exterior of the temple features ceramic decorations, including

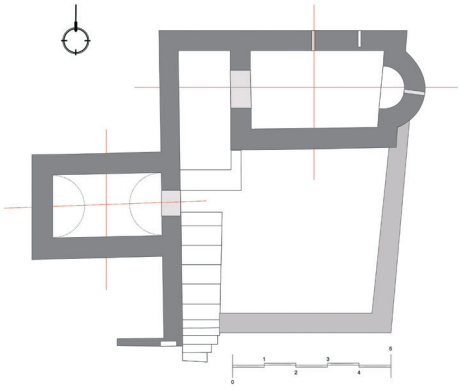


Fig. 56.
Servia, Church of Sts. Theodore, Servia fortress, plan

the Cyrillic letter ‚K' and its mirrored reflection, along with a zigzag frieze. The brick-formed letters bear a resemblance to similar decorative elements found in the architecture of Kastoria. The church is constructed from stone with rows of bricks. The apse's shape and the decorative style are reminiscent of the Church of St. Germanos in the village of German in Prespa. Based on parallels with churches in Kastoria, it is dated to the mid-11th century.[211]

211 *Xyngopoulos*, Ta mnēmeia, 75–89; *Chatzēlazaridēs*, Ta byzantina mnēmeia Serbōn.

Near the walls of the Servia fortress, on a small rock, stands the single-aisled Church of Hagioi Anargyroi (Fig. 57). The church has a gable roof and ends in the east with a semicircular apse on the inside and a square one on the outside. It is constructed using an irregular combination of undressed stone and parts of brick. Only the apse features ceramic decoration around the window arch and beneath the window, designed in a herringbone pattern (Fig. 58). The church was later painted on the inside, most likely in the 16th century. Based on its structure and construction method, the church is dated to the second half of the 11th century.[212]

The strategic importance and stronghold of Pernik during the siege of Basil II in his war with Samuel are well documented. After its capture by Byzantium in 1018, Pernik remained a significant military center for the empire.[213] This continued presence of Pernik is further evidenced by the numerous churches constructed in the 11th and 12th centuries. Among these, one particularly interesting structure is a preserved single-aisled church located within the fortress. Church No. 5 is designed in the shape of a concise cross. It was built in front of the main gate of the fortress, at the beginning of the main street. The sloping side walls of the church were likely designed to integrate harmoniously with the surrounding buildings. The church is 4.30 meters wide at the western end and narrows to 2.75 meters at the eastern end. The ground floor of the church featured a passage, covered by a barrel vault, which connected the city gate to the main street of the fortress. Beneath the church, there was a crypt with two burial places, accessed by four high steps. The crypt, located on the eastern side, was entered from the southern side. The lower structure of the church was constructed with broken stone and mortar and is preserved to a height of 1.3 meters.[214]

On the western side of the structure, stairs were discovered that led to the first floor. The masonry of the church utilized a technique where stones were surrounded by bricks, a method characteristic of early constructions. Though not strictly *cloisonné*, this approach created a decorative effect. It is believed that the first floor of the church, which featured a concise cross shape with an apse and a pre-apsidal space, was also used for funerary purposes. The design included pendants in the eastern part and thicker corners in the western part, forming the cross. According to Yordanka Changova, the floor level of the church might have been lowered during a later reconstruction, possibly allowing for the construction of a larger dome. This church is dated to the second half of the 11th century to the 12th century, definitely after the earthquake of 1063, reflecting the continued religious and military significance of Pernik during this period.[215]

Another church is preserved in the fortifications of the Central Balkans, located in the fortress of Zvečan – the Church of St. George. The church is referenced in the

212 *Xyngopoulos*, Ta mnēmeia, 102–110; *Tsiapalē*, O toichographikos diakosmos tou naou tōn Agiōn Anargyrōn, 135–169; *Evgenidou*, Ta byzantina mnēmeia tōn Serbiōn, 79–84.

213 See the chapter *From* Pax Basiliana *to* Pax Byzantina, I, 352–355.

214 *Čangova*, Gradoustrojstvo, 67–79; *Čangova*, Dvuetažna cŭrkva, 198–203; *Vasilieva*, Rekonstruki na crkvite, 97–99; *Nikolova*, Pravoslavnite cŭrkvi, 156.

215 *Čangova*, Dvuetažna cŭrkva, 198–203; *Čangova*, Gradoustrojstvo, 67–79.

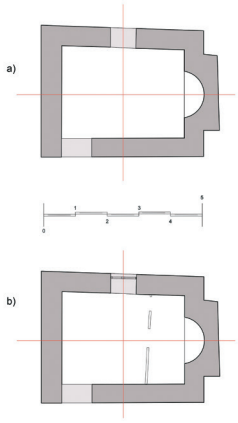


Fig. 57.
Servia, Church of Hagioi Anargyroi, near Servia fortress, plan

Fig. 58.
Servia, Church of Hagioi Anargyroi, near Servia fortress, view from the east

biography of Stefan Nemanja by Stefan the First-Crowned (1217–1228), which mentions that Stefan Nemanja, while passing by Zvečan before the battle of nearby Pantin in 1168, sent one of his priests to Zvečan to celebrate vigils and liturgy for a successful outcome in the upcoming battle. Based on this information, the church is roughly dated to the period between the establishment of the Archbishopric of Ohrid in 1019 and Nemanja's rise to power in Ras in 1166.[216]

The Zvečan fortress itself is first mentioned in the *Alexias* of Anna Komnene (1091 and 1094) as a Serbian border fortress towards Byzantium, with 1091 considered the *terminus ante quem* for the construction of Zvečan.[217] Zvečan was held by the Great Župan Vukan (*ca*. 1083–1112) as early as 1093. He probably retained control until the end of his reign around 1112. Some scholars attribute the construction of the Church of St. George to Vukan, though there is no concrete historical evidence to support this thesis.[218]

216 *Stefan Prvovenčani*, Život Stefana Nemanje, 37.

217 Alexias, II, 28; Cf. VIINJ III 384–389, (B. Krekić).

218 *Marković*, U vreme prvih Nemanjića, 221; *Jovanović*, Srednjovekovni grad Zvečan, 137–150; *Zadužbine Kosova*, 373–375.

Archaeological research in Zvečan has revealed the remains of a palace in the highest part of the fortress, within which a church with a base in the form of a concise inscribed cross and a small altar apse is preserved in its foundations. The eastern part of the church is about 9 meters long and was connected by a wide passage in the western wall to a room approximately 13 meters long, which was accessed from the south side. It is assumed that this western building was a court palace with both a ground floor and an upper floor, while the church was most likely a court chapel.[219]

Church paintings: artistic expressions of faith

Following the establishment of the Archbishopric of Ohrid, the 11th and 12th centuries were a period of intensive construction of new buildings, as well as the reconstruction of churches from the time of Samuel's state or even earlier. Many of these structures were embellished with decorative architectural elements and wall paintings. Much of the painting from this period survives only in fragments – often concealed beneath later layers or preserved solely as archaeological remains. Larger iconographic programs have been preserved in the endowments of the founders, which will be discussed in greater detail in the third part of this chapter. As with architecture, painting followed models that were closely tied to the Byzantine cultural sphere, which influenced the region either directly or indirectly through workshops from Constantinople, Kastoria, Thessalonike, or Epirus. The Byzantine government, through its political and religious institutions, left a strong mark on art, ensuring it reflected the Byzantine spirit. The autocephalous Ohrid Church became the main cultural and religious power of Byzantium in the Balkans. Although appointed by imperial authority, the learned archbishops maintained a level of independence. Many of these archbishops came from prominent positions in Constantinople and brought with them the customs and artistic concepts of the capital. Several were distinguished Byzantine theologians, and they, along with their associates, left an enduring mark on the art of the Archbishopric of Ohrid between the 11th and 12th centuries – a time of intense renewal in church life, church construction, and monumental decoration.

The art of the 11th century was anti-classical, focused on representing the spiritual world of asceticism and renunciation, while neglecting the physical, material. This style, which originated in Eastern monastic circles, had long been accepted and nurtured in Constantinople, especially in the great metropolitan monasteries like the Studion, founded in the 5th century. However, there are no direct analogies between the artistic language of Ohrid painters and those in Constantinople. Instead, parallels can be found closer to home, in Thessalonike, where frescoes in the narthex of the Cathedral of Hagia Sophia and in the Church Panagia Chalkeon in Thessalonike reflect the peak of 11th-century Byzantine painting.[220]

219 *Jovanović*, Srednjovekovni grad Zvečan, 139–143; *Radičević,* Poznosrednjovekovni period, 278.

220 *Mouriki,* Stylistic Trends, 77–124.

The remaining 11th-century fresco decorations in the central Balkans owe their existence to the high-ranking church dignitaries of the Archbishopric of Ohrid. These leaders commissioned painters who could express their theological understandings, resulting in what became known as „monastic painting." The intricate iconography and expressive visual language of this style created a mystical, profound world of art that was not easily understood but appeared sublime, serious, and deeply thoughtful. Rather than embellishing or idealizing, it sought to communicate religious and dogmatic beliefs.

By the 12th century, the territory of the Archbishopric of Ohrid was influenced by the system of *pronoia*, which empowered and enriched the local nobility. However, the strong administration under the Komnenian dynasty, a military class, kept attempts at noble independence in check.[221] This new social situation was echoed in art. Church leaders were no longer the primary patrons of art; the nobility, often from prestigious Byzantine families, took on this role. Even the archiepiscopal throne was increasingly occupied by court officials rather than monks. Archbishop John IV (Adrianos Komnenos) (1139/42–c. 1163) was from the ruling family, the son of the *sebastokrator* Isaac Komnenos (ca. 1050–1102/1104) and brother of Emperor Alexios I Komnenos (1081–1118). Archbishop John V Kamateros (c. 1191–1215), active in the 12th century, had been a court official under Emperor Andronikos Komnenos (1183–1185). This shift in patronage led to the emergence of a new, courtly style in Byzantine painting during the 12th-century Ohrid region and beyond.[222]

The study of art following the reestablishment of Byzantine power in the central Balkans remains challenging, mostly due to the fragmentary and uneven preservation of architecture. Only fragments of monumental paintings from this period survive, particularly from the 11th century, yet they attest to an active and diverse artistic life. Few of these works can be precisely dated, and in many cases, the connections between the surviving fragments and specific monuments remain unclear. As a result, scholars often rely on art history methods such as stylistic and iconographic analysis. While it is impossible to construct a clear picture of the consistent development of painting in this area based on the surviving material, we can attempt to correlate the scattered fragments with artistic processes in other parts of the Byzantine Empire.

Although preserved in fragments, many individual churches can only be dated based on their paintings. One example is the fresco from the southern wall of the nave of the Church of the Dormition of the Mother of God in the village of Velušina, near Bitola, discovered in 2002. Despite being poorly preserved and with faded colors, the fresco provides evidence for dating the painting – and by extension, the church itself – to the 10th or early 11th century. The fresco depicts a standing figure of a saint in bishop's vestments, accompanied by a damaged Greek inscription (Fig. 59). While it is possible to consider a later date – at the end of the 12th or beginning of the 13th century – assuming the fresco program drew inspiration from an earlier style of monumental

221 *Bartusis*, Land and Privilege, 83–115.

222 *Đurić*, Vizantijske freske, 13.

Fig. 59.
Velušina,
Bitola, Church
of Dormition of
Mother of God,
unidentified saint

Fig. 60.
Vodoča, Church of the Presentation
of the Virgin Mary (Western Church),
sanctuary, St. Isauros,
The Museum of the Republic
of North Macedonia, Skopje

painting, the more likely dating is from the earlier period. In terms of style, the fresco shows analogies with the first layer of frescoes in the Church of the Hagioi Anargyroi in Kastoria, as well as with the 10th-century painting in Cappadocia.[223]

One of the earliest pictorial works produced shortly after the re-establishment of Byzantine rule has been preserved in the Western Church of the Monastery of Vodoča. The partially preserved pictorial ensemble stands out as one of several notable examples that embody the new artistic tendencies in the period following the establishment of the Archbishopric of Ohrid in 1019. However, much of the fresco decoration in this church has been lost. What remains of the painting program in Vodoča, as much as can be inferred from the preserved frescoes, is the early appearance of the Virgin's Childhood cycle in Byzantine monumental painting, which likely covered almost the entire southern part of the church, including the *diakonikon*.[224] Only fragments of the scene Rejection of the Offering of Joachim and Anna from the first fresco layer, also found in the *diakonikon* of Zemen (under the jurisdiction of the neighboring eparchy of Velbăžd) and in Hagia Sophia in Kiev, highlight their significance in a broader historical and artistic context. Based on the isolated preserved representation of the Presentation of the Virgin in the Temple within the chronological sequence of scenes, its prominent placement on the south wall of the nave, and its size, it is clear that this church was dedicated to the Mother of God. Noteworthy are the depictions of the deacon saints Isavrios and Evplos on the side walls of the bema (Fig. 60).

223 *Paligora*, Slikarstvo; *Paligora*, Crkvata Uspenie na Sv. Bogorodica, 18; *Mihajlovski*, Od duhovnoto nasledstvo, 147.

224 *Miljković-Pepek*, Kompleksot crkvi vo Vodoča; *Miljković-Pepek,* Novootkrieni freski, 65–68; *Korunovski – Dimitrova*, Vizantiska Makedonija, 56–60; *Dimitrova*, Ars Inimitabilis, 343–356.

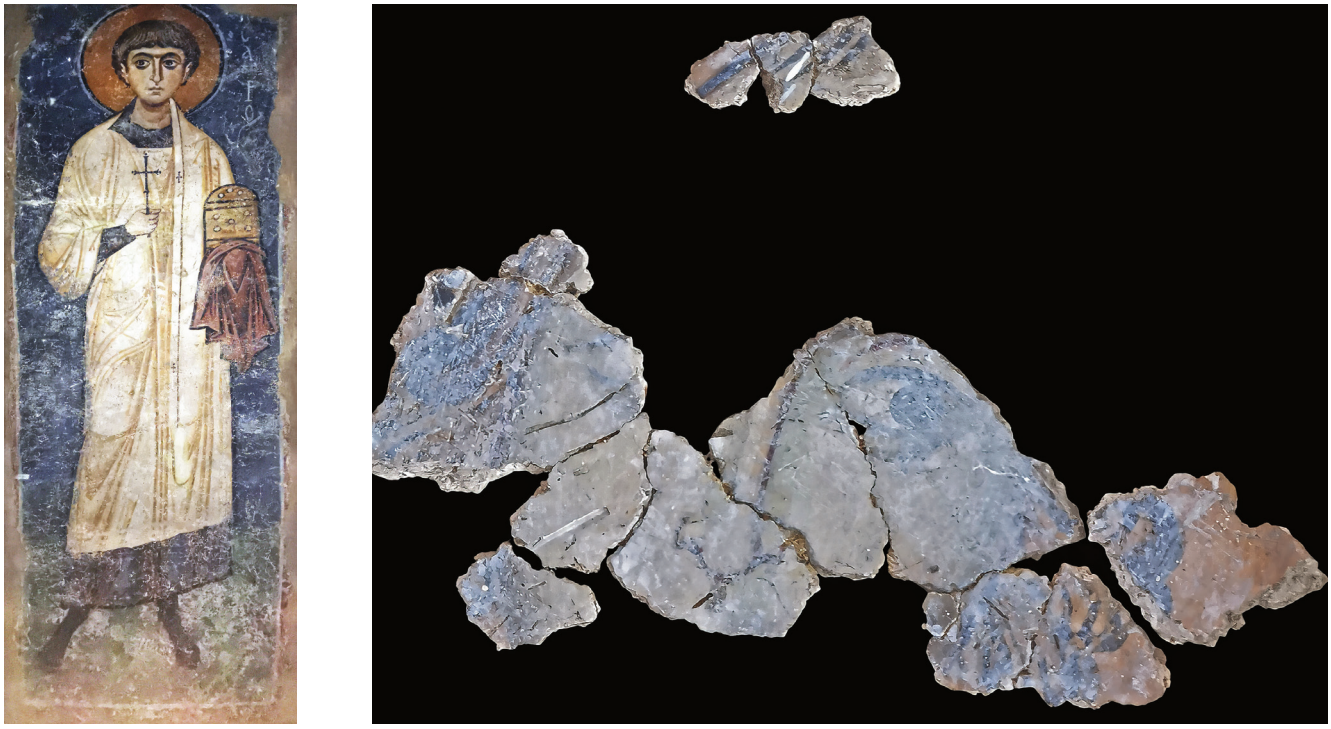


Fig. 61. Morovizd, Church at the Crkvište site, unidentified saint, The Museum of North Macedonia, Skopje

The excellence of the painting from the first half of the 11th century at Vodoča is best demonstrated by the depictions of youthful figures of Sts. Panteleimon and Isauros. The tightly modeled heads of the saints, in the Hellenistic style, highlight the key features of the so-called Macedonian Renaissance, marked by a spiritual tendency and a balance between painterly and linear techniques.[225] In terms of general character, facial types, and painting technique, the closest parallels to the depictions of Sts. Isauros and Panteleimon can be found in the frescoes of Hagia Sophia in Ohrid, the first fresco layer in the Rotunda in Sofia, the recently uncovered Deesis fresco in the gallery of Labovo, as well as in the Bishopric of Velbăžd. Additionally, similarities can be drawn with a fresco of an unidentified saint from the 11th-century construction phase of the cathedral church at the Crkvište site in Morovizd (Fig. 61). Regarding the quality and stylistic features, the fragment preserved in Morovizd is particularly close to the depiction of St. Isauros in Vodoča.[226]

As art historians suggested, these works share similarities with the frescoes from Panagia Chalkeon (1028) and the narthex of Hagia Sophia (1040s) in Thessalonike.[227]

225 *Dimitrova*, Ars Inimitabilis, 343–356; *Korunovski – Dimitrova*, Vizantiska Makedonija, 56–60.

226 *Rasolkoska-Nikolovska*, Novootkrienite crkvi, 23–34; *Rasolkoska-Nikolovska,* Slikarskata rabotilnica, 35–39; *Zaharova*, O nedavno raskytoj freske, 33–45; *Zakharova,* Some Observations, 157–172.

227 *Đurić,* Vizantijske freske, 11–12, 180, 181–182; *Miljkovik-Pepek*, Dva nepoznati fragmenta, 34–49; *Miljkovik-Pepek*, Ikonografskiot tip, 115–123; *Miljković-Pepek*, Kompleksot crkvi vo Vodoča; *Miljković-Pepek,* Novootkrieni freski, 65–68; *Domozetski,* Ikonografska programa, 86–88, figs. 11, 15; *Domozetski,* Vodoča, 779–792; *Dimitrova*, Ars Inimitabilis, 343–356; *Rasolkoska-Nikolovska,* Novootkrienite crkvi, 23–34; *Rasolkoska-Nikolovska,* Slikarskata rabotilnica, 35–39; *Korunovski – Dimitrova*, Vizantiska Makedonija, 56–60; *Zaharova – Maľceva*, Hudožestvennye tradicii, 189–191, 193–194, fig. 15; *Zaharova*, O nedavno raskytoj freske, 33–45; *Zakharova*, Some Observations, 157–172.

Given the high quality of the painting in Vodoča, it is likely that it was commissioned by a high-ranking church dignitary for a church of great importance – possibly even Archbishop Leo himself.[228] Consequently, there is the possibility that the painting was commissioned for the cathedral church of the Strumica Bishopric, which may have attained cathedral status earlier, perhaps in the mid-11th century.

This painting from Vodoča closely resembles the style of the second layer in the Church of St. Achilleos on Prespa. As noted previously, the second layer of painting in the Church of St. Achilleos on Prespa, from the time of Archbishop Leo, repeated the original iconographic program.[229] Among the preserved scenes are representations of two bishops framed by decorative arches on the north side,[230] next to the iconostasis, as well as remnants of two standing warrior saints, St. Nestor and St. Demetrios, on the north side of the first pillar in the northern row (Figs. 59, 60, vol. I, 191). On the south partition wall, between the altar and the south nave, traces of a fresco depicting John the Baptist have been preserved, likely part of the Deesis scene.[231] Although this painting follows the style of Hagia Sophia in Ohrid or the painting of the Western Church in Vodoča, it remains more graphic in nature.[232]

A relatively recent discovery of the Deesis fresco in the northern part of the gallery above the narthex of the Dormition of the Mother of God in Labovo strengthens the assumption that the fresco was part of the decoration of a room that served as a small private chapel for the founder. The position and size of the figures of Christ, the Virgin Mary, and John the Baptist, along with the choice of the Deesis theme, reinforce this idea. It is also possible that the fresco originally depicted the founder kneeling in the lower, now destroyed part of the composition, as indicated by the Virgin Mary's lowered right hand. As with previous paintings, the closest stylistic parallel here is the fresco in Hagia Sophia in Ohrid (1037–1056), particularly the composition of the Communion of the Apostles in the sanctuary (Fig. 76). Based on this stylistic evidence, as noted earlier, the dating of the church's construction has been convincingly revised to the second quarter or middle of the 11th century.[233]

Several fragments of the first layer of painting from the Church of St. George in Gornji Kozjak, Morovizd, have been preserved.[234] Among these is a fragment of a *maphorion* in the apse conch. Zagorka Rasolkoska-Nikolovska attributed it to the representation of the Virgin Mary. Additionally, the figure of the young Christ has been preserved in the pre-apsidal space. In the northern part of the pre-apsidal area, part of the figure of one of the archangels, likely depicted in an attitude of adoration, has also

228 *Zaharova – Mal'ceva*, Hudožestvennye tradicii, 189–191, 193–194.

229 See the chapter *Bulgarian Church Architecture and Art: From Origins to 1018*, I, 180–198.

230 For the identification of bishops see, *Sisiou*, Oi palaioteres apeikoniseis tōn agiōn Kyrillou kai Methodiou, 65–66; *Zaharova – Mal'ceva*, Hudožestvennye tradicii, 188–189.

231 *Miljković-Pepek*, Les fresques 1196–1198; *Moutsopoulos,* Ē basilikē tou Agiou Achilleiou stēn Prespa, 224–230.

232 *Zakharova*, The first-layer frescoes, 11.

233 *Zaharova*, O nedavno raskytoj freske, 33–45; *Zakharova,* Some Observations, 157–172.

234 On possible other painted layers in the church, see *Rasolkoska-Nikolovska*, Crkvata, 301–313.

Fig. 62. Gornji Kozjak, Church of St. George, northern part of the pre-apsidal area, the Archangel, fragment

survived (Fig. 62). Based on the colors of the fragments and the remains of nimbuses surrounded by pearls, the painting is dated to the mid-11th century. It is stylistically compared to the frescoes in Hagia Sophia in Ohrid, the Crkvište site in Morovizd, and the Western Church of the complex in Vodoča.[235]

Although preserved only in fragments, the painting from the Orta Mosque in Strumica provides significant evidence for reconstructing the history of the medieval church discovered beneath it. One fragment, depicting the bust of an unidentified bishop, seems to be earlier than the other fragments, which are from the late 11th or early 12th century (Fig. 63).[236] The bishop's face, with large and regular features, is outlined with clear contours. The focal point of his image is the large eyes, which convey a stern and austere expression. The loss of the final layers of paint hinders a proper evaluation of the subtle quality of the modeling technique. The classical manner of the bishop's face, along with its genteel style, reflects the high standards of the so-called Macedonian Renaissance and clearly belongs to the monastic style of painting, characterized by a focus on spirituality and a balance between painterly and linear techniques. This fresco fragment from the Orta Mosque site shares stylistic similarities with a fragment depicting an unidentified youthful saint from the 11th-century construction phase of the cathedral church at the Crkvište site in Morovizd, within the eponymous bishopric.

235 *Rasolkoska-Nikolovska*, Novootkrienite crkvi, 129–139; *Rasolkoska-Nikolovska*, Crkva Sv. Georgi vo Goren Kozjak, 125–139; *Rasolkoska-Nikolovska*, Slikarskata rabotilnica, 35–58; *Rasolkoska-Nikolovska*, Crkvata, 301–313.

236 *Lazarevska,* Orta džamija; *Stamenova,* Orta džamija, 411–412; *Stamenova,* Preliminaren izveštaj, 351–355; *Stamenova-Atanasova,* Duhovnite tradicii, 14–57; *Stamenova-Atanasova,* Overview of the Results, 507–514.

Fig. 63. Strumica, Orta Mosque, bust of an unidentified bishop, fragment, NI Institute for protection of cultural monuments and Museum – Strumica

Fig. 64. Strumica, Orta Mosque, apostle, fragment, NI Institute for protection of cultural monuments and Museum – Strumica

Comparisons should also be made with slightly later monumental artworks created during the first half of the 11th century within the territory of the Archbishopric of Ohrid. In terms of quality and stylistic features, the frescoes of Hagia Sophia in Ohrid, the first fresco layer in the Rotunda in Sofia, and the recently uncovered Deesis fresco in the gallery of Labovo, within the Bishopric of Dryinoupolis, offer the closest parallels to the painting at the Orta Mosque. Additionally, the first fresco layer in Hagioi Anargyroi in Kastoria can be included in this group, although it represents a more local, simplified version of the so-called monastic style, which was widespread across the Archbishopric during this period.[237] Regardless, the images of St. Nicholas and St. Basil in the Church of Hagioi Anargyroi can be compared to the depiction of the bishop's face in the Orta Mosque (Fig. 120). Based on these similarities, both the building and its original painted decoration should be dated to the first half of the 11th century, with a more precise focus on the second quarter of the century.

In addition to this early layer of painting, fragments from a somewhat later period have also been discovered. Faces, likely depicting the apostles, have been preserved, probably originating from a larger scene such as the Pentecost (Fig. 64). The faces of the saints exhibit distinct expressiveness and psychological depth, emphasized by raised and arched eyebrows. The rendering of the heads blends confident drawing with nuanced modeling, completed with linear highlights in red. The stylistic

237 *Zakharova,* On the 10th–11th Century Churches, 171–188.

characteristics of these fresco fragments reflect the artistic taste of the early Komnenian period, akin to the painted decorations found in churches under the jurisdiction of the bishoprics of Strumica and nearby Velbăžd. Notable examples include Veljusa (1080–1093), the third church in Vodoča (late 11th or early 12th century), and Koluša (late 11th or early 12th century).

It is likely that the church beneath the Orta Mosque underwent its second phase of painted decoration during the late 11th or early 12th century. Cyrillic inscriptions have also been discovered among the painting fragments, which may date to the first half of the 13th century, when the region was ruled by local lords Dobromir Chrysos and Strez, or more likely after 1332, when the Serbs conquered the city. Regrettably, the frescoes from the church beneath the Orta Mosque have not been adequately studied or published.[238]

Of particular art historical interest is the somewhat better-preserved painting from the turn of the 11th to the 12th century, found in three churches from the Velbăžd Bishopric. One fragment from the Church of the Zemen Monastery, discovered in the tympanum of the *diakonikon*, has already been mentioned. The preserved portions of the scene suggest the representation of the Rejection of the Offering of Joachim and Anna, the second scene in the cycle of the Life of the Virgin, depicting their inglorious departure from the temple (Fig. 65). This scene is also present in the Western Church of Vodoča.[239]

Fig. 65. Zemen, Church of St. John Theologian, tympanum of the *diakonikon*, Rejection of the Offering of Joachim and Anna, fragment

238 *Stamenova,* Preliminaren izveštaj, 351–355; *Stamenova-Atanasova,* Duhovnite tradicii, 14–57.

239 *Ilieva*, Njakoi danni ot restavratsijata, 66–67; *Mardi-Babikova*, Novootkriti stenopisi v cŭrkvata, 16–25; *Mavrodinova*, Zemenskata cŭrkva, 15–21.

The tympanum of the *prothesis* depicts two waist-length figures of saints facing the viewer. The partially preserved face of one of these figures shows a male saint depicted with a mustache and somewhat rough facial features. The head is crowned with a scarlet four-pointed crown adorned with large white beads along the upper edge. While Velda Mardi-Babikova identifies these figures as the prophets David and Solomon, Liliana Mavrodinova is probably correct when she suggested that they are more likely Constantine and Helena. This is because, in the earlier period, the two Old Testament prophet-kings were often depicted with similar crowns, while Constantine and Helena were typically shown with different types of crowns.[240]

The frescoes of the first layer are attributed to provincial masters, due to their poor execution. The preserved inscriptions of the names of Joachim and Anna do not clarify whether the text is in Bulgarian or Greek. Yet, the few remaining fragments of the frescoes do not provide enough material to further analyze their decorative system, themes, or iconography. Mardi-Babikova, in collaboration with restorer Bonko Iliev, dates this layer of painting to the 11th and 12th centuries.[241]

The strong expressiveness of the face of St. Anna and the male figure, along with other features, led Mavrodinova to place this first layer of painting in Zemen within the framework of the painting trend of the second half of the 11th century, similar to the painting found in the Church of Hagia Sophia in Ohrid. An important formal element to note is that the shadows under the eyes of the two early Zemen figures are not concentrated around the nose, but rather on the same side of the face, as if there were a single lateral source of light in the painting. This suggests continuity from old classical techniques, somewhat reinterpreted in the Byzantine art of the 10th century, and is particularly characteristic of 11th-century painting.[242] Based on stylistic similarities with the paintings in Vodoča and the Hagia Sophia in Ohrid, this painting can also be dated to the mid-11th century.

In the Church of St. George in Koluša, Kyustendil, the paintings are preserved in five distinct layers. Only a few small fragments remain from the original paintings created immediately after the church's construction, which are dated to the 11th centuries. These fragments, consisting of orange-red frame lines and parts of a faded black background, are primarily located in the southeast corner of the central apse and the northern half of the *diakonikon*.[243]

The largest portion of the preserved medieval wall paintings is found in the sanctuary and nave, belonging to the second phase of painting, dating to the first half of the 12th century. This layer includes Greek inscriptions and features depictions of bishops, deacons, holy warriors, holy doctors, and holy women. On the northeast column, images of holy healers are preserved: St. Hermolaos on the north side and St. Damian

240 *Mardi-Babikova*, Novootkriti stenopisi v cŭrkvata, 20; *Mavrodinova*, Zemenskata cŭrkva, 16.

241 *Mardi-Babikova*, *Ilieva,* Novootkriti stenopisi, 12–14.

242 *Mavrodinova*, Zemenskata cŭrkva, 15–21.

243 *Mazakova*, Proučvane, 19–36.

on the east side. Other holy healers are depicted on the southeast column: St. Cosmas on the east side and St. Panteleimon on the south. One notable aspect of the Koluša painting is the depiction of several women saints. On the western pillars are images of St. Kyriaki, St. Paraskeva, St. Catherine, and St. Barbara. Notable scenes include the Communion of St. Mary of Egypt and a fragment of the Vision of St. Eustathios Plakidas on the western wall of the nave.[244]

The most significant aspect for dating the paintings is the representation of the bishop in the altar area. In the lower register of the middle apse, figures of two saints, most likely liturgists, facing east are revealed, although the upper parts of these figures have not been preserved (Fig. 66). Directly below the window in the center of the apse, there is a rectangle which Liliana Mavrodinova identifies as an altar throne. However, the painting in this part of the apse is so damaged that it is difficult to draw conclusions about its content.[245] On the wall towards the *prothesis* and the *diakonikon*, four bishops are depicted on either side of the arched passages. The two bishops near the altar apse are depicted in a three-quarter pose, while the two to the west are shown in a frontal position. The most completely preserved figure shows the bishop holding the gospel in his left hand, with his right hand directed toward it, and a medium-length black pointed beard. This may represent St. Gregory of Nyssa. The other three figures were likely also depicted holding the gospel. It is important to note that the scale of all four bishops is similar to the figures in the apse but differs significantly from other standing figures of saints in the church, which are much more monumental in size. For this reason, Ljuben Domazetski suggests that the figures of saints depicted frontally and those facing east are part of the same altar composition.[246]

The depiction of bishops in the apse, such as in the Officiating Bishops scenes found in monuments from Macedonia like Veljusa or Kurbinovo, suggests that the frontal depiction of bishops was abandoned by the mid-12th century, as seen in examples from Nerezi. After the mid-12th century, the Officiating Bishops scene took its final form, with all saints in the apse depicted facing east. Three central Balkan monuments – the Mother of God Eleousa in Veljusa, St. Pantaleimon in Nerezi, and St. George in Kurbinovo – demonstrate the development of this liturgical scene over about a century, from the late 11th century to the 1190s. In this context, the paintings at St. George in Koluša represent the earlier phase, where both liturgical figures face east and some saints are depicted frontally. This artistic solution places the frescoes of Koluša in line with a more archaic version of the scene found at Veljusa (late 11th century) and preceding the finalized version at Nerezi (1164) (Fig. 107).[247]

The stylistic similarities between the paintings in Koluša and Veljusa suggest that these two monuments were painted around the same time, likely in the last decade of the

244 *Mavrodinova*, Novootkriti srednovekovni stenopisi, 194–200; *Mavrodinova*, Ošte za srednovekovnata cŭrkva, 11–18.

245 *Mavrodinova*, Stennata živopis, 32–33.

246 *Domazetski*, Ikonografska programa, 30–38.

247 *Domazetski*, Ikonografska programa, 30–38; *Domazetski*, Za stenopisite, 15–22.

Fig. 66. Koluša, Church of St. George, altar apse, Officiating Bishops

11th century or very early 12th century. The connection between Koluša and Vodoča, as noted by Mavrodinova and other scholars, further supports the idea of a regional artistic tradition linking the Strumica with the Velbăžd Bishopric.[248] The high quality of frescoes suggests that they were likely created by painters from Thessalonike or their Ohrid disciples. This context indicates that the church was probably built as an endowment by a high-ranking Byzantine military or civilian official.

The paintings in the Church of the Holy Archangel Michael in Rila have survived in parts, with the best-preserved sections found on the northern wall, the vault, and the eastern wall. On the eastern wall, on the north side, in the first register above the plinth next to the *prothesis* niche, St. Damian is depicted. Inside the *prothesis* niche is a rare portrayal of the holy monk Venerable Patapios. On the opposite side of the niche is an image of a bishop holding the Gospel, identified by an inscription as Epiphanius of Cyprus.

Starting from the eastern side of the northern wall in the first register, a fragment of an unpreserved figure is visible. Next to it is a depiction of the Holy Archangel Michael, larger than the other figures in the lower register. Adjacent to the archangel are the figures of three holy warriors: St. Theodore Stratelates, identified by an inscription, followed by an unidentified holy warrior, and finally St. Demetrios. To the west of St. Demetrios, a figure of Constantine has been preserved, along with fragments of the lower part of another figure, likely Helena.

On the northern wall of the altar bema, parts of the apostles' figures have been damaged, indicating that the composition of the Ascension was originally painted

248 *Mavrodinova*, Novootkriti srednovekovni stenopisi, 194–200; *Mavrodinova*, Ošte za srednovekovnata cŭrkva, 11–18. Sašo Cvetkovski dates the painting from Kyustendil to the late 12th century and the first half of the 13th century, *Cvetkovski*, Služenje na svetite, 39–56.

there. Fragments of the scenes depicting the Transfiguration, the Crucifixion, and the Descent from the Cross have also been preserved, along with the figure of St. James in the Cave, identified by an inscription. Adjacent to this is the figure of the Archangel Gabriel from the Annunciation. In the arch between the northern arm of the cross and the northwestern pillar, representations of two holy monks have been preserved. The inscriptions identify them as St. Anthony the Great and St. Euthymius. Ljuben Prashkov, the discoverer of the frescoes, identified St. Archangel Michael as the patron Saint of the church, based on the preserved image of the archangel on the north wall.[249] Ljuben Domozetski believes the church was dedicated to the Synaxis of the Archangels and that there was once a depiction of the Archangel Gabriel next to the figure of the Archangel Michael. He also suggests that on the northern wall of the northern arm of the cross, a scene of the Descent into Hades was depicted, rather than the Transfiguration, as identified by Prashkov.[250]

Of particular significance to the study of iconography from this period is the representation in the sanctuary apse of the church, where bishops are depicted standing frontally, without the usual depiction of Christ Amnos or the *Hetoimasia* beside them (Fig. 67). On the northern half of the apse are depictions of St. Gregory the Theologian and St. Basil the Great, both holding the Gospel and identified by an inscription. On the southern side of the apse are representations of St. John Chrysostom and St. Polycarp of Smyrna. Stylistically, these figures correspond to Komnenian painting. The standing bishops in the first zone of the apse are separated from the upper zone by a strip featuring geometric motifs. In the upper zone, a Mandylion is depicted with the figure of Christ Emmanuel blessing with his right hand. To the left and right of the Mandylion are waist-length representations of Sts. Peter and Paul, depicted as painted icons. Above them, there was likely a depiction of the Virgin Mary, though this part of the apse has been destroyed. The frontal depiction of bishops is an archaic form of the Officiating Bishops scene and is preserved in nearby Bulgarian monuments, such as the church in Patalenitsa from the 12th century. This type of depiction is characteristic of artworks created toward the end of the 11th century.[251]

Another interesting feature of the Rila paintings is the bust portraits of Sts. Peter and Paul, painted in imitation of hanging frames. A well-known example of this composition of framed saints can be found in the altar of Hagia Sophia in Ohrid. Similar portraits are also preserved in Bulgarian monuments, such as the church and crypt of the Bačkovo Ossuary from the 11th century, as well as in the Church of Đurđevi Stupovi in Serbia, dating to the last quarter of the 12th century. The placement of the Mandylion, typically found in the Communion of the Apostles scene, is particularly unusual in the Rila church. Most likely, the Mandylion here reflects its interpretation

249 *Praškov*, Novi otkritija v dekoratsijata, 6.

250 *Domozetski*, Srednovekovnata stena, 76–77.

251 *Praškov*, Novootkriti stenopisi ot kraja na XII načaloto na XIII vek, 115–124; *Praškov*, Novootrkitie rospisi rubeža XI–XII vv., 100–114; *Praškov*, Novootkriti stenopisi, 3–7; *Penkova*, Obrazŭt, 9–12; *Praškov*, Novi otkritija v dekoracijata, 3–8; *Praškov*, Rospisi, 36–45; *Domozetski*, Ikonografska programa, 30–38; *Domozetski*, Srednovekovnata stena, 73–98.

Fig. 67. Rila, Church of the Holy Archangel Michael, altar apse, Officiating Bishops

as another symbol of the Eucharistic sacrifice. It is also worth noting that in the decoration of some churches, the image of Christ's acheiropoieton (the Mandylion) appears near or even in place of the Officiating Bishops scene, replacing the traditional depiction of the Christ Amnos. This interpretation should be considered when examining the wall paintings from the church in Rila. In this church, however, the Mandylion is presented in an unconventional and unique version. It is depicted as a rectangular cloth with fringes and colorful vertical decorative stripes at both ends. In the center of the cloth is an image of Christ, shown in an atypical iconographic scheme: a bust of a youthful Christ with short hair and a raised, blessing right hand. The face is represented with a dark brown shadow, giving the impression of a short beard. Christ is dressed in a dark blue himation and a red-brown chiton. This version of the Mandylion is unprecedented and remains the only known example of this iconographic variant.[252]

The discovery of the paintings in 2000 allowed for an earlier dating of the work. Alexei Lidov has dated the frescoes to the 11th century,[253] while Ljuben Prashkov places them in the 12th century, considering them a true example of Komnenian painting.[254] Bisera Penkova suggests that the paintings were executed sometime between the 1080s and the 1180s.[255] Despite the fragmentary state of the preserved wall paintings from the churches in the Bishopric of Velbăžd during the period of Byzantine rule in the 11th and 12th centuries, the iconographic solutions in the apse reveal important stages in the development of the altar iconographic program in Byzantine painting.

252 *Domozetski*, Ikonografska programa, 30–38.

253 *Lidov,* Mandilion, 263; *Lidov*, The miracle of reproduction, 29–30.

254 *Praškov*, Novootkrytye rospisi rubeža XI–XII vv., 100–114; *Praškov*, Novootkriti stenopisi, 3–7.

255 *Penkova*, Obrazŭt, 9–12.

Fig. 68.
Sofia, Boyana Church of St. Nicholas, view toward altar apse with scene of Officiating Bishops

In the neighboring Bishopric of Serdica, fragments of 12th-century paintings have been preserved beneath a later 13th-century layer in the Church of Boyana (Fig. 68). As early as the 1920s, André Grabar drew attention to fragments of older paintings, noting the depiction of the Church Fathers and a deacon in the apse, the scene of the Dormition of the Mother of God on the south wall, a fragment of the Crucifixion on the west wall, the Nativity on the south wall, standing figures of saints on the north wall, a waist-length figure of a saint on the vault above the southern part of the nave, holy monks on the vault above the western part of the nave, and portions of two saints on the original western façade of the church.[256] On the southern half of the vault in the western part of the nave, a figure of a monk holding an open scroll – identified as St. John of Damascus – was discovered. This identification is based on the preserved Greek inscription, with Elka Bakalova recognizing the text on the scroll as part of his Easter Canon. On the northern half of the same vault, the remains of another hymnographer, likely Kosmas of Maiuma, can be seen.[257]

The iconographic depiction of the bishops in the apse is considered one of the earliest examples of the Officiating Bishops composition. The newly discovered text on the bishop's scroll was read and identified by Stefan Smedovski.[258] The text represents the beginning of the first antiphonal prayer in the liturgies of St. Basil the Great and St. John Chrysostom. Similar texts can be found in frescoes from the Church of the Monastery of St. John Chrysostom in Koutsovendis, Cyprus (1092–1118), the Church of the Monastery of St. Panteleimon in Nerezi (1164), the churches of St. George in

256 *Grabar*, Bojanskata cŭrkva.

257 *Bakalova*, Obštnost na idejno houdožestvenite procesi, 177; *Bakalova*, Litourgična poezija, 143–152.

258 *Smjadovski*, Epigrafskite proučavanija na Bojanskata cŭrkva, 40–47.

Kurbinovo (1192), and Hagioi Anargyroi in Kastoria (late 12th century).[259] Following the final restoration, the text on the scroll of the second bishop, depicted in the southern half of the apse, has been identified. This scroll contains the introductory words of the prayer of the third antiphon. A similar scroll with this text is found in the depiction of St. Nicholas in the altar decoration of the Church of St. George in Kurbinovo.[260]

Beneath the window in the apse, a painted altar table is depicted, covered with a bright red cloth. On the table, two liturgical vessels – a diskos and a chalice – can be distinguished. Although the painting is poorly preserved, Ljuben Domozetski identified part of Christ's head on the diskos. The upper portions of the diskos were destroyed during the repair of the window in the apse. Until now, scholars believed that the earliest depiction of the infant Christ at the table was painted in the Church of St. George near the village of Kurbinovo in 1191. However, if it is confirmed that the body of Christ is depicted on the diskos in Boyana, this would make it the earliest representation of the Officiating Bishop with Christ Amnos.[261]

Despite the limited preserved fragments from this layer in Boyana, a dating to the second half of the 12th century seems plausible, certainly before the wall painting in Kurbinovo, and probably after the painting of the church in Nerezi. In other words, the second layer of wall painting in the Boyana church was likely created around the 1170s–1180s of the 12th century. Some stylistic features suggest that this painting was done by the same workshop that painted the second layer of the rotunda of St. George in Sofia.[262]

Based on the preserved iconographic program, it can be concluded that the emphasis on the Crucifixion on the western wall, along with the Eucharistic themes reflected in the liturgical interpretation of the Nativity of Christ, the Dormition of the Mother of God, the Annunciation, and the Presentation of Christ, potentially suggest the outlines of a memorial program centered on Christ's sacrifice as the Savior. This impression is further reinforced by the depictions of hymnographers and their texts celebrating the death on the cross and the resurrection. The deviations from the standard iconographic scheme are likely a result of the explicit wishes of the patron and the creator of the program, and are connected to the specific function of the small church.[263]

In addition to the frescoes in the two foundational churches in Kastoria – Hagioi Anargyroi and Nicholas tou Kasnitzi, which will be discussed later – the paintings in the Church of the Panagia Mavriotissa also deserve attention. These frescoes are preserved only in fragments and are primarily concentrated in the altar area, the western wall of the nave, the eastern and southern walls of the narthex, and the southern façade wall. The decoration was executed in multiple phases across different

259 *Penkova,* O sisteme dekoratsii fresok XII v., 49–56.

260 Ibid., 50.

261 *Domozetski*, Ikonografska programa, 33–34.

262 *Domozetski*, Ikonografska programa, 30–38; *Cvetkov*, Kŭm periodizacijata na stenopisite, 92–99.

263 *Penkova – Cvetkov*, Stariji slojevi zidnog slikarstva, 43–59.

periods.[264] According to Anne Wharton Epstein, the earliest layer includes the frescoes on the lower part of the apse and altar wall, as well as scenes on the western wall of the nave and much of the narthex decoration, excluding the Baptism scene. The second layer consists of the Baptism scene in the narthex, while the third phase includes the painting on the southern façade wall and the depiction of the founder, rendered on separate plaster inserts. In this scene, the kneeling monk Manuel is shown in *proskynesis* at the feet of the Virgin Mary, with a medallion of Christ Emmanuel below. This portion of the decoration was reconstructed after sustaining damage that affected this part of the wall. Due to the fragmentary preservation and lack of written sources, a full reconstruction of the church's original fresco program is not possible, making difficult a definitive interpretation of its iconographic meaning. Wharton Epstein even proposes that the side walls may never have been painted – a possibility that would not be unusual for churches of the Middle Byzantine period.[265]

The *terminus ante quem* for dating the frescoes in the Church of the Panagia Mavriotissa is provided by the composition of the Baptism on the eastern wall of the narthex. This fresco was painted on a layer of plaster applied over an earlier depiction of the Last Judgment.[266] The Baptism scene can be dated with reasonable precision to the last third of the 12th century, based on its distinct stylistic characteristics. The faces of John the Baptist and the Apostle Andrew exhibit a linear stylization that is highly specific to this period: their features are constructed from lines and geometric forms created through the use of light, with particularly pronounced ovals on the cheekbones that emphasize physical austerity and spiritual intensity.

This composition belongs to a clearly defined group of monuments from the final third of the 12th century, including the frescoes in the Church of St. Panteleimon in Nerezi (1164), Đurđevi Stupovi (1170/1171), and St. George in Kurbinovo (1191). The closest stylistic parallel is found in the frescoes of the Church of Nicholas tou Kasnitzi in Kastoria, also dated to the last third of the 12th century. According to Zakharova, it is highly likely that the Baptism scene in the Church of the Panagia Mavriotissa was painted by the same workshop or group of masters responsible for the decoration of Nicholas tou Kasnitzi.[267]

The dating of the first layer of frescoes in the Panagia Mavriotissa remains particularly problematic. The paintings were executed by several artists, and there are no clear analogies with other known monuments. Nonetheless, the frescoes clearly belong to the tradition of Byzantine painting from the second quarter of the 11th century – a tradition which, by the early 12th century, began to embrace a heightened sense of drama through sharper, more dynamic forms. The colors are applied thickly, in an impasto technique, and the faces are plastically modeled using linear shading and subtle gradations of light

264 *Pelekanidēs*, Chronologika problēmata tōn toichographiōn, 147–159; *Pelekanidis – Chatzidakis*, Kastoria, 66–75; *Wharton Epstein*, Middle Byzantine Churches, 202–207; *Zaharova*, Freski cerkvi, 189–197.

265 *Wharton Epstein*, Middle Byzantine Churches, 202–207.

266 Ibid., 202–207.

267 *Zaharova*, Freski cerkvi, 191–192.

and dark. Transitions between shadow and highlight are smooth, while facial features are rendered with sharp, expressive precision. The frescoes in Mavriotissa also introduce features that reflect developments in the artistic milieu of Constantinople at the beginning of the 12th century, including greater expressiveness in the figures, dynamic compositions with active movement and gestures, and the use of vivid, saturated color.[268] Although the painter of Mavriotissa was clearly aware of these contemporary innovations, Doula Mouriki argued that he originated from a local workshop.[269]

The iconography of the first painting layer is marked by several new or rare solutions. In the conch of the apse, representations of the Evangelists appear alongside the rarely depicted scene of the Officiating Bishops. In the Crucifixion scene, the personifications of the Church and the Synagogue are depicted flanking the cross – an angel is shown pushing the Synagogue away, a detail seldom emphasized in this period. The depiction of Jephonias the Jew in the Dormition of the Mother of God, shown having his hands severed by an angel as he attempts to touch the Virgin's bier, is also a highly unusual inclusion (Fig. 69). Particularly noteworthy is the Last Judgment scene in the narthex, which features groups of sinners identified by inscriptions, including the rare depiction of harlots tormented by snakes.[270]

These distinctive iconographic elements have been central to art historical arguments placing the frescoes in the early 13th century.[271] However, given that many of these motifs existed in the iconographic tradition prior to that period, Wharton Epstein has argued – on the basis of stylistic analysis – for a date at the end of the 11th or the beginning of the 12th century.[272] Anna Zakharova, by contrast, places the frescoes slightly later, in the first third of the 12th century.[273]

The artistic evidence discussed above sheds light on the efforts made by the early archbishops of the Archbishopric of Ohrid during the second quarter of the 11th century, which were aimed at revitalizing ecclesiastical life and integrating the northern Balkan regions into the broader Byzantine cultural sphere. These efforts were modeled on practices and artistic trends originating in the imperial capital, Constantinople. The painters responsible for the decoration of Hagia Sophia in Ohrid – commissioned by Archbishop Leo (1037–1056) – demonstrate a remarkably high level of craftsmanship, suggesting that the workshop from which they came was likely based in Thessalonike, or possibly even in Constantinople itself. As demonstrated, the artistic influence of the Hagia Sophia frescoes in Ohrid extended to several significant churches, including those at Vodoča, Labovo, Morovizd, Zemen, and St. Achilleos on Prespa, particularly evident in what is considered the second layer of painting. This influence persisted

268 Ibid., 189–197.

269 *Mouriki*, Stylistic Trends, 101.

270 *Zaharova*, Freski cerkvi, 190–191.

271 *Đurić,* Vizantijske freske, 16,19,185; *Chatzidakis*, Aspects de la peinture murale, 64–65; *Hadermann-Misguich*, Kurbinovo, 37–38, n. 53, 55; *Eadem*, A propos de la Mauriotissa de Castoria, 143–148.

272 *Wharton Epstein*, Middle Byzantine Churches, 204–206.

273 *Zaharova*, Freski cerkvi, 189–197.

Fig. 69. Kastoria, Church of the Panagia Mavriotissa, Dormition of the Mother of God, detail with Jephonias the Jew

beyond the 11th century and into the transitional period leading to the Komnenian era, as reflected in churches such as those at Koluša, Rila, the Orta Mosque, Boyana, and Panagia Mavriotissa. The art of this time was marked by the development of new iconographic solutions, with a growing emphasis on spiritual intensity and asceticism in the representation of figures.

III. The heart of worship

The Archbishopric's cathedral: The Church of Hagia Sophia in its historical and artistic context

The Church of Hagia Sophia in Ohrid (Fig. 70) represents a key monument of Byzantine architecture and art in the territory of the Archbishopric of Ohrid. As an exceptional artistic accomplishment of its time, this monumental urban cathedral warrants a dedicated chapter, which will be included in the forthcoming third volume of this publication.[274] However, in this section, a concise overview will be provided to highlight its importance in the sacral topography of the Archbishopric of Ohrid, the church organization of which it served as the episcopal seat.

A terse yet unambiguous note in an official church document reports that the Church of Hagia Sophia in Ohrid was founded by Archbishop Leo (1037–1056). This information appears in the so-called *Du Cange Catalogue* of the archbishops of Bulgaria, composed at the Patriarchate of Constantinople in the second half of the 12th century: Λέων πρῶτος ἐκ Ῥωμαίων, χαρτοφύλαζ τῆς μεγάλης ἐκκλησίας, ὁ κτίσας τὴν

274 The chapter on Hagia Sophia is being prepared by Marka Tomić.

Fig. 70. Ohrid, Church of Hagia Sophia, view from the east

κάτω ἐκκλησίαν ἐπ᾽ ὀνόματι τῆς ἁγίας τοῦ Θεοῦ Σοφίας,[275] or, "Leo, first among the Byzantines, [former] chartophylax of the Great Church in Constantinople. He built the lower church [in Ohrid] in the name of God's Holy Wisdom [i.e., St. Sophia]."[276]

Despite the existence of this source, the possibility that Archbishop Leo merely restored a cathedral that had stood at the site since Emperor Samuel's time or possibly even longer, since Emperor Boris' reign, persisted in academic circles for some time. Over the years, however, fewer and fewer scholars subscribed to this view, although a definitive confirmation (or refutation) would require systematic archaeological research. Recent comprehensive analyses of Hagia Sophia's architecture suggest that the church was most likely built at the behest of the first ethnic Greek to occupy the Archbishopric's throne. Still, visible differences in construction technique between the lower sections of the walls and the rest of the edifice allow for the possibility that its construction may have unfolded in two distinct chronological phases.[277]

Like Archbishop Leo himself, who arrived in Ohrid directly from the capital, the dedication of his cathedral came from its hallowed namesake in Constantinople. The

275 *Gelzer*, Der Patriarchat von Achrida, 6.24–26.

276 For the English translation, see *Tăpkova-Zaimova*, Bulgarians by Birth, 51. On the document cf. *Eadem*, Du Cange Catalogue (with bibliography).

277 Cf. esp. *Schellewald*, Sophienkirche in Ohrid, 125–126, 158–159, 188 [Despite endorsing the view that the church was founded by Archbishop Leo, Schellewald does not rule out the possibility that its construction may have begun under his predecessor, Archbishop John (1019–1036)]; *Todić*, Arhiepiskop Lav, 120–121. For the opinion that Archbishop Leo restored a cathedral from Samuel's time, see esp. *Čipan*, St. Sophia. Cf. also *Wharton Epstein*, Art of Empire, 104–105; *Ćurčić*, Architecture, 398; *Panov*, The Blinded State, 110, n. 32; *Serafimova*, Hagia Sophia, 195.

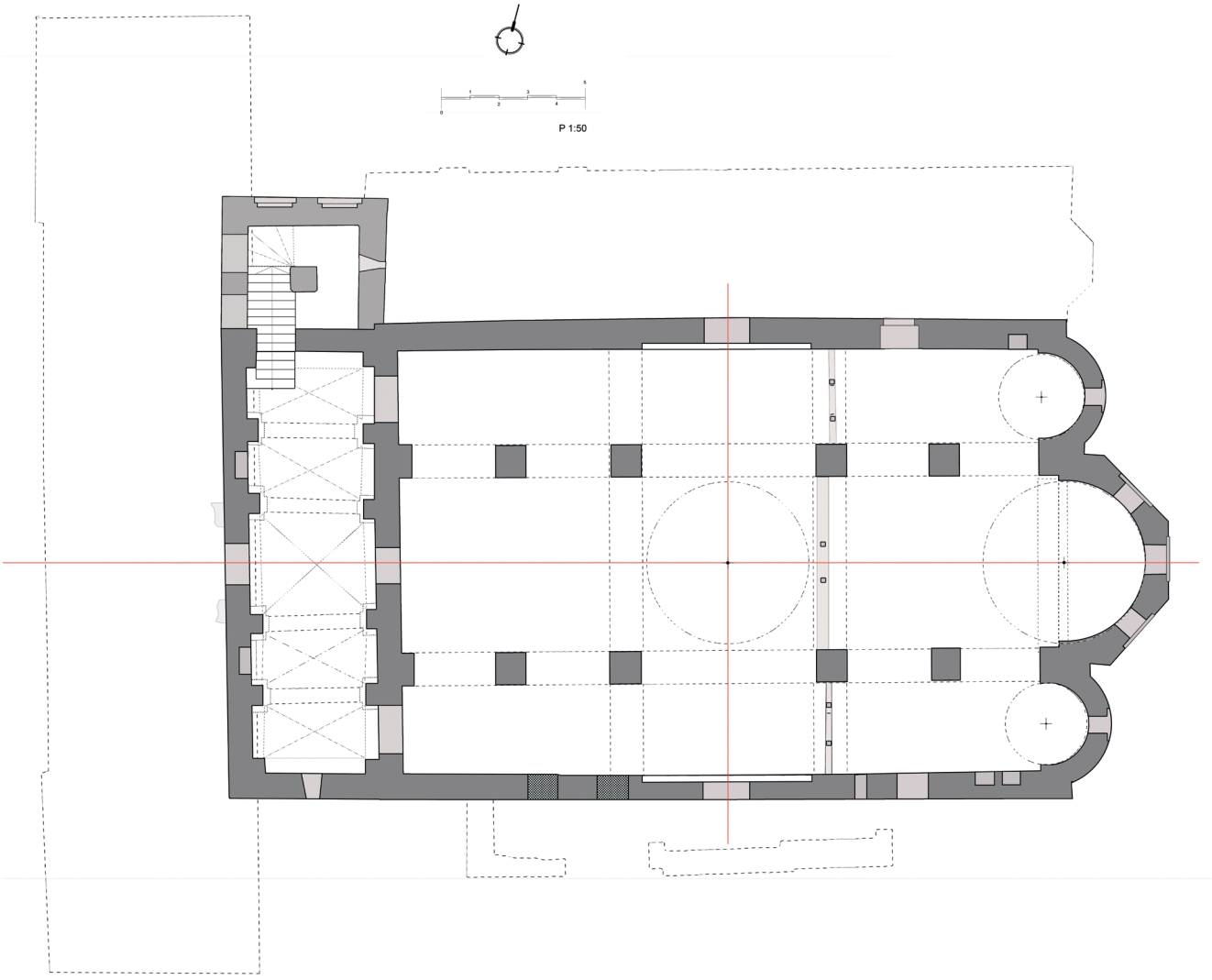


Fig. 71. Ohrid, Church of Hagia Sophia, ground plan, reconstructed view

choice of Holy Wisdom for the basilica's patron unambiguously attests to an aspiration to make the central temple of the newly formed church organization evocative, if in name only, of the Great Church of Constantinople, where the founder had spent many years as the head of the Patriarchal library (chartophylax). The naming of the new cathedral was undoubtedly a programmatic act of significant symbolic, ideological, and spiritual intent, as in other instances when churches dedicated to Holy Wisdom were built in the Byzantine commonwealth, typically at carefully selected sites and in extraordinary historical circumstances.[278]

The current appearance of Hagia Sophia does not fully reflect its original architectural design. This discrepancy is evident not only in the monumental exonarthex to the west, constructed in 1313/1314,[279] but also in the core structure of the edifice. Initially, the church was a three-aisled basilica with four pairs of rectangular piers separating the aisles (Fig. 71), and it featured a dome above the intersection of the transept and nave.

278 For a review of the churches dedicated to Hagia Sophia, with the relevant bibliography for each, see Hagia Sophia.

279 For this annex, built at the behest of Archbishop Gregory I, see *Grozdanov*, Prilozi, 85–92.

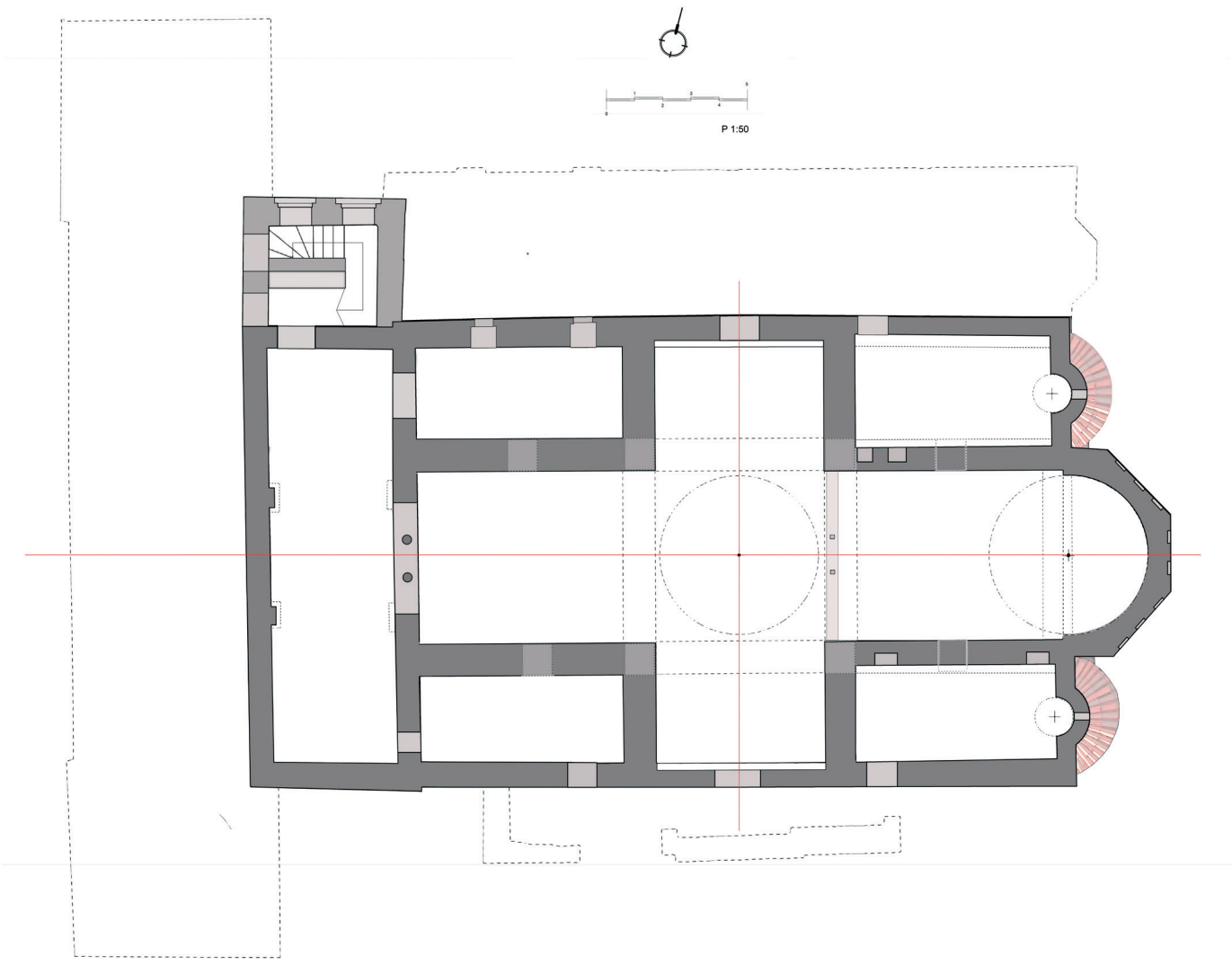


Fig. 72. Ohrid, Church of Hagia Sophia, gallery plan, reconstructed view

The dome likely collapsed during the period of Ottoman rule, when the church was converted into a mosque. The main part of the building is barrel-vaulted, the vault in the nave being gently angled. Thus, the edifice presents an unusual combination of a basilica and an inscribed cross-type church. At its eastern end, it has a tripartite sanctuary, with the main apse five-sided on the outside and semicircular on the inside. Above the narthex, which is divided into five groin-vaulted bays and features three passages to the naos, there was a gallery, and in front of it, possibly a porch, which may have also existed on the southern and northern sides of the main part of the church. Other unusual and distinctive features of Hagia Sophia's architecture include the *parekklesia* above the *prosthesis* and the *diakonikon*. These chapels on the upper stories of the building's eastern part could probably only be accessed from the outside, on special occasions, most likely via a wooden staircase. Some scholars propose that similar structures existed in the western parts of the naos (Fig. 72). The Constantinopolitan provenance of certain architectural elements at Hagia Sophia, such as the storied *parekklesia* and the gallery above the narthex, indicates the involvement of builders from the capital. Other features also point to the participation of craftsmen trained in Constantinople: the blind

niches on the façade of the central apse and the exclusive use of brick in its upper sections, the shapes of the windows and their surrounding ornaments, and the fragments of *opus sectile* flooring. However, despite these indicative details, we cannot definitively assert that the builders of Hagia Sophia originated from Constantinople. The construction method applied to the southern, much of the northern, and the lowest sections of the eastern wall – alternating stone and brick in the so-called *cloisonné* technique – was commonly used in Greece, Epirus, and Macedonia. This suggests that local masons, or perhaps builders from another part of the Balkans, were primarily responsible for the construction of the Ohrid cathedral.[280]

Unlike its architecture, the wall paintings of Hagia Sophia are relatively easy to place in the broader context of Byzantine art of the 11th century. In fact, for multiple reasons, it is hardly an overstatement to describe them as one of the most masterly fresco ensembles of their time.[281] The murals located in the sanctuary are particularly well-preserved and notable for their subject matter (Fig. 73).[282] The apse of the main part of the sanctuary features a representation of the enthroned Mother of God with the Christ Child. Below this is the Communion of the Apostles, and in the first zone, are the figures of six renowned holy hierarchs, depicted en face, with John Chrysostom and St. Basil the Great positioned at the center. The Deesis graces the summit, i.e., the front of the "triumphal arch," and the entire surface of the vault is covered by a remarkably elaborate scene of the Ascension (Fig. 74). Below this scene, processions of angels in adoration are depicted on both sides, oriented towards the altar. The side walls of the bema, in the second zone, display scenes from the Old Testament, many of which carry strong Eucharistic symbolism. In the south are scenes from the life of the Old Testament patriarch Abraham – an iconographically intricate depiction of the Binding of Isaac and two scenes illustrating his encounter with three angels. The opposite side features the Three Youths in the Fiery Furnace, Jacob's Ladder, and two episodes from the life of St. Basil the Great, which are unique in Byzantine art. The *diakonikon* of the church is dedicated to St. John the Forerunner, whose bust adorns the apse, and the patron saints of the *prothesis* are the Forty Martyrs of Sebaste, as indicated by the cycle of images from their lives (Fig. 158).[283] In these two *pastophoria*, as well as on the available surfaces of the main part of the altar, there is an unusually high number of surviving full-length figures and busts of holy hierarchs, alongside a number of deacon saints. In addition to the famed bishops of the East and West (Fig. 75), this extensive "portrait" gallery includes local saints (Fig. 151).[284]

280 The architecture of Hagia Sophia has been discussed in two monographs: *Schellewald*, Sophienkirche in Ohrid; *Čipan*, St. Sophia. Cf. also *Korunovski – Dimitrova,* Vizantiska Makedonija, 27–34 (*S. Korunovski*); *Korać*, Sveta Sofija; *Ćurčić*, Architecture, 398–399; *Mal'ceva – Freze*, Baziliki, 194–198.

281 For the extensive bibliography of works on the frescoes of Hagia Sophia, see *Đurić*, Vizantijske freske, 179–180; *Grozdanov*, Proučuvanja; *Schellewald*, Ohrid, col. 350–353.

282 On the iconographic program of the sanctuary, see *Miljković-Pepek*, Materijali; *Radojčić*, Prilozi, 357–369; *Hallensleben, Hamann-Mac Lean*, Die Monumentalmalerei, plan 1, 4–5; *Grabar*, Les peintures murales dans le chœur. See also *Grozdanov*, Novi prilozi, 49–54.

283 See below, 273–275.

284 See below, 266.

Fig. 73. Ohrid, Hagia Sophia, frescoes in the altar apse

Fig. 74. Ohrid, Church of Hagia Sophia, Ascension of Christ, a detail, Angel

It has long been established that the program and iconography of the sanctuary frescoes at Hagia Sophia reveal the involvement of the founder, Archbishop Leo. An erudite and distinguished Orthodox theologian, Archbishop Leo of Ohrid actively

Fig. 75.
Ohrid,
Church of
Hagia Sophia,
diakonikon,
St. Leo,
Pope of Rome,
St. Gregory,
Pope of Rome,
St. Sylvester,
Pope of Rome

participated in the debate regarding the use of sacramental bread during the liturgy, as evidenced by his correspondence with certain prelates of the Roman Church.[285] This significant biographical detail, which indicates his prominent role in the events that resulted in the Great Schism of 1054, has led scholars to suggest that this then ongoing debate – or more specifically, the position advocated by Leo of Ohrid – is reflected in the sanctuary frescoes. Consequently, the wall paintings at Hagia Sophia have recently been dated to 1052–1054, just before the Schism. A visual echo of the doctrinal disputes between the Eastern and Western Churches is particularly apparent in the unusual iconography of the Communion of the Apostles (Fig. 76). Unlike typical representations, the focal point here is not the act of communion itself but rather the large sacramental bread in Christ's left hand. With his right hand, Jesus blesses a procession of the apostles on the left, the hierarchically preeminent side, led by the Apostle Paul rather than Peter, who leads the group of apostles on the right. It is believed that these iconographical elements were included at the insistence of Archbishop Leo, whose recognition of the importance of the Eucharist is evident in two other scenes in the sanctuary – St. Basil the Great's vision of Christ and a representation of Basil officiating the liturgy in front of the holy table.[286] Finally, the liturgical nature of the imagery in the sanctuary is highlighted by specific iconographical details in the depiction of the Mother of God with Christ. For example, Christ Emmanuel appears in this fresco with an *abnet*, the girdle worn by Jewish high priests, underscoring Christ's role as the high priest of the Heavenly Tabernacle.[287] Another notable aspect of the sanctuary imagery

285 Cf. *Büttner*, Erzbischof Leon.

286 *Đurić*, Vizantijske freske, 10; *Lidov*, Byzantine Church Decoration, passim; *Schellewald*, Vom Unsichtbaren zum Sichtbaren, 160–161; *Todić*, Arhiepiskop Lav, 123–127. Cf. also *Wharton Epstein*, The Political Content.

287 On this iconographic detail, with an overview of previous interpretations, see *Marković*, The Virgin of Tenderness, 258–275.

Fig. 76. Ohrid, Hagia Sophia, Communion of the apostle, a detail

that reflects Archbishop Leo's positions in church politics is the selection of the depicted holy hierarchs, which will be discussed below.[288]

Unlike the painted program of the sanctuary, the fresco repertoire in the naos is now too badly damaged to allow a comprehensive assessment. The dome is believed, with good reason, to have featured a depiction of Christ Pantokrator and full-length figures of the prophets, while the pendentives below it probably bore images of the evangelists. The still discernible scenes from the lives of Jesus Christ and the Mother of God in the upper sections of the naos walls include fragments of the Annunciation, Nativity, and the Presentation of Mary, with the Dormition of the Mother of God on the western wall being the best-preserved among these paintings. Below this scene, the archangels Michael and Gabriel flank the portal, serving as "gatekeepers" (Fig. 77–78). The western wall retains still identifiable, though almost wholly faded, traces of the images of Sts. Constantine and Helena, and in the uppermost zone, a remnant of the Prophet Ezekiel. The frontal sides of the piers in the naos feature two iconographically interesting depictions of the Mother of God with Christ in the first zone. Many of the other, mostly heavily damaged representations of saints defy secure identification. Fortunately, some are easy enough to recognize by their iconography and attributes, such as Sergios and Bakhos, who are shown with swords and *maniakia* (torcs) around their necks. Also, it has been established that the southern walls feature images of holy physicians: Kosmas, Damian, Panteleimon, Hermolaos, Kyros, Mokios, and Sampson.[289]

288 See bellow, 266.

289 For the arrangement of the frescoes in the naos, see *Miljković-Pepek*, Materijali III, 1–16; *Hallensleben – Hamann-Mac Lean*, Die Monumentalmalerei, plan 1–3; For the listed figures of the holy physicians, see *Grozdanov*, Novi prilozi, 54– 60; *Starodubcev*, Sveti lekari, 77, 110, 122, 126, 149, 169.

Fig. 77.
Ohrid,
Church of
Hagia Sophia,
west wall of naos,
Dormition of
the Mother
of God and
archangels
Michael and
Gabriel

Fig. 78.
Ohrid,
Church of Hagia
Sophia, archangel
Gabriel, a detail

The passage of time has been much kinder to the wall paintings in the narthex. Apart from the interesting painted program surrounding the portals, thematically centered on Christ and the Mother of God, and the angels on the ceiling of the central bay, two scenes stand out as particularly intriguing – the Ascension of the Prophet Elijah and the Seven Sleepers of Ephesus, positioned in the lunettes of the eastern and northern

walls. The remaining surfaces are covered by the representations of no less than sixty women saints. Even though many of those female saints cannot be securely identified, it has been ascertained that, in addition to famed martyresses and nuns held in high regard in the Orthodox East, especially in Constantinople (St. Euphemia, Thekla, Eudokia, Catherine, and others), the group also included some whose cult was stronger in the West, particularly in Rome (St. Anastasia the Roman, St. Cecilia).[290]

In terms of style, the frescoes in the Church of Hagia Sophia in Ohrid more generally reflect trends traceable across the broad territory of the Byzantine world in the 11th century, characterized by moving away from the classicist spirit of the earlier stages in the development of post-Iconoclasm art. The closest parallels for the specific features of the artistic expression espoused by the group of artists that painted the Ohrid cathedral have been found in some geographically distant regions – the narthex of the Church of Hagia Sophia in Thessalonike and the Church of St. Nicholas in Myra, Asia Minor. This has led scholars to surmise that the shared source of this stylistic orientation may have been Constantinople, from whence the painters who, under the supervision of Archbishop Leo, frescoed his cathedral may have originated.[291] With no surviving examples of wall paintings in the capital to confirm whether this was indeed so, evidence supporting this view has been sought in comparing the Ohrid frescoes with illuminated manuscripts of more or less certain Constantinopolitan provenance. The most deserving of attention among them are the portraits of the evangelists in the Gospel Lectionary from the Bodleian Library in Oxford (MS. Auct. T. inf. 2. 7) from the mid-11th century, mentioned in a brief commentary by Vojislav J. Đurić.[292] However, more detailed stylistic analysis of the manuscript's miniatures and their analytical comparison with the Hagia Sophia frescoes are necessary before any definitive conclusions can be drawn. In any case, there is no doubt that the wall paintings of the Ohrid cathedral constitute a superb body of art emblematic of the dominant trend in the painting of Byzantine metropolises from this era. The works of the masters who painted the Ohrid cathedral proved remarkably impactful in the local milieu, directly influencing the imagery of several other churches in the Archbishopric's territory.[293]

In addition to the murals from Archbishop Leo's time, the Ohrid cathedral retains frescoes painted several decades later. Of these, the most notable are the wall paintings in the *parekklesion* above the *diakonikon*. The apse of this small chapel features a Deesis composition with two archangel figures below it. On the northern and eastern

290 For the iconographic program of the narthex, see *Radojčić,* Prilozi, 370–372; *Miljković-Pepek*, Materijali III, 16–22; *Hallensleben – Hamann-Mac Lean*, Die Monumentalmalerei, plan 1–3. The representations of the sixty female saints have been recently analyzed in *Brodbeck*, Soixante saintes femmes.

291 Cf. esp. *Đurić,* Un courant stylistique (with older bibliography); On the stylistic peculiarities of the Hagia Sophia frescoes, see also *Rasolkoska-Nikoloska*, Slikarskata rabotilnica; *Korunovski – Dimitrova,* Vizantiska Makedonija, 55–56 (*E. Dimitrova*); *Popova,* Asketičeskoe napravlenie; *Eadem,* Freski sobora sv. Sofii.

292 *Đurić*, Vizantijske freske, 180. For the manuscript see *Hutter*, Corpus I, 72–75 (no. 42), who dates it to the first quarter or the middle of the 12th century. *Parpulov*, Middle-Byzantine Evangelist Portraits, 19 (no. 138), believes that the manuscript originated in the 11th century. Photographs of the miniatures are available at https://digital.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/objects/529fc10f-2336-4af6-9055-34c81564c6af/surfaces/05aa186c-48d5-4006-9c9b-b1917053c0e5/

293 See above, 145–148, 150, 153, 158–159, and bellow, 192, 194, 216.

walls are twelve scenes, quite damaged, from the Passion of the Apostles cycle. Besides exhaustively analyzing the iconographic repertoire, very recent research dedicated to this fresco ensemble has shown that these murals were likely commissioned by Archbishop Theophylact of Ohrid (1088/89–1120/26) and that the *parekklesion* was probably intended to serve as his personal sanctum for prayer. The choice of the Passion of the Apostles scenes has been described as reflecting the learned hierarch's view of his missionary role in the ecclesiastical region entrusted to his care.[294]

The younger layer of frescoes has been preserved in other places in the Church of Hagia Sophia. For reasons that elude modern researchers, in the late 11th or 12th century, the representations of the Mother of God with Christ in the altar apse and the archangels on the western wall of the naos were painted over with new frescoes of identical iconographic contents, with some repairs done to the hierarch images in the first zone.[295] Finally, another scene of the Binding of Isaac was painted on the western façade of the narthex, most likely in the late 12th century.[296]

While Hagia Sophia's status as the Archbishopric's ecclesiastical focal point was undisputed, another basilica appears to have functioned as an alternative seat of the Ohrid Church – the Church of St. Achilleos at Prespa. This temple likely benefited from the care of the two Ohrid primates mentioned in relation to the decoration of Hagia Sophia, Leo and Theophylact. Namely, two layers of murals at the Church of St. Achilleos are dated, with good reason, to their tenures. Regrettably, the preserved remains are too scant to determine whether the iconographic program of the younger frescoes at Prespa's monumental basilica corresponded, at least in part, to that of the Ohrid cathedral.[297] In any case, Archbishop Theophylact's letters indicate that it served as a venue for the councils of the Ohrid Church, a detail that eloquently illustrates the significance that Samuel's foundation retained under Byzantine rule. This prominent role is further supported by the special veneration of its patron saint, St. Achilleos.[298]

The cathedrals of the Archbishopric of Ohrid: Centers of ecclesiastical power and artistic innovation

The episcopal centers and their cathedral churches undoubtedly play a key role in shaping the sacral topography of the Archbishopric of Ohrid. During the Middle Byzantine period, the installation of a bishop (episcope) or metropolitan (archbishop, archepiscope) in a city that served as an ecclesiastical seat typically implied the presence of a cathedral church. In these churches, the head of the local church would regularly

294 *Tomić*, Martyrdoms of the Apostles. Cf. also *Eadem*, The Architectural and Decorative Aspects; *Alekseev*, A cycle of apostolic Passions.

295 *Đurić*, Crkva Svete Sofije, VII–VIII. These frescoes were removed during restoration-conservation works and are now displayed in the church.

296 *Đjurić*, Crkva Svete Sofije, VIII; *Schellewald*, Ohrid, col. 276. For the figures of the saints painted in the nave of the church in the 13th century, see below, 267, and for the 14th-century ones see *Grozdanov*, Ohridsko zidno slikarstvo, 145–146.

297 See above, 146.

298 See below, 269–273.

preside over the liturgy ex cathedra, literally meaning from the chair of his church and representing bishop's see, hence the name cathedral for the bishop's church. Cathedrals developed architectural and institutional structures that distinguished them from parish and monastic churches. As the most important church in the ecclesiastical hierarchy, the cathedral had a specific role and administrative purpose as the bishop's seat. [299]

Following the establishment of Byzantine rule in the territory of the Archbishopric of Ohrid, and amidst the relocation or retention of some episcopal centers, cathedral churches were either rebuilt or newly constructed. However, while several sources outline the development and presence of bishoprics in the Archbishopric of Ohrid during the 11th and 12th centuries, similar documentation for the churches that served as the seats of these bishoprics is lacking. The number of preserved Byzantine episcopal churches is relatively small compared to the number of bishoprics recorded in historical textual sources.

To locate episcopal churches, scholars often rely on certain parameters that a cathedral should possess, such as size, specific liturgical furnishings, and sometimes the iconography of the frescoes. These criteria for recognizing the cathedral church are not always reliable indicators, however. The term „cathedral" often refers to monumental, lavishly decorated churches, which is typically the case but not always a definitive rule. As for the founders, bishops (episcopes) generally made the greatest contribution to the construction of new churches, the renovation of existing ones, and often the financing of their painted decoration. What undoubtedly distinguishes episcopal churches from others, however, is their role within the church organization. Cathedrals were the sites of important ceremonies such as baptisms, bishop ordinations, funerals, councils, and processions.[300]

In order to perform all these functions, a building of specific size and form was required. Monumentality is one of the key characteristics of bishopric churches. The question remains: does the size of the bishopric determine the size of the cathedral? Factors such as the location and the surrounding area where the cathedral is built played a significant role in determining its size. After the restoration of Byzantine rule in 1018, several architectural types of bishopric churches were retained in the territory of the Archbishopric of Ohrid, much like during the previous period of the First Bulgarian Empire and Samuel's state.[301] The most dominant of these was the typical basilica, followed by basilicas with domes, churches with an inscribed cross, and, finally, the rare examples of rotunda and smaller single-aisled churches.

A systematic study of episcopal churches in the archbishopric clearly reveals a strong preference for the three-aisled basilica and its variants. Despite the decline in the prevalence of this church type in other parts of the Byzantine Empire, basilicas continued to be actively built in the Archbishopric of Ohrid, maintaining a special

299 *Karagiannē*, Episkopikoi naoi, 70–135.

300 Ibid., 76–135.

301 See the chapter *Bulgarian Church Architecture and Art: From Origins to 1018*, I, 198–230. *Mal'ceva – Freze*, Fatih Džami, 151–169.

status as cathedrals, often constructed at the behest of the highest church hierarchs and state officials.[302] Many theories have been proposed regarding the use of the basilica plan during the Middle Byzantine period – a type that was in continuous use from the Early Christian to the late post-Byzantine period. Some researchers have suggested that the construction of basilicas, particularly those with wooden roofs, ceased at the end of the Early Christian period, only to reappear in the 9th century. This revival is often linked to the rise of Bulgarian emperors Boris and Simeon, who sought to legitimize their rule by emulating powerful Early Byzantine rulers such as Justinian.[303] Other reasons cited for the popularity of the basilica plan include liturgical, spatial, and practical considerations,[304] along with the ease of construction and functional versatility.[305] Indeed, the discovery of numerous basilicas outside the territory of the Archbishopric of Ohrid and the First Bulgarian Empire demonstrates that they survived essentially without interruption in Byzantium.[306] Svetlana Maltseva and Anna Freze contend that the basilicas in the Archbishopric of Ohrid were certainly not entirely modeled after Early Byzantine basilicas.[307]

Indeed, a significant number of basilicas were built during this period on the foundations of Early Christian or Early Byzantine basilicas.[308] Clearly, the continuity of the sacred site was often a driving factor behind the construction and renovation of churches in these areas.[309] When it comes to cathedrals, many episcopal churches in the Archbishopric of Ohrid during the 11th and 12th centuries were either built according to the basilica plan or were renovations of basilicas from the First Bulgarian Empire or Samuel's state. The basilica type was likely chosen for its ability to accommodate a large number of believers when necessary, as well as to offer better visibility and visual contact with the central nave – an important feature for the various functions performed in the cathedral, particularly during major celebrations.

Due to the lack of sufficient information regarding the construction dates of individual bishopric churches, it is difficult to determine with certainty how many churches were taken over and rebuilt from Samuel's or earlier periods. For certain cathedrals of the basilical type, it is evident that they were constructed during the earlier period, such as the cathedrals in Glavinitza (Fig. 14, vol. I, 105),[310] Chimara,[311] Moglena[312] and

302 *Ćurčić,* Architecture, 309, 395; *Mal'ceva, Freze,* Baziliki, 179–203.

303 *Korać*, Sur le basiliques médiévalis, 182–183; *Stričević*, La rénovation du type basilical, 207–209; *Mal'ceva – Freze,* Baziliki, 181–182.

304 *Karagiannē*, Episkopikoi naoi,170–171; *Altripp*, Die Basilika, 137.

305 *Ćurčić,* Architecture, 308–309, 395.

306 *Bouras,* Zourtsa, 142–146; *Bokotopoulos*, Ē ekklēsiastikē architektonikē, 98; *Karagiannē*, Episkopikoi naoi, 172–173; *Mal'ceva – Freze,* Baziliki, 182.

307 *Mal'ceva – Freze,* Baziliki, 185–186.

308 As we saw in the previous section 1 of this chapter, 78–159.

309 *Šuput,* Kontinuitet kultnog mesta, 155–162.

310 See the chapter *Bulgarian Church Architecture and Art: From Origins to 1018*, I, 104–110.

311 *Meksi*, Arkitektura e Kishave, 143–144.

312 See the chapter *Bulgarian Church Architecture and Art: From Origins to 1018*, I, 234–238. More on architecture, *Evgenidou,* Anaskaphes, 63–69; *Karagiannē,* Episkopikoi naoi, 272–273.

possibly the cathedral in Prizren.[313] Some researchers suggest that the cathedral in Prizren, rebuilt in the early 14th century by Serbian king Milutin as the Virgin Eleousa (Bogorodica Ljeviška), cannot have dated to a period later than the 9th century (Figs. 76, 77, vol. I, 221).[314] Others argue, however, that the *terminus ante quem* for its construction is the issuance of the charter of Basil II in 1019.[315] Based on the most recent interpretation, the cathedral in Stagoi (Kalambaka) should be added to the list of early cathedrals built before 1019. Although the cathedral in Kalambaka was previously dated to the 11th or 12th century with the assumption that it was built on an Early Christian basilica, new research suggests it likely dates from the 9th to 10th century, with significant renovations occurring in the 11th to 12th century (Fig. 79).[316] During the reconstruction of the Byzantine administration and the cities of the region in the 9th century, Stagoi emerged as the seat of the bishopric of the same name, subordinate to the Archbishopric of Larissa, though with a limited territory.[317] It is plausible that, at that time or soon after, a cathedral was built in Stagoi. Moreover, there is no clear evidence supporting the existence of an Early Christian basilica on the site.[318]

Some bishopric churches were constructed on the remains of Early Christian or Early Byzantine churches, such as those in Glavinitza, Prizren, Berroia,[319] Sisani [320] and possibly Bitola, if the cathedral's location is indeed beneath the Yeni Mosque in Bitola, a topic that will be discussed further (Fig. 80). The same can be said for the cathedral in Bouthroton. If the bishopric church was located in the lower town near the lake shore, as some scholars assume – though not with full certainty – then it too was likely rebuilt on the remains of an Early Byzantine basilica after the restoration of Byzantine rule in that area in the second half of the 9th century or early 10th century.[321] In cases where cathedrals were built on the site of older buildings, the architecture of the new church frequently did not follow the foundations of the previous structure. On occasion however, the plans had to be adjusted to fit the existing foundations. The cathedral in Servia presents an interesting dating. If, as most scholars suggest, it was

313 *Panić – Babić*, Bogorodica, 28–29. For the early history of the episcopal seat see the chapter *Bulgarian Church Architecture and Art: From Origins to 1018*, I, 219–227.

314 *Nenadović*, Šta je kralj Milutin obnovio, 205–226; *Nenadović*, Bogorodica Ljeviška.

315 *Stričević*, La rénovation du type basilical, 202–203; *Korać*, O srednjovekovnim bazilikama, 70–71.

316 *Sythiakakis-Kritsimallis – Vojadjis*, Redating the Basilica, 195–227.

317 *Andrudēs – Anagnōstopoulos*, Kathedra tōn Stagōn, 45–65.

318 *Sythiakakis-Kritsimallis – Vojadjis*, Redating the Basilica, 195–227, with older bibliography. This opinion is rejected by Alexandros Anagnostopoulos and Paschales Andrudes, who disagreed with the earlier dating of the cathedral, arguing – based on previous scholarship – that it was built in the second half of the 11th century on the remains of the Early Christian basilica. *Andrudēs – Anagnōstopoulos*, Kathedra tōn Stagōn, 110–113.

319 On a possible earlier structure and dating of the cathedral see *Mal'ceva – Freze,* Baziliki, 185–190; Also on the basilica, see, *Panayotidi*, Les églises de Véria*, 300–315; Papazōto*s, Ē Beroia, 90, 164–168; *Karagiannē*, Episkopikoi naoi, 246–268.

320 *Sabbopoulou-Katsikē – Mauropoulou-Tsioumē*, Ē anaskaphē sto byzantino Sisani, 517–525; *Petkos,* Anaskaphē, 313–337; *Ćurčić*, Architecture, 399; *Karagiannē*, Episkopikoi naoi,270–272; *Zaharova – Mal'ceva*, Hudožestvennye tradicii, 185.

321 *Ćurčić*, Architecture, 309–310; *Meksi,* Bazilika, 47–75; *Meksi,* Arhitektura e Kishave, 137; *Molla,* The Great Basilica, 200–12; *Soustal*, The historical sources, 20–26.

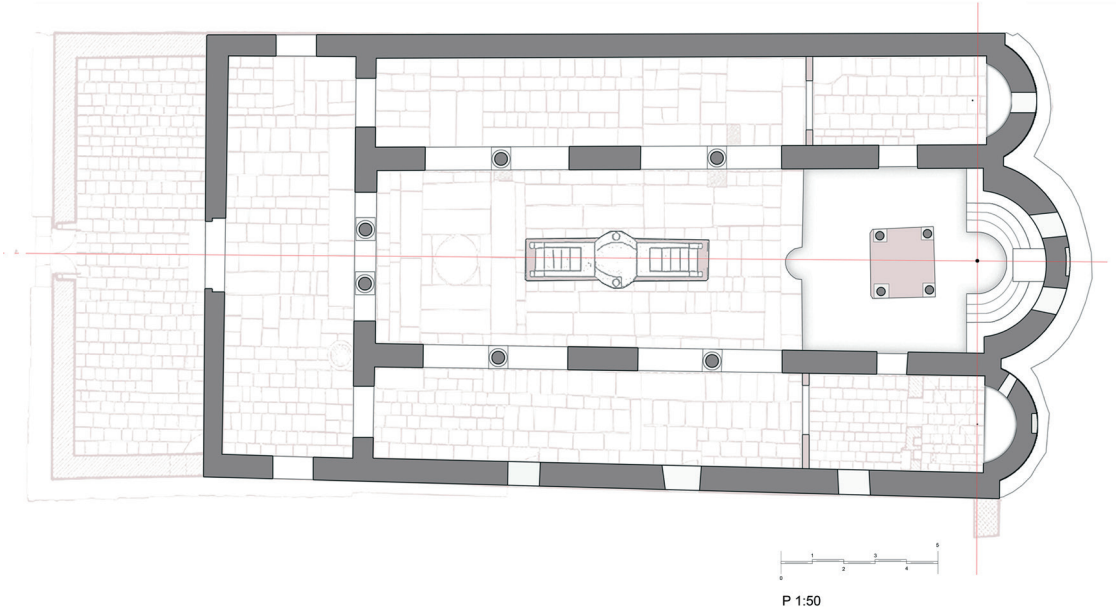


Fig. 79.
Kalambaka, Cathedral in Stagoi, plan

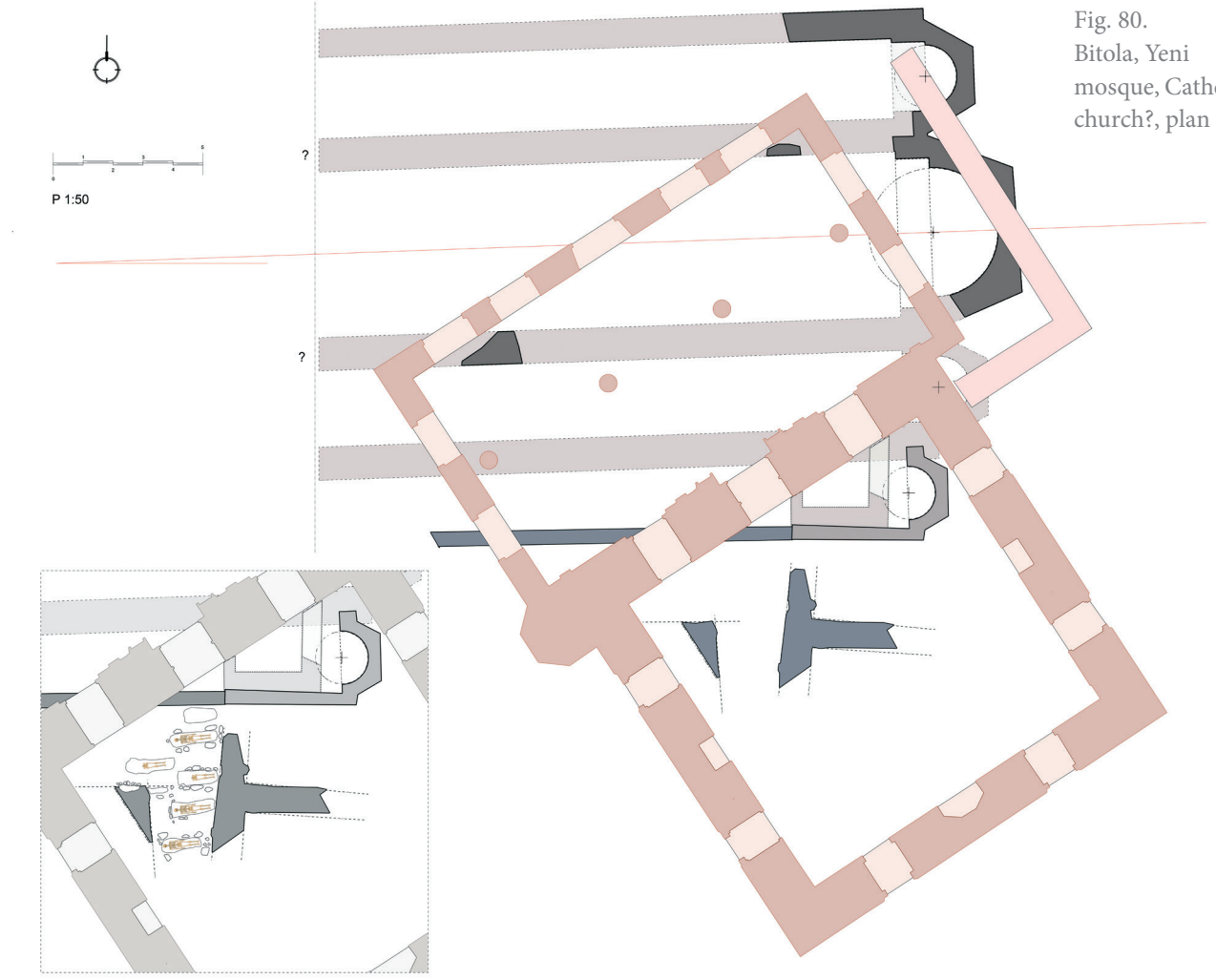


Fig. 80.
Bitola, Yeni mosque, Cathedral church?, plan

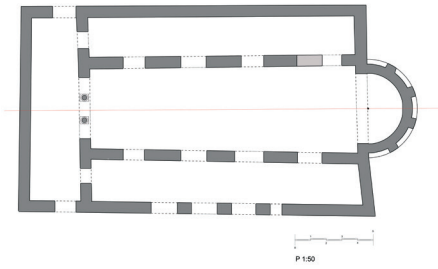


Fig. 81.
Servia fortress,
Cathedral church,
plan

built around 1001 – following the Byzantine liberation of the territory from Bulgarian control – then it would be the only known cathedral constructed during the transitional period, prior to the fall of Samuel's state and the formal establishment of the Archbishopric of Ohrid in 1019 (Fig. 81).[322]

All of the churches mentioned above are three-aisled basilicas, but beyond this general classification, there are inconsistencies and variations in their plans. For some of the cathedrals, there is insufficient data for comparison, such as the basilica in Bouthroton or in Bitola at the site of Yeni Mosque, where only part of the church has been excavated.[323]

The variations in the basilica plans are significant, as some basilicas are among the largest churches ever built, while others are among the smallest. This variation is often unrelated to the size or the number of *klerikoi* and *paroikoi* in the bishopric. The largest known cathedrals, along with their approximate measurements, include the Old Metropolis in Berroia (20 by 39 m), followed by Hagia Sophia in Ohrid (17 by 33 m). After these, the cathedrals in Sisani (14.5 by 31 m) come next, with similar-sized churches in Stagoi (14 by 26 m) and Servia (14 by 26 m). Interestingly, no cathedral church exceeds the dimensions of the cathedral Church of St. Achilleos in Prespa (22 by 44 m), built by Bulgarian ruler Samuel around 985/986.[324]

The basilicas vary greatly in structure and form. Some have a single semicircular apse, both outside and inside, as seen in the cathedrals of Servia, Berroia, and Bouthroton (Fig. 82).[325] Other cathedral basilicas have three apses, as in Prizren, Ohrid, Kalambaka, Sisani, Glavinitza, and Moglena. These apses also differ in shape: some are semicircular, others are three-sided, and some are polygonal. For example, the original structure of the cathedral in Prizren featured a three-sided main apse, while the side

322 *Karagiannē*, Episkopikoi naoi, 265–268; *Ćurčić*, Architecture, 310–311, 396–397; *Evgenidou,* Anaskaphes, 63–69. Andreas Xyngopoulos believes that the cathedral was constructed in the first quarter of the 11th century, *Xyngopoulos*, Ta mnēmeia, 46–49; For more information on the fortress of Servia and the possible earlier structures on the site of the basilica see the chapter *Bulgarian Church Architecture and Art: From Origins to 1018*, I, 244–246.

323 *Filipovska – Srbinovski*, Pregled na arheološkite istražuvanja 111–120; *Filipovska-Lazarovska*, Jeni dzamija, 316–320; *Mihajlovski*, Bitolskata Jeni dzamija, 183–188; *Atanasoski,* Okolu problemot, 74–91.

324 See the chapter *Bulgarian Church Architecture and Art: From Origins to 1018*, I, 180–198.

325 The original apse of the Early Christian basilica was pentagonal, but during medieval renovations, it was modified to have a semicircular exterior, see *Ćurčić*, Architecture, 309–310.

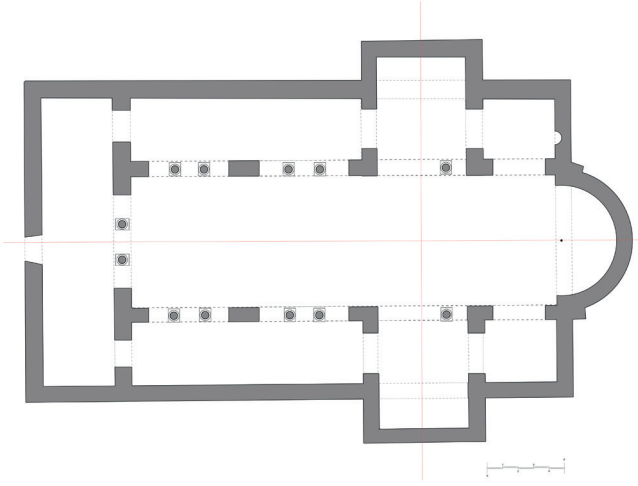


Fig. 82.
Berroia,
Cathedral church,
plan

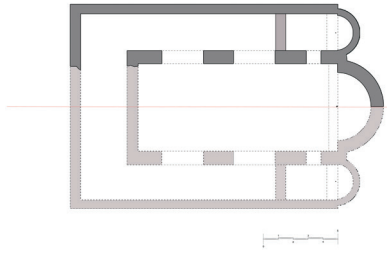


Fig. 83.
Moglena,
Cathedral church,
plan

apses were semicircular. In the cathedral in Kalambaka, all three apses are semicircular, similar to those in Moglena (Fig. 83). The cathedral in Sisani has a central apse that is five-sided on the outside, while the side apses are three-sided. The most notable variation in cathedral basilicas is in the way the central nave is separated from the side aisles. Most often, the naves are separated by a row of pillars articulating a colonnade or arcade. In Servia, however, the side aisles are separated by arcaded passages that pierce the walls. Noteworthy, the aisles in Servia are also not symmetrical: the arcade openings on the north aisle are wider and do not align with those on the south aisle (Fig. 84).[326] Another unique architectural feature is found in Berroia, where the aisle between the nave and the narthex has a *tribelon* in the central aisle.[327] In the basilica at Stagoi Kalambaka, the central nave is separated from the side aisles by walls, each pierced by two pairs of double arches supported by columns (Fig. 85).[328] There are also differences in the access to the side chapels, such as the *prothesis* and *diakonikon*. The cathedral in Berroia has two protruding rectangular spaces in front of the bema, forming a kind of transept.[329] In the basilicas of Prizren and Servia, the *pastophoria* are not clearly separated, whereas in other cathedrals, they are profiled as separate chapels connected to the altar space and side aisles. Notably, in the cathedral in Kalambaka, access to the *diakonikon* from the altar is closed.[330]

326 *Ćurčić*, Architecture, 396–397.

327 *Ćurčić*, Architecture, 395–396.

328 *Sythiakakis-Kritsimallis – Vojadjis*, Redating the Basilica, 196.

329 *Ćurčić*, Architecture, 395–396.

330 *Sythiakakis-Kritsimallis – Vojadjis*, Redating the Basilica, 201–202.

Fig. 84.
Servia fortress,
Cathedral church,
arcade

Fig. 85.
Kalambaka,
Cathedral church,
arcade, interior

A distinctive type of cathedral church represents a transitional architectural form between the basilica and the domed church with an inscribed cross. Three churches were constructed according to this design: the Church of Hagia Sophia in Ohrid – the center of the archbishopric previously discussed – the church in Sisani, and the cathedral in Morovizd.

The cathedral of Sisani presents a greater enigma. Excavations conducted two kilometers northwest of the modern settlement of Sisani, between Kozani and Kastoria revealed a large church of unknown dedication. Unlike most churches identified on the basis of historical texts as belonging to bishoprics and diocesan centers, the

episcopal church of Sisani is not mentioned in any surviving source. Several assumptions have been made about its identity, but none provide a conclusive answer. There is a suggestion that the church may have been the cathedral of the bishopric of the Vlachs, an indigenous community in the Balkans that was numerous in this area.[331] Mentions of the Vlach Bishopric are rare in historical sources, and it is cited in two instances as a suffragan of the Archbishopric of Ohrid during the 11th and 12th centuries.[332] Based on archaeological evidence, it is believed that the church was founded in the late 11th or, at the latest, the 12th century. Its existence suggests the prosperity of a city that fell silent during the 15th century but reemerged as an episcopal seat in the 16th century.[333]

The oldest structure on the site was an Early Byzantine basilica from around 5th-6th century, of which only the eastern part is known. The foundations of the Middle Byzantine church are in excellent condition. The church's base measures 14.5 by 31 meters, slightly smaller than Hagia Sophia in Ohrid. It follows a typical basilical design, with a system of pillars supporting the main arcade. The transept, which is the same width as the nave, is located at the center of the building and marks the intersection over which the dome rose. This is confirmed by the four central pillars, notably more massive than the others. To the east lies the central apse, which is five-sided on the exterior and semicircular on the interior, while the side apses are three-sided externally and semicircular internally. To the west is an elongated narthex, with a staircase on the south side leading to an upper room. The presence of staircase and substantial size of the narthex suggests that the church likely had galleries.[334] The basilica was accessed through a portico supported by four columns. Four large recesses on the outer side walls indicate the use of a buttress system. Although these buttresses were built at the same time as the church, their primary function was not structural support, as they do not align with any of the church's major structural elements. Therefore, it is possible that these buttresses supported external galleries with arcades and triangular gables. The external galleries likely provided access to inner galleries and upper chapels above the *pastophoria*, if they existed, similar to those found in the cathedral of Ohrid.[335] This church design most likely originated in Constantinople, where it was applied to the smaller Theotokos *tou Libos* (907) of the Monastery of Constantine Lips.[336]

331 Lj.M. and M. Ž. would like to thank our dear colleague Ioannis Sisiu for this valuable suggestion.

332 For more information on the episcopacy of the Vlachs and the sources, *Bubalo*, Vlaho *e*piskop, 211–212.

333 *Petkos,* Anaskaphē, 313–337.

334 *Karagiannē*, Episkopikoi naoi, 270–272; *Ćurčić*, Architecture, 399–400.

335 *Ćurčić*, Architecture, 400.

336 *Ćurčić,* Architectural Significance, 94–110.

The Sisani church was probably destroyed by an earthquake in the 13th century, which helped preserve many original elements, including fragments of frescoes, sections of a brick and marble floor in the *opus sectile* technique, monumental parts of the iconostasis, sections of the original *synthronon*, an ambo, an episcopal throne, and more. While sources do not mention the existence of the Byzantine city of Sisani, where the episcopal church from the 11th–12th centuries stood, it is clear that the church was a cathedral at some point. Most researchers believe that the Bishopric of Sisani was established during the Turkish period, as there is no record of a Bishop of Sisani before the 16th century.[337]

The cathedral church in Morovizd is the result of reconstruction carried out after the elevation of Morovizd to the seat of the bishopric following 1018, as noted in the First Ohrid Charter of Basil (1019).[338] At that time, the existing three-aisled basilica from the second half of the 10th century, which featured three semicircular apses on the east – both inside and outside – was likely transformed into a basilica with a dome (Fig. 86).[339] Along with the structural modifications needed to support the dome, the apses of the *prothesis* and *diakonikon* were partially altered, receiving polygonal endings. It is also likely that a *synthronon* was added to the main apse of the church during this period. The narrow lateral aisles suggest that the church might have had a gallery. The church received additional furnishings. The remains of the pulpit, parapet panels of the iconostasis, and parts of frescoes were discovered.[340]

Churches of the inscribed cross plan, emerged as a particularly significant type during the tenth century. Originating in Byzantium, this plan spread widely, including to regions under Bulgarian control, and became especially prominent in the monastic architecture of the First Bulgarian Empire. Several cathedrals of this plan have survived from the period after the Byzantine reconquest of these territories. Among them are the reconstructed complex of churches in Vodoča, the cathedral in Dryinoupolis, and the cathedral in Dristra.

The complex architectural history of the Church of St. Leontios in Vodoča, near Strumica, and its significance were discussed before. The final phase of the complex construction is particularly important in the discussion of cathedral churches, as it is linked to the elevation of Vodoča to the rank of the episcopal seat of the Strumica Bishopric around 1100. During this period, the eastern church was rebuilt with modifications, including a reduction in the dome's diameter to 5 meters, which necessitated the relocation of piers and a reduction in the radius of the apsidal wall (Fig. 87).[341] Due to adaptations to the existing foundations, the final plan and layout of the new church more closely resembled architectural solutions from the 9th and 10th centuries,

337 *Petkos,* Anaskaphē, 336–337.

338 *Gelzer*, Ungedruckte, 43.3–6.

339 For the previous church, see the chapter *Bulgarian Church Architecture and Art: From Origins to 1018*, I, 206–212. The existence of the dome has not been fully confirmed archaeologically and remains a hypothesis for now.

340 *Trajkovski,* Srednovekovnite crkvi, 121–127; *Trajkovski*, Episkopijata, 184–211, *Ćurčić*, Architecture, 408.

341 *Korunovski – Dimitrova*, Vizantiska Makedonija, 46.

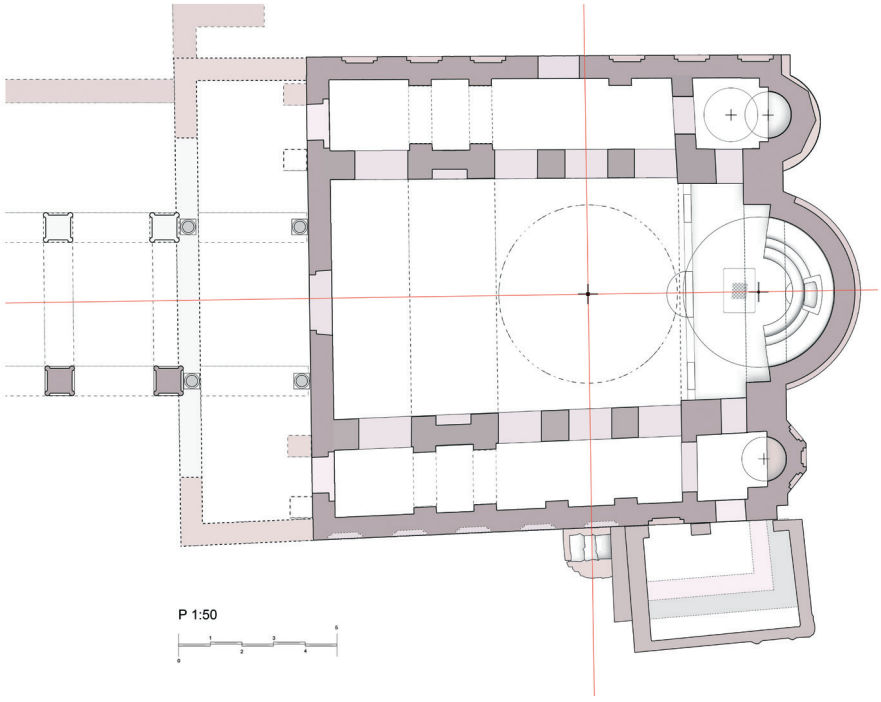


Fig. 86. Morovizd, Cathedral church, plan

Fig. 87. Vodoča, Church of St. Leontios, eastern part

such as the Church of the Dormition of the Theotokos in Skripou.[342] Simultaneously, the eastern end of the Western Church was demolished, and the remaining part was incorporated into the newly rebuilt Eastern Church. The Western Church was transformed into the domed narthex of the newly constructed double-domed church (Fig.

342 *Miljković-Pepek*, Kompleksot crkvi vo Vodoča, 59–63; *Korunovski – Dimitrova*, Vizantiska Makedonija, 45–47.

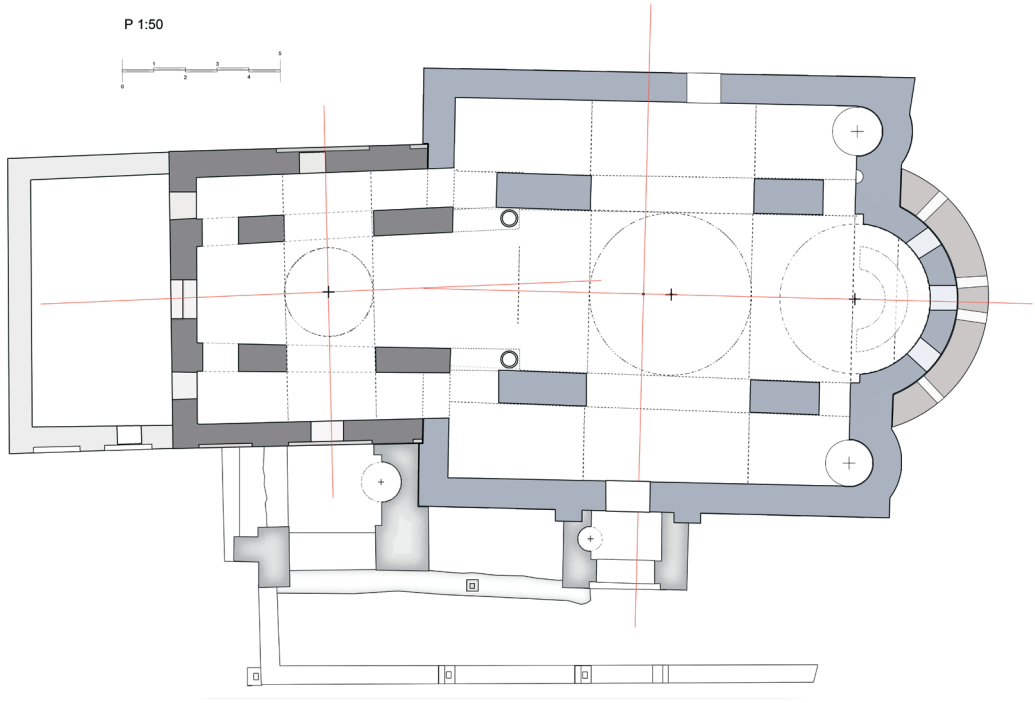


Fig. 88. Vodoča, Church of St. Leontios in Vodoča, plan

88). The extension of the Church of St. Leontios served the functional needs of the cathedral, as evidenced by the archaeologically recorded *synthronon* in the main apse. In this new arrangement, the mid 11th century Church of the Presentation of Virgin became the compound narthex, with the dome of the larger double-domed church dedicated to St. Leontios.

This improvised process of addition is of great significance for several reasons. First, it illustrates the Byzantine method of composite design.[343] A notable aspect of this unusual creation is that the final result, which incorporated two older structures, aligned with current building trends and preferred architectural solutions for cathedrals in Byzantine architecture. The façade decoration, including the recessed dog-tooth bands framing the windows and the meander brick bands in the upper sections of the eastern wall, shows similarities to the Middle Byzantine churches of Kastoria, such as Taxiarches Metropoleos (Fig. 95, vol. I, 260). Uncovering the interior wall of the main apse revealed a distinctive brick construction with arch-shaped segments of bricks arranged one above the other (Fig. 89). This technique is also seen on the eastern wall of Peshkëpi. While each of the three church buildings was constructed by local builders, the final design reflected the architectural trends of Constantinople. The two-domed scheme, with a main dome over the nave and a smaller dome over the narthex, arranged axially, was implemented in 1080 at nearby Veljusa, and later in the south church of the Pantokrator Monastery in Constantinople.[344]

The Bishopric of Dryinoupolis was part of the Archbishopric of Ohrid for a relatively short time, from its annexation in the second charter of Emperor Basil II in

343 *Miljkovik-Pepek*, Kompleksot crkvi vo Vodoča; 20–26; *Ćurčić*, Architecture, 408.

344 *Ćurčić*, Architecture, 408; *Mal'ceva – Freze,* Stroiteľstvo v Severnoj Makedonii, 422–423, 427, 429, 431–432; *Mihaljević*, Change, 102–109.

Fig. 89.
Vodoča, Church of St. Leontios in Vodoča, apse, brickwork

1020 until its re-incorporation under the Metropolis of Naupaktos, apparently soon after the death of Emperor Basil II, as indicated by *Notitia* No. 13 from the late 11th to early 12th century.[345] According to Aleksandër Meksi, the Church of the Nativity of the Mother of God (Shën Mërisë në Peshkëpi, Gjirokastër) in the village of Peshkëpi, near Argirokastro, may have served as the bishopric cathedral of Dryinoupolis (Fig. 90).[346] The church follows the plan of an inscribed cross with domes, but the design lacks the full characteristics of this type. This is most evident in the piers, which are not free-standing but rather extensions of the walls, giving the church more of a basilica-with-dome appearance (Fig. 91). The church's sole entrance is on the western side, where a small portico was added later.

345 *Notitiae, 13.587–590; Komatina*, Oblast Vagenitija, 91–93.

346 *Meksi,* Arhitektura e Kishave, 156–159; *Meksi*, Dy kisha bizantine, 77–105.

Fig. 90.
Peshkëpi, Church of the Nativity of the Mother of God,
(Shën Mërisë në Peshkëpi) view from the east

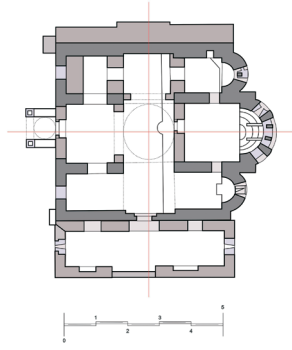


Fig. 91.
Peshkëpi, Church of the Nativity of the Mother of God,
(Shën Mërisë në Peshkëpi), plan

The altar area consists of a bema, a *prothesis*, and a *diakonikon*. Today, the nave is separated from the sanctuary by a brick iconostasis, which also serves to reinforce the supporting arch of the dome. The altar table is located in the middle of the bema, constructed of brick blocks. The surface of the altar table is made up of a re-used parapet slab from the pulpit, with additional limestone. Two eastern openings in the floor in front of the brick pedestal indicate where the original supports of the altar table were placed. The counterparts to these openings are located under the current pedestal. The brick block of the altar table also contains two cavities, one of which likely served as a reliquary.

In the apse on the eastern wall, there are three rows of semicircular steps, forming a *synthronon*. In the center is the bishop's chair, raised about 40 cm above the upper step of the *synthronon*. According to Meksi, an inscription near the base of the dome's drum, just above the pendentives, mentions that the church was built by

Emperor Alexios I Komnenos (1081–1118).[347] Meksi additionally refers to the English traveler Sir Henry Holland (1788 –1873), who visited the church in 1812 and reported seeing an inscription suggesting the church was built by another Byzantine emperor Manuel I Komnenos (1143–1180).[348]

However, based on the church's architectural features – such as the absence of *cloisonné* construction techniques – and the original parts of the pulpit, which stylistically belong to the 11th century, it seems more likely that the church was built during the reign of Alexios I Komnenos.[349] Other scholars, such as Panayotis Vocotopoulos, Guntram Koch, Demetrios Pallas, suggest that the church dates to the 10th or mid-10th century – a view that can be supported by the presence of a cylindrical drum, a feature characteristic of earlier churches.[350] Koch argues that the inscription referring to Alexios I Komnenos likely pertains to a renovation of the church, which may have included the addition of the iconostasis (templon screen) and the pulpit.[351] Until further investigation, it remains an open question whether the church was built while Dryinoupolis was under the jurisdiction of the Archbishopric of Ohrid and whether it was constructed as a cathedral.

In the first half of the 10th century, when Dristra became the residence of the first Bulgarian patriarch, the former archbishopric cathedral, known as Church No. 5, was replaced by a new cathedral, Church No. 4. The new church was constructed at the center of the Dristra citadel.[352] Due to modern urban development in Dristra, only a portion of the cathedral has been partially excavated – about 13 meters – revealing parts of the southeastern section of the southern aisle and the eastern part of the central nave. The inner width of the southern aisle measures 2.90 meters. Both the central and southern apses are polygonal on the exterior and semicircular on the interior. A massive three-tiered *synthronon*, built of stone blocks, is situated within the apse. The church's construction is precise, featuring well-shaped, square limestone blocks meticulously arranged in rows. Based on architectural similarities with Church No. 2 in Dristra, scholars have concluded that Church No. 4 likely followed a similar cross-in-square plan topped with a dome (Figs. 10b, 12, vol. I, 92, 96). Notably, the foundations of the central nave are wider than the church's outer walls – a rare feature in medieval Bulgarian church architecture from the 9th to 11th centuries. This structural anomaly suggests the need to support the immense weight of a large dome, a feature unparalleled in Bulgarian ecclesiastical architecture of the period.[353] Dristra came under Byzantine control in 971, after the Byzantine army captured the city during Emperor John Tzimiskes' campaign. It is

347 *Meksi*, Arhitektura e Kishave, 158.

348 *Holland,* Travell, 481; *Meksi,* Dy kisha bizantine, 77–105.

349 *Hobdari*, Skulptura, 331–363; *Hobdari*, Amonët, 325–350.

350 *Vokotopoulos*, Ē ekklēsiastikē architektonikē, 74–80, 189; *Koch,* Albanien, 68, 71f, 261; *Pallas*, Epiros, 250–251. For earlier examples of churches with cylindrical domes, see the chapter *Bulgarian Church Architecture and Art: From Origins to 1018*, I, 124–126, 264.

351 *Koch,* Albanien, 68, 71f, 261; *Koch*, Einige Bemerkungen, 43.

352 *Nikolov*, The Bulgarian Church, 139–157; *Atanasov*, Ot episkopija kŭm samostojnata patriaršija, 82–95. For more on church see the chapter *Bulgarian Church Architecture and Art: From Origins to 1018*, I, 89–99.

353 *Atanasov*, Ot episkopija kŭm samostojnata patriaršija, 82–95.

unclear whether Dristra remained under continuous Byzantine rule from 971 to 1017.[354] However, the unusual architectural features of its cathedral may suggest either a strong Byzantine influence or direct construction by the Byzantines. However, without more extensive archaeological data, this will remain a plausible hypothesis.

Certainly, one of the rarest types of cathedral churches is the rotunda. Since the foundation of the Archbishopric of Ohrid in the 11th century, no new cathedrals with a rotunda plan were built within its territory. However, during this period, the paintings in two existing rotundas were restored: the Church of Sts. Peter and Paul in Ras, dating to the 9th century and the Church of St. George in Sofia, most likely from the 6th century (Figs, 102, 103, vol. I, 274, 276). There remains a scholarly debate as to whether the latter church served as a cathedral in the 11th and 12th centuries.[355]

If the Church of the Dormition of the Mother of God in Kozel (Κοζίλη) is indeed correctly identified with the bishopric church of Kozel, it would be the smallest known cathedral with a single-aisled plan and a dome. The church is located 2 km from the village of Nea Sampsous, on a hill near the road that connects Ioannina to Parga, about 15 km northwest of Nikopolis, Preveza, in southern Epirus, northwestern Greece. Based on toponyms, this church is identified as the bishopric Church of Kozel.[356]

The Church of the Dormition of the Mother of God is a single-aisled structure with a dome, a semicircular apse to the east inside and polygonal outside, and a narthex to the west. Its dimensions are 16 by 5.5 meters. The original appearance of the church has been significantly altered due to numerous renovations and changes. The church was built using an irregular combination of hewn stone and brick. The use of the *cloisonné* technique is visible in the upper parts of the south wall (Fig. 92). A portico on columns was added to the southern side of the building in a later period. The church is painted, and some post-Byzantine fresco fragments have been preserved. To the north of the church are the remains of a chapel. To the southwest are the remains of a cistern and a Byzantine building divided by a transverse wall, which could have been part of the bishop's residence or a monastic structure.[357]

The first mention of the Kozel Monastery is in a letter from John Apokaukos (ca. 1155 – 1233), Metropolitan of Naupaktos, to the bishop of Ioannina, dated to the fourth decade of the 13th century. John Apokaukos spent his final years in the Kozel Monastery.[358] Besides the issue of determining whether the church was the cathedral of Kozel, the difficulties in precise dating the church prevent us from establishing whether it was built while Kozel was still under the jurisdiction of the Archbishopric of Ohrid. Further archaeological excavations are certainly needed to confirm or refute these claims.

---

354 See the chapter *From* Pax Basiliana *to Pax Byzantina*, I, 355–362.

355 For early period of both churches see the chapter, *Bulgarian Church Architecture and Art: From Origins to 1018*, I, 272–284, 142. For Serdica see *Dančeva-Vasileva*, Istorija, 433–434.

356 TIB III, 186.

357 *Triantaphyllopoulos*, Ē Episkopē kai ē Monē Kozilēs, 839–862; Ta byzantina mnēmeia tēs Ēpeirou, 265–270; *Chouliaras*, Ekklēsiastikē topographia, 1042; TIB III, 186–187.

358 *Kurtz*, Christophoros von Ankyra, 140.

Fig. 92. Kozel, Church of the Nativity of the Mother of God, view from the east

It is possible that the cathedral of Chimara, has been located, though it is difficult to determine its architectural plan. Aleksandër Meksi believes that beneath the present single-aisled Church of Sts. Sergios and Bakhos in today's southern Albania (Kisha e Shën Sergjit dhe Shën Bakut) from the 13th–14th century, lie the remains of the cathedral church of Chimara. According to Meksi, the lower part of the present church is part of the older structure, likely dating from the 10th or early 11th century. This older structure is built with medium and small limestone blocks, and the masonry is characterized by rows of horizontally placed tiles.[359]

The Byzantine influence on the architecture of cathedrals is perhaps most evident in the building techniques and the architectural decoration of the façades. A common feature among many monuments is the general approach to façade decoration and articulation. In several cathedrals built or extensively renovated in the 11th and 12th centuries, construction was carried out in a distinctly Byzantine manner, often using alternating rows of stone and brick. Some examples show a variant of the *cloisonné* technique, such as those in Berroia, Bitola, and in Vodoča. In Kalambaka, Stagoi, the church was constructed using irregular stone combined with brick, though not in the regular *cloisonné* technique typical of the Constantinopolitan highest quality Middle Byzantine architecture. Only the masonry of the upper pediment and the areas around the windows were carefully executed in the *cloisonné* method. At Servia, the masonry was a rough mixture of stone and brick, indicating that the exterior was likely plastered and painted. A similar construction method was used at the church in Morovizd. In Moglena, the walls were made from river cobblestones and brick, with rows of

359 *Meksi*, Arkitektura e Kishave, 143–144; *Meksi*, Disa kapela Bizantine, 79–80. On possible earlier church see the chapter *Bulgarian Church Architecture and Art: From Origins to 1018*, I, 246.

broken bricks inserted into the vertical joints of the plaster. In Prizren, the cathedral was constructed from hewn stone with mortar in combination with a brick. Brick was used exclusively for the construction of the arches.

Perhaps the greatest challenge regarding cathedrals within the Archbishopric of Ohrid after the conquest of Basil II is precisely their dating and location. The vast majority of preserved cathedrals rely mainly on material remains and archaeological evidence for dating, with fewer written sources available. For example, the cathedral in Moglena is mentioned in *The Life of St. Hilarion of Moglena*. The first known bishop of Moglena, Hilarion (d. 1164) served around 1134 and was a contemporary of Emperor Manuel I Komnenos. His life was compiled by Euthymius, Patriarch of Tarnovo (1375–1393).[360] It is assumed that local bishops were the founders or patrons of the construction or renovation of these cathedrals. This is suggested by the potential founder of the Old Metropolis in Berroia, Bishop Niketas, [361] as well as an unknown bishop depicted in the ktetors composition of the cathedral in Sisani.[362] Similarly, a founding inscription and composition are found at the Church of St. George in Serdica.[363] The restoration of the frescoes at the cathedral in Servia is attributed to Bishop Michael in the 12th century, who left behind the inscription.[364] Additionally, there is speculation that Emperor Alexios I Komnenos may have had a role in the construction or renovation of the Cathedral of Dryinoupolis. Researchers generally date the construction or major reconstructions of these cathedrals to the 11th and early 12th centuries, following the establishment of Byzantine authority in the territories of the Archbishopric of Ohrid. This period of restructuring and reorganization of the bishoprics played a significant role in the development of church infrastructure.[365]

Cathedrals were not only liturgical centers but also administrative hubs for bishoprics. Based on several seal findings within the Yeni Mosque in Bitola, scholars believe this could have been the location of the cathedral church of the bishopric. This hypothesis is supported by the partially excavated basilica-plan church and its position within the city walls, which strongly suggests it was the site of the cathedral.[366] Seals from the period when the Vodoča Monastery became the center of the Strumica Bishopric have also been discovered within the premises of the monastery.[367] Additionally, a seal discovered in the Braničevo area, belonging to the Bishop of Belgrade, confirms the existence and functioning of the Belgrade bishopric by the late 11th century.[368]

---

360 Werke Des Patriarchen, 27–58; *Popović*, Žitije svetih, 475–496.

361 *Kalopissi-Verti*, Patronage, 231.

362 *Petkos,* Anaskaphē, 318.

363 *Rhoby,* Byzantinische Epigramme, 82–85.

364 *Petkos,* Anaskaphē, 318; *Xyngopoulos*, Ta mnēmeia, 63. See below, 202–203.

365 *Mal'ceva – Freze,* Baziliki,185–190.

366 *Mihajlovski*, Circulation, 573–587.

367 Seal of Michael, Archbishop of Apros (Turkish Thrace), late 11th-early 12th century and an anonymous seal, end of the 11th century, *Ananiev*, Dva vizantiski pečata, 333–338.

368 *Seibt*, The Seal of Demetrios, 25–32.

The location of cathedrals often helps in identifying their function. The choice of site for a bishopric church reflected its importance within the Byzantine city. Cathedral locations were not accidental; they adhered to fundamental principles. The most crucial was that the cathedral had to be situated within the city walls for protection during sieges.[369]

In cities with multiple defense layers, the episcopal church was typically located in the lower city, where the daily, economic, social, and religious life of the citizens unfolded, as seen in Ohrid, Prizren, and Serdica. Cities often changed over time, shrinking and shifting toward new centers, as in the case of Berroia. Archaeological evidence indicates that since the Middle Byzantine period, Berroia gradually contracted and shifted to higher ground, where many new churches were constructed. This shift influenced the location of the cathedral, which was built in this elevated part of the city.[370] In large fortified cities, the bishopric church was not built on the acropolis but in the lower parts of the city, as seen in Ohrid.[371] However, in smaller fortified towns, where protection was often limited to the enclosed area at the top of a hill, the episcopal church was located within the walls at the highest point of the settlement. The example of Moglena is notable, as the episcopal church was excavated within the fortified settlement, rather than outside the walls, even though the surrounding areas were inhabited.[372]

The cathedral church, as the center of religious life for the entire bishopric, was typically surrounded by buildings that served various religious or secular purposes. These structures were often built in close proximity to the church, sometimes even connected to it, depending on the surrounding space and the overall layout. The number of these buildings varied according to the size of the city and the episcopal church, and they served multiple functions: providing accommodations for the bishop and clergy, receiving official guests, and housing rooms and offices necessary for the administrative tasks of the bishopric.

Due to the lack of detailed archaeological data about the buildings surrounding the cathedral churches, it is difficult to offer a precise image of their arrangement.[373] In the case of Vodoča, however, we know that the cathedral was part of a larger monastic complex, which included auxiliary buildings and even a medieval bathhouse.[374] The bathhouse in Servia is a similar case. On the western side of the lower city, near the outer fortification walls, lie the ruins of a rectangular building with a tripartite layout. The presence of reinforced mortar preserved in superimposed layers on the walls suggests that the structure may have functioned as a bathhouse. Further supporting this interpretation is the nearby presence of a spring with running water, located in close proximity

369 *Karagiannē*, Episkopikoi naoi, 209–220.

370 *Mal'ceva – Freze,* Baziliki, 185–186, *Karagiannē*, Episkopikoi naoi, 212–214.

371 *Karagiannē*, Episkopikoi naoi, 213–214.

372 *Evgenidou*, To kastro tēs Chrysēs, 330; *Karagiannē*, Episkopikoi naoi, 217.

373 *Karagiannē*, Episkopikoi naoi, 220–237.

374 *Ananiev*, Arheološki iskopuvanja, 57–64.

to the building.[375] Near Hagia Sophia in Ohrid, some discovered rooms might indicate the presence of the bishop's palace. The archaeological and architectural evidence suggests that these rooms were part of the access buildings leading to the archbishop's palace, which, based on Boris Čipan's research, likely extended south toward the shore of Lake Ohrid. By the late Middle Ages, this palace was repurposed as the residence of Ismail Pasha.[376] No auxiliary buildings were excavated at the episcopal churches of Moglena and Morovizd, but the presence of walls outside the churches suggests that such buildings once surrounded them and were likely connected to the cathedral. In Moglena, the northern outer wall of the church extends east of the *prothesis*, in an area where buildings related to the cathedral and the episcopal center might have been located.[377] In Morovizd, a wall of a building was found outside the southeast corner of the church, which could have functioned as a chapel or served another purpose.[378]

One of the key characteristics of cathedral churches was their interior furnishings, which included liturgical furniture essential for the functioning of the cathedral, then architectural sculpture and paintings that likely followed a distinct iconographic program in accordance with the church's role as cathedral. The architectural features and special constructions required in a cathedral during the Middle Byzantine period were directly linked to its status as the central church of the city, where the bishop performed his duties. In addition to the high priestly services conducted in these cathedrals, their administrative functions necessitated specific architectural spaces and objects, such as the narthex, *synthronon*, bishop's (episcopal) throne, pulpit, and sanctuary partitions.

The *synthronon*, a seating area for the clergy, was one of the essential elements in cathedral churches. The bishop would sit there at the beginning of the divine liturgy and from this position, bless the congregation. In some cases, *synthrona* were also found in churches associated with bishopric residences, as seen in churches such as Church No. 2 in Dristra or the Church of the Forty Martyrs of Sebaste in Bansko (Fig. 20). Archaeological evidence consistently supports the presence of *synthrona* in many Middle Byzantine cathedrals. Within the Archbishopric of Ohrid, all preserved cathedrals had a *synthronon*. The *synthronon* was generally located in the apse and consisted of several steps, the number of which varied from church to church. This variation was unrelated to the number of priestly thrones, as the uppermost row was designated for different members of the clergy. The episcopal throne was typically placed at the center of the *synthronon*.[379] Archaeological findings suggest that some thrones were built together with the *synthronon*, often made of marble, while in other cases, only the location of the throne is preserved.[380]

375 *Kabouridoy – Koutsianoy – Tsampouras*, Ta Byzantina Serbia, 38.

376 *Čipan*, St. Sophia, 107; Fort he archeological excavations see, *Kuzman*, Arheološko otkritie, 141–162; *Angeličin Žura*, Nov arheološki nalaz, 9–19.

377 *Evgenidou*, To kastro tēs Chrysēs, 331; *Karagiannē*, Episkopikoi naoi, 236.

378 *Trajkovski*, Excavations, 133–142; *Karagiannē*, Episkopikoi naoi, 236.

379 On episcopal thrones see, *Radujko*, Epsikopski presto, I–II.

380 *Karagiannē*, Episkopikoi naoi, 180–192.

In the bishopric church of Moglena, excavated at the castle of Chrysis, the base of the *synthronon* is still preserved.[381] The church in Sisani also had a stepped *synthronon*, with the construction attributed to the early phase of the church. An episcopal throne was found here as well.[382] While the Old Metropolis of Berroia does not have a preserved *synthronon*, its existence is considered highly probable based on the positioning of paintings that begin at a height of 1.80 m from the floor.[383] Archaeological investigation has confirmed the existence of a *synthronon* in Vodoča as well.[384] In Kalambaka, inside the apse, a four-step *synthronon* was constructed of brick and covered with gray stone slabs. The bishop's cathedra was placed at the highest position on the *synthronon*. A *synthronon* with an episcopal throne was built in the Church of St. Peter in Ras when the church became a cathedral.[385] *Synthrona* have also been found in churches such as Bouthroton, Dryinoupolis, Glavinitza, and Morovizd.

The 11th and 12th centuries were a period of architectural expansion, marked by both the renovation of older cathedrals and the construction of new ones. This era also saw the installation or renovation of liturgical furniture, such as pulpits, ciboria, and sanctuary screens. Although these elements of furniture have rarely been preserved in their original form or in situ, several significant examples remain. One such element is a marble column fragment, likely part of a Byzantine sanctuary screen, found during the construction of the Patriarchal Palace in Belgrade in 1933 (Fig. 93). The fragment represents the final part of a column with relief ornamentation that transitions into an octagonal column. The front side with the relief, along with both sides, has been preserved. The original decoration features four circular medallions interconnected by loops, with a shallow relief and deep wedge-shaped notches. This motif is common in Byzantine sculpture, with analogies found in the sculpture of Hagia Sophia in Ohrid and on pre-Roman reliefs along the Adriatic coast. These analogies suggest that the fragment likely dates to the 11th century. Given that this type of sculpture is commonly found in cathedral churches from the Byzantine world of the 11th century, it is presumed that this is the only surviving element of a potential Belgrade cathedral.[386]

Few sculptural finds have been preserved in the cathedral of Servia to indicate its interior decoration. Two marble epistyles have survived, most likely from the original iconostasis, and were later repurposed as *spolia* during alterations to the basilica. The epistyles feature stylized vines and birds pecking at grapes. Based on the rough execution of the relief, Andreas Xyngopoulos has dated the sculpture to the early 11th century.[387]

In the cathedral at Dryinoupolis, parts of the original pulpit or iconostasis parapet panels have been preserved. Unfortunately, the 1938 reconstruction of the central

381 *Evgenidou*, To kastro tēs Chrysēs, 331.

382 *Petkos, Anaskaphē*, 313–337.

383 *Karagiannē*, Episkopikoi naoi, 191–192

384 Ibid., 191–192

385 *Marković – Vojvodić*, Church of the Holy Apostels, 113.

386 *Popović*, Prilog, 461–478.

387 *Xyngopoulos*, Ta mnēmeia, 36–37.

Fig. 93.
Belgrade,
Cathedral in Belgrade?
Altar screen, detail,
The Belgrade City Museum

Fig. 94.
Kalambaka,
Cathedral church,
naos, pulpit

nave floor destroyed much of the original traces of the pulpit. Most of these elements are made from hard white or pink limestone, sourced from Gjerë Mountain, a material widely used in the Drinos River Valley during this period. The same type of stone appears in sculptures from the Church of Mother of God in Labovo (Shën Mërisë në Labovë). The decorative motifs and their processing date these elements to a period later than the sculpture from the Basilica of St. John in Delvine (Shën Janit në Delvinë), from the 10th–11th century.[388] The parapet panels predominantly feature rosettes, stylized leaves, or crosses within circles. A parapet panel with similar motifs was also discovered in the church in Morovizd from the 11th century.[389]

In the cathedral at Sisani, the base of the episcopal throne was found in the southwestern domed part of the church, marking the lower part of the domed space. The pulpit was located within the solea area, and the remains of the base of the stairs leading to the pulpit were also preserved.[390]

The cathedral of Kalambaka is unique in that it preserves both the ciborium above the altar and the pulpit in the nave. Both of these elements have undergone some changes over time. Catherine Vanderheyde has suggested that the bases and columns are Early Christian *spolia*, reused in the Middle Byzantine period. The capitals date from the Middle Byzantine period, while the arched panels, which are joined or repaired at their lower parts, are likely Early Christian and were re-carved during the Middle Byzantine period. In any case, the ciborium at Kalambaka is a striking example of a blend of the more conservative trends of the 11th century and the more decorative style that emerged in the early 12th century.[391] The marble pulpit, located along the longitudinal axis of the nave, belongs to the type with two facing staircases, a design that originates from the Justinian era (Fig. 94). Aristotelis Mentzos compared the decoration from Kalambaka to that from the crypt of the Church of St. Demetrios in Thessalonike, concluding that the decoration should be dated to the second half of the 11th century.[392] Other features, such as marble floors, often executed in *opus sectile*, also highlight the splendor of cathedral churches. Such examples can be found in the cathedrals of Morovizd, Moglena, where marble inlays are present, as well as in Bouthroton and Sisani.

Regarding wall paintings in the cathedral churches of the 11th and 12th centuries, unfortunately, not much has survived in the territory of the Archbishopric of Ohrid. However, it is clear that most churches were painted, as indicated by fragments of murals found during excavations. However, the lack of well-preserved programs limits our ability to fully analyze the iconographic range and stylistic intentions behind the decoration in these churches. One of the most significant and stylistically remarkable examples of church decoration remains in the Church of Hagia Sophia in Ohrid, executed during the reign of Archbishop Leo and initiated under his patronage in middle of the 11th century.

388 *Hobdari*, Skulptura, 331–363.

389 *Trajkovski*, Episkopijata, 134.

390 *Petkos,* Anaskaphē, 314.

391 *Vanderheyde*, Le ciborium, 427–442; Cf. *Bogdanović*, The Framing of Sacred Space, 146–153.

392 *Mentzos*, Ergstērio glyppikēs, 217–230. For the interaction between sculpture and architecture in Byzantine church interiors, see *Melvani*, Sculpture and the Embellishment of the Church Interior, 47–65.

The influence of the painting at Hagia Sophia in Ohrid, particularly regarding its iconographic program, is clearly evident in the murals of the third church, often referred to as the Middle Church in Vodoča. The painting, discovered in a fragmentary state, was created around 1100, though parts of it were later covered over in the 13th and 14th centuries. In the conch of the apse, the enthroned Virgin with Christ is depicted, flanked by two archangels in adoration. Below, in the register, six full-length standing bishops are shown in a frontal pose. Four deacons, holding an artophorion and a censer, are depicted in motion along the wall leading from the main apse to the *pastophoria*. The Deesis, accompanied by angels, is featured on the triumphal arch. On the south and north walls of the bema, four standing bishops hold closed Gospel books. The figure on the south wall has been securely identified as St. Spyridon.

Petar Miljković-Pepek suggested that the *prothesis* originally featured a depiction of the Communion of the Apostles, while the *diakonikon* contained scenes from the Life of St. John the Forerunner.[393] However, these murals in the *pastophoria* are too fragmentary or have been repainted, making it difficult to reconstruct their original content. The fragmentarily preserved depiction of the Martyrdom of the Forty Martyrs of Sebaste, whose exact location in the church has not been determined, suggests the presence of a cycle dedicated to the Forty Martyrs (Fig. 95). This is significant because the painting confirms the church's status as a cathedral, as the cult of the Forty Martyrs is associated with the archbishopric cathedral of Hagia Sophia, where this cycle had already been depicted (Fig. 158).[394]

The connection between the Vodoča murals and the Archbishopric of Ohrid extends beyond the fresco of the Martyrdom of the Forty Martyrs. The iconographic program of the Middle Church at Vodoča draws upon the established models found in Hagia Sophia in Ohrid. The motif of angelic worship and the composition of the Deesis, for example, were replicated at Vodoča almost fifty years later, maintaining a similar style and arrangement. The sanctuary program at Vodoča blends archaizing elements with inventive ones, providing a unique expression of the time. The depiction of frontal bishops in the lower register of the apse and on the side walls of the sanctuary reflects the influence of earlier programs. Meanwhile, the deacons portrayed as participants in the Great Entrance illustrate a significant shift in the Byzantine sanctuary programs during the late 11th and early 12th centuries. These deacons, emphasizing a more realistic interpretation of the liturgical celebration, find their closest parallels in contemporary monumental depictions of deacons at Koluša, within the Velbăžd eparchy.

The stylistic approach used by the painters of Vodoča fits within the broader artistic landscape of the Archbishopric of Ohrid. The murals at Veljusa, along with the second fresco layer in Koluša and the Orta Mosque, provide the reference framework for the pictorial ensemble in the Middle Church at Vodoča. However, more significant is the expressive quality of the fragment depicting the Martyrdom of the Forty Martyrs

393 *Miljkovik-Pepek*, Kompleksot crkvi vo Vodoča, 26–54.

394 For the cult on Forty Martyrs of Sebaste, see below, 273–275.

Fig. 95. Vodoča, Middle Church, Forty Martyrs of Sebaste

of Sebaste that highlights the transition between the Macedonian Renaissance and the emerging Komnenian style.[395]

The Cathedral of Servia was likely painted shortly after its construction in the early 11th century, although this original decoration is barely visible today. During the renovation of the cathedral in the 12th century, most likely under Bishop Michael, a second layer of frescoes was added. This layer follows the traditional iconographic program, featuring major scenes from the cycle of the Great Feasts, scenes from the Passion of Christ, as well as standing figures of saints, holy warriors, and martyrs. On the southern wall's lower zone, there is a depiction of four frontally placed hierarchs. Among them, Sts. Achilleos, Oekumenios, and Vlasios have been identified. Particularly noteworthy is the presence of Sts. Achilleos and Oekumenios, who are closely linked to the 10th century Cathedral of St. Achilleos in Prespa.[396] The iconography of these scenes resembles that of monuments from the second half of the 12th and early 13th centuries. Additionally, an inscription dedicated to the founder, located on the southern wall of the nave near the representation of St. Demetrios, is partially preserved. In this depiction, St. Demetrios is blessed by Christ, while an angel brings him a sword. It is likely that Bishop Michael, who oversaw the renovation in the 12th century, was the founder of this restoration.[397]

395 *Miljković-Pepek*, Kompleksot crkvi vo Vodoča, 26–54; *Dimitrova*, Ars Inimitabilis, 343–356; *Dimitrova – Korunovski,* Vizantiska Makedonija, 58–60; *Domozetski,* Ikonografska programa, 86–88; *Đurić,* Vizantijske freske, 11–12, 180, 181–182.

396 See the chapter, *Bulgarian Church Architecture and Art: From Origins to 1018*, I, 180–198.

397 *Xyngopoulos*, Ta mnēmeia, 40–41; *Mauropouloy Tsioumē*, Ē Byzantinē technē, 298–304; *Skawran*, The Development, 167–168; *Gerstel*, Beholding, 92–93; *Wharton Epstein*, Art of Empire, 111–112.

In the case of the Rotunda of St. George in Serdica, the preserved paintings also provide evidence of its cathedral status. The first layer of frescoes, created in the mid-11th century, is iconographically and stylistically similar to the frescoes in Hagia Sophia in Ohrid. Only fragments of the frescoes from the first layer remain: parts of six angels in the lower section of the dome and three prophet figures in the drum, among them John the Baptist and Jonah can be identified (Fig. 96). These frescoes belong to the so-called monastic ascetic painting of the mid-11th century, a style characterized by monumentality, schematization, and the stylization of forms. The frescoes in the rotunda of St. George in Sofia should be viewed in the context of the activities of Archbishop of Ohrid Leo (1037–1056) or his successor, Theodoulos I (1056–1063) who focused on revitalizing church life and integrating the northern Balkan regions recently restored to the Empire.[398] The second layer of frescoes, painted during the last quarter of the 12th century, reinforces the cathedral status of the church. This renovation was sponsored by the bishop of Serdica, as indicated by a dedicatory epigram found in the dome ring. While parts of the inscription, including the bishop's name and the exact date of the painting, are missing, the dedicatory composition – featuring the bishop holding a model of the church – has been preserved. The frescoes on the second layer are partially preserved. These include depictions of prophets in the dome's drum, representations of the evangelists, scenes from the cycle of the Great Feasts, and figures of monks. The frescoes, executed with high artistic quality, reflect the late Komnenian style. They are characterized by a linear-rhythmic composition and an emphasis on psychological expression. Given the painted program of the second layer, as well as the dedicatory inscriptions, it can be confidently concluded that the Rotunda of St. George was indeed a cathedral church by the second half of the 12th century, if not earlier.[399]

Additionally, the seal of Niketas, Bishop of Serdica (Triaditza), from the 11th or 12th century, also supports the cathedral status of the rotunda. The seal, which depicts St. George on the obverse and bears the bishop's inscription on the reverse, suggests that the rotunda was linked to episcopal authority.[400] Yet, this particular connection should be interpreted with caution, as other episcopal seals from the same period show that bishops often chose different saints as patrons, including warrior saints, who were not necessarily associated with the consecration of episcopal churches.

In the Church of St. Peter in Ras, frescoes were restored during the first decades of the 11th century, following the establishment of the Archbishopric of Ohrid. The figure of St. Peter on the northeastern column of the nave belongs to this layer of frescoes (Fig. 97). It is widely believed that the corresponding surface of the southeastern column originally depicted St. Paul, the second apostolic coryphaeus, especially since it is

398 *Bakalova – Vasilev*, Images and Texts, 171–193; *Kandaraševa*, Nekotorye ikonografičeskie problemy, 76–85; *Zakharova*, The first-layer frescoes, 1–16. Liliana Mavrodinova dates the frescoes to the late 10th century, *Mavrodinova*, Stennata živopis, 21–22.

399 *Bakalova – Vasilev*, Images and Texts, 171–193; *Kandaraševa*, Nekotorye ikonografičeskie problemy, 76–85; *Mavrodinova*, Les prophètes, 283–390.

400 DOSeals I, No. 70. 2.

Fig. 96.
Sofia, Rotunda of St. George, dome, Angel, from the first layer

Fig. 97.
Ras, Church of Sts. Peter and Paul, northeastern pilaster of the naos, St. Peter

likely that the church received a new dedication at this time – along with St. Peter, St. Paul also became its patron. The Middle Byzantine layer of painting in the Cathedral of Ras includes a Greek inscription of the verses 13 and 14 of Psalm 33 in the dome's

calotte, along with the remnants of a depiction of Christ Pantokrator that it once surrounded and which was later repainted in the 13th century.

The second phase of fresco restoration in St. Peter's Church began in the mid-12th century, during which the altar apse was adorned with representations of the Virgin Mary with the Christ Child, flanked by two archangels. In the lower register, there is a standing figure of Christ, now fragmentarily preserved, surrounded by depictions of the four evangelists, with the figure of St. Luke being the best preserved. In the first zone of the altar space, a scene of the Officiating Bishops is depicted, though it is also heavily damaged.[401]

Unfortunately, many cathedral frescoes have been reduced to fragments. Despite their limited preservation, these remnants can still offer valuable insights into stylistic trends. For example, a fragment of an 11th-century fresco from the cathedral at the Crkvište site in Morovizd provides important clues regarding the artistic activities in the newly established Morovizd Bishopric. In terms of quality and stylistic features, the fragment of an unidentified young saint closely resembles the high-quality painting style found in Vodoča.[402] Similarly, the frescoes from the cathedral in Sisani, dating to the 11th–12th century, suggest that the church was dedicated to the Virgin Mary. One fresco depicts a bishop, possibly the founder, kneeling before the Virgin Mary, indicating the church's devotional focus.[403] In the cathedral of Sisani, alongside the donor's composition, preserved fragments of painting depict mostly the heads of deacons and possibly an Archangel Gabriel. The painting demonstrates high stylistic quality and was likely executed in the late 11th or early 12th century.[404]

The painting program of the Old Metropolis of Berroia developed over several phases. The earliest layer of frescoes, a fragmentary depiction of the Apostle James, likely dates to the mid-11th century. A representation of Christ Chalkites, located in the western part of the northern side of the altar area, is attributed to the late 12th century. [405]

The cathedral in Kalambaka features frescoes from multiple phases. Some fragments found in the *diakonikon* can be attributed to 12th-century painting, while other elements from an older decorative phase were recently uncovered above the crypt ceiling. On the north wall of the *diakonikon*, several depictions of saints have been discovered. In the upper section of the wall, medallions depict St. Gregory the Dialogos and an unidentified saint. The lower register showcases standing figures of St. Blaise, St. Polycarp of Smyrna, and St. Phocas.[406] According to Anna Zakharova, based on their similarities with the paintings in the Hagia Sophia in Ohrid (c. 1052–1056), as well as the emergence of certain new artistic characteristics in metropolitan art during the

401 *Vojvodić*, Medieval wall paintings, 39–59.

402 *Rasolkoska-Nikolovska,* Slikarskata rabotilnica, 35–58.

403 *Sabbopoulou-Katsikē – Mauropoulou-Tsioumē*, Ē anaskaphē sto byzantino Sisani, 517–525; *Petkos,* Anaskaphē, 313–337.

404 *Petkos,* Anaskaphē, 315–316.

405 *Panayotidi*, Les églises de Véria, 300–315; *Tsigaridas,* Les peintures murales, 91–100;

406 *Sōtēriou*, Byzantina Mnēmeia, 291–315; *Sythiakakis-Kritsimallis – Vojadjis*, Redating the Basilica, 206–207.

third quarter of the 11th century, the earlier phase of painting in the *diakonikon* can be dated to that period.[407]

The challenge of locating the exact site of a cathedral or the center of a bishopric is a common issue in many cases. One of the most notable examples of this is the city of Bitola. As an important center of the bishopric, or rather the region of Pelagonia, the exact location of the bishop's seat has never been definitively determined through archaeology. Several possible locations have been suggested, some based purely on historical sources.

Predrag Komatina proposes that, after the Byzantines took control, the center of the Bitola Bishopric was likely located in the Monastery of the Holy Apostles in Pelagonia. This monastery is mentioned in the early 13th century in the acts of the Archbishop of Ohrid, Demetrios Chomatenos (1216–1236).[408] No archaeological evidence of the Monastery of the Holy Apostles has been found. On the other hand, as we saw in the previous chapter, archaeological research in the center of Bitola, including the discovery of a basilica beneath the Yeni Mosque, may offer more clues about the location of the episcopal church in Bitola.[409] The name Bitola first appears in the writings of the historian John Skylitzes, who recorded that in 1014, Byzantine emperor Basil II ordered the construction of Gabriel Radomir's palace in Bitola.[410] Gabriel Radomir's cousin, John Vladislav, who killed him and took over the throne, later rebuilt the Bitola fortress. This event is commemorated by a marble slab with a Cyrillic inscription, discovered in 1956 during the demolition of the Sungur Çavus Bey Mosque built in 1434/1435. The slab was found in secondary use as a threshold at the entrance to the mosque, though it is believed to have originally been located above the main gate of the fortress.[411] The inscription suggests that the patron saints of Bitola in the 11th century were the Holy Mother of God and the Twelve Apostles, particularly Sts. Peter and Paul.[412]

The location of Gabriel Radomir's palace was likely near the Bitola bazaar and the river, possibly at the main intersection of the Dragor River, close to the Yeni Mosque and the Church of St. Demetrios, within the core of the old settlement. Still, the most strategic location for the palace or tower of Gabriel Radomir would likely have been on the site of today's Bezistan, or within the current bazaar complex. During the reconstruction of the Bitola Bezistan in 1965, it was discovered that the eastern part of the structure had older foundations, which may indicate the existence of a previous building – possibly the 15th-century Bezistan. This earlier structure could have been erected on the remains of Gabriel Radomir's palace.[413]

---

407 *Zakharova*, Frescoes in the Diaconicon, 219–235.

408 *Komatina*, Diocesan Structure, 806–807.

409 See the chapter *Bulgarian Church Architecture and Art: From Origins to 1018*, I, 133–135.

410 *Scylitzes,* 351, 357, 363; VIINJ III, 112, 124, 133 (*J. Ferluga*); *Mihajlovski,* Novi podatoci, 199–208; *Mihajlovski*, Heraclea, 339–357.

411 *Mošin*, Bitoljska ploča, 51–61.

412 According to Tomo Tomoski, the patron saint of medieval Bitola was St. Nicholas, see *Tomoski*, Kako toponim Manastir, 463–473.

413 *Mihajlovski*, Byzantine seals, 41–51; *Petkova,* Bitola vo XIV i XV vek*,* 574–587; *Mihajlovski,* Heraclea, 130–137; *Mihajlovski*, Novi podatoci, 199–208.

The fortress of Bitola encompassed the area from today's old bazaar (market), stretching from Bezistan to the Green Market, and from Lensky Bridge to Filip II Street, where the entrance gate was located, extending to the area where the Sungur Çavus Bey Mosque once stood. It is in this area that the marble slab of John Vladislav was discovered. According to the inscription on this slab, the Bitola Fortress was rebuilt in 1015–1016 on older foundations. The Sungur Çavus Bey Mosque was located about a 100 meters to the north. As such, the foundations of John Vladislav's fortress likely lie beneath the old bazaar complex, with the entrance to the fortress near the location of the Sungur Çavus Bey Mosque, indicating a historical connection between these buildings.

The preserved urban structure of the Bitola bazaar retains a medieval character, located along the river and at the main city intersection where key road arteries converged: the Via Egnatia, which ran from the south and headed west along the Dragor River Valley, as well as roads leading to Prilep and the Mariovo plateau. The potential existence of a medieval fortress in this area, along with a possible episcopal center, has been partially confirmed by archaeological excavations. Massive foundations of walls were uncovered to the west of the bazaar, supporting these hypotheses. The city walls likely extended to this point.[414]

Particularly significant for understanding cathedrals in Archbishopric of Ohrid is the discovery beneath the Yeni Mosque in the center of Bitola, where the foundations of an Early Christian and medieval basilica were uncovered (Figs. 29, 30, vol. I, 134). The first phase of the basilica has been dated to the 7th–10th century.[415] The basilica was expanded during the 11th century and later in the 13th–14th centuries. The major distinction between these two phases is that the 11th-century phase employed the opus cloisonné technique, a characteristic method of Byzantine construction. Numerous fragments of wall paintings, likely from this period, were also discovered.[416]

There are several indications that this site housed a city church in the 11th century. A spearhead dating from the 10th–14th century was also found.[417] Among finds is one side of what was likely a former diptych of a pectoral medallion, measuring 3.5 by 4 by 0.6 cm. The medallion was most likely worn by a high military officer. The obverse of the medallion features engraved figures of St. Basil and St. Nicholas, while the reverse depicts the holy warriors St. George and St. Theodore (Tyron?). In terms of style and comparisons with similar medallions found in Ohrid and Constantinople, it most closely resembles those from the Komnenian period, i.e., the 11th century.[418] The potential bishopric role of the church as an administrative center is further suggested by two seals discovered at the site. One is a seal of Theodore Vestiarches, found

414 *Mihajlovski – Filipovska-Lazarovska – Stojkoski*, Medieval Bitola, 257–264; *Filipovska-Lazarovska*, Jeni dzamija, 316–320; *Janakievski*, Ubikacija; *Tomoski*, Gradišteto, 40; *Mihajlovski, Prilozi,* 130–137; *Mihajlovski*, Novi podatoci, 199–208.

415 See the chapter *Bulgarian Church Architecture and Art: From Origins to 1018*, I, 133–135.

416 *Mihajlovski – Filipovska-Lazarovska – Stojkoski,* Medieval Bitola after 1018, 260–261.

417 *Stojkoski,* Srednjovekovno kopje, 122–130.

418 *Mihajlovski – Filipovska-Lazarovska – Stojkoski*, Medieval Bitola after 1018, 261.

in 2008 in the narthex of the Yeni Mosque.[419] On the obverse of the seal is an image of the Virgin Mary with Christ, and on the reverse is a six-line inscription. Theodore Vestiarches was likely a high-ranking military officer and lived in the 11th century. The second lead seal belonged to George Manganes and was also discovered in the narthex of the mosque. This seal dates to after 1088 or the first half of the 12th century. On the obverse is a waist-length figure of St. George, and the reverse contains five lines of text, referencing George Manganes, *protoproedros* at the Council of Blachernae in Constantinople in 1094, and later personal secretary to Emperor Alexios I Komnenos.[420] The discovery of the basilica beneath the Yeni Mosque strongly suggests that it could have been the city's church and possibly an administrative center. The possibility that this church was part of a larger monastery complex, and potentially the episcopal center of Bitola, should not be ruled out either. It is also plausible that the church was dedicated to the Holy Apostles, the patron saints of Bitola.

For the cathedral of Lipljan, there are three possible candidates for the seat of the bishopric during the Middle Byzantine period (Figs. 80, 81, vol. I, 225). As discussed in the previous chapter Bulgarian Church Architecture and Art: From Origins to 1018, the main question that arises is whether the center of the bishopric was in the eponymous urban settlement of Lipljan, in Gračanica, or perhaps even in the possibly renewed Early Byzantine episcopal seat of Ulpiana/*Iustiniana Secunda*. Given King Milutin's (1282–1321) known practice of renovating or constructing churches at prominent cultic sites – as evidenced by the churches in Staro Nagoričino and especially the cathedral in Prizren – it is plausible that the site of the present-day church in Gračanica, his endowment built upon an older structure, once served as a bishop's seat (Figs. 78, 79, vol. I, 224).[421] Nonetheless, this hypothesis remains conjectural in the absence of definitive evidence.

Many cathedrals lack material evidence, and their exact locations remain unknown, but their existence is documented in historical textual sources. For instance, we know that the Bishopric of Niš had a cathedral dedicated to St. Prokopios, which housed his relics. According to the Byzantine historian John Kinnamos, writing after 1180, there was a Church of St. Prokopios in Niš – or at least a tomb dedicated to him. Kinnamos recounts that, during the war with the Byzantines in 1072, the Hungarians invaded Niš and took the hand of St. Prokopios, transferring it to the Church of St. Demetrios in Sirmium. According to the same source, Emperor Manuel I Komnenos (1143–1180) later returned the hand of St. Prokopios to Niš.[422] The church is also mentioned as an episcopal center, where Bishop Kyrikos resided, in the correspondence between Pope Innocent III (1198–1216) and Bulgarian emperor Kaloyan (1204–1207) at the beginning of 1203.[423] The exact location of the church in Niš remains unknown to this day.[424]

419 *Mihajlovski*, Circulation, 574–587.

420 Ibid., 574–587.

421 *Marković,* Sveti Nikita kod Skoplja, 50.

422 VIINJ IV, 74–75, (J. Kalić, N. Radošević-Maksimović).

423 *Gabelić*, O ikonografiji, 531.

424 There are assumptions that the remains of a building found near the current Church of St. Nicholas may be those of the Episcopal Church of St. Prokopios. However, the results have not been confirmed, and more detailed archaeological investigations are needed for full verification, see *Rakocija*, Rezultati istraživanja, 127–131.

The information about the cathedral in Skopje, dedicated to the Mother of God, is recorded in a letter in which the newly appointed Bulgarian bishops, including Marin of Skopje, requested confirmation from Pope Innocent III in 1204.[425] Sources related to the Archbishops of Ohrid also provide insight into two bishoprics.

Then again, the cathedral in Devol is mentioned in a letter from Archbishop Theophylact to John, *doux* of Dyrrachion and son of *sebastokrator* Isaac, in the 1090s, which references the renovation of the episcopal church.[426] Additionally, the acts of Archbishop Demetrios Chomatenos of Ohrid reveal that in 1230, Demetrios presided over the court in the narthex of the episcopal church in the Bishopric of Slanitza-Pella.[427] As for the cathedral in the Bishopric of Velbăzhd, there is no secure evidence to confirm whether the episcopal church and seat were located within the fortress on Hisarlaka Hill or in the lower city.[428]

The lack of historical data or material evidence makes it impossible to identify the potential centers of the other bishoprics and their corresponding cathedral churches. Until more comprehensive archaeological excavations are conducted and new discoveries are made, there will remain a gap in the sacral topography of cathedrals in the Archbishopric of Ohrid during the 11th and 12th centuries.

IV. Ktetors and the creation of art: Patronage in the 11th–12th Century

Power and piety: The role of patrons in 11th-century religious art and architecture

For most of the monuments established in the Archbishopric of Ohrid during the 11th and 12th centuries, there is little to no information about their founders or the social strata from which these patrons originated. However, several founders' endowments have been preserved from the period after the re-establishment of Byzantine rule in the central Balkans. Based on inscriptions and hagiographical sources, we can partially reconstruct the mechanisms behind the commissioning and construction of church buildings, as well as the possible reasons for their creation. In the context of the Byzantine Church, ktetors were individuals who played a crucial role in establishing and funding churches, monasteries, and religious institutions. Patronage in Byzantine art and architecture was vital in shaping the religious and cultural landscape of the empire. The patron's wealth, status, and religious devotion deeply influenced the type and style of art produced, while the primary focus was on reinforcing Christianity, power, and devotion to the divine.

The position of ktetor was not merely an act of charity; it also carried significant social and religious prestige. Patronage was seen as a social necessity, and by funding churches or monasteries, founders sought to gain favor with God and secure their own

425 *Latinski izvori*, 337; On the monastery history, *Miljković*, Povest, 222, with extended bibliography.

426 See the chapter *Bulgarian Church Architecture and Art: From Origins to 1018*, I, 130–132.

427 Chomatenus, Ponemata, 433 (Nr. 102).

428 See the chapter *Bulgarian Church Architecture and Art: From Origins to 1018*, I, 202–203, n. 691.

salvation. Founders were often commemorated in the churches they built through inscriptions, portraits, or statues.[429] The involvement of the founders in the construction of churches and monasteries ensured that their names would be remembered. Families hoped their spiritual legacy would endure for generations. In some cases, the founders were even buried in the very churches or monasteries they established. Some patrons also had personal preferences for specific architectural styles, which influenced the design of churches or monasteries. Many churches were created with particular architectural features that reflected the tastes and religious beliefs of the founder.[430]

In Byzantine society, the role of the ktetor was deeply connected to political and economic power. By founding churches or monasteries, the wealthy elite could elevate their political status within the Byzantine Empire. These acts were often seen as expressions of loyalty to both the Church and the emperor, thus solidifying the founder's influence in both religious and political spheres.

From the late 9th to the final decades of the 11th century, during the Macedonian and Doukas dynasties (867–1081), the intervention of central authorities on church endowments was evident. During this period, patrons primarily consisted of ecclesiastical, military, and administrative officials representing the emperor or the patriarch. They supported the imperial ideology in cities and smaller towns throughout the Empire and especially in the provinces.[431] This development is particularly characteristic of the 11th century when bishops played a dominant role in patronage. Bishops had a significant impact on the foundation of cathedrals. According to preserved records during this period, bishops rebuilt, constructed, or decorated several cathedral churches in the central Balkans, including the cathedral basilicas in Servia, Serdica, Sisani, and Berroia.

While it is not certain whether the medieval cathedral in Berroia was built on the foundations of an Early Christian basilica,[432] an epigraphic source provides information about the founder of the rebuilt church or the construction of a new one. Specifically, on the architrave beam above the main entrance to the narthex of the basilica, there is, in secondary use,[433] an inscription mentioning certain Niketas.

Καὶ τοῦτο ἔργο Νικήτα θυηπόλου

This is the work of Niketas *thyepolos*[434]

According to Nektarios Zarras, this title *thyepolos* refers to the bishop, in this case of Berroia, during whose time the church was built.[435] He was initially identified with the bishop of the same name mentioned in a 1078 document from the Monastery of

429 *Zarras*, Ideology and Patronage, 17–21.

430 *Panayotidi-Kesisoglou*, Donors' Personalities, 339–361.

431 *Kalopissi-Verti*, Patronage, 227–253.

432 *Mal'ceva – Freze,* Baziliki, 185–190.

433 On the question of its original position, *Skiadaresēs*, Palia mētropolē, 118–119.

434 On the term *thyepolos* referring to the bishop, see *Zarras*, Ideology and Patronage, 119.

435 *Zarras*, Ideology and Patronage, 118–119.

Esphigmenou on Mount Athos, thus dating the church to around that year, and certainly before the Norman attacks of 1081.[436] Based on epigraphic and archaeological evidence, Flora Karagianni refers to Niketas as one of the principal ktetors of a specific phase of the monument.[437]

The cathedral church of Servia, likely founded shortly after the Byzantines captured the medieval fortress in 1001, was known as the Βασιλική του Κατηχουμένων or Forty Doors. Located within the Byzantine fortress of Servia on a long rocky hill in the lower part of the city, the cathedral was isolated on three sides by a deep gorge and accessible only from the north (Fig. 98). Interestingly, this cathedral was among the first to be built following the Byzantine conquest of the region, and certainly before the establishment of the Archbishopric of Ohrid a few decades later.[438] No information is available regarding the church's dedication during this early period.[439] Yet, there are indications of a later dedication to St. Demetrios, as well as references to the founder of the second phase of the cathedral's painting. Based on the depiction of St. Demetrios on the south wall near the former iconostasis, isolated by a decorative frame, Andreas Xyngopoulos argues that the temple is dedicated to St. Demetrios. He supports this claim with the founding inscription of Bishop Michael, which is located next to the saint's representation, where the bishop addresses the saint.

.....αι *τῶν πολῶν σου πε...*
γονϋπε[τ]ο[ς].....*εἴλαθι μοι μ[α]ρτυς ταπει*[*νος...*
οἰκτρὸς ἀρχιερεὺς Σερβιω[ν] *Μιχ*[*αήλ*], Δημήτριε...
σοι εὐσεβὴς λάτ[*ρη*]ς...σ...*σϊν...εὐ*[λ]*ογιτῶν...*
κακ[ο]γ μου *σῶμα* ο α....*νηροικε....*
ὅλως οὐκ ἦλθ....σ.φω.....[440]

...of your many...
kneeling [I pray to you] ....., martyr, be gracious to me, humble..... [and]
lowly archpriest (chief priest) of Servia Michael, oh Demetrios...
to you pious servant .....of blessed.....
evil of me the body .....
wholly not .....

This dedication to the church may well have occurred at the end of the 12th century, when the fresco of St. Demetrios was painted. Given that by this time the bishopric of Servia had been transferred back to the metropolitan of Thessalonike,

436 *Papazōtos*, Ē Ktētorikē Epigraphē, 200; *Papazōtos*, Ē Beroia, 57, 90–91; *Rhoby*, Byzantinische Epigramme auf Stein, 202–203; *Zarras*, Ideology and Patronage, 118–119.

437 *Karagiannē*, Episkopikoi naoi, 74, n. 115.

438 See the chapter *Bulgarian Church Architecture and Art: From Origins to 1018*, I, 244–246.

439 *Karagiannē*, Episkopikoi naoi, 265–268; *Ćurčić*, Architecture, 310–311.

440 *Xyngopoulos*, Ta mnēmeia, 45.

Fig. 98.
Servia fortress,
The cathedral
church of Servia,
ariel view

the dedication to St. Demetrios is unlikely to be coincidental[441]. Below it, on the layer of 11th-century frescoes, several saints are depicted. Still, it cannot be determined whether St. Demetrios was among them.[442]

In the Rotunda of St. George in Serdica, a founder's inscription references the restoration of the church's paintings. The strip with the fresco inscription extends beneath the drum window, around the dome, for a length of 20 meters. The epigram begins in the eastern part, above the sanctuary apse and the scene of the Annunciation. Each verse is marked with a dot. The inscription is in Greek. Due to extensive damage, the text is not fully legible, but it is clear that it mentions the bishop who oversaw the restoration of the frescoes, which had suffered over time. However, the bishop's name is missing. Explicit references to representations of Christ, the Mother of God, and angels are noticeable.

Ἀμίλλᾳ ταύ(τῃ) πίστεω[ς .....
.....] κύκλῳ τρέχων
πρὸ(ς) τ(ὸν) [.....] σεπτοὺς τύπους,
οὓς [.....] ζωγράφου

441 See the chapter *The Archbishopric of Ohrid from the 11th to the 13th century. Territorial and ideological framework*, II. I am grateful to my colleague Anna Zakharova for this insightful observation.

442 Ibid., 63.

ναοῦ προσε[.....]αν εἰς μνήμ(ην)·
τοῦ χρωμάτ(ων) ἄνθους δὲ τ(ὴν) νέαν χάρ(ιν)
γήρως ἐ[π]εσκίασε πολλ(ῶν) ἡ ῥύ[σις]
ἐπισκόπου δὲ [.....
.....
τὴν] πίστ(ιν) οὐχ ἥττησ(εν) ἡ χρόν(ου) φύ(σις)·
πόθ(ου) γ(ὰρ) οὗτος πρὸ(ς) Θ(εὸ)ν τρέφ(ων) φλόγ(α)
καὶ νοῦν διάρ(ας) καὶ σκοπ[.....
.....
.....] βλέπ(ει)
μὴ φ(ῶ)ς ἀπ(ο)στίλβ(ον)τα τ(ῶν) θεί(ων) τύπ(ων)·
οὐκοῦν νεουργ(εῖ) προσκυνητ(ὰς) εἰκόν(ας)
τ(ὸν) Ἥλι(ον) πρώτιστα τ(ῆς) δόξ(ης) γράφ(ων)
καὶ τ(ὴν) Σελήνην παρθ(ένον) συνεγ<γ>ράφ(ων)
ἀρχαγγέλ(ων) τε δευτ(έ)ρων φῶ(τα) [.....
.....
κ]αὶ δεύ(τερον) προ(σ)δεικνὺς οὐ(ρα)νὸν κάτω
[.....] ἀμοιβ(ὴν) πίστεως τε καὶ πόθου
τῶν κλ[.....
.....].

Through the competition in faith .....
..... running in a circle
to the ..... venerable images,
the ..... of the painter
of the church ..... for remembrance.
The new grace of the many colors of the blossom,
overshadowed the decay of age,
but the bishop ....
and faith was not brought to an end by the nature of the passage of time.
For faith, by nourishing the flame of longing for God
and uplifting the spirit and ....
..... sees
the one who does not let the light of divine models to shine.
Thus, he recreates the venerated images,
first by painting Helios of Glory
and portraying the Virgin Selene
and the lights of the archangels in second place .....
..... and additionally, represents the second heaven below
..... retribution of faith and longing
of the ....[443]

443 *Rhoby*, Byzantinische Epigramme, 82–85.

Fig. 99.
Sofia, Rotunda of St. George, dome, founder's inscription and ktetors' portrait

In addition to the inscriptions, the church also preserves the donor composition in the second layer of frescoes, which depicts the bishop holding the church. The fresco is located on the western wall, beneath a group of monks, and is preserved in fragments (Fig. 99).[444]

While the church in Serdica preserves both part of the founder's inscription and the founder's composition, only the lower part of a composition believed to be part of the ktetor's portrait has been preserved in the cathedral of Sisani. On the narrow western side of the southern column of the altar area, there is a fragment depicting the lower part of a person dressed in episcopal vestments, kneeling before the Mother of

444 *Bakalova – Vasilev*, Images and Texts, 176.

God on the throne. Based on this composition, it is proposed that the church was dedicated to the Mother of God.[445]

The sources of information on potential donors are not limited to dedicatory inscriptions or portraits. On occasion, such records can be found in hagiographical texts. In the Bishopric of Skopje, there are two 11th-century churches where we learn about possible founders through the lives of saints: the Church of St. George in Staro Nagoričino and the Church of St. Prohor of Pčinja near Vranje. The Church of St. George is located in the village of Staro Nagoričino, 13 km east of Kumanovo (Fig. 100). The church's current appearance is the result of renovations during the reign of Serbian king Milutin (1282–1321).[446] While there is no reliable historical data regarding the construction date of the original church in Staro Nagoričino, some information about its foundation remains in hagiographical sources.

In the 15th-century *Life and deeds of our blessed Father Joachim of Sarandapor*, it is stated that a certain „pious emperor" built the Church of St. George with the help of St. Prohor of Pčinja.[447] Later versions of St. Prohor's life describe how the hermit lived in asceticism during the reign of Byzantine emperor Romanos IV Diogenes (1068–1071). It is said that Prohor prophesied to Romanos that he would become emperor, and in gratitude, Romanos built a church „in the desert of Nagoričino."[448]

Romanos Diogenes was a member of a prominent military family, the son of Constantine Diogenes, a notable general from Cappadocia.[449] Romanos' birth linked him to many of the great aristocratic families in Asia Minor. As a general, he served in Syria and along the Danubian frontier.[450] Historians have not completely ruled out the possibility that some of the hagiographical details contain historically authentic information. St. Prohor of Pčinja probably lived in the 11th century and Romanos did indeed stay near the monastery; he was the *katepano* of Dristra and the *doux* (duke) of Serdica in 1067.[451] Later charters from Serbian and Bulgarian rulers to the monastery of St. George Gorgos near Skopje, including those of Bulgarian emperor Constantine Asen Tikh (1257–1277) and Serbian king Milutin, who also restored Staro Nagoričino, confirm the founding activities of Emperor Diogenes in the Balkans.[452]

The architectural features of the remains of the original church support a dating to the 11th century.[453] The walls of the older church, to which parts of Milutin's five-

445 *Petkos,* Anaskaphē, 318.

446 *Todić*, Staro Nagoričino, 35–42.

447 *Ivanov*, Bŭlgarski starini, 404–418; *Petkov,* The Voices of Medieval Bulgaria, 183.

448 For more information on Prohor of Pčinja and the editions of his life, refer to the section on the cults of saints, see below, 264–288.

449 *Smolčić-Makuljević,* Istorija manastira, 25–33, with older bibliography.

450 ODB, III, 1807.

451 *Madgearu*, Ruled indeed Basil Apokapes, 273–282; *Madgearu*, Military Organization, 66, 76 et passim.

452 *Smolčić-Makuljević,* Istorija manastira, 32–33.

453 The church was likely constructed on the remains of an earlier structure, *Todić*, Staro Nagoričino, 39; *Korać*, O srednjovekovnim bazilikama, 71. On the early phase of the church see, *Mal'ceva*, Arhitektura cerkvi, 81–98.

Fig. 100.
Staro Nagoričino,
Church of
St. George,
view from
the southwest

domed restoration were added, are preserved to a height of over 5 meters. The western portal, altar window, and parts of the iconostasis also belong to the original building. While the original architectural design cannot be reliably reconstructed, it is generally assumed that it was a three-aisled basilica. The church had a large, semicircular apse on the outside and inside (Fig. 101). It is believed that the iconostasis (templon screen) belongs to the original church, with icons added later. The church was constructed using finely carved trachyte blocks, joined together with very thin mortar joints. Powerful pilasters were placed along the side walls as buttresses, four on each side. The church had two entrances, one at the west and one at the south. Based on the existing material evidence, it is not possible to determine whether the church originally had a dome.[454] Given that the church was built with regular hewn stones, there are several theories about the origin of its architecture, with some proposing influences from the East, the Caucasus region, Armenian-Georgian traditions, or Syrian architecture. Miloje Vasić was the first to suggest that the builder may have had a Romanesque background.[455] The similarity to Adriatic coast architecture and sculpture, especially with Apulian architecture is evident in the decorative sculpture of the iconostasis, which resembles that of the church in Apollonia.[456] Although building churches with regular hewn stones was not common in the Byzantine Empire, there are a few examples from the provinces, such as the Zemen Monastery or the church in Apollonia, both dating to the 11th century.[457]

454 *Todić*, Staro Nagoričino, 35–41.

455 *Vasić*, Žiča i Lazarica, 70.

456 *Buschhausen*, Die Marienkirche von Apollonia, 76–85.

457 Ibid., 39–41 with previous bibliography.

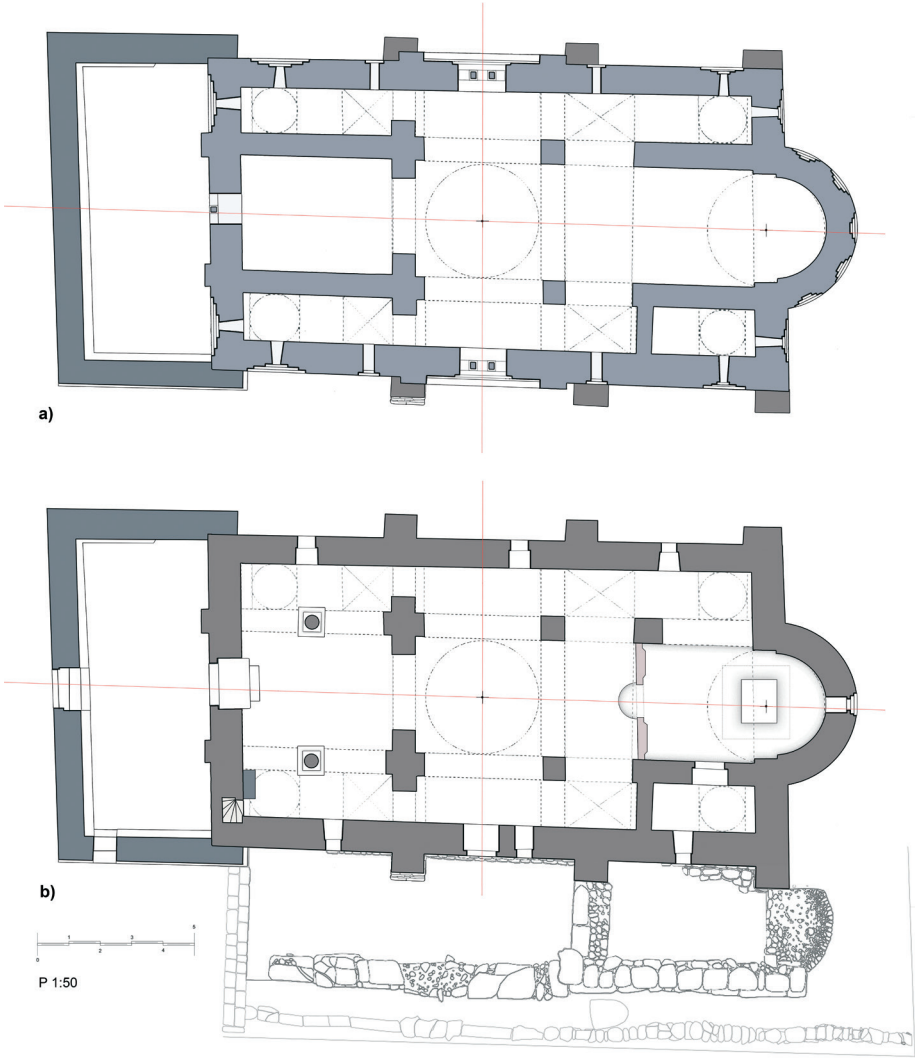


Fig. 101.
Staro Nagoričino,
Church of St. George,
plan

Only one fragment of the original paintings has been preserved in the Church of St. George in Staro Nagoričino. This fragment, located in the socle zone of the northern wall, depicts part of a human figure dressed in a short green robe (Fig. 102).[458] Archaeological excavations in 2014 geared additional findings, including a porch along the southern wall of the building and a *pareckklesion* on the eastern side measuring 10.30 by 4 meters, both made of stone blocks. According to the archeologists, the *parekklesion* dates to the 11th century, while the rest of the porch belongs to Milutin's renovation period in the early 14th century and his territorial expansion in the area. Beneath the church's foundations, the remains of an older rectangular building of undetermined purpose were also discovered, along with fragments of Late Antique and medieval ceramics. Additionally, recovered fragments of *spolia*, stone with fresco-plaster, and a variety of small finds, dating from late antiquity to the 20th century, confirm prolonged life of the site.[459]

458 Ibid., 38.

459 *Ivanovska – Velkoska*, Sondažni arheološki istražuvanje, 154–163.

Fig. 102.
Staro Nagoričino, Church of St. George, north wall of the naos, painting, fragment

Fig. 103.
Prohor Pčinjski Monastery, view from the east

As with the Church of Staro Nagoričino, the establishment of the Prohor Pčinjski Monastery is linked to the name of Emperor Romanos IV Diogenes (1068–1071) and St. Prohor of Pčinja (Fig.103). However, there are no reliable medieval written sources, founding charters, or inscriptions regarding the monastery's foundation or the construction of the church. The founding of the church is instead connected to the legend of St. Prohor of Pčinja, as recounted in his hagiographies.[460] The monastery preserves the relics of the holy hermit and anchorite, St. Prohor, who lived and ministered in this area during the Byzantine period of the 11th century. The monastery is situated in the valley of Mount Kozjak, on the left bank of the Pčinja River. The roads leading to the

460 See below, 278–279.

monastery were important travel routes even in Roman and Byzantine periods, as well as during the Serbian Middle Ages and the monastery is located near the Via Militaris. Mount Kozjak is also mentioned in the First charter (1019) of Emperor Basil II (976–1025), which reorganized the Archbishopric of Ohrid.[461]

The church was built on the site of former Roman settlement, during the Middle Byzantine period, and underwent renovations in the 14th, 15th, 16th, 19th, and 20th centuries. The architectural plan of the oldest part of the church is that of a single-aisled structure without a narthex and with a semicircular apse at the east (Fig. 104). Today, only the lower parts of the northern façade wall remain and provide evidence of the church construction using irregular stone and brick. The upper parts of the church, as well as the apse, were renovated during the reign of King Milutin in the 13th /14th century as evidenced by the regular *cloisonné* masonry technique. Jadranka Prolović suggests that the church of the Prohor Pčinjski Monastery was built before the Church of Staro Nagoričino, possibly as a temporary structure at the site of the saint's death. This early church may have served for the repose of the saint's body until a larger church could be constructed to house his relics.[462]

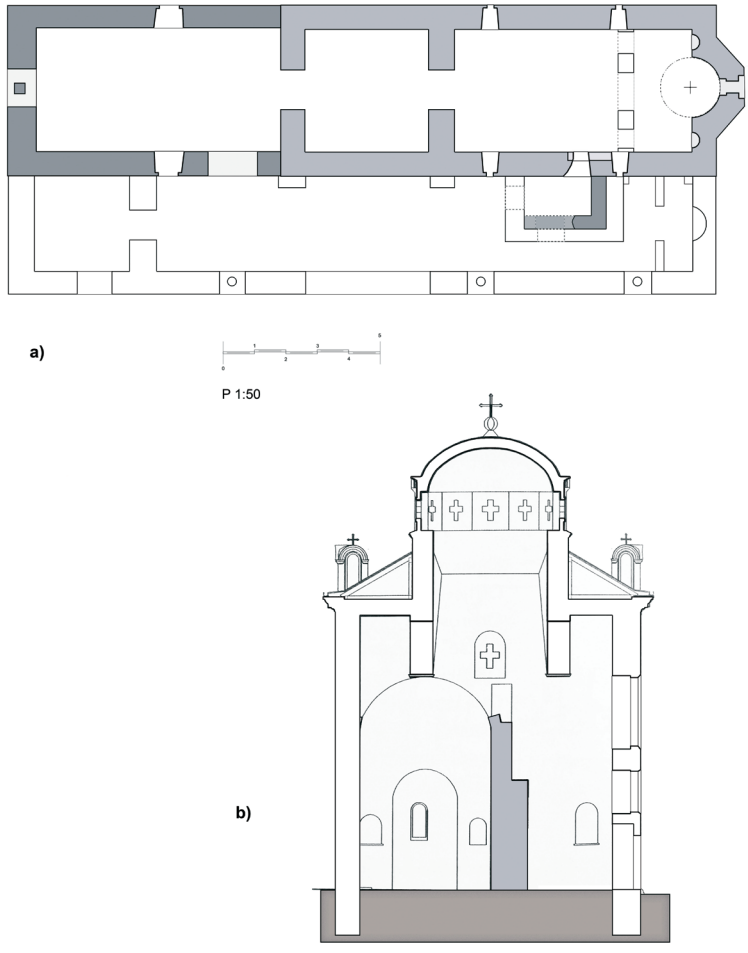


Fig. 104. Prohor Pčinjski Monastery, plan

461 *Smolčić – Makuljević,* Istorija manastira, 9–47.

462 *Prolović*, Arhitektura, 157–160.

A shift in patronage: Ecclesiastical and artistic trends under the Komnenoi

With the accession of the Komnenos and Angelos dynasties (1081–1204), there was a shift in patronage from central authorities to the local aristocracy. Members of the aristocracy became more active in administration, the army, social life, and as patrons.[463] During this period it was difficult to draw a clear distinction between the aristocracy and wealthy citizens. Some powerful families, for example, did not belong to the formal aristocracy.[464] Religious patronage flourished under the Komnenos, with influence spreading from Constantinople and major urban centers to the provinces. This shift in patronage was particularly significant when the central government's power in the Greek provinces was in decline.[465]

The Komnenoi were major patrons of the arts during their reign in the Byzantine Empire. They supported both religious and secular art, contributing to a cultural revival during political and military challenges. Their patronage not only preserved Byzantine artistic traditions but also helped foster a renewed sense of imperial and religious identity. They supported artists who embraced a more humanistic and emotional style.

One of the first monuments erected in the Archbishopric of Ohrid area at the beginning of the Komnenian presence is certainly the main church of the Veljusa Monastery. The Church of the Virgin Eleousa in Veljusa is one of the few medieval monuments with a well-documented foundation history. According to the inscription above the entrance doors, which lead from the narthex to the naos, the construction of the Church of the Virgin Eleousa was commissioned by the former bishop of Tiberiopolis (Strumica), then monk Manuel (Fig. 105).[466]

> Ἐνεουργίθη ὁ ναὸς οὗτος της ὑπ(ερ)αγίας (θεοτό)κου
> τῆς Ἐλεοῦσης ἐξ αὐτων βάθροω) παρὰ| Μανουὴλ μονάχου
> καὶ γεγονότως ἐπισκόπου Τιβεριουπόλε(ως).: ἐν ἐτη τῶ S Φ Π H
> ἰνδ(ικτιῶνι) Γ .:
>
> This church of the Supremely Holy Theotokos the Merciful has been renovated from the foundations themselves by Manuel the monk who has also been appointed Bishop of Tiberiopolis in the third indiction of the year 6588 (1080).[467]

---

463 *Cormack*, Aristocratic patronage, 158–172

464 For general view on aristocracy in Byzantium see, *Cheynet*, L'aristocratie byzantine, 281–322; *Kazhdan – Ronchey*, L'aristocrazia bizantina; The Byzantine Aristocracy.

465 *Kalopissi-Verti*, Patronage, 227–253.

466 *Ivanov*, Bŭlgarski starini, 176; *Miljković-Pepek*, Veljusa, 32–33, 40–41; *Kaplan*, *Retour sur le dossie*r, 480; *Dimitrova*, The Church, 9.

467 For English translation, *Zarras*, Ideology and Patronage, 125–126. Zarras mistakenly recorded the year as 6658 instead of 6588.

Fig. 105. Veljusa, Church of the Virgin Eleousa, inscription above the door between narthex and naos

In another marble lintel, located above the main entrance to the church, monk Manuel as a donor addresses the church's patron, the Virgin Eleousa, emphasizing her patronage over his foundations.[468]

> Πάσας τεθεικῶς εἰς σέ μου τὰς ἐλπίδας ∴ω μ(ῆτ)ερ αγνὴ καὶ
> βλύσις τοῦ ἐλέους :|ποιμὴν μοναστὴς Μανουὴλ σὸς οικέτης.:
> καὶ τόνδε σοι δέσποινα σηκὸν προσφέρω:[469]
>
> Placing all my hopes in you, chaste mother and wellspring of mercy, I,
> Manuel, shepherd monk and a servant of yours, offer to you, Despoina, this
> chapel as well.

Several preserved documents, including two copies of charters from Emperor Alexios I Komnenos from 1085 and 1106, and the Typikon of the monastery (1085–1105), compiled by the founder himself, provide insight into the earliest history of the monastery and the organization of monastic life.[470] An inventory of the monastery's

468 *Miljković-Pepek*, Veljusa, 32–33, 40–41. The marble lintels are now in the Archaeological Museum in Sofia, Bulgaria, catalogue number 1597 and 1598.

469 *Prilozi za istorijat*, 12–13. For English translation, *Zarras*, Ideology and Patronage, 125–126.

470 The feudal privileges asserting the independence of the Veljusa Monastery most likely originated directly from the emperor, suggesting that it was probably an imperial or royal monastery. Such monasteries enjoyed special protection from the ruler and were required to have both a charter granted by the ruler and a typikon issued by the founder. They were typically dedicated to Christ or the Mother of God. The typikon of the Veljusa Monastery is one of the most important of these documents. Compiled by the monastery's founder, Manuel himself, it was preserved in a 12th-century copy by Bishop Clement of Strumica. The typikon was likely created between 1085 and 1106, as it references the charter of Emperor Alexios I Komnenos from 1085 but does not mention the imperial document issued in 1106, see *Miljković-Pepek*, Veljusa, 33–47. The Veljusa documents were first published by *Petit*, Le monastére, 6–9, 25–30, 47–56, 69–93, cf. *Mošin*, Grčkata arhiva, 95–108. For the English translation of the typikon see, Byzantine Monastic Foundation Documents I, 167–193.

possessions, made around 1164, lists 67 manuscripts, 35 icons, 17 royal charters, sacerdotal vestments, and other archival items. Before his tenure as bishop in Strumica, Manuel lived in the Monastery of St. Auxentios in Chalkedon.[471] Manuel was close to Emperor Alexios I and he personally funded the construction of the monastery. The first inscription indicates that the church was originally built in 1080. The church has a highly distinctive architectural layout, consisting of three primary elements that form a unique structure (Fig. 106). The naos is in the shape of a tetraconch, with a narthex next to it and a centralized *parekklesion* on the south side. All three parts of the church are surmounted by ribbed domes of varying heights and dimensions. The overall complex measures 13 by 13 meters. The naos has a square plan, measuring 7 by 7 meters, framed by four semi-circular conches and an octagonal dome on the exterior. The north and apsidal conches are five-sided on the exterior, and round on the interior. The south chapel, with a square plan, contains two conches – one on the east and one on the west side – each topped with a ribbed dome. The apses of the south chapel are three-sided on the exterior. The cupolas on the naos and the narthex are octagonal, while the one on the south chapel is hexagonal. Each side of the cupola drum features a window set in triple niches. The church is built of brick using the recessed-brick technique. The façade is articulated with triple-ordered blind arches and two-story niches. The exterior walls were plastered and painted, imitating the building's opus. Façade decorations include interlace crosses, roundels, and sunburst motifs.[472]

The interior of the church retains traces of the original marble templon screen.[473] Of the stone sculpture of the 11th century, the columns, upper architrave, several capitals, and part of the lower stone altar partition remain. Additionally, the doorways on the western entrances of the narthex and naos are preserved.

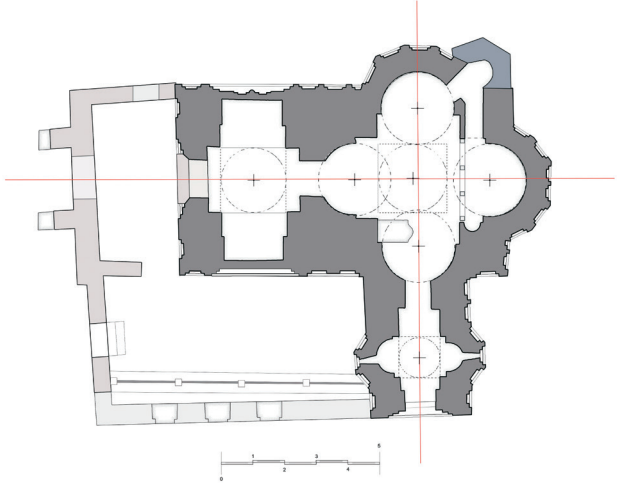


Fig. 106.
Veljusa, Church of
the Virgin Eleousa, plan

471 *Zaharova*, The murals in the Church of the Virgin Eleousa, 41.

472 *Miljkovik-Pepek*, Veljusa, 79–114; *Korunovski – Dimitrova*, Vizantiska Makedonija, 47–51; *Ćurčić*, Architecture, 406–407; *Dimitrova – Korunovski – Grandakovska*, Srednovekovna Makedonija, 1570–1572; *Dimitrova*, The Church of the Holy Virgin, 10–12; *Ousterhout*, Eastern medieval architecture, 409–410.

473 *Miljković-Pepek*, Oltarna pregrada, 137–139.

The original marble mosaic floor is best preserved under the main dome, with an interlace pattern executed in *opus sectile*.[474] Traces of marble mosaic flooring are also found in the narthex and the south chapel. Stylistically, these floors resemble floors in the katholika of Nea Moni, Hosios Loukas, and Iviron monasteries, all dating to the 11th century.[475] The design of the Veljusa church, its façade articulation, and the floor patterns suggest that the founder may have commissioned Constantinopolitan builders.[476]

As noted, the tetraconchal church structure at Veljusa can be compared to the similar small tetraconch church at Zanjevac in Serbia, built by local builders probably in the 11th century, although the builders of Veljusa were directly connected with the Byzantine capital. The façade decoration at Veljusa, with its two-story niches, resembles churches in Constantinople, such as the Christ Pantepoptes, Gül Mosque, and Kilise Camii, all dating from the 11th century. The stylized cross motif on the south façade of the narthex is also found on capitals near the katholikon of Nea Moni on Chios.[477]

Archaeologists have discovered a brick grave in the narthex, beneath the arcosolium adjacent to the south wall. The construction of the grave was integrated with the southern wall, suggesting that monk Manuel commissioned it as a place for his eternal rest.[478]

Architectural changes were made to the church between 1166 and 1168, when an exonarthex was added to the western side, creating a large entrance space. Additionally, a large porch was constructed on the south side of the exonarthex, encircling the monastic necropolis. A small *prothesis*, round on the inside and three-sided on the exterior, was built between the eastern and northern conchs of the original naos.

The original fresco decoration inside the Church of the Virgin Eleousa features an innovative iconographic and thematic concept that reflects both the theological ideas of the time and the erudition of the ktetor. The frescoes were painted shortly after the church's completion, likely between 1085 and 1093, based on written sources and archaeological findings.[479] The original painting is best preserved in the sanctuary, with fragmentary portions remaining in the naos and the south subsidiary chapel.

---

474 The floor patterns resemble floors from the 10th and the 11th centuries executed in Hagia Sophia in Ohrid and the oldest church in the Vodoča complex, *Petrovski*, Podniot mozaik, 147–161.

475 *Liakos*, The Byzantine Opus Sectile Floor, 37–44.

476 *Miljković-Pepek*, Veljusa, 108–109; *Korunovski – Dimitrova*, Vizantiska Makedonija, 50; *Ćurčić*, Architecture, 406–407; *Dimitrova – Korunovski – Grandakovska*, Srednovekovna Makedonija, 1570–1572; *Dimitrova*, The Church, 12; *Ousterhout*, Eastern medieval architecture, 409–410.

477 *Miljković-Pepek, Veljusa,* 106–114.

478 *Miljković-Pepek*, Veljusa, 86; *Dimitrova*, The Church, 9.

479 *Miljković-Pepek*, Veljusa, 150–155; *Idem*, *Miljković-Pepek*, Les données, 499–510. Most scholars agree with the dating of the fresco decoration to the end of the 11th century, *Đurić*, Vizantijske freske, 11–12; *Idem*, Fresques du monastère de Veljusa, 113–121; *Wharton Epstein*, Art of empire, 116–118; *Gerstel*, Beholding, 22–23, 37–39, 84–85; *Korunovski – Dimitrova*, Vizantiska Makedonia, 61–64; *Dimitrova*, The Church, 13–24; *Zaharova*, The murals in the Church of the Virgin Eleousa, 37–57. Gordana Babić has suggested a later date, mid-12th century, based on some contemporary theological disputes, *Babić*, Hristološke raspre, 18–20, 25–26; *Eadem*, Les discussions christologiques, 376–378, 382–383.

The iconographic program of the church in Veljusa reveals the essence of Christian dogma – incarnation, sacrifice, and redemption. The iconographic novelties demonstrate high sophistication of the program's designer. It is clear that the iconographic conception was directly implemented by the founder himself, based on his own understanding and desire for redemption and salvation. The depiction of the *Hetoimasia* in the scene of Officiating Bishops in the apse of the Veljusa katholikon is likely the earliest preserved example of this motif in Byzantine painting (Fig. 107).[480] In the summits of the domes of the naos, narthex, and south chapel, painted medallions depict possible representations of Christ Pantokrator, Christ as the Ancient of Days, and Christ Emmanuel. Together, these three portraits of Christ express the concept of God's Providence for the salvation of humankind.[481]

Fig. 107. Veljusa, Church of the Virgin Eleousa, altar apse, Officiating Bishops

The painted program of the south subsidiary chapel is also closely connected with the founder's overall idea. The previously mentioned depiction of Christ Emmanuel in the dome signifies salvation, a theme emphasized in the eastern apse of the chapel, which features an unusual scene of Christ seated on a rainbow within a mandorla of glory, lifted by two archangels dressed in imperial robes. The depiction of Christ in

480 Petar Miljković-Pepek mentions an earlier representation in the Church of St. Achilleos on Lake Prespa in Greece, built by the Bulgarian Emperor Samuel probably around 985/986. The scene is poorly preserved and most likely depicted an altar table rather than a throne, *Miljkoviḱ-Pepek*, Veljusa, 161–163; *Milanović*, Ever Ready Throne, 1079–1109.

481 The summit of the dome of the narthex features a painted medallion, of which only a halo and the inscription 'IC' survive. Scholars assume it depicted Christ as the Ancient of Days. Petar Miljković-Pepek based his hypothesis on two other representations in domes, namely those with Christ Pantokrator in the naos and Christ Emmanuel in the southern chapel. *Miljkoviḱ-Pepek*, Veljusa, 191–205.

Glory underscores His divine nature and serves as a reminder to the faithful of His Second Coming.[482] To the left of the apse, there is a representation of two saints in torso-length portraits. One is identified by inscription as St. Niphon, while the identity of the other saint remains unknown.[483] A full-figure portrait of St. Panteleimon, the healer, is painted on the north-west wall. This representation reflects the founder's personal choice for a helper during his life, one who will intercede for him when the time for redemption and salvation approaches.[484]

Stylistically, the painting at Veljusa reflects the monastic style of the 11th century. The closest contemporaneous parallels to the Veljusa painting can be found in the Panagia Chalkeon (1028) and Hagia Sophia in Ohrid (circa 1056). However, the heavily proportioned figures appear more static than similar representations found in the Church of Hagia Sophia in Ohrid. Some stylistic similarities are also evident in the mosaics from the 11th-century Daphni Monastery, particularly the painting of Christ Pantokrator in the dome of the main katholikon. Additionally, comparisons can be made with images from miniature paintings, including metropolitan manuscripts of the 11th century.[485] Moreover, scholars have observed trends in the Veljusa paintings that would fully develop in 12th-century Byzantine art.[486]

These artistic trends can be traced in a few fragments from the second phase of painting, executed between 1166 and 1168. Notably, on the west wall of the south chapel or the east wall of the porch, there was likely a depiction of the Forty Martyrs of Sebaste, now preserved in traces. On the arch leading from the north conch to the *prothesis*, two standing figures of apostles embracing each other are preserved (Fig. 108). The stylistic features of the painting in the exonarthex and south porch resemble those found in the church of Nerezi and Nicholas tou Kasnitzi, both from the 12th century.[487]

At the end of the 11th century, the military and civilian aristocracy, as well as members of the imperial family, gradually assumed the primary role in establishing religious foundations. One such foundation was that of the St. Nicholas Monastery in the village of Manastir, which was established by a member of the imperial family. This attribution is confirmed by a copy of an 11th-century founding inscription. The monastery church, dedicated to St. Nicholas, is located in the Mariovo region, approximately 20 kilometers southeast of the city of Prilep. It was constructed about 50 meters south of the village, near the Crna Reka River. Situated between the cities of Bitola and Prilep, significant strategic centers in the Middle Ages, Mariovo had access to key communication routes.

---

482 Theophanic visions of various kinds were quite often placed in the apses of churches in the 9th–11th centuries cf. *Jolivet-Lévy*, Les églises byzantines de Cappadoce, 335– 341; *Eadem*, La Cappadoce médiévale, 93–125; *Woodfin*, A Majestas Domini, 45–53.

483 *Miljković-Pepek*, Veljusa, 205–214. For more on St. Niphon cf. *Živković, Milanović*, Reexamining the Veljusa frescoes, 1111–1146.

484 *Starodubcev*, Sveti lekari, 52–87.

485 *Zakharova*, The murals in the Church of the Virgin Eleousa, 46–54.

486 *Zakharova*, The murals in the Church of the Virgin Eleousa, 43; *Korunovski – Dimitrova*, Vizantiska Makedonija, 62

487 *Miljković-Pepek,* Veljusa*, 216–222; Dimitrova*, The Church, 23.

Fig. 108. Veljusa, Church of the Virgin Eleousa, *prothesis*, Embracing Apostles

The Pelagonia Plain, which lies in this region, played a crucial role in the geographical, strategic, and military context even before the restoration of the Byzantine Empire. Following the restoration, Pelagonia became a vital border region. Its strategic importance stemmed from its encirclement by high, inaccessible mountains, which allowed for easy monitoring and defense with a small number of well-placed fortifications. This is evidenced by the remains of a medieval fortified town located about 4 kilometers north of the present-day village of Manastir, on the flat part of Gradok hill (Markovi Kuli), which was constructed on the foundations of a Late-Antique settlement.[488]

Despite the significance of the site, very little of the original church of St. Nicholas in Manastir has survived. However, the exact date of the church's founding and the name of its donor are preserved in a later inscription from 1271. This founding inscription, located in the nave of the current church, is divided into three parts. The first part of the inscription indicates the foundation of the monastery in 1095 by *protostrator* Alexios, the uncle of Emperor Alexios I Komnenos (Fig. 109):[489]

> ἐν ἔτει[a] ς χ γ ἐπὶ τῆς βασιλ(εί)ας τοῦ εὐσεβεστάτ(ου) βασιλέως καὶ αὐτοκράτωρ[ος] Ῥωμαίων κυρ(οῦ) Ἀλεξίου τοῦ Κομν[ηνοῦ]. Διελθὼν[b] ἐν τόδε[c] τόπ(ον) ὁ περιπώθητο(ς) θεῖο(ς) τῆς βασ(ι)λ(εί)ας αὐτ(ῆς), κυρ(ὸ)ς Ἀλέξιος ὁ πρωτ(ο)στράτ(ω)ρ καὶ ἀρεστ(ὸς)[d] τὸν τόπον ἀνήγυρεν[e] ναὸν ἐκ βάθρων τοῦ ἐν ἁγίοις π(ατ)ρὸς ἡμῶν ἀρχ(ι)εράρχου καὶ θαυματουργ(οῦ) Νικολ(άου) ... καὶ τιμήσεως αὐτῶ διὰ χρυσοβού[λλου] κτήμ(ατα) οἴκα προκυρῶσ(ε) καθ(ὼς)[f] τὸ βρέβαιων παραδηλῶσειν.[g] [490]

488 *Kostovska*, Sveti Nikola, 9–10.

489 *Barišić*, Dva grčka natpisa, 13–27; *Kostovska – Popovska*, The Painted Inscription, 137–143; *Subotić et al.,* Natpisi, 59–66; *Zarras*, Ideology and Patronage, 77–83.

490 *Subotić et al.,* Natpisi, 59–66.

In the year 1095, during the reign of the most pious king and emperor of the Romans, kyr Alexios Komnenos. The much-beloved uncle of the emperor, kyr Alexios the *Protostrator*, having passed through this place and having admired the site, raised from its foundations the church of St. Nikolaos [blessed] among our holy fathers, the archpriest and miracle-worker and by means of chrysoboullon I seem to have confirmed in advance that are possessions of the church's wealth, as is indicated in the inventory.[491]

Fig. 109. Manastir, Church of the St. Nicholas, naos, inscription, detail

The other two parts of the inscription refer to the deteriorated state of the monastery and its subsequent renovation by the second founder, Abbot Akakios. According to this part of the inscription, the construction work on the renovated church was completed in 1265/1266.[492]

The katholikon of the Monastery of St. Nicholas is a three-aisled basilica, which, due to its nearly square shape, is associated with the category of small truncated basilicas (Fig. 110). Archaeological excavations have revealed that the remains discovered in the northern nave most likely correspond to the foundations of an older building, possibly the original church. If these assumptions are correct, it is likely that the second founder chose the basilical style for the katholikon in order to incorporate the remains of the old church, which would then form one of the naves of the new tripartite basilica.[493]

491 For the English translation, *Zarras*, Ideology and Patronage, 78.

492 *Subotić et al.*, Natpisi, 59–66.

493 *Koco – Miljković-Pepek*, Manastir; *Koco – Miljkovič-Pepek*, La basilique, 138–140; *Korunovski*, Crkovnata arhitektura, 21–42; *Kostovska*, Sveti Nikola, 63–77.

The absence of the *protostrator* Alexios from historical sources is noteworthy. Even Anna Komnene, in her *Alexias*, does not mention him, despite her thorough documentation of the imperial family and its associates. Similarly, Theophylact's silence in his voluminous correspondence with prominent figures in the empire is puzzling, especially considering that the church financed by the *protostrator* was located within the territory of the Ohrid Bishopric.[494]

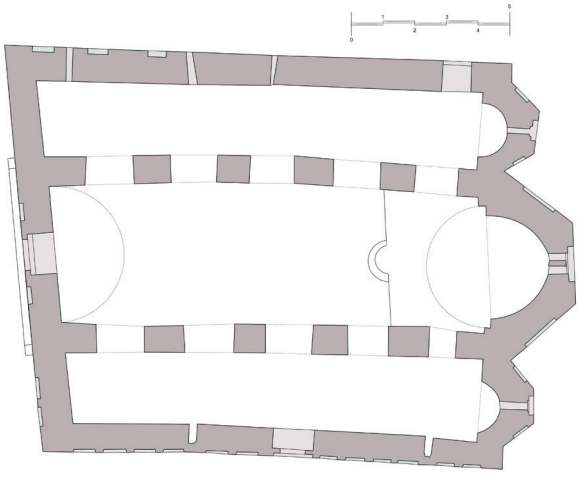


Fig. 110.
Manastir,
Church of the St. Nicholas, plan

Scholars have questioned whether an error was made when the inscription was transcribed in the 13th century. According to Franjo Barišić, one of the few scholars to examine the inscription, the first part, unlike the rest, is written in accordance with historical orthography.[495] This fact suggests that the first part was copied from the original founding inscription, which may have been preserved in either its monumental form, a chrysobul, or a later copy. Based on this analysis, it seems unlikely that a mistake was made regarding the year of construction, the title, or the name of the founder. However, it is more plausible that a mistake occurred in stating the founder's relationship to the emperor. Petrula Kostovska and Nektarios Zarras have suggested that Alexios, the founder of the church, can be identified as Alexios Komnenos, the nephew of Emperor Alexios I and the brother of the renegade d*oux* of Durrës, John Komnenos (1091 to c. 1106). In 1106, Alexios Komnenos is mentioned as the *doux* of Durrës (Dyrrachion).[496] A clue that supports this identification lies in the similarity between the wording of the church inscription at St. Nicholas and a description of Alexios in the chrysobull issued by Alexios I in 1106 for the Monastery of the Virgin of Eleousa near Strumica, where he is referred to as the owner of the land on which the monastery was built.[497]

494 *Kostovska*, Sveti Nikola, 40.

495 *Barišić*, Dva grčka natpisa, 14–15.

496 *Kostovska*, Sveti Nikola, 40–45, *Zarras*, Ideology and Patronage, 79–81. For different attribution of the founder Alexios Komnenos see, *Subotić et al.,* Natpisi, 59–66.

497 *Gerstel,* Beholding, 129, n. 48. Cf. *Petit*, Le monastère, 28; Prilozi za istorijat, 23–25.

Although the original church no longer exists, the copy of the founding inscription provides valuable insights into the sacral topography of the central Balkans under the administration of the Archbishopric of Ohrid. From the inscription, we learn not only that the founder was a close relative of the Byzantine emperor and the year of the church's construction, but also, equally important, the early dedication of the church.

One of the most significant monuments that has survived to this day not only testifies to the patronage of the Komnenian period but also provides a clear insight into the dynasty's desire and ability to transfer both their political power and artistic spirit from the capital to provinces such as the Bishopric of Skopje. Members of the imperial family were often granted land in a province to govern, ensuring that wealth remained within the family and the territory stayed under firm control.[498]

The Church of St. Panteleimon, located in the village of Nerezi above Skopje, was built in 1164 by the Byzantine aristocrat Alexios Angelos Komnenos, the son of Theodora, daughter of Emperor Alexios I Komnenos, and Constantine Angelos, a prominent military commander during the reign of Emperor Manuel I Komnenos (Fig. 111).[499] The construction of the monastery is reliably documented in an inscription on the lintel of the portal leading from the narthex to the nave (Fig. 112). This inscription not only mentions the founder and the dedication of the church to St. Panteleimon but also refers to the abbot Ioannikios, making it clear that the church functioned as a monastic church. It is notable that the founder, Alexios, emphasized his imperial lineage through his mother, rather than his father. By emphasizing his connection to the imperial family, he also secured the land on which the monastery was built – property his mother, Theodora, had inherited from her mother, Irene Doukaina.[500]

Ἐκαλλιεργήθη ὁ ναὸς του ἁγίου καὶ ἐνδόξου
μεγαλομάρτυρος Παντελεήμονος ἐκ συνδρομῆς κυροῦ
᾽Αλεξίου τοῦ Κομνηνοῦ καὶ υἱοῦ τής πορφυρογεννήτης
κυρᾶς Θεοδώρας μηνί Σεπτεμβρίῳ ἰνδικτιῶνος ῑγ ἔτους
ΣΧΟΓ ἡγουμενεύοντος᾽Ιωαννικίου μονάχοῦ.

The church of the holy and renowned great-martyr
Panteleimon was embellished with the contribution of
Lord Alexios Komnenos, son of the purple-born Theodora,
in the month of September; indiction 13, 6673 (1164), Ioannikios
the monk being hegoumenos.

Although relatively small in size, the Church of St. Panteleimon is architecturally significant. It is a cross-domed structure with four smaller domed chapels, making it a five-domed church. The church measures 9.5 by 16 meters (Fig. 113). Despite being

498 *Sinkević*, The Church of St. Panteleimon, 5–10.

499 Ibid., 5–10.

500 For text and translation of inscription in English and on the ktetor and his family, *Zarras*, Ideology and Patronage, 85–86; *Sinkević*, The Church of St. Panteleimon, 4–5.

Fig.111. Nerezi, Church of St. Panteleimon, view from the southwest

Fig. 112. Nerezi, Church of St. Panteleimon, inscription above the door between narthex and the naos

built by a member of the ruling family and likely by master craftsmen from the capital, the church retains a conservative, provincial style in its design. The plan reflects one of the oldest forms of the inscribed cross, which can be traced back to 9th-century churches in Constantinople and its provinces.[501]

501 *Ćurčić*, Architecture, 410; *Sinkević*, The Church of St. Panteleimon, 12–13.

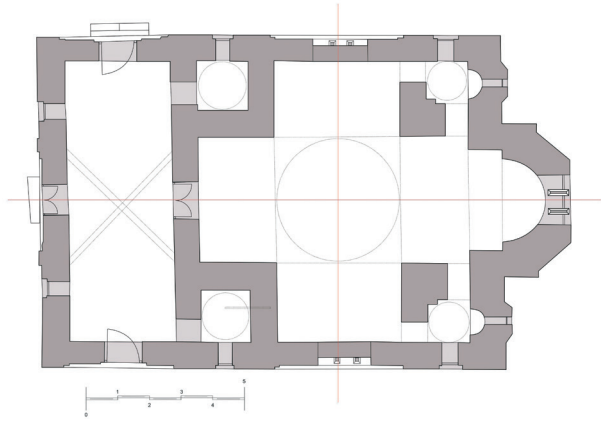


Fig. 113.
Nerezi, Church of St. Panteleimon, plan

The two eastern chapels are connected to the bema, allowing them to function as a *prothesis* and *diakonikon*. The two western chapels connect to the narthex only and may have been used for certain kinds of liturgical service such as commemorative *pannychis* with fewer participants.[502] While there is no direct evidence that the founder was buried in his endowment, the discovery of an arcosolium in the northwest compartment suggests the funerary function of the western part of the church.[503] The narthex is located on the western side. Externally, the arms of the cross are extended on the north and south sides, featuring blind niches beneath which are windows in the form of bifora and trifora. The church was built using a combination of stone and brick, with the characteristic recessed brick technique applied to its superstructure. Other Constantinopolitan elements are also evident, particularly in the central dome and the decorative features of the façade. The construction of the church is not entirely uniform. Less attention was given to the masonry of the lower sections. Despite the references to Constantinopolitan architecture, relatively crude execution of the construction suggests that the founder employed some local experienced craftsmen.[504]

Several fragments of the original architectural sculpture have been preserved, including remnants of the original altar partition in the form of parapets and architraves. Two *proskynetaria* have also survived, each with painted depictions of the Mother of God and St. Panteleimon, the church's patron saint (Fig. 114). The *proskynetaria* retain their original stucco frame, intricately carved with birds and vegetal motifs.[505]

From both historical and artistic perspective, the most valuable feature of the church is its early wall paintings. Discovered nearly a century ago, the Nerezi frescoes are considered among the most important achievements of 12th-century Byzantine painting, and even representative of Byzantine art in general. Alongside their stylistic qualities – associated with the finest Komnenian court painting – the programmatic structure and iconographic features of the frescoes are noteworthy. In the nave and altar, the frescoes are preserved only in the lower zones, while those in the side chapels

502 *Babić*, Les chapelles annexes, 166.

503 *Sinkević*, The Church of St. Panteleimon, 14–19.

504 Ibid., 19–28. For an alternative perspective on the possible architectural origins of the church, see, *Mal'ceva–Freze*, Osmyslenie, 263–285.

505 *Sinkević*, The Church of St. Panteleimon, 86–94; *Filipova*, Sculptures medievales, 183–197.

Fig. 114.
Nerezi, Church of St. Panteleimon, naos, *proskynetaria* with representation of St. Panteleimon

remain largely intact. Christ is depicted in four different forms within the calottes of the side chapels. The sanctuary area is dedicated to Eucharistic themes, with the *Hetoimasia* depicted in a scene involving the Officiating of the Bishops (Fig. 115). This scene is unique in that all the bishops are shown for the first time, holding open scrolls with prayers and bowing to the *Hetoimasia*. In the upper zones are scenes from the lives of Christ and the Virgin. A series of standing saints is depicted in the lowest register. [506]

Stylistically, the frescoes exhibit a departure from the previous voluminous forms of human bodies, with slimmer, more mobile figures. The scenes are simplified, focusing on the necessary participants. The figures retain the graphic and linear style typical of 12th-century Byzantine art, but with a distinct use of color. The greatest value of the

506 *Sinkević*, The Church of St. Panteleimon, 29–66; *Bardzieva-Trajkovska*, St. Panteleimon, 101–146; *Ovčarova*, Freski Nerezi, 73–97.

Fig. 115. Nerezi, Church of St. Panteleimon, altar apse, Officiating Bishops

frescoes lies in their originality, particularly in the unique way the scenes are composed. While the iconographic scheme is inherited, the artistic interpretation is fresh and distinct. The painting at Nerezi is especially notable for its expanded portrayal of human emotions, which are more pronounced than in earlier depictions in Byzantine art (Fig. 116).[507]

Fig. 116. Nerezi, Church of St. Panteleimon, naos, north wall, The Lamentation, detail

507 *Ovčarova*, Freski Nerezi, 97–209; *Bardzieva-Trajkovska*, St. Panteleimon,148–194.

The patron's name is recorded in the Protocol of the Council held in Constantinople in 1166. Some scholars suggest that Alexios' participation in the Council of Constantinople, which addressed the fight against the Bogomils, may have influenced the thematic concept of the frescoes at Nerezi.[508] The patron's personal influence is evident in the selection of saints in the first zone and in the arrangement and choice of scenes. His erudition is clearly reflected in the painting program of the church.[509]

Regarding the city of Skopje, an intriguing part of the patron's inscription, although not directly connected to the church building, is located in the Skopje Fortress. Specifically, to the right of the entrance to the round tower, on the northeastern corner of the ramparts, fragments of frescoes have been uncovered. These fragments depict the lower parts of three standing figures, each accompanied by inscriptions, which are most likely prayers from their patrons.[510] The first inscription refers to the petitioner, John the Grammarian, who was likely a scholar, scribe, or secretary. His request is directed to St. Menas of Egypt, who is portrayed in patrician attire.

[δέησις τοῦ] δούλου τοῦ θ(εο)ῦ Ἰω(άννου) τοῦ Γραμ(μ)ατικοῦ
ὁ δούλος τοῦ ἁγίου Μηνᾶ

The prayer of the servant of God, John the Grammarian,
servant of St. Menas.

The second inscription seems to be a prayer, likely from the commissioner of the frescoes, who was a member of the renowned Doukai family.

δ[έ]ησις τοῦ δούλου τοῦ θ(εο)ῦ [...]ου τοῦ Δούκα

The prayer of the servant of God ... Doukai.

The inscriptions were likely created during the turbulent final years of Byzantine rule over Skopje, just before the onset of the Fourth Crusade of 1204. The fortress had been under siege by Stefan Nemanja until 1190, establishing this year as the earliest possible date for the inscriptions (*terminus post quem*).[511] During archaeological research inside the tower, along with fragments of glazed ceramics, several copper trachy coins of Alexios III Angelos (1195–1203) were found in the same layer as remains of burnt wood and soot. Therefore, it is reasonable to assume that the fall of Skopje occurred during the reign of this emperor, setting the upper time limit for these inscriptions. The prayers of the patrons may have been directed specifically for the salvation of their lives and souls in the face of the impending war.[512]

508 *Babić,* Hristološke raspre, 11–31; *Sinkević*, The Church of St. Panteleimon, 35–44, 49–50; *Ovčarova*, Freski Nerezi, 209–226; *Zarras,* Ideology and Patronage, 85–86.

509 *Sinkević*, The Church of St. Panteleimon, 58, 73–75.

510 *Babiќ – Mikulčiќ*, Skopsko kale, 59; *Spirovski,* Konzervacija i prezentacija, 137–142.

511 *Stefan Prvovenčani*, Život Stefana Nemanje, 41.

512 For the text and translation into Serbian, *Subotić et al.,* Natpisi, 32–34.

Returning to Kastoria, it experienced a period of intensive building activity during the second half of the 10th century and the beginning of the 11th century. For most of the churches from this period, we lack detailed information about their construction dates or the identities of their founders. However, the 12th century, particularly during the Komnenian era, marked the rise of the local aristocracy within the Byzantine Empire. The administrative reforms of this time led to changes in the structure of the city, fostering economic progress among the local aristocracy. As a result, powerful local military and administrative figures became patrons of the arts. During the 12th century, Kastoria flourished as the local elite capitalized on the favorable conditions under the Komnenoi, contributing to the city's urban development. Two important patron families Lemniotes, and Kasnitzes emerged as representatives of the local aristocracy in Kastoria in the late 12th century.[513]

The two churches built by these families provide valuable information about their founders and the artistic styles of the time. One of the largest churches in Kastoria, the Church of the Hagioi Anargyroi is situated on a steep slope on the northern side of the city (Fig. 117). The first known founder of the church is Constantine, whose identity is primarily known through his portrait in the northeastern corner of the narthex of the Hagioi Anargyroi church. In the portrait, Constantine is depicted dressed in simple clothes, standing next to his patron saints, Constantine and Helena. An inscription beside him reads, „The servant of God, Constantine, has died (Fig. 118)."[514]

The Church of the Hagioi Anargyroi is a three-aisled basilica with a square plan and a shorter northern side, measuring 10 by 12.5 meters (Fig. 119). The naves are separated by walls with asymmetrical arched openings: two on the northern wall and one in the center of the southern wall. The central aisle is wider than the others. The basilica's eastern side features a semicircular apse, with the apses of the side aisles also semicircular and embedded within the thickness of the walls. The narthex is connected to the nave by three entrances, although the southern entrance has not been in use since Byzantine times. The entire church is vaulted.

The façade of the church has regularly arranged blind niches that do not extend to the floor. These niches are absent only on the eastern side. While similar niches can be found in the churches of Constantinople, where they are integrated with the interior's structural arrangement, here they are purely decorative. The façade is constructed using the *cloisonné* technique, where courses of roughly hewn, irregular stones alternate with two or three rows of bricks. Some bricks are placed vertically, diagonally, or in combinations that resemble Greek letters. Various ceramic decorations are also used, such as dog-tooth friezes, *opus spicatum* patterns, solar motifs, and ceramic tiles. The Church of the Hagioi Anargyroi, in terms of its plan and façade decoration,

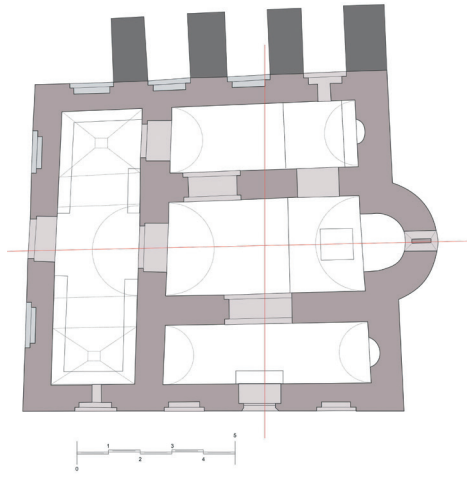
513 *Drakopoulou,* Ē polē tēs Kastorias, 114–126.

514 *Pelekanidis – Chatzidakis*, Kastoria, 22–23; *Wharton Epstein*, Middle Byzantine Churches, 196.

Fig. 117.
Kastoria, Church of the Hagioi Anargyroi, view from the southeast

Fig. 118.
Kastoria, Church of the Hagioi Anargyroi, narthex, east wall, ktetor Constantine

Fig. 119.
Kastoria, Church of the Hagioi Anargyroi, plan



resembles the Churches of Hagios Stephanos and Taxiarches Metropoleos (Fig. 96, vol. I, 261).[515] This comparison further suggests that the Church of the Hagioi Anargyroi was built by craftsmen from local workshops.[516]

The first phase of painting in Hagioi Anargyroi is preserved in fragments found in the narthex, where 12th-century frescoes have fallen off. As previously mentioned, in addition to the donor's portrait in the northeast corner of the narthex, the figures of Saints Nicholas and Basil are also preserved on the arch between the southern and central naves of the narthex. On the northern wall of the narthex, the figures of Constantine and Helena are depicted, along with part of the figure of the Mother of God, shown turned to one side in prayer as if part of the Deesis. Stylistically, these paintings resemble Byzantine frescoes from the first third of the 11th century.

The head of St. Basil, characterized by its flat surface, geometric simplicity, and rough outlines, along with large eyes positioned relatively high on the forehead, resembles representations of the saint found in the crypt of Hosios Loukas in Phocis, dating to the end of the mid 11th century (Fig. 120).[517] These frescoes in Hagioi Anargyroi are marked by abstract linearity and a complete lack of torsion, embodying the monastic or ascetic ideal of the period. The painting in Hagioi Anargyroi was most likely done by a local master, which makes precise dating based on stylistic characteristics difficult.[518] Yet, the earliest surviving layer of frescoes in the Hagioi Anargyroi provides a *terminus ante quem* for the construction of the church, allowing dating of the church to the first third of the 11th century.[519]

The Church of the Hagioi Anargyroi is the only church in Kastoria that features marble decoration, including double colonettes, impost blocks, and doorposts adorned with relief (Fig. 179). Stylistically, the capitals closely resemble those found in the Church of Panagia Chalkeon in Thessalonike. The technical processing and style of the sculpture reinforce suggestions that the church was definitely constructed in the first half of the 11th century.[520]

In the 12th century, the Church of the Hagioi Anargyroi was renovated by the local Lemniotes family, as evidenced by several inscriptions and donor portraits in the church. Some of the inscriptions go beyond merely documenting the act of donation, instead serving as a form of prayer, similar to those recorded on the tower walls of the Skopje fortress. One inscription on the eastern wall of the narthex, above the door leading to the nave, is written in verse (Fig. 121). It reveals that the temple had begun

515 See the chapter *Bulgarian Church Architecture and Art: From Origins to 1018*, I, 256–284.

516 *Ćurčić*, Architecture, 381–382; *Pelekanidis – Chatzidakis*, Kastoria, 22; *Moutsopoulos*, Ekklēsies tēs Kastorias, 307–330; *Zaharova – Maľceva*, Hudožestvennye tradicii, 178–192; *Zakharova*, On the 10th–11th Century Churches, 184–188.

517 *Chatzidakis*, Hosios Loukas, 54–93.

518 The first phase of painting is from the late 10th to mid–11th century, based on different dating and older bibliography, *Zakharova*, The first-layer frescoes, 9, n. 28.

519 The most widely accepted dating of the church is from the first half of the 11th century, *Zakharova*, On the 10th–11th Century Churches, 184–188.

520 *Moutsopoulos*, Ekklēsies tēs Kastorias, 330–367; *Wharton Epstein*, Middle Byzantine Churches, 198.

Fig. 120.
Kastoria, Church of the Hagioi Anargyroi, narthex, St. Basil

Fig. 121.
Kastoria, Church of the Hagioi Anargyroi, inscription above the door in the north aisle of the naos

to collapse, and that Theodoros Lemniotes and his wife Anna Radene renovated it, restoring it to its former glory. They dedicated the church to the Hagioi Anargyroi, hoping to merit „the healing of the sick body and the gift of bodily well-being."

Σπορευς ο παντ(ων) και φθορευς παλιν χρονος
εςπευσε και σου τον περικλ υτον δομον
δυας αγια τη φθορα κατακλ υσαι
εγω δε πιστος ευτελης υμων λατρις
θεοδωρος κλ ων λημνιωτων οσφυος

αντιπαλαισας τη φθορα του χρονου
βαθρων απ᾽ αυτων μεχρι και στεγης φθανω
την ευπρεπειαν του ναου παριστανων
πλην επταδικου<ς> ϛου προσιστω τους στυλους
τω της εμης δε τριμερους ψυχης ποθω
σεπτης δυαδος εξεγειρων τον δομον
σκηνην εκεισε την αειδροσον χλοην
ευρειν δυσωπων και τοπον των πραεων
τανυν δε ῥωσιν σαρκος ησθενημενης
και σωματικης δωρεαν ευεξιας
την χαριν αιτων συν συνευνω και τεκ[νω].

Time, the begetter and, in due course, the destroyer of all things has been quick to overflow with deterioration your glorious temple, oh holy dyad. But I, your faithful and humble servant Theodore, offspring of the Lemniotes family, fighting against the ravages of time, have succeeded in restoring the decoration of the church from the very foundations up to the roof. Except that I do not beg for the seven pillars but, since I raise the house of the holy dyad [Kosmas and Damianos] out of the desire of my tripartite soul I beg respectfully to get the comfort of the eternal green and the place of the righteous as my residence in the other world, whereas for the present I, along with my wife and child, ask for your grace to strengthen the weakened flesh and to provide the well-being of the body.

The second inscription, also written in verse, is located on the west wall of the north nave above the passage to the narthex (Fig. 122). It serves more as a personal prayer for the salvation of the founder to St. George, without referencing other members of his family:

Ἔφθασα μὲ ν γράψαι σε πρὶν ἐν καρδία πολύτλα μάρτυ μυστικαῖς
β[αφαῖς] πόθου τανῦν δὲ καὶ [χρώμασιν ὑλι]κωτέ[ροις]/τῶν
θαυμάτων σου ζωγραφῶ τὰς εἰκόνας˙ δι᾽ ὧν με πολλ ῶν
ἐρρύσω συ[γκυρ]μάτων πολύν φερόντων τῶ[ν κ]ακῶν μοι
τον σάλον/ἐκεῖθεν αὐτῶν ἐκ βρεφικῶν σπαργάν(ων)˙σε
προστάτην ἔσχηκα φύλακ[α....] ῥύστην βοηθὸν [ἐν ζάλαις
ταῖς] τοῦ βίου σύ μοι, Γεώ[ργιε]/τῶν λαθῶν εὑρέθης˙ σύ μοι
παρέσχες χαρμονῆς ἀντλεῖν βί(ον) σύ μοι [.....] τῆς
μέχρι˙ ἀνθ᾽ [ὧν τὰ σεπτὰ στηλιτεύω] σου πάθη˙ ἐ[πί]/τε ναοῦ
[καὶ] Θεοῦ θείου τόπου˙ ζητῶν κακεῖσε σὴν ἀρωγὴν ἐν κρίσει
Θεόδωρος σὸς οἰκέτης Λημ[νιώ]της.

I have already painted you beforehand in my heart much-enduring martyr, with the mystical dyes of Desire. And right now, by means of more material

Fig. 122. Kastoria, Church of the Hagioi Anargyroi, narthex, second inscription

> [colours] I paint the images of your miracles, through which you rescued me from many events that had brought upon me a great storm of evils. Ever since I was still in my swaddling clothes I have had you as my protector, guardian [...] You, George, have been my helper [in the turmoils] of life, my deliverer from the mistakes of my life. You offered me the opportunity to make the most of a life of joy. You to me [.....] until. For all [these I make a visual record] of your holy sufferings in the church and God's divine space, asking for your help in the other world at the moment of Judgement. Your servant, Theodore Lemniotes.[521]

The wall paintings in the church are exceptionally well-preserved and date primarily to around 1180. They follow a common thematic repertoire found in Byzantine churches and reflect the iconography that developed during the 11th and 12th centuries. Stylistically, the paintings exemplify the characteristic Komnenian style of the late 12th century. The depictions of the saints are presented hierarchically, with strict expressions, particularly in the younger saints and monks. In some instances, the drapery movements are exaggerated, which is typical of this period. Individual figures are overemphasized, dominating the composition and creating a disproportion between the primary and secondary figures. The artist clearly understood the expressive trends and emotional dynamics inherent in Komnenian art.[522] Stylistically, the frescoes are

521 For text and translation in English, *Zarras,* Ideology and Patronage, 92–111.

522 *Malmquist*, Byzantine, 33–86.

most similar to those in the Church of Kurbinovo (12th century), leading some experts to believe they were painted by the same artist. Hence, the second layer of paintings in the Church of the Hagioi Anargyroi is dated around 1180.[523]

Within this program, certain iconographically significant representations stand out, such as the depiction of the *Hetoimasia* in the vault above the altar bema. Other notable representations include Christ the Ancient of Days, the Deesis with Christ Emmanuel in the apse of the north aisle, and the Virgin Nikopoios in the apsidal conch.[524] Also significant is the portrayal of St. Achilleos in the north aisle, highlighting a strong veneration of this saint, which is discussed in more detail in the section on cults.[525]

The cycle dedicated to St. George in the north aisle of the basilica is particularly prominent. This aisle, painted around 1180, depicts several episodes from the life of St. George in the uppermost zones of the walls. Eleven scenes are portrayed, and the selection of these scenes was undoubtedly influenced by the founder.[526] The scenes from St. George's life and suffering seem to mirror the experiences of the founder himself, who is depicted with his family on the southern wall of the northern nave. In this scene, Theodore is shown offering the church to the Mother of God and Christ. His son, John, stands next to him, and his wife, Anna Radene, is positioned on the other side (Fig. 123).[527] The inscriptions around the founder and his family were initially written in yellow letters, but at some later point, they were copied in white.[528] It remains unclear why the inscriptions were redone and why the crudely painted model of the church was added beside Theodore at a later time.[529]

Inscription above the portrait Theodore in yellow letters:

Θεόδωρος ὁ Λημνι
ώτης και κτήτωρ

Theodore Lemniotes
the donor.

Inscription in white letters:

Δέησις τοῦ δούλου
Θ(εο)ῦ Θεοδώρου του Λει
μνηότου και κτήτορος

Prayer of God's servant
Theodore Lemniotes
Donor.

523 *Malmquist*, Byzantine, 98–105, with explanation of previous opinions and on dating.

524 *Sisiou*, Ē emphanisē neōn thematōn, 352–366.

525 For more on the cult of Saint Achilleos, see below 269–273.

526 *Sisiou,* O Agios Geōrgios*, 317–340; Zarras*, Ideology and Patronage, 101.

527 *Sisiou*, Oi Agioi Anargyroi, 381–410.

528 *Malmquist*, Byzantine*, 85–86; Zarras,* Ideology and Patronage, 108.

529 *Pelekanidis – Chatzidakis*, Kastoria, 39.

Fig. 123.
Kastoria,
Church of the
Hagioi Anargyroi,
south wall of the
north aisle of
the naos, donor
portraits

Fig. 124.
Kastoria,
Church of the
Hagioi Anargyroi,
west façade

Inscription above the portrait of Anna in yellow letters:

Ἄννα ἡ Ραδηνή και
σύμβιος τοῦ κτήτωρος

Anna Radene
the wife of the donor.

Inscription in white letters:

Δέηις τῆς δούλης τοῦ Θ(εο)ῦ
Ἄννης και κτητόρισας

Prayer of God's servant,
Anna, the donor (female).

Inscription above the portrait of Anna and Theodore's son, John in yellow letters:

Ἰω(άννης) ὁ ίός
τοῦ κτήτορος

John, the son
of the donor.

Inscription in white letters:

Δέηις τοῦ δού
λου τοῦ Θ(εο)ῦ Ἰω(άννου)
και ἡοῦ κτή
τωρος

Prayer of God's servant John,
son of the
donor.[530]

Another possible portrait of the founder, this time as the monk Theophilos, is painted on the west wall of the south aisle. He is depicted holding the church under the colossal figure of Christ. Next to him is the inscription ΘΕΟΦΙΛΟΣ (ΜΟΝ)ΑΧΟΣ Ο ΛΗΜΝΙΩΤΗΣ ΚΑΙ/ ΚΤΗΤΩΡ. Scholars believe this is the same founder as the monk Theophilos. Similar to the Deesis composition, on the other side of Christ's figure is a female figure, most likely representing Anna Radene, the founder's wife, though she is here unrecognizable. The entire scene has a funerary character, leading to the assumption that the founders may have been buried in the church's narthex.[531]

530 *Malmquist*, Byzantine, 85–86.

531 *Pelekanidis – Chatzidakis*, Kastoria, 39; *Wharton Epstein*, Art of Empire, 123; *Zarras,* Ideology and Patronage, 106–108.

Fig. 125.
Kastoria, Church of the Hagioi Anargyroi, south wall of the north aisle of the naos, donor's wife, Anna Radene

Paintings from this period are also preserved on the west façade (Fig. 124). In a symmetrical composition, a waist-length figure of the Hagioi Anargyroi is placed on the pediment above the door, while standing figures of St. Peter and St. Paul are depicted on either side. To the north, in shallow niches, is a standing figure of St. Nicholas, accompanied by smaller figures of Christ and the Virgin Mary. To the south, two standing figures of the Hagioi Anargyroi are depicted, facing the figure of the infant Christ in the center above them. The church's door is flanked by two painted columns, each topped with cubic capitals adorned with leaf motifs. The wide arch resting on the capitals was once decorated, but the details are now illegible. Such painted architectural decoration reflects the Hellenistic tradition that was also incorporated into Byzantine manuscripts. The paintings have been significantly damaged by incised graffiti, one of which bears the date 1198, possibly marking the *terminus ante quem* of the paintings.[532]

The church's complex iconography, with its strong funerary themes, suggests the personal involvement of the founder in creating the program. Additionally, Theodore Lemniotes and his family, likely members of Kastoria's local aristocracy, are depicted in the founder's portrait in luxurious clothing, emphasizing their power and wealth rather than humility. It is also noteworthy that in the founder's portrait, a woman is designated as a co-founder, highlighting the prominent status Anna Radene held in society. By retaining her family name, Radene, she underscored her significant role as a patron and founder (Fig. 125).[533]

532 *Pelekanidis – Chatzidakis*, Kastoria, 44–45.

533 *Zarras*, Ideology and Patronage, 99.

Another church in Kastoria from this period, with a preserved foundation inscription, is the Church of St. Nicholas tou Kasnitzi, located in the southeastern part of the city, in an area called Omonia (Fig. 126). It is a single-aisled building of modest dimensions and harmonious proportions, with a semicircular apse to the east and a narthex to the west. The church is now vaulted with a barrel vault. The church measures 3 by 6 meters (Fig. 127). Due to the thinness of the side walls, it is assumed that the church originally had a wooden roof structure. The building is constructed using a combination of stone and brick, with ceramo-plastic decoration on the façade and blind niches without structural purpose.[534]

Fig. 126.
Kastoria, Church of St. Nicholas tou Kasnitzi, view from the east

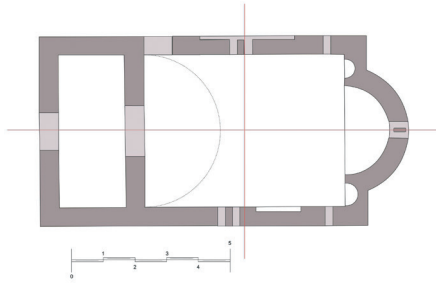


Fig. 127.
Kastoria, Church of St. Nicholas tou Kasnitzi, plan

534 *Ćurčić,* Architecture, 382–383; *Pelekanidis – Chatzidakis*, Kastoria, 50; *Moutsopoulos*, Ekklēsies tēs Kastorias, 401–412; *Wharton Epstein*, Middle Byzantine Churches, 195–196; *Zakharova*, On the 10th–11th Century Churches, 188.

While the exact date of construction is unknown, it is reliably recorded that the painting of the church was commissioned by the *magistros* Nikephoros Kasnitzes, who, along with his wife Anna, is depicted in the donor composition in the narthex. The donor portrait is located above the entrance leading from the narthex to the nave (Fig. 128). Nikephoros is shown standing on the left, holding the church, with the inscription "Nikephoros Kasnitzes, magistros and donor" above him. His wife, Anna, is depicted on the right, with her hands raised in prayer, and the inscription above her reads "The wife of the donor, Anna (Fig.129)." They stand next to the niche where

Fig. 128. Kastoria, Church of St. Nicholas tou Kasnitzi, Nikephoros Kasnitzes, donor portrait, detail

Fig. 129. Kastoria, Church of St. Nicholas tou Kasnitzi, Nikephoros Kasnitzes' wife Anna, detail

St. Nicholas, the patron saint of the church, is depicted. Above the niche is a rare representation of the Keramion, which here likely carried an apotropaic meaning.[535] The inscription on the western wall of the nave further attests to the donor of the church. It is a poem written in iambic verse, indicating that Nikephoros Kasnitzes was responsible for the donation of the church's construction and painting.

> Πολλῶν τετευχὼς δωρεῶν σῶν, τρισμάκαρ, ἀφ᾽ οὗπερ ἦλθον εἰς
> τὸ κλαυθμῶνος πέδον ἀλιτρὸς οἰκτρὸς [οἰκέ]της κακεργάτης,
> τανῦν ἀνιστῶ τὸν νεὼν Νικηφόρος τύχῃ μάγιστρος καὶ
> τοὐπίκλην Κασνίτζης βάθρων ἀπ᾽ ἄκρων πλὴν ζέοντι τῷ πόθῳ
> σεπταῖς καταλάμποντα χρωματουργίαις καὶ παντοδαπα[ῖς εἰ]
> κόνων ποικιλίαις σοὶ τῷ δοτῆρι τῶν [κ]αλῶ[ν].
>
> Having received your many gifts, thrice-blessed [Nikolaos], from the time that I came into this place of weeping, a sinful, a piteous suppliant, a doer of evils, now [I] Nikephoros, called Kasnitzes, by fortune magistros, raise up this church from its foundations to its heights and with burning desire adorn it with holy colors and a variety of images for you, provider of all good things.[536]

535 *Zarras*, Ideology and Patronage, 97.

536 Fort the text and translation of the inscription, *Zarras*, Ideology and Patronage, 94–95.

The wall paintings of the church are well preserved and feature a thematic repertoire commonly seen in Byzantine churches. One particularly notable aspect is the cycle of patrons depicted in the narthex, including iconographically interesting representations such as the Deesis with Christ portrayed as the Ancient of Days. There are differing opinions in the scholarly literature regarding the date of the wall paintings in the St. Nicholas tou Kasnitzi. Based on stylistic comparisons with wall paintings in other representative monuments of Komnenian art, such as the Hagioi Anargyroi in Kastoria, Nerezi, and Kurbinovo, the prevailing view is that the paintings of the St. Nicholas tou Kasnitzi should be dated to the third quarter or the final decade of the 12th century.[537]

Fragments of the painting have also been preserved on the façade of the church, including depictions of St. Nicholas, saints Peter and Paul, as well as remnants of the composition of the Tree of Jesse. These paintings, commissioned by an anonymous founder, are most likely from the second half of the 14th century. His damaged portrait depicted in *proskynesis*, was recently discovered in the nave, beneath the fresco of St. Nicholas on the south wall.[538]

Yet, no historical records exist about Nikephoros Kasnitzes. Earlier commentators on the epigram interpreted the phrase κλαυθμώνος πέδον (or τόπον) in verse 2 as an expression of the founder's sorrow in exile, suggesting that he had been exiled from Constantinople to Kastoria. However, this theory has since been dismissed, as the expression κλαυθμώνος πέδον is a conventional topos that merely refers to the earthly life of the founder.[539] It is more likely that he belonged to the local nobility. When comparing the founder portraits in the churches of the Hagioi Anargyroi and the St. Nicholas tou Kasnitzi thought-provoking is the humble portrayal of Kasnitzes and his wife Anna. Unlike other donor depictions, their clothing and the simplicity of their portrayal reflect a sense of humility, corresponding with the epithets from the inscription that describe Kasnitzes as a „piteous suppliant."[540] Analyzing the founding inscription, Andreas Rhoby has suggested that *magistros* Kasnitzes may have been of Slavic origin, which could provide valuable insights into the demographic composition of the founders in Kastoria and the Archbishopric of Ohrid during the 11th and 12th centuries.[541]

Not far from Kastoria, on the shores of Lake Prespa, the Church of St. George was built in Kurbinovo. Although the name of the founder remains unknown due to the lack of any original records, traces of his portrait, though modest, have been preserved on the western façade of the church. In the highest zone of the frescoes, above the equestrian depictions of the holy warriors and fragments of the busts of the church's patron in the lunette of the portal, remnants of portraits of the Byzantine emperor and empress can

537 *Pelekanidis – Chatzidakis*, Kastoria, 50–66; *Malmquist*, Byzantine, 33–93*; Wharton Epstein*, Middle Byzantine Churches, 198–199.

538 *Phrankotsinos*, Agnōstē parastasē dōrētē, 171–189.

539 *Drakopoulou,* Ē polē tēs Kastorias 54. Cf. *Rhoby,* Byzantinische Epigramme, 177.

540 *Zarras*, Ideology and Patronage, 96–97.

541 For more details, *Rhoby,* Byzantinische Epigramme, 177.

be identified. These are likely Isaac II Angelos (1185–1195) and his wife Margaret to the north, and on the south side, a bishop – possibly the Archbishop of Ohrid, John V Kamateros (c. 1191–1215) – depicted beside a nobleman, most likely the founder (Fig. 130).

Fig. 130. Kurbinovo, Church of St. George, donors images, façade, drawing

Based on the strict rules for presenting donors in art during this period, and the presence of the Archbishop of Ohrid introducing the donor to the imperial couple, Elizabeta Dimitrova suggests that the donor may have come from the highest church circles of the nobility. An inscription discovered during restoration and conservation work in 1958, located on the eastern side of the walled altar, indicates that the painting of the church began in April 1191.[542]

ἠρξώμεθαν τὴν ἐκ(κ)λησΐ(αν) τοῦ ἡσ -
τορΐσθε μηνὶ ἀπρϊλήο εἰς τὰς κε ἰν (δικτιῶ
νος) θ΄ ἔτ(ους) ϛχύθ

We began painting the church in the month of April,
(day) 25, indiction 9, year 6699.

542 For the text, *Subotić et al.,* Natpisi, 29–32.

The construction of the Church of St. George in Kurbinovo is also dated based on the start of its painting, which is believed to have begun a few years before 1191. The church is a single-aisled building, barrel vaulted, and lacks a narthex. It has a semicircular apse to the east. Despite its simple layout, the church is relatively large, measuring 15 by 7 meters (Fig. 131). The church does not feature a developed altar space. On its eastern wall, next to the apse's conch, there are two smaller niches for the *diakonikon* and the *prothesi*s. These niches are not projected onto the outer wall. There are three entrances to the church – on the west, south, and north sides – although these are no longer in use. The church has two small, narrow windows in the apse, as well as on the north wall. Notably, the church is constructed almost entirely of stone, with only the openings and the areas around them made of brick. To harmonize the exterior with the typical appearance of Byzantine churches, the structure was painted in imitation of stone and brick using the *cloisonné* technique.[543]

The fresco painters faced a challenge due to the church's interior, which lacks a dome. They had to devise an authentic iconographic program that adhered to canonical models. The sanctuary features an image of the enthroned Mother of God with Christ, surrounded by archangels, beneath which is the scene of Officiating Bishops with the Christ Amnos (Fig. 132). In place of a dome fresco, the highest zone of the nave depicts the prophetic vision of the Old Testament wise man Daniel, as well as thirty figures of Old Testament wise men. Currently badly damaged, the frescoes of the thirty wise men show how through their prophetic texts, they announce the incarnation of Christ and his messianic role. In the central zone of the nave, there is a compilation of scenes representing the Great Feasts and the Passion of Christ. In the lowest zone, a gallery of standing saints is depicted. Notably, there are also representations of Emperor Constantine, Empress Helena, and the patron saint of the church, St. George. The western wall of the church shows a gallery of holy women, with identified saints such as Thekla, Paraskevi, Theodora, Barbara, Kyriaki, and Catherine.[544]

The iconographic program of the Church of St. George in Kurbinovo is distinguished by certain unique features. Of particular note is the representation of the Officiating Bishops at the Altar, with the depiction of Christ Amnos. This scene is the oldest reliably dated example of this iconographic theme.[545] Another interesting aspect is the representation of the Virgin Nikopoios and earliest representation of the Nursing of St. Anna.[546] From an ecclesiastical-historical perspective, the figures of Sts. Cyril and Methodios, known as the "teachers of the Bulgarians," as well as the depictions of

543 *Ćurčić*, Architecture, 383; *Korunovski – Dimitrova*, Vizantiska Makedonija, 51–52.

544 *Đurić*, Vizantijske freske, 14–15; 183–184; *Grozdanov – Haderman-Misgviš*, Kurbinovo; *Hadermann-Misguich*, Kurbinovo; *Korunovski – Dimitrova*, Vizantiska Makedonija, 74–81; *Dimitrova*, The Church of Saint George, 14–27; *Wharton Epstein*, Art of Empire, 123–126.

545 *Babić,* Hristološke respre*,* 11–30; *Gerstel*, Beholding, 91–92.

546 *Bardzieva-Trajkovska*, The Virgin Nikopeja, 86–93.

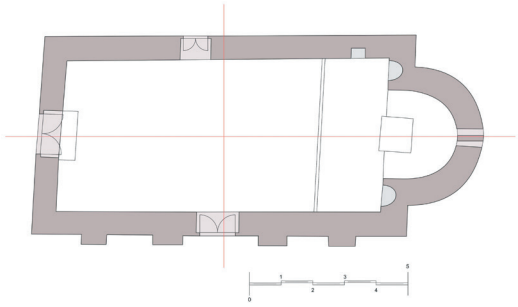


Fig. 131.
Kurbinovo, Church of St. George, plan

Fig. 132.
Kurbinovo, Church of St. George, altar apse, Officiating Bishops

St. Clement of Ohrid and St. Clement of Rome, found on the southern side of the altar area and the opposite wall, are especially significant.[547]

Stylistically, the frescoes of Kurbinovo belong to late Komnenian mannerism, a distinctive phase in Byzantine art. The frescoes are among the most accomplished achievements of this style. The wall paintings in the Church of the Hagioi Anargyroi in Kastoria bear significant similarities to those at Kurbinovo. Many themes and motifs are repeated across both churches, including the representation of the Virgin Nikopoios. It has long been suggested that the master painter responsible for the frescoes at Kurbinovo had previously worked in the Church of the Hagioi Anargyroi in Kastoria.[548]

547 *Grozdanov – Bardžieva*, Sur les portraits, 62–74; *Grozdanov,* Kurbinovo i drugi studii, 63–70; For more on the representation of St. Clement of Ohrid see below 264–269.

548 *Đurić*, Vizantijske freske, 14–15; *Hadermann-Misguich*, Kurbinovo, 563–585; *Malmquist*, Byzantine, 98–105.

The rise of the Nemanjić dynasty and the shaping of sacral topography

Significant historical events for the region of the Serbian lands occurred with the accession to the throne of Byzantine emperor Manuel I Komnenos in 1143. The strengthened Byzantine Empire worked diligently to protect its territories and borders. During this period, Serbian rulers formed various alliances, mostly with the Hungarians, against Byzantium in an attempt to expand their territories. Around the mid-1160s, significant internal changes took place in Serbia when the Byzantine emperor made members of the ruling family co-rulers of Serbia. This shift marked a pivotal moment in the internal dynamics of the Serbian state, altering its political structure and power distribution.

Stefan Nemanja (1166–1196), one of the four sons of the local Serbian ruler Zavida (1102–1167), began to rise in power. The eldest of the brothers, Tichomiros (1163 – 1166/1168), had been recognized as the Grand Župan, and all the brothers had agreed to his position. However, the right to independent founding activities was granted to all co-rulers, which became an important prerogative for a ruler's independence.[549] Seeking to strengthen his authority, Nemanja allied himself with Byzantine emperor Manuel I Komnenos (1143–1180). This alliance was advantageous to both: for Manuel, it provided a way to control the western regions of the Archbishopric of Ohrid, while Nemanja gained more territory, probably Dubočica, under the condition that only his descendants would inherit it. It is most likely that Nemanja was introduced to the emperor by Archbishop John IV of Ohrid (1139/42 –1163/64), also known as Adrian Komnenos, the nephew of Emperor Alexios I Komnenos (1081–1118). John IV was likely well-acquainted with Nemanja's construction activities, which he undoubtedly supported and approved within the territory of the Archbishopric of Ohrid.[550] This arrangement likely caused a rift among the Nemanja and his brothers.[551]

Nemanja, following the established Komnenian method of consolidating power and increasing his reputation, focused on instituting foundations and endowments. Though his activities are primarily known through the lives of Stefan Nemanja, chronicles, genealogies, and typika, some are confirmed by surviving architectural endowments. It was during this period that two significant endowments were built in the region of Toplica: the Church of St. Nicholas and the Church of the Mother of God near Kuršumlija.

Toplica was likely part of the territory of Ras, as indicated by Nemanja's biographers, Stefan the First-Crowned and Domentijan. According to their accounts, when Nemanja grew up, he was given the eastern part of his homeland to govern, which included the regions of Toplica, Ibar, Rasina, and Reka.[552] St. Sava's biography of his father,

549 *Pirivatrić*, O Stefanu Prvoslavu, 53–67.

550 *Kalić*, Srpska država, 206. Cf. *Stevović,* Istorijski izvor, 75.

551 *Kalić*, Srpski veliki župani, 208–209; *Kalić*, Srpska država, 197–208.

552 *Stefan Prvovenčani*, Život Stefana Nemanje, 32; *Domentijan*, Životi, 224.

Fig. 133. Kuršumlija, Church of St. Nicholas, view from the south

Stefan Nemanja, only mentions the region of Toplica.[553] Following the establishment of the Archbishopric of Ohrid in 1019–1020, the Gornja Toplica region, including present-day Kuršumlija and the upper basin of the Toplica River, belonged to the Niš Bishopric. A charter of Basil II from 1020 records that the Niš Bishopric had 40 *klerikoi* and *paroikoi*, the same number as other significant centers of the Archbishopric of Ohrid.[554]

The significance of this foundation endowment for Stefan Nemanja is further highlighted by the fact that after the Serbian church gained independence in Nicaea in 1219, the seat of the newly established Toplica Bishopric was placed in the Church of St. Nicholas in Toplica. The church itself was constructed on a high plateau above the mouth of the Banjska River, in the eastern part of today's Kuršumlija (Fig. 133). We learn about the construction of the church from the *Life of Stefan Nemanja*, written by his sons, St. Sava (1169/74–1135/36) and Stefan the First-Crowned (1217–1227). In the biography of his father, compiled by St. Sava as an introduction to the *Studenica Typikon* around 1208, he mentions the church's construction as the first of many monasteries founded by Nemanja.[555] According to Stefan the First-Crowned's account in the biography of Stefan Nemanja, which was completed by 1216, after meeting with Byzantine emperor Manuel I Komnenos between 1158 and 1163, Nemanja built two churches without the consent of his brothers: one dedicated to St. Nicholas in Toplica

553 *Sveti Sav*a, Život Stefana Nemanje, 4–5.

554 See the chapter *From* Pax Basiliana *to Pax Byzantina*, I, 361–362.

555 *Sveti Sava*, Život Stefana Nemanje, 4–5. On dates of Studenica Typikon, *Trifunović*, O nastanku spisa, 65–70; *Anđelković*, Studenički tipik, 13–25.

and the other to the Mother of God in Studenica.[556] The *Studenica Typikon* also refers to the monastery and its reputation.[557] Specifically, the abbot of St. Nicholas of Toplica, along with the abbots of St. George in Ras, Mother of God in Moravski Gradac, St. Nicholas in Kaznovići, and St. Nicholas and St. George in Dabar, participated in the election and installation of the Archimandrite of Studenica.[558] Chronicler Domentijan, in the second half of the 13th century, also discussed Nemanja's work in building monasteries but did not provide detailed information about the location of his two oldest endowments, or mention the Toplica region.[559] Domentijan relied on and referenced the text of Stefan First-Crowned.

The Church of St. Nicholas is a single-aisled, single-domed structure dimensions 12.34 by 14.37 meters, with an altar space to the east and an attached narthex with towers to the west (Fig. 134). Upon first glance at the architectural composition and masonry technique, it is evident that the church was built in multiple phases. The central domed space is square-shaped, with a relatively low circular drum. Above this space rises a hemispherical, pumpkin-shaped dome with a ribbed vault, and the dome is octagonal on the outside (Fig. 135). The building's central space is divided into three parts by pilasters, while a tripartite altar space extends eastward, with three apses, the middle one being slightly larger than the side ones. These apses are semicircular inside and polygonal outside, a typical Byzantine design. The altar space is separated from the central space by a *tribelon* – an arcade wall with three arches.[560] On the south side, aligned with the central domed space, a southern chapel was built during the same period, as confirmed by archaeological excavations.[561]

Recent research into the architecture of this church, particularly its central dome, has shown that it was built entirely in the spirit of Byzantine architecture from the Komnenian era. The use of the pumpkin dome in the Church of St. Nicholas is considered a unique feature in Serbian medieval architecture.[562] Scholars have found analogies for certain architectural elements in the churches of Constantinople, especially in the middle church of the Pantokrator Monastery (built before 1136), which is regarded as the closest comparison.[563] The church is among those in which a deep understanding of Constantinople's architecture is evident in both its execution and design. The skill and creativity displayed in its construction suggest that top Constantinopolitan craftsmen were likely involved, which would have only been possible with imperial support.[564]

---

556 *Stefan Prvovenčani*, Život Stefana Nemanje, 34–35.

557 *Vojvodić – Marković*, Đurđevi stupovi, 15.

558 *Sveti Sava*, Studenički tipik, 72.

559 *Domentijan*, Životi, 226.

560 *Čanak-Medić – Bošković*, Arhitektura I, 15–39; *Ćurčić*, Architecture, 402–403; *Zečević*, Nemanjine crkve, 68–86.

561 *Zečević*, Nemanjine crkve, 70–71.

562 *Mihaljević*, Change, 102–109.

563 *Zečević*, Nemanjine crkve, 69–70; *Čanak-Medić – Bošković*, Arhitektura I, 28; *Ćurčić*, Architecture, 402–403. For further discussion of other architectural features of the church and their origins, see Mal'ceva– Freze, Osmyslenie, 273–277.

564 *Ćurčić*, Architecture, 402–403; *Marković*, Na tragu, 169; *Šuput,* Carigradski izvori, 171–179.

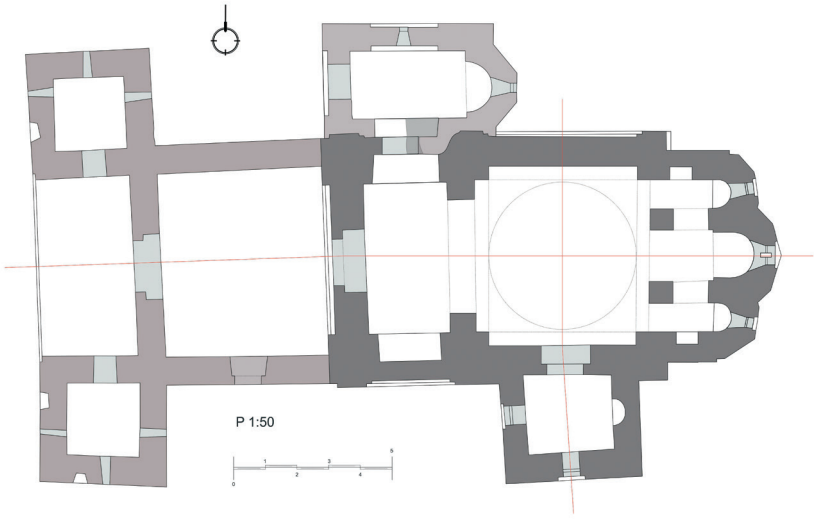


Fig. 134.
Kuršumlija,
Church of St. Nicholas,
plan

Fig. 135.
Kuršumlija,
Church of St. Nicholas,
naos, pumpkin dome

The church is constructed of brick, and the distinctive masonry technique is characterized by alternating rows of bricks, with every other row drawn toward the core of the wall. These rows, along with the joints, are covered by a fine layer of reddish plaster, giving the appearance of masonry that combines alternating rows of stone and brick, a technique known as *opus listatum*.[565]

In the second phase of construction, between 1220 and 1230, a narthex of approximately square shape was added to the older single-aisled church. It has a barrel vault and two symmetrically placed towers at its western corners. These towers are

565 *Vulović*, Crkva Sv. Nikole, 10–11.

built from brick and dressed stone. The fact that the construction was not simultaneous is evident from the clearly visible joints where the narthex and its towers meet the western façade of the older part of the church.[566]

During archaeological work in the southern chapel, skeletal remains were discovered *in situ*, believed to belong to those originally buried there. This finding confirmed the chapel's funerary function. In the narthex of the church, there are two additional burial sites under an arcosolium, although it is not known who they were intended for.[567] It is possible that one of these graves was originally planned for Stefan Nemanja, though an important figure was later interred there.[568] Comparing the sources with known historical data, it is believed that the church was built between 1158 and 1168, likely during the period between Nemanja's meeting with Byzantine emperor Manuel I in Niš and his acquisition of Dubočica for administration, followed by the conflict with his brothers.[569]

Another church mentioned in Stefan Nemanja's biography as one of his endowments is the Church of the Mother of God in Toplica. This church serves as a clear example of the common practice of renovating Early Christian and Early Byzantine buildings. The cultic significance of the site may have been one reason Nemanja completely renovated the Early Christian church there. Stefan the First-Crowned discusses the construction of the Monastery of the Mother of God in the biography of his father.[570] Drawing from his account, Domentijan further mentions that this church was built before St. Nicholas.[571] The question of the exact order in which these two churches were constructed remains a subject of debate in scholarly literature. However, researchers agree that, like St. Nicholas, the Church of the Mother of God was built between 1158 and 1168.[572]

The original church was a triconch structure dimensions 12.93 by 14. 83 meters, with a central space and an eastern apse that is three-sided on the outside, flanked by semicircular conches. To the west, there was an open vestibule with lateral square rooms, which may have served as annexes or towers. During the initial excavations, the bases of column shafts and fallen stones were found in situ on the western façade of the church. For the base, inverted Ionic-impost capitals were used instead of traditional column bases. These capitals are reminiscent of those found in Church A in the Caričin grad, dating from the 6th century.[573] The church was built of brick on stone foundations, with the walls of the narthex likely incorporating both stone and brick.[574]

---

566 *Zečević*, Nemanjine crkve, 72–73; *Čanak-Medić*, Dvojne kule, 181–196; *Kandić*, Kule-zvonici, 3–57.

567 *Zečević*, Nemanjine crkve, 425.

568 It is believed that the main church was personally built by Manuel I Komnenos to honor one of his victories during his campaign against the Serbs in the period 1149–1150. The tomb mentioned in the southern annex is interpreted as the burial site of a high-ranking individual who died in those battles, *Ćurčić*, Architecture, 492. This hypothesis has been dismissed in Serbian historiography.

569 *Pirivatrić*, Manojlo I Komnin, 89–118.

570 *Stefan Prvovenčani*, Život Stefana Nemanje, 33.

571 *Domentijan*, Životi, 226.

572 *Čanak-Medić – Bošković*, Arhitektura I, 39.

573 *Anastasijević*, Otkopavanje crkve, 52; *Stričević*, Ranovizantijska crkva, 185.

574 *Zečević*, Nemanjine crkve, 292–301.

Fig. 136. Toplica, Church of the Mother of God, *tribelon*

Most researchers agree that Nemanja's Church of the Mother of God was built on the foundations of an older triconch building from the 6th century. However, opinions differ regarding the extent of the renovation carried out during Nemanja's time, particularly the church's final appearance. The phases of renovation and adaptation have not been conclusively established in chronological order. Furthermore, the question remains whether the renovation was carried out on the original 6th-century plan or involved modifications after so many years.[575] Archaeological findings suggest the church was used from the second half of the 12th century until the middle of the 13th century. Nemanja's renovations likely included the central part of the church, where a three-part altar partition was added, along with an elliptical dome over the central part of the nave – an architectural feature that would later be repeated in another of Nemanja's endowments, the Church of St. George in Ras (Fig. 136).[576]

The conflict between Nemanja and his brothers eventually escalated into an armed struggle, in which Nemanja emerged victorious. In 1166, he became the Grand Župan. After ascending to power, Nemanja's relationship with the Byzantine emperor soured, and tensions with Byzantium began. In his efforts to strengthen the Serbian state, Nemanja sought allies in the West, frequently turning to the West in his struggle against Byzantium. This shift in Nemanja's alliances is noticeable in his endowments. While the Church of St. Nicholas was built entirely in the Byzantine style, significant changes in architectural design became apparent in his third endowment, the Church of St. George-Đurđevi Stupovi in Ras.[577]

575 *Čanak-Medić – Bošković*, Arhitektura I, 40–47.

576 *Ćurčić*, Architecture, 238.

577 *Marković*, Na tragu, 173.

Fig. 137. Ras, Monastery of Đurđevi Stupovi, *katholikon*, view from the south

The Monastery of Đurđevi Stupovi is located in Ras, on a high hill overlooking the valleys of the Raška and Deževa rivers, which is present-day Novi Pazar (Fig. 137). According to his biographers, the Grand Župan Stefan Nemanja built the Church of St. George as a token of gratitude to the Cappadocian martyr who had rescued him from the dungeon where his brothers had imprisoned him in 1166. An inscription carved above the main western entrance to the temple, found on the fragmentarily preserved stone portal, indicates that the construction of the monastery's katholikon was completed in 1170/1171.[578]

In the *Studenica Typikon*, the abbot of Đurđevi Stupovi is listed first among six abbots of Serbian monasteries who participated in the election of the Archimandrite of Studenica. Later, after the establishment of the Serbian Archbishopric, the monastery was granted the status of one of several „royal monasteries" and was regarded as the first among them. This meant that the head of the Serbian Archbishopric had jurisdiction over the monastery, and its abbot received the abbot's staff from the hands of the Serbian ruler.[579]

The Church of St. George is a single-aisled structure dimensions 14.28 by 14.32 meters with a three-part altar space, separated from the rectangular nave by a *tribelon* (Fig. 138). It is topped with a dome, with rectangular vestibules on its lateral sides and a narthex to the west. Two massive and tall bell towers were constructed adjacent to the narthex, giving the church its popular name, „St. George's Pillars."

578 *Čanak-Medić – Bošković*, Arhitektura I, 55–56.

579 *Vojvodić – Marković*, Đurđevi stupovi, 13–15.

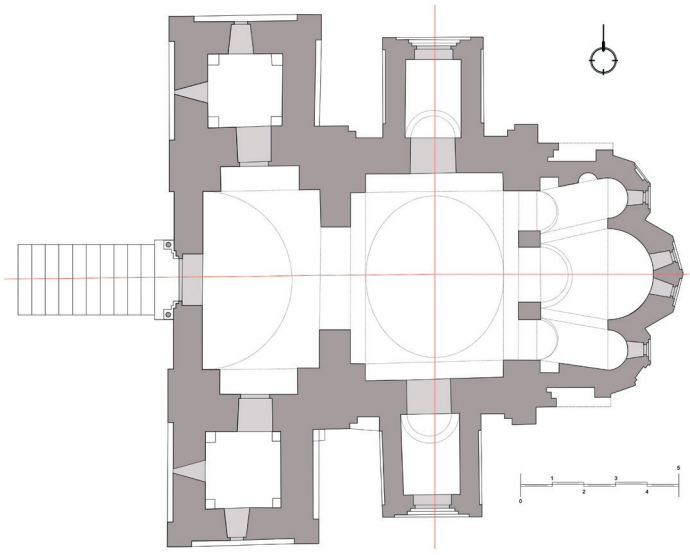


Fig. 138.
Ras, Monastery of Đurđevi Stupovi, *katholikon*, plan

In terms of its layout, the church follows a tradition previously seen in Serbian lands. The design clearly reflects the influence of an earlier Nemanja endowment, the Church of St. Nicholas in Toplica, which was also a single-aisled, domed church with a three-part altar.[580] However, a departure from the Byzantine model is evident in the construction using hewn stone, as well as in the articulation and decoration of the exterior and certain interior elements. The decorations of St. George's Church are crafted entirely in the spirit of Romanesque architecture, particularly its Lombardic variant. This Romanesque influence is most evident in the monumental bell towers (Fig. 139). The church's distinctive features include its dome with an elliptical base and a blind arcade of fourteen arches resting on colonettes in its interior. Additionally, the drum's triangular gables are decorated with a series of blind arches on consoles (Fig. 140).[581] It is possible that, during the conflict with Byzantium, Nemanja could not hire skilled Constantinopolitan craftsmen, as was the case with the Church of St. Nicholas. Instead, craftsmen may have been brought from the West for the church's construction.[582] However, judging by the paintings, for which Greek painters were hired, the introduction of Western elements into the architecture was likely the wish of the founder himself.

The oldest paintings in the church were likely executed a few years after its construction was completed, around 1175. Although only fragments remain today, their presence is documented through archival photographs. These paintings are considered masterpieces of Byzantine monumental art from the time of the Komnenian dynasty. The painters were Greek, as confirmed by inscriptions found within the church, and they likely arrived in Ras from one of the Byzantine Empire's leading artistic centers, possibly Constantinople itself.

580 *Ćurčić*, Architecture, 495.

581 *Čanak-Medić – Bošković*, Arhitektura I, 55–79; *Ćurčić*, Architecture 488–489; *Vojvodić – Marković*, Đurđevi stupovi, 39–67.

582 *Marković*, Na tragu, 171.

Fig. 139.
Ras, Monastery of Đurđevi Stupovi, *katholikon*, western towers

Fig. 140.
Ras, Monastery of Đurđevi Stupovi, *katholikon*, naos, drum interior

The wall painting program in the Church of St. George follows the traditional model established during the time it was created. The dome features the image of Christ Pantokrator, with standing figures of Old Testament prophets – Elijah, Elisha, Daniel, and Zechariah the Younger – on the corresponding surfaces of the drum. Additionally, there are busts of Old Testament figures such as saints Azarias, Ananias, and Misael. The evangelists are depicted on the pendentives, while narrow spaces between them show the Mandylion and Keramion, along with busts of archangels. In the higher zones of the sub-dome, scenes from the cycle of the Great Feasts and the Passion of Christ are depicted. In the lowest zone, modest remains show standing figures of warrior saints George and Theodore, as well as saints Peter and Paul. Particularly noteworthy are the bust representations of the martyrs Andronikos and Probos, depicted as icons hung on the wall above the vestibule and in the passage from the narthex to the nave in Đurđevi Stupovi. Similar representations, characteristic of the Middle Byzantine period, are also found in the Church of St. Archangel Michael in Rila (within the apse) and in Nerezi (beneath the smaller domes) – a feature also known from the Church of Hagia Sophia in Ohrid, dating from the mid-11th century.[583] In the narthex, the only surviving depiction is the monumental equestrian representation of the temple's patron saint, painted above the entrance to the nave.

In terms of style, the oldest frescoes of the St. George church belong to a select group of the best works of mature and late Komnenian painting. Comparable works include those from Nerezi, the Monastery of St. John the Theologian on the island of Patmos, Bačkovo in Bulgaria, as well as the Church of St. Demetrios in Vladimir, Russia.[584]

Based on the biography of Stefan Nemanja, he founded two more churches – one in Skopje and another in Niš. In the biography written by his son, Stefan the First-Crowned which highlights his father's piety, it is stated that Nemanja sent gifts to saints and listed the churches he had donated. Among them, the author mentions a church dedicated to the Holy Archangel Michael in the city of Skopje and another in Niš dedicated to the great martyr Panteleimon.[585] However, the construction of these churches was not solely driven by the ruler's piety. Building churches in newly conquered territories, such as the capital of the Bulgarian theme, Skopje and in Niš, was one of Nemanja's key political strategies for consolidating and expanding his power. Yet, the retention of these territories was short-lived.[586]

Unfortunately, the church in Skopje has not been preserved, and no archaeological evidence has been found to indicate its location. Likewise, the church in Niš survives only in barely visible ruins. Little is known about the church itself or how long it stood, with only the name of the locality remaining. In the 19th century, a new church

583 *Vojvodić – Marković*, Đurđevi stupovi, 111–112.

584 Ibid., 67–116.

585 *Stefan Prvovenčani*, Život Stefana Nemanje, 43–44. According to Vasilije Marković, Nemanja only renovated the monastery in Skopje. This possibility should certainly not be ruled out, considering the short duration of Nemanja's control of the city, *Marković*, Pravoslavno monaštvo, 122.

586 *Marković*, Zadužbina, 42–50.

also dedicated to St. Panteleimon was constructed near the medieval site. The building material from the earlier church was used in new construction.

In terms of its construction timeline, the Church of St. Panteleimon is situated between Đurđevi Stupovi and Studenica, making it a part of Nemanja's series of endowments. The church was most likely built in the 1180s, definitely after capturing the city form the Byzantines after the campaign that started in 1183,[587] placing it in the same period as the other mentioned churches. Archaeological research has revealed the remains of the church and a large necropolis in the area. To the east, the foundations of the semicircular apse have been partially preserved, both inside and outside, made of stone and lime mortar. Bricks from ancient tegulae, along with imbrices (ancient roof tiles), were also discovered. Based on the limited archaeological evidence, Vojislav Korać reconstructed the church as a single-aisled building. The foundation of a rectangular niche, which lies perpendicular to the direction of the church, may have been the northern vestibule, a feature reminiscent of the foundation of St. George's Church in Ras.[588] It is likely that the church was built on the site of an earlier 4th or 5th-century Early Christian three-aisled basilica. This practice follows the old Byzantine tradition, where the location of a new church was often chosen based on the significance of the existing cultic site.[589]

The Studenica Monastery was built by the Grand Župan Stefan Nemanja as his final endowment in Serbia and as a mausoleum. It serves as a multifaceted symbol of the founder's era, the development of Serbian statehood, and the Nemanjić dynasty (Fig. 141).[590] Dedicated to the Mother of God Evergetis, the newly established monastic community was modeled after the famous Constantinopolitan monastery of the same name.[591] However, there is no entirely reliable historical data on the exact time of the monastery's construction. Some insight into this chronological uncertainty can be gained by examining the testimonies of his sons – the monk Sava and King Stefan the First-Crowned – regarding the founding of Nemanja's most significant legacy in the fatherland, as conveyed in their hagiographical works. One particularly valuable source is *The Life of Stefan Nemanja*, written by Stefan the First-Crowned. According to his account, the construction of Studenica began after Nemanja annexed Zeta and the coastal cities, which in modern historiography is associated with the year 1186.[592] As for the completion of the monastery, it was long believed that construction and the commencement of monastic life were linked to Nemanja's abdication in 1196. After his abdication from power, Nemanja lived as the monk Simeon in Studenica for about a year and a half. On October 8, 1197, he set out for Mount Athos, where he and his

587 VIINJ IV, 1971, 151–157 (*J. Kalić*); *Ferjančić*, Stefan Nemanja, 31–47.

588 *Korać*, Sveti Pantelejmon, 163–169.

589 *Rakocija*, Konstantinov grad, 195–199.

590 *Maksimović*, L'ideologie du souverain, 35–48.

591 *Živković,* Najstarije zidno slikarstvo, 38.

592 *Stefan Prvovenčani*, Život Stefana Nemanje, 43. On the year of possible begining of construction, *Živković,* Studenica, 193–209. For orther possible dates of the construction see, *Marković*, O godinama izgradnje, 33–56.

Fig. 141. Studenica, Church of the Mother of God Evergetis, view from the northwest

youngest son, the monk Sava, soon established the Serbian monastery of Hilandar. Nemanja passed away in his Athonite endowment on February 13, 1199.[593]

From its inception, the Studenica Monastery was intended as the burial site of the founder of the Nemanjić dynasty. In keeping with Nemanja's will, his son Sava transferred his father's body to Studenica in February 1207. The relics were likely first stored in a chest in front of a monumental marble sarcophagus along the southern wall of the western aisle of the nave of the Church of the Mother of God, later being moved to the sarcophagus itself. With this, Studenica attained the highest status among Serbian monasteries. Based on the typikon compiled by Sava, which was modeled after the typikon of the Evergetis Monastery in Constantinople, the monastery's autonomy was established. The ceremony of enthroning the monastery's head involved the competent bishop of Ras, the hierarch of the Archbishopric of Ohrid, the abbots of the five monasteries from Ras, and the ruler himself.[594]

The Church of the Mother of God Evergetis in Studenica features an atrophied cross-in-square plan with a dome, a tripartite altar space, side vestibules, and a narthex separated from the nave by a wall. (Fig. 142). The dimensions of the church are 18.5 by 28 meters, including the side vestibules. Typologically, the church's design follows a pattern found in earlier endowments built by Stefan Nemanja. The Church of St. Nicholas in Toplica, for example, already featured a single-aisled structure, a dome, and a three-part sanctuary. Additionally, side vestibules appeared earlier in the Church

593 *Živković*, Najstarije zidno slikarstvo, 40–41.

594 Ibid., 202–203.

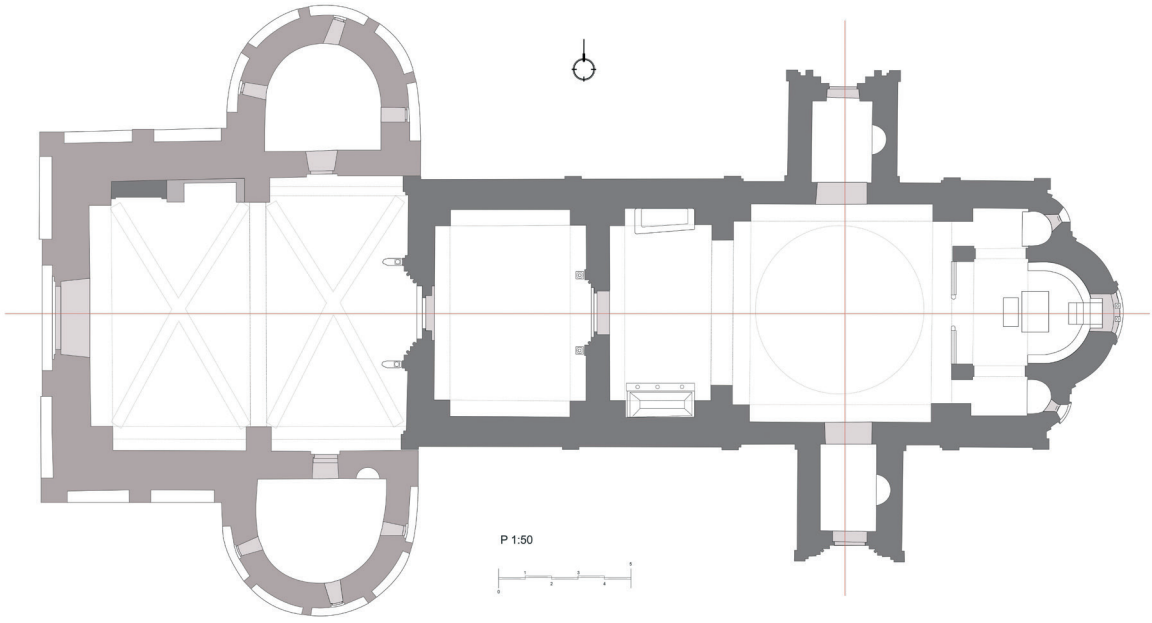


Fig. 142.
Studenica,
Church of the Mother
of God Evergetis, plan

Fig. 143.
Studenica,
Church of the Mother
of God Evergetis,
western portal

of St. George in Ras, which was built by Western masters, likely from Lombardy.[595] In contrast to the spatial arrangement, which is rooted in Byzantine architecture, the façades of the Church of the Mother of God were designed in the style of Romanesque art. The façades are clad in marble from the nearby quarry in Radočelo and adorned with pediments connected by blind arcade, reflecting the internal division of space.

595 *Vojvodić – Marković*, Đurđevi stupovi, 49–50

However, some exterior elements were influenced by Byzantine architectural concepts. Notably, the twelve-sided dome, decorated with red plaster and supported by colonnades, features typical Byzantine details, including the semicircular arch on the sides of the cubic drum and the arrangement of the windows. The closest parallel to this dome is found in the Pammakaristos Church (Fethiye Camii) in Constantinople from the 12th century.[596] In keeping with Byzantine practice, or more specifically, Athonite tradition, a *phiale* was originally built in front of the Studenica katholikon. Although now only fragments remain, this structure was part of a later-built external narthex.[597]

One of the most distinctive Romanesque features of the Church of the Mother of God' exterior is its sculptural decoration. The most elaborate plastic decoration can be found on the western portal of the katholikon, the main entrance to the temple. This entrance is carved in a stepped manner, with colonnades and capitals decorated with abacus leaf motifs. The lunette above the portal features a depiction of the Mother of God with Christ on the throne, flanked by the Archangels Michael and Gabriel (Fig. 143). While this sculpture is executed in the Romanesque style, it follows Byzantine iconography, resembling the frescoes that traditionally embellished the conches of altar apses in Eastern Christian churches. In addition to the sculptures on the windows and portals of the church, the architectural sculpture of Studenica includes intriguing depictions of people, animals, mythical creatures, and floral motifs. These are carved into the consoles that support the frieze of arches beneath the roof cornices. A small portion of the iconostasis (templon screen) has also been preserved, as well as the upper part of the *proskynetarion*. Unlike the typical Byzantine arch on the *proskynetarion,* which ends with a horizontal beam adorned with decorative motifs, the arch at Studenica is pointed – a feature also found in the coastal region.[598]

Today, there is compelling evidence to suggest that Kotor was the origin of the sculpture at Studenica. This hypothesis is particularly supported by the discovery of window fragments from the original western façade of the Cathedral of St. Tryphon in Kotor, which bear a striking resemblance in their relief decoration to the sculptural elements of the Church of the Mother of God in Studenica.[599]

The interior walls of the Church of the Mother of God in Studenica are covered with two layers of frescoes, dating from the 13th and 16th centuries. The 19th-century murals were almost entirely removed during conservation and restoration work in 1951. The Studenica katholikon was first decorated with frescoes in around 1208/1209, according to the founder's inscription, to be found in the ring of the dome's drum. This extensive, though now heavily damaged, inscription mentions the monastery's founder, Stefan Nemanja, and two of his sons – Vukan and Sava. It is likely that the destroyed portion of the inscription included a reference to the current ruler of Serbia and the main benefactor of the fresco work, Grand Župan Stefan the First-Crowned.

596 *Čanak-Medić – Bošković*, Arhitektura I, 79–149; *Ćurčić*, Architecture, 496–498.

597 *Čanak-Medić – Bošković*, Arhitektura I, 99; *Kandić*, Fonts for the Blessing of the Waters, 65–66.

598 *Kandić*, Oblik, 141–152.

599 *Čanak-Medić – Bošković*, Arhitektura I, 99–108.

It is less certain whether his brother Vukan also contributed to funding the frescoes, though this can be cautiously assumed. Sava is identified in the benefactor's inscription as the primary overseer of the work and the advisor to the painters.[600]

In addition to the inscription at the base of the dome, a composition above Stefan Nemanja's grave on the south wall of the western aisle of the Church of the Mother of God further testifies to his role as the founder of the monastery. This painting, created in 1568, retains the original iconographic structure of the scene, showing Simeon Nemanja holding a church while the Mother of God presents him to Christ on the throne. It is certain that the epithet „saint" was not originally included next to Simeon Nemanja's name, as it appears in the restored fresco. In the later version, the founder is depicted with a domed crown, despite being dressed in monastic robes. The 16th-century fresco also includes figures of St. Sava of Serbia and the Holy King Stefan of Dečani (1321–1331) flanking the founder's composition.[601] The painting program in Studenica adheres to the traditions of 13th-century Middle Byzantine monumental painting, a topic extensively studied.[602]

The Church of the Mother of God is centrally located within the Studenica monastery complex. The settlement itself was fortified with walls of approximately circular dimensions (127 by 115 meters), a feature unmatched within the broader chronological and geographical context of the Byzantine cultural sphere. Within the monastery's fortifications, two gates – western and eastern – were built, each with semicircular towers, along with four triangular-based towers along the southern rampart. The first phase of the monastery's construction also includes the remains of the refectory, which was situated on the northern side of the western entrance, and some fragments of frescoes from the refectory's original decoration have survived. Additionally, the monastery complex features an intriguing ceramic workshop, believed to have been located inside the walls, on the eastern side of the ramparts, based on the remains of a kiln found there.[603]

Stefan Nemanja may have been the founder of several other churches not mentioned in his biographies but referenced in the *Studenica Typikon* and in genealogies. These include the Church of St. Nicholas in Končul Monastery, the Church of St. Nicholas in Dabar, St. George in Dabar, and the Mother of God of Bistrica. The Church of St. Nicholas, now part of the monastery of the same name, is located 2 km from Raška, on the left bank of the Ibar River, near the village of Kazanovići, Končul (Končulić). The current church, built in 1861, stands on the foundations of an older structure. The original church, constructed on a necropolis around the time of its creation, was likely a single-aisled building with a semicircular apse in the east and a narthex (Fig. 144). It remains unclear whether the original structure featured a dome or a semicircular vault. Chapels were later added along the lateral walls.[604]

---

600 *Živković*, Najstarije zidno slikarstvo, 43–51. Cf. *Živković*, Studenica, 193–213.

601 Ibid., 257–260.

602 Fort the painting in Studenica, see *Živković*, Najstarije zidno slikarstvo, with extensive bibliography.

603 *Popović*, Krst u krugu, 131–161, 287–288.

604 *Čanak-Medić – Bošković*, Arhitektura I, 163–168.

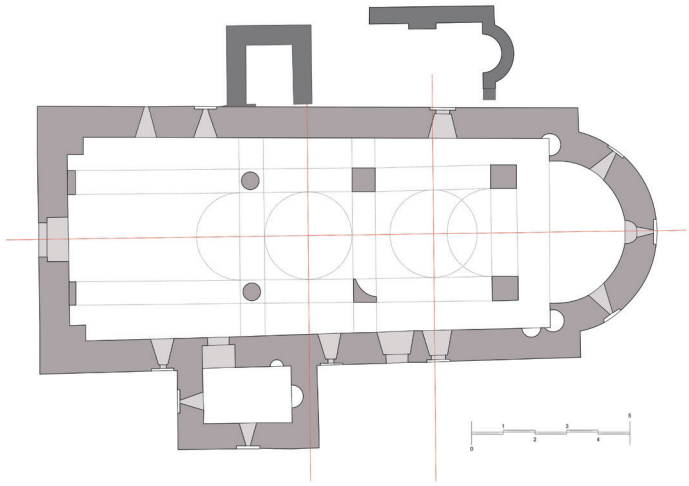


Fig. 144.
Končul, Church
of St. Nicholas, plan

During archaeological excavations, modest remnants of the original architectural sculpture were discovered, including the outer frame of a stone bifora and a fragment of its capital. A column base and a fragment of an animal figure – likely a lion – are believed to have been part of the original western portal.[605]

Various direct and indirect written sources provide evidence regarding the construction of the church and its founder. Several genealogies and chronicles mention the Grand Župan Stefan Nemanja as the church's founder.[606] Although this information is absent from the biographies of the founders of the Nemanjić dynasty, it is partially supported by the fact that the St. Nicholas Monastery in Kazanovići, or Končul, is mentioned in the *Studenica Typikon*. In this document, the abbot of Končul is listed fourth among the six monastery elders involved in the election of the Studenica Archimandrite.[607] The theory that the Church of St. Nicholas in Končul was built during Stefan Nemanja's reign is further supported by similarities between fragments of architectural sculpture found there and those at other monuments from the same period, particularly the sculpture of the Church of the Mother of God in Studenica. However, it should be noted that later Serbian monuments, such as Sopoćani, also share similar stylistic elements. Supporting arguments for Nemanja's involvement in the church's construction – though not conclusive – might include the dedication of the church. Nemanja greatly revered St. Nicholas, dedicating his first endowment in Toplica to him, and possibly also the church in Dabar.[608]

The Končul Monastery likely reached its peak of prosperity during the 14th and 15th centuries, as most archaeological finds, including eleven tombstones with significant inscriptions, date from this period. Several written sources further attest to the monastery's later history. For example, it is known that Danilo, who would later become the Serbian archbishop (1324–1337), became a monk there. It is also believed that an

605 Ibid., 163–168.

606 *Stojanović*, Stari srpski rodoslovi, 18, 19, 46, 176, 181, 185, 197.

607 *Sveti Sava*, Studenički tipik, 72.

608 *Preradović – Milanović*, Pan-Christian Saints in Serbian Cult, 103–117.

episcopal center was established at the monastery between 1319 and 1321. During the 15th century, the monastery served as the cathedral seat of the metropolitan.[609]

There is a similar issue regarding the foundation of several churches in the Lim Valley. The most significant and largest of these is the Church of the Monastery of St. Nicholas in Dabar. The church is first mentioned in the *Studenica Typikon* as one of the churches involved in the election of the Studenica archimadrite.[610] This suggests that the the church in Dabar predates the Studenica church, leading to the belief that it was built by Stefan Nemanja, as the typikon includes churches constructed by both Nemanja and his brother Stracimir. The importance of the Dabar church is underscored by the fact that it became one of the episcopal centers of the newly formed Serbian Archbishopric in 1220.

However, the current church in Dabar was rebuilt on the foundation of an older structure in the 14th century by King Stefan Uroš III Dečanski (1322–1331) and his son, King Dušan (king 1331–1346, emperor, 1346–1355). This is supported by a carved foundation inscription on a damaged stone slab. Archaeological excavations beneath the present church have yielded only sporadic findings, making it impossible to definitively determine whether an older building existed. In 1974–1975, the remains of a smaller church were discovered north of the current structure, which Milka Čanak-Medić [611] initially believed to be the remains of a 12th-century church.[612]

The church in Dabar is a single-aisled structure with a narthex, measuring. The central part is designed as an inscribed cross with a dome resting on four free-standing columns. The altar space is three-part, with semicircular apses on the inside; externally, the central apse is three-sided, and the side apses are two-sided. The apse features a brick synthronon with an episcopal throne. The west-facing narthex, which matches the height and width of the church, is covered by a blind calotte. The floor predates the renovations during the reign of Stefan Uroš III and may belong to an earlier church. Although the church is now plastered, earlier research confirmed that it was built using hewn sandstone, with minimal architectural decoration. Brick was only used for the window openings. The dome above the nave had a high octagonal drum, with windows on each side and colonnades at the joints of the sides.[613]

The first mention of another church in Dabar, the Church of the Monastery of St. George, located near the village of Mažići, is found only in the *Studenica Typikon*, where it is listed last among the churches (Fig. 145).[614] The monastery underwent renovations

609 *Popović*, Nadgrobni spomenici, 53–66.

610 *Sveti Sava*, Studenički tipik, 72.

611 *Čanak-Medić*, Arhitektura II, 14–22.

612 *Bunardžić*, Manastir Svetog Nikole, 77–78; *Bunardžić*, Crkva, 38–39. Svetlana Pejić in her monograph on the Monastery of St. Nicholas in Dabar, suggested that the existing church was not built during the reign of King Stefan Dečanski, but rather in the 11th century, funded by an unknown Byzantine aristocrat. This theory is based on a comparative analysis of the building's typological architectural features, see *Pejić*, Manastir Sveti Nikola, 16–35.

613 *Pejić*, Manastir Sveti Nikola, 16–35.

614 *Sveti Sava*, Studenički tipik, 72.

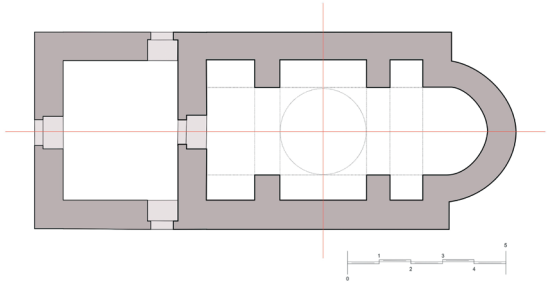


Fig. 145.
Dabar, Church
of the Monastery
of St. George, plan

during the reign of Serbian king Milutin (1282–1321), likely in the early 14th century. The church is a single-aisled structure with three bays and a semicircular altar apse, both inside and out. The church measures 9.69 by 4.45 meters and remains preserved at its foundation level. However, due to the low height of the preserved walls, it is unclear whether there were additional niches on the eastern wall of the altar. The church also featured a narthex on the western side. In terms of its architectural style, it most closely resembles the Church of St. George in Budimlja. There is no other conclusive evidence to verify its date of construction or Stefan Nemanja's role in its establishment.[615]

Another potential endowment of Stefan Nemanja is the Church of the Mother of God in Bistrica, located in the Lim Basin area (Fig. 146). This church stands on a plateau above the confluence of the Bistrica and Lim rivers, not far from Bijelo Polje. The church is mentioned in King Stefan Vladislav's (1234–1243) charter to the Monastery of the Mother of God in Bistrica, issued around 1240. The charter states that the original founders of the monastery were Stefan Nemanja and Stefan the First-Crowned. Although it does not explicitly confirm Nemanja as the founder, historical literature generally attributes its foundation to him. The church was highly regarded by the early Nemanjićs, with King Stefan Uroš I (1243–1276) later adding the small church of Kičavska to its estate. In the early 14th century, King Milutin granted the church to the episcopal church of St. Peter in Bijelo Polje.[616]

The church was likely constructed between 1186, when Nemanja annexed Zeta and Raška, and 1196, abdicated in favor of his middle son, Stefan. It is possible that the church dates from an earlier period and that Nemanja's contribution was limited to remodeling the vestibule. It is certain that the church was not constructed later than the end of the 12th century. The building itself dimensions 3.2 by 4.98 meters is a single-aisled structure, divided into three equal bays by pilasters (Fig. 147). The altar space is semicircular on both the interior and exterior. At the end of the 12th century, a narthex was added to the nave. The church is built in the Romanesque style, with well-finished ashlar blocks. On the western façade of the nave, there are two shallow pilasters at each end, which connect into an arcade that structurally follows the internal vault of the building. A similar architectural solution was applied to the Church of St. Luke in Kotor, built in 1195.[617]

615 *Čanak-Medić*, Arhitektura II, 25–35.

616 *Stojanović*, Stari srpski hrisovulji, 6–7; *Mošin*, Povelja, 21–32.

617 *Čanak-Medić*, Arhitektura II, 35–47; *Ilić*, Crkva Bogorodice, 201–221; *Nešković*, Arhitektura i obnova, 17–26.

Fig. 146.
Bistrica, Church of the Mother of God, view from the southeast

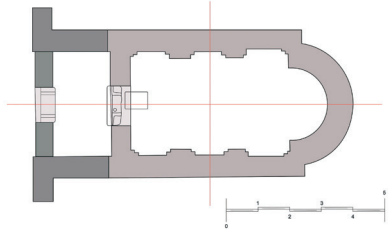


Fig. 147.
Bistrica, Church of the Mother of God, plan

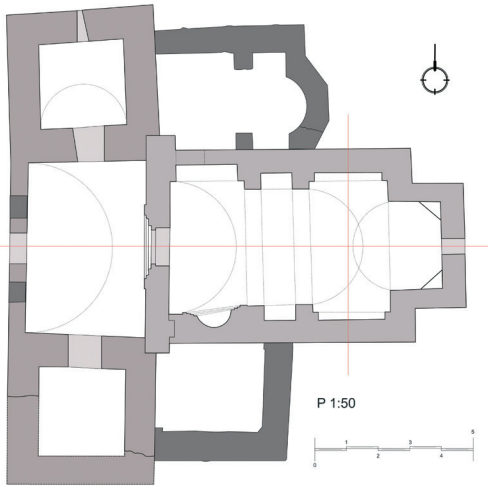
In addition to Stefan Nemanja, his brothers also established their own foundations. In the Lim Valley, the Church of St. Peter in Bijelo Polje was built by Nemanja's brother Miroslav (*ca.*1168–1199) (Fig. 148). The identity of the founder and the year of construction, interpreted from the Old Slavonic letter as 1161/1162, are confirmed by an inscription carved in the tympanum of the main portal.[618] The church is a single-aisled structure, divided by pilasters into three bays, and it has a square apse at the eastern end. Its dimensions are 6 by 10 meters (Fig. 149). The apse is topped by a semicircular conch raised on squinches, and a square dome rises above the central bay. Domes like this, resembling towers, were characteristic of pre-Romanesque architecture along the Adriatic coast.[619] It is likely that the church's design was influenced by an older building on which it was constructed. Built of stone on the exterior, the

618 *Marković*, O ktitorskom natpisu, 21–46.

619 *Ćurčić*, Architecture, 498–499;

Fig. 148.
Bijelo Polje, Church of St. Peter,
view from the northeast

Fig. 149.
Bijelo Polje, Church of St. Peter, plan



church resembles a three-aisled basilica with a transept and a dome. A porch with two towers was added to the west side of the church, of which the northern tower has been fully preserved. Much of the liturgical furniture in the church was transferred from the earlier structure. There is some debate among scholars as to whether Miroslav was responsible for the construction of both the church and the towers, or whether the towers were added later when the church became the episcopal center of the newly established Serbian Archbishopric.[620] The prevailing opinion is that the church and towers were built at the same time, supported by the presence of a portrait of Miroslav in the church's narthex. In this portrait, Miroslav is depicted holding a model of the church, complete with the towers. However, it is important to note that this portrait was created later, around the end of the 13th or beginning of the 14th century.[621]

The church was most likely built as a mausoleum for the founder. While the grave has not been located due to renovations, two fragments of a tombstone were discovered in front of the church. These fragments, based on their carved motifs, closely resemble those found in the Church of St. George in Budimlja. By analogy, the grave may have been located along the southern wall of the western aisle.[622]

620 *Čanak-Medić*, Arhitektura II, 51–59.

621 Ibid., 48–49.

622 *Popović*, Srpski vladarski grob, 23.

Fig. 150. Budimlja, Church of St. George, view from the south

The Church of St. George in Budimlja, located near Berane, was built by Stefan Prvoslav (1144–1210/1219), the son of Nemanja's oldest brother, Tichomiros (Fig. 150). While the exact date of construction remains unknown, it is generally believed that the church was constructed during the 80s or 90s of the 12th century. There is also a possibility that Prvoslav's father, Tichomiros, began the construction of the church.[623] Again, little information has been preserved about the founder. The church's foundation is known through an inscription on the south wall of the western aisle, located above the founder's grave. This text was created after the church was painted, likely in the late 16th or early 17th century, but it is believed to replicate the content of the original inscription.[624] The original tombstone, a slab from the founder's grave, has also survived. The church itself is a single-aisled structure with a dome. It measures 8 by 13.5 meters and is divided into three bays inside. The exterior is built of hewn stone, with alternating lighter and darker stones – a technique commonly used along the Adriatic coast and seen in 12th-century churches in Kotor. The dome, constructed of stone rather than the typical brick used in Byzantium, was likely altered in the 13th century to its current form.[625] The original church was later expanded with the

623 *Bogdanović*, Prostorni sklop, 99.

624 *Pirivatrić*, O Stefanu Prvoslavu, 53.

625 *Bogdanović*, Prostorni sklop, 100; *Čanak-Medić*, Nova saznanja, 109–120.

addition of a narthex and two towers to the west. By the 13th century, the two towers were replaced with a single tower over the former open porch.[626]

Another of Nemanja's brothers, Prince Stracimir of Moravia (*ca.*1163 – 1166/1168, † 1189), son of Zavida and brother of Stefan Nemanja, contributed to the construction of religious endowments, this time in the Braničevo Bishopric. It is believed that Stracimir built a monastery church dedicated to the Mother of God at the end of the 12th century, on the site of an ancient settlement from the 3rd and 4th centuries, located in the present-day center of Čačak.

The first mention of the Church of the Mother of God in Moravski Gradac comes from the *Studenica Typikon*. According to this document, the Mother of God in Moravski Gradac held a significant position among Serbian church centers, as the abbot of this monastery is listed second in order among seven abbots from the most important Serbian monasteries who participated in the election of the abbot of Studenica.[627] Furthermore, in the charter of King Stefan the First-Crowned, written on the wall of the Žiča Monastery between 1224 and 1227, the church's highest rank was confirmed by equating it with the three most important royal monasteries: Studenica, St. George in Ras, and Hilandar.[628]

It is assumed that the church was constructed no later than 1190, the year Stracimir passed away. Archaeological findings and their potential reconstruction suggest that an Early Christian basilica may have existed beneath the current church. The church's current architectural form is the result of numerous alterations, particularly its conversion into a mosque and later renovations in the 19th century aimed at restoring its appearance as an Orthodox Christian church. Only the façades of the medieval church are partially known, and the interior layout and space division are less certain.

Most likely, the church was a building with a rectangular base and a three-part altar space, featuring very strong walls. All three apses are seven-sided on the outside and semicircular on the inside. The main part of the church likely had a rectangular layout, supported by four independent pillars for the dome, which rested on a square base. This arrangement would have corresponded to five-domed temples, although there is no direct material evidence to confirm such a spatial configuration. It is more probable that the church was built in the shape of an inscribed cross. The appearance of the narthex and any bell towers in front of it remain speculative. All architectural findings and parts of the stone decoration preserved from the medieval church date to the second half of the 14th century, when the Stracimir's endowment was likely reconstructed, and possibly even rebuilt entirely.[629] However, shortly after the establishment of the Serbian Archbishopric by Sava Nemanjić in 1219, these territories were removed from the jurisdiction of the Archbishopric of Ohrid.

626 *Ćurčić*, Architecture, 499. On the liturgical role of the narthex and the bell tower, *Bogdanović*, Prostorni sklop, 101.

627 *Sveti Sava*, Studenički tipik, 72.

628 *Čanak-Medić – Bošković*, Arhitektura I, 149.

629 *Čanak-Medić – Bošković*, Arhitektura I, 149–163; *Čanak-Medić*, Novi podaci o arhitekturi, 81–97.

V. Hierarchs, martyrs, anchorites. Saints and their cults in the Archbishopric of Ohrid

One monument has the significance of a holy site of the highest rank for understanding the sacral topography of the Ohrid Archbishopric. Namely, the church in Ohrid, in Plaošnik, which housed the tomb of St. Clement of Ohrid, Bishop of Velitsa, and one of the pioneers of Christian literature in the Slavic language.[630] The ktetor was buried on 27 July 916, in that church, more precisely, in the katholikon of the monastery that Clement built as his endowment, dedicating it to St. Panteleimon, and in a tomb that he himself prepared during his lifetime.[631] His disciples composed a service to him at some point following his death.[632] A short hagiography (synaxarion vita) of St. Clement was most likely written at that time, as well, but it has not survived to this day.[633]

One of the manifestations of the saintly celebration of St. Clement was the introduction of his name into the church calendar, as evidenced by his mention in the menologion of the Glagolitic Codex Assemanius evangeliary (Vat. slav. 3), in the rubric for 27 July.[634] Unfortunately, it is difficult to determine the exact time of the creation of this Bulgarian manuscript, but scholars assume that this occurred between the years 986–1051.[635] Due to such a wide timeframe, it cannot be reliably pinpointed whether the remembrance for St. Clement was introduced into the calendar during the existence of the Bulgarian Church, or after the year 1018, in the era of the first Ohrid Archbishop, John, who was a Slav, or even following the arrival of the first Greek on the throne as the head of the Ohrid Church, Archbishop Leo the Paphlagonian (1037–1056). Nevertheless, it is an unusually telling fact that the Greek heads of the Ohrid Archbishopric were responsible for the further growth of the cult of Clement. As Alexei Pentkovski recently succinctly surmised, through their actions, the cult of St. Clement "was transformed from a local Slavic cult into an official cult of the Byzantine Ohrid Archbishopric.[636] This is first attested to by several Greek hagiographic texts. In all likelihood, the extensive hagiography of St. Clement was written by the learned Archbishop Theophylact (c. 1088–1125), using information from the aforementioned lost Old Bulgarian short vita. Writing in the high style of Byzantine literature, Theophylact celebrates St. Clement as a skilled polemicist with the Latins, "the first bishop of the Bulgarian language/people" (Βουλγάρων γλώττῃ πρῶτος

630 From the immensely abundant literature on the life and work of St. Clement of Ohrid, here we highlight only a substantive encyclopaedic entry, accompanied by an exhaustive bibliography: *Ivanova – Češmedžiev – Ševčenko,* Kliment Ohridskij. For an overview of the history of the cult of St. Clement cf. *Pentkovskij,* Počitanie svjatitelja Klimenta.

631 On the remains of Clement's sepulchral church, with bibliography, cf. *Kuzman*, Arheološki svedoštva, 136–158.

632 *Mirčeva,* Službata na sv. Kliment Ohridski. Cf. *Pentkovskij,* Počitanie svjatitelja Klimenta, 80; *Savova,* Nabljudenija; *Temčin,* Konstantin Preslavskij.

633 Its existence is mentioned in the introductory part of the *Short Life of St. Naum of Ohrid*, cf. *Ivanov*, Bŭlgarski starini, 305–307.

634 *Vajs – Kurz*, Evangeliarium Assemani II, 306.3–4; Asemanievo evangelie, 151. Cf. *Rajkov,* Ranni kalendarni vesti.

635 *Vasiljev*, Nov podatak, 13–15.

636 *Pentkovskij,* Počitanie svjatitelja Klimenta, 94.

ἐπίσκοπος), then as a missionary – the "new Paul", and the successor of the great work of Cyril and Methodios, about whom he also writes in detail; and, as a miracle worker, both during his lifetime and following his repose.[637] The aforesaid archbishop also began work on the composition of a new service to St. Clement, namely, a Greek hymnographic cycle dedicated to the saint.[638] Based on Theophylact's extensive hagiography, the Greek synaxarion vita of St. Clement was compiled by another famous head of the Ohrid Church, Archbishop Demetrios Chomatenos (1216–1236). In this brief, but unusually interesting work, in terms of the ecclesiastical-political aspects of its content, the author also portrayed Clement as "the bishop of Bulgaria" (moreover, in one place as the bishop of "all Illyricum"), who, with his "apostolic" work, "converted a barbaric and savage people into a holy people," not forgetting to also emphasize that his tomb healed the ailing.[639] Like Theophylact, Chomatenos too wrote hymnographic works, specifically, two canons, in praise of the Ohrid miracle worker. [640] Poetic compositions, i.e. parts of the service to St. Clement, finally, were written by two other significant heads of the Ohrid Church – Archbishop Constantine Kabasilas (c. 1254–after 1262), who was proclaimed a saint after his death,[641] and Archbishop Gregory I.[642]

In parallel with the creation of hagiographic and hymnographic writings, effort was made regarding other components, necessary for the strengthening of the cult of St. Clement of Ohrid. Unfortunately, the exact time of the revelation of his relics cannot be determined, i.e. their transfer from the tomb to a reliquary in a prominent place within the church, and only assumptions have been made in historiography concerning this topic. One group of researchers believes, justifiably so, in our opinion, that the *elevatio* of Clement's relics occurred during the time of Theophylact of Ohrid,[643] while others place it in the era of Demetrios Chomatenos.[644] The second mentioned dating could be further supported by the opinion that during the time of Chomatenos, i.e. during the period when Ohrid was part of the state of the ruler of Epirote, Theodore Komnenos (1215–1230), the Church of St. Panteleimon was thoroughly renovated.[645]

637 *Iliev*, Long Life. For the English translation of excerpts from the hagiography cf. *Petkov*, The Voices of Medieval Bulgaria, 143–160. On the hagiography cf. *Obolensky*, Theophylact of Ohrid; *Idem*, Six Byzantine Portraits, 34–82; *Nihoritis,* Atonskata knižovna tradicija, 109–139, 195–216; *Floria – Turilov – Ivanov*, Sudby kirillo-mefodievskoj tradicii, 28–65, 163–268; *Delikari*, Die lange Vita des hl. Klemens; *Nihoritis*, Nepublikuvan pŭlen prepis; *Pentkovskij*, Počitanie svjatitelja Klimenta, 83–86; *Barlieva*, San Clemente di Ocrida, 160–162; *Kiapidou*, Theophylact; *Simeonov*, Local Pilgrimage.

638 *Nihoritis,* Atonskata knižovna tradicija, 148–150, 162–164, 216–221; Cf. *Savova*, Teofilaktovijat kanon.

639 *Milev*, Grŭckite žitija, 164–187; Grŭtski izvori XIII, 145–155. Cf. *Floria – Turilov – Ivanov*, Sudby kirillo-mefodievskoj tradicii, 66–81, 269–277; *Iliev*, Za Kratkoto žitie; ibid., Edin prenebregnevan izvor; *Pentkovskij*, Počitanie svjatitelja Klimenta, 87–90.

640 *Nihoritis*, Atonskata knižovna tradicija, 150–156, 164–167, 221–245; *Savova*, Homatianovijat kanon; *Barlieva*, San Clemente di Ocrida, 162–163.

641 *Nihoritis*, Atonskata knižovna tradicija, 156–158, 167–169, 246–251; *Pentkovskij*, Počitanie svjatitelja Klimenta, 96–97.

642 *Nihoritis*, Atonskata knižovna tradicija, 158, 169.

643 *Gergova*, Moštite na sveti Kliment, 396–397.

644 *Snegarov*, Istorija, 269; *Nihoritis*, Atonskata knižovna tradicija, 143; *Pentkovskij*, Počitanie svjatitelja Klimenta, 91–92.

645 *Kuzman*, Arheološki svedoštva, 149.

Iconographic material, as an inevitable aspect of the content of any saint's cult, shows that St. Clement was venerated in circles of the highest Byzantine hierarchy of the Ohrid Archbishopric, even before the creation of the previously mentioned hagiography by Theophylact of Ohrid. In fact, there is no doubt that Archbishop Leo was already devoted to the saint. This is indicated by the oldest visual representation of St. Clement, that in the Church of Hagia Sophia. It concerns a standing figure on the southern wall of the *diakonikon* (Fig. 151). There, depicted next to St. Clement, is St. Cyril, "the teacher of the Bulgarians", and perhaps also his brother, St. Methodios. In the apse of the *diakonikon*, close to the three specified figures, no fewer than six Roman popes were portrayed, two of whom (Innocent and Vigilius) were responsible for the establishment of ancient church organizations in the areas in which the Ohrid Archbishopric existed (the Vicariate of Thessalonike and *Iustiniana Prima*). Conversely, St. Eustathius, the Patriarch of the Church of Constantinople (1019–1025), during whose time the autocephalous Ohrid Church was founded, had been depicted in the passage between the bema and the *diakonikon*. Viewed in the presented context, the figures of Sts. Cyril, Methodios and Clement personify the heritage of the local, namely, Bulgarian Church, woven into the foundations of the church organization led by Archbishop Leo at the time of the creation of the frescoes.[646]

Further history of the visual representations of St. Clement could be seen, roughly, at least, in correlation with the previously discussed stages of the celebration of his cult, that is, with the creation of the hagiographic writings dedicated to him by the archbishops of Ohrid. The "Theophylact phase" in the history of the cult of the patron saint of Ohrid is chronologically followed by his representation on the north wall of the Church of St. George in Kurbinovo (1191), in which he is depicted next to his namesake, St. Clement of Rome, and opposite Sts. Cyril and Methodios, on the south wall.[647] Recently, it has been suggested that, during the same period, St. Clement of Ohrid had also been portrayed in the Church of the Hagioi Anargyroi in Kastoria, as *zographoi* with quite similar stylistic approaches to the authors of the frescoes in Kurbinovo worked there. The representation in question is of the holy hierarch in the lowest zone of the north wall. Based on the modest remains of the accompanying inscription, and his characteristic physiognomy, he has been identified as St. Clement, but it is not clear whether he is the Ohrid saint of the same name, or Pope Clement of Rome.[648] There are even more representations of St. Clement of Ohrid that were created after a kind of rounding off of his cult, and the renovation of the Monastery of St. Panteleimon, during the time of Demetrios Chomatenos. The several figures in question are of St. Clement hailing from the second half of the 13th century. The oldest in that group is preserved outside of Ohrid, in the altar of the Church of St. Nicholas, in Manastir, in the Mariovo area

646 *Grozdanov*, Pojava i prodor, 53–56; *Idem*, Portreti, 24–27; *Idem*, Mesecoslov, 18–26; *Todić*, Représentations de papes romains; ibid., Arhiepiskop Lav, 130–134; *Grozdanov*, Arhiepiskopot Lav; *Zaharova*, Izobraženija, 712–713, ill. 146.

647 *Grozdanov – Bardžieva,* Sur les portraits, 62–74; *Grozdanov*, Kurbinovo i drugi studii, 63–70.

648 *Sisiou*, Oi apeikoniseis tou agiou Klēmentos, 413–414, eik. 1. The possibility that this is indeed a depiction of Clement of Ohrid, would be further suggested, although not conclusively, by the fact that St. Achillius of Larissa is also depicted in the Church of the Hagioi Anargyroi. On this depiction, cf. infra.

Fig. 151.
Ohrid, Hagia Sophia,
St. Cyril of Thessalonike
and St. Clement
of Ohrid

(1270/1271), in the aisle between the bema and the *prothesis*.[649] In Ohrid itself, the images of St. Clement have been preserved in edifices from the last decades of the 13th century. This is first indicated by his bust in the altar of the Church of St. John in the Kaneo quarter (around 1280–1290, Fig. 152),[650] as well as by a representative, standing figure, in the first zone of the frescoes under the dome of the Church of the Holy Mother of God Peribleptos (1294/1295, Fig. 153), and in a programmatic context of particular symbolism – on the north wall, next to the figure of Constantine Kabasilas, the Archbishop of Ohrid, revered as a saint, who, as mentioned earlier, dedicated verses to Clement, positioned across from the figures of Sts. Peter and Andrew, on the south wall.[651] The wooden sculpture of St. Clement, which is believed to have once decorated the saint's tomb, is usually dated to the last decades of the 13th century.[652] According to some researchers, towards the end of the 13th century St. Clement of Ohrid was once again depicted in Hagia Sophia in Ohrid,[653] as well as on an icon that is presently kept in the Icon Gallery of Ohrid.[654] Over time, from the 14th century onwards, the number of depictions of St. Clement increased, and their presence surpassed the borders of the Ohrid Archbishopric, becoming particularly widespread in the painting of medieval Serbia.[655]

649 *Kostovska*, Sveti Nikola Manastir, 112–113, fig. 136.

650 *Grozdanov*, Portreti, 50–51, fig. 11; *Zaharova*, Izobraženija, 717, ris. 2.

651 *Grozdanov*, Portreti, 52–54, 184–188; *Todić*, Freske u Bogorodici Perivlepti; *Zaharova*, Izobraženija, 718, ill. 150.

652 *Han*, Problem stila; *Ćorović-Ljubinković*, Srednjovekovni duborez, 39–41; *Grabar*, La thème du «gisant»; Grozdanov, Portreti, 52; *Georgiev*, Dŭrvenijat orelef; *Pucko*, Vizantijskaja derevjannaja skul'ptura, 100–101.

653 *Miljković-Pepek*, Eden nepoznat lik.

654 *Idem*, Deux icones d'Ohrid.

655 *Grozdanov*, O portretima Klimenta Ohridskog; *Idem*, Portreti, 37–41; *Sisiou*, Oi apeikoniseis tou agiou Klēmentos, 416–419; *Vojvodić*, Predstave svetog Klimenta Ohridskog; *Džurova*, Il culto di san Clemente di Ocrida.

Fig. 152.
Ohrid, Church of St. John Kaneo,
St. Clement of Ohrid and
St. Erazmus of Lychnidos

Fig. 153.
Ohrid, Church of the Mother
of God Peribleptos,
St. Clement of Ohrid and
St. Constantine Kabasilas

The perception of St. Clement as the patron saint of the city of Ohrid naturally would have been most effectively expressed in art.[656] Such a status is revealed by certain representations of him in Ohrid murals of the 14th and 15th century, in which he is depicted with a model of the city in his hands, perhaps fashioned on the corresponding depictions of St. Demetrios as the protector of Thessalonike.[657] In one document from that time, St. Clement is even called "lord", and it is clear from the context that this is an allusion to symbolic authority, or spiritual patronage over Ohrid.[658] Although these are relatively late works of art and written sources, it is by no means impossible that St. Clement had been treated as the protector of the city much earlier on. Such a view is supported to some extent by the fact that the epithet "Ohridski" has been added to his name in written sources and in visual representations since the 13th century.[659] In any case, it was approximately during the same century that St. Clement of Ohrid began to be celebrated as the patron saint of the church in which he was buried, rather than of St. Panteleimon, to whom it was certainly still dedicated at the time of the

656 *Grozdanov*, Portreti, 65.

657 *Grozdanov*, O portretima Klimenta Ohridskog, 107–112, sl. 6; *Idem*, Ohridsko zidno slikarstvo, 51, crt. 6; *Idem*, Portreti.

658 This is a contract for vineyards located near the "revered monastery of our lord St. Clement", cf. *Marković*, Pravoslavno monaštvo, 6; *Grozdanov*, O portretima Klimenta Ohridskog, 115–116.

659 *Filiposki*, Sveti Kliment i negoviot epitet.

creation of Chomatenos' short hagiography. Such a dedication is recorded in a Greek document from the year 1248, compiled during the time of Archbishop Jacob.[660] As patron, Clement of Ohrid is portrayed in his sepulchral church, above the portraits of Caesar Doukas, the Byzantine governor of Ohrid, who, after 1334, submitted to Serbian rule, as well as his deceased son Demetrios.[661] Finally, such a dedication of the monastery church is evidenced by several mentions of the "*hegoumenos* of St. Clement" in written sources from the 13th and 14th century.[662]

The life of the Monastery of St. Clement was interrupted after the Turkish occupation of Ohrid, but it is not certain whether this occurred suddenly or gradually. The monastery was most likely demolished at the end of the 15th century, and the Imaret Mosque was built in its place. Nevertheless, the cult of the holy patron of the Ohrid church continued to live on, even under new, unfavorable conditions. His relics were transferred to the Church of the Holy Mother of God Peribleptos, which served as the new archiepiscopal church, since the ancient Cathedral of Hagia Sophia had also been desecrated and converted to the needs of the Islamic cult. It is quite understandable that the aforementioned *translatio* of the relics was then directly reflected in the change of dedication of the new cathedral church of the Ohrid archbishops, so its patron saint became St. Clement of Ohrid.[663]

The dedications of churches testify to the fact that the cult of St. Achilleos was also particularly strong in the area of the Ohrid Archbishopric. According to the hagiographies, this saint, a native of Cappadocia, was the first bishop of the Thessalian city of Larissa, a fighter against the Arian heresy at the First Ecumenical Council of Nicaea in 325, and a miracle worker during his lifetime.[664] In terms of chronology, the aforementioned hagiographic testimonies are not accepted as entirely reliable in modern historiography, since there are arguments in favor of the view that St. Achilleos was the bishop of Larissa in the 6th century. Nevertheless, his miraculous relics were kept in that city, in the basilica on the acropolis, where they were certainly located during the 9th century, although it is possible that they were transferred there as early as the middle of the 7th century.[665] As is well known, they were subsequently taken by the Bulgarian emperor Samuel, following his conquest of Larissa in 985/986, and interred in the newly built

660 *Tunickij*, Sv. Kliment, 118; *Grozdanov*, O portretima Klimenta Ohridskog, 115; *Minčeva*, Svedenija za manastira, 124.

661 *Grozdanov*, Ohridsko zidno slikarstvo, 15–16, 34–37. Cf. also *S. Kissas*, Dyo ellēnikes epigraphes; *Rhoby*, Byzantinische Epigramme auf Fresken und Mosaiken, 100–104 (no. 24), Abb. XIII.

662 *Mošin*, Les manuscrits, 185, 229; *Grozdanov*, O portretima Klimenta Ohridskog, 115; *Rasolkoska-Nikolovska*, Arhimandrit Jovan.

663 *Grozdanov,* Ohridski arhiepiskop Prohor, 272–273; *Gergova*, Moštite na sveti Kliment, 401–416 (with a review of the later history of the relics). Cf. also *Lučeska*, In search for the remains; *Minčeva,* Svedenija za manastira, 132–133.

664 For Greek hagiographic texts on St. Achilleos cf. *Sofianos,* O agios Achillios; *Gouloulis*, "..Kai nyn tōn thaumatōn sou aphthonōs apolavousi"; *Idem*, To agiologika-ymnologika keimena. For basic information on his cult cf. *O. V. L., Nikiforova*, Ahilij. Cf. also *Tsiaples*, Mythiko parelthon-christianiko paron.

665 On the cult of St. Achilleos in Larissa and the remains of the aforementioned basilica cf. *Gouloulis*, O taphos tou agiou Achilliou; *Avramea*, Agioi episkopoi; *Sythiakakē-Kritsimallē,* Leipsana gliptou; *Gialourē* – Plastara, Basilikē Agiou Achilliou; *Karagiōrgou,* O agios Achillios.

basilica at Little Prespa, which became the cathedral seat of the head of the Bulgarian Church. This monumental church did not lose its importance even after the year 1018. Moreover, it was decorated during the time of Archbishop Leo, and following its devastation under military conflict (1072), it was restored during the time of Archbishop Theophylact. In all likelihood, it served in some respects as an alternative center of the Ohrid Church, since the letters of Theophylact of Ohrid lead to the conclusion that the councils of the bishops of the archdiocese were held in the Church of St. Achilleos.[666]

In addition to the basilica in Prespa, some other temples in the area of the Ohrid church were dedicated to St. Achilleos. One of them may have been located in Ohrid, near the Cathedral of Hagia Sophia, since the Church of St. Achilleos in the "parish of the Holy Physicians" is mentioned in a census from the end of the 17th century.[667] It is also believed that there is a possibility that the Church of St. Achilleos, in the village of Trebište, near Debar, constructed in the 19th century, was built on the foundations of a medieval church of the same dedication.[668] Other churches dedicated to St. Achilleos are only known from written sources. The chrysobull of the Serbian king Milutin (1330) to the Monastery of St. George Gorgos, near Skopje, in its description of the area of the village of Brod (present-day Makedonski Brod), in the Poreče region, also mentions the church of "St. Archillius",[669] while its exact location and time of construction cannot be reliably established. It seems that at some unknown time a church dedicated to the bishop of Larissa, now lost, was also built in the Žegligovo region, judging by the name of one of the villages there – Arhiljevica – which was most likely located on the slopes of Skopska Crna Gora, 15km northwest of Kumanovo.[670]

On the other hand, one church dedicated to St. Achilleos has survived to this day. The church in question is in Arilje, central Serbia, a town named after the patron saint of that church (Fig. 154). After the establishment of the autocephalous Serbian Church, this temple housed the cathedra of the Morava bishops. It has been preserved in the form it gained in 1295/1296, when it was completely rebuilt by King Dragutin, the ruler of the northern regions of the Serbian state.[671] Scholars have reason to believe that the church was dedicated to St. Achilleos even before the year 1219, that is, from the time of its foundation. Archaeological research has determined that the original church had two naves (the main, elongated nave and an annex on its southern side), of relatively modest dimensions (about 9.5 by 5 m), as well as a narthex of equal width. The windows, which were built into the new church from *spolia*, also belong to the

666 See the chapter *Bulgarian Church Architecture and Art: From Origins to 1018,* I, 189–192.

667 *Snegarov*, Istorija II, 296.

668 *Grozdanov*, Ahil Lariski, 278. It is worth noting, however, that in medieval sources on this village, as well as in the Turkish censuses, there is no mention of a church in it at all, cf. Actes de Chilandar II, 561–562 (no 81); *Sindik*, Dve povelje u Hilandaru.

669 Zbornik ćiriličnih povelja i pisama I, 325.172–173 (no. 92). Cf. *Subotić et al.,* Natpisi, 97 (*B. Miljković*). On the Slavic version of the name of St. Achilleos – Archillius cf. *Subotin-Golubović*, Ahilije-Arhilije.

670 *Jireček*, Das christliche Element, 39, n. 1; *Stojanovski*, Gde treba tražiti manastir; *Zlatanović*, Arhiljevica; *Matanov,* Knjažestvoto na Dragaši, 55–58; *Dragičević*, Povelja „carice" Jevdokije, 97; *Subotić et al.*, Natpisi, 97 (*B. Miljković*).

671 *Čanak-Medić*, Sveti Ahilije u Arilju; *Vojvodić*, Zidno slikarstvo.

Fig. 154.
Arilje, Church of St. Achilleos, view from the east

earlier construction phase. Based on typological features, the older church is dated between the 9th and 11th century.[672] However, if the hypothesis about its original dedication is correct, then one would assume that the church was most likely built after 985/986, namely, after the transfer of the relics of St. Achilleos to Prespa. It is not at all inconceivable that it was built after the year 1018.

The veneration of St. Achilleos across the territory of the Ohrid Archbishopric had its direct reflection in art. When it comes to the fragmentarily preserved frescoes of the Church of St. Achilleos in Prespa, researchers have identified three figures of this saint, maintained in different layers of painting.[673] Most of the saint's images are conserved in monuments from the second half of the 12th century. A bust of St. Achilleos was painted in the *diakonikon* of the Church of St. Panteleimon, in Nerezi near Skopje (post 1164), while in the Church of the Hagioi Anargyroi in Kastoria (the last decades of the 12th century), his standing figure is portrayed in the aisle between the bema and the *prothesis*. The most prominent place belongs to the representation of St. Achilleos in the Church of St. George in Kurbinovo (post 1191). He is depicted in that church on the south side of the Liturgical Service of the Fathers of the Church, in the first zone of the frescoes of the altar apse, behind Sts. John Chrysostom and Athanasius the Great, and in front of St. Nicholas (Fig. 155).[674] When one takes into account the previously mentioned Church of St. Achilleos in Arilje, it is not at all surprising

672 *Čanak-Medić*, Iz istorije Arilja; *Eadem*, Sveti Ahilije u Arilju, 43–81.

673 *Grozdanov*, Ahil Lariski, 277 (with earlier literature).

674 For the listed figures cf. *Grozdanov,* Ahil Lariski, 278–281. On the iconography of St. Achilleos cf. also, *Papadēmētriou*, Oi apeikoniseis tou agiou Achilleiou; *Vapheiadēs*, O Agios Achillios.

Fig. 155.
Kurbinovo, Church of
St. George, St. Achilleos

Fig. 156.
Studenica Monastery,
Church of the Mother
of God Evergetis,
St. Achilleos

Fig. 157.
Mileševa monastery,
katholikon, St. Achilleos

that in some significant edifices in the area of the Raška bishopric, St. Achilleos was also given a specially selected place in the thematic repertoire of the murals. In the Church of the Mother of God in Studenica (1208/1209), his standing figure is positioned in a very prominent position in the altar area – on the inner side of the northern column that divides the altar from the naos (Fig. 156).[675] There is no doubt that Sava, the Archimandrite of Studenica, was responsible for the selection and arrangement of the aforementioned representation, and, later on, after becoming the first Serbian archbishop (1219), he also made sure that the image of St. Achilleos was given a significant place in the iconographic program of the painting of the churches which he supervised. This is evidenced by the figure of St. Achilleos in the first zone of the frescoes in the Mileševa naos, near the ktetor's composition (Fig. 157).[676] Finally, on the territory of the Ohrid Archbishopric, St. Achilleos was also painted in the last phase of Byzantine rule in Macedonia. This is indicated by his standing figure in the apse of the *prothesis* of the Church of St. Nicholas, in Manastir (1270/1271).[677]

The cult of the Forty Martyrs of Sebaste was also of particular importance in the region of the Ohrid Archbishopric. According to their hagiographies, these saints were Roman soldiers, who, during the persecutions by Emperor Licinius, refused to renounce the Christian faith, for which they were tortured in a frozen lake near Sebaste, a city in the province of Armenia Minor. After miraculously being saved from freezing, they were eventually burned alive. Their ashes, dispersed into the river, were collected and stored in a reliquary by Bishop Peter. The cult of these martyrs for the faith grew exceptionally strong over the centuries, and had a considerable echo in the art of the Byzantine world.[678] From the martyrium dedicated to them in Sebaste,[679] the fame of the Forty Martyrs first spread to other parts of Asia Minor. A monastery was dedicated to them in Chalcedon, and they were especially venerated in Caesarea of Cappadocia, where a church was built in their honor during the time of St. Basil the Great, who dedicated a homily to them.[680] In time, however, the main center of veneration of the Forty became Constantinople. In the capital, where they were celebrated on 9th March, their cult took root early, and at least eight churches were dedicated to them.[681]

---

675 *Grozdanov*, Ahil Lariski, 283–285; *Živković*, Prilozi, 216–217, fig. 1–2; *Idem*, Najstarije zidno slikarstvo, 58 (no. 25), 103–104. The oldest known Serbian transcription of the service to St. Achilleos was written in the Studenica Monastery in the mid-13th century. Regarding that service, as well as on other Serbian hymnographic writings dedicated to this saint cf. *Subotin-Golubović*, Kult svetog Ahilija; *Eadem*, Nova služba sv. Ahiliju; *Eadem*, Slovenski prepisi; *Eadem*, Još jedan prepis.

676 *Okunev*, Mileshevo, 57, sch. I (no. 37); *Živković*, Mileševa, 28; *Grozdanov*, Ahil Lariski, 285.

677 *Kostovska*, Sveti Nikola Manastir, 109–111, fig. 131, 133.

678 For the main hagiographic sources about the Sebaste martyrs cf. BHG II, 97–99; Acta Martyrum Selecta, 166–181; The Acts of the Christian Martyrs, 354–361; *Seeliger - Wischmeyer*, Märtyrerliteratur, 291–305. More about their cult cf. *Franchi de Cavalleri*, I santi quaranta martiri di Sabastia; *Karlin-Hayter*, Passio of the XL Martyrs of Sebasteia; *Maraval*, Les premiers développements; *Walter*, Warrior Saints, 170–172; *Mitchell*, Hagiography and the Great Persecution; *Krjukova et al.*, Sevastijskie mučeniki

679 *Maraval*, Lieux saints, 372, 374.

680 'Let Us Die That We May Live', 67–77.

681 Syn CP, col; *Janin*, La géographie ecclésiastique I, 498–502; *Grünbart*, Die Macht des Historiographen.

The importance of the cult of the Sebaste martyrs in Ohrid is primarily evidenced by the fact that the *prothesis* of the Cathedral of Hagia Sophia was dedicated to these saints. This conclusion is drawn on the basis of the painted decoration of the aforementioned altar room, which contains the hagiographic cycle of the Forty Martyrs of Sebaste, the most extensive in Byzantine mural painting (Fig. 158).[682] An icon of the Sebaste martyrs also dates from the 11th century, presently kept in the Icon Gallery of Ohrid.[683] In accordance with what has been said about the history of the cult of the Sebaste martyrs, it can be assumed that it was most likely transferred to Ohrid directly from Constantinople, although it had been present in the Balkans since Early Byzantine times.[684] Of course, the choice of the patron of the *prothesis* in the Ohrid Cathedral could easily be attributed to Archbishop Leo, the former chartophylax of the Church of Hagia Sophia in Constantinople, who could have become well acquainted with the cult of the Forty Martyrs of Sebaste in the capital.[685] Such a view seems quite convincing, but it should still be supplemented with some older testimonies about the veneration of the Sebaste martyrs in the Ohrid area, and in the Slavic milieu. First of all, we should certainly not lose sight of the fact that a homily for these saints was written by St. Clement of Ohrid.[686] The so-called Temnić inscription (10th–11th century) i.e. a stone slab with the text of a prayer to the ten singled-out and named martyrs from Sebaste, found in the village of Gornji Katun, near Varvarin, in central Serbia, belongs to the same group of sources regarding the veneration of the cult of the Sebaste martyrs amongst the Slavs.[687]

In any case, whatever the decisive factor was in establishing the cult of the martyrs of Sebaste in Ohrid, the reality is that it was incredibly strong during the Byzantine rule. In addition to the data already cited, this is further evidenced by the fact that a separate church was dedicated to these saints, in the southeastern part of "Varoš". Unfortunately, it has survived to this day only in the form of archaeological remains. This was a single-aisled temple without a dome, with a semicircular altar apse on the east, and a chapel on the north side. Fragments of a marble altar partition and remains of frescoes were found during recent research, dated to the 13th century, of which the depiction of the Officiating Bishops in the altar apse is best preserved.[688]

682 *Miljković-Pepek*, Materijali, 61–63, sch. 3 (no. 7), fig. 20, tab. XXVIII–XXXI; *Grozdanov*, Ciklusot; *Tolstaja,* „Sorok sevastijskih mučenikov". Cf. also *Gavrilović*, The Cult of the Forty Martyrs of Sebaste.

683 *Georgievski*, Icon Gallery, 20 (no. 2), with bibliography.

684 The early veneration of the Sebaste martyrs is strongly attested to by the monumental basilica, with a crypt, dedicated to them near the city of Onchesmos, present-day Saranda, in southern Albania. The construction of this sacral complex most likely began in the late 5th or early 6th century, and continued during the reign of Emperor Justinian (527–565), when the basilica was built, while some of the works were carried out later. The church was probably destroyed around the year 600, during the conquests of the Avars and Slavs, although later traces of use have been registered. *Cf. Mitchell*, The Archaeology of Pilgrimage; *Vitaliotis*, The Basilica of the Forty Martyrs.

685 For such an opinion cf. *Todić,* Arhiepiskop Lav, 121.

686 Kliment Ohridski. Sŭbrani sŭčinenija I, 511–524; *Ivanova*, Bibliotheca Hagiographica Balcano-Slavica, 485.

687 *Stojanović,* Temnićki natpis; *Radojčić,* Temnićki natpis; *Čigoja*, Najstariji srpski ćirilski natpisi; *Krivko,* Temničskaja nadpis'.

688 *Malenko – Bačeva – Angeličin Žura*, Crkvata Sv. Četirieset mačenici.

Fig. 158. Ohrid, Church of Hagia Sophia, *prothesis*, Forty martyrs of Sebaste, a detail

That the veneration of the Sebaste martyrs spread from Ohrid to other parts of Byzantine Macedonia, can be concluded primarily from the appearance of their visual representations. Thus, one representation of the Sebaste martyrs, perhaps part of the cycle, was preserved in the southwestern part of the naos of the Church of St. Leontios in Vodoča (Fig. 95).[689] In the second half of the 12th century, the scene of their martyrdom was also painted on the façade of the southern chapel of the katholikon of the Veljusa Monastery, and it seems that there was an icon with representations of the Sebaste martyrs on the royal doors of the iconostasis in that church, as well.[690] Finally, the connections with the central regions of the Ohrid Archbishopric could explain the appearance of representations of the suffering of the Sebaste martyrs in Serbian medieval painting, and in quite prominent positions. The oldest of them was painted in the southern vestibule of the Church of the Mother of God, in Studenica (1208/1209), at a time when the Raška Bishopric was still part of the Ohrid Archbishopric.[691]

In addition to the previously discussed monastic *coenobiae*, there were also several centers of eremitic monasticism in the area of the Ohrid Archbishopric. As is well known, this constitutes a form of the strictest asceticism with deep roots in the Early Christian monastic communities of Egypt and the Holy Land. In the wide area of the

689 *Mijatev*, Les "Quarante martyrs"; *Miljković-Pepek,* Vodoča, fig. 28, sch. XI (no. 55), tab. XXIX.

690 *Miljković-Pepek*, Veljusa, 226–229, 235–236, 240–242, sch. VIII no. 6, dwg. 38, fig. 72.

691 *Živković,* Najstarije zidno slikarstvo, 261–263, 508–512. On later portrayals of the Sebaste martyrs in Serbian painting of the 13th century cf. *Pavlović*, Kult i ikonografija.

Byzantine commonwealth, eremitic practice had a long and rich tradition, especially in several famous "holy mountains" in Asia Minor and the Balkans. Monastic asceticism in these holy places implied both a strict solitary life in isolated cells, in caves, almost as a rule, and the existence of larger groups of hermit monks, organized in the form of a *lavra*, i.e. a network of hermitages formed around churches, built for the needs of communal worship.[692]

A distinctive feature of eremitic monasticism in the Ohrid Archbishopric is the fact that its most significant representatives were Slavs. Moreover, several of the most noteworthy Slavic hermits, whose activities can be traced in the area from Rila to Prizren, were celebrated after their deaths as saints.[693] From the aspect of the "Byzantinisation" of the Central Balkans, it is particularly indicative that the cults of the saints in question were accepted by the Greek hierarchy of the Ohrid Archbishopric, and that, as some characteristic examples testify, they were additionally encouraged by some prominent members of the Byzantine administration.

The founder of this regional monastic tradition, namely, one of the first Slavic anchorites known by name, was St. John of Rila.[694] His cult was probably established shortly after his death († 946), therefore, during the time of the First Bulgarian Empire, where monastic life, and within it, hermit practice, are also known from earlier periods.[695] However, the cult of St. John of Rila became fully formed, in the true sense of the word, only during the time of Byzantine rule. The oldest Slavic, so-called "folk" hagiography of St. John was written sometime during the 12th century, and certainly before the year 1183. According to this text, the saint was born in the vicinity of Sofia, from where he journeyed to the "Rila Desert", where, with the help of God, he found a cave in which he would live as a hermit. There he spent three years and six months in constant fasting and prayer, successfully resisting demonic attacks, and then dedicated himself to even more radical asceticism, spending seven years on a high rock. Henceforth, towards the end of his life, St. John prepared a burial place for himself, as instructed by an angel. Soon the area where he was in ascesis was visited by the Bulgarian emperor Peter (927–969), who, through an intermediary, entered into communication with the ascetic. After the repose of St. John (August 18), it was exactly the aforesaid Bulgarian ruler who organized the transfer of his relics to Sredetz (Sofia),

692 On the phenomenon of hermit monasticism in the Byzantine world, with sources and extensive literature, cf., e.g., *Talbot*, Les saintes montagnes a Byzance; *Popović*, Desert as Heavenly Jerusalem; Heilige Berge und Wüsten. For some of the most significant monastic centers of this type cf. *Rodley*, Cave monasteries of Byzantine Cappadocia; *Papachryssanthou*, Ho Athōnikos monachismos; *Hirschfeld,* The Judean Desert Monasteries; *Ragia*, Latros; *Bender*, Ermitages et monastères rupestres.

693 For a review of hagiographic sources on the pioneers of Slavic hermit monasticism cf. *Podskalsky*, Theologische Literatur, 105–108, 120–121, 293–296; *Špadijer*, Južnoslovenski pustinjaci.

694 On St. John of Rila cf. *Dujčev*, Rilskijat svetec; *Dobrev*, Sveti Ivan Rilski; *Ivanova – Češmedžiev – Turilov*, Iaonn Ril'skij (with an extensive bibliography).

695 *Totev,* Les monastères de Pliska et de Preslav; *Popkonstantinov*, Kŭm vŭprosa za otšelničeskite praktiki v Bŭlgarija; *Curta*, The cave and the dyke; *Popkonstantinov – Kostova*, Architecture of conversion; *Kostova*, Patronaž i manastirska geografija.

where they brought about numerous miracles.[696] A strong indicator of the veneration of St. John of Rila in the Byzantine church milieu is the fact that an extensive hagiography was dedicated to this anchorite, written in the Greek language, between 1166 and 1183, but preserved only in Slavic translation.[697] Moreover, its author, George Skylitzes, the Byzantine governor of Sofia, who also dedicated hymnographic works to St. John of Rila,[698] left striking evidence that the Rila saint was also revered by some Byzantine emperors. This author first states that the relics of St. John were transferred to Sofia, initially to the cathedral church, then to the wooden church of St. Luke, then to a church built of stone, dedicated to him, noting that all this occurred during the era of the "two-lineage" (двѡроднѣмь) emperor.[699] This ruler has long been recognized in historiography as Emperor Romanos IV Diogenes (1068–1071), however, according to the most recent interpretations, he could only have been responsible for some of the local transfers of the relics of St. John, probably the one to the cited Church of St. Luke.[700] The vita by George Skylitzes mentions another Byzantine emperor, Manuel I Komnenos (1143–1180), who was healed by the relics of the Bulgarian saint on the recommendation of the author, Skylitzes having previously been cured by their miraculous effects himself.[701] Over time, the veneration of St. John of Rila spread to some neighboring countries. This is strikingly evidenced by the fact that the Hungarian king Béla III (1172–1196) stole the relics from Sofia and transferred them to Esztergom in late 1183 or early 1184, only to return them in 1186/1187, after establishing good relations with the Byzantine emperor Isaac II Angelos (1185–1195).[702] A new phase in the history of the cult of St. John of Rila began with the restoration of the Bulgarian state. In 1194/1195, Emperor John Asen I (1185/1186–1196) transferred the saint's relics from Sofia to Tarnovo, where, on 18 October, they were ceremonially placed in the newly built monastery church on the Trapezitsa hill. St. John of Rila thus became one of the heavenly patrons of the Second Bulgarian Empire.[703]

More than seven decades after the fall of Tarnovo to the Ottomans (1393), the relics of St. John were transferred to the Rila Monastery on 1 July, 1469. Thus commenced a new stage in the saintly celebration of St. John, or rather in the history of the monastery founded in the area where he spent his entire ascetic life.[704] Unfortunately, the earliest history of the monastery is not easy to reconstruct. Based on data from hagiographic

696 *Ivanov,* Žitija, 28–37; For the English translation of the hagiography cf. *Petkov*, The Voices of Medieval Bulgaria, 163–171. On the transfer of relics to Sredetz cf. *Češmedžiev*, Za vremeto na prenesjaneto.

697 *Ivanov*, Žitija, 38–55. Cf. *Gonēs*, Geōrgios Skylitzēs.

698 *Dobrev*, Kanonite za sv. Ivan Rilski.

699 *Ivanov*, Žitija, 48.

700 *Pirivatrić*, Prvi prenosi.

701 *Ivanov*, Žitija, 50.

702 *Ivanov*, Žitija, 53–54; *Ivanova-Konstantinova*, Neizvesni sluzhbi na Ivan Rilski, 127–158, 134–140; *Pirivatrić*, The translatio of the Relics.

703 *Ivanov*, Žitija, 54, 58, 72; *Aleksiev*, Za svetcite-pokroviteli na stolična Tŭrnov; *Biliarsky*, La translation des reliques; *Dobyčina*, Tyrnovo i politika perenesenija svjaštennyh relikvij.

704 Cf. *Vasiljević*, Kultovi svetih, 270–279 (with sources and literature).

sources, it is assumed that it could have been founded during the lifetime of St. John, but some researchers do not exclude the possibility that this happened only after the year 1018, that is, after the establishment of Byzantine rule.[705] In any case, not a single significant material trace of the beginnings of monastic life in the Rila Monastery has been preserved.[706] The present-day appearance of the monastery complex is largely the result of a major renovation that occurred after the fire of 1833. The only (late) medieval building in the monastery is a monumental tower, with a chapel adorned with frescoes, built in 1334/1335 by a nobleman of the Serbian king Stefan Dušan, *protosebastos* Hrelja.[707] On that occasion he also built a new *katholikon*, in which he was buried, as the monk Chariton, in 1342, and in its place the present-day church of St. John of Rila was built, almost exactly five centuries later (1837).[708]

St. Prohor of Pčinja should be the first to be listed amongst the group of followers of St. John of Rila. The initial mention of this ascetic is preserved in the Orbele Triodion, a manuscript from the mid-13th century, now in the National Library of Russia in St. Petersburg (F.p. I. 102).[709] The oldest, a synaxarion vita, preserved in one Serbian manuscript from the late 13th and 14th century (*Norov Prologue*), reveals only that the reverend father Prohor was a native of "the Vranje Metropolitanate", from where he came to Mount Kozjak to live as an ascetic. After Prohor's death, "pious Christians" found his relics, which they placed in a church they built "on the river called Pšinja". The brief synaxarion note ends with the information that the saint's relics bring upon healings "to this day".[710] A more detailed description of the ascetic life of St. Prohor is contained in his extensive hagiography, which was preserved, in several versions, in 19th-century transcriptions. According to the latest research, it was most likely composed in the Monastery of St. Prohor, probably sometime in the 16th or 17th century, or perhaps even in the 14th century.[711] This hagiographic text, according to which the saint was a native of Ovče Pole, contains a story about the meeting of Prohor and a certain hunter Diogenes, whom the hermit predicted would one day become a Byzantine emperor. Having indeed become a *basileus*, Diogenes returned to the place of his meeting with St. Prohor, where, after a somewhat lengthy search, he found his relics, with the help of the saint, himself. Considering the data in the three versions of the extensive

705 For an overview of opinions on the time of the founding of the Rila Monastery cf. *Radkova*, Istoricheskata sŭdba na manastira; *Kujumdžiev*, Stenopisite v glavnata cŭrkva, 20–23; *Češmedžiev et al.,* Ril'skij monastyr', 613.

706 Cf. *Džingov*, Arheologičeski prinosi.

707 *Praškov*, Hreľovata kula; *Đorđević*, Zidno slikarstvo, 136–137; *Kirin*, Contemplating the Vistas of Piety; *Willson*, The Allegory of Wisdom (with older literature).

708 *Kujumdžiev*, Stenopisite v glavnata cŭrkva, 71–124.

709 Slavjanskie rukopisi, 50–52 (no. 15).

710 *Ivanova*, Dve neizvestni starobŭlgarski žitija; *Eadem*, Stara bŭlgarska literatura IV, 563; *Trifunović*, Najstariji srpskoslovenski životopis; *Petkov*, The Voices of Medieval Bulgaria, 177; *Smolčić-Makuljević*, Istorija manastira, 15–16. Even in the services to St. Prohor of Pčinja, in keeping with the character of these celebratory compositions, there is no detailed information about his life, cf. *Trifunović*, Služba Svetom Prohoru Pčinjskom; *Subotin-Golubović*, Himnografski tekstovi.

711 For the time of creation cf. *Temčin*, Obraz prp. Vassiana.

hagiography of St. Prohor, it follows that the emperor was the ktetor of at least two churches in the said area, one in which he placed the saint's relics – that is, the Monastery of St. Prohor of Pčinja, itself – and the other, which he dedicated to St. George the Victorybearer, at the place where St. Prohor prophesied his elevation to the imperial throne.[712] The second church has long been identified in scholarship with the 11th-century basilica at Staro Nagoričino, renovated in 1316 by the Serbian king Stefan Uroš II Milutin (1282–1321).[713] Of course, it is easy to recognize the Byzantine emperor Romanos IV in the figure of "Diogenes" from the hagiography of St. Prohor, previously mentioned in connection with the transfer of the relics of St. John of Rila. Although, when considering the historical validity of the assertions regarding his participation in the construction of the Monastery of St. Prohor and the Church of St. George at Staro Nagorično, one should take into account that the meeting of the emperor and the hermit is a well-known hagiographic topos,[714] we should also not lose sight of the fact that before ascending to the imperial throne, Romanos actually resided in the area, performing the duties of *katepano* of Dristra and *doux* of Serdica, just as his father Constantine had previously performed important duties in the Balkans.[715] Therefore, historiography has not completely dismissed the possibility that the aforesaid hagiographic sources may contain, at least to some extent, historically authentic data.[716]

The Monastery of St. Prohor of Pčinja, similar to the previously mentioned holy abode of the Rila miracle worker, exists today in the form it received after the renovation carried out in recent times. The northeastern part of the present-day monumental katholikon, in which a special place belongs to the room containing the relics of St. Prohor, incorporates a single-aisled building, erected during the renovation of the monastery initiated by King Milutin.[717] Two layers of paintings have been preserved in this space – the remains of frescoes from Milutin's time (1316/1317) and, over them, murals from the 15th century (1488/1489).[718] Although traces of the original church from the time of Emperor Romanos Diogenes have not been sufficiently archaeologically examined, it is assumed that this was equally a relatively modest, single-aisled temple.[719] Therefore, the meagre material remains of the earliest history of the Monastery

712 *Hadži-Vasiljević*, Sveti Prohor Pčinjski, 60–69; *Ivanov*, Bŭlgarski starini, 400–404; *Petkov,* The Voices of Medieval Bulgaria, 177–180; *Smolčić-Makuljević*, Istorija manastira, 17–24.

713 *Todić*, Staro Nagoričino, 35–42. And in the *Life of St. Joachim of Sarandapor*, it is said that a certain "pious emperor" built the church of St. George with the help of St. Prohor of Pčinja, *Ivanov*, Bŭlgarski starini, 404–418; *Petkov,* The Voices of Medieval Bulgaria, 183. See above, 206–209.

714 Cf. *Popović*, Paying devotions to the Holy Hermit, 217–218; *Smolčić-Makuljević,* Two Models of Sacred Space, 193. For broader insight into the relations between Byzantine emperors and monasticism cf. *Benoit-Meggenis*, L'empereur et le moine.

715 Cf. *Madgearu*, Military Organization, 66, 76 et passim; *Smolčić-Makuljević*, Istorija manastira, 25–26.

716 *Smolčić-Makuljević*, Two Models of Sacred Space, 193–195; *Eadem*, Istorija manastira, 25–33.

717 *Stojanović*, Stari srpski rodoslovi, 37; *Prolović*, Arhitektura, 160–179; Cf. *Popović*, Svod srpskih svetih, 93–95. See above, 209–210.

718 *Subotić – Todorović*, Slikar Mihailo; *Prolović*, Živopis.

719 *Prolović*, Arhitektura, 158–159.

of St. Prohor of Pčinja are only somewhat enriched by data from local tradition, recorded in more recent times. This is regarding the two caves that are usually identified as the hermitages in which St. Prohor practiced asceticism. The first is located near the Church of St. George at Staro Nagorično, and the second on Kozjak, in the immediate vicinity of the Monastery of St. Prohor.[720]

St. Gabriel of Lesnovo is also believed to have lived in the 11th or 12th century, although hagiographic sources about him are from a later period. The earliest manuscripts of the prologue hagiography of the saint date from the first half of the 14th century, but it is believed that it could have also been composed during the previous century.[721] According to this short hagiographic text[722] Gabriel was the son of wealthy parents, who, after the untimely death of his wife, decided to take vows. At first, he chose a life in a *coenobia*, so he founded a monastery in Lesnovo, which he dedicated to the Archangel Michael. At some point, however, he decided to devote himself to the strictest form of asceticism, and spent thirty years living as a hermit near the monastery, to which he returned only to die there. Three decades after his death, Gabriel appeared in a dream to a Russian in Sredetz (Sofia), who then came to the Lesnovo Monastery and there excavated the relics out of the saint's grave and placed them in a reliquary. The short hagiography additionally only states that the relics of St. Gabriel of Lesnovo, which began to bring about miracles soon after their elevation, were "a long time after that" transferred to Tarnovo, to the Church of the Holy Apostles. The description of the saint's life in the aforementioned synaxarion text is enriched with many details in a more extensive version of his hagiography, which was probably written in the 16th or 17th century, but was preserved in a rather more recent transcript (1868).[723]

Almost no traces of the original Monastery of the Archangel Michael in Lesnovo have survived to this day, as it was completely rebuilt during the Serbian rule, with funds from the nobleman of King Dušan, Grand Duke Jovan Oliver, in 1340.[724] Only the threshold of the original portal at the entrance to the naos was preserved during the construction of the monastery church, while a few other remains of the older church were used as *spolia*: the capital of the bifora colonnette on the apse (perhaps part of the original altar screen), the capital used as the base of the bifora column on the western façade, as well as a fragment of an old stone slab with engraved Slavic inscriptions and a drawing of a face under the apsidal bifora.[725] However modest and fragmentary, these remains represent reliable material evidence of the existence of an older church on the

720 *Popović*, Paying devotions to the Holy Hermit, 224–226; *Smolčić-Makuljević*, Two Models of Sacred Space, 196; *Eadem*, Istorija manastira, 139–145.

721 On St. Gabriel of Lesnovo cf. *Pavlović*, Kultovi lica, 31–33; *Velev*, Sveti Gavril Lesnovski; *Gabelić*, Lesnovo, 23–25; *Turilov*, Gavriil Lesnovskij, with bibliography.

722 *Ivanov*, Bŭlgarski starini, 395; *Petkov*, The Voices of Medieval Bulgaria, 171–172.

723 *Ivanov*, Bŭlgarski starini, 396–400; *Petkov*, The Voices of Medieval Bulgaria, 172–177.

724 Cf. *Gabelić*, Lesnovo, 27–28 et passim.

725 *Bošković*, Beleške sa putovanja, 90, sl. 8, 10; *Nikolajević*, Prilog proučavanju vizantijske skulpture, 185; *Gabelić*, Lesnovo, 25–26; *Korać*, Spomenici, 156, 172, sl. 27–29.

site of the present one.[726] Conversely, precious testimony on hermit life in the area in question is provided by a fairly large number of sites, which are still awaiting systematic archaeological research. So far, several hermitages and cave churches have been discovered in the vicinity of the monastery. In truth, they cannot be linked to the time of St. Gabriel of Lesnovo, since none of them have been reliably dated. It is certain, however, that the remains of murals in them are no older than the 14th century.[727]

Amongst the founders of the Slavic hermit tradition known by name is St. Joachim of Osogovo (Sarandopor).[728] The oldest manuscript containing the extensive hagiography of this ascetic dates from the 15th century, but there is reason to assume that it was written much earlier, somewhere in the 13th or first half of the 14th century, based on the original version which could have been written as early as the beginning of the 12th century.[729] The text,[730] whose author explicitly placed St. Joachim in the same group as Sts. John, Prohor, and Gabriel, first describes how the saint "soared like a shining star from the west and came to the east, to the region of the mountainous desert of Osogovo". There, on the advice of a local lord, he settled at the foot of Osogovo Mountain, on the Skupica River, in the place of Babin Dol, where, in a cave, he spent his entire ascetic life in constant fasting and prayer, for which he was rewarded with the gift of exorcising evil spirits. He was buried in a grave in front of the cave by two people whom he had previously helped with their hunting. The author of the vita links the moment of uncovering the relics of St. Joachim to the reign of the "Greek emperor Manuel, called Porphyrogenetos", that is, Manuel I Komnenos (1143–1180). At that time, Joachim appeared in a dream to the priest Theodore, a native of Ovče Pole, who then decided to found a monastery at the site of Joachim's asceticism, becoming its first *hegoumenos*, under the monastic name Theophanes. The relics of St. Joachim were transferred to the newly built monastery church, after their miraculous appearance, and by the will of the saint himself. The last part of the hagiography describes several miracles of St. Joachim.

The ascetic feat of St. Joachim of Osogovo, and the establishment of his cult, belong to the time when the region in question was part of the Ohrid Archbishopric. When referring to the history of the cult, a hagiographic piece of data that seems very telling is that the discovery of the saint's relics and the founding of a monastery dedicated to him took place during the reign of Emperor Manuel Komnenos. Based on

726 The veneration of St. Gabriel of Lesnovo is also reflected in the mural paintings of the endowment of Jovan Oliver. The bust and standing figure of the saint are painted on the southern wall of the *diakonikon* and in the passage between the *diakonikon* and the naos, while his ascension is painted in a blind niche on the northern side of the passage from the *prothesis* to the naos, cf. *Gabelić*, Lesnovo, 107–112, tab. 17, 40–44.

727 *Todorović*, Lesnovska isposnica svete Bogorodice; *Gabelić*, Lesnovska isposnica sv. Ilije; *Eadem,* Nepoznati lokaliteti; *Eadem*, Lesnovo, 239–245.

728 *Pavlović*, Kultovi lica, 28–31; *Jakimovska-Tošik,* Sveti Joakim Osogovski; *Turilov – Češmedžiev*, Ioakim Osogovskij, with bibliography.

729 *Ivanova*, Stara bŭlgarska literatura IV, 176–188, 570–571. The first preserved Slavic services to St. Joachim date back to the 13th century, or the beginning of the following century, cf. *Subotin-Golubović*, Dve službe sv. Joakimu Osogovskom.

730 *Ivanov*, Bŭlgarski starini, 404–418; *Petkov*, The Voices of Medieval Bulgaria, 180–193.

this reliable chronological reference, it is believed that St. Joachim most likely died at the end of the 11th or beginning of the 12th century.[731] The hypothesis that the first, lost services to that saint were written in Greek seems significant, as indicated by the linguistic peculiarities of some preserved Slavic services, and certainly deserving a more detailed examination, in view of the idea that the veneration of St. Joachim could have been encouraged by the Byzantine church hierarchy.[732] However, the cult of St. Joachim of Osogovo went beyond local boundaries only when his monastery became part of the Slavic states of Bulgaria and Serbia. As far as Bulgaria is concerned, a piece of information preserved in one of the manuscripts of the hagiography of St. Joachim, stating that Emperor Kaloyan (1197–1207) once venerated his relics, seems of undisputed importance.[733] Even more telling are the citations regarding the reputation that the Monastery of St. Joachim enjoyed during the time of Serbian rule. According to the *Karlovački rodoslov*, the monastery was built, or rather renovated, by King Stefan Uroš II Milutin (1282–1321).[734] His son, King Stefan Uroš III Dečanski (1321–1331), as his biographer writes, prayed to St. Joachim of Osogovo on the eve of the Battle of Velbăžd, in which he defeated the army of the Bulgarian emperor Michael Šišman (1323–1330).[735] Unfortunately, the present-day Monastery of St. Joachim of Osogovo, near the town of Kriva Palanka (North Macedonia), does not preserve any compelling traces of the earliest history of the cult of its patron.[736] The monumental monastery katholikon was built in 1851.[737] The older church in the monastery complex, dedicated to the Nativity of the Holy Mother of God, has not been sufficiently researched. It has been concluded, however, that this modest cruciform church, with a dome, "can hardly be older than the 16th century",[738] although there are opinions that its earliest parts date back to the 12th century.[739]

The four previously discussed saints are usually joined by St. Peter of Koriša, the most significant Serbian medieval hermit.[740] According to the extensive hagiography compiled by Teodosije the Hilandarian, Peter was a native of the village of Unjemir, about ten kilometers distance from Klina. He took vows after the death of his parents, in the Church of St. Peter, in his native village, where he lived with his sister who also decided to dedicate herself to monastic life. He spent his monastic days with her even after moving to the town of Altin, where there was a church that was also dedicated to the apostle Peter. When, however, they reached the village of Koriša, east of Prizren,

731 *Turilov – Češmedžiev*, Ioakim Osogovskij, 184.

732 *Subotin-Golubović*, Dve službe sv. Joakimu Osogovskom, 114–115.

733 *Ivanov*, Bŭlgarski starini, 416, n. 1.

734 *Stojanović*, Stari srpski rodoslovi, 32. Cf. *Nikolovska*, Izgradeni i obnoveni manastiri, 513.

735 Danilovi nastavljači, 41; *Marjanović-Dušanić*, Sveti kralj, 299–300.

736 *Dušanić*, Joakim Osogovski-Sarandaporski; *Petković*, Pregled crkvenih spomenika, 292–293; *Zirojević*, Crkve i manastiri, 181; *Minčeva*, Manastiri i manastirska mreža, 97–104; *Minčeva*, Svedenija za istorijata.

737 *Hadžieva Aleksisevska*, *Kasapova*, Arhitekt Andreja Damjanov, 75–97.

738 *Bošković*, Arhitektonski spomenici na Tari i pod Osogovom, 155.

739 *Minčeva*, Svedenija za istorijata, 732.

740 A monographic study on St. Peter of Koriša was written by *Špadijer*, Sveti Petar Koriški. Amongst the previous works on the saint, deserving special mention is *Popović*, The Cult of St Peter of Koriša.

Peter left his sister and decided to test himself in solitary ascetic trial, on a mountain above the village "called Sveta (Holy)". There he found a cave in which he spent his days in constant fasting and prayer. Like all the previously mentioned hermits, Peter of Koriša was perpetually faced with demonic temptations, to which the author of his vita devotes special attention in his descriptions. Amongst these episodes, which are unusually valuable from a literary point of view, perhaps the most striking is the fight with a large snake, whom the hermit defeated with the help of Archangel Michael. Having acquired great spiritual authority, towards the end of his life, Peter received those who wanted to devote themselves to eremitic practice. He instructed his followers, who settled in a nearby cave, to prepare a grave for him in the hermitage during his lifetime. Soon after his death, the relics of St. Peter of Koriša were revealed as miraculous. Moreover, their veneration was so great that, as the writer of his hagiography explicitly states, the saint's head and limbs were at some point separated from the rest of his body and transported to various places, with a portion of the relics even reaching "Constantine's City".[741]

The most detailed study to date on the life and cult of the hermit of Koriša has put forward the view that he lived in the 12th century, and reposed at the end of that century or at the beginning of the next.[742] However, for several reasons, the possibility that Peter of Koriša lived at a later time should not be dismissed. Quite recently, new, highly eloquent arguments have been presented in support of the previously prevailing opinion that he was born at the end of the 12th or beginning of the 13th century, that he died "at the latest around the year 1270", and that his cult was formed in the last decades of the 13th century.[743] If this chronology is correct, then most, if not all of Peter of Koriša's monastic life occurred at a time when the area in question was part of the Bishopric of Prizren, within the autocephalous Serbian Church, and therefore that his life and cult should not be seen as part of the history of Slavic eremitic monasticism on the territory of the Ohrid Archbishopric.[744] Nonetheless, St. Peter of Koriša is important for the topic we are discussing, if only because his hermitage has been preserved to this day, on the rocky slopes of Mount Rusenica, in the gorge of the Koriša River (Fig. 159). Even if it does not belong to the same chronological framework as the previously mentioned dwellings of Slavic hermits across the territory of the Ohrid Archbishopric, this hermitage represents a first-class comparative example on the basis of which these holy places that have almost entirely vanished could at least be imagined. The edifice in question is the oldest within the cave monastery of St. Peter

741 *Špadijer*, Sveti Petar Koriški, 352.

742 *Špadijer*, Sveti Petar Koriški, 195–206.

743 Cf. the extensive discussion *Bubalo*, Da li je postojala Dioklitija Hvostanska, with a review of previous views on the problem of the chronology of the life of Peter of Koriša.

744 The previously mentioned fact that fragments of the relics of St. Peter of Koriša were taken to Constantinople could indeed testify to the fact that his cult was founded during the time of Byzantine rule, cf. *Miljković*, Žitija svetog Save, 217. It seems, however, that doubts have been rightly expressed about the historical authenticity of the aforementioned data, and that it is not at all impossible that this is a special literary-hagiographic image that was intended to further emphasise the importance and the scale of the saint's cult, cf. *Bubalo*, Da li je postojala Dioklitija Hvostanka, 957–959.

of Koriša, which has been preserved in the form it received during its renovation in the 14th century.[745] The cave in which he lived, and where he was buried, was converted after his death into a church, and painted with frescoes of exceedingly interesting, although not particularly artistically valuable stylistic features. The remains of this artwork have long attracted special attention due to the combination of Slavic and Greek inscriptions on them. This information already gave the first researchers reason to date the original frescoes in the hermitage of St. Peter of Koriša to the time after the annexation of the Prizren diocese by the Serbian Archbishopric (1220).[746] Such a very convincing view is difficult to dispute, although another group of authors believes that Serbian inscriptions on frescoes could have appeared even before the aforementioned year, at the end of the 12th or beginning of the 13th century, in accordance with the previously stated opinion that St. Peter of Koriša lived in the 12th century.[747]

In the attempt to gain a somewhat better understanding of Slavic hermitages within the Ohrid Archbishopric it is important to give some attention to a monument in the far north of its territory, in the Bishopric of Raška and therefore at the very center of the Serbian lands. At the foot of the Ras fortress, built on a hill at the confluence of the Sebečevska into the Raška River lie the remains of a cave monastery (Fig. 160). This *lavra* was dedicated to Archangel Michael. The monastery complex consisted of a church of modest dimensions, and two caves, one of which contained a wooden, probably three-story structure, for the needs of the brethren. During archaeological research, the remains of a cistern and a granary were also discovered, and several cave hermitages were identified near the monastery grounds. The foundation of the Monastery of Archangel Michael in Ras dates back to the second half of the 12th century, that is, to the time of the Serbian Grand Župan Stefan Nemanja (1166–1196),[748] and we have a reliable written source on the activities in the monastery from the very beginning of the 13th century. This is a note by the Elder Simeon, from 1202, on the last page of the Evangelistary that he transcribed for Grand Župan Stefan the First-Crowned (St. Petersburg, National Library of Russia, F. p. I. 82, 189v).[749] The note states that the book was created "in a cave in the fortress of Ras", which has led researchers to conclude that it was one of the aforementioned hermitages in the vicinity of the Lavra of Archangel Michael, probably the most commodious of them, the so-called "Eagle's Cave".[750]

745 *Bošković – Ljubinković*, Isposnica Petra Koriškog, 91–112; *Marković*, Ostaci manastira Petra Koriškog; *Sinkević*, St. Petar Koriški; *Popović*, The Cult of St Peter of Koriša, 188–189, 207–208; *Eadem*, Srednjovekovne pećine-isposnice, 131–135; *Eadem*, The Deserts and Holy Mountains, 63.

746 *Đurić*, Najstariji živopis, especially 185–189. Cf. also *Sinkević*, St. Petar Koriški, 110–111; *Popović*, The Cult of St Peter of Koriša, 189–194; *Eadem*, Svod srpskih svetih, 90; *Marković*, History of Creation, 228, 230; *Bubalo*, Da li je postojala Dioklitija Hvostanska, 964–969.

747 *Bošković – Ljubinković*, Isposnica Petra Koriškog, 110 (*R. Ljubinković*); *Todić*, Odraz kulta sv. Petra Koriškog u umetnosti, 194–197; *Miljković*, Žitija svetog Save, 218–219; *Špadijer*, Sveti Petar Koriški, 204–206; *Starodubcev*, Echo of the Ancient Christian Orient, 261–263; *Eadem*, Pitanja umetničkih uticaja hrišćanskog Istoka, 49–56; *Eadem*, Angels in The Heavenly Liturgy; *Eadem*, The Deesis.

748 *Popović – Popović*, The Cave Lavra of the Archangel Michael.

749 *Trifunović,* Zapis starca Simeona, 81, 85. On the manuscript, with bibliography cf. *Savić*, Vukan's Evangelion.

750 *Popović – Popović*, The Cave Lavra of the Archangel Michael, 123–124. Cf. also *Davidović,* Serbian Scriptoria, 70–72.

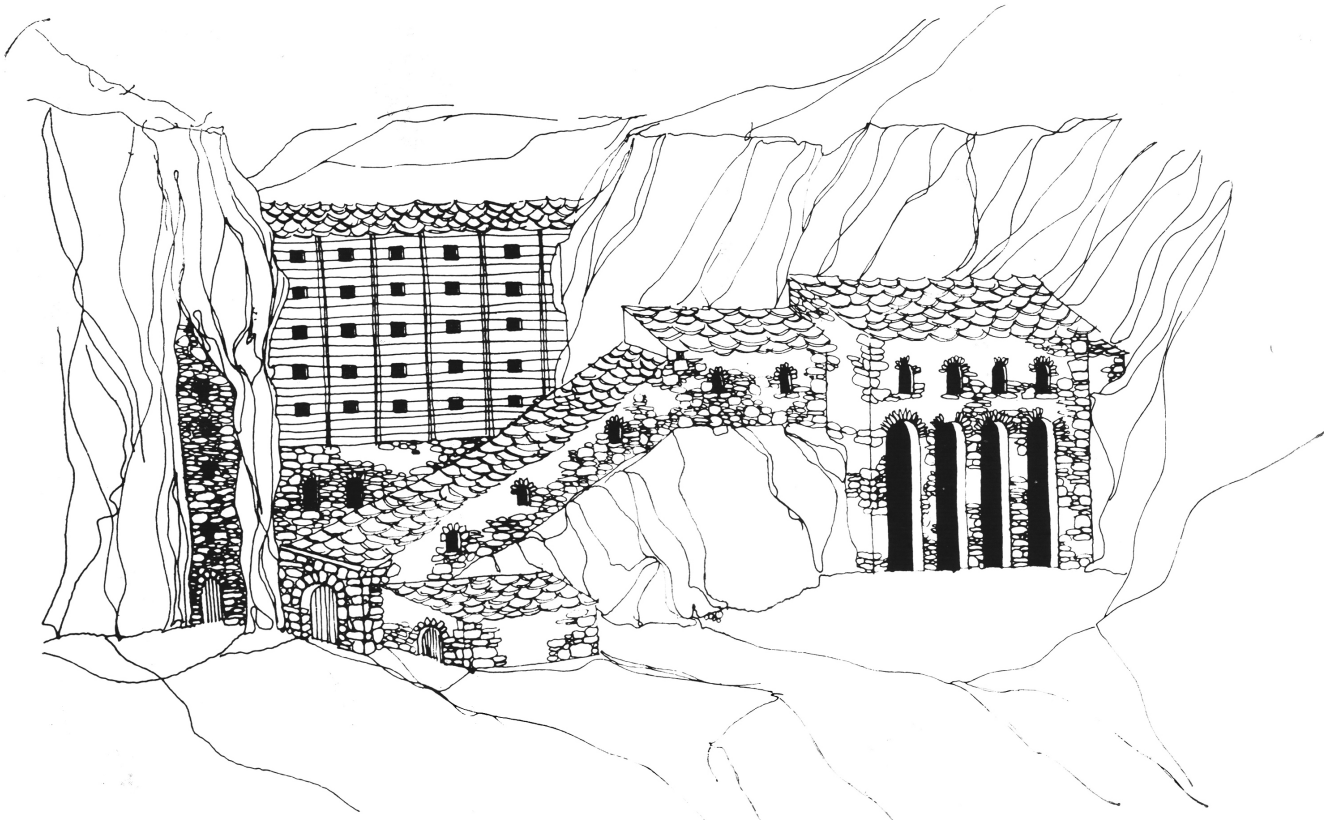


Fig. 159.
Cave monastery of St. Peter of Koriša, reconstruction

Fig. 160.
Ras, Cave Monastery of Archangel Michael, cross section of the "Small Cave"

Finally, in addition to the previously mentioned monuments of monastic cave architecture of the relatively speaking peripheral dioceses of the Ohrid Archbishopric, a considerable number of hermitages have also been preserved in the central regions of that church organization. Amongst them is a particularly large group on the shores of Lake Ohrid and Lake Prespa. However, these are almost exclusively cave churches whose origins do not fall within the chronological scope of our present study, since the earliest were built only in the second half of the 13th century, and the majority of them in the 14th century and later periods.[751]

The only exceptions to this may be the hermitages at the foot of the Monastery of the Holy Transfiguration, built in the mid-14th century on a plateau on the rise above the village of Zrze, 35 km northwest of Prilep, in the immediate vicinity of the Early Christian basilica complex. During systematic archaeological research carried out in 2008–2009, the remains of an entire *lavra* were studied below the plateau on which the Monastery of the Holy Transfiguration was built. On this occasion, the remains of a cave church, a chapel, a large number of hermitages, and a number of other auxiliary buildings were investigated in more detail than before. Based on ceramic findings, the first stage of the formation of this hermit settlement is dated between the end of the 9th century and the last decades of the 11th century. The second chronological phase covers the period from the 12th century, when a cave church was built in the complex, up until the beginning of the 14th century. As the examination of the rich archaeological material has shown, including numerous fragments of frescoes, monastic life in the hermitages of the Monastery of Zrze continued well into the post-Byzantine period.[752]

Amongst the monuments that should be given particular attention in this instance is the cave church of Archangel Michael on a rocky hill above the village of Radožda, in the southwestern part of the shores of Lake Ohrid, 15km away from Struga. There are two layers of frescoes in the church. The original mural painting has been preserved in the narthex, in which the most significant composition is the *Miracle of Archangel Michael at Chonae*. Based on its artistic characteristics, the original iconography is dated to the second half, probably the last decade of the 13th century, and the second layer to the last decade of the 14th century. The early layer is also interpreted in literature as a kind of testimony to the cultural and artistic circumstances in Ohrid following the Battle of Pelagonia (1259). The high artistic quality of the work of the first layer of frescoes has led researchers to assume that their author came from one of the leading artistic centers of the Byzantine Empire, most likely Thessalonike or Constantinople. Some researchers have identified the ktetor of the murals in Radožda as Constantine Kabasilas, who became the Archbishop of Ohrid circa 1254, given his position, financial capabilities and good relations with the court of Constantinople, namely, Emperor Michael VIII Palaiologos (1259–1282). It is believed that this

751 *Angeličin Žura*, Pešternite crkvi na bregot od Ohridskoto ezero; *Idem*, Pešternite crkvi vo Ohridsko-prespanskiot region; *Bogevska-Capuano*, Les églises rupestres.

752 *Risteski*, Monaška naselba "Sveto Preobraženie"; *Idem*, Najranite manifestaciji, 203–210; *Idem*, Deloto na Sveti Kliment Ohridski, 341–352; *Vasileski*, Analysis of the Fragments; *Idem*, Attempt to Reconstruct.

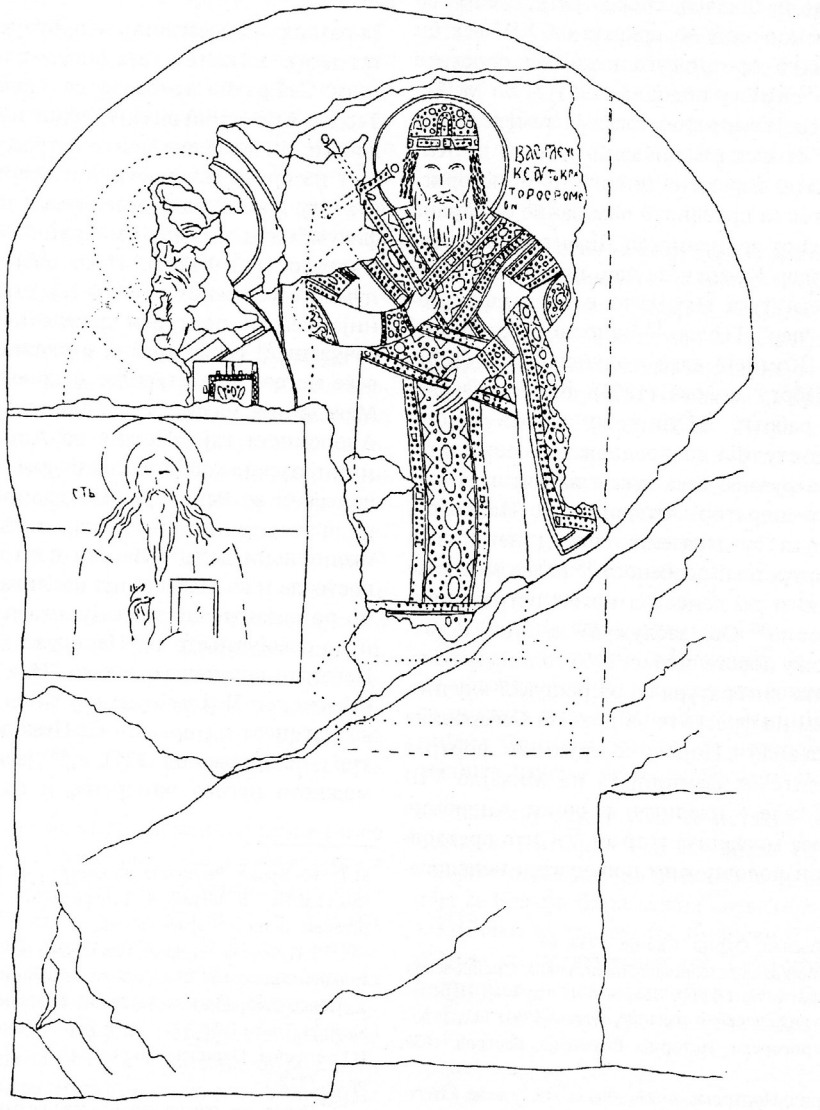


Fig. 161.
Ohrid, Cave church of St. Erazmus near Ohrid, Portrait of a Byzantine emperor and two depictions of St. Erazmus

archbishop, who, as mentioned previously, was canonized after his death, decorated the church with murals, one in which a distinguished hermit, now anonymous, is buried, and whose tomb is located in the southwestern part of the narthex.[753]

The earliest history of another hermitage could also be linked to the personage of the aforementioned Byzantine emperor. It is the cave church of St. Erasmus, located about 5km from Ohrid, on the way to Struga. The construction of the church was completed in the 14th century, when the largest number of frescoes were also painted. The earliest murals, however, date to the second half of the previous, 13th century. These are a well-executed portrait of a Byzantine emperor and a bust of the patron saint of the church, St. Erasmus (Fig. 161). Although the identity of the aforesaid *basileus* cannot be reliably established, in the absence of an accompanying inscription,

753 *Subotić*, Pećinska crkva Arhangela Mihaila; *Angeličin* Žura, Pešternite crkvi vo Ohridsko-prespanskiot region, 52–57; *Bogevska-Capuano*, Les églises rupestres, 39–114.

in recent decades the prevailing opinion has been that it portrays Emperor Michael VIII Palaiologos.[754] Apart from being a rare and all the more significant testimony to the existence of cave churches in the central regions of the Ohrid Archbishopric, in the last phase of Byzantine rule, the hermitage in question is equally important due to the fact that its chosen patron saint was the holy bishop Erasmus, a native of Antioch (apparently not the one in Syria, but the city of the same name in Pisidia or Caria), who was martyred in the Italian city of Formia on 2 June, 303. In Slavic tradition, this *hieromartyr* is remembered as "Lychnidian", due to the identification of that ancient name for Ohrid with the city of Lukridon (Λουκριδόν), in which, according to the hagiography, St. Erasmus preached and performed miracles, for a time, after fleeing Antioch.[755] On the one hand, his choice as the patron saint of the hermitage is understandable, in light of the information from his hagiographies that he, himself, lived as a hermit for a time. On the other hand, this is a kind of testimony to the need for highlighting the deep, Early Christian roots of church life in the area of the Ohrid Archbishopric. It is interesting, in this sense, that another reliably identified artistic representation of St. Erasmus of Lychnidos dates back to the same period – the one in the altar of the Church of St. John at Kaneo in Ohrid (1270–1290), placed next to the image of the patron saint of the Archbishopric, St. Clement (Fig. 152).[756]

VI. Conclusion

The establishment of the autocephalous Archbishopric of Ohrid under Byzantine rule – confirmed by three founding charters issued successively between 1019 and 1025 – preserved the structure of the Bulgarian Church, which in turn became a guarantor of a peaceful transition to the new regime. This continuity of ecclesiastical authority also extended to the architectural and artistic domains, particularly in the construction of sacred buildings. The strong influence of Byzantine art in this region had already begun during the First Bulgarian Empire (864–971) and particularly during Samuel (976–1014) who ruled the region in the late 10th and early 11th centuries, largely transmitted through the authority of the Orthodox Church, which served as a powerful instrument of acculturation. The effective integration of Byzantine cultural influence in the reconquered regions incorporated into the Archbishopric of Ohrid commenced with the imposition of the Greek liturgy. Although the currently preserved sacred buildings – either fully or partially intact – as well as those known through historical sources, do not provide a complete picture of the region's sacral topography, some conclusions can be drawn. Most notably, the transition in political authority did not significantly disrupt

754 *Miljković-Pepek,* Sveti Erazmo, 17–27; *Idem*, Le portrait de l'empereur. Cf. *Bogevska-Capuano*, Les églises rupestres, 199–224.

755 On the cult of St. Erasmus of Lychnidos cf. *Halkin*, La légende grecque de saint Érasme; *Meloski*, Dve žitija na Sveti Erazmo-Lihnidski; *Popović*, Sveti Erasmo Ohridski; *Mirčeva*, Kultŭt kŭm sv. Erazŭm; *Eadem*, Ošte vednuž; *Krysko*, The Passio Erasmi.

756 *Grozdanov*, Portreti, 143–144; *Miljković-Pepek*, Sveti Erazmo, 37–55.

the construction of religious monuments. By preserving most of the existing bishoprics, the new administration allowed for and even facilitated continued ecclesiastical development and architectural continuity in these areas.

The continuity of church construction, as well as the architectural connection to the period before the restoration of Byzantine rule in the territory of the newly established Archbishopric of Ohrid, is perhaps most evident in the churches built on a free-cross or triconch plan. A comparison between churches from the 11th and 12th centuries with a free cruciform layout and those from the time of Samuel reveals significant similarities in terms of their ground plan, construction materials, techniques, and even function. Even so, a major challenge remains in accurately dating these buildings. Due to limited archaeological research and a lack of historical records, it is difficult to determine whether they were originally built during Samuel's reign – or possibly even earlier – and later rebuilt in the 11th or 12th centuries. It is also noteworthy that construction activities continued in certain bishoprics where ecclesiastical architecture had flourished during the Samuel period such as Glavinitza, Morovizd, Strumica, Ohrid. Particularly interesting is the emergence of a significant number of churches with triconch or free-cross plans in the northern regions of the archbishopric. This phenomenon suggests not only economic stability but also a dense and settled population, as well as the strategic importance of these areas. Churches built on these plans are generally smaller in scale and are often associated with funerary functions, typically located within cemeteries. Still, there is no conclusive evidence indicating whether they were part of larger architectural complexes or built as independent structures.

Under the growing influence of Byzantium, a larger number of churches were constructed using the cross-in-square plan with a central dome. Unlike models from Constantinople – where the dome was often supported by four free-standing columns – churches in the Balkans more commonly employed piers or solid walls This adaptation likely occurred in regions where Late Antique columns were not available for reuse as *spolia*. These domical, cross-in-square churches served a variety of functions, including palatial, monastic, parochial, or funerary purposes. Typically modest in scale usually smaller than 10 by 10 meters, they were designed for smaller congregations or private devotion. Although most churches of this type were likely commissioned by Byzantine patrons, they were often built by local craftsmen. These regional workshops introduced specific elements into construction techniques and the architectural decoration. For instance, decorative niches on façades did not always align with the structural system of the building – an approach that reflects a departure from Constantinopolitan models, where architectural decoration was more coherently and tectonically tied to structure.

Of particular interest is the type of church with an inscribed cross and an ambulatory, a plan found at several sites within the Archbishopric of Ohrid such as churches in Labovo, Drenovo and Stara Pavlica. This architectural form had existed in the Balkans since at least the 7th or 8th century, with the Church of Hagia Sophia in

Thessalonike serving as a notable early example. It is plausible that this church provided a model for later builders, although the specific reasons for choosing this plan remain uncertain. What is evident, however, is that Byzantine architectural influences did not flow solely from the imperial capital; cities such as Thessalonike also played a significant role in shaping local church architecture.

In addition to other church plans, the sacral topography of the Archbishopric of Ohrid was notably marked by single-aisled churches with or with an atrophied cross plan such as the case in the Church of Moter of God Evergetis in Studenica Monastery, either with or without a dome. This architectural design allowed for greater interior spaciousness and openness, as well as the construction of larger domes. Despite their often substantial size, these churches served a variety of functions and were frequently built as nobles' endowments. This trend becomes particularly evident in the foundation churches of the Serbian Nemanjić dynasty, beginning with Stefan Nemanja, who commissioned numerous such structures in the regions of Ras and Polimlje during the second half of the 12th century suchs as St. Nicholas in Kuršumlija, Đurđevi Stupovi in Ras, Studenica Monastery, etc. The architectural features of these churches are closely linked to the political context of the time, reflecting aspirations for autonomy and a synthesis of Byzantine and Romanesque architectural practices. They also reflect the weakening of Byzantine political power and influence, while retaining spatial characteristics in churches that are suitable for Orthodox liturgy, indicating continued strong ties with the Church. The numerous surviving single-aisled churches from the 11th and 12th centuries, especially those located within fortified settlements across the territory of the Archbishopric of Ohrid, suggest that this type was particularly favored in fortification environments. Their prevalence likely stemmed from practical considerations, as their relatively modest dimensions suited the spatial limitations typically found within fortification walls.

Much like architecture, painting in the 11th and 12th centuries closely followed models rooted in the Byzantine cultural sphere. These influences reached the region both directly and indirectly, through workshops active in Constantinople, Kastoria, Thessalonike, and Epirus. The autocephalous Church of Ohrid emerged as the principal cultural and religious conduit of Byzantine authority in the Balkans. Although its leadership was appointed by the imperial court, the archbishops of Ohrid retained a degree of autonomy. Many of them came from high-ranking positions in Constantinople and brought with them the artistic traditions and liturgical customs of the capital. Several were prominent theologians, and in collaboration with local artists and patrons, they left a lasting impact on the art of the Archbishopric of Ohrid during the 11th and 12th centuries – a period marked by an intensive revival of ecclesiastical life, church construction, and visual decoration.

The art of the 11th century was characterized by an anti-classical aesthetic, emphasizing the inner spiritual world of asceticism and renunciation, while downplaying physicality and material form. Originating in Eastern monastic circles, this style was embraced and maintained in Constantinople for a long time. However, there are no

direct analogies between the visual language of Ohrid's painters and that of the capital. Instead, closer parallels are found in Thessalonike, where 11th-century frescoes represent the pinnacle of contemporary Byzantine painting.

Until the 12th century, the territories of the Archbishopric of Ohrid were shaped by the *pronoia* system, which strengthened and enriched the local nobility. Conversely, a robust central administration under the Komnenian dynasty – comprised of a military elite – effectively restrained any aspirations for local independence. This new social dynamic was clearly reflected in the arts. Whereas church leaders had traditionally been the primary patrons of artistic production, this role was increasingly assumed by members of the nobility, often drawn from prominent Byzantine families. Even the archiepiscopal throne came to be occupied more frequently by court officials rather than monastic figures. This shift in demographics of church donors contributed to the rise of a new, courtly style in Byzantine ecclesiastical painting during the 12th century.

The most significant influx of Byzantine practices in architecture and painting within the territory of the Archbishopric of Ohrid occurred in the mid-11th century, during the tenure of Archbishop Leo (1037–1065). Under his leadership, the Church of Hagia Sophia in Ohrid was constructed and adorned with frescoes. As the cathedral church and the seat of the archbishopric, Hagia Sophia played a central role in the religious and cultural life of the region. From the time of Archbishop Leo, the Archbishopric of Ohrid also began to take on a more explicitly political character, becoming closely linked to the imperial court in Constantinople – and, consequently, to the artistic traditions of the capital. The artistic influence of Hagia Sophia's painting program extended to several important 11th-century churches within and beyond the Archbishopric of Ohrid, such as the Western Church in Vodoča, the first phase of the Rotunda in Serdica, the second phase of painting in St. Achilleos in Prespa, and Labovo, Veljusa, among others. This dissemination of artistic style underscores the significance of the archiepiscopal center and the active role of its archbishops, who sought to revitalize church life and integrate the northern Balkan territories more fully into the Byzantine cultural sphere. The art of this period introduced new iconographic solutions and emphasized the spiritual depth of imagery, aligning with an ascetic, introspective aesthetic.

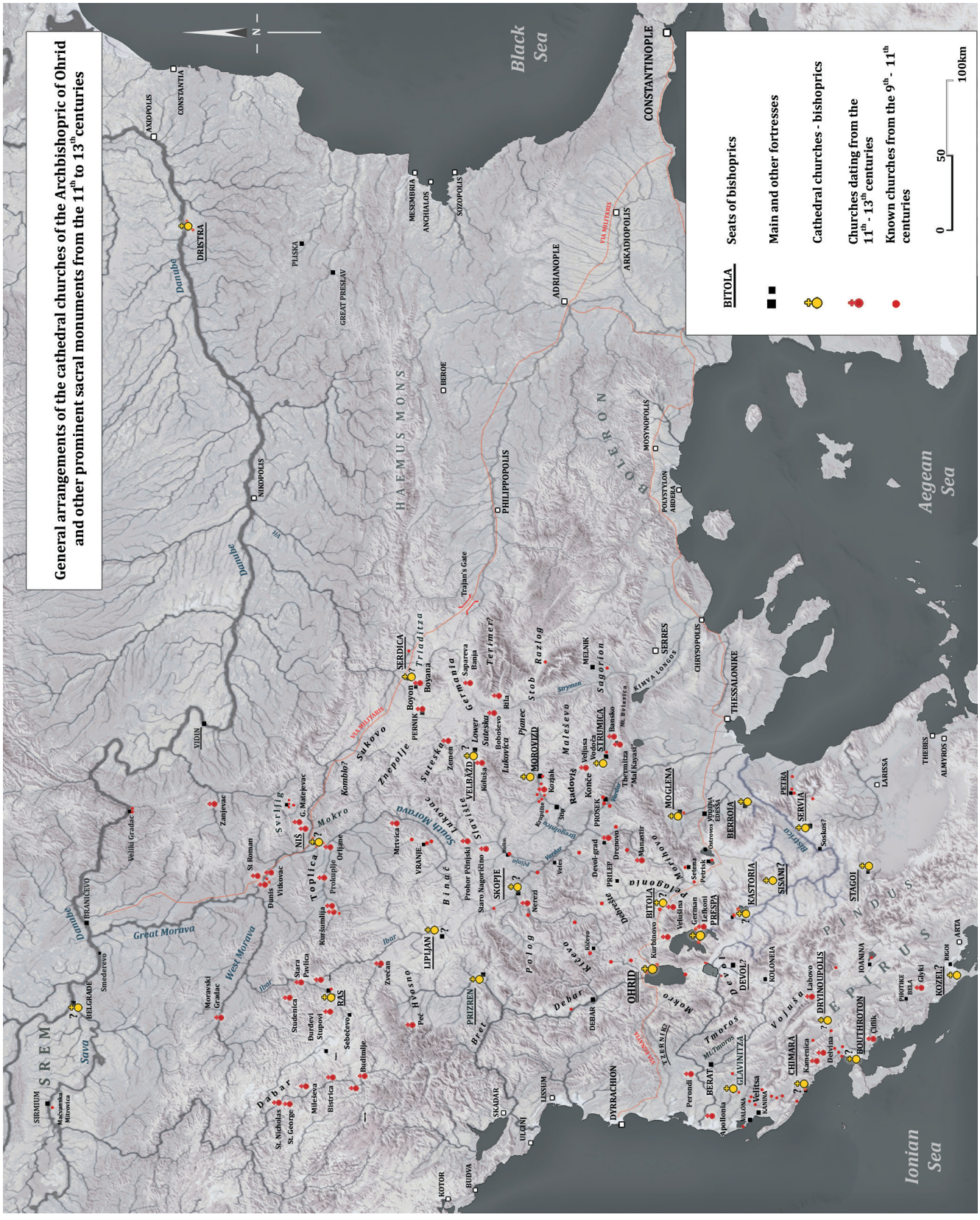
Episcopal centers and their cathedral churches were essential in shaping the sacral topography of the Archbishopric of Ohrid. In the Middle Byzantine period, the installation of a bishop or metropolitan in a city typically entailed the establishment of a cathedral church. These cathedrals developed distinct architectural and institutional features that set them apart from parish and monastic foundations. As the highest-ranking church in the ecclesiastical hierarchy, the cathedral functioned as the administrative seat of the bishop and served specific liturgical and bureaucratic roles. Following the reestablishment of Byzantine authority in the territories under the Archbishopric of Ohrid – and amid the reorganization, relocation, or retention of episcopal centers – many cathedrals were either renovated or newly constructed. Nonetheless, while historical texts provide substantial information about the bishoprics active in the

Archbishopric of Ohrid during the 11th and 12th centuries, documentation concerning the churches that served as their seats remains limited. The number of surviving Byzantine episcopal churches is regrettably small – nearly half the number of dioceses mentioned in historical sources – leaving significant gaps in the physical and archaeological record. Founders played a vital role in shaping the sacral topography of the Archbishopric of Ohrid. These individuals – who were responsible for the establishing and financing of churches, monasteries, and other religious institutions – were central to the development of Byzantine religious and cultural landscapes. Patronage in Byzantine art and architecture was not only a demonstration of piety but also a crucial social function. By sponsoring ecclesiastical buildings, donors sought divine favor and the assurance of salvation. Their contributions were often commemorated within the very structures they funded, through dedicatory inscriptions or donor portraits. Founders frequently influenced the architectural style of the churches and monasteries they commissioned, choosing specific design elements that aligned with their personal tastes or theological preferences. In Byzantine society, patronage was closely tied to political and economic status. The act of founding a church or monastery served as a means for members of the elite to assert or enhance their socio-political standing. Such acts were understood as expressions of loyalty to both the Church and the emperor, reinforcing the ktetor's position within both the religious and imperial hierarchies.

In the 11th century, founders were predominantly ecclesiastical, military, and administrative officials acting as representatives of the emperor or patriarch. These individuals exercised their significant authority in supporting imperial ideology, particularly in provincial centers, towns, and cities. Episcopes, in particular, were dominant as patrons during this period, reflecting the strength and influence of the Church in the periphery of the empire. A shift in the dynamics of patronage occurred with the rise of the Komnenos and Angelos dynasties in Constantinople and the Balkans (1081–1204), when power increasingly transitioned from central authorities to the local aristocracy. Members of the Byzantine and local aristocracy assumed more prominent roles not only in governance and military leadership but also as cultural patrons. During this period, the boundary between aristocrats and wealthy urban citizens became increasingly blurred, as influential families that did not formally belong to the aristocracy also assumed major patronage roles – such was the case with the local Lemniotes and Kasnitzes families in Kastoria.

Religious patronage flourished under the Komnenoi, extending beyond the capital and major urban centers into the provinces. This decentralization of power and cultural production coincided with the gradual weakening of central imperial authority in many Greek provinces. Nonetheless, the Komnenian dynasty remained the principal patrons of the arts within the empire. Their support not only preserved traditional Byzantine artistic values but also contributed to a renewed sense of imperial identity and religious cohesion. The construction of religious buildings in specific areas of the Archbishopric of Ohrid in the late 11th and throughout the 12th century offers valuable insight into the growing importance and apparent economic rise of certain regions,

Map 1. General arrangements of the cathedral churches of the Archbishopric of Ohrid and other prominent sacral monuments from the 11th to 13th centuries



such as Strumica, Skopje, Bitola and Velbăžd, to name a few. These architecturally and artistically remarkable structures serve as enduring markers of both spiritual devotion and socio-political ambition.

Of particular importance to the study of the sacral topography of the Archbishopric of Ohrid is the emergence of eremitic monasticism, which took deep root in the region. Its most prominent representatives were Slavs, several of whom – active across an area stretching from Rila to Prizren – were later venerated as saints. Key among them are St. John of Rila, St. Joachim of Osogovo (Sarandopor), St. Gabriel of Lesnovo, St. Prohor of Pčinja, and St. Peter of Koriša. In the context of the broader „Byzantinization" of the Central Balkans, the acceptance of these Slavic saints by the Greek ecclesiastical hierarchy of the Archbishopric of Ohrid is especially significant. Some notable members of the Byzantine administrative elite even actively promoted these saintly cults, as evidenced by characteristic examples of official support and recognition. Among them historically most relevant remain cult of St. Clement of Ohrid.

Following the re-establishment of Byzantine rule in the region in 1018, the sacral topography of the Archbishopric of Ohrid underwent considerable transformation, offering valuable insight into broader societal and economic changes. The increased pace of church construction points to a relative rise in population and economic productivity. The emergence of new churches in certain urban centers highlights their strategic position and the economic strength of their inhabitants. The distribution of churches was not limited to urban locales. The deliberate selection of church sites and their geographic spread also indicate a preference for areas with agricultural viability or access to water – both essential for rural productivity. The economic potential of certain provinces within the Archbishopric of Ohrid thus became a major factor in attracting noble settlement. This, in turn, led to the establishment of endowed religious foundations, further shaping the region's ecclesiastical landscape.

Medieval sacral topography is a complex and multi-dimensional concept that reflects the intersection of spiritual, political, and social dynamics in medieval communities. Churches, monasteries, and other religious buildings were not just places of worship but were strategically placed and architecturally designed to express power, identity, and divine order. This study of sacral topography of the Ohrid Archbishophric (1019–1204) provides invaluable insights into how medieval people perceived their relationship with the ecclesiastical and political authority, as well as how they structured their cities and landscapes to reflect these beliefs.

Ljubomir Milanović

Miloš Živković

10.46793/Barb.Rhom.II.295S

A Glimpse of Daily Life in the Archbishopric of Ohrid

I. Between the imperial yoke and personal burdens

The image of the yoke (ζυγόν) symbolizes the most significant of social contracts, which include those between the supreme authority and its subjects, and those between a husband and his wife. In a marriage, the two parties may be likened to yoked animals. In the Roman (Byzantine) Empire, the subjects correspond to yoked animals, and the Roman power by implication to a kind of ploughman. In both instances, these bonds are perceived as a prerequisite for pulling one's weight and fulfilling one's duty. An insurrection is thus expressed through the image of a yoked animal that arches its neck in defiance (τραχηλιάω) and wishes to break the bond. The image conveys a negative sentiment towards actions considered wild and inimical to order.[1] It stands for arrogance, debauchery and savagery. It represents a renunciation of the contract that binds humanity together in peace, a threat to the established order. Moreover, according to the Christian outlook, the human condition presupposes the yoke – the yoke of marriage (ζυγὸν τοῦ γάμου), the yoke of service to God (μοναχικὸν ζυγόν), or the yoke of sin (ζυγὸν τῆς ἁμαρτίας). Personal choice is limited to these three options, each involving a particular type of burdens. In comparison, the yoke of imperial power is seen as a secondary burden because it pertains only to earthly life. The primary yoke is that which arises from an individual's choice, and decides their eternal dwelling in the afterlife.

The *acta* of Archbishop Demetrios Chomatenos refer both to the imperial yoke and to various private yokes. It is said that the residents of the Haemus Mountains (Stara planina) region "shamelessly" shook off the yoke of Roman power (τῆς Ῥωμαϊκῆς ἐξουσίας) from their necks and established their tyranny in the wider area.[2] Archbishop Chomatenos bore on his neck the yoke of obedience (τὸν ζυγὸν τῆς ὑπακοῆς) as a man of God, expected to renounce the world and his own will in order

1 Cf. the case of hubris in Septuaginta, Job 15.25.

2 Chomatenus, Ponemata, 146.17–22. All translations are mine, unless otherwise indicated. On the uprising, see the chapter *Provincial Administration in the Service of Pacification*, I, 436–437.

to conform to Christ.[3] The yoke of marriage and its legal consequences are the most discussed issue in the documents. Patriarch Sisinnios, a celebrated legal authority,[4] described marriage as the "root and pedestal of *genos*" and "the workshop of our nature."[5] The Church and episcopal courts, which became increasingly responsible for marital contracts and a whole host of related legal questions, thus shaped the social fabric. They directly influenced the character of family connections, the *oikos* (household members) and the *genos* (kin group[6]). The marital yoke forged kinship by law, which, next to kinship by blood and kinship created through spiritual bonds,[7] was the main cohesive factor in societies. In cases where spouses were of different ethnic descent, language backgrounds and mores, the marriage was also a workshop of cultural exchange. How transformative the exchange was likely to be depended on the individuals involved. Given the limitations of the sources, the exact nature of changes to traditions, behavior, or identity over time eludes us. Nonetheless, the trajectory of a certain vineyard's ownership offers a revealing story. One John Hierakares married a woman of Slavic decent. She was the daughter of Bratonja (Βρατωνᾶς)[8], from a village Vlastous (adj. Βλαστηνός) near Prespa,[9] and the granddaughter of Rade (Ῥάδος). It is said of this Hierakares that he was of Macedonian ancestry.[10] The note regarding his *genos* in this context is understood to imply not only that his ancestors came from the region of Macedonia, but also that they were native Greeks – unlike the family of his wife and his opponent, Draž (Δράζης).[11] Draž, who came from the village of Rakita (Ῥακίτα) near Ohrid, lawfully purchased the vineyard, which Hierakares sought to claim as his inheritance from his Slavic in-laws, despite having no legal basis and in direct contradiction to an imperial decree affirming Draž's rights. Chomatenos did not hesitate to portray Hierakares as a malicious person who was harassing Draž. The case also involves Stana (Στάννα), the daughter of Rade's brother. Stana married a certain Vlkan (Βελκάνος).[12] In contrast to Stana and Vlkan and their Slavic antecedents, their daughter Irene bears a popular Byzantine name.[13] She married a man named Constantine, and they named their son Basil. Constantine and Basil outlived Stana and, when they fell on hard times, sold the vineyard to Draž.

---

3 Chomatenus, Ponemata, 150. 19–21 (he defends himself there against the accusation that he was driven in his actions by worldly ambitions). Cf. NT, Matthew 11:28–30, Mark 8:34, 17; e.g. Clemente, Canoni cerimoniali, 3.341–344.

4 Cf. *Burgmann*, Turning Sisinnios against the Sisinnians, 161. On the significance of his Tomos for marital law, see the chapter *Between Custom and Law: Marriage in the Territory of the Archbishopric of Ohrid,* II, 332–334.

5 *Rhalles – Potles*, Syntagma V, 12: Καὶ ἐπεὶ ῥίζαν καὶ ὑποβάθραν τοῦ γένους, καὶ τῆς ἡμετέρας φύσεως ἐργαστήριον, τὸν σεμνὸν γάμον ᾔδεσαν ὄντα ...

6 Cf. *Leidholm*, Elite, 82–86.

7 Cf. *Macrides*, Byzantine Godfather.

8 Attested in Slavic corpora as *Bratuna* or *Bratonja*. The transcription of Slavic names follows *Dželebdžić*, Slovenski antroponimi, 490–497.

9 *Kravari*, Villes, 362.

10 Chomatenus, Ponemata, 72.8–9: γένος ἔλκων ἐκ Μακεδόνων.

11 See *Tarnanidis*, The Macedonians, 46–47; *Koder*, Macedonians and Macedonia, 25.

12 Chomatenus, Ponemata, 72.59–81.

13 Cf. Chomatenus, Ponemata, 67, for the case involving the Turkic soldier Saphas (Σαφᾶς), baptized as Theodore, who married Maria in Berroia; cf. *Nicol*, Refugees, Mixed Population.

The spiritual marriage of a Greek bishop with the Slavic Church, not unlike the mixed marriage of laypersons, was also a venue of cultural exchange. The bishops adopted cults cherished by the Slavs in the region, as well as the famous events of local history. They incorporated these local cults and historical narratives into Byzantine culture and adapted them in a way to reinforce the standing of their Church on the Byzantine ecclesiastical map.[14] As for the influence in the other direction, the groundwork had already been laid in previous centuries through missionary work (IX–X).[15] The Ohrid archbishops directly testify that Christianization was instrumental in Byzantium's ability to manage relations with its unbaptized adversaries. The hagiographical portrayal of Saint Clement by Chomatenos presents the outcome of Clement's pastoral efforts as altering the way his flock thought. Christian devotion reshapes the frame of mind. The essential task of a good shepherd is to lead his flock to live a life shaped by *good laws* and *self-control* (τὸν εὐνομώτατον καὶ σώφρονα βίον).[16] His successor on the throne in Ohrid, Archbishop Jacob,[17] in a speech written after 1250 relates[18] that a nomad *Scythian*, as a result of conversion, shed his savage character (τὸ θηριῶδες ἦθος) and adopted a Roman-inclined one (τὸ φιλορώμαιον). From such a sociocultural standpoint, the "taming" of a "barbarian" through Christianization makes him inclined to adhere to the Roman ethos[19] and follow the way the *Rhomaioi* live. The imperial dominance on the cultural front takes place as a process through which the *other* is either contained, or eliminated as a threat, or as an *other* altogether through assimilation. If the desired end result of assimilation (e.g. Byzantinization – or rather, Romanization) was an actual Roman (*Rhomaios*), the next best thing might be an aspiring Roman (*philorhomaios*), a Roman-wannabe. In other words, even if the subjects did not adopt all the dominant cultural traits of Rhomaic identity, having them strive for those traits was the next best alternative. It should be kept in mind that the imperial perspective prioritized *the space*, not the people occupying it. The inhabitants were interchangeable. "Savages" could be "tamed". Ethnic communities could be integrated to serve the Empire. Complete cultural assimilation was not a prerequisite for politically viable integration.

At any given point, *Rhomaioi* could be both those whose foreign ancestry may still be discerned and those whose ancestors were *Rhomaioi*. A record of events from 1246 has a prominent inhabitant of Melenikon, Nicholas Manglavites, addressing his townsmen who originated from Philippopolis as "pure *Rhomaioi* by ancestry" (καθαροὶ τὸ γένος Ῥωμαῖοι). He presents them with two options at that point: the yoke of the sensible (Byzantine – Nicaean) emperor or the yoke of a child (Bulgarian)

14 See the chapters *The Good Shepherds and the Others*, II, 41–45; *The Sacral Topography of the Archbishopric of Ohrid*, II, 264–293.

15 See the chapter *Indirect Byzantinization: Bulgaria as a Case Study*, I, 38–50

16 *Milev*, Gr̆ckite žitija – Vita Clementis, 10.

17 Cf. Iacobus, Opuscula; Blemmydes, Ad Jacobum; *Mercati*, Giacomo di Bulgaria; *Dujčev*, Die letzten Jahre; *Idem*, Un nouveau temoignage.

18 Iacobus, Opuscula, VI, 84.21– 85.3. He celebrates the efforts of Emperor John III in regards to baptism of the Cumans. Cf. Acropolitus, 40.15–16; *Macrides*, Akropolites, 217 n. 5; cf. also the concept of Ῥωμαιόφρων in Acropolitus, 141.15.

19 Cf. Taktika of Leo VI, 18.59, on Bulgarians after Christianization gradually adapting to Roman ethos.

emperor. Two things are interesting in this episode.[20] Firstly, the relation to the emperor, irrespective of whether the emperor is a *Rhomaios* like his subjects or not, always means "bending your necks under the yoke of submission (τῷ τῆς δουλείας ζυγῷ)".[21] Secondly, it was possible to distinguish between "pure Romans" according to the *genos* and those who were not. The not-so-pure *Rhomaioi* did not descend from *Rhomaioi* but were still (a kind of) *Rhomaioi*. In case of mixed marriages, the spouse who was *a pure Roman* was expected to alter the (still lingering) foreign or barbarous nature of the other spouse who was prepared to serve under the Byzantine yoke, unlike their ancestors.[22] The insights from the 12th-century sources suggest that the offspring of mixed marriages was more able to blend in, while the possibility of being called out for having non-Byzantine antecedents remained.[23] The ridicule typically involved disparaging remarks about the capacity for self-discipline and learning, as well as derogatory comments on moral character and intellect in relation to upbringing. An analogy used by Chomatenos is interesting in this regard. He compares a scrupulous legal mind to a "pure Greek" (καθαρὸς Ἕλλην). A lesser jurist susceptible to being overwhelmed by a pseudo-sophisticated legal argumentation is akin to a half-Greek (ἡμίγραικος) or a mixed Hellen (μιξέλλην).[24] For those with no Greek ancestry, he thought it best to refrain from trying to interpret the laws altogether.[25] Thus the Byzantine subjects who were not fully assimilated into the majority Greek-Christian culture could always generate suspicion on account of their foreign foreign ("barbarian") or non-orthodox lineage. If they retained their language, this additional factor contributed to mistrust, as they were perceived as kinfolk to those outside the Empire who spoke the same language.[26]

The core Christian values as formulated in Byzantine tradition were shaping the ethos of the Slavic speaking peoples in the central Balkans long before they came under the Byzantine yoke. Grassroots contacts of Slavs with monks and lay Christians were more prevalent and impactful than the focus on organized missionary campaigns

20 Acropolitus, 44. 10–43, cf. *Macrides, Akropolites*, 230–233.

21 Among the reasons given to side with the Byzantine emperor in this particular case is that "the yoke of prudent and mature emperors is befitting and far lighter than that of those who are still youths." On the reasoning underlying this view, see the chapter *The Balkans in the Eyes of Constantinople*, II, 393, 395.

22 Choniates, Historia, 473. Cf. *Laiou*, The Foreigner and the Stranger; the chapter *Indirect Byzantinization: Bulgaria as a Case Study,* I, 57–59.

23 *Laiou*, The Foreigner and the Stranger, 94– 96. Cf. *Radošević*, Les *allophyloi*, 100.

24 Chomatenus, Ponemata, 151.381–389. On the *mixobarbaroi* and mixed marriages, see *Nikolić – Pavlović*, Bulgarians, Serbs, and the Rus, 744–745.

25 See the chapter *The Good Shepherds and the Others*, II, 68–69.

26 According to Choniates, it was not surprising that those who spoke another language would wage war on those who spoke Greek. On the other hand, the infighting among those of the same language is reprehensible since it is a war amongst kin, and such a thing was *barbaric*, Choniates, Historia, 263, 384–385. See also Acropolitus, History, 54.14–16, on the shared race and language as an indicator of alliance: Βούλγαροι καὶ γὰρ τυγχάνοντες οἱ οἰκήτορες τοῖς ὁμοφύλοις προσέτρεχον, τὸν ζυγὸν τῶν ἀλλογλώσσων ἀποσειόμενοι. Tr. Macrides: "For the inhabitants, being Bulgarians, sided with those of the same race, shaking off the yoke of those who spoke another language." On Byzantine views on kinship of Byzantine Turks and Turkic-speaking foreigners, see *Shukurov*, The Byzantine Turks, 252–254.

recorded from the 7th century onwards suggests.[27] Through the Cyrillo-Methodian mission and the work of the literary schools of its disciples, scriptures, service books, works of ascetic, exegetical, dogmatic and apologetic character, hagiography and chronicles were translated from Greek to Slavonic. The Slavonic book culture – conceived within the framework of the Byzantine Moravian mission, later thrived due to the political interests of Slavicized Bulgaria.[28] After embracing Christianity, Bulgarian rulers renovated old churches and built impressive new cathedrals according to Byzantine models.[29] Emulating Byzantine rulers resulted in the adoption of Byzantine art. Law books too were translated into Slavonic, though not with practical aims in mind. Their primary purpose was to provide a framework for legitimizing state authority.[30]

The increasing legal authority of the Church was a new development for Byzantium, and it coincides with the period during which the Byzantine archbishopric seated at Ohrid took shape. Significant social shifts occurred as a result of the growing power of ecclesiastical courts from 11th century onwards.[31] The revised editions of canon law with up-to-date commentaries which took into account synodal decisions relevant for the current practice, as well as the civil law (the *Basilika* and subsequent imperial legislation), enabled the bishops' courts to respond to the wider needs of the society. The Church became responsible not only for marriage as a holy sacrament, but also for marriage as a contract, and through it, for the host of related family and property issues in the private sphere.[32]

This aspect proved to be pivotal for the issue of integration of the western parts of the former Bulgarian realm into the Byzantine Empire. The Byzantine "judicial system" was in itself "a powerful mechanism of integration, since the intent is to subject everyone to the same laws and the same court procedures."[33] The legal and the normative activity of the Byzantine Church in Ohrid increased Byzantine authority and strengthened the alliance of the local population with the Byzantine authorities. The rulings were based on Byzantine law books and practice, molded by the norms and outlooks of Byzantine society and its ancient heritage. In practice, the Byzantine courts often assumed a flexible position on issues involving foreign customs in cases where the subjects under their jurisdiction were not fully assimilated to the "generic Byzantine subject".[34] With foreign groups that wanted to retain a long-standing custom or in cases where going against a certain local custom would seriously disrupt family life, the judicial framework allowed for a great deal of latitude. For these reasons the

27 Cf. *Ivanov*, Byzantium and the Slavs; *Idem*, "Pearls before Swine", 85–156; *Komatina*, Moravski episkop, 366–367; *Maksimović*, Pokrštavanje; *Vlasto*, Entry of the Slavs.

28 See the chapter *Indirect Byzantinization: Bulgaria as a Case Study*, I, 45–46.

29 See the chapter *Bulgarian Church Architecture and Art: From Origins to 1018*.

30 Cf. *Naydenova*, Cyrillo-Methodian Legal Heritage.

31 *Angold*, Church and Society, 8–9, 148. Cf. the chapter *Between Custom and Law: Marriage in the Territory of the Archbishopric of Ohrid*, II, 328–329.

32 *Angold*, Church and Society, 9–10; *Stolte*, Civil Law in Canon Law.

33 *Laiou*, Mechanisms of integration, 163.

34 *Laiou*, Mechanisms of integration, 161–177.

process of legal integration of the Balkan province was at the same time a driving factor for the processes of social and cultural integration of the local population into the Byzantine Empire.

The episcopal court in Ohrid was arguably the most effective point of engagement between the imperial authority and its Slavonic-speaking subjects. Church life on a parish level was not particularly affected by the Byzantine imperial yoke, since the liturgical celebrations and the spiritual discussions continued in Slavonic.[35] The taxes and duties imposed by the Empire were the primary cause of the unrest.[36] By raising alarms with the imperial officials or the emperor himself when the burdens were too much for the locals to bear, the archbishopric's shepherds attempted to act as intermediaries.[37] However, it's unclear if the locals appreciated their efforts in this regard since the imperial government frequently dismissed the pleas of archbishops.[38] Furthermore, the archbishops' oversight over the spiritual welfare of their congregations, clerical discipline, and church estates was not always well received.[39] In this respect, a concurrent development holds particular significance. There was a sentiment among Byzantine leading ecclesiastics that the role of the bishop had not been appropriately appreciated in society. Influential voices in the Church prompted actions aimed at reinforcing episcopal authority.[40] The bishops coming from the patriarchal clergy of Constantinople at that time were thus inclined to reassert the seriousness of their pastoral responsibilities. This meant that they often had to tackle the adversarial reactions of their flock, which would rather have a bishop who was not all too keen on overseeing their affairs. In the case of the Archbishopric of Ohrid, the situation was undoubtedly made more complicated by the fact that the region was embroiled in decades-long hostilities.[41] According to Theophylact's letters, the most serious challenge to the bishop's authority came from the local men of influence, the Bulgarian *kastrenoi*.[42] They resided inside the fortified area of Ohrid. The city walls and the churches were the most conspicuous elements of the urban zones.[43] Little of what survives of "aristocratic houses" in the central Balkans includes a large hall inside a compound with a tower. The hall appears to be designed to project power and accommodate large gatherings, assemblies, and feasts.[44] Wealth, influence, and power over the townspeople and peasants in the surrounding area enabled the local elites to protest against their bishop. They could cause serious trouble for him if they perceived him as encroaching on their

35 See the chapter *The Good Shepherds and the Others*, II, 46–53.

36 See the chapter *Provincial Administration in the Service of Pacification*, I, 404–430.

37 See the chapter *The Good Shepherds and the Others*, II, 54, 58, 63–64.

38 Cf. Theophylact's impressions cited in the chapter *The Good Shepherds and the Others*, II, 64.

39 See the chapter The Good Shepherds and the Others, II, 61–62.

40 *Angold*, Church and Society, 20–27.

41 See the chapter *The Good Shepherds and the Others*, II, 53–74.

42 Theophylactus, Epistualae, 57.30.

43 See the chapters *Bulgarian Church Architecture and Art: From Origins to 1018*, I; *From* Pax Basiliana *to* Pax Byzantina, I; *The Sacral Topography of the Archbishopric of Ohrid: Architecture, Art, Patronage, and the Cult of Saints in the 11th–13th Century,* II.

44 *Curta*, Southeastern Europe, 364, 429.

power or threatening their interests.[45] The adversarial relationship between Archbishop Theophylact and Ohrid *kastrenoi* was likely driven by economic concerns. Members of the congregation who were reprimanded by their shepherd for various reasons became a liability, often conspiring with the *kastrenoi* against the archbishop.[46]

In contrast, the work of the episcopal court in Ohrid was positively received by the residents of the region. The locals turned to it to resolve their differences, trusting the arbitration of the archbishop and his Synod. The disputes concerned impediments to marriage, marital problems and divorce, contested inheritance, the use of the dowry and marital gifts, contested sales, church discipline. Some of the decisions pertain even to criminal law.[47] The inhabitants relied not only on the judgment of the episcopal bench, but also on its authority within local society to enforce the decisions it reached.[48] The standing of an ecclesiastic court largely depended on the reputation and competence of its presiding bishop. The public perception led to either more or fewer advisory questions and legal cases being brought before it. The bishops understood the importance of credibility and their public image. Individuals who had been condemned or chastised for transgressions might rally against them. The potential fallout depended on the level of support the malcontents received. At the same time, bishops were required to judge according to divine laws and compassion, rather than public opinion. Theophylact reminds his suffragan what it means to be a spiritual shepherd as he admonishes him for being too harsh with a local monk.[49] The bishops, he explains, should not be subservient to the judgment of people, except in cases that warrant clear condemnation and cause scandal. While they are solely accountable to God, it should not make them into austere judges of others (πικροὶ τῶν ἄλλων κριταί). Echoing the words of the Gospel, he insists that they must not burden their flock with a load too heavy to bear, while refusing to lift a finger for them.

The surviving decisions and statements of Archbishop Chomatenos demonstrate a keen sense of measure in adjudicating and resolving disputes and answering guidance-seeking queries. His role as an arbiter allows us to gain some insight into the lives of local residents and the issues they were dealing with. The documents betray not just Chomatenos' expertise but also the existence of a well-established legal library. The library of his time was likely a result of both his and his predecessors' interests. Over half a century earlier, Archbishop John IV (Komnenos) was particularly interested in canon law and had prepared a new and still extant edition of the *Nomokanon*.[50] Books were copied and produced in Ohrid and commissioned from other parts of the Empire.

45 Similar tensions between prominent local figures on the one end and the incoming bishop on the other end are observed in other parts of the Empire, cf. *Angold*, Church and Society, 256–262.

46 See above n. 39.

47 For a broader picture, see *Macrides*, Killing and Law.

48 Cf. below 318–319, 323, the part of Chomatenos' decisions that warns local officials of the Theme of Moliskos and all residents of a given area. If they do not comply with his findings regarding a case that provoked an uproar in the community, they will face excommunication.

49 Theophylactus, Epistualae, 58.79–88. Cf. the chapter *The Good Shepherds and the Others*, II, 59–60.

50 See the chapter *The Good Shepherds and the Others*, II, 65–66.

Apart from liturgical texts and various theological works, the Ohrid library likely housed historical writings and medical handbooks.[51] Although Chomatenos was a remarkable legal talent and a learned jurist,[52] he was certainly not the first archbishop to gain trust from the locals in his judicial capacity. His recorded cases attest to the widespread use of private documents to substantiate marital arrangements, purchases, wills, gifts, and verdicts going back decades. Some mentioned documents were more than 50 years old.[53] The parties to a contract were careful to preserve the documents written in Greek, and they were ready to present them in court in case of litigation. It is important to keep in mind that Chomatenos' relationship with his flock was not confined to the courtroom. However, *Ponemata* are largely restricted to that setting. Moreover, the structure of the collection appears pragmatic, allowing it to serve as a practical and authoritative compendium of applied law.[54] Thus, the cases were likely chosen to reflect the issues perceived as generally instructive, rather than issues prevalent among his particular flock. The degree of overlap between these two is difficult to determine.

The treatment of the supplicants and the application of law are consistent regardless of the ethnic background of those approaching the Synod or the archbishop.[55] It is worth noting that such a category was of no significance in Byzantine law, unlike religious confession, for instance. It had legal implications if someone was not Orthodox Christian.[56] The extent to which the faithful in the 12th- or 13th-century Archbishopric of Ohrid felt more foreign to the incoming bishops compared to the congregation in other provinces is difficult to ascertain. Imperial officials and high clergy were prone to bemoaning how they abhorred different aspects of provincial life, such as manners and local customs. A tense and antagonistic relationship with local elites was also a conventional challenge for those serving in the provinces.[57] Peasants made up the majority of Byzantine provincial society.[58] Life revolved around village communities. It was not uncommon for the Byzantine Church to establish bishoprics around relatively modest, to a large extent rural, settlements.[59] The learned churchmen and officials coming from Constantinople frequently conveyed discontent with the rural way of life. They struggled to relate to the peasants, regardless of the ethnic

51 See the chapter *The Good Shepherds and the Others,* II, 44–46. Cf. Theophylactus, Epistualae, 112, where Theophylact inquires whether Nicholas Kallikles could supply him with some work of Galen or with another book bearing on medicine.

52 *Prinzing*, Chomatenus, Ponemata, 38*.

53 Chomatenus, Ponemata, 59. Cf. below 310.

54 See *Prinzing*, Chomatenus, Ponemata, 305–307*.

55 On ethnic groups see the chapter *The Archbishopric of Ohrid from the 11th to the 13th century – Territorial and Ideological Framework*, II, 31–35; *Iliev*, Ohridskijat arhiepiskop; *Simeonov*, Alltagsleben, 51–70; *Osswald*, Ethnic Composition.

56 *Stouraitis*, Reinventing Roman Ethnicity, 75.

57 See the chapter *The Good Shepherds and the Others*, II, 62.

58 On peasants in the Archbishopric's territory, and sources indicating that the number of dependent peasants increased during Byzantine rule see *Litavrin*, Bolgarija i Vizantija, 38–201; *Angelov*, Die bulgarischen Länder, 158–161.

59 *Angold*, Church and Society, 141–142.

factor. While they could appreciate the noble qualities of plant cultivation, they often depicted animal farming as an irritating feature of their provincial surroundings. Livestock noises and the haunting smells of both animals and of the farmers tending to the herds constituted an assault on their senses.[60] Much to their dismay, cattle-rearing was more widespread than crop farming. The Archbishopric's territory had the most sheep, pigs, and oxen in the Byzantine Empire.[61] Although the educated elite sought to distinguish themselves from the peasantry and rural life, they nevertheless relished the riches of the land and the fine fruits of the inhabitants' labor. They were likewise inclined to lament their absence in disadvantaged regions. Theophylact calls Lake Ohrid, rich with fish, his own. He dispatched fish in large quantities to his contacts. Psellos expressed appreciation for Paphlagonian cheese, reflecting on its production in some detail. According to Italikos, in addition to cheese, one would gladly receive from a friend living in the Archbishopric of Ohrid a cloak or bedcover made of lambs wool.[62]

In addition to the usual reservations, the pervasive Slavonic vernacular would be the most noticeable foreign element in comparison to the typical "dread" of provincial life among the predominantly Greek-speaking population.[63] However, Slavonic was heard not only in the provinces where Slavic communities lived but also in Byzantium's largest cities, Constantinople and Thessalonike, which were frequented by people from across the Empire and beyond. Intellectuals acknowledged the diverse vernaculars that permeated the busy streets. Basil's long war with the Bulgarian Empire likely prompted the spread of Slavonic, both through the large number of Slavic captives brought into Byzantium and through *Rhomaioi* who had been held captive in Bulgaria. It was not uncommon for captives who managed to return to exhibit familiarity with the language of their captors.[64] The use of Slavonic swear words, for instance, is not limited just to reports from vernacular exchanges, such as "son of a *kurva*" (κούρβα, "whore, immoral women") in the court files from the 11th-century Constantinople.[65] They are used in 10th-century poetic composition for invective purposes as in the famous case featuring an "unfaithful *psina*" (ξῆνα "dog"), along with additional wordplay involving the Slavonic onomatopoeia for a dog.[66] The use of Slavonic in literary puns[67] suggests that the dialect was familiar within the Empire, and thus unlikely to have caused significant cultural shock, despite the preference for regions where Greek predominated. Likewise, *Ponemata* do not convey a sense that language was an issue when dealing with the litigants.

60 See impressions of Gregory Antiochos from the region around Triaditza, Antiochus, 934, ep. 4.74–77. Cf. *Mavrommati*, Bulgaria, 99–100, on this general attitude and similar complaints of Apokaukos from his exile in the countryside.

61 At least during the second half of the 12th century according to Acropolitus, 11.12–15.

62 For these and similar examples see *Karpozelos*, Realia.

63 See the chapter The Good Shepherds and the Others, II, 38–39, 50.

64 E.g., Radomir Slav picked up Turkic, Alexias, 11.2.9.2–5

65 *Peira* records a case concerning an assault on dignity involving one official who verbally abused another calling him κερατὰν κούρβας υίόν, Peira, 61.6. The insult κούρβας υἱέ is a part of Tzetzes' foul vocabulary too, see *Mantova*, Tzetzes' scholia. Cf. *Ševčenko*, "Whore".

66 *Lauxtermann*, John Geometres, 378. Cf. *Schreiner*, Slavische Lexik.

67 Cf. Apokaukos' pun cited in the chapter *The Good Shepherds and the Others*, II, 37–38.

After the subjugation of Bulgaria, the Byzantine authorities moved residents from the Balkans to Asia and resettled various groups from Asia in the Balkans.[68] The presence of newcomers from different backgrounds in the same territories disrupted local cohesion and made it easier for imperial officials to control the population thus segmented. The approach was common in the process of integrating rebellious parts of the Empire.[69] The most numerous personal names in Chomatenos' corpus were nonetheless Greek and Slavic.[70] The region continued to be a home to a large Slavonic speaking population. Those Slavonic speakers could also harbor various perceptions of the polity they were a part of and their own ancestry. The cases adjudicated by Chomatenos involved families with members who had both Slavic and Greek names.[71] Those were either mixed families or variously assimilated into the Roman-Hellenic culture. However, a Greek name does not rule out the possibility that the person was of Slavic decent or a speaker of a Slavonic dialect. Asian newcomers who settled in the region could also assume Greek names upon baptism or intermarriage.[72] The names of Christian saints spread among Slavonic-speaking Christians. They were particularly popular in the wider region of Ohrid.[73] Regardless of the language the Christian names stem from, they rose to popularity in their Grecized forms.[74] Furthermore, the recorded names of type like Ćurko (Τζοῦρκος) and *Miha* (Μίχος) from Prespa, or *Vaso* (Βάσος), which are derived from hypocoristics of George (Γεώργιος), Michael (Μιχαήλ), Basil (Βασίλειος), and adapted to Slavonic phonetics, must have originated in a region where the dominant spoken language was a Slavonic dialect.[75] In fewer cases, the individual had a Greek name and a Slavic name.[76] The Slavic bynames seem to function as family names and are mainly recorded for persons who belonged to higher social strata, such as imperial officials, clergy, or local aristocracy.[77]

Family names that derive from consanguineal or affinal kin were common among people of influence in Byzantium during that period and rather unstable for persons of

68 See the chapter *Provincial Administration in the Service of Pacification*, I, 418–419; for the incursions of nomadic groups, see I, 419–420.

69 *Charanis*, The Transfer of Population, 140–154; *Ditten*, Ethnische Ferschiebungen.

70 Cf. *Iliev*, Ohridskijat arhiepiskop, 194–203. For Armenians in the region of Bitola, Strumica, and Moglena, and the Armenian adoption of Byzantine names, see *Garsoïan*, Armenian integration, 58, 96–99. For oriental names in the region, see *Shukurov*, The Byzantine Turks, 159–173. The Slavic names in *Ponemata* were thoroughly analyzed by *Dejan Dželebdžić*, Slovenski antroponimi.

71 *Kravari*, L'hellénisation des Slaves; *Đoković*, Proučavanje slovenske antroponimijske građe.

72 *Shukurov*, The Byzantine Turks. Cf. above n. 70.

73 *Dželebdžić*, Slovenski antroponimi, 485.

74 See e.g., George, the son of *Desislav*, Chomatenus, Ponemata, 40; Constantine *Gudelj* (Γουδέλης), the father of *Desa* and the husband of Irine who also had a Slavic background (cf. *Krsmanović – Loma,* Georgije Manijakis, 248); John, the son *Rade* and the brother of *Stana*, Ponema 74; Peter, the father of *Stana*, Ponema 126; Demetrios, the son of *Rade*, Ponema 137.

75 *Dželebdžić*, Slovenski antroponimi, 485–486.

76 About a quarter of all mentioned Slavic individuals from *Ponemata* as indentified by *D. Dželebdžić*, Slovenski antroponimi, 486. Cf. recorded settlers from Asia who had both a Greek name and Oriental sobriquets that originated from their former Muslim or pagan names. It is said that these non-Greek sobriquets are typical of first-generation settlers of low standing whose offspring often become untracable in the next generation. *Shukurov*, The Byzantine Turks, 77–78.

77 *Dželebdžić*, Slovenski antroponimi, 486–490.

less prominence.[78] In Chomatenos' corpus, Greek family names seem to be common even among locals of modest descent. The retention of the Slavic ancestral name in addition to the Greek-Christian personal name is thus modeled on Byzantine practice in the region.[79] In two instances, the emulation goes even further by using the Greek suffix (–πουλος) to derive a surname from a Slavic name (Βογδανόπουλος, Σερβόπουλος). Although this indicates that the prominent Slavic individuals were integrated into Byzantine society, the practice itself opposes assimilation by preserving the indication of the individual's Slavic lineage. There are a few examples of recurring foreign names in Slavic families which are attested in other corpora of South Slavic anthroponyms as well.[80] The limitations in identifying individuals' backgrounds based solely on their names are evident. Nonetheless, the Slavic personal and family names suggest that these individuals still held onto their ancestral identity in some way or another.[81] As rare traces of self-identification, these naming patterns imply that Slavophone Byzantine subjects were not absorbed by the Greek language and culture – the distinctive markers of a typical or a "pure" *Rhomaios* – even when they were able to speak Greek or participate in Greek culture as persons of high social status.[82]

Out of 50[83] documents that directly pertain to the Byzantine archbishopric of Bulgaria, 27 cases involve individuals with Slavic names or family members.[84] The issues were related to the areas of Ohrid, Pelagonia, Skopje, Strumica, Devol, Prizren, and Debar. Fourteen documents are concerned with the central region of Ohrid (with Prespa and Mokro), while 12 of them include persons with evident Slavic origin.[85] The second biggest group of documents[86] pertains to the Bishopric of Pelagonia (with Prilep and Stanon). Out of 11 documents, 6 contain Slavic names.[87] Out of 9 cases which stem from the Bishopric of Skopje (with Korytai and Polog) 4 involve persons with evident Slavic origin.[88] For the Bishopric of Strumica (with Prosek) the ratio is 3 to 2,[89] for Devol (with Koloneia), 3 to 1.[90] In the Bishoprics of Prizren and Debar, 1

78 Cf. the conclusions on bynames recorded in *paroikoi* lists: *Lefort*, Anthroponymie et société villageoise; *Kravari*, Le prenom des paysans en Macédoine orientale; *Eadem*, L'hellénisation des Slaves; *Đoković*, Stanovništvo istočne Makedonije.

79 *Dželebdžić*, Slovenski antroponimi, 489.

80 *Dželebdžić*, Slovenski antroponimi, 484.

81 Cf. *Dželebdžić*, Društvo, 131–136; *Garsoïan*, Armenian integration, 97–99.

82 For persons with a Slavic name in *Ponemata* designated as *megalepiphanestatos*, *pansebastos*, *sebastos*, *kyr*, *archon* see *Dželebdžić*, Slovenski antroponimi, 490–497. Cf. below n. 122.

83 *Prinzing*, Chomateni Ponemata, 29–31*. There are 47 documents that deal with cases related to specific dioceses, and an additional 3 that address issues that concern the archbishopric as a whole (*Ponemata* 8, 86, 146).

84 The indentification of Slavic names follows the findings of *Dželebdžić*, Slovenski antroponimi. Cf. *Dželebdžić*, Društvo u Epirskoj državi, for the persons mentioned in Ponemata.

85 Chomatenus, Ponemata, 34, 40, 53, 72, 73, 82, 91, 126, 135, 139, 142, 143.

86 Cf. *Prinzing*, Ponemata diaphora, 29*–30*.

87 Chomatenus, Ponemata 12, 23, 32, 51, 116, 144.

88 Chomatenus, Ponemata, 52, 59, 76, 94.

89 Chomatenus, Ponemata, 131, 134.

90 Chometenus, Ponemata, 74.

case is recorded for each.[91] 6 additional documents with Slavic names pertain to the region, but the location is not specified.[92] These cases involve soldiers, monks, priests, lower clerics, archons, shepherds, clerks, dignitaries, a builder (κτίστης), a potter (χυτροπλάστης), thieves, landowners, a housemaid, an architect, nuns, married women, children, widows, and concubines. Most of them were involved in agriculture or owned land in order to provide for necessities.[93] Ohrid and Skopje had a lively market.[94] Marketplaces were usually located outside the town's fortress. Town life, public events, commemorations, celebration and market gatherings were tied to the church led by the bishop.[95] Villages could also have a designated location for trade. Some rural settlements formed around a place where fair markets were held periodically, due to the position in the neighborhood of a crossroads, a church, or a monastery.[96]

The Byzantine governors required young and capable local men to leave their families and serve in the army. A great number of them never saw their homes again. For those who made it back home, the return didn't necessarily mark the end of the suffering, but rather the beginning of a new kind of hardship. When the soldier (*stratiotes*) Rade, the son of Momčilo, returned home, he was convinced that his wife Zoe had committed adultery. His witnesses could only offer rumors, whereas Rade himself swore under oath that he had witnessed her adultery with his own eyes. However, Zoe swore before the archbishop that the act had not occurred. The archbishop made every effort to bring about reconciliation, but both spouses firmly rejected any attempt at reconciliation and settlement. The marriage ended in divorce. As Rade failed to substantiate his allegations, his wife received not only her entire dowry back but was also awarded his property located in Prespa.[97] A serviceman from Mokro, also named Rade, came before the archbishop. In the presence of his wife Slava and her parents he stated that he had found out that his wife had committed adultery while he was away at military camp. Their housemaid Kale acted as a procuress to her adoptive brother who was involved with taxation. She arranged for his access to Slava and enticed her. Rade testified that, upon his return home, Kale had even attempted to kill him by poisoning his food, fearing that he would learn of her own role in the misdeed and harm her. As it was Slava's turn to respond she stared at the ground. After a long silence, she broke down in tears. While weeping, she admitted to having defiled her husband's bed due to deception of the devil and the plotting of the devious Kale. She said that her husband's statements were genuine. The court asked her if she loved her husband

91 Chomatenus, Ponemata, 103, 124. As for the bishoprics Kastoria and Glavinitza just 1 case is recorded for each (Ponemata 85, 147), with no mention of Slavic personal names. The same holds for the 3 documents that pertain to the Bishopric of Moglen (with Edessa, Moliskos and Soskos; Ponemata, 105, 120, 125). See *Prinzing*, Ponemata diaphora, 29*–38* for the complete overview of the nature of the documents in the collection.

92 Chomatenus, Ponemata, 7, 19, 98, 122, 132, 137.

93 E.g., see the case of the Ohrid potter in Chomatenus, Ponemata, 136. Cf. *Nerantzi-Varmazi*, Western Macedonia, 197.

94 *Simeonov*, Alltagsleben, 93. Cf. *Lilie*, Provinzstadt.

95 *Angold*, Medieval Byzantine "city."

96 *Živojinović*, Settlements.

97 Chomatenus, Ponemata, 142.

and if she wished to live together with him after this. She expressed a strong desire to do so provided he wanted to live with her and forgive her. Since Slava was only twelve years old, and given her circumstances and her sincere tears, she elicited compassion and leniency from the court. Her parents worried that Rade might mistreat her due to resentment. They requested assurances that she could live with him without fear. Rade declined to offer any assurances, and it became apparent that his willingness to live with her stemmed from nefarious intent. The archbishop ruled in favor of the divorce (διαζύγιον), recognizing that Rade sought not to love Slava, but to do her harm.[98]

Those who did not serve in the army did not have it easy either. They were obligated to provide for the army, accommodate and feed the emperor's envoys, pay taxes, and occasionally perform compulsory labor. For those who were *paroikoi* of the Church, certain exemptions applied, but they were also bound by specific obligations to the Church.[99] The heavy taxation in the time of Theophylact led to an exodus of sorts in certain areas. The affected residents felt forced to relocate to avoid the tax collectors. Leaving the farmlands was a temporary solution in some cases, while in others, the outcome of the compelled departure remained unrecorded. Widows and orphaned minors were often unable to cultivate their land. As a result of these dire circumstances, their property was oftentimes appropriated or sold in violation of the law. The court in Ohrid offered support to those who, upon reaching adulthood, sought to rectify these injustices and reclaim their rightful property. One such case concerned George Kurica (Γεώργιος, ᾧ Κουρίτζης τὸ ἐπωνύμιον)[100] from the town of Ohrid. Because he lost his father as a child and his mother could not make ends meet, he was forced to leave his native place, his *patris*, and embark on a journey into the unknown.[101] The *Rhomaioi* generally identified themselves and one another by referencing their village, city, province, or theme of origin, or that of their parents.[102] This pattern is also evident in the way litigants are introduced in *Ponemata*. The Empire as a whole, *Rhomania*, and any of its smaller geographical or administrative units could be described as one's *patris*.[103] The region of Ohrid was likely also the home of Michael Apergios, who, on his deathbed, entrusted the care and upbringing of his two-year-old son Barouses Apergios to his son-in-law Michael Berislav, a respected cleric (ἀναγνώστης καὶ χαρτουλάριος τῆς μικρᾶς σακέλλης). Two motivations are cited for the decision: affection rooted in kinship ties and a desire to become a parent, since Berislav had no children of his own. However, the details of the case suggest that fatherhood did not bring him the happiness he might have anticipated.[104] In another case from Ohrid, following the death

98 Chomatenus, Ponemata, 139

99 *Oikonomides*, Fiscalité, 108–109, 213; *Oikonomides*, Tax Exemptions; *Simeonov*, Alltagsleben, 109–110.

100 On the name see *Dželebdžić*, Slovenski antroponimi, 493.

101 Chomatenus, Ponemata, 91, cf. Ponema 73 and *Prinzing*, Adoleszenten, 41–45.

102 *Kaldellis*, Provincial Identities in Byzantium, 250–251. Identification according to the local *patris* did not imply lack of identification with the common *patris* of all *Rhomaioi*.

103 Cf. e.g. Chomatenus, Ponemata, 52.28. The case pertains to Boleslava, who had to leave her *patris* Korytai and flee to Berroia.

104 Chomatenus, Ponemata, 82. For a comprehensive analysis of court documents pertaining to adolescents and the legal issues arising in related family disputes, see *Prinzing*, Adoleszenten.

of a woman, her father Desislav petitioned for custody of her young child and for the right to use her dowry to support the child's care. His request was against the law and he had no grounds to contest the rights of the child's father, the deacon George Xaïkos (Ξαϊκός).[105] A case of an orphaned girl from Debar reveals another kind of misfortune. She was a niece of *pansebastos sebastos kyr* Mauros Bogdanopoulos, who wanted to marry her off and, to that end, he lied about her age to *kyr* George Skores. George complained before the court that he was coerced in taking her into marriage[106] and that he wasn't told that she was not of marriageable age (12 years). After he realized that the girl was barely 10 years old, George was deeply appalled. Mauros asserted that George was attempting to evade his responsibilities and that he had not forced him into the marriage arrangement. Nevertheless, he conceded to having misrepresented her age, motivated by the intention to ensure the welfare of his niece. The marriage was dissolved because it did not conform to canonical and legal norms.[107] In other cases, a marriage seems to unravel not through conflict or betrayal, but through the very nature of the persons bound together. Anna from Prespa, accompanied by her brother-in-low Miho (Μίχος),[108] the son of Ćurko (Τζοῦρκος), testified before Chomatenos that, after living with her husband Niko (Νίκος) for quite a long time, she came to utterly loathe him. The loathing became so intense that she could not bear the sight of him. She would often flee to other places, contemplating suicide. She deliberated whether to depart this life by throwing herself from a cliff, drowning in the river, or hanging herself. The husband, with visible gloom upon his face and despair in his eyes, briefly confirmed his wife's account, pleading that he be released from union with Anna. He had long suffered under the burden of her loathing, while also bearing the weight of public reproach for having to search for her from place to place. The divorce was granted.[109] In some cases, the flight from the arranged yoke of marriage occurred even before the union was officially formalized. Peter, from the village of Rasine (near Ohrid), had betrothed his daughter Stana to a certain man Prjavo (Πρέαβος),[110] who then left the village. It took Peter eight years to track him down and bring him back, but the man left again. After an inquiry with the local priest Stephen, the Archbishop of Ohrid confirmed that Stana was too young at the time of the betrothal, and since the fiancé had been absent for such a long period, the betrothal was deemed invalid. Consequently, she was free to marry as if the unfortunate arrangement had never taken place.[111]

The Bishopric of Pelagonia was likewise a home to several intriguing characters, along with some peculiar tribulations entailed by the yoke of marriage. Maria, the

105 Chomatenus, Ponemata, 34.

106 On cases of similar coercions, see *Laiou*, Sex, Consent and Coercion, 145–155; *Dželebdžić*, Društvo, 69.

107 Chomatenus, Ponemata, 124.

108 The hypocoristic form of Michael, commonly used among South Slavs, see *Dželebdžić*, Slovenski antroponim, 494, 497; *Grković*, Imena, 96. *Niko* is also found as a Slavic name, stemming from a hypocoristic form of Nikanor, Nicholas, and similar names, see *Grković*, Rečnik, 146.

109 Chomatenus, Ponemata, 143.

110 Cf. *Dželebdžić*, Slovenski antroponim, 495.

111 Chomatenus, Ponemata, 126.

daughter of Bardas, was on the verge of engaging in an extramarital affair. Over the course of more than three years together, her husband, a reader (ἀναγνώστης) George Blažo (Βλάζνος), had failed to demonstrate sexual interest or capacity. The bishop of Pelagonia wrote to his archbishop, conveying a sense of urgency in this matter: "Thus, matters have reached a point at which the female party descends into utter peril, unless there is legal recourse to intervene."[112] The case of this couple had been discussed by the Synod a year before. In accordance with the applicable law, the archbishop advised that if it should be ascertained that George had indeed been inactive for more than three years, the divorce should be pronounced and both should retain their original property. If Maria had already sought to satisfy her urges outside the marriage, she should be held accountable for the dissolution of the union; however, she should not be punished by the imposition of damages. She was not an adulteress since her husband denied her intercourse. A woman may be regarded as a true adulteress (μοιχάς) only if the sexual relations with her husband are not enough for her and she seeks additional satisfaction with other men.[113]

Irine, wife to a woeful John, who was in service to the *kastrenos* Basil (son of Boleslava), went to Prilep without the consent of her husband. As corroborated by the local priest Roman and *protekdikos*[114] Theodore, she had been living there for six months. Even when she was still living with her husband, she avoided his bed. He wanted to obtain a divorce from her and thus it was needed that they both come before the court. She made no secret of her life in Prilep, so he found her and pressured her into setting on a journey to Ohrid. As they passed through the village Vodjani (Βόδανες), she threw herself into the river.[115] The current nearly claimed Irene, but the village head, Kyr George Gavra (Γαβρᾶς), and his men rushed to her aid and pulled her out. As soon as she regained consciousness she asserted her resolve that next time, when no one was watching, she would sail on these waters away to Hades.[116] Thus her husband gave up trying to get her to come to Ohrid. Many clerics and other witnesses were present in court to give testimony about her prior behavior, and the archbishop granted the divorce without seeing Irine in person.[117] Another Irene, daughter of Burug (Βουροῦγος) from the Theme of Stanon, appears to have had a strong personality. When Constantine Gudelj (Γουδέλης) married her, he agreed to reside with her and her parents in their household. Together, they shared meals with her parents, cared for them throughout their lives, and arranged their funerals. In return, Gudelj and Irene were named joint heirs to all of her parents' movable and immovable property. The couple had a daughter named Desa. However, Irene passed away before her husband, who later remarried.[118]

112 Chomatenus, Ponemata, 12.13–15. Cf. Ponema 123.

113 Chomatenus, Ponemata, 12.

114 Cf. *Ilić* – Šijaković, Pismo, 151.

115 The river is named the Black River, *Kravari*, Villes, 239.

116 Chomatenus, Ponemata, 23.20–23.

117 Chomatenus, Ponemata, 23.

118 Chomatenus, Ponemata, 51. On the legal issue involving Gudelj and the brother of his late wife Irine, see the chapter *Between Custom and Law: Marriage in the Territory of the Archbishopric of Ohrid*, II, 345–346.

The biggest town (*kastron*) aside from Ohrid, the seat of the archbishopric, was Skopje, the seat of the *doux*. In the region of Skopje the cases bring forth disputes between influential local families of Slavic background made worse in the years that the area was under the rule of Bulgarians and of regional warlords.[119] Boleslava of Korytai was represented by her brother, *kyr* Komanos,[120] ὑποταγάτης, before the court in Ohrid in a case against Miroslava, the sister of Boleslava's late husband, Leo. Leo is said to have been killed by the Bulgarians during their ἀποστασία. Due to the hostilities, Boleslava left her native place and fled to her brother in Berroia. During her absence, and while the Bulgarians held Byzantine territories (τῶν Ῥωμαϊκῶν χωρῶν), Miroslava sold one-third of her brother's property. The estate had been held by Radomir, who was both the father of Miroslava and Leo and the second husband of their mother. The people who purchased the late Leo's land from Miroslava and the putative heirs of Slav – the first husband of Leo's mother, also entered the dispute.[121] In Skopje, the archons of the theme John Tichomiros (Τειχομοιρός) and Constantine Basilikos abused their power and deprived Ljutovoj (Λιτοβόης) George of his inheritance. Theodore Doukas took a personal interest in this matter.[122] The disputed property in the village Banica (Βάνιστα) in Upper Polog involved a monk Gerasim and a priest Dobro (Δόβρος), as family members of Draž and the priest Moschos respectively. Draž was one of the targets of Moschos who, in addition to being the village priest, was an *exarchos* (χωρίου ἐξάρχων) and a villain. He oppressed the villagers by, it appears, imposing levies. He was required by court to compensate for the land he had confiscated from Draž, but later, under the "rule of the Drugubites" (ἡ Δρουγουβιτικὴ ἐξουσία), he seized back the land he had given as compensation. The court in Ohrid restored justice.[123] The disorder caused by Strez's rule also comes up in the case of an invalid marriage contract. The husband, *sebastos* Leo Moschopoulos, sought to annul the marriage with the daughter of late Stephen Gavra, claiming he had been forced into the arrangement by the late Strez due to certain difficult circumstances at the time. Moreover, the bride had not yet reached the legal age for betrothal when the matter was imposed on him. The girl was accompanied by her mother, and four other persons of prominence were present to speak on her behalf.[124] Among them was also the above mentioned George Gavra. Initially, they attempted to dispute that the contract was forced and that she was underage, but eventually, after other witnesses spoke on Leo's behalf, they confessed that his claims were true. The contract was declared invalid.[125] The motive behind such coerced unions was often the prospect of material gain.[126]

---

119 *Barišić – Ferjančić*, Vesti, 47–49. Cf. *Provincial Administration in the Service of Pacification*, I, 441–443.

120 On the name see *Dželebdžić*, Slovenski antroponimi, 493. Cf. *Dželebdžić*, Društvo, 81, 103.

121 Chomatenus, Ponemata, 52.

122 Chomatenus, Ponemata, 59. *Dželebdžić*, Društvo, 132, points out that a certain Eugenia Tichomiros corresponded with Michael Choniates, Choniatae Epistulae, 172.

123 Chomatenus, Ponemata, 94. Cf. *Dželebdžić*, Društvo, 149–151.

124 Cf. *Dželebdžić*, Društvo.

125 Chomatenus, Ponemata, 134.

126 Cf. above n. 106.

As reflected in the examples above, the court in Ohrid, presided over by the archbishop, was approached by a wide variety of characters across different social strata. The large gatherings of type which could bring them all together in one place at the same time revolved around the Church as well. *Panegyreis* were organized by the Church or the monasteries on a particular feast day. In the archbishopric, the biggest gatherings were tied to the commemoration of the Blessed Virgin, of the Forty Martyrs of Sebaste, of the Fifteen Martyrs of Tiberiopolis, and St. Achilleos and St. Germanos of Prespa.[127] Participants included governors, provincial elites, servants, cavalry, infantry, farmers, craftsmen, merchants, women, children, old and young, rich and poor. Perceptions of these gatherings were shaped by the magnitude of the crowd, the duration and the beauty of the prayers, chanting of hymns, the healing wonders that took place, remarkable encounters, merrymaking, brawls and altercations, trading opportunities.[128]

Traditionally, these festivals[129] start with vigils in the evening before the feast day. The literary depiction of the 12th-century *panegyris* of St. Demetrios in Thessalonike[130] mentions three all-night vigils, during which a great number of priests and monks divided into two choirs performed the hymns in honor of the martyr. The archbishop presided over them, supervising all the rites throughout the night under the flickering light of torches.[131] The celebration of the Holy Liturgy was followed by an opportunity for the public to see and honor the relics of the saints. Prayers and devotional rituals included seeking the saints' help and receiving cures for ailments. In addition to religious ceremonies and relics of wonder-working saints, *panegyreis* commonly included banquets, oratorical contests, dances in the fields,[132] market fairs. The festival period could span over several days or weeks. The celebrations were attended by the local flock, visitors from the wider region, as well as travelers and pilgrims from afar. The comments of the 12th-century canonists indicate that the common problem was that many people took advantage of the worship of a saint in order to profit from it and engage in commerce.[133] The old reprimands from the church fathers regarding vendors within the temple grounds, as well as those attending market stalls during services, remained relevant. However, there is indication that during the 11th and 12th centuries the Church aimed to regulate the commercial activities.[134] The goal was to ensure that trading activities and customary folk amusements did not disrupt the sacred space or

127 See *Mullett*, Theophylact, 289; *Gavrilović*, Forty Martyrs. Cf. the chapter *The Sacral Topography of the Archbishopric of Ohrid: Architecture, Art, Patronage, and the Cult of Saints in the 11th–13th Century,* II, 269–275.

128 Cf. the extensive array of booths with a diverse range of items from all over the world described in Timarion, 127–164. The commercial component of the fair in Thessalonike was probably unmatched.

129 *Vryonis Jr.*, Panēgyris; *Bojanin*, Zabave i svetkovine, 138–149; *Ritter*, Panegyric markets. For holidays in general and the calendar, see the review of the 13th-century Skopje Menaion and comparative sources in *Stankova*, Srăbski i bălgarski praznični minei; cf. *Simeonov*, Alltagsleben, 292–310.

130 Timarion, 114–283.

131 Timarion, 167–173.

132 Cf. Gregoras' description of a *panegyris* in Strumica following the Easter Sunday 1326. He comments on "barbaric" church singing (claiming those were not sacred hymns, but something that was rather like the song of nomads and mountaineers) and the folk dances he observed.

133 *Rhalles – Potles*, Syntagma II, 483.

134 *Laiou*, Jahrmarkt; *Kislinger*, Pilger und Panegyreis, 359–366.

the primary purpose of the gathering, while still allowing local residents to take advantage of the opportunity. If the objective was achieved, the bishop strengthened the Church's sway over the daily life of the community.

In terms of social dynamics, *panegyris* brought Byzantine governors, bishops, clergy, and military members into interaction with locals of varying social rank and status, as well as potential visitors from other parts of Byzantium or beyond the Empire. The feasts of the patron saints of a place, primarily attended by local residents, could also feature an outdoor procession and intercessory prayers led by clergy and chanters, bringing together both members of the Byzantine administration and local inhabitants.[135] During regular liturgical services individuals gathered around their local church, partaking in holy mysteries and engaging with other parishioners. These were locally confined celebrations, drawing participation within the immediate community. Thus, more popular feasts, which featured rich outdoor ceremonies followed by social gatherings and group events organized and attended by high ranking officials, offered greater possibilities for interaction and connections within different social circles. In such a setting an ordinary person could approach the archbishop or an official and request a favor in public. Precisely because of the presence of onlookers, the dignitaries were inclined to respond more favorably and take action to advance their reputations.[136]

All things considered, life in the early 13th-century Archbishopric *Bulgaria* mirrored the broader social realities of other Byzantine provinces. As a border region with a diverse population – many of whom spoke the language of the neighboring Serbian and Bulgarian realms – during a time of unprecedented political upheaval, it certainly had its own particularities. Chomatenos described the state of his archbishopric after Theodore Doukas gained control over the region:

> Ἐντεῦθεν τὰ ἱερὰ ἐπισκοπεῖα ποιμέσιν ἐπεκοσμήθησαν (δίχα δηλονότι τῆς ἐμῆς ταπεινότητος) ἀρεταῖς διαλάμπουσιν, ὀρθοδοξίᾳ σεμνυνομένοις, τὰ θεῖα σοφοῖς, τὸ πᾶν εἰπεῖν, τὴν τῆς δικαιοσύνης ἱερωσύνην ἐνδεδυμένοις, τὰ εὐαγῆ σεμνεῖα, ὡς ἡ τοῦ φωσφόρου λαμπάς, ταῖς τῶν μονοτρόπων ἀσκήσεσιν ἠγλαΐσθησαν, ἡ χριστιανικὴ πολιτεία ἔστη ἐν τῇ τάξει αὐτῆς, κἂν ἡ κοσμικὴ θύελλα σαλεῦσαι ταύτην ἐφιλονίκησε, ...
>
> "As a result, the holy bishoprics were adorned with shepherds shining with virtues (apart from my own lowliness, of course), esteemed for their orthodoxy, wise in godly matters, on the whole garbed in the priesthood of righteousness. The holy monasteries, like a radiant beacon, burned bright with ascetic discipline of the monks. The Christian polity stood firm in its order, though the worldly storm rushed forth to rattle it."[137]

---

135 Cf. an example of a processional cross found near the fortress of Svrljig, dated to the 11th century and linked to the reestablishment of Byzantine control over the area, *Petrović*, Procesijski krst, 35, 38–40.

136 Cf. the episode involving Theophylact, who was publicly approached in Prespa with a request, chapter *The Good Shepherds and the Others,* II, 59.

137 Chomatenus, Ponemata, 112. 39–47.

Fig. 1. Kurbinovo, Church of St. George, Nativity, detail with Shepherd and his Flock

Speaking retrospectively against the appointment of Sava as the Archbishop of Serbia, Chomatenos portrayed Christ's flock flourishing there. He noted they lived piously, embraced an evangelical way of life, and conducted themselves in a fitting manner in all noble pursuits under guidance of shepherds who fall under the jurisdiction of the Ohrid throne, in accordance with Justinian's imperial constitution.[138] He protested against the developments encroaching on his jurisdiction, emphasizing that Christ's

138 See Chomatenus, Ponemata, 114. 232–237, a letter to Patriarch Germanos, dated to 1228, where he is forced to address the matter of having anointed Theodore Doukas as emperor. On the date see *Prinzing*, Chomateni Ponemata, 230*.

fold, which he shepherded with a council of his esteemed bishops, persisted unharmed from spiritual perils. In like manner, when Chomatenos himself intervened outside his jurisdiction, he specifically cites the spiritual danger to Christ's flock in the region as the reason for prioritizing *oikonomia* over canonical *akribeia*. Regarding his overreach in a case belonging to the provenance of Metropolis of Thessalonike, he seeks to vindicate it by pointing out that the toll of war had claimed the lives of some bishops and driven others away from caring for their flocks:

> Τίς γὰρ ἂν οὐκ ᾤκτειρε ποίμνιον ἐκ τῆς Χριστοῦ ἀγέλης ὁρμώμενον, τῇ κοσμικῇ ἑλκυσμένον ζάλῃ καὶ εἰς πολλὰς διεσπασμένον καὶ νομὰς καὶ ὁδούς, καὶ τὸ μὲν αὐτοῦ εἰς κρημνοὺς ἀπονεῦον, τὸ δὲ εἰς ἐρήμους καὶ ἀβάτους καὶ ἀνύδρους ἀποπλανώμενον, ἔστι δὲ ὃ καὶ θηρίων γινόμενον πάρεργον (εἶεν δ' ἂν ὁδοὶ τὰ τῶν ψυχῶν ὁρμήματα καὶ κινήματα ἢ εἰς *πάθη φθοροποιά*, ὅσα καὶ *πετρῶν σχισμὰς* ταύτας ὠθοῦντα, ἢ εἰς ἐρήμους ἀρετῶν ἐλαύνοντα ἢ εἰς ὀδόντας *τῶν νοητῶν θηρίων* ἐκφέροντα);
>
> "Who would not pity a flock of Christ's fold, dragged away by the worldly storm and scattered across many pastures and roads – some heading toward the cliffs, others wandering into deserts with impassable terrain and no water, possibly even becoming prey to the beasts (namely, the roads would be the impulses and movements of souls – either pushing them towards *destructive passions*, just as toward *the clefts of the rocks*, or driving them into wastelands of virtues, or bringing them into the teeth of *spiritual beasts*)?"[139]

In contrast, as noted before, he claimed that the flock in his archbishopric was nourished in the richest of spiritual pastures, tended by attentive shepherds. The worldly ambitions of the ecclesiastical authorities and their unavoidable political ties undoubtedly play a significant part in these descriptions and in the broader context to which the letters belong.[140] Nevertheless, the contents of court documents suggest that, despite the warfare on multiple fronts and the broader political turmoil that caused the Archbishopric of Ohrid's jurisdiction to shrink, the guidance of the faithful remained a true concern for the Byzantine bishops.

These distinctive circumstances did not make the territory of the archbishopric any less their own in the eyes of the *Rhomaioi*. In this regard, it is notable how Chomatenos lauds the Epirote ruler, who recaptured Ohrid[141] and Pelagonia from the Bulgarians and Thessalonike from the Latins. Enumerating the many hardships that Theodore Doukas willingly faced and ultimately overcame, he describes him as liberating this part of Byzantium (τὴν μερίδα ταύτην τῆς Ῥωμαΐδος) from the evil of "the beasts" (θῆρας) that invaded it. This was accomplished, as he says, by expelling some of them

139 Chomatenus, Ponemata, 78. 15–19, dated to 1223, cf. *Prinzing*, Chomateni Ponemata, 162*–163*.

140 For the context see the chapter *The Good Shepherds and the Others*, n. 67.

141 See the chapter *The Good Shepherds and the Others*, 66–69. Cf. *Nicol*, Despotate of Epirus, 49–66.

and annihilating others.[142] From the cases adjudicated by Chomatenos, it does indeed seem that the archbishop does not believe any "beasts" creep among the inhabitants of his archbishopric. They emerge as a pious flock under his sincere care, which he shepherds according to divine laws and guards from the encroachment of such "beasts".

II. Between the courts of Ohrid and of Heaven

Apocryphal apocalypses, purported to contain visions of the afterlife and accounts of the heavenly court, were popular in both their Greek and Slavic versions.[143] These texts captured the interest of ordinary people, as they were written in simple language and rich with imagery. Manuscripts of these texts circulated widely in different versions, though they were likely consumed more through oral readings and retellings rather than individual reading. The content reflects the everyday concerns of ordinary people seeking to align their actions with their faith. Central to these popular fictional accounts is the divine throne of judgment, which serves as a focal point for exploring the eternal consequences of daily actions and inactions.[144] The tribulations of earthly existence, along with the struggles and choices encountered in everyday situations, are portrayed as reflecting on a cosmic scale. According to one tradition, it was the iconic depiction by a Byzantine monk of those judged at Christ's Second Coming that truly moved the Bulgarian ruler Boris to abandon the ways of his ancestors, embark upon the ship of the Church, and redirect the course of his entire realm.[145] Regardless of the historical value of this narrative, there is little doubt that frescoes – the most vivid human-crafted images of the time – had a profound impact on people. The Last Judgment in the narthex of St. Stephen at Kastoria (Fig. 2), dated to the late 9th or the early 10th century, focuses on the process of judgment carried out by the apostles' tribunal.[146] The Mavriotissa Last Judgement dated to the 12th century preserves a vivid depiction of the sinners.[147] Similarly, middle Byzantine apocalypses contain dramatic narrative images from the courtroom of heavens. There the people are confronted with their sins before an awe-instilling magisterial throne of God surrounded by angels, prophets, apostles, martyrs.[148] The cautionary portrayals of the condemned, which

142 Chomatenus, Ponemata, 114.142–145.

143 *Patlagean*, Byzance et son autre monde, 201–221, *Miltenova*, Apocryphal collections; *Baun*, Tales from Another Byzantium; *Marjanović-Dušanić*, Serbian Version of the Apocalypse of Anastasia.

144 Cf. *Bojanin*, Dečanski penitencijali, 177–179, 181.

145 Scylitzes, 3, 7.25–52. He had commissioned an awe-inspiring painting for his palace, and the monk of Byzantine origin chose to depict the Second Coming of Christ. The Last Judgment was portrayed in the palace of Emperor Alexios I Komnenos at his own request, see *Ševčenko*, Images of the Second Coming; *Angheben*, Les Jugements derniers byzantins.

146 See fig. 2 below, 316. Cf. the depiction of the Heavenly Court in the Church of the Panagia Mavriotissa, fig. 3 below, 318. I am grateful to Ljubomir Milanović for bringing these examples to my attention.

147 See below, 321, Fig. 4. For the provenance of the painters of churches in Kastoria, see *Epstein*, Middle Byzantine Churches of Kastoria. Cf. chapter *The Sacral Topography of the Archbishopric of Ohrid: Architecture, Art, Patronage, and the Cult of Saints in the 11th–13th Century, 132–134.*

148 *Baun*, Tales from Another Byzantium, 406, 423–424, cf. 273; Apocalypsis Anastasiae, 1.17–20; Slovo Anastasie, 129–130.

Fig. 2.
Kastoria,
Hagios Stephanos,
Last Judgment,
detail with Apostles

gave prominent place to errant high priests and judges,[149] suggested that both sides of the bench in an earthly courtroom ought to remain mindful of the impending Supreme Judgment for all.

The *Apocalypse of Anastasia* was one of many such apocryphal texts found in Greek and Slavic versions.[150] The Greek composition likely belongs to the 10th or 11th century.[151] The extant Slavic text preserves a shorter version of the narrative, focusing on punishment and exhortation, with more elaborate accounts of sin, explicitly stated moral lessons, and more harrowing punishments.[152] It is unclear to what extent these and other distinctions represents a Slavic adaptation or a reflection of an older, now-lost Greek recension.[153] Among many warnings from the other world is a reminder for pastors to do their task with zeal, keeping in mind that it is better to be judged by man, than before God and angels. The list of those punished opens with bishops and proceeds to everyone else. It is interesting that where the Greek text has a corrupt *protospatharios* from Corinth, the Slavic has a corrupt *protospatharios* Paul Samonas from Prosek (also called Korenth). In both cases, they are depicted as having wronged many for their own gain, passing judgments that were unjust and

149 Cf. this group of condemned on the Mavriotissa wall painting shown below, 321, the central part of Fig. 4.

150 See the Greek text in Apocalypsis Anastasiae, cf. Slavic versions in Slovo Anastasie; *Miltenova*, Neizvesten prevod, 237–257. For the relevant Slavic miscellanies see *Miltenova*, Apocryphal collections, 94 et passim. Excerpts from such apocryphal texts were found in Slavic penitential books, which served as aids for priests in guiding the faithful through the process of confession; see the chapter *Conversations on Sin in the Slavic Language*, 386.

151 *Baun*, Tales from Another Byzantium, 16–18.

152 *Baun,* Tales from Another Byzantium, 67–74.

153 *Baun*, Tales from Another Byzantium, 73–74

oppressive. Due to the nature of these texts, which were often adapted by their compilers to the environment where they would be read, it is not clear which of the two officials precedes the other.[154] The Slavic version however suggests that the compiler of this *Apocalypse of Anasasia* might be found among the Slavic men of letters in the Byzantine archbishopric of Ohrid.

One might assume that for those appearing before the court in Ohrid, with the archbishop at its center surrounded by a tribunal of bishops and clerics serving as clerks, the scene evoked the magisterial image of Christ surrounded by the bench of holy ones, as imagined in the popular conceptions of the heavenly court.[155] The affinity between the immediate physical reality and the impending, unavoidable Final Judgment must have been particularly compelling in the case of more serious matters. Complying with the judgment of the court in Ohrid thus provided more than a means of restoring social order. Through penance, the ecclesiastical court offered reassuring instruction to all who were willing to amend their ways and save their souls. Its supreme authority was rooted in the understanding that it prepared those seeking its guidance to face the high court of Christ. The examples from the Ohrid court that follow are not unlike those found in apocalyptical fiction, insofar as they bring together individual offenses and the universal pursuit of redemption.

Homicide and tragedy – There are seven cases of homicide in Chomatenos' records, five of which occurred in the archbishopric.[156] Most of them were due to conflicts that had arisen while the persons were going about their work. In addition, two attempted murders in a domestic environment are recorded. In both cases, poison was used but failed to achieve the intended result. One of these has already been mentioned above in the divorce case of a soldier.[157] Rade from Mokro testified that his housemaid, Kale, had acted as a procuress and taken advantage of his young wife while he was away at the military camp. He further claimed that upon his return, Kale poisoned his food.[158] In a case of uncertain provenance, Chryse, the niece of George Spathas, could no longer endure the cruel treatment inflicted upon her by her husband, Manuel. Consequently, she attempted to kill him by poisoning his drink. When the poison failed to harm him, she drank it herself in the hope of escaping her circumstances. Both parties appeared before the court in Ohrid, where a divorce was decreed. Chryse was subjected to the *epitimia* for murderers and entered the women's monastery of the Holy and All-Praised Apostles.[159] Her husband was granted the freedom to conduct his affairs as he pleased.[160]

154 *Baun*, Tales from Another Byzantium, 69–71; 230–235. For the Greek version, see Apocalypsis Anastasiae, 6.43–50; for Slavonic versions, see Slovo Anastasie, 129; cf. *Miltenova*, Neizvesten prevod, 252–253.

155 Cf. *Baun*, Tales from Another Byzantium, 236–238. On the relation of the emperor's court and the heavenly court see the *Maguire*, Heavenly Court.

156 For legal analysis of the cases see *Macrides*, Killing and Law.

157 See above 306.

158 Chomatenus, Ponemata, 139.

159 Cf. below 320, where the case concerns the male Monastery of the Holy Apostles in Pelagonia.

160 Chomatenus, Ponemata, 121. Cf. *Laiou*, Contribution à l'étude de l'institution familiale; *Prinzing*, Sozialgeschichte der Frau.

Fig. 3. Kastoria, Church of the Panagia Mavriotissa, Last Judgment, detail with Heavenly Court

On other occasions, the instrument used for murder was a stick in the case from Prilep and in the case of Rousalia in Moliskos a knife.[161] Radoslav from Prilep had an altercation with the swineherd Konstas, as he was annoyed that Konstas' pigs were grazing in his fields and damaging the crops that he had diligently cultivated. He reprimanded the swineherd, pulled him by the hair, and struck him several times across the back in a restrained and measured manner using a small stick (ξυλάριον). He did not intend to kill the swineherd, only to teach him a lesson. However, fourteen days later, Konstas, who suffered from a chronic illness, fell ill, and after a further eight days, he passed away. Radoslav approached the archbishop of Ohrid in the Great Church, seeking to know whether he could be considered responsible for Konstas' death. As in the tragic cases from the bishoprics of Devol (Koloneia, *Ponema* 129) and Strumica (Prosek, *Ponema* 131), in this instance as well, Chomatenos instructed the local bishop to thoroughly investigate the circumstances and to decide accordingly. Should Radoslav's account be verified as truthful, he was not to be held responsible for the death of Konstas. Furthermore, any tax official, local *archon* or other who might seek to harass or punish him under such pretexts was to be subjected to excommunication. To ensure protection for Radoslav, he was issued an official document affirming this ruling.[162]

161 Chomatenus, Ponemata, 120, see below 203–208.

162 Chomatenus, Ponemata, 116.

The need for protection was genuine, as evidenced by other cases that cite both the abuses of officials in similar circumstances and the wrath of communities aggrieved by the act of violence.[163] It so happened that in the region of Skopje, the priest Dragomir from the village of Nahovo was implicated in a murder. Seeking help, he approached the archbishop, claiming innocence and presenting testimony from *sebastos kyr* Pribo regarding the events that had transpired. Some servants of a *sebastokrator* had been quarrelling with villagers, and a murder occurred. It appears that the priest was framed. As a result, the fisc confiscated all his possessions, and the bishop of Skopje excommunicated him. Chomatenos expressed disbelief at the severity of the measures imposed before a proper inquiry and the procedures required by canon law had been carried out.[164]

As a rule, the ecclesiastical courts tended to be more sympathetic toward the accused – particularly those who made a sincere effort to prove their innocence or to clarify that the killing had been unintentional. By contrast, civil officials were often less concerned with ensuring justice than with exploiting ambiguous circumstances in order to extort property from a scapegoat.[165] Dragan, a shepherd from Prosek, confessed in tears on the entrance to the Great Church in Ohrid to killing his eight-year old son by accident in a game of archery.[166] The retelling of Dragan's description of the profound tragedy rings poetic in Chomatenos. The fear for the salvation of her soul brought Zoe from the Theme of Koloneia to Ohrid on foot. The arduous journey took her six days. She had had both the hands of her servant cut off, because he had been stealing from her household and became so audacious that he even threatened her life. However, the servant later died from the inflicted amputation, which was not medically treated. She came before Chomatenos more than six years after the man's death, in tears and on her knees, feeling responsible for his death.[167] None of the confessions are preserved in direct speech.[168] The prescribed *epitimia* in these cases included public pleas for forgiveness in front of the church, provisional exclusion from communion, varying degrees of exclusion from liturgy, daily prostrations, fasting.[169] The length of the penitential period and the prescriptions for prostrations and fasting depended on the circumstances, the remorse shown and individual mental and physical characteristics, as well as on the "yoke" of the penitent.

163 Cf. below 324–326.

164 Chomatenus, Ponemata, 76.

165 *Macrides*, Killing and Law, 531–532.

166 Chomatenus, Ponemata, 131.

167 Chomatenus, Ponemata, 129.

168 Unlike in Apokoukos' cases, see *Macrides*, Killing and law, 521.

169 On *epitimia* assigned to particular sins, see the chapter *Conversations on Sin in the Slavic Language*, II, 371–385; *Simon*, Die Bussbescheide.

Betrayal of sacred vows and duties – The so-called *tours of hell* in the apocryphal apocalypses often feature bishops, priests, deacons, and monks condemned for harboring various vices, violating their vows, or abusing their authority for selfish gain. One such case in reality is that of the greedy and mean priest Moschos. As mentioned above, in his capacity as a despotic village lord of a kind, he terrorized the community in the village of Banica in Upper Polog.[170] It is said that he suffered a dreadful death, suggesting that he was punished for his vile actions even before facing divine judgment. Moschos had a father-in-law named Dobro, who likewise served as a priest. Following Moschos' death, Dobro began cultivating a vineyard on land that had been unlawfully appropriated by Moschos. However, when the matter was brought before a court, Dobro did not resort to lies or deceit but instead acknowledged the actual circumstances of the case and gave up the vineyard. Another case involves the hieromonk Sophronios, who tarnished both his monastic vows and his priestly office. He committed theft and then denied it under oath while still wearing his priestly vestments – only for it to be revealed that he had lied.[171] There is also the example of a priest named Vladimir from Prilep, who fathered a son out of wedlock. The child was named after his father. As the priest did not leave a will bequeathing anything to his illegitimate son, he held no legal claim to inheritance.[172] In cases of this kind,[173] the Archbishop of Ohrid was not acting merely to uphold church discipline or to lead wrongdoers toward repentance. Where possible, he restored lawful order and, in so doing, made the burden lighter for those who had suffered as a result of the culprits' actions.

A peculiar situation arose with another cleric from the Bishopric of Pelagonia named Basil Paradeissiotes, who entered the Monastery of the Holy Apostles under false pretenses. It seems he sought to secure care during a grave illness which had brought him to death's door. On his request, he was tonsured a monk in his home and then brought to the monastery where he received provisions and care. In turn, Basil promised to abide by monastic rules and to donate a portion of his possessions. However, once his condition improved, Basil demanded to be returned home and subsequently disregarded his commitments. He even attempted to claim the right to choose the post of *oikonomos* for himself and the right to reside nearby with his concubine and his children. The hegoumenos, Archimandrite Methodios, refused his demands, but Basil responded with threats of retaliation. Chomatenos concluded that the cleric had not taken monastic vows for the salvation of his soul, but rather for the advantages they offered in his particular situation. As a consequence, if he did not adhere to his commitments regarding the donation of a portion of his property to the monastery, he would not receive meals and blankets. He was to be given a cell where he had to

170 See above 310.

171 Chomatenus, Ponemata, 88.

172 Chomatenus, Ponemata, 32.

173 Cf. similar affairs from Constantinople in *Mitsiou*, Zwischen Ideal und Devianz.

Fig. 4. Kastoria, Church of the Panagia Mavriotissa, Last Judgment, detail with Sinners

sustain himself. If he chose to genuinely pursue the monastic way of life, he would be dear to God. Otherwise, he should be excommunicated.[174]

A letter to a priest in Prilep who was appointed protopresbyter is noteworthy in that it outlines the role of a senior priest, πρωτοπαπάς, as a model of virtue for other priests. He must ensure his conduct remains spotless, serving as an example to be emulated. Additionally, he is tasked with correcting those who go astray and preventing any scandals among the clergy, with the support of his bishop. Frequent admonitions and exhortations are essential to guide others in their spiritual conduct. Furthermore, he must pay close attention to the ecclesiastical revenues, ensuring that the Most Holy Bishopric of Pelagonia receives its rightful annual dues – neither excessive nor insufficient. These obligations should not place an undue burden on those from whom they are collected, as the Church is not to function like the state treasury. At the same time, these dues must not be neglected or mismanaged. It is expected that other pastors, the people, and the secular authorities will show the protopresbyter the appropriate respect and obedience befitting his rank.[175]

174 Chomatenus, Ponemata, 79.

175 Chomatenus, Ponemata, 149.

Fornication and depravities[176] – One case records that John, the son of Hieromonk Barnabas, and a woman named Dragosta, holding an infant in her arms, appeared before the archbishop. John spoke first and confessed that the unruly urges of his youth had led him to engage in a non-marital relationship with Dragosta. Now, he regretted this sin and wished to part ways with her. However, Dragosta desired to remain with him forever. She acknowledged concubinage, but argued that, having been together for more than five years and having had three children together – two of whom had passed away – she had a rightful claim to stay with him. Dragosta petitioned to be married according to the holy rite. The archbishop sought to persuade John to marry the mother of his child, as required by law and the Church, and to live with her as his lawful wife. However, John was stoutly opposed and unwilling to entertain even the idea. Given that it was clear he could not be convinced to change his mind, it was decreed that Dragosta should receive one of his cows and a share of the harvested produce. After this, both parties were free to act as they wished.[177]

In another case involving a non-marital relationship, Tzola, a Vlach woman, is portrayed as practiced in the seduction of men. Her depiction suggests that she may have done this for material gain and that the use of sorcery was regarded as part of her tactics.[178] A potter named Chrysos moved to Ohrid in search of better economic opportunities, during a time of famine in his hometown of Kastoria, where he had lived with his lawful wife. In Ohrid, he began cohabiting with Tzola. Alongside this, the two engaged jointly in farming and rather successfully, as it seems. They raised crops and tended two cows, pigs, bees, donkeys. Eventually, Chrysos' wife traveled from Kastoria to Ohrid and succeeded in separating the two, driving Tzola away. Following this turning point, Chrysos fades away from the narrative. He comes across as a passive figure, an object of circumstance rather than an active subject engaged in the unfolding events. The central conflict is framed as an opposition between two figures: the lawful wife, the protagonist of the Christian way of life and legal order, and a dubious woman, associated with immoral behavior and magical practices. Tzola claimed entitlement to a portion of Chrysos' property on the grounds that she had labored alongside him – a claim he acknowledged. In the end, Tzola was granted a portion of livestock, linen cloth, and a woolen blanket. She was strictly forbidden from attempting to seduce Chrysos again, by either "overt or covert' ploys. If she were to seek him out for intercourse or material gains nonetheless, she would be disciplined by the authorities and have all the possessions granted to her confiscated.[179]

Unlike Tzola who is seen as the enticer, *drawing* the married Chrysos into carnal union (πρὸς σαρκικὴν μίξιν ἕλκουσα), the case of Stana (Στάννα) from Devol is of a different sort. In her situation, the married man with whom she had intercourse is

176 For a detailed account of sexual offenses in the pertinent penitential texts, see the chapter *Conversations on Sin in the Slavic Language*, II, 381–385.

177 Chomatenus, Ponemata, 135.

178 Cf. the portrayal of Černokosa in Chomatenus, Ponemata, 103.19–23.

179 Chomatenus, Ponemata, 136. Cf. *Laiou*, Sex, Consent and Coercion, 146–155.

seen as the seducer (φθορεύς). She was still a virgin when she was *defiled* by this man with her consent. Her brother John, the son of Rade (Ῥάδος), came to Ohrid after he was made aware of the affair. He sought to learn from the archbishop, in writing, about the appropriate punishment for the man. Since the seducer was already married, he could not marry Stana. However, he was subject to both civil and church penalties. If he was wealthy, he had to pay the customary fine. If he was not wealthy, he must surrender half of his property. Additionally, the local bishop was responsible for ensuring that he faced the appropriate *epitimia* for fornicators, including a seven-year exclusion from communion.[180]

In cases where men engaged in fornication with women who were cousins of their affinal relatives – unaware of the familial connection – within the Theme of Soskos[181] and the region of Prilep,[182] the local bishops (Moglena and Pelagonia) were supposed to impose appropriate *epitimia*. Civil authorities could also intervene in such matters. Thus, the decree for Prilep again includes a warning – essentially a threat of excommunication – for any state official who might consider imposing further retribution on the fornicator.[183] The Church was focused on encouraging the faithful to confess, repent, and change their ways, rather than conceal their actions and lie to avoid harsher treatment by the state.

Illicit relationships became especially problematic when children were involved, as these cases often led to conflicts and disputes being passed down across generations. For example, we hear of George, son of Desislav from the town of Ohrid, who fathered numerous children with various concubines, in addition to one legitimate son. The mother of a certain Kale was one of George's illegitimate children. Kale was to forfeit the use of George's land – which had been used by her father for over 20 years – to a grandson of George's sister, since the heir line of his only legitimate son had died out. George's decision to bequeath parts of his property to his concubines and the children he had with them was against the law. Byzantine law distinguished between those who entered a single extramarital relationship and those who habitually engaged in improper relationships. After citing these legal distinctions, Chomatenos concludes that the philanderer George formed liaisons with various concubines and without any regard "scattered around his own progeny, making his descendants from those relationships despised and unprotected by laws." [184]

In some cases of contested inheritance, illegitimate children or their descendants attempted to claim their parents' inheritance, despite having no legal right to it. In others, the illegitimate descendants were in control of their late parents' property, unaware that they had no rightful claim to it, as in case of Kale. When the legitimate

180 Chomatenus, Ponemata, 74.

181 Chomatenus, Ponemata, 125.

182 Chomatenus, Ponemata, 144.

183 Chomatenus, Ponemata, 144.33–37.

184 Chomatenus, Ponemata, 40.

heirs appeared to assert their rights, it upended the lives of those involved, and their family members as well. Such situations posed a significant challenge to society across the Empire, as they could unexpectedly plunge many households into disarray.

The bishop of Pelagonia reported a distressing case. Maria, daughter of a deacon and chartophylax from Prilep named John Chryselos, repeatedly appeared before courts and her spiritual father seeking a divorce on the grounds that her husband coerced her into the abominable acts which are practiced by those who lust after men (τῶν ἀνδρομανούντων). She testified that she was beaten into submission to such defilement and was willing to comply with every procedure necessary to prove her testimony, whether under civil law or the so-called "barbaric" code.[185] Death seemed preferable to her than continuing a life with her husband, Nicholas Halmyriotes. She would rather meet her end "by hanging, by the sword, by throwing herself from a cliff, or by drowning" than continue to exist alongside him. As in previously noted cases of women seeking divorce, the persuasive intention of suicide moved the court to grant a divorce. In this instance it overrode the formal obstacles in proving the existence of something so "vile, dark, and utterly satanic" that it evades the gaze of any witness.[186]

Lingering archaic customs – The canonist Theodore Balsamon from Constantinople enumerated festivals which were still observed in his time and which he considered strange (ἀλλόκοτος). Among them, he included Rousalia.[187] He noted that it was celebrated in the countryside (ἐν ταῖς ἔξω χώραις) due to wicked custom (κακῆς συνηθείας). The festivities appear to be related with the cult of the dead.[188] One of Chomatenos' cases involved two unnamed youths who took part in Rousalia held in the Theme of Moliskos. According to the archaic custom (παλαιοῦ ἔθους) in the area, they roamed through the villages, fooling around, dancing, leaping frantically, and performing obscene acts while asking for gifts. The debauched procession stumbled on a sheep pen and demanded that the peasant tending to the sheep gift them cheese. After he refused, Chryselos and another man from the group took what they wanted. A fight broke out. Chryselos hit the shepherd with a stick, and the shepherd stabbed him with a knife. Chryselos died on the spot.[189] The two young men had not taken part in the brawl, and they repented for their participation in the festival. They came before Chomatenos in Ohrid to find out if they could be held responsible for the violent incident that took place and to seek penance for the cleansing of their souls (κάθαρσιν τῶν ψυχῶν αὐτῶν). After examining the case, the archbishop wrote his decision to be presented to the bishop of Moglena. They were not to blame for the murder as the custom they were following did not entail shedding blood, but rather mischief (παίγνια). Such mischief is said to originate from pagan misconceptions, that is "Greek deviation"

185 See the chapter *Between Custom and Law*, II, 347.

186 Chomatenus, Ponemata, 17.

187 *Rhalles – Potles*, Syntagma II, 450.

188 Cf. *Koder*, Byzantiner, 172; *Macrides*, Killing and Law, 529–530; *Bojanin*, Svetkovine i zabave, 203–208; *Simeonov*, Alltagsleben, 305–308.

189 Chomatenus, Ponemata, 120.

(τῆς ἑλληνικῆς πλάνης), and intoxication. The three-year penance (*epitimia*), which included suspension from the holy sacraments (except if facing imminent death), additional fasting, and prostrations, is specifically related to the sin of participating in the detestable celebration forbidden by the canons. To prevent any retaliation, Chomatenos' findings needed to be announced to both state officials and residents. The document threatens excommunication for anyone who participates in such a celebration. It also warns that any state officials or local inhabitant who attempts to impose harm or any punishment on the repentant who turned to the Church for refuge will also face excommunication. For this reason, it was decreed that the document be read aloud in church.

These examples corroborate the pivotal role of the bishop within Byzantine society, particularly in the context of his judicial power. The Church protected the penitent against officialdom.[190] This encouraged offenders to surrender themselves to the mercy of the Church. Angold further observes the following:

> "At the same time, the church provided a mechanism both for defusing the bitterness and mixed emotions that casual violence was bound to create in any community. To that extent a bishop both contributed to social order and served as a focus for local society."[191]

The approach exhibited in Chomatenos' records was consistent with the general manner in which the judicial authority was exercised in Byzantium. In cases of ethnic or other internal groups which were not fully integrated into Byzantine society, the courts insisted on the basic principles of Byzantine law while allowing for specific accommodations in particular instances to prevent dissent.[192] Similarly, with regard to the curious case of the divorce in Prizren,[193] Chomatenos himself concludes that, in certain circumstances, ethnic customs may be conceded as exceptions.[194] However, based on the *Ponemata,* the need for such exceptions within the archbishopric seems to have been rare. Local customs were, after all, not just a feature of distinct groups in Byzantium, but an element of the folk traditions found throughout the Empire. The imperial culture was not a monolith. The dynamic interaction between local practices and dominant centralized norms was a notable characteristic of life in the provinces.

On the whole, *Ponemata* suggest that the inhabitants of the Archbishopric of Ohrid had confidence in the Church's authority in civil and canon law. Moreover, they relied on it to resolve issues within their households, among their kin, within their

190 *Angold*, Church and Society, 224–225.

191 Ibid.

192 *Laiou*, Mechanisms of integration, 178.

193 Chomatenus, Ponemata, 103. See the following chapter *Between Custom and Law: Marriage in the Territory of the Archbishopric of Ohrid*, II, 345.

194 He entertained the possibility because the local bishop had already approved the divorce arranged 18 years before by the husband and the bride's parents. Namely, the late Bishop Nikephoros of Prizren signed a document formalizing the arrangement, alongside the mentioned parties. Cf. Chomatenus, Ponemata, 103.71–76; *Laiou*, Mechanisms of integration, 166.

villages and towns. Accordingly, individuals would often appear before the Synod in Ohrid accompanied by family members, a group of neighbors or several prominent members of their community, who served as witnesses or support. The matter at hand did not solely concern an individual's relationship with the Church or a judicial authority, but rather the collective relationship of the local community to the Church as the arbiter of social and moral order. In the gravest of circumstances, when the faithful felt the weight of their transgressions, they turned to the Church to seek redemption for their souls. No significant divide between the judicial norms and the values of local society emerges from the recorded cases. The people coming before Chomatenos accepted the normative framework of the ecclesiastical court and strove for ethical conduct embedded in the Orthodox tradition that informed it.

Jovana Šijaković

10.46793/Barb.Rhom.II.327I

Between Custom and Law:
Marriage in the Territory of the Archbishopric of Ohrid

With the integration of the central Balkans into the Byzantine Empire and, in particular, the establishment of the Archbishopric of Ohrid, the local population came into contact with a new and highly intricate legal framework. Rooted in the Roman legal tradition, which had, in turn, incorporated elements of ancient Greek and Hellenistic law, this system was heavily influenced by Christian ordinances and principles. The legislation pertaining to the institution of marriage underwent some of the profoundest changes.

Private property stands at the heart of ownership, family, and inheritance relationships, playing a manifold role in the distribution of political and economic power. The point of convergence of those three spheres of life is marriage: it involves acquiring new possessions (e.g., dowry and prenuptial gifts), establishing kinship ties, and, finally, giving the parties involved the legal status of an inheritor. Of course, the rigidity or flexibility of this institution shaped the legal and ownership status of women, especially in case of divorce.[1] Also, control over the institution of marriage affected the next generation through the offspring produced in the union, which inherited the legal and social status of one or both parents, depending on whether the union was deemed lawful or illicit.[2]

The Christian Church sought to regulate this sphere of its flock's everyday life.[3] The shaping of ecclesiastical matrimonial legislation began in canon law.[4] In addition to the rules adopted by ecumenical and local councils, the early *corpus canonum* included certain pronouncements of the church fathers, with those of St. Basil the Great being the most pertinent to marriage law. This saint's authority laid the ground for the emergence of two concepts in Byzantine marriage – the invalidity of marriages that would result in the confusion of the names of kinship (σύγχυσις τῶν ὀνομάτων) and the "propriety"

1 Angeliki E. Laiou explored the legal, economic, and social status of women in Byzantium in several papers, most pertinently to this chapter's topic in *Laiou*, The Role of Women, 233–260, where she analyzed evidence from the territory of the Empire of Epirus.

2 For the most relevant information, see *Prinzing*, Legal Status of Children.

3 The rapid growth of ecclesiastical jurisdiction in Byzantine family, marriage, and inheritance law after the 11th century was fuelled by the gradual collapse of centralized government, which had begun to crumble in the years leading up to the Latin conquest of Constantinople, and the internal development of the church, which impacted a multitude of spheres, see *Macrides*, Dowry and Inheritance, 89. See also *Angold*, Ē Byzantinē Ekklēsia kai ta problēmata tou gamou, 179–194.

4 The Quinisext Council, also known as the Council in Trullo, is considered the only council that regulated marriage law matters; on its canons, see *Heith–Stade*, Marriage in the canons.

requirement, which meant that a marriage had to be "appropriate" (εὐπρεπής) in addition to valid.[5] However, the doctrines that appeared in canon law often encountered resistance as they contradicted the secular laws. For example, to resolve this issue, the Constantinopolitan judge Eustathios Rhomaios explained that the church father had not altered the provisions of secular law on this question.[6]

The legislation enacted by Leo VI the Wise in the late 10th century made religious wedding ceremonies mandatory, essentially allowing the Church to influence matrimonial processes in the territory under its jurisdiction.[7] Thus, before giving their mandatory blessing to a union, priests had to verify that the would-be spouses met the requirements for entering the union, e.g., the legally prescribed marriageable age or the lack of any impediments to marriage. This legal authorization gave the senior clergy power to decide whether they would grant or deny their blessing to a particular marital union, which, among other things, determined the legal status of the offspring born to the marriage. The clergy was held accountable for implementing the newly established rules: if a priest happened to bless a marriage that did not meet the requirements of ecclesiastical law, he would have to suffer penance or would be defrocked.[8] Documents in the register of the Patriarchate of Constantinople show that there was a regular procedure that bishops were to follow when verifying the validity of a marriage. If a bishop had any doubts, he could request a second opinion from the relevant archbishop or even the patriarch.

The intricacies of jurisdictional boundaries in marriage law are attested by a handful of rulings of 11th-century secular courts,[9] thought to reflect the rise of ecclesiastical jurisdiction in this field. Still, even in those cases, authoritative members of the senior clergy advised secular judges on how to resolve legal problems concerning marriage.[10] The Despotate of Epirus is known to have had a mixed court that included secular judges and bishops in the 13th century, as attested by the letters of Demetrios Chomatenos. Also, it was common for the ruler, the highest judicial authority, to delegate marital and inheritance disputes to bishops.[11] We know that Chomatenos headed a collegial ecclesiastical judicial body, but the Archbishop of Ohrid also represented a judicial forum in his own right.[12] The Epirote legal system has, quite rightly, been

5 See *Ohme*, Sources of the Greek Canon Law, 99–103. See I in the present chapter.

6 *Rhalles – Potles*, Syntagma V, 347–348. The Constantinopolitan judge bitterly criticized the "one flesh" concept, which had also made its way into secular legislation (see I), and was hardly its only detractor.

7 Novella Leonis Sapientis, 89. These rules had applied only to the Empire's free citizens until 1095 when the *Novella* of Alexios I Komnenos made religious wedding ceremonies mandatory for slaves, see Novella 35, Novellae et aureae bullae, 341–346. On the *Novella*, see recently *Ilić*, Reconsidering the 1095 Novella.

8 See, for example, Regestes, N. 569 (539); N. 575; N. 848; N. 886.

9 This was a special type of legal proceeding that could not be classed as either a purely civil or a purely criminal case, see *Schminck*, Vier eherechtliche Entscheidungen, 239–240.

10 The patriarch could also provide guidelines for secular judges in marriage law matters; see Regestes, N. 882. Chomatenus, Ponemata, 2, addressed to John Plytos, *archon* of Croae, who probably had some judicial powers as the city's governor, can be understood in the same vein.

11 See *Simon*, Provinzialjustiz, 331.

12 See *Jameson*, The Responsa and Letters, 151–155.

described as obscure and fraught with overlapping jurisdictions,[13] which more or less applies to the judiciary of other periods as well.

We learn from an 11th-century ruling that friends, relatives, neighbors, and even ill-disposed bishops sometimes reported marriages as unlawful.[14] In this way, "the pretext of piety" could be used to harm someone, as an 11th-century source vividly illustrates. The Church encouraged reporting any doubts about the validity of a nuptial bond. For instance, the patriarch, the supreme head of the Church, instructed the metropolitan bishop of Philippi to urge his parishioners to report all suspicious marriage cases.[15] This was probably a widespread practice, especially in areas where local customs persevered, and the official legal norms remained unclear and largely unknown to the faithful. The patriarch is known to have advised the archbishop of Alania to be patient in teaching ecclesiastical rules on marriage to his flock, who still clung to their pagan ways.[16] Commenting on another legal case, Chomatenos remarked that fears arise from alien and unfamiliar procedures rather than from those widely accepted and common.[17] This may have been why many appealed to the archbishop of Ohrid to resolve marriage disputes, as his rulings and decisions would have helped them become acquainted with official laws.

The senior clergy obviously played prominent roles in local religious communities, shepherding the faithful toward understanding and accepting convoluted and often contradictory legislation, whose implementation could not be ensured by the system of state-sponsored coercion.[18] The Church employed voluntary measures, most commonly spiritual sanctions, to get the flock to observe the rules it wanted to impose.[19] Accepting the model embodied in a church official gave a person various privileges, ensuring their affirmation in the local community.

The earliest report of a private law problem in the territory of the Archbishopric of Ohrid comes from a letter of Theophylact of Ohrid,[20] which informs us that it was common for people in *Bulgaria*, that is to say, the territory under the Archbishopric's jurisdiction, to remarry multiple times, which was against the law, and to enter illicit marriages. This practice seems to have elicited a response from the Church, with Theophylact reporting that those people were inimical to the Church of Ohrid. Other sources confirm that primates in other parts of the Empire encountered the same problems.[21]

---

13 *Jameson*, The Responsa and Letters; *Prinzing*, Quasi–Patriarch, 177.

14 *Schmink*, Vier eherechtliche Entscheidungen, 230.93–95.

15 See Regestes, N. 847.

16 See Regestes, N. 655; N. 657 (619).

17 Chomatenus, Ponemata, 106.356–360; see *Simon*, Witwe Sachlikina, 347.

18 The reason for letting the senior clergy wield such vast judicial power is thought to have been the flawed justice system, especially local secular judiciaries. Cf. *Prinzing*, The authority of the Church, 149; *Simon*, Provinzialjustiz, 326, 330.

19 On *epitimia* in the case files of Demetrios Chomatenos, see *Simon*, Buβbeschide. See also the chapter *Conversations on Sin in the Slavic Language*, II.

20 Theophylactus, Epistulae, 96.

21 The patriarchal register of the Church of Constantinople contains numerous cases attesting to this trend.

The letters of Archbishop Theophylact of Ohrid are of limited relevance for reconstructing the legal and custom-law relationships in the Archbishopric at the turn of the 11th to the 12th century. However, the extensive case files of Demetrios Chomatenos, the chartophylax and later archbishop of Ohrid, from the first half of the 13th century, are much more informative.[22] Chomatenos' opus and the replies of John Apokaukos, Archbishop of Naupaktos, are the principal sources for reconstructing the legal and social relationships in the Despotate of Epirus. The rulings of those archbishops transcended and outlived this temporary rump state. The Archbishopric of Ohrid's customary-law legacy survived in the Archbishopric of Žiča, which later incorporated four bishoprics of the Ohrid Church. This brings us to the question of the extent to which canon laws and secular rules on marriage, translated into the Slavonic language before this time, were observed in practice.[23]

Of course, the mentioned sources do not describe the legal problems of only one ethnic community, making it difficult to identify the ethnicity of the faithful. Chomatenos' writings pertain to inhabitants of different ethnicities, not distinguishing between them in any apparent way. In some cases, it is clear enough that the litigants were not of Byzantine ancestry and instead belonged to Slavic, Vlach, or Albanian populations.[24] To muddle the matter further, Slavs could also have Greek and Christian names, making them impossible to identify unless their given name happened to be accompanied by an attribute.[25] The archbishop often adjudicated in disputes between families whose members had Slavic and Greek names, meaning that onomastics is frequently not a reliable indicator of the litigants' ethnicity.[26]

There are no detailed reports on the widespread customs of the local population, but some tentative conclusions can be drawn from the customary law of medieval Serbia.[27] Even though Byzantine legislation tended to reproduce Roman law, legal practices – even those that emerged in Constantinople – reveal long-established traditional customs that collided with official legislation.[28] We have no way of knowing how different the set of customs accepted by various ethnic groups in the Archbishopric's

22 The rulings and opinions of Demetrios Chomatenos have been reconstructed and exhaustively researched in scholarship. The corpus of his letters and decisions from the eponymous collection was published in Ponemata Diaphora, ed. *G. Prinzing*, Berolini 2002. The used references will be listed when relevant in this chapter.

23 Spreading the Christian matrimonial ideology has been recognized as one of the central topics in Christianizing the Slavic world, given the social importance of this institution. See the chapter *Indirect Byzantinization*: *Bulgaria as a Case Study*, I, 47–50.

24 Prinzing found eleven persons of Slavic or Vlach origin in *Ponemata diaphora*, *Prinzing*, Sozialgeschichte der Frau, 456; D. Dželebdžić analyzed Slavic anthroponyms in Chomatenos' opus, see *Dželebdzić*, Slovenski antroponimi. In this chapter are accepted transcriptions of possible Slavic names presented in *Dželebdžić*, Slovenski antroponimi, and *Dželebdžić*, Društvo u Epirskoj državi.

25 Some examples are Basil, descended from Boleslava (Chomatenus, Ponemata, 23), Demetrios, ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ Ῥάδου (Chomatenus, Ponemata, 137), and many others. See *A Glimpse of Daily Life in the Archbishopric of Ohrid*, II, 305–306.

26 As noted by *Kiousopoulou*, O thesmos tēs oikogeneias, 150–151.

27 See the papers *Bojanin*, Bračne odredbe Žičke povelje; *Bojanin*, Whose Sister is a Svatvica?

28 See *Michaélidès–Nouaros*, Contributions à l'étude des pactes successoraux, 151; *Simon*, Vertragliche weitergabe des Familienvermögens, 186.

territory was. Earlier scholarship has identified and explored the practice of betrothing very young girls to much older men in the Despotate of Epirus.[29] Other research has focused on reports of widespread extramarital relationships and informal unions (those that had not received a blessing in a religious ceremony), which resulted in certain rights and obligations, as attested by the case files of Demetrios Chomatenos. Research on the institution of betrothal in the territory of Epirus has revealed the widespread practice of getting betrothed both with and without a blessing. In addition, it has highlighted the common practice of affianced persons living together and the disadvantaged status of children born to such unions in inheritance law.[30] These phenomena were probably not limited to the territories covered in Chomatenos' case files,[31] as suggested by the Patriarchate's register and the writings of Eustathios Rhomaios.[32]

As already noted, the opus of Eustathios Rhomaios, an 11th-century judge in Constantinople, was highly influential for "Chomatenos' jurisprudence." Chomatenos emphasized the importance of Eustathios Rhomaios' writings as a legal source, praising the Constantinopolitan judge for his clarity[33] and often following his judicial reasoning or using his verdicts to explain his own decision-making process in a particular case.

A compendium known as the *Peira* (Πεῖρα), probably compiled in the late 1030s or early 1040s, brings together some legal opinions and other writings by Eustathios Rhomaios.[34] The material in this textbook was grouped by subject into 75 chapters (titles). Chapters 49 (Περὶ γάμου ἀθεμίτου καὶ φθορᾶς παρθένων) and 62 (Περὶ συγγενείας ἀγχιστῶν καὶ πατρώνων) contain summaries of legal opinions (ὑπομνήματα) relevant to marriage law research. In addition to these fragments, at least three *hypomnemata* have survived in their entirety.[35] In their elaborate explanations, later summarized and inserted into court verdicts, Rhomaios demonstrates extensive knowledge of Byzantine law, especially the *Basilika*, to which his commentary referred. Explaining his decision-making process, he evoked Roman law and jurisprudence, Justinian's *Corpus Juris Civilis*, the ancient Greek legal tradition, and various literary sources.[36] The Constantinopolitan judge is also thought to have penned a treatise known as *Tractatus de peculiis*, which, among other things, discusses the intricacies of inheritance law in case of remarriage.[37]

29 *Laiou*, The Role of Women, 235; cf. *Kiousopoulou*, O thesmos tēs oikogeneias, 27; *Angelomatis-Tsougarakis*, Woman in the Society of the Despotate of Epirus, 474. A similar phenomenon has been attested in other parts of the Empire, see Regestes, N. 959.

30 *Laiou*, O thesmos tēs mnēsteias, 297–8.

31 *Laiou*, Contribution à l'étude de l'institution familiale, 296–7.

32 Scholars have already highlighted the need to compare the information from Constantinople with evidence from the Archbishopric's territory, *Prinzing*, Sozialgeschichte der Frau, 459. *Prinzing*, Covergence and divergenze and *Idem*, Konvergenz and Divergenz, compared Chomatenos' case files with the Patriarchate's register, primarily from a formal point of view.

33 Chomatenus, Ponemata, 151.169–170.

34 On Eustathios Rhomaios, his writings, and career, as well as a periodization of the *Peira*, see *Oikonomides*, The 'Peira'.

35 See *Burgmann*, Turning Sisinnios against Sisinnians, 180; see also, *Schminck*, Vier eherechtliche Entscheidungen.

36 *Oikonomides*, The 'Peira', 185.

37 Even though Demetrios Chomatenos *Tractatus de peculiis* assigns to Eustathios Rhomaios, some scholars believe that the treatise was written by John Xiphilinus. For the edition of *Tractatus*, see *Fogen*, *Simon*, Tractatus de peculiis.

The register of the Patriarchate of Constantinople contains various types of documents, including patriarchal replies, decisions, *regesta*, and others, some of which are of a "canonical nature." Verdicts pertaining to marriage law appeared as early as the patriarchate of Photios I, growing in number from the time of Patriarch Sisinnios II. Their content differed depending on the topics preoccupying the clergy at the time of their passing. Pertinent matters included the permissibility of eulogy (as a liturgical rite) when remarrying for the second, third, or fourth time, with many cases involving affinity, consanguinity, and spiritual kinship. Given the broad timeframe in which those verdicts were passed and the changing political landscape, numerous contradictions inevitably emerged in ecclesiastical legal decisions in marriage disputes.

This chapter addresses three legal problems in the territory of the Archbishopric of Ohrid, two of which highlight the importance of marriage as an institution: 1) The relationship between custom and law in legal impediments to marriage stemming from affinity; 2) The relationship between custom and law regarding remarriage; 3) The overall interplay of custom and law in the territory under the Archbishopric of Ohrid's jurisdiction.

While the Byzantines sought to impose their own laws and legal customs, convoluted as they were, there was also a tendency to tolerate deep-rooted local customs and be lenient toward those who clung to them. These customs endured through various periods, with their suppression depending on the *ἀκρίβεια* (exactitude or legalism) of the primate and his relationship with the flock. The acceptance of legal norms from the "center" by local milieus in this study is seen as a form of *Byzantinization*.

I. Affinity as a marriage impediment

During the reign of Basil II, in the second year of the patriarchate of Sisinnios II, the synod passed a decision known as the *Tome of Sisinnios*,[38] prohibiting marriage at the fifth and sixth degrees of affinal kinship. The *Tome* drew on a range of Old Testament and canonical tropes, most notably, the canonical teaching of St. Basil the Great about the impermissibility of a marriage resulting in the confusion of the names of kinship (σύγχυσις τῶν ὀνομάτων); in addition, this church father was erroneously credited with formulating the concept of "propriety" (εὐπρεπής), another requirement (besides validity) that had to be met for a marriage to take place.[39] In fact, it was the

38 Laurent famously called this the best-known decision in Byzantine marriage law, a pronouncement cited by many, *Laurent*, Réponse canoniques, 305. The *Tome of Patriarch Sisinnios*, issued on 21 February 997, was published in *Rhalles – Potles*, Syntagma V, 11–19. For a description, see Regestes, N. 804; and *Grumel*, Sisinnius II. Patriarch Sisinnios II is associated with several other marriage acts: a canonical announcement on allowed and prohibited marriages (see Regestes, **N. 805), a synodal decree prohibiting digamy, whose 15th-century Old Slavonic translation lists Sisinnios as its author (see Regestes, N. 807), a tome prohibiting relationships with a mother-in-law (see Regestes, **N. 809 a), a synodal tome on the application of marriage impediments to betrothals (based on a report of the jurist Harmenopoulos, attributing the tome to the patriarchs Sisinnios II and John VIII Xiphilinos, see Regestes, N. 812), and an act on reconciling with the Church those whose marriages had been annulled on grounds of tetragamy (Regestes, N. 813).

39 Saint Basil, Lettres, 160.

Roman jurist Herennius Modestinus who defined "propriety" as a requirement for matrimony and did so in a different context.[40]

The *Tome* prohibited the marriage of two brothers from one *genos* (kin group) to two cousins from another *genos* (sixth degree of affinity[41]) and of a maternal or paternal uncle and his nephew from one *genos* to two sisters from another *genos* and, correspondingly, the marriage of two brothers from one *genos* to a maternal or paternal aunt and her niece from another *genos* (fifth degree of affinity). Such marriages were deemed incestuous. The regulations in the *Tome of Sisinnios* added to the preexisting secular rules laid down in the *Prochiron*, *Epanagoge*, and *Basilika*.[42]

The historical background of the *Tome*'s promulgation remains unclear. This synodal act may have been part of the Macedonian emperors' policy of curbing the economic and political power of "magnates" (potentiores, δυναστοί), who often married members of each other's families. In time, this led to the emergence of clans that wielded immense political potential, so powerful that Basil II barely managed to bring them to heel.[43]

Networking between families distantly related by blood or marriage was quite commonplace in the 11th, 12th, and 13th centuries. Marriage impediments between affinal relations prescribed in the *Tome* were intended to do away with endogamy, i.e., maintaining family alliances through intermarriage. Such unions ensured that a family's property remained undivided. Besides affinity, which prevented any division of property between two families, first cousins (kinsmen or kinswomen at the fourth degree of consanguinity) played vital roles in keeping the family's estate intact. Intending to break up family clans, the *Tome of Sisinnios* brought those two elements together: persons at the fourth degree of consanguinity and the (prohibited) affinal relationships in which they may feature.[44]

The new rules on incest encountered resistance throughout the Empire because they contravened traditional customs, and the patriarch and his synod had to review numerous cases.[45] The *Tome*'s stipulations are known to have been violated, as attested by a later decision of Patriarch Michael III of Anchialos.[46] The need for the *Tome* to be

40 D. L, 17, 197: Modestinus libro singulari de ritu nuptiarum: *Semper in coniunctionibus non solum quid liceat considerandum est*, *sed et quid honestum sit*. Modestinus' requirement referred to marriage across different social classes, see Peira, 49, 33; *Pitsakis*, Les droit matrimonial, 175 n. 29.

41 The formula for calculating kinship degrees was 2 (horizontal consanguinity between two brothers) + 4 (horizontal consanguinity between two first cousins), which would become relevant in later responses to the Tome.

42 Prochiron, 7; Epanagoge, 17; Basilicorum libri, XXVIII, 5. Besides the rules on consanguinity as an impediment to marriage, these chapters explain the concept of affinity (ἀγχιστεία) and the relevant prohibitions, most of which concern linear affinal kinship. Chapter XXVIII, 6 of the *Basilika* is entitled Περὶ ἀθεμιτογαμιῶν and incorporates the rules from Justinian's *Novella 12*, focusing on the inheritance rights of children born in incestuous marriages. See *Pitsakēs*, Législation et stratégies matrimoniales, 682–683; *Pitsakēs*, «Paizontes eis allotrious bious», 217–219.

43 *Laiou*, Mariage, amour et parenté, 24–25; *Pitsakis*, Imperial Legislation, 727.

44 *Laiou*, Mariage, amour et parenté, 23, 29.

45 Regestes, N. 822; N. 826a; N. 858; N. 882; N. 885; N. 886; N. 903.

46 See *Laurent*, Réponse canoniques, 301–305.

upheld and affirmed suggests that its implementation involved confusion and doubts.[47] The priests who agreed to bless marriages prohibited by the *Tome* risked harsh sanctions.[48] Still, in 1092, Alexios I Komnenos allowed a marriage between spouses close to him that the *Tome* would have deemed illicit,[49] arguing that while the couple was indeed related at the sixth degree of affinity, they were not in a type of kinship specifically described in the *Tome*. This move triggered a deluge of debates and ultimately gave rise to two doctrines about affinal incest. The supporters of the first doctrine were in favor of recognizing sixth-degree affinity as a marriage impediment, as defined in the *Tome*.[50] Conversely, their opponents argued that the prohibition should apply only to the examples listed in the *Tome* (two fourth-degree consanguineous relations could not marry a pair of second-degree consanguineous relatives, the so-called 4+2 rule). The possibility of interpreting the prohibition differently thus spilled over from theory into practice, informing future decision-making when assessing the permissibility or validity of marriages involving affinity.

The newly introduced impediments to marriage were most acutely felt by noble houses, which drew their economic and political power from their property portfolios. Besides wealth and public service, the third important characteristic of an aristocratic *genos* was being highborn (εὐγενής),[51] and these families ensured their continued existence, among other things, by entering endogamous marriages through *digeneia* and *trigeneia*.[52] The sources report that these prohibitions did little to stop such marriages.[53] While fifth-degree affinal incest represented a marriage impediment,[54] the prohibition of marriage at the sixth degree was soon relaxed after being briefly upheld in secular legislation,[55] as attested by Metropolitan Demetrios of Kyzikos' report that these marriages were common in his city.[56] Affinity-based impediments tended to be seen as secondary to consanguineous kinship in Constantinople, as well.[57]

---

47 Regestes, N. 803.

48 Regestes, N. 823; 824.

49 For descriptions of ecclesiastical documents on this case, see Regestes, N. 954 [961], N. 955 [962], N. 956 [963], N. 958 (965). See also the imperial decisions in Regesten der Kaiserurkunden, N. 1168. For the background of the controversial case, see *Zhishman*, Das Eherecht, 328; *Pitsakēs*, To kōlyma gamou, 279; *Schminck*, Zur Entwicklung des Eherechts, 560; *Laiou*, Mariage, amour et parenté, 38; *Angold*, Church and Society, 409–412.

50 Prominent proponents of this view included Theodore Balsamon and John Zonaras.

51 See *Dzelebdzić*, Društvo u Epirskoj državi, 43–44.

52 *Digeneia* is kinship established by one marriage between two lineages, and *trigeneia* is kinship established by two marriages between three lineages. *Trigeneia* also features in patriarchal files. The first known case was heard by Patriarch Leo Styppes (Regestes, N. 1009), while Patriarch Michael III of Anchialos resolved the second known case (Regestes, *N. 1144). Both marriages were found to be lawful.

53 See *Laiou*, Mariage, amour et parenté, 59–66 (Tableau I).

54 See ibid.

55 Based on the information in Synopsis Major, Γ II, 1 Laiou suggested that Emperor Alexios I Komnenos issued the *Novella* (1088) prohibiting marriages at the sixth degree of affinity to block his daughter Anna's marriage to Nikephoros Bryennios. For more details, see *Laiou*, Mariage, amour et parenté, 37–38; *Schminck*, Zur Entwicklung des Eherechts, 559.

56 *Rhalles – Potles*, Syntagma V, 355; *Laiou*, Mariage, amour et parenté, 27.

57 See Regestes, **N. 849; Peira, 62, 3; 62, 4. Cf. *Laiou*, Mariage, amour et parenté, 27.

The new strictures meant that marrying two second cousins emerged as a distinct legal problem. The principal argument cited in support of its prohibition was the biblical dogma of "one flesh," μία σάρξ (Genesis 2:24, Mark 10:6–8). According to this view, a husband and wife were reckoned as one degree of kinship rather than two, placing such marriages at the prohibited sixth degree of affinity. The relationship between spouses in this context and the implications of accepting or rejecting the "one flesh" doctrine attracted the attention of the most reputable Byzantine canonists.[58] A particularly notable and influential example is Theodore Balsamon, Patriarch of Antioch, who argued that marriage creates a nuptial bond between a man and a woman in which they become "one degree" not on account of shared ancestry ("a unity of flesh") but on account of having "more or less the same soul."[59] However, the renowned canonist does not take this to imply a full union of their families, each of which retains its own *hypostasis*. John Zonaras was of a similar opinion.[60]

Affinity-based impediments to marriage were one of the most controversial aspects of matrimony in the Archbishopric of Ohrid, with the sources reporting a similar situation in the metropolises of Thessalonike and Naupaktos.[61] Surviving theoretical considerations of this problem come from prominent church dignitaries who served in the area, e.g., the archbishops of Thessalonike Michael Choumnos and Basil of Ohrid.[62] Choumnos, who lived in the first half of the 12th century, penned, probably during a stay in Constantinople, a short treatise on calculating the degrees of kinship, which seems to have been intended for practical use.[63] Choumnos passed a ruling allowing marriage at the sixth degree of affinity in his archbishopric.[64] However, those marriages did not involve the relationships described in the *Tome of Sisinnios* but a father and son (first degree of consanguinity) from one family marrying a "minor" aunt and her niece from another family (fifth degree of consanguinity),[65] so it did not constitute a breach of St. Basil's rules on the confusion of the names of kinship. Cod. Vulcan. 56 contains detailed information on another case adjudicated by Choumnos, in which he cited the rules laid down in the *Tome* but explained that marriage at the sixth degree of affinity is permissible (1+5) unless it involves the relationships described in

58 See *Darrouzès*, Questions de droit matrimonial, 112–117. See a treatise against the *Tome of Sisinnios*, which argues that the permissibility of divorce refutes the one flesh doctrine, *Schminck*, Kritik am Tomos, 199–215.

59 *Rhalles – Potles*, Syntagma IV, 556–564; *Viscouso*, Marital Relations, 285.

60 See *Rhalles – Potles*, Syntagma IV, 592; *Darrouzès*, Questions de droit matrimonial, 115.

61 The rulings of Archbishop John Apokaukas lie beyond the scope of this chapter. For an introduction, see *Pitsakēs*, To kōlyma gamou, 371–372.

62 Michael Choumnos (of Thessalonike) and Basil of Ohrid took the helm of the Archbishopric of Thessalonike after having served in Constantinople. For a biography of Choumnos, see DHGE 12, 764–765; cf. *Pitsakēs*, To kōlyma gamou, 221. On his writings, see *Troianos*, Byzantine Canon Law, 205. On Basil of Ohrid, esp. for the chronology of his life and a list of the available literature, see DHGE 6, 1160–61; *Pitsakis*, Basileios Ahridēnos and, recently, *Šijaković*, Basil from Ohrid.

63 This is Περὶ τῶν βαθμῶν τῆς συγγενείας, Chumnus, De gradibus cognationis, 1297–1300; *Rhalles – Potles*, Syntagma V, 397–398; see *Pitsakēs*, To kōlyma gamou, 221 n. 145.

64 Mattheus Monachus, De affinitate, 1232D–1234A; 1240B; *Pitsakēs*, To kōlyma gamou, 225.

65 For the relevant terms, see *Zhishman*, Das Eherecht, 223.

this document.[66] Choumnos' argument was that other relationships were not prohibited in canon law, secular legislation, the *Tome*, or any other church ordinances.[67]

Basil of Ohrid is believed to have served in the mid-12th century. At the request of the *megas sakellarios* of the Metropolis of Dyrrachion, Basil reviewed a case involving marriage between spouses at the seventh degree of affinity (two brothers marrying two fifth-degree kinswomen). Having analyzed the case and cited the rules of St. Basil the Great, Basil of Ohrid judged these unions to be permissible. The future spouses were at the seventh degree of affinal kinship,[68] allowing him to describe their unions as appropriate (εὐπρεπής) and valid because they would not result in the confusion of the names of kinship.[69]

Kinship and its influence on marriage and inheritance law were quite hotly debated in the territory of the Archbishopric of Ohrid. An isolated report by Theophylact of Ohrid suggests that "illicit marriage" (ἀθεμιτόγαμος) was common in his bishopric, no different than in other parts of the Empire. The term ἀθεμιτόγαμος usually has a technical meaning, describing a nuptial bond created despite impediments stemming from the spouses' kinship.[70] Another archbishop of Ohrid, Demetrios Chomatenos, faced the same challenge, leaving behind numerous case files referring to matrimony between affinal relatives. Chomatenos evoked Patriarch Sisinnios II and his various decisions, primarily the *Tome* enacted in 997, in no less than five documents.[71] An analysis of Chomatenos' rulings reveals the prevailing view of marriage impediments stemming from affinity, most notably his understanding of legal quandaries that even Constantinopolitan jurisprudence had not resolved unequivocally.

Chomatenos' most convoluted explanation involving arguments rooted in secular and ecclesiastical law and Christian philosophy has survived in three letters discussing the marriage of Gregory Kamonas, the *pansebastos* of Croae.[72] The letters had different addressees: Gregory Kamonas, the *archon* of Croae John Plytos, and the archbishop of Croae. Kamonas' political enemies had alleged that his marriage to Komnina Nemanjić, daughter of Grand *Župan* Stefan Nemanjić, was unlawful. In a complex web of social relationships, the marriage of Gregorios and Komnina had connected three families, resulting in affinity between three lineages. Having lawfully divorced his first wife, Kamonas had married

66 *Lambros*, Stahyologia, 393–395; see *Laiou*, Mariage, amour et parenté, 41–42; *Pitsakēs*, To kōlyma gamou, 225.

67 *Lambros*, Stahyologia, 395; *Schminck*, Vier eherechtliche Entscheidungen, 234; *Pitsakēs*, To kōlyma gamou, 224.

68 The case is described in *Rhalles – Potles*, Syntagma V, 389–390 (Basilius Achridenus, Responsio, 933–934B). See also *Zhishman*, Das Eherecht, 289; *Pitsakis*, To kōlyma gamou, 197; *Pitsakis*, Basileios Ahridēnos, 271–275; *Laiou*, Mariage, amour et parenté, 31–32; *Pitsakis*, Questions „albanaises", 188.

69 See *Leidholm*, Political families in Byzantium, 149 n. 38.

70 Theophylactus, Epistulae, 96. On "incestuous" (ἀθεμίτος) marriages (with incest implying both affinity and consanguinity), termed ἀθεμιτογαμία, see *Laiou*, Mariage, amour et parenté, 21, 50. Cf. Peira, 982, where the editor reconsiders the meaning of the terms ἀθεμίτος and κεκωλυμένος γαμός. Cf. Chomatenus, Ponemata, 125.19.

71 Patriarch Sisinnios II is also the most frequently mentioned patriarch of Constantinople in Chomatenos' writings. He appears a total of seven times in five files, see *Stanković*, Carigradski patrijarsi kod Dimitrija Homatina, 121.

72 Chomatenus, Ponemata, 1; Chomatenus, Ponemata, 2; Chomatenus, Ponemata, 3.

Komnina, the widow of the late Demetrios Progonos, whose brother Gines Progonos was Kamonas' father-in-law by his first marriage, i.e., his first wife's father.[73]

Assessing the validity of this marriage, Chomatenos cited numerous legal sources, some of which were relevant to the case; others, regardless of their irrelevance to this particular problem, still helped illustrate the soundness of the archbishop's reasoning. The *Basilika* defined affinity as an impediment to marriage up to the sixth degree. A synodal decision of Patriarch Luke Chrysobergos expanded it to include the seventh degree, a ruling upheld in a *novella* issued by Emperor Manuel Komnenos.[74] Chomatenos opined that those prohibitions were justified for natural reasons, appropriate, and sacred (τὸ φύσει γάρ δίκαιον καὶ τὸ εὐπρεπὲς καὶ σεμνόν...),[75] adding that the *Tome of Sisinnios* had laid down the rules of affinal kinship, prohibiting matrimony at the fifth and sixth degrees of affinity. Then, Chomatenos explained that marriage at the fifth degree of affinity fell under a total ban, whereas the sixth degree depended on the parties involved,[76] as suggested by the *Tome*, the relevant imperial decree, and the synodal practice.[77] Finding that marriage between θεῖος καὶ ανεψιός from one lineage and θεία καὶ ανεψία from another lineage (3+3) was not prohibited by custom (ὡς ἔθος),[78] Chomatenos concluded that the marriage of Kamonas and Komnina was not a case of either consanguinity or affinity in which calculating kinship degrees was applicable. Instead, it was a case of *trigeneia*, a distinct type of affinity where the reckoning of degree relationships was inapplicable[79] and the validity of marriage was judged depending on the persons involved in the union.[80] If, however, anybody wanted to calculate the degrees in this particular case, Chomatenos instructed them to consult the *novella* prohibiting marriage at the first three degrees, i.e., up to the fourth degree of *trigeneia* (trilineal kinship).[81]

In his appraisal of Kamonas' second marriage, Chomatenos finds the rules on the confusion of the names of kinship inapplicable to the case.[82] In his view, the parties involved were not members of the same family; rather, the names for consanguineous

---

73 A list of the relevant literature was provided in the description of the case in the edition of *Ponemata diaphora*. On this case, see *Zhishman*, Das Eherecht, 182; *Snegarov*, Bračnoto pravo I, 110–111; *D'Emilia*, I responsi di canonista Demetrio Comaziano, 146–154; *Laiou*, Mariage, amour et parenté, 56, 65; *Pitsakēs*, To kōlyma gamou, 364–366; *Pitsakis*, Questions „albanaises", 191. G. Prinzing suggested that Komnina was the family name of Stefan Nemanjić's daughter, not the first or baptismal name. The relevant mention of Maria Komnene in the case file 10 of *Ponemata Diaphora* proves this theory, see, *Prinzing*, Hatte Stefan I von Serbien eine Tochter namens Komnene?, 654–656.

74 Chomatenus, Ponemata, 1.34–38; Chomatenus, Ponemata, 1.39–53. cf. Regestes, N. 1068; Regesten der Kaiserurkunden, N. 1469b. Chomatenos offers a picturesque explanation of degree calculation, using a Balsamon-inspired metaphor about ladders and trees. See Chomatenus, Ponemata, 2.63–77.

75 Chomatenus, Ponemata, 1.53–54.

76 Chomatenus, Ponemata, 1.82–84.

77 Chomatenus, Ponemata, 1.88–91. This probably referred to the decisions made in the case of Bardas Xeros, see above, p. 334. and n. 49.

78 Chomatenus, Ponemata, 1.94–95.

79 Chomatenus, Ponemata, 1.103–104.

80 Chomatenus, Ponemata, 1.60–65; 104–106.

81 Chomatenus, Ponemata, 1.66–68.

82 See Chomatenus, Ponemata, 1.192 sqq.

relations were commonly used for affinal relatives[83] who are not related at any degree because the spouses have no shared ancestors.[84] Defending the validity of this marriage, Chomatenos cites the *Basilika* and church canons, most pertinently Canon 54 of the Council in Trullo, going as far as to quote its segment on prohibited kinship relations.[85] In addition, Chomatenos points out that marriage between relatives at the eighth degree of consanguinity (third cousins) was permitted, opining that, by extension, matrimony between these distant relatives does not constitute incest. Since such a decision was passed under Patriarch Michael Keroularios, these cases can be said to involve no impropriety (ἀπρέπεια).[86]

In an elaborate philosophical piece, Chomatenos defends Kamonas from allegations that his marriage to Komnina violated the μία σάρξ principle, occasionally evoking Balsamon's philosophical teachings.[87] He also explains his own view that no calculation of kinship degrees can be made between spouses, not even to the first and second degrees, because that is an ignorant and inappropriate practice.[88] He warns that some had attempted to do that, following the biblical one flesh doctrine, which then spread from the two spouses to include their entire families.[89] Chomatenos supports the view that the spouses become "one flesh" but rejects the calculation of kinship degrees between them, arguing that this method requires shared ancestry, i.e., consanguinity. He connects this matter with spousal inheritance rights, more specifically, inheritance contracts, which were prohibited by official legislation but seem to have been quite common in practice, as well as with wills naming the surviving spouse as the deceased's beneficiary.[90]

Chomatenos also addressed affinity as an impediment to marriage in other writings. Unlike the cases where the ethnicity of the parties eludes us, one example seems to have involved a Slavic inhabitant of the Archbishopric: the problem resulting from trilineal kinship in the family of one Himerios Tichomiros (Τειχομηρός).[91] As in the Kamonas case, the archbishop again started from the view that kinship degrees are inapplicable to cases of *trigeneia*, opting to declare the contested marriage valid because no confusion of the names of kinship or impropriety would arise from such a union. Most case files in which Chomatenos addresses affinity involving two families (*digeneia*) focus on explaining the sixth degree. The archbishop deemed the seventh degree to be always permissible, repeatedly citing a decision of Patriarch Michael Keroularios to

83 Chomatenus, Ponemata, 3.75–78.

84 Chomatenus, Ponemata, 1.143–145; Chomatenus, Ponemata, 3.78–81.

85 Chomatenus, Ponemata, 1.67–70; cf. Chomatenus, Ponemata, 2.225–234; Chomatenus, Ponemata, 3.90–95.

86 Chomatenus, Ponemata, 1.77–91; Chomatenus, Ponemata, 2.78–81; cf. Regestes, N. 858.

87 The second letter addresses the matter in more detail.

88 Chomatenus, Ponemata, 1.219–220.

89 Cf. Chomatenus, Ponemata, 2.63–77.

90 Chomatenus, Ponemata, 1.225–230; Chomatenus, Ponemata, 2.45–62.

91 Chomatenus, Ponemata, 7.

that effect. Also, as the case of Grand *Župan* Stefan Nemanjić shows, the fifth degree of affinity was considered incontrovertibly lawful.[92] Marriage at the sixth degree of affinity was prohibited between the relatives listed in the *Tome*. As for other kinship relations, the archbishop held that the types of marriages allowed in customary practice should be considered valid. For instance, Chomatenos noted that Michael Choumnos, Archbishop of Thessalonike, had sanctioned marriages between an aunt and her niece from one family with an uncle and his nephew from another family.[93] Commenting on the case of Theodore Doukas Komnenos, the archbishop said that marriages in which the relatives from both families were at the same degree of consanguinity (e.g., the 3+3 formula) were permissible in both synodal practice and imperial legislation.[94]

Chomatenos sent an informative excerpt from his *nomocanon* to Metropolitan of Corfu Pediadites: a patriarchal decision passed in 1199 addressing the case of a man marrying his deceased wife's second cousin.[95] Chomatenos explains that the well-educated had always allowed such marriages, considering them to involve the seventh degree of affinity, as attested by synodal decisions and verdicts of secular courts.[96] This calculation rests on the view that there is one degree of kinship between a husband and wife, while second cousins are sixth-degree relatives. On the other hand, this type of marriage was considered unlawful by some esteemed thinkers whose writings Chomatenos had at hand, e.g., John Zonaras, *megas droungarios tes viglas* and *protoasekretes*, and Theodore Balsamon, Patriarch of Antioch.[97] In this matter, Chomatenos opted for a moderate position, allowing an existing marriage to a deceased wife's second cousin to stand, with the spouses receiving penances (*epitimia*), and banning any future marriages of a similar nature.[98]

---

92 Chomatenus, Ponemata, 10. Grand *Župan* Stefan Nemanjić consulted Chomatenos about his intention to marry Maria Komnene, daughter of Michael I Komnenos Doukas, ruler of Epirus. The two families were already affiliated through the marriage of Stefan's sister (whose name remains unknown) and Manuel Doukas, Maria's paternal uncle. Chomatenos' reply reveals that Stefan Nemanjić also asked the archbishop about his son Radoslav marrying Michael's other daughter, Theodora, a marriage approved a year earlier by Chomatenos' predecessor, John V Kamateros. Kamateros had sanctioned this union because he erroneously believed that Radoslav's mother was not Eudokia, a relative of Theodora. When it turned out his mother was indeed Eudokia, the consent was revoked because the would-be spouses were seventh-degree consanguineal relations. See Chomatenus, Ponemata, 10.38–53.

93 Chomatenus, Ponemata, 6.111–121. This is the abovementioned decision of Choumnos, see n. 66. Cf. *Matsēs*, Nomika zētēmata, 46; *D'Emilia*, I responsi di canonista Demetrio Comaziano, 145–146.

94 The secular legislation he referred to is the *Novella* issued by Alexios I Komnenos in 1092, granting a dispensation to Bardas Xeros and allowing him to marry a sixth-degree affinal relative; see above 334 with n. 49 and the recent article *Ilić*, Three Novellae of Alexius I Comnenus, 269–270.

95 Chomatenus, Ponemata, 8.169–195, 172. This patriarchal decision referred to the marriage of Alexios Kapandrites, which Patriarch John Kamateros had annulled, overturning a secular court's ruling. See Regestes, N. 1193.

96 Chomatenus, Ponemata, 8.172–175. He probably had in mind the judicial practice of Eustathios Rhomaios, a judge of the Velum.

97 Chomatenus, Ponemata, 8.175–180. Cf. *Matsēs*, Nomika zētēmata, 48. Prinzing does not rule out that Balsamon may have been one of Chomatenos' teachers, see *Prinzing*, Quasi–Patriarch, 171.

98 Chomatenus, Ponemata, 8.181–189. He mentions the *oikonomia*-based decisions of Patriarch Alexios Studites about seventh-degree consanguinity (Regestes, N. **849) and a later decision of Patriarch Luke Chrysobergos (Regestes, N. 1068) on the same matter, as well as a ruling of Michael III of Anchialos (Regestes, N. 1130) and the associated *Novella* of Manuel I Komnenos (Regesten der Kaiserurkunden, N. 1518c).

II. Polygamy

Polygamy, meaning marrying multiple spouses after the previous marriage has ended, was very common due to high mortality rates and short life spans amidst war and disease.[99] Demographic research has found that Byzantine women tended to die relatively young, explaining this, among other factors, by premature betrothals.[100] Evidence from the territory of the Archbishopric of Ohrid suggests pronounced age disparity between affianced parties and spouses.[101] This was another factor that made remarriage more common: husbands were typically much older than their wives, often leaving them widowed and free to remarry.

The Church disapproved of marrying more than twice.[102] This prohibition was particularly applicable to trigamy, sometimes described as polygamy,[103] often citing St. Basil the Great's pronouncement that "There is no law as to third marriages, so that a third marriage is not subject to any law" in a canonical letter to Amphilokhios, Bishop of Iconium.[104] In secular law, the prohibition of polygamy emerged gradually and pertained to third and "any subsequent" marriages.[105] Emperor Leo VI the Wise enacted a law prohibiting tetragamy.[106] Still, it was the Church that issued the most influential document outlawing polygamy: a synodal act passed in 920 known as the *Tome of Union*, formulated in response to Leo VI the Wise's fourth marriage. The *Tome of Union* laid down the prerequisites for blessing second and third marriages and the penances to be handed out in these cases, emphasizing that a first and a second marriage must not take place after kidnapping or a previous illicit affair. Marrying for a third time was permitted if the previous unions had produced no offspring, even if a party was over forty years of age.[107] The *Tome of Union* influenced an undated patriarchal decision that banned trigamy, describing it as an "evil that had taken root."[108] The unnamed

99 Laiou relays the anthropological finding that remarriage tends to be more common in societies with high mortality rates, *Laiou*, Contribution à l'étude de l'institution familiale, 283 n. 29; cf. *Kiousopoulou*, O thesmos tēs oikogeneias, 50.

100 *Laiou*, The Role of Women, 235; cf. *Laiou*, Contribution à l'étude de l'institution familiale, 280.

101 *Laiou*, The Role of Women, 235.

102 Mt 19:6; Romans 7:1–3; 1 Corinthians 7:10–11, 39.

103 Saint Basil, Lettres, 199.

104 Saint Basil, Lettres, 188.

105 The earliest law to address this is believed to have been enacted by Empress Irene. It outlawed third and all subsequent marriages, evoking the Holy Scripture, apostolic teachings, and the Christian notion of marriage. For more on this, see *Burgmann*, Die Novellen der Kaiserin Eirene, 26. Irene's son, Emperor Constantine VI, became the central figure of a major political controversy when he married his second wife because prominent church officials deemed remarriage unlawful. Indirect evidence suggests Basil I also passed legislation banning trigamy.

106 Leo the Wise first wanted to legalize trigamy and tetragamy. However, as no canon or secular law explicitly prohibited tetragamy, there were no formal obstacles to one of the most controversial imperial marriages. Once he had remarried for the fourth time, the emperor-bridegroom promptly issued a law forbidding tetragamy from this point on. For a reconstruction of these events, dating Leo's *novella* prohibiting fourth marriages to 907, see *Oikonomides*, Leo VI's Legislation of 907, 186–7, identifying an interpolation in Prochiron, IV, 25–27 as the contentious law.

107 Nicolaus I, Opuscula diversa, 200, reprinting the text published under B; for a description, see Regestes, N. 715.

108 *Papagianni*, *Troianos*, Ein Patriarchatakt. The editors attributed this act to Patriarch Athanasios, who served in the late 13th and early 14th centuries.

patriarch was particularly concerned about the widespread practice of men marrying for the third time, having children in these unblessed unions, and leaving them a bigger portion of their estate than to their legitimate issue.[109] Hence, he outlawed this type of union and declared the inheritance rights of any children they may produce null and void, even though they had been laid out in the "old laws."[110] So, for practical purposes, inheritance rights were the central concern caused by remarriage, which was not much different from the problems stemming from extramarital relationships.[111]

Three case files from Chomatenos' corpus address polygamy in the strict sense of the word, dealing with it in much the same way. Zoe from the Theme of Koloneia, daughter of Nicholas Petzikopoulos, married her fourth husband after having been widowed three times. However, her first two marriages were considered invalid because she had been younger than twelve when her parents married her off – below the marriageable age specified in the legislation of Emperors Leo VI the Wise and Alexios I Komnenos.[112] Zoe had willingly practiced penances for six years to atone for her polyandry.[113] The archbishop judged Zoe's case as digamy,[114] prescribing another year of penances and instructing her not to remarry again should she outlive her current husband.[115] Hieromonk Chariton requested Chomatenos' opinion on the case of his spiritual son, *kyr* Andronikos Komnenos, who wanted to conclude third marriage while trying to avoid other sins.[116] As in Zoe's case, Andronikos' first two wives had died, with the added mitigating circumstances that neither of the two unions had produced offspring and that Andronikos was under thirty years of age. This description was followed by a rule from the *Tome of Union*, enacted under Constantine Porphyrogennetos and Romanos Lekapenos, which allowed a childless person under thirty to marry for the third time, with the penance of four-year ex-communication from the Church.[117] In another document, the archbishop was asked whether an eighteen-year-old woman with two lawful marriages behind her could remarry for a third time. Chomatenos took into account the particular circumstances, the position of the church fathers, and the view that a person was more likely to commit the sin of fornication if unmarried.[118] The last was his interpretation of the words of Basil the Great, who said that "a third marriage is not subject to any law" but still found it preferable to "lax fornication."[119] Chomatenos noted that the church fathers had minutely addressed the matter of polygamy,

109 *Papagianni*, *Troianos*, Ein Patriarchatakt, 510.28–33.

110 *Papagianni*, *Troianos*, Ein Patriarchatakt, 510.28–33.

111 Cf. *Laiou*, Contribution à l'étude de l'institution familiale, 299.

112 Cf. Novella Leonis Sapientis, 74; Novellae et aureae bullae, 24.

113 Chomatenus, Ponemata, 9.15–24.

114 Chomatenus, Ponemata, 9.33–35.

115 Chomatenus, Ponemata, 9.45–56; 42–44.

116 Chomatenus, Ponemata, 28.

117 Chomatenus, Ponemata, 28.31–44; cf. Nicolaus I, Opuscula diversa, 200.

118 Chomatenus, Ponemata, 30.7–12.

119 Chomatenus, Ponemata, 30.13–17.

taking into account all of those concerns,[120] and that he would adhere to their ordinances. He cited an extract from the *Tome of Union* that allowed persons under thirty years of age to remarry for a third time even if they already had children, prescribing penances but not prohibiting such marriages.[121]

Chomatenos contrasted polygamy with the sin of fornication and permitted new marriages to allow his parishioners to replace living in sin with a lawful union.[122] The analyzed documents show that his decisions were guided by the *Tome of Union*. In an inheritance case involving trigamy, Chomatenos upheld the inheritance rights of the children born in the marriage, choosing not to address the validity of the union or the age of the man who had married three times,[123] which would have been expected if he had pedantically adhered to the *Tome*. A few of Chomatenos' case files deal with trigamy and tetragamy, while many others involve digamy (deuterogamy), which was considered commonplace and hardly unusual.[124]

We learn from a letter by Theophylact of Ohrid that polygamy had been common in the Archbishopric's territory in his time.[125] Although he offers no details on the matter, the letter's subject was probably not a case of digamy because it seems to have been quite widespread and would not have required a special term to label it. Theophylact's letter likely dealt with trigamy or tetragamy. Polygamy became controversial and necessitated an intervention only when it involved inheritance. No inheritance interests were at stake (or had not come up) in Chomatenos' three cases described above, which sets them apart as they only concerned the marital union as such.

Ivan Snegarov noted a long time ago that the problem of polygamy in the Archbishopric tended to come up in inheritance disputes,[126] especially when it concerned matrilineal inheritance (μητρικὸν πρᾶγμα) in cases when each of the spouses had their own property. In some instances, women remained the owners of the property they had brought into the marriage, which could include their dowry or other separate property (παράφερνα). The legal status of dowry changed over time. Justinian's *Novella 22* departed from Roman law, abandoning the principle that the husband owned the dowry. Instead, Emperor Justinian I reverted to the ancient Greek and Hellenistic tradition, in which the wife was the owner of her dowry for the duration of the marriage, with the husband entitled to manage those assets.[127] *Novella 22* was later incorporated into the *Basilika* (*Basilika* 28, 14, 2), inviting commentaries from distinguished jurists,

120 Chomatenus, Ponemata, 30.17–27.

121 Chomatenus, Ponemata, 30.28–45.

122 Cf. *Kiousopoulou*, O thesmos tēs oikogeneias, 50.

123 Laiou points out that Chomatenos (Ponemata, 37) saw an unblessed union with a third wife as polygamy rather than concubinage. See *Laiou*, Contribution à l'étude de l'institution familiale, 299.

124 Cf. *Laiou*, Contribution à l'étude de l'institution familiale, lists the cases dealing with digamy, trigamy, and tetragamy, as does *Kiousopoulu*, O thesmos tēs oikogeneias, 47–51; see also Die Auflosung der Ehe, 263–267.

125 Theophylactus, Epistulae, 96.

126 *Snegarov*, Bračnoto pravo I, 106–107.

127 *Christophilopoulou*, Ē ekpoiēsis tōn proikōōn akinētōn kata to byzantinon dikaion, 195. Cf. *Taubenschlag*, Law of Graeco-Roman Egypt, 95.

including Eustathios Rhomaios.[128] According to Justinian's act, the universal heir of a child (who had died intestate) was its father and/or mother (as second-order heirs, as per *Novella 118*).[129] *Novella 22* and Eustathios Rhomaios' *Tractatus de peculiis*, which extensively addresses the same topic, were the principal legal sources that guided Archbishop Demetrios Chomatenos's decision-making in these cases.[130]

A particularly perplexing question contemporaries grappled with was whether the remarriage of a deceased child's father (and the first husband of a wife who had died before the child) had any impact on inheritance. This problem was addressed in Justinian's *Novella 22*, which Chomatenos cited in his decisions, as attested by the case of Constantine Lampetes from Thessalonike. Chomatenos and his council heard Lampetes' case, whose brother-in-law, Chamaidrakon, had received a dowry comprising movable and immovable property when he married Lampetes' sister Kale. Chamaidrakon remarried after Kale and their child passed away. Lampetes said that he had heard from people well-versed in law that those who remarry do not enjoy the same inheritance rights to their child's estate as those who stay monogamous.[131] He wanted to know whether his former brother-in-law Chamaidrakon, who had taken the child's, i.e., "the mother's property," was indeed the universal heir of the assets the child had inherited from its mother.[132] The archbishop replied that in inheriting the estate of an underage child, the law distinguishes between a monogamous father, who gets ownership over the relevant possessions, and a remarried father, who inherits limited easement rights. The point of contention in this case was the dowry – the property Lampetes' sister Kale had brought into the marriage from her birth family. So, a situation in which the father remained monogamous was in no way problematic for Chomatenos. However, if the father remarried, becoming *pater binuptus*, the archbishop distinguished two segments of the child's estate, as specified in *Tractatus de peculiis*.[133] In this case, the father did not inherit "the mother's property" and other assets from the so-called ἀπροσπορίστα (*bona adventitia*) group, but only the possessions the child had acquired independently, if there was any such property to inherit. A different inheritance model could be defined in a prenuptial agreement, but there was no such contract in this case, so Chomatenos ruled that the rightful beneficiary should be sought among the mother's relatives, i.e., her siblings, as prescribed by *Novella 22*. The *ratio legis* of this law was safeguarding the dowry to be enjoyed by the issue of the first marriage. However, in Lampetes' case, his nephew, the child

128 See Chomatenus, Ponemata, 26.189–193; cf. Chomatenus, Ponemata, 38.133–143; Chomatenus, Ponemata, 151.314 sqq; 614–623.

129 Chomatenus, Ponemata, 38.55–71.

130 Chomatenus, Ponemata, 38.125–132.

131 Chomatenus, Ponemata, 38.24–26.

132 Chomatenus, Ponemata, 38.19–24. *Simon*, Eine Juristenkontroverse, offered a commentary on this case.

133 Chomatenus, Ponemata, 38, 39; Chomatenus, Ponemata, 38.48–54; Chomatenus, Ponemata, 117.16–19 and multiple times in Chomatenus, Ponemata, 151 esp. 272–276.

born in Chamaidrakon's first marriage, had died before his father remarried.[134] The dispute somehow made its way to other unknown judges, who found Chomatenos' ruling unsatisfactory. So, Chomatenos addressed Emperor Manuel Doukas, asking the emperor's court jurists to help Lampetes get the estate of his deceased relatives (sister and nephew), which was rightfully his.[135] To support his argument, Chomatenos penned an extensive treatise on the problem of inheritance rights,[136] even more sharply highlighting the distinction between first and second marriages and repeatedly describing the latter as dishonorable.[137] The multitude of irrelevant legal sources he cited here suggests that Chomatenos was quite biased in favor of monogamy.

Chomatenos revisited the problem of inheritance rights in the case of Demetrios Benetikos (Kampites) of Berroia.[138] After Demetrios' sister Anna and her son died, his (former) brother-in-law, Constantine Kretikos, remarried and had a daughter, Anna. His second wife passed away, and Constantine remarried again and later died intestate. Kretikos' daughter Anna, acting as prosecutor and represented in court by her husband, wanted to inherit the possessions her father had acquired upon his first marriage.[139] Chomatenos again based his position on Justinian's *Novella 22*: a father who remarried enjoys lifelong usufructuary rights to the property his deceased child had inherited from the mother's side[140] (οὐ γάρ ἴσα τὰ γέρα τῷ τε μονογάμῳ καὶ τῷ διγάμῳ, τὰ γε πρὸς τὴν κληρονομίαν τῶν μητρῳων ὑπάρξεων τῶν ἐξ αὐτῶν φύντων παίδων, ὡς αἱ διατάξεις τῶν νόμων διακελεύονται).[141] Hence, Chomatenos argued that Anna, Constantine's daughter from his second marriage, could only inherit her late father's property but not the assets that had belonged to her late half-brother, Benetikos' nephew.[142] Citing inheritance order laws (Justinian's *Novella 118* – *Basilika* 45, 3, 8), Chomatenos concluded that in this case, the beneficiaries were Benetikos and Anna, Kretikos' daughter from his second marriage.[143]

However, the bishop of Berroia declared Anna, Constantine Kretikos' daughter from his second marriage, the sole beneficiary of her late father's estate. Chomatenos' petition to the emperor provides the particulars of this decision.[144] Notably, the bishop of Berroia overturned Chomatenos' ruling, rejecting it, as Chomatenos put it, as if it had made its way from barbarians into the Roman world (ἐκ βαρβάρων τοῦτο εἰς τὴν Ῥωμαΐδα πεφοίτηκεν).[145] The rule in Justinian's *Novella 22*, which Chomatenos cited in support

134 *Simon*, Eine Juristenkontroverse, 658.

135 Chomatenus, Ponemata, 117.30–39.

136 Chomatenus, Ponemata, 151.

137 Chomatenus, Ponemata, 151.125–131; cf. Chomatenus, Ponemata, 38.55–71.

138 Chomatenus, Ponemata, 61. This case is the second topic discussed in *Simon*, Eine Juristenkontroverse.

139 Chomatenus, Ponemata, 61.15–19.

140 Chomatenus, Ponemata, 61.178–179.

141 Chomatenus, Ponemata, 61.51–53.

142 Chomatenus, Ponemata, 61.53–56.

143 Chomatenus, Ponemata, 61.74–78.

144 Chomatenus, Ponemata, 26.

145 Chomatenus, Ponemata, 26.14–19.

of his ruling, was described as ἀχρησία,[146] with the bishop of Berroia evoking Michael Psellos instead.[147] Convinced that he had correctly applied *Novella 22*, Chomatenos cited a range of sources to substantiate his claims, just as he had done in the Lampetes case.

The consistency of the archbishop's legal reasoning is also apparent from his rulings in two more straightforward cases. One Desislav (Δεσίσλαβος) of Ohrid filed a complaint against his late daughter's husband, a deacon called George Xaïkos. The lawsuit again centered on the dowry, intended to cover the expenses of raising a child born from the marriage, as specified in a nuptial agreement.[148] The archbishop explained the legal status of the estate the child had inherited from its mother, over which the father enjoyed lifelong usufructuary rights. If the child died, the father would be the sole beneficiary because, as a clergyman, he was expected to forgo remarriage and remain monogamous.[149] A cleric from the Bishopric of Skopje, Constantine Souchalitros, petitioned the archbishop to review a similar case – that of his late (maternal) uncle, Nicholas Oinomeros, and his wife.[150] The couple had a child, who died after its father. The mother remarried after she had inherited her late husband's estate from the child (a residence in the city and other assets). When her second husband passed away, she wanted to remarry again. Constantine Souchalitros asked Chomatenos whether she had lawfully inherited the estate of her first husband, his uncle. Chomatenos replied that the rules on remarriage and her failure to appoint a tutor for her underage child meant that the woman would lose inheritance rights over the child's estate or "patrimony."

The synod of the Archbishopric of Ohrid also looked into the case of Constantine Gudelj (Γουδέλης) from theme Stanon, who, after he married Irene, daughter of Basil Burug (Βουροῦγος), lived with his wife's parents as a ἐσώγαμβρος.[151] A mutually binding nuptial agreement stipulated that the spouses would be the universal beneficiaries of the wife's parents if they continued to share a house with them until their death. However, the nuptial agreement made no mention of Irene's brother, Basil, who was presumably also entitled to inherit from his parents. In addition, the marriage contract had not specified the part of her parents' property that was to be Irene's dowry, so Chomatenos judged this portion to be "indeterminate" (ἀδιατίμητος). Regardless, this confirms that the couple was financially dependent on Irene's parents.[152] Constantine and Irene had a daughter, Desa (Δέσα). After her mother died, Constantine gave Desa as her dowry half of the estate he had inherited from his in-laws and a vineyard he had acquired independently. The widowed Constantine eventually remarried and had more children by his second wife, which led Basil, Desa's uncle, Irene's brother, to ask for Desa to get all of the contested property. So, Constantine wanted Chomatenos to

146 Chomatenus, Ponemata, 26.141–142.

147 Chomatenus, Ponemata, 26.131; 145–146. See *Simon*, Eine Juristenkontroverse, 660 n. 15.

148 Chomatenus, Ponemata, 34.10–14.

149 Chomatenus, Ponemata, 34.62–69.

150 Chomatenus, Ponemata, 35.

151 Chomatenus, Ponemata, 51. On the case, see *A Glimpse of Daily Life in the Archbishopric of Ohrid*, II, 309. On the ἐσώγαμβρος in property matters, see *Simon*, Byzantinische Hausgemeinschaftsverträge, 114–115.

152 Chomatenus, Ponemata, 51.82–84.

explain whether he was entitled to half of the assets passed down from his in-laws, as the nuptial agreement between him and Irene had stipulated. In this case, Chomatenos chose to uphold the contract the spouses had signed about the in-laws' "bequeathed property," arguing that Constantine was indeed entitled to half of this estate regardless of his remarriage. If Desa died childless and intestate, Constantine, her father, would be her sole beneficiary and would get the other half of his in-laws' estate, which Desa had been given as dowry (along with the vineyard Constantine had acquired on his own).

III. Custom and local custom

Examining File 59 in Demetrios Chomatenos' dossier, Alexander Solovyev noted that the Slavic population of Skopje observed Byzantine laws in their everyday life.[153] For the archbishop, it was the codified law that governed life in Byzantium, and the Byzantines, unlike barbarians, lived by written laws, legal proceedings, and principles. For the Bulgarians, whom Chomatenos viewed as barbarians, one's personal will was the law because the barbarians had no codification.[154] This file, as well as most others in which the litigants can be identified as ethnic Slavs, shows that codified laws applied to the flock, and this legislation incorporated principles adopted from Roman law, in marriage and in other branches of law. The archbishop, νομοτριβουμένος,[155] was very knowledgeable about various legal sources and no less informed about well-established customs. When called upon to give a legal opinion on a case, Chomatenos consulted the codes most relevant to the particular problem, which he had brought from Constantinople and Thessalonike.[156]

Many of Chomatenos' case files involving litigants with Slavic names suggest the widespread implementation of Roman legal principles. For instance, contract parties were familiar with the concept of *bona fide* purchase, which ensured a favorable outcome of the transaction for the purchaser.[157] There is surviving evidence of invoking usucaption or *longi temporis praescriptio*, which meant that continued possession resulted in real ownership rights after a certain time had elapsed; conversely, ownership rights could be lost due to legal inactivity, i.e., become obsolete.[158] In homicide cases, there were discussions about culpability and judgments on whether the act had involved intent to kill, constituting (in)voluntary manslaughter.[159] Another known practice was declaring a legal deed – marriage null and void on account of defective consent (coercion).[160] The routine use of written marriage contracts, dowry agreements, itemized dowry lists, wills,

153 *Solovjev*, Srbi i vizantijsko pravo, 35.

154 See Chomatenus, Ponemata, 81.272–279, and *Prinzing*, Adoleszenten, 29, 56, and 68.

155 A legal expert. See *Simon*, NOMOTPIBOYMENOI.

156 Cf. „...καὶ ταῦτα πολιαῖς βίβλοις νομικαῖς ἐκφερομένην, αἵτινες καὶ ἡμῖν ἐκ τῆς μεγαλοπόλεως προσεγένοντο", Chomatenus, Ponemata, 26.210–211.

157 Chomatenus, Ponemata, 72. See also *A Glimpse of Daily Life in the Archbishopric of Ohrid*, II, 296.

158 Chomatenus, Ponemata, 52. See also *A Glimpse of Daily Life in the Archbishopric of Ohrid*, II, 310.

159 Chomatenus, Ponemata, 116. See also *A Glimpse of Daily Life in the Archbishopric of Ohrid*, II, 318.

160 Chomatenus, Ponemata, 124. See also *A Glimpse of Daily Life in the Archbishopric of Ohrid*, II, 308.

and legacies reflected the Byzantine secular legal tradition, which saw written instruments as the most reliable proof. Unlike his contemporary Apokaukos, Chomatenos rejected the "barbarian" ordeal by red-hot iron as a way to determine innocence or guilt.[161] Marriages could be dissolved on legal grounds, and divorce had legally prescribed consequences for the spouses' possessions.[162] All of this suggests that Chomatenos again followed in the footsteps of Eustathios Rhomaios, who believed that those who acknowledged Byzantine sovereignty must abide by Byzantine laws.[163]

There were, however, some departures from codified laws. The corpus reveals deep-rooted customs in the field of ownership, especially when it comes to family, marriage, and inheritance. Some were not limited to the territory under the Archbishopric's jurisdiction and have been observed in the opus of Rhomaios and his rulings that pertained to the capital's inhabitants. The order of lawful heirs stipulated in Justinian's codification is known to have been violated, especially if illegitimate children were involved. There were also departures in the application of the representation principle.[164] A woman called Anna, who lived in Prespa, filed for divorce, citing "hatred" of her husband, Nikos. The archbishop chose to grant the divorce because the woman threatened to commit suicide.[165] In Prilep, a marriage was dissolved on sodomy grounds, with Chomatenos prioritizing *oikonomia* (discretionary deviation from the letter of the law in the name of charity) over legalism.[166] Another notable departure was the spousal inheritance pact, especially κάσος ἐξ ἀπαιδίας, a practice attested among the Archbishopric of Ohrid's inhabitants and prohibited in Justinian's codification. The inheritance pact, typically made in childless marriages, allowed the surviving spouse to inherit an agreed-upon portion of the late spouse's possessions[167] and was given precedence over a will and testament.[168] The existence of this pact is considered a remnant of the Hellenistic legal tradition and seems not to have been limited to the Archbishopric's territory but also present elsewhere, as attested by the case files of Eustathios Rhomaios featuring litigants from Constantinople.

A document on the dissolution of a betrothal reveals a practice commonly followed in rural areas. A father-in-law, from Ohrid, and his future son-in-law, Druguvil

161 Chomatenus, Ponemata, 17. See also *A Glimpse of Daily Life in the Archbishopric of Ohrid*, II, 324.

162 For more details, see *Katerelos*, Die Auflösung der Ehe, 187–229; *Laiou*, Contribution à l'étude de l'institution familiale; *Kiousopoulou*, O thesmos tēs oikogeneias; *Angelomatis-Tsougarakis*, Woman in the Society of the Despotate of Epirus, 475.

163 Peira 14, 16; *Simon*, Zakon i običaj, 146.

164 Daughters who had received a dowry upon leaving their father's house did not inherit his estate, even though they were first-order heirs, see Chomatenus, Ponemata, 63.

165 Chomatenus, Ponemata, 143. See also *A Glimpse of Daily Life in the Archbishopric of Ohrid*, II, 308.

166 Chomatenus, Ponemata, 17. See also *A Glimpse of Daily Life in the Archbishopric of Ohrid*, II, 324.

167 An inheritance pact allowed the surviving spouse in a childless marriage to inherit a portion of the deceased spouse's estate. Introductory literature on this includes *Monnier*, Du „casus non existentium liberorum", see *Simon*, Erbvertrag und Testament, commentary of Act no. 55. Chomatenus, Ponemata, 53 mentions a similar pact. Laiou, or more specifically, Professor Simon, whom she thanks for bringing this to her attention, explains the absence of *casus non exisendum liberorum* in marriage contracts with the practice of a wife's estate always going to her husband's family, rendering such a clause superfluous. *Laiou*, Contribution à l'étude de l'institution familiale, n. 75.

168 The above-described Chomatenus, Ponemata, 51.

(Δρουγούβιλος), made a contract assigning half of the family's agricultural output to the son-in-law.[169] Such contracts, which were not part of the Roman legal tradition, are attested in Byzantine sources from the 8th century onward.[170] They involved a son-in-law who lived with his in-laws[171] and was entitled to one-half of the family's agricultural output as his livelihood, although his labor probably contributed to their overall production.

Inheritance cases involving polygamy demonstrate the uncertainty that permeated complicated family situations due to unfamiliarity with the relevant legislation and deep-rooted local customs at the Empire's periphery.[172] The ubiquity of inheritance disputes with an element of digamy led Angeliki E. Laiou to infer that there was a "long-standing and widespread" custom, completely at odds with the law, that dictated that possessions passed down from a mother to her child were inherited by her husband and his heirs if the child died before its father.[173] One of Chomatenos' case files confirms the absence of clauses in nuptial agreements regulating the partition of a couple's property in case of childlessness (κάσος ἐξ ἀπαιδίας).[174] These inheritance pacts, inserted as clauses into nuptial agreements, had presumably been common in earlier periods. Their absence suggests that, in the meantime, the practice of a husband inheriting the estate of his late wife with whom he had no issue had become well-established, no longer requiring a special clause.

This evolution of inheritance legal practice led to a change in the legal provision of dowry, which deviated from Justinian's legal tradition. Research into property transfer in Byzantium has revealed numerous variations in the understanding of ownership over a spouse's possessions, which depended, among other factors, on the couple's social status.[175] This is apparent from the abovementioned case of Constantine Gudelj, which first concerned an undivided estate between a married couple and their parents/in-laws and then between the spouses themselves.[176] Another telling case is that of John Pepagomenos of Berroia, who seems to have acquired a possession (ὑποδέχομαι, παραλαμβάνω) in Nemelčište (ἐν τῇ Νεμελτζίστῃ) near Slanitza and in Banjani village (ἐν τῷ χωρίῳ Βανιάνες),[177] as dowry, presumably returning the favor to his future in-laws by giving them prenuptial gifts, as suggested by the conspicuous

169 Chomatenus, Ponemata, 19.74–76, cf. also *Prinzing*, Adoleszenten, 48 and 66.

170 See *Simon*, Byzantinische Hausgemeinschaftsverträge.

171 A son-in-law in this position was sometimes called ἐσώγαμβρος; in other cases, his status remained unspecified.

172 The *Peira*, compiled by Eustathios Rhomaios in the 11th century, reflects the intricate legal practice followed in nuptial exchanges of assets in Constantinople. It also describes how sometimes the fate of a dowry differed from the intentions stipulated in dowry contracts. See *Simon*, Das Ehegüterrecht der Peira.

173 *Laiou*, Contribution à l'étude de l'institution familiale, 299–301.

174 Ibid., 301 n. 75. Regardless, Act 59 states that, in this case, a third of the estate was to be inherited, *Laiou*, Marriage prohibitions, marriage strategies and the dowry, 146 n. 59.

175 See *Kravari*, Les actes privés. Cf. *Saradi*, The alienation of the dowry in the acts of Byzantine notaries.

176 Chomatenus, Ponemata, 51.

177 For localisation cf. *Kravari*, Villes, 83; 62. See also *The Archbishopric of Ohrid from the 11th to the 13th Century. Territorial and Ideological Framework*, II, 20–21.

absence of any reference to his wife in the contentious dowry case.[178] The same problem crops up in the case of one Boleslava (Βολεσλάβα) from Korytai („ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ τῶν Κορυτῶν οἰκοῦσα"), whose husband had squandered her dowry.[179] Such examples are hardly uncommon. There are known cases from the 14th century of a husband disposing of his wife's property without her consent.[180] The bishop of Attaleia described to the patriarch a custom that had taken root among his flock: listing a smaller portion of the dowry in dowry contracts and giving the rest of the intended property to the son-in-law as the family's gift.[181] In customary law, as well as in some Serbian medieval charters, dowry (Greek: πρόιξ, πρόικα; Serbian: *prikija*, *tastnina*) was described as one of the ways for a man to acquire possessions, just like a patrimony.[182] The same practice was current at the turn of the 13th to the 14th century among the population of the Strymon region, where many Slavic families lived.[183] In areas that took such a patriarchal view of dowry, as in the case from Skopje, female descendants could be excluded from the inheritance order because the dowry they had been given upon marriage had supposedly provided for them, even though sometimes it was the husband who was the sole owner of the dowry.[184] Demetrios Chomatenos' documents also attest to the custom of making daughters ineligible to inherit their father's estate if they had received a dowry upon marriage.[185]

Another example of a deep-rooted local practice was divorce based on folk traditions (ἐθνικὸν ἔθος ἐγχώριον), with no grounds for dissolving the marriage in official legislation. In one case, the archbishop decided to uphold a divorce but noted that the dissolution of this marriage had been unlawful.[186] More specifically, George, a resident of Prizren, wanted to divorce his second wife of eighteen years, Černokosa (Τζερνοκόση), to go back to his first wife, Obrada (Ὀμπράδα), daughter of Radoslav (Ῥαδοσλάβος) from Lower Polog (Κάτω Πολόγος), who had been widowed in the meantime.[187] George was sued for wanting to leave Černokosa by his brother-in-law,

178 Chomatenus, Ponemata, 102.

179 Chomatenus, Ponemata, 52, see *A Glimpse of Daily Life in the Archbishopric of Ohrid*, II, 310. See *Kiousopoulou*, O thesmos tēs oikogeneias, 54 sqq.

180 *Kravari*, Les actes privés, 86. Cf. *Hristophilopoulou*, Hē ekpoiēsis tōn proikōōn akinētōn kata to byzantinon dikaion.

181 See *Macrides*, Dowry and Inheritance, 93; *Laiou*, Marriage prohibitions, marriage strategies and the dowry, 145; *Tantalos*, On the alienation of the dowry, 11 n. 30.

182 See *Taranovski*, Istorija srpskog prava, 580–581. The Byzantine provisions that spilled over into Serbian medieval law, found in the *Zakon gradski* and the so-called *Law of Emperor Justinian*, forbade the husband from alienating the *prikija*. This could help clarify the existing practice, which the legislator presumably wanted to change. In Taranovski's example from the second half of the 14th century (*Solovjev*, Odabrani spomenici, 163), the wife inherited the *prikija* after her husband's death. Cf. *Šarkić*, Serbian Mediaeval Law, 300.

183 A *praktikon* from November 1300, which has survived in an Old Serbian translation, lists the inhabitants of six villages that paid taxes to the Hilandar Monastery, including 127 households where dowry was included in the husband's assets seven times, Chilandar I, App. II; Zbornik ćiriličnih povelja i pisama, 307–314, see *Kršljanin*, Pravni položaj žene, 221. On the population of the Strymon region, see *Đoković*, Stanovništvo istočne Makedonije, 151–168.

184 Chomatenus, Ponemata, 63.

185 See *Laiou*, Marriage prohibitions, marriage strategies and the dowry, 151 sqq.

186 Chomatenus, Ponemata, 103. See also, *A Glimpse of Daily Life in the Archbishopric of Ohrid*, II, 325.

187 Ibid.

husband of Černokosa's sister, Basil Dobrešin (Δοβρέσινος). An unusual situation arose in regard to the first divorce. George and Obrada's divorce had been consensual and performed before a crowd of their relatives and other prominent locals. A writ (διαζυγίου χάρτης) was drawn up, with George's and Obrada's parents putting their marks on it (in lieu of a signature). Those marks confirmed their statements that they would no longer consider George their son-in-law and that George would no longer consider Obrada his wife, which probably meant that both parties renounced any claims to spousal property.[188] Consensual divorce was considered unlawful from Justin II's time onward, but there were covert ways to get one, as attested by some of Chomatenos' cases.[189] The element of George and Obrada's case that departs from the Byzantine legal practice is that the abovementioned writ resembles an "annulment of a bridal sale-and-purchase agreement," with Obrada not appearing at all as a party in the consensual divorce and instead represented by those who signed the agreement under oath (her parents). In Byzantine law, a woman was one of the contract parties in betrothal and marriage. In rare cases, as *Ponemata diaphora* shows, a father could sign a betrothal contract on behalf of his daughter if she was underage.[190] Unlike in Černokosa's case, who was twelve when she married George, the file does not specify how old Obrada was at the time. It seems reasonable to assume that she had not been underage at the time of the divorce, although we do know that she only bore children in her second marriage.[191] Another oddity is that the signatories of the writ dissolving the marriage of George and Obrada include the bishop of Prizren as a witness rather than the authority issuing the writ, which was, for instance, the case in another διαζυγίου γράμμα issued by the bishop of Kyzikos.[192]

* * *

The discussed case files of Demetrios Chomatenos show that the population of the central Balkans faced much the same legal problems as other inhabitants of the *politeia*. Many of his cases attest to a flexible implementation of laws in the territory under the jurisdiction of the Archbishopric of Ohrid, especially in marriage and inheritance law. As others have noted, the archbishop's decision-making was often guided by the principle of *oikonomia*, deviating from the letter of the law to achieve a "higher good."[193] This sometimes relativized the application of codified laws and facilitated the

188 *Laiou*, Contribution à l'étude de l'institution familiale, 315. Katerelos proposes a similar explanation, seeing the parents' involvement in the agreement as a consequence of a prenuptial exchange of assets, *Katerelos*, Die Auflosung der Ehe, 120.

189 Cf. *Katerelos*, Die Auflosung der Ehe, 119. Cf. *Laiou*, Contribution à l'étude de l'institution familiale, 313–315; *Eadem*, O thesmos tēs mnēsteias, 290, who associates divorce on animosity grounds with consensual divorce.

190 See Chomatenus, Ponemata, 126. Cf. *Katerelos*, Die Auflosung der Ehe, 119, and *Prinzing*, Adoleszenten, 43. and 71.

191 Chomatenus, Ponemata, 103.13–15.

192 Chomatenus, Ponemata, 103.35–38. Cf. Registrum patriarchatus Constantinopolitani, N. 36.

193 *Dagron*, La règle et l'exeption, 561.

preservation of authentic customary law traditions – traditions that often incorporated ethnic customs, which were sometimes allowed to stand instead of being suppressed, contributing to a more harmonious relationship between the archbishop and his flock.

The two church officials whose writings provide insight into the private life of their flock in the Archbishopric of Ohrid's territory served more than a hundred years apart. Theophylact's writings rarely mention legal irregularities in the locals' everyday life and, when they do, it is invariably with contempt. His distaste may have stemmed from the fact that he usually addressed distinguished and well-educated members of the Constantinopolitan elite, typically complaining about being sent off to live among barbarians in the provinces. Unlike Theophylact's letters, Chomatenos' case files are of a different nature, and paint a more nuanced and detailed picture.[194] Although his flock still lived by their local rules and deep-rooted customs, he did not see the Christians in the Archbishopric's territory as barbarians, reserving this label for Bulgarians – the subjects of the Second Bulgarian Empire, and the Latins, taking a judgmental attitude to their political systems, religious teachings, and customs.[195] For their part, the Archbishopric's inhabitants saw the archbishop as a figure embodying legal protection, often asking him to help resolve the legal difficulties they encountered in their daily lives. They saw justice as a privilege they had earned when they became part of Christendom, expecting to overcome personal problems with the "help of the laws and power of the Christian state" (...τῷ τε νόμῳ βοηθουμένη καὶ τῇ ἰσχύι τοῦ κατὰ Χριστὸν πολιτεύματος).[196]

Traces of "Chomatenos' jurisprudence" found their way into the territory of the Archbishopric of Žiča when it incorporated some of Ohrid's bishoprics. Owing to the work of John Pediasimos, who probably edited the collection *Ponemata diaphora*, extracts from Chomatenos' replies to questions concerning marriage reached the private legal collection of Matthew Blastares.[197] His compilation, known as *Syntagma Canonum*, was held in high regard among Slavic peoples and had a rich manuscript tradition.[198] In medieval Serbia, an abridged version of Blastares' *Syntagma* emerged, which included Section B8 on prohibited marriages in its entirety. This compilation is believed to have been used as a legal source by imperial and possibly even ecclesiastical courts in the 14th century.[199]

Tamara Ilić

194 For the relationship between Ohrid's Archbishop and his flock, see the chapter *The Good Shepherds and the Others*.

195 See Chomatenus, Ponemata, 81.272–279.

196 Chomatenus, Ponemata, 136.12–13. For the case, see *A Glimpse of Daily Life in the Archbishopric of Ohrid*, II, 322. This was said in a case where a woman who lived in Kastoria came to Ohrid to find her runaway husband and threw out his concubine. With the archbishop's help, the concubine received some of the assets acquired in the extramarital union, and justice was served for all parties involved.

197 *Schminck*, Der Traktat Περί γάμων, 165–166.

198 For a recent exploration of Blastares' work, see *Alexandrov*, Syntagma of Matthew Blastares.

199 *Troicki*, Dopunski članci Vlastareve Sintagme, 3.

10.46793/Barb.Rhom.II.353B

Conversations on Sin in the Slavic Language

I. The rite of confession: Conversations in the parish

At some point during the day, in between the services of the Daily Cycle, two men in conversation separated themselves from the other parishioners in front of the parish church. One was a priest, the other a layman. The priest had a book with him from which he occasionally read out aloud to the other person who listened to him carefully, sometimes speaking as well. The conversation over a book might appear to be some sort of personal sermon, or private interrogation. It was, in fact, the Rite of the Sacrament of Confession. After some time, both of them entered the church. The penitent fell to the ground, face down, and remained there, while the priest read out prayers and selected psalms over him. The priest would then raise the believer to his feet and determine an epitimy for him, after which the final prayers of the rite were read out.

This is an ideal description of the external manifestation of the rite of confession, based on the text to be found in the oldest preserved Slavic Euchology.[1] The book was written in Glagolitic, most probably in the 11th century somewhere in Macedonia, gaining its name – the Sinai Euchology (*Euchologium Sinaiticum*) – from the place where it was found – the Monastery of Saint Catherine in Sinai.[2] The broad dating of the Sinai copy allows us to suppose that it may have originated during Byzantine rule to serve the needs of pastoral work in the dioceses of the Archbishopric of Ohrid, whose believers were Slavs but which – from the fourth decade of the 11th century – was led by Greek high clergy.

1 Ѵнѝ на҆̀ҳ҆ исповѣ҆даѥ҆щиⷨ҆ сѧ, *Nahtigal*, Euchologium Sinaiticum, 177–224 (fol. 66v–81r). Cf. *Geitler*, Euchologium, 122–147; *Frček*, Euchologium Sinaiticum XXV/3, 491–526 (with French translation); *Arranz*, Izbrannye sočinenija, 96–104; *Idem*, Les formulaires de confession (1e partie), 435–445 (revised French translation); *Lysaght*, Euchologium Sinaiticum, 37–43 (English translation).

2 *Almazov*, Tajnaja ispoved, 206; *Jagić*, Euchologium, 133; Slovník jazyka staroslověnského, lxvi; Svodnyj katalog, 77; Zapovědi svętyichъ otьcь, MMFH IV, 137; *Kuev*, Sŭdbata, 156–157; *Tarnanidis*, The Slavonic Manuscripts, 65; *Lysaght*, Euchologium Sinaiticum, ix; *Turilov*, Posle Klimenta i Nauma, 127; *Schnitter*, Pŭtišta, 233. *Savić*, Srpska književna reč, 62 n. 12, 91. In the scholarly literature, the book is sometimes dated somewhat earlier, in the late 10th or early 11th century, *Penkova – Cibranska*, Sinajski evhologij, 604; *Istorija na bŭlgarskata srednovekovna literatura*, 166; cf. *Arranz*, La liturgie de l'Euchologe slave, 17.

The text of the Rite of the Sacrament of Confession is made up of two parts.[3] The first was called the instruction, *poučenije* (поученіе), and was conducted outside the church building. It encompassed advice from the confessor directed to the confessant in which the eschatological importance of confession and repentance was stressed. The emphasis was placed on overcoming the shame that could appear during the rite, with it being noted that confession was directed to God from whom forgiveness was expected, not to the confessor. The first part of the rite included a small catechesis regarding God the Creator, the Last Judgement, baptism in the name of the Holy Trinity, with parts of the Creed which the priest was to state if the confessant showed any doubt in his knowledge of "God's law" and "understanding" of the Christian faith.[4] The central place in the rite belonged to the confessional form, drawn up in the first person, with a list of sins, intended for the penitent to read aloud.[5] From the later South Slavic redactions of the Sinai Order of confession, we learn that the confessional form was read aloud by the priest, while the penitent repeated after him.[6] The second part of the rite was carried out in the church and was made up of prayers and chosen psalms which the priest said over the penitent.[7] The text of the rite finished with the Prayer of Absolution, which was read only after the penance had been carried out, whereupon the believer was given absolution for his sins and reconciliation with the community.[8]

According to the classification of Byzantine confessional forms drawn up by the respected liturgist Miguel Arranz, the Order of Confession of the Sinai Glagolitic Euchology belongs to the "presbyteral confession without questionnaire", composed of prayers and psalms.[9] However, the comprehensive research carried out more than a century ago by the Russian scholar of the Sacrament of Confession Aleksandr Almazov showed that the Slavic text of the Rite had no "close resemblance" in terms of its structure to the Greek version, and that it represented an independent compilation of the Slavic clerical environment.[10] The unusual structure of the Slavic form led Almazov to recognize its Western Greek, or rather Southern Italian inspiration, which was later generally accepted.[11] At roughly the same time, the Russian scholar of ecclesiastical penitential literature Nikolai Suvorov put forth his own opinion that

3 For an analysis of the ritual content, see *Almazov*, Tajnaja ispoved, 209–211; *Arranz*, La liturgie de l'Euchologe slave, 49, 56–58. Cf. *Schnitter*, Pŭtišta, 233–241.

4 *Nahtigal*, Euchologium Sinaiticum, 179–187 (fol. 67r–v). In the Europe of around the year 1000, one of the aims of the high clergy was to teach the faithful the basic prayers of the Christian faith, such as The Lord's Prayer and the Creed, thereby conditioning their participation in Church rituals and communion, godparenting at baptisms or burial in consecrated land, *Hamilton*, Church and People, 163.

5 *Nahtigal*, Euchologium Sinaiticum, 188–195 (fol. 68r–69r).

6 *Cibranska-Kostova – Mirčeva*, Zajkovski trebnik, 270, fol. 39v.

7 *Nahtigal*, Euchologium Sinaiticum, 208–241 (fol. 72r–79r).

8 Ibid., 241–244 (79v–80r). Cf. *Almazov*, Tajnaja ispoved, 211; *Arranz*, La liturgie de l'Euchologe slave, 58–59.

9 "Confession presbytérale sans questionnaire", *Arranz*, Les formulaires de confession (1e partie), 432.

10 *Almazov*, Tajnaja ispoved, 207, 211.

11 Ibid., 207–208. Cf. *Arranz*, Izbrannye sočinenija, 164.

a Latin origin of the Slavic text could not be entirely excluded.[12] Certainly, the text of the instruction and the ritual conversation in front of the church are considered the original text with some elements borrowed from the Latin rite.[13] The prayerful part is made up of Greek prayers, although the two with which the ritual is concluded have no parallel in the Greek books.[14]

However, it is appropriate to pose the question whether the text from the 11th century reflects the state of affairs from the time of the creation of the first Slavic service books. In that respect, we have to keep in mind the process of gradual adjustment of the content and practice of the rite, which occurred at the latest by the end of the 13th century. These changes have been documented through the creation of two new South Slavic redactions of the Sinai Rite of Confession.[15] One of the redactions is made up of only prayers, without additional instructions and rubrics on carrying out the Rite, thereby allowing for adjustment based on various local practices and improvisations.[16] The Slavic Rite was certainly not uniform. Aside from the priestly rite, until 1200 there was also a monastic Rite in the Slavic language, which was led by a monk who did not need to be a priest necessarily. It was translated in its entirety from Greek and belonged to the Penitential Nomokanon of John the Faster. This Rite was to be carried out before the altar in church, but could also be performed in a clean, quiet and isolated place if there was no church in the vicinity.[17] One of its characteristics is a questionnaire with a list of different sins which was put together for the sake of easing the conversation regarding sin. Under the influence of the Faster's Nomokanon, questionnaires regarding sin were incorporated into the text of the Sinai Order of Confession,[18] encouraging the creation of new textual redactions. They could be put together based on gender, dividing sins into male and female. Priests were expected to begin confession with a question on the loss of virginity, adjusting the question based on the gender of the penitent. A man was to be asked whether he had lost his innocence with a woman, with an animal, or through masturbation, and a woman was to be asked whether she had done so "with her husband or while still a maiden".[19]

The Rite, as we have seen, was intended to be carried out by two people with clearly defined roles, which was performed in the form of a conversation, prayer, the reading of psalms and confession said aloud. While carrying out the Rite, it was

12 *Suvorov*, Verojatnyj sostav IX, 393–394. On Western inspirations of the confession rite, see *Grafenauer*, Karolinška kateheza, 84–102.

13 *Almazov*, Tajnaja ispoved, 211; *Arranz*, La liturgie de l'Euchologe slave, 49, 58. Cf. *Schnitter*, Pŭtišta, 233, 234

14 *Almazov*, Tajnaja ispoved, 211, 225–226; *Frček*, Euchologium Sinaiticum XXV/3, 520–521, 524–525; *Arranz*, La liturgie de l'Euchologe slave, 58–59.

15 There are two additional redactions, the "second" and "third" Sinai Rite of Confession, with additional subredaction characteristics, *Bojanin*, Čin ispovesti, 533–571.

16 Ibid., 542–544.

17 *Arranz*, Les formulaires de confession (2e partie) 63–65; *Idem*, Izbrannye sočinenija, 94, 116.

18 This phenomenon was observed in scholarly work in the past, see *Bojanin*, Čin ispovesti, 551–552.

19 Serbian Trebnik (the Prayer book), MS Zograf № 50, fol. 123r. Cf. *Bojanin*, Čin ispovesti, 545.

assumed that the participants, at least to some degree, knew the language in which the Rite was being carried out. Carrying out confession in the vernacular significantly eased communication between the Slavic priests and their Slavic faithful. It is thought that the Rite was introduced into practice in Great Moravia during the mission of Cyril and Methodios when the Slavic tongue became the language of the Liturgical life of the Church.[20] The existing practice from those lands was incorporated into its text. The second, prayerful part of the Sinai Rite of Confession, begins with a prayer which was not translated either from Latin or Greek, but from Old High German.[21] A Slavic version of the St. Emmeram prayer was incorporated into the Rite, which is known in the Old Bavarian dialect in two redactions (9th and 11th century). It was named after the Regensburg monastery of St. Emmeram in which it was discovered.[22] The Freising (Brižin) manuscripts from the 10th–11th centuries also testify to the use of the vernacular as an important tool in conducting the Rite. These are three shorter texts written in the Latin script in the Slavic language, intended for confession.[23]

Questions regarding sins committed were asked. Thanks to the needs of the Rite, they were noted down. But what were the responses like? They are unique, individual and non-repeatable, reduced to the spoken word of each particular penitent, and have been lost irrevocably.

For the sins committed to be forgiven, it was necessary to verbally list all of them and then repent, accepting the relevant penance. We can agree with the Bulgarian scholar Maria Schnitter, who believes that the St. Emmeram prayer of the Sinai Rite of Confession "provides clear indications" that from "the earliest times of the Slavic liturgical tradition," there was a tendency toward "the systematization and internalization of the concept of sin".[24] This tendency is also observable in other components of the Rite. In such circumstances, of great help to confessors were books known as *libri poenitentiales* (penitential books) or the penitentials. In them were mainly listed sins with epitimies set out in tariff format in the form of the length of bans on communion, the form of repentance, through fasting, rigorous fasting on bread and water, with a certain number of daily prostrations, the giving of alms and so on. Usually these are writings of varying length, in which certain moral and cultural forms of the teachings of the Church were conveyed to the local communities organized as parishes. They offer a categorization of sins based on the concepts of the learned and official clerical

20 *Penkova – Cibranska*, Sinajski evhologij, 604; *Pentkovskij*, Slavjanskoe bogosluženie v arhiepiskopii, 76.

21 *Nahtigal*, Euchologium Sinaiticum, 208–216 (fol. 72r–73r).

22 *Vondrák*, Althochdeutsche Beichtformeln im Altkirchenslavischen, 122, 124–125; *Grafenauer*, Starobavarska (svetoemeramska) molitev, 8–54; For a discussion of the Slavic origin of the prayer, see *Džonov*, Sant-Emeramskata molitva, 67–146. Cf. *Penkova – Cibranska*, Sinajski evhologij, 609; *Schnitter*, Pŭtišta, 235–236.

23 Brižinski spomeniki, 28–129 (with Slovenian, Latin, German and English translations); *Zbornik Brižinski spomeniki*, passim. Cf. *Vondrák*, Althochdeutsche Beichtformeln im Altkirchenslavischen, 118–132; *Grafenauer*, Karolinška kateheza, 84–102; *Dobrev*, Frajzingenski molitvi, 306–315; *Štih*, The Middle Ages between the eastern Alps and the Northern Adriatic, 72, n. 6, 116, 119. Cf. *Savić*, Srpska književna reč, 38–41.

24 *Schnitter*, Pŭtišta, 236.

culture, often contaminated with local views, which was to be implemented on the parish level. In this regard, one of the powers at the disposal of the local priest was used – that of the Sacrament of Confession.

The penitential texts which mainly emerged at the level of the diocese for the sake of the needs of the parishes were often compilatory in nature and the work of anonymous authors.[25] They encompassed various aspects of societal life, including private life, sexual habits of the faithful, marriage, familial relations or the organization of public space and time, the separation of the sacred and profane, suggestions of desirable and undesirable behaviours and the recognition of misdeeds and criminal acts.[26] The penitentials were, unlike the much more strict structure of the Rite of Confession, intended for general use, much richer in the surveys of sins which, to some extent, reflect the understanding of local environments. As the European inhabitants of the 11th and 12th centuries were almost entirely rural, the penitentials included many sins originating in the usual rural labours. These included the burning of the threshing places, ploughing someone else's field, cutting down a fruitful tree, milking cattle after calving, being late in ploughing work, selling wine mixed with water and other similar sins whose weight was determined in terms of a tariff.[27]

Due to this, the penitentials are seen as a valuable historical source. They are not simply a survey of acts which a particular community considered sinful. They were also a tool through which one of the crucial forms of communication along the social hierarchy between the official centres of the Church and local communities of parish priest and flock took place. At the same time, they were a link between the diocese and its parishes which had not only a liturgical mark, but also a wider societal significance in creating values, attitudes and views of the world. That process usually did not take place in only one direction on the societal ladder, from the top down, but should be understood as an active reinterpretation of the offered messages and meanings.[28] In our case, we can speak of the Slavic penitentials in the diocese linked into the system of the Archbishopric of Ohrid or other Church organizations in the central and western part of the Balkans and their Slavic parishes. Aside from this, the information offered in the penitentials can serve as a good source, to cite Aron Gurevich, "to reconstruct one aspect of the parishioners' view of the world".[29]

The aim of this chapter is to present the penitentials composed prior to the 13th century, among the small amount of preserved medieval South Slavic penitential transcriptions, up to the mid-14th century. The oldest preserved Slavic penitential is the *Commandments of the Holy Fathers Concerning Penance for Homicide and for Every Sin*

25 Cf. *Hamilton*, Church and People, 192–193.

26 For examples from the South Slavic penitentials, see *Bojanin*, Parohijska zajednica, 268–274.

27 Ibid., 274.

28 On this, see *Schmitt*, Religion, Folklore, and Society, 382–383; *Burke*, Popular Culture between History and Anthropology, 6–7.

29 *Gurevich*, Medieval Popular Culture, 31.

(henceforth referred to as the *Commandments of the Holy Fathers*) from the Glagolitic Sinai Euchology, which was translated from Latin.[30] Aside from the 11th century Sinai book, the majority of these texts are preserved only in the Cyrillic manuscripts from the late 13th and the first half of the 14th century. The significance of these late penitentials lies in the fact that they represent compilations in which texts from earlier historical periods are also included.

The chronological boundaries are set out broadly, with the founding of the Bulgarian Church in Tarnovo (1187) and the Archbishopric of Žiča (1219) in the newly founded political entities independent of the Byzantine Empire. The formation of Slavic autocephalous Church organizations represents an important turning point in the organization of the clergy in just one, Slavic language, which is broader than the local diocesan level. This opened a different kind of perspective for Church and societal life, different from the period of the existence of direct Byzantine rule and its Church organization established in 1018.

In the other part of the chapter, the content of a certain group of rules from the penitential the *Commandments of the Holy Fathers* from the Sinai Euchology, is analysed with examples which cover the same or similar phenomena taken from other texts and rules which could have been present in the pastoral practice in the Slavic language until around the year 1200. The intent is to present, on the basis of the text from the 11th century, the basic problems with which parishioners, clerics and lay people met in organizing their daily life, which was not directly related to the basic tasks of farmers, craftsmen and herdsmen.

II. The penitentials: An analysis of the sources

Of the South Slavic books there is only one penitential preserved from before the end of the 13th century – in the Glagolitic Sinai Euchology of the 11th century. The next oldest is in the *Zograf Trebnik* (the Zograf Prayerbook), the Cyrillic transcription in Serbian Church Slavonic from the end of the 13th or the beginning of the 14th centuries.[31] Both penitentials are titled as the Commandments of the Holy Fathers, but do not represent the same text. With the same title, they symbolically delineate the period of the development of the South Slavic penitentials which remains undocumented to us. This process began before the appearance of the penitentials in the Sinai Euchology, when it was translated from Latin, and finished, at least in one sense, before the creation of the Zograf Trebnik, with the incorporation of texts of Greek origin. This phenomenon was marked by the transition from penitentials based on one text (the Sinai type) to heterogenous compilations made up of materials originating from different

30 Ꙁаповѣдн с(ѣа)тыхъ о(тц)ь. о покаанын раꙁбоѣ. і о всѣмь грѣсѣ – *Nahtigal*, Euchologium Sinaiticum, 319–330 (fol. 102r–105v); *Frček*, Euchologium Sinaiticum, 588–596 (with French translation); T. Lysaght, *Euchologium Sinaiticum*, 57–60 (English translation).

31 MS Zograf No 50, *Raŭkov*, *et al*., Katalog, № 50, 50–51.

penitential books and legal ecclesiastical works. These compilations become more numerous only in the manuscripts of the first half of the 14th century. In them we can recognize the basic characteristics of the development of South Slavic penitentials: the incorporation of rules from excerpts of existing Slavic translations of Greek nomokanons, from the Glagolitic *Commandments of the Holy Fathers* and other, today little known or unknown penitential texts, the inclusion of various instructions intended for parish clergy, but also passages from apocryphal literature. Their content was not based purely on translations, but – as was noted during the earliest research – on original Slavic texts of anonymous authors.[32] The penitentials are independent compilations of Slavic priests and do not represent translations of already existing Greek and Latin ones,[33] except in the case of the Sinai *Commandments*. Therefore, the Zograf *Commandments* can be considered the oldest known South Slavic collection of rules of various origins, which, unfortunately, has been preserved only fragmentarily (see below).[34]

Unlike the Glagolitic *Commandments of the Holy Fathers* from the Sinai Euchology, the period of the creation of the late mediaeval penitentials and the many texts from which they were put together is not entirely clear. Nevertheless, their content allows us to detect some older material, present in the Slavic books prior to 1200. The reconstruction of the content of early penitentials can also be aided with reference to original Russian compositions. Their appearance in South Slavic books can be linked to the First East Slavic (Russian) Influence on South Slavic literature from the second half of the 12th and first decade of the 13th century, all the way to the Mongol conquest of Kiev in 1240.[35]

However, from the end of the 13th or beginning of the 14th centuries, another kind of penitential composition was preserved in the *Gračanički Trebnik*.[36] This is the aforementioned Penitential Nomokanon of John the Faster, a different type of text, contrasting with the compositional inconsistency and simplicity of penitentials, which emerged from the more or less mechanical compilation of various texts. The Faster's Nomokanon is marked by more comprehensive content, a more coherent structure and, as has already been noted, the Rite of Confession has also been incorporated into it.

This subsection has presented the most important penitentials and rules whose transcriptions appeared in the period from the 11th to the 14th century in an effort to approximately reconstruct the penitential materials which Slavic priests might have had at their disposal in the 11th and 12th centuries. It was a fairly uncertain endeavor, as a large number of rules, bans and instructions originate from manuscripts of the 14th century, with no textual parallels in the earlier period.

---

32 *Jagić*, Sitna gradja, 113.

33 For one of them Smirnov is explicit, *Materialy*, 309 and based on our own research we assess that the cited view can be applied to other South Slavic penitentials too.

34 *Bojanin*, Zapovesti svetih otaca, 499–523.

35 *Speranskij*, K istorii vzaimootnošenij, 161–163; *Turilov*, Drevnerusskie vlijanija, 162–171.

36 On the manuscript, see Svodnyj katalog, № 482, 369–370; № 483, 370.

The Latin text

In scholarly circles, it is thought that the oldest Slavic penitential, the Glagolitic *Commandments of the Holy Fathers*, was translated in Great Moravia in the second half of the 9th century. It is thought that the translation came from the students and clerics of Archbishop Methodios who knew Latin as well as Slavic writing. In the late 19th century, the Russian scholar Suvorov pointed out that the Slavic text was a translation of the Latin penitential whose text was preserved in the Merseburg manuscript dated towards the end of the 8th or middle of the 9th centuries.[37] The *Paenitentiale Merseburgense A* belongs to the group of Latin *paenitentialia minora*, anonymous compilations from the Frankish state which do not draw their authority even from fictional authors.[38] This is reflected in the title of the Slavic text which is composed in a general form, with an authoritative connotation. As with many other translated works during the first century of Slavic literacy, the Slavic penitential came about due to the liturgical needs and pastoral practice of the Church in the Slavic language. The rules are simple in structure and standard formulation, beginning with the phrase "If anyone" (*аще кто*, *lat*. „Si quis"). The translation of the chosen rules from the Frankish penitential is not always literal; paraphrasing is present, as well as generalization, shortening of the text of the rules, sometimes even the length of the penance, etc.[39]

The *Commandments of the Holy Fathers* does not represent a translation of the Latin text in its entirety. Of 139 rules, some fifty were translated. The protograph of the translation has not been preserved hence we are not entirely certain of the length of the original text. The oldest transcription is to be found in the aforementioned Glagolitic Euchology, while the next one in terms of age originates from the Russian Church Slavonic Ustiug Miscellany from the late 13th or early 14th centuries. These two texts are not entirely identical, as variations in several rules suggest the existence of distinct textual traditions.[40]

The Sinai *Commandments* were respected and widely used works in penitential practice, to which the presence of a large number of its rules in later South Slavic penitential compilations from the 14th century testifies: in two Bulgarian Church Slavonic texts of a similar title – the *Commandment of the Holy Fathers on Lent* (henceforth referred to as *the Commandment on Lent*) in the *Berlinski Sbornik*[41] and, the *Commandment of the Holy Fathers* from the St. Petersburg Miscellany (just two

37 *Suvorov*, Sledy, 109–114. Cf. *Schmitz*, Die Bussbücher, 357; *Vogel*, Les „Libri paenitentiales", 77; Maksimovič, Zapovědi svętyhъ otьcь, 8.

38 *Kottje*, *et al*., Paenitentialia minora, xxii, xxvi–xxvii; *McNeill – Gamer*, Medieval handbooks of penance, 429. On the history of scholarly research into the Glagolitic penitential, see *Maksimovič*, Zapovědi svętyhъ otьcь, 8–12. Cf. *Cibranska-Kostova*, Pokajnata knižnina, 56–90.

39 For more details, see *Maksimovič*, Zapovědi svętyhъ otьcь, 41–63.

40 Zapovědi svętyichъ otьcь, MMFH IV, 146; *Maksimovič*, Zapovědi svętyhъ otьcь, 23–24 (№ 20), 30 (№ 47a), 31 (№ 51).

41 Ѕаповѣдь сѫтыхъ wтць w вѣлицѣмь постѣ – text published in *Miklas – Taseva – Jovčeva*, Berlinski Sbornik, 43–76 (№ 1. 1–113); on this, see *Maksimovič*, Zapovědi svętyhъ otьcь, 131–135; *Cibranska-Kostova*, Pokajnata knižnina, 135–139.

rules)[42] – and in the Serbian Church Slavonic the *Rules of the Holy Fathers According to the Commandment of St. Basil the Great to All of Us* (henceforth referred to as the *Rules of St. Basil to All of Us*).[43] The latter compilation contains two thirds of a text from a Glagolitic penitential which is equally divided into several clusters.[44] These versions are not interdependent,[45] while specific rules from the Serbian penitential indicate certain textual distinctiveness in relation to their transcriptions from the Sinai and Ustiug manuscripts, which points to independent processes of dissemination of the initial Glagolitic text.[46]

The Greek texts

The Russian Church Slavonic parchment manuscript of the Troice-Sergieva Lavra № 12 (RGB F 304), the *Troickij sbornik*, from the end of the 12th or beginning of the 13th century,[47] contains a fairly old Slavic penitential with the rules of monastic discipline.[48] The codex is a miscellany which is considered quite important for the Slavic written heritage, as it contains texts that "have no earlier attestation in Slavic".[49] It is comprised of a compilation of texts by South Slavic authors (Clement of Ohrid or Peter the Monk) and South Slavic translations of Greek texts.[50] Authors of the contemporary version of the manuscript recognize the monastic rules in the context of the manuscript as the "Bulgarian Nomocanon",[51] although it is not a nomokanon. Earlier Russian scholars identified the characteristics of Serbian orthography in the rules, which was also traced in the case of their copy in the *Berlinski Sbornik* (see below).[52]

The Penitential contains more than 70 disciplinary rules, formulated in a tariff-like manner, beginning with the phrase "If a monk" (Аще калоугеръ). It primarily compiles Slavic translations of the monastic rules of Theodore of Studios and Nikephoros the Confessor, learned theologians of the Byzantine Church from the end of the 8th and beginning of the 9th centuries.[53] Nevertheless, the collection of monastic rules is the work of Slavic redactors and is not a translation of an existing compilation

42 Заповѣдь с҃тыхъ ѡ҃цъ (MS RNB Q. II. 90) – text published in *Smirnov*, Materialy, 137 (№ 12, 27); for the rules of the Sinai *Commandments*, see ibid., 397.

43 Правила с(вѣ)тыхъ ѡт(ь)ць, по заповѣды с(вѣ)таго, и великаго василїа. к'сѣмь нань – text published in *Jagić*, Sitna gradja, 133–146; the title of the penitential is taken from *Bojanin*, Dečanski penitencijali, 164, n. 5.

44 On this see *Maksimovič*, Zapovědi svętyhъ otьcь, 113–131; *Cibranska-Kostova*, Pokajnata knižnina, 117–134.

45 Kirill Maksimovič had in his mind the text from the *Berlinski Sbornik* and the *Rules of St. Basil to All of Us*, *Maksimovič*, Zapovědi svętyhъ otьcь, 134.

46 Ibid., 131.

47 The manuscript was published in its entirety in 1988 in *Popovski et al.* Earlier edition, Smirnov, *Materialy*, 33–38.

48 *Popovski et al.*, The Troickij sbornik, 49–52.

49 Ibid., iii.

50 "... compiled exclusively from Slavic sources, almost all of Od Bulgarian provenance", ibid., ii.

51 Ibid., iii; cf. *Cibranska-Kostova,* Pokajnata knižnina, 377.

52 *Sreznevskij*, Svedenija i zametki, 204; Smirnov, *Materialy*, 301.

53 *Smirnov*, Materialy, 306–309; *Maksimovič*, Zakonъ sudnyi ljudьmъ, 152–161.

in Greek.[54] It lists sins which were considered characteristic of the everyday life of a monastic community or were cases of inappropriate behavior by monks in a secular environment.[55] The text was intended for any monastic community in which the confession rite was conducted in Slavic and could be practiced independently of the internal organization of a monastery, which was based on a specially compiled typikon. The severity of a penance was determined both according to the sin committed as well as the rank of the particular monk. The higher the rank, the more severe the penalty. In the case of a Great Schema monk for example, a seven-year penance was prescribed for fornication, while a Lesser Schema monk was given a three-year epitimy.[56]

The significance of the Penitential from the *Troickij Sbornik* in the pastoral practice of the Slavic dioceses can be considered on several levels. Through the translation of the rules of renowned iconophiles and reformers of monastic life, the concept of Byzantine monastic discipline was directly transposed to the Slavic monastic communities. The dissemination of this type of text in the South Slavic manuscripts dating before 1200 cannot be determined. Nevertheless, the significance that these rules had is indicated by their later transcriptions from the first half of the 14th century, in which they preserved the basic structure of their text. The rather long Bulgarian Church Slavonic Penitential – the *Monks' Commandment* from the *Berlinski Sbornik*[57] – opens with it, while under the heading *On the monks*, the text is transcribed in the Russian Church Slavonic Ustiug Miscellany.[58] The situation is slightly different with the Serbian Church Slavonic Penitential the *Commandments of the Holy 318 Fathers* (henceforth referred to as the *Commandments of the Nicaean Fathers*),[59] into which somewhat more than 40% of the content was transposed.

As with other compositions, the compilers of the *Troickij Sbornik* Penitential remained anonymous. Nor are the names of the authors of the translated rules mentioned. Equally, we are not certain regarding its original title, as the existing ones are derived from its contents and reveal independent redactional interventions. For some scholars, the Penitential in the *Troickij Sbornik* begins with one, shorter passage of an apocryphal character (*The apostles asked the Lord about food*) which precedes the list of penances and in which the original title could, potentially, be recognized.[60] Due to its apocryphal character, this passage was omitted in later copies of the monastic rules.

---

54 *Smirnov*, Materialy, 309; *Ščapov*, Vizantijskoe i južnoslavjanskoe pravovoe nasledie, 195.

55 A great number of the rules of the Slavic compilation originate from *Theodorus Studita*, Quotidianae monachorum poenae, 1747–1758.

56 *Popovski et al.*, The Troickij sbornik, 49, № 73.

57 Ꙁаповѣдъ ꙗрьнєтьскаꙗ, *Miklas – Taseva – Jovčeva*, Berlinski Sbornik, 139–150 (№ 7. 1–82). Present in this text are the morphological and phonetic characteristics of the Serbian language, ibid., 422, which confirms the earlier stated stance of Sreznevskij and Smirnov in relation to the monastic commandments from the *Troickij sbornik* (see above n. 52).

58 О Калоꙋгєрєхъ, *Smirnov*, Materialy, 299; *Maksimovič*, Zakonъ sudnyi ljudьmъ, 153–161.

59 Ꙁаповѣдь и ѯставь с(вє)тыѫ ѡт(ь)цьь .тні., – text edition, *Jagić*, Sitna gradja, 131–133.

60 *Popovski et al.*, The Troickij sbornik, 49; on this, see *Smirnov*, Materialy, 302; cf. *Ščapov*, Vizantijskoe i južnoslavjanskoe pravovoe nasledie, 195.

In the *Monks' Commandment* from the *Berlinski Sbornik* other Greek rules have also been identified beyond the content of the Penitential in the *Troickij Sbornik*. The concluding part is composed of a block of monastic rules by Theodore of Studios, as well as rules attributed to St. Basil the Great.[61] Moreover, the *Berlinski Sbornik* contains a separate composition from the *Monks' Commandment* derived from the text and rules of Theodore of Studios intended for penitential practice, in which the Russian Church Slavonic origins can be recognized.[62] The presence of Theodore's epitimies, in which different Slavic translations have been observed, points to specific directions of their dissemination in Slavic books. This has made the *Berlin Sbornik* significant in terms of its other characteristics as well.

The Russian influence on the South-Slavic penitentials

The *Berlinski Sbornik* originates from the first half of the 14th century, yet its texts are considerably older. Among scholars there is a belief that the prototype of the *Sbornik* was compiled in the early 13th century. It brings together texts significant for Bulgarian and South Slavic literature dating from the 10th to the 12th centuries (such as *On Letters* by the monk Hrabr), but also texts by Russian authors (such as Bishop Kirill of Turov from the 12th century) which represent the aforementioned First East Slavic Influence on South Slavic literature.[63] As noted above, we have pointed out a distinct block of Theodore's text that originates from Russian Church Slavonic translations. Particularly significant, however, are the Russian influences in the penitential compilation the *Commandment on Lent*,[64] which occupies a substantial part of the *Berlinski Sbornik*. Two rules excerpted from the Sinai *Commandments of the Holy Fathers*, which have East Slavic origins, are also well-known.[65] This distinguishes them from other rules, which were taken from the South Slavic version of the Sinai *Commandments* (see above). These influences are represented not only in the translations but also in the original works. Of greater importance is the presence of the Canonical Answers of the Kievan metropolitans George I (1062–1073) and John II (1076/77–1089). Scholarship first identified the text from the canonical answers of Metropolitan John II to the monk Jacob, which was understood in the context of cultural exchange between the Slavic speaking Churches of the 12th and 13th centuries.[66] The Canonical answers of Metropolitan George to Hegoumenos German are more numerous and make up around one-fifth of the content of the South Slavic *Commandment on Lent*. Their

61 *Miklas – Taseva – Jovčeva*, Berlinski Sbornik, 147–150 (№ 7. 66–81).

62 Text published in *Miklas – Taseva – Jovčeva*, Berlinski Sbornik, 76–82, 84–85 (№ 1. 114–125, 1. 130–136). On the protograph from the "Easter Slavonic regions", ibid., 419–420, 422; *Miklas*, Kyrillomethodianisches und nachkyrillomethodianisches Erbe, 444.

63 *Turilov*, Berlinskij sbornik, 665.

64 For the full title see above, n. 41.

65 *Miklas – Taseva – Jovčeva*, Berlinski Sbornik, 70, 72 (№ 1. 80, 1. 95); cf. *Miklas*, Kyrillomethodianisches und nachkyrillomethodianisches Erbe, 444; *Maksimovič*, *Zapovědi svętyhъ otьcь*, 152–153.

66 *Speranskij*, K istorii vzaimootnošenij, 161–163. Cf. *Turilov*, Pamjatniki drevnerusskoj literatury, 172.

identification was made possible thanks to the relatively recent discovery of Metropolitan George's work.[67] We would agree with the respected Russian scholar Anatolij Turilov that the text of Metropolitan George was indirectly transposed, via Russian penitential compilations into which his rules had previously been incorporated.[68]

The period of the First East Slavic or Russian Influence is also indicated by the St. Petersburg *Commandment of the Holy Fathers* from the second half of the 14th century (see above). It contains seven rules taken from the Answers of the Kievan Metropolitan George.[69] However, the St. Petersburg text bears significant similarities in terms of content with fragments from the *Zograf Trebnik*. Aside from sharing the same title (the Zograf version is in the plural – the *Commandments*), both penitentials begin with the same three canons, which are taken from a nomokanon of the Cyrillo-Methodian era, suggesting that they belong to the same type of penitentials.[70] To what extent both texts are similar and whether the Zograf Penitential was expanded with Russian materials cannot be definitively determined due to the condition in which it has been preserved.[71]

The old nomokanons and the *Law for Judging the People* in the penitentials

Although fragmentarily preserved, the *Commandments of the Holy Fathers* from the *Zograf Trebnik* and the less than a century younger St. Petersburg *Commandment* highlight another important development in the history of the South Slavic penitentials – the incorporation of the official canons of the Church into their structure. At the time of the creation of the Zograf manuscript, at the end of the 13th or the beginning of the 14th century, the official book in the Slavic Churches was the Nomokanon of 14 Titles with Commentaries, known as the Nomokanon of St. Sava (around 1220). Yet the five preserved canons with which the text begins bear witness to the fact that they belong to an older Slavic translation, the so-called Methodian Nomokanon.

The Nomokanon of Methodios is the first official canonical text in the Slavic language and represents a translation of the Synagoge of Ecclesiastical Canons Divided into 50 Titles (or the Synagoge of 50 Titles) by John Scholasticus from the 6th century. It is believed, based on the *Vita of St. Methodios*, that it was translated by Methodios. The secular part of the Slavic Nomokanon book – as is believed in scholarly circles – is the *Law for Judging the People* (*Zakonъ sudnyi ljudьmъ*). This is a free compilation

67 Moškova pointed to the existence of the Slavic text by Metropolitan George, *Moškova – Turilov*, "Nevedomye slovesa", 68–71. For the identification of the rules, see *Turilov*, Otvety Georgija, mitropolita Kievskogo, 233, passim; *Idem*, Pamjatniki drevnerusskoj literatury, 173.

68 Ibid., 174.

69 *Smirnov*, Materially, 136–137. For the identification of the content see, *Turilov*, Otvety Georgija, mitropolita Kievskogo, 244–45, 247, 248, 253; *Barankova*, "Nevedomyh sloves' izloženo Georgiem'", 38, 40. Cf. *Turilov*, Pamjatniki drevnerusskoj literatury, 174, 187.

70 *Bojanin*, Zapovesti svetih otaca, 513–514; For the identification of the canons in the St. Petersburg *Commandment*, see *Smirnov*, Materialy, 397.

71 *Bojanin*, Zapovesti svetih otaca, 515–516.

and adaptation of selected imperial provisions from the Ecloga in the Slavic language, which is also attributed to Methodios. Not long thereafter, in the Christianized First Bulgarian Empire, a significantly more comprehensive and current Nomokanon of 14 Titles without Commentaries was translated, referred to in scholarly literature as the Old Slavonic Kormčaja (*Drevneslavjanskaja kormčaja*).[72]

Interestingly, both Nomokanons are preserved only in the Russian Church Slavonic manuscripts – the Nomokanon of Methodios in the Ustiug Miscellany[73] and the Old Slavonic Kormčaja as the *Efrem Kormčaja* from the beginning of the 12th century.[74] The question of their application outside Great Moravia and in the South Slavic lands after the fall of the First Bulgarian Empire remains open. The researchers of the aforementioned Nomokanon books, Josef Vašica and Jaroslav Ščapov, were optimistic in this matter. They believed that the Slavic translations of the Nomokanons was employed in the South Slavic lands beyond Great Moravia and Bulgaria in 9th and 10th centuries and remained in use in Slavic dioceses even after the establishment of Byzantine rule in 1018 in the same Slavic dioceses and within the framework of the Ohrid Archbishopric, all the way until the emergence of the Nomokanon of St. Sava.[75] However, independently of the elusive processes of dissemination of the old Slavic Nomokanons as complete books in Southeast Europe (which is not documented, as mentioned, in the South Slavic manuscript heritage preserved today), one phenomenon indicates their undoubtable use in the pastoral practice of the South Slavic dioceses in the 11th and 12th centuries. Materials were excerpted from them to create smaller ecclesiastical legal compilations which were combined with penitentials. In fact, the canons from the old Nomokanons are part of penitential books of the late Middle Ages. How these processes unfolded is something that we cannot know, yet the Zograf *Commandments* represents the oldest example of such a phenomenon, which is significantly older than their preserved fragment. Based on the later St. Petersburg *Commandment*, we can assert that the time of creation of the prototype of the second text – if not both – is in the epoch of the First East Slavic Influence which precedes the creation of the Nomokanon of St. Sava. For in the creation of these compilations, the Nomokanons current at the time were used. This phenomenon was present later as well. In the *Commandments of Our Holy Father John Chrysostom on the Law of the Church* (abbreviated as *Commandments of John Chrysostom*), the oldest copy of which originates from the end of the first half of the 14th century,[76] contemporary canons with commentaries from the Nomokanon of St. Sava were incorporated.[77]

---

72 Selected literature: *Žužek*, Kormčaja kniga, 7–28; *Ščapov*, Nomokanon Ioanna Sholastika i Sintagma 14 titulov, 387–411; *Gallagher*, Church law, 95–107; *Beljakova – Turilov*, Kormčaja kniga, 52; *Beljakova – Moškova – Oparina*, Kormčaja kniga, 39–41; *Najdenova*, Pravnite pametnici, 136–163.

73 Nomokanonъ, MMFH IV, 205–363.

74 *Beneševič*, Drevne–slavjanskaja Kormčaja.

75 *Vašica*, Kirillo-mefodievskie juridičeskie pamjatniki 21; Nomokanonъ, MMFH IV, 236; *Ščapov*, Nomokanon Ioanna Sholastika i Sintagma 14 titulov, 406–407.

76 Ꙁаповѣдн с҃го ѡц҃а нашего нѡ(а)на ꙁлт҃оустагѡ ѡ ꙁаконѣ цркꙋнѣи҆. – *Jagić*, Sitna gradja, 147–151 (text edition).

77 Ibid., 151; cf. *Bojanin*, Dečanski penitencijali, 178, 181, № 2.

The *Zograf* and *St. Petersburg* transcriptions are not the only penitentials which contain canons from the early Slavic Nomokanons. At least two other texts originate from the first half of the 14th century. They represent a particular type of text, as they do not begin with, nor do they contain only canons from the Nomokanon of Methodios. The *Commandment on Lent* contains materials from both Nomokanons. Yet the largest number of canons is included in the penitential *Rules of St. Basil to All of Us*.[78] They are mostly taken from the Old Slavonic Kormčaja.[79] Aside from the canons, a provision has been detected that was taken from the old secular legislation, the *Law for Judging the People*. The provision has been adapted for penitential practice, as the sanction of a secular nature – in the form of flogging the offender – has been omitted.[80]

The excerpted canons predominantly derive from the Apostolic Canons. They are then followed by canons from the collections of the Ecumenical Council in Trullo and several Local Councils in Laodicea, Gangra, and Neocaesarea.[81] Their canons are presented in several clusters, each containing a number of rules. Extracted from different sections of the Nomokanon, the official canonical material was intended to influence various questions of parochial and diocesan everyday life, such as the conduct of the clergy, the issue of simony which threatened the Church's autonomy from local princes, the proper catechetical instruction of the faithful, control of the behavior of the faithful during religious holidays and rituals, and the establishment of kinship alliances through marriage, among other matters.[82]

Serbian Late Medieval penitentials

Several later penitentials from the first half of the 14th century have so far been presented. They contain within them older texts that could be identified either via the time of their transcription or through their authorship. The significance of the slightly older fragments of the Zograf *Commandments of the Holy Fathers* has been pointed out. However, a far greater influence on penitential practice in the late Middle Ages was exerted by three Serbian Church Slavonic penitentials, briefly mentioned here, which were copied in trebniks (prayerbooks) alongside the Rite of Confession from the late Sinai redaction. These are the *Commandments of the Nicaean Fathers*,[83] the *Rules of St. Basil to All of Us*, and the *Commandments of John Chrysostom*.[84] Their oldest copies originate from the end of the first half of the 14th century as part of a special group of three penitentials,

78 For the full name of the penitential, see footnote 43.

79 The presence of canons in the cited penitentials has been observed in scholarly work in an unsystematic fashion, see: *Miklas*, Kyrillomethodianisches und nachkyrillomethodianisches Erbe, 444; *Maksimovič*, Zapovědi svętyhъ otьcь, 131. More comprehensive research is presented in *Bojanin*, Canons of Old Nomokanons, 71–92.

80 *Jagić*, Sitna gradja, 146b; Zakonъ sudnyi ljudьmъ, MMFH IV, 186 (№ 13), the English translation, *Dewey – Kleimola,* Zakon sudnyj ljudem, 15, Ch.15.

81 *Bojanin*, Canons of Old Nomokanons, 87–89.

82 Ibid., 88–90.

83 For the full name of the penitential, see footnote 59.

84 See footnote 76; *Jagić*, Sitna gradja, 147–151.

which were transcribed together in the ensuing centuries. The exact dates of when these compositions were individually created, as well as when they were compiled into a group, remain uncertain. The sole available chronological reference is a relatively indeterminate *terminus ante quem*, deduced from their earliest extant manuscripts.

These texts complement each other in terms of content. The *Commandments of the Nicaean Fathers* and the *Commandments of John Chrysostom* contain, along with epitimies, various instructions intended for the parish from an anonymous author or authors. The beginning of the first mentioned work is formulated as a direct address of the teacher to his clergy and flock – to the Church fathers with "we brothers" and "know, Father", while to the flock with "believe", "do not transgress", "weep", etc. The *Commandments of John Chrysostom* begin with a certain epistle of a bishop to his priests on how to maintain their authority within the parish as well as how to organize the space of the parish church during a church feast.[85] The most basic structure of the text is found in the *Rules of St. Basil to All of Us*, consisting of a rather long list of sins and penances set out in tariff form.

Since these are compilations, the question of the creation of particular texts and rules incorporated into them remains open. We have already pointed to some of an older origin, while attention can also be directed to some other content as well. Aside from the monastic rules from the *Troickij Sbornik* in the *Commandments of the Nicaean Fathers*, there is the specific concept of the repentance of Nikephoros the Confessor which divides sin into three parts: the penitent, the confessor and God.[86] Influences from the Penitential Nomokanon of John the Faster can be observed in the instructions on the patient and gentle priest, for whom persuading the faithful to enter into confession is more important than imposing penances,[87] as well as in the detailed exposition on fasting and non-fasting days in the annual cycle.[88]

A particularly significant passage concerns commutation, or the redemption of fasting time through the number of liturgies or the chanting of psalms, etc.[89] Its origin lies in Latin penitential practice and can be identified with the text *Edictio sancti Bonefacii*, which is attributed to St. Boniface, an 8th-century bishop and missionary in the German lands.[90] This text presents the basic form of the relationship between the length of fasting and the number of liturgies – 4 months are redeemed with 10 liturgies, 8 months with 20 and 12 months with 30 liturgies.[91] When exactly the Latin text was

85 *Bojanin*, Jezik pretnje, 333–356; *Idem*, Srednjovekovna svetkovina između privatnog i javnog, 246–279.

86 *Jagić*, Sitna gradja, 130; *Pitra*, Spicilegium solesmense, 414. This was pointed to by *Gorskij – Nevostruev*, which was confirmed in *Smirnov*, Materialy, 423. Cf. *Bojanin*, Dečanski penitencijali, 168.

87 Ibid., 173.

88 *Jagić*, Sitna gradja, 128, 129–130.

89 Ibid., 129. A detailed analysis on the commutation of the Latin penitential materials is offered in *Oakley*, Commutations and Redemptions, 341–351; *Vogel*, Les "Libri paenitentiales", 34–60.

90 *Nikol'skij*, K voprosu o zapadnom vlijanii 110–124; *Vašica*, Církevněslovanský penitenciál, 31–48. Cf. *Vepřek*, Czech Church Slavonic, 111.

91 *Nikol'skij*, K voprosu o zapadnom vlijanii 110–124; *Vašica*, Církevněslovanský penitenciál, 31–48.

translated into Slavic and in what form, and what the directions of dissemination of the Slavic translation were is something that cannot be stated with precision. Josef Vašica put forth the hypothesis that the text might have been translated in Bohemia in the 10th or 11th centuries. The passage on commutation has been preserved in a Russian Church Slavonic penitential from the beginning of the 15th century.[92] That it was known in the pastoral practice of the Slavic Churches at least from 1100 is testified by the Russian work from the first half of the 12th century – The Questions of Kirik to Nifont, Bishop of Novgorod (1130–1156), in which part of the text is quoted precisely.[93]

The translation of the Latin commutation is an extension of the practice introduced by the Sinai *Commandments*. In them was included a rule according to which fasting was substituted for the chanting of 48 psalms during penance. If the penitent was illiterate, instead of chanting the psalms, he was required to pay one coin, a *denarius*; if he was poor, to surrender whatever food he had.[94] This rule was incorporated into later compilations, to which the other text from the group of Serbian Church Slavonic penitential, the *Rules of St. Basil to All of Us*, testifies.[95]

We have already pointed out that the rules of the *Commandments of the Holy Fathers* from the Cyrillo-Methodian era have been identified in the *Rules of St. Basil to All of Us*, as well as a provision from the *Law for Judging the People* and canons from older *Nomokanons*.[96] The compilation also includes a group identified as the Twelve Rules which concern penitential discipline and are part of the Ustiug Miscellany.[97] Russian scholars believed that the compilation was originally of South Slavic origin, consisting of rules translated from Greek.[98] According to Smirnov, it could have come about in the 11th or 12th centuries.[99] However, in the *Commandment on Lent* from the *Berlinski Sbornik*, several of these rules were incorporated, but not in the form of a particular block of rules.[100]

The *Commandments of John Chrysostom* represent a compilation of texts of different origins and genres, all serving to strengthen the religious and societal authority

92 The results of the research of *Nikol'skij* were of particular importance for Vašica's own research into Slavic literature in the early mediaeval history of Bohemia, ibid., 39; cf. *Mareš*, An Anthology, 81–84.

93 Pamjatniki drevne-russkago kanoničeskago prava, 44, №76; *Smirnov*, Materialy, 11. Cf. *Suvorov*, Sledy, 161–162; *Mil'kov – Simonov*, Kirik Novgorodec, 178–179, 386.

94 Zapovědi svętyichъ otьcь, MMFH IV, 143 (№ 31); for the Latin text see: *Kottje, et al.*, Paenitentialia minora, 137 (№ 41, 42); *Maksimovič*, Zapovědi svętyhъ otьcь, 186 (№ 32). In the Latin text, the number of psalms and giving of dinars was determined on a daily level, while in the Slavic translation the same redemption was set out for the entire time of the penance, ibid., 27, 48. Cf. *Cibranska-Kostova*, Penitencialen post i komutacii, 71; *Eadem*, Pokajnata knižnina, 123–124.

95 *Jagić*, Sitna gradja, 137a.

96 The compilation also contains diverse texts from a later period that we wrote about in *Bojanin*, Dečanski penitencijali, 174–176; *Idem*, Ćirilometodijevska tradicija, 138–142.

97 Identification of the rules was carried out by *Beneševič*, Sinagoga v 50 titulov, №17, 207. Cf. *Maksimovič*, Zakonъ sudnyi ljudьmъ, 151–152.

98 *Smirnov*, Materialy, 395–396; *Beneševič*, Sinagoga v 50 titulov, №17, 207; *Maksimovič*, Zakonъ sudnyi ljudьmъ, 151–152.

99 *Smirnov*, Materialy, 396.

100 *Miklas – Taseva – Jovčeva*, Berlinski Sbornik, 71, 72 (№ 1. 88, 1. 90–91).

of the Church within the diocese. One passage that may be based on older textual traditions is the anti-Bogomil argumentation, which the priest was expected to apply in cases of verbal disputes regarding the true faith. The text is an original Slavic composition and is rather superficially based on the Serbian redaction of Old Church Slavonic *Sermon Against the Bogomils* of the Bulgarian author Kosmas the Presbyter from the 10th century.[101] Unlike some of the aforementioned penitentials, the *Commandments of John Chrysostom* contain passages known to have been composed after 1200, such as the Slavonic apocryphal *Apocalypse of Anastasia*[102] or canons taken from the *Nomokanon of St. Sava*. Aside from these passages, some other sections of this compilation have undergone textual analysis, but many questions remain open.[103]

In all certainty, all three Serbian Church Slavonic compilations represent an important source for studying the South Slavic penitential books in the Middle Ages. These are compilations of various texts, some of which allow, at least to some degree, the reconstruction of the textual corpus from earlier times. The presence of older texts in newer compilations indicates their continuing relevance in later periods. In similar fashion, many texts that are not identified in older manuscripts – and for which the period of creation remains unknown – describe societal phenomena that are certainly not unique merely to the period around 1300 and later. Questions such as the discipline of parish priests and the faithful, the role of the confessor in the Rite of Confession, the persistence of certain customs in ritual practice, heresy (Bogomilism), marriage, incest, and similar issues, were continuing concerns in pastoral practice over a longer period of time. The content of the three penitentials undoubtedly addresses societal phenomena of a longer duration in the cultures of agrarian societies of the South Slavic parishes, which were not marked by frequent, rapid, and comprehensive changes.

The Penitential Nomokanon of John the Faster

In the basis of the development of penitential practice in the Churches of the Byzantine world lay the Penitential Nomokanon whose authorship medieval tradition attributed to John IV the Faster, the Patriarch of Constantinople (582–595).[104] This penitential book came about gradually, over a longer period of time, during which two texts were formed: the *Kanonarion* (Κανονάριον) and its adaptation, named after the opening words of the *Didascalia patrum* (Διδασκαλία πατέρων). Both texts were often

101 *Solovjev*, Svedočanstva, 36; *Naumov*, Serbskie srednevekovye istočniki o bogomil'stve, 90. The passage on the Bogomils was published in separated form from the penitentials as a whole, along with other anti-heretical texts from South Slavic ecclesiastical legal manuscripts, *Cibranska-Kostova – Rajkova*, Bogomilite, 197–219.

102 On the *Apocalypse of Anastasia*, see *Miltenova*, Neizvesten prevod, 237–257.

103 In recent years, the conclusions of *Grujić*, Crkveni elementi krsne slave, 35–75 from 1930 are being critically re-examined in works, *Bojanin*, Dečanski penitencijali, 170–171; *Beljakova*, Zapovedь Ioanna Zlatousta, 27–33; *Eadem*, K voprosu ob izmenenii leksiki, 157–178; *Bojanin*, Jagićevo izdanje srednjovekovne penitencijalne građe (forthcoming).

104 Greek text published *Suvorov*, Verojatnyj sostav VIII, 357–434; *Zaozerskij – Hahanov*, Nomokanon Ioanna Postnika v ego redakcijah; *Arranz*, I Penitenziali bizantini, 29–207. English translation with comments, *Van de Paverd*, The Kanonarion.

transcribed together as a single compilation in the manuscript tradition and it is in this form that they appear in the earliest known Greek transcription of the Penitential Nomokanon from the 10th century (Munich No. 498).[105] The book is much more extensive than the above-mentioned penitentials, and structurally distinct, as it is not characterized by simple enumerations of sins and corresponding penances. The *Kanonarion* and the *Didascalia patrum* include the rite of confession with prayers. The latter text contains a questionnaire that, as mentioned, had a certain influence on the later redactions of the Sinai type of Rite of Confession. The primary concern of the *Kanonarion* is directed towards familiarization with carnal sins and atonement for them. Detailed descriptions are provided of masturbation, fornication, adultery, homosexual behavior, pederasty, bestiality, incest and voluntary and involuntary murder.[106]

The penitential book of John the Faster was relatively broadly accepted in pastoral practice, resulting in its translations into Georgian, Slavonic, Coptic and Armenian.[107] A significant number of scholars tend to place the origin of the earliest Slavonic translation in the Christianized First Bulgarian Empire, at the end of the 9th or the first half of the 10th century.[108] More concrete information on the existence of a Slavonic version of John the Faster's Nomokanon comes from Russia towards the end of the first half of the 12th century. In the Questions of Kirik, the "commandments of John the Faster" are mentioned several times, accompanied by brief citations.[109] The oldest preserved Slavonic copies originate from the late 13th or early 14th centuries. One can be found in the Ustiug Miscellany,[110] while the other, slightly older, is in the Serbian *Gračanički Trebnik* (MS RNB Giljferding № 21). This second copy is shorter, containing only the *Didascalia Patrum*, and little is known about it in academic scholarship. It represents the earliest surviving transcription of the South Slavonic version of John the Faster's Nomokanon.[111] Both Slavic books are a product of the dissemination of John the Faster's Nomokanon in Slavonic lands during earlier periods, while their content indicates that they did not come about based on the same, single version of this widely used penitential book. This is also observable from two South Slavonic manuscripts from the first half of the 14th century, MS HAZU IIIa 52, and MS GIM, Hlud 76.[112]

---

105 Selected literature: *Pavlov*, Nomokanon pri Bol'šom Trebnike, 12–40; *Suvorov*, Verojatnyj sostav VIII, 357–398; *Idem*, Verojatnyj sostav IX, 378–417; *Almazov*, Kanonarij; *Herman*, Il più antico penitenziale greco, 71–127; *Arranz*, I Penitenziali bizantini, 15–22; 131–150; *Van de Paverd*, The Kanonarion, 19–36, 199–207; *Troianos*, Byzantine Canon Law to 1100, 158–160.

106 *Van de Paverd*, The Kanonarion, 41.

107 Ibid., 27–29.

108 *Pavlov*, Nomokanon pri Bol'šom Trebnike, 32; *Najdenova*, Pravnite pametnici, 161–162; *Cibranska-Kostova*, Pokajnata knižnina. 151–258.

109 Pamjatniki drevne-russkago kanoničeskago prava, 42, 45–46; *Smirnov*, Materialy, 5, 24; more on that, see *Pavlov*, Nomokanon pri Bol'šom Trebnike, 32, n. 1; *Žužek*, Kormčaja kniga, 137–138. Cf. *Mil'kov*, *Simonov*, Kirik Novgorodec, 353, 383, 387, 388.

110 Slavic text published by *Suvorov*, Verojatnyj sostav VIII, 415–434 and *Zaozerskij – Hahanov*, Nomokanon Ioanna Postnika v ego redakcijah; for more details on the Ustiug text, see *Cibranska-Kostova*, Pokajnata knižnina, 151–201.

111 *Bojanin*, Epitimijni nomokanon Jovana Posnika, 225–251.

112 Ibid., 233–234.

III. Sins: Between transgression and custom

Purity

The most important group of rules in the Sinai Penitential, from the position of the Liturgical life of the Church, concerns the handling of Holy Communion. The attitude towards the Eucharist was supposed to be the paradigm for preserving the sacred from desecration, from the sacred vessels to the holy space of the parish church and church yard. Safeguarding the Holy Communion from sacrilege was closely connected to the concept of purity.[113] As Rob Meens wrote, "a concern to keep the realms of the holy and the unclean separate is also encountered in sentences penalizing the negligent handling of the host".[114] Therefore, special care and attention was required from priests when handling Holy Communion, when there was a risk of losing "a part of the Lord's Body" (Sinai Rule 15) or spilling the Holy Communion according to another rule, which is not preserved in the Sinai manuscript but in the *Rules of St. Basil to All of Us* from the first half of the 14th century. The Slavic tradition of the *Commandments of the Holy Fathers*, by adopting various rules from the Frankish Penitential, also adopted different durations for penance. In the first case, a one-year fast was prescribed, while in the second, the penance was a fifty-day fast.[115] In the Late Medieval tradition of the Sinai Rule 15, the one-year fast was reduced to forty days,[116] and as a result penance in both rules was more or less equalized later on. Furthermore, spilling "the content of the holy chalice" was treated differently depending on the phase of the Liturgy (Sinai Rule 46) during which it took place – if it occurred "at the moment of the Offering",[117] a seven-day fast was prescribed, yet if it occurred after that, a 40-day fast was required.

In the Late Medieval *Commandments of John Chrysostom*, other circumstances are also mentioned in which a priest or cleric could endanger the sanctity of the Eucharist through improper handling. In the part of the Penitential that serves as an instruction for priests, there is a warning that Holy Communion should not be carried to homes, but should be administered only in the church. The only exception was the communion of the sick on their deathbed. In such cases, the priest was forbidden, on pain of being defrocked, from allowing a deacon to carry the Holy Communion, along with other ritual items such as candles.[118]

---

113 On the categories of pure and impure as moral concepts in societal and religious life, see: *Douglas*, Purity and Danger. Concerning the preservation of the sanctity of the church space during the feast, see *Bojanin*, Srednjovekovna svetkovina između privatnog i javnog, 257–273; *Idem*, Zabave i svetkovine, 61–67, 121–131, 137–149.

114 *Meens*, Pollution, 15.

115 *Jagić*, Sitna gradja, 135k. The *Rules of St. Basil to All of Us* contains the same length of penance as the rule from the Frankish penitential (№ 83), *Kottje*, *et al.*, Paenitentialia minora, 150. The same text is also found in the Ustiug copy of the *Commandments* (№ 20), but in this version only an eight-day fast is prescribed. These examples attest that the Sinai Euchology contains one of the textual variants of the Slavic penitential and the independent dissemination of is text, parts of which were incorporated into the Late Medieval penitentials. On this, see *Maksimovič*, Zapovědi svętyhъ otьcь, 24.

116 *Jagić*, Sitna gradja, 144f. Cf. *Maksimovič*, Zapovědi svętyhъ otьcь, 122–123.

117 Translation according to *Lysaght*, Euchologium Sinaiticum, 60; cf. *Maksimovič*, Zapovědi svętyhъ otьcьa, 30.

118 *Jagić*, Sitna gradja, 148–149.

The desecration of the Eucharist during the Liturgy could also occur during the regular communion of the faithful, through the vomiting of the Holy Communion. The primary cause of this was recognized as the gluttony of the communicant, hence absolution could be received only after a 120-day fast (Sinai Rule 17). If the person was ill, the penance was reduced to three days (Sinai Rule 18). The Slavic text also adopted a rule from the *Penitential of St. Columbanus*, according to which someone who became intoxicated immediately after receiving Communion and vomited was required to repent by fasting on bread and water for 40 days, while if the person was ill – for seven days (Sinai Rule 50).[119] The Holy Sacrament or "sacrifice" (*sacrificium*) that had been vomited was to be removed immediately to prevent any dog from eating it, but if that happened, the sick person could expect absolution only after 100 days of penance. The removed remains were burned while 100 psalms were sung (Sinai Rule 18) so as to prevent them from being desecrated. This practice was common in the Latin Christian world of the Early Middle Ages[120] and was incorporated via the Slavic penitential into Slavic-speaking dioceses. However, the preservation of the sanctity of the Eucharist adapted to different customs. In the copy of *the Commandments* from the Ustiug Miscellany, the section on how vomited Communion should be treated was omitted.[121] In a later Serbian Church Slavonic version of the rules, there was a requirement that the vomited part should be "preserved", while in some cases the requirement was for it to be burned. There is also a version of the same rule (Sinai Rule 18) that opposed burning and considered it a "mindless act", instead suggesting that the vomited remains be buried „near the church" as an alternative, in a place inaccessible to people, or "in the holy altar", while 100 psalms are read.[122] The practice of placing the defiled "sacrifice" in the altar was also one of the practices in Latin churches of the Early Middle Ages.[123]

Similar penances are contained in the Greek rules incorporated into the Slavic penitentials. According to the *Commandment on Great Lent* the sin of vomiting Holy Communion could be atoned for with a thirty-day penance and *xerophagy* (eating only dry food), along with 40 prostrations in the morning and evening.[124] To prevent these inconveniences, unacceptable activities and forms of behavior prior to the Liturgy were pointed out. A priest was not considered worthy to serve the Liturgy if he had been drinking excessively or eaten late into the night and begun the morning by vomiting. Similarly, if a parishioner spent the night in such a manner, they were not to receive communion the following day.[125]

---

119 *Suvorov*, Sledy, № 1, xxvii; *Maksimovič*, Zapovědi svętyhъ otьcь, 31. In the Slavic text the deacon is mentioned instead of the sick, Zapovědi svętyichъ otьcь, MMFH IV, 145. For the rule from the Penitential of St. Columbanus, see *Bieler*, The Irish Pententials, 96, 97 (№6).

120 *Lockton*, The Treatment, 42–43; *Meens*, Pollution, 15.

121 *Maksimovič*, Zapovědi svętyhъ otьcь, №12, 180.

122 The *Rules of St. Basil to All of Us*, *Jagić*, Sitna gradja, 144g.

123 *Lockton*, The Treatment of the Remains, 42.

124 *Miklas – Taseva – Jovčeva*, Berlinski Sbornik, 71 (№ 1. 87).

125 Ibid., 74 (№ 1. 103).

The physical condition of an individual described as gluttony or illness was not necessarily the only cause of vomiting and defilement of the received Communion. It could also be a deliberate act, reflecting different views on Church rituals and official piety. According to the instructions in the aforementioned *Commandments of John Chrysostom*, the priest was obliged to keep an eye on the faithful during Communion to ensure that no one deliberately spat it out after leaving the church.[126] This was seen as an opportunity, it was emphasized, for the priest to unmask a concealed "heretic" within his flock. This passage could be linked to another undated text from the *Commandments of John Chrysostom*, which could have been written either before or after the year 1200, in which the fundamental teachings of the Bogomils are refuted (see above).

As with the matter of its handling, the storage of Holy Communion also presented a particular challenge. If it spoiled or was eaten by mice, the responsible person had to fast for 40 days (Sinai Rule 45). In the *Commandment on Great Lent*, a particular stress is placed on negligence in storing the prosphora, which could be eaten by a dog, a hen, or a mouse. If the Office of Oblation (Proskomide) had already been performed, the sin was atoned for with a twelve-day fast and prostrations three times per day. If the rite had not been performed, the penance was reduced by half.[127]

The aforementioned rules can be viewed as part of a broader issue related to the preservation and storage of food in general, including those essential for Church rituals. It was not uncommon for a mouse or another animal to fall into wine, honey, water, or "anything else", and for people to consume such goods. If they were unaware of what they had consumed, they were required to fast for five days and, on the sixth, to "receive" the prayer of purification and partake in Holy Communion. This rule is part of the Twelve Rules (see above), which are included in the Ustiug Miscellany[128] and the compilation the *Rules of St. Basil to All of Us*.[129] It is cited here according to the *Commandment on Lent*, a penitential in which it appears in a different textual context.[130]

The same penitential from the *Berlinski Sbornik* includes several rules on preserving pure food taken from the South Slavic version of the Canonical Answers of the Kievan Metropolitan George to Hegoumenos German. Cricket, centipede, frog or mouse could fall into food and drink, or they could be polluted by a dog's excretions or, as later Russian variants of the same rule added, by a hen. It was emphasized that such goods should be purified through prayer.[131] It was forbidden for them to be consumed in an impure state, particularly if, after prolonged exposure, the creatures had begun to decompose. If contaminated food was unknowingly consumed, an eight-day fast was

126 *Jagić*, Sitna gradja, 149.

127 *Miklas – Taseva – Jovčeva*, Berlinski Sbornik, 73 (№ 1. 100–101).

128 Smirnov, *Materialy*, №20, 134.

129 *Jagić*, Sitna gradja, 139k.

130 *Miklas – Taseva – Jovčeva*, Berlinski Sbornik, 72 (№ 1. 91).

131 Ibid., 72 (№ 1.92); *Turilov*, Otvety Georgija, mitropolita Kievskogo, 249.

prescribed.[132] The unrestricted movement of animals in the parish could also have other undesirable consequences, such as a dog falling into an oven. Such an oven would lose its primary function, as it was prohibited to bake bread in it.[133] Russian copies of the same rule include the existing practice of demolishing "unclean" ovens.[134]

The rules presented here indicate rather poor hygienic conditions in local communities. Animals roamed freely within the parish, where food was not well protected from the external environment.[135] At the same time, food was also subject to theft, committed by both adults and children (Sinai Rule 38). Contaminated food was not discarded but instead was made pure again. The Glagolitic Sinai Euchology contains a ritual for the purification of wine, oil and other provisions if something "soiled or impure" falls into them, as stated in its title. The ritual consisted of three parts: the physical cleansing of contaminated food, a prayer, and a demonstration of its edibility. The dead animal had to be removed from the food or water and the contents transferred into a separate clean vessel, into which a small amount of Epiphany holy water had first been poured. Through the combined action of Holy Water and prayer to God, the food or water became pure once more for everyday consumption and rituals. To convince the faithful of the ritual's effectiveness, the priest would be the first to taste it publicly, in front of everyone present. However, if the foreign object had rotted, it was required to be discarded.[136]

For rituals intended for the purification of food in churches of the Latin rite, Rob Meens highlighted the following: "This possibility to purify polluted food clearly shows that we are not dealing with matters of hygiene and health, although ultimately such considerations may have been of some influence, but that the pollution was conceived first and foremost as a ritual feature needing a liturgical cure".[137] This comment, we deem, aligns quite well with the concepts presented in the Slavic Euchology.

Everything related to the parish, its sacred space, the faithful and their food was considered holy and had to be protected from defilement and sacrilege. Otherwise, purification prayers were necessary. Aside from the purification of food and objects, the Sinai Euchology contains two prayers for the purification of individuals who had consumed impure food – *the Prayer Over Someone Who Has Eaten Impure Meat* and the *Prayer for Those Offended by Their Food*.[138] These prayers likely had broader application

132 *Miklas – Taseva – Jovčeva*, Berlinski Sbornik, 72 (№ 1. 93); *Turilov*, Otvety Georgija, mitropolita Kievskogo, 249.

133 *Miklas – Taseva – Jovčeva*, Berlinski Sbornik, 72 (№ 1. 94).

134 *Turilov*, Otvety Georgija, mitropolita Kievskogo, 251.

135 *Gurevich*, Medieval Popular Culture, 91 expresses the view that lists of unclean or spoiled food from the penitential books perfectly well "reflected the rather primitive and unsanitary conditions in which the great majority of the populace lived."

136 *Nahtigal*, Euchologium sinaiticum, 44–46 (fol. 19a–20a); *Lysaght*, Euchologium Sinaiticum, 11. On this prayer in the South Slavic trebniks, see *Tončeva*, Starobŭlgarskite molitvi za vsjaka potreba, 11–12. Cf. *Najdenova*, Hranata i hraneneto, 412.

137 *Meens*, *A Penitential Diet*, 149.

138 *Nahtigal*, Euchologium sinaiticum, 50–51 (fol. 22r–23r); *Lysaght*, Euchologium Sinaiticum, 12–13. Both prayers are fairly old, as documented in L'Eucologio Barberini gr. 336, № 204, № 205. In the South Slavic trebnik's they survived until the end of the Middle Ages with a certain amount of adaptation to practice, *Tončeva*, Starobŭlgarskite molitvi za vsjaka potreba, 14–15.

and were probably used in the practices described in the penitentials. However, their content did not explicitly refer to the consumption of poorly stored food but rather to "impure meat", blood and pagan sacrifices.

Dietary rules

Parishioners who consumed forbidden meat made themselves both impure and sinful. Purification was achieved through a ritual in which the aforementioned prayer was read. Sin, on the other hand, was removed through confession and repentance to attain salvation at the Last Judgment. Rule 44 of the Sinai *Commandments of the Holy Fathers* is dedicated to the consumption of impure meat. It prohibits eating the meat of a strangled animal, the blood of an animal or meat (food) sacrificed to idols (тр҃кбънѡ чтѡ). If a parishioner was unable to determine what kind of meat they had eaten, they were required to fast for twelve weeks. If they knowingly ate it, a two-year fast was prescribed for their salvation.[139]

The rule from the Early Middle Ages had not lost its relevance several centuries later. It was included in the *Rules of St. Basil to All of Us* with minor modifications, where the fasting period for a sin committed unknowingly was reduced from twelve to two weeks – likely due to a transcriber's mistake, which persisted in later versions.[140] In the Slavic penitentials, the rule was known to undergo even more significant modifications. In the *Commandment on Lent* from the *Berlinski Sbornik*, it lost its core message, as the only issue presented as a problem was the consumption of meat from a strangled animal, one from which the blood had not been drained. Furthermore, the rule expressed the view that epitimy was not necessary if the transgression was committed "unknowingly" and that purification of the transgressor through prayer was more important than fasting for the one who had been defiled.[141]

This prohibition, found in Early Medieval penitentials in both Latin and Slavic languages, is based on the message from the *Acts of the Apostles* (15: 20, 29), which instructs Christians to abstain from "things polluted by contact with idols", from consuming blood, from eating strangled animals and from fornication.[142] The New Testament message entered Church law and official canons relatively early. The Council of Gangra (ca. 340–342) condemned as heretical the rejection of meat in one's diet unless it was offered to idols, was strangled, or contained blood.[143] A slightly later rule, Canon 63 of the Holy Apostles from the end of the 4th century, prohibits the consumption of strangled animals, flesh killed by wild beasts, carcasses, and blood, without mentioning sacrifices to idols or fornication.[144] The canon emphasizes that blood must not be

139 *Nahtigal*, Euchologium sinaiticum, 328–329; Zapovědi svętyichъ otьcь, MMFH IV, 145.

140 *Jagić*, Sitna gradja, 136m.

141 *Miklas – Taseva – Jovčeva*, Berlinski Sbornik, 72 (№ 1. 95). Cf. *Najdenova*, Hranata i hraneneto, 407, n. 13.

142 Cited according to The New English Bible, OUP – CUP 1970.

143 *Rhalles – Potles*, Syntagma III, 101; *Hefele*, A History of the Christian Councils II, 328.

144 The canons were formulated in the 4th century, *Schminck*, "The Apostolic canons", 141.

consumed because, according to the Old Testament (Genesis 9: 4), it is the soul of the animal.[145] At the Ecumenical Quinisext or Trullan Council, held in 691/692 in Constantinople, the problem was presented in a rather similar manner. Canon 67 refers to Divine Scripture (Acts of the Apostles), which calls for abstaining "from blood, and from what is strangled, and from fornication," omitting any mention of sacrifices to idols. However, unlike the Apostolic Canon, the prohibition against consuming blood was not framed in the context of the Old Testament but rather in terms of contemporary culinary practices ("certain skills") and as an unnecessary indulgence "for gluttony's sake".[146] Unlike the penitentials, the canons do not impose time-limited epitimies and repentance, but instead prescribe a final condemnation by which laypersons who violate the rule are excommunicated, while clergy were deposed from the priesthood.

Older Slavic translations of Greek Nomokanons may have further contributed to the development and preservation of dietary concepts among the clergy of Slavic dioceses until the beginning of the 13th century rejecting the consumption of impure meat and blood. These texts reflected the official stance of the Churches of the Byzantine Empire. A key distinction between the Apostolic and Trullan Canons compared to the penitentials is that the former provide an official explanation of the Church's prohibition on consuming blood. Blood was considered either the soul of the animal or an ingredient in various dishes that encouraged one of the greater sins – gluttony. In the Nomokanon of Saint Sava (around 1220), the aforementioned (culinary) "skills" are described in a gloss as the making of sausages.[147]

However, based on preserved sources, it appears that only Canon 63 of the Apostles was included in penitentials.[148] The text taken from Methodios' Nomokanon was incomplete, as it omitted the teaching about blood as the soul of the animal, as evidenced by the Zograf[149] and Saint Petersburg[150] penitentials. In the *Commandment* from the *Berlin Sbornik*, the canon was transposed in its entirety, following the text of the Old Slavonic Kormčaja.[151] The inclusion of the Apostolic Canon in penitentials carried an additional message. Unlike the Sinai text, the canon also warns the clergy about other types of impure meat, such as carcasses and meat eaten by wild animals. Such prohibitions were likely necessary in societies that, in the words of Aron Gurevich, "were unable to afford the luxury of letting the carcass of a fallen animal simply rot away".[152]

However, the rule from the Sinai *Commandments of the Holy Fathers*, following the verse from the Acts of the Apostles literally, warns against impure meat and food dedicated to pagan sacrifices. The prayer of purification intended "for those offended

145 *Rhalles – Potles*, Syntagma II, 81.

146 *The Council in Trullo Revisited*, 149; *Beneševič*, Drevne–slavjanskaja Kormčaja, 186–187.

147 Zakonopravilo svetoga Save, 147–148.

148 Nomokanonъ, MMFH IV, 306; *Beneševič*, Drevne–slavjanskaja Kormčaja,75.

149 *Bojanin*, Zapovesti svetih otaca, 508–510, 521.

150 Smirnov, *Materialy*, 136.

151 *Miklas – Taseva – Jovčeva*, Berlinski Sbornik, 74 (№ 1. 104).

152 *Gurevich*, Medieval Popular Culture, 91.

by their food", mentioned in the previous subsection, contains a verse for cleansing the faithful who were forced by necessity to eat "impure" or "pagan" food.[153] We cannot precisely determine how frequent such feasts and similar situations were in South-Eastern Europe during the 11th and 12th centuries. Nevertheless, it is important to keep in mind that this was a period of periodic migrations of the Pechenegs and Cumans from the Black Sea steppes into the regions south of the Danube, carried out by the Byzantine authorities, which facilitated various types of encounters within the Empire.[154] The warnings of the official Church extended far beyond a single penitential rule or prayer. Canon law explicitly forbade believers from participating in festivities together with Jews, heretics, such as the Bogomils, and pagans,[155] a restriction reflected in certain penitential prohibitions such as the set of Twelve Rules which required a three-day epitimy, including fasting and the recitation of the purification prayer.[156]

When analyzing the rules on pure food and impure meat from the *Commandments of the Holy Fathers* from the 11th century, we can apply the conclusions that Meens presented regarding similar content in Latin penitentials, namely that these rules "define the Christian identity, but they also seem to reflect a concern with ritual purity".[157]

A distinct section of the Berlin *Commandment on Lent* is made up of rules concerning the consumption of meat, written by the Kievan Metropolitan George I. These rules were derived from his Canonical Answers to Hegoumenos German, where knowledge of canon law was applied to local circumstances and practices. One of the results of this was that in the Canonical Answers meat consumption was more broadly understood. The presence of impure meat was also recognized in certain wild animals and the manner in which they were hunted. Eating bear or beaver was forbidden under the threat of an epitimy of 40 days if the individuals were aware of what they were eating, or one week if they were unaware. In both cases, a prayer of purification was demanded.[158] When it came to hunting birds and other animals, the use of arrows was recommended, as this allowed for the animal's blood to be drained,[159] as opposed to using traps where a bird might be strangled.[160]

Over time, the consumption of blood or meat in blood was used on a cultural and ideological level in drawing boundaries not only between Christians and non-Christians, or between the Orthodox and heretics, but also between members of the Greek Orthodox and Roman Catholic denominations. In the Nomokanon of St. Sava from the beginning of the 13th century, a text titled *On the Franks and Other*

153 See above, p. 193.

154 *Angold*, Byzantine Empire, 37–40, 133, 258.

155 We can single out Chapter 37 from the Methodian nomokanon, Номоканонъ, MMFH IV, 257, and Chapter 9 of Title 12 of the Old Slavonic Kormčaja, *Beneševič*, Drevne–slavjanskaja Kormčaja, 44.

156 *Smirnov*, Materialy, 134 (№ 19); *Jagić*, Sitna gradja, 138j.

157 *Meens*, Pollution, 16. Cf. *Gurevich*, Medieval Popular Culture, 91.

158 *Miklas – Taseva – Jovčeva*, Berlinski Sbornik, 70 (№ 1. 84).

159 Ibid., 72–73 (№ 1. 96).

160 Ibid., 73 (№ 1. 97).

Latins was included, listing the common errors of the Franks and Latins, among which was listed the consumption of blood, carcasses, strangled animals, animals killed by wild beasts, as well as the meat of impure animals.[161]

The canonical prohibition against eating blood, as we have seen, refers to the practice of making sausages or blood pudding, according to a gloss from a later translation of the Trullan rule in the Syntagma of Matthew Blastares (first half of the 14th century).[162] It was known to high the Byzantine clergy that sausages filled with pig's blood were served in taverns across the Empire in the 11th and 12th centuries.[163] The distinguished writer at the court of Despot Stefan Lazarević, Konstantin Kostenečki, observed at the beginning of the 15th century that blood along with meat was widely present in the diet of Serbia, labeling its consumption as the "heresy" of Serbia (*krvojastije*).[164] This practice was, understandably, particularly prominent in the animal slaughtering season. In the Late Medieval Serbian penitential the *Commandments of John Chrysostom*, priests were requested during feasts organized in celebration of a saint or the memory of the deceased (*pomen svetom ili umrlom*) to ensure that the blood of slaughtered animals was not fried and that the meat was washed free of blood and well-roasted.[165] As we can see, Christian festivities provided the most opportune time for violating these prohibitions and canons.

Festivity

In the 24th rule of the Sinai *Commandments of the Holy Fathers*, a prohibition is prescribed against attending the celebration of the Kalends of January "as the pagans formerly did",[166] known in Slavic as *koleda* (коледы), under the threat of a three-year fast on bread and water. The Ustiug Miscellany copy of the rule provides a more detailed explanation of the prohibition, pointing out an undesirable ritual associated with the festivity, described as a devilish play (ꙗко ѡт сотонꙑ ѥсть игра та).[167] However, both Slavic versions lack the part of the rule that specifies the nature of these plays. In the original Latin version of the Frankish penitential, the devilish plays on Kalends are described as involving disguising oneself as a stag or a calf.[168] The compilers of the Latin penitential saw these as surviving customs once practiced by pagans[169] and this part of the rule, as we have seen, was transmitted into the Slavic version of the text. At

161 Zakonopravilo svetoga Save, 41 (№12). On this issue in the Byzantine and Slavic world see *Kolbaba*, Errors of the Latins, 35–37, 189–190; *Sels*, Lawless, Forbidden and Abominable Customs, 278–279; *Nikolov – Stanev*, Obrjadovye uklonenija, 125–139.

162 *Bojanin*, „Krvojastije" i praznici, 810.

163 *Kolbaba*, Errors of the Latins, 36.

164 *Bojanin*, „Krvojastije" i praznici, 795–814.

165 *Jagić*, Sitna gradja, 148; *Bojanin*, Zabave i svetkovine, 115–116; *Idem*, „Krvojastije" i praznici, 811.

166 English translation, *Lysaght*, Euchologium Sinaiticum, 59.

167 *Maksimovič*, Zapovědi svętyhъ otьcь, 182.

168 *Paenitentiale Merseburgense A*, *Kottje*, *et al*., Paenitentialia minora, 135. The rule is the same in the *Paenitentialie Burgundense*, ibid., 65. For the English translation of the rule see *Arbesmann*, The 'Cervuli' and 'Anniculae', 96.

169 *McNeill*, Folk-Paganism in the Penitentials, 456–457, 459, 462; *Arbesmann*, The 'Cervuli' and 'Anniculae', 89–119.

the time of the adoption of the prohibition, the custom of masking as a stag or other animals during the Kalends was widely present in Christian communities of the Early Middle Ages. A number of sources of different origins attest to this practice.[170] They document customs of dressing as a stag, particularly during Kalends festivals and the winter holidays, in medieval Western and Central Europe.[171] Some scholars recognize the image of the stag as a remnant of Celtic heritage that, within the Christian world, had lost its religious meaning.[172] Others suggest that the cult of the stag in South-eastern Europe is much older and belongs to the pre-Celtic era.[173]

The omission of the part of the rule concerning masking oneself as a stag or a calf can be understood in two ways: either the original Slavic translation of the rule has not been fully preserved, or the translators and/or redactors deliberately left out this section, thereby making the prohibition of celebrating kalends more comprehensive, encompassing all other winter cycle customs that the Church considered pagan.[174] The kalends festival marks the transition between seasonal cycles, the passage from the old to the new year, making its celebrations and customs rites of passage.[175] It is in this light that the widely held belief that the day of the week on which kalends falls determines the overall quality of the coming year can be understood. Based on this, predictions were made regarding meteorological conditions for all four seasons, the quality of the harvest, livestock yield, the material well-being of the community, epidemics, plagues and wars. These prognostic data were recorded in special books called *kolednici* in Slavic.[176] The oldest preserved Serbian Church Slavonic copy of such a text comes from the *Miscellany of Priest Dragolj*, from the third quarter of the 13th century. This manuscript does not represent the protograph but instead transmits accepted content from older Slavic manuscripts.[177] There was also a "Christmas version" of *kolednici*, according to which the quality of the coming year was determined by the day of the week on which the feast of Christmas fell.[178]

There are almost no records of festivals among the Orthodox South Slavs before the year 1200 that explicitly mention disguising as animals or supernatural beings. The example from the Sinai Penitential, as we have seen, is not particularly revealing in this regard. The situation is similar when it comes to other sources originating from ecclesiastical legal literature. These references are mostly brief and indirect, based on the nomenclature of the written tradition of the Greco-Roman world and lacking descriptions of contemporary customs. Since the Church focused its attention on condemning

170 Ibid., 89–119.

171 Ibid., 89–119; *Darkevič*, Narodnaja kul'tura, 109–110.

172 *Arbesmann*, The 'Cervuli' and 'Anniculae', 116–119.

173 *Srejović*, Jelen u našim narodnim običajima, 231–237.

174 *Maksimovič*, Zapovědi svętyhъ otьcь, 42 considers this question in the context of the technique of translation.

175 On the rite of passage and mediaeval seasonal holidays, *Jeay*, Rites of Passage, 345.

176 *Trifunović*, Azbučnik, 132, s.v. Kolednik.

177 *Jovanović-Stipčević*, O zimama i koledama, 153–174. Cf. *Turilov*, Posle Klimenta i Nauma, 152–154; *Istorija na bŭlgarskata srednovekovna literature*, 219, 220, 416.

178 *Tihonravov*, Pamjatniki II, 381.

unrestrained and excessive behavior in food, drink, and sexual activity during Church festivals, contemporary occurrences were officially interpreted through the descriptions of ancient Greco-Roman festivities. The translation of Canon 62 of the Trullan Council (691/692) in the Old Slavonic Kormčaja provided the Slavic ecclesiastical elite of the 11th and 12th centuries with a certain conceptual framework that they could apply to the circumstances of what is now an obscure folklore tradition of that time.[179] This refers to the Greco-Roman names of prohibited festivals – the *Vota*, the *Brumalia*, the first of March, among which the Kalends (коλѧдъı) were included. These festivals were described as male–female dances that were "according to some ancient custom, foreign to the Christian way of life," recognized by the wearing of "hairy masks" and crossdressing, both equated with paganism, the drinking of wine and inappropriate laughter and revelry in the name of the god Dionysos, among other things.[180]

In texts from later centuries, information – sparse in details – may occasionally emerge from the writings of Church authors, indicating widely accepted celebrations of Christian holidays during the winter and summer seasonal cycles. These texts mention crossdressing, the wearing of "devilish" masks, horse and donkey skins, plays, "demonic" dances, and similar practices.[181] A mid-16th century French travel book, set somewhere on the "borders of Bosnia", refers to such customs as "popular" (*populaire*), in which the Christian population disguised themselves as animals and mythical creatures.[182] In these described customs, we are inclined to recognize parochial festivals that had been passed down through generations from earlier epochs.

The rule concerning the January Kalends from the Sinai *Commandments* does not appear in later South Slavic penitentials. Was this due to a custom or practice that did not attract significant attention from the Late Medieval Church? Or was it because Kalends had already been incorporated into the Christian holiday cycle, despite its festive manifestations not always being acceptable? Either way, the celebration of Kalends was quite popular, as evidenced by the aforementioned fortune-telling books, *kolednici*. Additional evidence can be found in personal names. An individual named Kolenda (Коленьда) is recorded in a Serbian Cyrillic document from the 12th century,[183] while the patronymic Kolendić (Colendich) appears multiple times in 15th century sources from Dubrovnik.[184]

Testimonies about celebrations called *koleda* in South-eastern European folklore were recorded in detail and systematically only from the 19th century onward.[185] It is important to emphasize that folklore should not be seen "like a fossil, preserving a

179 *Benešević*, Drevne–slavjanskaja Kormčaja, 183–184.

180 *The Council in Trullo Revisited*, 143–144. For an analysis of the content of Rule 62 of Trullo in the translation of the Nomokanon of St. Sava in light of the mediaeval folklore heritage, see: *Bojanin*, Zabave i svetkovine, 183–233. Cf. *Cibranska-Kostova*, Vota i brumalija, 42–57.

181 *Bojanin*, Zabave i svetkovine, 210–224.

182 *Samardžić*, Beograd i Srbija, 118, 362.

183 *Miklosich*, Monumenta Serbica, № XI, 7.

184 *Kovačević-Kojić*, Trgovačke knjige, 362; Dubrovačko Malo veće o Srbiji, 514, 602, 625.

185 For the basic literature, see *Bojanin*, Zabave i svetkovine, 190, n. 18.

frozen image of the ancient past",[186] but rather as a phenomenon prone to change, albeit slow and gradual. Therefore, ethnographic descriptions of individual performances from modern times cannot be directly transferred to the nearly millennium-distant past of the Sinai Euchology.[187]

Sexuality

Almost a third of the text in the Sinai Euchology penitential is dedicated to sexual offenses. They represent a significant group of sins in Latin penitentials, which typically amount to approximately a quarter of the text, as seen in the case of the Merseburg Penitential A,[188] the content of which was used in the formation of the Slavic compilation. It has been pointed out earlier that sexual sins are thoroughly noted and described in the Greek Penitential Nomokanon of John the Faster. The question of sexuality is one of the most important in the private confession of the faithful. We saw that, according to the questionnaires intended for the ritual, the first question to be addressed to the confessant was related to the loss of innocence.

The *Commandments of the Holy Fathers* begin with the gravest sins, premeditated and unpremeditated murder, followed by rules on sodomy and fornication. Sexual transgressions are classified by the clerics and the compilers of the penitential according to the type and severity of the sin. For the same transgression, individuals were punished differently depending on their affiliation with a specific group based on age, profession, or marital status. Members of the clergy and higher-ranking ecclesiastics were subjected to harsher penances than laypeople and lower clergy for the same transgressions. This pattern is also present in other penitentials derived from Greek sources, such as the *Monks' Commandment*.[189]

Half of the prohibitions related to sexual offenses in the Sinai penitential concern the clergy; one explicitly refers to the sin of laypeople, while several are formulated to encompass both groups. Sins include masturbation, adultery, fornication, same-sex relations, sexual intercourse with quadrupeds, as well as unfulfilled sexual intentions and desires. Self-mutilation by severing the genital organ (Sinai Rule 20) was considered among the greater sins, requiring a penance of three years.

The basic sexual sin for married laypeople was adultery, engaging in sexual relations with "another man's wife" or an unmarried woman ("virgin"), for which a penance of five years was prescribed, of which three years of strict fasting on bread and water (Sinai Rule 11). More serious sins include sexual intercourse with "another

186 Medieval Folklore, xix.

187 *Burke*, Popular Culture in Early Modern Europe, 87 wrote on the regressive method, which along with the comparative method can, in a certain way, "make sense of surviving fragments of evidence, not as a substitute for them." Cf. *Bausinger*, Etnologija 79–69.

188 188 *Payer*, Sex and the penitentials, 52–53.

189 *Popovski et al*., The Troickij sbornik, 49, № 73. *Miklas – Taseva – Jovčeva*, Berlinski Sbornik, 139 (№ 7. 1). The rules of the Sinai Commandments received particular attention in Lubomíra Havlíková's comprehensive study of the legal status of women in Great Moravia, *Havlíková*, *Žena*, 175–207.

man's wife", committed with lust and deceit, which required a three-year penance (Sinai Rule 21). However, sexual relations with a slave woman were considered a significantly lesser sin. If the slave woman bore a child from such an affair, the perpetrator was required to set her free and undertake a one-year penance (Sinai Rule 40).

It was not only the act itself, but also the thought of it, that was considered a sin. Fantasizing about sex with "another man's wife" required one year of penance (Sinai Rule 16), while contemplating fornication required a penance of 120 days (Sinai Rule 39). In the compilation of the Twelve Rules, derived from Greek texts, erotic dreams were also listed as a sin, especially when an individual dreamed of being "with a woman", something that was to be confessed with penance consisting of fifty prostrations and the recitation of *Kyrie*, *eleison* fifty times.[190]

Masturbation was considered a lesser sexual sin, though not so insignificant compared to some other non-sexual sins, as it required a penance no less than one year. In this sexual offense, unlike others, no distinction was made between clerics, monks, and laypeople. However, women were not mentioned in this context (Sinai Rule 14). In the later version, in the *Rules of St. Basil to All of Us*, masturbation was designated as a sin of both sexes ("man or woman"), regardless of their societal status. The penance was reduced to just seven days, in some transcriptions forty days of fasting, along with 150 daily prostrations.[191]

Clerics, like laypeople, were condemned for sexual offenses with "another man's wife" or a "virgin" (Sinai Rule 7), but the length of penance varied depending on their clerical rank. For members of the lower clergy, it lasted three years on bread and water (Sinai Rule 7); for deacons and monks, four years; and for a bishop, ten years and removal from office (Sinai Rules 8 and 9). The copy from the *Ustiug Miscellany* also includes a seven-year penance for a priest, of which the first three years were to involve fasting on bread and water.[192] The same three-year penance was prescribed for a cleric who engaged in sexual relations with a nun (Sinai Rule 13).

The *Commandments of the Holy Fathers* included a rule that presupposed the existence of celibacy and challenged its violation. A greater sin was considered to be the return of a cleric to his wife after previously divorcing her for the sake of ecclesiastical advancement. If he committed such a sin, a deacon was to repent for seven years, while a priest had to do so for ten years (Sinai Rule 12).[193] Over time, the rule was likely deemed irrelevant and was therefore not incorporated into later South Slavic compilations.

Among the gravest sexual sins were homosexuality and sexual relations with quadrupeds. The prohibition in both cases explicitly applied to clerics. For the first offense, a ten-year fast was prescribed, with the first three years on bread and water (Sinai Rule 3). However, the severity of the sin involving an animal (bestiality) was

190 Smirnov, *Materialy*, 135; *Jagić*, Sitna gradja, 138i.

191 Ibid., 144h.

192 *Maksimovič*, Zapovědi svętyhъ otьcь 174 (№ 9).

193 Assuming Roman Catholic views on the marriage of priests, see *Maksimovič*, Zapovědi svętyhъ otьcь, 21, 137.

not assessed uniformly in every case. The length of penance was determined by the offender's age and marital status. An unmarried cleric under the age of 30 was required to atone for ten years, while a married cleric had to repent for fifteen (Sinai Rule 35). The age threshold was introduced relatively early in the Nomokanon, specifically in Canon 16 of the Council of Ancyra (314). The evaluation of sexual offenses and the gravity of sin based on the perpetrator's age (with the threshold set at 30 years) appears relatively frequently in the Penitential Nomokanon of John the Faster.[194]

It is interesting to note that, apart from adultery, the *Commandments of the Holy Fathers* did not address one of the crucial issues of canon law – divorce and remarriage. This topic was left to other Slavic ecclesiastical legal texts from the second half of the 9th century, in particular the final chapter of the *Law for Judging the People* and, above all, Canon 48 of the Holy Apostles from the Methodian Nomokanon. Excerpts from the first-mentioned book and the apostolic canon became part of South Slavic penitentials by the early 13th century. In the *Law for Judging the People*, the concept of "one flesh" from the Holy Scriptures was thoroughly elaborated, which formed the basis of the prohibition on divorce except in cases of adultery (Matthew 19:6, 9).[195] This concept was legally shaped in Canon 87 of St. Basil, which was published in the Old Slavonic Kormčaja.[196] If a man entered into a second marriage, according to the *Law for Judging the People*, he was sentenced to corporal punishment by whipping and a seven-year penance, while his second wife was banished along with their offspring.[197] A simplified version of this provision, omitting references to corporal and spiritual punishment, appears in the *Rules of St. Basil to All of Us*.[198] Its presence in the Late Medieval compilation indirectly testifies that, during the time when legal codes from the Cyril and Methodios era were in effect, it may have been incorporated into smaller ecclesiastical legal texts and penitentials and thus disseminated independently of its original book. A similar situation applied to Canon 48 of the Holy Apostles, which codified Christ's message prohibiting divorce and remarriage to a woman dismissed by her husband (Matthew 19:6, 9; Mark 5:11–12).[199] This canon was incorporated into penitential literature from the Old Slavonic Kormčaja no later than the early 13th century. Its presence in the aforementioned *Rules of St. Basil to All of Us*,[200] which were created during a time when the Nomokanon of St. Sava was in use in the South Slavic churches, indirectly indicates that the canon was adopted into penitentials before that time.

194 According to the Canon of the Council of Ancyra the limit was 20 years, see Nomokanonъ, MMFH IV, 346–347; *Beneševič*, Drevne–slavjanskaja Kormčaja, 234–235. For the text of the Faster's Nomokanon, see *Van de Paverd*, The Kanonarion, 47–48, 50, 122–123, passim. On the influence of canon law on formulating the penitential rules, see *Maksimovič*, Zapovědi svętyhъ otьcь, 27–28.

195 Zakonъ sudnyi ljudьmъ, MMFH IV, 195 (№ 30a); Dewey – Kleimola, Zakon sudnyj ljudem, 23–25.

196 *Beneševič*, Drevne–slavjanskaja Kormčaja, 517–523.

197 *Ganev,* Zakonъ sudnyj ljudьmъ, 387; Zakonъ sudnyi ljudьmъ, MMFH IV, 186 (№13); *Dewey – Kleimola*, Zakon sudnyj ljudem, 15. The rule was taken from the imperial Ecloga (17. 35), *Ganev*, Zakonъ sudnyj ljudьmъ, 393–394, but unlike the Ecloga which prescribed only a worldly, corporal punishment, in the *Law for Judging the People* a spiritual penance was also added, cf. *Maksimovič*, Zakonъ sudnyi ljudьmъ, 38; *Havlíková*, *Žena*, 183–184.

198 The *Rules of St. Basil to All of Us*, *Jagić*, Sitna gradja, 146b (see before in text).

199 *Beneševič*, Drevne–slavjanskaja Kormčaja, 72.

200 *Jagić*, Sitna gradja, 140d.

The biblical concepts of "one flesh" and the prohibition of remarriage form the basis of the ban on divorce in the Žiča Charter of the Serbian kings from the third decade of the 13th century.[201]

Human sexuality was considered impure and endangered the sacred. If a nocturnal emission occurred while sleeping overnight in a church, it was, according to Rule 47 of the Sinai *Commandments*, regarded as a sin, encouraged by evil devilish intentions. Such a sin had to be atoned for with a seven-day penance, in the form of fasting and 100 daily prostrations.[202] The Merseburg and other Latin penitentials, as well as Slavic ones with rules of Greek origin in different versions, indicate the sinful and impure state of a deacon or priest who experienced a seminal emission during sleep, which would prevent them from serving the Liturgy the next day. If they could not find a replacement, they were required to purify themselves physically with water and ritually, through ten prostrations and the repetition of *Kyrie*, *eleison*, or the reading of Psalm 50.[203]

The Sinai Rule 47, like other similar rules concerning the preservation of the sanctity of the Eucharist and food designated for the ritual, reflects the concept of sacred space, which was not to be defiled by a sexual act. However, it also reveals a different perspective on the sacred, as it did not bring into question the practice of men sleeping in a church intended for holy rituals. A similar attitude toward sacred space is expressed in the Trullan Canon 87 (88) of the Old Slavonic Kormčaja. It was not considered a desecration of a church if, during travel and due to necessity or the absence of shelter, an animal accompanying a traveler also took refuge inside.[204]

Sexual prohibitions were largely viewed from the male perspective, in relation to the male Ego, with the man as the sole perpetrator of the sexual act. He could be either a layman or a member of the clergy, while the age at which the sin was committed played a role in determining the length of penance. The same applies to unlawful divorce and remarriage, when penance was imposed only on the man. Sexual "lust" and "cunning" were also considered exclusively male sins.

The penitential, therefore, does not explicitly indicate a reciprocal relationship regarding committed sexual sins. Women's sins were recognized only after a sexual act if abortion was resorted to. A distinction was made between abortion within marriage and outside of it. In the first case, the penance lasted three years on bread and

201 *Bojanin*, Whose Sister is a Svatvica?, 122.

202 The Holy Fathers of the Church demanded the purification of believers who had been defiled due to sexual intercourse or nocturnal emissions in order to re-enter a church and participate in rituals, *Brundage*, Law, Sex, and Christian Society, 81. *Brakke*, The Problematization of Nocturnal Emissions, 419–460 examines the issue of emissions through the perspective of three "bodies": "the body of Christ on the altar during the Eucharist... second body, that of the individual Christian male" and "the social body of the church gathered around the altar".

203 *Jagić*, Sitna gradja, 38i; *Miklas – Taseva – Jovčeva*, Berlinski Sbornik, 63 (№ 1. 64); *Smirnov*, Materialy, 135 (№ 20). For the *Merseburg Penitential A*, see *Kottje, et al.*, Paenitentialia minora, 152–153 (№ 90). Cf. *Payer*, Sex and the penitentials, 49–52.

204 *Beneševič*, Drevne–slavjanskaja Kormčaja, 195–196; *The Council in Trullo Revisited*, 168–169. On the different concepts of holy space which were applied in practice during festivities, *Bojanin*, Srednjovekovna svetkovina između privatnog i javnog, 246–279; *Idem*, Zabave i svetkovine, 113–149, passim.

water (Sinai Rule 25), while for an abortion following "fornication", a ten-year fast was prescribed, with the first two years on bread and water (Sinai Rule 33). The possibility that a woman might be forced into abortion by her husband was not considered.

IV. Instead of a conclusion

Official communication in the Slavic language among the inhabitants of the Byzantine Empire between *circa* 1000 and 1200 can, in a certain way, be identified at the parish level. It primarily took place within the framework of the liturgical life of the parish, which was for the most part overseen by the official Church. Evidence of this can be found in the relatively small number of preserved South Slavic liturgical books from that period.[205] The liturgy and various rites significant for the social and religious life of individuals and the community to which they belonged, whether within a parish or a monastery, were conducted in the Slavic language. One of the Holy Sacraments that holds particular significance for the study of medieval society is the Rite of the Sacrament of Confession. Under the auspices of the Holy Sacrament and preparation for salvation, this rite questions the public, private, and intimate behavior of individuals, revealing the cultural patterns of the community from which he or she originates. However, as the answers remained unrecorded, only the written instructions on how confession should be conducted have survived. These instructions contain templates that provide lists of common sins and formal responses from the confessant or anticipate sins for which independent and specific answers are expected. The texts were formulated outside the societal communities they were intended for but in a language that those communities were expected to understand. They originate from earlier times (the 9th–10th centuries), when Church organizations based on the Slavic language existed.

The lists of sins in the Rite of Confession clearly indicate the kinds of inappropriate behaviors that might be expected to be found in parishes. Along with them, the confessor also relied on penitential texts, in which sins were systematically set out along with the duration and the method of penance or rather spiritual punishment. The prescribed penances reflected the significance and classification of sins, which were imposed within the parish by the compilers of individual rules and penitential compilations. Typically organized at the local, diocesan level, these classifications could also reflect local perspectives.

The question remains open as to which penitentials the Slavic clergy in the diocese of South-eastern Europe had at their disposal or could have had at their disposal before the 13th century. It has been noted that at least two centuries separate the two oldest preserved South Slavic texts, the Siani and Zograf *Commandments of the Holy Fathers*. It is important to keep in mind that these texts are transcriptions of works composed earlier, indicating that they are older than the manuscripts in which they have been preserved. Although they share the same title, the penitentials are two completely different types of

205 On this, see *Turilov*, Posle Klimenta i Nauma, 82–162.

texts in which the diversity of penitential material is revealed, both in terms of its content and origin. As we have demonstrated, this diversity is further confirmed by several compositions preserved in manuscripts from the first half of the 14th century.

The South Slavic penitentials were not reduced to just a single text, the Frankish penitential. The pastoral practice up to the beginning of the 13th century, we deem, was diversified by a variety of texts and rules, including translations from Latin and Greek, as well as those that can be considered original texts attributable to anonymous South Slavic clergy and the well-known Kiev metropolitans. Into such compilations were also included translations of canons from the Church's official nomokanons, such as the Methodian Nomokanon or the Old Slavonic Kormčaja, as well as provisions from the *Law for Judging the People*, though without secular punishments. Their inclusion in the penitentials highlights in a distinct way the practical significance of these texts and newly created compilations. The dynamics of development and its phases in penitential literature remain elusive, but they can be understood as a response to the church hierarchy's need to establish stronger influence in communication with the faithful, as well as to maintain discipline within the clergy itself.

The preserved penitential books from the first half of the 14th century indicate the continuous development of this type of legal monument. They reveal an established practice that remained unchanged for centuries, despite variations in the texts themselves. The inclusion of official canons in penitentials continued after the 12th century, but they were now excerpted from the Nomokanon of St. Sava (around 1220). The apocryphal introduction of the monastic penitential in the *Troickij sbornik* from the late 12th century has parallel in the presence of an apocryphal excerpt from the *Apocalypse of Anastasia* in the penitential of the *Commandments of John Chrysostom* from the first half of the 14th century. In the penitentials of the Late Middle Ages, a certain number of rules and texts can also be identified – some more precisely than others – that originated in the first century of Slavic literacy, as well as later, during the period of Byzantine state and ecclesiastical rule over the Balkans. The origins of some of these texts, however, can only be definitively identified as dating from the period after the 13th century or within the first half of the 14th century. For most texts, their period of origin can only be considered within the context of their preserved manuscript tradition.

The Sinai Rite of Confession, along with the penitential books and rules that could have been in use in Slavic diocese before the 13th century, contains a significant number of sins – quite diverse in nature – among which are included diverse offenses and criminal acts. As an illustration, four groups of sins related to the notion of the sacred have been highlighted. These include the desecration of the Holy Eucharist during and after the service, the defilement of the human body through the consumption of impure and forbidden food or through sexual acts that could also threaten the sacred space of the church or the sacred union of marriage. Sexuality was the basis of socially "unacceptable" relationships entered into by parishioners. The organization of "pagan" festivities during sacred Christian holidays was also considered. These

examples point to a certain dynamic in the relationship between the sometimes conflicting concepts of the sacred within local communities and the Church. In the stated rules, these concepts were expressed through the notions of ritual impurity, which was considered a state of sin, and ritual purification, which was achieved through penance and participation in appropriate church rites.

Spoken confession and accepted repentance were not solely of eschatological significance. The dialogue between the confessor and the confessant also played a role in shaping the concept of holiness within the specific conditions of earthly life in the parishes. In certain issues, these practices were not uniformly directed toward all believers, as indicated by the penitential the *Commandments of the Holy Fathers* from the Sinai Euchology. A significant portion of its rules were explicitly intended for members of the clergy, whether these were sins related to their profession, such as handling the Eucharist and pastoral duties, all the way to sexual offenses.

Stanoje Bojanin

Part V
SUCCESSES AND FAILURES OF BYZANTINE INTEGRATION POLICY

10.46793/Barb.Rhom.II.391N

The Balkans in the Eyes of Constantinople

The Byzantine Empire considered the Balkans part of its territory and fought for centuries to integrate them into its borders. This raises the following questions: How did the members of the Empire's learned elites depict the Balkans and the peoples that inhabited them in their writings? Did their perception of the Balkans change, especially after Byzantium vanquished its primary rival, Bulgaria, and integrated the central Balkans into its territory?

The Byzantine intellectual elite's view of the Balkans remained unchanged until the first half of the 13th century. Until then, authors tended to see the Balkan Peninsula much like Constantine Porphyrogennetos had done – as a territory that had always belonged to the Empire. As we have seen, the region was perceived through the lens of Byzantine-Bulgarian relations up to 1018.[1] After the Empire integrated Bulgaria's territory into its administrative system in 1018, the focus shifted to Serb-populated areas in the late 11th and, especially, the 12th century. Anna Komnene described a volatile barbarian world on the Empire's frontier that had not yet openly declared hostility to the Empire, which Alexios I contained with honors and gifts (τὸ μὲ πέριξ ὑποκινούμενον βαρβαρικὸν καὶ μήπω ἐς φῶς ἐκρῆξαν τὴν ἔχθραν ἀξιώμασιν ἀνεῖργε καὶ δωρεαῖς). The princess saw the gorges bordering Serbia and Dalmatia (τὰ περὶ τὴν Σερβίαν τέμπη καὶ Δαλματίαν), the Danube, and Dyrrachion as the principal bases that defended the Empire's territorial integrity, describing them as manned by all of the Byzantine army until the Crusader onslaught.[2] Constantinople's ambition to establish control over the Serb-inhabited areas formally beyond the Empire's borders was the ideological backdrop of the revival of the terms Dalmatia and Dalmatae to denote the Serbian lands and the Serbs in the Komnenian era. It was not until the reign of Manuel I Komnenos that Byzantium – albeit fleetingly – established control over the entire Balkan Peninsula, becoming a very influential actor in the Serbian lands and taking the territories known as Béla's patrimony (Sirmium, Croatia, and Dalmatia).[3]

1 See the chapter *Balkans between Byzantium and Bulgaria*, I.

2 Alexias, 440.

3 *Browning*, New Source, 203; Cinnamus, 214–215; VIINJ IV, 66 n. 161; Novellae et aurae bullae, 410; *Ferluga*, Dalmacija, 133; *Magdalino*, Manuel I Komnenos, 79–81.

The fact that after his report that, in 1165, the Byzantines captured Dalmatia, i.e., the geographical region that was part of the duchy of Prince Béla Alexios, John Kinnamos no longer uses the term Dalmatae for the Serbs, seems to support this conclusion.[4]

I. Bulgaria and Bulgarians

The perception of the territory

In recounting Tzimiskes' conquest of Bulgaria, Leo the Deacon reports that the Russian prince Sviatoslav had planned to leave Moesia, which had historically belonged to the *Rhomaioi* and was part of Macedonia. Leo asserts that the Bulgarians were descended from slaves and could hence only be subservient to the Byzantines because the territory they inhabited belonged to the Empire. This was a claim he had adopted from patriarchs Nicholas Mystikos and Nikephoros.[5] In the narrative of Leo the Deacon, John Tzimiskes' campaign in Bulgaria against the Rus had been presented as a crusade. This is suggested by several things in his account: the description of Tzimiskes' war preparations (reportedly, the emperor restored the Church of Christ the Savior at the Chalke Gate, prayed at Hagia Sophia for an angel to watch over his army's path, and made his devotions at the Church of the Mother of God at Blachernae), the appearance of St. Theodore Stratelates as the Byzantines' heavenly protector, and his account of the emperor's triumphal return to Constantinople in 971. The view that Bulgaria's territory had always belonged to the Byzantines is supported by the fact that Tzimiskes crowned its conquest by ritualistically dissolving the Bulgarian Empire.[6]

In 1018, Byzantium finally managed to integrate all of Bulgaria into its borders.[7] Still, rebellions against Byzantine rule in the Theme of Bulgaria persisted into the 11th century, suggesting that the integration of the inhabitants of what was once Samuel's empire had been incomplete.[8] Hence, all authors who recounted these events felt obliged to reiterate that Basil II had conquered Bulgaria and crushed its empire.[9] They wrote extensively about Alousianos, son of the last Bulgarian emperor, John Vladislav, clearly distinguishing between Alousianos and Peter Delyan and denying any legitimacy to the latter.[10] Given that the integration of the Bulgarian elite seems to have been most effective for Samuel's family, some have speculated that Alousianos's decision to join Delyan's uprising and his subsequent betrayal of the rebels may have been orchestrated from Constantinople.[11]

4 Cinnamus, 248–249. The claim that Kinnamos always calls the Serbs Dalmatae is incorrect, VIINJ IV, 86 n. 236.

5 Nicolaus I Epistolae, no. 10, 70; Nicephorus, 70; Leo Diaconus, 61–63; *Nikolov*, Perception of Bulgarian Past, 160. Constantine Manasses says more or less the same about Stefan Nemanja, sqq.

6 Leo Diaconus, 128–129, 154, 158–159. Cf. also Scylitzes, 310; Zonaras, 535–536.

7 See *Maksimović*, Organizacija, 31–43; *Komatina*, Srbija i Duklja, 174–180. See the chapter *Provincial Administration in the Sevice of Pacification*, I.

8 See the chapter *Administration in the Sevice of Pacification*, I.

9 Psellus, Chronographia, 70–71; Scylitzes, 409; Skylitzes Continuatus, 146; Zonaras, 567, 598.

10 Psellus, Chronographia, 70–78; Scylitzes, 359–360, 409–415; Zonaras, 598–600, 601–603.

11 *Fine*, Early Medieval Balkans, 205.

George Voyteh launched an anti-Byzantine uprising in the territory of Bulgaria in 1072/3, confirming the fragility of Byzantine rule in this region. The leading roles of Michael, Prince of Diokleia (Duklja), and his son, Bodin, in the rebellion show that the Byzantines' grip on the area was nowhere near as firm as they would have liked. Notably, there had been no direct Byzantine rule in the Serbian principality Diokleia after 1039, so the involvement of Michael and Bodin, who was proclaimed the Bulgarian emperor under the name Peter, should be seen as foreign interference in the Empire's internal affairs. Still, the rebellion was eventually put down, and Bodin was captured and taken to Constantinople.[12]

So, in the post-971 period, Byzantine historical narratives consistently saw the Bulgarians as Byzantine subjects and their territory as part of the Empire until the end of the 12th century.[13] There is nothing in Komnenian-era sources to suggest that the local population posed a threat to Byzantine control of the central Balkans. This may be why Anna Komnene's account never uses the term Bulgaria except when mentioning the Byzantine army stationed in the eponymous district.[14]

The perception of Bulgaria and its territory in Byzantine historical narratives changed as early as the beginning of the 13th century. Niketas Choniates reports that Peter and Asen, the leaders of the revolt, did not want merely to assume control of Moesia but to unite the political power of Moesia and Bulgaria into one empire, as they had been of old.[15] Choniates not only distinguishes between the territories of Moesia and Bulgaria but is also the last Byzantine author to assert Byzantine historical claims over Bulgarian lands, seeing Peter and Asen's revolt and the establishment of the so-called Second Bulgarian Empire as apostasy (ἀποστασίαν).[16] Thus, he not only distinguishes two Bulgarian historical areas and understands Moesia as the territory north of the Balkan mountain range (Theme of Paristrion/Paradounavon) and Bulgaria (Theme of Bulgaria) as the southern or southwestern district,[17] but also seems to acknowledge the Bulgarians' rights to Moesia. Starting from George Akropolites in the second half of the 13th century, the *Rhomaoi* no longer claimed historical rights to Bulgaria.[18]

The perception of the state and ruler's title

Even though he disapproved of the marriage of Maria Lekapene and Simeon's son Peter, describing it as a *novelty* (εἰς τὴν εὐγενῆ πολιτείαν Ῥωμαίων καινοτομήσας), and, by extension, condemned the Bulgarian policy of Romanos I Lekapenos, Constantine

12 Skylitzes Continuatus, 146–154. Michael Glycas, 594, 614–615, also attests to the Serbs' leading role in this uprising, as noted in *Živković*, Dukljansko-vizantijski rat, 47, 56–57. See also note 79.

13 *Nikolić – Pavlović*, Bulgarians, Serbs, and the Rus, 752.

14 Alexias, 242.

15 Choniates, Historia, 374. *Nikolić – Pavlović*, Bulgarians, Serbs, and the Rus, 750, accidentally names John Asen instead of Peter and Asen.

16 Choniates, Historia, 368–369. Acropolitus, 18–20; Akropolites, History, 35, n. 6 brings a similar report.

17 Choniates, Historia, 469–470; *Madgearu*, Asanids, 36. On the borders of Bulgaria, see *Komatina*, Pojam Bugarske, 41–56.

18 Acropolitus, 18–20, 33; Akropolites, History, 137 n. 17.

Porphyrogennetos recognized the Bulgarian imperial title.[19] However, Byzantine authors from the mid-10th to the mid-13th century are inconsistent in their usage of the Bulgarian rulers' imperial titles. Writing during the long and arduous war against Samuel, Leo the Deacon mentions that Simeon, the leader of the Moesi (ὁ τῶν Μυσῶν ἀρχηγὸς), in his Scythian madness (εἰς ἀπόνοιάν τε τὴν Σκυθικὴν), forced the Byzantines to proclaim him emperor. He reports that Tzimiskes, having entered Preslav, met the imprisoned Boris, emperor of the Bulgarians and Simeon's grandson, calling him a ruler (κοίρανον Βουλγάρων ἀποκαλῶν). Leo again mentions the Bulgarian imperial title recounting Boris' capture when Tzimiskes divested him of his "imperial insignia."[20]

The inconsistent use of the imperial title for Bulgarian rulers is particularly apparent in the writings of John Scylitzes. While he described Simeon as the chieftain of the Bulgarians (ὁ δὲ τῶν Βουλγάρων ἀρχηγὸς Συμεὼν), he had no qualms about referring to Simeon's son Peter as the emperor of the Bulgarians (Πέτρος δὲ ὁ τῶν Βουλγάρων βασιλεὺς). Peter's sons, Boris II and Romanos, who were sent to Constantinople as hostages to renew the peace treaty, went to Bulgaria to secure the ancestral throne and restrain the "children of the counts" (τοὺς κομητοπώλους) from further encroachments. Thus, the historian names Peter and his sons as emperors to highlight the continuity and legitimacy of Simeon's imperial dynasty as opposed to Samuel and his brothers, who were seen as apostates (πρὸς ἀποστασίαν ἀπεῖδον καὶ τὰ Βουγάρων ἀνέσειον). Still, when he informs us that Emperor Nikephoros Phokas asked Peter, the ruler of Bulgaria (τῷ Βουλγαρίας ἄρχοντι), to stop the Turks from crossing the Danube and raiding the Byzantine land (τὰ Ῥωμαίων λυμαίνεσθαι), Scylitzes departs from this model and does so again when he reports that the palaces of the Bulgarian emperors were in Ohrid (ἄχρι τῆς πόλεως Ἀχρίδος, ἐν ᾗ τὰ βασίλεια τῶν βασιλέων ἵδρυντο Βουλγαρίας).[21]

On the other hand, John Zonaras recounts that after he defeated the Rus at Preslav, Tzimiskes captured Boris, emperor of the Bulgarians (ὁ τῶν Βουλγάρων βασιλεὺς ὁ Βορίσης),[22] thereby emphasizing the significance of Tzimiskes' dismantling of the First Bulgarian Empire. More consistently than Scylitzes, Zonaras calls Samuel, his son Gabriel, and John Vladislav the leaders and rulers of the Bulgarians (τῶν Βουλγάρων ἐξάρχοντος, τῶν Βουλγάρων ἀρχηγοῖς, ὁ δὲ τῶν Βουλγάρων ἄρχων), using the phrase τῶν Βουλγάρων ἡγεμονία to describe their rule over the Bulgarians.[23] However, discussing the uprising of Peter Delyan, he reminds the reader that Basil had subdued the Bulgarians and destroyed their "empire" (Τῶν δὲ Βουλγάρων... τῆς αὐτῶν βασιλείας καθαιρεθείσης).[24]

19 DAI, 72–74; De Cerimoniis, III, II, 48.99–108.

20 Leo Diaconus, 123, 136, 158.

21 Scylitzes, 255–256, 264, 276–277, 346, 353, 358–359.

22 Zonaras, 529. In a later report, Zonaras refers to Romanos as the son of Peter, former ruler of the Bulgarians (τοῦ ἄρξαντος τῶν Βουλγράρων), ibid., 558–560.

23 Zonaras, 558, 564–565.

24 Ibid., 598–600.

By the end of the 11th century, all principal noble families in the Empire, including the Komnenoi, had family ties to the former Bulgarian imperial dynasty of Samuel.[25] And yet, while they mention the members of Samuel's family who had been integrated into the Empire's administrative or military system or had become affiliated with the imperial family by marriage (Samuel Alousianos, grandson of John Vladislav, his daughter Catherine, and *protovestiarissa* Maria of Bulgaria, John Vladislav's granddaughter and wife of Andronikos Doukas), historical accounts from this period never specify the nature of their connections to Samuel's lineage.[26]

In the Komnenian era, however, connections to Samuel, the holder of the imperial title, acquired an ideological role in highlighting the noble descent of Irene Doukaina and Catherine, who were highborn on both sides of their family. Notably, Irene and Catherine were the granddaughter and daughter of John Vladislav, son of Samuel's brother Aaron. Explaining their kinship with the Bulgarian ruling family, Nikephoros Bryennios misidentifies their illustrious Bulgarian ancestor as Samuel, a much more prominent historical figure than John Vladislav – an error that seems not to have been made unwittingly but quite intentionally.[27]

So, the state traditions of the Bulgarian Empire persisted, as the failed 11th-century uprisings in the Balkans show. However, fortunes changed in the 1180s, and a successful rebellion finally led to the formation of the so-called Second Bulgarian Empire. Niketas Choniates' claims that Peter and Asen wanted to unite the political power of Moesia and Bulgaria into one empire as of old[28] indicate that the underlying ambition had been the restoration of The First Bulgarian Empire, suggesting that awareness of the Bulgarian political traditions was still very much alive in the central Balkans.[29]

Byzantium *de facto* lost control of Bulgaria during the reign of Isaac II Angelos. Choniates places the blame for this loss squarely on the emperor's shoulders – Isaac II abandoned the principles that had underpinned Basil II's pacification and integration of Bulgaria into the Empire's administrative system.[30] Finally, the Nicaean conquest of parts of the Bulgarian territory in Macedonia in the second half of the 13th century was justified not by historical claims but by the kinship between the noble houses of Vatatzes-Laskaris and Asen.[31] Accordingly, George Akropolites usually refers to the rulers of the Second Bulgarian Empire as emperors.[32]

---

25 *Krsmanović – Loma*, Georgije Manijakis, 256–257; *Holmes*, Basil II, 213–214.

26 Attaliatus, 96; Skylitzes Continuatus, 96; Psellus, Epistulae, 112.18–19; Alexias, 69. Furthermore, Anna Komnene describes her mother only as a scion of the House of Doukas, although she was also a great-granddaughter of John Vladislav on her mother's side, Alexias, 94. However, in a later report, Anna mentions Rodomir, a noble of Bulgarian ancestry and a kinsman of her mother's, Alexias, 385–387.

27 Bryennius, 77, 219.

28 Choniates, Historia, 374.

29 *Nikolov*, Perception of the Bulgarian Past, 163–164; *Dall'Aglio*, 'As it Had Been in the Past', 282–299; see the chapter *Balkans between Byzantium and Bulgaria*, I.

30 Choniates, Historia, 373, 436–437. Cf. Acropolitus, 18–20; Akropolites, History, 137 n. 17.

31 Acropolitus, 75–77, 107–109; *Nikolić – Pavlović*, Bulgarians, Serbs, and the Rus, 752.

32 The only exception is Michael II Asen, Acropolitus, 20–22, 41–44, 48, 50–54, 57, 60–61, 64, 74, 107–109, 152.

The people

New peoples that settled in the Balkans from the 7th century onward inherited not only the names of the provinces they inhabited but also the characteristics of the ancient peoples that had populated or controlled a certain territory in the classical period. Alongside generic ethnonyms of different ethnic groups (Scythians, Huns, and Persians), classical names were applied to the newly settled peoples (the Hungarians were called Paionians or Huns, the Serbs were Triballi or Dalmatae, and the Bulgarians were known as Moesi). All these terms highlighted the cultural superiority and political dominance of the *Rhomaioi* over the newcomers and non-Greeks.[33] Therefore, the umbrella term for all those peoples was barbarians (βάρβαροι, ἔθνη, ἀλλόφυλοι, ἑτερόφυλοι, ἀλλόγλωσσοι).

From the late 10th to the mid-13th century, Byzantine historians referred to the Bulgarians as Scythians, Bulgarians, and/or Moesi.[34] However, post-1018 historical narratives reveal two distinct meanings of the term Bulgarians, sometimes denoting the soldiers in the eponymous Byzantine theme and sometimes, more generally, the local population. Recounting the rebellion of Leo Tornikios in 1047, Attaleiates reports that the emperor confronted the rebels with the Constantinopolitan army while the Bulgarian troops arrived from the west (βουλγαρικὴ δέ τις δύναμις ἀπὸ τῆς ἑσπέρας) to take up positions behind the insurgents. Leo's kinsman, General Vatatzes, defeated those incoming Bulgarians at Kypselai.[35] These must have been the troops from the Theme of Bulgaria. Still, the most explicit report comes from Skylitzes Continuatos, who, in his account of the rebellion of George Voyteh, refers to the rebels as indigenous Bulgarians (ἐκ τῶν ἰθαγενῶν Βουλγάρων), although, admittedly, just once. Namely, when recounting the events at Kastoria, he states that the supporters of the *Rhomaioi* were gathered there together with the *strategoi* of Ohrid, Devol, and Kastoria, along with Boris David and many others who had, fearing the threat of the indigenous Bulgarians, found refuge there.[36] The following sentence clarified that he meant the rebel troops, which obviously included commoners from the Theme of Bulgaria. This suggests that the supporters of the *Rhomaioi* in Kastoria were members of the local populace who served in the military units of the Theme of Bulgaria.

Anna Komnene's 12th-century account introduced the term Vlachs (Βλάχοι). It seems that the Vlachs were a primarily nomadic population that had some permanent settlements. While they are known to have served in the Byzantine army, the Vlachs sometimes switched allegiances to work against the Empire.[37]

---

33 *Kaldellis*, Ethnography, 106–116; *Nikolić – Pavlović*, Bulgarians, Serbs, and the Rus, 741–745.

34 Leo Diaconus, 61–63, 75, 79–81, 103–105, 108, 123–124, 131, 134, 136–139, 171–173, 175; Attaliatus, 8, 24, 66, 68, 177, 178, 180; Skylitzes, 288, 289, 295, 298, 300, 344, 349, 359, 410, 414 etc; Zonaras, 495, 513, 523, 529, 548 etc; Psellus, Chronographia 70–77; Alexias, 28, 69, 210, 242, 244, 383; Mannases, 316, 317, 319; Michael Glycas, 389–390, 574, 576–577, 579, 582, 589; Acropolitus, 19–22, 33, 41–43, 53, 58 etc; Pachymeres, I, 59, 191, 209, 243, 247, 279, 301, 303, 311; II, 393, 403; Gregoras, I, 14, 15, 16, 26, 27, 28, 29, 55, 56, 60, 61, 99, 116.

35 Attaliatus, 18–24.

36 Skylitzes Continuatus, 150.

37 Alexias, 154, 242, 286, 287. *Gyoni*, Nom de "Vlahoi" 241–252.

Niketas Choniates' narrative assigns a convoluted meaning to the term Vlachs, alternating between three ethnonyms – Moesi, Vlachs, and Bulgarians – to refer to the Bulgarians. However, his account suggests that the term Vlachs covered, besides the Bulgarians, a different local population that inhabited the Bulgarian territory, which he again called Moesia. So, Choniates sometimes distinguished between them and sometimes called the Bulgarians Moesi.[38] However, when referring to the Bulgarians south and southwest of the Balkan mountain range, he routinely called them Bulgarians.[39]

Barbarians or Christians?

Even though Leo the Deacon initially saw the Bulgarians as a pathetic and despicable Scythian and Moesian people, this perception changed with the Russian invasion of Bulgaria. Realizing it would be unreasonable to wage war against both the Rus and the Bulgarians, Nikephoros II dispatched a delegation to the Moesi, who were of the same faith (ὁμοθρήσκους), to remind them of their shared religion (because the Moesi were Christians) and ask for maidens from the imperial family to marry the sons of Emperor Romanos II, reinforcing the unbreakable alliance and friendship between the Byzantines and the Moesi by marital ties. Pleading with the emperor to come to their defense, the Moesi accepted the offer. The key difference between the Bulgarians and the Rus at that particular moment was that the former were Christians, and the latter were not (yet). So, the decision to make an alliance with the Bulgarians and the sudden shift in the Byzantines' perception of them was explained by the Bulgarians' being part of Christendom. That, however, did not last long: in his account of the Byzantine defeat in the Battle of the Gates of Trajan in 986, Leo promptly reverted to a negative portrayal of the Moesi.[40]

As in the age of Emperor Simeon, when the Bulgarians fought against the Byzantine Empire, the beginning of Peter and Asen's rebellion saw a resurgence of the awareness of the proto-Bulgarian traditions that had survived in a Christian cultural milieu.[41] Niketas Choniates described the rebel leaders, brothers Peter and Asen, as "vile infidels" (ἀνοσιουργοί καὶ μιαροί) who had incited all of the people to rebel (τὸ ἔθνος ὅλον ἀνασείσαντες). Choniates explains the ideological and religious program of the rebel leaders by graphically describing their enduring pagan rituals and customs. To attract the undecided to join the uprising, Peter and Asen built a church dedicated to St. Demetrios, and "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

38 Choniates, Historia, 368, 371, 373, 374, 394, 397, 398, 399, 428, 429, 434, 435, 436, 437, 446, 447, 465, 466, 467, 468, 469, 470, 471, 472, 473, 487, 499, 502, 504, 506, 509, 522, 613, 614, 618, 619, 621, 623, 624, 627, 629, 629, 634, 635, 636, 645, 646, 649. For a discussion of the Vlachs' origin and the nature of the Second Bulgarian Empire, see *Bozhilov,* Familiata, 12, n. 19; *Madgearu*, Asanids, 35–83.

39 Choniates, Historia, 502.

40 Leo Diaconus, 61–63, 79–80. Slightly later, John Tzimiskes's motive to subdue Bulgaria was avenging the Moesi, who had suffered horrible atrocities at the hands of the Scythians (the Rus), ibid., 136.

41 *Granberg*, Transferred in Translation, 51–52; see the chapter *Indirect Byzantinization: Bulgaria as a Case Study*, I.

and assistant in their forthcoming task".[42] This suggests that the rebel leaders won the support of most by emphasizing their Christian ideology and religion. However, Choniates reports that they brought "demon-possessed" (τῶν δαιμονολήπτων) soothsayers of both races (Bulgarians and Vlachs), instructing them to say in their ravings that the "God of the Bulgarian and Vlach race" (ὁ θεὸς τοῦ τῶν Βουλγάρων καὶ βλάχων γένους) had consented to their freedom.[43] This episode apparently highlighted the ethnic and religious disunity of the Second Bulgarian Empire, and the description of their pagan ways was meant to discredit the rebellion's leaders and supporters.

As noted earlier, the Byzantines were inconsistent in utilizing the Christian argument, activating it occasionally as a useful diplomatic lever in their relations with barbarians (in this case, the Bulgarians), depending on the Empire's political, military, or economic interests at a given time. So, while we can arguably say the Byzantines evoked this argument only when it worked to their advantage,[44] a caveat seems in order: this is the impression one gets taking historical narratives at face value. The things Byzantine authors chose not to mention in their writings are no less telling, as attested by examples from Bulgarian and Serbian history in the first half of the 13th century. For instance, contemporary Byzantine historical accounts depict the Bulgarian emperor Kaloyan (1197–1207) in a very unflattering light – as a bloodthirsty barbarian, slayer of Romans, and even "John the Dog" (Σκυλοϊωάννης). The reasons for this discourtesy seem not to have been limited to his conquests of Byzantine territories, killing the Byzantine population, and clinging to pagan customs and may have included something Byzantine chroniclers chose not to tell us.[45] We learn from other sources that the legates of Pope Innocent III first made the patriarch of Tarnovo the primate of Bulgaria and crowned Kaloyan king of the Bulgarians and Vlachs, bestowing upon him a crown sent from Rome.[46] In this case, discrediting the Bulgarians was not motivated by their paganism or Christianity but by the Bulgarian recognition of a primate of the Roman Church rather than of the Church of Constantinople, which Niketas Choniates and other Byzantine historians conveniently left out.

In George Akropolites' narrative, John Asen II emerges as the most deserving of praise of all Bulgarian rulers.[47] If Kaloyan was the most unworthy because he turned to the See of Rome, John II was the most admirable because he brought Bulgaria back to the Byzantine political and ecclesiastical traditions. This is best evidenced by Akropolites' account of how the Patriarchate of Tarnovo emerged. Reflecting the disappearance of Byzantine control in Bulgaria and the shift in the perception of this region in the first half of the 13th century, the exiled Empire granted autonomy (αὐτονομίᾳ)

42 Choniates, Historia, 371. See also *Dobryčina*, "Divine Sanction", 111–124. Akropolites alludes to a contemporary story ascribing Kaloyan's death to St. Demetrios, Akropolitus, 23; Akropolites, History, 143 n. 19.

43 Choniates, Historia, 371.

44 *Kaldellis*, Ethnography, 131; *Nikolić – Pavlović*, Bulgarians, Serbs, and the Rus, 752.

45 Choniates, Historia, 472, 633, 642; Acropolitus, 22–24; Akropolites, History, 144 n. 20.

46 Robert of Clari, 63–65; *Theiner*, Vetera monumenta slavorum meridionalium, nos. 60, 61, 39–40; *Prinzing*, Bedeutung, 25; *Idem*, Papsttum, 166–172; *Madgearu*, Asanids, 125–136.

47 Acropolitus, 50–51.

to the bishop of Tarnovo, previously a suffragan of the Constantinopolitan patriarch, making him a patriarch by imperial and synodal decree. This was a gesture of grace bestowed upon John Asen II on account of marital kinship and friendship, as his daughter was the wife of Theodore II Laskaris.[48]

For his part, Nikephoros Gregoras claims that the bishop of Tarnovo received "eternal autonomy" (αὐτονομίαν λαμβάνει διηνεκῆ) on that occasion. Notably, he finds the roots of the Church of Tarnovo in the past, claiming that the bishop of Tarnovo was once a suffragan of the archbishop of *Iustiniana Prima* "because of their ancient ethnic kinship" (διὰ τὴν τοῦ ἔθνους ἐκεῖθεν ἀρχαίαν συγγένειαν).[49] Gregoras explains that Justinian I founded *Iustiniana Prima*, which became the Bulgarians' imperial city and the "metropolis of Bulgaria" after their settlement in the Balkans.[50] So, he posits an ethnic connection between the Patriarchate of Tarnovo and the Archbishopric of Ohrid, underscoring the continuity of its Bulgarian identity.[51] In any case, the establishment of the Patriarchate of Tarnovo marked the culmination of indirect Byzantine influence in Bulgaria. Amidst the seismic shifts brought about by the Fourth Crusade, most notably Bulgaria's renewed independence, this was the only avenue left for Byzantine presence in the region.

Indirect Byzantine influence in Bulgaria

Having integrated Samuel's territories into the Byzantine Empire's administrative framework and assimilated the Bulgarian elites into its value system, Byzantium wielded direct influence over the central Balkans and its population until the late 12th century. Except for the 11th-century uprisings against the Empire, explained by Constantinople's unpopular fiscal policy and departure from the model established by Basil II,[52] historical sources report no major challenges that may have undermined the Empire's control.

Things changed with the establishment of the Second Bulgarian Empire. From the late 12th century onward, Byzantium sought to exert influence over the Bulgarians through prominent hostages held at the court in Constantinople for various political reasons.[53] A notable example is Kaloyan, the future Bulgarian emperor much maligned by Byzantine authors despite his pro-Byzantine leanings.[54] Similarly, Bulgarian notables sometimes sought political asylum in the Empire's territory, e.g., Mitso Asen of Bulgaria.[55] The most effective diplomatic tool, tried and tested in the past,[56] was arranging political marriages to win the favor of Bulgarian rulers and politically influential

48 Ibid., 64.

49 Gregoras, I, 30.

50 Ibid., 27.

51 See the chapter *The Archbishopric of Ohrid from the 11th to the 13th century – territorial and ideological framework*, II.

52 Scylitzes, 409, 411–412; Skylitzes Continuatus, 146; Zonaras, 567, 598–600.

53 See the chapter *Indirect Byzantinization: Bulgaria as a Case Study*, I.

54 Choniates, Historia, 399, 472, 633, 642; Acropolitus, 24; Akropolites, History, 144 n. 20.

55 Pachymeres II, 449, 451; Gregoras, I, 60–61.

56 See the chapter *Indirect Byzantinization: Bulgaria as a Case Study*, I.

magnates.[57] The Byzantines hoped to increase their political and cultural influence in a certain territory by having their princesses marry a powerful local. At the same time, these marriages added to the political authority and prestige of the local ruler or noble at home. Dynastic marriages were hardly a novelty: having suffered a crushing defeat in the Battle of Spercheios, Samuel arranged for his daughter Miroslava to marry Ashot, son of Gregory Taronites, *doux* of Thessalonike, and appointed him governor of Dyrrachion. Ashot and his wife later defected to the Byzantines, and Basil rewarded them for this change of heart by making Ashot a *magistros* and Miroslava the *zoste patrikia*.[58]

The most impactful dynastic marriage was certainly that of Theodore II Laskaris, son of John III Doukas Vatatzes, Emperor of Nicaea, and Helena Asenina of Bulgaria, daughter of the Bulgarian emperor John Asen II.[59] No less importantly, Irene, the eldest purple-born daughter of Theodore II Laskaris, married Emperor Constantine Tikh of Bulgaria in 1257.[60] According to Nikephoros Gregoras, Tikh married a great-niece of the recently deceased Bulgarian ruler, Michael Asen (his sister's granddaughter), because he could not claim the Bulgarian throne as an illegitimate son.[61] So, this marriage was intended to increase the new Bulgarian ruler's prestige on his home turf. Like Maria Lekapene before her, Irene became a highly influential political figure in Bulgaria.[62] To secure Bulgaria's support at the Second Council of Lyon, which was convened to discuss reuniting the Eastern and Western churches, Michael VIII agreed to grant Tikh Anchialos and Mesembria if he married his niece Maria. The wedding went ahead in 1272, but the emperor never made good on his promise to cede the two cities, and Tikh continued to support Charles I of Anjou.[63]

II. Serbian lands and the Serbs

The perception of Serb-inhabited territories

In contrast to their detailed reports on Bulgaria, Byzantine authors from the late 10th to the mid-13th century do not provide any information regarding the origin of the Serbs' name or the specifics of their settlement in the Balkans. Our knowledge of the early Serbs in the Balkans comes solely from the writings of Constantine Porphyrogennetos in the mid-10th century.[64] Still, there is little doubt that Byzantium took

57 Choniates, Historia, 473, 487, 507–514, 519, 533–535; Acropolitus, 39, 152; Pachymeres, I, 59; II, 191, 243; Gregoras, I, 61.

58 Scylitzes, 342. The same title was later conferred on Maria, John Vladislav's widow, Scylitzes, 364. *Zoste patrikia* (Ζωστὴ πατρικία) was the only Byzantine court title reserved solely for women, and its holder was the empress's chief attendant, ODB 2231 (*A. Kazhdan*).

59 Acropolitus, 48–53.

60 Ibid., 152; Pachymeres, 59, 191.

61 Gregoras, I, 61. The historian, however, was mistaken not only in referring to Emperor Theodore II's daughter as Theodora, whose real name was Irene, but also in inaccurately describing her familial relationship to the Bulgarian Emperor Michael Asen. She was granddaughter of Michael Asen's sister.

62 Pachymeres, I, 191, 247, 303. See the chapter *Indirect Byzantinization: Bulgaria as a Case Study*, I.

63 Pachymeres, II, 441–445; *Geanakoplos*, Michael VIII, 232; *Nicol*, Byzantine Family of Kantakouzenos, 19–20.

64 See the chapter *Balkans between Byzantium and Bulgaria*, I.

Serbia under John I Tzimiskes.[65] After Tzimiskes' death, the Bulgarians and Serbs regained independence. The center of the Serbian political space moved to Diokleia (Duklja), which retained its leading role among Serbian principalities until the 1090s. Samuel's empire undoubtedly included Serbia and Diokleia. Also, John Vladimir, Prince of Diokleia, married Samuel's daughter Kosara.[66] Skylitzes' narrative suggests that the term Triballia referred to Diokleia, whereas the term Serbia designated Serbia itself.[67] In the historical narrative of Michael Glykas, the terms Serbia and Serbian lands are used as broader umbrella terms that encompass both Diokleia and Serbia.[68]

In the age of Alexios I Komnenos, there was a very clear boundary between the Empire and the territory inhabited by the Dalmatae, i.e., Serbs.[69] Up until the reigns of John II and Manuel I Komnenos, Byzantium maintained varying degrees of clientelist relationships with certain Serbian rulers, typically established by granting them Byzantine court titles.

Byzantine historical narratives from the late 10th to the mid-13th century describe the geography of the region inhabited by the Serbs similarly to that of Bulgaria – inhospitable, rugged, full of ditches and overgrown forests, and almost impossible to traverse. The configuration of the terrain, the lack of fortified cities,[70] and the local climate favored the Serbs' guerrilla tactics against Byzantine troops.[71] This, however, did not always prove effective. Describing Emperor Isaac II Angelos' victory in the Battle of Morava in 1191,[72] Choniates reports that the emperor continued to pursue the Dalmatae, quickly locating and capturing even those who had fled into the wooded slopes, their trusted hideaways, and the Dalmatae realized that not even the highlands could guarantee absolute safety.[73]

The perception of the state and ruler's title

The first Serbian ruler to rid himself of direct Byzantine rule was Stefan Vojislav when he expelled Theophilos Erotikos from the Serbian land (τὸν τόπον τῶν Σέρβων) in 1039.[74] True to its tried-and-tested model, the Empire sought to compensate for

65 See the chapter *Provincial Administration in the Sevice of Pacification*, I.

66 Scylitzes, 353–354.

67 *Komatina*, Srbija i Duklja, 159–186.

68 Michael Glycas, 594, 614–615.

69 Alexias, 252–253, 258.

70 Besides the fortified city of Ras, restored under the early Komnenoi as part of the fortification system that defended the Empire's territories against Serbian incursions, the sources mention smaller, often unnamed forts, whose primary purpose seems to have been housing smaller military detachments and serving as *refugia*, Cinnamus, 12, 102–103; Manasses, Dyo anegdota ponēmata, 89–91; *Maksimović*, Zigos, 73–89; *Popović*, Fortresses, 177–178; *Stephenson*, Balkan Frontier, 125, 148–150. The fact that the centers of the new bishoprics founded by Sava Nemanjić under the Archbishopric of Serbia were monasteries rather than cities seems to support this hypothesis.

71 Alexias, 130, 183, 225–226, 253, 258; *Browning*, New Source, 199; Cinnamus, 101–104, 109; Choniates, Historia, 159.

72 On the proposed new date for the Battle of Morava see *Ritter*, Die vlacho-bulgarische Rebellion, 162–210.

73 Choniates, Orationes, 28. Cf. Choniates, Historia, 90.

74 Scylitzes, 408–409. It is thought that Serbia broke away from the Empire in 1034 only to be re-subdued in 1036, *Komatina*, Srbija i Duklja, 170.

its loss of direct control by exerting indirect influence. The first step was to establish a friendship agreement with local rulers in the Balkans, granting them various court titles. For instance, Michael, son of Stefan Vojislav and leader of the Triballi and Serbs (Τριβαλλῶν καὶ Σέρβων... ἀρχηγός), made a treaty with the emperor and was inscribed among the Byzantines' allies and friends (τοῖς συμμάχους καὶ φίλοις τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐγγράφεται), receiving the title of *protospatharios* in the process.[75] John Scylitzes and Skylitzes Continuatos address Michael by the term ἀρχηγός, reflecting his status as one of the local Serbian lords on the Empire's periphery who held the titles of ἄρχων and ἀρχηγός or a variation of this dignity (ἄρχων τῶν ἀρχόντων, ἀρχηγέτης, ἐξάρχων) in 10th- and 11th-century Byzantine sources.[76] Anna Komnene ascribes the same rank to Michael and his son Bodin, calling them exarchs of the Dalmatae (τοὺς ἐξάρχους τῶ Δαλματῶν).[77] However, other sources reveal what Anna omits: Bodin also held the titles of *protosebastos* and *exusiastos* of Diokleia and Serbia, which were superior to the *exarchos* and *prospatharios* in the Byzantine hierarchy. Considering that Alexios I Komnenos had established the title of *protosebastos* and bestowed it on his brother-in-law and brother, Bodin must have been an ally of the Empire.[78]

Constantine Bodin's rise in the Byzantine hierarchy was a direct consequence of Alexios I Komnenos' accession to the throne and his urgent need to pacify the Balkans or, more specifically, the Serbs. Bodin's involvement in the rebellion of George Voyteh must have made the pacification of the Serbs an even more pressing concern.[79] Even though an agreement with the Empire was in place, there was always a risk that both Michael and Constantine Bodin could breach the treaties and target Byzantine territories, positioning them as significant political actors in the Balkans. In the 1090s, the clashes between the Byzantines and the Serbs in the borderlands were quite intense, as evidenced by the report that John Doukas took many of Prince Vukan's strongholds during his eleven-year mandate as *doux* of Dyrrachion, sending many Dalmatae as prisoners to the emperor and even capturing Bodin.[80]

The Empire's relationship with the Serbs remained unchanged during the reign of the Serbian prince Vukan, described in 1093 as the "ruler of all Dalmatia" (ἀνὴρ δὲ οὗτος τὸ πᾶν τῆς ἀρχῆς τῶν Δαλμάτων φέρων). The reports on the Empire's conflict with Vukan employ a model reserved for the Serbs in Byzantine historical narratives from the late 10th to the mid-13th century. The Serbs, the sources tell us, kept rebelling but fled for the hills and forests as soon as the Byzantine army drew near; after the second or third Byzantine intervention, the Serbs would renew their treaty with the Empire.

75 Scylitzes, 475; Zonaras, 617–618.

76 *Komatina*, Vizantijska titula, 64, 68.

77 Alexias, 51–54.

78 *Cheynet*, Serbie, 94–95; *Komatina*, Vizantijska titula, 61–76. The author argues that the treaty with Bodin included the recognition of his royal title, ibid., 72.

79 Bodin's ties to the Komnenoi are datable to his imprisonment after George Voyteh's rebellion was quelled when he was sent to *doux* Isaac Komnenos, former emperor and brother of Alexios I, in Antioch, Skylitzes Continuatus, 152.

80 Alexias, 51–54, 116–117, 135–136, 225–226, 252.

However, these truces never lasted, and the Serbs were always unreliable and disloyal allies.[81] However, the account of John Kinnamos brings this model to a new level. The Serbs were subjugated to the *Rhomaioi* (καὶ Σερβίων τῶν Ῥωμαίοις κατηκόων) because they had defected (εἰς ἀποστασίαν ἰδόντες) during the reign of Manuel I. This emperor, whom Kinnamos portrays as a superhero, single-handedly appointed and deposed the grand *župans* of Serbia, with Stefan Nemanja as the last.[82] The climax of the subjugation of the Serbian grand *župans* was bringing Stefan Nemanja in 1172[83] before the emperor's throne (βήμα), bareheaded and unshod, arms bared up to the elbows, a rope around his neck, and a sword in hand. Stefan Nemanja surrendered to the emperor to do with him as he wanted. Moved by this gesture, the emperor forgave his transgressions.[84] Additionally, Nemanja – described as a wretch (ἀλάστωρ), apostate (ὁ ἀποστάτης), and thrice a slave (ὁ τρίδουλος) as well as high-shouldered (ὑπερωμίας τις ἄνθρωπος) or an awkward old man (ὠγύγιος ἀτεχνῶς) whom the emperor had wrenched from his land, home, and fatherland (ἐξῆρας αὐτὸν ἐκ γῆς καὶ οἴκου καὶ πατριᾶς) – was paraded in a cage in an imperial procession while the rapturous crowd jeered and taunted him for having wanted to defect to a new master because "the broad-shouldered bull walked a straight path under the smallest of whips."[85] Another aspect of the Serbs' vassalage to the Empire in the Komnenian era was the auxiliary military troops they sent to the Byzantines, with John Kinnamos blaming the Serbs for the Byzantine defeat in the Battle of Myriokephalon (1178).[86] In addition, the Byzantines occasionally forcibly resettled groups of Serbs in other parts of the Empire to pacify them or punish their defiance.[87] Taking hostages, preferably members of the ruling family, was another measure the Komnenoi employed to ensure the recalcitrant Serbs' treaty compliance.[88]

In a speech addressed to Isaac II Angelos, Niketas Choniates describes the victory over the Serbs in the Battle of Morava (1191) as an absolute triumph for the emperor. Although the chronicler incorrectly claims that Stefan Nemanja, having symbolically removed his footwear befitting a ruler, was stripped of power over the Dalmatae, Serbia's status relative to the Empire changed significantly after this event.[89] While Serbia became an independent kingdom in 1217 and ended its vassalage to the Byzantines,

81 Ibid., 252–253, 265–269, 279–280; Cinnamus, 249; VIINJ IV, n. 246. Elsewhere, Niketas Choniates reports that the emperor told the Serbs to pipe down as soon as they saw him, Choniates, Historia, 100.

82 Cinnamus, 101–104, 107–108, 112–113, 212–214, 203–204, 236; Choniates, Historia, 92, 158–159; *Nikolić – Pavlović*, Bulgarians, Serbs, and the Rus, 754–755. On p. 754, the article accidentally misnamed Emperor Manuel I as Michael I. Cf. *Chalandon*, Les Comnènes, 255.

83 For a chronology, see VIINJ IV, 101–102 n. 294–299.

84 Cinnamus, 286–288; VIINJ IV, 101–104. Even though Kinnamos does not name the captured Serbian *župan*, other texts clarify that this was indeed Stefan Nemanja. On subjugation rituals under Manuel I, see *Vučetić*, Ritual potčinjavanja, 593–603; *Idem*, Zusammenkünfte byzantinischer Kaiser, 147–149.

85 Manasses, Dyo anegdota ponēmata, 89–91; *Nikolić – Pavlović*, Bulgarians, Serbs, and the Rus, 754–755.

86 Cinnamus, 107–108, 112–113, 271, 299; *Nikolić – Pavlović,* Bulgarians, Serbs, and the Rus, 755.

87 Choniates, Historia, 16.

88 Alexias, 280; Choniates, Historia, 92–93; Eustathios Thessalonicensis, Opera minora, 217.

89 Even though Isaac II Angelos claimed in a letter to Pope Celestine III in 1191/2 that Serbia had of old belonged to the Byzantines and had never been ceded to anyone (VIINJ IV, 250–251), Byzantine influence on Serbia after the Battle of Morava radically changed, cf. *Bubalo*, Srpska zemlja, 70–71; *Pirivatrić*, Kriza, 112.

historical narratives continued to portray the Serbs as unreliable allies. Even though Uroš I held the title of king, George Akropolites referred to him merely as the ruler of the Serbs (ὁ τῶν Σέρβων ἄρχων).[90] Akropolites, however, did not do so because he was unaware that Uroš I was a king but rather because he chose to address him in that manner. The very first piece of information in his narrative about the Serbs, where he says that Alexios III married his daughter Eudokia to the king of Serbia (τῷ κράλεῖ Σερβίας), i.e., Stefan the First-Crowned, suggests that Akropolites was fully aware that Serbian rulers bore the royal crown.[91] Finally, George Pachymeres called Uroš I the king of Serbia (τῷ κράλεῖ Σερβίας).[92]

The people

The historical narratives from the 10th to the middle of the 13th century called the Serbs by various names: Triballi, Dalmatae, Diokleians, and Dacians.[93] Additionally, the terms Serbs and Triballi were used interchangeably.[94]

Komnenian-era authors used the word Dalmatae as an umbrella term for the Serbian population of the central Balkans. Anna Komnene's reports on Dalmatia, which she understands as the eponymous Roman province, also concern that population. This suggests that the term Dalmatae initially indicated the inhabitants of an administrative-geographical district before evolving to denote an ethnic group.[95] In Anna Komnene's narrative, the term Dalmatae covers the whole Serbian ethnic space, with both Bodin and Vukan referred to as Dalmatae.[96] Anna distinguishes between the Serbs and the Dalmatae in only two instances.[97] Her distinction between Serbia and Dalmatia mirrors the separation of the Triballi and Triballia (meaning Diokleia) from Serbia in John Scylitzes' chronicle.[98] Similarly, Anna's differentiation between Dalmatia and Serbia indicates that Serbia became the dominant Serbian principality during

90 Acropolitus, 145–146.

91 Ibid., 9.

92 Pachymeres, II, 453.

93 Scylitzes, 424, 475; Bryennius, 209–211, 215; Alexias, 53, 130, 225, 226, 252–253, 265, 266, 280, 369, 383; Michael Glycas, 594; *Browning*, New Source,199, 200–201; Cinnamus, 12, 71, 101–103, 104, 105, 107, 108, 109, 113, 203–204, 212, 213, 236, 249, 271, 286, 287, 299; Choniates, Historia, 16, 90, 92, 100, 136, 434, 531, 532, 608; Acropolitus, 9, 142, 145, 146; Pachymeres, I, 209, 271; II, 401; Gregoras, I, 116. Prodromos, 336–337, 346, 354–356, 358, 364, 369, 409, 517, seems to use interchangeably as many as four ethnonyms for the Serbs (Serbs, Diokleians, Dacians, Dalmatae), and Michael Rhetor refers to the Serbs as Dacians, *Regel*, Fontes Rerum Byzantinarum, 142–144; VIINJ IV, 177, 186; *Radošević*, Les allophyloi, 89–102; *Nikolić – Pavlović,* Bulgarians, Serbs, and the Rus, 753 n. 108.

94 VIINJ III, 117 n. 132, 159 n. 255.

95 Alexias, 53–54, 129, 130, 183, 252–253.

96 In the same report, Anna first names Bodin and then Vukan as the leader of the Dalmatae, realistically reflecting the political situation of Bodin's decline and Vukan's rise to power, VIINJ III, 385 n. 31.

97 Alexias, 266, 440; VIINJ III, 376 n. 12.

98 Alexias, 53, 129–130, 225–226, 252–253, 265–266, 369, 383, 440; see n. 67.

Vukan's time. John Kinnamos' narrative supports this conclusion.[99] Niketas Choniates was the last historian to refer to the Serbs as Dalmatae, and he did so only once.[100]

Finally, Skylitzes Continuatos and John Zonaras report that the Serbian people known as the Croats rebelled during the uprising George Voyteh.[101] Given that Byzantium brought the territory of Croatia under its sphere in the first half of the 11th century, as evidenced by the Byzantine titles conferred upon Croatian rulers Krešimir and Gojslav,[102] associating these two ethnic groups may have reflected Byzantine influence spreading to a part of the Balkans outside their continuous control, unlike the regions inhabited by Bulgarians and Serbs.

Indirect Byzantine influence in Serbia

In 1196, a year after Alexios III Angelos ascended to the throne, there was a political change in Serbia: Stefan Nemanja abdicated in favor of his middle son, Stefan. This decision deviated from the Serbian tradition of male-preference primogeniture,[103] suggesting that Byzantine influence may have been at play. Namely, after the Battle of Morava, Nemanja's secondborn son married Eudokia, a niece of Isaac II Angelos.[104] Once his father-in-law became the Byzantine emperor, Stefan Nemanjić received the dignity of *sebastokrator*, becoming the first foreigner to hold the second most prestigious Byzantine court title. Stefan's high Byzantine title is particularly noteworthy in the context of Alexios III's efforts to secure an heir. The emperor, who had three daughters and no male issue, bestowed the highest court titles (*despot* and *sebastokrator*) on his sons-in-law with the hope that one of them would eventually succeed him.[105] Niketas Choniates records the marriage, highlighting not only Eudokia's right to govern alongside her husband but also the fact that they had children. This detail is particularly significant because Eudokia was no longer married to Stefan Nemanjić when Choniates wrote about their union.[106] The marriage was part of a longstanding Byzantine dynastic strategy designed to make the Byzantine princess the holder of patrimonial rights to the throne.[107] Choniates mentioned this marriage because Byzantine influence continued during the reigns

99 Cinnamus, 214–215, 247–249; VIINJ IV, 66 n. 161.

100 Choniates, Historia, 532.

101 Skylitzes Continuatus, 146; Zonaras, 567, 713.

102 *Komatina*, On the question of Byzantine rule, 11–34.

103 *Bubalo*, Srpska zemlja, 72–74.

104 For different opinions on the chronology of the marriage, which some scholars date before and others after the Battle of Morava, and different views on when the battle took place, cf. *Pirivatrić*, Brak Stefana Nemanjića i Evdokije Komnine, 142–143 n. 7.

105 *Angold*, Byzantine Politics, 58–62.

106 Choniates, Historia, 531, 608; VIINJ IV, 165; Acropolitus, 9. Even though Choniates, Historia, 531 reports that Stefan drove away Eudokia because of her infidelity, there is no doubt that political reasons were behind their divorce.

107 *Pirivatrić*, Brak Stefana Nemanjića i Evdokije Komnine, 149–151.

of their sons, particularly Radoslav.[108] Notably, he omitted to mention that Stefan Nemanjić held the title of *sebastokrator*.[109] Given that Kinnamos and Choniates otherwise highlighted Nemanja's defeats, referencing Stefan Nemanjić's title of *sebastokrator* would have had quite the opposite effect – revealing the Empire's inability to maintain its influence in Serbia. Thus, Choniates may have deliberately omitted Stefan's title as he viewed it as an excessive concession, particularly since Stefan's marriage to Eudokia had ended by the time of his writing.[110] George Akropolites also refrains from mentioning Stefan's title, despite noting that Alexios III arranged for his youngest daughter, Eudokia, to marry the king of Serbia (τῷ κράλῃ Σερβίας).[111] Similarly, Akropolites does not address the autocephalous status granted to the Serbian Church.

Barbarians or Christians?

An illustrative example of how Byzantine historical narratives from the late 10th to the mid-13th century seldom referred to the peoples of the Balkans as Christians, except when it aligned with the Empire's interests, can be found in Anna Komnene's account of her father making peace with the Serbian grand *župan* Vukan. When Alexios I personally led an army to Lipljan, Vukan appeared before the emperor accompanied by his relatives and leading *župans*, offering peace and his nephews Uroš and Stefan Vukan as hostages. Alexios enthusiastically accepted the offer from the "barbarian" (δέχεται τοίνυν τὸν βάρβαρον ἀσμένως ὁ αυτοκράτωρ) as he was weary and found the prospect of a civil war abhorrent (ἀποστρεφόμενος τὴν ἐμφύλιον μάχην) – because, despite being Dalmatae, Vukan and his men were still Christians (κἂν γὰρ Δαλμάται ἦσαν, ἀλλ' ὅμως Χριστιανοί).[112] Given that the Byzantine notion of civil war encompassed conflicts among Christians,[113] the Christian argument was employed here to explain away the Empire's inability to bring Vukan fully to heel.

Like the reports on Bulgarian history from the first half of the 13th century, the glaring gaps in historical accounts of Serbian history are equally suggestive as the information they explicitly provide. No Byzantine author reports the establishment of the Archbishopric of Serbia when Theodore I Laskaris, Emperor of Nicaea, made

108 *Maksimović*, „Vizantinizmi", 139–147. For a general overview of Byzantine influence in Serbia, see also *Krsmanović – Maksimović*, Vizantija u Srbiji, 41–55.

109 Stefan's *sebastokrator* title is only mentioned in Serbian sources: Stefan Nemanja's Hilandar Charter of 1198/9, Stefan Nemanjić's Hilandar Charter of 1200/1202, and an inscription next to Stefan's portrait at Mileševa, *Ferjančić*, Sevastokratori, 168.

110 *Nikolić – Pavlović*, Bulgarians, Serbs, and the Rus, 755–756. Choniates, Historia, 531 also erroneously reports that Stefan Nemanja ascended Mount Papykios and embraced the monastic life. As is well known, Stefan Nemanja took his monastic vows at his foundation, Studenica, and then withdrew to Mount Athos, where he renewed the old Hilandar Monastery, which had been granted to him by three *chrysoboulloi logoi* of Emperor Alexios III. Choniates's narrative reports none of these events.

111 Acropolitus, 9.

112 Alexias, 279–280. Anna seems to mention the same conflict again slightly later in her narrative, Alexias, 369; *Komatina*, Srpski vladari u Aleksijadi, 189–191.

113 *Stouraitis*, Byzantine war against Christians, 85–110.

Sava Nemanjić an archbishop, and Patriarch Michael Autoreianos consecrated him in 1219.[114] While Stefan Nemanjić, like the Bulgarian ruler Kaloyan earlier, received his royal crown from Rome,[115] his younger brother, monk Sava, traveled to Nicaea, thereby recognizing Theodore I as the Byzantine emperor. As the *epistemonarch* of the Church,[116] not necessarily bound by canon law, Theodore I had the authority to select a candidate and instruct his patriarch to consecrate him. The territorial scope of the Archbishopric of Ohrid changed with the founding of the Archbishopric of Serbia. Amidst the total collapse of the administrative and ecclesiastical structure of the Byzantine Empire and the rivalry between Nicaea, Epirus, and Bulgaria, this Serbo-Nicaean agreement meant that by recognizing the ruler of Nicaea as the legitimate Byzantine emperor, the Nemanjić state became, by imperial decree, part of the Byzantine *oikoumene*, headed by the exiled Byzantine emperor and patriarch of Constantinople.[117] So, Theodore I, like Basil II before him and presumably with the same objective, founded a local church to ensure the Empire of Nicaea's influence in Serbia.

However, unlike the Archbishopric of Ohrid, whose primate was appointed personally by the Byzantine emperor, the Archbishopric of Serbia was allowed to elect its head after Sava I. While the holder of the archbishop office had never depended on the regional metropolitan bishop and was instead appointed by the emperor or patriarch, the Archbishopric of Serbia was to be fully independent, which would have made it closer to a patriarchate or a modern autocephalous church. Its link to the Ecumenical patriarch in Nicaea dictated that the patriarch's name had to be uttered first during the Eucharist. The status of the Archbishopric of Serbia was a novel formula unprecedented in earlier ecclesiastical practices.[118] Therefore, it is unsurprising that the key Byzantine narrative source from the first half of the 13th century, George Akropolites' *History*, omits the founding of the Archbishopric of Serbia – a major concession on Nicaea's part and a glaring sign of its weakness. Regardless, this policy brought multiple advantages to Theodore I. Serbia became the first state to recognize the highest Byzantine secular and ecclesiastical authorities exiled in Nicaea,[119] and Sava's diligent and prolific work on translating Byzantine liturgical and canonical texts and making new compilations anchored the Serbian state firmly in the Byzantine cultural framework.

114 Only Serbian sources report this, Domentijan, 133–137; Teodosije, 194–199.

115 For the relevant sources and the event, see *Prinzing*, Bedeutung, 155; *Idem*, Papsttum, 165–166; *Komatina*, Veliko kraljevstvo od prva, 15–16.

116 *Dagron*, Emperor and Priest, 248–281; *Angold*, Church and Society, 99–115.

117 *Pirivatrić*, Kriza, 131–132.

118 *Papadakis – Meyendorff*, Christian East, 254–255.

119 *Pirivatrić*, Kriza, 139.

III. The Archbishopric of Ohrid – Michael VIII Palaiologos' argument ex nihilo?

Michael VIII attempted to secure the Serbs' support for thwarting the expansionist designs of Charles I of Anjou to Byzantine territories by arranging a marriage between his daughter Anna and the Serbian prince Milutin, a union that would have established kinship ties between the Byzantine imperial family and the royal house of Nemanjić. However, the plan ultimately failed.[120] Disgruntled by Serbia's and Bulgaria's siding with Charles of Anjou up to 1272, Michael VIII issued a charter (Βασιλικὸν γράμμα) to the Archbishopric of Ohrid in July 1273.[121] This document, which included Basil II's three founding charters, defined the jurisdiction of the "all-holy Great Church of *Iustiniana Prima* and all of Bulgaria, Serbia, and others" (γράφον τὰ ἱεροκύκλια τῆς ἁγιωτάτης μεγάλης ἐκκλησίας τῆς ἁ Ἰουστινιανῆς καὶ πάσης Βουλγαρίας Σερβίας καὶ λοιπῶν). Michael gave the archbishop of Ohrid jurisdiction over all diocesan sees that Basil's charters had assigned to the Archbishopric of Ohrid after they had been taken from nearby Byzantine bishops. Additionally, the Ohrid primate received the bishoprics previously under his jurisdiction which had become autocephalous in the intervening years. Any see beyond Ohrid's jurisdiction that had appropriated a bishopric of the Archbishopric of Ohrid was ordered to cede it immediately to Ohrid unless it could provide a charter issued by a Byzantine emperor to the opposite effect. If a bishopric had such a document in its possession, it needed to have been issued before the accession of Manuel I Komnenos, as Michael VIII argued that an internal crisis had broken out in the Empire shortly after Manuel's death and that the period until the fall of Constantinople to the Latins had been brief.[122] Thus, Michael VIII restored the initial territorial scope of the Archbishopric of Ohrid, essentially subjugating the Serbian and Bulgarian churches to Ohrid and delegitimizing the decisions of Theodore I Laskaris and John III Vatatzes, who had been responsible for the establishment of the Archbishopric of Serbia and the Patriarchate of Tarnovo, respectively. This move also highlighted Michael VIII's influence in Serbia and Bulgaria, seeking to preempt their resistance to the planned union of the Eastern and Western churches.[123]

In the opening sections of his charter, Michael VIII evoked the historical rights of the Archbishopric of Ohrid, insisting on its historical continuity with *Iustiniana Prima*.[124] This suggested that the Ohrid Church predated other autocephalous churches in the central Balkans and the settlement of the Serbs and Bulgarians in this region.

120 Pachymeres, IV, 453–457. On the negotiations and dating of the attempt to arrange this dynastic marriage, see VIINJ VI, 22–30; *Komatina*, O prvom braku kralja Milutina, 45–59.

121 *Müller*, Zur Datierung, 427–432; *Birnbaum*, Slavic translation, 267–284.

122 *Beneševič*, Opisanie, 550.26–554; *Delikarē*, Archiepiskopē Achridōn, 99.

123 *Tarnanidēs*, *Ekklēsiastikē politikē*, 55–56, 60–87; *Idem*, Archiepiskopē Achridas, 567; *Idem*, Theōria kai praxē, 143–158.

124 *Beneševič*, Opisanie, 542–544.18. On continuity between *Iustiniana Prima* and the Archbishopric of Ohrid, first mentioned by Michael of Devol, (Scylitzes, 365.8–11), see *Ljubinković*, Tradicije Justinijana Prime, 61–75; *Prinzing*, Entstehung, 270–271.

In other words, Michael argued that the Ohrid Church had existed for centuries in a territory that had always belonged to the Byzantines. This is particularly apparent from his claim that Basil II founded the Archbishopric of Ohrid as a result of his conquest of Bulgaria (τοῦτό ἐστι παρὰ πάντα ἐξαίρετον τὸ προσθήκην γενέσθαι τῇ Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῇ καὶ τὴν τῶν Βουλγάρων γενέσθαι ὑπὸ ζευγὸν ἕνα), his emphasis on Basil's epithet of "Boulgaroktonos" and annihilation of the Bulgarian race (ὃς καὶ διὰ τὸ πλείστην συντριβὴν τῷ γένει τῶν Μυσῶν ἐμποιῆσαι τὴν τοῦ βουλγαροκτόνου κλῆσιν ἠνέγκατο), and the absence of any association of the Archbishopric of Ohrid with *Iustiniana Prima* in Basil II's founding charters. Insisting on the historical rights of the Ohrid Church, Michael changed its full name, expanding it to include Serbia and other unspecified churches, again without precedent.[125] In incorporating Basil II's founding *sigillia* into his charter, Michael VIII highlighted his sovereignty as the Byzantine emperor, the only authority with the power to define the borders of the Archbishopric of Ohrid, just like its founder had. Yet, amidst the political landscape and the balance of power in the Balkans, which had shifted to the advantage of Bulgaria and Serbia, Michael VIII had no way of implementing his imperial ideology.[126] Regardless, his ideological utilization of the Archbishopric of Ohrid – a model and symbol of the centuries-old legacy of a carefully designed Byzantine policy in a territory the Byzantines had always considered their own – was one of the tools the Empire leveraged in a desperate bid to maintain a presence in the central Balkans. Such as it was, this tool drew on the historical claims and continuity of what was seen as the preeminent Byzantine institution in any political circumstances.

Maja Nikolić

125 *Beneševič*, Opisanie, 542, 544.6–9, 21–25, 552.25–27, 553.10–11.

126 *Radojčić*, Sv. Sava, 47. The Archbishopric of Serbia seems to have responded to Michael VIII's charter by no longer mentioning the patriarch of Constantinople during the liturgy, *Stanojević*, Sv. Sava, 233–235; *Delikarē*, Archiepiskopē Achridōn, 196 n. 117.

10.46793/Barb.Rhom.II.411K

Final Remarks

The Byzantine emperor Leo VI was of the opinion – a view shared by the archbishops of Ohrid – that Christianization led foreign peoples to accept the *Rhomaic* way of life.[1] The dissemination of Christianity, both spontaneous and planned, occurred under Byzantine influence, and the new religion permanently altered political and social relationships among the Slavic population of the Balkans. Yet, the Byzantine sources referred to the populations of the central Balkans as barbarians both before and after their Christianization, even after the territories they inhabited were incorporated into the Byzantine Empire's borders. This pejorative term was also applied to the inhabitants of other regions within the Byzantine Empire, with varying motives and contexts. In some instances, the term *barbarian* referred to individuals who were native speakers of languages other than Greek, essentially signifying persons of foreign origin. Additionally, it could be employed as a derogatory term to describe individuals perceived as undereducated or unfamiliar with Byzantine high culture, legislation, and otherwise unsophisticated, regardless of their native language. The Empire's primary interest lay in the territory and its economic potential, which meant that the integration of the populations of the central Balkans was in the service of the consolidation of Byzantine rule over this space. Therefore, it can be said that the primary objective of the Byzantine political elite was not to reshape the identity of the populations within the Empire's provinces but to ensure their loyalty as imperial subjects. Consequently, the identity of these populations rarely attracted the attention of Byzantine authors, except in instances when they defied the Empire's authority or rejected the Orthodox doctrine of the Christian Church.

In incorporating the conquered territories and populations, Byzantium leveraged the cultural traditions that had developed under its influence before these areas were politically integrated into its borders. However, surviving monuments and narrative sources do not provide a complete understanding of all relevant historical circumstances. Nonetheless, whether the central Balkans were within the political boundaries of Bulgaria, Serbia, or Byzantium, their ecclesiastical life predominantly adhered to Byzantine models in both religious art and devotional and liturgical practices. Byzantine influence on church art in the Bulgarian state was transmitted from Constantinople and Byzantine provinces through various channels over different periods, shaped by

1 Taktika 18.59. Cf. Vita Clementis, 10; Iacobus, Opuscula, VI, 84.21–85.3.

specific political and ecclesiastical contexts. Slavic literacy and literature remained connected to the Byzantine tradition, mainly developing through translation efforts. Initially, diocesan life relied on Byzantine clerics, while local Slavic clergy gradually grew in number and received education from the followers of Byzantine missionaries Cyril and Methodios, promoting Slavonic as the liturgical language. With the development of ecclesiastical life, the Christian cultural pattern imposed itself as the model to be emulated in all segments of society. The church served as the central hub of public life and the cornerstone of all private events, acting as the conduit for significant news and captivating stories. The architecture and art of the church were undoubtedly the most remarkable achievements of that era, profoundly influencing both individuals and communities in ways that are difficult to fully comprehend within the visually rich context of the modern age. The faithful reflected on their actions and thoughts in dialogues with parish priests, striving to align their daily lives with Christian principles. Their everyday life, organized according to the agrarian calendar and the rhythms of their professions, conformed to the church calendar. The rhythm of working and non-working days reflected Christian feasts. Celebratory gatherings in parish churches and on village greens, on major religious holidays and the feast days of minor saints, strengthened local community identity. The establishment of a stable ecclesiastical organization played a crucial role in bringing together the populations of the central Balkans, regardless of the polity to which this space happened to belong. Hence, the development of Bulgarian statehood and the Bulgarian Church, modeled after their Byzantine counterparts, arguably smoothed Byzantium's advance into the interior of the Balkans in 1018, the year that saw the Byzantines subdue a space that had been exposed for centuries to their various influences. It is important to note that the process of bringing together the populations of the central Balkans under one rule initially unfolded through the church within the borders of the Bulgarian state and only later within the Byzantine Empire. The extensive influence of Christianization and the church organization was pivotal to the success of Basil II's policy, which largely depended on his relationship with the church in Bulgaria. Basil II strategically engaged with ecclesiastical circles to gain leverage in his conflict with the Bulgarian Empire and subsequently integrate the subdued local population into the society and political framework of the victorious Byzantines.

The transition from the Bulgarian to the Byzantine era can be traced through the basilicas of St. Achilleos at Little Prespa and Hagia Sophia at Ohrid, the two preeminent religious edifices in the territory of the Archbishopric of Ohrid. The fact that the Church of St. Achilleos was maintained and improved upon, after the conflicts between Samuel's state and Byzantium had died down suggests that the victorious side recognized at least the ecclesiastical policy of the Bulgarian emperor. The church organization of Samuel and the Bulgarian primates was not challenged but absorbed and further developed within the borders of the Archbishopric that Basil II confirmed. The forced translation of the saint's relics from Larissa to Little Prespa was not reversed by returning them to the city where St. Achilleos is traditionally believed to have lived, although their presence had once added much to Larissa's reputation and prestige. The shift of pilgrimages to the new and far more monumental resting place of St. Achilleos

Fig. 1.
Little Prespa,
St. Achilleos,
altar apse with
synthronon

had made Little Prespa an ecclesiastical and cultic center of a status that could not be ignored even after the permanent pacification and conquest of the central parts of Samuel's realm when the war ended in 1018. Simply put, Byzantium adopted and later upgraded the Church of St. Achilleos as part of its own heritage.

The choice of the island of St. Achilleos as the micro-location for erecting an imposing basilica may have been connected with a residential complex that Samuel had probably already built at the site. Positioned in the middle of a lake, the complex was inaccessible and likely additionally protected by a smaller fort on the southern end of the island. So, the island would have been the topographically safest choice for the investment of the considerable funds that the construction of a monumental basilica and the ruler's residential complex would have required. However, this isolated location entailed many limitations, unlike Ohrid, the nearest urbanized and well-connected center in Prespa's environs. This urban hub on the *Via Egnatia* was more convenient for trade between the hinterlands and the coast and for warfare-related activities. Therefore, it is unsurprising that the sources report that the Bulgarian imperial treasury was at Ohrid, a well-fortified city that eventually, likely after Samuel's death, became the *metropolis pases Boulgarias*, sharing this status with Prespa. We cannot know whether a new church was erected then for the Bulgarian primate or whether a preexisting temple was repurposed – one that would have been built while the city served

as the seat of the bishopric under the jurisdiction of the Byzantine Church. There is no doubt, however, that the cathedral of St. Achilleos retained its dominant role in Bulgaria's ecclesiastical life, later maintaining this prestigious status within Byzantine borders and serving as an alternative seat of the Archbishopric of Ohrid.

The Church of Hagia Sophia at Ohrid was built to serve as the cathedral of the Archbishopric of Ohrid, proclaimed in Basil's *sigillia* after the war ended in 1018. The existing research has thus far revealed no evidence to connect the church to Samuel's ruling house. Its appearance, position and, to a great extent, its purpose made Hagia Sophia very different from the former Bulgarian ecclesiastical center at Little Prespa. The church was founded by Archbishop Leo of Ohrid, who thereby introduced an embodiment of Constantinopolitan monumental church architecture to Ohrid, albeit adapted to the city's urban landscape. Leo conceived the cathedral as a domed basilica, which, however, did not dominate the city's panorama because it was set in a lower zone of the urban core, enclosed by rising ground on its western side. Thus, the Church of Hagia Sophia was more impressive from up close, particularly its façades, which featured decorative construction methods and masonry techniques characteristic of the period's church architecture in the Empire's leading cities. The architectural design Leo implemented at Hagia Sophia framed the monumental wall paintings in the interior of the church, which the enterprising archbishop used to convey his views on then-current ecclesiastical matters. Even though the messages communicated through the imagery of Hagia Sophia continue to attract attention, there is no doubt that they were intended for the upper classes of Byzantine society, erudite, versed in theology, and familiar with the ecclesiastical situation of their time. Restoring its presence in Ohrid and building its *own* cathedral, Byzantium opened the door of this old bishopric to its own clergy, some of whom had been educated and made their names in Constantinople, the city whose models they sought to emulate in the local milieu. At the same time, the clergy of the Archbishopric of Ohrid accorded due respect to Samuel's endowment as the cultic site and resting place of St. Achilleos and the cathedral of the old Bulgarian church organization, whose role Hagia Sophia had assumed. These two aspects contributed to the enduring importance of St. Achilleos in the Archbishopric of Ohrid's ecclesiastical organization, even though the church had been founded by a vanquished ruler whose imperial title the Byzantines deemed illegitimate.

The integration of former Bulgarian subjects into the Byzantine Empire occurred at various levels. Full integration would typically mean the assimilation of the subdued population, leading to the abandonment of their original traditions and cultural identities in favor of *Rhomaic* history and culture, which they would embrace as their own. Alternatively, political integration could occur, whereby the subjects acknowledged Byzantine authority, laws, and state obligations, receiving positions within the Byzantine official hierarchy while retaining their ancestral language, historical memory, and cultural norms. In this scenario, awareness of their non-Byzantine roots persisted to some extent. Such subjects remain identifiable as a distinct group within the Empire or as a subgroup of the *Rhomaioi*, marked by their adherence to a different cultural tradition.

Only the political integration of the Slavic population in the Balkans can be observed to varying degrees, whereas assimilation processes prove elusive. Individuals and families that fully assimilated into Byzantine society are not distinguished from the dominant population in historical narratives, making it difficult to gain insights into this outcome of the integration process. The distinctive nature of the unassimilated, Slavonic-speaking population, comprising various ethnicities, is reflected in their attachment to the Slavonic vernacular, literary tradition, and Bulgarian statehood. Evidence from Bulgarian epigraphy and sigillography indicates that Greek remained the dominant language in the administration of the Bulgarian state and church, even after the liturgy started to be performed in Slavonic and the Slavonic alphabet began to appear in inscriptions from the 10th century onward. Consequently, the Slavonic-speaking population was frequently exposed to Greek, primarily through ecclesiastical circles and trade, even before they came under direct Byzantine rule. However, many ethnic groups within Byzantium continued to use their languages in everyday communication, and in some environments, languages other than Greek were used in devotional services. Therefore, it can be concluded that neither the Slavonic language nor literature constituted barriers to the political integration of the population into the Byzantine Empire; rather, the primary obstacle was the legacy of Bulgarian statehood and the ambitions of influential individuals to restore it.

Anthroponyms documented in Byzantine sources can serve as indicators of an individual's Slavic ancestry. These names, which were evidently foreign to the Byzantines, signaled the distinct lineage of the bearers and their families. Nonetheless, retaining Slavic anthroponyms, whether as given names or patronymics, did not necessarily imply allegiance to Bulgarian statehood or political independence, as numerous such individuals served as local Byzantine officials and embraced Byzantine cultural models. The descriptors utilized by Byzantine authors may also reveal how an individual or group was perceived within the broader imperial or cultural context. However, these descriptors were frequently generic, with writers using conventional names rooted in the ethnographic norms of classical antiquity or a taxonomy reflecting the contemporary political landscape. Additionally, they ascribed stereotypical attributes to ethnic groups alongside classical names. When Byzantine authors employed current terms to identify subjects of the Bulgarian ruler, they referred to them as *Bulgarians*, which could extend to include the language, labeled *Bulgarian* (βουλγαρική). This practice of identifying individuals, populations, and languages by the associated political entity was characteristic of Byzantium: Subjects of the Byzantine Empire were called *Rhomaioi* regardless of ethnicity, and Greek was also known as *Rhomaic* (ῥωμαϊκή).

It is important to note that identity labels did not possess a fixed semantic value due to the evolving usage of ethnonyms and demonyms (i.e. terms used to refer to the population of a place). This variability also applies to the use of classical names for the inhabitants of the Balkans. By using such terms, Byzantine authors demonstrated their allegiance to an idealized imperial map of the eternal Roman Empire. Consequently, the specific meaning of ethnonyms and demonyms was determined by genre

conventions and the relevant literary, political-historical, and social contexts. Accordingly, the term *Bulgarian* in historical sources did not have a purely ethnic connotation but rather referred to the subjects of the Bulgarian ruler, regardless of their ethnicity. Following Bulgaria's integration into Byzantium after 1018, the meaning of the term *Bulgaria* evolved. Sources indicate a dual usage of the term within Byzantium. Until the end of the 11th century, *Bulgaria* denoted the district centered at Skopje. Additionally, it was used to refer to the autocephalous archbishopric with its seat at Ohrid, established by Basil II. Thus, the inhabitants of the district of Bulgaria or, more broadly, those residing within the territories under the jurisdiction of the Archbishopric of Ohrid were termed *Bulgarians*. With the establishment of a new Bulgarian state in the 12th century, now seated at Tarnovo, the term *Bulgarian* assumed an additional meaning, denoting the inhabitants of the new polity, as well as those who lived in the territory of the Byzantine archbishopric centered at Ohrid, which retained the word *Bulgaria* in its name. Regardless of all these political changes and shifting borders, the archbishop of Ohrid consistently defended his jurisdiction and prerogatives.

More broadly, the efforts of the archbishops reflect the prevailing attitude of Byzantine intellectuals concerning the continuity of the Roman Empire, conceived as the center of the *oikoumene*. They regarded the central Balkans as a territory belonging to the *Rhomaioi*, where *Rhomaic* secular and ecclesiastical laws were, or ought to have been, the sole regulatory framework. Following the interruption of this continuity after Justinian the Great (527–565), the restoration of Byzantine rule in the Balkans in 1018 was linked to Justinian's legacy, with *Iustiniana Prima*, the emperor's foundation and the seat of an archbishop, playing a significant role in this process. When Byzantine archbishops assumed leadership of the Bulgarian church organization, they identified Ohrid with *Iustiniana Prima*, presenting its autocephaly as the fulfilment of Justinian's imperial orders. This process can be traced back to Archbishop Leo, the first *Rhomaios* to occupy the throne of Ohrid. Even though Emperor Basil II had granted generous privileges to the Bulgarian Church after the collapse of the Bulgarian state, the church organization eventually passed into Byzantine hands. Sources indicate that while the lower clergy of the Archbishopric may have been local, most bishops likely had connections to the Constantinopolitan clergy. Emperors appointed archbishops, typically selecting trusted individuals from their close circles. And yet, the archbishops did not reject or undermine the illustrious missionaries who had preached Christianity in the Slavonic language but instead positioned themselves as their successors. They acknowledged the veneration of local saints and Slavic spiritual teachers, lavishing praise, among other things, on their translations of liturgical books and Christian literature from Greek to Slavonic. The achievements of 9th-century missionaries St. Methodios and St. Clement, along with Bulgaria's Christianization, were celebrated and accepted as pivotal parts of the ecclesiastical history of the Ohrid throne. After the restoration of Byzantine rule, the cults of local hermits – the followers of St. John of Rila – continued to develop without hindrance. Moreover, their cultic celebration could be said to have been finalized precisely in the Greek ecclesiastical milieu of the Archbishopric of Ohrid.

Despite the reservations of the Patriarchate of Constantinople toward the autocephalous Ohrid Church, Byzantine emperors showed an interest in the Archbishopric's prosperity and prestige, as attested by their founding of churches in the Balkans as early as the 11th century, with sacral architecture flourishing under the Komnenoi. This was a way for the central authorities to directly present themselves in the local environment and underscore the significance they assigned to their provinces in the region and their place in the imperial order. The former Bulgarian church organization arguably evolved into the most important Byzantine institution in the territory annexed after the fall of the Bulgarian state. Operating in the religious, social, and normative-legislative domains, the Ohrid Church enabled the Empire to integrate the local populations. In the 11th and 12th centuries, the integration process proved most effective precisely in the heart of the Archbishopric, with Ohrid, Kastoria, Bitola, Skopje, Strumica, and others emerging as prominent ecclesiastical centers.

While Basil granted certain privileges to the local population and the Ohrid Church they were but a temporary concession on Constantinople's part. Byzantium's approach to organizing provincial governance revealed that the Empire prioritized the interests of the capital's ecclesiastical and secular elites in the post-1018 period, limiting the influence of local community members and excluding them from the highest official positions. While we cannot definitively measure their participation in governance, the silence of the sources suggests that locals could occupy some lower-ranking positions but not the highest offices in provincial administration. In organizing administration in the central Balkans, Byzantium undoubtedly relied on its own personnel, typically not native to the conquered territories. In the early days, the Byzantines favored officers who had distinguished themselves in the war of 976–1019 and were familiar with the local terrain and circumstances; later, officials from other parts of the Empire were dispatched to serve in the Balkans. This policy changed partially on the eve of the Empire's collapse in 1204 due to the broader crisis of central authority.

The Byzantine presence in the Balkans intensified after the Empire lost its positions in Asia Minor, with the Komnenoi establishing strong central authority in the interior of the Balkans. This is evidenced by the absence of local rebellions or efforts to revive the idea of Bulgarian independence from the end of the 11th century until the broader crisis of the late 12th century, during which the brothers Peter and Asen led an uprising that eventually resulted in the creation of a new Bulgarian state. Members of the ruling house of Komnenos actively served in the military and ecclesiastical organization in the Balkans, which featured prominently in their political and ideological program. The Komnenian era was marked by significant initiatives in church-building and art patronage. Their foundations featured innovative fresco programs that mirrored the contemporary theological discourse of Constantinople. Additionally, Archbishop Adrian Komnenos compiled a new edition of the *Nomokanon* during the first half of the 12th century, underscoring the importance attributed by the Komnenoi to the Archbishopric of Ohrid as a Byzantine possession and cultural hub in the Balkans.

The fall of Constantinople in 1204 and its aftermath shaped the further development of the Byzantine church organization in the central Balkans. The establishment of other autocephalous churches, namely the Bulgarian and Serbian, encroached on the rights and interests of the Archbishopric of Ohrid, who had previously held jurisdiction over much of this territory. Concurrently, however, the patriarch's expulsion from Constantinople brought the importance of the Ohrid throne to the fore. The actions of the archbishop of Ohrid took on a markedly political dimension and became central to organizing Byzantine rule in the western parts of the formerly unified Empire. Notably, in 1227, Archbishop Demetrios Chomatenos of Ohrid (1216–1236) conferred the imperial crown upon Theodore Komnenos Doukas, the ruler of Epirus (1215–1230), thereby enabling him to assume the title of "emperor of the *Rhomaioi*." While the Nicaean ecclesiastical and secular elites denounced Chomatenos' move as insolent and unlawful, the archbishop considered himself a protector of Byzantine law, which he believed was under attack by what he termed *barbarians* – those who rejected *Rhomaic* laws and *Rhomaic* authority. Despite the difficult circumstances due to Latin, Bulgarian, and Serbian conquests, as well as conflicts between Epirus and Nicaea, Chomatenos established himself as a credible interpreter of "divine law" in much of the central Balkans. People in his diocese sought his judgments, hoping they could resolve personal issues in family life, property disputes, and quarrels in the local community. Chomatenos' case files provide a unique testament to the extent to which Christianity influenced the life of the Archbishopric's inhabitants, who had accepted the secular and canon law of the Byzantine Empire. As Chomatenos adjudicated numerous cases beyond the Archbishopric's territory, it can be inferred that the community problems and life dilemmas faced by the inhabitants of the central Balkans were comparable to those encountered in other parts of the Byzantine Empire. It is important to note that the trust of the local population in Demetrios Chomatenos and the episcopal court in Ohrid was not solely due to the archbishop's personal reputation. This trust was established through a lengthy process that led the populace of the central Balkans to adopt Byzantine legislation, legal norms, and principles to regulate their familial and social relationships. This process relied heavily on Christian dogma and religious eschatological concepts, which were deeply intertwined with daily life and individual conduct in both private and public spheres. The authority of Byzantine archbishops and clerics among the general population derived from their perception of the Church as belonging to God – the *ark of salvation* – rather than from the Byzantine Empire itself. As a result, the social norms promoted through the Byzantine church organization outlived the Byzantine Empire in the central Balkans.

Bojana Krsmanović

Jovana Šijaković

List of Illustrations

Cover Illustration:
Ohrid, Hagia Sophia, vault, Ascension of Christ, detail with Angel (Photo: The Institute for Byzantine Studies, SASA)

Dedication Page Illustration:
Kurbinovo, Church of St. George, *diakonikon*, south wall, St. Methodios

VOLUME I

The Chapter:
Byzantine Policy toward "Barbarians" in the Southern Balkans from the 7th to the 10th Century and the Beginning of the *Reconquista*
(Miloš Cvetković)

Map 1. Byzantine provincial organization in the Balkans in the middle of the 10th century (Map design: V. Zdravković)

The Chapter:
Bulgarian Church Architecture and Art: From Origins to 1018
(Ljubomir Milanović – Marka Tomić)

Map. 1. Slavic bishoprics in the region of Epirus in the 9th and 10th century (Map design: V. Zdravković)
Map. 2. The Roupel Pass, a border area between Byzantium and Bulgaria from the 9th to the early 11th century (Map design: V. Zdravković)
Fig. 1. Pliska, Bulgarian palace complex, hypothetical evolution phases, plans: a. First Bulgarian buildings: a. residential court buildings and pagan temple; b. Palace complex under Omurtag; c. Palace complex under Boris; d. Palace complex under Simeon (Drawing: V. Zdravković redrawn after *Ćurčić*, Architecture, fig. 294a–d)
Fig. 2. Preslav, Patriarchal palace complex with the cathedral church, plan (Drawing: G. Tolić redrawn after *Ćurčić*, Architecture, 287)
Fig. 3. Preslav, Round or Golden Church, aerial view (Photo: public domain)
Fig. 4. Preslav, Basilica at Gebe Klise, plan (Drawing: G. Tolić redrawn after *Dončeva*, Bazilikite, 49)
Fig. 5. Preslav, Basilica at Stambol Yolu, plan (Drawing: G. Tolić redrawn after *Dončeva*, Bazilikite, 57)
Fig. 6. Preslav, Icon of St. Theodore, ceramic, National Archaeological Institute with Museum at the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences, Sofia (Photo: Ljubomir Milanović)
Fig. 7. Preslav, Cathedral or Palace Church, plan (Drawing: G. Tolić redrawn after *Dončeva*, Bazilikite, 45)
Fig. 8. Preslav, Church next to the Phiale, plan (Drawing: G. Tolić redrawn after *Dončeva*, Krŭstokupolnite cŭrkvi, 219)
Fig. 9. Dristra, Church No. 2 with residential complex, second phase, aerial view (Photo: public domain)
Fig. 10. Dristra, Episcopal complex, plans: a. Church No. 5; b. Church No. 4; c. Church No. 5, and Church No. 4, overlapping plan (Drawing: M. Knežević redrawn after *Atanasov*, Ot episkopija kŭm samostojnata patriaršija, 72–73)
Fig. 11. Dristra, Church No. 2, view from the east (Photo: public domain)
Fig. 12. Dristra, Church No. 2, second phase, plan (Drawing: G. Tolić redrawn after *Atanasov*, Ot episkopija kŭm samostojnata patriaršija, 79)
Fig. 13. Šušica River Valley, cross-in-square churches, plans: a. Velçë, Asomat; b. Brataj, Monastery of St. George; c. Kropisht, Maja e Lutroit; d. Sherishtë, Bregu i Beshos (Drawing: V. Zdravković redrawn after *Xhyheri et al.*, Kërkime arkeologjike, fig. 1–2, 4, 6)
Fig. 14. Ballsh, Basilica, plan (Drawing: V. Zdravković redrawn after *Mučaj – Hobdari,* Manastiri i Shën Mërisë, fig. 3)
Fig. 15. Ballsh, fragments of architectural sculpture, National Archaeological Museum, Tirana (after *Muçaj*, Kisha e Shën Mërisë, fig. 10.1–2)
Fig. 16. Ballsh, colonette decorated with a rinceau of half-palmettes, National Archaeological Museum, Tirana (after *Muçaj*, Kisha e Shën Mërisë, fig. 7. 1–2)
Fig. 17. Marmiro, Zoodochos Pege, general view (Photo: public domain)
Fig. 18. Zvërnec Island, Church of the Dormition of the Virgin, general view from the east (Photo: public domain)
Fig. 19. The Bay of Valona, free-cross churches, plans: a. Marmiro, Zoodochos Pege; b. Zvërnec Island, Church of the Dormition of the Virgin (Drawing: M. Knežević redrawn after *Meksi*, Arkitektura e Kishave, fig. 164)
Fig. 20. Strumica, Fifteen Martyrs of Tiberiopolis (Photo: The Institute for Byzantine Studies, SASA)
Fig. 21. Strumica, Fifteen Martyrs of Tiberiopolis, phases of construction, plans: a. Late Antique basilica with necropolis; b. Middle Byzantine cross-in-square church; c. Composite plan showing all construction phases and building orientation (Drawing: Vladan Zdravković after *Rujak – Maninski* (ed.), Strumica i Strumičko, 50)
Fig. 22. Strumica, crypt, Fifteen Martyrs of Tiberiopolis (Photo: The Institute for Byzantine Studies, SASA)
Fig. 23. Strumica, crypt, St. Comasius (Photo: The Institute for Byzantine Studies, SASA)
Fig. 24. Krupište, Kale, Basilica, plan (Drawing: V. Zdravković redrawn after *Atanasova – Šterjov*, Katedralen hram, draw. 1)
Fig. 25. Krupište, Kale, Crvena Crkva, plan (Drawing: V. Zdravković redrawn after *Nacev*, Crvena Crkva, 136; *Aleksova,* Episkopijata na Bregalnica, 274)
Fig. 26. The Kočani Valley, free-cross churches, plans: a. Teranci; b. Žiganci; c. Morovizd (Drawing: V. Zdravković redrawn after *Okunjev,* Krstoobrazne crkve, 281; *Aleksova,* Episkopijata na Bregalnica, 313–316; *Aleksova*, Krstovidnata crkva, 381)

Fig. 27. Gornji Kozjak, Church of St. George, view from the north-west (Photo: The Institute for Byzantine Studies, SASA)
Fig. 28. The Kočani Valley, compact inscribed-cross churches, plans: a. Gornji Kozjak, Church of St. George; b. Čardaklija, Manastirče (Drawing: V. Zdravković redrawn after *Aleksova,* Episkopijata na Bregalnica, 313; *Korać,* Sveti Đorđe, 32; *Atanasova – Šterjov,* Manastirče kaj Čardaklija, 303–307)
Fig. 29. Bitola, Basilica underneath Yeni Mosque, remains of the sanctuary (Photo: The Institute for Byzantine Studies)
Fig. 30. Bitola, Basilica underneath Yeni Mosque, plan (Drawing: V. Zdravković redrawn after *Mihajlovski – Filipovska-Lazarovska – Stojkoski,* Medieval Bitola after 1018, 265–267)
Fig. 31. Kale Bair, fortification, plan (Drawing: V. Zdravković after redrawn after documentation of the NI Institute for Preservation of Monuments of Culture and Museum Bitola; Filipovska – Srbinovski, Rezultati od istražuvanjata, 113)
Fig. 32. Zrze, Cave complex, general view (Photo: The Institute for Byzantine Studies, SASA)
Fig. 33. Zrze, plan: I. Early Christian church complex; II. Monastery of the Transfiguration; III. Cave complex (Drawing: V. Zdravković after *Risteski*, Najranite manifestacii na hristijanstvoto, 204; *Mikulčić*, Srednovekovni gradovi i tvrdini, 259; *Vasileski*, Analysis of the Fragments, 41)
Fig. 34. Svećani, Church of St. Constantine, present state of the monument (Photo: The Institute for Byzantine Studies, SASA)
Fig. 35. Svećani, Church of St. Constantine, plan: I. Hypothetical reconstruction; II. Later medieval phases (Drawing: V. Zdravković after *Miljković-Pepek,* Crkvata Sv. Konstantin, fig. 2)
Fig. 36. Kulata, Church, plan (Drawing: M. Knežević redrawn after *Čaneva-Dečevska*, Cŭrkovnata arhitektura, 153)
Fig. 37. Ohrid, Plaošnik, general view of the site with Late Antique church complex and medieval monastery of St. Clement, plan (Drawing: V. Zdravković redrawn after *Kuzman*, Arheološki svedoštva, fig. 7)
Fig. 38. Ohrid and its surrounding area, triconch churches, plans: a. Gorica Peninsula on Ohrid Lake; b. Izdeglavje (Drawing: V. Zdravković redrawn after *Kuzman*, Arheološki svedoštva, fig. 11, 13; *Bošković – Tomovski*, Srednovekovnata arhitektura, 86)
Fig. 39. Zlesti, a triconch church, plan (Drawing: G. Tolić, redrawn after *Vasiljević*, Trikonhos)
Fig. 40. Ravna, Ravna Monastery, plan (Drawing: G. Tolić redrawn after *Ćurčić,* Architecture, 295)
Fig. 41. Karaačteke near Varna, Karaačteke Monastery, plan (Drawing: G. Tolić redrawn after *Popkonstantinov – Kostova*, Architecture of conversion, 123)
Fig. 42. Černoglavci, Černoglavci Monastery, plan (Drawing: G. Tolić redrawn after *Dončeva*, Bazilike, 95)
Fig. 43. Ohrid, Plaošnik, The Monastery of St. Panteleimon, modern reconstruction (Photo: The Institute for Byzantine Studies, SASA)
Fig. 44. Ohrid, Plaošnik, Church of St. Panteleimon, architectural phases, plan (Drawing: V. Zdravković redrawn after *Kuzman*, Arheološki svedoštva, fig. 7)
Fig. 45. Ohrid, Plaošnik, Church of St. Panteleimon, St. Clement's tomb (Photo: The Institute for Byzantine Studies, SASA)
Fig. 46. Ohrid Lake, Church of the Holy Archangel Michael, view from the east (Photo: The Institute for Byzantine Studies, SASA)
Fig. 47. Ohrid Lake, Church of the Holy Archangel Michael, architectural phases, plan (Drawing: V. Zdravković after *Grozdanov*, Sveti Naum, 76–79; *Koco*, Proučavanja, 57, 62, 68)
Fig. 48. Ohrid Lake, Church of the Holy Archangel Michael, *tribelon* between naos and narthex (Photo: The Institute for Byzantine Studies, SASA)
Fig. 49. Caričin Grad, Church E, plan (Drawing: G. Tolić redrawn after *Ćurčić*, Architecture, 214)
Fig. 50. Preslav, Čerešeto Monastery, plan (Drawing: G. Tolić redrawn after *Dončeva*, Bazilike 39)
Fig. 51. Little Prespa Lake, Church of St. Achilleos, view from the west (Photo: The Institute for Byzantine Studies, SASA)
Fig. 52. Little Prespa Lake, Church of St. Achilleos, plan (Drawing: V. Zdravković redrawn after *Moutsopoulos*, Ē basilikē tou Agiou Achilleiou, Γ', 5. ΠΙΝΑΞ Α)
Fig. 53. Little Prespa Lake, Church of St. Achilleos, arcades of the nave, north side (Photo: The Institute for Byzantine Studies, SASA)
Fig. 54. Little Prespa Lake, Church of St. Achilleos, cruciform chapel with a dome (Photo: The Institute for Byzantine Studies, SASA)
Fig. 55. Kastoria, Koubelidiki, dome, detail (Photo: The Institute for Byzantine Studies, SASA)
Fig. 56. Little Prespa Lake, Church of St. Achilleos, *diakonikon*, tomb of St. Achilleos (Photo: The Institute for Byzantine Studies, SASA)
Fig. 57. Lake Little Prespa, Church of St. Achilleos, south aisle, tombs (Photo: The Institute for Byzantine Studies, SASA)
Fig. 58. Little Prespa Lake, Church of St. Achilleos, fragment of textile from the tomb 3, Museum of Byzantine Culture, Thessaloniki (Photo: Ljubomir Milanović)
Fig. 59. Little Prespa Lake, Church of St. Achilleos, St. Cyril, with St. Methodios?, The Archeological museum of Florina (Photo: The Institute for Byzantine Studies, SASA)
Fig. 60. Little Prespa Lake, Church of St. Achilleos, St. Nestor and St. Demetrios, The Archeological museum of Florina (Photo: The Institute for Byzantine Studies, SASA)
Fig. 61. Little Prespa Lake, Church of St. Achilleos, altar slab, The Archeological museum in Florina (Photo: The Institute for Byzantine Studies, SASA)
Fig. 62. Little Prespa Lake, Church of the Holy Apostles, plan (Drawing: V. Zdravković after *Moutsopoulos,* Ē anaskaphē, 352)
Fig. 63. German, Church of St. Germanos, plan (Drawing: V. Zdravković redrawn after *Moutsopoulos*, Ekklēsies tou Nomou Flōrinas, 70, 72, 76, 82V)
Fig. 64. German, Church of St. Germanos, view from the east (Photo: The Institute for Byzantine Studies, SASA)
Fig. 65. German, Church of St. Germanos, unidentified saint, narthex, east wall niche (Photo: The Institute for Byzantine Studies, SASA)
Fig. 66. German, Church of St. Germanos, niche above the south entrance, Germanos Patriarch of Constantinople (Photo: The Institute for Byzantine Studies, SASA)

Fig. 67. Meliti, Church of St. George, plan (Drawing: V. Zdravković redrawn after *Moutsopoulos,* Ekklēsies tou Nomou Flōrinas, fig. 732, 734)
Fig. 68. Bansko, Church at the Šipotsko site, plan showing earlier construction phases (Drawing: V. Zdravković redrawn after *Georgieva*, Church Architecture, 363)
Fig. 69. Prilep, Rocky environment of Markovi Kuli (Photo: The Institute for Byzantine Studies, SASA)
Fig. 70. Morovizd, Late Antique and Medieval fortified settlement at the Gradište site, with the layout of the church complex at the Crkvište site, plan (Drawing: V. Zdravković after *Mikulčić*, Srednovekovni gradovi i tvrdini, 211)
Fig. 71. Morovizd, Crkvište site, complex of four superimposed churches from the Late Antique and Medieval periods (Photo: public domain)
Fig. 72. Morovizd, Crkvište site, a complex of four superimposed churches, plans: a. Early Byzantine single-aisled church; b. Three-aisled basilica, hypothetical reconstruction; c. Domed basilica, reconstruction; d. Inscribed-cross church (Drawing: Vladan Zdravković after *Trajkovski,* Arheološki osvrt, 282; *Trajkovski,* Kultot na moštite, 441–443; *Nacev*, Ranohristijanska arhitektura, 187–189)
Fig. 73. Vodoča, The Church of St. Leontios (Eastern Church), plan (Drawing: Vladan Zdravković redrawn after *Miljkovik-Pepek*, Kompleks ot crkvi vo Vodoča)
Fig. 74. Vodoča, fragment of fresco, NI Museum of Macedonia, Skopje (Photo: The Institute for Byzantine Studies, SASA)
Fig. 75. Mačvanska Mitrovica, Zidine site, three successive medieval churches, plans: I. First medieval church; II. Second medieval church; III. Third medieval church (Drawing: V. Zdravković after *Popović*, „Metodijev grob", 265)
Fig. 76. Prizren, Church of the Virgin Eleousa (Bogorodica Ljeviška), general view (Photo: BLAGO)
Fig. 77. Prizren, Church of the Virgin Eleousa (Bogorodica Ljeviška), composite plan showing the original basilica and its 13th- and 14th-century renovations (Drawing: G. Tolić redrawn after *Nenadović,* Bogorodica Ljeviška, Tab. IV)
Fig. 78. Gračanica Monastery, katholikon, general view (Photo: BLAGO)
Fig. 79. Gračanica Monastery, katholikon and archaeologically documented remains of church structures beneath, plan: I. Basilica; II. Single-aisled church (Drawing: G. Tolić redrawn after *Mijović*, O genezi Gračanice, fig. 3)
Fig. 80. Lipljan, Church of the Presentation of the Virgin in the Temple, general view (Photo: BLAGO)
Fig. 81. Lipljan, Church of the Presentation of the Virgin in the Temple (III) and archaeologically documented remains of church structures beneath, plan: I. Early Byzantine basilica II. Middle Byzantine basilica (Drawing: V. Zdravković redrawn after *Ljubinković et al*., Istraživački i konzervatorski radovi, 96)
Fig. 82. Vranište, Basilica, eastern view, present state of the monument (Photo: The Institute for Byzantine Studies, SASA)
Fig. 83. Vranište, Basilica, plan: a. Archaeologically documented remains of the original basilica and its later alternations; b. Rectified reconstruction of the original plan of the basilica (Drawing: V. Zdravković after *Koco,* Spomenici, 23; *Koco,* Sveta Sofija, fig. 2)
Fig. 84. Prilep, Markovi Kuli fortress (Photo: The Institute for Byzantine Studies, SASA)
Fig. 85. Prilep, Markovi Kuli fortress, plan (Drawing: V. Zdravković after *Mikulčić*, Srednovekovni gradovi i tvrdini, 211; *Risteski*, Markovi Kuli, 17)
Fig. 86. Chrysi, Fortress of Moglena, basilica within the acropolis, plan (Drawing: V. Zdravković redrawn after *Evgenidou,* Anaskaphes, 65)
Fig. 87. Lake Petron, Fortress of Petrisk, basilica within the acropolis (Photo: public domain)
Fig. 88. Skopje, Fortress, acropolis and the lower town, plan (Drawing: V. Zdravković after *Mikulčić*, Srednovekovni gradovi i tvrdini, 297–303; *Maneva*, Lokalitet Kale, 341)
Fig. 89. Kastoria, Oikonomou district, acropolis walls and Taxiarches Gymnasiou (Photo: The Institute for Byzantine Studies, SASA)
Fig. 90. Melnik, acropolis, Church of St. Nicholas, aerial view (Photo: public domain)
Fig. 91. Melnik, Church of St. Nicholas, eastern view (Photo: public domain)
Fig. 92. Little Prespa Lake, Church of St. Achilleos, eastern view (Photo: The Institute for Byzantine Studies, SASA)
Fig. 93. Veliki Gradac, fortified settlement, plan with the layout of Old Church and Younger Church (Drawing: M. Knežević redrawn after *Popović*, Veliki Gradac)
Fig. 94. Kastoria, Oikonomou district, Koubelidiki, view from the southeast (Photo: The Institute for Byzantine Studies, SASA)
Fig. 95. Kastoria, district of Taxiarches Metropoleos, Taxiarches Metropoleos (Photo: The Institute for Byzantine Studies, SASA)
Fig. 96. Kastoria, Eleousas district, Hagios Stephanos (Photo: The Institute for Byzantine Studies, SASA)
Fig. 97. Kastoria, Hagios Stephanos, interior, view from the gallery toward east (Photo: The Institute for Byzantine Studies, SASA)
Fig. 98. Lake Kastoria, Church of the Transfiguration (Photo: The Institute for Byzantine Studies, SASA)
Fig. 99. Kastoria, Koubelidiki, drum, cloisonné patterns, building materials and ornaments (Photo: The Institute for Byzantine Studies, SASA)
Fig. 100. Kastoria, Hagios Stephanos, gallery, St. Stephen, "jigsaw" ornament (Photo: The Institute for Byzantine Studies, SASA)
Fig. 101. Kastoria, Hagios Stephanos, narthex, Last Judgement, detail with Apostles (Photo: The Institute for Byzantine Studies, SASA)
Fig. 102. Ras, Church of St. Peter, aerial view (after *Marković – Vojvodić*, Church of the Holy Apostles, fig. 19)
Fig. 103. Ras, Church of St. Peter, plan (Drawing: G. Tolić redrawn after *Marković – Vojvodić*, Church of the Holy Apostles, fig. 40)
Fig. 104. Ras, Church of St. Peter, eastern squinch in the southern conch, *stucco* decoration (after *Marković – Vojvodić*, Church of the Holy Apostles, fig. 17)
Fig. 105. Ras, Church of St. Peter, cornice above the northeastern pilaster, Pre-Romanesque sculptural decoration, twisted ropes and the three-strand braid with oculi (after *Marković – Vojvodić*, Church of the Holy Apostles, fig. 77)

Fig. 106. Ras, Church of St. Peter, drum of the dome, Adoration of the Magi (after *Marković – Vojvodić*, Church of the Holy Apostles, fig. 101)
Fig. 107. Ras, Postenje fortress (after *Marković – Vojvodić*, Church of the Holy Apostles, fig.8)
Fig. 108. Ras, Ras fortress (Photo: public domain)

The Chapter:
From *Pax Basiliana* to *Pax Byzantina*
(Bojana Krsmanović – Vladan Zdravković)

Map 1. Route of the relocation of the Bulgarian ecclesiastical seat (Map design: V. Zdravković)
Map 2. Rank of bishoprics according to the number of *klerikoi* and *paroikoi* exempted from taxation in the charters of Basil II (Map design: V. Zdravković)
Map 3. Zone I – Central area of Samuel's Bulgaria (Map design: V. Zdravković)
Map 4. Main road routes in the Balkans – *Via Egnatia* and *Via Militaris* (Map design: V. Zdravković)
Map 5. Zone II – Area of Thessalonike and Larissa (Map design: V. Zdravković)
Map 6. Zone III – Area of Epirus and Naupaktos (Map design: V. Zdravković)
Map 7. Zone IV – Area of Bregalnica (Map design: V. Zdravković)
Map 8. Zone V – Area of Triaditza and the Strymon River (Map design: V. Zdravković)
Map 9. Zone VI – Danube and Sava borderlands (Map design: V. Zdravković)
Map 10. Zone VII – Western borderlands (Map design: V. Zdravković)
Fig. 1. Little Prespa, St. Achilleos, altar apse, present condition (Photo: The Institute for Byzantine Studies, SASA)
Fig. 2. Little Prespa, St. Achilleos, altar apse: Bishopric names and the bishops' seating arrangement on the altar apse *synthronon*, as reconstructed by *Milyukov* and *Moutsopoulos* (Design: V. Zdravković)
Fig. 3. Little Prespa, St. Achilleos, altar apse: Diagram of hypothetical bishopric names left and right of the throne according to *Krsmanović – Zdravković* (Design: B. Krsmanović,V. Zdravković)
Fig. 4. Little Prespa, St. Achilleos, altar apse: Bishopric names and the bishops' seating arrangement on the altar apse *syntronon* as reconstructed by *Krsmanović – Zdravković* (Design: B. Krsmanović,V. Zdravković)
Fig. 5. Little Prespa, St. Achilleos, altar apse: Overlapping of the bishoprics in the St. Achilleos inscription with the bishoprics listed in Basil II's charters (Design: B. Krsmanović,V. Zdravković)
Fig. 6. Prilep, inside of the citadel (Photo: The Institute for Byzantine Studies, SASA)
Fig. 7. Kaljaja Tomor site (Photo: https://orakujtetomorrit.al/reportazh-dy-tomorret-e-tomorrit/)
Fig. 8. Strumica, fortress, entrance, present condition (Photo: The Institute for Byzantine Studies, SASA)
Fig. 9. Morovizd, Crkvište site (Photo: The Institute for Byzantine Studies, SASA)
Fig. 10a–b. Naos areas of selected cathedrals and spaces available to the congregations in the territory of the Archbishopric of Ohrid and St. Achilleos in Larissa (Design: V. Zdravković)

The Chapter:
Provincial Administration in the Service of Pacification
(Miloš Cvetković – Bojana Krsmanović)

Map 1. Byzantine provincial administration in the Balkans after Tzimiskes' reconquest of 971 (Map design: V. Zdravković)
Map 2. Byzantine provincial administration in the Balkans after Basil's reconquest c. 1025 (Map design: V. Zdravković)
Map 3. Byzantine provincial administration in the Balkans c. 1080 (Map design: V. Zdravković)
Map 4. Byzantine provincial organization in the Balkans in the late 12th century (Map design: V. Zdravković)

VOLUME II

The Chapter:
The Archbishopric of Ohrid from the 11th to the 13th century – Territorial and Ideological Framework
(Predrag Komatina)

Map 1. Bishoprics of the Archbishopric of Ohrid 1018–1050 (Map design: V. Zdravković)
Map 2. Bishoprics of the Archbishopric of Ohrid c. 1100 (Map design: V. Zdravković)
Map.3. Bishoprics of the Archbishopric of Ohrid c. 1186 (Map design: V. Zdravković)
Map 4. Bishoprics of the Archbishopric of Ohrid c. 1220 (Map design: V. Zdravković)

The Chapter:
The Sacral Topography of the Archbishopric of Ohrid: Architecture, Art, Patronage, and the Cult of Saints in the 11th–13th Century
(Ljubomir Milanović – Miloš Živković)

Map 1. General arrangements of the cathedral churches of the Archbishopric of Ohrid and other prominent sacral monuments from the 11th to 13th centuries (Map design: V. Zdravković)
Fig. 1. Boboševo, Church of St. Theodore, remains (Photo: public domain)
Fig. 2. Boboševo, Church of St. Theodore, plan (Drawing: V. Zdravković redrawn after *Dončeva*, Kŭm srednovekovnoto arkhitekturno nasledstvo, 261; *Čaneva-Dečevska,* Cŭrkovnata arhitektura v Bŭlgaria, 107)
Fig. 3. Sapareva Banja, Church of St. Nicholas, view from the north (Photo: public domain)
Fig. 4. Sapareva Banja, Church of St. Nicholas, plan (Drawing: M. Knežević redrawn after *Čaneva-Dečevska,* Cŭrkovnata arhitektura v Bŭlgaria, 106)
Fig. 5. Đunis, Church of St. Nicholas, proposed reconstruction (Photo: after *Jovanović*, Stare crkve, 149–165)
Fig. 6. Veljusa, Church of the Mother of God Eleousa, view from the east (Photo: The Institute for Byzantine Studies, SASA)
Fig. 7. Zanjevac, Church, plan (Drawing: G. Tolić redrawn after unpublished documentation of the Institute for the Protection of Cultural Monuments Niš)
Fig. 8. Đunis, Church of St. Roman, view from the east (Photo: The Institute for Byzantine Studies, SASA)
Fig. 9. Đunis, Church of St. Roman, plan (Drawing: G. Tolić redrawn after unpublished documentation of the Institute for the Protection of Cultural Monuments Niš)

Fig. 10. Mrtvica, Church of the Dormition of the Mother of God, view from the east (Photo: The Institute for Byzantine Studies, SASA)
Fig. 11. Mrtvica, Church of the Dormition of the Mother of God, plan (Drawing: V. Zdravković after *Pešić,* Crkva Bogorodičinog Uspenja, 95)
Fig. 12. Gornji Matejevac, Church of St. John, view from the east (Photo: The Institute for Byzantine Studies, SASA)
Fig. 13. Gornji Matejevac, Church of St. John, plan (Drawing: G. Tolić redrawn after *Rakocija*, Crkva Sv. Jovana, 124)
Fig. 14. Toplica, Church of the Mother of God, view from the east (Photo: The Institute for Byzantine Studies, SASA)
Fig. 15. Toplica, Church of the Mother of God, plan (Drawing: G. Tolić redrawn after documentation of the Institute for the Protection of Cultural Monuments Niš)
Fig. 16. Little Prespa Lake, Lefkoni, Church of St. Anna, view from the northwest (Photo: The Institute for Byzantine Studies, SASA)
Fig. 17. Velušina, Church of Dormition of the Mother of God, plan (Drawing: V. Zdravković after *Mihajlovski*, Od duhovnoto nasledstvo, 142–147)
Fig. 18. Velušina, Church of Dormition of the Mother of God, interior, ambulatory space (Photo: The Institute for Byzantine Studies, SASA)
Fig. 19. Strumica, Orta Mosque, remains of the basilica, plan (Drawing: V. Zdravković after *Atanasova,* Kontinuitet na sakralnata gradežna aktivnost, 326)
Fig. 20. Bansko, Church of the Forty Martyrs of Sebaste, plan (Drawing: V. Zdravković after *Rujak – Maninski*, Strumica i Strumičko, 83)
Fig. 21. Perondi, Church of St. Nicholas (Kisha e Shën-Kollit), view from the northeast (Photo: pubulic domain)
Fig. 22. Perondi, Church of St. Nicholas (Kisha e Shën-Kollit), plan (Drawing: M. Knežević redrawn after *Meksi,* Arkitektura, 23–25)
Fig. 23. Shijan, Delvine, Church of St. John (Kisha e Shën Janit), plan (Drawing: G. Tolić redrawn after *Mučaj et al.,* Shën Janit, Delvinë, 95, Fig. 2)
Fig. 24. Fiqt'e Lape, Kamenica, Church No. 9, plan (Drawing: G. Tolić redrawn after *Ristani – Mučaj –Xhyheri*, Të dhënatë rejapërfshatin, 246–247)
Fig. 25. Prokuplje, Church of St. Prokopios, view from the east (Photo: The Institute for Byzantine Studies, SASA)
Fig. 26. Prokuplje, Church of St. Prokopios, east face of the southeast pier of the nave, St. George?, fragment (Photo: The Institute for Byzantine Studies, SASA)
Fig. 27. Peć, Patriarchy of Peć, Church of the Holy Apostles, plan (G. Tolić, redrawn after *Đurić – Ćirković – Korać*, Pećka patrijaršija, 114)
Fig. 28. Vodoča, Church of the Presentation of the Virgin Mary (Western Church), view from the south (Photo: The Institute for Byzantine Studies, SASA)
Fig. 29. Vodoča, Church of the Presentation of the Virgin Mary (Western Church), plan (Drawing: V. Zdravković after *Miljković-Pepek*, Kompleks ot crkvi vo Vodoča, 23, Fig. 3)
Fig. 30. Zemen, Church of St. John the Theologian, view from the west (Photo: The Institute for Byzantine Studies, SASA)
Fig. 31. Zemen, Church of St. John the Theologian, plan (Drawing: G. Tolić redrawn after *Ćurčić,* Architecture, 484 Fig. 545 A)
Fig. 32. Koluša, Church of St. George, view from the west (Photo: The Institute for Byzantine Studies, SASA)
Fig. 33. Koluša, Church of St. George, plan (Drawing: M. Knežević, redrawn after *Čaneva-Dečevska,* Cŭrkovnata arhitektura v Bŭlgaria, 76–77; *Ćurčić,* Architecture, 412, Fig. 452 B)
Fig. 34. Koluša, Church of St. George, south façade (Photo: The Institute for Byzantine Studies, SASA)
Fig. 35. Rila, Church of the Holy Archangel Michael, plan (Drawing: G. Tolić, redrawn after *Ćurčić*, Architecture, 484, fig. 545b)
Fig. 36. Apollonia, Church of the Mother of God Hodegetria (Kisha e Shën Mërisë), view from the north (Photo: public domain)
Fig. 37. Apollonia, Church of the Mother of God Hodegetria (Kisha e Shën Mërisë), plan (Drawing: G. Tolić redrawn after *Ćurčić,* Architecture, 426, Fig. 466 D)
Fig. 38. Labovo, Church of the Dormition of the Mother of God (Kisha e Shën Mërisë), view from the northeast (Photo: public domain)
Fig. 39. Labovo, Church of the Dormition of the Mother of God, plan (Drawing: G. Tolić redrawn after *Ćurčić,* Architecture, 320, Fig. 341 C)
Fig. 40. Kavadarci, Drenovo, Church of the Mother of God, south façade (Photo: The Institute for Byzantine Studies, SASA)
Fig. 41. Kavadarci, Drenovo, Church of the Mother of God, plan (Drawing: G. Tolić redrawn after *Ćurčić,* Architecture, 401, Fig. 436 A)
Fig. 42. Ras, Church of Stara Pavlica, view from the south, remains (Photo: public domain)
Fig. 43. Ras, Church of Stara Pavlica, plan (Drawing: G. Tolić, redrawn after *Ćurčić,* Architecture, 401, Fig. 436 B)
Fig. 44. Gornji Matejevac, Latin Church, view from the northeast (Photo: The Institute for Byzantine Studies, SASA)
Fig. 45. Gornji Matejevac, Latin Church, plan (Drawing: G. Tolić redrawn after *Rakocija*, Crkva, 10, 12)
Fig. 46. Sofia, Boyana, Church of St. Nicholas and St. Panteleimon, north side (Photo: The Institute for Byzantine Studies, SASA)
Fig. 47. Sofia, Boyana Church of St. Nicholas and St. Panteleimon, plan (Drawing: M. Knežević redrawn after *Čaneva-Dečevska,* Cŭrkovnata arhitektura v Bŭlgaria, 99–100)
Fig. 48. Kastoria, Church of St. Stylianos view from the east (Photo: The Institute for Byzantine Studies, SASA)
Fig. 49. Kastoria, Church of the Panagia Mavriotissa, plan (Drawing: G. Tolić, redrawn after Moutsopoulos, Ekklēsies tēs Kastorias, 412)
Fig. 50. Kastoria, Church of the Panagia Mavriotissa, Michael VIII Palaiologos (1261–1282) and Alexios I Komnenos? south wall façade (Photo: The Institute for Byzantine Studies, SASA)
Fig. 51. Orljane, Church of St. John in Orljane, view from the west (Photo: The Institute for Byzantine Studies, SASA)
Fig. 52. Orljane, Church of St. John in Orljane, plan (Drawing: G. Tolić redrawn after *Rakocija*, O crkvi, 380)
Fig. 53. Orljane, Church of St. John, altar space, St. Spyridon, south arch (Photo: The Institute for Byzantine Studies, SASA)
Fig. 54. Strumica, Mal Kayasi, Church, plan (Drawing: V. Zdravković after *Mikulčik*, Srednovekovni gradovi i tvrdini, 314; *Nacev – Cvetanov*, Arheološki lokalitet Mal Kajasi, 10)

Fig. 55. Servia, Church of Sts. Theodore, Servia fortress, view from the east (Photo: public domain)
Fig. 56. Servia, Church of Sts. Theodore, Servia fortress, plan (Drawing: G. Tolić, redrawn after *Kabouridoy – Koutsianoy – Tsampouras*, Ta Byzantina Serbia, 20, Fig. 13)
Fig. 57. Servia, Church of Hagioi Anargyroi, near Servia fortress, plan (Drawing: G. Tolić, redrawn after *Kabouridoy – Koutsianoy – Tsampouras*, Ta Byzantina Serbia, 39, Fig. 37)
Fig. 58. Servia, Church of Hagioi Anargyroi, near Servia fortress, view from the east (Photo: public domain)
Fig. 59. Velušina, Bitola, Church of Dormition of Mother of God, unidentified saint (Photo: The Institute for Byzantine Studies, SASA)
Fig. 60. Vodoča, Church of the Presentation of the Virgin Mary (Western Church), sanctuary, St. Isauros, The Museum of the Republic of North Macedonia, Skopje (Photo: The Institute for Byzantine Studies, SASA)
Fig. 61. Morovizd, Church at the Crkvište site, unidentified saint, The Museum of the Republic of North Macedonia, Skopje (Photo: The Institute for Byzantine Studies, SASA)
Fig. 62. Gornji Kozjak, Church of St. George, northern part of the pre-apsidal area, the Archangel, fragment (Photo: The Institute for Byzantine Studies, SASA)
Fig. 63. Strumica, Orta Mosque, bust of an unidentified bishop, fragment, NI Institute for protection of cultural monuments and Museum – Strumica (Photo: The Institute for Byzantine Studies, SASA)
Fig. 64. Strumica, Orta Mosque, apostle, fragment, NI Institute for protection of cultural monuments and Museum – Strumica (Photo: The Institute for Byzantine Studies, SASA)
Fig. 65. Zemen, Church of St. John Theologian, tympanum of the *diakonikon,* Rejection of the Offering of Joachim and Anna, fragment (Photo: The Institute for Byzantine Studies, SASA)
Fig. 66. Koluša, Church of St. George, altar apse, Officiating Bishops (Photo: The Institute for Byzantine Studies, SASA)
Fig. 67. Rila, Church of the Holy Archangel Michael, altar apse, Officiating Bishops (Photo: after *Praškova*, Restavracija, 10, Fig. 6)
Fig. 68. Sofia, Boyana Church of St. Nicholas, view toward altar apse with scene of Officiating Bishops (Photo: The Institute for Byzantine Studies, SASA)
Fig. 69. Kastoria, Church of the Panagia Mavriotissa, Dormition of the Mother of God, detail with Jephonias the Jew (Photo: public domain)
Fig. 70. Ohrid, Church of Hagia Sophia, view from the east (Photo: The Institute for Byzantine Studies, SASA)
Fig. 71. Ohrid, Church of Hagia Sophia, ground plan, reconstructed view (Drawing: V. Zdravković after *Schellewald*, Sophienkirche in Ohrid, Pl. II, III)
Fig. 72. Ohrid, Church of Hagia Sophia, gallery plan, reconstructed view (Drawing: V. Zdravković after *Schellewald*, Sophienkirche in Ohrid, Pl. II, III)
Fig. 73. Ohrid, Hagia Sophia, frescoes in the altar apse (Photo: The Institute for Byzantine Studies, SASA)
Fig. 74. Ohrid, Church of Hagia Sophia, Ascension of Christ, a detail, Angel (Photo: The Institute for Byzantine Studies, SASA)
Fig. 75. Ohrid, Church of Hagia Sophia, *diakonikon*, St. Leo, Pope of Rome, St. Gregory, Pope of Rome, St. Sylvester, Pope of Rome (Photo: The Institute for Byzantine Studies, SASA,)
Fig. 76. Ohrid, Hagia Sophia, Communion of the apostle, a detail (Photo: The Institute for Byzantine Studies, SASA)
Fig. 77. Ohrid, Church of Hagia Sophia, west wall of naos, Dormition of the Mother of God and archangels Michael and Gabriel (Photo: The Institute for Byzantine Studies, SASA)
Fig. 78. Ohrid, Church of Hagia Sophia, archangel Gabriel, a detail (Photo: The Institute for Byzantine Studies, SASA)
Fig. 79. Kalambaka, Cathedral in Stagoi, plan (Drawing: V. Zdravković after *Moutsopoulos*, Ē basilikē tou Agiou Achilleiou, Γ', 6. ΠΙΙΝ ΑΞ ΙΑ΄; *Anagnōstopoulos – Andrudēs*, Ē byzantinē kathedra tōn Stagōn, 215)
Fig. 80. Bitola, Yeni mosque, Cathedral church?, plan (Drawing: V. Zdravković redrawn after *Mihajlovski–Filipovska-Lazarovska–Stojkoski*, Medieval Bitola after 1018, 265–267)
Fig. 81. Servia fortress, Cathedral church, plan (Drawing: V. Zdravković after *Karagiannē*, Episkopikoi naoi, Pl.41, 42; *Ćurčić,* Architecture, 310, Fig. 327 A)
Fig. 82. Berroia, Cathedral church, plan (Drawing V. Zdravković after *Skiadaresis*, Mētropolē, 273)
Fig. 83. Moglena, Cathedral church, plan (Drawing: V. Zdravković after *Evgenidou*, Anaskaphes, 65)
Fig. 84. Servia fortress, Cathedral church, arcade (Photo: public domain)
Fig. 85. Kalambaka, Cathedral church, arcade, interior (Photo: public domain)
Fig. 86. Morovizd, Cathedral church, plan (Drawing: V. Zdravković after *Trajkovski*, Episkopijata, 282; *Trajkovski,* Kultot na moštite, 441–443; *Nacev*, Ranohristijanska arhitektura, 187–189)
Fig. 87. Vodoča, Church of St. Leontios, eastern part (Photo: The Institute for Byzantine Studies, SASA)
Fig. 88. Vodoča, Church of St. Leontios in Vodoča, plan (Drawing: V. Zdravković after *Miljkovik-Pepek*, Kompleks ot crkvi vo Vodoča, 23, Fig.3)
Fig. 89. Vodoča, Church of St. Leontios in Vodoča, apse, brickwork (Photo: The Institute for Byzantine Studies, SASA)
Fig. 90. Peshkëpi, Church of the Nativity of the Mother of God (Shën Mërisë në Peshkëpi), view from the east (Photo: public domain)
Fig. 91. Peshkëpi, Church of the Nativity of the Mother of God, (Shën Mërisë në Peshkëpi), plan (Drawing: G. Tolić redrawn after *Meksi,* Arkitektura e Kishave, 156)
Fig. 92. Kozel, Church of the Nativity of the Mother of God, view from the east (Photo: public domain)
Fig. 93. Belgrade, Cathedral in Belgrade? Altar screen, detail, The Belgrade City Museum (Photo: after Muzej grada Beograda, ed. *B. Kovačević*, Beograd, 2003, 68)
Fig. 94. Kalambaka, Cathedral church, naos, pulpit (Photo: public domain)
Fig. 95. Vodoča, Middle Church, Forty Martyrs of Sebaste (Photo: The Institute for Byzantine Studies, SASA)
Fig. 96. Sofia, Church of St. George, dome, Angel, from the first layer (Photo: The Institute for Byzantine Studies, SASA)
Fig. 97. Ras, Church of Sts. Peter and Paul, northeastern pilaster of the naos, St. Peter (Photo: after *Marković – Vojvodić*, Church of the Holy Apostles, 153)

Fig. 98. Servia fortress, The Cathedral Church of Servia, ariel view (Photo: public domain)
Fig. 99. Sofia, Rotunda of St. George, dome, founder's inscription and ktetors' portrait (Photo: The Institute for Byzantine Studies, SASA)
Fig. 100. Staro Nagoričino, Church of St. George, view from the southwest (Photo: The Institute for Byzantine Studies, SASA)
Fig. 101. Staro Nagoričino, Church of St. George, plan (Drawing: V. Zdravković after *Ivanovska-Velkoska*, Staro Nagoričane; *Dimitrova – Korunovski – Grandakovska*, Srednovekovna Makedonija, 115)
Fig. 102. Staro Nagoričino, Church of St. George, north wall of the naos, painting, fragment (Photo: The Institute for Byzantine Studies, SASA)
Fig. 103. Prohor Pčinjski Monastery, view from the east (Photo: The Institute for Byzantine Studies, SASA)
Fig. 104. Prohor Pčinjski Monastery, plan (Drawing: V. Zdravković after documentation of the Institute for the Protection of Cultural Monuments Niš)
Fig. 105. Veljusa, Church of the Virgin Eleousa, inscription above the door between narthex and naos (Photo: The Institute for Byzantine Studies, SASA)
Fig. 106. Veljusa, Church of the Virgin Eleousa, plan (Drawing: V. Zdravković after *Rujak – Maninski*, Strumica i Strumičko, 71)
Fig. 107. Veljusa, Church of the Virgin Eleousa, altar apse, Officiating Bishops (Photo: The Institute for Byzantine Studies, SASA)
Fig. 108. Veljusa, Church of the Virgin Eleousa, *prothesis*, Embracing Apostles (Photo: The Institute for Byzantine Studies, SASA)
Fig. 109. Manastir, Church of the St. Nicholas, naos, inscription, detail (Photo: The Institute for Byzantine Studies, SASA)
Fig. 110. Manastir, Church of the St. Nicholas, plan (Drawing: G. Tolić redrawn after *Dimitrova – Korunovski – Grandakovska*, Srednovekovna Makedonija, 96)
Fig.111. Nerezi, Church of St. Panteleimon, view from the southwest (Photo: The Institute for Byzantine Studies, SASA)
Fig. 112. Nerezi, Church of St. Panteleimon, inscription above the door between narthex and the naos (Photo: The Institute for Byzantine Studies, SASA)
Fig. 113. Nerezi, Church of St. Panteleimon, plan (Drawing: G. Tolić redrawn after *Dimitrova– Korunovski – Grandakovska*, Srednovekovna Makedonija, 50; *Ćurčić,* Architecture, 410, Fig. 449)
Fig. 114. Nerezi, Church of St. Panteleimon, naos, *proskynetaria* with representation of St. Panteleimon (Photo: The Institute for Byzantine Studies, SASA)
Fig. 115. Nerezi, Church of St. Panteleimon, altar apse, Officiating Bishops (Photo: The Institute for Byzantine Studies, SASA)
Fig. 116. Nerezi, Church of St. Panteleimon, naos, north wall, The Lamentation, detail (Photo: The Institute for Byzantine Studies, SASA)
Fig. 117. Kastoria, Church of the Hagioi Anargyroi, view from the southeast (Photo: The Institute for Byzantine Studies, SASA)
Fig. 118. Kastoria, Church of the Hagioi Anargyroi, narthex, east wall, ktetor Constantine (Photo: The Institute for Byzantine Studies, SASA)
Fig. 119. Kastoria, Church of the Hagioi Anargyroi, plan (Drawing: G. Tolić redrawn after *Wharton Epstein*, Middle Byzantine Churches, 191)
Fig. 120. Kastoria, Church of the Hagioi Anargyroi, narthex, St. Basil (Photo: The Institute for Byzantine Studies, SASA)
Fig. 121. Kastoria, Church of the Hagioi Anargyroi, inscription above the door in the north aisle of the naos (Photo: The Institute for Byzantine Studies, SASA)
Fig. 122. Kastoria, Church of the Hagioi Anargyroi, narthex, second inscription (Photo: The Institute for Byzantine Studies, SASA)
Fig. 123. Kastoria, Church of the Hagioi Anargyroi, south wall of the north aisle of the naos, donor portraits (Photo: The Institute for Byzantine Studies, SASA)
Fig. 124. Kastoria, Church of the Hagioi Anargyroi, west façade (Photo: The Institute for Byzantine Studies, SASA)
Fig. 125. Kastoria, Church of the Hagioi Anargyroi, south wall of the north aisle of the naos, donor's wife, Anna Radene (Photo: The Institute for Byzantine Studies, SASA)
Fig. 126. Kastoria, Church of St. Nicholas tou Kasnitzi, view from the east (Photo: The Institutefor Byzantine Studies, SASA)
Fig. 127. Kastoria, Church of St. Nicholas tou Kasnitzi, plan (Drawing: G. Tolić redrawn after *Wharton Epstein*, Middle Byzantine Churches, 191)
Fig. 128. Kastoria, Church of St. Nicholas tou Kasnitzi, Nikephoros Kasnitzes, donor portrait, detail (Photo: The Institute for Byzantine Studies, SASA)
Fig. 129. Kastoria, Church of St. Nicholas tou Kasnitzi, Nikephoros Kasnitzes' wife Anna, detail (Photo: The Institute for Byzantine Studies, SASA)
Fig. 130. Kurbinovo, Church of St. George, ktetors images, drawing, façade (Photo: after *Grozdanov – Haderman-Misgviš*, Kurbinovo)
Fig. 131. Kurbinovo, Church of St. George, plan (Drawing: G. Tolić redrawn after *Dimitrova – Korunovski – Grandakovska*, Srednovekovna Makedonija, 53)
Fig. 132. Kurbinovo, Church of St. George, altar apse, Officiating Bishops (Photo: public domain)
Fig. 133. Kuršumlija, Church of St. Nicholas, view from the south (Photo: The Institute for Byzantine Studies, SASA)
Fig. 134. Kuršumlija, Church of St. Nicholas, plan (Drawing: G. Tolić redrawn after *Čanak-Medić – Bošković*, Arhitektura I, 32)
Fig. 135. Kuršumlija, Church of St. Nicholas, naos, pumpkin dome (Photo: The Institute for Byzantine Studies, SASA)
Fig. 136. Toplica, Church of the Mother of God, *tribelon* (Photo: The Institute for Byzantine Studies, SASA)
Fig. 137. Ras, Monastery of Đurđevi Stupovi, *katholikon*, view from the south (Photo: Ljubomir Milanović)
Fig. 138. Ras, Monastery of Đurđevi Stupovi, *katholikon*, plan (Drawing: G. Tolić redrawn after *Ćurčić,* Architecture, 489, Fig. 550)
Fig. 139. Ras, Monastery of Đurđevi Stupovi, *katholikon*, western towers (Photo: Blago Fund)
Fig. 140. Ras, Monastery of Đurđevi Stupovi, *katholikon*, naos, drum interior (Photo: Ljubomir Milanović)
Fig. 141. Studenica, Church of Mother of the God Evergetis, view from the northwest (Photo: Blago Fund)
Fig. 142. Studenica, Church of Mother of the God Evergetis, plan (Drawing: G. Tolić redrawn after *Ćurčić*, Architecture, 559, Fig. 495)

Fig. 143. Studenica, Church of Mother of the God Evergetis, western portal (Photo: Blago Fund)
Fig. 144. Konču̇l, Church of St. Nicholas, plan (Drawing: G. Tolić redrawn after *Čanak-Medić – Bošković*, Arhitektura I, 167)
Fig. 145. Dabar, Church of the Monastery of St. George, plan (Drawing: G. Tolić redrawn after *Čanak-Medić*, Arhitektura II, 32)
Fig. 146. Bistrica, Church of the Mother of God, view from the southeast (Photo: public domain)
Fig. 147. Bistrica, Church of the Mother of God, plan (Drawing: G. Tolić redrawn after *Čanak-Medić*, Arhitektura II, 43)
Fig. 148. Bijelo Polje, Church of St. Peter, view from the northeast (Photo: public domain)
Fig. 149. Bijelo Polje, Church of St. Peter, plan (Drawing: G. Tolić redrawn after *Čanak-Medić*, Arhitektura II, 76)
Fig. 150. Budimlja, Church of St. George, view from the south (Photo: public domain)
Fig. 151. Ohrid, Hagia Sophia, St. Cyril of Thessalonike and St. Clement of Ohrid (Photo: The Institute for Byzantine Studies, SASA)
Fig. 152. Ohrid, Church of St. John Kaneo, St. Clement of Ohrid and St. Erazmus of Lychnidos (Photo: I. M. Đorđević)
Fig. 153. Ohrid, Church of the Mother of God Peribleptos, St. Clement of Ohrid and St. Constantine Kabasilas (Photo: public domain)
Fig. 154. Arilje, Church of St. Achilleos, view from the east (Photo: Blago Fund)
Fig. 155. Kurbinovo, Church of St. George, St. Achilleos (Photo: public domain)
Fig. 156. Studenica, Studenica Monastery, Church of the Mother of God Evergetis, St. Achilleos (Photo: Blago Fund)
Fig. 157. Mileševa, Mileševa monastery, katholikon, St. Achilleos (Photo: Blago Fund)
Fig. 158. Ohrid, Church of Hagia Sophia, *prothesis*, Forty martyrs of Sebaste, a detail (Photo: The Institute for Byzantine Studies, SASA)
Fig. 159. Cave monastery of St. Peter of Koriša, reconstruction (Photo: after *Marković*, Ostaci manastira Petra Koriškog, Fig. 15)
Fig. 160. Ras, Cave Monastery of Archangel Michael, cross section of the "Small Cave" (Photo: after *Popović*, Tvrđava Ras, 282, Fig. 246)
Fig. 161. Ohrid, Cave church of St. Erazmus near Ohrid, Portrait of a Byzantine emperor and two depictions of St. Erazmus (Photo: after *Miljković-Pepek*, Sveti Erazmo)

The Chapter:
A Glimpse of Daily Life in the Archbishopric of Ohrid
(Jovana Šijaković)

Fig. 1. Kurbinovo, Church of St. George, Nativity, detail with Shepherd and his Flock (Photo: public domain)
Fig. 2. Kastoria, Church of Hagios Stephanos, Last Judgment, detail with Apostles (Photo: The Institute for Byzantine Studies, SASA)
Fig. 3. Lake Kastoria, Church of the Panagia Mavriotissa, Last Judgment, detail with Heavenly Court (Photo: public domain)
Fig. 4. Lake Kastoria, Church of the Panagia Mavriotissa, Last Judgment, detail with Sinners (Photo: public domain)

The Chapter:
Final Remarks
(Bojana Krsmanović – Jovana Šijaković)

Fig. 1. Little Prespa, St. Achilleos, altar apse with *synthronon* (Photo: The Institute for Byzantine Studies, SASA)

Bibliography

ABBREVIATIONS

AB = Analecta Bollandiana
ΑΕΜΘ = Το αρχαιολογικό εργό στην Μακεδονία και τη Θράκη
BCH = Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique
BM = Bulgaria Medievalis
BMGS = Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies
BS = Byzantinoslavica
BUCEMA = Bulletin du Centre d'études médiévales d'Auxerre
ByzF = Byzantinische Forschungen
BZ = Byzantinische Zeitschrift
CA = Cahiers archéologiques
CFHB = Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae
CSHB = Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae
ΔΧΑΕ = Δελτίον της Χριστιανικής Αρχαιολογικής Εταιρείας
DOP = Dumbarton Oaks Papers
GIM = Государственный исторический музей
ГДКС = Гласник Друштва конзерватора Србије
ГСНД = Гласник Скопског научног друштва
HAZU = Hrvatska akademija znanosti i umetnosti
ИЧ = Историјски часопис
JAZU = Jugoslavenska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti
JÖB = Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik
MAA = Macedoniae acta archaeological
МАНУ = Македонската академија на науките и уметностите
MGH = Monumenta Germaniae Historica
OCP = Orientalia Christiana Periodica
ΠΑΕ = Πρακτικά της εν Αθήναις Αρχαιολογικής Εταιρείας
PB = Palaeobulgarica
PG = Patrologiae cursus completus (Series graeca)
ПЕ = Православная энциклопедия
REB = Revue des études byzantines
RGB = Российская государственная библиотека
RNB = Российская национальная библиотека
САНУ = Српска академија наука и уметности
SBL = Старобългарска литература
СКА = Српска краљевска академија
TM = Travaux et Mémoires
ВВ = Византийский Временник
ЗМСЛУ = Зборник Матице српске за ликовне уметности
ЗФФ = Зборник Филозофскоф факултета
ZRVI = Зборник радова Византолошког инситута
ЗЗСК = Зборник заштите споменика културе

SOURCES

A

Acropolitus = Georgii Acropolitae Opera, Volumen I, ed. *A. Heisenberg*, editionem anni MCMIII et correctionem curavit *P. Wirth*, Stuttgart 1978.

Acta Martyrum Selecta = Acta Martyrum Selecta. Ausgewählte Märtyreracten und andere Urkunden aus der Verfolgungszeit der christlichen Kirche, ed. *O. L. von Gebhardt*, Berlin 1902.

Acta synodica = Acta synodica de dogmate cujus auctor fuit Panteugenus Soterichus, PG 140, ed. *J-P. Migne*, Paris 1887, 177–201.

Actes de Chilandar I = Actes de Chilandar I : des Origines à 1319, edd. *M. Živojinović*, *V. Kravari*, *C. Giros*, Archives de l'Athos XX, Paris 1998.

Actes de Docheiariou = Actes de Docheiariou, ed. *N. Oikonomidès*, Archives de l'Athos XIII, Paris 1984.

Actes d'Iviron III = Actes d'Iviron III : de 1204 à 1328, edd. *J. Lefort*, *N. Oikonomidès*, *D. Papachryssanthou*, *V. Kravari*, *H. Métrévéli*, Archives de l'Athos XVIII, Paris 1994.

Actes de Lavra I = Actes de Lavra I : des origines à 1204, edd. *P. Lemerle*, *A. Guillou*, *N. Svoronos* avec la collaboration de *D. Papachryssanthou*, Archives de l'Athos V, Paris 1970

Akropolites, History = George Akropolites, The History, trans. *R. Macrides*, Oxford 2007.

Albertus Aquensis = Alberti Aquensis Historia Hierosolymitana, Recueil des Historiens des Croisades, Historiens Occidentaux IV, Paris 1879.

Alexias = Annae Comnenae Alexias, edd. *D. R. Reinsch*, *A. Kambylis*, CFHB 40, Berlin – New York 2001.

Annales Altahenses maiores = Annales Altahenses maiores, edd. *W. de Giesebrecht, E. L. B. ab Oefele*, MGH V, SS. XX, Hannovera 1868.

Annales Bertiniani = Annales Bertiniani, ed. *G. Pertz*, MGH, SS. I, Hannovera 1819.

Annales Hildesheimenses = Annales Hildesheimenses, ed. *G. H. Pertz*, MGH V, SS. III, Hannovera 1854.

Antiochus = Gregorii Antiochi opera. Orationes et epistulae, ed. *A. Sideras*, CFHB 45, Wien 2021.

Arethas of Caesareia = *Kougeas S.V.*, Arethas of Caesareia, ed. *Ph. A. Demetracopoulos*, Athens 1985.

Arnoldus Lubecensis = Arnoldi abbatis Lubecensis Chronica a. 1172–1209, ed. *I. Lappenberg*, MGH V, SS. XXI, Hannovera 1869.

***Arranz*, I Penitenziali bizantini** = *Arranz M.*, I Penitenziali bizantini. Il Protokanonarion o Kanonarion Primitivo di Giovanni Monaco e Diacono e il Deuterokanonarion o "Secondo Kanonarion" di Basilio Monaco, Roma 1993.

Attaliatus = Historia Michaelis Attaliatae, ed. *E. Tsolakis*, CFHB 50, Athens 2011.

Apocalypsis Anastasiae = Apocalypsis Anastasiae, ed. *R. Homburg*, Leipzig 1903.

Basilaces, Orationes = Nicephori Basilacae orationes et epistolae, ed. *A. Garzya*, Leipzig 1984.

Basilicorum libri = Basilicorum libri LX, edd. *H. J. Scheltema*, *N. Wal*, *D. Holwerda*, Groningen 1953–1988.

***Benešević*, Drevne–slavjanskaja Kormčaja** = *Бенешевич В. Н.*, Древне–славянская Кормчая XIV титуловъ безъ толкованій. Т. I, Санктпетербургъ 1906.

***Beneševič*, Opisanie** = *Бенешевич В. Н.*, Описание греческих рукописей монастыря святой Екатерины на Синае I, Санкт-Петербург 1911.

***Bieler*, The Irish Pententials** = *Bieler L.*, The Irish Penitentials, Dublin 1963.

Bishop of Nikiu, Chronicle = The Chronicle of John, Bishop of Nikiu, trans. *R. H. Charles*, London 1916.

***Blemmydes*, Ad Jacobum** = Nicéphore Blemmydès, Oeuvres théologiques, Tome II, ed. *M. Stavrou*, Sources chrétiennes 558, Paris 2013, 74–152.

***Bojanin*, Zapovesti svetih otaca** = *Бојанин С*, Заповести светих отаца из Требника библиотеке манастира Зограф (рукопис бр. 50), edd. *J. Pagућ*, *B. Савић*, Наслеђе и стварање. Свети Ћирило. Свети Сава: 869–1219–2019, том II, Београд 2019, 499–523.

Borilov sinodik = Борилов синодик. Издание и превод, edd. *И. Божилов*, *А. Тотоманова*, *И. Билярски*, София 2010.

Brižinski spomeniki = Brižinski spomeniki – Monumenta Frisingensia. Znanstvenokritična izdaja, edd. *D. Dolinar*, *J. Faganel*, Ljubljana 2004.

***Browning*, New Source** = *Browning R.*, A New Source in Byzantine-Hungarian Relations in the 12th Century: The Inaugural Lecture of Michael Ho tou Anchialou as Hypatos tôn Philosophôn, Balkan Studies 2/2 (1961) 173–214.

***Browning*, Unpublished correspondence** = *Browning R.*, Unpublished correspondence between Michael Italicus, archbishop of Philippopolis, and Theodore Prodromos, Byzantinobulgarica 1 (1962) 279–297.

Bryennius = Nicephori Bryenii Historiarum libri quattuor, ed. *P. Gautier*, CFHB 9, Bruxelles 1975.

***Buchon*, Recherches** = *Buchon J. A.*, Recherches et matériaux pour servir à une histoire de la domination française aux XIIIe, XIVe et XVe siècles dans les provinces démembrées de l'Empire grec à la suite de la quatrième croisade, I/2, Paris 1840.

Byzantine Military Treatises = Three Byzantine Military Treatises, ed. *G. T. Dennis*, CFHB 25, Washington, D. C. 1985.

Byzantine Monastic Foundation Documents = Byzantine Monastic Foundation Documents, I, edd. *J. Thomas*, *A. C. Hero*, Washington, D.C. 1998.

Caminiates = Ioannis Caminiatae De Expugnatione Thessalonicae, ed *G. Böhlig*, CFHB 4, Berlin – New York, 1973.

***Carile*, Partitio** = *Carile A.,* Partitio terrarum imperii Romaniae, Studi Venezziani 7 (1965) 125–305.

Chomatenus, Ponemata = Demetrii Chomateni Ponemata Diaphora, ed. *G. Prinzing*, CFHB 38, Berlin – New York 2002.

Choniates, Historia = Nicetae Choniatae Historia, ed. *I. A. van Dieten*, CFHB 11, Berlin 1975.

Choniates, Orationes = Nicetae Choniatae Orationes et epistulae, ed. *I. A. van Dieten*, CFHB 3, Berlin – New York 1972.

Chronicon ignoti civis Barensis = Chronicon ignoti civis Barensis, ed. *L. A. Muratori*, Rerum Italicarum Scriptores V, Mediolanum 1724.

***Cibranska-Kostova – Mirčeva*, Zajkovski trebnik** = *Цибранска-Костова М.*, *Мирчева Е.*, Зайковски требник от XIV век. Изследване и текст, София 2012.

Cinnamus = Ioannis Cinnami epitome rerum ab Ioanne et Alexio Comnenis gestarum, ed. *A. Meineke*, CSHB, Bonn 1836.

Clemente, Canoni cerimoniali = Clemente innografo e gli inediti canoni cerimoniali, ed. *M. A. Magri*, Rome 1979.

Codex diplomaticus, ed. *Smičiklas* = Codex diplomaticus regni Croatiae, Dalmatiae et Slavoniae II, ed. *T. Smičiklas*, Zagrabia 1904.

Cronaca di Monemvasia = Cronaca di Monemvasia, ed. *I. Dujčev*, Palermo 1976.

DAI = Constantine Porphyrogenitus, De Administrando Imperio, edd. *Gy. Moravcsik*, *R. J. H. Jenkins* (New, Revised Edition), CFHB 1, Washington, D. C. 1967.

Danilovi nastavljači = Данилови настављачи, ed. *Г. Мак Данијел*, Београд 1989.

Daphnopatès, Correspondance = Théodore Daphnopatès, Correspondance, ed *J. Darrouzès*, *L. G. Westernik*, Paris 1978.

De cerimoniis = Constantini Porphyrogeniti, Liber de Cerimoniis, edd. *G. Dagron*, *B. Flusin*, CFHB 52/1–5, Paris 2020.

De thematibus = Constantino Porfirogenito, De thematibus, ed. *A. Pertusi*, Studi e Testi 160, Città del Vaticano 1952.

***Dewey – Kleimola*, Zakon sudnyj ljudem** = Zakon sudnyj ljudem (Court Law for the People), translated with Commentaries and Introduction by *H. W. Dewey*, *A. M. Kleimola*, The University of Michigan 1977.

Digesta = Digesta, Corpus iuris civilis I, edd. *T. Mommsen*, *P. Krüger*, Berolinum1954 (reprint).

Dokumenti I = Документи за архиепископията в Охрид I, edd. *П. Павлов et al.*, София 2024.

***Dölger*, Schatzkammern** = *Dölger F.*, Aus den Schatzkammern des Heiligen Berges, Münchner Verlag, 1948.

Domentijan = Доментијан, Живот Светога Саве и Живот Светога Симеона, ed. *Р. Маринковић*, Београд 1988.

Dubrovačko Malo veće = Дубровачко Мало веће о Србији (1415–1460), ed. *А. Веселиновић*, Београд 1997.

***Dujčev*, Chronique byzantine de 811** = *Dujčev I.*, La chronique byzantine de l'an 811, TM 1 (1965) 205–254.

***Dujčev*, On the Treaty** = *Dujčev I.*, On the Treaty of 927 with the Bulgarians, DOP 32 (1978) 217–295.

Elias = Eliae Metropolitae Nisibeni opus Chronologicum, pars prior, Corpus scriptorum christianorum orientalium, Scripotores Syri, series tertia, tomusVII, ed. *E. W. Brooks*, Rome, Paris – Leipzig 1910.

Epanagoge = Leges imperatorum Isaurorum et Macedonum, Jus graecoromanum, vol. II, edd. *J. Zepos*, *P. Zepos*, Athena 1931 (reprint Aalen 1962), 231–368.

Ephraem, Historia Chronica = Ephraem Aenii Historia Chronica, ed. *O. Lampsides*, CFHB 27, Athenae 1990.

Eustathius Thessalonicensis, Opera minora = Eustathii Thessalonicensis opera minora, ed. *P. Wirth*, CFHB 32, Berlin 2000.

Eustazio di Tessalonica = Eustazio di Tessalonica, La Espugnazione di Tessalonica, ed. *St. Kyriakidis*, Palermo 1961.

***Frček*, Euchologium Sinaiticum** = *Frček J.*, Euchologium Sinaiticum. Texte slave avec sources grecques et traduction française, Patrologia Orientalis XXIV/5, Paris 1933, 607–801; XXV/3, Paris 1943, 489–615.

***Ganev*, Zakonъ sudnyj ljudьmъ** = *Ганев В*, Законъ соудный людьмъ. Правно–исторически и правно–аналитични проучвания, София 1959.

***Gautier*, Diataxis** = *Gautier P.*, La Diataxis de Michel Attaliate, REB 39 (1981) 5–143.

***Geitler*, Euchologium** = *Geitler L.*, Euchologium. Glagolski spomenik manastira Sinai Brda, Zagreb 1882.

***Gelzer*, Bistümerverzeichnisse** = *Gelzer H.*, Ungedruckte und wenig bekannte Bistümerverzeichnisse der orientalischen Kirche I, BZ 1 (1892) 245–282; II, BZ 2 (1893) 22–72.

Genesius = Iosephi Genesii Regum Libri Quattuor, edd. *A. Lesmueller-Werner*, *I. Thurn*, CFHB 14, Berlin – New York 1978.

Georgius Monachus = Georgii Monachi Chronicon II, ed. *C. de Boor*, Lipsia 1904.

Gesta Regum Sclavorum = Gesta Regum Sclavorum I, ed. *Д. Кунчер*, Београд 2009.

GIBI V = Scriptoris anonymi. Patria Constantinopolis, Гръцки извори за българската история V, edd. *М. Войнов*, *И. Дуйчев*, *Л. Йончев*, *П. Тивчев*, *В. Тъпкова-Заимова*, *Г. Цанкова-Петрова*, София 1964.

GIBI VI = Георги Кедрин – Йоан Скилица (Georgii Cedreni – Ioannis Scylitzae), Кратка история (Historiarum compendium), Гръцки извори за българската история VI, София 1963.

GIBI VII = Кекавмен. Статегикон (Cecaumeni Strategicon), Пролог към Стратегикона (ΠΡΟΛΟΓΟΣ ΤΟΥ ΣΤΡΑΤΗΓΙΚΟΥ), Гръцки извори за българската история VII, София 1968.

GIBI IX/2 = Произведения на Теофилакт Охридски, архиепископ български, отнасящи се до българската история, Гръцки извори за българската история IX/2, ed. *И. Илиев*, София 1994.

GIBI XIII = Произведения на Димитър Хоматиан, отнасящи се до българската история. Различни трудове, Житие на св. Климент Охридски, Гръцки извори за българската история XIII, ed. *И. Илиев*, София 2023.

***Grafenauer*, Starobavarska (svetoemeramska) molitev** = *Grafenauer I.*, Starobavarska (svetoemeramska) molitev v starem slovenskem in stcksl. jeziku, Slovenski jezik 1 (1938) 8–54.

Gregoras = Nicephori Gregorae Byzantina historia, ed. *L. Schopen*, CSHB, Bonnae 1829.

***Grivec – Tomšič*, Constantinus et Methodius** = *Grivec F., Tomšič F.,* Constantinus et Methodius Thessalonicenses. Fontes, Radovi Staroslavenskog Instituta 4 (1960) 13–276.

***Haldon*, Theory** = *Haldon J.*, Theory and Practice in Tenth-Century Military Administration: Chapters II, 44 and 45 of the *Book of Ceremonies*, TM 13 (2000) 201–352.

***Hefele*, A History of the Christian Councils II** = *Hefele C. J.*, A History of the Christian Councils, from the Original Documents II (326–429), translated by *H. N. Oxenham*, Edinburgh 1896.

Hieroclis Synecdemus = Hieroclis Synecdemus et Notitiae graecae Episcipatuum accedunt Nili Doxapatrii Notitia Patriarchatuum, ed. *G. Parthey*, Amsterdam 1967, 3–261.

Historia de expeditione Friderici imperatoris = Historia de expeditione Friderici imperatoris, Quellen zur Geschichte des Kreuzzuges Kaiser Friedrih I, ed. *A. Chroust*, MGH, Scriptores rerum germanicarum, Nova series V, Berlin 1928.

Iacobus, Opuscula = Iacobi Bulgariae Archiepiscopi opuscula, ed. *S. G. Mercati*, Collectanea Byzantina I, Bari 1970, 66–98.

Ignatius, Vita Nicephori = Ignatii diaconi Vita Nicephori patriarchae Constantinopoli, ed. *C. De Boor*, Lipsia 1880.

***Iliev*, Long Life** = *Iliev I.*, The Long Life of Saint Clement of Ohrid. A Critical Edition, Byzantinobulgarica 9 (1995) 62–120.

Innocentii III papae Regesta sive epistolae, t. II – t. III = Innocentii III Romani pontificis regestorum sive epistolarum II, ed. *J. P. Migne*, Patrologiae cursus completus (series Latina) 215–216, Paris 1890.

Italikos, Epistulae = Michel Italikos, Lettres et Discours, ed. *P. Gautier*, Paris 1972.

***Ivanov*, Bŭlgarski starini** = *Иванов Й.*, Български старини из Македония, София 1931.

***Ivanov*, Žitija** = *Иванов Й.*, Жития на св. Иван Рилски съ уводни бележки, София 1936.

***Jagić*, Sitna gradja** = *Jagić V.*, Sitna gradja za crkveno pravo, Starine JAZU 6 (1874) 112–156.

Johannes Exarch = Das Hexaemeron des Exarchen Johannes, ed. *R. Aitzetmüller*, Bd. 1, Graz 1958.

Kaminiates = John Kaminiates, The Capture of Thessaloniki, translation, introduction and notes by *D. Frendo*, *A. Fotiou*, Byzantina Australiensia 12, Melbourne 2000.

Kekavmen = Кекавмен, Советы и рассказы, Поучение византийского полководца IX века, ed. *Г. Г. Литаврина*, Санкт-Петербург 2003.

Kekaumenos = Κεκαυμένος, Στρατηγικόν, μετάφραση, εισαγωγή, σχόλια *Δ. Τσουγκαράκης*, Αθήνα 1993.

Kliment Ohridski. Sŭbrani sŭčinenija I = Климент Охридски. Събрани съчинения I, edd. *Б. Ст. Ангелов*, *К. М. Куев*, *Х. Р. Кодов*, София 1970.

***Kottje et al.*, Paenitentialia minora** = Paenitentialia minora Franciae et Italiae saeculi VIII–IX, cooperantibus *L. Körntgen* et *U. Spengler-Reffgen*, ed. *R. Kottje*, Turnholtum 1994.

***Kovačević-Kojić*, Trgovačke knjige** = *Ковачевић-Којић Д.*, Трговачке књиге браће Кабужић (Caboga) 1426–1433, Београд 1999.

L'Eucologio Barberini gr. 336 = L'Eucologio Barberini gr. 336, Seconda edizione riveduta con traduzione in lingua italiana, edd. *S. Parenti*, *E. Velkovska*, Roma 2000.

Lamberti Annales = Lamberti Annales, ed. *G. H. Pertz*, MGH V, SS. III, Hannovera 1839.

***Lambros*, Stahyologia** = *Λάμπρος Σ.*, Σταχυολογία ἐκ κωδίκων τοῦ βαταβικοῦ Λουγδούνου, Νέος ἑλληνομνήμων 13 (1915) 385–420.

Latinski izvori = *Латински извори за българската история* III, София 1965.

***Laurent*, Réponse canoniques** = *Laurent V.*, Réponse canoniques inédites du patriarcat byzantin, Échos d'Orient 33 (1934) 298–315.

***Lavrov*, Materialy** = *Лавров П. А.*, Материалы по истории возникновения древнейшей славянской письменности, Ленинград 1930.

Leo Diaconus = Leonis Diaconi Caloensis Historiae libri decem et Liber De velitatione bellica Nicephori Augusti, ed. *K. B. Hase*, CSHB, Bonn 1828.

Letopis popa Dukljanina = Летопис Попа Дукљанина, ed. *Ф. Шишић*, Београд – Загреб 1928.

Life of Ignatius = Nicetas David, The Life of Patriarch Ignatius, edd. *A. Smithies*, *J. M. Duffy*, CFHB 51, Washington, D. C. 2013

Lupi Protospatarii annales = Lupi Protospatarii annales, ed. *G. H. Pertz*, MGH, SS. V, Hannovera 1844.

***Lysaght*, Euchologium Sinaiticum** = *Lysaght, T. A.*, Euchologium Sinaiticum. XIth century glagolitic MS. Photofacsimile of the original MS, OCS translation (cyrillic), English translation with Introduction and commentary, New Zealand 1987.

***Magoulias*, O city of Byzantium** = O city of Byzantium, Annals of Niketas Choniates, trans. *H. J. Magoulias*, Detroit 1984.

***Maksimovič*, Zapovědi svętyhъ otьcь** = *Максимович, К. А.*, Ⱍапов҃ѣди ⷭ҇вѧтыхъ отьць: Латинский пенитенциал VIII века в церковнославянском переводе. Исследование и текст, Москва 2008.

Manasses = Constantini Manassis breviarium chronicum I, ed. *O. Lampsidis*, CFHB 36, Athens 1996.

Manasses, Dyo anegdota ponēmata = Τοῦ Μανασσῆ Κωνσταντίνου πρὸς Μανουὴλ Κομνηνὸν, ed. *E. Kurc*, Ešče dva neizdannih proizvedenia Konstantina Manassi, BB 12 (1906) 69–98.

Mansi = Sacrorum Conciliorum Nova et Amplissima Collectio XVII, ed. *J. D. Mansi*, Florentia 1772.

***Mareš*, An Anthology** = *Mareš, F. W.*, An Anthology of Church Slavonic Texts of Western (Czech) Origin, München 1979.

***Martin-Hisard*, Vie de Georges L'Hagiorite** = *Martin-Hisard B.*, „La vie de Georges L'Hagiorite (1009/1010 – 29 juin 1065). Introduction. Traduction du texte géorgien. Notes et éclaircissements", REB 64–65 (2006–2007) 5–204.

***McNeill – Gamer*, Medieval handbooks of penance** = *McNeill J. T.*, *Gamer H. M.*, Medieval handbooks of penance: A translation of the principal "libri poenitentiales" and selection from related documents, New York 1990^2 (the first edition 1938).

Menologium Basilii Porphyrogeniti = Menologium Basilii Porphyrogeniti, PG 117, ed. *J.-P. Migne*, Paris 1894.

Michael Glycas = Michaelis Glycae Annales, ed. *I. Bekker*, CSHB, Bonn 1836.

***Miklas – Taseva – Jovčeva*, Berlinski Sbornik** = *Miklas H.*, *Taseva L.*, *Jovčeva M.*, Berlinski Sbornik. Ein kirchenslavisches Denkmal mittelbulgarischer Redaktion des beginnenden 14. Jahrhunderts ergänzt aus weiteren handschriftlichen Quellen, Sofia–Wien 2006.

***Miklosich – Müller*, Acta** = Acta et diplomata Graeca medii aevi sacra et profana I–VI, edd. *F. Miklosich*, *J. Müller*, Vindobona 1860–1890.

***Miklosich*, Monumenta Serbica** = *Miklosich F.*, Monumenta Serbica spectantia historiam Serbiae, Bosnae, Ragusii, Vienna 1858.

***Milev*, Grŭckite žitija** = *Милев А.*, Гръцките жития на Климент Охридски, София 1966.

***Nahtigal*, Euchologium sinaiticum** = *Nahtigal R.*, Euchologium Sinaiticum. Starocerkvenoslovanski glagolski spomenik. Del II: tekst s komentarjem, Ljubljana 1942.

Nicephorus = Nicephori Patriarchae Constantinopolitani Breviarium Historicum, ed. *C. Mango*, CFHB 13, Washington, D. C. 1990.

Nicholaus I Epistolae = Nicholas I Patriarch of Constantinople Letters, edd. *R. J. H. Jenkins*, *L. G. Westerink*, CFHB 6, Washington, D. C. 1973.

Nicolai I epp. = Nicolai I papae epistolae, ed. *E. Perels*, MGH, Epp. VI, Epp. Karolini aevi IV, Berolini 1925, 257–690.

Nicolaus I, Opuscula diversa = Nicholas I Patriarch of Constantinople. Miscellaneus Writings, ed. *L. G. Westerink*, CFHB 20, Dumbarton Oaks 1981.

Nilus Doxapatrius = Hieroclis Synecdemus et Notitiae graecae Episcipatuum accedunt Nili Doxapatrii Notitia Patriarchatuu, ed. *G. Parthey*, Amsterdam 1967, 263–308.

Nomokanonъ, MMFH IV = Nomokanonъ – Nomokánon, edd. *D. Bartoňková*, *K. Haderka*, *L. Havlík*, *J. Ludvíkovský*, *J. Vašica*, *R. Večerka*, Magnae Moraviae Fontes Historici IV: Leges textus iuridici supplementa, Brno 1971, 205–363.

Notitia dignitatum = La *Notitia dignitatum*, ed. *C. Neira Faleiro*, Nueva Roma 25, Madird 2005.

Notitiae = Notitiae episcopatuum Ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae: texte critique, introduction et notes, ed. *J. Darrouzès*, Paris, 1981.

Novella 11 = Novella 11. The Novels of Justinian. A Complete Annotated English Translation by *D. J. D. Miller*, *P. Sarris*, Cambridge–New York 2018, 163–165.

Novellae et aurae bullae = Novellae et aurae bullae imperatorum post Justinianum, ex editione C. E. Zachariae A. Lingenthal, Jus Graecoromanum, vol. I, edd. *J. Zepos*, *P. Zepos*, Athena 1931 (reprint Aalen 1962).

Novellae Leonis Sapientis = Les Novelles de Léon VI le Sage. Texte et traduction, edd. *P. Noailles, A. Dain*, Paris 1944.

NT = Novum Testamentum Graece, edd. *E. Nestle*, *B. Aland*, *K. Aland*, *H. Strutwolf*, Münster 2012.

Odo de Deogilo = Ex Odonis de Deogilo Libro de via Sancti Sepulchri a Ludovico VII. Francorum rege suscepta, ed. *G. Waitz*, MGH V, SS. XXVI, Hannovera 1882.

Pachymeres = Georges Pachymérès Relations historiques, I–II, Livres I–VI, edd. *A. Failler*, *V. Laurent*, CFHB 24/1–2, Paris 1984.

Pamjatniki drevne-russkago kanoničeskago prava = Памятники древне-русскаго каноническаго права, Часть первая (Памятники XI–XV в). Русская историческая библіотека, томъ VI, Санктпетербургъ 1908.[2]

***Papagianni – Troianos*, Ein Patriarchalakt** = *Papagianni E.*, *Troianos S.*, Ein Patriarchalakt über die dritte Ehe, Fontes minores 10 (1998) 509–516.

***Pavlov*, Nomokanon pri Boľšom Trebnike** = *Павловъ А. С.*, Номоканонъ при Большомъ Требникѣ. Его исторія и тексты, греческій и славянскій, съ объяснительными и критическими примѣчаніями, Москва 1897[2].

Peira = Ἡ Πεῖρα – Die Peira: Ein juristisches Lehrbuch des 11. Jahrhunderts aus Konstantinopel – Text, Übersetzung Kommentar, Glossar, edd. *D. R. Simon*, *D. R. Reinsch*, Berlin – Boston 2023.

***Petit*, Le monastére** = *Petit L.*, Le monastére de Notre-Dame de Pitié en Macédoinne, Извѣстия Русскаго Археологическаго института въ Константинополѣ, VI, София 1900.

***Pitra*, Spicilegium solesmense** = Spicilegium Solesmense complectens sanctorum patrum scriptorumque ecclesiasticorum anecdota hactenus opera, vol. 4, ed. *J.-B. Pitra*, Paris 1858.

***Popović*, Žitija svetih X** = *Поῑовић Сῑ. Ј.*, Житија светих, октобар, Београд 1977.

***Popovski et al.*, The Troickij sbornik** = *Popovski J.*, *Thomson F.*, *Veder W.*, The Troickij sbornik Cod. Moskva GBL F 304 Troice-Sergieva lavra № 12, text in transcription, Полата кънигѡписьнаꙗ ѣ~ѣ [*Polata Knigopisnaia 21–22*], Leiden 1988.

Povestʹ vremennykh let = Повесть временных лет, I–II, ed. *В. П. Адриановой-Перетц*, Москва – Ленинград 1950.

Prilozi za istorijat = Прилози за историјат на манастирот Вељуса, ed. *С. Светковски*, Струмица 2023.

Prochiron = Leges imperatorum Isaurorum et Macedonum, Jus graecoromanum, vol. II, edd. *J. Zepos*, *P. Zepos*, Athena 1931 (reprint Aalen 1962), 107–228.

Procopius, De aedificiis = Procopii Caesariensis opera omnia, vol. 4, ed. *G. Wirth* (post *J. Haury*), Leipzig 1964.

***Procopius*, De bellis** = Procopius, De bellis, trans. *H. B. Dewing*, vol. IV, London – Cambridge MA 1972.

Prodromos = *Hörandner W.*, Theodoros Prodromos, Historische Gedichte, Wien 1974.

Psellus, Chonographia = Michaelis Pselli Chonographia I, ed. *D. R. Reinsch*, Millennium Studies 51/1, Berlin – Boston 2014.

Psellus, Epistulae = Michael Psellus Epistulae I, ed. *S. Papaioannou*, Berlin – Boston 2019.

***Regel*, Fontes Rerum Byzantinarum** = Fontes rerum byzantinarum sumptibus Academiae scientiarum rossicae accuravit *W. Regel*, Tomus I, Fasc. 1, Rhetorum saeculi XII, orationes politicae, Petropoli 1892.

Regesten der Kaiserurkunden = Regesten der Kaiserurkunden des oströmischen Reiches, von 565–1453, edd. *F. Dölger*, *P. Wirth*, 2. Teil, Regesten von 1025–1204. Zweite und verbesserte Auflage, München 1995.

Regestes = *Grumel V.*, Les Regestes des actes du Patriarchat de Constantinople, vol. I. Les actes des Patriarches, Fasc. II et III, Les Regestes de 715 à 1206, Deuxième édition revue et corrigée par *J. Darrouzès*, Paris 1989.

Registrum patriarchatus Constantinopolitani = Das Register des Patriarchats von Konstantinopel, 1. Teil, Edition und Übersetzung der Urkunden aus den Jahren 1315–1331, edd. *H. Hunger*, *O. Kresten*, CFHB 19/1, Wien 1984.

***Rhalles – Potles*, Syntagma** = Σύνταγμα τῶν θείων καὶ ἱερῶν κανόνων I–VI, edd. *Γ. Α. Ράλλη*, *Μ. Ποτλή*, Αθήνα 1852–1859.

Robert of Clari = Robert de Clari, La conquête de Constantinople, ed. *P. Lauer*, Paris 1924.

Saint Basil, Lettres = Saint Basil, The Lettres, trans. *R. Deferrari*, vol. II, London 2006 (reprint).

***Samardžić*, Beograd i Srbija** = *Самарџић Р.*, Београд и Србија у списима француских савременика XVI–XVII века, Београд 1961.

***Ščapov – Burgmann*, Die slavische Ecloga** = Die slavische Ecloga, edd. *J. N. Ščapov*, *L. Burgmann*, Frankfurt am Main 2011.

***Schminck*, Der Traktat** Περί γάμων = *Schminck A*., Der Traktat Περί γάμων des Johannes Pediasimos, Fontes Minores 1 (1976) 140–157.

***Schminck*, Kritik am Tomos** = *Schminck A*., Kritik am Tomos des Sisinnios, Fontes Minores 2 (1977) 215–254.

***Schminck*, Vier eherechtliche Entscheidungen** = *Schminck A*., Vier eherechtliche Entscheidungen aus dem 11. Jahrhundert, Fontes minores 3 (1979) 221–279.

***Schmitz*, Die Bussbücher** = *Schmitz H. J*., Die Bussbücher und die Kanonische Bussverfahren nach handschriftlichen Quellen dargestellt, Düsseldorf 1898.

***Schreiner*, Dux von Dalmatien** = *Schreiner P*., Der Dux von Dalmatien und die Belagerung Anconas im Jahre 1173. Zur Italien- und Balkanpolitik Manuels I., Byzantion 41 (1971) 284–311.

Scriptor Incertus = Scriptor Incertus, testo critico, ed. *F. Iadevaia*, Messina 1987.

Scriptores rerum hungaricarum = Scriptores rerum Hungaricarum tempore decum regumque stirpis arpadianae gestarum I, ed. *E. Szentpétery*, Budapest 1937.

Scylitzes = Ioannis Scylitzae Synopsis historiarum, ed. *I. Thurn*, CFHB 5, Berlin – New York 1973.

Septuaginta = Septuaginta; id est Vetus Testamentum graece iuxta LXX interpretes. Editio altera, edd. *A. Rahlfs*, *R. Hanhart*, Stuttgart 2006.

Simeonov sbornik = Симеонов сборник (по Светославовия препис от 1073. год), том 1: Изследвания и текст; том 2: Речник – Индекс, ed. *П. Динеков*, Софија 1991.

Skylitzes Continuatus = Ἡ Συνέχεια τῆς χρονογραφίας τοῦ Ἰωάννου Σκυλίτζη (Ioannes Skylitzes Continuatus), ed. *Ε. Τσολάκης*, Θεσσαλονίκη 1986.

Slovo Anastasie = *Speranskij M*., Мало известное византийское «Видение» и его славянские тексты, BS 3 (1931) 110–126.

***Smirnov*, Materialy** = Смирновъ С., Матеріалы для исторіи древне-русской покаянной дисциплины (Тексты и Замѣтки), Москва 1912.

***Solovjev*, Nepoznat ugovor** = *А. Соловјев*, Непознат уговор Дубровника с арбанаским владаром из почетка XIII века, Архив за правне и друштвене науке 27 (1933) 292–298.

***Solovjev*, Odabrani spomenic**i = *Соловјев А. В*., Одабрани споменици српског права, од XII до краја XV века, Београд 1926.

Staurakios, Logos = Ἰωάννου Σταυρακίου Λόγος εἰς τὰ θαύματα τοῦ ἁγίου Δημητρίου, ed. *Ι. Ιβερίτης*, Μακεδονικά 1 (1940) 334–376.

Stefan Prvovenčani = Стефан Првовенчани, Сабрана дела, edd. *Т. Јовановић*, *Љ. Јухас-Георгиевска*, Београд 1999.

Stephanos von Taron = Des Stephanos von Taron armenische Geschichte, edd. *H. Gelzer*, A. *Burckhardt*, Leipzig 1907.

***Stojanović*, Stari srpski hrisovulji** = *Стојановић Љ*., Стари српски хрисовуљи, акти, биографије, летописи, типици, поменици, записи и др., Споменик СКА III (1890) 6–7.

***Stojanović*, Stari srpski rodoslovi** = *Стојановић Љ*., Стари српски родослови, Сремски Карловци 1927.

***Stojanović*, Stari srpski zapisi** = *Стојановић Љ*., Стари српски записи и натписи, 2, Београд 1905.

Strategikon = Maurice's Stratēgikon, Handbook of Byzantine military strategy, trans. *G. T. Dennis*, Philadelphia 1984.

***Suvorov*, Verojatnyj sostav VIII** = *Суворовъ Н*., Вѣроятный составъ древнѣйшаго исповѣднаго и покаяннаго устава въ восточной церкви, ВВ VIII (1902) 357–434.

***Suvorov*, Verojatnyj sostav IX** = *Суворовъ Н*., Вѣроятный составъ древнѣйшаго исповѣднаго и покаяннаго устава въ восточной церкви, ВВ IX (1902) 378–417.

***Sv. Sava*, Život Stefana Nemanje** = Св. Сава, Живот Стефана Немање, Старе српске биографије, ed. *М. Башић*, Београд 1924, 3–29.

***Sveti Sava*, Studenički tipik** = Свети Сава, Студенички типик, edd. *М. Анђелковић*, *Т. Ракићевић*, Манастир Студеница 2018.

***Swiencickyj*, Byzantinische Bleisiegel** = *Swiencickyj I*., Byzantinische Bleisiegel in den Sammlungen von Lwow, Сборник въ паметъ на проф. Петъръ Никовъ, София 1940, 434–441.

Syn CP = Synaxarium ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae e codice Sirmondiano nunc Berolinensi, ed. *H. Delehaye*, Bruxellis 1902.

Symeon Magister = Symeonis magistri et logothetae Chronicon, ed. *S. Wahlgren*, CFHB 44/1, Berlin – New York 2006.

Synopsis Major = La Synopsis major des basiliques et ses appendices: recherches sur la tradition juridique à Byzance, ed. *N. G. Svoronos*, Paris 1964.

Syntagma = Σύνταγμα τῶν Θείων καὶ Ἱερῶν Κανόνων I–VI, edd. *Γ. Α. Ῥάλλης*, *Μ. Ποτλῆς*, Ἀθῆναι 1852–1859.

***Tafel – Thomas*, Urkunden** = Urkunden zur Älteren Handels- und Staatsgeschichte der Republik Venedig mit Besonderer Beziehung auf Byzanz und die Levante I–II, edd. *G. L. Fr. Tafel*, *G. M. Thomas*, Wien 1856.

Taktika of Leo VI = The Taktika of Leo VI (Revised Edition), ed. *G. Dennis*, CFHB 49, Washington, D. C. 2014.

Teodosije = Теодосије, Житија, ed. *Д. Богдановић*, Београд 1988.

The Acts of the Christian Martyrs = The Acts of the Christian Martyrs, ed. *H. Musurillo*, Oxford 1972.

The Council in Trullo Revisited = The Council in Trullo Revisited, edd. *G. Nedungatt*, *M. Featherstone*, Roma 1995.

***Theiner*, Vetera monumenta slavorum meridionalium** = *Theiner A*., Vetera monumenta slavorum meridionalium, I, Romae 1863.

***Theiner*, Monumenta Hungariae I** = *Theiner A*., Vetera Monumenta Historica Hungariam Sacram Illustrantia I (1216–1352), Romae 1859.

Theodori Studitae epp. = Theodori Studitae Epistulae I–II, ed. *G. Fatouros*, CFHB 31/1–2, Berlin – New York 1992.

***Theodorus Studita*, Quotidianae monachorum poenae** = Theodorus Studita, Quotidianae monachorum poenae, S. P. N. Theodori Stuidtae, Opera omnia, PG 99, ed. *J.-P. Migne*, Paris 1903, 1747–1758

Theodorus Studites, Parva Catechesis = Theodore of Studion, Parva Catechesis, edd. *A. Mai*, *I. Cozza Luzi*, Nova patrum bibliotheca, IX, Rome, 1888.

Theophanes Continuatus, VI = Theophanes Continuatus, Chronographia, ed. *I. Bekker*, CSHB, Bonnae 1838.

Theophanes = Theophanis Chronographia I, ed. *C. De Boor*, Lipsiae 1883.

Theophanes Continuatus = Chronographiae quae Theophanis Continuati nomine fertur libri I–IV, edd. *M. Featherstone*, *J. Signes Codoñer*, CFHB 53, Berlin – Boston 2015.

***Theophylaktos Achridos*, Martyrio** = Θεοφύλακτος Αχρίδος, Μαρτύριο των δεκαπέντε μαρτύρων της Τιβεριούπολης, ed. *Ε.-Σ. Κιαπίδου*, Κείμενα βυζαντινής λογοτεχνίας 8, Αθήνα 2015.

Theophylactus, Epistulae = Theophylacti Achridensis Epistulae, ed. *P. Gautier*, CFHB 16/2, Thessalonica 1986.

Theophylactus, Orationes = Theophylacti Achridensis Orationes, Tractatus, Carmina, ed. *P. Gautier*, CFHB 16/1, Thessalonica 1980.

Theophylactus Simokattes = Theophylacti Simocattae Historiae, ed. *C. de Boor*, Lipsiae 1887.

Thietmari Chronicon = Thietmari Chronicon, ed. *G. H. Pertz*, MGH V, SS. III, Hannovera 1839, 723–871.

Thomas Archidiaconus = Thomae Archidiaconi Spalatensis Historia Salonitanorum atque Spalatinorum pontificum, edd. *O. Perić*, *D. Karbić*, *M. Matijević Sokol*, *J. Ross Sweeney*, Budapest – New York 2006.

***Tihonravov*, Pamjatniki** = *Тихонравовъ Н.*, Памятники отреченной русской литературы I–II, Санктпетербургъ – Москва 1863.

Timarion = Pseudo-Luciano, Timarione, ed. *R. Romano*, Napoli 1974.

Tractatus de peculiis = *Fögen M.-Th.*, *Simon D.*, Tractatus de peculiis, Fontes minores 10 (1998) 261–318.

***Trapp*, Die sieben Slavenapostel** = *Trapp E.*, Die sieben Slavenapostel in der liturgischen Dichtung, AB 100 (1982) 469–483.

***Trapp*, Viten** = *Trapp E.*, Die Viten des hl. Naum von Ochrid, BS 35 (1974) 161–185.

***Turilov*, Otvety Georgija, mitropolita Kievskogo** = *Турилов А. А.*, Ответы Георгия, митрополита Киевского, на вопросы игумена Германа ‑ древнейшее русское „вопрошание“, Славянский мир между Римом и Константинополем, Москва 2004, 212‑262.

***Van de Paverd*, The Kanonarion** = *Van de Paverd F.*, The Kanonarion by John, Monk and Deacon and Didascalia Patrum, Roma 2006.

***Vasiliev*, Byzance et les Arabes II** = *Vasiliev A. A.*, Byzance et les Arabes, tome II, la dynastie Macédonienne (867–959), Bruxelles 1950.

VIINJ I, III, IV = Византијски извори за историју народа Југославије I, III, IV, ур. *Г. Острогорски*, *Ф. Баришић* (III, IV), Београд 1955, 1966, 1971.

Vita Basilii = Chronographiae quae Theophanis Continuati nomine fertur liber quo vita Basilii imperatoris amplectitur, ed. *I. Ševčenko*, CFHB 42, Berlin – Boston 2011.

Vita Lietberti = Vita Lietberti episcopi Cameracensis auctore Rudulfo monacho S. Sepuchri Cameracensis, ed. *A. Hofmeister*, MGH SS 30.2, Leipzig 1926, 1934, 838–868.

Vita Metodii = Žitije Mefodija, Magnae Moraviae Fontes Historici, vol. II, Textus biographici, hagiographici, liturgici, edd. *D. Bartoňková et al.*, Brno 1967, 134–163.

Werke des Patriarchen = Werke des Patriarchen von Bulgarien Euthymius (1375–1393), nach den besten Handschriften, ed. *E. Kałużniacki*, Wien 1901 (repr. London 1971).

Yahya = *V. R. Rozen*, Imperator Vasilij Bolgarobojca: Izvlečenija iz letopisi Jaxi Antioxijskago, VR, London 1972.

Zakonъ sudnyi ljudьmъ, MMFH IV = Zakonъ sudnyi ljudьmъ – Soudní zákoník pro lid, edd. *D. Bartoňková*, *K. Haderka*, *L. Havlík*, *J. Ludvíkovský*, *J. Vašica*, *R. Večerka*, Magnae Moraviae Fontes Historici IV: Leges textus iuridici supplementa, Brno 1971, 178–198.

Zakonopravilo svetoga Save = Законоправило светога Саве, том 1, edd. *М. М. Петровић*, *Љ. Штављанин-Ђорђевић*, Београд 2005.

***Zaozerskij – Hahanov*, Nomokanon Ioanna Postnika v ego redakcijah** = *Заозерскій Н. А.*, *Хахановъ А. С.*, Номоканонъ Іоанна Постника въ его редакціяхъ: грузинской, греческой и славянской, Москва 1902.

Zapovědi svętyichъ otьcь, MMFH IV = Zapovědi svętyichъ otьcь – Ustanovení svatých otců, edd. *D. Bartoňková*, *K. Haderka*, *L. Havlík*, *J. Ludvíkovský*, *J. Vašica*, *R. Večerka*, Magnae Moraviae Fontes Historici IV: Leges textus iuridici supplementa, Brno 1971, 137–146

Zbornik ćiriličnih povelja i pisama = Зборник средњовековних ћириличких повеља и писама Србије, Босне и Дубровника (1186–1321), edd. *В. Мошин*, *С. Ћирковић*, *Д. Синдик*, Београд 2011.

Zonaras = Ioannis Zonarae Epitomae historiarum III, Libri XIII–XVIII, ed. *Th. Büttner–Wobst*, CSHB, Bonn 1897.

SECONDARY WORKS

A

***Abramea*, Agioi episkopoi** = *Αβραμέα Ά.*, Άγιοι επίσκοποι του ελλαδικού χώρου, που έζησαν ή καθιερώθηκαν κατά τους 8ο–10ο αιώνες, με ειδική αναφορά στον Άγιο Αχίλλιο Λαρίσης, ed. *Ε. Κουντούρα-Γαλάκη*, Οι ήρωες της Ορθόδοξης Εκκκλησίας. Οι νέοι άγιοι, 8ος–16ος αιώνας, Αθήνα 2004, 47–61.

***Abramea*, Thessalia** = *Αβραμέα Ά.*, Η βυζαντινή Θεσσαλία μέχρι του 1204: συμβολή εις την ιστορικήν γεωγραφίαν, Αθήνα 1974.

***Adontz*, Samuel l'Arménien** = *Adontz N.*, Samuel l'Arménien, roi des Bulgares, Études Armeno-byzantines, Lisbonne 1965, 347–407.

***Ahrweiler*, Byzantine Concepts of the Foreigner** = *Ahrweiler H.*, Byzantine Concepts of the Foreigner, edd. *H. Ahrweiler*, *A. Laiou*, Studies on the Internal Diaspora of the Byzantine Empire, Washington, D. C. 1998, 1–15.

***Ahrweiler-Glykatzi*, Recherches** = *Ahrweiler-Glykatzi H.*, Recherches sur l'administration de l'empire byzantin aux IXe–XIe siècles, BCH 84–1 (1960) 1–111.

***Aladzhov*, Byzantine Empire** = *Aladzhov A.*, The Byzantine Empire and the establishment of the early medieval city in Bulgaria, edd. *F. Daim*, *J. Drauschke*, Byzanz – das Römerreich im Mittelalter, Teil 3, Peripherie und Nachbarschaft, Darmstadt 2010, 113–158.

***Aladzhov*, Palaces** = *Aladzhov A.*, Palaces, temples, and baths. The appearance of stone buildings in the first capital of medieval Bulgaria (7th–9th century AD), edd. *H. Meller*, *F. Daim*, Grenzüberschreitungen – Reiternomaden in Mitteleuropa, ihre östlichen Wurzeln und Verbindungen, Halle (Saale) 2022, 365–381.

***Aladžov*, Krumovijat dvorec** = *Аладжов А.*, Крумовият дворец в Плиска, Приноси към българската археология 7 (2013) 45–56.

***Aladžov*, Predstoličen Preslav** = *Аладжов Ж.*, Предстоличен Преслав, edd. *Д. Овчаров*, *И. Штерева*, Приноси към българската археология 1, София 1992, 53–57.

***Alchermes*, Icon with Saint** = *Alchermes D. J.*, Icon with Saint Theodore, edd. *H.C. Evans*, *W. D. Wixom*, The Glory of Byzantium. Art and Culture of the Middle Byzantine Era, A. D. 843–1261, New York 1997.

***Alekseev*, A cycle of apostolic Passions** = *Alekseev I. A.*, A cycle of apostolic Passions in the chapel over the Southern pastophorion of the Hagia Sophia in Ohrid: problems concerning the origins of the iconographic tradition, RSUH/RGGU Bulletin. Literary Theory. Linguistics. Cultural Studies 1 (2023) 77–98.

***Aleksiev*, Za svetcite-pokrovitеli na stoličnija Tŭrnov** = *Алексиев Й.*, За светците-покровители на столичния Търнов (опит за локализация на църквите, в които са се пазели мощите им), Търновска книжовна школа 7 (1999) 412–414.

***Aleksova*, Bargala** = *Алексова Б.*, Баргала: Археолошки истражувања 1966–1976, Зборник. Археолошки музеј на Македонија 8–9 (1975–1978) 1978, 77–84.

***Aleksova*, Bargala – Bregalnica** = *Алексова Б.*, Баргала – Брегалница во светлината на новите археолошки истражувања, Гласник на Институтот за национална историја 11/3 (1967) 5–81.

***Aleksova*, Bregalnica** = *Алексова Б.*, Брегалница – Словенски црковен и културно просветен центар на Балканот, МАА 9 (1988) 211–224.

***Aleksova*, Episkopijata na Bregalnica** = *Алексова Б.*, Епископијата на Брегалница, прв словенски црковен и културно-просветен центар во Македонија, Прилеп 1989.

***Aleksova*, Krstovidnata crkva** = *Алексова Б.*, Крстовидната црква од Мородвиз, Историја 20/2 (1984) 379–390.

***Aleksova*, Krstovidnite crkvi** = *Алексова Б.*, Крстовидните цркви по Брегалница, Историја 19/2 (1983) 269–284.

***Aleksova*, Krupište** = *Алексова Б.*, Крупиште, Штипско: Археолошки истражувања 1975 и 1981 година, Зборник. Археолошки музеј на Македонија 10–1 (Скопје 1979–1982) 1983, 85–100.

***Aleksova*, Loca sanctorum** = *Aleksova B.*, Loca sanctorum Macedoniae: The Cult of Martyrs in Macedonia, From the 4th to the 9th Centuries, Skopje 1997.

***Aleksova*, Materijalna kultura** = *Алексова Б.*, Материјална култура на Словените во Македонија, Словенска писменост. 1050 годишнина на Климент Охридски, Охрид 1966, 141–148.

***Aleksova*, Prosek-Demir Kapija** = *Aleksova B.*, Prosek – Demir Kapija. Slovenska nekropola i slovenske nekropole u Makedoniji (Prosek – Demir Kapija. Nécropole slave et les nécropoles slaves en Macédoine), Arheološko društvo Jugoslavije, Arheološki Muzej Skopje, Skopje – Beograd 1966.

***Aleksova*, Prvite slovenski crkvi** = *Алексова Б.*, Првите словенски цркви по Брегалница, edd. *Б. Конески*, *Б. Видоески*, *П. Хр. Илиевски*, Кирило-методиевскиот (старословенскиот) период и кирило-методиевската традиција во Македонија, Скопје 1988, 179–198.

***Aleksova*, Sv. 15 tiveriopolski mačenici** = *Алексова Б.*, Св. 15 тиверіополски маченици, ed. *Д. Коцо*, Археолошка карта на Република Македонија, vol. 2, Скопје 1996, 412–414.

***Aleksova – Mango*, A Preliminary Report** = *Aleksova B.*, *Mango C.*, Bargala. A Preliminary Report, DOP 25 (1971) 265–281.

***Alexandrov*, The Syntagma of Matthew Blastares** = *Alexandrov V.*, The Syntagma of Matthew Blastares: The Destiny of a Byzantine Legal Code Among the Orthodox Slavs and Romanians, 14–17 Centuries, Frankfurt am Main 2012.

***Aliu*, Varreza mesjetare** = *Aliu S.*, Varreza mesjetare në tumën e Rehovës, Iliria 16/2 (1986) 215–249.

***Almazov*, Kanonarij** = *Алмазовъ А. И.*, Канонарій монаха Іоанна. Къ вопросу о первоначальньной судьбѣ номоканона Іоанна Постника, Одесса 1907.

***Almazov*, Tajnaja ispoved** = *Алмазовъ А. И.*, Тайная исповѣдь въ православной Восточной церкви I, Одесса 1894.

***Altripp*, Die Basilika in Byzanz** = *Altripp M.*, Die Basilika in Byzanz. Gestalt, Ausstattung und Funktion sowie das Verhältnis zur Kreuzkuppelkirche, Berlin – Boston 2013.

***Amedoski*, Sumarni defter** = *Амедоски Д.*, Сумарни дефтер Крушевачког санџака из 1516. године, Београд 2023.

***Andrudēs – Anagnōstopoulos*, Kathedra tōn Stagōn** = *Αναγνωστόπουλος Α.*, *Ανδρούδης Π.*, Η βυζαντινή καθέδρα των Σταγών, Θεσσαλονίκη 2017.

***Anamali*, Bazilika e Ballshit** = *Anamali S.*, Bazilika e Ballshit, Iliria 7–8 (1977–1978) 301–306.

***Anamali*, Rreth skulpturës** = *Anamali S.*, Rreth skulpturës dekorative arkitektonike të Bazilikës së Ballshit, Iliria 11/2 (1981) 237–242.

***Ananiev*, Arheološki iskopuvanja** = *Ананиев Ј.*, Археолошки ископувања на црквата Св. Леонтие во с. Водоча 1986–1990 година, Културно Наследство 17–18 (1990–1991) 1994, 57–64.

***Ananiev*, Dva vizantiski pečata** = *Ананиев Ј.*, Два византиски печата од Водоча кај Струмица, МАА 15 (1999) 333–338.

***Anastasijević*, Otkopavanje crkve** = *Анастасијевић Н. Д.*, Откопавање цркве св. Богородице код Куршумлије, Старинар I/1922, III серија (1923) 47–55.

***Anastasijević – Ostrogorsky*, Koumanes pronoïaires** = *Anastasijević D.*, *Ostrogorsky G.*, Les Koumanes pronoïaires, Annuaire de l'Institut de philologie et d'histoire orientales et slaves 6 (1951) 19–29.

***Andreev – Lazarov – Pavlov*, Koj koj** = *Андреев Й.*, *Лазаров И.*, *Павлов П.*, Кой кой е в средновековна България (Трето допълнено и основно преработено издание), София 2012.

***Andrejević*, Latinska crkva** = *Андрејевић Б.*, Латинска црква код Горњег Матејевца, Саопштење 20–21 (1988–1989) 183–195.

***Andrews*, Matt῾ēos Urhayec῾i** = *Andrews T. L.*, Matt῾ēos Urhayec῾i and His Chronicle. History as Apocalypse in a Crossroads of Cultures, Leiden – Boston 2017.

***Andrić*, Bazilijanski i benediktinski samostan** = *Andrić S.*, Bazilijanski i benediktinski samostan Sv. Dimitrija u Srijemskoj Mitrovici, Radovi Zavoda za hrvatsku povijest 40 (2008) 115–186.

***Anđelković*, Studenički tipik** = *Анђелковић М.*, Студенички типик Светог Саве, edd. *М. Анђелковић*, *Т. Ракићевић*, Свети Сава, Студенички типик, Манастир Студеница 2018, 13–25.

***Angheben*, Les Jugements derniers byzantins** = *Angheben M.*, Les Jugements derniers byzantins des XI–XIIe siècles et l'iconographie du jugement immédiate, CA 50 (2004) 105–134.

***Angeličin Žura*, Nov arheološki nalaz** = *Анѓеличин Жура Г.*, Нов археолошки налаз у Охриду. Да ли је откривен катедрални храм Самуилове Патријаршије?, ZLUMS 36 (2008) 9–19.

***Angeličin Žura*, Pešternite crkvi na bregot od Ohridskoto ezero** = *Ангеличин Жура Г.*, Пештерните цркви на брегот од Охридското езеро, Охрид 1999.

***Angeličin Žura*, Pešternite crkvi vo Ohridsko-prespanskiot region** = *Ангеличин Жура Г.*, Пештерните цркви во Охридско-преспанскиот регион (Р. Македонија, Р. Албанија, Р. Грција), Струга 2004.

***Angelomatis-Tsougarakis*, Woman in the Society of the Despotate of Epirus** = *Angelomatis-Tsougarakis H.*, Woman in the Society of the Despotate of Epirus, JÖB 32/2 (1982) 473–480.

***Angelov*, Canon de St. Jean de Rila** = *Angelov B. St*, Un canon de St. Jean de Rila de Georgeos Skylitzes, Byzantino-Bulgarica 3 (1969) 171–185.

***Angelov*, Die bulgarischen Länder** = *Angelov D.*, Die bulgarischen Länder und das bulgarische Volk in den Grenzen des byzantinischen Reiches im XI. –XII. Jahrhundert (1018–1185): (sozial-ökonomische Verhältnisse), Thirteenth International Congres of Byzantine Studies, Oxford 1966.

***Angelov*, Geography** = *Angelov D.*, "Asia and Europe Commonly Called East and West": Constantinople and Geographical Imagination in Byzantium, edd. *S. Bazzaz*, *Y. Batsaki*, *D. Angelov*, Imperial geographies in Byzantine and Ottoman space, Cambridge – London 2013, 43–68.

***Angelov*, Le mouvement bogomile** = *Angelov D.*, Le mouvement bogomile dans les pays balkaniques et son influence en Europe occidentale, Actes du colloque internationale de civilisations balkaniques, Bucharest 1963, 171–182.

***Angelov – Čolpanov*, Bŭlgarska voenna istorija** = *Ангелов Д.*, *Чолпанов Б.*, Българска военна история през Средновековието (X–XV век) София 1994.

***Angelov*, Bûlgarija i bûlgarite** = *Ангелов П.*, България и българите в представите на византийците (VII–XIV век), София 1999.

***Angelov*, Srednovekovnata bûlgarska diplomacija** = *Ангелов П.*, Средновековната българска дипломация, София 2004.

***Angelova*, Arheologičeskoto proučvane** = *Ангелова С.*, Археологическото проучване на средновековния Дръстър (резултати и перспективи), Дуросторум–Дръстър–Силистра, Силистра 1988, 42–45.

***Angelova*, Razkopki na cŭrkva № 2** = *Ангелова С.*, Разкопки на църква № 2. Археологическо проучване на Дръстър (14 години по-късно), Сборник Добруджа 20 (2002) 12–39.

***Angelova et al.*, Cŭrkva № 2** = *Ангелова С.*, *Колева, Р.*, *Ангелова Е.*, *Иванова, Р.*, Църква № 2 в Дръстър (Силистра), Минало 3 (1996) 28–40.

***Angelova – Prinzing*, Das mutmabliche Grab des Patriarchen Damian** = *Angelova S.*, *Prinzing G.*, Das mutmabliche Grab des Patriarchen Damian: zu einem archäologischen Fund in Dristra/

Silistra, Средновековна християнска Европа: Изток и Запад, София 2002, 726–730.

***Angold*, Byzantine Empire** = *Angold M.*, The Byzantine Empire, 1025–1204. A Political History, London – New York 1997.

***Angold*, Byzantine Politics** = *Angold M.*, Byzantine Politics vis-à-vis the Fourth Crusade, ed. *A. E. Laiou*, Urbs capta. The fourth Crusade and its consequences, Paris 2005, 55–70.

***Angold*, Church and Society** = *Angold M.*, Church and Society in Byzantium under the Comneni, 1081–1261, Cambridge 1995.

***Angold*, Ē Byzantinē Ekklēsia kai ta problēmata tou gamou** = *Angold M.*, Η Βυζαντινή Εκκλησία και τα προβλήματα του γάμου. Η συμβολή του Ιωάννου Απόκαυκου, μητροπολίτου Ναύπακτον, Δωδώνη: Τεύχος Πρώτο: επιστημονική επετηρίδα του Τμήματος Ιστορίας και Αρχαιολογίας της Φιλοσοφικής Σχολής του Πανεπιστημίου Ιωαννίνων 17 (1988) 179–195.

***Angold*, Medieval Byzantine "city"** = *Angold M.*, The shaping of the medieval Byzantine "city", ByzF 10 (1985) 1–38.

***Antonović*, Etnička kretanja** = *Антоновић М.*, Етничка кретања у Поморављу у XI и XII веку, ed. *С. Мишић*, Моравска Србија, Крушевац 2007, 73–84.

***Antonović – Ivanov*, Još jednom o ubikaciji** = *Антоновић М.*, *А. Иванов*, Још једном о убикацији Дивисиска, edd. *В. Пузовић*, *В. Таталовић*, Осам векова аутокефалије Српске Православне Цркве / Eight Centuries of the Autocephaly of the Serbian Orthodox Church (1219–2019) I, Београд 2020, 129–135.

***Arbesmann*, The 'Cervuli' and 'Anniculae'** = *Arbesmann R.*, The 'Cervuli' and 'Anniculae' in Caesarius of Arles, Traditio 35 (1979) 89–119.

Arheološka karta = Археолошка карта на Република Македонија, том 2, ed. *Д. Коцо*, Скопје 1996.

***Arranz*, Izbrannye sočinenija** = *Арранц М.*, Избранные сочинения по литургике II: Таинства Византийской Традиции: Таинство покаяния, Разрешительные молитвы, Заклинания, Таинство соборования, Заупокойные чины. Исторические опыты, Москва – Рим 2003.

***Arranz*, La liturgie de l'Euchologe slave** = *Arranz M.*, La liturgie de l'Euchologe slave du Sinai, edd. *E. G. Farrugia et al.*, Christianity among the Slavs. The Heritage of Saints Cyril and Methodius, Roma 1988, 15–74.

***Arranz*, Les formulaires de confession (1e partie)** = *Arranz M.*, Les formulaires de confession dans la tradition byzantine. Les Sacrements de la restauration de l'ancien Euchologue constantinopolitain II–3 (1e partie), OCP 58/2 (1992) 423–459.

***Arranz*, Les formulaires de confession (2e partie)** = *Arranz M.*, Les formulaires de confession dans la tradition byzantine. Les sacrements de la restauration de l'ancien euchologue constantinopolitain II–3 (2e partie), OCP 59/2 (1993) 63–89.

***Arrignon – Duneau*, Frontière** = *Arrignon J.-P.*, *Duneau J.-F.*, La frontière chez deux auteurs byzantins: Procope de Césarée et Constantin VII Porphyrogénète, ed. *H. Ahrweiler*, Geographica Byzantina, Paris 1981, 17–30.

Asemanievo evangelie = Асеманиево евангелие. Факсимилно издание, София 1981.

***Astruc*, Un document inédit de 1163** = *Astruc C.*, Un document inédit de 1163 sur l'évêché thessalien de Stagi (Parisinus Suppl. Gr. 1371), BCH 83/1 (1959) 206–246.

***Atanasoski*, Archaeological Excavation** = *Atanasoski B.*, Archaeological Excavation on the Gradište Site near the Village of Debrešte: (Report on Excavation in 2011 and 2015), Arheološki Informator 1 (2017) 61–70.

***Atanasoski*, Okolu problemot** = *Атанасоски Б.*, Околу проблемот на датирањето на катедралниот храм во село Крупиште – Штипско, Balcanoslavica 37–39 (2007–2010) 74–95.

***Atanasoski*, Srednovekovnata tvrdina Markovi kuli** = *Атанасоски Б.*, Средновековната тврдина Маркови кули – културна стратиграфија и градежни фази на фортификацијата, Balcanoslavica 30 (2002) 227–309.

***Atanasoski*, Uште еднаш за градежните fazi** = *Атанасоски Б.*, Уште еднаш за градежните фази на фортификацијата Маркови Кули, Варош – Прилеп, Balcanoslavica 47/2 (2018) 107–133.

***Atanasov*, Drŭstŭr (Silistra) i dunavskata rezidencija** = *Атанасов Г.*, Дръстър (Силистра) и дунавската резиденция на българските канове през първата половина на IX в, Археология 1 (2012) 28–45.

***Atanasov*, Hristijanskijat Durostorum – Drastar** = *Атанасов Г.*, Християнският Дуросторум – Дръстър. Доростолската епархия през Късната античност и Средновековието (IV–XIV в.), История, археология, култура, изкуство, Варна – Велико Търново 2007.

***Atanasov*, Influences ethno-culturelles** = *Atanasov G.*, Influences ethno-culturelles dans l'ermitage rupestre pr.s de Murfatlar, BS 57 (1996) 112–124.

***Atanasov*, Ot episkopija kŭm samostojnata patriaršija** = *Атанасов Г.*, От епископия към самостойната патриаршия на Първото българско царство в Дръстър (Силистра) Историята на патриаршеският комплекс, София 2017.

***Atanasov*, Pŭrvata bŭlgarska patriaršeska katedra** = *Атанасов Г.*, Първата българска патриаршеска катедра в Дръстър и патриарх Дамян (927–971), ed. *П. Георгиев*, Изследвания по българска средновековна археология, Сборник в чест на проф. Рашо Рашев, Велико Търново 2007, 179–196.

***Atanasov*, Pŭrvostroiteli** = *Атанасов Г.*, Първостроители на българската държавност. Органа, Кубрат, Аспарух, Тервел, София 2014

***Atanasov*, Srednovekovna skulpturna kompozicija** = *Атанасов Г.*, Средновековна скулптурна композиция с апокалиптичен сюжет от Дръстър (Силистра), Годишник на Софийския университет, Център за славяно-византинистични проучвания „Иван Дуйчев" 84–85 (4) (1990–1991) 101–111.

***Atanasov*, Zur Topographie des frühchristlichen Durostorum** = *Atanasov G.*, Zur Topographie des frühchristlichen Durostorum (Silistra) im IV–VI Jahrhundert, Mitteilungen zur Chrislichen Archäologie 14 (2008) 28–30.

***Atanasov – Mihajlov*, Novi danni za dvoreca** = *Атанасов Г.*, *Михайлов Кр.*, Нови данни за двореца на кан Омуртаг в Дръстър (Силистра) (= ὑπέρφυμον ὕκον ἰς τόν Δανούβην), Трети международен конгрес по българистика 23–26 май 2013 г., София 2014, 213–245.

***Atanasova*, Nekolku utvrdeni naselbi** = *Атанасова И.*, Неколку утврдени населби во кочанско, МАА 18 (2008) 353–366.

***Atanasova – Nacev*, Novi soznanija** = *Атанасова И.*, *Нацев Т.*, Нови сознанија за стопанско-економскиот дел во Баргала, МАА 21 (2019) 399–412.

***Atanasova – Šterjov*, Katedralen hram** = *Атанасова И.*, *Штерјов М.*, Катедрален храм во село Крупиште. Прелиминарни сознанија од истражувањата во 2020 година, МАА 25 (2022) 269–286.

***Atanasova – Šterjov*, Manastirče kaj Čardaklija** = *Атанасова И.*, *Штерјов М.*, Крстовидна црква од локалитет Манастирче кај Чардаклија, штипско – резултати од заштитните истражувања во 2017 година, МАА 24 (2021) 299–312.

***Atanasova*, Kontinuitet na sakralnata gradežna aktivnost** = *Атанасова М.*, Континуитет на сакралната градежна активност на Орта џамија во Струмица, МАА 15 (1999) 325–331.

***Atanasovski*, Nekoi nedorečenosti** = *Атанасовски А.*, Некои недореченост за распространувањето на култот на Светите Петнаесет Тивериополски свештеномаченици на Брегалница, edd. *A. Atanasovski et al.*, The Cult of the Holy Fifteen Tiberiopolian Hieromartyrs in the Medieval and the Newer Epoch – History, Culture, Tradition, Strumica 2019, 49–60.

***Avenarius*, Die byzantinische Kultur und die Slawen** = *Avenarius A.*, Die byzantinische Kultur und die Slawen. Zum Problem der Rezeption und Transformation (6. bis 12. Jahrhundert), Wien 2000.

B

***Babić*, Hristološke raspre** = *Бабић Г.*, Христолошке распре у XII веку и појава нових сцена у апсидалном декору византијских цркава, ZLUMS 2 (1966) 11–31.

***Babić*, Les chapelles annexes** = *Babić G.*, Les chapelles annexes des églises byzantines. Fonction liturgique et programmes iconographiques, Paris 1969.

***Babić*, Les discussions christologiques** = *Babić G.*, Les discussions christologiques et le décor des églises byzantines au XII^e^ siècle. Les évêques officiant devant l'Hétimasie et devant l'Amnos, Frühmittelalterliche Studien 2/1 (1968) 368–386.

***Babiќ*, Materijalnata kultura** = *Бабиќ Б.*, Материјалната култура на Македонските Словени во светлината на археолошките истражувања во Прилеп. Прилог за историјата на културата на македонскиот народ, Прилеп 1986.

***Babiќ – Mikulčiќ*, Skopsko kale** = *Бабиќ Б.*, *Микулчиќ И.*, Скопско Кале, Културно наследство 8 (1984) 55–63.

***Bádenas*, Résistance bulgare** = *Bádenas P.*, La résistance bulgare et la pénétration du bogomilisme à Byzance, edd. *K. Νικολάου, K. Τσικνάκης*, Βυζάντιο και Βούλγαροι (1018–1185), Αθήνα 2008, 153–160.

***Bǎjenaru*, Minor fortifications** = *Bǎjenaru C.*, Minor fortifications in the Balkan – Danubian Area from Diocletian to Justinian, Cluj – Napoca 2010.

***Bakalov*, Vizantijskijat kulturen model** = *Бакалов Г.*, Византийският културен модел в идейно-политическата структура на Първата българска държава, История 4–5 (1994) 13–27.

***Bakalova – Vasilev*, Images and Texts** = *Bakalova B.*, *Vasilev T.*, Images and Texts across Time: The Three Layers of Mural Paintings in the Church of St George in Sofia, edd. *E. Мутафов*, *И. Тот*, Византийско и поствизантийско изкуство. Пречисане на граници, София 2018, 171–193.

***Bakalova*, Liturgična poezija** = *Бакалова Е.*, Литургична поезия и църковна стенопис (Текст от октоих в Боянската църква), SBL 28–29 (1994) 143–152.

***Bakalova*, Obštnost na idejno hudožestvenite procesi** = *Бакалова Е.*, Общност на идейно художествените процеси в литературата и изкуството през в. Литературознание и фолклор. В чест на 70-годишнината на акад. Петр Динеков, София 1983, 175–182.

***Bakirtzis*, Imports, exports** = *Bakirtzis C.*, Imports, exports and autarky in Byzantine Thessalonike from the seventh to the tenth century, ed. *J. Henning*, Post-Roman towns, trade and settlement in Europe and Byzantium, vol. 2: Byzantium, Pliska and the Balkans, Berlin 2007, 89–118.

***Balabanov*, Starobŭlgarski manastir** = *Балабанов, Т.*, Старобългарски манастир при с. Черноглавци (предварително съобщение), ИИМ Шумен 8 (1993) 263–272.

***Barakov*, Bdin** = *Barakov V.*, Bdin. Medieval Bdin, ed. *R. Ivanov*, Thracian, Greek, Roman and Medieval Cities, Residences and Fortresses in Bulgaria, Sofia 2015, 623–637.

***Barakov*, Srednovekovnijat Bdin** = *Бараков В.*, Средновековният Бдин, MEDIAEVALIA, Quod Deus vult! Сборник в чест на проф. дин. Красимира Гагова, София 2013, 256–266.

***Barankova*, "Nevedomyh sloves' izloženo Georgiem"** = *Баранкова Г. С.*, Невѣдомы(х) словесъ изложено Геѡргїемъ, цинтрополито(м) кїевьскыцъ, Германѡ игоуменѹ въпрашающѣ, ѡномѣ повѣдающѣ: вопросы подлинности памятника и особенности его языка, edd. *Е. В. Белякова*, *А. В. Назаренко*, Религии мира: история и современность, Москва – Санкт-Петербург 2012, 15–43.

***Bardzieva-Trajkovska*, St Panteleimon** = *Bardzieva-Trajkovska D.*, St Panteleimon at Nerezi. Fresco Painting, Skopje 2004.

***Bardzieva-Trajkovska*, The Virgin Nikopeja** = *Bardzieva-Trajkovska D.*, The Virgin Nikopeja from Kurbinovo, Древнерусское искусство. Русь и страны византийского мира XII век 22 (2002) 86–93.

***Barišić*, Car Foka** = *Баришић Ф.*, Цар Фока (602–610) и подунавски Аваро-Словени, ZRVI 4 (1956) 73–88.

***Barišić*, Dva grčka natpisa** = *Баришић Ф.*, Два грчка натписа из Манастира и Струге, ZRVI 8/2 (1964) 13–27.

***Barišić – Ferjančić*, Vest**i = *Баришић Ф.*, *Ферјанчић Б.*, Вести Димитрија Хоматијана о „власти Драгувита", ZRVI 20 (1981) 41–58.

***Barlieva*, San Clemente di Ocrida** = *Barlieva S.*, San Clemente di Ocrida nella tradizione in lingua greca, edd. *K. Stantchev*, *M. Calusio*, San Clemente di Ocrida: allievo e maestro. Nell'undicesimo centenario del beato transito (916–2016), Milano 2017, 160–162.

***Bartusis*, Land and Privilege** = *Bartusis C. M.*, Land and Privilege in Byzantium: The Institution of Pronoia, Cambridge *et al.* 2012.

***Baun*, Middle Byzantine ‚tours of hell'**= *Baun J. R.*, Middle Byzantine ‚tours of hell': outsider theodicy?, ed. *D. C. Smythe*, Strangers to themselves. The Byzantine outsider, Aldershot 2000, 47– 60.

***Baun*, Tales from Another Byzantium** = *Baun J. R.*, Tales from Another Byzantium: Celestial Journey and Local Community in the Medieval Greek Apocrypha, Cambridge 2007.

***Bausinger*, Etnologija** = *Bauzinger H.*, Etnologija: od proučavanja starine do kulturologije, prevod A. Bajazetov Vučen, Beograd 2002 (= *Bausinger H.*, Volkskunde. Von der Altertumsforschung zur Kulturanalyse, Darmstadt 1971).

***Beaudry* et al., Byllis** = *Beaudry N.*, *Blanc P.*, *Cerova Y.*, *Chevalier P.*, *Haxhimihali M.*, *Hobdari E.*, *Islami A.*, *Koželj T.*, *Muçaj S.*, *Nallbani E.*, *Sodini J.-P.*, *Tassignon I.*, *Vanderheyde C.*, *Wurch-Koželj M.*, Byllis (Albanie), BCH 127/2 (2003) 622–639.

***Beaudry et al.*, Le quartier épiscopal** = *Beaudry N.*, *Chevalier P.*, *Kozelj T.*, *Muçaj S.*, *Wurch-Kozelj M.*, Le quartier épiscopal de Byllis (Albanie). Les campagnes de fouilles 2011–2012, BUCEMA 17/2 (2013) 1–15.

***Begunov*, Kosma Presbyter** = *Бегунов Ю.*, Козма Пресвитер в славянских литературах, София 1973.

***Beldedovski*, Bazilika Extra muros** = *Белдедовски З.*, Базилика Extra muros од Баргала, истражувања 2007, Македонско наследство 34–35 (2009) 193–202.

***Beldedovski*, Episkopskata bazilika** = *Белдедовски З.*, Епископската базилика во Баргала: Истражувања 1999 г., МАА 16 (2005) 259–273.

***Beldedovski*, Istražuvanje** = *Белдедовски З.*, Истражување на Црвена црква во с. Крупиште, Македонски археолошки преглед 1 (2008) 172–177.

***Beldedovski*, Slovenski materijalni elementi** = *Белдедовски З.*, Словенски материјални елементи во Брегалничкиот басен, МАА 14 (1995) 173–183.

***Beldedovski – Nacev*, Bargala** = *Белдедовски З.*, *Нацев Т.*, Баргала, истражување 1988 година со преглед на позначајните наоди од досегашните истражувања на средновековната некропола, Зборник на Штипскиот народен музеј 7 (1996) 35–46.

***Beljakova*, K voprosu ob izmenenii leksiki** = *Белякова Е. В.*, К вопросу об изменении лексики слвянских церковно-правовых текстов в процессе миграции памятников, РВ XLV/2 (2021) 157–178.

***Beljakova*, Zapovedь Ioanna Zlatousta o zakone cerkovnom** = *Белякова Е. В.*, Заповедь Иоанна Златоуста о законе церковном (к проблеме распространения канонических памятников), Stephanos № 3 (41) 2020, 27–33.

***Beljakova – Moškova – Oparina*, Kormčaja kniga** = *Белякова Е. В.*, *Мошкова Л. В.*, *Опарина Т. А.*, Кормчая книга: от рукописной традиции к первому печатному изданию, Москва – Санкт-Петербург 2017.

***Beljakova – Turilov*, Kormčaja kniga** = *Белякова Е.*, *Турилов А.*, *Кормчая книга*, ПЕ 38, Москва 2015, 52–58.

***Bender*, Ermitages et monastères rupestres** = *Bender L.*, Ermitages et monastères rupestres de la Laconie byzantine (XI^{e}–XV^{e} siècle). Archéologie, topographie et paysages, Vienna–Novi Sad 2022.

Beneševič*, *Kanoničeskij sbornik = *Бенешевич В. Н.*, Канонический сборник XIV титулов со второй четверти VII века до 883 г. К древнейшей истории источников права греко–восточной церкви, Санкт-Петербург 1905.

***Beneševič*, Sinagoga v 50 titulov** = *Бенешевичъ В. Н.*, Синагога въ 50 титуловъ и другіе юридическіе сборники Іоанна Схоластика. Къ древнѣйшей исторіи источниковъ права греко-восточной церкви, Санкт-Петербург 1913.

***Beneševič*, Nomokanon Ioanna Komnina** = *Beneševič V. N.*, Номоканонъ Іоанна Комнина, архіепископа Ахридскаго, ВВ 22/1–2 (1915–1916) 41–61.

***Benoit-Meggenis*, L'empereur et le moine** = *Benoit-Meggenis R.*, L'empereur et le moine. Les relations du pouvoir impérial avec les monastères à Byzance (IX^{e}–XIII^{e} siècle), Lyon 2017.

***Bereznyak*, Between Baptism and Faith** = *Bereznyak A.*, Between Baptism and Faith: A New Perspective on the Christianisation of Europe in the Early Middle Ages, Jerusalem 2016 (unpublished PhD dissertation).

***Berisha et al.*, Archäologisch-geophysikalische Prospektion** = *Berisha M.*, *Drafehn A.*, *Gashi S.*, *Gauss R.*, *Helfert M.*, *Luci K.*, *Lüth F.*, *Mertl P.*, *Reichler S.*, *Schafferer G.*, *Teichner F.*, *Wendling H.*, Archäologisch-geophysikalische Prospektion im Kosovo – Erste Resultate einer bilateralen Forschungskooperation, Archäologischer Anzeiger 2 (2012) 65–92.

***Bertelli – Pani Ermini*, Le diocesi della Puglia** = *Bertelli G.*, *Pani Ermini L.*, Le diocesi della Puglia centro-settentrionale: Aecae, Bari, Bovino, Canosa, Egnathia, Herdonia, Lucera, Siponto, Trani, Vieste, Spoleto 2002.

***Beševliev*, Grŭcki nadpis** = *Бешевлиев В.*, Гръцки надпис с дата от старобългарския манастир при ц. Равна, Известия на Народния музей Варна 18–33 (1982) 117–118.

***Beševliev*, Inschriften** = *Beševliev V.*, Die Protobulgarischen Inschriften, Berlin 1963.

***Beševliev*, Pŭrvobŭlgari** = *Бешевлиев В.*, Първобългари. История, София 1984.

***Beševliev*, Pŭrvobŭlgarski nadpisi** = *Бешевлиев В.*, Първобългарски надписи, София 1992.

***Beševliev*, Spätgriechische und spätlateinische Inschriften** = *Beševliev V.*, Spätgriechische und spätlateinische Inschriften aus Bulgarien, Berlin 1964.

BHG II = Bibliotheca hagiographica graeca II, ed. *F. Halkin*, Bruxelles 1957.

***Bikić*, Keramičke celine** = *Бикић В.*, Керамичке целине и друштвени контексти у раном средњем веку – примери из српске археологије, edd. *В. Иванишевић*, *В. Бикић*, *И. Буīарски*, Свет средњовековних утврђења, градова и манастира. Омаж Марку Поповићу, Београд 2021, 287–307.

***Biljarski*, Laudator temporis acti** = Laudator temporis acti. Studia in memoriam Ioannis A. Božilov II, ed. *И. Билярски*, София 2018.

***Biliarsky*, La translation des reliques** = *Biliarsky I.*, La translation des reliques à la capitale du second empire bulgare et les idées du pouvoir, edd. *K. Stantchev*, *St. Parenti*, Liturgia e agiografia tra Roma e Costantinopoli, Grottaferrata 2007, 329–338.

***Biliarsky*, Tsar of the Bulgarians** = *Biliarsky I.*, St. Peter (927–969), Tsar of the Bulgarians, edd. *V. Gjuzelev*, *K. Petkov*, State and Church: Studies in Medieval Bulgaria and Byzantium, Sofia 2011, 173–188.

***Birkenmeier*, Komnenian Army** = *Birkenmeier J. W.*, The Development of the Komnenian Army: 1081–1180, Leiden – Boston – Köln 2002.

***Birnbaum*, Slavic Translation** = *Birnbaum D. J.*, A Slavic Translation of the Ochrid Chrysobull of 1273, Acta Universitatis Szegediensis de Attila Joszef Nominatae, Dissertationes Slavicae, Sectio Linguistica 21 (1990) 267–284.

***Blagojević*, Dendra** = *Благојевић М.*, Жупа Реке и „Дендра" (Δένδρα) Јована Кинама, ZRVI 35 (1996) 197–213.

***Blagojević*, Sečenica** = *Благојевић М.*, Сеченица (Σετζενίτζα), Стримон (Στρύμων) и Тара (Τάρα) у делу Јована Кинама, ZRVI 17 (1976) 67–76.

***Bogdanović*, Prostorni sklop** = *Богдановић Ј.*, Просторни склоп цркве Светог Георгија у Будимљу, ed. *М. Радујко*, Ђурђеви Ступови и будимљанска епархија, зборник радова, Беране – Београд 2011, 95–105.

***Bogdanović*, The Framing of Sacred Space** = *Bogdanović J.*, The Framing of Sacred Space. The Canopy and the Byzantine Church, Oxford 2017.

***Bogevska-Capuano*, Les églises rupestres** = *Bogevska-Capuano S.*, Les églises rupestres de la région des lacs d'Ohrid et de Prespa. Milieu du XIII^{e}–milieu du XVI^{e} siècle, Turnhout 2015.

***Bojadžiev*, Cŭrkva № 4** = *Бояджиев Ст.*, Църква № 4 в местността Селище при Преслав, Музеи и паметници на културата III/1 (1963) 10–15.

***Bojadžiev*, Cŭrkvata v Patlejna** = *Бояджиев Ст.*, Църквата в Патлейна в светлината на новите данни, Археология 11/4 (1960) 23–33.

***Bojadžiev*, Otnovo po vŭprosa za cŭrkvata** = *Бояджиев Ст.*, Отново по въпроса за църквата край ц. Виница, Преслав 3 (1983) 91–101.

***Bojadžiev*, Rannohristijanski hram** = *Бояджиев Ст.*, Раннохристиянски храм Света София, София 1996.

***Bojanin*, Bračne odredbe Žičke povelje** = *Бојанин С.*, Брачне одредбе Жичке повеље између црквеног и народног концепта брака, edd. *Б. Крсмановић*, *Љ. Максимовић*, *Р. Радић*, Византијски свет на Балкану II, Београд 2012, 425–442.

***Bojanin*, Canons of Old Nomokanons** = *Bojanin S.*, Canons of Old Nomokanons in South Slavonic Penitentials (13th – 14th Centuries), Initial. A Review of Medieval Studies 11 (2023) 71–92.

***Bojanin*, Čin ispovesti** = *Бојанин С.*, Чин исповести у јужнословенским рукописним књигама од почетка XIII до почетка XVI века, edd. *С. Бојанин*, *Љ. Миланović*, *М. Цветковић*, Гласови и слике. Облици комуникације на средњовековном Балкану (IV–XVI век), Београд 2020, 533–571 (= Voices and Images: Modes of Communication in the Medieval Balkans (4th to 16th Centuries), edd. *S. Bojanin*, *Lj. Milanović*, *M. Cvetković*, Belgrade 2020)

***Bojanin*, Ćirilometodijevska tradicija** = *Бојанин С.*, Ћириометодијевска традиција у покајничким књигама српске редакције (XIV – XVII век), edd. *Ј. Радић*, *В. Савић*, Свети Ћирило и Методије и словенско писано наслеђе (863–2013), Београд 2014, 125–148.

***Bojanin*, Dečanski penitencijali** = *Бојанин С.*, Пенитенцијални састави у дечанским требницима № 68 и № 69, ed. *Т. Суботин-Голубовић*, Дечани у светлу археографских истраживања, Београд 2012, 163–181.

***Bojanin*, Epitimijni nomokanon Jovana Posnika** = *Бојанин С.*, Епитимијни номоканон Јована Посника у рукописним књигама средњовековне Србије, edd. *Т. Илић*, *М. Божић*, ΝΟΜΟΦΥΛΑΞ. Зборник радова у част Срђана Шаркића, Београд 2020, 225–251.

***Bojanin*, Jagićevo izdanje srednjovekovne penitencijalne građe** = *Бојанин С.*, Јагићево издање средњовековне пенитенцијалне грађе у Старинама ЈАЗУ, edd. *М. Грковић-Мејџор*, *В. Савић*, Споменица Ватрославу Јагићу (1923–2023) (forthcoming).

***Bojanin*, Jezik pretnje** = *Бојанин С.*, Језик претње у средњовековним покајничким књигама, edd. *Ј. Грковић-Мејџор*, *К. Кончаревић*, Теолингвистичка проучавања словенских језика, Београд 2013, 333–356.

***Bojanin*, „Krvojastije" i praznici** = *Бојанин С.*, Константин Филозоф Костенечки, „крвојастије" и празници, ed. *А. Николов*, Българско царство. Сборник в чест на 60-годишнината на доц. д-р Георги Н. Николов, София 2018, 795-814.

***Bojanin*, Parohijska zajednica** = *Бојанин С.*, Парохијска заједница у огледалу српских пенитенцијалних зборника, edd. *С. Ћирковић*, *К. Чавошки*, Средњовековно право у Срба у огледалу историјских извора, Београд 2009, 261–283.

***Bojanin*, Srednjovekovna svetkovina između privatnog i javnog** = *Бојанин С.*, Средњовековна светковина између приватног и јавног, edd. *С. Марјановић-Душанић*, *Д. Поїовић*, Приватни живот у српским земљама средњег века, Београд 2004, 246–279.

***Bojanin*, Whose Sister is a Svatvica?** = *Bojanin S.*, Whose Sister is a Svatvica? A Contribution to the Research of Affinity in the Žiča Charter, Initial. A Review of Medieval Studies 12 (2024) 97–124.

***Bojanin*, Zabave i svetkovine** = *Бојанин С.*, Забаве и светковине у средњовековној Србији (од краја XII до краја XV века), Београд 2005.

***Bokotopoulos*, Ē ekklēsiastikē architektonikē** = *Βοκοτόπουλος Π. Λ.*, Η εκκλησιαστική αρχιτεκτονική εις την Δυτικήν Στερεάν Ελλάδα και την Ήπειρον από του τέλους του 7ου μέχρι του τέλους του 10ου αιώνος, Θεσσαλονίκη 1975.

***Bonev*, Carskijat dvorec** = *Бонев С.*, Царският дворец във Велики Преслав: Площадът с фиалата (IX–XIV век), Велико Търново 1998.

***Bonev*, Cŭrkva pri južnata porta** = *Бонев Ст.*, Църква при южната порта на Вътрешния град в Преслав, Археология 3 (1992) 44–49.

***Bonev*, Dekorativna skulptura** = *Бонев С.*, Декоративна скулптура от жилищния дворец на преславската владетелска династия през X в, Преслав 8 (2019) 79–115.

***Bonev*, Grob** = *Бонев С.*, Гроб на преславски аристократ от X в, ed. *П. Георгиев*, Изследвания по българска средновековна археология. Сборник в чест на проф. Рашо Рашев, София 2007, 204–211.

***Bonev*, Južnata stena** = *Бонев С.*, Южната стена на Преславския аул и въпросът на хронологията на Преславското крепостно строителство, Плиска – Преслав 6 (1993)101–108.

***Bonev*, Ličnijat dvorec** = *Бонев С.*, Личният дворец на преславските владетели, Преслав 7 (2013) 29–43.

***Bonev*, Ot "rajona na južnata porta"** = *Бонев С.*, От "района на южната порта" до "южната част на царския дворец" във Велики Преслав. Развитие на идеята, edd. *И. Карайотов*, *И. Йорданов*, *Р. Рашев*, *Н. Неделчев*, Историкии 3, Юбилеен сборник в чест на доц. др Стоян Витлянов по случай неговата 60-годишнина, Шумен 2008, 48–58.

***Bonev*, Preslavska fiala** = *Бонев С.*, Преславска фиала, Преслав 5 (1993) 52–68.

***Bonev*, The Southern Part of the Royal Palace** = *Bonev S.*, The Southern Part of the Royal Palace in Veliki Preslav, edd. *S. Goryanova*, *G. Grozdanova*, At the gates of the royal court: treasures of Veliki Preslav, Sofia 2019, 38–40.

***Bonev*, Veliki Preslav** = *Бонев С.* Велики Преслав, Материали за картата на средновековната българска държава (територията на днешна Североизточна България), Плиска – Преслав 7 (1995) 155–332.

***Bonev*, Vtora, predposledna, publikacija** = *Бонев С.*, Втора, предпоследна, публикация на дворцовата сграда в югозападната част на големия царски дворец във Велики Преслав, Плиска – Преслав 13 (2018) 243–259.

***Bonev*, Za mjastoto i datata** = *Бонев С.*, За мястото и датата на т. нар. „Баня във Вътрешния град" на Преслав, Плиска – Преслав 9 (2003) 267–274.

***Bonev – Slavov – Goryanova*, Archaeological exploration** = *Bonev S.*, *Slavov P.*, *Goryanova S.*, Archaeological exploration and research at Veliki Preslav, edd. *S. Goryanova*, *G. Grozdanova*, At the gates of the royal court: treasures of Veliki Preslav, Sofia 2019, 10–17.

***Bošković*, Arhitektonski spomenici na Tari i pod Osogovom** = *Бошковић Ђ.*, Архитектонски споменици на Тари и под Осоговом, ГСНД 12 (1933) 147–156.

***Bošković*, Arhitektura** = *Бошковић Ђ.*, Архитектура средњег века, Београд 1967[3].

***Bošković*, Beleške sa putovanja** = *Бошковић Ђ.*, Белешке са путовања, Старинар, 3. серија, књ. 7 (1932) 88–126.

***Bošković*, L'église** = *Bošković Đ.*, L'église de Sainte Sophie à Salonique et son réflet dans deux monuments postérieurs en Macédoine et en Serbie, Archaeologia Yugoslavica 1 (1954) 109–115.

***Bošković*, Rad na proučavanju** = *Бошковић Ђ.*, Рад на проучавању и консервирању средњовековних споменика, Годишњак СКА 42 (1934) 290–315.

***Bošković*, Srednjovekovni spomenici** = *Бошковић Ђ.*, Средњовековни споменици североисточне Србије, Старинар 1 (1950) 185–218.

***Bošković – Čanak-Medić*, Neka pitanja** = *Бошковић Ђ.*, *Чанак-Медић М.*, Нека питања најстаријег раздобља Милешеве, Саопштења 15 (1983) 7–23.

***Bošković – Ljubinković*, Isposnica Petra Koriškog** = *Бошковић Ђ.*, *Љубинковић Р.*, Испосница Петра Коришког, Старинар н. с. 7–8 (1956–1957) 91–112.

***Bošković – Tomovski*, Srednovekovnata arhitektura** = *Бошковић Ђ.*, *Томовски К.*, Средновековната архитектура во Охрид, Зборник на трудови. Посебно издание по повод 10-годишнината од основувањето на Музејот, посветено на XII Меѓународен конгрес на Византолозите, Охрид 1961, 71–100.

***Bošković – Tomovski*, Vodoča** = *Бошковић Ђ.*, *Томовски Г.*, Водоча. Истражувачки работи и конзервација, Културно наследство 5 (1974) 33–37.

***Bouras*, Symplērōmatika stoicheia** = *Bouras Ch.*, Συμπληρωματικά στοιχεία για ένα κατεστραμμένο ναό της Βοιωτίας, ΔΧΑΕ 4 (1964–1965) 227–244.

***Bouras*, Zourtsa** = *Bouras Ch.*, Zourtsa, Une basilique byzantine au Péloponnèse, CA 21(1971) 137–149.

***Bozilov*, Administration** = *Bozilov I.*, L'administration byzantine en Bulgarie (1018–1186): le cas de Paristrion – Paradounavon (Paradounavis), edd. *K. Νικολάου*, *K. Τσικνάκης*, Βυζάντιο και Βούλγαροι (1018–1185), Αθήνα 2008, 91–97.

***Božilov*, Familijata** = *Божилов И.*, Фамилията на Асеневци (1186–1460). Генеалогия и просопография, София 1985.

***Božilov*, Istorija II** = *Божилов И.*, История на средновековна България. Том II, Християнска България, София 2017.

***Božilov – Gjuzelev*, Istorija I** = *И. Божилов, В. Гюзелев*, История на средновековна България VII–XIV век, том I, София 1999.

***Brakke*, The Problematization of Nocturnal Emissions** = *Brakke D.*, The Problematization of Nocturnal Emissions in Early Christian Syria, Egypt, and Gaul, Journal of Early Christian Studies, Volume 3, Number 4 (Winter 1995) 419–460.

***Brodbeck*, Soixante saintes femmes** = *Brodbeck S.*, Soixante saintes femmes dans le narthex de Sainte-Sophie d'Ohrid (XI^{e} siècle). Un programme hagiographique exceptionnel, TM 20/2. Mélanges Catherine Jolivet-Lévy (2016) 13–37.

***Browning*, Byzantines in Bulgaria** = *Browning R.*, Byzantines in Bulgaria – Late 8th – Early 9th centuries, edd. *P. Dinekov et al.*, Studia Slavico-Byantina et mediaevalia Europensia vol. I, in memoriam I. Dujčev, Sofia 1988, 32–36.

***Browning*, Byzantium and Bulgaria** = *Browning R.*, Byzantium and Bulgaria. A comparative study across the early medieval frontier, London 1975.

***Brubaker*, Vision and Meaning** = *Brubaker L.*, Vision and Meaning in Ninth- Century Byzantium: Image as Exegesis in the Homilies of Gregory of Nazianzus, Cambridge 1999.

***Brundage*, Law, Sex, and Christian Society** = *Brundage J. A.*, Law, Sex, and Christian Society in Medieval Europe, Chicago 1987.

***Bubalo*, Da li je postojala Dioklitija Hvostanska** = *Бубало Ђ.*, Да ли је постојала Диоклитија Хвостанска? Прилог хронологији живота и култа Светог Петра Коришког, ZRVI 60/2 (2023) 943–978.

***Bubalo*, Srpska zemlja** = *Бубало Ђ.*, Српска земља и поморска у доба владавине Немањића. Књига 1: од сабора у Расу до сабора у Дежеву, Београд 2016.

***Bubalo*, Vlaho episkop** = *Бубало Ђ.*, Влахо епископ и влахоепископ, ZRVI 39 (2001–2002) 197–220.

***Bugarski – Radišić*, Archaeological Testimonies** = *Bugarski I.*, *Radišić M.*, The Central Balkans in the Early Middle Ages: Archaeological Testimonies to Change, ed. *V. Bikić*, Processes of Byzantinisation and Serbian Archaeology, Byzantine Heritage and Serbian Art I, Belgrade 2016, 91–99.

***Bubalo – Mitrović – Radić*, Jurisdikcija** = *Bubalo Đ.*, *Mitrović K.*, *Radić R.*, Jurisdikcija Katoličke crkve u Sremu, Beograd 2010.

***Bugarski – Dodić – Zdravković*, Kasnoantička i ranovizantijska utvrđenja** = *Буїарски И., Додић С., Здравковић В.,* Касноантичка и рановизантијска утврђења у левачком крају, Саопштења 53 (2021) 135–162.

Bŭlgarska nacionalna istorija IV = Българска национална история. Том 4. Византийското владичество и епохата на Второто българско царство, edd. *П. Павлов et al.*, София 2023.

***Bunardžić*, Manastir Svetog Nikole** = *Бунарџић М.*, Манастир Светог Николе у Бањи, Гласник ДКС 28 (2004) 77–78.

***Bunardžić M. – Bunardžić R.*, Crkva** = *Бунарџић М.*, *Бунарџић Р.*, Црква Светог Николе ипак најстарија, Милешевац, Лист Епархије милешевске 11, Пријепоље 21.2.2006, 38–39.

***Bunardžić*, Prilozi za stariju istoriju** = *Бунарџић Р.*, Прилози за старију историју Милешеве, ed. *М. Радујко*, Ђурђеви ступови и Будимљанска епархија, зборник радова, Београд – Беране 2011, 343–359.

***Burgmann*, Die Novellen der Kaiserin Eirene** = *Burgmann L.*, Die Novellen der Kaiserin Eirene, Fontes minores 4 (1981) 1–36.

***Burgmann*, Turning Sisinnios against the Sisinnians** = *Burgmann L.*, Turning Sisinnios against the Sisinnians: Eustathios Romaios on a Disputed Marriage, ed. *P. Magdalino*, Byzantium in the year 1000, Leiden 2003, 161–181.

***Burke*, Popular Culture between History and Anthropology** = *Burke P.*, Popular Culture between History and Anthropology, Ethnologia Europaea 14 (1984) 5–13.

***Burke*, Popular Culture in Early Modern Europe** = *Burke P.*, Popular Culture in Early Modern Europe, New York1978.

***Bury*, History** = *Bury J. B.*, History of the Later Roman Empire: From the Death of Theodosius I to the Death of Justinian (Volume 1), New York 1923.

***Buschhausen*, Die Marienkirche von Apollonia** = *Buschhausen H.*, Die Marienkirche von Apollonia in Albanien. Byzantiner, Normannen und Serben im Kampf um die Via Egnatia, Byzantina Vindobonensia. Band VIII, Wien 1976.

***Büttner*, Erzbischof Leon** = Büttner E., Erzbischof Leon von Ohrid (1037 -1056), Leben und Werk (mit den Texten seiner bisher unedierten asketischen Schrift und seiner drei Briefe an den Papst), Bamberg 2007.

C

***Cankova-Petkova*, Za agrarnite otnošenija** = *Цанкова-Петкова Г.*, За аграрните отношения в средновековна България XI–XIII в., София 1964.

Carte der europaeischen Türkey = Carte der europaeischen Türkey nebst einem Theile von Kleinasien : in XXI. Blaettern / Nach den besten Hülfsquellen entworfen und gezeichnet durch den k. k. Oberstlieutenant Franz von Weiss herausgegeben von dem k. k. öster. Generalquartiermeisterstabe im Jahre 1829.

***Ceka – Mučaj*, Byllis** = *Ceka N.*, *Muçaj S.*, Byllis: Its History and Monuments, Tiranë 2005.

***Chalandon*, Les Comnènes** = *Chalandon F.*, Les Comnènes: Jean II Comnène (1118–1143) et Manuel I Comnène (1143–1180), II, Paris 1912.

***Charanis*, The Transfer of Population** = *Charanis P.*, The Transfer of Population as a Policy in the Byzantine Empire, Comparative Studies in Society and History 3/2 (1961) 140–154.

***Chatzēlazaridēs*, Ta byzantina mnēmeia Serbōn** = *Χατζηλαζαρίδης Λ.*, Τα βυζαντινά μνημεία Σερβών, Η Κοζάνη και η περιοχή της: Ιστορία, πολιτισμός: Πρακτικά Α› Συνεδρίου, Σεπτέμβριος 1993, Κοζάνη 1997.

***Chatzidakis*, Aspects de la peinture murale** = *Chatzidakis M.*, Aspects de la peinture murale du XIII^{e} siècle en Grèce, ed. *V. J. Đurić*, L' art Byzantine du XIII^{e} siecle, Symposium de Sopoćani, 1965, Beograd 1967, 59–75.

***Chatzidakis*, Hosios Loukas** = *Chatzidakis Th.*, Hosios Loukas: Mosaics – Wall Paintings, Athens 1997.

***Chernoglazov*, «Obraz dushi»** = *Черноглазов Д. А.* «Образ души» ученого митрополита XIII в.: замечания о письмах Иоанна Апокавка, Античная древность и средние века 48 (2020) 117–135.

***Cheshmedjiev*, Notes** = *Cheshmedjiev D.*, Notes on the Cult of the Fifteen Tiberioupolitan Martyrs, Studia Ceranea. Journal of the Waldemar Ceran Research Centre for the History and Culture of the Mediterranean Area and South-East Europe 1 (2011) 143–156.

***Cheshmedzhiev*, Kŭm voprosa** = *Чешмеджиев Д.*, Към въпроса за култа на княз Борис-Михаил в средновековна България, Исторически преглед 55/3–4 (1999) 158–176.

***Cheshmedzhiev*, Vladatelskite kultove** = *Чешмеджиев Д.*, Владателските култове в средновековна България, Владетел, държава и църква на Балканите през средновековието, Сборник с доклади от международна научна конференция посветена на 60-годишнината на проф. д-р Пламен Павлов, т. 1, Велико Търново 2020, 154–183.

***Chevalier et al.*, Trois Basiliques** = *Chevalier P.*, *Raynaud M. P.*, *Vanderheyde C.*, *Wurch-Kozelj M.*, *Beaudry N.*, *Muçaj S.*, *Sodini J.-P.*, Trois basiliques et un groupe épiscopal des V^{e}–VI^{e} siècles réétudiés à Byllis (Albanie), Hortus Artium Medievalium 9 (2003) 155–165.

***Cheynet*, Diogénai** = *Cheynet J. C.*, Grandeur et décadence des Diogénai, ed. *B. N. Βλυσίδου*, Η αυτοκρατορία σε κρίση (;): Το Βυζάντιο τον 11ο αιώνα (1025–1081), Αθήνα 2003, 119–137.

***Cheynet*, Du stratège de thème au duc** = *Cheynet J.-C.*, Du stratège de thème au duc: chronologie de l´évolution au cours du XI^e siècle, TM 9 (1985) 181–194.

***Cheynet*, L'aristocratie byzantine** = *Cheynet J.-C.*, L'aristocratie byzantine (VIII^e–XIII^e s.), Journal des savants 2 (2000) 281–322.

***Cheynet*, Pouvoir et contestations** = *Cheynet J.-C.*, Pouvoir et contestations à Byzance (963–1210), Paris 1996.

***Cheynet*, Serbie** = *Cheynet J.-C.*, La place de la Serbie dans la diplomatie Byzantine à la fin du XI^e siècle, ZRVI 45 (2008) 89–97.

***Cheynet*, Théophile** = *Cheynet J.-C.*, Théophile, Théophobe et les Perses, ed. *Σ. Λαμπάκης*, Η Βυζαντινή Μικρά Ασία (6^ος – 12^ος αι.), Αθήνα 1998, 39–50.

***Chouliaras*, Ekklēsiastikē topographia** = *Χουλιαράς Ι.*, Εκκλησιαστική τοπογραφία Περιφερειακής Ενότητας Πρέβεζας (5^ος –18^ος αι.), Βελλά 8 (2017–2019) 1035–1057.

***Christophilopoulou*, Ē ekpoiēsis tōn proikōōn akinētōn kata to byzantinon dikaion** = *Χριστοφιλοπούλου Α. Π.*, Η εκποίησις των προικώων ακινήτων κατά το βυζαντινόν δίκαιον, Δίκαιον και Ιστορία. Μικρά μελετήματα, Αθήνα 1973, 186–197.

***Chrysos*, Nordgrenze** = *Chrysos E. K.*, Die Nordgrenze des byzantinischen Reiches im 6. bis 8. Jahrhundert, ed. *B. Hänsel*, Die Völker Südosteuropas im 6. bis 8. Jahrhundert, München 1987, 27–40.

***Chrysos*, Settlements of Slavs** = *Chrysos E.*, Settlements of Slavs and Byzantine Sovereignty in the Balkans, edd. *K. Belke*, *E. Kislinger*, *A. Külzer*, *M. A. Stassinopoulou*, Byzantina Mediterranea: Festschrift für Johannes Koder zum 65. Geburtstag, Wien 2007, 123–136.

***Cibranska-Kostova*, Penitencialen post i komutacii** = *Цибранска-Костова М.*, Пенитенциален пост и комутации (някои данни от южнославянските писмени паметници), По слѣдоу оучителю. Юбилеен сборник в чест на 60-годишнината на доц. д-р Пеньо Пенев, Пловдив 2006, 68–79.

***Cibranska-Kostova*, Pokajnata knižnina** = *Цибранска-Костова М.*, Покайната книжнина на Българското средновековие IX–XVIII век. Езиково–текстологични и културологични аспекти, София 2011.

***Cibranska-Kostova*, Prohiron/Zakon Gradski** = *Цибранска-Костова М.*, Прохирон/Закон Градски. Юридическото Наследство На Православното Славянство, София 2021.

***Cibranska-Kostova*, Vota i brumalija** = *Цибранска-Костова М.*, Народна култура и културни реалии в славянската юридическа книжнина: вота и брумалия, PB XLIV/3 (2020) 42–57.

***Cibranska-Kostova – Rajkova*, Bogomilite** = *Цибранска-Костова М.*, *Райкова М.*, Богомилите в църковноюридическите текстове и паметници, SBL 39–40 (2008) 197–219.

***Cicimov*, Mermernata oltarna pregrada** = *Цицимов А.*, Мермерната олтарна преграда во црквата Св. Четириесет севастиски маченици во Банско, ed. *А. Цицимов*, Зборник на трудови по повод 35 годишнината од основањето на Музејот во Струмица, Струмица 1989, 101–103.

***Connor*, Art and miracles** = *Connor C. L.*, Art and miracles in medieval Byzantium: The crypt at Hosios Loukas and its frescoes, Princeton N.J. 1991.

***Cormack*, Aristocratic patronage** = *Cormack R.*, Aristocratic patronage of the arts in 11^th- and 12^th century Byzantium, ed. *M. Angold*, The Byzantine Aristocracy, IX to XIII Centuries, Oxford 1984, 158–172.

***Crow*, Anastasian Wall** = *Crow J.*, The Anastasian Wall, The Chronicles of Haemus 1 (2025) 1–13.

***Curta*, Eastern Europe** = *Curta F.*, Eastern Europe in the Middle Ages (500–1300), Leiden – Boston 2019.

***Curta*, Edinburgh History** = *Curta F.*, The Edinburgh History of the Greeks, c. 500 to 1050. The early Middle ages, Edinburgh 2011.

***Curta*, Southeastern Europe** = *Curta F.*, Southeastern Europe in the Middle ages 500–1250, Cambridge 2006.

***Curta*, The cave and the dyke** = *Curta F.*, The cave and the dyke: a rock monastery on the tenth-century frontier of Bulgaria, Studia Monastica 41/1 (1999) 129–151.

***Cvetanov*, Razvoj i kontinuitet** = *Цветанов Д.*, Развој и континуитет на комплексното утврдување на градот Струмица од IV до XVI век, Patrimonium. MK 14 (2016) 89–100.

***Cvetanov*, Srednovekovni tvrdini** = *Цветанов Д.*, Средновековни тврдини во југоисточниот регион на Република Македониа (11–14 век): функција, значење и временски рамки, Струмица 2022.

***Cvetanov*, Sveti Petnaeset Tiveriopolski mačenici** = *Цветанов Д.*, Свети Петнаесет Тиверионолски маченици, од црковен комплекс до цивилно предградие на средновековна Струмица, edd. *A. Atanasovski et al.*, The Cult of the Holy Fifteen Tiberiopolian Hieromartyrs in the Medieval and the Newer Epoch – History, Culture, Tradition, Strumica 2019, 175–182.

***Cvetanov*, Thermal Springs** = *Cvetanov D.*, The Significance of the Thermal Springs near the Bansko Village (Strumica Region) in the Medieval and the Ottoman Period – the Fortress Termitsa (Θερμιτζα), the Episcopate headquarters and the Doljani Market, Folia archaeologica balkanica IV (2018) 513– 531.

***Cvetanov*, Voeno – strategiskoto značenje** = *Цветанов Д.*, Воено – стратегиското значење на струмичката област за време на Цар Самуил (X–XI), edd. *И. Велев*, *В. Ѓоргиев Ликин*, Самуиловата држава во историската, воено-политичката, духовната и културната традиција на Македонија, Струмица 2015, 200–216.

***Cvetkov*, Kŭm periodizacijata na stenopisite** = *Цветков В.*, Към периодизацията на стенописите на Боянската църква, ed. *Б. Пенкова*, Боянската църква между Изтока и Запада в изкуството на християнска Европа, София 2011, 92–99.

***Cvetkov*, Selištnata mreža** = *Цветков Б.*, Селищната мрежа в долината на Средна Струма през средновековието IX–XVII век (по археологически данни), София 2002.

***Cvetković*, Elementi** = *Цветковић М.*, Елементи позноримског војног и управног уређења у византијском тематском систему, ed. *М. Ракоција*, Ниш и Византија 20, Ниш 2022, 473–486.

***Cvetković*, Jedna pretpostavka** = *Цветковић М.*, Једна претпоставка о пореклу и административном положају Вардариота у Византији, ZRVI 56 (2019) 19–38.

***Cvetković*, Mesto Niša** = *Цветковић М.*, Место Ниша у обнови византијске власти и реформи провинцијске организације на Балкану од краја X до почетка XIII века, ed. *М. Ракоција*, Ниш и Византија 22, Ниш 2024, 403–416.

***Cvetković*, Niže jedinice** = *Цветковић М.*, Ниже јединице тематског уређења у Византији (9–11. век), Београд 2017 (unpublished PhD dissertation).

***Cvetković*, O „etničkim episkopijama"** = *Цветковић М.*, О „етничким епископијама" Цариградске цркве од VII до XI века, Црквене студије 20 (2023) 285–299.

***Cvetković*, O statusu Vlaha Helade** = *Цветковић М.*, О статусу Влаха Хеладе у тематском систему, ZRVI 55 (2018) 45–64.

***Cvetković*, Osnove** = *Цветковић М.*, Основе византијског пограничног војно-управног уређења од VII до X века, ed. *Д. Мировић*, Зборник радова: Право у функцији развоја друштва I, Косовска Митровица 2019, 267–293.

***Cvetković*, Peculiarities** = *Cvetković M.*, The Peculiarities of the Byzantine Provincial Administration in the Balkans under the Komnenoi, ZRVI 60/2 (2023) 823–842.

***Cvetković*, Principi** = *Цветковић М.*, Принципи интеграције неромејских етничких скупина у тематски систем на Балкану, ed. *М. Ракоција*, Ниш и Византија 17, Ниш 2019, 75–96.

***Cvetković*, Reforma** = *Цветковић М.*, Реформа византијског војно-територијалног уређења у доба Јустинијана II, ZRVI 53 (2016) 17–46.

***Cvetković*, Settlement** = *Cvetković M.*, The Settlement of the Mardaites and Their Military-Administrative Position in the Themata of the West: a Chronology, ZRVI 54 (2017) 65–85.

***Cvetković*, Two approaches** = *Cvetković, M.*, John I Tzimiskes and Basil II: Two Approaches to the Byzantine Policy in the Balkans, ZRVI 61 (2024) 45–85.

***Cvetkovski*, Služenje na svetite** = *Цветковски С.*, Служење на светите ѓакони во црквата Св. Ѓорѓиј – Колуша (Кустендил) и неколку фрагменти на фрески од црквата Св. Леонтиј во Водоча (прилог конпроучување на раните претстави на Светата литургија во византиската уметност), Културно наследство 30–31 (2006) 39–56.

Č

***Čanak-Medić*, Arhitektura II** = *Чанак-Медић М.*, Архитектура Немањиног доба II, Цркве у Полимљу и на Приморју, (Споменици српске архитектуре средњег века, корпус сакралних грађевина), Београд 1989.

***Čanak-Medić*, Arhitektura prve polovine XIII veka II** = *Чанак-Медић М.*, Архитектура прве половине XIII века II, Београд 1995.

***Čanak-Medić*, Dvojne kule** = *Чанак-Медић М.*, Двојне куле на прочељу цркава Немањиног доба, ed. *Ј. Калић*, Стефан Немања – Свети Симеон мироточиви, историја и предање, Међународни научни скуп (1996), САН, Научни скупови, књ. XCIV, Одељење историјских наука, књ. 26, Београд 2000, 181–196.

***Čanak-Medić*, Iz istorije Arilja** = *Чанак-Медић М.*, Из историје Ариља, Саопштења 14 (1982) 25–49.

***Čanak-Medić*, Nova saznanja** = *Чанак-Медић М.*, Нова сазнања о најстаријем раздобљу у Ђурђевим Ступовима у Будимљу, ed. *М. Радујко*, Ђурђеви Ступови и будимљанска епархија, зборник радова, Беране – Београд 2011, 109–120.

***Čanak-Medić*, Novi podaci o arhitekturi** = *Чанак-Медић М.*, Нови подаци о архитектури и скулптури Богородице Градачке, ed. *М. Вуловић*, Богородица Градачка у историји српског народа, Чачак 1993, 81–97.

***Čanak-Medić*, Sveti Ahilije u Arilju** = *Чанак-Медић М.*, Свети Ахилије у Ариљу. Историја, архитектура и просторни склоп манастира, Београд 2002.

***Čanak-Medić – Bošković*, Arhitektura I** = *Чанак-Медић М.*, *Бошковић Ђ.*, Архитектура Немањиног доба I, Цркве у Топлици и долинама Ибра и Мораве, (Споменици српске архитектуре средњег века, корпус сакралних грађевина), Београд 1986.

***Čanak-Medić – Kandić*, Arhitektura prve polovine XIII veka I** = *Чанак-Медић М.*, *Кандић О.*, Архитектура прве половине XIII века I, Београд 1995.

***Čanak-Medić – Todić*, Bogorodica Ljeviška** = *Чанак-Медић М.*, *Тодић Б.*, Богородица Љевишка, Нови Сад 2015.

***Čanak-Medić – Todić*, Manastir Gračanica** = *Чанак-Медић М.*, *Тодић Б.*, Манастир Грачаница, Нови Сад 2017.

***Čaneva-Dečevska*, Cŭrkovnata arhitektura v Bŭlgarija** = *Чанева-Дечевска Н.*, Църковната архитектура в България през XI–XIV век, София 1988.

***Čaneva-Dečevska*, Cŭrkovnata arhitektura** = *Чанева-Дечевска Н.*, Църковната архитектура на Първата Българска държава, София 1984.

***Čaneva-Dečevska*, Manastirite** = *Чанева-Дечевска Н.*, Манастирите във Велики Преслав, София 1991.

***Čaneva-Dečevska*, Po njakoi arhitekturno-kompozicionni osobenosti** = *Чанева-Дечевска Н.*, По някои архитектурно-композиционни особености на манастирите от Велики Преслав, Плиска – Преслав 1 (1979) 32–44.

***Čaneva-Dečevska*, Po vŭprosa za srednovekovnite trikonhalni cŭrkv**i = *Чанева-Дечевска Н.*, По въпроса за средновековните триконхални църкви от манастирски тип на Балканите, Музеи и паметници на културата 9/1 (1971) 10–15.

***Čaneva-Dečevska*, Srednovekovnijat manastir** = *Чанева-Дечевска Н.*, Средновековният манастир в местността „Караачтеке" край. Варна, Известия на Секцията по теория и история на градоустройството и архитектурата 25 (1973) 195–211

***Čaneva-Dečevska*, Trikonhalnite cŭrkvi** = *Чанева-Дечевска Н.*, Триконхалните църкви от IX–XIV в. по българските земи, Археология XII/4 (1970) 8–21.

***Čangova*, Dvuetažna cŭrkva** = *Чангова Й.*, Двуетажна църква -гробница от Перник X–XIII в., Сб. В памет на проф. Ст. Ваклинов, София 1984, 198–203.

***Čangova*, Gradoustrojstvo** = *Чангова Й.*, Градоустройство и архитектура, Перник. II. Крепостта Перник VIII–XIV в., София 1983, 12–88.

***Čangova*, Uvod** = *Чангова Й.*, Увод, Перник. II. Крепостта Перник VIII–XIV в., София 1983, 5–11.

***Češmedžiev*, Za vremeto na prenasjaneto** = *Чешмеджиев Д.*, За времето на пренасянето на мощите на св. Йоан Рилски от Рила в Средец, ВМ 6 (2015) 79–87.

***Češmedžiev et al.*, Ril'skij monastyr'** = *Чешмеджиев Д. et al.*, Рильский монастырь, ПЕ 59, Москва 2020, 613.

Č***etinkaya*, Early Christian Architecture** = *Çetinkaya H.*, Early Christian Architecture in Ulpiana, Studia Academica Šumenensia 3 (2016) 30–46.

***Četinkaja*, To Excavate or not?** = *Çetinkaya H.*, To Excavate or not? Case of Discovery of an Early Christian Baptistery and Church at Ulpiana, Kosovo, edd. *A.V. Zakharova*, *S.V. Maltseva*, *E.Iu. Staniukovich-Denisova*, Actual Problems of Theory and History of Art, vol. 6, St. Petersburg 2016, 111–118.

***Čigoja*, Najstariji srpski ćirilski natpisi** = *Чигоја Б.*, Најстарији српски ћирилски натписи (графија, ортографија и језик), Београд 2003.

***Čilingirov*, Cŭrkvata** = *Чилингиров, А.*, Църквата Свети Герман до Преспанското езеро. Монография, Берлин 2001.

***Čipan*, St. Sophia** = *B. Čipan*, St. Sophia. The Cathedral Church of the Ohrid Archibishopric. A Chronology of the Architecture, Skopje 1996.

Čipan, Sveta Sofija = *Čipan B.*, Sveta Sofija katedralen hram na Ohridska arhiepiskopija: Hronologija na arhitekturata, Skopje 1996.

Ć

***Ćirković*, „Naseljeni gradovi"** = *Ћирковић С.*, „Насељени градови" Константина Порфирогенита и најстарија територијална организација, ZRVI 37 (1998) 9–32.

***Ćorović-Ljubinković*, Srednjovekovni duborez** = *Ћоровић-Љубинковић М.*, Средњовековни дуборез у источним областима Југославије, Београд 1965.

***Ćurčić*, Architecture** = *Ćurčić S.*, Architecture in the Balkans from Diocletian to Süleyman the Magnificent, New Haven 2010.

***Ćurčić*, Architectural Significance** = *Ćurčić S.*, Architectural Significance of Subsidiary Chapels in Middle Byzantine Churches, The Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians 36–2 (1977) 94–110.

***Ćurčić*, Gračanica** = *Ћурчић С.*, Грачаница. Историја и архитектура, Београд – Приштина 1988.

***Ćurčić*, 'Renewed from the Very Foundations'** = *Ćurčić S.*, 'Renewed from the Very Foundations': The Question of the Genesis of the Bogorodica Ljeviška in Prizren, edd. *J. J. Emerick*, *D. M. Deliyannis*, Archeology in Architecture: Studies in Honor of Cecil L. Striker, Mainz 2005, 23–36.

D

***D'Emilia*, I responsi di canonista Demetrio Comaziano** = *D'Emilia A.*, I responsi di canonista Demetrio Comaziano in materia di impedimento matrimoniale da affinità, Studi in onore di Pietro De Francisci, vol. IV, Milano 1955, 133–158.

***Dagron*, Emperor and Priest** = *Dagron G.*, Emperor and Priest: The Imperial Office in Byzantium, Cambridge UK 2003.

***Dagron*, La règle et l'exeption** = *Dagron G.*, La règle et l'exeption. Analyse de la notion d'économie, ed. *G. Dagron*, Idées byzantines, Paris 2012, 545–562.

***Dagron*, Pluralisme linguistique** = *Dagron G.*, Formes et fonctions du pluralisme linguistique à Byzance (IX^{e}–XII^{e} siècle), TM 12 (1994) 219–240.

***Dall'Aglio*, 'As it Had Been in the Past'** = *Dall'Aglio F.*, 'As it Had Been in the Past': the Idea of National Continuity in the Establishment of the Second Bulgarian Kingdom, ed. *I. Biliarsky*, Laudator Temporis Acti. Studia in Memoriam Ioannis A. Božilov, Vol. I, Sofia 2018, 282–299.

***Dall'Aglio*, Paristrion** = *Dall'Aglio F.*, Paristrion as Centre and Periphery: from Byzantine Border Province to Heartland of the Second Bulgarian Tsardom, Studia Ceranea 12 (2022) 29–50.

***Dall'Aglio*, The Interactio**n = *Dall'Aglio F.*, The Interaction between Nomadic and Sedentary Peoples on the Lower Danube: the Cumans and the "Second Bulgarian Empire", edd. *F. Curta*, *B-P. Maleon*, The Steppe Lands and the World Beyond them. Studies in Honor of Victor Spinei on his 70th Birthday, Iași 2013.

***Dall'Aglio*, Shifting Capitals** = *Dall'Aglio F.*, Shifting Capitals and Shifting Identities: Pliska, Preslav, Tărnovo and the Self-Perception of a medieval nation, BM 2 (2011) 587–601.

***Damko*, Gërmimet arkeologjike** = *Damko P.*, Gërmimet arkeologjike të vitit 1983 – Korçë, Iliria 2 (1983) 267–268.

***Damoulos*, O naos tēs Koimēseōs** = *Δαμούλος Π.* Ο ναός της Κοιμήσεως της Θεοτόκου ήτου Τιμίου Σταυρού στο Άνω Λάμποβο της Βορείου Ηπείρου, Δωδώνη. Ιστορία και Αρχαιλογεία 45–46 (2019) 119–148.

***Dančeva-Vasileva*, Istorija** = *Данчева-Василева А.*, История на средновековна София: IV–XIV век, София 2017.

***Darkevič*, Narodnaja kul'tura** = *Даркевич В. П.*, Народная культура средневековья. Светская праздничная жизнь в искусстве IX–XVI вв, Москва 1988.

***Darrouzès*, Questions de droit matrimonial** = *Darrouzès J.*, Questions de droit matrimonial : 1172–1175, REB 35 (1977) 107–157.

***Davidov Temerinski*, Crkva Bogorodice Ljevišk**e = *Давидов Темерински А.*, Црква Богородице Љевишке у Призрену, Београд 2017.

***Davidov Temerinski*, Crkva Vavedenja Bogorodice** = *Давидов Темерински А.*, Црква Ваведења Богородице у Липљану, Београд 2014.

***Davidović*, Serbian Scriptoria** = *Davidović M.*, Serbian Scriptoria – Twelfth to Sventeenth Century, edd. *D. Otašević*, *Z. Rakić*, *I. Špadijer*, The World of Serbian Manuscripts (12th – 17^{t}h Centuries), Belgrade 2016, 69–88.

***Delialē*, Duo Patriarchika** = *Δελιαλή Ν.*, Δύο Πατριαρχικά Σιγίλλια Διονυσίου του Δ' και Γρηγορίου του Ε', Μακεδονικά 1 (1940) 108–122.

***Delikarē*, Archiepiskopē Achridōn** = *Δελικάρη Α.*, Αρχιεπισκοπή Αχριδών κατά τον Μεσαίωνα. Ο ρόλος της ως ενωτικού παράγοντα στην πολιτική και εκκλησιαστική ιστορία των Σλάβων, των Βαλκανίων και του Βυζαντίου, Αθήνα 2014.

***Delikari*, Die lange Vita des hl. Klemens** = *Delikari A.*, Die lange Vita des hl. Klemens. Eine Wichtige Historische Quelle für die Verbreitung des Christentums auf dem Balkan. Kritische Beiträge zum Text, Кирило-Методиевски студии 17 (2007) 197–203.

***Deljanin*, Latinska crkva** = *Дељанин Б.*, Латинска црква, Горњи Матејевци, Ниш, Археолошки преглед 20 (1978) 146–147.

***Deroko*, Srednjovekovni gradovi** = *Дероко А.*, Средњовековни градови у Србији, Црној Гори и Македонији, Београд 1950.

DHGE = Dictionnaire d'histoire et de géographie ecclésiastiques, Paris 1912–2015.

***Diaconu*, Petchénègues** = *Diaconu P.*, Les Petchénègues au Bas-Danube, Bukarest 1970.

***Diller*, Byzantine lists** = *Diller A.*, Byzantine lists of old and new geographical names, BZ 63 (1970) 27–42.

***Dimitrov*, Varna i blizkite j okolnosti prez VII–IX v.** = *Димитров Д.*, Варна и близките й околности през VII–IX в., Известия на Народния Музей-Варна 18/33 (1982) 55–79.

***Dimitrov*, Veliki Preslav** = *Dimitrov P.*, Veliki Preslav, the Capital City of the Golden Age, edd. *S. Goryanova*, *G. Grozdanova*, At the gates of the royal court: treasures of Veliki Preslav, Sofia 2019, 19–23.

***Dimitrova*, Ars Inimitabilis** = *Dimitrova E.*, Ars Inimitabilis: The Church Complex of St. Leontius at Vodoča, ed. *M. Rakocija*, Niš i Vizantija 14, Niš 2016, 343–356.

***Dimitrova*, Sveti Kliment** = *Димитрова Е.*, Свети Климент и македонскиот средновековен уметнички хабитус, Силината на словото на свети Климент охридски и македонското историско и културно наследство, Скопје 2024, 17–33.

***Dimitrova*, The Church** = *Dimitrova E.*, The Church of the Holy Virgin Eleussa of Veljusa, Skopje 2016.

***Dimitrova*, The Church of Saint George** = *Dimitrova E.*, The Church of Saint George at Kurbinovo, Skopje 2016.

***Dimitrova*, V.I. Personalities** = *Dimitrova E.*, Very Important Personalities in Medieval Macedonia, Five Paradigms of Supreme Commissionerships (11th – 14th century), Folia Archaeologica Balcanica 3 (2015) 601–621.

***Dimitrova – Korunovski*, Vizantiska Makedonija** = *Димитрова Е., Коруновски С.*, Византиска Македонија, Историја на уметноста на Македонија од IX до XV век, Скопје 2006.

***Dimitrova – Korunovski – Grandakovska*, Srednovekovna Makedonija** = *Димитрова Е., Коруновски С., Грандаковска С.*, Средновековна Македонија. Култура и уметност, edd. *П. Кузман*, *Е. Димитрова*, Македонија, Милениумски културно-историски факти, Скопје 2013, 1524–1717.

***Dimov*, Balkan World** = *Dimov G.*, The Balkan World in the Age of the Komnenian Dynasty (1081–1185), Sofia 2023.

***Dinić*, Braničevo** = *Динић М.*, Браничево у средњем веку, ed. *С. Ћирковић*, Српске земље у средњем веку: историјско-географске студије, Београд 1978, 84–112.

***Dinić*, O nazivima** = *Динић М.*, О називима средњовековне српске државе – Склавонија, Србија, Рашка, edd. *С. Ћирковић*, *В. Ђокић*, Из српске историје средњег века, Београд 2003, 161–171.

***Dinić*, Srednjovekovni Srem** = *Динић М.*, Средњовековни Срем, Гласник Историског друштва у Новом Саду 4 (1931) 1–12.

***Ditten*, Ethnische Ferschiebungen** = *Ditten H.*, Ethnische Ferschiebungen zwischen der Balkanhalbinsel und Kleinasien von Ende des 6. bis zur zweiten Hälfte des 9. Jahrhunderts, Berlin 1993.

***Djurić*, Icônes de Yougoslavie** = *Djurić V. J.*, Icônes de Yougoslavie, Belgrade 1961.

***Djurić*, Un courant stylistique** = *Djurić V. J.*, Un courant stylistique dans la peinture byzantine vers le milieu du XI^{e} siècle, Zograf 15 (1984) 15–23.

***Dobrev*, Frajzingenski molitvi** = *Добрев И.*, Фрайзингенски молитви, Кирило-методиевска енциклопедия IV, София 2003, 306–315.

***Dobrev*, Kanonite za sv. Ivan Rilski** = *Добрев И.*, Каноните за св. Иван Рилски от Георги Скилица, РВ 26/3 (2002) 3–12.

***Dobrev*, Sveti Ivan Rilski** = *Добрев И.*, Свети Иван Рилски, Линц 2007.

***Dobyčina*, „Divine sanction"** = *Dobyčina A.*, A "Divine sanction" on the revolt: The cult of St. Demetrios of Thessalonike and the uprising of Peter and Asen (1185–1186), Studia Ceranea 2 (2012) 113–126.

***Dobyčina*, Tyrnovo i politika perenesenija svjaštennyh relikvij** = *Добычина А.*, Тырново и политика перенесения священных реликвий в период становления Второго Болгарского царства (1185–1204), edd. *П. Павлов*, *Н. Ангелов Кънев*, *Н. Хрисимов*, Великите Асеневци. Сборник с доклади от конференция, посветена на 830 години от въстанието на братята Петър и Асен, началото на Второто българско царство и обявяването на Търново за столица на България и 780 години от легитимното възобновяване на Българската патриаршия, Велико Търново 2016, 52–59.

***Domozetski*, Ikonografska programa** = *Домозетски Л.*, Иконографска програма на стенописите в апсидата на църквите в България от XI–XII в., Проблеми на изкуството 4 (2017) 30–38.

***Domozetski*, Srednovekovnata stenna** = *Домозетски Л.*, Средновековната стенна живопис в църквата „Св. Архангел Михаил" в град Рила, ВМ 7 (2016) 73–98.

***Domozetski*, Vodoča** = *Домозетски Л.*, Водоча преди и след 1014 г. Някои особености на църковното изкуство на прехода между X и XI век, edd. *В. Гюзелев*, *Г. Н. Николов*, Еропейският Югоизток през втората половина на X – началото на XI век. История и култура, София 2015, 779–792.

***Domozetski*, Za stenopisite** = *Домозетски Л.*, За стенописите в църквата „Св. Георги" в Колуша, Кюстендил, Проблеми на изкуството 3 (2014) 15–22.

***Doncheva*, Architektur und Liturgie** = *Doncheva S.*, Architektur und Liturgie im frühmittelalterlichen Bulgarien, edd. *L. Poláček*, *J. Mařiková-Kubková*, Frühmittelalterliche Kirchen als archäologische und historische Quelle, Brno 2010, 367–386.

***Dončeva*, Bazilikite** = *Дончева С.*, Базиликите от Първото българско царство: Архитектурен облик, Шумен 2003.

***Dončeva*, Krŭstokupolnite cŭrkvi** = *Дончева С.*, Кръстокуполните църкви в Първото българско царство. Архитектурен облик, Велико Търново 2008.

***Dončeva*, Kŭm manastirskoto ustrojstvo** = *Дончева С.*, Към манастирското устройство в околностите на столичните центрове в първото българско царство, Преславска книжовна школа 7 (2004) 438–449.

***Dončeva*, Kŭm srednovekovnoto arhitekturno nalsedstvo** = *Дончева С.*, Към средновековното архитектурно наследство на Кюстендил и околностите, Известия на исторически музей Кюстендил 10 (2005) 249–262.

***Dončeva*, Patriaršeskata bazilika** = *Дончева С.*, Патриаршеската базилика в Дръстър – обемно-пространствена реконструкция, edd. *С. Станев*, *В. Григоров*, *В. Димитров*, Изследвания в чест на Стефан Бояджиев, София 2011, 125–138.

***Dončeva*, Principi** = *Дончева Ст.*, Принципи на композиционнта постановка на църквата „Св. Георги" в Горни Козяк (Брегалница), Археология 3–4 (2000) 62–68.

***Dončeva*, Rolja na bazilikanija tip** = *Дончева С.*, Роля на базиликалния тип храмове във вторатa Бъларска столица, Преславска книжовна школа 6 (2002) 271–284.

***Dončeva*, Za njakoi osobenosti na manastirskata praktika** = *Дончева С.*, За някои особености на манастирската практика през средновековието, Преславска книжовна школа 9 (2006) 395–407.

***Dončeva-Petkova*, 100 godini** = *Дончева-Петкова Л.*, 100 години археологически разкопки в Плиска, Плиска–Преслав 8 (2000) 9–18.

***Dončeva-Petkova*, Srednovekovni krŭstove-enkolpioni** = *Дончева-Петкова Л.*, Средновековни кръстове-енколпиони от България (IX–XIVв.), София 2011.

DOSeals I–V = Catalogue of the Byzantine Seals at Dumbarton Oaks and in the Fogg Museum of Art, I–V, ed. *J. Nesbitt*, *N. Oikonomides* (I–III, V); *E. McGeer*, *J. Nesbitt*, *N. Oikonomides* (IV), Washington, D. C. 1991, 1994, 1996, 2001, 2005.

***Dostâl*, Les origines de l'apologie slave** = *Dostâl A.*, Les origines de l'apologie slave par Chrabr, BS 24 (1963) 236–246.

***Dostâl*, Les relations entre Byzance et les slaves** = *Dostâl A.*, Les relations entre Byzance et les slaves (en particulier les Bulgares) aux XI^{e} et XII^{e} siècles du point de vue culturel, ed. *J. M. Hussey*, Proceedings of the XIIIth International Congress of Byzantine Studies, Oxford 1966, 173–174.

***Douglas*, Purity and Danger** = *Douglas M.*, Purity and Danger. An Analysis of the Concepts of Pollution and Taboo, London – New York 1966.

***Dragova*, Starobŭlgarskite izvori** = *Драгова Н.* Старобългарските извори на Житието за Петнадесетте Тивериуполски мъченици от Теофилакт Охридски, Studia Balcanica 2 (1970) 105–131.

***Dragova*, Vtorata apologija** = *Dragova N.*, Втората апология на българската книга и нейните извори, Константин-Кирил Философ, Sofia 1969, 344–346.

***Drakopoulou*, Ē polē tēs Kastorias** = *Δρακοπούλου Ε.*, Η πόλη της Καστοριάς στη βυζαντινή και μεταβυζαντινή εποχή (12^{ος} – 16^{ος} αι.), Αθήνα 1997.

***Drakopoulou*, Kastoria** = *Drakopoulou E.*, Kastoria: Art, Patronage, and Society, edd. *J. Albani*, *E. Chalkia*, Heaven & Earth. Cities and Countryside in Byzantine Greece, Athens 2013, 114–126.

***Drandakēs*, O naos** = *Δρανδάκης Ν.*, Ο ναός του Άϊ-Λέου εις το Μπρίκι της Μάνης, ΔΧΑΕ 6 (1970–1972) 146–168.

***Drpić*, Epigram** = *Drpić I.*, Epigram, art, and devotion in later Byzantium, Cambridge 2016.

***Ducellier*, Durazzo et Valona** = *Ducellier A.*, La façade maritime de l'Albanie au Moyen Âge: Durazzo et Valona du XI^{e} au XV^{e} siècle, Thessalonica 1981.

***Dudek*, Bishop Michael of Devol** = *Dudek J.*, Bishop Michael of Devol as a Witness of the Memory of Komitopules, Vox Patrum 91 (2024) 151–176.

***Dudek*, Elity** = *Dudek J.*, Elity bułgarskie po podboju bizantyńskim, 1018–1041 r., Balcanica Posnaniensia Acta et studia 26/1 (2019) 43–71.

***Dujcev*, Die letzten Jahre** = *Dujcev I.*, Die letzten Jahre des Erzbischofs Iakobos von Achrida, BZ 42 (1943–1949) 369–376.

***Dujcev*, Un nouveau temoignage** = *Dujcev I.*, Un nouveau temoignage de Jacques de Bulgarie, BS 21 (1960) 54–61.

***Dujčev*, Melnik =** *Dujčev I.*, Melnik au Moyen Âge, Byzantion 38/1 (1968) 28–41.

***Dujčev*, Proučvanija** = *Дуйчев И.*, Проучвания върху средновековната българска история и култура, София 1981.

***Dujčev*, Rilskijat svetec** = *Дуйчев И.*, Рилският светец и неговата обител, София 1947.

***Dumić – Đokić – Stević*, Planina nedosanjanih snova** = *Думић О.*, *Ђокић Н.*, *Стевић М.*, Планина недосањаних снова – Свети Нестор код Витковца, Крушевац, 2006, 7–88.

***Dušanić*, Joakim Osogovski-Sarandaporski** = *Душанић С.*, Јоаким Осоговски-Сарандапорски и његов манастир, Хришћанско дело 7/1 (1941) 26–38.

***Dušanić*, Prilog sfragistici** = *Dušanić S.*, Prilog sfragistici Ohridske arhiepiskopije, Zbornik Narodnog muzeja 8 (1975) 315–325.

***Dvornik*, Byzantine missions** = *Dvornik F.*, Byzantine missions among the Slavs, Ss. Constantine-Cyril and Methodius, New Brunswick – New Jersey 1970.

***Dvornik*, Photian Schism** = *Dvornik F.*, The Photian schism. History and Legend, Cambridge 1948 (reprint 1970).

DŽ

***Dželebdžić*, Društvo** = *Џелебџић Д.*, Друштво у епирској држави прве половине XIII века, Београд 2013 (unpublished PhD dissertation).

***Dželebdžić*, Pitanje osnivanja Srpske crkve** = *Џелебџић Д.*, Питање оснивања Српске цркве у политици Теодора Дуке, edd. *Љ. Максимовић*, *С. Пириватрић*, Краљевство и архиепископија у српским и поморским земљама Немањића, Београд 2019, 521–536.

***Dželebdžić*, Slovenski antroponimi** = *Џелебџић Д.*, Словенски антропоними у судским актима Димитрија Хоматина, ZRVI 43 (2006) 483–498.

***Džidrova*, Običajot na pogrebuvanje** = *Џиџрова Љ.*, Обичајот на погребување во црквите и на градска територија и проблемот на континуитет од антика во среден век, edd. *Б. Алексова*, *К. Томовски*, *Ц. Гроздановв*, Старохристијанската археологија во Македонија, Скопје 2003, 255–272.

***Džingov*, Arheologičeski prinosi** = *Джингов*, Археологически приноси към историята на Рилския манастир, Археология 32/2 (1990) 1–11.

***Džino*, From Justinian to Branimir** = *Džino D.*, From Justinian to Branimir. The Making of the Middle Ages in Dalmatia, London – New York 2021.

***Džonov*, Sant-Emeramskata molitva** = *Джонов Б.*, Сант-Еемерамската молитва и нейното отношение към изповедната молитва от Синайския требрник, Годишник на Софийския Университет. Факултет класически и нови филологии 74/3 (1984) 67–146.

***Džurova*, Il culto di san Clemente di Ocrida** = *Džurova A.*, Il culto di san Clemente di Ocrida nell'arte dei Balcani, edd. *K. Stantchev*, *M. Calusio*, San Clemente di Ocrida: allievo e maestro. Nell'undicesimo centenario del beato transito (916–2016), Milano 2017, 15–33.

***Džurova*, Ukrasat**a = *Джурова А.*, Украсата на Ватиканския кирилски палимпсест Vat. gr. 2502, София 2002.

Đ

***Đokić*, Sveti Nestor** = *Ђокић Ђ.*, Свети Нестор у Витковцу, Расински анали 1 (2003) 87–112.

***Đoković*, Proučavanje slovenske antroponimijske građe** = *Ђоковић З.*, Проучавање словенске антропонимијске грађе у практицима XII и XIII века, ZRVI 43 (2006) 499–516.

***Đoković*, Stanovništvo istočne Makedonije** = *Ђоковић З.*, Становништво источне Македоније у првој половини XIV века, ZRVI 40 (2003) 97–244.

***Đorđević*, Zidno slikarstvo** = *Ђорђевић И. М.*, Зидно сликарство српске властеле у доба Немањића, Београд 1994.

***Đurić*, Crkva Svete Sofije** = *Ђурић В. Ј.*, Црква Свете Софије у Охриду, Београд 1963.

***Đurić*, Fresques du monastère** = *Đurić J. V.*, Fresques du monastère de Veljusa edd. *F. Dölger*, *H.-G. Beck*, Akten des XI. Internationalen Byzantinisten Kongresses, München 1960, 113–121.

***Đurić*, Mali Grad** = *Ђурић В. Ј.*, Мали Град – Св. Атанасије у Костуру – Борје, Зограф 6 (1975) 31–49.

***Đurić*, Najstariji živopis** = *Ђурић В. Ј.*, Најстарији живопис испоснице пустиножитеља Петра Коришког, ZRVI 5 (1958) 173–202.

***Đurić*, Počeci umetnosti** = *Ђурић В. Ј.*, Почеци уметности код Срба, Уметност на тлу Југославије, Рани средњи век, Београд 1986, 55–66.

***Đurić*, Vizantijske freske** = *Ђурић В. Ј.*, Византијске фреске у Југославији, Београд 1974.

***Đurić – Ćirković – Korać*, Pećka patrijaršija** = *Ђурић В. Ј.*, *Ћирковић С.*, *Кораћ В.*, Пећка патријаршија, Београд 1990.

E

***Ercegović-Pavlović*, Les nécropoles** = *Ercegović-Pavlović S.*, Les nécropoles romaines et médiévales de Mačvanska Mitrovica, ed. *V. Popović*, Sirmium XII. Recherches archeologiques en Syrmie, Beograd 1980.

Etimološki rečnik srpskog jezika, II = Етимолошки речник српског језика: Свеска 2: БА–БД, Институт за српски језик САНУ – САНУ, Београд 2006.

***Evangelatou-Notara*, Seismoi sto Byzantio** = *Ευαγγελάτου-Νοταρά Φ.*, Σεισμοί στο Βυζάντιο από τον 13ο αιώνα μέχρι και τον 15ο αιώνα : Ιστορική εξέταση, Αθήνα 1993.

***Evgenidou*, Anaskaphes** = *Ευγενίδου Δ.*, Ανασκαφές στη βυζαντινή Κεντρική και Δυτική Μακεδονία, Σέρβια και Μογλενά, ΑΕΜΘ 1 (1987) 63–68.

***Evgenidou*, Servia and Moglena** = *Evgenidou D.*, Servia and Moglena, Two Byzantine Cities of Macedonia, Ιστορικογεωγραφικά 2 (1988) 15–21.

***Evgenidou*, Ta byzantina mnēmeia tōn Serbiōn** = *Ευγενίδου Δ.*, Τα βυζαντινά μνημεία των Σερβίων, Πρακτικά Α' Πανσερβιώτικου Συνεδρίου για την ανάπτυξη της περιοχής. Σέρβια, 6–8 Οκτωβρίου 1995, Σέρβια 1997, 79–84.

***Evgenidou*, To kastro tēs Chrysēs** = *Ευγενίδου Δ.*, Το κάστρο της Χρυσής και το Θέμα των Μογλενών, Αμητός. Τιμητικός τόμος για τον καθηγητή Μανόλη Ανδρόνικο, Μέρος Α, Θεσσαλονίκη 1987, 325–342.

F

***Feissel*, Architect Viktorinos** = *Feissel D.*, L'architecte Viktôrinos et les fortifications de Justinien dans les provinces balkaniques, Bulletin de la Société nationale des antiquaires de France, 1988, 1990, 136–146.

***Ferjančić*, Albanci** = *Ферјанчић Б.*, Албанци у византијским изворима, ed. *М. Кашанин*, Илири и Албанци, Београд 1988, 285–302.

***Ferjančić*, Sevastokratori** = *Ферјанчић Б.*, Севастократори у Византији, ZRVI 11 (1968) 141–192.

***Ferjančić*, Sirmijum** = *Ферјанчић Б.*, Сирмијум у доба Византије, Сремска Митровица, 1969.

***Ferjančić*, Stefan Nemanja** = *Ферјанчић Б.*, Стефан Немања у византијској политици друге половине XII века, ed. *Ј. Калић*, Стефан Немања – Свети Симеон мироточиви, историја и предање, Међународни научни скуп (1996), САН, Научни скупови, књ. XCIV, Одељење историјских наука, књ. 26, Београд 2000, 31–47.

***Ferluga*, Byzantium on the Balkans** = *Ferluga J.*, Byzantium on the Balkans. Studies on the Byzantine Administration and the Southern Slavs from the VIIth to the XIIIth Centuries, Amsterdam 1976.

***Ferluga*, Dalmacija** = *Ферлуīа Ј.*, Византиска управа у Далмацији, Београд 1957.

***Ferluga*, Drač** = *Ферлуīа Ј.*, Драч и његова област од VII до почетка XIII века, Глас САНУ 343, Одељење историјских наука, књ. 5 (1986) 65–130.

***Ferluga*, John Skylitzes** = *Ferluga J.*, John Skylitzes and Michael of Devol, ZRVI 10 (1967) 163–170.

***Ferluga*, Vizantija** = *Ферлуīа Ј.*, Византија и постанак најранијих јужнословенских држава, ZRVI 11 (1968) 55–66.

***Ferluga*, Vreme** = *Ферлуīа Ј.*, Време подизања цркве св. Ахилеја на Преспи, ЗМСЛУ 2 (1966) 3–7.

***Fiedler*, Bulgars** = *Fiedler U.*, Bulgars in the Lower Danube region. A survey of the archaeological evidence and of the state of current research, edd. *F. Curta* with the assistance of *R. Kovalev*, The Other Europe in the Middle Ages, 450–1450 : Avars, Bulgars, Khazars and Cumans, Leiden – Boston 2008, 151–236.

***Filiposki*, Devolskata oblast** = *Филипоски Т.*, Деволската област и словенското просветителско дело на Свети Наум, Свети Наум Охридски и словенската духовна, културна и писмена традиција, Скопје 2011, 409–416.

***Filiposki*, Ohrid vo raniot sreden vek** = *Филипоски Т.*, Охрид во раниот среден век (од V до XI век), Скопје 2009 (unpublished PhD dissertation).

***Filiposki*, Ohridskata episkopija** = *Филипоски Т.*, Охридската епископија во IX век, Годишен зборник на Филозофскиот факултет 64 (2011) 257–275.

***Filiposki*, Prestolninite** = *Филипоски Т.*, Престолнините на Самоиловата држава. Критички историографски осврт, ed. *Д. Ѓоргиев*, 1000 години од битката на Беласица и смртта на цар Самоил, Скопје 2018, 139–148.

***Filiposki*, Sveti Kliment** = *Филипоски Т.*, Свети Климент и изворната заснованост на неговиот епитет Охридски, Зборник на трудови од Меѓународниот научен собир Кирилометодиевската традиција и македонско-руските духовни и културни врски (организиран по повод 1050 години од Моравската мисија и од словенската писменост), Охрид, 3–4 октомври 2013, Скопје 2014, 317–332.

***Filiposki*, Sveti Kliment i negoviot epitet** = *Филипоски Т.*, Свети Климент и неговиот епитет Охридски: појава и распространетост, ed. *И. К. Заров*, Свети Климент Охридски во уметничкото творештво, Скопје 2012, 27–52.

***Filiposki*, The Dispute** = *Filiposki T.*, The Dispute between Theophylact, the Archbishop of Ohrid, and the Paroikos Lazarus: An Example of "State Interventionism" during Byzantine Emperor Alexios I Komnenos's Reign (1081–1118), ZRVI 55 (2018) 97–106.

***Filiposki*, The Titles of St. Clement** = *Filiposki T.*, The Titles of St. Clement of Ohrid, edd. *C. Кујумџиева et al.*, Свети Климент Охридски в културата на Европа, София 2018, 562–570.

***Filiposki*, Theophylact** = *Filiposki*, Theophylact and the People of Ohrid: the Issue of the "Otherness", Macedonian Historical Review 2 (2011) 87–102.

***Filipova*, Arhitektonska dekorativna skulptura** = *Филипова С.*, Архитектонска декоративна скулптура во Македонија 5–6 и 11–12 век, Скопје – Мелбурн 1997.

***Filipova*, Novi naodi** = *Филипова С.*, Нови наоди пластика од црквата Св. Богородица во Дреново, Годишен зборник на Филозофскиот факултет 48 (1995) 277–283.

***Filipova*, Sculptures médiévales** = *Filipova S.*, Sculptures médiévales des XI^{e} et XII^{e} siècles dans l'ancienne République yougoslave de Macédoine, edd. *Ch. Pennas*, *C. Vanderheyde*, La sculpture byzantine, VII^{e}–XII^{e} siècles, Athènes 2008, 183–197.

***Filipovska-Lazarevska*, Arheološki naodi** = *Филиповска-Лазаревска Г.*, Археолошки наоди од црквата свети Димитрија во Битола, Битола низ вековите 4 (2001) 15–26.

***Filipovska-Lazarevska*, Arheološki naodi od Bitola** = *Филиповска–Лазаревска Г.*, Археолошки наоди од Битола и Битолско во XII и XIII век', Битола низ вековите 2 (1999) 9–20.

***Filipovska-Lazarovska*, Jeni džamija** = *Филиповска-Лазаровска Г.*, Јени џамија во Битола, Македонски археолошки преглед 1 (2008) 316–320.

***Filipovska-Lazarovska et al.*, Izveštaj od arheološkite istražuvanja** = *Филиповска-Лазаровска Г.*, *Ѓорѓиевска А.*, *Капелкова К.*, *Петрински И.*, Извештај од археолошките истражувања на лок. Кале-Битола во 1994. год., Зборник на трудови 12–14 (1992–1995) 204–209.

***Filipovska-Lazarovska – Ġorǵievska*, Materijalnata kultura vo Bitola** = *Филиповска-Лазаровска Г.*, *Ѓорѓиевска А.*, Материјалната култура во Битола од X–XI век, Битола низ вековите 1 (1998) 11–19.

***Filipovska – Srbinovski*, Pregled na arheološkite istražuvanja** = *Филиповска Г.*, *Србиновски П.*, Преглед на археолошките истражувања на средновековниот период во Битола 1978–1981, Зборник на трудови 2–3 (1980–1981) 111–120.

***Filipovska – Srbinovski*, Rezultati od istražuvanjata** = *Филиповска Г.*, *Србиновски П.*, Резултати од истражувањата на локалитетос „Кале" Битола во 1978 година, МАА 6 (1980) 111–121.

***Filov*, Nov pametnik ot Karaačteke** = *Филов Б.*, Нов паметник от Караачтеке при Варна, Известия на Археологическия институт 12 (1939) 432–433.

***Filov*, Sv. Georgi** = *Филов Б.*, Софийската църква Св. Георги, София 1933.

***Filov*, Sv. Sofija** = *Филов Б.*, Софийската църква Св. София, София 1913.

***Fine*, Early Medieval Balkans** = *Fine J. V. A. Jr.*, The Early Medieval Balkans A Critical Survey from the Sixth to the Late Twelfth Century, Michigan 1991.

***Fingarova*, Die Stifterin par excellence** = *Fingarova G.*, Die Stifterin par excellence: Zur Deutung des Stifterbildes in der Marienkirche von Apollonia, Albanien, edd. *L. Theis*, *M. Mullett*, *M. Grünbart with G. Fingarova*, *M. Savage*, Female founders in Byzantium and beyond, Wien – Köln – Weimar 2011– 2012, 283–298.

***Fingarova*, Sophienkirche** = *Fingarova G.*, Die Baugeschichte der Sophienkirche in Sofia, Wiesbaden 2011.

***Florja – Turilov – Ivanov*, Sud'by kirillo-mefodievskoj tradicii** = *Флоря Б. Н.*, *Турилов А. А.*, *Иванов С. А.*, Судьбы кирилло-мефодиевской традиции после Кирилла и Мефодия, Санкт-Петербург 2000.

***Follieri – Dujčev*, Martiri** = *Follieri E.*, *Dujčev I.*, Un' acoluta indeita per i martiri di Bulgaria dell' anno 813, Byzantion 33 (1963) 71–106.

***Forţiu*, 1020: Dibisisko**s = *Forţiu S.*, 1020: Dibisiskos (Bisiskos -sic!; Dibiskos -sic! / Ti(m)bisko -sic!), sau cum a ajuns un sat (prăpădit) de la sud de Dunăre episcopie românească a Banatului la anul 1020, Arheovest X/2 (2022) 565–710.

***Foukou*, Agios Achillios** = *Φούκου Ε.*, Άγιος Αχίλλιος και Λάρισα, Δημοκρίτειο Πανεπιστήμιο Θράκης, Σχολή Κλασικών και Ανθρωπιστικών Σπουδών, Τμήμα Ιστορίας και Εθνολογίας 2022 (unpublished master's thesis).

***Franchi de Cavalleri*, I santi quaranta martiri di Sabastia** = *Franchi de Cavalleri P.*, I santi quaranta martiri di Sabastia, ed. *P. Franchi de Cavalleri*, Note agiografiche VII, Roma 1928, 155–184.

***Franklin – Shepard*, Emergence of Rus** = *Shepard J.*, *Franklin S.*, The emergence of Rus 750–1200, London – New York 1996.

G

***Gabelić*, Lesnovo** = *Габелић С.*, Лесново. Историја и сликарство, Београд 1998.

***Gabelić*, Lesnovska isposnica sv. Ilije** = *Габелић С.*, Лесновска испосница св. Илије, ЗМСЛУ 18 (1982) 171–187.

***Gabelić*, Manastir Konče** = *Габелић С.*, Манастир Конче, Београд 2008.

***Gabelić*, Nepoznati lokaliteti** = *Габелић С.*, Непознати локалитети у близини лесновског манастира, ЗМСЛУ 20 (1984) 163–175.

***Gabelić*, O ikonografiji** = *Габелић С.*, О иконографији Св. Прокопија, ZRVI 43 (2006) 527–559.

***Gallagher*, Church law** = *Gallagher C.*, Church Law and Church Order in Rome and Byzantium. A Comparative Study, Birmingham 2002.

***Galoni*, Bardanes** = *Γαλώνη Αικ.*, Γεώργιος Βαρδάνης: Συμβολὴ στὴ μελέτη τοῦ βίου, τοῦ ἔργου καὶ τῆς ἐποχῆς τοῦ, Θεσσαλονίκη 2008.

***Garton*, Early Romanesque sculpture** = *Garton T.*, Early Romanesque sculpture in Apulia, New York 1984.

***Geanakoplos*, Michael VIII** = *Geanakoplos D. J.*, Emperor Michael Palaeologus and the West 1258–1282: A Study of Byzantine-Latin Relations, Harvard 1959.

***Gelsich*, Dalla Legenda de misser San Tryphon** = *Gelsich G.*, Dalla Legenda de misser San Tryphon martire confalon et protector della Cittade de Cattaro, Giuseppe Gelsich, Storia documentata della Marinerezza bocchese, Ragusa 1889.

***Gelzer*, Patriarchat von Achrida** = *Gelzer H.*, Der Patriarchat von Achrida. Geschichte und Urkunden, Abhandlungen der Philologisch-historischen Classe der Königlich Sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften 20, Leipzig 1902.

***Georgiev*, „Tuhlenijat“** = *Георгиев П.* „Тухленият“ Преслав – реален или въображаем? (Към проблема за ареала на мегаполиса Велики Преслав), Преслав 7 (2013) 13–28.

***Georgiev*, Bazilikata „Gebe klise”** = *Георгиев П.*, Базиликата „Гебе клисе” и въпросът за връзките между България и Рим в края на IX век, Преславска книжовна школа 6 (2002) 44–57.

***Georgiev*, Car** = *Георгиев П.*, Цар Симеон Лабас (893–927). Войнолюбец или миротворец, Преслав 8 (2019) 15–55.

***Georgiev*, Dŭrvenijat orelef** = *Георгиев П.*, Дървеният орелеф на св. Климент Охридски – предназначение и история, Годишник на Националния археологически музей 10 (1997) 301–318.

***Georgiev*, „Golemijat carski dvorec”**= *Георгиев П.*, *Д. Овчаров*, *Д. Аладжов*, *Н. Овчаров*., Големият царски дворец във Велики Преслав. Т. I. Преславската патриаршия през X век. София 1991, Рецензия на книгата: в Археология 4 (1993) 62–64.

***Georgiev*, Hronologičeski proučavanija** = *Георгиев П.*, Хронологически проучавания върху датирания надпис от Равна, Сборник в чест на акад. Димитър Ангелов, София 1994, 273–280.

***Georgiev*, Istorijata na Ravnenskija manastir** = *Георгиев П.*, Историята на Равненския манастир, Епохи 2 (1993) 57–68.

***Georgiev*, Klasifikacija i harakter na grobničnite postrojki** = *Георгиев П.*, Класификация и характер на гробничните постройки и съоръжения в Преслав, Преслав 4 (София 1993) 79–106.

***Georgiev*, Kŭm vŭprosa za gradoustrojstvoto na aulite** = *Георгиев П.*, Към въпроса за градоустройството на аулите от IX в, Средновековният български град, Средновековният български град. БИД, Научни конференции, 2, София 1980, 99–106.

***Georgiev*, Manastirŭt ot X vek** = *Георгиев П.*, Манастирът от X век при с. Черноглавци, Шуменска област, Годишник на Софийския университет „Св. Климент Охридски“. Център за славяно-византийски проучвания „Проф. Иван Дуйчев“ 93/12 (2005) 71–79.

***Georgiev*, Manastirska banja** = *Георгиев П.*, Манастирска баня в Преслав, Преслав 3 (1983) 81–89.

***Georgiev*, Manastirskata cŭrkva** = *Георгиев П.*, Манастирската църква при с. Равна, Провадийско, Известия на Народния музей Варна 21/36 (1985) 71–98.

***Georgiev*, Martiriumŭt =** *Георгиев П.*, Мартириумът в Плиска и началото на християнството в България, София 1993.

Georgiev, Olovni pečati = *Георгиев П.*, Оловни печати от манастира при с. Равна, Провадийско, Известия на Народния музей Варна 26/41 (1990) 103–109.

***Georgiev*, Periodisierung** = *Georgiev P.*, Periodisierung und Chronologie von Besiedlung und Bautätigkeit im Gebiet der Grossen Basilika in Pliska, ed. *J. Henning*, Zwischen Byzanz und Abendland: Pliska, der östliche Balkanraum und Europa im Spiegel der Frühmittelalterarchäologie, Frankfurt am Mein 1999, 57–60.

***Georgiev*, Prespa** = *Георгиев П.*, Преспа, Кирило-Методиевска енциклопедия, т. III, София 2003, 327–331.

***Georgiev*, Zlatnata cŭrkva** = *Георгиев П.*, Златната църква в Преслав, Преслав 5 (1993) 7–25.

***Georgiev – Dimitrov*, Razkopki** = *Георгиев П.*, *Димитров Я.*, Разкопки при базиликата “Гебе клисе” през 1995 г., Преслав 6 (2004) 76–90.

***Georgiev – Smjadovski*, Paraklisŭt pri Goljamata bazilika** = *Георгиев П.*, *Смядовски Т.*, Параклисът при Голямата базилика в Плиска, Археология 2 (1982) 13–27.

***Georgiev – Vitljanov*, Arhiepiskopijata** = *Георгиев П.*, *Витлянов С.*, Архиепископията: манастир в Плиска, София 2001.

***Georgiev – Tihov – Savev – Ilieva*, Goljama bazilika v Pliska** = *Георгиев П.*, *Тихов Т.*, *Савев Ю.*, *Илиева Г.*, Голяма базилика в Плиска – кладенец-аязмо и архиепископия-манастир, Археологически открития и разкопки през 2015, София 2016, 640–643.

***Georgieva*, Church Architecture** = *Georgieva M.*, Church Architecture in Southwestern Bulgaria in the Late 9th – Early 11th Century (Based on Archaeological Data), Studia Ceranea 13 (2023) 347–379.

***Georgieva M. – Georgieva D.*, Manastiri ot teritorijata** = *Георгиева М.*, *Георгиева Д.*, Манастири от територията на Югозападна България, Multidisciplinary Journal of Science, Education and Art. Union of Scientists in Bulgaria – Branch Blagoevgrad 2020, 19–48.

***Georgieva*, Trikonhalni cŭrkvi** = *Георгиева М.*, Триконхални църкви от Югозападна България (по археологически данни), edd. *Е. Азманова-Рударска*, *К. Йорданов*, Късносредновековните Балкани. Сборник в чест на доц. д-р Снежана Ракова, София 2022, 247–282.

***Georgieva*, Arheologičeski proučvanija** = *Георгиева С.*, Археологически проучвания на късносредновековната църква “Св. Никола” в Мелник, Археология 15/2 (1974) 28–37.

***Georgieva*, Preslavski tip keramika** = *Георгиева С.*, Преславски тип керамика в музея на град Варна, Известиая на Варненското археологическо дружество 8 (1951) 87–91.

***Georgievski*, Icon Gallery** = *Georgievski M.*, Icon Gallery – Ohrid, Ohrid 1999.

***Gerasimov*, Nov molivdovul na Georgi** = *Герасимов Т.*, Нов моливдовул на Георги монах и синкел български, Известия на Археологическия институт 20 (1955) 587–588.

***Gerčeva*, Preslavskijat aul** = *Герчева Г.*, Преславският аул, Societas Classica 6/1 (2013) 345–358.

***Gergova*, Moštite na sveti Kliment** = *Гергова И.*, Мощите на свети Климент Охридски, ed. *И. Билярски*, Laudator temporis acti. Studia in memoriam Ioannis A. Božilov II, София 2018, 396–397.

***Gerstel*, Beholding** = *Gerstel E. J. S.*, Beholding the Sacred Mysteries. Programs of the Byzantine Sanctuary, Seattle – London 1999.

***Gerstel*, Ceramic Icons** = *Gerstel E. J. S.*, Ceramic Icons from Medieval Constantinople. edd. *S. E. J. Gerstel*, *J. A. Lauffenburger*, A Lost Art Rediscovered, The Architectural Ceramics of Byzantium, Baltimore – University Park PA 2001, 43–76.

***Gerstel*, The Nicomedia Workshop** = *Gerstel E. J. S.*, The Nicomedia Workshop: New Evidence on Byzantine Tiles, The Journal of the Walters Art Museum 66/67 (2010) 5–53.

***Giakoumis – Christidou*, Image and power** = *Giakoumis K.*, *Christidou*, *A.*, Image and power in the age of Andronicos II and III Palaiologos: imperial patronage in the western provinces of Via Egnatia, Via Egnatia Revisited: Common Past, Common Future. Proceedings VEF Conference, Bitola, February 2009, Driebergen 2010, 76–84.

***Gialourē – Plastara*, Basilikē Agiou Achilliou** = *Γιαλούρη Α.*, *Πλασταρά Αι.*, Βασιλική Αγίου Αχιλλίου Λάρισας, Λάρισα 2013.

***Gjuzelev*, Hauptstädte** = *Gjuzelev V.*, Hauptstädte, Residenzen und Hofkultur im mittelalterlichen Bulgarien, 7–14 Jh., Études balkaniques 27/2 (1991) 82–105.

***Gjuzelev*, Kavkhanite i ičirgu boilite** = *Гюзелев В.*, Кавханите и ичиргу боилите на Българското ханство-царство (VII–XI в.), Пловдив 2007.

***Gjuzelev*, Papstvoto i bŭlgarite** = *Гюзелев В.*, Папството и българите през Средновековието (IX–XV в.). Пловдив 2009.

***Gjuzelev*, Vŭzobnovjavaneto** = *Гюзелев В.*, Възобновяването на Българската патриаршия през 1235 година в светлината на историческите извори, Великите Асеневци, Велико Търново 2016, 155–169.

***Gočeva*, Krepost** = *Гочева З.*, Крепост на местността Хисарлъка в град Кюстендил. Известия на Българското историческо дружество 27 (1970) 233–254.

***Goldstein*, Hrvatski rani srednji vijek** = *Goldstein I.*, Hrvatski rani srednji vijek, Zagreb 1995.

***Golubinskij*, Kratkij očerk** = *Голубинский Е. Е.*, Краткий очерк истории Православных Церквей – Болгарской, Сербской и Румынской или Молдовалашской, Москва 1871.

***Gonēs*, Geōrgios Skylitzēs** = *Γόνης Δ.*, Γεώργιος Σκυλίτζης βιόγραφος τοῦ ὁσίου Ἰωάννου τοῦ Ῥιλιώτη, Ἐπιστημονικὴ Ἐπετηρὶς Θεολογικῆς Σχολῆς τοῦ Πανεπιστημίου Ἀθηνῶν 42 (2007) 333–355.

***Gorskij – Nevostruev*, Opisanie slavjanskih rukopisej** = *Горскій А.*, *Невоструевъ К.*, Описаніе славянскихъ рукописей Московской Синодальной библіотеки, Отд. III, часть 1, Москва 1869.

***Gouloulēs*, O taphos tou agiou Achilliou** = *Γουλούλης Σ. Γ.*, Ο τάφος του αγίου Αχιλλίου και η τιμή των λειψάνων του στη Λάρισα μέχρι το 985, Πρακτικά του 1ου ιστορικού-αρχαιολογικού συμποσίου «Λάρισα: Παρελθόν και Μέλλον», Λάρισα 1985, 211–240.

***Gouloulēs*, Oikodomikes kai eikonographikes paratērēseis ston Agio Achillio Prespas** = *Γουλούλης Σ.*, Οικοδομικές και εικονογραφικές παρατηρήσεις στον Άγιο Αχίλλιο Πρέσπας. edd. *Π. Ανδρούδης*, *Δ. Δρακούλης*, Το Αρμολόϊ. Τιμητικός τόμος στον καθ. Αργύρη Πετρονώτη, Θεσσαλονίκη 2021, 301–320.

***Gouloulēs*, Proskynētes stē byzantinē Pieria** = *Γουλούλης Σ.*, Προσκυνητές στη βυζαντινή Πιερία: ο χώρος, οι διαδρομές, οι εντυπώσεις, Η Πιερία στα Βυζαντινά και στα Νεότερα χρόνια, Πρακτικά 4ου Επιστημονικού Συνεδρίου, Εταιρεία Πιερικών Μελετών / Εστία Πιερίδων Μουσών, Κατερίνη 2014, 365–456.

***Gouloulēs*, Ta agiologika-ymnologika keimena** = *Γουλούλης Σ. Γ.* Τα αγιολογικά-υμνολογικά κείμενα του αγίου Αχιλλίου και η διαμόρφωση του καθεδρικού-προσκυνηματικού ναού στη Λάρισα (9ος–16ος αι.), Αχιλλίου Πόλις 10 (2023) 361–391.

***Gouloulis*, ".. Kai nyn tōn thaumatōn sou aphthonōs apolavousi"** = *Gouloulis S.*, "..Καὶ νῦν τῶν θαυμάτων σου ἀφθόνως ἀπολάβουσι": The „Ἕτερος κανών" to Saint Achillios of Larissa (13th c. ?) and the Honour of his Relics in the new national Churches of Balkan, Crkvene studije 12 (2015) 459–473.

***Grabar*, Bojanskata cŭrkva** = *Грабар А.*, Боянската църква, София, 1924.

***Grabar*, Deux témoignages** = *Grabar A.*, Deux témoignages archéologiques sur l'autocéphalie d'une église: Prespa et Ochrid, ZRVI 8/2 (1964) 163–168.

***Grabar*, La thème du «gisant»** = *Grabar A.*, La thème du «gisant» dans l'art byzantin, CA 29 (1980–1981) 143–156.

***Grabar*, Les peintures murales dans le chœur** = *Grabar A.*, Les peintures murales dans le chœur de Sainte-Sophie d'Ohrid, CA 15 (1965) 257–265.

***Grabar*, Martyrium** = *Grabar A.*, Martyrium. Recherches sur le culte de reliques et l'art chrétien antique, London 1972.

***Grabar*, Njakolko srednovekovni pametnici** = *Грабар А.*, Няколко средновековни паметници из Западна България, Годишник на Народния музей за 1921 год. София 1922, 286–296.

***Grabar*, Recherches** = *Grabar* A., Recherches sur les influences orientales dans L'art balkanique, Paris, 1928.

***Gračanin*, Južna Panonija** = *Gračanin H.*, Južna Panonija u kasnoj antici i ranom srednjovjekovlju (od konca 4. do konca 11. stoljeća), Zagreb 2011.

***Grafenauer*, Karolinška kateheza** = *Grafenauer I.*, Karolinška kateheza ter izvor Brižinskih spomenikov in Čina nadъ ispovêdająštiimь sę, Ljubljana 1936.

***Granberg*, Transferred in Translation** = *Granberg A.*, Transferred in Translation: Making a State in Early Medieval Bulgarian Genealogies, Slavica Helsingiensia 35, С любовью к слову. Festschrift in Honour of Professor Arto Mustajoki on the Occasion of his 60th Birthday, Helsinki 2008, 49–58.

***Greenberg*, Slavic** = *Greenberg M. L.*, Slavic, ed. *M. Kapović*, The Indo-European Languages, London – New York 2017, 519–551.

***Grégoire*, Deux étymologies** = *Grégoire H.*, Deux étymologies, Byzantion 22 (1952) 265–272.

***Grēgoriou-Iōannidou*, Byzantines kleisoures** = *Γρηγορίου-Ιωαννίδου Μ.*, Οι βυζαντινές κλεισούρες και κλεισουραρχίες, Βυζαντιακά 9 (1989) 179–202.

***Grozdanov*, Ahil Lariski** = *Гроздановъ Ц.*, Ахил Лариски во византискиот и поствизантискиот живописот, *Ц. Гроздановъ*, Курбиново и други студии за фрескоживописот во Преспа, Скопје 2015², 271–304.

***Grozdanov*, Arhiepiskopot Lav** = *Гроздановъ Ц.*, Архиепископот Лав Охридски и претставата на патријархот Евстатиј Цариградски во живописот на „Света Софија" и неговото датување, *Ц. Гроздановъ*, Студии за охридскиот живопис, Скопје 2017², 227–234.

***Grozdanov*, Ciklusot** = *Гроздановъ Ц.*, Циклусот на Четириесетте маченици во Света Софија Охридска, *Ц. Гроздановъ*, Студии за охридскиот живопис, Скопје 2017², 81–92.

***Grozdanov*, Kurbinovo i drugi studii** = *Гроздановъ Ц.*, Курбиново и други студии за фрескоживописот во Преспа, Скопје 2015².

***Grozdanov*, Mesecoslov** = *Гроздановъ Ц.*, Месецослов Асемановог јеванђеља и старије зидно сликарство у Македонији, ЗМСЛУ 21 (1985) 18–26.

***Grozdanov*, Mesecoslovot** = *Гроздановъ Ц.*, Месецословот на Асемановото Евангелие и постариот монументален живопис во Македонија, ed. *В. Ѓоргиев Ликин*, Музејски летопис. Зборник на трудови по повод 65 години "Завод и музеј" – Струмица, Струмица 2017, 14–26.

***Grozdanov*, Novi prilozi** = *Гроздановъ Ц.*, Нови прилози за живописот на Св. Софија од времето на архиепископот Леон (1037–1056), *Ц. Гроздановъ*, Студии за охридскиот живопис, Скопје 2017², 49–60.

***Grozdanov*, O portretima Klimenta Ohridskog** = *Гроздановъ Ц.*, О портретима Климента Охридског у охридском живопису XIV века, ЗМСЛУ 4 (1968) 103–118.

***Grozdanov*, Ohridski arhiepiskop Prohor** = *Гроздановъ Ц.*, Охридски архиепископ Прохор и његова делатност, ЗМСЛУ 27–28 (1991–1992) 271–287.

***Grozdanov*, Ohridsko zidno slikarstvo** = *Гроздановъ Ц.*, Охридско зидно сликарство XIV века, Београд 1980.

***Grozdanov*, Pojava i prodor** = *Гроздановъ Ц.*, Појава и продор портрета Климента Охридског у средњовековној уметности, ЗМСЛУ 3 (1967) 49–72.

***Grozdanov*, Portreti** = *Гроздановъ Ц.*, Портрети на светителите од Македонија од IX–XVIII век, Скопје 1983.

***Grozdanov*, Prilozi** = *Гроздanов Ц.*, Прилози за проучување на Св. Софија Охридска во XIV век, Живописот на Охридската архиепископија. Студии, Скопје 2007, 85–109.

***Grozdanov*, Proučuvanja** = *Гроздanов Ц.*, Проучувања на живописот на Света Софија Охридска, *Ц. Гроздanов*, Студии за охридскиот живопис, Скопје 1990, 24–34.

***Grozdanov*, Sveti Naum** = *Гроздanов Ц.*, Свети Наум Охридски, Скопје 1995.

***Grozdanov*, Trikonhalnata crkva na Sveti Naum** = *Гроздanов Ц.*, Триконхалната црква на Свети Наум Охридски, Архитектурата на почвата на Македонија: прилози за истражувањето на историјата на културата на почвата на Македонија, Скопје 2000, 107–115.

***Grozdanov – Bardžieva*, Sur les portraits** = *Grozdanov C.*, *Bardžieva D.*, Sur les portraits des personnages historiques à Kurbinovo, ZRVI 33 (1994) 62–74.

***Grozdanov – Haderman-Misgviš*, Kurbinovo** = *Гроздanов Ц.*, *Хадерман-Мисгвиш Л.*, Курбиново, Скопје 1992.

***Grozdanov – Grozdanova*, Rezultati** = *Гроздanов Д.*, *Гроздanова Г.*, № 90. Резултати от редовно археологическо проучване на обект раннохристиянска базилика № 1 в късноантична и средновековна крепост на хълма Хисарлъка в гр. Кюстендил, Археологически открития и разкопки през 2014 г., София 2015, 498–499.

***Grozdanova*, Icon of St. Theodor** = *Grozdanova G.*, Icon of St. Theodor, edd. *S. Goryanova*, *G. Grozdanova*, At the gates of the royal court: treasures of Veliki Preslav, Sofia 2019, 108–109.

***Grujić*, Crkveni elementi krsne slave** = *Грујић Р.*, Црквени елементи крсне славе, ГСНД VII–VIII, 3–4 (1930) 35–75.

***Grumel*, Sisinnius II** = *Grumel V.*, Sisinnius II, Échos d'Orient 35 (1936) 87–96.

***Grünbart*, Die Macht des Historiographen** = *Grünbart M.*, Die Macht des Historiographen – Andronikos (I.) Komnenos und sein Bild, ZRVI 48 (2011) 75–85.

***Gurevich*, Medieval Popular Culture** = *Gurevich A.*, Medieval Popular Culture: Problems of Belief and Perception, trans. *J. M. Bak*, *P. A. Hollingsworth*, Cambridge 1988.

***Gyoni*, Le nom de "Vlahoi"** = *Gyoni M.*, Le nom de "Vlahoi" dans l'Alexiade d'Anne Comnène, BZ 44 (1951) 241–252.

***Gyuzelev*, Notes** = *Gyuzelev V.*, Notes on the history of Bulgaria at the time of Kometopoloi, the Tsars Roman-Simeon, Samuel and their successors (971–1018), Five Etudes on the History of Samuel's Bulgaria, Sofia – Petrič 2024, 51–88.

H

***Hadermann-Misguich*, A propos de la Mauriotissa de Castoria** = *Hadermann-Misguich L.*, A propos de la Mauriotissa de Castoria. Arguments iconographiques pour le maintien de la datation des peintures dans la première moitié du XIII-ème siècle, Studia slavico-byzantina et medievalia europensia I, 1988, Sofia 1989, 143–148.

***Hadermann-Misguich*, Kurbinovo** = *Hadermann-Misguich L.*, Kurbinovo. Les fresques de saint Georges et la peinture Byzantine du XII siècle, Bruxelles 1975.

***Hadžiev – Andreev*, Nadpisi – grafiti** = *Хаджиев К.*, *Андреев Х.*, Надписи – графити от църквата „Свети Георги" при с. Горни Козяк, Щипско (Република Македония), Годишник на Археологическия институт и музей 2 (2002) 347–379.

***Hadžieva Aleksievska – Kasapova*, Arhitekt Andreja Damjanov** = *Хаџиева Алексиевска Ј.*, *Касапова Е.*, Архитект Андреја Дамјанов, Скопје 2001.

***Hadži-Vasiljević*, Sveti Prohor Pčinjski** = *Хаџи-Васиљевић Ј.*, Свети Прохор Пчињски и његов манастир, Годишњица Николе Чупића 20 (1900) 57–116.

Hagia Sophia = Hagia Sophia. The churches of the Wisdom of God around the world, ed. *K. Mygdalis*, Athens 2021.

***Haldon*, Byzantine Wars** = *Haldon F. J.*, The Byzantine Wars: Battles and Campaigns of the Byzantine Era, Gloucestershire 2001.

***Haldon*, Byzantium** = *Haldon J. F.*, Byzantium in the Seventh Century, The transformation of a culture. Revised edition, Cambridge – New York – Melbourne 2003.

***Halkin*, La légende grecque de saint Érasme** = *Halkin F.*, La légende grecque de saint Érasme, AB 101 (1983) 5–17.

***Hallensleben – Hamann-Mac Lean*, Die Monumentalmalerei** = *Hallensleben R.*, *Hamann-Mac Lean H.*, Die Monumentalmalerei in Serbien und Makedonien, vom 11. bis zum fruhen 14. Jahrhundert, Giessen 1963.

***Hamilton*, Church and People** = *Hamilton S.*, Church and People in the Medieval West, 900–1200, London – New York 2013.

***Han*, Problem stila** = *Хан В.*, Проблем стила и датирање рељефне иконе св. Климента Охридског, Зборник Музеја примењене уметности 8 (1962) 7–22.

***Hannick*, Cheminements** = *Hannick Ch.*, Les cheminements de l'Église bulgare vers une émancipation et une autocéphalie face au patriarcat de Constantinople avant la période ottomane, edd. *M.-H. Blanchet*, *F. Gabriel*, *L. Tatarenko*, Autocéphalies. L'exercice de l'indépendance dans les Églises slaves orientales: (IXe–XXIe siècle), Rome 2021, 121–137.

***Harrison*, Political rhetoric** = *Harrison D.*, Political rhetoric and political ideology in Lombard Italy, edd. *W. Pohl*, *H. Reimitz*, Strategies of distinction. The construction of ethnic communities, 300–800, Leiden – Boston – Köln 1998, 241–254.

***Harvey*, Economic Expansion** = *Harvey A.*, Economic expansion in the Byzantine Empire 900–1200, Cambridge 1989.

***Harvey*, Financial Crisis** = *Harvey A.*, Financial Crisis and the Rural Economy, edd. *M. Mullett*, *D. Smythe*, Alexios I Komnenos, Belfast 1996, 167–184

***Harvey*, The Land and Taxation** = *Harvey A.*, The Land and Taxation in the Reign of Alexios I Komnenos: The Evidence of Theophylact of Ochrid, REB 51 (1993) 120–142.

***Havlíková*, Žena** = *Havlíková, L.*, Středověké slovanské právo a žena (Žena v právním systému velkomoravské společnosti), BS I (2006) 175–207.

***Heher*, Dyrrhachion** = *Heher D.*, Dyrrhachion/Durrës – an Adriatic Sea Gateway between East and West, edd. *F. Daim*, *Ch. Gastgeber*, *D. Heher*, *Cl. Rapp*, Menschen, Bilder, Sprache, Dinge. Wege der Kommunikation, Tl. 2, Byzanz zwischen Orient und Okzident, 9/2, Mainz 2018, 171–192 (in open access Heidelberg: Propyläen)

Heilige Berge und Wüsten = Heilige Berge und Wüsten. Byzanz und sein Umfeld. Referate auf dem 21. Internationalen Kongress für Byzantinistik, London 21.–26. August 2006, ed. *P. Soustal*, Wien 2009.

***Heith–Stade*, Marriage in the canons** = *Heith–Stade D.*, Marriage in the canons of the council in Trullo, Studia Theologica 64 (2010) 4–21.

***Henning (ed.)*, Post-Roman Towns** = Post-Roman Towns, Trade, and Settlement in Europe and Byzantium, vol. 2, Byzantium, Pliska and the Balkans, ed. *J. Henning*, Berlin – New York 2007.

***Herman*, Il più antico penitenziale greco** = *Herman E.*, Il più antico penitenziale greco, OCP 19 (1953) 71–127.

***Hernandez–Hodges*, Beyond Butrint** = *Hernandez D.*, *Hodges*, *R.*, Beyond Butrint: Dominion, Territory, Environment and the Corrupting Sea, edd. *R. Hodges*, *D. Hernandez*, Butrint 7. Beyond Butrint: Kalivo, Mursi, Çuka e Aitoit, Diaporit and the Vrina Plain. Surveys and Excavations in the Pavllas River Valley, Albania, 1928–2015, Oxford 2020, 292–309.

***Herrin*, Hellas and Peloponnesos** = *Herrin J.*, Realities of Byzantine provincial government: Hellas and Peloponnesos: 1180–1205, DOP 29 (1975) 253–284.

***Hirschfeld*, The Judean Desert Monasteries** = *Hirschfeld Y.*, The Judean Desert Monasteries in the Byzantine Period, New Haven 1992.

***Hobdari*, Ambonët** = *Hobdari E.*, Ambonët e kishave të Shqipërisë, Iliria 33 (2007) 325–350.

***Hobdari*, Propozim anastiloze** = *Hobdari E.*, Propozim anastiloze për kangjellën e bazilika mesjetare të Shën Janit (Blerimas, Delvinë), Monumentet 57 (2018) 115–128.

***Hobdari*, Skulptura** = *Hobdari E.*, Skulptura dhe instalimet liturgjike në kishën e Shën Mërisë në Peshkëpi të Sipërme (Gjirokastër), La sculpture et les installations liturgiques de l'église Sainte-Marie à Peshkëpi e Sipërme (Gjirokastër), Iliria 34 (2009–2010) 331–363.

***Hoddinott*, Politics** = *Hoddinott R. F.*, Politics, Liturgy, and Architecture in Bulgaria during the Second Half of the Ninth Century, ed. *N. Χατζηκυριάκος-Γκίκας*, Αρμός. Τιμητικός Τόμος στον Καθηγητή Ν. Κ. Μουτσόπουλο για τα 25 χρόνια πνευματικής του προσφοράς στο Πανεπιστήμιο, vol. 2, Θεσσαλονίκη 1991, 787–804.

***Hodges*, A 'god-guarded' city?** = *Hodges*, *R.*, A 'god-guarded' city? The 'new' medieval town of Butrint, BMGS 39/2 (2015) 191–218.

***Hodges*, Butrint's northern frontier** = *Hodges R.*, Butrint's northern frontier in the eleventh century? The Dema Wall, Annual of the British School at Athens 108 (2013) 323–327.

***Holland*, Travell** = *Holland H.*, Travell in the Jonian Isles, Albania, Thesaly and Macedonia during the years 1811–1813, London 1815.

***Holmes*, Basil II** = *Holmes C.*, Basil II and the Governance of Empire (976–1025), Oxford 2005.

***Hrissimov*, Slavic Tribes** = *Hrissimov N.*, Some Questions about the Slavic Tribes that participated in the Anti-Bulgarian Uprisings along the Mid-Danube in the First Decades of the 9th Century, Studia Ceranea 12 (2022) 465–489.

***Hristov*, Prisoners of war** = *Hristov Y. M.*, Prisoners of War in Early Medieval Bulgaria (preliminary remarks), Studia Ceranea 5 (2015) 73–105.

***Hristova-Trifonova*, Zemen Monastery** = *Hristova-Trifonova M.*, Zemen Monastery, Sofia 2003.

***Hristovski-Srna*, Arheološkiot lokalitet** = *Христовски-Срна Н.*, Археолошкиот локалитет „Јени џамија" – Битола, Патримониум. МК 22 (2024) 145–161.

***Hubert*, Les „Cathédrales doubles"** = *Hubert J.*, Les „Cathédrales doubles" et l'histoire de la liturgique. – Art et vie sociale de la fin du monde antique au Moyen âge, Genéve 1977.

***Hupchick*, The Bulgarian-Byzantine Wars** = *Hupchick D. P.*, The Bulgarian-Byzantine Wars for Early Medieval Balkan Hegemony: Silver-Lined Skulls and Blinded Armies, Cham 2017.

***Hutter*, Corpus I** = *Hutter I.*, Corpus der byzantinischen Miniaturenhandschriften. Oxford. Bodleian Library I, Stuttgart 1977.

I

***Ilić*, Crkva Bogorodice** = *Илић Ј.*, Црква Богородице у Бистрици – Вољавац, ЗМСЛУ 6 (1970) 201–218.

***Ilić*, Prilog funkciji pretora** = *Илић Т.*, Правноисторијски прилог функцији претора у Византији, ZRVI 60/2 (2023) 695–720.

***Ilić*, Reconsidering the 1095 Novella** = *Ilić T.*, Reconsidering the 1095 novella of Alexios I Komenenos: A testimony to the Byzantinization of the Slavic population, ZRVI 61 (2024) 103–123.

***Ilić*, Three Novellae of Alexius I Comnenus** = *Ilić T.*, Three Novellae of Alexius I Comnenus in the Nomocanon of Saint Sava, Вестник Волгоградского государственного университета. Серия 4. История. Регионоведение. Международные отношения 29 (6) 264–275.

***Ilić – Šijaković*, Pismo** = *Илић Т.*, *Шијаковић Ј.*, Писмо Св. Евстатија Солунског о ослобађању робова, edd. *Т. Илић*, *М. Божић*, ΝΟΜΟΦΥΛΑΞ. Зборник радова у част Срђана Шаркића, Београд 2020, 129–165.

***Iliev*, Devolskoto središte** = *Илиев И.*, Деволското книжовно и литературно средище от края на IX до началото на XII век – от свети Климент до Михаил Деволски, edd. *Г. Н. Николов*, *В. Гюзелев*, Европейският югоизток през втората половина X – началото на XI век. История и култура, София 2015, 552–567.

***Iliev*, Edin prenebregvan izvor** = *Илиев И.*, Един пренебрегван извор за началото на християнството в българските земи. Кратко житие на св. Климент Охридски от Димитър Хоматиан, архиепископ на „цяла България", edd. *Г. Н. Николов*, *А. Николов*, Българско средновековие: общество, власт, история. Сборник в чест на проф. д-р Милияна Каймакамова, София 2013, 45–60.

***Iliev*, First Two Centuries** = *Iliev I.*, The First Two Centuries of the Archbischopric of Ohrid, edd. *V. Gjuzelev*, *K. Petkov*, State and Church: Studies in Medieval Bulgaria and Byzantium, Sofia 2011, 237–259.

***Iliev*, La mission de Clément** = *Iliev I.*, La mission de Clément d'Ohrid dans les terres sud-ouest de la Bulgarie médiévale, Études historiques 13 (1985) 53–72.

***Iliev*, Ohridskijat arhiepiskop** = *Илиев И.*, Охридският архиепископ Димитър Хоматиан и Българите, София 2010.

***Iliev*, Sv. Kliment Ohridski** = *Илиев И.*, Св. Климент Охридски. Живот и дело, Пловдив 2010.

***Iliev*, The Long Life of Saint Clement** = *Iliev I.*, The Long Life of Saint Clement of Ohrid. A Critical Edition, Byzantinobulgarica 9 (1995) 2–120.

***Iliev*, Za Kratkoto žitie** = *Илиев И.*, За Краткото житие на св. Климент Охридски, Кирило-Методиевски студии 18 (2009) 81–91.

***Ilieva*, Njakoi danni ot restavracijata** = *Илиева Б.*, Някои данни от реставрацията на стенописите в Земенския манастир, Музеи и паметници на културата 3 (1973) 66–67.

***Ilieva*, Hristijanski nadgrobija** = *Илиева Б.*, Християнски надгробия от Плиска, Преславска книжовна школа 9 (2006) 368–380.

***Ilievski*, Grafitite** = *Илиевски П.*, Графитите врз градежен материјал од црквите во Крупиште и Баргала, Старохристијанска археологија во Македонија, Скопје 2003, 41–57.

***Illaš*, Kostol č. IX v Mikulčiach** = *Illaš M.*, Kostol č. IX v Mikulčiach (tzv. štvorapsidova rotunda), Konštantinove listy 6 (2013) 10–45.

***Illaš*, Štyri predromanske rotundy** = *Illaš M.*, Štyri predromanske rotundy, Moravsky historicky sbornik. Ročenka Moravskeho narodniho kongresu 2006–2011, Brno 2011, 644–693.

Istorija na bŭlgarskata srednovekovna literatura = История на българската средновековна литература, съставител: *А. Милтенова*, автори: *А. Ангушева*, *Д. Атанасова*, *А. Бояджиев*, *Н. Гагова*, *М. Димитрова*, *М. Йовчева*, *А. Милтенова*, *Т. Славова*, *А. Стойкова*, *Л. Тасева*, София 2009.

Ivanišević, Caričin Grad (Justiniana Prima)* = *Ivanišević V., Caričin Grad (Justiniana Prima): A New-Discovered City for a 'New' Society, ed. *S. Marjanović-Dušanić*, Proceedings of the 23rd International Congress of Byzantine Studies, Belgrade, 22–27 August 2016, Plenary papers, Belgrade 2016, 107–126.

***Ivanišević*, Interpretation** = *Ivanišević V.*, Interpretation and Dating of the Folles of Basil II and Constantine VIII – The Class A2, ZRVI 27–28 (1989) 19–42.

***Ivanišević – Bugarski*, Post-antique settlement patterns** = *Ivanišević V.*, *Bugarski I.*, Post-antique settlement patterns in the central Balkans: use of Justinianic landscape in the early middle ages, edd. *S. Gelichi*, *L. Olmo Enciso*, Mediterranean landscapes in post antiquity. New frontier and new perspectives, Oxford 2019, 7–17.

***Ivanišević – Bugarski*, Primena *LiDAR* tehnologije** = *Иванишевић В.*, *Буīарски И.*, Примена *LiDAR* технологије у анализи топографије Маргума/Мораве и Кулича, Старинар 62 (2012) 239–255.

***Ivanov*, Bŭlgarski starini** = *Иванов Й.*, Български старини изъ Македония, София 1908.

***Ivanov*, Samuilovata stolica v Prŭespa** = *Иванов Й.*, Самуиловата столица в Пръеспа, Извѣстия на Българското археологическо дружество, т. I, София 1910, 55–80.

***Ivanov*, Byzantium and the Slavs** = *Ivanov S. A.*, Byzantium and the Slavs, ed. *D. Sakel*, Byzantine Culture. Papers from the Conference 'Byzantine Days of Istanbul', Ankara 2014, 207–215.

***Ivanov*, "Pearls before Swine"** = *Ivanov S. A.*, "Pearls before Swine": Missionary work in Byzantium, Paris 2015.

***Ivanova*, Bibliotheca Hagiographica Balcano-Slavica** = *Иванова К.*, Bibliotheca Hagiographica Balcano-Slavica, София 2008.

***Ivanova*, Dve neizvestni starobŭlgarski žitija** = *Ivanova K.*, Две неизвестни старобългарски жития, Литературна история 1 (1977) 57–65.

***Ivanova*, Naj-staroto žitie** = *Иванова К.*, Най-старото житие на св. Иван Рилски и някои негови литературни паралели, Медиевистика и културна антропология. Сборник в чест на 40 годишната творческа дейност на проф. Донка Петканова, София 1998, 37–47.

***Ivanova*, Neizvestna srŭbska služba** = *Иванова К.*, Неизвестна сръбска служба за св. Ахил Лариски (Преспански), SBL 31 (1999) 24–40.

***Ivanova*, Služba na sv. Ahil** = *Иванова К.*, Служба на св. Ахил Лариски (Преспански) от синайския празничен миней Но 25, РВ 15/4 (1991) 11–22.

***Ivanova*, Stara bŭlgarska literatura IV** = Стара българска литература. Т. 4: Житиеписни творби, ed. *К. Иванова*, София, 1986.

***Ivanova*, Vŭzpjavam te, otče Ahilie** = *Иванова К.*, Възпявам те, отче Ахилие, на архиереите украса, Археографски прилози 24 (2002) 143–176.

***Ivanova – Češmedžiev – Ševčenko*, Kliment Ohridskij** = *Иванова К., Чешмеджиев Д., Шевченко Э. В.*, Климент Охридский, ПЕ 35, Москва 2014, 663–676.

***Ivanova – Češmedžiev – Turilov*, Ioann Ril'skij** = *Иванова К., Чешмеджиев Д., Турилов А. А.*, Иоанн Рильский, ПЕ 24, Москва 2010, 585–598.

***Ivanova*, Inventing Slavonic** = *Ivanova M.*, Inventing Slavonic. Cultures of Writing between Rome and Constantinople, Oxford 2024.

***Ivanova*, Seeing like a church** = *Ivanova M.*, Seeing like a church: the politics of Theophylact of Ohrid's Fifteen martyrs of Tiberioupolis, edd. *Ph. Booth*, *M. Whitby*, Mélanges James Howard-Johnston, Paris 2022, 675–695.

***Ivanova*, Proučvanija na cŭrkvata Gebe klise** = *Иванова В.*, Проучвания на църквата Гебе клисе, Годишникъ на Народния музей 5 (1926–1931) 229–232.

***Ivanova-Konstantinova*, Neizvestni služби na Ivan Rilski** = *Иванова–Константинова К.*, Неизвестни служби на Иван Рилски и Михаил Воин, Известия на Института за български език 22 (1973) 127–158.

***Ivanova-Mavrodinova*, Razkopki na Avradaka** = *Иванова-Мавродинова В.*, Разкопки на Аврадака в Преслав, Разкопки и проучвания III (1948) 13–64.

***Ivanović*, Konzervatorski radovi** = *Ивановић М.*, Конзерваторски радови на Косову и Метохији 1959–1961. године, ЗЗСК 13 (1962) 205–208.

***Ivanović*, Srednjovekovni spomenici** = *Ивановић М.*, Средњовековни споменици, Косово некад и данас, Београд 1973.

***Ivanovska-Velkoska*, Sondažni arheološki istražuvanja** = *Ивановска-Велкоска С.*, Сондажни археолошки истражувања во дворот на црквата св. Ѓорѓи во Старо Нагоричане, Археолошки информатор 2 (2018) 154–163.

***Ivanovska-Velkoska*, Staro Nagoričane** = *Ивановска Велкоска С.*, Сондажни археолошки истражувања во дворот на црквата Св. Ѓорѓи во Старо Нагоричане, Археолошки Информатор 2 (2018) 143–153.

***Ivanovŭ*, Žitija** = *Ивановъ Й.*, Жития на св. Ивана Рилски съ уводни бележки, София 1936.

J

***Jagić*, Euchologium** = *Jagić V.*, Euchologium. Glagolski spomenik manastira Sinai-brda, izdao dr. L. Geitler u Zagrebu 1882, Archiv für slavische Philologie 7 (1884) 126–133.

***Jagić*, Opisi i izvodi** = *Jagić V.*, Opisi i izvodi iz nekoliko južnoslovenskih rukopisa, Starine V, Zagreb 1873.

***Jakimovska-Tošić*, Sveti Joakim Osogovski** = *Јакимовска-Тошиќ, М.*, Свети Јоаким Осоговски, Скопје 1997.

***Jameson*, The Responsa and Letters** = *Jameson A. G.*, The Responsa and Letters of Demetrios Chomatianos, Archbishop of Achrida and Bulgaria: A Study in Byzantine Legal and Economic History of the Thirteenth Century, Hardvard 1957.

***Janakievski*, Ubikacija na srednovekovna Bitola** = *Јанакиевски Т.*, Убикација на средновековна Битола, Битола 2003.

***Janin*, La géographie ecclésiastique I–III** = *Janin R.*, La géographie ecclésiastique de l'Empire byzantin. Première partie, Le siège de Constantinople et le patriarcat oecuménique. Tome I–III, Les églises et les monastères, Paris 1969[2].

***Jankov*, Srednovekovnite kamenni relefi** = *Янков Д.*, Средновековните каменни релефи от Стара Загора, Везни 8 (2001) 85–88.

***Janković*, Gamzigrad** = *Јанковић Ђ.*, Гамзиград у средњем веку, ed. *И. Поповић*, Felix Romuliana – Гамзиград, Београд 2010, 201–212.

***Janković*, Srpsko Pomorje** = *Јанковић Ђ.*, Српско Поморје од 7. до 10. столећа, Београд, 2007.

***Janković*, Episkopije i mitropolije** = *Јанковић М.*, Епископије и митрополије српске цркве у средњем веку, Београд 1985.

***Janković*, Lipljanska episkopija** = *Јанковић М.*, Липљанска епископија и Грачаничка митрополија, ИЧ 29–30 (1982–1983) 27–37.

***Janković*, Srednjovekovno naselje** = *Јанковић М.*, Средњовековно насеље на Великом Градцу у X–XI веку, Београд 1981.

***Jeay*, Rites of Passage** = *Jeay M.*, Rites of Passage, edd. *C. Lindahl*, *J. McNamara*, *J. Lindow*, Medieval Folklore: A Guide to Myths, Legends, Tales, Beliefs, and Customs, Oxford – New York 2002, 343–345.

***Jęczmienowski*, Fortifications** = *Jęczmienowski E.*, The Fortifications of the Upper Moesian Limes. Topography, Forms, Garrison Sizes, Światowit: Annual of the institute of archaeology of the university of Warsaw 10 (2012) 31–57.

***Jeffreys*, Manuel Komnenos' Macedonian Military Camps** = *Jeffreys M. J.*, Manuel Komnenos' Macedonian Military Camps: A Glamorous Alternative Court?, edd. *J. Burke*, *R. D. Scott*, Byzantine Macedonia. Identity, Image and History, Leiden 2000, 184–191.

***Jeremić*, Rimski i ranovizantijski grad** = *Јеремић Г.*, Римски и рановизантијски град Улпијана (Iustiniana Secunda), edd. *В. Бикић*, *Ј. Шарић*, Mnemosynon firmitatis. Седамдесет година Археолошког института (1947–2017), Београд 2017, 138–139.

***Jevtić*, Reuse and Remodeling** = *Jevtić I.*, Reuse and Remodeling in Late Byzantine World: The Church of Bogorodica Ljeviška in Prizen, edd. *I. Jevtić*, *I. Nilsson*, Spoliation as Translation: Medieval Worlds in the Eastern Mediterranean, (Convivium Supplementum), Turnhout 2021, 132–155.

***Jireček*, Das christliche Element** = *Jireček C.*, Das christliche Element in der topographischen Nomenclatur der Balkanländer, Wien 1897.

***Jire*ček, Vojna cesta od Beograda** = *Јиречек К.*, Војна цеста од Београда за Цариград, Зборник Константина Јиречека 1, Београд 1959, 71–190.

***Jolivet-Lévy*, La Cappadoce médiévale** = *Jolivet-Lévy C.*, La Cappadoce médiévale. Images et spiritualité, Paris 2001.

***Jolivet-Lévy*, Les églises byzantines de Cappadoce** = *Jolivet-Lévy C.*, Les églises byzantines de Cappadoce. Le programme iconographique de l'abside et de ses abords, Paris 1991.

***Jordanov*, Corpus** = *Jordanov I.*, Corpus of Byzantine Seals from Bulgaria, I: Byzantine Seals with Geographical Names; II: Byzantine Seals with Family Names; III: Text and Illustrations, Sofia 2003, 2006, 2009.

***Jordanov*, Imeto na Preslav** = *Йорданов И.*, Името на Преслав в писмените източници, Плиска – Преслав 7 (1995) 71–81.

***Jordanov*, Kharakter na monetnata tsirculatsiia** = *Йорданов И.*, Характер на монетната циркулация в средновековните български столици Преслав и Търново, Средновековният български град, София 1980, 229–239.

***Jordanov*, Moneti i monetno obrastenie** = *Йорданов И.*, Монети и монетно обръщение в Източна България от периода 1081–1261 г., София 1978.

***Jordanov*, Nish** = *Jordanov I.*, Nish XI–II c., According Byzantine Sigillography, ed. *M. Ракоција*, Ниш и Византија 7, Ниш 2008, 175–187.

***Jordanov*, Pečati i moneti ot Goljamata bazilika** = *Йорданов Ив.*, Печати и монети от Голямата базилика, ed. *П. Георгиев*, *Ст.Витлянов*, Архиепископията-манастир в Плиска, София 2001, 219–227.

***Jordanov*, Pečati na episkopi** = *Йорданов И.*, Печати на епископи от архиепископия България (XI–XII в.), ВМ 6 (2015) 103–121.

***Jordanov*, Pečatite** = *Йорданов И.*, Печатите от стратегията в Преслав (971–1088), София 1993.

***Jordanov*, Preslav** = *Jordanov I.*, Preslav, ed. *A. Laiou*, The economic history of Byzantium from the seventh through the fifteenth century, vol II, Washington, D. C. 2002, 667–671.

***Josifova*, Triizmerna obemno-prostranstvena rekonstrukcija** = *Йосифова Г.*, Триизмерна обемно-пространствена реконструкция на храмовите базиликални постройки от Преслав, Плиска – Преслав 13 (2018) 259–277.

***Jotov*, Arheologičeski prinosi kŭm istorijata na Varna** = *Йотов В.*, Археологически приноси към историята на Варна през средновековието (1), Acta Musei Varnaensis II (2004) 312–342.

***Jovanova*, Skupi** = *Јованова Л.*, Скупи – сектор југоисточен бедем, културна стратиграфија (2008–2010), МАА 21 (2019) 285–322.

***Jovanović*, Stare crkve** = *Јовановић К.*, Старе цркве у Мојсињу, Старинар 2 (1907) 149–165.

***Jovanović*, Arheološka istraživanja y 1968. godini** = *Јовановић М.*, Археолошка истраживања у 1968. години, Врањски гласник 4 (1968) 495–520.

***Jovanović*, O Vodoči i Veljusi** = *Јовановић М.*, О Водочи и Вељуси после конзерваторских радова, Зборник за Штипскиот народен музеј 1 (1958–1959) 125–135.

***Jovanović*, Arheološka istraživanja** = *Јовановић В.* С., Археолошка истраживања средњовековних споменика и налазишта на Косову, ed. *П. Ивић*, Зборник Округлог стола о научном истраживању Косова, Београд 1988, 17–66.

***Jovanović*, Srednjovekovni grad Zvečan** = *Јовановић В.*, Средњовековни град Звечан, Старинар 13–14 (1962–1963) 137–150.

***Jovanović-Stipčević*, O zimama i koledama** = *Јовановић-Стипчевић Б.*, О зимама и коледама у Зборнику попа Драгоља, Археографски прилози 2 (1980) 153–174.

***Jurukova*, Numizmatični i sfragistični pametnici** = *Юрукова Й.*, Нумизматични и сфрагистични паметници (867–1195/1203 г.), Перник. II. Крепостта Перник VIII–XIV в., София 1983, 120–170.

K

***Kabouridoy – Koutsianoy – Tsampouras*, Ta Byzantina Serbia** = *Καβουρίδου Γ.*, *Κούτσιανου Σ.*, *Τσάμπουρας Θ.*, Τα Βυζαντινά Σέρβια: ένας οδηγός περιήγησης του αρχαιολογικού χώρου, Αιανή 2023.

***Kajmakamova*, Foundation of the Bulgarian State** = *Kaimakamova M.*, The foundation of the Bulgarian state in Bulgarian Medieval historiography, edd. *V. Gjuzelev*, *K. Petkov*, State and Church: Studies in Medieval Bulgaria and Byzantium, Sofia 2011, 101–128.

***Kajmakamova*, Immenik** = *Каймакамова М.*, „Имменик на българските ханове" – начало на българското летописно творчество, Родина 1–2 (1997) 7–44.

***Kajmakamova*, Predstavata za grad Vidin** = *Каймакамова М.*, Представата за град Видин в средновековната българската книжнина, ВМ 6 (2015) 395–410.

***Kakabas – Drosou*, Anaskaphikes ergasies** = *Κακαβάς Γ.*, *Δρόσου Κ.*, Ανασκαφικές εργασίες και μελέτη αναστήλωσης στην Βυζαντινή οχύρωση της Καστοριάς στην πλατεία Κουμπελίδικης, ΑΕΜΘ 8 (1994) 1–16.

***Kaldellis*, Ethnography** = *Kaldellis A.*, Ethnography after Antiquity. Foreign Lands and Peoples in Byzantine Literature, Philadelphia 2013.

***Kaldellis*, Provincial Identities** = *Kaldellis A.*, Provincial Identities in Byzantium, edd. *M. Stewart et al.*, The Routledge Handbook on Identity in Byzantium, London – New York 2022, 248–262.

***Kaldellis*, Romanland** = *Kaldellis A.*, Romanland, Ethnicity and empire in Byzantium, Cambridge 2019.

***Kalić*, „Gradac" u Valjevu** = *Калић Ј.*, „Градац" у Ваљеву, ed. *С. Бранковић*, Ваљево: постанак и успон градског средишта. Саопштења са научног скупа поводом шест векова од најстаријег помена Ваљева у историјским изворима, одржаног 8–10. октобра 1993. године у Ваљеву, Ваљево – Београд 1994, 11–22.

***Kalić*, Beograd** = *Калић Ј.*, Београд у средњем веку, Београд 1967.

***Kalić*, Crkvene prilike** = *Калић Ј.*, Црквене прилике у српским земљама до стварања архиепископије 1219. године, ed. *Т. Живковић*, Европа и Срби. Средњи век, Београд 2006, 113–153.

***Kalić*, Episkopski gradovi** = *Калић Ј.*, Епископски градови Србије у средњем веку, ZRVI 50/1 (2013) 433–447.

***Kalić*, Oblast Smilis** = *Калић Ј.*, Област Смилис у XII веку, ZRVI 14/15 (1973) 29–39.

***Kalić*, Prokopijeva ARSA** = *Калић Ј.*, Прокопијева АРΣА, ZRVI 27/28 (1989) 9–17.

***Kalić*, Srpska država** = *Калић Ј.*, Српска држава и Охридска архиепископија у XII веку, ZRVI 44 (2007) 197–208.

***Kalić*, Srpski veliki župani** = *Калић Ј.*, Српски велики жупани у борби с Византијом, ed. *С. Ћирковић*, Историја српског народа I, Београд 1981, 197–212.

***Kalopissi-Verti*, Aspects of Byzantine art** = *Kalopissi-Verti S.*, Aspects of Byzantine art after the recapture of Constantinople (1261–c. 1300): reflections of imperial policy, reactions, confrontation with the Latins, edd. *J.-P. Caillet*, *F. Joubert*, Orient et occident méditerranéens au XIII^{e} siècle, Paris 2012, 41–64.

***Kalopissi-Verti*, Dedicatory Inscriptions** = *Kalopissi-Verti S.*, Dedicatory Inscriptions and Donor Portraits in Thirteenth Century Churches of Greece, Wien 1992.

***Kalopissi-Verti*, Patronage** = *Kalopissi-Verti S.*, Patronage of Religious Foundations in Middle Byzantine Greece (867–1204): The Evidence of Inscriptions and Donor Portraits, edd. *A. Dunn*, *B. McLaughlin*, Byzantine Greece: Microcosm of Empire. Papers from the Forty-Sixth Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies, London – New York 2024, 227–253.

***Kandaraševa*, Nekotorye ikonografičeskie problemy** = *Кандарашева И.*, Некоторые иконографические проблемы второй росписи церкви Св. Георгия в Софии, Древнерусское изкуство, Русь и страны византийского мира XII век, Санкт-Петербург 2002, 76–85.

***Kandaraševa*, Stenopisite** = *Кандарашева И.*, Стенописите от първия живописен слой в църквата „Св. Георги“ в София, РВ XIX/4 (1995) 94–113.

***Kandić*, Arhitektura** = *Канђић О.*, Архитектура цркве Стара Павлица, Саопштења 48 (2016) 261–274.

***Kandić*, Fonts for the Blessing of the Waters** = *Kandić O.*, Fonts for the Blessing of the Waters in Serbian Medieval Churches, Зограф 27 (1998–1999) 61–78.

***Kandić*, Kule-zvonici** = *Канђић О.*, Куле-звоници уз српске цркве XII–XIV века, ЗМСЛУ 14 (1978) 3–75.

***Kandić*, Oblik** = *Канђић О.*, Облик камене олтарске преграде Богородичине цркве у Студеници, ed. *В. Корać*, Студеница и византијска уметност око 1200. године, Београд 1988, 141–152.

***Kanev*, Awarding** = *Kanev N.*, Emperor Basil II and the Awarding of Byzantine Honorific Titles to Bulgarians in the Course of the Conquest of Bulgaria (976–1018), Studia Ceranea 9 (2019) 455–473.

***Kaplan*, Retour sur le dossier** = *Kaplan M.*, Retour sur le dossier du monastère de la Théotokos Éléousa à Stroumitza, ZRVI 50 (2013) 479–492.

***Kappas*, Experimenting in domed constructions** = *Kappas M.*, Experimenting in domed constructions: Ecclesiastical Architecture in Greece during the transitional period, ed. *S. Feist*, Transforming Sacred Spaces: New Approaches to Byzantine Ecclesiastical Architecture from the Transitional Period. Proceedings of the International Colloquium held at the Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität, München 2020, 95–128.

***Karagiannē*, Ē thesi tou episkopikou naou** = *Καραγιάννη Φ.*, Η θέση του επισκοπικού ναού στη βυζαντινή πόλη, edd. *Ι. Βαραλής, Φ. Καραγιάννη*, Κτίτωρ. Αφιέρωμα στον Δάσκαλο Γεώργιο Βελένη, Θεσσαλονίκη 2017, 155–164.

***Karagiannē*, Episkopikoi naoi** = *Καραγιάννη Φ.*, Επισκοπικοί ναοί της Μέσης Βυζαντινής περιόδου. Το παράδειγμα της Μακεδονίας, Θεσσαλονίκη 2006 (unpublished PhD dissertation).

***Karagiannē*, Oi byzantinoi oikismoi stē Makedonia** = *Καραγιάννη Φ. Γ.*, Οι βυζαντινοί οικισμοί στη Μακεδονία μέσα από τα αρχαιολογικά δεδομένα (4ος–15ος αιώνας), Θεσσαλονίκη 2010.

***Karagiōrgou*, O agios Achillios** = *Καραγιώργου Ὀ.*, Ὁ ἅγιος Ἀχίλλιος καὶ ἡ Λάρισα τῆς Ὑστερης Ἀρχαιότητας: ἁγιολογικὲς καὶ ἀρχαιολογικὲς μαρτυρίες (Πρόταση γιὰ μιὰ διαφορετικὴ ἀνάγνωση), edd. *Β. Κατσαρός, Ἀ. Τούρτα*, Ἀφιέρωμα στὸν Ἀκαδημαϊκὸ Παναγιώτη Λ. Βοκοτόπουλο, Ἀθήνα 2015, 233–246.

***Karaiskaj – Lera*, Fortifikimet** = *Karaiskaj G., Lera P.*, Fortifikimet e vona antike në Rrethin e Korçës, (Fortifications de la basse antiquité dans le district de Korçës), Monumentet 7–8 (1974) 91–101.

***Karlin-Hayter*, Passio of the XL Martyrs of Sebasteia** = *Karlin-Hayter P.*, Passio of the XL Martyrs of Sebasteia: The Greek Tradition: The Earliest Account (BHG 1201), AB 109/3–4 (1991) 249–304.

***Karpozilos*, Ecclesiastical Controversy** = *Karpozilos, A.*, The Ecclesiastical Controversy between the Kingdom of Nicaea and the Principality of Epiros (1217–1233), Athens 1973.

***Karpozelos*, Realia** = *Karpozelos A.*, Realia in Byzantine Epistolography X–XIIc, BZ 77 (1984) 20–37.

***Kasapova*, Dogradbite** = *Касапова Е.*, Доградбите на светиклиментовата црква на Плаошник како одговор на современите текови во доцновизантиската архитектура, ed. *Б. Ристовски*, Милениумското зрачење на свети Климент Охридски: Меѓународен научен собир, Скопје, 28–29 октомври 2017 година, Скопје 2017, 379–386.

***Katerelos*, Die Auflösung der Ehe** = *Katerelos E.*, Die Auflösung der Ehe bei Demetrios Chomatianos und Johannes Apokaukos: Ein Beitrag zur byzantinischen Rechtsgeschichte des 13. Jahrhunderts, Frankfurt am Main 1992.

***Katić*, Divičmeđ** = *Катић В.*, Дивичмеђ – раносредњовековно насеље утврђење или град, Гласник Српског археолошког друштва 19 (2003) 197–220.

***Katsikis*, Phrourio** = *Κατσίκης Κ.*, Ο ζωγραφικός διάκοσμος του Αγίου Δημητρίου στο χωριό Φρούριο του Νομού Κοζάνης, ZRVI 44/2 (2007) 601–611.

***Katsoni*, Merikes paratērēseis** = *Κατσώνη Π.*, Μερικές παρατηρήσεις στον μεσαιωνικό οικισμό της Πέτρας Πιερίας, Η Πιερία στα Βυζαντινά και στα Νεότερα Χρόνια, Πρακτικά 4ου Επιστημονικού Συνεδρίου, Κατερίνη 2014, 37–45.

***Kaymakamova*, The Cult of the Bulgarian Tsar Peter** = *Kaymakamova M.*, The Cult of the Bulgarian Tsar Peter (927–969) and the Driving Ideas of the Bulgarian Liberation Uprisings against the Byzantine Rule in the 11th–12th Century, edd. *M. J. Leszka, K. Marinow*, The Bulgarian State in 927–969. The Epoch of Tsar Peter I, Łodź 2018, 457–478.

***Kazhdan – Ronchey*, L'aristocrazia bizantina** = *Kazhdan A.P., Ronchey S.*, L'aristocrazia bizantina dal principio dell'XI alla fine del XII secolo, Palermo 1997.

***Kepeska*, Nekolku krstovi-privrzoci** = *Кепеска Л.*, Неколку крстови-приврзоци од Прилепско, МАА 16 (2005) 283–290.

***Kepeska*, Novi naodi** = *Кепеска Л.*, Нови наоди од Трпчева Црква, МАА 14 (1996) 213–224.

***Kepeska*, Slovenska nekropola** = *Кепеска Л.*, Словенска некропола кај с. Дуње – Мариово, МАА 13 (1993) 245–252.

***Kepeska*, Trpčeva crkva** = *Кепеска Л.*, Трпчева Црква: средновековна некропола, Прилеп 2008.

***Kepeska*, Zadna Reka – Grmajte** = *Кепеска Л.*, Задна Река – Грмајте, средновековна некропола, Прилеп 1995.

***Keramopoullou*, Volustana** = *Κεραμοπούλλου Α.*, Volustana – Βάλλας στενά, Πρακτικά τῆς Ἀκαδημίας Αθηνών 6 (1931) 314–318.

***Kiapidou*, Critical Remarks** = *Kiapidou E-S.*, Critical Remarks on Theophylact of Ohrid's Martyrdom of the Fifteen Martyrs of Tiberiopolis: The Editorial Adventure of a Text from the Middle Ages, Parekbolai 2 (2012) 27–47.

***Kiapidou*, Oi pēges** = *Kiapidou E.-S.*, Οι πηγές του Θεοφυλάκτου Αχρίδος για το Μαρτύριον τῶν ἁγίων ἐνδόξων ἱερομαρτύρων ΙΕ΄ τῶν ἐν Τιβεριουπόλει μαρτυρησάντων ἐπὶ τῆς βασιλείας τοῦ δυσσεβοῦς Ἰουλιανοῦ τοῦ Παραβάτου. Βυζαντιακά 27 (2008) 13–46.

***Kiapidou*, Theophylact** = *Kiapidou E-S.*, Theophylact of Ohrid's "Vita of Clement of Ohrid and the Martyrdom of the Fifteen Martyrs of Tiberiopolis", edd. *A. Alexakis, D. S. Georgakopoulos*, Kalligraphos – Essays on Byzantine Language, Literature and Palaeography, Berlin – Boston 2023, 69–76.

***Kiousopoulou*, O thesmos tēs oikogeneias** = *Κιουσοπούλου Τ.*, Ο θεσμός της οικογένειας στην Ήπειρο κατά τον 13ο αιώνα, Αθήνα 1990.

***Kirin*, Contemplating the Vistas of Piety** = *Kirin A.*, Contemplating the Vistas of Piety at the Rila Monastery Pyrgos, DOP 59 (2005) 95–138.

***Kirin*, The Rotunda of St. George** = *Kirin A.*, The Rotunda of St. George and Late Antique Serdica: From Imperial Palace to Episcopal Complex, Princeton 2000 (unpublished PhD dissertation).

***Kissas*, Dyo ellēnikes epigraphes** = *Κίσσας Σ.*, Δύο ελληνικές επιγραφές του 14ου αιώνα από την Αχρίδα, ed. *Μ. Ασπρά - Βαρδαβάκη*, Λαμπηδών. Αφιέρωμα στη μνήμη της Ντούλας Μουρίκη Ι, Αθήνα 2003, 447–454.

***Kissas*, The Monastery of St. Demetrius of Cephalonia** = *Kissas S.*, The Monastery of St. Demetrius of Cephalonia in Thessaloniki: Reflections on the Origin of St. Clement of Achris, Cyrillomethodianum 13–14 (1989–1990) 1993, 19–30.

***Klaić*, Povijest** = *Klaić N.*, Povijest Hrvata u ranom srednjem vijeku, Zagreb 1971.

KME = Кирило-Методиевска енциклопедија I–IV, edd. *П. Динеков*, *Л. Грашева*, София 1985–2003.

***Koch*, Albanien** = *Koch G.*, Albanien. Kunst im Land der Skipetaren, Köln 1989.

***Koch*, Einige Bemerkungen** = *Koch G.*, Einige Bemerkungen zur Kirche in Marmiro/Albanien, ΔΧΑΕ 27 (2006) 43–48.

***Koch*, The Church of Saint Mary** = *Koch*, *G.*, The Church of Saint Mary in Labova/Albania, ΛΕΠΕΤΥΜΝΟΣ. Μελέτες Αρχαιολογίας και Τέχνης στη μνήμη του Γ. Γούναρη, Βυζαντινός δόμος 26 (2018) 61–75.

***Koco*, Bogorodica Čelnica** = *Коцо Д.*, Богородица Челница, Старинар н. с. 20 (1969) 171–178.

***Koco*, Bregalnica** = *Коцо Д.*, Прилог кон проучувањето на градот Брегалница, Акта Вељуса, Симпозиум "Вељуса" по повод 900-годишнината на манастирската црква Богородица Милостива (Елеуса) во селото Вељуса, Скопје 1974, 75–79.

***Koco*, Klimentoviot manastir** = *Коцо Д.*, Климентовиот манастир „Св. Пантелејмон" и раскопката при „Имарет" во Охрид, Годишен зборник на Филозофскиот факултет 1 (1948) 129–184.

***Koco*, L'église** = *Koco D.*, L'église du monastère de saint Naoum, edd. *F. Dölger*, *H.-G. Beck*, Akten des XI. internationalen Byzantinistenkongresses 1958, München 1960, 244–247.

***Koco*, Novi podatoci** = *Коцо Д.*, Нови податоци за историјата на Климентовиот манастир Св. Пантелејмон во Охрид, Годишен зборник на Филозофскиот факултет 19 (1967) 245–256.

***Koco*, Prilog kon proučavanjeto** = *Коцо Д.*, Прилог кон проучавањето на брегалничката епископија, ed. *В. Ѓурић*, Зборник Светозара Радојчића, Београд 1969, 155–162.

***Koco*, Proučavanja** = *Коцо Д.*, Проучавања и археолошки испитувања на црквата на манастирот св. Наум, Зборник на Археолошкиот Музеј, Скопје (1958) 56–80.

***Koco*, Ranohristijanski baziliki** = *Коцо Д.*, Ранохристијански базилики во областа на Охридското језеро, Зборник на трудови: посебно издание по повод 10-годишнината од основувањето на музејот, посветено на XII меѓународен конгрес на византолозите, Охрид 1961, 15–33.

***Koco*, Rezultati** = *Коцо Д.* Резултати од археолошките ископувања на Наумовата црква, Предавања на VII Семинар за македонски јазик, литература и култура, Скопје 1974, 152–156.

***Koco*, Spomenici** = *Коцо Д.*, „Наколните жилишта во Охридскоѿ езеро крај Струга" и средновековните споменици во Струга и Струга, Годишен зборник на Филозофскиот факултет 4/3 (1951) 3–24.

***Koco*, Sveta Sofija** = *Коцо Д.*, Дали црквата Света Софија во Охрид е ориентална базилика, Прилози МАНУ: Оделение за општествени науки, 13/1–2 (1982) 51–56.

***Koco*, Trikonhalnite crkvi** = *Коцо Д.* Триконхалните цркви во Климентовото време, Словенска писменост: 1050–годишнина на Климент Охридски, Охрид 1966, 91–100.

***Koco*, Veličkata episkopija** = *Коцо Д.*, Прилог кон проучувањето на Величката епископија, Прилози МАНУ: Оделение за општествени науки 20/ 2 (Скопје 1989) 5–8.

***Koco – Miljkovič-Pepek*, La basilique de St. Nikolas** = *Koco D.*, *Miljkovič-Pepek P.*, La basilique de St. Nikolas en village Manastir dans la région de Moriovo, Actes du Xe Congrès internationale d'études byzantines, Istanbul 1957, 138–140.

***Koco – Miljković-Pepek*, Manastir** = *Косо Д., Миљковиќ-Пепек П.*, Манастир, Скопје 1958.

***Koco – Miljković-Pepek*, Novootkrienata crkva** = *Коцо Д.*, *Миљковиќ-Пепек П.*, Новооткриената црква на локалитетот „Св. Четириесет" во селото Банско – Струмичко, ed. *А. Цицимов*, Зборник на трудови по повод 35 годишнината од основањето на Музејот во Струмица, Струмица 1989, 65–69.

***Koco – Miljković-Pepek*, Rezultatite od arheološkite iskopuvanja** = *Коцо Д.*, *Миљковиќ-Пепек П.*, Резултатите од археолошките ископувања во 1973. г. во црквата " Св. 15 Тивериополски маченици" – Струмица, Зборник Археолошки музеј на Македонија 8–9 (1975–1978) 93–97.

***Koco – Miljković-Pepek – Aleksova*, Prvite rezultati**= *Коцо Д.*, *Миљковиќ-Пепек П.*, *Алексова Б.*, Првите резултати од археолошките ископувања на локалитетот Св. 15 маченици во Струмица – 1972 год., Ликовна уметност 1, Скопје 1973, 43–44.

***Koder*, Frommen Byzantiner** = *Koder J.*, Die frommen Byzantiner und ihre bösen Nachbarn. Das 7. Jahrhundert (582–717) in der Chronographia des Theophanes Homologetes, Einleitung, Übersetzung, Kommentar, Wien 2022.

***Koder*, Macedonians and Macedonia** = *Koder J.*, Macedonians and Macedonia in Byzantine spatial thinking, edd. *J. Burke*, *R. Scott*, Byzantine Macedonia. Identity, image and history. Papers from the Melbourne Conference July 1995, Leiden – Boston 2017, 12–28.

***Koder*, Slavic Immigration** = *Koder J.*, On the Slavic Immigration in the Byzantine Balkans, edd. *J. Preiser-Kapeller*, *L. Reinfandt*, *Y. Stouraitis*, Migration Histories of the Medieval Afroeurasian Transition Zone. Aspects of Mobility between Africa, Asia and Europe, 300–1500 C. E., Leiden – Boston 2020, 81–100.

***Koder*, Sprache als Identitätsmerkmal** = *Koder*, *J.*, Sprache als Identitätsmerkmal bei den Byzantinern - Auf -isti- endende sprachbezogene Adverbien in den griechischen Quellen, Anzeiger der philosophisch-historischen Klasse 147/2 (2012) 5–38.

***Kolbaba*, Errors of the Latins** = *Kolbaba T. M.*, The Byzantine Lists: Errors of the Latins, Chicago 2000.

***Koledarov*, Bogomil Teaching** = *Koledarov P.*, On the Initial Hearth and Centre of the Bogomil Teaching, Byzantinobulgarica 6 (1980) 237–242.

***Koledarov*, Političeska geografija** = *Коледаров П.*, Политическа география на средновековната българска държава. Първа част от 681 до 1018 г., София 1979.

***Komatina*, Crkva =** *Комашина И.*, Црква и држава у српским земљама од XI до XIII века, Београд 2016.

***Komatina*, „I obnovi svoju dedovinu"** = *Комашина И.*, „И обнови своју дедовину и боље је утврди": Стефан Немања и Стефан Првовенчани и уобличавање српске државности, edd. *А. Рашовић*, *И. Комашина*, Стефан Првовенчани и његово доба, Београд 2020, 37–61.

***Komatina*, Srbi na putu krstaša** = *Комашина И.*, Срби на путу крсташа, ИЧ 64 (2015) 55–83.

***Komatina*, Srpski vladari u Aleksijadi** = *Комашина И.*, Српски владари у Алексијади – хронолошки оквири деловања, ZRVI 52 (2015) 173–194.

***Komatina*, Veliko kraljevstvo od prva** = *Комашина И.*, Велико краљевство од прва: крунисање Стефана Немањића и „традиција Дукљанског краљевства", ИЧ 65 (2016) 15–34.

***Komatina I. – Komatina P.*, Srem** = *Комашина И.*, *Комашина П.*, Византијски и угарски Срем од X до XIII века, ZRVI 55 (2018) 141–164.

***Komatina I. – Komatina P.*, „Srpska zemlja"** = *Комашина И.*, *Комашина П.*, „Српска земља" у трновском натпису Јована Асена II у светлу тадашње политичко-географске терминологије, ZRVI 61 (2024) 163–178.

***Komatina*, „Dalmacija"** = *Комашина П.*, „Далмација" у Житију св. Литберта (forthcoming).

***Komatina*, Byzantine Illyricum** = *Komatina P.*, Byzantine Illyricum in the 7th–9th centuries, Acta Antiqua 64 (2025) 429–438.

***Komatina*, Byzantine Rule in Croatia** = *Komatina P.*, On the Question of the Byzantine Rule in Croatia in the Late 10th and Early 11th Century, *ИЧ* 71 (2022) 11–34.

***Komatina*, Crkvena politika =** *Комашина П.*, Црквена политика Византије од краја иконоборства до смрти цара Василија I, Београд 2014.

***Komatina*, Diocesan Structure** = *Komatina P.*, The Diocesan Structure of the Archbishopric of Ohrid in the Charters of Basil II: Historical Development Until the Early 11th Century, ZRVI 60/2 (2023) 789–821.

***Komatina*, Konstantin Porfirogenit** = *Комашина П.*, Константин Порфирогенит и рана историја Јужних Словена, Београд 2021.

***Komatina*, Morava i Braničevo** = *Комашина П.*, Војно, административно и верско упориште на дунавској граници: пример Мораве и Браничева, ed. *В. Бикић*, Византијско наслеђе и српска уметност I. Процеси византинизације и српска археологија, Београд 2016, 103–107.

***Komatina*, Moravski episkop** = *Комашина П.*, Моравски епископ Агатон на Фотијевом сабору 879/880. г., Српска теологија данас 1 (2009) 359–368.

***Komatina*, O natpisu na krstionici** = *Комашина П.*, О натпису на крстионици из времена кнеза Вишеслава. Нека епиграфска запажања, ZRVI 59 (2022) 7–25.

***Komatina*, O prvom braku kralja Milutina** = *Комашина П.*, О првом браку краља Милутина, ZRVI 57 (2020) 45–59.

***Komatina*, O srpsko-bugarskoj granici** = *Комашина П.*, О српско-бугарској граници у IX и X веку, ZRVI 52 (2015) 31–42.

***Komatina*, Oblast Vagenitija** = *Комашина П.*, Област Вагенитија и епископија Св. Климента, ZRVI 53 (2016) 83–100.

***Komatina*, On the question of Byzantine rule** = *Komatina P.*, On the question of the Byzantine rule in Croatia in the late 10th and early 11th century, *ИЧ* 71 (2022) 11–34.

***Komatina*, Osnivanje Patraske i Atinske mitropolije** = *Комашина П.*, Оснивање Патраске и Атинске митрополије и Словени на Пелопонезу, ZRVI 46 (2009) 27–52.

***Komatina*, Pojam Bugarske** = *Комашина П.*, Појам Бугарске у XI и XII веку и територија Охридске архиепископије, edd. *Љ. Максимовић, Б. Крсмановић, Р. Радић*, Византијски свет на Балкану I, Београд 2012, 41–56.

***Komatina*, Rani južnoslovenski etnonimi** = *Комашина П.*, Рани јужнословенски етноними и питање порекла и постанка јужнословенских племена, edd. *J. Raguh, B. Савић*, Наслеђе и стварање Свети Ћирило: Свети Сава 869–1219, Београд 2019, 3–28.

***Komatina*, Settlement** = *Komatina P.*, Settlement of the Slavs in Asia Minor During the Rule of Justinian II and the Bishopric των Γορδοσέρβων, Београдски историјски гласник 5 (2014) 33–42.

***Komatina*, Slavs** = *Komatina P.*, The Slavs of the mid-Danube basin and the Bulgarian expansion in the first half of the 9th century, ZRVI 47 (2010) 55–82.

***Komatina*, Srbija i Duklja** = *Комашина П.*, Србија и Дукља у делу Јована Скилице, ZRVI 49 (2012) 159–186.

***Komatina*, Vizantijska titula** = *Комашина П.*, Византијска титула Константина Бодина, ZRVI 48 (2011) 61–76.

***Konakliev – Dončeva*, Patriaršeska čast** = *Конаклиев А., Дончева С.*, № 12. Патриаршеска част на Царския Дворец във Велики Преслав, Археологически открития и разкопки през 2013, София 2014, 462–464.

***Konakliev – Dončeva*, Patriaršeska čast na carskija dvorec** = *Конаклиев А., Дончева С.*, № 12. Патриаршеска част от Царския Дворец във Велики Преслав, Археологически открития и разкопки през 2010, София 2011, 412–414.

***Kondić – Popović*, Caričin Grad** = *Кондић В., Поповић В.*, Царичин Град: утврђено насеље у византијском Илирику, Београд 1977

***Kontogiannis*, Byzantine Fortifications** = *Kontogiannis D. N.*, Byzantine Fortifications: Protecting the Roman Empire in the East, Yorkshire – Philadelphia 2022.

***Koprivica*, Polog** = *Копривица М.*, Полог под српском влашћу у средњем веку (историјско-географски преглед), ed. *С. Мишић*, Споменица академика Милоша Благојевића, Београд 2015, 65–94.

***Korać*, Arhitektura** = *Кораћ В.*, Архитектура раног средњег века у Дукљи и Зети. Програм простора и порекло облика, В. Кораћ, Између Византије и Запада: одабране студије о архитектури, Београд 1987.

***Korać*, L'arhitecture du haut Môyen Age** = *Korać V.*, L'architecture du haut Môyen Age en Dioclée et Zeta, Programme de repartition des espaces et origine des formes, Balcanoslavica 5 (1976) 155–172.

***Korać*, O arhitekturi** = *Korać V.*, O arhitekturi poznatih hramova u vreme pokrštavanja Srba, ZRVI 38 (1999) 173–185.

***Korać*, O prirodi obnove** = *Кораћ В.*, О природи обнове и правцима развоја архитектуре у раном средњем веку у источним и западним областима Југославије, ZRVI 8/2 (1964) 209–226.

***Korać*, O srednjovekovnim bazilikama** = *Кораћ В.*, О средњовековним базиликама у Македонији и Србији, *В. Кораћ*, Између Византије и Запада. Одабране студије о архитектури, Београд 1987, 68–76.

***Korać*, Réflexions du sujet des sources byzantines** = *Korać B.*, Réflexions du sujet des sources byzantines de l'architecture serbe, Ευφρόσυνον, Αφιέρωμα στον Μανόλη Χατζηδάκη, Αθήνα, 262–270.

***Korać*, Spomenici** = *Кораћ В.*, Споменици монументалне српске архитектуре XIV века у Повардарју, Београд 2003.

***Korać*, Sveta Sofija** = *Кораћ В.*, Света Софија у Охриду, простор, структура, облици. Извори, Зограф 32 (2008) 29–35.

***Korać*, Sveti Đorđe** = *Кораћ В.*, Свети Ђорђе у Горњем Козјаку. Опажања о архитектури, Зограф 31 (2006/07) 29–34.

***Korać*, Sveti Pantelejmon** = *Кораћ В.*, Свети Пантелејмон у Нишу, задужбина Стефана Немање, ed. *J. Калић*, Стефан Немања – свети Симеон Мироточиви. Историја и предање, Београд 2000, 163–169.

***Korać – Šuput*, Arhitektura** = *Кораћ В., Шупут М.*, Архитектура византијског света, Београд 2005[2].

***Korunovski*, A contribution to the study of architecture** = *Korunovski S.*, A contribution to the study of architecture of the monastery church of St. Archangel Michael in Prilep, Зограф 35 (2011) 111–116.

***Korunovski*, Crkovnata arhitektura** = *Коруновски С.*, Црковната архитектура во Македонија во XIII век, Скопје 2000 (unpublished PhD dissertation).

***Korunovski – Dimitrova*, Vizantiska Makedonija** = *Коруновски С., Димитрова Е.*, Византиска Македонија. Историја на уметноста на Македонија од IX до XV век, Скопје 2006.

***Kos*, O natpisu cara Samuila** = *Кос М.*, О натпису цара Самуила, ГСНД 5 (1929) 203–209.

***Kostova*, Boot-Graffiti** = *Kostova R.*, Boot-Graffiti from the Monastery of Ravna and Early Pilgrimage in Bulgaria, Annual of Medieval Studies at CEU 2, Budapest 1996, 140–166.

***Kostova*, Bulgarian monasteries** = *Kostova R.*, Bulgarian monasteries ninth to tenth centuries : Interpreting the archaeological evidence, Плиска–Преслав 8 (2000) 190–202.

***Kostova*, Centŭr i periferija** = *Костова Р.*, Център и периферия в Равненския манастир (по рисунки-графити), ed. *В. Гюзелев*, Светогорска обител Зограф 2, София 1996 221–243.

***Kostova*, Christianizing the Landscape** = *Kostova R.*, Christianizing the Landscape: Monasteries or Episcopal Residences in Late Ninth-Century Bulgaria?, ed. *Ив. Русев*, Acta Musei Varnaensis XIII, 1. История и култура на България и българите (IX–XIX в.). Исторически изследвания и археологически приноси в памет на проф. д-р Валентин Плетньов, Варна 2019, 51–79.

***Kostova*, Churches** = *Kostova R.*, Churches and Monasteris in Preslav, edd. *S. Goryanova*, *G. Grozdanova*, At the gates of the royal court: treasures of Veliki Preslav, Sofia 2019, 100–104.

***Kostova*, Imalo li e manastiri-ergasterii** = *Костова Р.*, Имало ли е манастири-ергастерии в България през X век?, edd. *Ц. Степанов*, *В. Вачкова*, Civitas Divino Humana. В чест на професор Георги Бакалов, София 2004, 457–471.

***Kostova*, Lust and Piety** = *Kostova R.*, Lust and Piety: Graffiti from Bulgarian Medieval Monasteries, ed. *G. Jaritz*, Disziplinierung im Alltag des Mittelalters und der frühen Neuzeit –Internationaler Kongress Krems und der Donau 8. bis 11. Oktober 1996, Vienna 1999, 233–254.

***Kostova*, Manastirŭt „na Mostič“** = *Костова Р.*, Манастирът „на Мостич“ и въпросът за манастирите, основани от частни лица в България през X в., Известия на Археологическия институт 39 (2006) 271–287.

***Kostova*, Manastirŭt** = *Костова Р.*, Манастирът, основан от Св. Йоан Рилски: археология на писмените свидетелства, Културните текстове на миналото: носители, символи идеи. II. Материали от Юбилейната международна научна конференция в чест на 60-годишнината на проф. д.и.н. Казимир Попконстантинов, София 2005, 120–128.

***Kostova*, Manastirŭt v Tuzlalŭka** = *Костова Р.*, Манастирът в Тузлалъка, Преслав: нов поглед, Археология 2 (2002) 13–25.

***Kostova*, Monasteries in the centers, monasteries in the periphery** = *Kostova R.*, Monasteries in the centers, monasteries in the periphery: featuring monastic sovereignty in early medieval Bulgaria, edd. *B. Scholkmann*, *M. Untermann*, *G. Helmig*, Medieval Europe Basel 2002. Center, Region, Periphery, 3rd International Conference of Medieval and Later Archaeology, Vol.1, Tübingen 2002, 504–510.

***Kostova*, Novootkritite grobni sŭorŭženija** = *Костова Р.*, Новооткритите гробни съоръжения в „манастира на Мостич“ в Преслав, Великотърновският университет и българската археология 1 (2010) 453–467.

***Kostova*, Oŝte vednŭž za Krŭglata cŭrkva** = *Костова Р.*, Още веднъж за Кръглата църква и т. нар. родов манастир в Преслав, Studia protobulgarica et mediaevalia europensia. В чест на чл. кор. проф. Веселин Бешевлиев, София 2003, 284–303.

***Kostova*, Patronaž i manastirska geografija** = *Костова Р.*, Патронаж и манастирска география в България през втората половина на IX и X в., edd. *Б. Петрунова et al.*, LAUREA: In honorem Margaritae Vaklinova, Кн. I, София 2009, 199–215.

***Kostova*, Patronaž i manastirska geografija** = *Костова Р.*, Патронаж и манастирска география в България през втората половина на IX и в X в., edd. *V. Gjuzelev*, *K. Petkov*, State and Church: Studies in Medieval Bulgaria and Byzantium, Sofia 2011, 189–209.

***Kostova*, Polychrome ceramics in Preslav** = *Kostova R.*, Polychrome ceramics in Preslav, 9th to 11th c. Where were they produced and used?", ed. *M. Mango*, Byzantine Trade 4th–12th c. The archaeology of local, regional, and international exchange, Aldershot 2008, 97–117.

***Kostova*, Silent Communication** = *Kostova R.*, Silent Communication: Graffiti from the Monastery of Ravna, Bulgaria, Studien Dokumentationen. Mitteilungen der ANISA. Verein für die Erforschung und Erhaltung der Altertümer, im speziellen der Felsbilder in den österreichischen Alpen 17. Jahrgang/Heft 1, Grömbing 1996, 57–78.

***Kostova*, Skalnijat manastir pri Basarabi** = *Костова Р.*, Скалният манастир при Басараби, Северна Добруджа: някои проблеми на интерпретацията, ed. *П. Тодоров*, Българите в Северното Причерноморие 7, Veliko Turnovo 2000, 131–153.

***Kostova*, St. Kliment** = *Kostova R.*, St. Kliment of Ohrid and his monastery: some more archaeology of the written evidence, edd. *А. Гербедян*, *В. Гюзелев*, *Е. Статева*, Византия Балканите Европа. Изследвания в чест на проф. Василика Тъпкова-Заимова, София 2006, 593–605.

***Kostova*, The Mother of God Monastery** = *Kostova R.*, The Mother of God Monastery near Varna, Bulgaria: More about Missionary Monasteries in Bulgaria in the Ninth and Tenth Centuries, ed. *D. Mérai*, Genius loci Laszlovszky 60, Budapest 2018, 217–221.

***Kostova*, Topography of Three Early Bulgarian Monasteries** = *Kostova R.*, Topography of Three Early Bulgarian Monasteries and the Reasons for their Foundation: A Case of Study, Archaeologia Bulgarica 3 (1998) 108–125.

***Kostova – Popkonstantinov*, Ženite v monašestvoto v Bŭlgarija** = *Костова Р.*, *Попконстантинов К.*, Жените и монашеството в България IX–X в. по археологически и епиграфски данни, edd. *А. Джурова et al.*, Международна научна конференция „Манастирската култура на Балканите“, Самоков, 29 септември – 1 октомври 2002 г., Годишник на Софийския университет „Св. Климент Охридски“: Център за славяно-византийски проучвания „Иван Дуйчев“, София 93/12 (2005) 267–275.

***Kostovska*, Sveti Nikola Manastir** = *Костовска П.*, Свети Никола Манастир. Средњовековно сликарство, Скопје 2020.

***Kostovska – Popovska*, The Painted Inscription** = *Kostovska P.*, *Popovska N.*, The Painted Inscription in Manastir and Struga Revisited, Patrimonuim. MK 14 (2015) 137–143.

***Kovačević*, Nekoliko priloga** = *Ковачевић Љ.*, Неколико прилога за црквену и политичку историју Јужних Словена, Гласник Српског ученог друштва 53 (1885) 1–4.

***Kravari*, Les actes privés** = *Kravari V.*, Les actes privés des monastères de l'Athos et l'unité du patrimoine familial, ed. *D. Simon*, Eherecht und Familiengut in Antike und Mittelalter, Munich 1992, 77–88.

***Kravari*, L'hellénisation des Slaves** = *Kravari V.*, L'hellénisation des Slaves de Macédoine orientale, au témoignage des anthroponymes, ed. *M. Balard*, Eupsychia: mélanges offerts à Hélène Ahrweiler, Vol. 2, Paris 1998, 387–397.

***Kravari*, Le prenom des paysans en Macedoine orientale** = *Kravari V.*, Le prenom des paysans en Macedoine orientale (X–XIV siècle), edd. *J. Lefort*, *C. Morrisson*, *J.-P. Sodini*, Les villages dans l'Empire Byzantin (IVe–XVe siècle), Paris 2005, 30–306.

***Kravari*, Villes** = *Kravari V.*, Villes et villages de Macédoine occidentale, Paris 1989.

***Krivko*, Temničskaja nadpis'** = *Кривко Р. Н.*, Темничская надпись в свете балканскославянских и древнерусских данных, Slověne. International Journal of Slavic Studies 10/1 (2021) 18–40.

***Krjukova et al.*, Sevastijskie mučeniki** = *Крюкова А. Н. et al.*, Севастийские мученики, ПЕ 62, Москва 2021, 241–256.

***Krsmanović*, Bulgarian Elite** = *Krsmanović B.*, The Bulgarian Elite between War and Peace in the Balkans, edd. *A. Bosselmann-Ruickbie*, *Z. Chitwood*, *J. Pahlitzsch*, *M. M. Vučetić*, Byzanz am Rhein. Festschrift für Günter Prinzing anlässlich seines 80. Geburtstags, Wiesbaden 2024, 109–128.

***Krsmanović*, Bulgarian Fortresses** = *Krsmanović B.*, On the Role of Bulgarian Fortresses in the War of 976–1018, ZRVI 60/2 (2023) 843–870.

***Krsmanović*, Byzantine Province** = *Krsmanović B.*, The Byzantine province in change (On the threshold between the 10th and the 11th century), Belgrade – Athens 2008.

***Krsmanović*, Evnusi** = *Крсмановић Б.*, „Е, е, шта је то?“ – Евнуси у војном врху Византијског царства (780–1025), Београд 2018.

***Krsmanović*, Mount Athos =** *Krsmanović B.*, Mount Athos and Political Thought in the Slavic World, Proceedings of the 22nd International Congress of Byzantine Studies, Vol. I, Plenary Papers, Sofia 2011, 145–166.

***Krsmanović*, O odnosu** = *Крсмановић Б.*, О односу управне и црквене организације на подручју Охридске архиепископије, edd. *Б. Крсмановић*, *Љ. Максимовић*, *Р. Радић*, Византијски свет на Балкану I, Београд 2012, 17–39.

***Krsmanović*, Potencija**l = *Крсмановић Б.*, Потенцијал функције доместика схола (VIII–X век), ZRVI 43 (2006) 393–436.

***Krsmanović*, Uspon** = *Крсмановић Б.*, Успон војног племства у Византији XI века, Београд 2001.

***Krsmanović*, Značaj Atona i Ohridske arhiepiskopije** = *Крсмановић Б.*, Значај Атона и Охридске архиепископије у политици Василија II, ZRVI 49 (2012) 87–112.

***Krsmanović – Loma*, Georgije Manijakis** = *Крсмановић Б.*, *Лома А.*, Георгије Манијакис, име Γουδέλιος и Пселова „скитска аутономија“, ZRVI 36 (1997) 233–263.

***Krsmanović – Maksimović*, Vizantija u Srbiji** = *Крсмановић Б.*, *Максимовић Љ.*, Византија у Србији – српска самосвојност и ромејски утицај, edd. *Д. Војводић*, *Д. Пејовић*, Византијско наслеђе и српска уметност, II: Сакрална уметност српских земаља у средњем веку, Београд 2016, 41–55.

***Krsmanović – Todorović*, Τοῦτό μοι τέλεσον** = *Krsmanović B.*, *Todorović D.*, Τοῦτό μοι τέλεσον –„Take care of this for me". Official and Private Communication in the Letters of Theophylact of Ohrid, edd. *С. Бојанин*, *Љ. Миљановић*, *М. Цветковић*, Гласови и слике: облици комуникације на средњевековном Балкану (IV–XVI век), Београд 2020, 93–138.

***Kršljanin*, Pravni položaj žene** = *Кршљанин Н.*, Правни положај жене у средњовековној Србији, Београд 2024.

***Krysko*, The Passio Erasmi** = *Krysko V. B.*, The Passio Erasmi in Latin, Greek, and Slavonic version, AB 141/1 (2023) 55–89.

***Kuev*, Černorizec Hrabr** = *Kuev K. M.*, Černorizec Hrabr, Sofia 1967.

***Kuev*, Pohvalno slovo za Mihail i Gavriil** = *Куев К.*, Похвално слово за Михаил и Гавриил, Климент Охридски, Т. 1, София 1970, 238–288.

***Kuev*, Sŭdbata** = *Куев К.* М., Съдбата на старобългарските ръкописи през вековете, София 1979.

***Kougeas*, Gramma** = *Κουγέας Σ.*, Γράμμα του αυτοκράτορος του Βυζαντίου Ρωμανού Διογένους, ed. *Γ. Χαριτάκης*, Εις μνήμην Σπυρίδωνος Λάμπρου, Αθῆναι 1935, 574–579.

***Kujumdžiev*, Edna hipoteza** = *Куюмджиев А.*, Една хипотеза за архитектурния първоизточник на главната църква в Рилския манастир, ed. *П. Ангелов*, Светогорска обител Зограф III, София 1999, 324–338.

***Kujumdžiev*, Stenopisite v glavnata cŭrkva** = *Куюмджиев А.*, Стенописите в главната църква на Рилския манастир, София 2015.

Kulturno bogatstvo Prilepa = Културно богатство Прилепа од V–XIX века / Културно богатство на Прилеп од V–XIX век, ed. *Б. Бабиќ*, Београд – Прилеп 1976.

***Kurti – Oberweiler*, Raport mbi vëzhgimin arkeologjik 2018–2019** = *Kurti R.*, *Oberweiler C.*, Raport mbi vëzhgimin arkeologjik në qendrat e lartësive kodrinore përreth pellgut të Korçës (Misioni arkeologjik shqiptaro-francez i Pellgut të Korçës, 2018–2019), Candavia 8 (2020) 67–103.

***Kurti – Oberweiler*, Raport mbi vëzhgimin arkeologjik 2021** = *Kurti R.*, *Oberweiler C.*, Raport mbi vëzhgimin arkeologjik në sitet kodrinore përreth pellgut të Korçës (Misioni arkeologjik shqiptaro-francez i pellgut të Korçës, Pasha-Sezoni 2021), Candavia 9 (2022) 17–30.

***Kurtz*, Christophoros von Ankyra** = *Kurtz E.*, Christophoros von Ankyra als Exarch des Patriarchen Germanos II, BZ 16 (1907) 120–142.

***Kuzev*, Bdin** = *Кузев А.*, Бдин, edd. *А. Кузев*, *В. Гюзелев*, Български средновековни градове и крепости, I, Варна 1981, 98–115.

***Kuzev*, Bemerkungen über einige Bistümer** = *Kuzev A.*, Bemerkungen über einige Bistümer in Bulgarien während der ersten Jahrzehnte nach 870, Symposium Methodianum, Neuried 1988, 190.

***Kuzman*, Archaeological Discovery** = *Kuzman P.*, Archaeological Discovery to the South of the Saint Sophia Church in Ohrid / Археолошко откритие јужно од црквата Света Софија во Охрид, Arheološki informator 4 (2020) 141–162.

***Kuzman*, Arheološki svedoštva** = *Кузман П.*, Археолошки сведоштва за дејноста на Свети Климент Охридски во Охридскиот регион, Slověne 5/2 (2016) 137–178.

***Kuzman – Malenko*, Zaglavnica – Staro Selo** = *Кузман П*, *Маленко В.*, Зглавиница – Старо Село, ed. *Д. Коцо*, Археолошка карта на Република Македонија, vol. 2, Скопје 1996, 248.

***Kuzmanovska*, Poznoatnička toponimija** = *Кузмановска Ј.*, Позноантичка топонимија Македоније и Тесалије у Прокопијеву делу De aedificiis, Београд 2013 (unpublished PhD dissertation).

***Kuzmanovski*, Srednovekovna nekropola** = *Кузмановски И.*, Средновековна некропола на просторот од античкиот театар во Скупи, edd. *Г. Павловски*, *М. Ончевска-Тодоровска*, Римски театар Скупи, Скопје 2017, 367–419.

L

***Laiou*, Consensus facit nuptias** = *Laiou A.*, “Consensus facit nuptias - Et non”: Pope Nicholas I’s “Responsa” to the Bulgarians as a Source for Byzantine Marriage Customs, Gender, society and economic life in Byzantium, Variorum Collected Studies A. Laiou, Aldershot 1992, 189–201.

***Laiou*, Contribution à l’étude de l’institution familiale** = *Laiou A.*, Contribution à l’étude de l’institution familiale en Épire au XIIIème siècle, Fontes Minores 6 (1984) 275–323.

***Laiou*, Exchange and Trade** = *Laiou A.*, Exchange and trade, seventh–twelfth centuries, ed. *A. Laiou*, The economic history of Byzantium from the seventh through the fifteenth century, vol. II, Washington, D. C. 2002, 681–754.

***Laiou*, Mariage, amour et parenté** = *Laiou A.*, Mariage, amour et parenté à Byzance aux XI^{e}–XIII^{e} siècles, Paris 1992.

***Laiou*, Marriage prohibitions, marriage strategies and the dowry** = *Laiou A.*, Marriage prohibitions, marriage strategies and the dowry in thirteenth century Byzantium, edd. *J. Beaucamp*, *G. Dagron*, La transmission du patrimoine. Byzance et l’aire méditerranéenne, Paris 1998, 129–160.

***Laiou*, Mechanisms of Integration** = *Laiou A. E.*, Institutional Mechanisms of Integration, edd. *H. Ahrweiler*, *A.E. Laiou*., Studies on the Internal Diaspora of the Byzantine Empire, Washington, D. C. 1998.

***Laiou*, O thesmos tēs mnēsteias** = *Λαΐου Α.*, Ο θεσμός της μνηστείας στο δέκατο τρίτο αιώνα, edd. *Β. Κρεμμυδάς*, *Χ. Μαλτέζου*, *Ν. Μ. Παναγιωτάκης*, Αφιέρωμα στον Νίκο Σβορώνο, t. Α΄, Ρέθυμνο 1986, 280–296.

***Laiou*, The Foreigner and the Stranger** = *Laiou A.*, The foreigner and the stranger in 12th century Byzantium: means of propitiation and acculturation, edd. *A. Laiou -Thomadakis*, Byzantium and the Other, Aldershot 1991, 71–97.

***Laiou*, The Role of Women** = *Laiou A.*, The Role of Women in Byzantine Society, JÖB 31/1 (1981) 233–260.

***Lascaris*, Deux chartes** = *Lascaris M.*, Deux chartes de Jean Uroš, dernier Némanide (Novembre 1372, Indiction XI), Byzantion 25–27 (1955–1957) 277–323.

***Laurent*, Bulletin** = *Laurent V*., Bulletin de sigillographie byzantine I, Byzantion 5 (1929–1930) 571–654.

***Laurent*, Corpus** = *Laurent V*., Le corpus des sceaux de l'Empire byzantin V/1, Paris 1963.

***Laurent*, Thème byzantin de Serbie** = *Laurent V*., Le thème byzantin de Serbie au XI^e^ siècle, REB 15 (1957) 185–195.

***Lazarevska*, Orta džamija** = *Лазаревска М*., Орта џамија – Струмица, Средновековна црква со некропола, Arheološki Pregled 27 (1987) 143–144.

***Leake*, Travels in Northern Greece** = *Leake M. W*., Travels in Northern Greece, vol. I, London 1835.

***Lefort*, Anthroponymie et société villageoise** = *Lefort J*., Anthroponymie et société villageoise (X^e^-XIV^e^ siècle), *J. Lefort*, Société rurale et histoire du paysage à Byzance, Paris 2006, 249–264.

***Leidholm*, Elite** = *Leidholm N*., Elite Byzantine Kinship, ca. 950–1204. Blood, Reputation, and the Genos, Leeds 2019.

***Leidholm*, Political families in Byzantium** = *Leidholm N*., Political families in Byzantium: The social and cultural significance of the genos as kin group, c. 900–1150, Chicago 2016 (unpublished PhD dissertation).

***Lemerle*, Prolégomènes** = *Lemerle P*., Prolégomènes à une édition critique et commentée des « Conseils et Récits » de Kékauménos, Académie Royale de Belgique, Classe des Lettres et des Sciences morales et politiques, Mémoires 54/1 (1960) 1–120.

***Leszka*, Byzantines** = *Leszka M. J*., The Byzantines in the service of the Bulgarian rulers in the first half of the 9th century, Review of historical sciences 16/3 (2017) 213–224.

***Leszka – Marinow* (edd.), Bulgarian state** = The Bulgarian State in 927–969. The Epoch of Tsar Peter I., edd. *M. J. Leszka*, *K. Marinow*, Lodz 2018.

'Let Us Die That We May Live' = 'Let Us Die That We May Live'. Greek Homilies on Christian Martyrs from Asia Minor, Palestine and Syria (c. AD 350–AD 450), edd. *J. Leemans et al*., London – New York 2003.

***Liakos*, The Byzantine Opus Sectile Floor** = *Liakos D*., The Byzantine Opus Sectile Floor in the Katholikon of Iveron Monastery on Mounth Athos, Зограф 32 (2008) 37–44.

***Lidov*, Byzantine Church Decoration** = *Lidov A*., Byzantine Church Decoration and the Great Schism of 1054, Byzantion 68/2 (1998) 381–405.

***Lidov*, Mandilion** = *Лидов А*., Мандилион и Керамион как образ-архетип сакрального пространства, ed. *А. М. Лидов*, Восточнохристианские реликви, Москва 2003, 249–267.

***Lidov*, The miracle of reproduction** = *Lidov A*., The miracle of reproduction: the Mandylion and Keramion as a paradigm of the sacred space, L'immagine di Cristo. Dall'acheropita alla mano d'artista. Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Studi e testi 432 (2006) 17–41.

***Lilčić Adams*, Fortresses around Lake Ohrid** = *Lilčić Adams V*., Archaeological topography of the old towns and fortresses around Lake Ohrid, edd. *E. Dimitrova*, *I. T. Vesevska*, On the Cross-Path of Cultural Ideas, Macedonia, the Balkans, Southeast Europe – Heritage, Management, Resources. A collection of papers from the international conference held in Ohrid in September 2019, Ohrid 2020, 99–129.

***Lilie*, Die ökonomische Bedeutung** = *Lilie R.-J*., Die ökonomische Bedeutung der byzantinischen Provinzstadt (8. –12. Jahrhundert) im Spiegel der literarischen Quellen, edd. *F. Daim*, *J. Drauschke*, Hinter den Mauern und auf dem offenen Land. Leben im Byzantinischen Reich, Mainz 2016, 55–62.

***Litavrin*, Bolgarija i Vizantija** = *Литаврин Г. Г*., Болгария и Византия в XI–XII вв., Москва 1960.

***Lockton*, The Treatment** = *Lockton W*., The Treatment of the Remains at the Eucharist after Holy Communion and the Time of the Ablutions, Cambridge 1920.

***Loma*, «Svetloe oružie»** = *Лома А*., «Светлое оружие». Кирилло мефодиевский перевод псалмов и славянская устнопоэтическая традиция, edd. *J. Radić*, *B. Савић*, Наслеђе и стварање. Свети Ћирило – Свети Сава, Београд 2019, 55–71.

***Loma*, Četiri toponomastičke opaske** = *Лома А*., Четири топономастичке опаске уз повеље кнеза Лазара, Ресава (горња и доња) у историји, науци, књижевности и уметности, Дани српскога духовног преображења 11, Деспотовац 2004, 101–109.

***Loma*, Etnička prošlost** = *Лома А*., Етничка прошлост југоисточне Србије у светлу топономастике, Говори призренско-тимочке области и суседних дијалеката, Зборник реферата са научног скупа (Нишка Бања 17–20.6. 1992), Београд – Ниш 1993, 107–136.

***Loma*, Jezička i etnička prošlost** = *Лома А*., Језичка и етничка прошлост Старе Србије у светлу топономастике, ed. *М. Војводић*, Први балкански рат 1912/1913: историјски процеси и проблеми у светлости стогодишњег искуства, Научни скупови САНУ, књ. 147 – Одељење историјских наука САНУ, књ. 35, Београд 2015, 259–273.

***Loma*, Jezička prošlost** = *Лома А*., Језичка прошлост југоисточне Србије у светлу ономастике, Говори призренско-тимочке области и суседних дијалеката. Зборник реферата са научног скупа (Нишка Бања, 17–20. 6. 1992), Ниш 1993, 107–135.

***Loma*, Neue Substratnamen** = *Loma A*., Neue Substratnamen aus Dacia Mediterranea, Linguistique Balkanique 36/3 (1993) 219–240.

***Loma*, Rani slojevi** = *Лома А*., Рани слојеви хришћанских топонима на старосрпском тлу, Ономатолошки прилози 11 (1990) 1–18.

***Loma*, Toponimija** = *Лома А*., Топонимија Бањске хрисовуље. Ка осмишљавању старосрпског топономастичког речника и бољем познавању општесловенских именословних образаца, САНУ, Одбор за ономастику, Библиотека Ономатолошких прилога књ. 2, Београд 2013.

***Lourié*, The New Critical Edition** = *Lourié B*., The New Critical Edition of the Martyrdom of the Fifteen Martyrs of Tiberioupolis (BHG 1199) by Irini-Sophia Kiapidou and Several Problems of the Text, Scrinium 16/1 (2020) 333–343.

***Lozanova*, The Church of Christ Zoodotes** = *Lozanova R*., The Church of Christ Zoodotes in Embore (Albania), edd. *B. Велинова et al*., Образ и Слово. Сборник в чест на проф. Аксиния Джурова, София 2004, 151–165.

***Lučeska*, In search for the remain**s = *Lučeska E*., In search for the remains of St. Clement of Ohrid, ed. *Б. Ристовски*, Миленијумското зрачење на св. Климент Охридски, Скопје 2017, 247–256.

***Ljubinković*, Tradicije Justinijana Prime** = *Љубинковић Р*., Традиције Јустинијана Приме у титулатури охридских архиепископа, Старинар 17 (1966) 61–75.

***Ljubinković et al*., Istraživački i konzervatorski radovi** = *Љубинковић Р., Ђокић Д., Вученовић С., Томашевић А*., Истраживачки и конзерваторски радови на цркви Ваведења у Липљану, ЗЗСК 10 (1959) 69–134.

M

***Macrides*, Akropolites** = *Macrides R*., Akropolites. The History. Introduction, translation and commentary, Oxford 2007.

***Macrides*, Bad Historian** = *Macrides R. J*., Bad Historian or Good Lawyer? Demetrios Chomatenos and Novel 131, DOP 46 (1992) 187–196.

***Macrides*, Byzantine Godfather** = *Macrides R*., The Byzantine Godfather, BMGS 11 (1987) 139–162.

***Macrides*, Dowry and Inheritance** = *Macrides R*., Dowry and Inheritance in the Late Period: Some Cases from the Patriarchal Register, ed. *D. Simon*, Eherecht und Familiengut in Antike und Mittelalter, München 1992, 89–99.

***Macridy et al.*, The Monastery of Lips** = *Macridy Th.*, *Megaw A. S.*, *Mango C.*, *Hawkins E. J. W.*, The Monastery of Lips (Fenari Isa Camii) at Istanbul, DOP 18 (1964) 251–315.

***Madgearu*, Asanids** = *Madgearu*, *A.*, The Asanids: the political and military history of the second Bulgarian Empire (1185–1280), Leiden – Boston 2017.

***Madgearu*, Military Organization** = *Madgearu A.*, Byzantine Military Organization on the Danube, 10th–12th Centuries, Leiden – Boston 2013.

***Madgearu*, Ruled indeed Basil Apokapes** = *Madgearu A.*, Ruled indeed Basil Apokapes the Paradunavon Theme?, „Acta Musei Varnensis", 3, The Bulgarian Lands in the Middle Ages, 7th–18th Centuries. International Conference. A tribute to Prof. Alexander Kuzev's 70th anniversary, Varna, 12–14 September 2002, Varna 2005, 273–282.

***Magdalino*, Byzantine Antecedents** = *Magdalino P.*, The Byzantine Antecedents of the Round Church at Preslav, Проблеми на изкуството 2 (2012) 3– 5.

***Magdalino*, Manuel I Komnenos** = *Magdalino P.*, The Empire of Manuel I Komnenos, 1143–1180, Cambridge 1993.

***Magdalino*, The Byzantine Aristocratic Oikos'** = *Magdalino P.*, The Byzantine Aristocratic *Oikos*', ed. *M. Angold*, The Byzantine Aristocracy: IX to XIII Centuries, Oxford 1984, 92–111.

***Maguire*, Heavenly Court** = *Maguire H.*, The heavenly court, ed. *H. Maguire*, Byzantine court culture from 829 to 1204, Washington, D.C. 1997, 247–258.

***Makk*, The Árpáds** = *Makk F.*, The Árpáds and the Comneni: Political Relations Between Hungary and Byzantium in the 12th Century, Budapest 1989.

***Maksimović*, Zakonъ sudnyi ljudьmъ** = *Максимович К. А.*, Ѕаконъ сѹдьнъıн людьмъ. Источниковедческие и лингвистические аспекты исследования славянского юридического памятника, Москва 2004.

***Maksimović*, Geneza** = *Максимовић Љ.*, Генеза и карактер апанажа у Византији, ZRVI 14/15 (1973) 103–154.

***Maksimović*, L'ideologie du souverain** = *Maksimović Lj.*, L'ideologie du souverain dans l'etat Serbe et la construction de Studenica, ed. *B. Korać*, Студеница и византијска уметност око 1200. године, Београд 1988, 35–48.

***Maksimović*, Makedonija =** *Максимовић Љ.*, Македонија у политици средњовековне Србије, Глас САНУ 404 (2006) 29–50.

***Maksimović*, Organizacija** = *Максимовић Љ.*, Организација византијске власти у новоосвојеним областима после 1018. године, ZRVI 36 (1997) 31–43.

***Maksimović*, Pokrštavanje =** *Максимовић Љ.*, Покрштавање Срба и Хрвата, ZRVI 35 (1996) 155–174.

***Maksimović*, Severni Ilirik** = *Максимовић Љ.*, Северни Илирик у VI веку, ZRVI 19 (1980) 17–57.

***Maksimović*, Tematski vojnici** = *Максимовић Љ.*, Тематски војници у византијском друштву. Прилог новом процењивању проблема, ZRVI 39 (2001/2002) 25–49.

***Maksimović*, Varvarska vlast** = *Максимовић Љ.*, Димитрије Хоматијан и "варварска власт" у северној Македонији, ЗФФ 18 (1994) 93–99.

***Maksimović*, „Vizantinizmi"** = *Максимовић Љ.*, „Византинизми" краља Стефана Радослава, ZRVI 46 (2009) 139–147.

***Maksimović*, Zigos** = *Максимовић Љ.*, Зигос на српско-византијској граници, ed. *Т. Живковић*, Византијски свет и Срби, Београд 2008, 75–91.

***Maksimović – Krsmanović*, Byzantine Administration** = *Maksimović Lj.*, *Krsmanović B.*, The Byzantine Administration in the Northern Balkans and Tsar Samuil, edd. *B. Гюзелев*, *Г. Н. Николов*, Европейският Югоизток през втората половина на X – началото на XI век. История и култура. Международна конференция, София, 6–8. октомври 2014 г., София 2015, 191–198.

***Mal'ceva*, Arhitektura** = *Мальцева С. В.*, Архитектура северных окраин Охридской архиепископии в XI веке, edd. *А. В. Захарова*, *С. В. Мальцева*, *Е. Ю. Станюкович-Денисова*, Актуальные проблемы теории и истории искусства 13, Санкт Петербург 2023, 782–805.

***Mal'ceva*, Arhitektura cerkvi** = *Мальцева С. В.*, Архитектура церкви Св. Георгия в Старом Нагоричине: о строительных периодах и мастерах, Вопросы всеобщей истории архитектуры 2 (21) (2023) 81–98.

***Mal'ceva*, Cerkovnaja arhitektura** = *Мальцева С. В.*, Церковная архитектура Первого Болгарского царства: исследования и исследователи, edd. *А. В. Захарова*, *С. В. Мальцева*, *Е. Ю. Станюкович-Денисова*, Актуальные проблемы теории и истории искусства 9, Санкт Петербург 2019, 350–365.

***Mal'ceva*, Monastyrskaja arkhitektura** = *Мальцева С. В.*, Монастырская архитектура эпохи святых Наума и Климента Охридских в контексте храмового зодчества Первого Болгарского царства и архитектурных традиций византийских провинций IX–XI веков, edd. *А. В. Захарова*, *С. В. Мальцева*, *Е. Ю. Станюкович-Денисова*, Актуальные проблемы теории и истории искусства 10, Санкт Петербург 2020, 809–828.

***Mal'ceva*, Trikonhi** = *Мальцева С. В.*, Триконхи в архитектуре Балкан IV–XII веков, Вестник Православного Свято–Тихоновского гуманитарного университета. Серия 5: Вопросы истории и теории христианского искусства 32 (2018) 34–58.

***Mal'ceva – Freze*, Baziliki** = *Мальцева С. В.*, *Фрезе А. А.*, Базилики XI–XII вв. в Македонии, ВВ 105 (2021) 179–203.

***Mal'ceva – Freze*, Fatih Džami** = *Мальцева С. В.*, *Фрезе А. А.*, Фатих Джами в Энезе и соборное строительство средневизантийского периода, edd. *A.V. Zakharova*, *S.V. Maltseva*, *E.Iu. Staniukovich-Denisova*, Actual Problems of Theory and History of Art 14 (2024) 151–169.

***Mal'ceva – Freze*, Osmyslenie =** *Мальцева С. В.*, *Фрезе А. А.* Осмысление константинопольских строительных практик в архитектуре Македонии и соседних земель в XI–XII вв, ВВ 108 (2024) 263–285.

***Mal'ceva – Freze*, Stroitel'stvo v Severnoj Makedonii** = *Мальцева С. В.*, *Фрезе А. А.*, Строительство в Северной Македонии в период после возвращения под византийское владычество, edd. *A.V. Zakharova*, *S.V. Maltseva*, *E.Iu. Staniukovich-Denisova*, Actual Problems of Theory and History of Art, vol. 11, St. Petersburg 2021, 422–436.

***Malenko*, Lihnidsko-ohridskiot duhoven i kulturen vrutok** = *Маленко В.*, Лихнидско-охридскиот духовен и културен врток на Плаошник, edd. *Г. Цветан*, *Г. Тодоровски*, Македонско-украински културни врски (X–XX век) Скопје 2004, 279–297.

***Malenko – Bačeva – Angeličin Žura*, Crkvata Sv. Četirieset mačenici** = *Маленко В.*, *Бачева Д.*, *Ангеличин Жура Г.*, Црквата Св. Четириесет маченици во Охрид. Археолошки локалитет, Охрид 2010.

***Malmquist*, Byzantine** = *Malmquist T.*, Byzantine 12th century frescoes in Kastoria : Agioi Anargyroi and Agios Nikolas tou Kasnitzi, Uppsala 1979.

***Maltseva*, Ohrid triconch churches** = *Maltseva S. V.*, Ohrid triconch churches and the Balkan architecture of the 9th and 10th centuries, ed. *M. Rakocija*, Niš i Vizantija 20, Niš 2022, 291–304.

***Mamaloukos*, A contribution to the study of the "Athonite" church** = *Mamaloukos S.*, A contribution to the study of the "Athonite" church type of Byzantine architecture, Zograf 35 (2011) 39–50.

***Mamaloukos*, Ē naodomia** = *Μαμαλούκος Σ.*, Η ναοδομία στην Ήπειρο από τον 9ο ως τον 15ο αιώνα, Ευρετήριο Βυζαντινών

Τοιχογραφιών. Ήπειρος, Ακαδημία Αθηνών. Κέντρο Έρευνας της Βυζαντινής και Μεταβυζαντινής Τέχνης (forthcoming)

***Mamaloukos*, Paratērēseis stēn topographia** = *Μαμαλούκος Σ.*, Παρατηρήσεις στην τοπογραφία και στην αρχιτεκτονική του Κάστρου της Πέτρας, Η Πιερία στα βυζαντινά και νεότερα χρόνια. 2ο Επιστημονικό Συνέδριο (Κατερίνη 25–28 Νοεμβρίου 1997). Πρακτικά, Κατερίνη 2002, 146–164.

***Mamaloukos*, The Chronology of the Exonarthex** = *Mamaloukos St.*, The Chronology of the Exonarthex of the Porta-Panagia in Thessaly, ed. *I. Stevović*, Collection of Papers Dedicated to the 40th Anniversary of the Institute for Art History, Faculty of Philosophy, University of Belgrade, Belgrade 2012, 237–250.

***Mane*, Rrethi i Beratit** = *Mane Sh.*, Rrethi i Beratit, Iliria 6 (1976) 401–407.

***Maneva*, Bazilika De** = *Манева Е.*, Базилика Де од Хераклеја Линкестис, Лихнид 7 (1989) 51–57, Т. I–VI.

***Maneva*, Grobovite** = *Манева Е.*, Гробовите бр. 24 и бр. 25 од локалитетот Extra muros (Прилог кон проблематиката на средновековниот стратум во Хераклеја), Зборник на трудови – НУ Завод и музеј во Битола 4–5 (1983/1984) 35–43.

***Maneva*, Herakleja** = *Манева Е.*, Хераклеја била средновековна тврдина на градот Битола, ed. *Д. Ѓоргиев*, 1000 години од битката на Беласица и смртта на цар Самоил, Скопје 2018, 75–90.

***Maneva*, Prilog** = *Манева Е.*, Прилог кон решавање на убикацијата на средновековниот град Битола, Историја 22/2 (1986) 267–274.

***Maneva*, Skopje** = *Манева Е.*, Осврт на археолошките остатоци од средновековниот град Скопје, локалитет Кале, Патримониум. МК, година 13, број 18 (2020) 341–380.

***Maneva*, Skopje i Skopsko** = *Манева Е.*, Скопје и Скопско во средниот век, ed. *Р. Дуев*, Скопје. Осум милениуми живот, култура, творештво, Скопје 2019, 325–470.

***Maneva*, Srednovekovna nekropola** = *Манева Е.*, Средновековна некропола кај базиликата Де во Хераклеја, Историја 22/ 1 (1986) 169–199.

***Maneva*, Srednovekovnata nekropola** = *Манева Е.*, Средновековната некропола „Крстеви“: ископувања 1992–1994, МАА 14 (1996) 185–200.

***Mango – Hawkins*, The Mosaics** = *Mango C.*, *Hawkins E.J.W.*, The Mosaics of Saint Sophia at Istanbul: The Church Fathers in the North Tympanum, DOP 26 (1972) 1–41.

***Manolova-Voykova*, White Ware** = *Manolova-Voykova M.*, White Ware from Preslav, edd. *S. Goryanova*, *G. Grozdanova*, At the gates of the royal court: treasures of Veliki Preslav, Sofia 2019, 64–66.

***Mantova*, Tzetzes' scholia** = *Mantova J.*, Tzetzes' scholia to the Histories as a source on the socio-cultural use of invective in Byzantium, ed. *E. E. Prodi*, Τζετζικαὶ ἔρευναι, Bologna 2022, 105–116.

***Marasović*, Dalmatia Praeromanica IV** = *Marasović T.*, Dalmatia Praeromanica. Ranosrednjovjekovno graditeljstvo u Dalmaciji, IV, Korpus arhitekture: Južna Dalmacija, Bosna i Hercegovina, Crna Gora, Split – Zagreb 2013.

***Marasović*, Prilozi istraživanja starohrvatske arhitekture** = *Marasović T.*, Prilozi istraživanja starohrvatske arhitekture, Split 1978.

***Marava-Chatzinicolau – Toufexi-Paschou*, Catalogue** = *Marava-Chatzinicolau A.*, *Toufexi-Paschou C.*, Catalogue of the Illuminated Byzantine Manuscripts of the National Library of Greece, vol. 3, Athens 1997.

***Maraval*, Les premiers développements** = *Maraval P.*, Les premiers développements du culte des XL Martyrs de Sébastée dans l'Orient byzantin et en Occident, Vetera Christianorum 36 (1999) 193–211

***Maraval*, Lieux saints** = *Maraval P.*, Lieux saints et pèlerinages d'Orient. Histoire et géographie des origines à la conquête arabe, Paris 1985.

***Mardi-Babikova – Ilieva*, Novootkriti stenopisi** = *Марди-Бабикова В.*, *Илиева Б.*, Новооткрити стенописи в църквата при Земенския манастир, Изкуство 10 (1972) 12–14.

***Mardi-Babikova*, Novootkriti stenopisi v cŭrkvata** = *Марди-Бабикова В.*, Нооткрити стенотописи в църквата при Земенския манастир, Музеи и паметници на културата 3 (1973) 16–25.

***Marinis*, Architecture and Ritual** = *Marinis V.*, Architecture and Ritual in the Churches of Constantinople. Ninth to Fifteenth Centuries, Cambridge 2014.

***Marinis*, The Original Form** = *Marinis V.*, The Original Form of the Theotokos tou Libos Reconsidered, ed. *P. Petrides*, *V. Phoskolou*, Απόδοση τιμής στην ομότιμη καθηγήτρια Μαίρη Παναγιωτίδη-Κεσίσογλου, Athens 2015, 267–303.

***Marinow*, Living in peace** = *Marinow K.*, Living in peace: Byzantine-Bulgarian relations according to the homily "On the peace treaty with the Bulgarians", Стандарти на всекидневието през средновековието и новото време, том 3, Велико Търново 2014, 271–283.

***Marinow*, Mountain warfare** = *Marinow K.*, Mountain warfare in the Byzantine-Bulgarian military struggles, the end of 10th – the beginning of 11th century between theory and practice (An outline), edd. *В. Гюзелев*, *Г. Н. Николов*, Европейският Югоизток през втората половина на X – началото на XIвек. История и култура, София 2015, 95–108.

***Marjanović-Dušanić*, Sveti kralj** = *Марјановић-Душанић С.*, Свети краљ. Култ Стефана Дечанског, Београд 2007.

***Marković*, Beginnings of Artistic Activity** = *Marković M.*, Beginnings of Artistic Activity in the Serbian lands (9th –11th century), edd. *D. Vojvodić*, *D. Popović*, Byzantine Heritage and Serbian Art. II. Sacral Art of the Serbian Lands in the Middle Ages, Belgrade 2016, 147–165.

***Marković*, Chrysobull** = *Marković M.*, Chrysobull of the Church of Gračanica, transcription, edd. *M. Marković*, *D. Vojvodić*, Serbian artistic heritage in Kosovo and Metohija. Identity, significance, vulnerability, Belgrade 2017, 214–215.

***Marković*, History of Creation** = *Marković M.*, History of Creation. Under the First Rulers of the Nemanjić Dynasty (from 1168 to the Death of King Milutin), edd. *D. Vojvodić*, *M. Marković*, Artistic Heritage of the Serbian People in Kosovo and Metohija. History, Identity, Vulnerability, Protection, Belgrade 2017, 221–239.

***Marković*, Na tragu** = *Марковић М.*, На трагу самосвојних решења – српска уметност у XII столећу, edd. *Д. Војводић*, *Д. Поїовић*, Византијско наслеђе и српска уметност II: Сакрална уметност српских земаља у средњем веку, Београд 2016, 165–181.

***Marković*, O ktitorskom natpisu** = *Марковић М.*, О ктиторском натпису кнеза Мирослава у цркви Светог Петра на Лиму, Зограф 36 (2012) 21–46.

***Marković*, Ostaci manastira Petra Koriškog** = *Марковић О.*, Остаци манастира Петра Коришког, Старине Косова и Метохије 4–5 (1968–1971) 410–420.

***Marković*, Pravoslavno monaštvo** = *Марковић В.*, Православно монаштво и манастири у средњевековној Србији, Сремски Карловци 1920.

***Marković*, Sveti Nikita kod Skoplja** = *Марковић М.*, Свети Никита код Скопља. Задужбина краља Милутина, Београд 2015.

***Marković*, The Virgin of Tenderness** = *Marković M.*, The Virgin of Tenderness from Syracuse. Presentation and Iconographical Analysis of the Icon with Special Reference to the Belt with Straps of the Christ, edd. *H. Buschhausen*, *J. Prolović*, Erforschen – Erkennen – Weitergeben. Gewidmet dem Gedenken an Helmut Buschhausen, Lohmar 2021, 247–292.

***Marković*, U vreme prvih Nemanjića** = *Марковић М.*, У време првих Немањића (од 1168. до смрти краља Милутина), edd. *Д.*

Војводић, М. Марковић, Уметничко наслеђе српског народа на Косову и Метохији – историја, идентитет, угроженост, заштита, Београд 2017, 221–240.

***Marković – Vojvodić*, Church of the Holy Apostles** = *Marković M., Vojvodić D.*, Church of the Holy Apostles Peter and Paul in Ras, Novi Sad 2021 (=*Марковић М., Војводић Д.*, Црква Светих апостола Петра и Павла у Расу, Нови Сад 2021).

***Matanov*, Knjažestvoto na Dragaši** = *Матанов Х.*, Княжеството на Драгаши. Към историята на Североизточна Македония в предосманската епоха, София 1997.

***Mathews*, "Private" Liturgy** = *Mathews T.*, "Private" Liturgy in Byzantine Architecture: Toward a Re-appraisal, CA 30 (1982) 125–138.

***Matsēs*, Nomika zētēmata** = *Μάτσης Ν.*, Νομικά ζητήματα εκ των έργων του Δημητρίου Χωματιανού (διατριβή επί διδακτορία), Αθήναι 1961.

***Mauropouloy Tsioumē*, Ē Byzantinē technē** = *Μαυροπουλου Τσιουμη Χ.*, Η Βυζαντινη τεχνη, ed. *Ν. Καλογερόπουλος*, Κοζάνη και Γρεβενά, Ο Χώρος και οι ΄Ανθρωποι, Θεσσαλονίκη 2004, 298–304.

***Mavrodinov*, Ednokorabnata i krŭstovidnata cŭrkva** = *Мавродинов Н.*, Еднокорабната и кръстовидната църква по българскитѣ земи до края на XIV вѣкъ, София 1931.

***Mavrodinov*, Starobŭlgarskoto izkustvo** = *Мавродинов Н.*, Старобългарското изкуство. Изкуството на Първото българско царство, София 1959.

***Mavrodinov*, Vŭnšnata ukrasa** = *Мавродинов Н.*, Външната украса на старобългарскитѣ църкви, Известия на Българския археологически институтъ VIII (1934) 262–322.

***Mavrodinova*, Cŭrkvata Sveti Nikola** = *Мавродинова Л.*, Църквата Свети Никола при Мелник, София 1975.

***Mavrodinova*, Les prophètes** = *Mavrodinova L.*, Les prophètes des deux premières couches de peinture à l'église St. Georges à Sofia, Αφιέρωμα στη μνήμη του Σωτήρη Κίσσα, Θεσσαλονίκη 2001, 283–290.

***Mavrodinova*, Novootkriti srednovekovni stenopisi** = *Мавродинова Л.*, Новооткрити средновековни стенописи в църквата „Св. Георги" в Колуша, Кюстендил (Предварителни бележки), SBL 25–26 (1991) 194–210.

***Mavrodinova*, Ošte za srednovekovnata cŭrkva** = *Мавродинова Л.*, Още за средновековната църква в Колуша – Кюстендил (Ктитори, светец-покровител и дата на сградата и на първите два стенописни слоя), Известия на исторически музей Кюстендил 14 (2007) 11–18.

***Mavrodinova*, Stennata živopis** = *Мавродинова Л.*, Стенната живопис в България до края на XIV век, София 1995.

***Mavrodinova*, Zemenskata cŭrkva** = *Мавродинова Л.*, Земенската църква. История, архитектура, живопис, София 1980.

***Mavrodinova*, Données historiques** = *Mavrodinova L.*, Données historiques sur l'église médiévale de Koloucha-Kustendil, Bulgarie, ΔΧΑΕ 29 (2008) 101–104.

***Mavrodinova*, Kultura i izkustvo** = *Мавродинова В.*, Култура и изкуство през време на Първата българска държава, edd. *А. Обретенов, С. Станчев-Баклинов, Д. Друмев*, История на българското изобразително изкуство, Т. 1, София 1976, 63–153.

***Mavrommati*, Bulgaria** = *Mavrommati K. N.*, The 12th-Century Physical Landscape and Climate of Bulgaria: The Case of Gregorios Antiochos, BM 3 (2012) 95–107.

***Mazakova*, Proučvane** = *Мазакова А.*, Проучване, реставрация и експониране на средновековните стенописи в църквата „Св. Георги" – Колуша, Кюстендил, Известия на исторически музей Кюстендил 14 (2007) 19–36.

***Mazakova*, Proučvane, restavracija i eksponirane** = *Мазакова А.*, Проучване, реставрация и експониране на средновековните стенописи от църквата „Св. Георги" – Колуша, Кюстендил, Паметници, реставрация, музеи, кн. 1–2, София 2006, 61–68.

***McCormick*, Eternal Victory** = *McCormick M.*, Eternal victory. Triumphal rulership in late antiquity, Byzantium and the early medieval west, Cambridge 1986.

***McNeill*, Folk-Paganism in the Penitentials** = *McNeill J. T.*, Folk-Paganism in the Penitentials, The Journal of Religion 13/4 (1933) 450–466.

Medieval Folklore = Medieval Folklore: A Guide to Myths, Legends, Tales, Beliefs, and Customs, edd. *C. Lindahl, J. McNamara, J. Lindow*, Oxford 2002.

***Meens*, A Penitential Diet** = *Meens R.*, A Penitential Diet, ed. *M. Rubin*, Medieval Christianity in practice, Princeton 2009, 144–150.

***Meens*, Pollution** = *Meens R.*, Pollution in the early middle ages: the case of the food regulations in penitentials, Early Medieval Europe 4 (1995) 3–19.

***Megaw*, The Skripou Screen** = *Megaw A. H. S.*, The Skripou Screen, The Annual of the British School at Athens 61 (1966) 1–32.

***Meksi*, Arkitektura** = *Meksi A.*, Arkitektura dhe restaurimi i kishës së Perondisë, Monumentet 5–6 (1973) 19–43.

***Meksi*, Arkitektura dhe datimi** = *Meksi A.*, Arkitektura dhe datimi i kishëssë manastirit të Apollonisë, Monumentet 1 (1971) 103–117.

***Meksi*, Arkitektura e Kishave** = *Meksi A.*, Arkitektura e Kishave të Shqipërisë (Shekujt VII–XV), Tiranë 2004.

***Meksi*, Arkitektura mesjetare** = *Meksi A.*, Arkitektura mesjetare në Shqipëri (shek. VII–XV*)*, Tiranë 1983.

***Meksi*, Bazilika** = *Meksi A.*, Bazilika e madhe dhe baptisteri i Burtintit, Monumentet 25/1 (1983) 47–75.

***Meksi*, Disa kapela Bizantine** = *Meksi A.*, Disa kapela Bizantine të vendit tonë, Monumentet 10 (1975) 75–99.

***Meksi*, Dy bazilika Mesjetare** = *Meksi A.*, Dy bazilika Mesjetare të panjohura, Monumentet 13 (1977) 71–74.

***Meksi*, Dy kisha bizantine** = *Meksi A.*, Dy kisha bizantine në rreth të Gjirokastrës [Deux églises byzantines du district de Gjirokastra], Monumentet 9 (1975) 77–105.

***Meksi*, L'architecture des églises** = *Meksi A.*, L'architecture des églises à planimétrie en forme de croix à coupole en Albanie, Αρμός. Τιμητικός τόμος στον καθηγητή Ν.Κ. Μουτσόπουλο γιά τα 25 χρόνια πνευματικής του προσφοράς στο Πανεπιστήμιο, 2, Θεσσαλονίκη 1991, 1145–1167.

***Melamed*, Proučvanija na ranohristijanskata bazilika** = *Меламед А.*, Проучвания на раннохристиянската базилика и средновековна църква в местността "Шипотско", община Банско (1992–1993), Археологически открития и разкопки през 1992–1993 г., София 1994, 118.

***Melamed*, Proučvanija na srednovekovnata cŭrkva** = *Меламед А.*, Проучвания на средновековната църква и некропол и базилика в м. Шипотско край гр. Банско, Археологически открития и разкопки през 1994 г., София 1995, 152.

***Melamed*, Rannohristijanskata bazilika, srednovekovno selo, cŭrkva i nekropol** = *Меламед К.*, Раннохристиянска базилика, средновековно село, църква и некропол в Шипотско, Банско, Археологически открития и разкопки през 2008 г., София 2009, 701–704.

***Meloski*, Dve žitija na Sveti Erazmo-Lihnidski** = *Мелоски Х.*, Две жития на Свети Еразмо-Лихнидски, Лихнид 6 (1988) 69–87.

***Mentzos*, Ergastērio glyptikēs** = *Mentzos A.*, Εργαστήριο γλυπτικής στη Θεσσαλονίκη στον 11ο αιώνα, edd. *Ch. Pennas, C. Vanderheyde*, La sculpture byzantine, VIIe–XIIe siècles. Actes du colloque international, 6–10 Septembre 2000, Atènes 2008, 217–230.

***Mercati*, Giacomo di Bulgaria** = *Mercati S. G.*, Sulla vita et sulle opere di Giacomo di Bulgaria, Collectanea Byzantina I, Bari 1970, 99–113.

***Meško*, Alexios I Komnenos** = *Meško M.*, Alexios I Komnenos in the Balkans, 1081–1095, Palgrave MacMillan 2023.

***Messis*, Du topos de la barbarie =** *Messis Ch.*, Du topos de la barbarie à l'émergence de la curiosité ethnographique : les Bulgares dans les textes byzantins (XI^{e}-XIV^{e} siècle), ed *I. Biliarsky*, Laudator temporis acti. Studia in memoriam Ioannis A. Bozilov, Vol. I, Sofia 2018, 260–281.

***Meyendorff*, Christian Marriage** = *Meyendorff J.*, Christian Marriage in Byzantium: The Canonical and Liturgical Tradition, DOP 44 (1990) 99–107.

***Miatev*, Der Grosse Palast** = *Miatev K.*, Der Grosse Palast in Pliska und die Magnaura von Konsantinopel, Известия на археологическия институт 10 (1936) 136–144.

***Michaélidès-Nouaros*, Contributions à l'étude des pactes successoraux** = *Michaélidès-Nouaros G.*, Contributions à l'étude des pactes successoraux en droit byzantin (Justinien et post- justinien), Paris 1937.

***Mihajlov*, Arheologičeski proučvanija** = *Михайлов Ст.*, Археологически проучвания в крепостта Баба Вида във Видин, Археология 3/3 (1961) 1–8.

***Mihajlov*, Kozjak i Bregalniškata episkopija** = *Михайлов Ст.*, Козяк и Брегалнишката епископия, Известия на Българския археологически институт 15 (1946) 1–23.

***Mihajlov*, Novi danni** = *Михайлов С.*, Нови данни за Голямата базилика в Плиска, Плиска – Преслав 6 (1993) 22–32.

***Mihajlov*, Za aulite** = *Михайлов С.*, За аулите и пренасянето на българската столица от Плиска в Преслав, Археология 14/1 (1972) 1–8.

***Mihajlov*, Za avtentičnosta na nadpisa** = *Михайлов Ст.*, За автентичноста на надписа за освещаването на манастриската църква край с. Равна, Известия на Народния музей Варна 20 (1984) 83–90.

***Mihajlović*, Crkva svetog Petra** = *Mihajlović R.*, Crkva svetog Petra kod Novog Pazara, Novopazarski zbornik 10 (1986) 67–100.

***Mihajlovski*, Bitolskata Jeni džamija** = *Михајловски Р.*, Битолската Јени џамија во светлината на најновите археолошки откритија, Patrimonium. MK 3–4, 5–6 (2008–2009) 183–188.

***Mihajlovski*, Byzantine seals** = *Mihajlovski R.*, Byzantine seals unearthed by the archaeological excavations at the Yeni mosque, Journal of the Australian Early Medieval Association 6 (2010) 41–51.

***Mihajlovski*, Circulation of Byzantine seals** = *Mihajlovski R.*, Circulation of Byzantine seals as a contribution towards the location of Medieval Bitola, ed. *M. Rakocija*, Niš i Vizantija 14, Niš 2015, 574–587.

***Mihajlovski*, Heraclea, Pelagonia and Medieval Bitola** = *Mihajlovski R.*, Heraclea, Pelagonia and Medieval Bitola: An outline of the ecclesiastical history (6th–12th century), Folia Archeologica Balkanica 3 (2015) 339–359.

***Mihajlovski*, Novi podatoci** = *Михајловски Р.*, Нови податоци кон местоположбата на средновековниот град Битола, Patrimonium. MK 13 (2015) 199–208.

***Mihajlovski*, Od duhovnoto nasledstvo** = *Михајловски П.*, Од духовното наследство на Via Egnatia: црквите Успение на Богородица од Велушина и Богородица Пречиста од Граешница, Patrimonium. MK 4 (2011) 141–156.

***Mihajlovski*, Prilozi za ubikacijata** = *Михајловски Р.*, Прилози за убикацијата на средновековните крепости на Пелагонија и Битола, Зборник на трудови – НУ Завод и музеј во Битола 20 (2017) 130–137.

***Mihajlovski*, The Basilica of the Dormition** = *Mihajlovski R.*, The Basilica of the Dormition of the Holy Virgin in Velushina, Journal of the Australian Early Medieval Association 3 (2007) 225–241.

***Mihajlovski – Filipovska-Lazarovska – Stojkoski*, Medieval Bitola after 1018** = *Mihajlovski R.*, *Filipovska-Lazarovska G.*, *Stojkoski S.*, Medieval Bitola after 1018: the Cultural Horizons of the Yeni Mosque, ed. *M. Rakocija*, Niš and Byzantium 17, Niš 2019, 257–270.

***Mihajlovski – Stojkoski – Filipovska-Lazarovska*, Srednovekovna Bitola** = *Михајловски Р.*, *Стојкоски С.*, *Филиповска-Лазаровска Г.*, Средновековна Битола во светлината на археолошките истражувања во Јени џамија до 2021 година, Balcanoslavica 49/ 1–2 (2020) 11–33.

***Mihaljević*, Change** = *Mihaljević M.*, Change in Byzantine Architecture, Approaches to Byzantine Architecture and its Decoration, edd. *M.J.Johnson*, *R. Ousterhout*, *E. Papalexandrou*, Studies in Honor of Slobodan Ćurčić, Farnham 2012, 102–109.

***Mijatev*, Arhitekturata** = *Миятев Кр.*, Архитектурата в средновековна България, София 1965.

***Mijatev*, Die mittelalterliche Baukunst** = *Mijatev K.* Die mittelalterliche Baukunst in Bulgarien, Sofia 1974.

***Mijatev*, Krŭglata crkva** = *Миятев Кр.*, Кръглата църква в Преслав, София 1932.

***Mijatev*, Krumovijat dvorec** = *Миятев К.*, Крумовият дворец и други новооткрити постройки в Плиска, Известия на Българския археологически институт 14 (1940–1942) 71–135.

***Mijatev*, Les "Quarante martyrs"** = *Mijatev K.*, Les "Quarante martyrs", fragment de fresque a Vodoca (Macédoine), L'art byzantin chez les Slaves. Les Balkans, I/1, Paris 1930, 102–109.

***Mijatev*, Preslavskata keramika** = *Миятев Кр.*, Преславската керамика, София 1936.

***Mijović*, Gračanica** = *Мијовић П.*, Грачаница – ранохришћанска базилика и средњевековни манастир, Археолошки преглед 6 (1964) 128–133.

***Mijović*, O genezi Gračanice** = *Мијовић П.*, О генези Грачанице, ed. *С. Петковић*, Византијска уметност почетком XIV века, Београд 1978, 127–159.

***Miklas*, Kyrillomethodianisches und nachkyrillomethodianisches Erbe** = *Miklas H.*, Kyrillomethodianisches und nachkyrillomethodianisches Erbe im ersten ostslavischen Einfluß auf die südslavische Literatur, edd. *K. Trost*, *E. Völkl*, *E. Wedel*, Symposium Methodianum. Beiträge der Internationalen Tagung in Regensburg (17. bis 24. April 1985) zum Gedenken an den 1100. Todestag des hl. Method., Neuried 1988, 437–476.

***Mikov*, Starini** = *Миков В.*, Старини от разни краища в България Църквата „Св.Тодор", Известия на Археологическия Институт 5 (1928–1929) 333–334.

***Mikulčić*, Antički gradovi** = *Микулчиќ И.*, Антички градови во Македонија, Скопје 1999.

***Mikulčić*, Srednovekovni gradovi** = *Микулчиќ И.*, Средновековни градови и тврдини во Македонија, Скопје 1996.

***Mil'kov – Simonov*, Kirik Novgorodec** = *Мильков В. В.*, Симонов Р. А., Кирик Новгородец: ученый и мыслитель, Москва 2011.

***Milanova*, Kamennata plastika** = *Миланова А.*, Каменната пластика в средновековна България между Византия и Западна, Studia Balcanica 32 (2017) 203–226.

***Milanova*, Messages culturels** = *Milanova A.*, Messages culturels et identitaires de la sculpture bulgare du Haut Moyen Age, Годишник на Софийския университет "Св. Климент Охридски" 100 (19) (2019) 195–218.

***Milanova*, Ot „antikvarnoto" kŭm „avangardnoto"** = *Миланова А.*, От „антикварното" към „авангардното" в преславската архитектурна скулптура, Проблеми на изкуството 4 (2019) 3–12.

***Milanova*, Sjužet't lŭvsko semejstvo ot starozagorskite skulptirani ploči** = *Миланова А.*, Сюжетът „лъвско семейство“ от старозагорските скулптирани плочи (краят на X – началото на XI в.), Материали от Четвъртата Национална конференция по история, археология и културен туризъм „Пътуване Към България ” – Шумен, 14–16.05.2014 година, Шумен. 2015, 479–490.

***Milanova*, Skulpturnata ukrasa na bazilikata** = *Миланова А.*, Скулптурната украса на базиликата „Св. Ахил“ в контекста на византийската пластика, edd. *В. Гюзелев*, *Г. Н. Николов*, Европейският Югоизток през втората половина на X – началото на XI век. История и култура, София 2015, 714–741.

***Milanova*, Tipologija na ukrepenite selišta** = *Миланова А.*, Типология на укрепените селища в България под византийска власт, edd. *Ц. Степанов*, *В. Вачкова*, CIVITAS DIVINO-HUMANA. В Чест на професор Георги Бакалов, София 2004, 239–252.

***Milanović*, Ever Ready Throne** = *Milanović Lj.*, Ever Ready Throne: Reassessing The Role Of Hetoimasia in the Church of the Virgin Eleousa in Veljusa, ZRVI 60-2 (2023) 1079–1109.

***Milanović*, South Slavic Lands** = *Milanović Lj.*, South Slavic Lands, ed. *E. C. Schwartz*, The Oxford Handbook of Byzantine Art and Architecture, Oxford 2022, 233–249.

***Milčev*, Arheologičeski razkopki** = *Милчев А.*, Археологически разкопки и проучвания в долината на Средна Струма. Открита кръстовидно-куполна триконхална църква в околностите на с. Кулата, Годишник на Софийския университет Св. Климент Охридски. Философско-исторически факултет 53 (1959), 1960, 401–449.

***Milčev*, Po vŭprosa za kulturata** = *Милчев А.*, По въпроса за културата на славяните и прабългарите в нашите земи през ранното средновековие, Археология 6/2 (1964) 1–23.

***Milčev – Damjanov*, Arheologičeski razkopki** = *Милчев А.*, Дамянов С., Археологически разкопки на късноантичната крепост с. Войвода, Шуменски окръг, Известия на Археологическия институт 33 (1972) 263–278.

***Milev*, Grŭckite žitija** = *Милев А.*, Гръцките жития на Климент Охридски, София 1966.

***Milinković*, Mreža naselja** = *Милинковић М.*, Мрежа насеља и њихова структура на северу Илирика у 6. веку – археолошки подаци, edd. *Б. Крсмановић*, *Љ. Максимовић*, *Р. Радић*, Византијски свет на Балкану II, Београд 2012, 299–310.

***Millet*, L'ancient art serbe** = *Millet G.*, L'ancient art serbe. Les églises, Paris 1919.

***Milo et al.*, Into the Tsar's residence** = *Milo P.*, *. Dimitrov P.*, *Manolova-Voykova M.*, *Tencer*,*T.*, *Milová B.*, *Vágner M.*, Into the Tsar's residence: geophysical survey of the early medieval Bulgarian capital of Veliki Preslav, Antiquity 97 (2023) 176–193.

***Milošević – Đurić*, Crkva Sv. Prokopija** = *Милошевић Г.*, *Ђурић С.*, Црква Св. Прокопија у Прокупљу, Старинар 38 (1987) 83–106.

***Miltenov*, Zlatostruj** = *Милтенов Я.*, Златоструй: старобългарски хомилетичен свод, създаден по инициатива на българския цар Симеон. Текстологическо и извороведско изследване, София 2013.

***Miltenova*, Apocryphal collections** = *Miltenova A.*, South Slavonic Apocryphal Collections, Sofia 2018.

***Miltenova*, Historical Apocalypses** = *Miltenova A.*, Historical Apocalypses in Medieval Bulgarian Literature (10th–14th Centuries), edd. *K. Bardakjian*, *S. La Porta*, The Armenian Apocalyptic Tradition: A Comparative Perspective, Leiden 2014.

***Miltenova*, Neizvesten prevod** = *Милтенова А.*, Неизвестен превод на византийското видение на Анастасия черноризица в стробългарската литература, edd. *А. Милтенова*, *А. Ангушева-Тиханова*, Медиевистика и културна антропология. Сборник в чест на 40-годишната творческа дейност на проф. Донка Петканова, София 1998, 237–257.

***Miltenova – Kajmakamova*, The Uprising** = *Miltenova A. L.*, *Kajmakamova M. V.*, The Uprising of Petar Deljan (1040–1041) in a New Old Bulgarian Source, Byzantinobulgarica 8 (1986) 227–240.

***Milutinović – Valtrović*, Izveštaj** = *Милутиновић Д.*, *Валтровић М.*, Извештај уметничком одбору српског ученог друштва, Годишњак српског ученог друштва 68 (1880) 461–462.

***Miljković*, Povest** = *Миљковић Б.*, Повест о чудотворним иконама манастира Хиландара, Зограф 31 (2006–2007) 219–229.

***Miljković*, Žitija svetog Save** = *Миљковић Б.*, Житија светог Саве као извори за историју средњовековне уметности, Београд 2008.

***Miljković – Krstić*, Braničevo** = *Миљковић Е.*, *Крстић А.*, Браничево у средњем веку, Пожаревац 2007.

***Miljković-Pepek*, Deux icones d'Ohrid** = *Miljković-Pepek P.*, Deux icones d'Ohrid peu etudiees, edd. *D. Mouriki et al.*, Byzantine East, Latin-West. Art-Historical Studies in Honor of Kurt Weitzmann, Princeton 1995, 523–526.

***Miljković-Pepek*, L'architecture** = *Miljković-Pepek P.*, L'architecture chrétienne chez les Slaves macédoniens à partir d'avant la moitié du IXe siècle jusqu'à fin du XIIIe siècle, The 17th International Byzantine Congress: Major papers, Dumbarton Oaks / Georgetown University, Washington, D.C., August 3–8, 1986, New York 1986, 483–500.

***Miljković-Pepek*, Le portrait de l'empereur** = *Miljković-Pepek P.*, Le portrait de l'empereur byzantin Michel VIII à l'église rupestre de Saint-Erasme pres d'Ohrid, CA 45 (1997) 169–177.

***Miljković-Pepek*, L'église de la Vierge** = *Miljković-Pepek P.*, L'église de la Vierge du village Teranci dans les environs de Kocani, Rayonnement grec: hommages à Charles Delvoye, Bruxelles 1982, 449–457.

***Miljković-Pepek*, Les fresques** = *Miljković-Pepek P.*, Les fresques de l'église du Saint Achille à Prespa, Αρμός: τιμητικός τόμος στον Καθηγητή Κ. Ν. Μουτσόπουλο για τα 25 χρόνια πνευματικής του προσφοράς στο Πανεπιστήμιο (τόμος 2), Θεσσαλονίκη 1991, 1187–1197.

***Miljković-Pepek*, Quatre saints non identifiés de Kurbinovo** = *Miljković-Pepek P.*, Quatre saints non identifiés de Kurbinovo (1191) et hypothèses sur quelques exemples antérieurs et analogues en Macédoine, Byzantion 62 (1992) 389–402.

***Miljković-Pepek*, Contribution aux recherches** = *Miljković-Pepek P.*, Contribution aux recherches sur l'évolution de la peinture en Macedoine au XIII siécle, ed. *V. J. Djurić*, Symposium de Sopoćani, Beograd 1967, 189–196.

***Miljković-Pepek*, Novi podaci o oltarnoj pregradi** = *Миљковић-Пепек П.*, Нови подаци о олтарној прегради Вељусе и неке претпоставке о њеним првобитним иконама, ЗМСЛУ 11 (1974) 219–231.

***Miljković-Pepek*, Crkvata Sv. Konstantin** = *Миљковић-Пепек П.*, Црквата Св. Константин од село Свеќани, Симпозиум 1100-годишнина од смртта на Кирил Солунски, кн. 1, Скопје 1970, 149–162.

***Miljković-Pepek*, Dva nepoznati fragmenta** = *Миљковић-Пепек П.*, Два непознати фрагмента на фреска од Водочката црква, Зборник. Музеј на Македонија н.с. 3 (2001) 34–49.

***Miljković-Pepek*, Eden nepoznat lik** = *Миљковић-Пепек П.*, Еден непознат лик на св. Климент Охридски во охридскиот катедрален храм, Зборник на Музеј на Македонија 2 (1996) 29–50.

***Miljković-Pepek*, Hristijanskata arhitektura** = *Миљковиќ-Пепек П.*, Христијанската архитектура кај Македонските Словени од пред средината на IX век до 1018 година, Климент Охридски, Студии, Скопје 1986, 225–237.

***Miljković-Pepek*, Ikonografskiot tip** = *Миљковиќ-Пепек П.*, Иконографскиот тип на Богородица Милостива (Ελεουσα) на фреските во Водоча и неговите рани примери во средновековното сликарство на територијата на Македонија, Зборник на Штипскиот Народен Музеј 4–5 (1975) 115–123.

***Miljković-Pepek*, Kompleksot crkvi vo Vodoča** = *Миљковиќ-Пепек П.*, Комплексот цркви во Водоча (дел од проектот за конзервација и реставрација на Водочкиот комплекс), Скопје 1975.

***Miljković-Pepek*, Les données** = *Miljković-Pepek P.*, Les données sur la chronologie des fresques de Veljusa entre les ans 1085 et 1094, ed. *M. A. Gavrilis*, Actes du XV Congrès international d'études byzantines II/B. Art et archéologie. Communications, Athènes 1981, 499–510.

***Miljković-Pepek*, Materijali** = *Миљковиќ-Пепек П.*, Материјали за македонската средновековна уметност. Фреските во светилиштето на црква св. Софија во Охрид, Зборник на Археолошкиот музеј во Скопје 1 (1955–1956) 31–70.

***Miljković-Pepek*, Materijali III** = *Миљковиќ-Пепек П.*, Материјали за македонската средновековна уметност. III, Фреските во наосот и нартексот на црквата Св. Софија во Охрид, Културно наследство 3/1 (1971) 1–28.

***Miljković-Pepek*, Najstarite svetitelski kultovi vo Makedonija** = *Миљковиќ-Пепек П*, Најстарите светителски култови во Македонија, темели на самостојната Самоилова црква и автокефалност на Охридската архиепископија, Зборник Музеј на Македонија н.с. 1 (1993) 23–25.

***Miljkovik-Pepeќ*, Nekoi pogledi** = *Миљковиќ-Пепек П.*, Некои погледи врз архитектурата на манастирската црква Св. Наум крај Охридското Езеро, edd. *A. Алексиев et al.*, Наум Охридски, Охрид 1985, 65–83.

***Miljković-Pepek*, Novi soznanija, Нови сознанија** = *Миљковиќ-Пепек П.*, Нови сознанија од анализи на гробовите на св. Кирил Солунски, св. Климент Охридски и св. Наум Охридски, Историја 1–2 (1992) 21–41.

***Miljković-Pepek*, Novootkrieni freski** = *Миљковиќ-Пепек П.*, Новооткриени фрески во Водоча, Зборник на трудови, I Конгрес на Сојузот на друштвата на историчарите на уметноста од СФРЈ, Охрид 1976, 65–68.

***Miljković-Pepek*, Sveti Erazmo** = *Миљковиќ–Пепек П.*, Свети Еразмо. Пештерна црква крај Охрид, Скопје 1994.

***Miljković-Pepek*, Veljusa** = *Миљковиќ-Пепек П.*, Велјуса, манастир Св. Богородица милостива во селото Велјуса крај Струмица, Скопје 1981.

***Miljković-Pepek*, Vodoča** = *Миљковиќ-Пепек П.*, Комплексот цркви во Водоча. Дел од проектот за конзервација и реставрација на Водочкиот комплекс, Скопје 1975.

***Miljukov*, Hristianskie drevnosti** = *Милюков П. Н.*, Христианские древности Западной Македонии. По материалам, собранным Русским Археологическим Институтом в течение летней экскурсии 1898 года, Известия Русского археологического института в Константинополе 4 (1899) 21–151.

***Minčeva*, Manastiri i manastirska mreža** = *Минчева К.*, Манастири и манастирска мрежа в Кюстендилския санджак през XV–XVII век, София 2010.

***Minčeva*, Svedenija za istorijata** = *Минчева К.*, Сведения за историята на манастира „Св. Йоаким Сарандопорски (Осоговски)", ed. *A. Николов*, Българско царство. Сборник в чест на 60-годишнината на доц. д-р Георги Н. Николов, София 2018, 729–748.

***Minčeva*, Svedenija za manastira** = *Минчева К.*, Сведения за манастира, основан от св. Климент Охридски, ВМ 8 (2017) 117–133.

***Minić*, Le site d'habitation** = *Minić D.*, Le site d'habitation de Mačvanska Mitrovica, ed. *V. Popović*, Sirmium XI. Recherches archeologiques en Syrmie, Beograd 1980.

***Mirčev*, Razkopkite v Karaač teke** = *Мирчев М.*, Разкопките в Караач теке край Варна, Известия на Археологическия Институт 17 (1950) 284–288.

***Mirčeva*, Kultŭt kŭm sv. Erazŭm** = *Мирчева В.*, Култът към св. Еразъм Охридски (Формийски) в източната и западната традиция, SBL 48 (2013) 67–78.

***Mirčeva*, Oште vednŭzh za kulta kŭm sv. Erazŭm** = *Мирчева В.*, Още веднъж за култа към св. Еразъм Охридски (Формийски) в източната и западната християнска традиция, SBL 67–68 (2023) 382–408.

***Mirčeva*, Službata na sv. Kliment Ohridski** = *Мирчева Б.*, Службата на св. Климент Охридски в празничен миней № 122 от Народната библиотека „Св. св. Кирил и Методий" в София, PB 24/2 (2000) 70–84.

***Mirković*, Justinijanova vremena** = *Мирковић М.*, Antistes Stefanus и грађевинска делатност. Јустинијанова времена у Полимљу, Opera Minora Selecta IV Antiquitas Posterior 4 (2018) 169–176.

***Mišić*, Petruško i Lipovačko krajište** = *Мишић С.*, Петрушко и Липовачко крајиште од половине XIV века до 1459. године, Расински анали 8 (2010) 121–128.

***Mišić – Đokić*, Kapija Pomoravlja** = *Мишић С.*, *Н. Ђокић*, Капија Поморавља у историјској и војно стратегијској географији, edd. *B. Стојанчевић*, *С. Мишић*, *А. Булатовић*, Капија Поморавља. Тематски зборник, Варварин 2011, 109–152.

***Mitchell*, Hagiography and the Great Persecution** = *Mitchell S.*, Hagiography and the Great Persecution in Sebastea and Armenia Minor, edd. *S. Mitchell*, *P. Pilhofer*, Early Christianity in Asia Minor and Cyprus. From the Margins to the Mainstream, Leiden – Boston 2019, 54–62.

***Mitchell*, The Archaeology of Pilgrimage** = *Mitchell J.*, The Archaeology of Pilgrimage in Late Antique Albania: the Basilica of the Forty Martyrs, edd. *W. Bowden*, *L. Lavan*, *C. Machado*, Recent Research on the Late Antique Countryside, Leiden – Boston 2004, 144–186.

***Mitov*, Kjustendil i Kjustendilsko** = *Митов Я.*, Кюстендил и Кюстендилско от началото на XI в. до 1331 г., edd. *Д. Вачков et al.*, История на Кюстендил. Том I. Кюстендил от древността до Освобождението от османска власт, София – Кюстендил 2022, 219–320.

***Mitrev*, Samuilovata krepost-dema** = *Митрев Г.*, Самуиловата крепост-дема в Ключката клисура – нови теренни проучвания и наблюдения, edd. *В. Гюзелев*, *Г. Н. Николов*, Европейският Югоизток през втората половина на X – началото на XI век. История и култура, София 2015, 432–450.

***Mitrev*, Za Samuilovata krepost** = *Митрев Г.*, За Самуиловата крепост и битката в Ключката клисура от 1014 г., edd. *В. Гюзелев*, *Г. Николов*, Хиляда години от битката при Беласица и от смъртта на цар Самуил (1014–2014), София 2015, 155–166.

***Mitrović*, „Kraljevstvo od iskona"** = *Митровић К.*, Краљевство од искона: Барска (архи)епископија и Дукља, ed. *С. Мишић*, Српска краљевства у средњем веку: зборник радова са међународног научног скупа одржаног од 15. до 17. септембра 2017. године у Краљеву, у част обележавања 800 година од крунисања Стефана Немањића (Првовенчаног), Краљево 2017, 47–77.

***Mitsiou*, Zwischen Ideal und Devianz** = *Mitsiou E.*, Das Leben der Kirche von Konstantinopel im Spiegel des triarchatsregisters: Zwischen Ideal und Devianz – Mönche, Kleriker, Laien, Konvertiten, Häretiker und Zauberer, Ostkirchliche Studien 58/2 (2009) 208–225.

***Mitthof*, Zur Neustiftung von Identität** = *Mitthof F.*, Zur Neustiftung von Identität unter imperialer Herrschaft: Die Provinzen des Römischen Reiches als ethnische Entitäten, edd. *W. Pohl et al.*, Visions of Community in the Post-Roman World: The West, Byzantium and the Islamic World (300-1100), Farnham 2012, 61–72.

***Molla*, The Great Basilica** = *Molla TN.*, The Great Basilica: a reassessment, Butrint 4. edd. *R. Hodges et al.*, The Archaeology and Histories of an Ionian Town, Oxford 2012, 200–212.

***Monnier*, Du „casus non existentium liberorum"** = *Monnier H.*, Du „casus non existentium liberorum" dans les Novelles de Justinien, Mélanges Gérardin, Paris 1907, 437–465.

***Morris*, The Byzantine aristocracy** = *Morris R.*, The Byzantine aristocracy and the monasteries, ed. *M. Angold*, The Byzantine Aristocracy: IX to XIII Centuries, Oxford 1984, 112–137.

***Morrisson*, Byzantine Money** = *Morrisson C.*, Byzantine Money: Its Production and Circulation, ed. *A. Laiou*, The economic history of Byzantium from the seventh through the fifteenth century, vol II, Washington, D. C. 2002, 909–966.

***Morton*, A Byzantine canon law scholar** = *Morton J.*, A Byzantine Canon Law Scholar in Norman Sicily: Revisiting Neilos Doxapatres's „Order of the Patriarchal Thrones", Speculum 92/3 (2017) 724–754.

***Morton*, A Twelfth-Century Handbook** = *Morton, J.*, A Twelfth-Century Handbook of Byzantine Canon Law: John (Adrian) Komnenos' Synthesis of the Nomocanon (c. 1130–1140) in Vat. gr. 2198, The Vatican Library Review 3 (2024) 55–82.

***Morton*, Frequently Asked Questions** = *Morton, J.*, Frequently Asked Questions: Erotapocritic Canon Law Texts in the Komnenian Church (ca. 1080–1170), REB 82 (2024) 5–51.

***Morton*, Law and Orthodoxy under the Komnenoi** = *Morton, J.*, Law and Orthodoxy under the Komnenoi: The Appendix to Alexios Aristenos' Canonical Commentary, DOP 76 (2022) 145–162.

***Mošin*, Bitoljska ploča** = *Мошин В.*, Битољска плоча иэ 1017 године, Македонски јазик 17 (1966) 51–61.

***Mošin*, Iluminacija** = *Мошин В.*, Илуминација на средновековни ракописи, ed. *К. Бојаџиевски*, Уметничко богатство на Македонија, Скопље 1984.

***Mošin*, Les manuscrits** = *Mošin V.*, Les manuscrits du Musée national d'Ochrida, Musée National d'Ohrid. Recueil de travaux. Publiée à l'occasion du 10-e anniversaire de la fondation du musée et dédiée au 12e Congrès International des Études Byzantines, Ohrid 1961, 185–229.

***Mošin*, Povelja** = *Мошин В.*, Повеља краља Владислава Богородичином манастиру у Бистрици и златне Буле краља Уроша I, ГСНД 21 (1940) 21–32.

***Mošin*, Prilepsko-Varoškiot tainstven natpis** = *Мошин В.*, Прилепско-Варошкиот таинствен натпис на една античка плоча, ed. *В. Мошин*, Споменици за средновековната и поновата историја на Македонија, том 4, Прилеп 1981, 509–513.

***Moškova – Turilov*, "Nevedomye slovesa"** = *Мошкова Л. В.*, *Турилов А. А.*, „Неведомые словеса" киевского митрополита Георгия, Становление славянского мира и Византия в эпоху раннего средневековья, Москва 2001, 68–71.

***Mouriki*, Stylistic Trends** = *Mouriki D.*, Stylistic Trends in Monumental Painting of Greece during the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries, DOP 34/35 (1980/1981) 77–124.

***Moutsopoulos*, Anaskaphē tēs basilikēs** = *Μουτσόπουλος Ν.*, Ανασκαφή της βασιλικής του Αγίου Αχιλλείου, Θεσσαλονίκη 1972.

***Moutsopoulos*, Anaskaphes** = *Μουτσόπουλος Κ.Ν.*, Ανασκαφές Βυζαντινών κάστρων στη Δ. Μακεδονία, Το Αρχαιολογικό Έργο στη Μακεδονία και στη Θράκη 6/1 (1992) 1–34.

***Moutsopoulos*, Basileios stē Deabolē** = *Moutsopoulos K. N.*, Ο αυτοκράτορας Βασίλειος στη Δεάβολη και την Πρέσπα, ΙΔ Πανελλήνιο Ιστορικό Συνέδριο (28–30 Μαΐου 1993), Πρακτικά, Θεσσαλονίκη (1994) 43–61.

***Moutsopoulos*, Bozigrad** = *Μουτσόπουλος Κ. Ν.*, Το κάστρο του Μπόζιγκραντ, Βυζαντιακά 14 (1994) 239–254.

***Moutsopoulos*, Ē anaskaphē** = *Μουτσόπουλος Κ. Ν.*, Η ανασκαφή στο ναό των Αγίων Αποστόλων στο νησί του Αγίου Αχιλλείου στη Λίμνη της μικρής Πρέσπας, Βυζαντινά 17/1 (1994) 329–398.

***Moutsopoulos*, Ē Basilikē** = *Μουτσόπουλος Ν.*, Η Βασιλική του Αγίου Αχιλλείου στην Μικρι Πρέσπα, ΔΧΑΕ 4 (1964–1965) 163–203.

***Moutsopoulos*, Ē basilikē tou Agiou Achilleiou** = *Μουτσόπουλος Ν.*, Η βασιλική του Αγίου Αχιλλείου στην Πρέσπα. Συμβολή στη μελέτη των βυζαντινών μνημείων της περιοχής, τόμοι Α'–Γ', Θεσσαλονίκη 1989.

***Moutsopoulos*, Ē basilikē tou Agiou Achilleiou stēn Prespa** = *Μουτσόπουλος Ν.*, Η βασιλική του Αγίου Αχιλλείου στην Πρέσπα. Ένα μνημείο κιβωτός της τοπικής ιστορίας, Θεσσαλονίκη 1999.

***Moutsopoulos*, Ekklēsies tēs Kastorias** = *Μουτσόπουλος Ν.*, Εκκλησίες της Καστοριάς, 9ος–11ος αιώνας, Θεσσαλονίκη 1992.

***Moutsopoulos*, Ekklēsies tou Nomou Flōrinas** = *Μουτσόπουλος Κ. Ν.*, Βυζαντινά και Μεταβυζαντινά μνημεία της Μακεδονίας: Εκκλησίες του Νομού Φλώρινας, Θεσσαλονίκη 2003.

***Moutsopoulos*, Esquisse de l'histoire des remparts** = *Moutsopoulos N.*, Esquisse de l'histoire des remparts de Kastoria, Πεπραγμένα της 8ης Επιστημονικής Συνόδου του Διεθνούς Συνεδρίου Ινστιτούτου Φρουρίων και Πύργων, Αθήναι 1968, 71–83.

***Moutsopoulos*, Gegonota tou 9ou -10ou aiōna kai ē epanastasē tōn Komētopoulōn** = *Μουτσόπουλος Κ. Ν.*, Γεγονότα τοῦ 9ου–10ου αἰώνα καὶ ἡ ἐπανάσταση τῶν Κομητοπούλων στὴν Πρέσπα, edd. *В. Гюзелев*, *Г. Н. Николов*, Европейският Югоизток през втората половина на X – началото на XI век. История и култура, София 2015, 30–63.

***Moutsopoulos*, Kastoria** = *Μουτσόπουλος Ν.*, Καστοριά, Ιστορία, Μνημεία, Λαογραφία, Επιστημονική Επετηρίς Πολυτεχνικής Σχολής ΑΠΘ 6 (1974) 257–474.

***Moutsopoulos*, Kastoria, Panagia ē Mauriōtissa** = *Μουτσόπουλος Ν.*, Καστοριά, Παναγία η Μαυριώτισσα, Αθήνα 1967.

***Moutsopoulos*, Le tombeau** = *Moutsopoulos N.*, Le tombeau du tsar Samuil dans la basilique de Saint Achille à Prespa, Académie Bulgare des Sciences Institut d'Études Balkaniques « L. Jivkova », Études Balkaniques 3 (1984) 114–126.

***Moutsopoulos*, Loggas** = *Μουτσόπουλος Ν.*, Κάστρον ο Λογγάς, Κληρονομία 18 (1986) 305–336.

***Moutsopoulos*, Moliskos** = *Μουτσόπουλος Κ. Ν.*, Το κάστρο του Μολισκού, Βυζαντιακά 14 (1994) 159–177.

***Moutsopoulos*, O Agios Geōrgios Melitēs** = *Μουτσόπουλος Ν. Κ.*, Ο Άγιος Γεώργιος Μελίτης στο Νομό Φλώρινας, Κληρονομία 24/Α–Β (1992) 141–162.

***Moutsopoulos*, Oi ekklēsies tou nomou Pellēs** = *Μουτσόπουλος Ν.*, Οι εκκλησίες του νομού Πέλλης, Θεσσαλονίκη 1973.

***Moutsopoulos*, Oppidum Celetrum** = *Μουτσόπουλος Κ. Ν.*, Oppidum Celetrum. Ο λιμναίος οικισμός του Δισπηλιού Καστοριάς, Μακεδονικά 31 (1998) 1–30.

***Moutsopoulos*, The Churches** = *Moutsopoulos N.*, The Churches of the Prefecture of Florina, Thessalonike 1966.

***Moutsopoulos*, To kastro tēs Setenas** = *Μουτσόπουλος Ν.*, Το κάστρο της Σέτενας, ed. *Β. Κατσαρός*, Αντίφωνον: Αφιέρωμα στον καθηγητή Ν.Β. Δρανδάκη, Θεσσαλονίκη 1994, 171–182.

***Moutsopoulos*, O monochōros dromikos naos** = *Μουτσόπουλος Ν.*, Ο μονόχωρος δρομικός ναός στο κάστρο της Σέτινας, Βυζαντινή Μακεδονία 324–1430 μ.Χ., Θεσσαλονίκη 1995, 217–229.

***Mutsopulos*, Byzantinische und nachbyzantinische Baudenkmaler** = *Mutsopulos N.*, Byzantinische und nachbyzantinische Baudenkmaler aus Klein-Prespa und aus Hl. German, Byzantinisch-neugriechische Jahrbücher 20 (1970) 1-49.

***Mrkobrad*, Ras – Postenje** = *Мркобрад Д*., Рас – Постење: фазе развоја утврђења, ZRVI 36 (1997) 203–219.

***Mucopulos*, Bazilikata Sveti Ahilij** = *Муцопулос Н*., Базиликата Свети Ахилий в Преспа. Един исторически паметник – светиня, Пловдив 2007.

***Mučaj*, Disa të dhëna arkeologjike** = *Muçaj S*., Disa të dhëna arkeologjike për fundin e qytetit të Apolonisë dhe fillimet e saj si qendër kishtare në Mesjetë / Quelques données archéologiques sur le déclin de la ville antique d'Apollonia et sa transformation en évêché au Moyen Age, Iliria 31/1–2 (2003–2004) 293–303.

***Mučaj*, Kisha e Shën Mërisë** =*Muçaj S*., Kisha e Shën Mërisë së Ballshit (Glavinicës). Probleme të identifikimit dhe datimit të saj. Në kujtim të S. Anamalit, Illiria 1–2 (2001–2002) 259–281.

***Mučaj*, La sculpture décorative** = *Muçaj S*., La sculpture décorative des IX^{e} –XI^{e} siècles de l'église de la Vierge à Ballsh (Glavinitza), edd. *C. Pennas*, *C. Vanderheyde*, La sculpture byzantine: VII^{e} – XII^{e} siècles, Athènes 2008, 199–215.

***Mučaj et al.*, Shën Janit, Delvinë** = *Muçaj S*., *Lako K*., *Hobdari E*., *Vitaliotis I*., Rezultatet e gërmimeve në Bazilikën e Shën Janit, Delvinë (2001–2003) / Résultats des fouilles de la basilique de Saint-Jean à Delvina (2001–2003), Candavia 1 (2004) 93–123.

***Mučaj et al.*, Srednevekovye cerkvi** = *Мучай С*., *Джуери С*., *Ристани И*., *Пентковский А*., Средневековые церкви в долине Шушицы (Южная Албания) и славянская епископия свт. Климента Охридского, Slověne. International Journal of Slavic Studies 3/1 (2014) 5–42.

***Mučaj – Hobdari*, Manastiri i Shën Mërisë** = *Muçaj S*., *Hobdari E*., Manastiri i Shën Mërisë, Ballsh (Glavinicë), gërmime të vitit 2003, Candavia 1 (2004) 189–210.

***Mučaj – Hobdari – Vitaliotis*, Kisha mesjetare e Peshkëpisë (Nivicë)** = *Muçaj S*., *Hobdari E*., *Vitaliotis I*., Kisha mesjetare e Peshkëpisë (Nivicë), Sarandë (Raport paraprak mbi gërmimet 2003 – 2004) / L'église médiévale de Peshkëpi (Nivica), Sarandë, Candavia 2 (2005) 273–309.

***Müller*, Zur Datierung** = *Müller A. E*., Zur Datierung des Chrysobulls Michaels VIII. für Ochrid: nicht August 1272, sondern Juli 1273, edd. *L. M. Hoffmann*, *A. Monchizadeh*, Zwischen Polis, Provinz und Peripherie. Beiträge zur byzantinischen Geschichte und Kultur, Wiesbaden 2005, 427–432.

***Mullett*, Originality** = *Mullett M*., Originality in the Byzantine Letter: The Case of Exile, ed. *A. Littlewood*, Originality in Byzantine Literature, Art and Music. Oxford 1995, 39–58.

***Mullett*, Patronage** = *Mullett M*., Patronage in Action: The Problems of an Eleventh-Century Bishop, ed. *M. Rosemary*, Church and People in Byzantium, Birmingham 1990, 125–147.

***Mullett*, Tents** = *Mullett M*., Tents in Space, Space in Tents, edd. *M. Veikou*, *I. Nilsson*, Spatialities of Byzantine Culture from the Human Body to the Universe, Leiden 2022.

***Mullett*, Theophylact of Ochrid** = *Mullett M*., Theophylacht of Ochrid. Reading the Letters of a Byzantine Archbishop, Birmingham 1997.

***Mussakova*, Der kyrillische Palimpsest** = *Mussakova E*., Der kyrillische Palimpsest in cod. Vat. gr. 2502 und sein Schmuck, PB 18 (1994) 37–57.

***Mutafčiev*, Proizhodŭt na Asenevci** = *Мутафчиев П*., Произходът на Асеневци, Избрани произведения, Т. II, София 1973, 176–177.

N

***Nacev – Frkov*, Arheološko, arhitektonsko istražuvanje** = *Нацев Т*., *Фрков Ј*., Археолошко, архитектонско истражување и реконструкција на градска ранохристијанска базилика во градот Баргала, Македонско наследство 34–35 (2009) 157–172.

***Nacev*, Bargala, konzervatorsko-restavratorski raboti** = *Нацев Т*., Баргала, конзерваторско-реставраторски работи (1996–1998 г.), МАА 16 (1997–1999) 2005, 323–332.

***Nacev*, Docnoantičkiot grad** = *Нацев Т*., Доцноантичкиот град Баргала, Штип 2008.

***Nacev*, Fortifikacijata** = *Нацев Т*., Фортификацијата на доцноантичкиот град Баргала, Годишен зборник 1/1 (Штип 2010) 55–63.

***Nacev*, Konzervatorsko-restavratorski raboti** = *Нацев Т*., Конзерваторско-реставраторски работи на археолошки локалитет Кале – Црвена Црква, Зборник. НУ Завод и Музеј – Штип 8 (1998) 135–142.

***Nacev*, Novootkrien termalen objekt** = *Нацев Т*., Новооткриен термален објект во Баргала, МАА 17 (2006) 289–302.

***Nacev*, Ranohristijanska arhitektura** = *Нацев Т*., Ранохристијанска архитектура во источните области на Република Македонија, Штип 2019.

***Nacev*, Sakralna arhitektura** = *Нацев Т*., Сакрална архитектура во градот Баргала од IV век до крајот на првата деценија на VII век, Годишен зборник 3/2 (Штип 2012) 267–277.

***Nacev*, Sv. 40 Sevastiski mačenici** = *Нацев, Т*., Конзерваторско реставраторски работи на средновековната црква Св. 40 Севастиски маченици во село Банско – Струмица, Факултет за Образовни науки, Штип 2021, 1–31.

***Nacev – Cvetanov*, Arheološki lokalitet Mal Kajasi** = *Нацев Т*., *Цветанов Д*., Археолошки локалитет Мал Кајаси – с. Банско / Струмица (археолошки истражувања и конзервација на средновековната црква), Етнолигия на времето: общниост и култура, годишник на асоциация „Онгъл", том 23, год. XVII, (2024) 333–342, 593–605.

***Nacev – Stojanovski*, Gradot Bargala** = *Нацев Т*., *Стојановски Д*., Градот Баргала од VII до IX век, Годишник на Асоциацията за антропология, етнология и фолклористика „Онгъл", 15 (2017) 272–279.

***Naidenova*, Anonimnata Homilija** = *Найденова Д*., Анонимната хомилия в Клоцовия сборник и най–ранните славянски юридически текстове, PB 43/4 (2019) 20–38.

***Najdenova*, Hranata i hraneneto** = *Найденова Д*., Храната и храненето в средновековните славянски пенитенциални текстове, Българска етнология XLIV/4 (2018) 400–420.

***Najdenova*, Pravnite pametnici** = *Найденова Д*., Правните паметници в Първото българско царство, Историческо бъдеще 9/1–2 (2005) 136–163.

***Naumov*, Serbskie srednevekovye istočniki o bogomil'stve** = *Наумов Е. П*., Сербские средневековые источники о богомильстве, Богомилството на Балканот во светлината на најновите истражувања, Материјали од Симпозиумот одржан во Скопје на 30, 31. мај и 1. јуни 1978. година, Скопје 1982, 89–95.

***Naydenova*, Cyrillo-Methodian Legal Heritage** = *Naydenova D*., Cyrillo-Methodian Legal Heritage and Political Ideology in the Mediaeval Slavic States, Papers of BAS. Humanities and Social Sciences 1/1 (2014) 3–16.

***Nenadović*, Bogorodica Ljeviška** = *Ненадовић С*., Богородица Љевишка. Њен постанак и њено место у архитектури Милутиновог времена, Београд 1963.

***Nenadović*, Šta je kralj Milutin obnovio** = *Ненадовић С*., Шта је краљ Милутин обновио на цркви Богородице Љевишке, Старинар 5–6 (1954–1955) 205–226.

***Nerantzi-Varmazi*, Western Macedonia** = *Nerantzi-Varmazi V*., Western Macedonia in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, edd. *J. Burke*, *R. D. Scott*, Byzantine Macedonia. Identity, Image and History, Leiden 2000, 192–198.

***Neševa*, Etapi v istoričeskoto razvitie** = *Нешева В.*, Етапи в историческото развитие на Мелник (по археологически данни), Acta musei Varnaensis 3/ 2 (2005) 307–322.

***Neševa*, Melnik** = *Нешева В.*, Мелник (Melnik) през античността и ранновизантийската епоха, ed. *Р. Иванов*, Римски и ранновизантийски селища в България, 2, София 2003, 235–263.

***Neševa*, Melnik pri car Samuil** = *Нешева В.*, Мелник при цар Самуил в края на X – началото на XI век (по археологически данни), Studia Balcanica 25 (2006) 605–622.

***Neševa*, Melnik. Bogozidanijat grad** = *Нешева В.*, Мелник. Богозиданият град, София 2008.

***Neševa*, Voennoporni punktove** = *Нешева В.*, Военнопорни пунктове на българския цар Самуил и долините на средна Струма и Струмешница през 1014, edd. *В. Гюзелев*, *Г. Н. Николов*, Европейският Югоизток през втората половина на X – началото на XI век. История и култура, София 2015, 451–466.

***Nešković*, Arhitektura i obnova** = *Нешковић Ј.*, Архитектура и обнова цркве Св. Богородице у Бистрици на Лиму, Саопштења 29 (1997) 17–26.

***Nešković*, Crkva Sv. Jovana** = *Nešković J.*, Crkva Sv. Jovana u Zatonu na Limu, Саопштења 35–36 (2003–2004) 61–67.

***Nešković*, Petrova crkva kod Novog Pazara** = *Nešković J.*, Petrova crkva kod Novog Pazara, Zbornik Arhitektonskog fakulteta 6/5 (1960–1961) 1–33.

***Nichorites*, Grečeskaja služba** = *Нихоритис К.*, Неопубликованная греческая служба в честь архиепископа Охридского Константина Кавасила, Традиции и приемственост в България и на Балканите през средните векове, В. Търново 2003, 528–552.

***Nichorites*, Prouchvanija** = *Нихоритис К.*, Славистични и българистични проучвания, В. Търново 2005.

***Nicol*, Byzantine Family of Kantakouzenos** = *Nicol D.*, The Byzantine Family of Kantakouzenos (Cantacuzenus) ca. 1100–1460, Washington, D.C. 1968.

***Nicol*, Despotate of Epirus** = *Nicol D. M.*, The Despotate of Epiros, Oxford 1957.

***Nicol*, Refugees, Mixed Population** = *Nicol D. M.*, Refugees, mixed population and local patriotism in Epiros and Western Macedonia after the Fourth Crusade, Actes du XVe Congrès International d'Études Byzantines I, Athènes 1976, 1–33.

***Nihoritis*, Atonskata knižovna tradicija** = *Нихоритис К.*, Атонската книжовна традиция в разпространението на Кирило-Методиевските извори, Кирилло-Методиевски студии 7 (1990) 109–139, 195-216.

***Nihoritis*, Nepublikuvan pŭlen prepis** = *Нихоритис К.*, Непубликуван пълен препис от Пространното житие на св. Климент Охридски, Преславска книжовна школа 8 (2005) 132–142.

***Nikiforova*, Ahillij** = *Никифорова А. Ю.*, Ахиллий, еп. Ларисский, ПЕ 4, Москва 2003, 206–207.

***Nikol'skij*, K voprosu o zapadnom vlijanii** = *Никольскій Н.*, Къ исторіи славянорусской письменности. Замѣтки и матеріалы: I. Къ вопросу о западномъ вліяніи на древнерусское церковное право, Библіографическая лѣтопись III (1917) 110–124.

***Nikolajević-Stojković*, Prilog proučavanju vizantijske skulpture** = *Николајевић-Стојковић И.*, Прилог проучавању византијске скулптуре од 10 до 12. века из Македоније и Србије, ZRVI 4 (1956) 158–186.

***Nikolić*, Pravna materija** = *Николић Д.*, Правна материја у одговорима папе Николе Бугарима 866. године, Црквене студије 16/2 (2019) 463–475.

***Nikolić – Pavlović*, Bulgarians, Serbs, and the Rus** = *Nikolić M*, *Pavlović B.*, Bulgarians, Serbs, and the Rus in the Central Balkans in Byzantine Historical Narratives (late 10th – mid-13th century): The View from Constantinople, ZRVI 60 (2023) 739–767.

***Nikolić – Pavlović*, Dalmatai** = *Nikolić M., Pavlović B.*, Dalmatai in Byzantine Sources (forthcoming).

***Nikolić*, Prizren** = *Николић С. С.*, Призрен од средњег века до савременог доба (урбанистичко-архитектонски развој), Призрен 1998.

***Nikolov*, Age of coronations** = *Nikolov A.*, Age of coronations: Bulgaria and Serbia in the Papal policy from the late 12th to the early 13th century, ed. *И. Коматина*, Стефан Првовенчани и његово доба, Београд 2020, 263–270.

***Nikolov*, Bulgarian Church** = *Nikolov A.*, The Bulgarian church in the 9th–10th century, edd. *Marie-Hélène Blanchet et al.*, Autocéphalies. L'exercice de l'indépendance dans les églises Slaves orientales, Rome 2021, 139–157.

***Nikolov*, Convocato omni regno** = *Nikolov A.*, *Convocato omni regno*: The council of 893 and its "reflections" in contemporary historiography, edd. *A. Kulik et alii*, The Bible in Slavic tradition, Leiden – Boston 2016, 547–560.

***Nikolov*, Empire of the Romans** = *Nikolov A.*, Empire of the Romans or Tsardom of the Greeks? The Image of Byzantium in the Earliest Slavonic Translations from Greek, BS 65 (2007) 31–39.

***Nikolov*, Making a New Basileus** = *Nikolov A.*, Making a New Basileus: The Case of Symeon of Bulgaria (893– 927) Reconsidered, edd. *M. Salamon*, *M. Woloszyn*, *A. Musin*, *P. Špeher*, Rome, Constantinople and Newly Converted Europe. Archeological and Historical Evidence, vol. 1, Kraków – Leipzig – Rzeszów – Warsaw 2012, 101–109.

***Nikolov*, Perception of Bulgarian Past** = *Nikolov A.*, The Perception of the Bulgarian Past in the Court of Preslav around 900 AD, edd. *V. Gjuzelev*, *K. Petkov*, State and Church. Studies in Medieval Bulgaria and Byzantium, Sofia 2011, 157–171.

***Nikolov*, The Bulgarian Church** = *Nikolov A.*, The Bulgarian Church in the 9th–10th century, edd. *M-H. Blanchet*, *F. Gabriel*, *L. Tatarenko*, Autocéphalies. L'exercice de l'indépendance dans les Églises slaves orientales (IXe–XXIe siècle), Rome 2021, 139–157.

***Nikolov – Stanev*, Obrjadovye uklonenija** = *Николов А.*, *Станев К.*, Обрядовые уклонения и дурные привычки латинских еретиков в византийско-славянской полемической литературе Средневековья, Studia Ceranea 4 (2014) 125–139.

***Nikolov*, Centralizŭm i regionalizŭm** = *Николов Г.*, Централизъм и регионализъм в ранносредновековна България (края на VII – началото на XI век), София 2005.

***Nikolov*, Iz istorijata na Samuilova Bŭlgarija** = *Николов Г.*, Из историята на Самуилова България, София 2022.

***Nikolov*, Observations** = *Nikolov G. N.*, Observations on Kometopouloi's genealogy in Bulgaria (the end of 10th century), Five Etudes on the History of Samuel's Bulgaria, Sofia – Petrič 2024, 251–266.

***Nikolova*, Monašestvo** = *Николова Б.*, Монашество, манастири и манастирски живот в средновековна България, 1, София 2010.

***Nikolova*, Pravoslavnite cŭrkvi** = *Николова Б.*, Православните църкви през българското средновековие (IX–XIV), София 2002.

***Nikolova*, Ustrojstvo** = *Николова Б.*, Устройство и управление на Българската православна църква (IX–XIV в.), София 1997.

***Nikolovska*, Izgradeni i obnoveni manastiri** = *Николовска С.*, Изградени и обновени манастири и цркви од кралот Милутин, ed. *В. Мошин*, Споменици за средновековната и поновата историја на Македонија, Скопје 1977, 513.

***Novaković*, Ohridska arhiepiskopija** = *Новаковић С.*, Охридска архиепископија у почетку XI века, Глас СКА LXXVI, Београд 1908, 1–62.

***Novaković*, Zakonski spomenici** = *Новаковић Сп.*, Законски споменици српских држава средњег века, Београд 1912.

O

***Oakley*, Commutations and Redemptions** = *Oakley T. P.*, Commutations and Redemptions of Penance in the Penitetntials, The Catholic Historical Review 18/3 (1932) 341–351.

***Obolensky*, Byzantine Commonwealth** = *Obolensky D.*, The Byzantine Commonwealth: Eastern Europe, 500–1453, New York – Washington, D. C. 1971.

***Obolensky*, Six Byzantine Portraits** = *Obolensky D.*, Six Byzantine Portraits, Oxford 1988.

***Obolensky*, The Bogomils** = *Obolensky D.*, The Bogomils. A Study in Balkan Neo-Manichaeism, Cambridge 1946.

***Obolensky*, Theophylact of Ohrid** = *Obolensky D.*, Theophylact of Ohrid and the authorship of the Vita Clementis, ed. *N. A. Stratos*, Byzantium: Tribute to Andreas N. Stratos, Athens 1986, 601–618.

ODB I–III = Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium I–III, edd. *A. Kazhdan et al.*, New York – Oxford 1991.

***Ohme*, Sources of the Greek Canon Law** = *Ohme H.*, Sources of the Greek Canon Law to the Quinisext Council (691/2): Councils and Church Fathers, edd. *W. Hartmann*, *K. Pennington*, The History of Byzantine and Eastern Canon Law to 1500, Leuven 2012, 24–115.

***Oikonomides*, Évolution** = *Oikonomidès N.*, L'évolution de l'organisation administrative de l'Empire byzantine au XI^{e} siècle (1025–1118), TM 6 (1976) 125–152.

***Oikonomidès*, Fiscalité** = *Oikonomidès N.*, Fiscalité et exemption fiscale à Byzance (IXe–XIe s.), Athènes 1996.

***Oikonomides*, Kommerkion d'Abydos** = *Oikonomides N.*, Le kommerkion d'Abydos, Thessalonique et le commerce bulgare au IX^{e} siècle, edd. *V. Kravari*, *J. Lefort*, *C. Morrisson*, Hommes et richesses dans l'Empire byzantin, VIII^{e}–XV^{e} siècle, tome II, Paris 1991, 241–248.

***Oikonomides*, Leo VI** = *Oikonomides N.*, Leo VI and the Narthex Mosaic of Saint Sophia, DOP 30 (1976) 153–172.

***Oikonomides*, Leo VI's Legislation of 907** = *Oikonomides N.*, Leo VI's Legislation of 907 Forbidding Fourth Marriages: An Interpolation in the Procheiron Nomos (IV, 25–27), DOP 30 (1976) 173–193.

***Oikonomidès*, Listes** = *Oikonomidès N.*, Les listes de préséance byzantines des IX^{e} et X^{e} siècles. Introduction, texte, traduction et commentaire, Paris 1972.

***Oikonomidès*, Première occupation** = *Oikonomidès N.*, À propos de la première occupation byzantine de la Bulgarie (971– ca 986), edd. *A. E. Laiou*, *Ch. Angelidi*, *J.-P. Arrignon et al.*, ΕΥΨΥΧΙΑ. Mélanges offerts à Hélène Ahrweile, t. II, Paris 1998, 581–589.

***Oikonomides*, Tax Exemptions** = *Oikonomides N.*, Tax Exemptions for the Secular Clergy under Basil II, edd. *N. Oikonomides*, *E. Zachariadou*, Social and Economic Life in Byzantium, London 2004, 317–326.

***Oikonomides*, The ‚Peira'** = *Oikonomides N.*, The ‚Peira' of Eustathios Rhomaios: An abortive attempt to innovate in Byzantine law, Fontes Minores VII (1986) 162–192.

***Oikonomides*, Tribute or trade** = *Oikonomides N.*, Tribute or trade? The Byzantine-Bulgarian treaty of 716, edd. *P. Dinekov et al.*, Studia Slavico-Byantina et mediaevalia Europensia vol. I, in memoriam I. Dujčev, Sofia 1988, 29–31.

***Oikonomides*, Un decret synodal** = *Oikonomides N.*, Un decret synodal inedit du patriarche Jean VIII Xiphilin concernant l'election et l'ordination des eveques, REB 18 (1960) 55–78.

***Okunev*, Mileševo** = *Окунев Н. Л.*, Милешево. Памятник сербского иксусства XIII в., BS 7 (1937–38) 33–107.

***Okunjev*, Krstoobrazne crkve** = *Okunjev*, *L. N.*, Krstoobrazne crkve u južnoj Srbiji, Narodna starina Vol. 4 No. 11 (1925) 279–306.

Online Catalogue of Byzantine Seals at Dumbarton Oaks: https://www.doaks.org/resources/seals/byzantine-seals/BZS.1977.34.24/view

***Orlandos*, Ta Byzantina Mnēmeia tēs Kastorias** = *Ὀρλάνδος Ἀ.*, Τα Βυζαντινά Μνημεία της Καστοριάς, Αρχείον των Βυζαντινών μνημείων της Ελλάδος 4 (1938) 4–213.

***Osswald*, Épire** = *Osswald B.*, L'Epire du treizième au quinzième siècle: autonomie et hétérogénéité d'une région balkanique, Archéologie et Préhistoire, Toulouse 2011 (unpublished PhD dissertation).

***Osswald*, State of Epirus** = *Osswald B.*, The State of Epirus as Political Laboratory, ed. *Ch. Stavrakos*, Epirus Revisited. New Perceptions of its History and Material Culture: From the Thematic Session „Epirus Revisited" of the 23rd International Congress of Byzantine Studies, Belgrade, 22–27 August 2016, 13–36.

***Ostrogorski*, Istorija** = *Острогорски Г.*, Историја Византије, Београд 1959.

***Ostrogorski*, Postanak** = *Острогорски Г.*, Постанак тема Хеладе и Пелопонез, ZRVI 1 (1952) 64–77.

***Ostrogorski*, Pronija** = *Острогорски Г.*, Пронија. Прилог историји феудализма у Византији и у јужнословенским земљама, Београд 1951.

***Ostrogorsky*, Pronoia unter den Komnenen** = *Ostrogorsky G.*, Die Pronoia unter den Komnenen, ZRVI 12 (1970) 41–54.

***Ousterhout*, Eastern Medieval Architecture** = *Ousterhout R.*, Eastern Medieval Architecture: The Building Traditions of Byzantium and Neighboring Lands, New York 2019.

***Ovčarov*, Dvorcovaja cerkov v Preslave** = *Овчаров Д.*, Дворцовая церков в Преславе и некоторые особенности богарских раннесредневековых базилик, ed. *Б. А. Тимощук*, Древности славян и Руси, Москва 1988, 256–261.

***Ovčarov*, Epigrafski pametnici ot dvorcovata cŭrkva** = *Овчаров Д.*, Епиграфски паметници от дворцовата църква в Преслав, Плиска–Преслав 5 (1992) 259–267.

***Ovčarov*, Nabljudenija vŭrhu arhitekturata na dve monumentalni sgradi v Preslav** = *Овчаров Д.*, Наблюдения върху архитектурата на две монументални сгради в Преслав, Археология 4 (1990) 1–7.

***Ovčarov*, Novi danni** = *Овчаров, Д.*, Нови данни за укрепителната система на Преслав, ed. *Г. Кожухаров*, Архитектурата на Първата и Втората българска държава, София 1975, 102–120.

***Ovčarov*, Za antičnija prinos** = *Овчаров Д.*, За античния принос във формирането на старобългарската култура, Археология 31/2 (1989) 32–37.

***Ovčarov*, Zagadŭčnite znaci** = *Овчаров Д.*, Загадъчните знаци от Брегалница (опит за систематизация и класификация), Проблеми на прабългарската история и култура, т. 4-2, София 2007, 183–196.

***Ovčarov – Aladžov – Ovčarov*, Golemijat carski dvorec** = *Овчаров Д., Аладжов Ж., Овчаров Н.,* Големият царски дворец във Велики Преслав, том. I, Преславската патриаршия през X век, София 1991.

***Ovčarov – Dončeva*, Monumentalnite preslavski baziliki** = *Овчаров Д., Дончева С.*, Монументалните преславски базилики-генезис, архитектурен тип, развитие, Преслав 6 (2004) 91–106.

***Ovčarova*, Freski Nerezi** = *Овчарова, О. В.*, Фрески Нерези (1164) и византийская живопись XII века, Москва 2020.

Oxford Dictionary of Late Antiquity = The Oxford Dictionary of Late Antiquity, ed. *O. Nicholson*, Oxford 2018.

P

***Paisidou*, Askētario Metamorphōseōs stē Megalē Prespa** = *Παϊσίδου Μ.*, Ασκηταριό Μεταμορφώσεως στη Μεγάλη Πρέσπα, Ιερός ναός Αγίου Γερμανού, Μοναστήρια της Εγνατίας οδού: Πολιτιστικός –τουριστικός οδηγός 1, Αθήνα 1999.

***Paisidou*, Edessa** = *Παϊσίδου Μ.*, Από την παλαιοχριστιανική Έδεσσα στα μεσαιωνικά Βοδενά. Πληροφορίες από τα κοιμητήρια της πόλης, ed. *Ε Τσιομπανούδη*, Γνωριμία με τη Γη του Αλεξάνδρου. Από τα προϊστορικά μέχρι τα νεώτερα χρόνια. Ιστορία – Αρχαιολογία – Τέχνη στο Νομό Πέλλας, Πρακτικά Επιστημονικής Διημερίδας, 15–16 Ιουνίου 2002, Θεσσαλονίκη 2003, 165–186.

***Paisidou*, Pella** = *Παϊσίδου Μ.*, Βυζαντινοί και μεταβυζαντινοί χρόνοι, ed. *Ε. Μπεχράκη*, Πέλλα: μια διαδρομή στην ιστορία, τον πολιτισμό και το φυσικό περιβάλλον του νομού, Πέλλα 2000, 57–88.

***Paisidou et al.*, «Kale» Amyndaiou 2015** = *Paissidou M.*, *Zachariadis S.*, *Andreas T.*, Πανεπιστημιακή ανασκαφική έρευνα στην οχυρή θέση «Κάλε» Αμυνταίου 2015 / University Excavation in the Fortress "Kale" of Amyntaion in 2015, ΑΕΜΘ 29 (2015) 73–83.

***Pajkić*, Crkva Sv. Ilije** = *Пајкић П.*, Црква Св. Илије у Кацапуну, Врањски гласник 5 (1969) 373–384.

***Paligora*, Crkvata Uspenie na sv. Bogorodica** = *Палигора Р.*, Црквата Успение на св. Богородица Пречиста во село Велушина. Прелиминарен извештај од истражувачките работи врз архитектурата и сликарството на црквата во текот на 2001 и 2002 година, Битола низ вековите 6 (2003)15–22.

***Paligora*, Slikarstvoto** = *Палигора П.*, Сликарството од црквата Успение на Св. Богородица во Велушина, Битола 2018.

***Pallas*, Anaskaphē eis to Glyky** = *Πάλλας Δ.*, Ανασκαφή εις το Γλυκύ της Παραμυθιάς, ΠΑΕ (1954), 194–200.

***Pallas*, Anaskaphē tēs byzantinēs basilikēs** = *Πάλλας Δ.*, Ανασκαφή της βυζαντινής βασιλικής του Γλυκέος, ΠΑΕ (1970), 82–89.

***Pallas*, Epiros** = *Pallas I. D.*, Epiros, Reallexikon zur Byzantinischen Kunst II (1971) 250–251.

***Pallas*, Symplērōmatikē ereuna eis tēn basilikēn** = *Πάλλας Δ.*, Συμπληρωματική έρευνα εις την βασιλικήν του Γλυκέος, ΠΑΕ (1972), 99–108.

***Panajotova*, Cŭrkvata Sv. Todor** = *Панайотова Д.*, Църквата Св. Тодор при Бобошево, Известия на Института за изобразителни Изкуства 7 (1964) 101–141.

***Panayotidi*, La peinture monumentale** = *Panayotidi M.*, La peinture monumentale en Grèce de la fin de l'Iconoclasme jusqu'à l'avènement des Comnènes (843– 1081), CA 34 (1986) 75–108.

***Panayotidi*, Les églises de Véria** = *Panayotidi M.*, Les églises de Véria en Macédoine, Corsi di Cultura sull'arte Ravennate e Bizantina 22 (1975) 303–315.

***Panayotidi-Kesisoglou*, Donors Personalities** = *Panayotidi-Kesisoglou M.*, Donors Personalities in the Komnenian period as seen through Iconographic Programs. The question of the Daphni Monastery donor, edd. *A. Zakharova*, *O. Ovcharova*, *I. Oretskaia*, Art of the Byzantine World. Individuality in Artistic Creativity. A Collection of Essays in Honour of Olga Popova, Moscow 2021, 339–361.

***Panić – Babić*, Bogorodica** = *Паниħ Д.*, *Бабиħ Г.*, Богородица Љевишка, Београд 1975.

***Panov*, Srednovekovna Makedonija** = *Панов Б.*, Средновековна Македонија, том 3, Скопје 1985.

***Panov*, The Blinded State** = *Panov M. B.*, The Blinded State. Historiographic Debates about Samuel Cometopoulos and His State (10th–11th Century), Leiden – Boston 2019.

***Papachrysanthou*, O Athōnikos monachismos** = *Παπαχρυσάνθου Δ.*, Ο αθωνικός μοναχισμός. Αρχές και οργάνωση, Αθήνα 1992.

***Papadakis – Meyendorff*, Christian East** = *Papadakis A.*, *Meyendorff J.*, The Christian East and the rise of the Papacy: the Church 1071–1453 A.D., New York 1994.

***Papadēmētriou*, Oi apeikoniseis tou agiou Achilleiou** = *Παπαδημητρίου Π. Χ.*, Οι απεικονίσεις του αγίου Αχιλλείου στον ελλαδικό χώρο και η διάδοση της τιμής του, ΔΧΑΕ 34 (2013) 179–190.

***Papadopoulou*, Oi oroi Mysia kai Myso** = *Papadopoulou Th.*, Οι όροι 'Μυσία' και 'Μυσός' στις βυζαντινές πηγές της μέσης και ύστερης βυζαντινής περιόδου, edd. *C. Stavrakos*, *K. Wassiliou*, *M. K. Krikorian*, Hypermachos: Studien zu Byzantinistik, Armenologie und Georgistik. Festschrift für Werner Seibt zum 65. Geburtstag, Wiesbaden 2008, 257– 281.

***Papalexandrou*, The Church of the Virgin of Skripou** = *Papalexandrou A.*,The Church of the Virgin of Skripou: Architecture, Sculpture and Inscriptions in Ninth-century Byzantium, Princeton 1998 (unpublished PhD dissertation).

***Papamastorakis*, Ena eikastiko enkomio** = *Παπαμαστοράκις Τ.*, Ενα εικαστικό εγκόμιο του Μιχαήλ Η' Παλαιολόγου: οι εξοτερικές τοιχογραφίες στο καθολικό της μονής της Μαυριώτισσας στην Καστοριά, ΔΧΑΕ 15 (1989–1990) 221–240.

***Papastathis*, Procedural principles** = *Papastathis C.*, The procedural principles of Methodius' Anonymous Homily, Кирило-Методиевски студии 4 (1987) 272–273.

***Papazoglu*, Makedonski gradovi** = *Παϊazoïλu Φ.*, Македонски градови у римско доба, Скопје 1957.

***Papazōtos*, Ē Beroia** = *Παπαζώτος Θ.*, Η Βέροια και οι ναοί της. 11ος – 18ος αιώνας, Αθήνα 1994.

***Papazōtos*, Ē Ktētorikē Epigraphē** = *Παπαζώτος Θ.*, Η Κτητορική Επιγραφή της Παλιάς Μητρόπολης της Βέροιας, Ιστορικογεωγραφικά 1 (1986) 200.

***Papazōtos*,Topographia** = *Παπαζώτου Θ.*, Μεσαιωνική τοπογραφία τού νομού Πιερίας, Ιστορικογεωγραφικά 1 (1986) 29–43.

***Parpulov*, Middle-Byzantine Evangelist Portraits** = *Parpulov G.*, Middle-Byzantine Evangelist Portraits. A Corpus of Miniature Paintings, Berlin – Boston 2022.

***Pašić*, Iskopavanja** = *Пашиħ Р.*, Праисторијска ископавања у Демир Капији, Старинар 26 (1975) 155–158.

***Patlagean*, Byzance et son autre monde** = *Patlagean* É., Byzance et son autre monde. Observations sur quelques récits, Faire croire. Modalités de la diffusion et de la réception des messages religieux du XIIe au XVe siècle, Rome 1981, 201–221.

***Pavlov*, Nomokanon pri Bol'šom Trebnike** = *А. С. Павловъ*, Номоканонъ при Большомъ Требникѣ. Его исторія и тексты, греческій и славянскій, съ объяснительными и критическими примѣчаніями, Москва 1897².

***Pavlović*, Kult i ikonografija** = *Павловиħ Д.*, Култ и иконографија четрдесеторице севастијских мученика у Србији XIII века, ed. *М. Ракоција*, Ниш и Византија 7, Ниш 2009, 293–304.

***Pavlović*, Kultovi lica** = *Павловиħ Л.*, Култови лица код Срба и Македонаца, Смедерево 1965.

***Payer*, Sex and the penitentials** = *Payer P. J.*, Sex and the penitentials. The Development of a Sexual Code 550–1150, Toronto 1984.

PBW 2016 = *M. Jeffreys et al.*, Prosopography of the Byzantine World, 2016 (King's College London, 2017) available at http://pbw2016.kdl.kcl.ac.uk.

***Pejić*, Arhitektonska plastika** = *Пејиħ С.*, Архитектонска пластика Богородичине цркве у Дренову, Саопштења 36 (1985) 161–171.

***Pejić*, Manastir Sveti Nikola** = *Пејиħ С.*, Манастир Свети Никола Дабарски, Београд 2009, 16–35.

***Pelekanidēs*, Byzantina kai Metabyzantina** = *Πελεκανίδης Στ.*, Βυζαντινά καί Μεταβυζαντινά Μνημεία τής Πρέσπας, Θεσσαλονίκη 1960.

***Pelekanidēs*, Chronologika problēmata tōn toichographiōn** = *Πελεκανίδου Σ.*, Χρονολογικά προβλήματα τών τοιχογραφιών του καθολικού της μονής της Παναγίας Μαυριώησσας Καστοριάς, Αρχαιολογική Εφημερίς 1978 (1980), 147–159.

***Pelekanides*, Kastoria** = *Pelekanides S.*, Kastoria, edd. *K. Wesel*, *M. Restle*, Reallexikon zur Byzantinischen Kunst, III, Stuttgart 1978, 1190–1224.

***Pelekanidis – Chatzidakis*, Kastoria** = *Pelekanidis S.*, *Chatzidakis M.*, Kastoria, Athens 1985.

***Penkova*, O sisteme dekoracii fresok XII v.** = *Пенкова Б.*, О системе декорации фресок XII в. Боянской церкви, Древнерусское искусство. Русь и страны византийского мира XII век, С.-Петербург 2002, 49–56.

***Penkova*, Obrazŭt** = *Пенкова Б.*, Образът на св. Патапий в новооткритите стенописи от XII в. в гробищната църква в град Рила, Проблеми на изкуството 1 (2001) 9–12.

***Penkova – Cibranska*, Sinajski evhologij** = *Пенкова П.*, *Цибранска М.*, Синайски евхологий, Кирило-методиевска енциклопедия III, София 2003, 604–614.

***Penkova – Cvetkov*, Stariji slojevi** = *Пенкова Б.*, *Цветков В.*, Старији слојеви зидног сликарства у Бојани. Нови подаци после последње рестаурације, Саопштења 40 (2008) 43–59.

***Pentkovskij*, Grečeskij original** = *Пентковский А.*, Греческий оригинал славянского Синаксаря и его локализация, edd. *В. Б. Крысько et al.*, Славяно-русский Пролог по древнейшим спискам. Синаксарь (житийная часть Пролога краткой редакции) за сентябрь-февраль. Т. 2: Указатели. Исследования, Москва 2011, 651–664.

***Pentkovskij*, K istorii slavjanskogo bogosluženija** = *Пентковский А. М.*, К истории славянского богослужения византийского обряда в начальный период (кон. IX – нач. X в.): два древних славянских канона архангелу Михаилу, Богословские труды 43–44 (2012) 401–442.

***Pentkovskij*, K istorii slavjanskogo bogosluženija: Addenda et corrigenda** = *Пентковский А.*, К истории славянского богослужения византийского обряда в начальный период (кон. IX – нач. X в.): Addenda et corrigenda, Богословские труды 46 (2015) 117–146.

***Pentkovskij*, Materialy** = *Пентковский А. М.*, Материалы для истории славянского богослужения в XI веке: I. Восточно- и южнославянские служебные Минеи, Труды Института русского языка им. В. В. Виноградова 16 (2018) 245–296.

***Pentkovskij*, Počitanie svjatitelja Klimenta** = *Пентковский А.*, Почитание святителя Климента в Охриде в X–XIV вв., SBL 48 (2013) 79–113.

***Pentkovskij*, Slavjanskoe bogosluženie** = *Пентковский А.*, Славянское богослужение византийского обряда и корпус славянских богослужебных книг в конце IX – первой половине X веков, Slověne. International Journal of Slavic Studies 2 (2016) 54–100.

***Pentkovskij*, Slavjanskoe bogosluženie i cerkovnye organizacii** = *Pentkovskij A. M.*, Slavjanskoe bogosluženie i cerkovnye organizacii v serbskih zemljah v X–XIII vekah, ed. *M. Radujko*, Stefan Nemanja – Prepodobni Simeon Mirotočivi, Beograd – Berane 2016, 35–61.

***Pentkovskij*, Slavjanskoe bogosluženie v arhiepiskopii** = *Пентковский А. М.*, Славянское богослужение в архиепископии святителя Мефодия, Свети Ћирило и Методије и словенско писано наслеђе: 863–2013, edd. *Ј. Рагић*, *В. Савић*, Београд 2014, 25–102.

Pesni za Kliment = Песни за Климент, ed. *И. Христова-Шомова et al.*, София 2016.

***Pešić*, Crkva Bogorodičinog Uspenja** = *Пешић Б.*, Црква Богородичиног Успења у Мртвици, Саопштење 20–21 (1988-89) 93-107.

***Petkos*, Anaskaphē mesobyzantinou naou** = *Πέτκος Α.*, Ανασκαφή μεσοβυζαντινού ναού στη Μελίτη Φλώρινας, Δυτικομακεδονικά Γράμματα (1997) 181–189.

***Petkos*, Anaskaphē** = *Πέτκος Α.*, Ανασκαφή μεσοβυζαντινού ναού στο Σισάνι Κοζάνης, Νέα Στοιχεία για την επισκοπή Σισανίου, Μακεδονικά 39 (1999–2000) 313–337.

***Petkov*, The Voices of Medieval Bulgaria** = *Petkov K.*, The Voices of Medieval Bulgaria, Seventh – Fifteenth Century. The Records of a Bygone Culture, Leiden – Boston 2008.

***Petkova*, Bitola vo XIV i XV vek** = *Петкова Р.*, Битола во XIV и XV век, Битола низ вековите 3 (2000) 21–25.

***Petković*, Pregled crkvenih spomenika** = *Петковић В. Р.*, Преглед црквених споменика кроз повесницу српског народа, Београд 1950.

***Petrov*, "Crkvište"** = *Петров О.*, Претходен извештај о археолошките истражувања на локалитетот "Црквиште" с. Корешница – Демир Капија (истражувања 2016 година), Археолошки информатор 1 (2017), 71–78.

***Petrov*, Arheološki lokaliteti od 10 i 11 vek** = *Петров О.*, Археолошки локалитети од 10 и 11 век од ареалот на тврдината Просек, ed. *Т. Филипоски*, Самуиловата држава илјада години потоа (1018–2018). Материали од Првата конференција за византологија и медиевистика, одржана во Охрид на 25 и 26 октомври 2018 година, Скопје 2022, 203–234.

***Petrov*, Barrel-Vaulted Tomb** = *Petrov O.*, A Newly Discovered Early Christian Barrel-Vaulted Tomb in Demir Kapija, Folia Archaeologica Balkanica IV (2018) 405–425.

***Petrov*, Dekorativna plastika** = *Петров К.*, Декоративна пластика во Македонија во XI и XI век, Годишен зборник на Филозофскиот факултет 14 (1962) 125–182.

***Petrov*, Kale – Strezov Grad** = *Петров О.*, Претходен извештај о археолошките истражувања на локалитетот Кале – Стрезов Град с. Челевец – Демир Капија 2015–2017, Археолошки информатор 2 (2018), 135–141.

***Petrovski*, Central-southern Europe** = *Petrovski B.*, Central-southern Europe under the restored Byzantine administration after the fall of Samuel state, edd. *В. Гюзелев*, *Г. Н. Николов*, Европейският Югоизток през втората половина на X – началото на XIвек. История и култура, София 2015, 266–276.

***Petrovski*, Podniot mozaik** = *Петровски М.*, Подниот мозаик во црквата Св. Богородица (Елеуса) во селото Велјуса, edd. *Д. Коцо et al.*, Acta Veljusa. Symposium de "Veljusa" -Á l'occasion de 900- années de la monastere de la Vierge de pitie au village Veljusa, Скопје 1984, 147–161.

***Petrovski*, Sveti Kliment Ohridski** = *Петровски Б.*, Свети Климент Охридски, кан/кнез Борис-Михаил и кнез/цар Симеон: историски аспекти, Slověne. International Journal of Slavic Studies 5/2 (2016) 10–53.

***Phrankotsinos*, Agnōstē parastasē dōrētē** = *Φραγκοτσινος Ε.*, Άγνωστη παράσταση δωρητή στον Άγιο Νικόλαο του Κασνίτζη στην Καστοριά και η δεύτερη φάση ιστόρησης του ναού, Βυζαντινά 38 (2022) 171–189.

***Pirivatrić*, Autocephalous Orthodox Archbishopric** = *Pirivatrić S.*, The autocephalous Orthodox Archbishopric of Serbia, edd. *M.-H. Blanchet*, *F. Gabriel*, *L. Tatarenko*, Autocéphalies. L'exercice de l´indépendance dans les Églises slaves orientales (IX^{e}–XX^{e} siècle), Rome 2021, 179–207.

***Pirivatrić*, Between Constantinople, Rome and Ohrid** = *Pirivatrić S.*, Between Constantinople, Rome and Ohrid. A Short Survey of Church Orhanization in the Serbian Principalities 1019–1219, ed. *A.-E. Tachiaos*, International Scientific Conference St. Cyril and Methodius: Byzantium and the World of the Slavs, Thessaloniki 2015, 655–664.

***Pirivatrić*, Between the East and the West** = *Pirivatrić S.*, Between the East and the West. The Bulgarian Church in the Time of Samuilo (cca. 971–1018). Facts and Interpretations, edd. *V. Gjuzelev*, *I. Miltenova*, Medieval Christian Europe: East and West. Traditions, Values, Communications, Sofia 2002, 499–508.

***Pirivatrić*, Brak Stefana Nemanjića i Evdokije Komnine** = *Пириватрић С.*, Брак Стефана Немањића и Евдокије Анђелине Комнине. Хронологија и историјски контекст уговарања и раскида једног династичког савеза, ed. *И. Комашина*, Стефан Првовенчани и његово доба, Београд 2020, 139–159.

***Pirivatrić*, Ćirilometodijevske tradicije** = *Пириватрић С.*, Ћирилометодијевске традиције и српске области пре постанка аутокефалне цркве у краљевству Немањића 1219. године, edd. *Ј. Радић*, *В. Савић*, Свети Ћирило и Методије и словенско писано наслеђе: 863–2013, Београд 2014, 103–124.

***Pirivatrić*, Kriza** = *Пириватрић С.*, Криза византијског света и постанак краљевства и аутокефалне архиепископије свих српских и поморских земаља, edd. *Љ. Максимовић*, *С. Пириватрић*, Краљевство и архиепископија у српским и поморским земљама Немањића, Београд 2019, 107–146.

***Pirivatrić*, Manojlo I Komnin** = *Пириватрић С.*, Манојло I Комнин, „царски сан" и „самодржци области српског престола", ZRVI 48 (2011) 89 –118.

***Pirivatrić*, O Stefanu Prvoslavu** = *Пириватрић С.*, О Стефану Првославу, ктитору Светог Георгија у Будимљу, ed. *М. Радујко*, Ђурђеви Ступови и будимљанска епархија, зборник радова, Беране – Београд 2011, 53–67.

***Pirivatrić*, Prvi prenosi** = *Пириватрић С.*, Први преноси моштију светог Ивана Рилског. Неколико запажања о историјском контексту догађаја, ed. *С. Куюмджиева*, Рилският манастир – история, памет, духовност, Доклади от Международна научна конференция, 28 септември – 1 октомври 2017 г. Рилски манастир, София 2018, 18–30.

***Pirivatrić*, Samuilova država** = *Пириватрић С.*, Самуилова држава. Обим и карактер, Београд 1997.

***Pirivatrić*, Serbs and the Overlaping Authorities** = *Pirivatrić S.*, The Serbs and the Overlaping Authorities of Rome and Constantinople (7th to 16th Century), Proceedings of the 23rd International Congress of Byzantine Studies, Belgrade 22–27 August 2016. Plenary Papers, Belgrade 2016, 223–240.

***Pirivatrić*, Some Notes** = *Pirivatrić S.*, Some Notes on the Byzantine–Bulgarian Peace Treaty of 927, Byzantinoslovaca 2 (2008) 40–48.

***Pirivatrić*, The Boyana Church Portraits** = *Pirivatrić S.*, The Boyana Church Portraits. A Contribution to the Prosopograpy of Sebastocrator Kaloyan, Боянската църква между Изтока и Запада в изкуството на християнска Европа, София 2011, 16–37.

***Pirivatrić*, The translatio of the Relics** = *Pirivatrić S.*, The translatio of the Relics of St John of Rila from Sofia to Esztergom and back. Some Observations on the Historical Context of a furtum sacrum, ed. *E. Juhász*, Byzanz und das Abendland VII. Studia Byzantino-Occidentalia, Budapest 2021, 261–278.

***Pirovska*, Cŭrkva pri vodnoto sŭorŭženie** = *Пировска Г.*, Църква при водното съоръжение във Велики Преслав, Археология 2 (1995) 37–40.

***Πιτσάκης Κ.*, Βασίλειος Ἀχριδηνός,** Μητροπολίτης Θεσσαλονίκης (1145–post 1160):Ἕνας βυζαντινὸς κανονολόγος σὲ διάλογο μὲ τὴν Λατινικὴ Δύση, ed. *Ἰ. Φουντούλης*, Χριστιανικὴ Θεσσαλονίκη: Πόλις συναντήσεως Ἀνατολῆς καὶ Δύσεως. Ἱερὰ Μονὴ Βλατάδων, 12–18 Ὀκτωβρίου 1997 [ΛΒ΄ Δημήτρια. Πρακτικὰ ΙΑ΄ Διεθνοῦς Ἐπιστημονικοῦ Συμποσίου], Θεσσαλονίκη 2006, 259–296.

***Pitsakēs*, Législation et stratégies matrimoniales** = *Pitsakēs K.*, Législation et stratégies matrimoniales, Parenté et empêchements de mariage dans le droit byzantin, L'homme 154/155 (2000) 677–696.

***Pitsakēs*, «Paizontes eis allotrious bious»** = *Πιτσάκης Κ. Γ.*, „Παίζοντες εις αλλοτρίους βίους". Δίκαιο και πρακτική των γαμικών κωλυμάτων στο Βυζάντιο: η τομή, ed. *Χ. Αγγελίδη*,Ἡ καθημερινὴ ζωὴ στο Βυζάντιο. Τομὲς καὶ συνέχειες στήν ἑλληνιστικὴ καὶ ρωμαϊκὴ παράδοση, Αθήνα 1989, 217–237.

***Pitsakēs*, To kōlyma gamou** = *Πιτσάκης Κ.*, Το κώλυμα γάμου λόγω συγγένειας έβδομου βαθμού εξ αίματος στο Βυζαντινό δίκαιο, Αθήνα 1985.

***Pitsakis*, Church and imperial legislation** = *Pitsakis K.*, Church and imperial legislation on matrimonial impediments in Byzantium, edd. *H. Zapp*, *A. Weiss*, *S. Korta*, Ius canonicum in Oriente et Occidente: Festschrift für Carl Gerold Fürst zum 70. Geburtstag, Frankfurt 2003, 719–735.

***Pitsakis*, Le droit matrimonial** = *Pitsakis K.*, Le droit matrimonial dans les canons du concile in Trullo, Annuarium Historiae Conciliorum 24 (1992) 158–185.

***Pitsakis*, Nouveaux témoignages** = *Pitsakis K.*, Personae non sunt multiplicandae sine necessitate. Nouveaux témoignages sur Constantin Kabasilas, edd. *M. Hoffmann*, *A. Monchizadeh*, Zwischen Polis. Provinz und Peripherie. Beiträge zur byzantinischen Geschichte und Kultur, Wiesbaden 2005, 491–513.

***Pitsakis*, Questions „albanaises"** = *Pitsakis C. G.*, Questions „albanaises" de droit matrimonial dans les sources juridiques byzantines, ed. *Ch. Gaspares*, Οἱ Αλβανοί στο μεσαίωνα / The Mediaeval Albanians, Athens 1998, 177–194.

PmbZ (641–867) = Prosopographie der mittel- byzantinischen Zeit (641–867), edd. *R.-J. Lilie et al.*, Berlin – New York 1999–2002.

PmbZ (867–1025) = Prosopographie der mittel- byzantinischen Zeit (867–1025), edd. *R.-J. Lilie et al.*, Berlin – New York 2013.

***Podskalski*, Srednjovekovna teološka književnost** = *Подскалски Г.*, Средњовековна теолошка књижевност у Бугарској и Србији, (869–1459), Београд 2010.

***Podskalsky*, Bemerkungen** = *Podskalsky G.*, Bemerkungen zur Struktur und zum Verständnis der ersten griechischen Naum-Vita (BHG 1316z), AB 109 (1991) 109–115.

***Podskalsky*, Theologische Literatur** = *Podskalsky G.*, Theologische Literatur des Mittelalters in Bulgarien und Serbien 864–1459, München 2000.

***Podskalsky*, Two Archbishops** = *Podskalsky G.*, Two Archbishops of Achrida (Ochrid) and Their Significance for Macedonia's Secular and Church History: Theophylaktos and Demetrios Chomatenos, edd. *J. Burke*, *D. Scott*, Art Architecture Music and Hagiography. National Centre for Hellenic Studies and Research, Melbourne 2001.

***Pohl*, Ethnonyms** = *Pohl W.*, Ethnonyms and early medieval ethnicity: methodological reflections, The Hungarian historical review 71 (2018) 5–17.

***Pokrovski*, Razkopki na Karaač teke** = *Покровски С.*, Разкопки на Караач теке при Варна, Известия на Археологическия институт 14 (1940–1941) 249–252.

***Popkonstantinov*, Epigraphic Monuments** = *Popkonstantinov K.*, Epigraphic Monuments from Veliki Preslav, edd. *S. Goryanova*, *G. Grozdanova*, At the gates of the royal court: treasures of Veliki Preslav, Sofia 2019, 123–127.

***Popkonstantinov*, Greek Inscriptions** = *Popkonstantinov K.*, Greek Inscriptions from Ninth-Tenth Century Bulgaria. A Case Study of Byzantine Epigraphy, ed. *A. Rhoby*, Inscriptions in Byzantium and beyond. Methods – projects – case studies, Wien 2015, 195–202.

***Popkonstantinov*, Kŭm vŭprosa za otšelničeskite praktiki v Bŭlgarija** = *Попконстантинов К.*, Към въпроса за отшелническите практики в България през X в.: светият отец Антони от Крепча и св. Йоан Рилски, Светогорска обител Зограф III, София 1999, 84–88.

***Popkonstantinov*, Les inscriptions du monastère** = *Popkonstantinov K.*, Les inscriptions du monastère rupestre près du village Murfatlar (Basarab). État, théories et faits, ed. *D. Angelov*, Dobrudža. Etudes ethno-culturelles, Sofia 1987, 115–145.

***Popkonstantinov*, Novootrkit pečat** = *Попконстантинов К.*, Новооткрит печат на Михаил багатур и багатурският род на Йоан, Сондоке и Михаил, Археология 1–4 (2008) 68–79.

***Popkonstantinov*, Ošte vednŭž za nadpisa** = *Попконстантинов К.*, Още веднъж за надписа с дата от старобългарския манастир при с. Равна, Варненски окръг, Археология 1 (1986) 8–19.

***Popkonstantinov*, Ravnenski manastir** = *Попконстантинов К.*, Равненски манастир „Света Богородица" Кирило-методиевска енциклопедия, ed. *Л. Грашева*, Том III, София 2003, 423–428.

***Popkonstantinov*, Ravnenskijat hram** = *Попконстантинов К.*, Равненският храм "Св. Богородица:" осветен или обновен в 889г. ?, edd. *V. Velinova*, *R. Bojadzhiev*, *A. Milanova*, ОБРАЗ И СЛОВО, Юбилеен сборник по случай 60-годишнината на проф. Аксиния Джурова, Studia Slavico-Byzantina et Mediaevalia Europensia 8, София 2004, 369–381.

***Popkonstantinov*, Vŭprosi okolo groba** = *Попконстантинов К.*, Въпроси около гроба и надписа на чъргубиля Мостич, Плиска – Преслав 5 (1992) 113–119.

***Popkonstantinov – Atanasov*, Za dva nadpisa ot X vek** = *Попконстантинов К.*, *Атанасов Г.*, За два надписа от X век от манастира при Черноглавци, Шуменско, Епохи 4 (1994) 105–110.

***Popkonstantinov – Kostova*, Architecture of conversion** = *Popkonstantinov K.*, *Kostova R.*, Architecture of conversion: provincial monasteries in 9th –10th c. Bulgaria, ed. *Д. Д. Ёлшин*, Труды Государственного Эрмитажа, LIII: Архитектура Византии и Древней Руси IX-XII веков: Материалы международного семинара 17–21 ноября 2009 года, Санкт-Петербург 2010, 118–132.

***Popkonstantinov – Kostova*, Literacy, literature and liturgy** = *Popkonstantinov K.*, *Kostova R.*, Literacy, literature and liturgy in Bulgarian monasteries 9th to 10th c., edd. *M. Joković et al.*, Love of Learning and Devotion to God in Orthodox monasteries. Vol.I. 5th International Hilandar Conference Selected proceedings. Cultural Center of Raška, Serbia and the Resource Center for Medieval Slavic Studies, Ohio State University, Belgrade – Columbus, 2006, 145–164.

***Popkonstantinov – Kostova*, Manastir na čŭrgubilja Mostič** = *Попконстантинов К.*, *Костова Р.*, Манастир на чъргубиля Мостич, м. Селище, В. Преслав, Археологически открития и разкопки през 2007, София 2008, 629–631.

***Popkonstantinov – Kostova*, Manastirŭt na Georgi** = *Попконстантинов К.*, *Костова Р.*, Манастирът на Георги, синкел български в Преслав: Историята на една българска аристократична фамилия от X в, Преслав 7 (2013) 44–63.

***Popkonstantinov – Kostova*, Pogrebalni praktiki** = *Попконстантинов К.*, *Костова Р.*, Погребални практики на Българския елит през X–XI век: археология и пеиграфика, edd. *В. Гюзелев*, *Г. Н. Николов*, Европейският Югоизток през втората половина на X – началото на XI век. История и култура, София 2015, 402–422.

***Popkonstantinov – Kostova*, Skriptorijat v Ravnenskija manastir** = *Попконстантинов К.*, *Костова Р.*, Скрипторият в Равненския манастир: Още веднъж за украсата на старобългарските ръкописи от IX–X в., Средновековна християнска Европа: Изток и Запад: Ценности, традиции, общуване, София 2002, 719–726.

***Popkonstantinov – Kostova – Pletn'ov*, Novootkrito ajazmo v knjaževskija manastir** = *Попконстантинов К.*, *Костова Р.*, *Плетньов В.*, Новооткрито аязмо в княжеския манастир край Варна – свидетелство за култа към св. Богородица в България през IX–X, ВМ 6 (2015) 59–73.

***Popkonstantinov – Kostova – Pletn'ov*, Manastirite pri Ravna i Karaačteke** = *Попконстантинов К.*, *Костова Р.*, *Плетньов В.*, Манастирите при Равна и Караачтеке до Варна в манастирската география на България през IX–X в., Българските земи през средновековието VII–XVIII в. Международна конференция в чест на проф. Ал. Кузев. Acta Musei Varnaensis III-2, Варна 2005, 107–121.

***Popkonstantinov – Kostova – Pletnyov*, Srednovekoven knjaževski manastir** = *Попконстантинов К.*, *Костова Р.*, *Плетньов В.*, Средновековен княжески манастир в м. Караачтеке, Варна, Археологически открития и разкопки през 2017 г., София 2018, 743–745.

***Popkonstantinov – Kronsteiner*, Altbulgarische Inschriften** = *Popkonstantinov K.*, *Kronsteiner O.*, Altbulgarische Inschriften 1, Die Slawischen Sprachen 36, Salzburg-Wien, 1994.

***Popkonstantinov – Kronsteiner*, Altbulgarische Inschriften Vol. 2** = *Popkonstantinov K.*, *Kronsteiner O.*, Altbulgarische Inschriften, Vol. 2. Salzburg 1997.

***Popkonstantinov – Smjadovski*, Za počitaneto na Kliment papa Pimski** = *Попконстантинов К.*, *Смядовски Т.*, За почитането на Климент папа Римски средновековна България, РВ 4 (1983) 92–98.

***Popova*, Asketičeskoe napravlenie** = *Попова О. С.*, Аскетическое направление в византийском искусстве второй четверти XI века и его дальнейшая судьба, *О. С. Попова*, Проблемы византийского искусства. Мозаики, фрески, иконы, Москва 2006 149–209.

***Popova*, Freski sobora sv. Sofii** = *Попова О. С.*, Фрески собора св. Софии Охридской и искусство 40-х –50-х гг. XI в., ВВ 99 (2015) 211–223.

***Popović*, Titulatura** = *Пōповић А.*, Титулатура охридског архиепископа у писмима Димитрија Хоматијана, ZRVI 38 (1999/2000) 279–285.

***Popović*, Desert as Heavenly Jerusalem** = *Popović D.*, Desert as Heavenly Jerusalem: The Imagery of a Sacred Space in the Making, ed. *A. Lidov*, New Jerusalems. Hierotopy and Iconography of Sacred Spaces, Moscow 2009, 151–175.

***Popović*, Monah-pustinjak** = *Пōповић Д.*, Монах-пустињак, edd. *С. Марјановић Душанић*, *Д. Пōповић*, Приватни живот у српским земљама средњег века, Београд 2004, 552–585.

***Popović*, Nadgrobni spomenici** = *Пōповић Д.*, Надгробни споменици у Кончулићу, Саопштења 27–28 (1995–1996) 53–66.

***Popović*, Paying devotions to the Holy Hermit** = *Popović D.*, Paying devotions to the Holy Hermit: The shrine of St Prochorus of Pčinja, ed. *E. Hadjitryphonos*, Routes of Faith in the Medieval Mediterranean. History, Monuments, People, Pilgrimage Perspectives, Thessalonike 2008, 215–226.

***Popović*, Srednjovekovne pećine–isposnice** = *Пōповић Д.*, Средњовековне пећине–испоснице у призренском крају – Претходна истраживања, ИЧ 4 (1997) 131–135.

***Popović*, Srpski vladarski grob** = *Пōповић Д.*, Српски владарски гроб у средњем веку, Београд 1992.

***Popović*, Svod srpskih svetih** = *Пōповић Д.*, Свод српских светих у доба краља Милутина. Култови архијереја и пустиножитеља, edd. *Љ. Максимовић*, *В. Вукашиновић,* Манастир Студеница. 700 година Краљеве цркве, Београд 2016, 81–97.

***Popović*, The Cult of St Peter of Koriša** = *Popović D.*, The Cult of St Peter of Koriša. Stages of Development and Patterns, Balcanica 28 (1997) 181–212.

***Popović*, The Deserts and Holy Mountains** = *Popović D.*, The Deserts and Holy Mountains of Medieval Serbia. Written Sources, Spatial Patterns, Architectural Designs, ed. *P. Soustal*, Heilige Berge und Wüsten, Byzanz und sein Umfeld. Referate auf dem 21. Internationalen Kongress für Byzantinistik, London 21. –26. August 2006, Wien 2009, 53–69.

***Popović – Popović*, The Cave Lavra of the Archangel Michael** = *Popović D.*, *Popović M.*, The Cave Lavra of the Archangel Michael in Ras, Starinar 49 (1998) 103–130.

***Popović*, Beogradska tvrdjava** = *Поповић М.*, Београдска тврђава, Београд 1982.

***Popović*, Forteresses** = *Popović M.*, Les forteresses du systeme defensif byzantin en Serbie au XI^e^–XII^e^ siècle, Starinar 42 (1991) 169–185.

***Popović*, Prilog** = *Поповић М.*, Прилог проучавању топографије византијског Београда у 11. и 12. веку, ZRVI 50/1 (2013) 461–478.

***Popović*, Tvrđava Ras** = *Popović M.*, Tvrđava Ras, Beograd 1999.

***Popović*, Užički grad** = *Поповић М.*, Ужички град, Ужице 2004.

***Popović – Bikić*, Vrsenice** = *Popović M.*, *Bikić V.*, Vrsenice: kasnoantičko i srpsko ranosrednjovekovno utvrđenje, Beograd 2009.

***Popović – Ivanišević*, Braničevo** = *Поповић М.*, *Иванишевић В.*, Град Браничево у средњем веку, Старинар 39 (1988) 125–179.

***Popović*, Medieval Macedonia** = *Popović St. M.*, Moving through Medieval Macedonia: Late Modern Cartography, Archive Material, and Hydrographic Data Used for the Regressive Modelling of Transportation Networks, Studia Ceranea 2 (2012) 165–180.

***Popović – Jubanski*, Melnik-Zlatolist** = *Popovic St. M.*, *Jubanski J. J.*, On the Function of "Least-Cost Path" Calculations within the Project Tabula Imperii Byzantini (TIB) of the Austrian Academy of Sciences: a Case Study on the Route Melnik-Zlatolist (Bulgaria), Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Anzeiger der philosophisch-historischen Klasse, 145. Jahrgang / 2. Halbband (2010) 55–88.

***Popović*, Sveti Erasmo Ohridski** = *Поповић Р.*, Свети Ерасмо Охридски († 303), Богословље 1–2 (1992) 35–45.

***Popović*, Krst u krugu** = Поповић С., Крст у кругу. Архитектура манастира у средњовековној Србији, Београд 1994.

***Popović*, Preispitivanje crkve Svetog Petra** = *Popović S.*, Preispitivanje crkve Svetog Petra u Rasu, ed. *J. Kalić*, Stefan Nemanja – Sveti Simeon Mirotočivi. Istorija i predanje, Beograd 2000, 209–232.

***Popović*, Blaženi Irinej** = *Поповић В.*, Блажени Иринеј, први епископ Сирмијума, Sirmium. Град царева и мученика, Сремска Митровица 2003, 259–263.

***Popović*, Catalogue** = *Popović V.*, Catalogue des monnaies byzantines du musée de Srem, Sirmium VIII. Études de numismatique danubienne. Trésors, lingots, imitations, monnaies de fouilles. IV^e^ au XII^e^ siècle. Préface de *Kondić V.*, et une introd. de *Callu J.-P.*, Chapitre V, Rome (1978), 180–195.

***Popović*, Katalog vizantijskog novca** = *Поповић В.*, Каталог византијског новца из Музеја Срема, ed. *Д. Познановић*, *В. Поповић*, Sirmium. Град царева и мученика, Сремска Митровица 2003, 325–342.

***Popović*, Kultni kontinuitet** = *Поповић В.*, Култни континуитет и литерарна традиција у цркви средњовековног Сирмијума, ed. *Д. Познановић*, *В. Поповић*, Sirmium. Град царева и мученика, Сремска Митровица 2003, 303–306.

***Popović*, „Metodijev" grob** = *Поповић В.*, „Методијев" гроб и епископска црква у Мачванској Митровици, ed. *Д. Познановић*, *В. Поповић*, Sirmium. Град царева и мученика, Сремска Митровица 2003, 297–302.

***Popović*, Ostava anonimnih vizantijskih folisa** = *Поповић В.*, Остава анонимних византијских фолиса из Мачванске Митровице, ed. *Д. Познановић*, *В. Поповић*, Sirmium. Град царева и мученика, Сремска Митровица 2003, 343–344.

***Popović*, Sirmijska episkopija** = *Поповић В.*, Сирмијска епископија и средњовековна црква на Балкану, ed. *Д. Познановић*, *В. Поповић*, Sirmium. Град царева и мученика, Сремска Митровица 2003, 291–296.

***Popović*, Sirmium – Mitrovica (Sremska i Mačvanska)** = *Поповић В.*, Sirmium – Митровица (Сремска и Мачванска) (1967), ed. *Д. Познановић*, *В. Поповић*, Sirmium. Град царева и мученика, Сремска Митровица 2003, 81–86.

***Popović*, Sirmium** = *Поповић В.*, Sirmium. Град царева и мученика (Сабрани радови о археологији и историји Сирмијума), ed. *Д. Познановић*, Сремска Митровица 2003.

***Popović*, Sirmium, Sremska Mitrovica** = *Поповић В.*, Sirmium, Сремска Митровица, лок. „Зидине" или „Ширинград" у Мачванској Митровици – рано-средњовековна архитектура (1966), ed. *Д. Познановић*, *В. Поповић* Sirmium. Град царева и мученика, Сремска Митровица 2003, 79–80.

***Popović*, Veliki Gradac** = *Поповић В.*, Доњи Милановац – Велики Градац (Taliata). Римско и рановизантијско утврђење, Старинар 33–34 (1982/83) 265–282.

***Poppe*, Organisation diocésaine** = *Poppe A.*, L'organisation diocésaine de la Russie aux XI^e^ – XII^e^ siècles, Byzantion 40/1. Hommage au R. P. R. J. Loenertz (1970) 165–217.

***Pouqueville*, Voyage de la Grece** = *Pouqueville F.-Ch.-H.-L.*, Voyage de la Grece, 2, Paris 1820.

***Praschniker*, Zwei mittelalterliche Inschriften** = *Praschniker C.*, Zwei mittelalterliche Inschriften aus Albanien, Anzeiger der phil-hist. Klasse dar Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien 13 (1919) 73–81.

***Praškov*, Hreľovata kula** = *Прашков Л.*, Хрельовата кула, София 1973.

***Praškov*, Novi otkritija v dekoracijata** = *Прашков Л.*, Нови открития в декорацията на средновековната църква „Св. Архангел Михаил" в град Рила, Проблеми на изкуството 1 (2001) 3–8.

***Praškov*, Novootkriti stenopisi** = *Прашков Л.*, Новооткрити стенописи от края на XII, началото на XIII век в гробищната църква в град Рила (предварително съобщение), Проблеми на изкуството 3 (1998) 3–7.

***Praškov*, Novootkriti stenopisi ot kraja na XII, načaloto na XIII vek** = *Прашков Л.*, Новооткрити стенописи от края на XII, началото на XIII век в гробищната църква Св Архангел Михаил в град Рила, Религи и изкуство в културната традиции на Европа, Лятна научна среща Варна 1998, София 1999, 115–124.

***Praškov*, Novootkrytye rospisi rubeža XI-XII vv.** = *Прашков Л.*, Новооткрытые росписи рубежа XI–XII вв. В кладбищенской церкви Архангела Михаила в городе Рила, в Болгарии, Древне-русское искусство, Византия, Русь, Западная Европа: Искусство и культура, Санкт-Петербург 2002, 100–114.

***Praškov*, Rospisi** = *Прашков Л.*, Росписи XII века церкви Архангела Михаила в Риле: к уточнению датировки, Искусство христианского мира 9 (2005) 36–45.

***Praškova*, Restavracija** = *Прашкова М.*, Реставрация на стенописите в църквата Св. Арх. Михаил в. гр. Рила, Реставрация 1 (2020) 3–19.

***Prepis*, Kŭm problema na datirovkata** = *Препис А.*, Към проблема за датировката на средновековната катедрала "Св. Никола" в крепостта на Мелник, ed. *П. Зарев*, Първи международен конгрес по българистика, София, 23 май – 3 юни 1981, Доклади, vol. I, Българската култура и взаимодействието и със световната култура. Културата на средновековна България, София 1983, 176–193.

***Preradović – Milanović*, Pan-Christian Saints in Serbian Cult** = *Preradović D.*, *Milanović Lj.*, Pan-Christian Saints in Serbian Cult Practice and Art, edd. *D. Popović*, *D. Vojvodić*, Byzantine heritage and Serbian art, Sacral Arts of the Serbian Lands in the Middle Ages, Belgrade 2016, 103–117.

***Prigent*, Évolution** = *Prigent V.*, Notes sur l'évolution de l'administration byzantine en Adriatique (VIII^e^-IX^e^ siècle), Mélanges de l'École française de Rome. Moyen-Age 120/2 (2008) 393–417.

***Princing*, Papstvo** = *Принцинī Г.*, Папство и православни југоисток Европе 1180–1216. Поновно разматрање, edd. *Љ. Максимовић*, *С. Пириватрић*, Краљевство и архиепископија у српским и поморским земљама Немањића, Београд 2019, 51–106.

***Prinzing*, A Quasi–Patriarch** = *Prinzing G.*, A Quasi–Patriarch in the State of Epiros: The Autocephalous. Archbishop of "Boulgaria" (Ohrid) Demetrios Chometenos, ZRVI 41 (2004) 165–182.

***Prinzing*, Adoleszenten** = *Prinzing G.*, Adoleszenten in der kirchlichen Rechtsprechung der Byzantiner im Zeitraum 13.–15. Jahrhundert, ed. *D. Ariantzi*, Coming of Age in Byzantium: Adolescence and Society, Berlin–Boston 2018, 29–82.

***Prinzing*, Authority** = *Prinzing G.*, The authority of the Church in uneasy times: the example of Demetrios Chomatenos, archbishop of Ohrid, in the state of Epiros, 1216–1236, ed. *P. Armstrong*, Authority in Byzantium, Farnham 2013, 137–150.

***Prinzing*, Bedeutung** = *Prinzing G.*, Die Bedeutung Bulgariens und Serbiens in den Jahren 1204–1219 im Zusammenhang mit der Entstehung und Entwicklung der byzantinischen Teilstaaten nach der Einnahme Konstantinopels infolge des 4. Kreuzzuges, München 1972.

***Prinzing*, Byzantine ecclesiastical province** = *Prinzing G.*, The autocephalous Byzantine ecclesiastical province of Bulgaria/Ohrid. How independent were its archbishops?, BM 3 (2012) 355–383.

***Prinzing*, Convergence and divergence** = *Prinzing G.*, Convergence and divergence between the Patriarchal Register of Constantinople and the Ponemata Diaphora of Archbishop Demetrios Chomatenos of Achrida/Ohrid, edd. *Б. Крсмановић*, *Љ. Максимовић*, *Р. Рагић*, Византијски свет на Балкану II, Београд 2012, 1–16.

***Prinzing*, Dēmētrios Chomatēnos** = *Prinzing G.*, Δημήτριος Χωματηνός: εξέχων κανονολόγος και αρχιεπίσκοπος της αυτοκέφαλης βυζαντινής εκκλησιαστικής επαρχίας της Βουλγαρίας / Αχρίδας (1216–1236), ed. *Τ. Κ. Λουγγής*, Βυζάντιο. Ιστορία και πολιτισμός, Τ. Α', Αθήνα 2014, 341–360.

***Prinzing*, Demetrios-Kirche und Aseniden** = *Prinzing G.*, Demetrios-Kirche und Aseniden. Zur chronologischen Präzisierung der Frühphase des Aseniden-Aufstandes, ZRVI 38 (1999–2000) 257–265.

***Prinzing*, Die „Antigraphe"** = *Prinzing G.*, Die „Antigraphe" des Patriarchen Germanos II. an Erzbischof Demetrios Chomatenos von Ohrid und die Korrespondenz zum nikäisch-epirotischen Konflikt 1212–1233, Rivista di studi bizantini e slavi 3 (1983) 21–64.

***Prinzing*, Entstehung** = *Prinzing G.*, Entstehung und Rezeption der Justinina-Prima-Theorie im Mittelalter, Byzantinobulgarica 5 (1978) 269–287.

***Prinzing*, Hatte Stefan I von Serbien eine Tochter namens Komnene?** = *G. Prinzing*, Hatte Stefan I von Serbien eine Tochter namens Komnene? Zur aktuellen Diskussion über die Chomatenos-Akten zu Stefan Nemanjić und seinem Bruder Sava, ZRVI 50/2 (2013) 549–571.

***Prinzing*, Konvergenz und Divergenz** = *Prinzing G.*, Konvergenz und Divergenz zwischen dem Patriarchatsregister und den Ponemata Diaphora des Demetrios Chomatenos von Achrida/Ohrid, edd. *C. Gastgeber*, *E. Mitsiou*, *J. Kapeller*, The Register of the Patriarchate of Constantinople, Wien 2013, 9–32.

***Prinzing*, La jurisprudence ecclésiastique** = *Prinzing G.*, La jurisprudence ecclésiastique dans l'archevêché autocéphale de Bulgarie/Ohrid (1020–ca. 1400), edd. *M.-H. Blanchet*, *F. Gabriel*, *L. Tatarenko*, Autocéphalies. L'exercice de l'indépendance dans les Églises slaves orientales: (IX^{e}–XXI^{e} siècle), Rome 2021, 159–177.

***Prinzing*, Legal Status of Children** = *Prinzing G.*, Observations on the Legal Status of Children and the Stages of Childhood in Byzantium, edd. *A. Papaconstantinou*, *A.-M. Maffry Talbot*, Becoming Byzantine: Children and Childhood in Byzantium, Harvard 2009, 15–34.

***Prinzing*, Papsttum** = *Prinzing G.*, Das Papsttum und der orthodox geprägte Südosten Europas 1180–1216, edd. *E.-D. Hehl*, *I. H. Ringel*, *H. Seibert*, Das Papsttum in der Welt des 12. Jahrhunderts, Stuttgart 2002, 137–184.

***Prinzing*, Pliska** = *Prinzing G.*, Pliska in the view of Protobulgarian inscriptions and Byzantine written sources, ed. *J. Henning*, Post-Roman Towns, Trade, and Settlement in Europe and Byzantium, vol. 2, Berlin–New York 2007, 241–252.

***Prinzing*, Sozialgeschichte der Frau** = *Prinzing G.*, Sozialgeschichte der Frau im Spiegel der Chomatenos–Akten, JÖB 32/2 (1982) 453–463.

***Prinzing*, The Authority of the Church** = *Prinzing G.*, The Authority of the Church in Uneasy Times: The Example of Demetrios Chomatenos, Archbishop of Ohrid, in the State of Epiros, 1216–1236, ed. *P. Armstrong*, Authority in Byzantium, Farnham-Burlington 2013, 137–150.

***Prinzing*, Wer war der „bulgarische Bischof Adrian"** = *Prinzing G.*, Wer war der „bulgarische Bischof Adrian" der Laurentius-Chronik sub anno 1164?, Jahrbücher für Geschichte Osteuropas 36 (1988) 552–557.

***Prokić*, Die Zusätze** = *Prokić B.*, Die Zusätze in der Handschrift des Johannes Skylitzes, codex Vindobonensis hist, graec. LXXIV. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des sogennanten westbulgarischen Reiches, München 1906.

***Prokić*, Postanak** = *Прокић Б.*, Постанак Охридског патријархата, Глас СКА 90 (1912) 183–202.

***Prolović*, Arhitektura** = *Проловић Ј.*, Архитектура црквеног комплекса од оснивања до XVI века, ed. *Н. Макуљевић*, Манастир Свети Прохор Пчињски, 155–191.

***Prolović*, Živopis** = *Проловић Ј.*, Живопис цркве Светог Прохора Пчињског од XIV до XVI/XVII века, ed. *Н. Макуљевић*, Манастир Свети Прохор Пчињски, 223–320.

***Protič*, Sŭštnostʹ i razvitie na bŭlgarskata cŭrkovna arhitektura** = *Протич А.*, Същность и развитие на българската църковна архитектура, Известия на Българския археологически институтъ I (1921–1922) 186–205.

***Pucko*, Vizantijskaja derevjannaja skulʹptura** = *Пуцко В.*, Византийская деревянная скульптура, ZRVI 51 (2014) 100–101.

Puglia preromanica = Puglia preromanica dal V secolo agli inizi dell'XI, ed. *G. Bertelli*, Milan 2004.

R

***Rabovjanov*, Izvŭnstoličnite kamenni kreposti** = *Рабовянов Д.*, Извънстоличните каменни крепости на Първото българско царство (IX – началото на XI век), София 2011.

***Rabovjanov*, Tradicii i vlijanija** = *Рабовянов Д.*, Традиции и влияния в крепостното строителство на Първото българско царство в периода X–началото на XI в., edd. *В. Гюзелев*, *Г. Н. Николов*, Еропейският Югоизток през втората половина на X–началото на XI век. История и култура, София 2015, 423–431.

***Radičević*, Poznosrednjovekovni period** = *Радичевић Д.*, Позносредњовековни период у светлу археологије, edd. *Д. Војводић*, *М. Марковић*, Уметничко наслеђе српског народа на Косову и Метохији - историја, идентитет, угроженост, заштита, Београд 2017, 278–282.

***Radičević*, The Earliest Period** = *Radičević D.*, The Earliest Period: From the Serbian Settlement of the Balkans to the Reign of Stefan Nemanja, edd. *D. Vojvodić*, *M. Marković*, Artistic Heritage of the Serbian People in Kosovo and Metohija: History, Identity, Vulnerability, Protection, Belgrade 2017, 211–220.

***Radić*, Oblasni gospodari** = *Рагић Р.*, Обласни господари у Византији крајем XII и у првим деценијама XIII века, ZRVI 24–25 (1986) 151–289.

***Radić*, The Circulation** = *Radić V*., The Circulation of Byzantine gold and silver coinage in the Central Balkans at the end of the 10th and during the 11th century, Нумизматичар 28 (2010) 201–214.

***Radišić*, Archaeological testimonies** = *Radišić M*., Archaeological testimonies of Bulgarian presence in the Central Balkan during the ninth and tenth centuries, edd. *A. Nikolov*, *N. Kanev*, Emperor Symeon's Bulgaria in the History of Europe's South-East: 1100 years from the Battle of Achelous, Sofia 2018, 134–154.

***Radkova*, Историческата съдба на манастира** = *Радкова Р*., Историческата съдба на манастира през вековете, Рилският манастир, София 2000, 10–31.

***Radojčić*, Sv. Sava** = *Радојчић Н*., Свети Сава и аутокефалност српске и бугарске цркве, Глас СКА 179 (1939) 179–258.

***Radojčić*, Crkva** = *Радојчић С*., Црква у Коњуху, ZRVI 1 (1952), 148-165.

***Radojčić*, Prilozi** = *Радојчић С*., Прилози за историју најстаријег охридског сликарства, ZRVI 8/2 (1964) 355–382 (= *Радојчић С*., Одабрани чланци и студије, Београд – Нови Сад 1982, 109–127).

***Radojčić*, Temnićki natpis** = *Радојчић С*., Темнићки натпис, С. Радојчић, Узори и дела старих српских уметника, Београд 1975, 7–17.

***Radošević*, Les allophyloi** = *Radošević N*., Les allophyloi dans la correspondance des intellectuels byzantins du XIIe siècle, ZRVI 39 (2001–2002) 89–101.

***Radošević-Maksimović*, Jedan epigram** = *Радошевић-Максимовић Н*., Један епиграм из базилике Св. Ахилија на Малој Преспи, ZRVI 12 (1970) 9–12.

***Radujko*, Episkopski presto** = *Радујко М*., Епископски престо у српским земљама од IX до XVIII века, I-II, Београд 2020.

***Ragia*, Latros** = *Ράγια Έ*., Λάτρος: Ένα άγνωστο μοναστικό κέντρο στη δυτική Μικρά Ασία, Αθήνα 2008.

***Rajkov*, Ranni kalendarni vesti** = *Райков Б*. Ранни календарни вести за Климент Охридски, Климент Охридски. Сборник от статии по случай 1050 год. от смъртта му, София 1966, 320–325.

***Rajkov*, *et al*., Katalog** = *Райков Б*., Кожухаров С., Миклас Х., Кодов Х., Каталог на славянските ръкописи в библиотеката на Зографския манастир в Света Гора, София 1994.

***Rakocija*, Crkva Sv. Jovana =** *Ракоција М*.**,** Црква Св. Јована изнад Горњег Матејевца и њена архаична триконхална основа, ed. *М. Ракоција*, Ниш и Византија 18, Ниш 2020, 121–158.

***Rakocija*, Crkva** = *Ракоција М*., Црква у Горњем Матејевцу код Ниша, Саопштења 22–23 (1990–1991) 7–24.

***Rakocija*, Konstantinov grad** = *Ракоција М*., Константинов град, старохришћански Ниш, Ниш 2013.

***Rakocija*, Manastir Sv. Jovana** = *Ракоција М*., Манастир Св. Јована изнад села Горњи Матејевац код Ниша, ГДКС 18 (1994) 117–121.

***Rakocija*, Manastiri** = *Ракоција М*., Манастири и цркве јужне и источне Србије, Ниш 2013.

***Rakocija*, Novootkriveni fragmenti** = *Ракоција М*., Новооткривени фрагменти живописа у цркви Св. Јована у Орљану, ГДКС 23–24 (2000) 41–46.

***Rakocija*, O crkvi** = *Ракоција М*., О цркви Св. Јована у селу Орљане код Ниша и њеном месту у историји византијске архитектуре, ed. *М. Ракоција*, Ниш и хришћанско наслеђе, Ниш 2013, 387–415.

***Rakocija*, Obnova** = *Ракоција М*., Обнова Византије 1018. године и црквено градитељство у Нишу, ed. *М. Ракоција*, Ниш и Византија 17, Ниш 2019, 23–43.

***Rakocija*, Rezultati istraživanja** = *Ракоција М*., Резултати истраживања у порти цркве Св. Николе у Нишу и покушај убикације цркве Св. Прокопија, ГДКС 26 (2002) 127–131.

***Rashev*, Pliska** = *Rashev R*., Pliska – The First Capital of Bulgaria, ed. *A. G. Poulter*, Ancient Bulgaria, vol. 2, Nottingham 1983, 255–290.

***Rashev – Dimitrov*, Pliska** = *Rashev R*., *Dimitrov Y*., Pliska – 100 years of archaeological excavations, Shumen 1999.

***Rasolkoska-Nikolovska*, Arheološkite istražuvanja** = *Расолкоска-Николовска З*., Археолошките истражувања на црквата Св. Ѓорѓи во Горни Козјак, Зборник на Штипскиот народен музеј 4–5 (1975) 125–139.

***Rasolkoska-Nikolovska*, Arhimandrit Jovan** = *Расолкоска-Николовска З*., Архимадрит Јован, игумен на Климентовиот манастир во Охрид", Културно наследство 28–29 (2002–2003) 93–102.

***Rasolkoska-Nikolovska*, Crkva Sv. Gorgi vo Goren Kozjak** = *Расолкоска-Николовска З*., Црква Св. Ѓорѓи во Горен Козјак во светлината на новите испитувања, Зборник на Штипскиот Народен музеј III–V (1975) 125–139.

***Rasolkoska-Nikolovska*, Crkvata Sveti Georgi** = *Расолкоска-Николовска З*. Црквата Свети Георги кај Горни Козјак, Штипско, Македонија, ed. *М. Ракоција*, Ниш и Византија 13, Ниш 2015, 301–313.

***Rasolkoska-Nikolovska*, Isus Hristos Antifonitis** = *Расолкоска-Николовска З*., Исус Христос Антифонитис од црквата Св. Ѓорѓи во Горни Козјак, Археолошки музеј на Македонија, Зборник 1967-1974, Зборник посветен на Димче Коцо, Скопје 1975, 217–229.

***Rasolkoska-Nikolovska*, Manastirot Zrze** = *Расолкоска-Николовска З*., Манастирот Зрзе со црквата Преображение и Свети Никола, ed. *В. Мошин*, Споменици за средновековната и поновата историја на Македонија IV, Скопје 1981, 407–462.

***Rasolkoska-Nikolovska*, Najstarata freska** = *Расолкоска-Николовска З*., Најстарата фреска во црквата Свети Георги во Горни Козјак, во близина на Штип, edd. *Д. Медаковић*, *Ц. Грозданов*, На траговима Војислава Ј. Ђурића, Београд 2011, 15–22.

***Rasolkoska-Nikolovska*, Novootkrienite crkvi** = *Расолкоска-Николовска З*., Новооткриените цркви во Мородвис во контекстот на Мородвиската епископија, Акта Вељуса, Симпозиум "Вељуса" по повод 900-годишнината на манастирската црква Богородица Милостива (Елеуса) во селото Вељуса, Скопје 1974, 129–139.

***Rasolkoska-Nikolovska*, Novootkrienite crkvi vo Morodvis** = *Расолкоска-Николовска З*., Новооткриените цркви во Мородвис во контекстот на Мородвиската епископија, ed. *З. Расолкоска-Николовска*, Средновековната уметност во Македонија. Фрески и икони. Скопје 2004, 23–30.

***Rasolkoska-Nikolovska*, Slikarskata rabotilnica** = *Расолкоска-Николовска З*., Сликарската работилница од Св. Софија (1037–1056) во Охрид и нејзиното следење во други храмови во Македонија, ed. *З. Расолкоска-Николовска*, Средновековната уметност во Македонија. Фрески и икони, Скопје 2004, 35–58.

***Rašev*, Bŭlgarskata ezičeska kultura** = *Рашев Р*., Българската езическа култура VII–IX век, София 2008.

***Rašev*, Tronnata palata** = *Рашев Р*., Тронната палата в Плиска, Плиска–Преслав 8 (2000) 35–43.

***Rašev*, Vizantijcite v Bŭlgarija** = *Рашев Р*., Византийците в България до покръстването, edd. *Ц. Степанов*, *В. Вачкова*, Civitas divino-humana. В чест на 60-годишнината на професор Георги Бакалов, София 2004, 151–162.

***Rhoby*, Byzantinische Epigramme auf Fresken und Mosaiken** = *Rhoby A*., Byzantinische Epigramme auf Fresken und Mosaiken, Wien 2009.

***Rhoby*, Byzantinische Epigramme auf Stein** = *Rhoby A*., Byzantinische Epigramme auf Stein. Nebst Addenda zu den Bänden 1 und 2, Wien 2014.

***Ricci*, Ernest Mamboury** = *Ricci A.*, Ernest Mamboury, the Late Antique Residential Complex at Rhegion (Küçükçekmece, Istanbul) and its Architecture, edd. *I. Uytterhoeven*, *A.Ricci*, The Palimpsest of the House. Re-assessing Roman, Late Antique, Byzantine, and Early Islamic Living Patterns, Istanbul 2022, 235–262.

***Ristani – Mučaj – Xhyheri*, Të dhëna të reja për fshatin** = *Ristani I.*, *Muçaj S.*, *Xhyheri S.*, Të dhëna të reja për fshatin mesjetar të Kamenicës (Delvinë), Candavia 4 (2014) 215–236.

***Ristani et al.*, Fshati mesjetar** = *Ristani I.*, *Muçaj S.*, *Xhyheri S.*, *Ruka R.*, Fshati mesjetar i Kamenicës, 2013, Iliria 38 (2014) 431–449.

***Risteski*, Deloto na Sveti Kliment Ohridski** = *Ристески Б.*, Делото на Свети Климент Охридски и монашката населба од доцниот IX и почетокот на X век до средината на XV век на локалитетот Свето Преображение кај селото Зрзе, ed. *Б. Ристовски*, Милениумското зрачење на Св. Климент Охридски. Скопје 2017, 341–352.

***Risteski*, Docna antika i sredniot vek** = *Ристески Б.*, Доцна антика и средниот век во рамките на просторната целина ,'Маркови Кули" – Прилеп, Balcanoslavica 47/2 (2018) 69–90.

***Risteski*, Markovi Kuli** = *Risteski B.*, Markovi Kuli near Prilep, The most significant values ofthe cultural and natural heritage, Skopje 2016.

***Risteski*, Monaška naselba "Sveto Preobraženie"** = *Ристески Б.*, Монашка населба "Св. Преображение", с. Зрзе, Македонски археолошки весник 3, год. I, октобар 2009 (available online: https://www.mn.mk/kultura/682)

***Risteski*, Najranite manifestacii na hristijanstvoto** = *Ристески Б.*, Најраните манифестации на христијанството во регионите на Мариово и северна Пелагонија, ed. *М. Ракоција*, Ниш и Византија 9, Ниш 2011, 203–226.

***Risteski*, Prostorniot raspored** = *Ристески Б.*, Просторниот распоред на средновековниот Прилеп во времето од раниот 12 до првите децении на 15 век, Balcanoslavica 49/1–2 (2020) 41–54.

***Risteski*, Srednovekovniot Prilep** = *Ристески Б.*, Средновековниот Прилеп, Balcanoslavica 47/2 (2018) 135–155.

***Ritter*, Die vlacho-bulgarische Rebellion** = *Ritter M.*, Die vlacho-bulgarische Rebellion und die Versuche ihrer Niederschlagung durch Kaiser Isaakios II. (1185–1195), BS 71/1 (2013) 162–210.

***Riznić*, Starine** = *Ризнић Сп. М.*, Старине у планини Мојсињи и околини 2, Старинар 8/3 (1891) 73–77.

***Rodley*, Cave monasteries of Byzantine Cappadocia** = *Rodley L.*, Cave monasteries of Byzantine Cappadocia, Cambridge 1985.

***Roth*, Size and Organization** = *Roth J.*, The Size and Organization of the Roman Imperial Legion, Historia: Zeitschrift Für alte Geschichte 43 (1994) 346–362.

***Rujak*, Carevi kuli: Strumica** = *Рујак З.*, Цареви Кули: Струмица. II. Од Римското царство до доцен среден век / Carevi Kuli: Strumica. II. From the Roman Empire to the Late Middle Age, Strumica 2022.

***Rujak*, Sistemot na odbranbeni fortifikacii** = *Рујак З.*, Системот на одбранбени фортификации во Подбеласичкиот и Струмичкиот регион од времето на Самоиловите војни (X-XI век), edd. *И. Велев*, *В. Ѓоргиев Ликин*, Самуиловата држава во историската, воено-политичката, духовната и културната традиција на Македонија, Струмица 2015, 161–180.

***Rujak*, Srednovekovnata fortifikacija** = *Рујак З.*, Средновековната фортификација на Цареви Кули-Струмица (од 11 до 14 век), Музејски летопис. Зборник на трудови по повод 65 години „Завод и Музеј"- Струмица, Струмица 2017, 80–100.

***Rujak et al.*, Strumica** = *Рујак З. et al.*, Струмица и Струмичко низ просторот и времето, НУ Завод за заштита на спомениците на културата и Музеј, Струмица 2022.

***Rujak – Maninski (ed.)*, Strumica i Strumičko** = Струмица и Струмичко низ просторот и времето, edd. *З. Рујак*, *А. Манинск*, Струмица 2022.

***Ruseva*, Bazilikata „Sv. Ahilij"** = *Русева Р.*, Базиликата «Св. Ахилий», монашеството и изкуството в Преспа. Предварителни бележки, edd. *В. Гюзелев*, *Г. Н. Николов*, Европейският Югоизток през втората половина на X – началото на XI век. История и култура, София 2015, 700–716.

***Ruseva-Slokoska*, Pautalija** = *Русева-Слокоска Л.*, Пауталия. I: Топография, градоустройство и укрепителна система, София 1989.

***Ruvarac*, Prilošci k obasneniju** = *Руварац И.*, Прилошци к обасненију извора српске историје, Гласник Српског ученог друштва 49 (1881) 9–13.

S

***Sabbopoulou-Katsikē – Mauropoulou-Tsioumē*, Ē anaskaphē sto byzantino Sisani** = *Σαββοπούλου-Κατσίκη Η.*, *Μαυροπούλου-Τσιούμη Χ.*, Η ανασκαφή στο βυζαντινό Σισάνι. Το έργο του Σωτήρη Κίσσα, ΑΕΜΘ 12 (1998) 517–525.

***Saradi*, The alienation of the dowry** = *Saradi H.*, The alienation of the dowry in the acts of Byzantine notaries, BB 55 (1998) 72–77.

***Sarantis*, Fortifications** = *Sarantis A.*, Fortifications in the East: A Bibliographic Essay, edd. *A. Sarantis*, *N. Christie*, War and Warfare in Late Antiquity. Current perspectives, Leiden – Boston 2013.

***Sarantis*, Justinian's Balkan Wars** = *Sarantis A.*, Justinian's Balkan Wars. Campaigning, Diplomacy and Development in Illyricum, Thrace and the Northern World A.D. 527–565, Cambridge 2016.

***Sarantis*, Justinian's Novella 11** = *Sarantis A.*, Justinian's Novella 11: memory and political propaganda in the build up to the Gothic War, Early Medieval Europe 27/4 (2019) 494–520.

***Savić*, O problemu formiranja** = *Савић В.*, О проблему формирања ћириличкога писма. Неколика прилога, Јужнословенски филолог 78/2 (2022) 175–205.

***Savić*, Srpska književna reč** = *Савић В.*, Српска књижевна реч у својим првим столећима, Подгорица – Ниш 2019.

***Savić*, Vukan's Evangelion** = *Savić V.*, Vukan's Evangelion, ed. *M. Marković*, Spiritual and Cultural Heritage of the Monastery of Studenica: Past, Perseverance, Contemporaneity, Belgrade 2019, 69–72.

***Savova*, Homatianovijat kanon** = *Савова В.*, Хоматиановият канон за св. Климент Охридски на 1-и глас, Годишник на ЦСВП „Проф. Иван Дуйчев" 99 (18) (2017) 507–518.

***Savova*, Nabljudenija** = *Савова В.*, Наблюдения върху старобългарската служба за св. Климент Охридски, edd. *А.-М. Тотоманова*, *Д. Атанасова*, Кирило-Методиевски четения. Юбилеен сборник 2015, София 2015, 140–149.

***Savova*, Teofilaktovijat kanon** = *Савова В.*, Теофилактовият канон за св. Климент Охридски, Българска реч 2 (2016) 15–24.

Sceaux byzantins = Les sceaux byzantins du Musée archéologique d'Istanbul, edd. *V. Bulgurlu*, *J.-Cl. Cheynet*, *T. Gökyıldırım*, Istanbul 2012.

***Schellewald*, Sophienkirche in Ohrid** = *Schellewald B. M.*, Die Architektur der Sophienkirche in Ohrid, Bonn 1986.

***Schellewald*, Ohrid** = *Schellewald B.*, Ohrid. Denkmäler. Architektur, ed. *M. Restle*, Reallexikon zur byzantinischen Kunst VII, Stuttgart 2009, col. 167–353.

***Schellewald*, Vom Unsichtbaren zum Sichtbaren** = *Schellewald B.*, Vom Unsichtbaren zum Sichtbaren: Liturgisches Zeremoniell und Bild in Byzanz im 11. und 12. Jahrhundert, edd. *E. Bierende*, *S. Bretfeld*, *K. Oschema-Riten*, Gesten, Zeremonien.

Gesellschaftliche Symbolik im Mittelalter und Früher Neuzeit, Berlin – New York 2008, 142–166.

***Schenker*, The Dawn of Slavic** = *Schenker M. A.*, The Dawn of Slavic: An Introduction to Slavic Philology, New Haven 1995.

***Schlumberger*, Sigillographie** = *Schlumberger G.*, Sigillographie de l'Empire byzantin, Paris 1884.

***Schmid*, 'Brautschaft, heilige'** = *Schmid J.*, Art. 'Brautschaft, heilige', edd. *Th. Klauser*, *E. Dassmann*, Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum, II, Stuttgart 1954, 528–564.

***Schmid – Popović – Breier*, From the Via Egnatia to Prilep, Bitola and Ohrid** = *Schmid D.*, *Popović M. St.*, *Breier M.*, From the Via Egnatia to Prilep, Bitola and Ohrid: a Medieval Road Map based on Written Sources, Archaeological Remains and GIScience, edd. *A. Külzer*, *M. St. Popović*, Space, Landscapes and Settlements in Byzantium: Studies in Historical Geography of the Eastern Mediterranean, Vienna – Novi Sad 2017, 289–317, 510–519.

***Schminck*, "The Apostolic canons"** = *Schminck A.*, "The Apostolic canons", ODB I, 141.

***Schminck*, Zur Entwicklung des Eherechts** = *Schminck A.*, Zur Entwicklung des Eherechts in der Komnenenepoche, ed. *N. Οικονομίδης*, Το Βυζάντιο κατά τον 12ο αιώνα. Κανονικό δίκαιο, κράτος και κοινωνία, Αθήνα 1991, 555–587.

***Schmitt*, Religion, Folklore, and Society** = *Schmitt J.-C.*, Religion, Folklore, and Society in the Medieval West, edd. *L. K. Little*, *B. H. Rosenwein*, Debating the Middle Ages: Issues and Readings, Oxford 1998, 376–387.

***Schnitter*, Pŭtišta** = *Шнитер М.*, Пътища през православния ритуал, София 2017.

***Schönauer*, Flucht** = *Schönauer S.*, Flucht vor den Gläubigen? Abenteuerliches aus dem Leben des Eustathios von Thessalonike, edd. *L. M. Hoffmann*, *A. Monchizadeh*, Zwischen Polis, Provinz und Peripherie. Beiträge zur byzantinischen Geschichte und Kultur, Wiesbaden 2005, 705–718.

***Schramm*, Eroberer** = *Schramm G.*, Eroberer und Eingesessene. Geographische Lehnnamen als Zeugen der Geschichte Südosteuropas im ersten Jahrtausend n. Chr., Stuttgart 1981.

***Schreiner*, Blendung** = *Schreiner P.*, Die vermeintliche Blendung. Zu den Ereignissen von Kleidion im Jahr 1014, edd. *B. Гюзелев*, *Г. Н. Николов*, Европейският Югоизток през втората половина на X – началото на XI век. История и култура, София 2015, 170–187.

***Schreiner*, Christentum in Bulgarien** = *Schreiner P.*, Das Christentum in Bulgarien vor 864, edd. *S. Ronchey*, *E. Velkovska*, Peter Schreiner, Byzantinische Kultur. Eine Aufsatzsammlung, I, Rome 2006, 51–61.

***Schreiner*, Die Chronik des Michael von Devol** = *Schreiner P.*, Die Chronik des Michael von Devol (1118). Eine neue Einschätzung der Wiener Skylitzes-Handschrift hist. gr. 74, ed. *I. A. Biliarsky*, Laudator temporis acti: Studia in memoriam Ioannis A. Božilov, vol. I, Sofia 2018, 240–252.

***Schreiner*, Ohridskaja rukopis'** = *Schreiner P.*, Охридская рукопись Иоанна Скилицы в Софии, ВМ 9 (2018) 135–142.

***Schreiner*, The Manuscript** = *Schreiner P.*, The Manuscript of John Skylitzes in the Bulgarian Historical Museum in Sofia, Известия на Националния исторически музей 36 (2023) 417–423.

***Schreiner*, Slavische Lexik** = *Schreiner P.*, Slavische Lexik bei byzantinischen Autoren, ed. *P. Schreiner*., Slavische Lexik bei byzantinischen Autoren Studia Byzantino-Bulgarica, Wien 1986, 105–116.

***Schwartz*, Reconsidering the Round Church** = *Schwartz E.*, Reconsidering the Round Church of Symeon, PB 25 (2002) 2–15.

***Seeliger*, *Wischmeyer*, Märtyrerliteratur** = *Seeliger H. R.*, *Wischmeyer W.*, Märtyrerliteratur. Herausgegeben, übersetzt, kommentiert, Berlin–München–Boston 2015.

***Seibt*, Siegel** = *W. Seibt*, Siegel als Quelle für Slawenarchonten in Griechenland, Studies in Byzantine Sigillography 6 (1999) 27–36.

***Seibt*, The Seal of Demetrios** = *Seibt W.*, The Seal of Demetrios, the Bishop of Belgrade, during the Late 11th Century, Macedonian Studies 6 n. s. 2 (1989) 25–32.

***Seibt – Zarnitz*, Bleisiegel** = *Seibt W.*, *Zarnitz M.-L.*, Das byzantinische Bleisiegel als Kunstwerk. Katalog zur Ausstellung, Wien 1997

***Sels*, Lawless, Frobidden and Abominable Customs** = *Sels L.*, Lawless, Frobidden and Abominable Customs: О Латинѣхъ сирѣчь Фроугохъ, a Slavonic list of Latin errors, edd. *B. Stijn Vervaet*, *M. De Dobbeleer*, (Mis)understanding the Balkans. Essays in Honour of Raymond Detrez, Ghent 2013, 271–288.

***Serafimova*, Hagia Sophia in Ohrid** = *Serafimova A.*, Hagia Sophia in Ohrid, ed. *K. Mygdalis*, Hagia Sophia. The churches of the Wisdom of God around the world, Athens 2021, 195–202.

***Shawcross*, The Lost Generation** = *Shawcross T.*, The Lost Generation (c.1204–c.1222): Political Allegiance and Local Interests under the Impact of the Fourth Crusade, edd. *J. Herrin*, *G. Saint-Guillain*, Identities and Allegiances in the Eastern Mediterranean after 1204, Farnham 2011, 9–46.

***Shepard*, Communications** = *Shepard J.*, Communications across the Bulgarian lands – Samuel's poisoned chalice for Basil Ii and his successors?, edd. *B. Гюзелев*, *Г. Н. Николов*, Европейският Югоизток през втората половина на X – началото на XI век. История и култура, София 2015, 217–235.

***Shepard*, Maria Lakapena** = *Shepard J.*, A marriage too far? Maria Lakapena and Peter of Bulgaria, ed. *A. Davids*, The empress Theophano. Byzantium and the West at the turn of the first millennium, Cambridge 1995, 121–149.

***Shukurov R.*, The Byzantine Turks** = *Shukurov R.*, The Byzantine Turks, 1204-1461, Leiden – Boston, 2016.

***Simeonov*, Alltagsleben** = *Simeonov G.*, Alltagsleben im nördlichen Makedonien (11.-13. Jahrhundert), Wien 2019 (unpublished PhD dissertation).

***Simeonov*, „Greek" and „Greeks"** = *Simeonov G.*, ,'Greek" and ,'Greeks" in the Works of Theophylact of Ohrid Written During his Stay in Macedonia, ed. *M. Panov*, Samuilovata država i Vizantija: istorija, legenda, tradicija, nasledstvo, Skopje 2015, 98–108.

***Simeonov*, Local Pilgrimage** = *Simeonov G.*, Local Pilgrimage and Historical Identity in Slavonic Hagiography in Greek Translation: Two Accounts from the Archbishopric of Ohrid, ed. *M Mitrea*, Holiness on the Move: Mobility and Space in Byzantine Hagiography, London – New York 2023, 146–185.

***Simeonova*, "Avar Costume"** = *Simeonova L. V.*, The "Avar Costume" versus the Skaramangion: Symbolism of the male aristocratic dress in Bulgaria, ninth–tenth centuries, edd. *V. Gjuzelev*, *K. Petkov*, State and Church: Studies in Medieval Bulgaria and Byzantium, Sofia 2011, 129–156.

***Simeonova*, Diplomacy of the Letter** = *Simeonova L.*, Diplomacy of the letter and the cross. Photios, Bulgaria and the Papacy, 860s–880s, Amsterdam 1998.

***Simon*, Byzantinische Hausgemeinschaftsverträge** = *Simon D.*, Byzantinische Hausgemeinschaftsverträge, ed. *F. Baur*, Beiträge zur europäischen Rechtsgeschichte und zum geltenden Zivilrecht. Festgabe für Johannes Sontis, München 1977, 91–118.

***Simon*, Byzantinische Provinzialjustiz** = *Simon D.*, Byzantinische Provinzialjustiz, BZ 79/2 (1986) 310–343.

***Simon*, Das** Ehegüterrecht = *Simon D.*, Das Ehegüterrecht der Peira. Ein systematischer Versuch, Fontes minores 7 (1986) 193–239.

***Simon*, Die Bussbescheide** = *Simon D.*, Die Bussbescheide des Erzbischofs Chomatian von Ochrid, JÖB 37 (1987) 235–276.

***Simon*, Eine Juristenkontroverse** = *Simon D.*, Eine Juristenkontroverse über das Schicksal der Mitgift, Βυζαντινά 13/1 Festschrift für J. Karayannopoulos (1985) 647–666.

***Simon*, Erbvertrag und Testament** = *Simon D.*, Erbvertrag und Testament, ZRVI 24/25 (1986) 291–306.

***Simon*, NOMOTRIBOUMENOI** = *Simon D.*, NOMOTPIBOΥMENOI, edd. *J. A. Ankum*, *JE. Spruit*, *F. B. J. Wubbe*, Satura (Festschrift Robert Feenstra), Fribourg 1985, 274–283.

***Simon*, Vertragliche weitergabe des Familienvermögens** = *Simon D.*, Vertragliche weitergabe des Familienvermögens im Byzanz, edd. *V. Kravari*, *J. Lefort*, *C. Morrisson*, Hommes et richesses dans l'empire byzantin, II, Paris 1991, 183–196.

***Simon*, Witwe Sachlikina** = *Simon D.*, Witwe Sachlikina gegen Witwe Horaia, Fontes Minores 6, Forschungen zur Byzantinischen Rechtsgeschichte 11 (1984) 325–375.

***Simon*, Zakon i običaj** = *Симон Д.*, Закон и обичај у Византији, Анали Правног факултета у Београду 35/2 (1987) 145–151.

***Simpson*, Before and after 1204** = *Simpson A.*, Before and after 1204: The Versions of Niketas Choniates' "Historia", DOP 60 (2002) 189–221.

***Simpson*, Byzantium and Hungary** = *Simpson A.*, Byzantium and Hungary in the Late Twelfth Century and on the Eve of the Fourth Crusade: Personal Ties and Spheres of Influence, edd. *N. Chryssis*, *A. Kolia-Dermitzaki*, *A. Papageorgiou*, Byzantium and the West: Perception and Reality, London – New York 2019, 192–205.

***Sindik*, Dve povelje Hilandaru** = *Синдик Д.*, Две повеље у Хиландару о Ивану Кастриоту и синовима, ed. *J. Бојовић*, Становништо словенског поријекла у Албанији, Титоград 1991, 171 –178.

***Sinkević*, St. Petar Koriški** = *Sinkević I.*, St. Petar Koriški and His Monastery, Serbian Studies 88/1–2 (1994) 105–117.

***Sinkević*, The Church of St. Panteleimon** = *Sinkević I.*, The Church of St. Panteleimon at Nerezi. Architecture, Programme, Patronage, Wiesbaden 2000.

***Siomkos*, L'église Saint-Etienne** = *Siomkos N.*, L'église Saint-Etienne à Kastoria: étude des differentes phases du décor peint (X^{e}–XIV^{e} siècles), Thessaloniki 2005.

***Sisiou*, Ē emphanisē neōn thematōn** = *Σίσιου Ι.*, Η εμφάνιση νέων θεμάτων στο ιερό βήμα του ναού των Αγίων Αναργύρων Καστοριάς, ed. *M. Rakocija*, Niš and Byzantium 20, Niš 2022, 351-366.

***Sisiou*, O Agios Geōrgios** = *Σίσιου Ι.*, Ο Αγίος Γεωργίος προστάτης του Θεόδωρου Λημνιώτη, ed. *M. Rakocija*, Niš and Byzantium 17, Niš 2019, 317–340.

***Sisiou*, Oi Agioi Anargyroi** = *Σίσιου Ι*, Οι Άγιοι Ανάργυροι στο εικονογραφικό πρόγραμμα του Θεόδωρου Λημνιώτη, ed. *M. Rakocija*, Niš and Byzantium 18, Niš 2020, 381–410.

***Sisiou*, Oi apeikoniseis tou agiou Klēmentos** = *Σίσιου Ι.*, Οι απεικονίσεις του αγίου Κλήμεντος από Καστοριανούς καλλιτέχνες, ed. *Κ. Γ. Νιχωρίτης*, Κύριλλος και Μεθόδιος. Παρακαταθήκες πολιτισμού, Θεσσαλονίκη 2012, 413–414, είκ. 1.

***Sisiou*, Oi palaioteres apeikoniseis tōn agiōn Kyrillou kai Methodiou** = *Σίσιου Ι.*, Οι παλαιότερες απεικονίσεις των αγίων Κυρίλλου και Μεθοδίου στη μνημειακή ζωγραφική μετά την πτώση του κράτους του Σαμουήλ και μέχρι την Λατίνοκρατία, Πρακτικά Επιστημονικής Ημερίδας "Η συμβολὴ τῶν Ἁγίων Κυρίλλου και Μεθοδίου στὴ θρησκευτικὴ καὶ πολιτισμικὴ διαμόρφωση τῆς Εὐρώπης ὡς παράγοντας ἑνότητας καὶ συνεργασίας τῶν λαῶν της", Ολυμπιακό Χωριό 2015, 63–108.

***Skawran*, The Development** = *Skawran M. K.*, The Development of Middle Byzantine Fresco Painting in Greece, Pretoria 1975.

***Skiadaresēs*, Palia mētropolē** = *Σκιαδαρέσης Γ.*, Παλιά μητρόπολη της Βέροιας στο πλαίσιο της βυζαντινής αρχιτεκτονικής, Α΄- Β΄, Θεσσαλονίκη 2016 (unpublished PhD dissertation).

Slavjanskie rukopisi = Славянские рукописи болгарского происхождения в Российской национальной библиотеке – Санкт-Петербург, edd. *Б. Христова et al.*, София 2009.

***Slokoska et al.*, Pautalija (Pautalia)** = *Слокоска Л.*, *Стайкова-Александрова Л.*, *Спасов Р.*, Пауталия (Pautalia), ed. *Р. Иванов*, Римски и ранновизантийски градове в България. Т. I., София 2002, 251–266.

Slovník jazyka staroslověnského = Slovník jazyka staroslověnského. Lexicon linguae palaeoslovenicae, Praha 1958.

***Smarnakis*, Political Powe**r = *Smarnakis I.*, Political Power, Space, and Identities in the State of Epiros (1205–1318), edd. *M. Stewart*, *D. Parnell*, *C. Whately*, The Routledge Handbook on Identity in Byzantium, London 2022, 300–311.

***Smjadovski*, Epigrafskite proučavanija na Bojanskata cŭrkva** = *Смядовски С.*, Епиграфските проучавания на Боянската църква, ed. *Б. Пенкова*, Боянската църква между Изтока и Запада в изкуството на християнска Европа, София 2011, 40–47.

***Smolčić-Makuljević*, Istorija manastira** = *Смолчић-Макуљевић С.*, Историја манастира Светог Прохора Пчињског, ed. *Н. Макуљевић*, Манастир Свети Прохор Пчињски, Београд – Врање 2015, 9–46.

***Smolčić-Makuljević*, Manastir Prepodobni Prohor Pčinjski** = *Смолчић-Макуљевић С.*, Манастир Преподобни Прохор Пчињски, Београд – Врање 2023.

***Smolčić-Makuljević*, Two Models of Sacred Space** = *Smolčić-Makuljević S.*, Two Models of Sacred Space in the Byzantine and Medieval Visual Culture of the Balkans. The Monasteries of St Prohor of Pčinja and Treskavac, JÖB 59 (2009) 191–202.

***Smyrlis*, Monasteries** = *Smyrlis K.*, Monasteries, Society, Economy, and the State in the Byzantine Empire, ed. *B. M. Kaczynski*, The Oxford Handbook of Christian Monasticism, Oxford 2020, 155–167.

***Snegarov*, Bračnoto pravo I** = *Снегаров И.*, Брачното право на Охридската архиепископия в XIII век. (при архиепископ Димитър Хоматиан), Духовна култура 28–29 (1926) 103–117, 30–31 (1926) 166–181.

***Snegarov*, Istorija** = *Снегаров И.*, История на Охридската Архиепископия. Том 1. От основаването ѝ до завладяването на Балканския полуостров от турците, Софија 1924.

***Snegarov*, Istorija na Ohridskata arhiepiskopija I** = *Снегаров И.*, История на Охридската архиепископия I, София 1995. (= reprint of the 1924 edition)

***Snegarov*, Les sources** = *Snegarov I.*, Les sources sur la vie et l'activité de Clément d'Ochrida, Byzantinobulgarica 1 (1962) 79–119.

***Sofianos*, O agios Achillios** = *Σοφιανός Δ. Ζ.*, Ο άγιος Αχίλλιος Λαρίσης. Ο αρχικός ανέκδοτος βίος (Θ΄ αι.) και η μεταγενέστερη διασκευή του (ΙΓ΄ αι.). Ανέκδοτα υμνογραφικά κείμενα (Ιωσήφ Υμνογράφου, Μανουήλ Κορινθίου, Αναστασίου Γορδίου), Μεσαιωνικά και Νέα Ελληνικά 3 (1990) 97–213.

***Sofronievski, Petrovski*, Dokumenite No. 58 i No. 103** = *Софрониевски В.*, *Петровски Б.*, Документите no. 58 и no. 103 од збирката на Хоматијан како извор за историјата на Полог, Годишен зборник на Филозофскиот факултет 58 (2005) 201–226.

***Sokolovska*, Bregalnica** = *Соколовска В.*, Еден поглед врз историските настани по течението на Реката Брегалница, Патримонимум. МК 19 (2021) 153–166.

***Sokolovska*, Harmonija i Zapara** = *Соколовска В.*, За местоположбата на Хармонија и Запара, Monumenta 7–8 (2024) 201–210.

***Solovjev*, Srbi i vizantijsko pravo** = *Соловјев А.*, Срби и византиско право у Скопљу почетком XIII в., ГСНД 15/16 (1936) 29–43.

***Solovjev*, Svedočanstva** = *Solovjev A.*, Svedočanstva pravoslavnih izvora o bogomilstvu na Balkanu, Godišnjak Istorijskog društva Bosne i Hercegovine 5 (1953) 33–37.

***Sophoulis*, Byzantium and Bulgaria** = *Sophoulis P.*, Byzantium and Bulgaria, 775–831, Leiden – Boston 2012.

***Sophoulis*, Incorporating the Other** = *Sophoulis P.*, Incorporating the other: Shaping the identity of the christian community in early medieval Bulgaria, Cyrillomethodianum 20 (2015) 63–76.

***Sophoulis*, New remarks** = *Sophoulis P.*, New remarks on the history of Byzantine–Bulgar relations in the late eighth and early ninth centuries, BS 68 (2209) 119–138.

***Sōtēriou*, Byzantina Mnēmeia** = *Σωτηρίου Γ.*, Βυζαντινά Μνημεῖα τῆς Θεσσαλίας ΙΓ' καί ΙΔ' αἰῶνος. 3. Ἡ βασιλική τῆς Κοιμήσεως τῆς Θεοτόκου ἐν Καλαμπάκᾳ, Επετηρίς Εταιρείας Βυζαντινών Σπουδών 6 (1929) 291–315.

***Sōtēriou*, Oi meta troullou tēs metabatikēs epochēs** = *Σωτηρίου Μ.*, Οἱ μετὰ τρούλλου τῆς μεταβατικῆς ἐποχῆς. Συμβολὴ εἰς τὴν ἱστορίαν τῶν τύπων τῆς βυζαντινῆς ἀρχιτεκτονικῆς, ΔΧΑΕ 3/1 (1932) 97–124.

***Soustal*, The historical sources** = *Soustal P.*, The historical sources for Butrint in the Middle Ages, edd. *R. Hodges et al.*, Byzantine Butrint: excavations and surveys, 1994–1999, Oxford 2004, 20–26.

***Spahiu*, Beratit dhe të Skraparit** = *Spahiu H.*, Ekspeditë përnjohëse në rrethet e Beratit dhe të Skraparit / Récognition archéologique dans la région de Berat et Skrapari, Iliria 7–8 (1977) 347–351.

***Spasov*, Osnovni rezultati** = *Спасов Р.*, Основни резултати от проучванията на средновековния и късносредновековния пласт в Кюстендил през 2001 г., Известия на Исторически музей – Кюстендил 9 (2003) 137–145.

***Speranskij*, K istorii vzaimootnošenij** = *Сперанскій М.*, Къ исторіи взаимоотношеній русской и юго-славянскихъ литературъ, Извѣстія Отдѣленія русскаго языка и словесности Россійской Академіи Наукъ 26 (1921) 1923, 143–206.

***Spirovski*, Konzervacija i prezentacija** = *Спировски С.*, Конзервација и презентација на две откриени фрески во отворената просторија пред кружната североисточна кула на скопската тврдина Кале, Културно наследство 10–11 (1987) 137–142.

***Srejović*, Jelen u našim narodnim običajima** = *Срејовић Д.*, Јелен у нашим народним обичајима, Гласник Етнографског музеја у Београду 18 (1955) 231–237.

***Sreznevskij*, Svedenija i zametki** = *Срезневскій И. И.*, Свѣденія и замѣтки о малоизвѣстныхъ и неизвѣстныхъ памятникахъ. *Записки Императорской академіи наукъ* 22. Санктпетербургъ 1873, Приложеніе № 3.

***Stajkova-Aleksandrova – Grozdanov*, Arheologičesko nabljudenije** = *Стайкова-Александрова Л., Грозданов Д.*, № 66. Археологическо наблюдение на късноантична и средновековна крепост в м. Хисарлъка, в гр. Кюстендил, Археологически открития и разкопки през 2014 г., София 2015, 757–760.

***Stalidēs – Koutsianou*, Castle of Servia** = *Σταλιδης Γ., Κουτσιανου Σ.*, Excavations in the Castle of Servia, District of Kozani: Initial Observations and Results, ΑΕΜΘ (2019) 117–128.

***Stamen*, Kamennite sarkofazi** = *Стамен М.*, Каменните саркофази до голямата базилика в Плиска, Плиска–Преслав 1 (1979) 44–59.

***Stamenova*, Orta džamija** = *Стаменова М.*, Орта џамија, ed. *Д. Коцо*, Археолошка карта на Република Македонија, vol. 2, Скопје 1996, 411–412.

***Stamenova*, Preliminaren izveštaj** = *Стаменова М.*, Прелиминарен извештај од археолошкото истражување на локалитетот Орта Џамија во Струмица 1984–1987, ed. *А. Џицимов*, Зборник на трудови по повод 35 годишнината од основањето на Музејот во Струмица, Струмица 1989, 351–355.

***Stamenova-Atanasova*, Duhovnite tradicii** = *Стаменова-Атанасова М.*, Духовните традиции на средновековниот Тивериопол, Струмица 2003.

***Stamenova-Atanasova*, Overview of the Results** = *Stamenova-Atanasova M.*, Overview of the Results from the Excavation at the Medieval Necropolis at the Orta-džamija Location in Strumica, Folia Archaeologica Balkanica 3 (2015) 507–514.

***Stancheva*, Veliki Preslav** = *Stancheva M.*, Veliki Preslav, Sofia, 1993.

***Stančeva*, Arheologičeskoto nasledstvo** = *Станчева М.*, Археологическото наследство на София. Формиране, състояние, проблеми, Сердика. Археологически материали и проучвания II, София 1989, 6–36.

***Stančeva*, Bojanskata krepost** = *Станчева М.*, Боянската крепост, Военноисторически сборник 4 (1990) 36–41.

***Stančeva*, Usvojavaneto na antičnoto nasledstvo** = *Станчева М.*, Усвояването на античното наследство на Сердика от средновековния Средец (по археологически данни), Известия на българското историческо дружество 29 (1974) 209–222.

***Stanev*, Beležki vŭrhu etničeskata situacija** = *Станев К.*, Бележки върху етническата ситуация в Деволския комитат през Ранното средновековие, edd. *С. Кујумџиева et al.*, Св. Климент Охридски в културата на Европа, София 2018, 209–232.

***Stanev*, Bregalnica** = *Станев К.*, Брегалница – административен, духовен и културен център на Първото българско царство, Владетел, държава и църква на Балканите през средновековието. Сборник в чест на 60-годишнината на проф. д-р Пламен Павлов, Част 1, Велико Търново, 2020, 538–563.

***Stanić*, Srednjovekovne crkve** = *Стаић Р.*, Средњовековне цркве у Сталаћу и околини, Старинар 30 (1979) 65–73.

***Stanković*, An Unusual Triconchal Church** = *Stanković N.*, An Unusual Triconchal Church in the Vicinity of Svrljig („Manastirište Svete Petke Rusalne"): Original Form, Architectural Analogies, and Potential Date of Construction, ed. *М. Ракоција*, Ниш и Византија 12, Ниш 2019, 215–243.

***Stanković*, Karakter** = *Станковић В.*, Карактер византијске границе на Балкану у IX и X веку, Трећа југословенска конференција византолога, edd. *Љ. Максимовић, Н. Радошевић, Е. Радуловић*, Београд – Крушевац 2002, 277–297.

***Stanković*, Komnini** = *Станковић В.*, Комнини у Цариграду (1057–1185). Еволуција једне владарске породице, Београд 2006.

***Stanojević*, Prilozi** = *Стојановић М.*, Прилози за познавање Тимочке крајине, Зајечар 1924, 3–8.

***Stanojević*, Sv. Sava** = *Стојановић Ст.*, Свети Сава и независност српске цркве, Глас СКА 161 (83) (1934) 199–251.

Stara bŭlgarska literatura = Стара българска литература. 4. Житиепис ни творби, ed. *К. Иванова*, София 1986.

***Starodubcev*, Angels in The Heavenly Liturgy** = *Starodubcev T.*, Angels in The Heavenly Liturgy; Apostle Peter; Archangel Michael and an Unknown Holy Monk, edd. *M. Marković*, *D. Vojvodić*, Serbian artistic heritage in Kosovo and Metohija. Identity, significance, vulnerability, Belgrade 2017, 88–89 (no. I.1).

***Starodubcev*, Echo of the Ancient Christian Orient** = *Starodubcev T.*, Echo of the Ancient Christian Orient im Late 12th and 13th Century Serbian Art, edd. *D. Vojvodić*, *D. Popović*, Byzantine Heritage and Serbian Art II. Sacral Art of the Serbian Lands in the Middle Ages, Belgrade 2016, 261–263.

***Starodubcev*, Pitanja umetničkih uticaja hrišćanskog Istoka** = *Стародубцев Т.*, Питања уметничких утицаја хришћанског Истока у Србији крајем XII и током XIII столећа и путева њиховог преношења, Зограф 40 (2016) 49–56.

***Starodubcev*, Sveti lekari** = *Стародубцев Т.*, Свети лекари. Поштовање и представљање у источнохришћанском свету средњег века, Београд 2018.

***Starodubcev*, The Deesis** = *Starodubcev T.*, The Deesis, edd. *M. Marković*, *D. Vojvodić*, Serbian Artistic Heritage in Kosovo and Metohija. Identity, Significance, Vulnerability, Belgrade 2017, 90–91 (no. I.2).

***Stavridou-Zafraka*, Political Ideology** = *Stavridou-Zafraka A.*, The Political Ideology of the State of Epiros, ed. *A. Laiou*, Urbs capta. The fourth Crusade and its consequences, Paris 2005, 311–324.

***Stavridou-Zafraka*, The relations between secular and religious authorities** = *Stavridou-Zafraka A.*, The relations between secular and religious authorities in the state of Epiros after 1204, ed. *D. G. Angelov*, Church and society in Late Byzantium, Kalamazoo 2009, 11–24.

***Stefanova Grozdanova*, Naselenieto na Južna Bŭlgarija** = *Стефанова Гроздановa Г.*, Населението на Южна България VI–IX в. (по археологически данни), София 2018 (unpublished PhD dissertation).

***Stefoska*, Dva imena** = *Stefoska I.*, Dva imena jednog grada: Strumica – ΤΙΒΕΡΙΟΥΠΟΛΙΣ, ZRVI 45 (2008) 77–87.

***Stepanov*, Bolgary i hristianstvo** = *Степанов Ц.*, Болгары и христианство до 864 года: историографический ракурс (1989–2009), Славяноведение 4 (2010) 3–10.

***Stepanov*, State-formation** = *Stepanov C.*, State-formation in Danubian Bulgaria, AD 681–865: religious dimensions, Studia Slavica et Balcanica Petropolitana 1 (2013) 5–32.

***Stephenson*, Balkan Borderlands** = *Stephenson, P.*, Balkan Borderlands (1018–1204), ed. *J. Shepard*, The Cambridge History of the Byzantine Empire c.500–1492, Cambridge 2009, 664–691.

***Stephenson*, Balkan frontier** = *Stephenson P.*, Byzantium's Balkan frontier. A political study of the Northern Balkans, 900–1204, Cambridge 2004.

***Stephenson*, Byzantine conceptions of otherness** = *Stephenson P.*, Byzantine conceptions of otherness after the annexation of Bulgaria, ed. *D. C. Smythe*, Strangers to themselves. The Byzantine outsider, Aldershot 2000, 245–257.

***Stephenson*, Legend** = *Stephenson P.*, The Legend of Basil the Bulgar-Slayer, Cambridge 2003.

***Stevović*, Crkva** = *Стевовић И.*, Црква Св. Романа код Ђуниса, Лесковачки зборник 33 (1993) 167–173.

***Stevović*, Istorijski izvor** = *Стевовић И.*, Историјски извор и историјскоуметничко тумачење: Богородичина црква у Топлици, Зограф 35 (2011) 73–92.

***Stiernon*, Notes** = *Stiernon L.*, Notes de titulature et prosopographie byzantines: Adrien (Jean) et Constantin Comnène, sébastes, REB 21 (1963) 179–198.

***Stipčević*, Marčanska varijanta** = *Stipčević B.*, Marčanska varijanta, Marčanska varijanta „Skazanja o sloveseh" Črnorisca Hrabra, Slovo 14 (1964) 52–58.

***Stojanović*, Temnićki natpis** = *Стојановић Љ.*, Темнићки натпис, Јужнословенски филолог 1/1–2 (1913) 4–20.

***Stojanovski*, Gde treba tražiti manastir** = *Стојановски А.*, Где треба тражити манастир (и село Архиљевицу), ЗМСЛУ 22 (1986) 213–221.

***Stojkoski*, Srednovekovno kopje** = *Стојкоски С.*, Средновековно копје од Јени Џамија – Битола, Зборник на трудови на НУ Завод и музеј Битола 20 (2017) 122–130.

***Stojkov*, Arhitekturni problemi** = *Стойков Г.*, Архитектурни проблеми на Боянската църква, София 1965.

***Stojkovski*, Byzantine Diocese** = *Stojkovski B.*, The Byzantine Diocese Tourkia Reconsidered, ZRVI 60/2 (2023) 769–788.

***Stolte*, Civil Law in Canon Law** = *Stolte B. H.*, Civil Law in Canon Law: A Note on the Method of Interpreting the Canons in the Twelfth Century, ed. *N. Oikonomidès*, Byzantium in the 12th Century. Canon Law, State and Society, Athens 1991, 543–554.

***Stone*, The missionaries of Manuel I** = *Stone A. F.*, The missionaries of Manuel I, REB 66 (2008) 253–257.

***Stouraitis*, Byzantine war against Christians** = *Stouraitis I.*, Byzantine war against Christians – an „emphylios polemos"?, Byzantina Symmeikta 20 (2010) 85–110.

Stouraitis*, Lands of the *Rhomaioi = *Stouraitis Y.*, The Lands of the Rhōmaíoi: Imagined Geographies in Byzantium before and after 1204, edd. *D. Kastritsis*, *A. Stavrakopoulou*, *A. Stewart*, Imagined Geographies in the Mediterranean, Middle East and Beyond, Washington, D.C. 2023, 45–63.

***Stouraitis*, Reinventing Roman Ethnicity** = *Stouraitis Y*, Reinventing Roman ethnicity in High and Late Medieval Byzantium, Medieval Worlds 5 (2017) 70–94.

***Stouraitis*, Roman identity** = *Stouraitis I.*, Roman identity in Byzantium, BZ 107/1 (2014) 175–220.

***Strässle*, Krieg** = *Strässle P. M.*, Krieg und Kriegführung in Byzanz. Die Kriege Kaiser Basileios' II. gegen die Bulgaren (976–1019), Köln 2006.

***Stričević*, Églises triconques** = *Stričević Dj.*, Églises triconques médiévales en Serbie et en Macédoine et la tradition de l'architecture paléobyzantine, Actes du XII[e] Congrès international d'études byzantines, vol. I, Belgrade 1963, 224–240.

***Stričević*, L'Église ronde** = *Stričević Dj.*, L'Église ronde de Preslav et le problème des traditions paléobyzantines, Actes du XII[e] congrès international d'études byzantines, Ohrid 1961, 212–223.

***Stričević*, La rénovation du type basilical** = *Stričević, Dj.*, La rénovation du type basilical dans l'architecture ecclésiastique des pays centrales des Balkans aux IX[e]–X[e] siècles, Actes du XII[e] Congrès international d'études byzantines, vol. I, Beograd 1963, 165–201.

***Stričević*, Ranovizantijska crkva** = *Стричевић Ђ.*, Рановизантијска црква код Куршумлије, ЗРВИ 2 (1953) 179–196.

***Stričević*, Srednjevekovna restauracija** = *Стричевић Ђ.*, Средњевековна рестаурација рановизантијске цркве код Куршумлије, ZRVI 4 (1956) 199–211.

***Striker*, The Myrelaion** = *Striker L. C.*, The Myrelaion (Bodrum Camii) in Istanbul, Princeton 1981.

***Subotić*, Manastir** = *Суботић Г.*, Манастир Богородице Месониситисе, ZRVI 26 (1987) 125–168.

***Subotić*, Pećinska crkva Arhangela Mihaila** = *Суботић Г.*, Пећинска црква Архангела Михаила код Струге, ЗФФ 8 (1964) 299–328.

***Subotić et al.*, Natpisi** = *Суботић Г.*, *Миљковић Б.*, *Шпадијер И.*, *Том И.*, Натписи историјске садржине у зидном сликарству. Том први. XII–XIII век, Београд 2015.

***Subotić – Todorović*, Slikar Mihailo** = *Суботић Г.*, *Тодоровић Д.*, Сликар Михаило у манастиру Светог Прохора Пчињског, ZRVI 34 (1995) 117–141.

***Subotin-Golubović*, Ahilije – Arhilije** = *Суботин-Голубовић Т.*, Ахилије – Архилије, или о мешању култова, edd. *B. Koraћ et al.*, Богородица Градачка у историји српског народа, Чачак 1993, 37–46.

***Subotin-Golubović*, Dve službe sv. Joakimu Osogovskom** = *Суботин-Голубовић Т.*, Две службе св. Јоакиму Осоговском, Археографски прилози 14 (1992) 105–134.

***Subotin-Golubović*, Himnografski tekstovi** = *Суботин-Голубовић Т.*, Химнографски текстови посвећени светом Прохору Пчињском, ed. *Н. Макуљевић*, Манастир Свети Прохор Пчињски, Београд – Врање 2015, 75–122.

***Subotin-Golubović*, Još jedan prepis** = *Суботин-Голубовић Т.*, Још један препис српске службе светом Ахилију, Црквене студије 2 (2006) 245–257.

***Subotin-Golubović*, Kult svetog Ahilija** = *Суботин-Голубовић Т.*, Култ светог Ахилија Лариског, ZRVI 26 (1987) 21–33.

***Subotin-Golubović*, Nova služba** = *Суботин-Голубовић Т.*, Нова служба св. Ахилију Лариском, ZRVI 27–28 (1989) 159–174.

***Subotin-Golubović*, Slovenski prepisi** = *Суботин-Голубовић Т.*, Словенски преписи службе св. Ахилију и њихови грчки узори, ed. *М. Омчикус*, Свети Ахилије у Арињу. Историја, уметност. Зборник са научног скупа одржаног 25–28. маја 1996, Београд 2002, 29–34.

***Sullivan*, Khan Boris** = *Sullivan R. E.*, Khan Boris and the conversion of Bulgaria: a case study of the impact of Christianity on a barbarian society, Christian missionary activity in the early Middle Ages, Varioum collected studies series 1994, Aldershot 1994, 55–139.

***Suvorov*, Sledy zapadno-katoličeskogo cerkovnago prava** = *Суворовъ Н. С.*, Слѣды западно-католическаго церковнаго права въ памятникахъ древняго русскаго права, Ярославль 1888. Приложение (тексты).

Svodnyj katalog = Сводный каталог славяно-русских рукописных книг, хранящихся в СССР XI–XIII вв, Москва 1984.

***Sythiakakē-Kritsimallē*, Leipsana gliptou** = *Συθιακάκη-Κριτσιμάλλη В.*, Λείψανα γλυπτού αρχιτεκτονικού διακόσμου από τη βασιλική του Αγίου Αχιλλίου Λάρισας. Συμβολή στη μελέτη της οκοδομικής ιστορίας του μνημείου, Αρχαιολογικό Έργο Θεσσαλίας και Στερεάς Ελλάδας 2 (2006) 457–473.

***Sythiakakis-Kritsimallis – Vojadjis*, Redating the Basilica** = *Sythiakakis-Kritsimallis V.*, *Vojadjis S.*, Redating the Basilica of Dormition, Kalampaka, Thessaly, JÖB 61 (2011) 195–227.

Š

***Šarkić*, Serbian Mediaeval Law** = *Šarkić S.*, A History of Serbian Mediaeval Law, Laiden – Boston 2023.

***Ščapov*, Ekloga** = *Щапов Я. Н.*, Еклога законов в русской письменной традиции, ВВ 54 (1993) 94–104.

***Ščapov*, Nomokanon Ioanna Sholastika i Sintagma 14 titulov** = *Щапов Я. Н.*, Номоканон Иоанна Схоластика и Синтагма 14 титулов у славян в IX–X вв, ed. *Vavřínek V.*, Beiträge zur byzantinischen Geschichte im 9.–11. Jahrhundert, Praha 1978, 387–411.

***Ščapov*, Prohiron** = *Щапов Я. Н.*, Прохирон в восточнославянской письменности, ВВ 38 (1977) 48–58.

***Ščapov*, Sobranie novell** = *Щапов Я. Н.*, Собрание новелл Юстиниана в 87 главах в древнерусской письменности, IVS ANTIQVVM. Древнее право 1(3) (1998), 108–112.

***Ščapov*, Vizantijskoe i južnoslavjanskoe pravovoe nasledie** = *Щапов Я. Н.*, Византийское и южнославянское правовое наследие на Руси в XI–XIII вв, Москва 1978.

***Ševčenko*, Byzantium and the Slavs** = *Ševčenko I.*, Byzantium and the Slavs in letters and culture, Cambridge MA – Napoli 1991.

***Ševčenko*, Images of the Second Coming** = *Ševčenko N. P.*, Images of the Second Coming and the Fate of the Soul in Middle Byzantine Art, ed. *R. J. Daly*, Apocalyptic Thought in Early Christianity, Brookline MA 2009, 250–272.

***Ševčenko*, 'Whore'** = *Ševčenko I*, 'Whore' in the Life of John the Merciful, Palaeoslavica 6 (1998) 294–297.

***Šijaković*, Basil from Ohrid** = *Šijaković J.*, Basil from Ohrid and his Circle, ZRVI 60/2 (2023) 875–898.

Šišić, Povijest = Šišić F., Povijest Hrvata u vrijeme narodnih vladara, Zagreb 1925.

Škorpil, Pametnici = *Шкорпил К.*, Паметници от столица Преслав, Сборник България 1000 години, София 1930, 208–211.

Škrivanić, Putevi = *Шкриваниħ Г.*, Путеви у средњовековној Србији, Београд 1974.

***Špadijer*, Južnoslovenski pustinjaci** = *Шūагијер И.*, Јужнословенски пустињаци X–XIII века у најстаријој литерарној традицији, SBL 47 (2013) 108–120.

***Špadijer*, Sveti Petar Koriški** = *Шūагијер И.*, Свети Петар Коришки у старој српској књижевности, Београд 2014.

***Špehar*, Centralni Balkan** = *Шūехар П.*, Централни Балкан од 7. до 11. века. Археолошка сведочанства, Београд 2017.

***Špehar*, Lična pobožnost** = *Шūехар П.*, Лична побожност на простору централног Балкана у средњем веку, Београд 2022.

***Štih*, The Middle Ages between the eastern Alps and the Northern Adriatic** = *Štih P.*, The Middle Ages between the eastern Alps and the Northern Adriatic. Select Papers on Slovene Historiography and Medieval History, Leiden – Boston 2010.

Šumadija u XV veku = Шумадија у XV веку: колективна монографија, edd. *С. Мишиħ*, *М. Коūривица*, Београд 2018.

***Šuput*, Carigradski izvori** = *Шуūут М.*, Цариградски извори архитектуре цркве Св. Николе у Куршумлији, Стефан Немања, ed. *J. Калиħ*, Свети Симеон мироточиви, историја и предање, Међународни научни скуп (1996), САН, Научни скупови, књ. XCIV, Одељење историјских наука, књ. 26, Београд 2000, 171–179.

***Šuput*, Kontinuitet kultnog mesta** = *Шуūут М.*, Континуитет култног места у архитектури у српским земљама и византијском свету, ZRVI 36 (1997) 155–162.

***Šuput*, La chiesa della Vergine** = *Šuput M.*, La chiesa della Vergine a Drenovo, ΔΧΑΕ 24 (2003) 139–144.

T

Ta byzantina mnēmeia tēs Ēpeirou = Τα βυζαντινά μνημεία της Ηπείρου, edd. *Β. Παπαδοπούλου*, *Α. Καραμπερίδη*, Ιωάννινα 2008

***Taft*, The Great Entrance** = *Taft R.*, The Great Entrance. A History of the Transfer of Gifts and Other Pre-anaphral Rites, Orientalia Christiana Analecta 200, Rome 2004.

***Talbert et al.*, Barrington Atlas** = *Talbert Richard J. A. et al.*, Barrington Atlas of the Greek and Roman World, Princeton 2000.

***Talbot*, Les saintes montagnes a Byzance** = *Talbot A.-M.*, Les saintes montagnes à Byzance, ed. *M. Kaplan*, Le sacré et son inscription à Byzance et en Occident, études comparées, Paris 2001, 263–318.

***Tanou*, Typologia byzantinōn pyrgōn** = *Τάνου Σ.*, Τυπολογία βυζαντινών πύργων σε οχυρωματικούς περιβόλους του βορειοελλαδικού χώρου: μια πρώτη προσέγγιση, edd. *Ι. Δ. Βαραλής*, *Φ. Καραγιάννν*, Κτίτωρ, Αφιέρωμα στον δάσκαλο Γεώργιο Βελένη, Θεσσαλονίκη 2017, 337–352.

***Tantalos*, On the alienation of the dowry** = *Tantalos M.*, On the alienation of the dowry. Remarks concerning the application of the Senatus Consultum Velleianum and διδασκαλία τοῦ νόμου in Byzantine law, Subcesiva Groningana 10 (2019) 1–18.

***Tăpkova-Zaimova*, Bulgarians by Birth** = *Tăpkova-Zaimova V.*, Bulgarians by Birth. The Comitopuls, Emperor Samuel and their Successors According to Historical Sources and the Historiographic Tradition, Leiden – Boston 2017.

***Tăpkova-Zaimova*, Du Cange Catalogue =** *Tăpkova-Zaimova V.*, The Du Cange Catalogue, edd. *V. Gjuzelev*, *K. Petkov*, State and Church: Studies in Medieval Bulgaria and Byzantium, Sofia 2011, 209–235.

***Tăpkova-Zaimova*, Légendes sur Salonique** = *Tăpkova-Zaimova V.*, Les légendes sur Salonique – ville sainte – et la conversion des Bulgares, ed. *A. E. N. Tachiaos*, The Legacy of Saints Cyril and Methodius to Kiev and Moscow, Thessaloniki 1992, 133–141.

***Tăpkova-Zaimova*, Notices** épiscopales = *Tăpkova-Zaimova V.*, Les Notices épiscopales et l'Église bulgare après les dernières décennies du Xe s., Byzance, la Bulgarie, les Balkans, Plovdiv 2010, 534–542.

***Tăpkova-Zaimova – Miltenova*, Historical-Apocalyptic Literature** = *Tăpkova-Zaimova V.*, *Miltenova A.*, Historical-Apocalyptic Literature in Byzantium and Medieval Bulgaria, Sofia 2011.

***Taranovski*, Istorija srpskog prava** = *Тарановски Т.*, Историја српског права у Немањиħкој држави, Београд 1931–1935.

***Tarnanidēs*, Archiepiskopē Achridas** = *Ταρνανίδης Ι.*, Η Αρχιεπισκοπή Αχρίδας ανάμεσα στο Οικουμενικό Πατριαρχείο και το σλαβικό κόσμο, edd. *Θ. Ζήσης et al.*, Η Μακεδονία κατά την εποχή των Παλαιολόγων, Θεσσαλονίκη 2002, 563–570.

***Tarnanidēs*, Ekklēsiastikē politikē** = *Ταρνανίδης Ι.*, Η εκκλησιαστική πολιτική του αυτοκράτορος Μιχαήλ Η' Παλαιολόγου έναντι των Βουλγάρων και των Σέρβων, Βυζαντινά 8 (1976) 47–87.

***Tarnanidēs*, Theōria kai praxē** = *Ταρνανίδης Ι.*, Θεωρία και πράξη στην ιστορική εξέλιξη του αυτοκεφάλου των σλαβικών εκκλησιών, Θεσσαλονίκη 2006.

***Tarnanidis*, The Slavonic Manuscripts** = *Tarnanidis I. C.*, The Slavonic Manuscripts Discovered in 1975 at St Catherine's Monastery on Mount Sinai, Thessaloniki 1988.

***Taseva – Sekulov*, The Great Bath** = *Taseva S.*, *Sekulov V. P.*, The Great Bath of the Late Roman Thermal Spa in the Village of Bansko, Skopje 2017.

***Taubenschlag*, The Law of Greco-Roman Egypt** = *Taubenschlag R.*, The Law of Greco-Roman Egypt in the light of the Papyri, 332 B.C.–A.D. 640., New York 1944.

***Teichner*, On the Ancient Twin-City** = *Teichner F.*, On the Ancient Twin-City of Ulpiana-Iustiniana Secunda (Kosovo): Capital of the Metalla Dardanica, edd. *J. M. Álvarez*, *T. Nogales*, *I. Rodà*, Centre and periphery in the Ancient World: XVIIIth International Congress of Classical Archaeology, vol I, Merida 2014, 271–275.

***Teichner*, Ulpiana – Iustiniana secunda** = *Teichner F.*, Ulpiana – Iustiniana secunda (Kosovo): Das urbane Zentrum des dardanischen Bergbaubezirks, Ephemeris Napocensis 25 (2015) 81–93.

***Temchin*, O grecheskom proiskhozhdenii** = *Темчин С. Ю.*, О греческом происхождении древ-нейшей службы Кириллу Философу, edd. *H. Rothe*, *D. Christians*, Liturgisches Hymnen nach byzantinischem Ritus bei den Slaven in ältester Zeit, Paderborn 2007, 328–339.

***Temchin*, O perevodnom kharaktere** = *Темчин С. Ю.*, О переводном характере Пространного жития Кирилла Философа: обыгрывание греческого слова ΦΙΛΟΣΟΦΟΣ в описании сна о выборе невесты (гл. 3), edd. *И. М. Ладыженский*, *М. А. Пузина*, Sub specie aeternitatis: Сборник научных статей к 60-летию Вадима Борисовича Крысько, Москва 2021, 466–474.

***Temčin*, Konstantin Preslavskij** = *Темчин С.*, Константин Преславский как вероятный автор древнеболгарской службы св. Клименту Охридскому, ed. *С. Куюмджиева*, Св. Климент Охридски в културата на Европа, София 2018, 602-614.

***Temčin*, Obraz prp. Vassiana** = *Темчин С. Ю.*, Образ прп. Вассиана Константинопольского как модель развития культа прп. Прохора Пшинского: гимнография и агиография, С. Ю Темчин, Сербское рукописное и печатное богослужебное наследие XII–XIX веков: источниковедение и культурные связи, Белград – Подгорица – Вильнюс 2021, 193–209.

The Byzantine Aristocracy = The Byzantine Aristocracy, IX to XIII Centuries, ed. *M. Angold*, Oxford 1984.

The Lost Art Rediscovered = The Lost Art Rediscovered, The Architectural Ceramics of Byzantium, edd. *S. E. J. Gerstel*, *J. A. Lauffenburger*, University Park PA 2001.

***Theologidou*, Basilikē** = *Θεολογίδου Κ.*, Βασιλική των Κατηχουμένων, ΑΔ 50 (1995) Β2, Χρονικά, 592–593.

***Thomo*, Arkitektura e Kishës** = *Thomo P.*, Arkitektura e Kishës se Ristozit në Mborje të Korçës, Studime historike 2 (1967) 151–159.

TIB = Tabula Imperii Byzantini, I: Hellas und Thessaly, edd. *P. Soustal*, *J. Koder*, Wien 1976; III: Nikopolis und Kephallēnia, edd. *P. Soustal*, *J. Koder*, Wien 1981 (repr. 2004); VI: Thrakien (Thrakē, Rhodopē und Haimimontos), ed. *P. Soustal*, Wien 1991; XI: Makedonien. Südlicher Teil, Band 1 (A–K); Band 2 (L–Z), edd. *P. Soustal*, *A. Pülz*, *M. St. Popović*, Wien 2022.

***Todić*, Arhiepiskop Lav** = *Тодић Б.*, Архиепископ Лав – творац иконографског програма фресака у Светој Софији Охридској, edd. *Б. Крсмановић*, *Љ. Максимовић*, *Р. Радић*, Византијски свет на Балкану I, Београд 2012, 119–142.

***Todić*, Freske u Bogorodici Perivlepti** = *Тодић Б.*, Фреске у Богородици Перивлепти и порекло Охридске архиепископије, ZRVI 39 (2001–2002) 147–163.

***Todić*, Odraz kulta sv. Petra Koriškog u umetnosti** = *Тодић Б.*, Одраз култа св. Петра Коришког у уметности, ed. *Д. Бојовић*, Манастир Црна ријека и свети Петар Коришки, Приштина – Београд 1998, 194–197.

***Todić*, Représentations de papes romains** = *Todić B.*, Représentations de papes romains dans l'église Sainte-Sophie d'Ohrid: contribution à l'idéologie de l'archevêché d'Ohrid, ΔΧΑΕ 29 (2008) 105–118.

***Todić*, Staro Nagoričino** = *Тодић Б.*, Старо Нагоричино, Београд 1991.

***Todić*, The Symbolical Investiture** = *Todić B.*, The Symbolical Investiture of the Archbishop Basil of Bulgaria at Melnik, Zograf 32 (2008) 59–68.

***Todorova*, Imagining the Balkans** = *Todorova M.*, Imagining the Balkans, New York – Oxford 1997.

***Todorović*, Filološki prilog**, see ***Vojvodić*, Ē Selasphoros**

***Todorović*, Lesnovska isposnica svete Bogorodice** = *Тодоровић Д.*, Лесновска испосница свете Богородице, Зограф 8 (1977) 59–62.

***Todorović*, Theophylact of Ohrid** = *Todorović D.*, Theophylact of Ohrid between the Doukai and the Komnenoi, ed. *V. N. Vlyssidou*, Byzantine Authors and Their Times, Athens 2021, 223–251.

***Todt*, Patriarchat von Antiocheia** = *Todt K.-P.*, Region und griechisch-orthodoxes Patriarchat von Antiocheia, BZ 94 (2001) 239–267.

***Tolstaja*, „Sorok sevastijskih mučenikov"** = *Толстая Т. В.*, "Сорок севастийских мучеников" в иконографической программе жертвенника Софии Охридской, BS 56/3 (1995) 743–752.

***Tomić*, Martyrdoms of the Apostles** = *Tomić M.*, Martyrdoms of the Apostles of Hagia Sophia at Ohrid: The Painted Cycle in the Parekklēsion above the Diaconicon, DOP 78 (2024) 189–235.

***Tomić*, The Architectural and Decorative Aspects** = *Tomić M.*, The Architectural and Decorative Aspects of Chapels above the Sanctuary: The Case of St. Sophia at Ohrid, edd. *I. Jevtić*, *N. D. Kontogiannis*, *N. Stanković*, Religious Buildings Made in Byzantium. Old Monuments, New Interpretations, New York 2024, 125–144.

***Tomoski*, Butella civitas** = *Томоски Т.*, Butella civitas Pelagoniae, Македонија низ вековите. Градови, тврдини, комуникации, Скопје 1999, 289–293.

***Tomoski*, Gradišteto** = *Томоски Т.*, Градиштето на средновековната Пелагонија, Македонија низ вековите, градови, тврдини, комуникации, Скопје 1999.

***Tomoski*, Makedonija niz vekovite** = *Томоски Т.*, Македонија низ вековите. Градови, тврдини, комуникации, Скопје 1999.

***Tomoski*, Po tragata na srednovekovniot grad Devol** = *Томоски Т.*, По трагата на средновековниот град Девол, Годишен зборник на Филозофскиот факултет 27 (1975) 187–200.

***Tomoski*, Toponimot Manastir** = *Томоски Т.*, Како топонимот Манастир се наложил за втор назив на градот Битола, Македонија низ вековите: градови, тврдини, комуникации, Скопје 1999, 463–473.

***Tomoski*, Zapisi za srednovekovniot Devol** = *Томоски Т.*, Записи за средновековниот Девол, Климент Охридски и улогата на Охридската книжевна школа во развитокот на словенска просвета, Скопје 1989, 353–370 (= *Томоски Т.*, Македонија низ вековите. Градови, тврдини, комуникации, Скопје 1999, 398–418).

***Tomović*, Ko je bio despot Tornik** = *Томовић Г.*, Ко је био деспот Торник из записа граматика Нестора, ZRVI 41 (2004) 257–269.

***Tomović*, Morfologija ćirilskih natpisa** = *Томовић Г.*, Морфологија ћириличких натписа на Балкану, Београд 1974.

***Tončeva*, Starobŭlgarskite molitvi za vsjaka potreba** = *Тончева Х.*, Старобългарските молитви за всяка потреба в развоя на славянската ръкописна книжнина (до края XIX в.), Пловдив 2000.

***Totev*, Bazilika v Stambol Jolu** =*Тотев Т.*, Базилика в Стамбол Йолу на Велики Преслав, Преслав 6 (2004) 57–75.

***Totev*, Bazilikata pri Sakalova mogila** = *Тотев Т.*, Базиликата при Сакалова могила в Преслав, Преслав 2 (1976) 38–62.

***Totev*, Dvorcovijat manastir** = *Тотев Т.*, Дворцовият манастир в Преслав, Шумен 1998.

***Totev*, Keramična ikona s Hristos** = *Тотев Т.*, Керамична икона с Христос на трон от Преслав, Преслав 3 (1983) 72–79.

***Totev*, Keramičnata ikona** = *Тотев Т.*, Керамичната икона в средновековна България, София 2001.

***Totev*, L'atelier de creamique peinte** = *Totev T.*, L'atelier de creamique peinte du monastere royal de Preslav, CA 35 (1987) 65–80.

***Totev*, Les monastères de Pliska et de Preslav** = *Totev T.*, Les monastères de Pliska et de Preslav aux IX^{e}–X^{e} siècles (aperçu archéologique), BS 48/2 (1987) 185–200.

***Totev*, Manastirŭt v „Tuzlalŭka"** = *Тотев Т.*, Манастирът в „Тузлалъка"–център на рисуваната керамика в Преслав през IX–X в, София 1982, 47–50.

***Totev*, Nabljudeni vŭrhu risuvanata keramika na manastira** = *Тотев Т.*, Наблюдени върху рисуваната керамика на манастира около Кръглата /Златната/ църква в Преслав, Плиска – Преслав 5 (1992) 249–259.

***Totev*, Ošte za tipologizacijata na krŭsto-kupolnite cŭrkvi** = *Тотев Т.*, Още за типологизацията на кръсто-куполните църкви във Велики Преслав, Изследвания в чест на Стефан Бояджиев, София 2011, 347–357.

***Totev*, Preslavskata keramična ikona** = *Тотев Т.*, Преславската керамична икона, София 1988.

***Totev*, Preslavskite atelieta** = *Тотев Т.*, Преславските ателиета за рисувана керамика, Плиска – Преслав 7 (1995) 101–109.

***Totev*, Preslavskite manastiri** = *Тотев Т.*, Преславските манастири – средища на художествен живот през IX–X в., Векове 5 (1980) 46–54.

***Totev*, The Ceramic Icon** = *Totev T.*, The Ceramic Icon in Medieval Bulgaria, Sofia 1999.

***Totev*, Za novootkrite keramični ikoni** = *Тотев Т.*, За новооткрите керамични икони от Преслав, Изкуство 2 (1976) 25–28.

***Totev – Bonev*, Novootkrit prabŭlgarski hram** = *Тотев Т.*, Бонев С., Новооткрит прабългарски храм в Преслав, Плиска – Преслав 5 (1992) 222–230.

***Totev – Georgiev*, Dve cŭrkvi** = *Тотев Т.*, *Георгиев П.*, Две църкви в Преслав, Плиска – Преслав. Проучвания и материали, том 1, София 1979, 18–31.

***Totev – Georgiev*, Novi danni za oblika na njakoi manastiri** = *Тотев Т.*, *Георгиев П.*, Нови данни за облика на някои манастири в Плиска и Преслав, Българско средновековие. Българо-съветски сборник в чест на 70-годишнината на проф. Иван Дуйчев, София 1980, 130–136.

***Touratsoglou*, Apo ta nomismatika pragmata** = *Τουράτσογλου Ι.*, Από τα νομισματικά πράγματα στα Βαλκάνια των Μακεδόνων: Με αφορμή το „θησαυρό" Ισταμένων Θεσσαλονίκη 2000, edd. *Α. Αβραμέα, Α. Λαϊου, Ε. Χρυσός*, Βυζαντινό Κράτος και Κοινωνία, μνήμη Ν. Οικονομίδη, Αθήνα 2003, 523–541.

***Trajkovski*, Arheološki osvrt** = *Трајковски К.*, Археолошки осврт на Мордовишката епископија, Известия на Историческия музей Кюстендил 4 (1992) 279–287.

***Trajkovski*, Episkopijata** = *Трајковски К.*, Епископијата на Брегалница и Моробисдон (VII–XIV век) / *Trajkovski K.*, The Bishopric of Bregalnica and Morobisdon (VII–XIV Century), Скопје 2019.

***Trajkovski*, Excavations** = *Trajkovski K.*, Excavations at Morodvis in the 1980, Zbornik 10–11 (1979–1982) 133–142.

***Trajkovski*, Grobot 105** = *Трајковски К.*, Гробот 105 од Мородвис, MAA 12 (1991) 235–246.

***Trajkovski*, Istražuvanja vo Morodvis** = *Трајковски К.*, Истражувања во Мородвис 1980, Зборник. Археолошки музеј на Македонија 10–11 (1979–1982) 1983, 133–142.

***Trajkovski*, Kultot na moštite** = *Трајковски К.*, Култот на моштите во Брегалничката долина, Folia archaeologica Balkanica 1 (2006) 439–445.

***Trajkovski*, Morobisdon** = *Trajkovski K.*, Morobisdon, Crkveni kompleks sa nekropolom, Arheološki pregled 26 (1985) 1986, 176.

***Trajkovski*, Morodvis** = *Трајковски К.*, Мородвис 1981, Зборник. Археолошки музеј на Македонија 10–11 (1979–1982) 1983, 142.

***Trajkovski*, Morodviškata episkopija** = *Трајковски К.*, Археолошки осврт на Мородвишката епископија, Известия на исторически Музей Кюстендил, том IV, Кюстендил 1992, 279–287, 282.

***Trajkovski*, Pogled vrz srednovekovnata arheologija** = *Трајковски К.*, Поглед врз средновековната археологија на Брегалница, MAA 13 (1993) 273–280.

***Trajkovski*, Ranohristijanska grobnica** = *Трајковски К.*, Ранохристијанска гробница во Мородвис, Лихнид 7 (1989) 89–94.

***Trajkovski*, Srednovekovnite crkvi** = *Трајковски К.*, Средновековните цркви во градот Морóβισδος во Македонија, Годишник на Софийския университет „Св. Климент Охридски". Център за славяно-византийски проучвания «Иван Дуйчев» 97/16 (2011) 121–126, 438–442.

***Trajkovski*, The medieval necropolis** = *Trajkovski K.*, The medieval necropolis „Crkvište" at Morodvis, Зборник. Археолошки музеј на Македонија, н.с. 1 (1995) 207–213.

***Treadgold*, Byzantine Revival** = *Treadgold W.*, The Byzantine Revival, Stanford 1978.

***Treadgold*, History** = *Treadgold W.*, A history of the Byzantine state and society, Stanford 1997.

***Triantaphyllopoulos*, Ē Episkopē kai ē Monē Kozilēs** = *Τριανταφυλλόπουλος Δ. Δ.*, Η Επισκοπή και η Μονή Κοζίλης στην Ήπειρο (Συναγωγή στοιχείων – προβλήματα), Πρακτικά του ΙΕ΄ Διεθνούς Συνεδρίου Βυζαντινών Σπουδών, Αθήναι 5–11 Σεπτεμβρίου 1976, ΙΙ.Β, Αθήναι 1981, 839–862.

***Trifunović*, Azbučnik** = *Трифуновић Ђ.*, Азбучник српских средњовековних књижевних појмова, Београд 1990.

***Trifunović*, Ka počecima** = *Трифуновић Ђ.*, Ка почецима српске писмености, Београд 2001.

***Trifunović*, Najstariji srpskoslovenski životopis** = *Трифуновић Ђ.*, Најстарији српскословенски животопис светог Прохора Пчињског, Књижевна историја 28/100 (1996) 359–364.

***Trifunović*, O nastanku spisa** = *Трифуновић Ђ.*, О настанку списа Светог Саве у светлости неких агиолошких појединости, Студеница у црквеном животу и историји српског народа, Београд 1987, 65–70.

***Trifunović*, Služba Svetom Prohoru Pčinjskom** = *Трифуновић Ђ.*, Служба Светом Прохору Пчињском, *Ђ. Трифуновић*, Са светогорских извора, Београд 2004, 203–224.

***Trifunović*, Zapis starca Simeona** = *Трифуновић Ђ.*, Запис старца Симеона у Вукановом јеванђељу, *Ђ. Трифуновић*, Са светогорских извора, Београд 2004, 65–78.

***Troianos*, Byzantine Canon Law** = *Troianos S.*, Byzantine Canon Law from the Twelfth to the Fifteenth Centuries, edd. *W. Hartmann*, *K. Pennington*, The History of Byzantine and Eastern Canon Law to 1500, Leuven 2012, 170–214.

***Troianos*, Byzantine Canon Law to 1100** = *Troianos S.*, Byzantine Canon Law to 1100, edd. *W. Hartmann*, *K. Pennington*, The History of Byzantine and Eastern Canon Law to 1500, Washington, D.C. 2012, 115–169.

***Troicki*, Dopunski članci Vlastareve Sintagme** = *Троицки С.*, Допунски чланци Властареве Синтагме, Београд 1956.

***Tsiapalē*, O toichographikos diakosmos tou naou tōn Agiōn Anargyrōn** = *Τσιάπαλη Μ.*, Ο τοιχογραφικός διάκοσμος του ναού των Αγίων Αναργύρων στα Σέρβια Κοζάνης, Βυζαντινά 38 (2022) 135–169.

***Tsiaples*, Mythiko parelthon-christianiko paron** = *Τσιαπλές Γ.*, Μυθικό παρελθόν-χριστιανικό παρόν: Πρόσληψη και προβολή των πνευματικών σχέσεων δύο βυζαντινών πόλεων. Το παράδειγμα της Θεσσαλονίκης και της Λάρισας (9ος–14ος αι.), Byzantina Symmeikta 26 (2016) 67–92.

***Tsigaridas*, Ereunes stous naous** = *Τσιγαρίδας Ε.*, Έρευνες στους ναούς της Καστοριάς, Μακεδονικά 25 (1986) 381–382.

***Tsigaridas*, La peinture** = *Tsigaridas E. N.*, La peinture à Kastoria et en Macédoine grecque occidentale vers l'année 1200. Fresques et icônes, Студеница и византијска уметност око 1200. године, Београд 1988, 309–319.

***Tsigaridas*, Les peintures murales** = *Tsigaridas E.*, Les peintures murales de l'ancienne Métropole de Véria, ed. *B. J. Ђурић*, Милешева у историји српског народа, Београд 1987, 91–100.

***Tsigaridas*, Schetika me tēn onomasia tēs Palias Mētropoleōs** = *Τσιγαρίδας Ε. Ν.*, Σχετικά με την ονομασία της Παλιάς Μητροπόλεως της Έδεσσας, Μακεδονικά 24/1 (1984) 257–261.

***Tsigaridas*, Toichographies tēs periodou tōn Palaiologōn** = *Τσιγαρίδας Ε. Ν.*, Τοιχογραφίες της περιόδου των Παλαιολόγων σε ναούς της Μακεδονίας, Θεσσαλονίκη 1999.

***Tsilipakou*, Basilikē** = *Τσιλιπάκου Αγ.*, Βασιλική των Κατηχουμένων ΑΔ 50 (1995) Β΄ 2, Χρονικά, 609–611.

***Tsilipakou*, Basilikē tōn Katehoumenōn** = *Τσιλιπάκου Αγ.*, Βασιλική των Κατηχούμενων, ΑΔ 52 (1997) Β2, Χρονικά, 814–820.

***Tsilipakou*, Serbia** = *Τσιλιπάκου Α.*, Σέρβια, μια βυζαντινή καστροπολιτεία, Αθήνα 2002.

***Tsilipakou*, Topografia kai technē** = *Τσιλιπάκου Αγ.*, Τοπογραφία και τέχνη στην Κοζάνη και την ευρύτερη περιοχή της κατά τους βυζαντινούς και μεταβυζαντινούς χρόνους. Πορίσματα αρχαιολογικών ερευνών μιας δεκαετίας (1996-2006), Το Αρχαιολογικό Έργο στην Άνω Μακεδονία ΑΕΑΜ 3/1 (2013) 2018, 275–302.

***Tunickij*, Sv. Kliment** = *Туницкий Н. Л.*, Св. Климент, епископ Словенский. Его жизнь и просветительная деятельность, Сергиев Посад 1913.

***Tŭpkova-Zaimova*, Dolni Dunav** = *Тъпкова-Заимова В.*, Долни Дунав-гранична зона на византийския Запад, София 1976.

***Tŭpkova-Zaimova – Miltenova*, Istoriko-apokaliptična knižnina** = *Тъпкова-Заимова В.*, *Милтенова А.*, Историко-апокалиптична книжнина във Византия и в средновековна България, София 1996.

***Turilov*, Berlinskij sbornik** = *Турилов А.*, Берлинский сборник, ПЕ 4, Москва 2002, 665.

***Turilov – Češmedžiev*, Ioakim Osogovskij** = *Турилов А. А.*, *Чешмеджиев Д.*, *Иоаким Осоговский*, ПЕ 23, Москва 2010, 184–187.

***Turilov*, Drevnerusskie vlijanija** = *Турилов А.*, Древнерусские влияния, ПЕ 16, Москва 2007, 162–171.

***Turilov*, Gavriil Lesnovskij** = *Турилов А. А.*, *Гавриил Лесновский*, ПЕ 10, Москва 2005, 243–246.

***Turilov*, K izučeniju velikomoravskogo literaturnogo nasledija** = *Турилов А. А.*, К изучению великоморавского литературного наследия между двумя юбилеями: промежуточные итоги, спорные вопросы и перспективы, edd. *J. Pagić*, *B. Савић*, Свети Ћирило и Методије и словенско писано наслеђе (863–2013), Београд 2014, 1–21.

***Turilov*, Kliment Ohridskij** = *Турилов А. А.*, Климент Охридский и древнейший этап славянской гимнографии, edd. *K. Stantchev*, *M. Calusio*, San Clemente di Ocrida: allievo e maestro. Nell' undicesimo centenario del beato transito (916–2016), Milano 2017, 123–144.

***Turilov*, Pamjatniki drevnerusskoj literatury** = *Турилов А. А.*, Памятники древнерусской литературы и письменности у южных славян в XII–XIV вв. (Проблемы и перспективы изучения). Addenda et corrigenda, *А. А. Турилов*, Исследования по славянскому и сербскому средневековью, Београд 2014, 139–203.

***Turilov*, Posle Klimenta i Nauma** = *Турилов А. А.*, После Климента и Наума (славянская письменность на территории Охридской архиепископии в X – первой половине XIII в.), edd. *Б. Н. Флоря*, *А. А. Турилов*, *С. А. Иванов*, Судьбы Кирилло-Мефодиевской традиции после Кирилла и Мефодия, Санкт-Петербург 2000, 82–162.

***Tutkovski*, Early Christian Mosaics** = *Tutkovski M.*, Early Christian Mosaics from Bargala, Science and Society: Contribution of Humanities and Social Sciences, edd. *M. Todorovska et al.*, Proceedings of the International Conference on the Occasion of the Centennial Anniversary of the Faculty of Philosophy (2–5 September, Struga 2020), Skopje 2021, 177–193.

U

***Uspenskij*, Nadpis' carja Samuila** = *Успенский Ф. И.*, Надпись царя Самуила, Известия Руского Археологичесого Института в Константинополе 4/1 (1899), 1–4.

***Uspenskij et al.*, Aboba-Pliska** = *Успенский Ф. И. et al.*, Аббба-Плиска, Известия Русского Археологического Института в Константинополе (ИРАИК), 9/1–2 (София 1905).

***Uzelac*, „Čuvaj se Belijalovih sinova"** = *Узелац А.*, Чувај се Белијалових синова и отровних стрела! – Поморавље у другој половини XII века, ed. *Д. Бојовић*, Стефан Немања и Топлица, Ниш 2011, 97–107.

***Uzelac*, „Skitski razbojnici"** = *Узелац А.*, "Скитски разбојници у бугарској пустињи": поглед једног ходочасника на Поморавље сединоом XI века, ИЧ 59 (2010) 59–74.

***Uzelac*, Krstaši i Srbi** = *Узелац А.*, Крсташи и Срби, Београд 2018.

V

***Vaillant*, Homelie** = *Vaillant A.*, Une homelie de Méthode, Revue des Études Slaves 23 (1947) 34–47.

***Vaillant*, La Préface de l'Évangile** = *Vaillant A.*, Une poésie vieux-slave: La Préface de l'Évangile, Revue des Études Slaves 33 (1956) 7–25.

Evangeliarium Assemani II = *Vajs J.*, *Kurz J.*, Evangeliarium Assemani. Codex Vaticanus 3. slavicus glagoliticus, II, Pragae 1955.

***Vaklinov*, Formirane na starobŭlgarskata kultura** = *Ваклинов С.*, Формиране на старобългарската култура VI–XI век, София 1977.

***Vaklinova*, Tendencii v razvitieto** = *Ваклинова М.*, Тенденции в развитието на ранносредно-вековната българска скулптура, Първи международен конгрес по българистика (София, 23 май-3 юни 1981). Доклади. Симпозиум Славяни и прабългари, София 1982, 330–351.

***Vaklinova*, The Palaces** = *Vaklinova M.*, The Palaces of Veliki Preslav, edd. *S. Goryanova*, *G. Grozdanova*, At the gates of the royal court: treasures of Veliki Preslav, Sofia 2019, 30–37.

***Vaklinova*, Veliki Preslav** = *Ваклинова М.*, Велики Преслав – някои пластични идеи в украсата на сградите му, Приноси към българската археология, Т. 2., София 1993, 40–51.

***Vaklinova – Štereva*, Knjaz Boris I** = *Ваклинова М., Щерева И.*, Княз Борис I и владетелската църква на Велики Преслав, ed. *П. Георгиев*, Християнската култура на Средновековна България, Велико Търново 2008, 185–194.

***Vaklinova – Štereva – Dimitrov – Manolova-Vojkova*, Arheologičeski razkopki na obekt** = *Ваклинова М., Щерева И., Димитров П., Манолова-Войкова М.*, Археологически разкопки на обект: владетелска църква и прилежащите терени в дворцовия център на Велики Преслав, Археологически открития и разкопки през 2010, София 2011, 407–409.

***Vaklinova – Štereva – Gorjanova – Manolova-Vojkova – Dimitrov*, Vladetelskata cŭrkva** = *Ваклинова М., Щерева И., Горянова С., Манолова-Войкова М., Димитров, П.*, Владетелската църква на Велики Преслав, Археология 4 (2003) 30–40.

***Valeva*, Saint Sophia Church** = *Valeva J.*, Saint Sophia Church: History of Research and New Considerations, Archaeologia Bulgarica 19/2 (2015) 63–92.

***Valtrović*, Pogled** = *Валтровић М.*, Поглед на стару српску црквену архитектуру, Глас СКА 17 (1889) 34.

***Van Tricht*, Being Byzantine** = *Van Tricht F.*, Being Byzantine in the post-1204 Empire of Constantinople: continuity and change (politics, government, church and religion), ИЧ 71 (2022) 65–119.

***Vanderheyde*, La sculpture architecturale** = *Vanderheyde C.*, La sculpture architecturale dans le thème de Nikopolis du X^{e} au début du XIII^{e} siècle (Épire, Étolie-Acarnanie et Sud de l'Albanie), Supplément au BCH 45, Athènes 2005.

***Vanderheyde*, La sculpture byzantine** = *Vanderheyde C.*, La sculpture byzantine du IX^{e} au XV^{e} siècle: contexte – mise en œuvre – décors, Paris 2020.

***Vanderheyde*, Le ciborium** = *Vanderheyde C.*, Le ciborium de l'église de la Dormition de la Vierge à Kalambaka (Thessalie), Mélanges Jean-Pierre Sodini, 15, Paris 2005, 427–442.

***Vanderheyde*, Les reliefs de l'église Saint-Donat** = *Vanderheyde C.*, Les reliefs de l'église Saint-Donat à Glyki (Épire), BCH 121/2 (1997) 697–719.

***Vapheiades*, A Reassessment** = *Vapheiades K. M.*, A Reassessment of Middle Byzantine Monumental Painting on Mount Athos: Patronage, Dating and Style, Зограф 45 (2021) 79–102.

***Vapheiadēs*, O Agios Achillios** = *Βαφειάδης Κ.*, Ο Άγιος Αχίλλιος και οι Άγιοι Μητροπολίτες Λαρίσης. Εικονογραφικό διάγραμμα, Ἀχιλλίου Πόλις 1 (2019) 145–159.

***Vasileski*, Analysis of the Fragments** = *Vasileski A.*, Analysis of the Fragments from Fresco Painting of the Cave Church in the Cultural Complex of Zrze and Their Dating, Balcanoslavica 46 (2017) 39–55.

***Vasileski*, Attempt to Reconstruct** = *Vasileski A.*, Attempt to Reconstruct Part of the Painted Program of the Cave Church and the Chapel in the Travertine Rock of the Zrze Cultural Complex, Археолошки информатор 1 (2017) 167–174.

***Vasileski*, Srednovekovnite crkvi vo Prilep** = *Василески А.*, Средновековните цркви во Прилеп низ пишаните и материјалните извори, Balcanoslavica 47/2 (2018) 185–204.

***Vasiliev*, Byzance et les Arabes II** = *Vasiliev A. A.*, Byzance et les Arabes, tome II, la dynastie Macédonienne (867–959), Bruxelles 1950.

***Vasiliev et al.*, Kamena Plastika** = *Василиев А., Труфешев Н., Силяновска-Новикова С., Любенова И.*, Камена Пластика, София 1973.

***Vasilev*, Oloven pečat** = *Василев Р.*, Оловен печат на княз Борис-Михаил от Плиска, Нумизматика 25 (1991) 3–6.

***Vasilieva*, Rekonstruki na crkvite** = *Василиева Д.*, Реконструки на црквите у Перник том 2, 1983, 89–120.

***Vasileva*, Dvorcovijat kompleks** = *Василева Д.*, Дворцовият комплекс на Велики Преслав (архитектурно-строителни проучвания и реконструкция), Известия на Българското Историческо Дружество 37 (1985) 5–26.

***Vasiljev*, Nov podatak** = *Васиљев Љ.*, Нов податак о времену настанка Асеманијевог јеванђеља, Археографски прилози 10–11 (1989) 13–15.

***Vasiljević*, Trikonhos** = *Васиљевић Д. Б.*, Триконхос у селу Злести. Прилог Милана Кашанина историји средњовековне архитектуре, Зборник Народног музеја. Археологија 12/1 (1986) 243–253.

***Vasiljević*, Kultovi svetih** = *Васиљевић М.*, Култови светих на централном Балкану у време османских освајања, Београд 2021.

***Vašica*, Církevněslovanský penitenciál** = *Vašica J.*, Církevněslovanský penitenciál českého původu, Slavia 29/1 (1960) 31–48.

***Vašica*, Kirillo-mefodievskie juridičeskie pamjatniki** = *Вашица И.*, Кирилло-мефодиевские юридические памятники, Вопросы славянского языкознания 7 (1963) 12–33.

***Vašica*, Metodějův překlad nomokanonu** = *Vašica J.*, Metodějův překlad nomokanonu, Slavia 24/1 (1955) 9–41.

***Veikou*, Byzantine Epirus** = *Veikou M.*, Byzantine Epirus : A Topography of Transformation. Settlements of the Seventh-Twelfth Centuries in Southern Epirus and Aetoloacarnania, Leiden – Boston, 2012.

***Velenis*, Srednovekovnite gradežni fazi** = *Веленис Г.*, Средновековните градежни фази на Боянската църква. ed. *Б. Пенкова*, Боянската църква между Изтока и Запада в изкуството на християнска Европа, София 2011, 162–177.

***Velev*, Himnografskite sostavi** = *Велев И.*, Химнографските състави за светитет петнаест тивериополски свештеномаченици. Уште една новооткриена химнографска творба на св. Климент Охридски, Археографски Прилози 24 (2002) 111–142.

***Velev*, Sveti Gavril Lesnovski** = *Велев И.*, Свети Гаврил Лесновски во книжевната традиција, Скопје 1996.

***Velinova*, Žitie** = *Велинова В.*, Житие на тивериуполските (струмишките) мъченици, SBL. Енциклопедичен речник, Велико Търново 2003, 188–189.

***Velova Graorkovska*, Antropološki rezultati** = *Велова Граорковска М.*, Антрополошки резултати од истражувањата на скелетната серија од Мородвис, Кочани, МАА 20 (2011) 515–530.

***Vendikov*, Preslav** = *Вендиков И.*, Преслав, преди да стане столица на България, Преслав 1 (1968) 39–48.

***Vepřek*, Czech Church Slavonic** = *Vepřek M.*, Czech Church Slavonic in the Tenth and Eleventh Centuries, München 2022.

***Vereščagin*, Istorija** = *Верещагин Е. М.*, История возникновения древнего общеславянского языка. Переводческая деятельность Кирилла и Мефодия и их учеников, Москва 1997.

***Vereščagin*, K izučeniju semantiki** = *Верещагин Е. М.*, К изучению семантики лексического фонда древнеславянского языка, Москва 1978.

***Veselinović*, Čačanski kraj** = *Веселиновић А.*, Чачански крај у средњем веку, ed. *М. Вуловић*, Богородица Градачка у историји српског народа, Научни скуп, Чачак 1993, 57–79.

***Veselinović*, Sveti Roman** = *Веселиновић М.*, Свети Роман, Београд 1939.

***Vežić*, Dalmatinski trikonhosi** = *Vežić P.*, Dalmatinski trikonhosi, Ars Adriatica. Časopis Odjela za povijest umjetnost i Sveučilišta u Zadru 1 (2011) 27–66.

***Viscuso*, Marital Relations** = *Viscuso P.*, Marital Relations in the Theology of the Byzantine Canonist Theodore Balsamon, Ostkirchliche Studien 39 (1990) 281–288.

***Vitaliotis*, The Basilica of the Forty Martyrs** = *Vitaliotis I.*, The Basilica of the Forty Martyrs, Albania: A pilgrimage church of the Early Christian, ed. *E. Hadjitryphonos*, Routes of Faith in the Medieval Mediterranean, Thessaloniki 2008, 403–416.

***Vitljanov*, Manastirski nekropol** = *Витлянов Ст.*, Манастирски некропол при Голямата Базилика в Плиска, Векове 6 (1979) 62–65.

***Vitljanov*, Stopanskijat oblik** = *Витлянов С.*, Стопанският облик на столичните манастири през IX–X век, Плиска – Преслав 7 (1995) 92–100.

***Vlasto*, Entry of the Slavs** = *Vlasto A. P.*, The entry of the Slavs into Christendom. An introduction to the medieval history of the Slavs, Cambridge 1970.

***Vogel*, Les "Libri paenitentiales"** = *Vogel C.*, Les „Libri paenitentiales", Turnhout1978.

***Vojvodić*, Ē selasphoros** = *Војводић Д.*, Ἡ Σελασφόρος – призренске представе Богородице Светлоносице (Са филолошким прилогом Д. Тодоровића), ZRVI 60/2 (2023) 1193–1211.

***Vojvodić*, Medieval Wall Paintings** = *Vojvodić D.*, Medieval Wall Paintings in the Churches and Monasteries of Raška. I. Saint Peter's Church and Djurdjevi Stupovi in Ras, Belgrade 2024.

***Vojvodić*, Ostaci starijeg slikarstva** = *Војводић Д.*, Остаци старијег сликарства у цркви Светог Прокопија у Прокупљу, ed. *М. Ракоција*, Ниш и Византија 22, Ниш 2024, 211–226.

***Vojvodić*, Predstave svetog Klimenta Ohridskog** = *Војводић Д.*, Представе светог Климента Охридског у зидном сликарству средњовековне Србије, edd. *Б. Крсмановић*, *Љ. Максимовић*, *Р. Рагић*, Византијски свет на Балкану I, Београд 2012, 145–165.

***Vojvodić*, Zidno slikarstvo** = *Војводић Д.*, Зидно сликарство цркве Светог Ахилија у Ариљу, Београд 2005.

***Vojvodić et al.*, Žiča** = *Чанак-Медић М.*, *Поїовић Д.*, *Војводић Д.*, Манастир Жича (Žiča Monastery), Београд 2014.

***Vojvodić*, Pogled na rezultate** = Војводић У., Поглед на резултате археолошких истраживања цркве Св. Апостола Петра и Павла у Расу, ed. *М. Ракоција*, Ниш и Византија XVIII, Ниш 2020, 237–264.

***Vojvodić*, Prostorne studije i privredni obrasci** = *Војводић У.*, Просторне студије и привредни обрасци средњовековне жупе и нахије Рас, Београд 2023 (unpublished PhD dissertation).

***Vokotopoulos*, Ē ekklēsiastikē architektonikē** = *Βοκοτόπουλος Π.* Λ, Η εκκλησιαστική αρχιτεκτονική εις την Δυτικήν Στερεάν Ελλάδα και την Ηπειρον: από του τέλους του 7ου μέχρι του τέλους του 10ου αιώνος, Θεσσαλονικη 1992.

***Vocotopoulos*, Shënime** = *Vocotopoulos P. L*, Shënime për arkitekturën kishtare nga shek. X në shek. XIII në Shqipërinë e Jugut (Notes on churches' architecture from 10th–13th century in South Albania), edd. *P. Thomo*, *G. Bushaka*, 2000 vjet art dhe kulturë kishtare në Shqipëri (2000 Years of Church Art and Culture in Albania), Tirana 2003, 137–158.

***Vondrák*, Althochdeutsche Beichtformeln im Altkirchenslavischen** = *Vondrák W.*, Althochdeutsche Beichtformeln im Altkirchenslavischen und in den Freisinger Denkmälern, Archiv für slavische Philologie 16 (1894) 118–132.

***Vranousi*, Episkopē Stagōn** = *Βρανούση Ἐ. Λ.*, Τὸ ἀρχαιότερο σωζόμενο ἔγγραφο γιὰ τὴ θεσσαλικὴ ἐπισκοπὴ Σταγῶν (τοῦ ἔτους 1163). Ἀνέκδοτα τεμάχια τοῦ ἐγγράφου καὶ μερικὲς πρῶτες παρατηρήσεις, Byzantina Symmeikta 7 (1987) 19–32.

***Vroom*, Dishing up history** = *Vroom, J.*, Dishing up history, Early medieval ceramic finds from the Triconch palace in Butrint, Mélanges de l'école française de Rome 120/2 (2008) 291–305.

***Vučetić*, Ritual potčinjavanja** = *Вучетић М. М.*, Ритуал потчињавања Стефана Немање цару Манојлу I Комнину, ZRVI 50/1 (2013) 493–503.

***Vučetić*, Zusammenkünfte byzantinischer Kaiser** = *Vučetić M. M.*, Zusammenkünfte byzantinischer Kaiser mit fremden Herrschern (395–1204). Vorbereitung, Gestaltung, Funktionen, II, Münster 2021.

***Vukanović*, Legend of the martyrs** = *Vukanović T.*, The Legend of the martyrs of Tiberiopolis (Strumica), Vranjski glasnik 7 (1971) 45–76.

***Vŭlov*, Srednovekovna čerkva** = *Вълов В.*, Средновековна черква на територията на замъка „Баба Вида" във Видин, Музеи и паматници на културата 4 (1980) 19–20.

***Vulović*, Crkva Sv. Nikole** = *Vulović B.*, Crkva Sv. Nikole kod Kuršumlije, Zbornik Arhitektonskog fakulteta III 1956–1957 (1957) 3–22.

***Vulović*, Manastir Gračanica** = *Вуловић Б.*, Манастир Грачаница – прилози за историју, архитектуру и сликарство, I део, Старине Косова и Метохије 4–5 (1968–1971) 165–175.

W

***Wassiliou*, Neue Siegel** = *Wassiliou A-K.*, Neue Siegel der 1. Hälfte des 9. Jh. aus Südostbulgarien. Mit einem Appendix zu den Drugubiten, edd. *V. Jotov*, *I. Lazarenko*, Sphragistic and Epigraphic Contributions to the History of the Black Sea Coast. Acta Musei Varnaensis II, Varna 2004, 246–252.

***Wassiliou-Seibt*, Reconstructing the Byzantine Frontier** = *Wassiliou-Seibt A-K.*, Reconstructing the Byzantine Frontier on the Balkans (late 8th–10th c.), REB 73 (2015) 229–239.

***Weitzmann*, The Monastery of St. Catherine** = *Weitzmann K.*, The Monastery of St. Catherine at Mount Sinai: The Icons, vol. I, Princeton 1976.

***Wharton Epstein*, Art of Empire** = *Wharton Epstein A.*, Art of Empire: Painting and Architecture, University Park – London 1988.

***Wharton Epstein*, Middle Byzantine Churches** = *Wharton Epstein A.*, Middle Byzantine Churches of Kastoria: Dates and Implications, Art Bulletin 62/2 (1980) 190–207.

***Wharton Epstein*, The Political Content** = *Wharton Epstein A.*, The Political Content of the Paintings of Saint Sophia at Ohrid, JÖB 29 (1980) 315–329.

***Willson*, The Allegory of Wisdom** = *Willson J.*, The Allegory of Wisdom in Chrelja's Tower seen through Philotheos Kokkinos, edd. *M. Alessia Rossi*, *A. I. Sullivan*, Byzantium in Eastern European Visual Culture in the Late Middle Ages, Leiden – Boston 2020, 1–27.

***Woodfin*, A Majestas Domini** = *Woodfin T. W.*, A Majestas Domini in Middle Byzantine Constantinople, CA 51 (2003–2004) 45–53.

***Wortley*, Legends** = *Wortley J.*, Legends of the Byzantine disaster of 811, Byzantion 50/2 (1980) 533–562.

X

***Xanalatos*, Beiträge** = *Xanalatos D.*, Beiträge zur Wirtschafts- und Sozialgeschichte Makedoniens im Mittelalter, hauptsächlich auf Grund der Briefe Theophylakts von Achrida, München 1937.

***Xhyheri et al.*, Kërkime arkeologjike** = *Xhyheri S.*, *Muçaj S.*, *Pentkovskiy A.*, *Ristani I.*, Kërkime arkeologjike në krahinën e Vlorës, Mallakastrës, Myzeqesë dhe Korçës (Korridori Vlorë-Prespë, raport 2013–2015), Candavia 6 (2016) 279–314.

***Xhyheri et al.*, Vlorës** = *Xhyheri S.*, *Muçaj S.*, *Halilaj E.*, *Sheremetaj L.*, Kërkime arkeologjike në zonën e Vlorës – 2012, Iliria 37 (2013) 437–458.

***Xhyheri*, I vasi acustici** = *Xhyheri S.*, I vasi acustici ed i bacini della chiesa di S Giovanni (Shën Jan) a Delvinë (Albania), BUCEMA 17/2 (2013) 1–18.

***Xhyheri*, Korridori Vlorë-Prespë** = *Xhyheri S.*, Korridori Vlorë-Prespë, 1081–1385, Tiranë 2016 (unpublished PhD dissertation).

***Xhyheri*, Nuovi dati sui "bacini" murati** = *Xhyheri S.*, Nuovi dati sui "bacini" murati nelle chiese medievali e post-medievali in Albania, Hortus Artium medievalium 21 (2015) 366–384.

***Xyngopoulos*, Ta mnēmeia** = Ξυγγόπουλος Α., Τα Μνημεία των Σερβίων, Αθήνα 1957.

Y

***Ylli*, Das slavische Lehngut im Albanischen, II** = *Ylli X.*, Das slavishe Lehngut im Albanischen, Teil 2: Ortsnamen, Sclavische Beiträge, Band 395, München 2000.

***Yoleva – Djambazov – Djambazov*, Study of medieval ceramics** = *Yoleva A.*, *Djambazov S.*, *Djambazov P.*, Study of medieval ceramics excavated at the monastery of Karaachteke (Varna, Bulgaria), Bulgarian Chemical Communications 47/1 (2015) 387–394.

Z

***Zacos*, Seals** = *Zacos G.*, Byzantine Lead Seals, II, Bern 1984.

Zadužbine Kosova = Задужбине Косова. Споменици и знамења српског народа, ed. *A. Јевтић*, Призрен –Београд 1987.

***Zaharieva*, Edna fotografija** = *Захариева М.*, Една фотография от първата половина на XX век и църквата в село Яна, edd. *Е. Мутафов*, *М. Куюмджиева*, Пътешествия. Изкуствоведски четения, I. Старо изкуство, София 2021, 133–144.

***Zaharova*, Freski cerkvi** = *Захарова А.*, Фрески церкви Панагии Мавриотиссы в Касторьестатья, ВВ 59 (2000) 189–197.

***Zaharova*, Freski konca IX–X v.** = *Захарова А. В*, Фрески конца IX–X в. в Македонии: проблемы датировки и развития стиля, ВВ 105 (2021) 223–241.

***Zaharova*, O nedavno raskrytoj freske** = *Захарова А. В.*, О недавно раскрытой фреске с Деисусом в церкви Успения Богородицы в Лабово, Вестник сектора древнерусского искусства 2 (2020) 33–45.

***Zaharova*, The murals** = *Zaharova A.*, The murals in the Church of the Virgin Eleousa in Veljusa and Byzantine painting of the second half of the eleventh century, Zograf 44 (2020) 37–57.

***Zakharova*, Fresco** = *Zakharova A.*, Fresco of the Fifteen martyrs of Tiberiopolis in Strumica in the context of the Byzantine art of the late 9th-first half of the 10th century, ed. *M. Ракоција*, Ниш и Византија 20, Ниш 2022, 367–378.

***Zakharova*, Frescoes in the Diaconicon** = *Zakharova A.*, Frescoes in the Diaconicon of the Dormition Church in Kalabaka, ΔΧΑΕ 44 (2023–2024), 219–235.

***Zaharova*, Izobraženija** = *Захарова А. В.*, Изображения местночтимых святых в храмах Охридской архиепископии XI – начала XIV века, edd. *А. В. Захарова*, *С. В. Мальцева*, *Е. Ю. Станюкович-Денисова*, Актуальные проблемы теории и истории искусства 14, Санкт Петербург 2024, 711–730.

***Zakharova*, On the 10th – 11th Century Churches** = *Zakharova A.*, On the 10th – 11th Century Churches in Kastoria and Related Buildings: the Problems of Attribution and Dating, ed. *M. Rakocija*, Niš and Byzantium 21, Niš 2023, 171–188.

***Zakharova*, Some Observations** = *Zakharova A.*, Some Observations on the Church of the Dormition in Labovo (Albania) and its Murals, ΔΧΑΕ 41 (2021) 157–172.

***Zakharova*, The first-layer frescoes** = *Zakharova A.*, The first-layer frescoes in the dome of the Rotunda of Saint George in Sofia, Zograf 47 (2023) 1–16.

***Zakharova*, The Trebizond Lectionary** = *Zakharova A.*, The Trebizond Lectionary (cod. gr. 21 and 21a, Russian National Library, Saint-Petersburg) and Byzantine Art after the Macedonian Renaissance, ΔΧΑΕ 29 (2008) 59–68.

***Zaharova – Mal'ceva*, Hudožestvennye tradicii** = *Захарова А.В.*, Мальцева С.В. Художественные традиции и церковно-политическая идеология в искусстве Македонии в эпоху создания Охридской архиепископии, ВВ 106 (2022) 174–199.

***Zajkovski*, Eparhijata na crkovnata organizacija** = *Зајковски Д.*, Ерархијата на црковната организација во времето на Самоиловата држава, ed. *Д. Ѓоргиев*, 1000 години од битката на Беласица и смртта на цар Самоил, Скопје 2018, 157–164.

***Zarras*, Ideology and Patronage** = *Zarras N.*, Ideology and Patronage in Byzantium. Dedicatory Inscriptions and Patrons Images from Middle Byzantine Macedonia and Thrace, Turnhout 2023.

Zbornik Brižinski spomeniki = Zbornik Brižinski spomeniki, edd. *J. Kos*, *F. Jakopin*, *J. Faganel* s sodelovanjem *P. Štiha*, *M. Smolika*, *D. Dolinarja*, Ljubljana 1996.

***Zdravković*, Justinijana Prima (Caričin grad?)** = *Здравковић М. В.*, Пројектовање и планирање рановизантијског града: Јустинијана Прима (Царичин град?), Београд 2021 (unpublished PhD dissertation).

***Zdravković*, Upper Devol** = *Zdravković V.*, Peculiarities of Settlement in the Area of Upper Devol (Korçë) and Koloneia (Ersekë) in Pre-Slavic times and during the Reign of Samuel – Continuity of Usage of Ancient Strongholds in Medieval times. Paper presented at: "Byzance et l'Occident : Studia Byzantino-Occidentalia", Eötvös-József-Collegium (2023), forthcoming.

***Zečević*, Nemanjine crkve** = *Зечевић Е.*, Немањине цркве у Топлици у светлу археолошких истраживања, Београд 2013 (unpublished PhD disseratation).

***Zhishman*, Das Eherecht** = *von Zhishman J.*, Das Eherecht der Orientalischen Kirche, Wien 1864.

***Ziemann*, Rebellion of the nobles** = *Ziemann D.*, The rebellion of the nobles against the baptism of Khan Boris (865-866), ed. *J. Henning*, Post-Roman towns, trade and settlement in Europe and Byzantium, vol. 2: Byzantium, Pliska and the Balkans, Berlin – New York 2007, 613–624.

***Zirojević*, Carigradski drum** = *Зиројевић О.*, Цариградски друм од Београда до Софије 1459–1683, Београд 1970.

***Zirojević*, Crkve i manastiri** = *Зиројевић О.*, Цркве и манастири на подручју Пећке патријаршије до 1683. године, Београд 1984.

***Zlatanović*, Arhiljevica** = *Златановић М.*, Архиљевица, Врањски гласник 20 (1987) 169–175.

***Zlatarski*, De se namiral gr. Devol** = *Златарски В.*, Де се намирал гр. Девол, Известия на Историческото дружество в София 5 (1922) 35–56.

***Zlatarski*, Kanoničeski i graždanski zakoni** = *Златарски В. Н.*, Какви канонически и граждански закони е получил Борис от Византия, Летопис на Българската академия на науките 1 (1914) 79–116.

***Zlatarski*, Kŭm istorijata na otkritija** = *Златарски В.*, Към историята на открития в Патлейна манастир, Известия на Археологическия Институт 1 (1921) 146–162.

***Zlatarski*, Legenda** = *Златарски В. Н.*, Легенда за откриване на мощите на Тивериуполските мъченици, Избрани произведения, I, София1972, 190–205.

***Zlatarski*, Istorija I/2** = *Златарски Н.*, История на българската държава през средните векове. Том I, част 2, София 1927 (reprint 2007).

***Zloković*, Stare crkve** = *Злоковић М.*, Старе цркве у областима Преспе и Охрида, Старинар III серија 3 (1924–1925) 115–149.

***Zorba et al.*, Study of Wall Paintings** = *Zorba T.*, *Paraskevopoulos K. M.*, *Siapkas D. I.*, *Pavlidou E.*, *Popkonstantinov K.*, *Angelova S.*, *Kushev D. B.*, Study of Wall Paintings in Bulgarian Monasteries by Spectroscopic Methods, ed. *K. M. Paraskevopoulos*, Physics in Culture, I. The Solid State Physics in the Study of Cultural Heritage, Thessalonike 1999, 152–165.

***Zornija*, Klesarska radionica** = *Zornija M.*, Klesarska radionica iz doba kotorskog biskupa Ivana – doprinos formiranju predromaničke umjetnosti na jugoistočnom Jadranu, Istorijski zapisi 89/3–4 (2016) 87–118.

Ž

***Žandova*, Dekorativnata keramika** = *Жандова И.*, Декоративната керамика от Тузлалъка в Преслав, Разкопки и проучвания III (1948) 101–128.

***Živković*, Mileševa** = *Живковић Б.*, Милешева. Цртежи фресака, Београд 1992.

***Živković*, Najstarije zidno slikarstvo** = *Живковић М.*, Најстарије зидно сликарство Богородичине цркве у Студеници и његова обнова у XVI веку, Београд 2019 (unpublished PhD dissertation).

***Živković*, Prilozi** = *Живковић М.*, Прилози проучавању архијерејских представа у католикону манастира Студенице, ZRVI 51 (2014) 215–248.

***Živković*, Studenica** = *Živković M.*, Studenica: the funerary church of the dynastic founder-the cornerstone of church and state independence, edd. *D. Vojvodić*, *D. Popović*, Byzantine Heritage and Serbian Art. II. Sacral Art of the Serbian Lands in the Middle Ages, Belgrade 2016, 193–213.

***Živković – Milanović*, Reexamining the Veljusa** = *Živković M.*, *Milanović Lj.* Reexamining the Veljusa frescoes: notes on the iconographic programme of the south parekklesion, ZRVI 60 (2023) 1111–1146.

***Živković*, Crkvena organizacija** = *Живковић Т.*, Црквена организација у српским земљама: рани средњи век, Београд 2004.

***Živković*, Dukljansko-vizantijski rat** = *Живковић Т.*, Дукљанско византијски рат 1072–1075, ИЧ 47 (2000) 35–57.

***Živković*, Forging Unity** = *Živković T.*, Forging unity – the South Slavs between East and West 550–1150, Belgrade 2008.

***Živković*, Golden Seal** = *Živković T.*, The golden seal of Stroimir, ИЧ 55 (2007) 23–29.

***Živković*, Južni Sloveni** = *Живковић Т.*, Јужни Словени под византијском влашћу (600–1025), Београд 2002.

***Živković*, Sloveni i Romeji** = *Живковић Т.*, Словени и Ромеји, Београд 2000.

***Žužek*, Determining Structure** = *Žužek I.*, The Determining Structure of the Slavic Syntagma of Fifty Titles, OCP 33/1 (1967) 139–169.

***Žužek*, Kormčaja kniga** = *Žužek I.*, Kormčaja kniga: Studies on the Chief Code of Russian Canon Law, Roma 1964.

***Živojinović*, O Caru Petru** = *Живојиновић Д.*, О Цару Петру из повеље Светом Ђорђу Скопском, ИЧ 64 (2015) 43–53.

***Živojinović*, Settlements** = *Živojinović M.*, Settlements with Marketplace Status, ZRVI 24/25 (1986) 407–412.

BARBARIANS, RHOMAIOI AND THOSE IN BETWEEN
Integrating the Christians of the Central Balkans into the Byzantine Empire (late 10th – mid-13th century)

Publisher
Institute for Byzantine Studies of the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts

Text Editor
Bojana Krsmanović

Maps
Vladan Zdravković

Architectural Drawings
Vladan Zdravković
Gordana Tolić

English Translation
Miljana Protić
Milana Vujkov
Miloš Damnjanović

Proofreading
Charles Robertson
Miljana Protić

Proofreading of the Bibliography
Zoran Jovanović
Veljko Goganović

Graphic Design and Prepress
Tijana Dinić

Cover Design
Ivan Stanić

ISBN-978-86-83883-33-2
ISBN-978-86-83883-34-9

The Institute for
Byzantine Studies, SASA

STOA

Science Fund
of the Republic of Serbia