

TWO GRAFFITI DRAWINGS IN THE CHURCH OF HAGIA SOPHIA, CONSTANTINOPLE

CHRISTINA SAVOVA–THOMAS THOMOV/SOFIA

The paper deals with two graffiti-drawings in the Church of Hagia Sophia, Constantinople. The first drawing is located at the east part of the south aisle of the church and at the south side of the soffit of the bema arch. It is a carefully painted full-length figure of an archangel dressed in loros costume with staff in his left hand. The vessel next to the archangel's right side is the most enigmatic thing in the drawing and according to the authors, it is a wooden bucket with metal hoops. The bucket is an allusion with the story of the building of Hagia Sophia or with its climactic moment when the archangel remained to guard the building tools and became the permanent guardian of Hagia Sophia. The result is a new and very personal vision of Archangel Michael based on a popular tale like *Diegesis*. The time span most probably lies between the second half of the 9th century and the end of the 10th century.

The second graffito is also located in the south aisle of the church. It was engraved on a marble wall plate on the right side of the last door leading to the south-west end of the inner narthex. The graffito displays an image of the type of the standing Virgin Hodegetria where Theotokos holds the Christ Child with her left arm and points to him with her right arm. An angel is relegated to the secondary position, standing on the left hand of the Theotokos. In spite of all mistakes, the author's intention was to depict the Mother of God in a standing pose known as Hodegetria, gesturing with her right hand toward her Child, who sits upright on her left arm holding a scroll. This type of Hodegetria, probably flanked by two angels, was a well-known preiconoclastic motif. On the ground of the newly discovered graffiti drawing at Hagia Sophia, the authors come to the conclusion that they are a reflection of what their authors saw within the church – a mosaic or a concrete detail from the church ritual. In this way the graffiti drawing may be a hint as to the conclusion that the original image in the apse was precisely a standing Hodegetria, that was replaced in the late 10th or early 11th century with an image of the Mother of God on a throne. Judging by the iconography of the graffito one can date it between the 9th and the 10th centuries.

Keywords: archangel; Hodegetria; Hagia Sophia; graffiti; archangel Michael; Theotokos.

THE DIADEM FROM THE PRES LAV TREASURE

MARIELA INKOVA/SOFIA

The Preslav Treasure, discovered in 1978, includes five arched diadem plaques measuring from 4.48 to 5.34 cm, which are part of a compound diadem. A scene with the Ascension of Alexander the Great and mythical creatures – two *senmurvs*, lion-headed and eagle-headed griffins – are represented on the front side of the plaques in *cloisonné* enamel technique (Figs. 1–5). According to T. Totev's accepted assumption, the diadem had once contained at least two more plaques with images of griffins (Fig. 6).

The plaques are made up of two gold panels subsequently soldered – a back thinner panel with a die-struck recess and a thicker one, with an openwork cut-out for the image. The attachment of the plaques onto the organic fabric was achieved through circular openings drilled along the periphery of the plaques. The cloison walls forming the designs of the image were made of gold strips with a thickness of 48 to 84 μm and a width of 300 to 650 μm . They were bent after the pattern and fixed with their „ribs“ to the plaques with gold solder. The cloisons were then filled with single-layered transparent and opaque enamels.

Two monuments, an intaglio representing Shapur I (240/2–270/2), (Fig. 7a), and the relief of Anahita in Naqsh-e Rostam, allow the genesis of the diadem composed of arched plaques to be derived from Sasanian Iran. As a sign of prestige, the model is borrowed in the Byzantine ceremonial, evidenced by a series of miniature images, icons, murals and metal-plastics (Figs. 7b–h; 8). On the other hand, imperial diplomatic gifts, including royal crowns for newly converted peoples, inspired the

adoption of the model in the West (Fig. 9) and in the East – in Kievan Rus (Fig. 10).

The characteristic stylistic features of Alexander's image represented with round eyes and lines marking the eyes and eyebrows are typical of the early works of art executed in cloisonné enamel on a transparent green background, dating back to the end of the 9th–10th centuries. (Figs. 12–13). However, the execution on a gold background suggests a later dating or rather the diadem plaques discussed here are some of the earliest monuments. At the same time, the composition of the scene and the decorative techniques used afford direct parallels to the images of the St. Moritz ewer, dated to the 9th century (Fig. 15).

The mythical creatures on the other plaques and the decorative range of details and realities used – standards, necklaces, S-shaped and almond-shaped motifs, rosettes, circles and palmettes are inspired by the Sasanian imagery through the mediation of the Arabic ornamentation represented in the 10th–11th century miniatures and fabrics (Figs. 17–22).

The semantics of the images on the plaques reflect the idea of the apotheosis and triumph of the emperor presented as a master of the universe. In this sense, unlike most adornments from the Preslav treasure, the diadem should be the ruler's regalia. Identification with the image of Alexander the Great is typical of the emperors of the Macedonian dynasty. And the gifts with his image bound the recipients to the position of vassals, such as of Tsar Peter, who married the Byzantine Princess Maria Lakapene in 927.

Keywords: Preslav treasure; diadem; rosettes; palmettes; appliques; "The flight of Alexander the Great"; griffins; senmurves; standard; enamel.

AGRICULTURAL TERMINOLOGY IN MEDIEVAL SLAVIC LITERATURE, 10TH–14TH CENTURIES

TATYANA ILIEVA/SOFIA

The article analyses the lexis in our medieval written monuments which is related to agriculture. It is part of a series of publications on separate lexico-semantic groups of words in the history of the Bulgarian language, which are united and differentiated on the basis of their subject-logical links in relation to reality. The ultimate goal of the author is to collect material for a Thematic Dictionary of the Medieval Bulgarian Language. The study is based on the language data provided by the old written sources of the period between the 10th and the 14th century which are reflected in the Palaeoslav lexicographic works. The following thematic groupings are considered: field farming; plowing, sowing, harvesting, threshing; horticulture (fruit + vegetables) and viticulture: hoeing, irrigation, weeding, harvesting; pests. The terminological denominations are covered of: main labour activities related to plant growing, types of workers, devices used and products attained. The study reveals the existence of a large-scale and detailed thematic unit covering multiple lexemes related to agriculture.

Keywords: agriculture terminology; historical lexicology of Old Slavonic language; linguoculturology; medieval Bulgarian language.

THE OHRID MANUSCRIPT OF JOHN SKYLITZES IN SOFIA

PETER SCHREINER/MUNICH

After a short survey on the importance of the chronicle of John Skylitzes within the framework of the Byzantine chronography and specially for the history of Bulgaria, the contribution is treating at first the history of this manuscript, today in the National Historical Museum of Bulgaria, but conserved (maybe since its origins) until the Balkan wars 1916 in the Metropolitan Library of Ohrid. The manu-

script was written between 1080 and 1126 (or 1106) and goes back maybe until the lifetime of the author, John Skylitzes. Though the manuscript is perhaps the oldest one of all copies of the chronicle, it is in philological respect not the best one. Its special value consists in 334 marginal notes, which are commenting, sometimes in a very personal manner, certain passages of the text. There are many indications, that the author of these notices was the famous archbishop of Ohrid, Theophylakt (1092–1106/1126). The author of this contribution is preparing an edition of these notices.

Keywords: Ohrid manuscript of John Skylitzes; Byzantine chronography; National Historical Museum of Bulgaria; Theophylakt of Ohrid; Byzantine manuscripts.

THE MEDIEVAL SLAVIC ARCHIVES OF THE ATHONITE MONASTERY OF VATOPEDI (1230–1610)

KYRILL PAVLIKIANOV/SOFIA

Briefly summarized, the content of Vatopedi Slavic documents is the following: In April 1230 the Bulgarian Czar, John Asen II, donated to Vatopedi with a full tax exemption the village of Semalton (today Mikron Soulion), which is located to the southeast of Serrhai, but only for the period until the end of his reign. In 1369–1371 the Serbian despot John Uglješa granted to Vatopedi the abandoned village of Lantzo, which was situated near the settlements of Akrotirion and Plumiska, in the northeastern part of the Chalkidiki Peninsula. On July 2, 1417, the Serbian despot Stephen Lazarević bequeathed to Vatopedi the village of Koprivnica and a yearly subsidy of 60 *litri* of silver. Between July 1427 and May 1429 the Serbian nobleman George Branković corroborated the donation of the village of Koprivnica and the yearly subsidy of 60 *litri* of silver, provided to Vatopedi by his predecessor, the despot Stephen Lazarević. On March 28, 1432, the *čelnik* Radič bestowed on Vatopedi the village of Belo Polje, which was situated near the Morava River in central Serbia. After March 28, 1432, the Serbian Despot George Branković confirmed the donation of the village of Belo Polje, which the *čelnik* Radič had made to Vatopedi. In April 1432 the Serbian military officers Radoslav and Michael Mihaljević bought in Vatopedi six *adelphati* (lifelong monastic pensions paid in kind) and the nearby Athonite tower of Koletzi. On February 21, 1438, the monks of the Russian Athonite monastery of St. Panteleimon issued a warranty that they would not trespass on the land of Vatopedi which bordered the *kellion* of a priest named Kornilii. On December 4, 1457, the Serbian despot Lazar ceded to his treasurer (*vizničar*) Radoslav villages in the administrative districts of Golubac, Smederevo and Petruš (i.e. near the modern Serbian town of Paraćin). Around 1597 a Zographite hermit named Makarios signed a statement pertaining to a conflict between the monasteries of Pantokrator and Vatopedi. His statement was significantly altered when it was translated into Greek. Between June 7, 1607, and July 10, 1610, the Archbishop of Ochrid, Parthenie, composed for the Russian Athonite monastery of St. Panteleimon a letter directed to the Russian Czar, Vasilij Ivanovič Šujskij.

Keywords: Mount Athos; Slavic acts; medieval documents; Athonite monastery of Vatopedi; Athonite monastery of Pantokrator; Athonite monastery of St. Panteleimon.

NUMISMATIC ARGUMENTS AGAINST THE HYPOTHETICAL COINAGE OF JOHN TERTER, DESPOT OF TRISTRIA

TENCHO POPOV/SOFIA

The article declines the possibility that John Terter had a personal coinage in Tristria. All of the examined numismatic and historical arguments reject the possibility that in the mentioned two short chronicles Terter, the son of Dobrotitza, had realized his own coinage in Tristria after 1369, when the

town passed into Dobrotitza's possession. The precedent of self-coinage of a master without a title and without an assigned right to coinage was not realized and is merely a hypothetical mental construction. With that said, the whole hypothesis of "self-governing despot John Terter in Tristria" loses its sole material and documentary basis. The silver coin found in Pacuiul lui Soare is identified as a coin of the Serbian despot John Uglesha and both types of copper coins are identified as coins of despot Dobrotitza.

Keywords: John Terter; Dobrotitza; Bulgarian medieval coinage; Tristria; Silistra.

SOME PALAEOGRAPHIC NOTES ON CYRILLIC MANUSCRIPTS FROM THE 14TH CENTURY

VASSJA VELINOVA/SOFIA

The palaeographic observations made on the manuscript fragment from Pleven (Bulgaria) and the Election Apostle from the National Historical Museum in Sofia (Bulgaria) are intended to illustrate the complex interplay between the Greek letter and the Cyrillic Codes, written in a constituent letter. They show how the two graphic systems are closely intertwined sometimes in the minds of the scribes. Therefore, an adequate presentation of the history of the Cyrillic writing could not have been achieved without taking into account the continuing influence of the model – the Greek literary tradition. We must emphasize that these are still preliminary observations that should be deepened and refined in order to be able to represent not only the content but also the meaning of the processes in the fourteenth century. This transitional and groundbreaking moment in the history of the Cyrillic graphics will remain the norm, a model that will be reproduced by the scribes in the centuries to come – both with conservatism and innovation and with constant attempts to return to the first source – the Greek graphics in all its varieties.

Keywords: palaeography; manuscript fragment from Pleven; Election Apostle from the National Historical Museum; medieval Cyrillic script; medieval Greek script.

THE NAME OF YAMBOL IN THE "BRUGES ITINERARY"

NICOLAY SHARANKOV/SOFIA

The author analyses the so-called "Bruges Itinerary" and especially its part describing the route to Constantinople which passes through the present town of Yambol. The itinerary, most probably created in the 1380s, is preserved as a copy in a manuscript of ca. 1500 kept at the University Library in Ghent (Ms. 13). The text has been published several times, but all editions give the name of the town in the incorrect form *Grenboel* instead of the manuscript's *Gremboel*, which is possibly to be understood as *G<i>emboel*, i.e. [jambol]. The article publishes a corrected version of the relevant part of the itinerary and examines the identifications which have been proposed for some of the unclear place-names in it.

Keywords: *Itinerarium de Brugis*; medieval travelers; pilgrimage; roads on the Balkans; historical toponymy.

THE INFORMATION ON WESTERN PEOPLES IN THE HISTORICAL WORK OF
LAONIKOS CHALKOKONDYLES

VLADIMIR ANGELOV/SOFIA

The 15th century byzantine historian Laonikos Chalkokondyles is author of a comprehensive work which consists of ten books and covers the period from 1298 to 1463. Some peculiarities of the text indicate that the work may have remained unfinished.

One of the main characteristics of Laonikos' work is the abundance of interesting and detailed information. The author uses every opportunity to broaden his narrative with description of the character, way of life, religious beliefs and warfare of various peoples and countries.

The subject of the current article is the information which Laonikos gives on Western peoples such as Germans, Frenchmen, and Englishmen.

In his description the author manages to emphasize only on those characteristics of the Western peoples which represent them in the best way. For example, the Germans are described as physically strong and religious, but there is not a single word about their mentality. The Frenchmen are presented as arrogant and haughty while the Englishmen are quite immoral.

Despite the numerous borrowings from some earlier authors, considerable part of the information on Western peoples is result of Laonikos' personal impressions which makes his work extremely valuable.

Keywords: Byzantine historiography; Laonikos Chalkokondyles; Western peoples; way of life; mentality; warfare.

IMAGES AND SCENES BELONGING TO THE ARCHANGEL CYCLE FROM THE
CHURCH OF THE NATIVITY IN ARBANASI

TOTKA GRIGOROVA/SOFIA

The purpose of this article is to determine the level of reverence towards the archangels in the scenes depicted in the program of the Church of the Nativity, the iconographic traditions it reflects, as well as point out the peculiarities and the innovations in the painted angelic and archangelic imagery and scenes from the archangel cycle.

Among the scenes and images visualizing the position taken by archangel cult, it is noticeable that the images of ethereal forces take center stage in the vast gallery of scenes in the Church of the Nativity. This iconographic decision leaves a strong impression for the enlightenment of the temple, as archangels are not its patron. The compositions and images depicted include angels and archangels in the progressively more complex iconographic program of the 17th-century mural scenes. Angels, archangels and seraphs are the characters complementing each composition along the vault and the altar. These images are included in the murals not only in the places established during the festive cycle, but also in the multiple depictions of scenes from the archangel cycle. Scenes of it are included all throughout the temple. It is of note that the old tradition in painting scenes of the archangel cycle is preserved and adapted to the changes in the architectural forms of the temple. Alongside it, completely new scenes are established and imposed, which multiply and enhance the storylines of the archangel cycle. Rarely depicted subjects are also introduced, and some traditional scenes are repeated few times over. The common depiction of these personages is an expression of a strong and established tradition of reverence towards them.

Keywords: iconography; iconographic traditions; iconographic program; archangel cult; archangel cycle; 17th century.

GREEK EPIGRAPHICAL EVIDENCES FROM THE CHURCH OF DORMITION OF VIRGIN (1845) IN PLOVDIV

ALEXANDRA PH. TRIFONOVA/SOFIA

In this paper 20 Greek inscriptions, preserved on a mural painting, icons and grave plaques, which originate from the church of Dormition of Virgin (1845) in Plovdiv (Philippopolis) are presented. They date back from the last quarter of the 17th to the third quarter of the 19th cc. and give valuable information about persons from the ecclesiastical and social circles of Plovdiv (Philippopolis).

The mentioned in the inscriptions persons from the ecclesiastical circles refer to a Metropolitan of Philippopolis, *Neophytos* (last quarter of the 17th c. – 1711), during whose archbishopric the old church of the Virgin was build, in the place of which nowadays the church of Dormition of Virgin (1845) is erected. The other one is the rhetor of the same Metropolis, *Andronikos* (last quarter of the 17th c.), who gave the money for the mural painting of the above mentioned church of the Virgin.

The persons from the social circle, mentioned in the inscriptions, refer to Greeks and Bulgarians donor's and all of them were in a direct or indirect relation with the powerful Čalukov (Čaloglou or Čalukoglou) family in Plovdiv (Philippopolis). These persons sponsored the execution of different icons for the church, as *Dimitris Tsabarlis* – st Demetrios on a horseback (1812), *Lucia* and her *children* – st Menas (1846), *Salčo Ioannou* (Čomakov), together with his *wife* and *children* – st Stylianos (1846), *Iakov Kendindenoglou* – st Jacob (1846), *Georgi Stoianovič* (Čalukoglou) – st George (1846), *Ioannis Dimitriou Sitsianis* – st John the Forerunner (1846), *Dimitrakis Kyriakou Mitsouras* – st Demetrios (1846), *Eustathios Ioannou Tsironis* – st Spyridon enthroned (1846), *Iskro Iskrov Kesak* (*Kesiakov*) – st Nicholas enthroned (1846) and *Teodor Vulko Čaloglou* – Dormition of the Virgin (1848).

The provided from the inscriptions information about persons from the artistic circle refers to the painter *Nicholaos*, who could be identified as *Nicholaos Adrinaoupolitis*, the author of the above mentioned icons.

The inscriptions give also information about the desceeded persons in Plovdiv (Philippopolis) from the second to the third quarter of the 19th century, mostly Greeks, among which are *Panagiotis Dimitriadis* (†1838), *Eleni (Politoglou) Čalukova* (†1848), *Anastasia Konstantinou Noutsi* (†1852), *Konstantinos Andreou Garginos* (†1854), *Teodoraki Stoian Teodorou* (†1856), *Ioanis Dimitriou Sitsianis* (†1857) and *S. Tsikerdekis* (†1865).

Keywords: 17th–19th century; Plovdiv (Philippopolis); Church of Dormition of Virgin; inscriptions; icons; grave plaques; murals.

ROSTISLAV STRASHIMIROVICH – THE DESCENDANT OF TSAR IOAN SRATSIMIR
(c. 1352/6–1396/7)

KRASIMIR S. KRASTEV/SOFIA

It is traditionally accepted in Bulgarian historiography that four major Bulgarian uprisings took place against the Ottoman rule. Three of them – the First Tărnovo, Chiprovtsi and Karposh uprisings – can be described as indisputable, as they were based on numerous historical sources. This is not the case with the so-called Second Tărnovo Uprising of 1686. According to the historiography's view, it was headed by Rostislav Strashimirovich, a descendant of the last Bulgarian tsar, Joan Sratsimir.

Information about this historical event first appeared in the Russian newspaper *The Northern Bee* ("Severnaya pchela") in 1847. The author of the article is the Russian Church writer Nikolai Elagin (1817–1891), who claimed to be based on a family chronicle and royal charters, owned by his closest friend Nikolai Saveliev-Rostislavich (1815–1854). He in turn introduced himself as the heir of Rostislav Strashimirovich and of the last Bulgarian royal dynasty, as well as a relative of Patriarch Joachim of Moscow (1674–1690). Under the influence of Elagin, the Second Tărnovo Uprising was introduced

into scientific circulation in Bulgaria at the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th centuries. Although serious objections have been raised against its credibility in both Bulgarian and Russian studies, it continues to find its place in publications of a different nature, but without any scientific justification. This article looks at the current arguments against the authenticity of the uprising. Facts and arguments have been put forward that have so far remained out of the sight of Bulgarian researchers. In the context of the problem of the Second Târnovo Uprising, the personality of Shishman III has been addressed, which has been cited by many historians as one of the leaders of the First Târnovo Uprising (1598).

Keywords: Second Târnovo Uprising; Rostislav Starshimirovich; Nikolai Saveliev-Rostislavich; Bulgarian royal dynasty; forgery.

GLITTERING SOUND OF IMPERIAL POWER IN THE MUSIC FOR THE FEAST OF THE EXALTATION OF THE CROSS IN HAGIA SOPHIA

BISSERA PENCHEVA/STANFORD

Focusing on two Byzantine chants – the troparion *Σώσον Κύριε* and the kontakion *Ὁ ὑψωθεὶς ἐν τῷ Σταυρῷ* – composed for the establishment of the Feast of the Exaltation of the Cross in Constantinople in 628, this essay addresses the following two questions: 1). since the two chants were designed specifically for Hagia Sophia, what acoustic effects did they produce in the interior of the Great Church; 2). and how did the ritual manipulate the phenomena of optical and sonic energy concentrating in the dome to communicate competing political ideas about imperial victory and Christian Salvation? In my analysis I use the auralizations (the digital process of imprinting the acoustics of a targeted space on a live sound) of Byzantine chant performed by the choir *Cappella Romana* as part of the multi-disciplinary project “Icons of Sound” I co-direct at Stanford University.

Keywords: Byzantine chant; acoustics; Hagia Sophia; Feast of the Elevation/Exaltation of the Cross; troparion; kontakion; auralizations.

NOTES ON THE MILITARY CAMP IN THE MOUNTAINOUS AREA ACCORDING TO BYZANTINE MILITARY MANUALS

KIRIL MARINOW/LODZ

Through the centuries, on the basis of the ancient legacy and their own experiences, the Byzantines developed effective methods of fighting in the mountains. Numerous works on polemology included detailed instructions how to act in such an area. Among other issues they discussed the effective ways of pitching safe military camps in the mountainous massifs during military expeditions. This advice was of great significance, especially when the Byzantine army was to cross the mountains located in a foreign area or gorges protected by enemies. On the basis of several most important ancient Greek and medieval Byzantine military manuals and a few examples from the Byzantine narrative and poetical oeuvres the article in consideration discusses the above-mentioned problem.

Keywords: Byzantium; military camp; Byzantine-Bulgarian battles; Byzantine-Serbian battles; Byzantine military manuals; mountain warfare; medieval military history.

LET'S EAT WITH SOLDIERS IN THE BALKANS IN THE 10TH–14TH CENTURY

JOANNA BENCHEVA/SOFIA

The article analyses the available evidence for the food of soldiers in 10th–14th century using a wide range of sources, including strategika, histories, chronicles and account books, of different provenance (Byzantine, West European and Ottoman). According to these sources the soldiers need food that is easy to carry, nutritious to provide energy, easy to prepare and safe, to avoid any health issues that might lead to problems with the military campaign. The article reviews the ways of supply of provisions for the army such as centralised purveyance, purchasing of food from the market, looting, foraging, receiving food as a gift, and storage. The sources for the period concerned reveal a variety of tactical advices on the importance of food. The daily ration of soldiers during campaign and when camping is also discussed. The article examines the importance of different types of food and drinks, such as bread, meat, fish, cheese, vegetables, fruits, water and wine, for the soldiers' menu. The ways of prevention of foodborne diseases and the criminal acts, and respective punishments, related to the provision of food are also reviewed.

Keywords: soldiers food; Byzantium; Byzantine food; Middle Ages.

VIOLATION OF THE NORMS IN THE *LE MONIAGE GUILLAUME*

MARIA NERANDZIDIS/SOFIA–LIMOGES

The French epic song *Le Moniage Guillaume* was created in the 12th century and is the latest work in the song cycle for Guillaume d'Orange. This poem reveals similarities of the epic genre with the hagiography and the three-dimensional nature of the main character through his three-stage path to merging with God. At the beginning of the song Guillaume displayed brute force against monks and robbers. The second stage of the journey is his rebellion in the monastery. The final stage is the emancipation and expression of the power of the spirit through its epic battles against the local demons and the victory over Satan. In his monastery, Guillaume does not part with his warlike nature, with his extreme brutality and unleashes holy madness.

Keywords: *Le Moniage Guillaume*; Guillaume d'Orange; French medieval poems; hagiography.

WERE THERE ANY BULGARIAN-RUSSIAN INTERDYNASTIC MARRIAGES DURING THE MIDDLE AGES?

SASHKA GEORGIEVA/SOFIA

The article analyzes all the information used in the widespread hypotheses about the existence of Bulgarian-Russian interdynastic marriages during the Middle Ages, and compares it with a number of other sources and established facts. There are only two hypothetical Bulgarian-Russian diplomatic marriages: the marriage of Prince Igor of Kiev (912–945) and Olga from the beginning of the tenth century, and the marriage of grand Prince Vladimir the Great (980–1015) and his wife of Bulgarian descent from the end of the same century. The study substantially refutes the current hypotheses about the existence of Bulgarian-Russian dynastic marriages during the Middle Ages and proves that the Bulgarian medieval rulers did not use marriage diplomacy in relation to Kievan Rus.

Keywords: Medieval Bulgaria; Kievan Rus; interdynastic marriages; Igor and Olga; Prince Vladimir; *Bolgarinya*.

ENEMIES OR ALLIES? THE PALEOLOGOI AND THE NEMANJIĆ DYNASTIES IN
THE CRUSADERS' PROPAGANDA TREATISE *DIRECTORIUM AD PASSAGIUM
FACIENDUM* OF PSEUDO-BROCARDUS

DOROTHEA VALENTINOVA/SOFIA

Directorium ad passagium faciendum of Pseudo-Brocardus is not a simple manual for the historical reconquest of the Holy Land to its devoted legitimate and rightful owners, a comprehensive martial strategy and detailed plan for leading a mighty crusade in the Orient, "fruit of more than twenty-four years of residence and of missionary labor in infidel lands". The text reveals in a most fiery and ardent manner the basic antitheses and oppositions in the crusades propaganda which structure and extrapolate a huge historical, ideological and military battlefield, with two main enemy forces and antagonistic sides: *Us* – the faithful, the living embodiment of the only legitimate faith, authority and power, and *Them* – the infidels, the miscreants, the cursed blasphemers and occupiers of the Holy Land and power, over which they have no rights – neither according to the Divine Law, nor to the Human Law. The paper analyzes this morally, historically and legally sensitive treatise, which represents a significant piece of crusade propaganda, and illustrates the attempts to legitimize the pretensions of the Latin aristocracy to the rule of Constantinople. In this respect, its focus is on the Pseudo-Brocardus' arguments, describing the local dynasties of Serbia and Byzantium as illegitimate rulers from theological, ideological and legal point of view.

Keywords: Pseudo-Brocardus; *Directorium ad passagium faciendum*; crusades; holy wars; Holy Land; Paleologoi dynasty; Nemanjić dynasty; legitimation of holy wars; neocolonialism; Islamic-Christian antagonism; profucing of collective identity.

ROSTISLAV MIKHAILOVICH (1229–1264): FROM PRINCE OF HALYCH TO
"IMPERATOR BULGARORUM"

DENITSA PETROVA/SOFIA

In the history of Bulgaria during the 13th c. an interesting role has an outlander – Rostislav Mikhailovich. He is a Russian nobleman and prince of Halych, son-in-law of the Hungarian king Béla IV and father-in-law of the Bulgarian tsar Michael II Asen. Compelled to search protection out of his motherland, he becomes a Duke of the Hungarian province Macsó, whose geographical position predetermines his interference in the relations between Bulgaria and Hungary. He leads the peace talks between Bulgaria and Nicaea in 1256 and he indirectly contributes to his son-in-law's destruction. After the Michael's death Rostislav makes claims on the Bulgarian throne and even titles himself "Imperator Bulgarorum". His attempt to enter in Tărnovo, is the only one case in the medieval Bulgarian history, when a stranger strives to become Bulgarian tsar.

Keywords: Bulgarian medieval history; Bulgarian tsar; Hungary; Halych; Rostislav Mikhailovich; Michael II Asen; Béla IV.

FOURTEENTH-CENTURY SERBIAN ELITES AT A TURNING POINT:
A HISTORICAL APPROACH TO MRNJAVČEVIĆI'S *PURSE* AND LIFE

ELENA GKARTZONIKA/IOANNINA

Emerged both as *contenders* and *immediate successors* of the relatively centralized Serbian power, the late-14th-century short-lived family of Mrnjavčevići serves as an eloquent example of the *translocations* and the *internal adjustments* of the Serbian ruling elite during the Ottoman conquest. Providing an

opportunity for a multidimensional historical approach, their case facilitates the comprehension of the emergence of decentralized powers and their particular characteristics, acknowledged in connection to the local administrative structures of *župas*.

In particular, Mrnjavčevići, having a prior claim on the leadership of a larger administrative region and being fully embedded in the *political* and *ecclesiastical* structures introduced or preserved by Nemanjići seem to have taken advantage of the mobility observed along the *constantly redefined* trade *side-routes*: Due to their *mediating* economic activity, they gradually managed to consolidate themselves as *middlemen* in the administrative hierarchy of the Nemanjid court and by being in good terms with Mt. Athos monasteries as neighbors and contributors, they succeeded to emerge as strategic and military actors both on the *western* coasts of the gradually fragmented Serbian lands and in the campaigns against the Ottomans.

Exploring the service provided by Mrnjavčevići as a financial and fiscal aspect of the late medieval decentralization and *fragmentation*, we are provided with a better comprehension of the conditions of the *new era*, which the Balkan population(s) will live through.

Keywords: decentralization; župas; trade-routes; medieval economy; middlemen; Mt. Athos.

ROBERT OF CLARI'S ENIGMATIC COLLECTION OF CONSTANTINOPOLITAN RELICS

KALIN YORDANOV/SOFIA

The paper examines the origin of the curious relic collection of Robert of Clari, a crusader knight from Picardy and a chronicler of the Fourth Crusade, which he brought back from Byzantium after the conquest of Constantinople in 1204. In 1213 he donated 54 Constantinopolitan relics to Saint Peter's Church in the Benedictine Abbey in Corbie in Picardy. The eight years gap between his return from the East (before April 1205) and the date of the donation, as well as Robert of Clari's surprising silence on the matter and the lack of information on the circumstances of the relics' acquisition in his otherwise quite elaborate in details Chronicle, probably suggest the remorse and the unclean conscience of the crusader knight, who seems to have taken his secret to the grave in 1216. At the same time Robert of Clari's Chronicle of the Crusade to Constantinople may also be interpreted as an attempt of justification of his concealed "furtum sacrum".

Keywords: Fourth Crusade; Constantinople; relics; chronicle; Robert of Clari.

FOR THE SETTLEMENTS IN THE AREA OF GRADETS, NEAR VIDIN (FROM THE 14TH TO THE BEGINNING OF THE 18TH CENTURIES)

SYLVIA ARIZANOVA/SOFIA

The history of medieval settlements is difficult to trace, as the information about them is small, often legendary and contradictory. In rare cases archaeological research has been carried out on their territory, and in most cases the finds are accidentally found by non-specialists, making it difficult for dating. In addition, the settlements were not static settlements, and there has often been a displacement of the village on the area or on a wider territory.

To track trends in settlement history, this study focuses on the area of a particular village. The information about the settlements in the localities around Gradets, near Vidin, is in different sources. They are documentary, archeological or related to local legends or occasional finds. Although they do not provide a complete picture of the settlement history, they give an opportunity to do important conclusions into the population's displacement in the area.

Keywords: settlements; population; Gradets; medieval Bulgaria; demography; Vidin.

THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN SOFIA AND ITS CHAPLAINS DURING
THE SECOND HALF OF THE 15TH CENTURY

VASSIL GJUZELEV/SOFIA

The trade activities of the Dubrovnik people in the Bulgarian lands were first regulated in 1230 by the Dubrovnik Charter of Tsar Ivan Assen II (1218–1241). Since then, Dubrovnik people have not only visited Bulgaria and actively traded with the local population, but also established colonies in some Bulgarian cities. Among them are Skopje, Sofia, Vidin, Tarnovo and Plovdiv. The first documented presence of Dubrovnik people in Sofia dates from 1376, when an appeal letter from the Dubrovnik administration was handed in to two noble merchants to pay off an accumulated debt. In the course of the Turkish conquest of Bulgaria and after the conquest of Sofia in 1385, the trade activities of the Dubrovnik people stopped for a while. Since the mid-15th century, the Dubrovnik colony in Sofia, consisting mainly of tradesmen, craftsmen and their families, has grown in numbers, and this process has greatly intensified from the 80s on. Gradually, Sofia gained a leading position over the other Dubrovnik colonies on the Balkans. This was conditioned not only by the central location of the city and its large role in the Ottoman Empire, but also by the residence of prominent and wealthy Dubrovnik people, whose relatives held leading positions in the government of the Republic itself, and to a large extent by the many people from Dubrovnik living in Sofia for a long period of time. The appearance of chaplains in the city and their activities is revealed on the basis of a significant number of Dubrovnik documents (testaments, court records, orders for liquidation or protection of property, contracts, etc.). The donations made by Dubrovnik merchants in Sofia in 1516 give a reason to be believed that it was then that the construction of a large Catholic church began. During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, there were a number of other accounts of the life of the Catholic community in Sofia, in Dubrovnik documents and in a number of relations between visitors and some travelers.

Keywords: Sofia; Dubrovnik documents; chaplains; Dubrovnik colonies; Sofia Catholic Community; Sofia Catholic Church; 15th century.