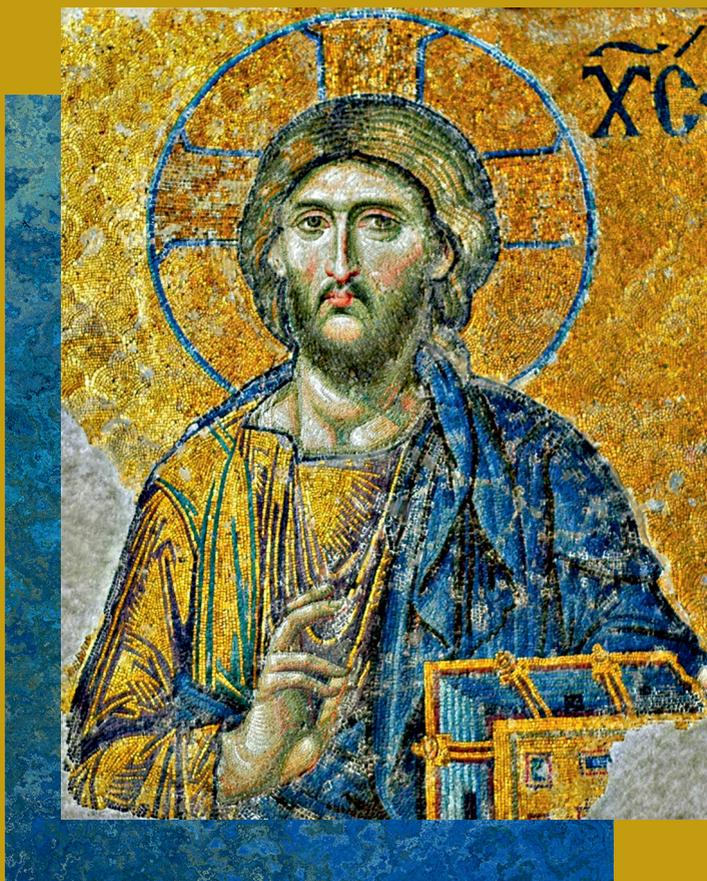


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Artykuły



Piotr Kochanek¹

Cardinal Virtues in the Basil of Caesarea's Writings. Philological and Historical Aspect

The term “virtue” itself requires a comment, if its meaning in Hellenism is to be compared with that given to it by Christianity. Thus, the problem arises already at the point of departure. For here the question appears, whether the Greek term ἀρετή can be rendered by the word “virtue”. The latter is currently significantly burdened with the sense given to it throughout centuries by Christianity. However, this article will not analyze this issue in the theological aspect, but from the philological and historical point of view. The ancient Greeks expressed with the notion ἀρετή the perfection of human soul, above all manifested in the counsel and fight². The Romans, in turn, used the term *virtus*, the meaning of which significantly differed from the Greek word ἀρετή. Many studies were devoted to the analysis of these two ideas, because ἀρετή³ and *vir-*

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² Cf. T. Zieliński, *Idealy wychowawcze w starożytności i u nas*, “Oświata i Wychowanie” 1/3 (1929) p. 233; T. Sinko, *Doskonały Grek i Rzymianin*, Grecja i Rzym 3, Lwów 1939, p. 9; A. Krokiewicz, *Moralność Homera i etyka Hezjoda*, Warszawa 1959, p. 60, 65 and 77; H. Armstrong – R.A. Markus, *Wiara chrześcijańska a filozofia grecka*, tr. H. Bednarek, Warszawa 1964, p. 119-120; R. Turasiewicz, *Studia nad pojęciem „kaloskagathos”*, ZN UJ. Prace Historyczno-Literackie 571/41, Warszawa – Kraków 1980, p. 13; M. Ossowska, *Etos rycerski i jego odmiany*, Logos, Warszawa 1986, p. 25.

³ Cf. E. Lange, *Die Bedeutung von aretē bei Thukydides*, “Jahrbücher für Classische Philologie” 38/145 (1892) p. 827-840; I. Ludwig, *Quae fuerit vocis aretē vis ac natura ante Demosthenis exitum*, Lipsiae 1906; A.W.H. Atkins, *Merit and Responsibility: A Study in Greek Values*, Oxford 1960; A.M. Frenkian, *La notion d'aretē et l'éthique d'Aristote*, “Helikon” 1 (1961) p. 439-448; D. MacDowell, *Aretē and Generosity*, “Mnemosyne” 4 series 16/2 (1963) p. 127-134; D. Butaye, *L'idéal de l'areté dans les tragedies*

*tus*⁴ are not identical notions. What is more, the shades of their meanings can be

de Sophocle, "Les Études Classiques" 32/2 (1964) p. 337-355; G. Aujac, *Sur la définition d'aretē*, "Revue des Études Grecques" 82 (1969) p. 390-403; A. Carramiñana Pérez, *Breve análisis de una virtud homérica: la arete*, in: *Dōrōi syn oligōi. Homenaje a Jose Alsina de sus discípulos en el décimo aniversario de su cátedra en la Universidad de Barcelona*, ed. C. Miralles, Barcelona 1969, p. 19-33; A.W.H. Atkins, *Moral Values and Political Behaviour in Ancient Greece from Homer to the End of the Fifth Century*, New York 1972, p. 35-37, 60-71, 126-139; A.A. Nascimento, "Aretē" *Sofística, uma Forma do Humanismo Grego*, "Euphrosyne" 5 (1972) p. 121-159; W. Wróblewski, *Pojęcie aristos i arete w poematach Homera*, "Eos" 60/1 (1972) p. 21-39; J.T. Hooker, *Charis and aretē in Thucydides*, "Hermes" 102/2 (1974) p. 164-169; A.E. Horner, *Ancient Values: Aretē and Virtus*, Ann Arbor 1975; L.F. Beeretz, *Aretē im Denken der Vorsokratiker. Ein Beitrag zum "Lexikon der Vorsokratiker"*, "Philosophia" 6-7 (1975-1976) p. 157-176; R. Turasiewicz, *Związek "arete" i "kallos" w greckiej poezji archaicznej*, "Meander" 34/3 (1979) p. 147-155; W. Wróblewski, *Pojęcie arete w II połowie V wieku p.n.e. Protagoras-Gorgiasz-Demokryt*, Toruń 1979; C. Spicq, *Note de lexicographie: aretē*, RB 89/2 (1982) p. 161-176; W. Wróblewski, *Le concept de areté chez Antistène*, in: *Études de philologie classique à la mémoire de Stefan Srebrny*, ed. Z. Abramowicz, tr. I. Woszczyk, Toruń 1983, p. 79-101; W. Wróblewski, *Die demokratische Auffassung der Arete-Begriffes in Platons "Politeia"*, "Studia Graeco-Latina" 1 (1988) p. 106-118; L. Hatzichronoglou, *Theognis and Arete*, in: *Human Virtue and Human Excellence*, ed. A.W.H. Adkins, New York – San Francisco 1991, p. 17-44; A. Melo, *A areté helénica nos jogos olímpicos*, "Revista Portuguesa de Filosofia" 52/1-4 (1996) p. 523-537; S. Wyszomirski, *Pojęcie "arete" w etyce Stoi Starszej i Średniej*, Toruń 1997.

⁴ Cf. H. Haas, *Virtus Tacitea*, "Gymnasium" 49/5-6 (1938) p. 163-180; K. Büchner, *Altrömische und Horazische Virtus*, "Die Antike" 15 (1939) p. 145-164 (= K. Büchner, *Studien zur römischen Literatur*, Wiesbaden 1962, p. 1-22); G. Liebers, *Virtus bei Cicero*, Dresden 1942; R. Feger, *Virtus bei Tacitus*, Freiburg im Breisgau 1944; A.N. van Omme, "Virtus": *een semantiese Studie*, Utrecht 1946; K. Stawecka, *Spuren der philosophischen Virtus in den Komödien von Plautus*, "Eos" 57/2 (1967-1968) p. 211-218; K. Stawecka, *Virtus jako ideał życiowy w piśmiennictwie przedcycerońskim*, RH 16/3 (1968) p. 73-92; V. Hand, *Augustin und das klassisch römische Selbstverständnis. Eine Untersuchung über Gloria, Virtus, Iustitia und Res Publica in "De civitate Dei"*, Hamburger Philologische Studien 13, Hamburg 1970; W. Eisenhut, *Virtus Romana: ihre Stellung im römischen Wertesystem*, Studia et Testimonia Antiqua 13, München 1973; J. Korpanty, *De virtutis notione Sallustiana*, "Eos" 62/2 (1974) p. 255-265; H. Steinmeyer, *Der Virtus-Begriff bei Cicero und Seneca*, "Die altsprachliche Unterricht" 17 (1974) p. 50-59; P.D. Johnson, *Virtus: Transition from Classical Latin to the "De civitate Dei"*, AugSt 6 (1975) p. 117-124; J. Korpanty, *Studia nad łacińską terminologią polityczno-socjalną okresu republiki rzymskiej*, Prace Komisji Filologii Klasycznej. Oddział w Krakowie 15, Kraków 1976, p. 7-29, 30-39, 103-106 and 116-123; J. Sarsila, *Some Aspects of the Concept of "Virtus" in Roman Literature until Livy*, Studia Philologica Jyväskyläensia 16, Jyväskylä 1982; S. Wyszomirski, *Der Virtus-Begriff in den philosophischen Schriften von*

different in the writings of particular Greek and Latin authors. In this case a lot depends on the time and place, as well as on the subject undertaken by them. It has to be added that the most general knowledge about virtues in antiquity can be found primarily in encyclopedic articles⁵.

The term ἀρετή, found in the vast majority of the writings by Basil of Caesarea, which already has quite a substantial bibliography⁶, requires cer-

L. Annaeus Seneca: ein semantisches Studium, tr. E. Michalik – E. Szwejkowska-Olsson, Toruń 1993; T. Wnętrzak, *Znaczenie pojęć filozoficzno-politycznych w "De civitate Dei" św. Augustyna*, Akademia Pedagogiczna im. KEN w Krakowie. Prace Monograficzne 322, Kraków 2002, p. 18-31; C. Balmaceda, "Virtus Romana" en el siglo I a. C., "Gerión" 25/1 (2007) p. 285-303; C. Balmaceda, *Virtus Romana: Politics and Morality in the Roman Historians*, Studies in the History of Greece and Rome, Chapel Hill 2017.

⁵ Cf. P. Wissowa, *Virtus*, in: *Ausführliches Lexikon der griechischen und römischen Mythologie*, v. 6: *U – Z und Nachträge*, ed. W.H. Roscher, Leipzig – Berlin 1924-1937, c. 336, 39-347, 12; A. Michel, *Vertu*, in: *Dictionnaire de Théologie Catholique*, v. 15/2: *Trinité – Zwinglianisme*, ed. A. Vacant – E. Mangenot – E. Amann, Paris 1950, c. 2743-2748; O. Gigon, *Arete*, in: *Lexikon der Alten Welt*, Zürich – Stuttgart 1965, c. 292; O. Gigon, *Ethic*, in: *Lexikon der Alten Welt*, Zürich – Stuttgart 1965, c. 880-886; R. Cyrklaff – J. Wichrowicz, *Aretologia*, in: *Encyklopedia katolicka*, v. 1: *A i Ω – Baptyści*, ed. F. Gryglewicz – R. Łukaszuk – Z. Sułowski, Lublin 1973, c. 903; W. Eisenhut, *Virtus*, in: *Real-Encyklopädie der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft*, Supplementband XIV: *Aelius bis Zone*, ed. K. Ziegler – H. Gärtner, München 1974, c. 896, 49-910, 31; J.-M. Aubert, *Vertus*, in: *Dictionnaire de Spiritualité Ascétique et Mystique*, v. 16: *Ubalde d'Alençon – Zypaeus*, ed. M. Viller – A. Derville, Paris 1994, c. 486-487; P. Daubercies, *Vertu*, in: *Catholicisme hier, aujourd'hui, demain*, v. 15: *Tintoret – Zwingli*, ed. G. Jacquement – G.-H. Baudry – G. Mathon, Paris 2000, c. 934-944; J. Porter, *Tugend*, in: *Theologische Realenzyklopädie*, v. 34: *Trappisten/Trappistinnen – Vernunft II*, ed. G. Müller – H. Balz – G. Krause, Berlin – New York 2002, p. 184-186; F. Renger, *Tugend*, in: *Der Neue Pauly*, v. 12/1: *Tam – Vel*, Stuttgart – Weimer 2002, c. 894-896; M. Forschner, *Tugend I: Philosophisch*, in: *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche*, v. 10: *Thomaschriften bis Zytomyr*, ed. W. Kasper, Freiburg – Basel – Wien 2006, c. 293-296. Cf. also K. Wernicke, *Aretē*, in: *Real-Encyklopädie der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft*, v. 3: *Apollon – Artemis*, ed. A.F. Pauly – G. Wissowa – W. Kroll, Stuttgart 1895, c. 678, 13-54; J.Ch. Baldy, *Arete I*, in: *Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae*, t. 2/1: *Aphrodisias – Athena*, Zürich – München 1984, p. 581-582.

⁶ Cf. Th.L. Shear, *The Influence of Plato on Saint Basil*, Baltimore 1906, p. 12-21; S. Olejnik, *Cnota chrześcijańska: struktura i rozwój cnotliwego życia*, STV 13/1 (1975) p. 58; E. Rusu, *Justice et charité chez saint Basile le Grand, thèse de 3e cycle* [Strasbourg] 1985; E. Cavalcanti, *Dall'etica classica all'etica cristiana: il commento al prologo del libro dei Proverbi di Basilio di Cesarea*, SMSR 56/1-2 (1990) p. 353-378 (= *Leggere il padre dopo il concilio: studi di letteratura cristiana antica di E. Cavalcanti*, ed. A. D'Anna – C. Lo Cicero – C. Noce, SEA 153, Roma 2017, p. 315-340); A. Holder, *Saint Basil the Great on Secular Education and Christian Virtue*, "Religious Education" 87/3

tain clarifications. They should be commenced with indicating the origin of that term. The Bishop of Caesarea saw the source of ἀρετή in human free will⁷. He reduced its significance, in turn, to avoiding evil and doing good⁸. What was important for Basil in this context was also the ability to forgive, combined with forgetting the suffered wrongdoings⁹. Thus, for him “to forgive”, meant, “to forget”. However, here Basil did not mean the sporadic acts of good and forgiveness, but that such an attitude should remain with the human throughout his or her whole life¹⁰. To do good and to forgive was not in fact the postulate of the Bishop of Caesarea, but the basic idea of Christ’s teachings, clearly presented on the cards of Gospel. Here Basil was only a faithful disciple of his Master. He also emphasized that one comes to understand the essence of virtue not only by getting to know Christ’s teachings, but also by natural recognition¹¹. He regarded both these ways as difficult¹² and that is why he demanded strict self-discipline from those who wished to achieve ἀρετή¹³. Basil realized that by writing about ἀρετή he entered an

(1992) p. 395-415; J. Leemans, *Preaching Christian Virtue. Basil of Caesarea’s Panegyric Sermon on Julitta*, in: *Virtutis imago. Studies on the Conceptualisation and Transformation of an Ancient Ideal*, ed. G. Partoens – G. Roskam – T. Van Houdt, Collection d’Études Classiques 19, Louvain – Namur 2004, p. 259-284; I. Narewska, *Chrześcijański proces formacyjny na podstawie wybranych pism Ojców Kościoła*, “Studia Elbląskie” 20 (2019) p. 394-396. Cf. also M. Lech, *Znaczenie antycznej literatury greckiej w edukacji młodych chrześcijan (na podstawie “Mowy do młodych” Bazylego Wielkiego)*, “Meander” 52/2 (1997) p. 141-153; E. Szablewska, “Mowa do młodych” św. Bazylego Wielkiego. *Współczesne próby oceny, interpretacje oraz inspiracje zawartych w niej koncepcji pedagogicznych*, “Colloquia Litteraria” 8-9/1-2 (2010) p. 107-121; S. Longosz, *Wstęp i komentarz*, in: *Święty Bazyli Wielki – “Do młodzieńców o korzyściach z czytania ksiąg pogańskich”*, tr. R. Andrzejewski, VoxP 57 (2012) p. 895-904.

⁷ Basilus Caesariensis, *Homilia: Quod Deus non est auctor malorum* 7, PG 31, 345B. Cf. Basilus Caesariensis, *Homilia in Psalmum XXXIII*, 5, PG 29, 361B.

⁸ Basilus Caesariensis, *Homilia XIII: Exhortatoria ad sanctum baptismum* 5, PG 31, 436B-C.

⁹ Basilus Caesariensis, *Homiliae IX in Hexaemeron VIII* 1, ed. S. Giet, SCh 26bis, Paris 1968, p. 434 (= PG 29, 165D).

¹⁰ Basilus Caesariensis, *Homilia I in Psalmum XIV*, 3, PG 29, 256A. Cf. Basilus Caesariensis, *Homilia XIII: Exhortatoria ad sanctum baptismum* 5, PG 31, 436B.

¹¹ Basilus Caesariensis, *Commentarius in Isaiam prophetam* (dubium) I 44, PG 30, 204B.

¹² Cf. Basilus Caesariensis, *Adversus Eunomium* I 27, 23-26, v. 1, ed. B. Sesboüé, SCh 299, Paris 1982, p. 268 (= PG 29, 572B).

¹³ Cf. Basilus Caesariensis, *Commentarius in Isaiam prophetam* (dubium) VIII 213, PG 30, 488A.

area of ethical and moral issues that was very close both to Christianity and Hellenism¹⁴. As far as Hellenism was quite relative in this field¹⁵, in the ethics based on Gospel, however, it was unthinkable¹⁶. The Bishop of Caesarea did not recognize any compromise in this respect. Evil was lack of good for him¹⁷. Therefore Basil repeated Plotinus's (c. 205-270 CE) thesis on the essence of evil¹⁸. In this manner he indirectly rejected the thesis of Stoics, who believed that god was the reason for both good and evil¹⁹. It also has to be noted that Basil connected evil with imperfection of human free choice. Consequently, evil was, in his view, organically combined with the issue of free will²⁰. Sin was for him, in turn, the apogee of evil, manifesting itself in words and deeds²¹. However, the Bishop of Caesarea believed that the ethic and moral attitudes of every person were verified not by their words, but acts²². Acts are, in turn, simultaneously choices that were to be made in

¹⁴ Basilius Caesariensis, *Homilia: Ad adolescentes* V 1-4, ed. F. Boulanger, Paris 1935, p. 46 (= PG 31, 569D-572A).

¹⁵ Basilius Caesariensis, *Homilia: Ad adolescentes* IV 24-31, ed. Boulanger, p. 45 (= PG 31, 569A-B). Cf. M.A. Krąpiec, *Dlaczego zło. Rozważania filozoficzne*, Biblioteka "Więzi", Kraków 1962, p. 45-58. Cf. also L. Bouyer, *Le problème du mal dans le christianisme antique*, "Dieu Vivant" 6 (1946) p. 17-42; P. Siniscalco, *Człowiek wobec świata: Aspekty religijne, etyczne i społeczne u pisarzy chrześcijańskich IV wieku*, tr. E. Zwolski, RTK 27/4 (1980) p. 176.

¹⁶ Basilius Caesariensis, *Homilia in Psalmum XLIV* 8, PG 29, 405D.

¹⁷ Basilius Caesariensis, *Homilia: Quod Deus non est auctor malorum* 5, PG 31, 341B.

¹⁸ Plotinus, *Enneades* I 8, 11, ed. P. Henry – H.-R. Schwyzer, in: Plotinus, *Opera*, t. 1: *Porphyrii Vita Plotini, Enneades I-III*, Scriptorum Classicorum Bibliotheca Oxoniensis, Oxonii 1964, p. 120-121. Cf. M. Barbotin, *La connaissance de Dieu chez saint Basile de Césarée: source chrétiennes et profanes de la doctrine*, Paris 1945, p. 72. Cf. also H. Wistuba, *Teoria zła w Enneadach Plotyna*, RF 10/1 (1962) p. 161-171.

¹⁹ Cf. Y. Courtonne, *Saint Basile et l'hellénisme: Étude sur la rencontre de la pensée chrétienne avec la sagesse antique dans l'Hexaméron de Basile le Grand*, Paris 1934, p. 140-142. Cf. also P. Scazzoso, *L'umanesimo di Basilio*, "Augustinianum" 12/2 (1972) p. 393-394; A. Krokiewicz, *Stoicyzm*, "Meander" 33/5 (1976) p. 233; L. Małunowiczówna, *Stosunek wczesnego chrześcijaństwa do kultury i filozofii pogańskiej*, AK 71/93 (1979) p. 7; M. Żywczyński, *Kościół i społeczeństwo pierwszych wieków*, Warszawa 1985, p. 68-70.

²⁰ Cf. Basilius Caesariensis, *Homiliae in Hexaemeron* II 5, ed. Giet, SCh 26bis, p. 160-162 (= PG 29, 40B); Basilius Caesariensis, *Homilia: Quod Deus non est auctor malorum* 5, PG 31, 337D-340A.

²¹ Cf. Basilius Caesariensis, *Commentarius in Isaiam prophetam* (dubium) III 114, PG 30, 304B; Basilius Caesariensis, *Homilia: Quod Deus non est auctor malorum* 5, PG 31, 337D.

²² Basilius Caesariensis, *Epistulae* 302, 54, ed. Y. Courtonne III, Paris 1966, p. 181 (= PG 32, 1052C).

the perspective of ἀρετή, because, from the Christian point of view, only such an attitude could guarantee the biggest benefits to men²³. On the other hand, Basil, also following Plotinus, treated evil as the illness of soul²⁴. For not evil, but z ἀρετή should have the absolute power over the soul²⁵, for this is what makes the soul become beautiful²⁶, filling itself up with purity and sanctity²⁷. Only such a soul can maintain bonds with its Creator. In this way ἀρετή becomes the supplier of the most important goods and the guardian of human life²⁸ in its deepest, spiritual dimension. For Basil it was like a gown for the one who accepted it²⁹, and, simultaneously, it was becoming a source of spiritual strength for him³⁰.

A more meticulous overview of the opinions in this matter presented by the Cappadocian Father of Church should be commenced with saying that he understood ἀρετή as μεσότης, or even συμμετρία. He illustrated his understanding of these two latter terms on the example of bravery as a virtue. It is something between bravado (θρασύτης) and cowardice (δειλία)³¹. Somewhere else, in turn, he wrote in more general terms that ἀρετή is something between excess (ὑπερβολή) and insufficiency (ἔλλειψις)³². In both the examples quoted we can clearly hear Aristotle's view, according to which μεσότης ἐστὶν ἡ ἀρετή³³.

²³ Basilius Caesariensis, *Epistulae* 277, 26-27, ed. Courtonne III, p. 150 (= PG 32, 1013B).

²⁴ Basilius Caesariensis, *Homiliae in Hexaemeron* IX 4, ed. Giet, SCh 26bis, p. 496 (= PG 29, 196C).

²⁵ Basilius Caesariensis, *Commentarius in Isaiam prophetam* (dubium) I 34, PG 30, 188A.

²⁶ Cf. Basilius Caesariensis, *Homilia: Attende tibi ipsi* 3, PG 31, 204B. Cf. also Basilius Caesariensis, *Homilia: "Destruam horrea mea"* 6, PG 31, 273A.

²⁷ Basilius Caesariensis, *Homilia XII: In principium Proverbiorum* 14, PG 31, 416A.

²⁸ Basilius Caesariensis, *Commentarius in Isaiam prophetam* (dubium) VIII 214, PG 30, 488C.

²⁹ Basilius Caesariensis, *Commentarius in Isaiam prophetam* (dubium) VIII 204, PG 30, 472A-B.

³⁰ Basilius Caesariensis, *Commentarius in Isaiam prophetam* (dubium) III 99, PG 30, 280B.

³¹ Basilius Caesariensis, *Commentarius in Isaiam prophetam* (dubium) V 174, PG 30, 409C. Cf. Basilius Caesariensis, *Commentarius in Isaiam prophetam* (dubium) X 231, PG 30, 524B.

³² Basilius Caesariensis, *Homilia in Psalmum VII* 7, PG 29, 244D.

³³ Aristoteles, *Ethica Nicomachea* II 6, ed. E. Bekker, in: *Aristoteles graece*, v. 2, ed. E. Bekker, Berolini 1831, p. 1107 a 7. Cf. Aristoteles, *Ethica Nicomachea* II 6, p. 1106 b 36-1107 a 7. Cf. also H. Schilling, *Das Ethos der Mesotes: Eine Studie zur Nikoma-*

However, the basis for the Basilian idea of ἀρετή was the theory of four cardinal virtues, whose origin went back at least to Socrates (c. 470-399 BC), Plato (428/427-348/347 BC), Aristotle (384-322 BC) and the stoical school. Besides these authorities, Plotinus affected Basil quite significantly in this respect³⁴. As it is universally known, these virtues are: prudence (φρόνησις), moderation (σωφροσύνη), justice (δικαιοσύνη), and bravery (ἀνδρεία)³⁵. A lot has been already written on the subject, both in the world's³⁶ and Polish

chischen Ethik des Aristoteles, Abhandlungen zur Philosophie und ihrer Geschichte 22, Tübingen 1930; W.F.R. Hardie, *Aristotle's Doctrine that Virtue is a "Mean"*, "Proceedings of the Aristotelian Society" N.S. 65 (1964-1965) p. 183-204; L. Brown, *What is "the mean relative to us" in Aristotle's "Ethics"*, "Phronesis" 42/1 (1997) p. 77-93; D. Zagórski, *Recepcja Arystotelesowskiego idealu mesotēs w doktrynie Klemensa Aleksandryjskiego. Problem definicji*, RT 51/4 (2004) p. 5-42; U. Wolf, *The Sens of Aristotle's Doctrine of the Mean (Book II)*, in: *Aristotle's "Nicomachean Ethics"*, ed. O. Höffe, tr. D. Fernbach, Leiden – Boston 2010, p. 69-88; M. Szram, *Cnota pokory w nauczaniu greckich Ojców Kościoła IV wieku*, Lublin 2014, p. 15-16.

³⁴ Cf. A. Krokiewicz, *Nauka Plotyna*, "Meander" 4/1-2 (1949) p. 43; A. Krokiewicz, *Arystoteles, Pirron i Plotyn*, Warszawa 1974, p. 261-262; W.K. Szymański, *Problematyka dobra w Enneadach*, RF 11/2 (1963) p. 12; P. Hadot, *Plotin ou la simplicité du regard*, La Recherche de l'Absolu 10, Paris 1963, p. 93-99.

³⁵ Basilius Caesariensis, *Homilia in Psalmum XXIX* 5, PG 29, 316C.

³⁶ Cf. O. Kunsemüller, *Die Herkunft der Platonischen Kardinaltugenden*, Erlangen 1935; M. Spanneut, *Le stoïcisme des Pères de l'Église de Clément de Rome à Clément d'Alexandrie*, Paris 1957; H.J. Krämer, *Arete bei Platon und Aristoteles: zum Wesen und zur Geschichte der Platonischen Ontologie*, Abhandlungen der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften. Philosophisch-Historische Klasse 1959/6, Heidelberg 1959; P. Aubenque, *La prudence chez Aristote*, Bibliothèque de Philosophie Contemporaine, Paris 1963; H. North, *Sophrosyne. Self-Knowledge and Self-Restraint in Greek Literature*, Ithaca – New York 1966; J. Kube, *Technē und Aretē: sophistisches und Platonisches Tugendwissen*, Quellen und Studien zur Geschichte der Philosophie 12, Berlin 1969; A. Wallace-Hadrill, *The Emperor and His Virtues*, "Historia" 30/3 (1981) p. 298-323; O. Gignon, *Die Wege zur aretē bei Platon und Aristoteles*, "Museum Helveticum" 42 (1985) p. 133-150; D.S. Hutchinson, *The Virtues of Aristotle*, London – New York 1986; D. Carr, *The Cardinal Virtues and Platon's Moral Psychology*, "The Philosophical Quarterly" 38/1 (1988) p. 186-200; R. Elm, *Klugheit und Erfahrung bei Aristoteles*, Paderborn 1996; *Andreia. Studies in Manliness and Courage in Classical Antiquity*, ed. R.M. Rosen – I. Sluiter, Mnemosyne. Bibliotheca Classica Batavia. Supplementum 238, Leiden – Boston 2003; A. Motte, *L'invention de la phronēsis par Démocrite*, in: *Le jugement pratique. Autour de la notion de phronēsis*, ed. D. Lorries – L. Rizzerio, Paris 2008, p. 75-104; M.A. McDonnell, *Roman Manliness: Virtus and the Roman Republic*, New York 2009; J.A. Martínez García, *Virtud (areté) y vocación a ser persona en la tradición clásica griega*, "Facies Domini" 1 (2009) p. 217-232; M. Schofield, *Republican Virtues*, in: *A Com-*

literature³⁷. Besides Greek and Roman literature, the issue also appears in

panion to Greek and Roman Political Thought, ed. R.K. Balot, Malden – Oxford 2009, p. 199-213; H.J. Curzer, *Aristotle and the Virtues*, Oxford 2012; M. Schofield, *Cardinal Virtues: A Contested Socratic Inheritance*, in: *Plato and the Stoics*, ed. A.G. Long, Cambridge 2013, p. 11-28. Cf. also R. Fears, *The Cult of Virtues and Roman Imperial Ideology*, in: *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt*, v. 17/2: *Religion*, ed. W. Haase, Berlin – New York 1981, p. 827-948; E. Forbis, *Municipal Virtues in the Roman Empire. The Evidence of Italian Honorary Inscriptions*, Stuttgart – Leipzig 1996.

³⁷ Cf. A. Usowicz, *Układ cnót i wad w związku z życiem uczuciowo-popędowym u Arystotelesa i św. Tomasza z Akwinu*, Studia Instytutu Teologicznego Księży Misjonarzy 1, Kraków 1939; W. Wróblewski, *Z problematyki arete w "Politei" Platonskiej*, "Ruch Filozoficzny" 27 (1969) p. 152-153; E. Heza, *Kryzys arystokratycznego pojęcia "aretē"*. Z badań nad historią myśli greckiej, "Etyka" 10 (1972) p. 61-85; R. Turasiewicz, *Związek "arete" i "kallos" w greckiej poezji archaicznej*, "Meander" 34/3 (1979) p. 147-155; J. Czerwińska, *Koncepcja arete w ujęciu sofistów i Tukidydesa*, "Meander" 41/6 (1986) p. 211-223; A. Swoboda, *Stoicka koncepcja cnoty*, "Symbolae Philologorum Posnaniensium Graecae et Latinae" 12 (1988) p. 31-41; R. Bzdak – E. Podrez, *O potrzebie cnót, czy o potrzebie etyki*, "Studia Philosophiae Christianae" 31/2 (1995) p. 77-90; A.C. MacIntyre, *Dziedzictwo cnoty: studium z teorii moralności*, tr. A. Chmielewski, Biblioteka Współczesnych Filozofów, Warszawa 1996; J. Sowa, *Czy przyjaźń jest cnotą? (Philia i arete u Platona i Arystotelesa)*, "Meander" 54/2 (1999) p. 125-133; Z. Pańpuch, *Areté*, in: *Powszechna Encyklopedia Filozofii*, t. 1: *A-B*, ed. A. Krąpiec – A. Maryniarczyk – P. Jaroszyński, Lublin 2000, p. 318-325; Z. Pańpuch, *Cnoty i wady*, in: *Powszechna Encyklopedia Filozofii*, t. 2: *C-D*, ed. A. Krąpiec – A. Maryniarczyk – P. Jaroszyński, Lublin 2001, c. 222-229; T. Irwin, *Cnoty w filozofii greckiej*, in: *Etyka i charakter*, tr. J. Jaśtał, Kraków 2004, p. 65-84; J. Jaśtał, *Arystoteles o sprawiedliwości*, in: *Czy sprawiedliwość jest możliwa?*, ed. D. Probučka, Kraków 2008, p. 139-145; J. Jaśtał, *Natura cnoty. Problematyka emocji w neoarystotelesowskiej etyce cnót*, Kraków 2009, p. 79-194; J. Sowa, *Między Erosem a Arete: przyjaźń w etyce Platona i Arystotelesa*, Łódź 2009; A. Szudra-Barszcz, *Czy cnoty można się nauczyć?*, "Ethos" 32/4 (2010) p. 108-118; B. Zgraja, *ARETH w przekazach przedchrześcijańskich. Zarys zagadnienia*, VoxP 55 (2010) p. 767-787; Z. Pańpuch, *Początki rozumienia autorytetu w starożytności*, "Człowiek w Kulturze" 22 (2011-2012) p. 167-206; M.A. Wesoly, *"Phronesis" – roztropność jako racjonalność praktyczna według Arystotelesa*, in: *Filozofia a sfera publiczna*, red. P. Orlik – K. Przybyszewski, Poznań 2012, p. 229-251; D. Budzanowska, *Cztery cnoty władcy w "De clementia" Seneki Młodszego*, Florilegium 2, Warszawa 2013, p. 119-176 and 191-369; J. Grzybowski, *Obywatelskość i cnota – niepodważalny związek polityki i etyki w starożytnej Grecji*, "Kwartalnik Filozoficzny" 43/4 (2015) p. 132-142; Z. Pańpuch, *Szczęście a polityka: aretologiczne podstawy politologii Platona i Arystotelesa*, Scripta Philosophiae Classicae, Lublin 2015; M.J. Gondek, *"Partes integrales" jako podstawa tłumaczenia cnoty roztropności w tradycji perypatetyckiej*, ZNKUL 59/1 (2016) p. 41-57; Z. Pańpuch, *Aretologia Arystotelesa – podstawą budowania etyki i polityki*, in: *O metafizyce Arysto-*

the New Testament³⁸. On the basis of ancient and New Testament sources, in turn, the reflection on virtues became an important element in the writings of Fathers of the Church³⁹. Basil listed them all a few times in his writings, one next to another, sometimes adding their more extensive characteristics by indicating the aim, which they served. And so, prudence is the virtue that serves solving the matters of choice between good and evil. Moderation is helpful in recognizing what should be chosen and what should be omitted. Justice instructs that it is necessary to give everyone what they rightly deserve. Finally, bravery enables us to distinguish things one should be afraid of from those that do not cause fear⁴⁰. Somewhere else the Bishop of Caesarea emphasized the grandness (τὸ μεγαλοπρεπές) of bravery, the unshaken exactness and impartiality (τὸ ἀκριβές) of justice, venerability (τὸ σεμνόν)

tolesesa. U podstaw filozofowania realistycznego, red. A. Maryniarczyk – N. Kunat – Z. Pańpuch, *Zadania Współczesnej Metafizyki* 19, Lublin 2017, p. 317-327; M.A. Wesoły, *Księga Arystotelesa o dyspozycjach dianoetycznych (intelektualnych)*, “*Etyka Nikomachejska*” VI, “*Filozofia Publiczna i Edukacja Demokratyczna*” 7-8/1 (2018-2019) p. 6-17.

³⁸ Cf. F.W. Horn, *Paulus und die Kardinaltugenden*, in: *Paulus – Werk und Wirkung: Festschrift für Andreas Lindemann zum 70. Geburtstag*, ed. P.-G. Klumbies – D.S. du Toit, Tübingen 2013, p. 351-370.

³⁹ Cf. O. Zöckler, *Die Tugendlehre des Christentums geschichtlich dargestellt in der Entwicklung ihrer Lehrformen*, Gütersloh 1904; E. Konstantinou, *Die Tugendlehre Gregors von Nyssa im Verhältnis zu der antik-philosophischen und jüdischchristlichen Tradition*, Das östliche Christentum N.F. 17, Würzburg 1966; S. Mähl, *Quadrige virtutum. Die Kardinaltugenden in der Geistesgeschichte der Karolingerzeit*, Beihefte zum Archiv für Kulturgeschichte 9, Köln 1969; J. Préaux, *Les quatre vertus païennes et chrétiennes: apothéose et ascension*, in: *Hommages à Marcel Renard*, v. 1: *Langues, littératures, droit*, ed. J. Bibauw, Collection Latomus 101, Bruxelles 1969, p. 639-657; H. Borok, “*Prudentia*” oder “*sapientia*”? : ein Beitrag zur Reception der ersten platonischen Kardinaltugend in die christliche Ethik, *ThG* 75/4 (1985) p. 435-446 (= *Ethik der Tugenden: menschliche Grundhaltungen als unverzichtbarer Bestandteil moralischen Handelns*, *Festschrift für Joachim Piegsa zum 70. Geburtstag*, ed. C. Breuer, *Moraltheologische Studien. Systematische Abteilung* 26, St. Ottilien 2000, p. 489-499); M. Becker, *Die Kardinaltugenden bei Cicero und Ambrosius: De Officiis*, *Chrêsis* 4, Basel 1994; E. Cavalcanti, *Etica cristiana nei secoli III e IV: principali elementi di strutturazione*, in: *L'etica cristiana nei secoli III e IV: eredità e confronti, XXIV Incontro di Studiosi dell'Antichità Cristiana (Roma, 4-6 maggio 1995)*, SEA 53, Roma 1996, p. 11-38 (= *Leggere i padre dopo il concilio*, p. 451-480); K. Kaoka, *Aretologia Dydyma Aleksandryjskiego*, Dissertation, Catholic University of Lublin 2014, esp. chap. I and III; D.L. White, *Evagrius of Pontus on Exodus and the Virtues*, *VigCh* 73/5 (2019) p. 516-530.

⁴⁰ Basiliius Caesariensis, *Homilia in Psalmum XXIX* 5, PG 29, 316C.

of temperance and perfection (τὸ τέλειον) of prudence⁴¹. At the same time he indicated the fact that ἀρετή can be taught⁴². In a form of encouraging to practice of ἀρετή, Basil seemed to strengthen these four virtues with different lofty epithets⁴³. The purpose of these virtues' existence is on one hand to assist men with fulfilling their life duties⁴⁴, while on the other they are first of all helpful in achieving the highest good by a human being⁴⁵. Thus the Bishop of Caesarea understood virtues as means to achieve the final purpose of human life – salvation.

Among the cardinal virtues it was prudence that Basil ascribed the most important role. It should be the driving force of all human actions, because without it all that seems to be apt, quickly reveals its true face and turns out to be evil⁴⁶. Prudence is also the virtue thanks to which people can not only tell good things from bad ones, but also recognize worthless things⁴⁷. Thus, true prudence is the knowledge that especially improves human action⁴⁸. For everything that was performed in accordance with its principles turns out to be praiseworthy, and therefore prudent acts contribute to the health of soul⁴⁹. Basil even believed that this influence went so far that in the case of a person who had already achieved perfection in

⁴¹ Basilius Caesariensis, *Homilia in Psalmum I 2*, PG 29, 213A-B.

⁴² Cf. Basilius Caesariensis, *Homilia in Psalmum I 2*, PG 29, 213A-B. Cf. Basilius Caesariensis, *Homilia XII: In principium Proverbiorum* 14, PG 31, 417A.

⁴³ Basilius Caesariensis, *Homiliae in Hexaemeron IX 4*, ed. Giet, SCh 26bis, p. 498 (= PG 29, 196C).

⁴⁴ Basilius Caesariensis, *Epistulae* 2, 2, 67-71, ed. Courtonne I, p. 8 (= PG 32, 228B).

⁴⁵ Basilius Caesariensis, *De hominis structura. Oratio II 2*, PG 30, 44A.

⁴⁶ Cf. Basilius Caesariensis, *Epistulae* 82, 9-10, ed. Courtonne I, p. 184 (= PG 32, 460A); Basilius Caesariensis, *Epistula* 89, 2, 22, ed. Courtonne I, p. 193 (= PG 32, 472B); Basilius Caesariensis, *Epistulae* 138, 2, 6, ed. Courtonne II, p. 55 (= PG 32, 580B); Basilius Caesariensis, *Epistulae* 141, 1, 2, ed. Courtonne II, p. 62 (= PG 32, 589B); Basilius Caesariensis, *Epistulae* 142, 6, ed. Courtonne II, p. 64 (= PG 32, 592B); Basilius Caesariensis, *Epistulae* 156, 1, 18, ed. Courtonne II, p. 82 (= PG 32, 616A); Basilius Caesariensis, *Epistulae* 237, 2, 23, ed. Courtonne III, p. 56 (= PG 32, 888B); Basilius Caesariensis, *Epistulae* 263, 5, 18, ed. Courtonne III, p. 125 (= PG 32, 981B); Basilius Caesariensis, *Epistulae* 269, 1, 15, ed. Courtonne III, p. 139 (= PG 32, 1000B).

⁴⁷ Basilius Caesariensis, *Homilia XII: In principium Proverbiorum* 6, PG 31, 397C.

⁴⁸ Basilius Caesariensis, *Homilia XII: In principium Proverbiorum* 6, PG 31, 400A.

⁴⁹ Basilius Caesariensis, *Homilia in Psalmum XXXVII 3*, PG 30, 92D. There are some doubts about the authenticity of this homily. The Maurists found it inauthentic. However, P. Humbertclaude (*La doctrine ascétique de saint Basile de Césarée, Études de Théologie Historiques*, Paris 1932, p. 2) did not take the matter so radically. Therefore it seems appropriate to recognize the authorship of the bishop of Caesarea.

prudence, we could talk about some kind of spiritual superiority over the others⁵⁰. Here, it is noteworthy that already Aristotle ranked that virtue high⁵¹. The Bishop of Caesarea, who, in this respect, undoubtedly drew abundantly from the achievements of the philosopher of Stagira, but he gave to his divagations on the subject a different orientation than Aristotle's. for as a representative of the Church, and, first of all, as a biblical theologian, Basil gave to prudence, just like to other cardinal virtues, the rank of a means to achieve the perfection of soul and therefore the tool to achieve salvation⁵². In this way christocentrism is constantly present in his lecture on cardinal virtues.

Basil also devoted a lot of attention to moderation. He regarded them as the driving force of authentic cognition (the truth), which is at the bottom of the soul and neutralizes low instincts lying dormant in it⁵³. That is why man should never cross the borders outlined for him by sense of moderation⁵⁴. Like prudence, also the virtue of temperance is manifested to the fullest in action⁵⁵. What can disturb man in developing it is licentiousness (ἀκολασία) and love for sensual pleasures (φιληδονία)⁵⁶. Basil juxtaposed temperance with abstinence (ἐγκράτεια), which he mainly referred to self-control in eating and drinking⁵⁷. Through self-control, according to the Bishop of Caesarea, man removes the sources of sin, frees himself from passions and makes his soul die for physical temptations. In this sense ἐγκράτεια constitutes the basic principle ordering the spiritual life and becoming a sort of promoter of spiritual goods⁵⁸.

⁵⁰ Basilius Caesariensis, *Homilia XII: In principium Proverbiorum* 13, PG 31, 413A.

⁵¹ Aristoteles, *Ethica Nicomachea* VI, v. 2, ed. E. Bekker, p. 1138 b 17-1145 a 11.

⁵² Cf. Basilius Caesariensis, *Regulae brevius tractatae* 239, PG 31, 1241C; Basilius Caesariensis, *Regulae brevius tractatae* 260, PG 31, 1256B.

⁵³ Basilius Caesariensis, *Commentarius in Isaiam prophetam* (dubium) I 34, PG 30, 188B.

⁵⁴ Basilius Caesariensis, *Homilia de gratiarum actione* 7, PG 31, 236A.

⁵⁵ Cf. Basilius Caesariensis, *Homilia X: Adversus eos qui irascuntur* 4, PG 31, 364A.

⁵⁶ Basilius Caesariensis, *Commentarius in Isaiam prophetam* (dubium) V 174, PG 30, 412A. Cf. Basilius Caesariensis, *Commentarius in Isaiam prophetam* (dubium) I 19, PG 30, 149A.

⁵⁷ Basilius Caesariensis, *Epistulae* 366, 21-22, ed. Coutonne III, p. 228 (= PG 32, 1112B). Cf. Basilius Caesariensis, *Commentarius in Isaiam prophetam* (dubium) II 90, PG 30, 265C; Basilius Caesariensis, *Epistulae* 22, 1, 44-46, ed. Courtonne I, p. 54 (= PG 32, 289B).

⁵⁸ Basilius Caesariensis, *Regulae fusius tractatae* 17, 2, PG 31, 964B. Cf. Basilius Caesariensis, *Epistulae* 2, 6, 25-27, ed. Courtonne I, p. 12 (= PG 32, 232C); Basilius Caesariensis, *Epistulae* 22, 1, 44-46, ed. Courtonne I, p. 54 (= PG 32, 289B).

Abstinence understood in this way is therefore the basis of temperance, being its mother, as Basil wrote⁵⁹. For this reason that virtue is especially useful in youth, for it then plays the role of a bit, restraining the still unshaped personality⁶⁰. However, even when we are mature, we cannot overestimate its significance⁶¹. Basil also mentioned what Hellenic thinkers wrote about abstinence. But, according to him they practiced that virtue verbally only, while their acts stood in total opposition to it⁶². He was also definitely against those who as late as on the threshold of old age started to remember about ἐγκράτεια. For he claimed that practicing it in the old age was not the effect of ethical choice, but the result of general debilitation of organism, and therefore lack of physical strength to continue leading immoral life. Continuing this divagation, Basil added, in a form of a specific motto the thought that there could not be a wreath for a corpse and nobody could be regarded as a righteous man only because they were deprived of the possibility to do wrong⁶³. The opinions of the Bishop of Caesarea about the virtue of moderation and temperance acquire a certain polemical shade, if they are juxtaposed with the views of Encratites, whom he condemned. In this context the basic condition for regarding a given manner of living as virtuous appears to be weighing the proportions in the aspect of moderation and temperance. Even though Basil charged Encratites with a certain imbalance of proportions, he accused the Hellenic thinkers of as much as verbalism and ethical formalism. In this way even the loftiest rules of moral life were losing their value.

Justice, often referred to both in the books of Old and New Testament, as well as in the works of Greek and Roman authors, so it could not be omitted by the Bishop of Caesarea. And it was not accidental that Basil referred that virtue mostly to God⁶⁴. It was Him who was for Basil the minister of true justice. However, to come to this conclusion one must enter the essence of that virtue⁶⁵. And generally man is far from such a deep reflec-

⁵⁹ Basilius Caesariensis, *Regulae fusius tractatae* 18, PG 31, 965C.

⁶⁰ Basilius Caesariensis, *Regulae fusius tractatae* 16, 1, PG 31, 957B.

⁶¹ Cf. Basilius Caesariensis, *Regulae fusius tractatae* 16, 3, PG 31, 960B.

⁶² Basilius Caesariensis, *Homilia I de jejuniis* 17, PG 31, 176B.

⁶³ Basilius Caesariensis, *Homilia XIII: Exhortatoria ad sanctum baptismum* 5, PG 31, 436B.

⁶⁴ Cf. Basilius Caesariensis, *Homilia in Psalmum VII* 5, PG 29, 241A; Basilius Caesariensis, *Commentarius in Isaiam prophetam* (dubium) III 119, PG 30, 309D-312B; Basilius Caesariensis, *Commentarius in Isaiam prophetam* (dubium) V 159, PG 30, 380B; Basilius Caesariensis, *Commentarius in Isaiam prophetam* (dubium) V 169, PG 30, 397B.

⁶⁵ Basilius Caesariensis, *Homilia XII: In principium Proverbiorum* 9, PG 31, 404C.

tion, thus allowing himself to commit many misdemeanors, quite opposite to justice⁶⁶. Possibly that bitter reflection also echoed the wrongs that men of the Church suffered both from Hellenics and from heretics. These words could also have been dictated to Basil by reflection on human justice as such. And these opinions were based on reading the Bible and the sense of priestly duty. In fact for a Christian the path to real justice leads through suffering earthly injustices. Thus, justice is a reward that is obtained together with salvation of the soul.

Relatively the least of his writings did the Bishop of Caesarea devote to the virtue of bravery. Writing about martyrs, he focused on bravery of the soul (ψυχῆς ἀνδρεία)⁶⁷. Presenting their physical strength in enduring suffering, he used the notion σώματος ῥώμη – bodily strength in turn⁶⁸. The opposition between ψυχῆς ἀνδρεία and σώματος ῥώμη distinctly shows that for Basil the virtue of bravery as such was connected exclusively with the soul, whereas the body had nothing to do with it. Bodily strength, helpful with enduring suffering, has its source exclusively in the strength of soul. Basil considered the bravery of martyrs also against social background. A martyr was becoming a pattern, an example to follow for the remaining confessors of Christ⁶⁹. The Bishop of Caesarea addressed that incentive to follow the martyrs' footsteps first of all to monks⁷⁰. He also encouraged some addressees of his letters to practice that virtue⁷¹. The most important reason, however, why a Christian cannot get rid of bravery⁷², was the example of Christ himself⁷³. Thus, here the motif of christocentrically oriented aretology returns. In the times of Basil putting the matter in this way was probably not accidental. In the

⁶⁶ Cf. Basilus Caesariensis, *Homilia XII: In principium Proverbiorum* 8, PG 31, 401D.

⁶⁷ Basilus Caesariensis, *Homilia XVIII: In Gordium martyrem* 2, PG 31, 493C; Basilus Caesariensis, *Homilia XIX: In sanctos quadraginta martyres* 3, PG 31, 509C.

⁶⁸ Basilus Caesariensis, *Homilia XVIII: In Gordium martyrem* 2, PG 31, 493C.

⁶⁹ Basilus Caesariensis, *Homilia XVIII: In Gordium martyrem* 5, PG 31, 500C.

⁷⁰ Cf. Basilus Caesariensis, *Praevia institutio ascetica* 3, PG 31, 625B. CPG, p. 156-157 considers the authenticity of this treatise to be questionable. However, P. Humbertclaude (*La doctrine ascétique de Saint Basile*, p. 3) thought that it should be considered authentic.

⁷¹ Cf. Basilus Caesariensis, *Epistulae* 161, 2, 1-2, ed. Courtonne II, p. 93 (= PG 32, 629B); Basilus Caesariensis, *Epistulae* 269, 2, 32-33, ed. Courtonne III, p. 141 (= PG 32, 1001B).

⁷² Cf. Basilus Caesariensis, *Commentarius in Isaiam prophetam* (dubium) VIII 214, PG 30, 488C.

⁷³ Cf. Basilus Caesariensis, *Homilia in Psalmum XLV* 7, PG 29, 428B.

inter-church fights initiated by Arians, bravery was becoming an especially desirable virtue. For it allowed testifying by deed one's fidelity to orthodox theology of the Church.

Summing up the divagations of the Bishop of Caesarea on ἀρετή, we must agree that he took over the formal scheme of four cardinal virtues from the thoughts of Plato, Aristotle and Plotinus. However, he re-interpreted that scheme in the spirit of New Testament theology. Thus, its contents underwent radical changes. In this context it is also worth noticing the fact that Christian ethics was to play a significant role in the "Hellenic church" created by Julian the Apostate (331-26 June 363 CE; Roman emperor: 361-363). These ideas certainly have not been forgotten when the emperor died. This situation, besides the fight, referred to above, run by the Arians inside the Church, could have formed the basis of the thesis posed by Bishop of Caesarea, according to which the real virtue can only be found in the segment of the Church that remained faithful to the teachings of Christ. Thus, the Basilian aretology was of clearly christocentric character and it was aimed at staying faithful to the teachings of the Master of Nazareth.

Cardinal Virtues in the Basil of Caesarea's Writings. Philological and Historical Aspect

(summary)

The four cardinal virtues (prudence, moderation, justice and bravery) are frequently mentioned in the writings by the Bishop of Caesarea. Basil, as a theologian, writes about them in the context of Christian ethic and moral principles. The cardinal virtues are to help human beings achieve salvation, which is the main aim in the life of every confessor of Christ. Thus, one can say that these virtues are christocentrically directed. Basil based his analyses mainly on the ethical ideas of Plato, Aristotle and Plotinus. However, as a Christian intellectual, he went far beyond the scheme of these four virtues suggested by the Greek thinkers. The article consists of two parts. The first part contains mainly bibliographical information on the meaning of two notions: ἀρετή and *virtus*. The second part is the analysis of cardinal virtues in Basil's writings and connections of Bishop of Caesarea's aretology with Greek philosophy. Also here a lot of space is devoted to bibliographical information contained in the footnotes. In this way the article fulfils two functions: on one hand it gives the reader a useful bibliography, while on the other it presents the idea of cardinal virtues on the basis of the writings by Basil of Caesarea.

Keywords: cardinal virtues; Basil of Caesarea; Plato; Aristotle; Plotinus

Cnoty kardynalne w pismach Bazylego z Cezarei. Aspekt filologiczno-historyczny

(streszczenie)

Cztery cnoty kardynalne (roztropność, umiarkowanie, sprawiedliwość i męstwo) są często wspomniane w pismach biskupa Cezarei. Bazyli jako teolog pisze o nich w kontekście chrześcijańskich zasad etyczno-moralnych. Cnoty kardynalne mają pomóc człowiekowi w osiągnięciu zbawienia, które jest głównym celem życia każdego wyznawcy Chrystusa. Można więc powiedzieć, że cnoty te są ukierunkowane chrystocentrycznie. Bazyli oparł swe analizy przede wszystkim na etycznych koncepcjach Platona, Arystotelesa i Plotyna. Jednak jako intelektualista chrześcijański wyszedł daleko poza schemat czterech cnót proponowany przez tych myślicieli greckich. Artykuł składa się z dwóch części. Część pierwsza zawiera głównie informacje bibliograficzne na temat znaczenia dwóch pojęć: ἀρετή i *virtus*. Druga część analizuje cnoty kardynalne w pismach Bazylego oraz związki aretologii biskupa Cezarei z filozofią grecką. Również i tutaj wiele miejsca poświęcono informacjom bibliograficznym, które umieszczono w przypisach. W ten sposób artykuł spełnia dwie funkcje: z jednej strony daje czytelnikowi użyteczną bibliografię, z drugiej zaś przedstawia koncepcję cnót kardynalnych na bazie pism Bazylego z Cezarei.

Słowa kluczowe: cnoty kardynalne; Bazyli z Cezarei; Platon; Arystoteles; Plotyn

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Sławomir Bralewski¹

The Catalogue of Virtues in the *Ecclesiastical History* of Sozomen of Bethelia

Hermias Sozomen, dedicating his *Ecclesiastical History* to Emperor Theodosius II², argued in the preface of his work that the true adornment of imperial dignity is piety. Addressing the emperor directly, he pointed out: “But you, most powerful Emperor, had gathered together all the virtues, and had excelled every one in piety (εὐσέβεια), philanthropy (φιλανθρωπία), courage (ἀνδρεία), prudence (σωφροσύνη), justice (δικαιοσύνη), munificence (φιλοτιμία), and a magnanimity (μεγαλοψυχία) befitting royal dignity”³. He thus created his own catalogue of virtues, and the order in which they are listed seems to reflect their hierarchy. Whether this was the case I will try to present in this research.

Writing about virtues, Sozomen did not refer to the cardinal virtues already known at the time and formulated by Christian theologians⁴.

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² Peter Van Nuffelen (*Un héritage de paix et de piété. Étude sur les histoires ecclésiastiques de Socrate et Sozomène*, Leuven 2004, p. 54) regards the said dedication as a masterful encomion.

³ Sozomenus, *Historia ecclesiastica, Dedicatio* 15, tr. Ph. Schaff – H. Wace, Sozomenus, *Church History from A.D. 323-425*, NPNF2-02, New York 1890, p. 509.

⁴ The first of the Christian authors to use the concept of cardinal virtues (virtutes cardinales) was Ambrose of Milan (*De officiis ministrorum* 4, 15) including: prudentia, iustitia, temperantia i fortitudo. The virtues were also discussed by others, including Clement of Alexandria (*Pedagogus* II 4), who pointed out that the virtues proper to man are justice (δικαιοσύνη), reason (σωφροσύνη), fortitude (ἀνδρεία) and piety (εὐσέβεια). In his *Life of St. Anthony*, Athanasius, Bishop of Alexandria also referred to the aforementioned virtues but in a different order: φρόνησις, δικαιοσύνη, σωφροσύνη, ἀνδρεία, and

This is all the more interesting because Socrates of Constantinople, on whose *Ecclesiastical History* Sozomen based his work, devoted considerable attention to them, although without using the term cardinal virtues. He included an extensive quotation from the work by Evagrius Ponticus entitled *The Gnostikos*⁵, where Evagrius wrote: “We have learned from Gregory the Just, that there are four virtues, having distinct characteristics: prudence and fortitude, temperance and justice” (φρόνησις και ἀνδρεία, σωφροσύνη και δικαιοσύνη)⁶. Evagrius explained that the property of prudence (φρόνησις) is to reflect on spiritual and holy powers based on the revelation of Divine Wisdom, and the expectation of fortitude (ἀνδρεία) is to persevere with the truth. Temperance (σωφροσύνη), on the other hand, is to persevere with the teachings of Christ (the First Farmer), while justice (δικαιοσύνη) commands adjusting one’s speech to the dignity of each interlocutor⁷.

supplemented them with the following σύνεσις, ἀγάπη, φιλοποχία, πίστις ἢ εἰς Χριστόν, ἀοργησία, and φιλοξενία. See: Athanasius Alexandrinus, *Vita Antonii* 17. The monk Anthony supposedly asked: “Why not rather get those things which we can take away with us – to wit, prudence, justice, temperance, courage, understanding, love, kindness to the poor, faith in Christ, freedom from wrath, hospitality?” (tr. Ph.Schaff – H.Wace, Athanasius, *Select Works and Letters*, NPNF2-04, New York 1892, p. 423).

⁵ Evagrius is considered the most important theorist of monastic life in antiquity. See: D. Brakke, *Demons and the Making of the Monk: Spiritual Combat in Early Christianity*, Cambridge 2006, p. 48-77.

⁶ Socrates, *HE* IV 23, 61, tr. Ph. Schaff – H. Wace, Socrates, *Church History from A.D.305-439*, NPNF2-02, New York 1890, p. 257. See: Evagrius Ponticus, *Gnosticus* 44; Gregorius Nyssenus, *Orationes de beatitudinibus* 4, PG 44, 1232-1248. The Polish translator of the work by Socrates from Constantinople, Stefan Józef Kazikowski, identifies the aforementioned Gregory the Just with Gregory of Nazianzus (Sokrates Scholastyk, *Historia Kościoła*, Warszawa 1986, p. 364). Antoine and Claire Guillaumont (Evagre le Pontique, *Traité pratique ou Le moine*, SCh 171, Paris 1971, p. 680-689) identified him similarly. The reference to “Gregory the Just” may refer to Gregory Nazianzen, but an alternative reference to Gregory Nyssen cannot be ruled. According to Ilaria L.E. Ramelli (*Evagrius and Gregory: Nazianzen or Nyssen? Cappadocian (and Origenian) Influence on Evagrius Greek*, „Roman, and Byzantine Studies” 53 (2013) p. 130) it is more probable that Evagrius meant Gregory of Nyssa. See also: K. Corrigan, *Evagrius and Gregory. Mind, Soul and Body in the 4th Century*, London 2009.

⁷ According to Evagrius of Pontus (*Great letter* 51, in: A.M. Casiday, *Evagrius Ponticus*, London, New York 2006, p. 74): „As the body cannot live without nourishment, likewise the soul cannot live without virtues”. See: D.L. White, *Evagrius of Pontus on Exodus and the Virtues*, VigCh 73 (2019) p. 516-530.

The virtues presented by Evagrius corresponded to those defined by Plato in the fourth chapter of his *Republic* (σοφία, ἀνδρεία, σωφροσύνη, δικαιοσύνη)⁸. Socrates of Constantinople does not mention this, but, as an educated person, he must have known about it. In fact, he considered pagan philosophy to be of great use to Christians. Sozomen, on the other hand, viewed classical philosophy as useless⁹, but listed Plato among the leading authors of antiquity alongside Homer, Symonides, and Theopompus, who all enjoyed the patronage of their contemporary rulers¹⁰. Plato's teacher, Socrates of Athens, paid great attention to the virtues of justice (δικαιοσύνη), piety (εὐσέβεια), prudence-temperance (σωφροσύνη) and fortitude (ἀνδρεία). In doing so, he considered the first of these, justice, to be a more general category in relation to the other virtues, since, in his view, it encompassed all major moral behavior¹¹. According to Socrates of Athens, piety was closely related to justice¹². On the other hand, Plato's student Aristotle of Stagira considered the following as individual virtues: justice (δικαιοσύνη), fortitude (ἀνδρεία), prudence-temperance (σωφροσύνη), dignity (μεγαλοπρέπεια), magnanimity (μεγαλοψυχία), generosity (ἐλευθεριότης), prudence (φρόνησις) and wisdom (σοφία)¹³. He believed that the first two listed, justice (δικαιοσύνη) and fortitude (ἀνδρεία), were the greatest because they were most useful to others. Justice fulfills such a role in times of war and in times of peace, and fortitude in times of war¹⁴.

⁸ Plato, *Politeia* 427e-433c, New Standard Greek Text, Cambridge 2004, p. 112-119.

⁹ See: S. Bralewski, *Zagłada filozofów helleńskich w Imperium Romanum – obraz mędrców w relacji Sokratesa z Konstantynopola i Hermiasza Sozomena*, VoxP 80 (2021) p. 177-196.

¹⁰ Sozomenus, *Historia ecclesiastica Dedicatio* 5.

¹¹ Cf. R. Legutko, *Sokrates*, Poznań 2013, p. 410-415. Gregory of Nyssa (*Orationes de beatitudinibus* 4, PG 44, 1244) thought similarly, according to whom „every virtue is indicated by the name of justice”.

¹² Cf. Legutko, *Sokrates*, p. 415-420.

¹³ Aristoteles, *Reotorica* 1366b: μέρη δὲ ἀρετῆς δικαιοσύνη, ἀνδρεία, σωφροσύνη, μεγαλοπρέπεια, μεγαλοψυχία, ἐλευθεριότης, φρόνησις, σοφία.

¹⁴ Aristoteles, *Ethica Nicomachea*, passim. See: N.P. Metropoulos, *Oi kyries aretes kai e aristotelike ethike*, „Erkyna, Epitheorese Ekpaideutikon – Epistemonikon Thematou” 20 (2014) p. 76-86.

1. The Catalogue of Virtues created by Sozomen

1.1. Εὐσέβεια

The meaning of this term is quite broad, from devotion, a sense of duty in secular affairs to devotion to God, piety¹⁵. It was no accident that Sozomen listed piety first among all the virtues that Emperor Theodosius II was said to have embodied. It was the key to a proper relationship with God and guaranteed prosperity through His blessings, which suited the Roman mentality. In pagan Rome, *Pietas* (εὐσέβεια, εὐλάβεια)¹⁶ not only belonged to the core moral virtues¹⁷ and later became the cardinal virtue of emperors, but was also one of the most important ideas of the state¹⁸. It was believed to be essential to both the prosperity of the state and the ruler himself¹⁹.

¹⁵ *A Patristic Greek Lexicon*, ed. G.W.H. Lampe, Oxford 1961, s.v. εὐσέβεια, p. 575.

¹⁶ J. Korpanty, *Studia nad łacińską terminologią polityczno-socjalną okresu republiki rzymskiej*, Wrocław – Warszawa – Kraków – Gdańsk 1976, p. 123n.

¹⁷ See: H. Waagenvoort, *Pietas*, in: *Pietas. Selected Studies in Roman Religion*, Leiden 1980, p. 1-20; J. Champeaux, „*Pietas*”: *piété personnelle et piété collective à Rome*, „Bulletin l'Association Guillaume Budé” 3 (1989) p. 263-279.

¹⁸ See: M.P. Charlesworth, *The Virtues of a Roman Emperor: Propaganda and the Creation of Belief*, „Proceedings of the British Academy” 23 (1937) p. 105-133; J.R. Fears, *The cult of Virtues and Roman Imperial Ideology*, „Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt” 17/2 (1981) p. 864n; A. Wallace-Hadrill, *The Emperor and His Virtues*, „Historia: Zeitschrift für Alte Geschichte” 30/3 (1981) p. 298-323.

¹⁹ Its personifications were surrounded by divine worship even during the times of the republic. On the iconography of *pietas*, see: T. Mikocki, *Zgodna, pobożna, płodna, skromna, piękna... Propaganda cnót żeńskich w sztuce rzymskiej*, Wrocław 1997, p. 105-169. Since the reign of Octavian Augustus, it was linked to the figure of the ruler or the imperial court. See: Mikocki, *Zgodna*, p. 106. In its oldest layer of meaning, *pietas* referred to respect towards the spirits of deceased ancestors. See: J. Korpanty, *Rzeczpospolita potomków Romulusa. Ludzie – wydarzenia – idee*, Warszawa 1979, p. 196. Later, it was understood by Romans in the category of duties to gods (*pietas adversus deos*), homeland (*pietas erga patriam*), ancestors (*pietas erga maiores*), parents (*pietas erga parentes*), children (*pietas erga liberos*) and friends (*pietas erga amicos*). Cf. Waagenvoort, *Pietas*, p. 1-20; J. Korpanty, *Pietas Romana*, in: *Studia Archeologica. Prace dedykowane Profesorowi Januszowi A. Ostrowskiemu w sześćdziesięciolecie urodzin*, red. E. Papuci-Władyka – J. Śliwa, Kraków 2001, p. 189-196; A. Krauze, *Od antycznej Pietas do wczesnochrześcijańskich przedstawień orantów*, in: *Kultura cnoty-cnoty kultur. Materiały z konferencji naukowej. Gniezno 10-11 maja 2007*, red. T. Ewertowski – S. Krawczyk, Poznań 2010, p. 27-38. Christians, it seems, understood it similarly, since Ambrose of Milan wrote about *pietas* in the strict order: towards God, homeland and parents. Ambrosius,

According to Sozomen's views expressed in *Ecclesiastical History*, with the example of Emperor Theodosius II, God himself "showed that to those who exercise imperial power, piety alone suffices for full success, and without it, the armies are nothing, and the power of the empire and all of its inventory are nothing"²⁰. Sozomen was convinced that it was enough for an emperor to zealously worship God to retain power²¹, an example of which he also saw in the reign of Emperor Honorius, who fortuitously – as the historian argued – defeated all usurpers²². According to Sozomen, great

De officiis ministrorum I 127: „Iustitiae autem pietas est: prima in Deum, secunda in patriam tertia in parentes”. The piety and religiousness of the Romans were praised by Marcus Tullius Cicero (*De haruspicum responso* 19), among others, who argued that in this matter, they surpassed all peoples and nations (*omnes gentes, nationesque*). He believed that it was owed to the gods (*De natura deorum* I 116: “Est enim pietas iustitia adversum deos”). Similarly, Sallustius (*Bellum Catilinae* 12, 3) referred to the ancestors of the Romans as the most pious of men (*religiosissimi mortales*), while Polybius (VI 56, 7) thought that the Romans had reached the peak of this virtue, which – intertwined with private and public life – bound their state together. See: H. Dörrie, *Polybius über Pietas, Religio und Fides (Zu Buch 6, Kap. 56)*, in: *Mélanges de philosophie, de littérature et d'histoire ancienne offerts à P.Boyancé*, ed. J.-P. Boucher – R. Turcan – J.-P. Morel – P. Gros – H. Lavagne, Rome 1974, p. 251-172. Titus Livius, on the other hand, pointed out – in line with the ideas promoted by Octavian Augustus – that scrupulous observance of the rules of religious worship ensured the state's prosperity and growth in territory. Their disregard or neglect, according to him, were the cause of failures and disasters. See: W. Liebeschuetz, *The religious position of Livy's History*, JRS 57 (1967) p. 45-55; M. Jaczynowska, *Religie świata rzymskiego*, Warszawa 1987, p. 11; J. Linderski, *Roman religion in Livy*, in: *Livius: Aspekte seines Werkes*, ed. W. Schuller, Constance 1993, p. 53-70. *Pietas* was an attribute which allowed emperors to rule. They cultivated it by erecting temples, sacrificial altars, statues of gods, making sacrifices and votive offerings. See: F. Kolb, *Ideal późnoantycznego władcy. Ideologia i autoprezentacja*, tr. A. Gierlińska, Poznań 2009, p. 51. This application of the principle *do ut des* was also evident later in the conduct of Christian rulers. “An emperor devoted to God guaranteed the success of the Empire through God's blessing”. See: K. Ilski, *Idea jedności politycznej społecznej i religijnej w świetle pism Ambrożego z Mediolanu*, Poznań 2001, p. 71. In the legislation of Christian emperors, *pietas* came down to fulfilling duties to the Almighty. See: M. Stachura, *Wrogowie porządku rzymskiego. Studium zjawiska agresji językowej w Kodeksie Teodozjusza, Nowelach Postteodozjańskich i Konstytucjach Sirmondiańskich*, Kraków 2010, p. 140.

²⁰ Sozomenus, *HE* IX 1, 2: ἡ μοι δοκεῖ μάλιστα τὸν θεὸν ἐπιδειῖσαι μόνην εὐσέβειαν ἀρκεῖν πρὸς σωτηρίαν τοῖς βασιλεύουσιν, ἄνευ δὲ ταύτης μηδὲν εἶναι στρατεύματα καὶ βασιλείας ἰσχυρὰ καὶ τὴν ἄλλην παρασκευὴν.

²¹ Sozomenus, *HE* IX 16, 1: ὡς ἂν ἔχοιμεν εἰδέναι ἀρκεῖν βασιλεῖ πρὸς φυλακὴν τοῦ κράτους ἐπιμελῶς τὸ θεῖον πρεσβεῦειν, ὁποῖος καὶ οὐτοσί ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐγένετο.

²² Similarly, Augustine (*Epistulae* 185, 28) referred to Honorius as *religiosus imperator* in recognition of his merits against the Donatists.

piety and love for God (θεοφιλέξ)²³ characterized Emperor Constantine, who without God (ἄνευ θεοῦ) would not set about doing anything (οὐκ ἐπεχείρει)²⁴. This is best illustrated by a letter Constantine wrote at the end of his life to the Persian King Shapur II, paraphrased by Sozomen²⁵. In the letter, the ruler recapitulated his achievements, attributing them to Christ, the divine protector. Thus, he pointed out that thanks to his faith in Christ and His help, he united the Roman empire under his rule. Indeed, he was victorious in many wars against external enemies as well as usurpers. As Sozomen emphasized, he needed neither bloody sacrifices nor oracles for this. It was the sign of the cross, carried in front of the ranks of his own army, and prayer, free from blood and all filth, that brought him victory²⁶.

Elsewhere, Sozomen described God as a guide (ἡγεμόν) and ally (σύμμαχος) of Constantine in the battle against the enemies²⁷. As Sozomen wrote, having recognized Constantine “as a suitable servant of his will, [God] led him from the sea flowing around Britain to the territories of the East, to fortify the Christian faith”²⁸. Thus, the ruler carried out God’s plan that was associated with him. The favor of the Christian God was secured by Constantine with appropriate prayer and reference to the sign of the cross, which he made into a military banner, while renouncing blood sacrifices and pagan oracles. Thus, the ruler created a new model of religiousness and piety, and his successes proved the validity of the applied measures.

Sozomen also drew attention to the piety of Constantine’s mother, Empress Helena, who in Jerusalem did not shy away from serving tables to

²³ Sozomenus, *HE* II 3, 7.

²⁴ Sozomenus, *HE* II 34, 4.

²⁵ See: M.R. Vivian, *Eusebius and Constantine’s Letter to Shapur – Its Place in the Vita Constantini*, SP 29 (1997) p. 164-169; P.J. Leithart, *Defending Constantine. The Twilight of an Empire and the Dawn of Christendom*, Downers Grove 2010, p. 45-47; J. Bardill, *Constantine, Divine Emperor of the Christian Golden Age*, Cambridge 2011, p. 303-304.

²⁶ Sozomenus, *HE* II 15, 3-4. The indicated passage of Sozomen’s *Ecclesiastical History* was clearly based on the account of Eusebius of Caesarea, who quotes this letter, if not in its entirety, then at least significant portions of it (*Vita Constantini* IV 9-13). See also: Theodoretus, *HE* I 25.

²⁷ Sozomenus, *HE* I 4, 2: μόνον δὲ τοῦτον ἡγεῖσθαι θεόν, ὃν καὶ βασιλεὺς σέβει καὶ ἡγεμόνι καὶ συμμάχῳ χρῆται κατὰ τῶν πολεμίων.

²⁸ Sozomenus, *HE* I 8, 2: χάριν τε ὁμολογῶν, οὐ κομπάζων λέγειν ἰσχυρίζετο, ὡς ἐπιτήδειον ὑπῆρέτην ἀξιώσας αὐτὸν εἶναι ὁ θεὸς τῆς αὐτοῦ βουλήσεως ἀπὸ τῆς πρὸς Βρεττανοὺς θαλάσσης μέχρι τῶν ἐφῶν χωρίων προήγαγεν, ὅπως ἡ Χριστιανῶν αὐξηθεῖη θρησκεία.

maidens dedicated to divine service. She made votive offerings to churches, assisted the poor, and pardoned convicts²⁹. The historian even wrote about the piety shown by Julian the Apostate and his brother Gallus in their youth. It manifested as respect paid to priests and people of moral excellence and zeal for the faith, as well as frequent visits to the holy tabernacles (εὐκτηρίοις οἴκοις) and reverence shown to the tombs of martyrs³⁰.

According to Sozomen, God foresaw Theodosius II's far-reaching piety (ἐυσεβέστατον)³¹. Hence, when Theodosius was still a child, God assigned the future ruler's elder sister Pulcheria – distinguished by her God-inspired wisdom – to be the protector of his person and governance³². That wisdom helped her steer her brother on the path of piety. This virtue consisted primarily in fervent worship of God (πολλῶ τὸ θεῖον θρησκευούσα)³³ and constant prayer (συνεχῶς εὐχεσθαι)³⁴. It involved not only building new temples and endowing them with votive offerings and jewels, but also frequent visits to churches, erecting and maintaining asylums for the poor and pilgrims (καταγῶγια πτωχῶν καὶ ξένων) and the monasteries (μοναστικάς συνοικίας)³⁵. Finally, piety required respect for priests and other noble people, as well as for ascetics passionate about Christian wisdom³⁶.

1.2. Φιλανθρωπία

Another virtue attributed to Emperor Theodosius II was philanthropy (φιλανθρωπία), understood as love toward men, clemency and mercy shown to others³⁷. In the aforementioned preface to *Ecclesiastical History*, Sozomen distinguished between the outward signs of imperial power – the royal purple and crown, as well as the true imperial garb adorning

²⁹ Sozomenus, *HE* II 2.

³⁰ Sozomenus, *HE* V 2, 11.

³¹ Sozomenus, *HE* IX 1, 2.

³² Sozomenus, *HE* IX 1, 3: σοφώτατον καὶ θεῖον ἔλαβεν νοῦν.

³³ Sozomenus, *HE* IX 1, 10.

³⁴ Sozomenus, *HE* IX 1, 8.

³⁵ Sozomenus, *HE* IX 1, 10.

³⁶ Cf. Sozomenus, *HE* IX 1, 8-9: οὐχ ἥκιστα δὲ εἰς εὐσεβειαν αὐτὸν ἦγε, συνεχῶς εὐχεσθαι καὶ ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις φοιτᾶν ἐθίζουσα καὶ ἀναθήμασι καὶ κειμηλίοις τοὺς εὐκτηρίους οἴκους γεραίρειν καὶ ἐν τιμῇ ἔχειν τοὺς ἱερέας καὶ ἄλλως ἀγαθοὺς ἄνδρας καὶ τοὺς νόμῳ Χριστιανῶν φιλοσοφοῦντας. Elsewhere, Sozomen (*HE* IX 3, 2) indicates that Pulcheria, along with her sisters, adored God day and night.

³⁷ *A Patristic Greek Lexicon*, s.v. φιλανθρωπία, p. 1475-1476.

the interior of the ruler (ἐνδοθεν ἀεὶ τὸν ἀληθῆ κόσμον τῆς βασιλείας ἠμφίεσαι), which consisted of piety and philanthropy. Once again, the historian lists philanthropy immediately after piety. In this case, however, he treats it almost on a par with piety. In his *Ecclesiastical History*, Sozomen referred to this virtue several times, aligning it with mercy modeled after God's mercy. It is illustrated in his account of the proceedings of the Council of Nicaea (325), when the emperor reportedly set God's mercy as a model for the assembled people to follow in forgiving each other's offenses³⁸, or when he wrote about the Novatians' rejection of repentance and God's mercy on men (θεοῦ φιλανθρωπία)³⁹. However, most often, he mentioned philanthropy in the sense of a clement or affable attitude toward others⁴⁰, as well as in reference to love for people⁴¹, and charitable work⁴².

1.3. Ἄνδρεία

The third place among the virtues attributed to Theodosius by Sozomen was taken by ἀνδρεία, translated as courage⁴³. According to the historian, courage meant giving one's life for faith in Christ⁴⁴. Sozomen called courage the refusal of soldiers to offer sacrifice to the gods at the behest of Emperor Julian⁴⁵, or Apollo writing the treatise "In Defense of Truth", directed against Emperor Julian and pagan philosophers⁴⁶. Interestingly, out of ten examples of courage mentioned by him, the historian ascribed this virtue to as many as six women: a certain virgin consecrated to God⁴⁷; an unnamed resident of Edessa⁴⁸; a certain Nikareta from Bithynia⁴⁹; a deaconess of Olympias⁵⁰,

³⁸ Sozomenus, *HE* I 17, 4.

³⁹ Sozomenus, *HE* VIII 1, 14.

⁴⁰ Sozomenus, *HE* II 15, 2; II 27, 13; V 4, 7; V 9, 15; V 16, 6; V 16, 9; VII 23, 3; IX 5, 4.

⁴¹ Sozomenus, *HE* III 14, 16.

⁴² Sozomenus, *HE* V 16, 2.

⁴³ *A Patristic Greek Lexicon*, s.v. ἀνδρεία, p. 129-130.

⁴⁴ Sozomenus, *HE* II 9, 13; V 4, 6.

⁴⁵ Sozomenus, *HE* V 17, 7-9.

⁴⁶ Sozomenus, *HE* V 18, 8.

⁴⁷ Sozomenus, *HE* V 6, 5.

⁴⁸ Sozomenus, *HE* VI 18, 7.

⁴⁹ Sozomenus, *HE* VIII 23, 5.

⁵⁰ Sozomenus, *HE* VIII 24, 4.

one of the residents of Rome besieged by Alaric⁵¹; and Nunechia, the wife of Gerontius, the best of the commanders of the usurper Constantine, who acted against Emperor Honorius⁵².

The first, distinguished by her beauty, gave refuge to the persecuted Athanasius, Bishop of Alexandria⁵³. The second, aware of the danger, hurried with her child to where Orthodox Christians gathered to bear witness to the true faith⁵⁴. Nikareta and Olympias, on the other hand, were supporters of the dethroned bishop of Constantinople, John Chrysostom. According to Sozomen, Nikareta had been unjustly deprived of her wealth, yet she rose to the heights of moral strength, dignity and all other values, generously serving those in need⁵⁵. The affluent Olimpias brought before the prefect's court showed courage and dignity⁵⁶. The aforementioned Roman woman was ready to die in defense of her honor⁵⁷. Nunechia, on the other hand, being a Christian, showed courage, as Sozomen emphasized, worthy of her faith, accepting death at the hands of her husband, in a house surrounded by enemies⁵⁸. It seems that all the examples of courage given by Sozomen were related to faith in Christ and were linked to enduring suffering for Christ. The case of Nunechia appears the least obvious here, but the historian stressed that she was Christian, and the bravery she demonstrated was worthy of her faith.

1.4. Σωφροσύνη

In the fourth place of this catalogue of virtues, Sozomen listed σωφροσύνη, translated as soundness of mind, prudence, discretion, moderation, temperance, modesty or a moderate form of government⁵⁹. The term is difficult to translate into modern languages. For the Greeks, σωφροσύνη was the realization of the fullness of humanity. It implied a good discern-

⁵¹ Sozomenus, *HE IX* 10, 1.

⁵² Sozomenus, *HE IX* 13, 7.

⁵³ Sozomenus, *HE V* 6, 5.

⁵⁴ Sozomenus, *HE VI* 18, 7.

⁵⁵ Sozomenus, *HE VIII* 23, 5.

⁵⁶ Sozomenus, *HE VIII* 24, 4.

⁵⁷ Sozomenus, *HE IX* 10, 1.

⁵⁸ Sozomenus, *HE IX* 13, 7.

⁵⁹ *A Greek-English Lexicon*, ed. H.G. Liddell – R. Scott, Oxford 1996, s.v. σωφροσύνη, p.1751; *A Patristic Greek Lexicon*, s.v. σωφροσύνη, p. 1370.

ment of the essence of man, which involved the realization of high moral criteria. It also meant discipline and self-restraint. It indicated the harmony and integration of man and his mastery over himself. For Socrates of Athens, σωφροσύνη was knowledge of the self and, simultaneously, knowledge of good and evil⁶⁰.

In his *Ecclesiastical History*, Sozomen used the term several times, most often when describing male-female relationships, as was the case with the speech of Paphnutius, one of the Egyptian bishops, at the Council of Nicea (325) in defense of the marriage of priests who had entered into it before ordination. Paphnutius referred to their communing with their wives as σωφροσύνη⁶¹, and thus considered it the same as the virtue of moderation. In Sozomen's account, Eustathius, Bishop of Sebaste, was said to have delivered a speech on the subject of moderation (περὶ σωφροσύνης λόγους), by means of which he wanted to convince a couple who had previously vowed virginity to renounce intercourse⁶². The aforementioned virgin consecrated to God, who gave refuge to Athanasius, Bishop of Alexandria, was distinguished not only by her beauty, but also by her modesty (σωφροσύνη)⁶³. Modesty also supposedly characterized the Egyptian ascetic Apelles. Put to the test by a demon manifesting itself in the form of a beautiful woman, Apelles burned its face with a kindling iron⁶⁴. Twice Sozomen mentioned σωφροσύνη in the case of the aforementioned Roman woman who defended her honor during the siege of Rome by Alaric's troops. The historian first announced he would describe an event illustrating the bravery of this woman in upholding her modesty⁶⁵. Then he emphasized the barbarian's admiration for her virtue in the face of the utter failure of his efforts to take the woman with measures that included threats to her life⁶⁶. It seems that the σωφροσύνη attributed by Sozomen to Emperor Theodosius II also applies to his sexual moderation, since in the dedication of his work addressed to Theodosius, the historian contrasted him with the biblical Solomon, pointing out that the latter had become a slave to pleasure and had not preserved his piety⁶⁷. The historian also employed it to the emperor's

⁶⁰ See: Legutko, *Sokrates*, p. 420-427.

⁶¹ Sozomenus, *HE* I 23, 3.

⁶² Sozomenus, *HE* III 14, 37.

⁶³ Sozomenus, *HE* V 6, 2.

⁶⁴ Sozomenus, *HE* VI 28, 7.

⁶⁵ Sozomenus, *HE* XI 10, 1.

⁶⁶ Sozomenus, *HE* XI 10, 4.

⁶⁷ Sozomenus, *HE Dedicatio* 10.

general attitude in life, remarking that the latter put temperate reason above the easiness of entertainment⁶⁸, and that his nature was to control himself (φύσιν ἔχειν νομίζῃ τὴν ἐγκράτειαν)⁶⁹. However, it seems that Sozomen used σωφροσύνη primarily in reference to the emperor's moderation in the way he exercised power.

1.5. Δικαιοσύνη

In the fifth place of the aforementioned catalogue, the historian ranked δικαιοσύνη, translated as justice or righteousness⁷⁰. In the entire *Ecclesiastical History*, Sozomen referred to this virtue only three times. The first time, when he attributed it to Theodosius II; the second time, when he wrote about the virtues of those who were devoted to a monastic lifestyle (μοναστικὴν πολιτείαν) and their curbing of iniquity with the virtue of righteousness (δικαιοσύνη δὲ τὴν ἀδικίαν κολάζει)⁷¹; and the third time when mentioning the death of Valentinian II. According to Sozomen, the latter's beauty and qualities of character made him unconditionally deserving of the dignity of emperor, and his justice (δικαιοσύνη) was superior to his father's Valentinian I⁷². It is puzzling why the historian placed the virtue of justice only in the fifth place, after all, δικαιοσύνη was extremely important to the ancient Greeks. They considered it the basic moral principle organizing the world, society and human life⁷³. Justice was also the most important virtue for Evagrius of Pontus and Gregory of Nyssa⁷⁴. Sozomen pointed out that Theodosius II spent his day mainly handling the affairs of his subjects either settling disputes in court and issuing appropriate laws, or reflecting alone or in public what moves should be made⁷⁵. He thus dealt with justice in practical terms. He also served it to his subjects by organizing literary

⁶⁸ Sozomenus, *HE Dedicatio* 11.

⁶⁹ Sozomenus, *HE Dedicatio* 12.

⁷⁰ *A Patristic Greek Lexicon*, s.v. δικαιοσύνη, p. 369.

⁷¹ Sozomenus, *HE* I 12, 7.

⁷² Sozomenus, *HE* VII 22, 3.

⁷³ See: Legutko, *Sokrates*, p. 410.

⁷⁴ See: Evagrius Ponticus, *Practicus* 89, 4; Gregorius Nyssenus, *Orationes de beatitudinibus* 4, PG 44, 1232-1248; E.D. Moutsoulas, *Le Sens de la justice dans la quatrième Homélie sur les Béatitudes de Grégoire de Nysse*, in: Gregory of Nyssa, *Homilies on the Beatitudes*, ed. H.R. Drobner – A. Viciano, Leiden 2000, p. 389-396.

⁷⁵ Sozomenus, *HE Dedicatio* 8: καὶ τὰ τῶν ἀρχομένων διατάττειν πράγματα, δικάζοντά τε καὶ ἅ χρη γράφοντα, ἴδια τε καὶ κοινῇ τὰ πρακτέα διασκοποῦντα.

competitions where he was the judge (λόγων κριτής) offering pure and clear (εἰλικρινῶς βραβεύεις)⁷⁶ judgments.

1.6. Φιλοτιμία

Φιλοτιμία, understood as munificence⁷⁷, appeared in sixth place on the list by Sozomen. The historian referred to it several times in his *Ecclesiastical History*. He pointed out that the Cretans boasted of their generosity by rewarding Homer with the sum of a thousand coins and immortalizing this fact on a stone tablet⁷⁸. Emperor Severus stunned with his generosity by paying Oppian a piece of gold “for each line of mediocre poetry”⁷⁹. However, in Sozomen’s view, Emperor Theodosius II was not surpassed in generously rewarding literati in history to date⁸⁰. The historian also wrote about the imperial generosity with which Theodosius II reportedly rewarded a soldier for his concern when, during a heatwave, the warrior tried to offer him a goblet of cold drink⁸¹. In the historian’s account, Constantine generously decorated and furnished Constantinople⁸², which he founded, while its inhabitants showed their generosity to the poor⁸³. Similarly, the Iberians were said to have shown generosity in building a Christian temple⁸⁴, whereas the Caesars Galus and Julian outdid each other with largesse in erecting a temple at the tomb of the martyr Mamas⁸⁵. Emperor Julian, according to Sozomen, honored Apollo generously with votive offerings and animal sacrifices when he arrived at the deity’s oracle in Daphne⁸⁶. The sisters of Emperor Theodosius II supposedly competed in generosity for the benefit of pilgrims and the poor who needed support⁸⁷. Thus, Sozomen was referring to φιλοτιμία when he wanted to emphasize the generosity shown by rulers to their subjects, especially pilgrims and the

⁷⁶ Sozomenus, *HE Dedicatio* 4.

⁷⁷ *A Patristic Greek Lexicon*, s.v. φιλοτιμία, p. 1484.

⁷⁸ Sozomenus, *HE Dedicatio* 6.

⁷⁹ Sozomenus, *HE Dedicatio* 6.

⁸⁰ Sozomenus, *HE Dedicatio* 7.

⁸¹ Sozomenus, *HE Dedicatio* 13.

⁸² Sozomenus, *HE* II 3, 5.

⁸³ Sozomenus, *HE* II 3, 7.

⁸⁴ Sozomenus, *HE* II 7, 9.

⁸⁵ Sozomenus, *HE* V 2, 9.

⁸⁶ Sozomenus, *HE* V 19, 16.

⁸⁷ Sozomenus, *HE* IX 3, 1.

poor, but also generosity toward the Church or traditional cults. In the dedication, he directly implied that Theodosius II emulated the heavenly King, who would send reviving rain on the righteous as well as the unrighteous, and gladden them with the sunrise and grant them countless other gifts⁸⁸.

1.7. Μεγαλοψυχία

Last among the virtues attributed to Theodosius II by Sozomen was μεγαλοψυχία, translated as greatness of soul, magnanimity, high-mindedness, lordliness, or generosity⁸⁹. For Aristotle, μεγαλοψυχία was an individual virtue that makes a person capable of great benevolence⁹⁰. Aside from Theodosius II, in his *Ecclesiastical History*, Sozomen applied the term only once in reference to Valentinian II, emphasizing that the latter surpassed his father Valentinian I in this virtue⁹¹. From the context of Sozomen's account, it appears that μεγαλοψυχία was among the character traits of a true ruler, testifying to his eminence predestining him to the dignity of emperor. Thus, it seems perfectly understandable that the historian placed it last among the virtues adorning Theodosius II.

1.8. Φρόνησις ἢ Σοφία

Sozomen did not include φρόνησις in his catalogue of virtues attributed to Theodosius II. On the other hand, the aforementioned Gregory the Just – cited by Evagrius Ponticus – listed it as first among the four cardinal virtues. Φρόνησις meant intellect, understanding, wisdom, or prudence⁹². Throughout his work, Sozomen referred to this virtue only once, commenting on the previously mentioned virgin who gave shelter to Athanasius, Bishop of Alexandria. The historian noted that she took the clergyman in thanks to her bravery, and saved him thanks to φρόνησις⁹³. Interestingly, although Sozomen did not include either φρόνησις or σοφία in his compila-

⁸⁸ Sozomenus, *HE Dedicatio* 9.

⁸⁹ *A Greek-English Lexicon*, ed. H.G. Liddell – R. Scott, Oxford 1996, s.v. μεγαλοψυχία, p. 1088; *A Patristic Greek Lexicon*, s.v. μεγαλοψυχία, p. 836.

⁹⁰ Aristoteles, *Rhetorica* 1366b.

⁹¹ Sozomenus, *HE* VII 22, 3.

⁹² *A Patristic Greek Lexicon*, s.v. φρόνησις, p. 1490-1491.

⁹³ Sozomenus, *HE* V 6, 5.

tion of virtues, he did write about the extraordinary wisdom of Theodosius II. The historian pointed out that Theodosius' day was filled with various state duties, while at night the ruler avidly immersed himself in books. He remarked on the learnedness (πολυμάθεια) of Theodosius, who was said to have explored the nature of stones, the hidden powers of roots, and even the effects of medicines on par with Solomon, who was famous for his wisdom. Sozomen emphasized that the source of this wisdom, as well as Solomon's wealth, was their piety⁹⁴. A little further on, in the final part of the dedicatory speech addressed to the ruler, the historian equaled piety with wisdom. Complimenting Theodosius II, he indicated that the latter not only "knows all" (ὅ πάντα εἰδὼς), but also possesses "all virtue" (πᾶσαν ἀρετὴν ἔχων), of which first and foremost was piety (εὐσέβεια), called in the Bible the beginning of wisdom (σοφία)⁹⁵.

2. The best philosophy

This identification of piety with wisdom can be seen particularly clearly in Sozomen's writing when he introduced his readers to monastic ideas. For the historian, these Christian ascetics were the true philosophers, that is, those who loved true wisdom. The historian pointed to the birth of a new philosophy, which he called ecclesiastical philosophy (τῆς ἐκκλησιαστικῆς φιλοσοφίας)⁹⁶ – a philosophy that conforms to the laws of the Church⁹⁷ – and which he considered the best philosophy (τῆς ἀρίστης φιλοσοφίας)⁹⁸. The historian identified it with monastic ideals, stressing that it had become a way of life for many (τοῦ βίου τὴν διαγωγὴν)⁹⁹. He saw it as a gift sent to the people by God¹⁰⁰. Considering disputes as completely useless, this philosophy did not develop debating skills. Its goal was striving for moral goodness (κάλως)¹⁰¹, and a simple and righteous life¹⁰², free from perversi-

⁹⁴ Sozomenus, *HE Dedicatio* 11.

⁹⁵ Ps 110,10. Sozomenus, *HE Dedicatio* 18.

⁹⁶ Sozomenus, *HE IV* 16, 11.

⁹⁷ Sozomenus, *HE VI* 18, 2 – Gregory of Nazianzus and Basil of Caesarea had φιλοσοφεῖν ἔγνωσαν κατὰ τὸν τῆς ἐκκλησιαστικῆς νόμον.

⁹⁸ Sozomenus, *HE I* 12, 9.

⁹⁹ Sozomenus, *HE I* 13, 1; *IV* 10, 12: ἐν φιλοσοφίᾳ ὁ βίος αὐτοῖς ἦν.

¹⁰⁰ Sozomenus, *HE I* 12, 1.

¹⁰¹ Sozomenus, *HE I* 12, 2.

¹⁰² Sozomenus, *HE I* 12, 2: πρὸς τὸ βιοῦν ὀρθῶς.

ty. It taught people to put virtue into practice, to face weakness of spirit and body¹⁰³, to renounce all passions, to exercise moderation in everything, and to give up material things. It commanded to care for those in need. At the same time, it was completely God-oriented. It encouraged one to live close to Him, to worship Him day and night. The task of Christian wisdom was to propitiate the Creator of all things with constant prayers. It taught that purity of spirit and the performance of good deeds were necessary for a worthy profession of faith. Its primary goal was to share in the joy of heaven, and it made mortal life a means to that end¹⁰⁴.

There are a number of virtues in this description. Practitioners of this philosophy breathed piety or godliness (εὐλάβεια)¹⁰⁵ constantly. Piety was thus the essence of the monks' lives, since their entire existence was oriented toward God. Similarly, σοφία was of the utmost importance to them, considering their love of wisdom (φιλοσοφία), based on the power of the mind deriving its strength from God (θείου δὲ νοῦ δύναμιν κεκτημένη)¹⁰⁶. Their wisdom, therefore, did not come from them, but was a gift from God – to whom they were completely devoted – and thus resulted from their piety. Referring to the severe asceticism they practiced, Sozomen attributed them with the virtue of fortitude (ἀνδρεία). It allowed them to face weakness of spirit, impotence of body or pressures from nature¹⁰⁷. Among the virtues imputed to them, Sozomen also included σωφροσύνη, which enabled them to overcome intemperance¹⁰⁸, directly followed by δικαιοσύνη, by means of which they curbed iniquity¹⁰⁹. In Sozomen's text on the aforementioned philosophy, one can also find the virtues φιλάνθρωπία and φιλοτιμία, not mentioned by name. The historian argues that the monks based the entire organization of their lives on harmony and unity with their neighbors, caring for friends and new-

¹⁰³ Sozomenus, *HE I* 12, 3: ἀνδρείως δὲ μάλα ἀνθισταμένη τοῖς πάθεσι τῆς ψυχῆς. Cf. also: Sozomenus, *HE I* 12, 7-8.

¹⁰⁴ Sozomenus, *HE I* 12, 6: ὡς ἐν παρόδῳ δὲ τῇ παρουσίᾳ βιοτῆς κεχηρημένη οὔτε περὶ κτήσιν πραγμάτων ἀσχολουμένη ἄγχεται οὔτε πέρα τῆς κατεπειγούσης χρείας τῶν παρόντων προνοεῖ, ἀεὶ δὲ τὸ λιτὸν καὶ εὐζῶνον τῆς ἐνταῦθα κατασκευῆς ἐπαινοῦσα καταδοκεῖ τὴν ἐκεῖθεν μακαριότητα καὶ συντέταται ἀεὶ πρὸς τὴν εὐδαίμονα λῆξιν.

¹⁰⁵ Sozomenus, *HE I* 12, 7: ἀναπνεύουσα δὲ διὰ παντὸς τὴν εἰς τὸ θεῖον εὐλάβειαν.

¹⁰⁶ Sozomenus, *HE I* 12, 3.

¹⁰⁷ Sozomenus, *HE I* 12, 3: ἀνδρείως δὲ μάλα ἀνθιστάμενη τοῖς πάθεσι τῆς ψυχῆς οὔτε ταῖς ἀνάγκαις τῆς φύσεως ὑπέικει οὔτε ταῖς τοῦ σώματος ὑποκατακλίνεται ἀσθενείαις.

¹⁰⁸ Sozomenus, *HE I* 12, 7: σωφροσύνη μὲν τῆς ἀκολασίας κρατεῖ.

¹⁰⁹ Sozomenus, *HE I* 12, 7: δικαιοσύνη δὲ τὴν ἀδικίαν κολάζει.

comers¹¹⁰. They were thus guided by the love of neighbor, that is, they practiced philanthropy. Sozomen further asserted that they gave away all their possessions for the common use of the poor¹¹¹, and thus the virtue of generosity was close to them. Only μεγαλοψυχία, virtue referring to the eminence of the ruler, is missing from the catalogue of virtues attributed to Emperor Theodosius, which is perfectly understandable in the case of monks.

3. Conclusion

On the one hand, in his *Ecclesiastical History*, Sozomen presented the qualities of the ruler he held in high esteem – Theodosius II; on the other, he listed characteristics of the ascetics he admired, the new sages, living – in his view – according to the principles of the best philosophy. Interestingly, in this presentation, he applied an almost identical set of virtues that he attributed to both rulers and monks. In both cases he equated piety with wisdom and made them the most important, leading virtues. They were the ones that conditioned the subsequent qualities. Thus, in Sozomen's account, one can trace the theory of the unity of virtues characteristic of Socrates of Athens. It claimed that one cannot possess a particle of virtue without possessing the whole, nor can one possess one specific virtue without possessing all of them¹¹².

It seems that the order of virtues used by Sozomen in the catalogue of virtues ascribed to Theodosius II is not accidental, and reflects their hierarchy: εὐσέβεια-σοφία φιλανθρωπία, ἀνδρεία, σωφροσύνη, δικαιοσύνη, φιλοτιμία, and μεγαλοψυχία. This hierarchy stems from the Christian values adopted by Sozomen. Thus, in the first place was piety identified with wisdom – the central virtues determining a person's character and the other virtues. Piety was the key to a proper relationship with God. In the second place was philanthropy – that is, love for people, or mercy, likened to God's mercy. Sozomen treated philanthropy almost on par with piety, and therefore with wisdom. In the third place the historian lists fortitude, which was

¹¹⁰ Sozomenus, *HE* I 12, 8: ἐν ὁμοιοία τε καὶ κοινωνία τῇ πρὸς τοὺς πέλας τὴν πολιτείαν καθίστησι προνοητικὴ φίλων καὶ ξένων.

¹¹¹ Sozomenus, *HE* I 12, 8.

¹¹² See: T. Irwin, *Plato's Ethics*, New York – Oxford 1995, p. 41-44, 80-85; Legutko, *Sokrates*, p. 406-447. See also: A. Radde-Gallwitz, *Gregory of Nyssa on the Reciprocity of the Virtues*, *JTS NS* 58 (2007) p. 537-552.

synonymous with enduring suffering for Christ, and in the fourth place was the virtue of temperance and self-control. It becomes obvious that the enumerated virtues – more than other ones – correspond to the Christian spirit. The last three places were taken by justice, generosity and dignity, which in Sozomen's interpretation, were related more to temporal life.

Translated: Katarzyna Szuster-Tardi

The Catalogue of Virtues in the *Ecclesiastical History* of Sozomen of Bethelia

(summary)

On the one hand, in his *Ecclesiastical History*, Sozomen presented the qualities of the ruler he held in high esteem – Theodosius II; on the other, he listed characteristics of the ascetics he admired, the new sages, living – in his view – according to the principles of the best philosophy. Interestingly, in this presentation, he applied an almost identical set of virtues that he attributed to both rulers and monks. In both cases he equated piety with wisdom and made them the most important, leading virtues. They were the ones that conditioned the subsequent qualities. Thus, in Sozomen's account, one can trace the theory of the unity of virtue characteristic of Socrates of Athens. It claimed that one cannot possess a particle of virtue without possessing the whole, nor can one possess one specific virtue without possessing all of them. It seems that the order of virtues used by Sozomen in the catalogue of virtues ascribed to Theodosius II is not accidental, and reflects their hierarchy: εὐσέβεια-σοφία φιlanθρωπία, ἀνδρεία, σωφροσύνη, δικαιοσύνη, φιλοτιμία, and μεγαλοψυχία. This hierarchy stems from the Christian values adopted by Sozomen.

Keywords: Sozomen; *Ecclesiastical History*; Cardinal Virtues

Katalog cnót w *Historii kościelnej* Sozomena z Bethelii

(streszczenie)

W swojej *Historii kościelnej* Sozomen przedstawił przymioty, z jednej strony władcy, którego obdarzał wielką estymą, a więc Teodozjusza II, a z drugiej podziwianych przez siebie ascetów, nowych mędrców, żyjących w jego przekonaniu według zasad najlepszej filozofii. Interesujące, że użył do tego niemal identyczny zestaw cnót, który przypisywał i władcy, i mnichom. W obydwu przypadkach pobożność utożsamiał z mądrością i czynił z nich najważniejsze, wiodące cnoty. To one warunkowały kolejne przymioty. Można zatem w przekazie Sozomena doszukiwać się teorii jedności cnót charakterystycznej już dla Sokratesa z Aten, wedle którego nie można posiadać części jakiejś cnoty, nie posiadając jej całości, ani posiadać jednej konkretnej cnoty, nie posiadając wszystkich. Wydaje się, że zastosowana przez Sozomena kolejność cnót w katalogu zalet przypisa-

nych Teodozjuszowi II nie jest przypadkowa, a oddaje ich hierarchię: εὐσέβεια-σοφία φιλανθρωπία, ἀνδρεία, σωφροσύνη, δικαιοσύνη, φιλοτιμία, μεγαλομυχία. Hierarchia ta wynika z chrześcijańskich wartości przyjętych przez Sozomena.

Słowa kluczowe: Sozomen; *Historia kościelna*; cnoty kardynalne

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Marek Wilczyński¹

A Book for the King. Some Reflections on the Situation of the Roman Population and the Preservation of the Heritage of Ancient Civilization in Gallaecia and Lusitania in the 5th and 6th Centuries

In the early 570s, the city of Braga (*Bracara Augusta*), the capital of the kingdom of the Suebi (Suevi), saw a historically significant event. The metropolitan bishop, St. Martin of Braga (c. 510/520-c. 580), presented the Germanic “barbarian” ruler, king Miro (?-583), with a philosophical treatise entitled *Formula vitae honestae*². It was entirely dedicated to deliberations on the cardinal virtues: prudence, magnanimity, temperance (moderation), and justice³. According to the information stated in the prologue, the erudite bishop had written the dissertation at the king’s explicit request. Miro often informed St. Martin that he was eagerly looking forward to receiving his writings. In fulfillment of the king’s request, the bishop offered his “little work” to Miro “[...] to be read out for [...] the receptive ears [...]”, commenting that in the absence of the smoothness of sophistry, it was characterized by simplicity. With a dexterity of an experienced court-

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² Martinus Bracarenensis, *Formula vitae honestae*, Praefatio, in: C.W. Barlow (ed), *Martini episcopi Bracarenensis Opera omnia*, London 1950, p. 236: “Gloriosissimo ac tranquilissimo et insigni catholicae fidei praedito pietate Mironi regi Martinus humilis Episcopus”.

³ Martinus Bracarenensis, *Formula vitae honestae* 1a, 1-4, Barlow, p. 237: “Quattuor virtutum species multorum sapientium sententiis definitiae sunt quibus humanus animus comptus ad honestatem vitae possit accedere: harum prima est prudentia, secunda magnanimitas, tertia continentia, quarta iustitia”.

ier, the bishop also noted that he did not compose it for the king alone, as the ruler had his innate wisdom, but primarily for the royal servants and aides to help them understand the meaning and the true essence of the cardinal virtues as well as to make them follow such values in their service to the king⁴. Finally, he added that living in accordance with the cardinal virtues was not possible exclusively to the very few scholars and saints, but also to the simple people who followed the natural laws originating from the reason⁵. Therefore, such a life is available for everyone who is guided by the reason.

Descriptions of how to cultivate each cardinal virtue in question and indications of the benefits coming from the practice of the virtues can be found successively in chapters 2-5 of the work presented to King Miro. As it is necessary to outline the things only very briefly here, let us have a look at the most important points of the moral instruction offered there. Those guided by prudence will always be true to themselves; refraining from passing judgements in uncertain matters, they will avoid making mistakes arising from a superficial assessment of events and remain safe from any unexpected twist of fate⁶. The magnanimous king will be calm and joyful, and will be awaiting the final days of his earthly life without fear. He will not take revenge on the enemies already defeated as the very possibility of taking revenge and his forgiveness are honourable ways of seeking retribution. He will not have recourse to treachery and deceit as such dishonourable conduct befits only those who are weak⁷. Temperance in food

⁴ Martinus Bracarenis, *Formula vitae honestae* 1, 10-16, Barlow, p. 237: "Quem non vestrae specialiter institutioni, cui naturalis sapientiae sagacitas praesto est, sed generaliter his conscripsi quos ministeriis tuis adstantes haec convenit legere, intellegere et tenere".

⁵ Martinus Bracarenis, *Formula vitae honestae* 1a, 16-22, Barlow, p. 237: "[...] sed a magis commonet quae et sine divinarum scripturarum praeceptis naturali tantum humanae intellegentiae lege etiam a laicis recte honesteque viventibus valent adimpleri".

⁶ Martinus Bracarenis, *Formula vitae honestae* 2, 1-2, 13-16, 20-24, Barlow, p. 238-239: "Si prudentiam amplecters, ubique idem eris [...]. De dubiis non definias sed suspensam tene sententiam. Nihil affirmes, quia non omne quod verisimile est static et verum est, siut et saepius quod primum incredibile videtur non continuo falsum est. [...]. Si pudens esse cupis, in futura prospectum intende et quae possunt contingere, animo tuo cuncta propone. Nihil tibi subitum sit sed totum ante prospectes. Nam qui prydens est non dicit: «Non putavi hoc fieri», quia non dubitat sed expectat, nec suspic atur sed cavet".

⁷ Martinus Bracarenis, *Formula vitae honestae* 3, 1-4, 13-16, 20-24, Barlow, p. 241: "Magnanimitas vero, quae et fortitudo dicitur, si insit animo tuo, cum magna fiducia vives liber, interpidus, alecer. Magnum humani animi bonum est non tremere, sed constare sibi et finem huius vitae intrepidus exexpectare [...] et cum illum in potestate tua

and drink as well as humble dwellings befit great men, who adorn their homes with the virtues they embody, instead of allowing the splendour of their residence to adorn them. The moderate king shall accept admonitions with gratitude, treating them as lessons to learn from and opportunities to take advantage of the assistance offered by other people⁸. The just ruler acts in accordance with the inherent divine law and, following his love of God, attempts to imitate God, offering help to his fellow men and stopping the deeds of the unjust⁹. The manifestations of the four cardinal virtues, as described, make up a certain picture of the ideal ruler, thus becoming part of the vision of the sovereign ruler as a looking-glass of justice and virtue, which can be found in many historical periods. The words of caution contained in chapters 6-9 are points of interest as well. The bishop of Braga warns the king against exaggeration or overzealous attitude, both of which may turn any virtue into a vice. Thus, the prudence may become deviousness, the magnanimity – boastfulness and impulsiveness, the moderation – meanness, and the justice – cruel and excessive severity¹⁰.

A noteworthy fact is the absence of the strictly Christian point of view in the *Formula vitae honestae* as only a reference to the love of God in the characteristics of justice is certainly an expression of Christian convictions. On the other hand, the title of the treatise bears much resemblance to the thoughts and ideas represented by Stoics, in particular those present in the writings of Lucius Annaeus Seneca (c. 4 BC-65 AD). The attitude of the eminent Church Fathers to the pagan Stoic philosophy was not overwhelmingly negative. The conception of the life regulated by a set of simple morals as propagated by Stoics was not alien to Christian philosophers. Although some of them, such as Jerome, perceived some Stoic teachings as a source

videris, vindictam putabis vindicare potuisse: scito enim honestum et magnum vindicare esse genus ignoscere. Neminem susurro apetas, neminem suffodias: palam egredere. Non geres conflictum nisi indixeris: nam fraudes et doli imbecillum decent”.

⁸ Martinus Bracarenis, *Formula vitae honestae* 4, 6-7, 14-15, Barlow, p. 242: “Ede citra cruditatem, bibe citra eberitatem [...]. Si cosistentiae studes, habita non amoene sed salubiter, nec dominum notum velis esse a domo, sed domum a domino”.

⁹ Martinus Bracarenis, *Formula vitae honestae* 5, 5-11, Barlow, p. 246: “Quisquis ergo hanc sectari desiseras, time prius deum et ama deum, ut ameris a deo. Amabis enim deum, si illum in hoc imitaberis, et velis omnibus prodesse, nulli nocere et tunc te iustum virum appellabunt omnes, sequentur, venerabuntur et diligent. Iustus enim ut sis, non solum non nocebis, sed etiam nocentem prohiberis. Nam nihil nocere non est iustitia, sed abstinentia alieni est”.

¹⁰ Martinus Bracarenis, *Formula vitae honestae* 6, 4-6, 7, 1-3, 8, 1-3, 9, 1-5, Barlow, p. 247-249.

of heresy, they would accept the moral norms espoused by the Stoics¹¹. The most significant evidence in confirmation of the fact that St. Martin of Braga had known the works of Seneca very well is his treatise *De ira*, which is dedicated to Wittimer (?-?), bishop of Aquae Urentes (Ourense). Except for the introduction and the epilogue, St. Martin of Braga composed the entire text of the treatise by skilfully collating extensive fragments meticulously transferred from Seneca's treatise with the same title¹². In the case of the *Formula vitae honestae*, it is difficult to indicate any specific work by Seneca which the bishop of Braga may have taken as a model to be followed, but this treatise continued to be copied profusely for centuries during the medieval period (after its preface had already been lost before) as Seneca's original composition, often published with the title *De quattuor virtutibus cardinalibus*. It was only in the 16th century that scholars and editors re-identified St. Martin of Braga as the author and the first text of the work

¹¹ Similar thoughts can be found in Tertullian and (as mentioned not without reservations) in St. Jerome. This was described, among others, by: M. Starowieyski, *Wstęp. Marcin z Bragi i jego dzieło*, w: Marcin z Bragi, *Dzieła*, Kęty 2008, p. 34-35; A. Capone, *Stoici, qui nostro dogmati in plerisque concordant: Gerolamo e lo stoicismo*, "Adamantius. Annuario di Letteratura Cristiana Antica e di Studi Giudeoellenistici" 24 (2018) p. 442-450; S. Tavares, *O Senequismo de S. Martinho de Dume*, "Revista Portuguesa de Filosofia" 6/4 (1950) p. 383-384; Claude W. Barlow puts together in contrast the three moral treatises of Saint Martin of Braga (*Pro repellent iactantia, Item de superb, Exhortation humilitatis*) to *Formula vitae honestae* and *De ira* and writes: "The philosophy of these three works of Martinis Essentially Christian in character, as opposed to the *De ira* and *Formula vitae honestae* which are purely Stoic" C.W. Barlow (ed), *Martini episcopi bracarenensis opera omnia*, London 1950, p. 55.

¹² C.W. Barlow (ed), *Martini episcopi bracarenensis opera omnia*, London 1950, p. 145-146; C.W. Barlow, *Introduction*, in: *Iberian Fathers*, v. 1, Martin of Braga, *Paschasius of Dumium. Leander of Seville*, Washington 1969, p. 9-10; G. Sabbah, *Introduction*, in: Martin de Braga. *Œuvres morales et pastorales*, Paris 2018, p. 27; Starowieyski, *Wstęp. Marcin z Bragi i jego dzieło*, p. 34-35, 39-42; P.F. Alberto, *Sêneca e Martinho de Braga: Alguns fantasmas de um recepção*, "Euphrosyne" 21 (1993) p. 119-121, 137-138; P.F. Alberto, "Dentes strident". *Uma reflexão sobre um passo do "De ira" de Martinho de Braga*, "Euphrosyne" 17 (1989) p. 281-286; G. Lopetegui, *Prosa métrica versus prosa rítmica: el "De ira" de Sêneca en un resumen de Martin de Braga*, "Cuadernos de Filología Clásica" 3 (1992) p. 137-144; Tavares, *O Senequismo de S. Martinho de Dume*, p. 385-387. A comparative statement of *De ira* by Seneca and Marcin was presented by M. Ferreira de Sousa, *De Ira S. Martini Dumiensis et La. Senecase*, "Revista Portuguesa de Filosofia" 6/4 (1950) p. 388-397; A. Ferreiro, *St. Martins of Braga policy toward heretics and pagan practices*, "The American Benedictine Review" 3/4 (1983) p. 390-391.

based upon the earliest manuscript was published in the 18th century¹³. The philosophical as well as philological research into the texts by St. Martin of Braga performed in the 20th-21st centuries confirm not only the bishop's great erudition, but also his solid reliance on the intellectual heritage of Seneca. His good knowledge of Christian authors allowed him to draw on their writings as well. For his short moral treatises *Pro repellenda iactantia* and *De superbia*, he adapted some of John Cassian's views expressed in the books XI and XII of the *De institutis coenobitorum et de octo principalium vitionum remediis*¹⁴. There is no doubt that he had also drawn on the works of Jerome and Augustine¹⁵. He had a great merit in introducing the spirit of the Eastern monasticism (*Sententiae Patrum Aegyptiorum*) and the principles of the activity and organization of the Church determined at the synods of the East (*Capitula ex Orientalium Patrum Synodis*) to the inhabitants of the westernmost fringes of the former Imperium Romanum. His knowledge of Greek allowed him to make translations from that language, with some assistance of Paschasius, who was one of the monks from Dume (a congregation founded by St. Martin of Braga)¹⁶.

Contemporary sources emphasize St. Martin's great erudition¹⁷ as well as his pastoral and organizational services (to be discussed in more detail

¹³ Until the beginning of the 16th century, the treatise was considered a work of Seneca and even part of the correspondence between Seneca and Paul. Erasmus of Rotterdam described the work in 1529 as "falso Senecae tributa". They wrote about the medieval editions of the work as Seneca text and the reassignment of the work to St. Martin of Braga in the 16th century: C.W. Barlow (ed), *Martini episcopi bracarenensis opera omnia*, p. 209-210, 224-232; Starowieyski, *Wstęp. Marcin z Bragi i jego dzieło*, p. 41-42; P.F. Alberto, *Sêneca e Martinho de Braga: Alguns fantasmas de um recepção*, p. 123-125; Sabbah, *Introduction*, p. 35-38; E. Bickel, *Die Schrift des Martins von Bracara "Formula vitae honestae"*, "Rheinisches Museum" 60 (1905) p. 505-510; Ferreiro, *St. Martin of Braga's policy toward heretics and pagan practices*, p. 390.

¹⁴ C.W. Barlow (ed), *Martini episcopi bracarenensis opera omnia*, p. 53-55. At the end of the 20th century, Amaldo Monteiro de Espírito Santo doubted the influence of Cassian's writings on the work of Saint Martin of Braga, as Marek Starowieyski pointed out. A. Monteiro do Espírito Santo, *A recepção de Cassiano e das Vitae Patrum. Um estudo literário de Braga no séc. VI*, Universidade de Lisboa 1993, p. 173, 176 (Tese de doutorado); Starowieyski, *Wstęp. Marcin z Bragi i jego dzieło*, p. 57.

¹⁵ C.W. Barlow (ed), *Martini episcopi bracarenensis opera omnia*, p. 163-165; G. Sabbah, *Introduction*, p. 38-39; Starowieyski, *Wstęp. Marcin z Bragi i jego dzieło*, p. 47.

¹⁶ C.W. Barlow (ed), *Martini episcopi bracarenensis opera omnia*, p. 12 - 13; Barlow, *Introduction*, p. 113-115, 117.

¹⁷ Gregorius Turonensis, *Historia Francorum* V 37, 10-13, ed. B. Krusch, MGH *Scriptores Rerum Merovingicarum* 1/1, Hannoverae 1951, p. 243: "Hoc tempore et beatus

hereafter). He should be certainly credited with bringing back and working to restore the Roman culture in a degree of a peculiar “local renaissance” in Gallaecia, most probably with King Miro’s support and assistance in ensuring to maintain it. The Suebian king is praised in the preface to the *Formula vitae honestae* as a wise ruler, shown in anticipation of receiving more works of wisdom. Although there are examples of some other similar “local revivals” in the course of the 5th-6th centuries¹⁸, the achievements of St. Martin of Braga are by no means diminished in this regard.

The relations between the Roman and Suebian populations would not always turn out so well as under the rule of the Suebian king Miro. The situation of the Romans in Gallaecia and Lusitania was going through many changes from the beginning of the barbarian invasion up until the final years of the Suebian kingdom. However, changes were also taking place in the conditions of the existence and functioning of the local Roman elites, urban populations, and the clergy, i.e., those social groups that preserved the heritage of ancient civilization to the greatest extent. Over time, they would also begin to share it with the Suebian tribal elites, as discussed further on.

In 409, more than a century and a half before the events at the court of Braga described above, king Hermeric (?-441), one of Miro’s predecessors, crossed the Pyrenees with his warriors, *en route* from Gaul to the south. His army was not large as the number of Suebian soldiers is estimated at 5,000-8,000 at the time¹⁹. Concurrently, Vandals and Alans invaded the Roman

Martinus Gallicensis episcopus obiit, Magnum populo illi faciens planctum. [...] in tantum se litteris inuit, ut nulli secundus suis temporibus haberetur”.

¹⁸ An example of this is the architectural and intellectual heyday of Carthage during the reign of the vandal king Thrasamund, which Florentinus announced in: “In laudem regis – victrix Carthago triumphat, Cartago Asdingis genetrix [...]. Cartago excellens Libycas [...] Carthago studiis, Carthago ornata magistris [...] Carthago florens, Thrasamundi nomine regnans! Cuius imperium maneat per secula felix” (Anthologia Latina 376, 29-37, ed. F. Buechelen – A. Riese, Lipsiae 1894, p. 289. On this and other “local renaissance” see Y. Hen, *Roman Barbarians. The Royal Court and Culture in the Early Medieval West*, New York 2007, p. 74-83 (Thrasamund), 27-58 (Theodoric the Great), 141-152 (Sisebut and St. Isidore of Seville).

¹⁹ The following researchers commented on the number of warriors of the tribe during the invasion of Spain: W. Reinhart, *O reino Hispânico dos Suevos*, Coimbra 1944, p. 18; W. Reinhart, *Los Suevos em tiempo de su invasion em Hispania*, Madrid 1946, p. 311; J.-P. Leguay, *O “Portugal” Germânico*, in: *Nova História de Portugal*, v. 2: *Portugal das Invasões Germanicas à “Reconquista”*, ed. A.H. de Oliveira Marques – J. Serrão, Lisboa 1993, p. 27; J. Pampliega, *Los germanos en España*, Pamplona 1998, p. 277.

Spain through the passes in the Pyrenees²⁰. There are reasons to believe that the province of *Gallaecia* was a place of their permanent settlement from the beginning. Following the division of the provinces of the dioceses of Hispania among the barbarian domains in 411, they shared it with the *Hasting* Vandals, but after their victory over the Vandal rivals and the departure of the latter for *Baetica*²¹, the Suebi continued to settle Gallaecia as the only barbarian people. The accounts on the beginnings of their taking control of the province do not foreshadow their future assimilation with the Roman population in the time of Miro and St. Martin of Braga. The initial wave of the onslaught, marked by acts of violence, plunder, and devastation, continued through the years 409-411. The sources on the events of this period convey the picture of the terrible misery suffered by the inhabitants of the province, while Hydatius (c. 400-c. 469), the author closest to those events, writes about the mass murder, the ensuing plague, people (both living and dead) devoured by wild animals, and the horrendous famine leading to acts of cannibalism. He compares the misfortunes suffered by the Roman Spain to the Biblical plagues known from the prophecies of Ezekiel (14:21) or the visions of the Apocalypse (6:8)²².

For nearly 20 years of Hermeric's reign, Gallaecia had been the main area of the confrontation between the Suebi and the local Roman population. An exceptional occurrence was the military leader Hermigar's (?-429)

²⁰ Hydatius, *Chronica* 42, in: *Chronik des Hydatius, Fortführung der spanischen Epitome*, ed. J.-M. Kötter – C. Scardino, Paderborn 2019, p. 98; Paulus Orosius, *Historiarum adversus paganos libri VII* VII 40, 9, in: *Histoires (Contre les Païens)*, ed. M.P.A. Lindet, 3/7, Paris 1991, p. 120; Olympiodorus, *Historiarum librorum XII fragmenta*, Fr. 29; R.C. Blockley, *The Fragmentary Classicising Historians of the Later Roman Empire. Eunapius, Olympiodorus, Priscus and Malchus. (II) Text, Translation and Historiographical Notes*, Liverpool 1983, p. 192; Prosper Tiro, *Chronica* 1237, *Chronik*, ed. M. Becker – J.-M. Kötter, Paderborn 2016, p. 82; Gregorius Turonensis, *Historia Francorum* II 2, 1-3, ed. B. Krusch, "MGH Scriptores Rerum Merovingicarum" 1/1 (1951) p. 39; Isidorus Hispalensis, *Historia de regibus Gothorum, Wandalorum et Suevorum* 71, ed. T. Mommsen, MGH Auctores Antiquissimi 11, Berolini 1894, p. 295; *Chronica Gallica* 63-64, in: *Gallische Chroniken*, ed. J.-M. Kötter – C. Scardino, Paderborn 2017, p. 58; Paulus Diaconus, *Historia Romana* XII 17, ed. H. Droysen, MGH Auctores Antiquissimi 2, Berolini 1879, p. 195.

²¹ Hydatius, *Chronica* 71, 74, 77, ed. J.-M. Kötter – C. Scardino, p. 108-110.

²² Hydatius, *Chronica* 48, ed. J.-M. Kötter – C. Scardino, p. 100. Olympiodorus also wrote about cannibalism in Spain under the same circumstances and at the same time – see Olympiodorus, *Historiarum librorum XII fragmenta*, Fr. 29, 2, ed. Blockley, Liverpool 1983, p. 192.

failed attempt to invade Mérida in 429, when he was swiftly defeated by Geiseric (?-477), king of the Vandals²³. Apart from that one episodic event, Hermeric directed his raids at the Roman population of Gallaecia, while the Latin word *depraedationes* is the term which Hydatius uses most frequently to describe the economic and political activity of the Suebian ruler. Like inhabitants in the other parts of the empire affected by the barbarian incursions, the population of Gallaecia put up resistance by forming local self-defence units, most likely under the leadership of the local *possessores* who had private armed detachments at their command or had some resources for organizing local militias. Their resistance compelled Hermeric, whose warriors were often killed or taken captive, to undertake negotiations and call a truce in 430, followed by a permanent peace agreement in 438²⁴. The pagan ruler had already previously realized that the cooperation with the episcopate of Gallaecia could aid him in a peaceful arrangement of the relations with the local Romans and the distant centre of Imperial authority, so necessary for a proper growth of his realm. It was already in 433 that he entrusted bishop Symphosius (?-?) with a diplomatic mission to the Imperial court²⁵. Those events signalled a shift in the relations between the Romans and the Suebi.

²³ Hydatius, *Chronica* 90, ed. J.-M. Kötter – C. Scardino, p. 114. More on the term of Hermigar, perhaps the father of Flavius Rycimer: W. Reinhart, *Historia geral del reino hispánico de los Suevos*, Madrid 1952, p. 39; S. Hamann, *Vorgeschichte und Geschichte der Sueben in Spanien*, München 1971, p. 95; C. Torres Rodríguez, *El reino de los Suevos*, Santiago de Compostella 1977, p. 68; Leguay, *O "Portugal" Germánico*, p. 44; T. Stickler, *Aëtius. Gestaltungsspielräume eines Herrmeisters im ausgehenden Weströmischen Reich*, München 2002, p. 232; X. Vilar Bernárdez, *O comezo da nossa Idade Media. A Gallecia que se emancipou de Roma*, Noia 2003, p. 147-148; M. Kulikowski, *Late Roman Spain and its Cities*, Baltimore – London 2004, p. 178.

²⁴ Hydatius, *Chronica* 91, 113, ed. J.-M. Kötter – C. Scardino, p. 120-122.

²⁵ Hydatius, *Chronica* 101, ed. J.-M. Kötter – C. Scardino, p. 118. On the role of *defensores civitatis* or bishops as representatives of the Roman population in territories controlled by barbarians see S. Baumgart, *Die Bischofsherrschaft im Gallien des 5. Jahrhunderts*, München 1995; G. Maier, *Amtsträger und Herrscher in der Romania Gothica. Vergleichende Untersuchungen zu den Institutionen der ostgermanischen Völkerwanderungsgeschichte*, Stuttgart 2005, p. 279-287; S. Schmidt-Hofner, *Der defensor civitatis und die Entstehung des Notabelregiments in den spätrömischen Städten*, in: *Chlodwigs Welt. Organisation und Herrschaft um 500*, ed. M. Meier – S. Patzold, Stuttgart 2014, p. 487-522; S. Patzold, *Bischöfe, soziale Herkunft und die Organisation lokaler Herrschaft um 500*, in: *Chlodwigs Welt. Organisation und Herrschaft um 500*, ed. M. Meier – S. Patzold, Stuttgart 2014, p. 523-544. For the diplomatic mission of Symphosius, see also: F.J. Sanz Huesma, *Hidacio y Censorio. El foedus de 438 entre*

King Rechila (?-448), Hermeric's successor, was the first one to treat the territory of Gallaecia as his own property, not as an object of depredation. He also had ambitious plans for taking advantage of the temporary political vacuum, after the Vandals' migration to Africa, and taking control of the whole territory of Spain (except for the province of *Tarraconensis*, still under the Roman Empire's control). The Suebian ruler conquered *Lusitania*, *Baetica*, and *Carthaginiensis*²⁶, establishing his residence at Mérida (*Emerita Augusta*)²⁷. As the administrative centre of the diocese of Hispania, Mérida was a place where the elements of the ancient civilization continued to exist as well as an important centre of the worship of St Eulalia, notable for its role in the Christianization of Gallaecia²⁸. In Braga, duke Rechiar (?-456) was in power on behalf of his father. It may be assumed that he maintained relations with the Roman circles, based in the city and the environs, who preserved the elements of ancient culture²⁹ and remained faithful to Christianity under the rule of the pagan Suebian kings. There is no doubt that the milieu of the metropolitan bishop formed a strong centre of the persistence of the Roman civilisation in Braga. The intensity of the relations with bishop Balconius paved the way for Rechiar's baptism and

Roma y los suevos, "Polis. Revista de ideas y formas políticas de la Antiquedad Clásica" 21 (2009) p. 59-75.

²⁶ Hydatius, *Chronica* 123, ed. J.-M. Kötter – C. Scardino, p. 124: "Rex Rechila Hispali obtenta, Baeticam et Carthaginiensem provincias in suam redigit potestatem".

²⁷ Hydatius, *Chronica* 119, ed. J.-M. Kötter – C. Scardino, p. 122: "Rechila rex Suevorum Emeritam ingreditur"; Isidorus Hispalensis, *Historia de regibus Gothorum, Wandalorum et Suevorum*, ed. T. Mommsen, p. 300: "Inde Emeritam obsessam ingreditu, atque obtentiam propria regno associat". On Rechila's political plans and the Romans' attempts to stop them, see Kulikowski, *Late Roman Spain and its Cities*, p. 181-184; M. Wilczyński, *Królestwo Swebów – regnum in extremitate mundi*, Kraków 2011, p. 122-133; P. Díaz, *El reino suevo (411-585)*, Madrid 2011, p. 75-78; D. Gazotti Medeiros, *Em busca de uma identidade romano – barbara: a emulação das instituições romanas pelas monarquias goda e sueva na primeira metade do seculo V*, "Romanitas. Revista de Estudos Grecolatinos" 7 (2016) p. 240-241.

²⁸ X.-L. Pita Armada, *El Culto a Santa Eulalia y la cristianización de Gallaecia: algunos testimonios arqueológicos*, „HABIS" 34 (2003) p. 365-388.

²⁹ The term "culture" can have different meanings. In the case of this article, it is not limited to the literary, spiritual and philosophical field, but is broader. By "Roman culture" I mean a wider spectrum of Roman (or ancient) heritage, which includes the preservation of the language, customs, way of life and urban institutions that are typical of the Roman world. Of course, the organizational and missionary activity of the Church also falls under the term. Compare with: Hen, *Roman Barbarians. The Royal Court and Culture in the Early Medieval West*, p. 3-26.

conversion to the Nicene creed immediately after his father's death in 448, which was a clear move towards the rapprochement between the king (and his court) and the Roman population in the province³⁰. It is possible that such a step may have also facilitated the emergence through the process of assimilation, of the ethnically mixed landed aristocracy of the old and new (Suebian) estate owners³¹. This conciliatory policy was apparently not harmed by the formation of a circle of the arian (homoian) influence at the court in connection with Rechiar's marriage to the daughter of Theodoric I (?-455), king of the Visigoths, especially as the Suebian alliance with the Visigoths was a short-lived one. Unfortunately for the Suebi Kingdom, the crisis in the Suebi-Visigothic relations ended up in a military intervention by Rechiar's brother-in-law, king of the Visigoths Theodoric II (?-466), in alliance with the Burgundian rulers Gundioch (?-c. 473/474) and Chilperic I (?-c.482). On 5 October 456, the Suebi were defeated at Páramo, after which Rechiar was captured and executed³². In spite of the fact that Theodoric II acted on behalf of the empire as an ally and friend of the emperor Eparchius Avitus (c. 390-457), the violence and pillage which the clergy, local inhabitants, and the temples of Braga and Astorga suffered upon the incursion of the Visigoths and Burgundians were nothing but a cause for immense distress for the Roman population "liberated" with the use of such

³⁰ Hydatius, *Chronica* 137, ed. J.-M. Kötter – C. Scardino, p. 128; Isidorus Hispalensis, *Historia de regibus Gothorum, Wandalorum et Suevorum* 87, ed. T. Mommsen, p. 301. See also Hamman, *Vorgeschichte und Geschichte der Sueben in Spanien*, p. 107-108; Torres Rodríguez, *El reino de los Suevos*, p. 115; Vilar Bernárdez, *O comezo da nossa Idade Media. A Gallecia que se emancipou de Roma*, p. 94; Stickler Aëtius. *Gestaltungsspielräume eines Herrmeisters im ausgehenden Weströmischen Reich*, p. 229; Díaz *El reino suevo*, p. 78-79; Wilczyński, *Królestwo Swebów – regnum in extremitate mundi*, p. 133-141. On the importance of Rechiara's baptism and its influence on the tribal elite: D. Gazotti Medeiros, *Que todos os Suevos regressem a sua autoridade régia: a construção de uma identidade monárquica sueva durante o século V*, Curitiba 2018, p. 158. On the influence of the Roman elite on the tribal in Gallaecia: A. Ferreira, *Saint Martin of Braga and Germanic Languages an Addendum to Recent Research*, "Peritia" 6-7 (1987) p. 158

³¹ Torres Rodríguez, *El reino de los Suevos*, p. 115.

³² *Chronicorum CaesarAugustanum Reliquie*, a. 458, ed. T. Mommsen, MGH Auctores Antiquissimi 11, Berolini 1894, p. 222; Hydatius, *Chronica* 173, ed. J.-M. Kötter – C. Scardino, p. 142; Iordanes, *Getica – de origine actibusque Getarum* 232, ed. T. Mommsen, MGH Auctores Antiquissimi 5/1, Berolini 1882, p. 117; *Auctarium Prosperi Havniense* a. 457, 1, in: *Consularia Italica*, ed. T. Mommsen, MGH Auctores Antiquissimi 11, Berolini 1892, p. 305; Isidorus Hispalensis, *Historia de regibus Gothorum, Wandalorum et Suevorum* 86, ed. T. Mommsen, p. 300-301.

a peculiar method³³. The disparity in the descriptions of the events between the accounts of Hydatius and Jordanes (?-after 552) can be explained by the fact that the transmission of Jordanes refers to the Suebi, while Hydatius recounts the misery of the Roman population in the cities captured by Theodoric II.

The initial attempts at a peaceful coexistence of the Suebi and the Roman population made it certainly easier for the latter to preserve the legacy of ancient civilization. In the course of time, *cultura Romana* and *cultura christiana* evolved towards one common identity in Spain, while the leading role of the Gallaecian clergy as an intermediary between the barbarians and the Romans is unquestionable. However, the military and political disaster of the Suebian kingdom in the year 456 resulted in the weakening of the assimilation processes and the ensuing partition of the royal authority among Maldras (?-460), Framta(?-?), Frumari (?-464), and Rechimund (?-469) was a period of the regress to depredations and hostility. An additional threat, as Hydatius points out³⁴, was the emergence of a Visigothic arian (homoian?)³⁵ mission, resulting in the religious reorientation of the court and some elements of the Suebian people towards the heretical confession.

In the context of our discussion on the preservation of the elements of ancient culture, it is worth taking a closer look at the literary work of Hydatius, bishop of Aquae Flaviae, our main source of information on the situation in Gallaecia up to the year 468. There are reasons to believe that he was an educated man (although perhaps not as well-educated as St. Martin of Braga), one of those inhabitants of Gallaecia who may have viewed the preservation of the Roman culture, even in its Late-Antique form, as a chance for the perpetuation of the cultural identity under the rule of barbarian kingdoms. In addition to his very good knowledge of the Bible and Christian writings, he also displayed – at least in a major part of his chronicle – a rational approach to supernatural phenomena and omens. In many instances, he reckons those as natural phenomena

³³ Taking control of the capital was bloodless, but there was violence and robbery in the city. On the behavior of the Visigoths in the conquered cities see the contradictory accounts of Hydatius and Jordanes – Hydatius, *Chronica* 174, ed. J.-M. Kötter – C. Scardino, p. 142-144; Iordanes, *Getica – de origine actibusque Getarum* 233-234, ed. T. Mommsen, p. 117-118. On Hydatius' repeated references to biblical prophecies, see C. Hartmann de Cardelle, *Philologische Studien zur Chronik des Hydatius von Chaves*, Stuttgart 1994, p. 156-158.

³⁴ Hydatius, *Chronica* 232, ed. J.-M. Kötter – C. Scardino, p. 160.

³⁵ The ancient sources consistently use only the terms “Arianism”, “Arian”.

with no context allowing for revealing the future, in accordance with the Christian aversion to the pagan “prodigies”. Over time, however, he would more and more often show his tendency to return to the older, so characteristically ancient Classical, way of associating the supernatural signs with the related consequences, usually of a catastrophic and pessimistic character. He was consistent in avoiding any form of divination intentionally caused by fortune-tellers, e.g., auspices, but he would more often tend to embrace the ancient ways of interpreting the signs beyond the range of human activity (e.g., solar eclipses, earthquakes, weather anomalies, unusual signs), as if modelling his interpretations on those typical of the ancient Roman culture³⁶.

The sources offer no traces of a reception of the Roman civilisation by the Suebi or indications of any more intense barbarian-Roman assimilation during the time of Rechimund’s sole reign, and it would be all the more difficult to find such evidence in the historiographically obscure “dark period” between after the ending of Hydatius’ chronicle (468) and the conversion of the Suebi into the Catholic faith under Chararic (?-c. 558/9)³⁷. Nevertheless, there are no mentions of any aggravation of the persecution or hostility between the inhabitants of Gallaecia representing the two ethnic groups in this particular period.

Some scholars had previously made efforts to find the evidence for the alleged persecutions, but with no satisfactory results. The account on the martyrdom of the abbot Vincencius of León is a case in point. It is mentioned there that the pious abbot was killed as a result of the persecution ordered by the cruel “Arian” (homoian) king of the Suebi Rechila. It is rather unlikely that the figure in question was Rechila, the son of Hermeric, because as a pagan ruler, he would be aligned with neither orthodoxy nor heresy. For this reason, Spanish scholars came up with the theory of the hypothetical ruler Rechila II (el Verdugo, i.e., the executioner), a completely imaginary figure. It is notable that the martyrdom of Vincencius is dated to 11th March 630, and no Suebian or even, generally speaking, “Arian” king could have been responsible for his death, because there were no such rulers in Spain after the conversion of the Visigothic king Reccared

³⁶ On the classical and Christian intellectual formation of Hydatius, on his drawing from biblical motives, as well as on his approach to omens see Hartmann de Cardelle, *Philologische Studien zur Chronik des Hydatius von Chaves*, p. 124-160.

³⁷ R. Furtado, *Existiram suevos entre os reis Remismundo e Teodomiro?*, in: *Vir bonus peritissimus aequae. Estudos de homenagem a Arnaldo do Espírito Santo*, ed. M.C. Pimentel – A.P. Farmhouse, Lisboa 2013, p. 491-506.

(c. 559-601)³⁸. The only certain source from the “dark period” is Pope Vigilius’ (c. 500-555) letter to the bishop of Braga Profuturus (?-?)³⁹. The pope replied to the questions from the bishop’s letter, the contents of which can be reconstructed on the basis of the very well-ordered answers provided in the papal return letter. In the third and fourth parts of the letter, Vigilius responded to questions concerning the re-admittance (to the Nicene Church) of those who renounced the faith and accepted the Arian creed, and also addressed the question of the restitution of the rebuilt temples for worship. Both issues attest to the possible, but certainly bloodless, “offensive” of the Arian church, yet they also clearly confirm the effective counteraction by the Nicene Church, consolidating the position of the Roman population in the effort of preserving the heritage of the Roman and Christian culture.

In the mid-6th century, the process of the integration between the Suebi and the Roman population accelerated and took on a new dimension. Despite the religious and cultural differences, various groups of influence must have arisen at the courts of the Suebian kings, with the aim of representing the Roman urban elites and the wealthy *possessores*. It was exactly in those circles that the attachment to the legacy of the Roman culture and the Nicene orthodoxy must have been the strongest. A testimony to the influence of the Roman milieu is Gregory of Tours’ account on the miraculous healing of king Chararic’s son and many of his barbarian subjects from leprosy (550 or 556). In his narrative, leprosy is only a synonym for the Arian heresy among the Suebi. For the research on the influence of the Romans upholding the ancient cultural traditions, it is important to determine the identity of the enigmatic *fideles amici* of the king, who advised the ruler to bring the relics of St. Martin of Tours (c. 316/7-397) to Braga. They must have been the people familiar with the arcane knowledge of the worship of the saints representing the Nicene tradition and aware of its significance to the Late-Roman civilisation. Those figures could not have

³⁸ *Passio Sancti et Beatissimi Vincentii Martyris atque Abbatis*, ed. M. Risco, *España sagrada*, v. 34: *Iglesia antigua de León: contiene el Estado Antiguo de la santa Iglesia de León: con varios Documentos y Escrituras concernientes a los puntos que en él se tratan: sacadas en la Mayor Parte de su Archivo*, Oviedo 1989, p. 147-150. The story of Vincentius’ martyrdom was a misunderstanding resulting from a misreading of the tomb inscription of Vincentius in León. The story of the martyrdom of Abbot Ranimir was similarly unbelievable – see K. Schäferdiek, *Die Kirche in den Reichen der Westgoten und Sueven bis zur Errichtung der westgotischen katholischen Staatkirche*, Berlin 1967, p. 116, n. 41.

³⁹ J.O. Bragança, *A carta do papa Vigilio ao Arcebispo Profuturo de Braga*, “Bracara Augusta” 21 (1967) p. 66-69.

been Arian clergymen from the king's inner circle or his Suebian courtiers and aides who would have no monopoly on the service at the court. The authority of Chararic had already acquired, after all, a more territorial and multi-ethnic character, transcending the limits of the tribal policy. Chararic is addressed in the source as the "king of Gallaecia", not "of the Suebi"⁴⁰. "Friends" of the king was a category of courtiers present at various courts of barbarian rulers. In most cases, they were the kings' trusted counsellors (advisers)⁴¹. The *fideles amici* of Chararic directed the king's attention to the possibility of taking advantage of the healing powers of St. Martin of Tours. Following the initial unsuccessful attempt at "buying" the saint's favour with lavish gifts, they instructed Chararic that the healing power of St. Martin's tomb flowed from the true faith surrounding it, and the faith in question was the Nicene orthodoxy, not the one professed by the king. They also tried to persuade the king into renouncing the Arian confession and converting to the faith of his Roman subjects. In addition, they persuaded him to send his request for the relics of St. Martin of Tours and take a vow of founding a cathedral church, where they would be solemnly placed for veneration⁴². All of those circumstances would point to a group of well-educated courtiers who were familiar with at least the provinces nearest to Gallaecia, most likely representatives of the local Roman elites. Although Chararic had no possibility of becoming familiar with the *Formula vitae honeste*, he displayed at least two of the cardinal virtues on the advice of his educated Roman "friends". Prudence allowed him to recognize the essence of the problem and aroused the trust and faith in him, while justice made him keep his pledge, adopt the faith of his Roman subjects, and commence the construction of the cathedral church, from which the preserved *cultura Romana* and the growing *cultura christiana*, fervently propagated by the erudite bishop and integrally connected with her older sister, could then emanate thanks to St. Martin of Braga.

⁴⁰ Gregorius Turoniensis, *De virtutibus sancti Martini episcopi* I 11, ed. B. Krusch, MGH Scriptorum Rerum Merovingicarum 1/2, Hannoverae 1885, p. 144 (p. 594), p. 145 (p. 595): "Chararici cuiusdam regis Galliciae filius graviter aegrotabat, qui tale taedium incurreat, ut solo spiritu palpiteret. Pater autem eius faetidae se illis Arriane sectae una cum incolis loci subdiderat".

⁴¹ V. von Epp, *Amicitia. Zur Geschichte personaler, sozialer und geistlichen Beziehungen in frühen Mittelalter*, Stuttgart 1999, p. 140; G. Maier, *Amtsträger und Herrscher in der Romania Gothica. Vergleichende Untersuchungen zu den Institutionen der ostgermanischen Völkerwanderungsgeschichte*, Stuttgart 2005, p. 121-130.

⁴² Gregorius Turoniensis, *De virtutibus sancti Martini episcopi* I 11, ed. B. Krusch, p. 145 (p. 595), p. 146 (p. 596).

Martin, a saint and the future bishop of Braga, was born in Pannonia and arrived in Braga reportedly at the time of Chararic's reign. Gregory of Tours (538-594) takes notice of a symbolic chronological coincidence of his appearance in Braga with the arrival of the relics of St. Martin of Tours (also a native of Pannonia)⁴³. Martin of Braga refers to his episcopal activity being inseparably linked with the cathedral and the worship of St. Martin of Tours' relics in his poetical epitaph, humbly stressing his subordinate role in comparison with the famous namesake⁴⁴. The long-lasting activity of the "apostle of the Suebi", as St. Martin of Braga came to be rightly called, not only led to the Christianization of the tribe and the considerable weakening of the pagan customs among the people of Gallaecia, but also contributed to the propagation of the legacy of ancient culture, never seen since the time of the initial barbarian invasion. It would be incorrect to claim that St. Martin of Braga was responsible for the re-Romanization of the population of Gallaecia. Under the circumstances of the advancing assimilation of the Germanic and Roman populations, such a profound socio-cultural *reconquista* would not have been very likely. The bishop's activity could be compared to a strong and invigorating wind, coming to rekindle fire from the embers buried deep in the ashes. He was prepared to meet the challenge of all the difficult tasks to be performed in the land at the westernmost periphery of the Roman *oikoumene*, "where the land ends, and the sea begins"⁴⁵, thanks to his very good education (for the contemporary standards) received in his youth. Opinions vary on the possible places of his education. He may have likely left Pannonia (so afflicted by the instability of the 6th centu-

⁴³ Gregorius Turonensis, *De virtutibus sancti Martini episcopi* I 11, ed. B. Krusch, p. 146 (p. 596): "Tunc commonitus a Deo beatus Martinus de regione longiqua, qui ibidem nunc sacerdos habetur, advenit". Gregorius Turoniensis, *Historia Francorum* V 37, 11-15, ed. B. Krusch, p. 243: "Nam hic Pannoniae ortus fuit, et exinde ad visitanda loca santa in Oriente properans, in tantum se litteris inbuit, ut nulli secundus suis temporibus haberetur. Exinde Gallitiam venit, ubi, cum beati Martini reliquiae portarentur, episcopus ordinatur. In quo sacerdotio impletis plus minus triginta annis, plenus virtutibus migravit ad Dominum".

⁴⁴ Martinus Bracarenis, *Epitaphium eiusdem*, in: *Martini episcopi Bracarenis, Opera omnia*, ed. C.W. Barlow, London 1950, p. 283: "Pannoniis genitus, transcendentis aequora vasta / Galliciae in gremium divinis nutibus actus / confessor Martine, tua hac dicatus in aula / antistes cultum instituti ritumque sacrorum / teque, patrone, sequens famulus Martinus eodem / nomine, non mérito, hic in Christi pace quiesco".

⁴⁵ *Onde terra acaba e o mar começa* – Luís Vaz Camões, *Os Lusíadas* Canto III estância 20, Lisboa 2000, p. 104.

ry) and travelled to the East⁴⁶ or (and?), Italy. His intellectual formation may have been influenced by the philosophical thought of the Eastern monasticism, which he may have got to know during his stay in Palestine. His knowledge of Greek was sufficient to allow him to translate the apophthegmata of the Desert Fathers with much precision, but he was also fluent in the elegant Latin (considering the contemporary standards), while his profound familiarity with the works of Seneca and St. Augustine (353-430) would point to the education received at one of the intellectual centres in Italy. However, this does not preclude a pilgrimage to the holy sites of the East. The future bishop's possible journey to the East was not an exceptionally rare occurrence in Late Antiquity. Such voyages, accompanied by many opportunities of becoming acquainted with the intellectual legacy of the Eastern Christianity, had been previously undertaken by John Cassian, Paul Orosius, and the bishop Hydatius of Aquae Sextiae⁴⁷. We should also mention his ability to communicate with the Suebi in their native language, which he might have acquired, as Marek Starowieyski suggests, as a result of his contact with the Danubian Suebi in his native Pannonia⁴⁸. A. Ferreiro argues that he may have known the barbarians' native language before he arrived in Gallaecia, which was the reason for his interest in working among the Suebi, but in his opinion, St. Martin communicated with the upper classes of the Suebian community in Latin, while he used the Suebian language to speak to simple warriors and the ordinary people⁴⁹. This could be just another argument in support

⁴⁶ Isidorus Hispalensis, *De viris illustribus*.XXXV, PL 83, 1100: "Martinus, Dumisensis monasterii sanctissimus pontifex, ex Orientem partibus navigans, in Gallaeciam venit ibique conversis ab Ariana impetate ad fidem catholicam Suevorum populis regulam fidei et sanctae religionis constituit, ecclesias confirmavit, monasteria condidit, copiosaque praecepta piae institutionis composuit".

⁴⁷ M. Dietz, *Wandering Monks, Virgins and Pilgrims*, University Park 2005, p. 54-64 (Orosius), 77-88 (John Cassian), 160-161 (Hydatius).

⁴⁸ Starowieyski, *Wstęp. Marcin z Bragi i jego dzieło*, p. 19.

⁴⁹ A. Ferreiro (*Saint Martin of Braga and Germanic Languages an Addendum to Recent Research*, p. 229) notes the progress of the Romanization of the barbarian elites (under the influence of the Roman elite) from the invasion of 409 to the second half of the 6th century. In the conclusion of the article on page 306, Ferreiro wrote: "In regard to Martin of Braga, even if he knew any Germanic tongue, it seems that it would not have been required at all in his missionary work at the Suevic court, where the conversion was initially effected. Even in the countryside, Latin had made such deep inroads into the native populations that the church could readily carry out its missionary work virtually unimpeded by language barriers. [...] In view of Martin's language abilities (his knowledge

of the hypothesis that the upper classes of Gallaecia made efforts to cultivate ancient culture and the proper Latin even for as long as a century and a half after the barbarian invasion, while the Suebian elite would, in turn, tend to embrace the customs and the language of the Roman high society.

Among many works by St. Martin of Braga that influenced the upholding (or even the reconstruction) of elements of the ancient Classical heritage in the kingdom of the Suebi, his noteworthy achievement was the thorough reform of the Church of Gallaecia and the inclusion of the representatives of the Suebian elites in the ranks of the clergy and, consequently, in the circle of the Christian Roman culture, as exemplified by the signatures of the bishops attending the councils of Braga (first and second; in 561 and 572, respectively). The acts of the first council are signed by eight bishops, including one with a Germanic name (Hilderic), while the documents of the second one bear the signatures of twelve bishops, three of whom (25% of the Gallaecian episcopate in attendance) have clearly Germanic names (Adoric, Wittimer, Anila)⁵⁰. In his apostolic activity, the bishop of Braga concentrated his efforts on the following three goals: liquidation or conversion of the Priscillian communities, striving to convert the Suebi (followers of Arianism), and eliminating the vestiges of the pagan religion that were still strong among the Suebes as well as the Roman population. The first task appeared to be difficult as the Priscillian heresy continued to draw many followers since the 4th century and it was not suppressed despite some anti-Priscillian imperial edicts. It should be observed that the pagan kings of the Suebi were indifferent towards controversies among the Christians. King Rechiar's reign was too short, while the turmoil connected with the partition of the kingdom and the subsequent Arian influence at the court made sorting out the issues of the Church more difficult. The hope that the *brachium seculare* would support the Church in the anti-Priscillian efforts came only with king Chararic's conversion and the successive reigns of the Catholic rulers Ariamir, Teudemir, and Miro. Such an opportunity was used with eagerness and we know exactly which errors and forms of conduct were condemned thanks to the acts of the first synod of Braga as written up by St. Martin. A detailed account with a castigation of the heterodox practices constituted one of the significant parts of the synod's decrees. 11 years later, the issue of Priscillianism appeared to be practically non-existent in

of Greek), he probably would have learned Suevic or any other language, or employed interpreters, had the situation otherwise demanded".

⁵⁰ Martinus Bracaraensis, *Concilium Bracaraense Primum octo episcopum* 8, 24; Martinus Bracaraensis, *Concilium Bracaraense Secundum duodecim episcopum* 4, 11.18-19.

the documents of the second synod of Braga. The silence over this subject is a meaningful testimony to the efficiency of the actions undertaken by the episcopate (under St. Martin's direction since 569), combined – as we may presume – with a strong support from the Suebian rulers⁵¹. The anathemas of the first synod of Braga were directed at the Arians as well. In view of the conversion by the king and the court, the Arian hierarchy in Gallaecia (completely unattested in the sources) lost any support and prospects for further activity.

The efficient secular and church administrations facilitated the consolidating integration of the two main ethnic groups of the Suebian kingdom. The division into the episcopal dioceses is clearly indicative of the sensible policy implemented by the metropolitan of Braga, who also presided over the entire Church in Gallaecia. To make the administration more efficient, the structure consisted of the northern part (under the jurisdiction of the metropolitan of Lugo), with the bishoprics of Iria, Tuy, Orense, Astorga, and Britania, and the southern one (subordinate to the metropolitan of Braga), with Braga, and the bishoprics of Porto, Lamego, Viseu, Coimbra, Idanha⁵². Apart from the division related to the church administration, the synod of Lugo (most probably on 1 June 569, even though the authenticity and the dating of the document that was reputedly issued at the time is still a topic of scholarly controversy today) also marked out the limits of 11 units of the military and civil administration under the authority of *comites* appointed by the king. It was a fact of great significance to the Romanization of the kingdom that those offices, traditionally reserved for barbarian military commanders, were held by the Romans as well (at least two of such Roman *comites* were Paulus and Vitalis)⁵³.

One of the places where the education of *cultura Romana et christiana* flourished was the monastic community at Dumio. The idea of the existence of such communities was not new in the territories of Spain and St. Martin of Braga created a new way of how to act rather than a brand-new tradition. Except for the monk Paschasius (?-?), a translator of Greek texts, no names of members of this particular community are known. The location of their

⁵¹ On the alliance of the altar and the throne in Gallaecia in the 6th century see, inter alia: L. Rodriguez da Silva – N. Agostinho Xavier, *Aspectos da ortoxia no reino suevos: Considerações sobre o “De correctione rusticorum”*, “Brathair” 13/2 (2013) p. 118-119.

⁵² Martinus Bracarenensis, *Concilium Bracarense Secundum duodecim episcopum* 4, 7-21, Barlow, p. 122-123.

⁵³ *Divisio Teudemiri, Liber fidei sanctae Bracarenensis ecclesiae* 11, v. 1, ed. J. da Costa de Avelino, Braga 1965, p. 23.

activity was a Roman *villa*, the remains of which have been unearthed next to a Suebi-Visigothic basilica underneath the present Church of St. Martin of Braga at Dume⁵⁴. The remains of the Suebi basilica bear testimony to the high craftsmanship of the local builders and the continuation of the level known from the architecture of Late Antiquity. The community active in adapting the best patterns of the Eastern monasticism, with Greek writings at their disposal (subsequently translated and propagated)⁵⁵, was a significant factor in preserving ancient culture and cultivating the long-distance connections with the main centres of the Eastern Roman Empire⁵⁶. The chronologically later community of St. Frutuoso was a continuation of this idea, although it represented elements of the preservation of the ancient Classical heritage to a lesser extent⁵⁷.

⁵⁴ L. Fontes, *A basílica sueva de Dume e o túmulo dito de São Martinho*, Braga e Dume 2006. The state of the latest archaeological research on a Roman villa, convent and basilica in Dume has recently been reported by L. Fontes, *São Martinho de Dume: arqueologia, arquiteturas e paisagens*, “Urbs Regia” 3 (2018) p. 17-18, 19-21. On the foundation and organization of the monastery see J.B. Fiorot, *A atuação do bispo Martinho de Braga na organização da igreja Galega (segunda metade do século VI)*, “Espaco Plural” 30 (2014) p. 67.

⁵⁵ Martinus Bracarenensis, *Capitula ex orientalium patrum synodis a Martino Episcopo ordinata atque collecta*, in: *Martini episcopi Bracarenensis, Opera omnia*, ed. C.W. Barlow, London 1950, p. 123-144; Martinus Bracarenensis, *Sententiae Patrum Aegyptiorum*, in: *Martini episcopi Bracarenensis, Opera omnia*, ed. C.W. Barlow, London 1950, p. 30-51. These writings by Saint Martin of Braga also raise moral problems very similar to those discussed in treatises on cardinal virtues. One of many examples is the passage from *Sententiae Patrum Aegyptiorum* (109, 31-36, Barlow, p. 50): “Esto mansueti spiritus, et non iracundi. Nihil in corde tuo contra aliquem cogites mali, nec habeas inimicitiam in corde tuo eaque odium contra inimicantem tibi sine causa, neque irascaris inimicitiae eius, neque despicias eum in necessitate et tribulatione eius, nec reddas malum pro malo, sed esto pacificus cum omnibus: haec est enim pax Dei”. On the similarity of the Christian moral teachings in the “eastern” writings of Saint Martin of Braga, with those described by him in *Formula vitae honestae* see Fiorot, *A atuação do bispo Martinho de Braga na organização da igreja Galega*, p. 78-82.

⁵⁶ These contacts, also in the field of trade and goods exchange, are confirmed by archaeological research in the cities of Gallaetia, see L. Fontes – M. Martins – M. Ribeiro do Camo – H.P. Carvalho, *A cidade da Braga e o seu território nos séculos V-VII*, in: *Espacios urbanos em el occidente mediterráneo (s. VI-VIII)*, ed. A. García, Toledo 2010, p. 257; A. Fernández, *As relacións externas da Gallaecia durante os séculos IV-VII D.C. A travesso do material importado localizado em Vigo (Galiza)*, in: *Hidacio da Limia e o seu tempo: A Gallaecia sueva. A Limia na época medieval*, ed. F.E. Losada Pérez, Xinzo de Limia 2014, p. 134-135, 144.

⁵⁷ See J. Cardoso, *S. Valério (623-695). Vida de S. Frutuoso arcebispo de Braga*, Braga 1996.

The fact that the ancient Roman traditions continued to exist in Gallaecia in the second half of the 6th century was certainly a cause for concern in St. Martin's eyes as they were not a part of the *cultura christiana*, but – as the bishop of Braga observed – an element of the dangerous *cultura diaboli*. The ancient Roman religion survived in the provincial society rather in the forms of customs and celebrations, but also in the memory of the old beliefs and mythology. St. Martin of Braga describes the problem in his *De correctione rusticorum*⁵⁸, a short tract presented in the form of a sermon (*sermo*), written at the request of Bishop Polemius of Astorga (?-?), addressing the inhabitants of Gallaecia tainted with the practising of pagan customs. It would be difficult to regard the popular pagan practices described there as the legacy of the sophisticated culture of ancient Rome, especially as the Romanization and the subsequent Christianization affected only the upper classes of the Gallaecian society, while the people (in particular, those dwelling in the rural areas) lived in the amalgamated milieu of Punic, Ibero-Celtic, and Roman traditions. St. Martin mentions the primary deities of the ancient pantheon, referring to their immoral and devilish nature. He denounces the practice of naming the days of the week after the ancient gods' names, the popular custom of entering into marriage on Friday (the day of the goddess Venus), prodigia, offering sacrifices at the crossroads, cemeteries, and by burning fires, as well as celebrating the *Vulcanalia*. He warns of the lamiae and other female demons hiding in the woods⁵⁹. As he recounts, the tradition of invoking Minerva for assistance at weaving is still alive and the "Christianized" form of the custom continues to this day in the culture of Gallaecia⁶⁰. Such elements of the heritage of ancient culture were vigorously opposed by St. Martin of Braga, but the fact that he had to confront them would attest to the persistence of the old religious traditions and the popular Roman superstitions also among the simple folk.

Formula vitae honeste has been mentioned at the beginning of the present text. At least some part of the treatise on the cardinal virtues, instilled with the philosophical teaching of Seneca and addressing the court

⁵⁸ Martinus Bracarenis, *De correctione rusticorum*, in: *Martini episcopi Bracarenis, Opera omnia*, ed. C.W. Barlow, London 1950, p. 159-203.

⁵⁹ F. Castro Pires de Lima, *São Martinho de Braga e as Mulheres Demónios*, "Bracara Augusta" 9-10 (1958/1959) p. 106-114; Rodriquez da Silva – Agostinho Xavier, *Aspectos da ortoxia no reino suevos: Considerações sobre o "De correctione rusticorum"*, p. 125-126; Fiorot, *A atuação do bispo Martinho de Braga na organização da igreja Galega*, p. 71-74.

⁶⁰ J.L. Vasconcelos, *Religiões da Lusitânia III*, Lisboa 1913, p. 572, n. 3.

elite of the Suebian kingdom in Gallaecia, did not fall on an uncultivated ground. The place where Roman culture and the Roman elite survived were cities that did not change their importance, structure and dynamics of development during the 5th and 6th centuries. They were also certainly a place of assimilation of the Roman and “barbarian” elites. Lately, the importance of the research on the Late-Antique cities and the diverse states of their development, transformation, and decline has been emphasized once again by Mark Humphries. The current state of the research on the cities of Galicia in the 5th and 6th centuries contradicts the views of the decline in the significance of the urban life and the economic role of the cities. The volumes of the imported goods from Africa and the East continued unabated, while the trade routes and the structure of the Late-Antique city (apart from the “Christianization” of the public space) did not change to a significant extent⁶¹. Like the *fideles amici* of king Chararic, the *ministres* of king Miro descended, at least in part, from the Roman provincial elites who might not have been acquainted with Seneca’s works but their ancient Classical spiritual formation, proper to their social class, was preserved well enough to be ready for a recollection of the Latin author’s philosophical legacy. Although St. Martin of Braga imparted the Christian character to the cardinal virtues as envisioned in the ancient Classical (pagan) Roman philosophy, he believed that they formed a sort of the natural law, primarily inherent in the human reason and the knowledge of the holy books was essentially not necessary to be able to embrace and practise those virtues⁶².

It would be interesting to know to what extent King Miro followed the teachings expressed in the *Formula vitae honestae*. Unfortunately, we have only very few details on his life, but there are two instances where the observance of the cardinal virtues could be seen, even though

⁶¹ M. Humphries, *Cities and the Meanings of Late Antiquity*, Leiden 2019. About the cities of Gallaecia, especially about the capital city of Braga see M. Ribeiro do Camo, *Braga entre a época romana e a Idade Moderna. Uma metodologia de análise para leitura da evolução da paisagem urbana*, Braga 2008, p. 310; Fontes et al., *A cidade da Braga e o seu território nos séculos V-VII*, p. 255; M. Martins – M. Ribeiro do Camo, *Em torno da Rua Verde. A evolução urbana de Braga na longa duração*, in: *Evolução da paisagem urbana. Transformação morfológica dos tecidos históricos*, ed. M. do Como Ribeiro – A. Sousa Melo, Braga 2013, p. 25. About the religious buildings in Gallaecia in the 5th-6th century see L. Quiroga – A.M. Tejera Martinez, *In tempore Sueborum. El tempo de los suevos em la Gallaecia (411-585). El primer reino medieval de occidente*, La Coruña 2017, p. 123-132, especially the map on the p. 128.

⁶² Martinus Bracarenensis, *Formula vitae honestae* 1, 19-22, Barlow, p. 237.

not always to (his) advantage. The first episode concerns an innocent prank performed by the king's jester, who picked one grape from the vine entwined around the portal at the moment when Miro was entering the basilica of St. Martin of Tours at Braga. The king saw it as an act of sacrilege and immediately ordered that the poor jester's hand be cut off, but the courtiers stopped him by pointing out that the excessive severity might come from *hybris* and a false misjudgement of God's decrees. The contrite ruler not only pardoned the jester, but he also pleaded with God in a long prayer to forgive him his rashness⁶³. The king's humility, moderation, willingness to listen to the reasonable arguments, sense of justice, and the containment of anger must have pleased Martin of Braga, and would have very likely pleased Seneca himself. In the other case, it is certain that in his haste to assist the Catholic duke Hermenegild (?-585), who revolted against his father Leovigild (?-586), the Arian king of the Visigoths, Miro displayed his magnanimity and courage, but the consequences of his actions were deplorable and led not only to the king's death⁶⁴, but also to the swift incorporation of the Kingdom of the Suebi into the Kingdom of the Visigoths, which happened six years after the death of St. Martin of Braga in 585⁶⁵.

⁶³ Gregorius Turonensis, *De virtutibus sancti Martini episcopi* IV 7, 19-25, Krusch, p. 201 (p. 641): "Egressus quoque rex, cum rem quae acta fuerat didicisset, tanto furore contra puerum est accensus, ut ei manus velit abscidere, si a suis prohibitus non fuisset. Dicentibus tum praetera famulis: «Noli, o rex iudicio Dei tuam adiungere ultionem, ne forte iniuriam, quam minaris puero, in te retorqueas». Tunc ille conpunctus corde, ingressus basilicam, prostratus coram altare santo, cum lacrimis precem fudit ad Dominum, nec ante a pavimento surrexit, quam flumen oculorum huius paginam delecti deleret". Of course, the author wanted to emphasize the influence and power of Saint Martin of Tours, but the King's conduct was in keeping with the principles of the *Formula vitae hoestae*.

⁶⁴ Iohannes Biclarenensis, *Chronica*, a. 583, ed. T. Mommsen, MGH Auctores Antiquissimi 11, Berolini 1894, p. 216: "Leovegildus rex civitatem Hispalensem congregato exercitu obsidet et rebelem filium gravi obsidione concludit, in cuius solacium Miro Suevorum rex ad expugnandam Hispalim advenit ibique diem clausit extremum". According to Gregory of Tours, King Miro died only after returning from an expedition against King Leovigild (Gregorius Turonensis *Historia Francorum* VI 43, Krusch, p. 315: "Sed Miro postquam in patria rediit, non multos post dies conversus ad lectulum, obiit. Infirmatus enim ab a quo Hispaniae fuerat malis aeribusque incommodis").

⁶⁵ Isidorus Hispalensis, *Historia de regibus Gothorum, Wandalorum et Suevorum* 92, Mommsen, p. 303; Iohannes Biclarenensis, *Chronica*, a. 585, Mommsen, p. 217.

Conclusions

(1) At the court of the King of Suebi Miro, Saint Martin of Braga promoted and recalled the cardinal virtues and ethical norms in the Scriptures, which were strongly linked to the ideas of Lucius Annaeus Seneca. The interest of the King and the Roman and tribal elites in this subject suggests that the ancient culture of Gallaecia was relatively well preserved in the 6th century.

(2) In spite of the traumatic experiences during the barbaric invasion of 409-411, Gallaecia preserved centers of Roman culture.

(3) The milieu in which the ancient civilization was preserved was the elite of the Roman *possessores*, urban and ecclesiastical elites.

(4) The functioning of the cities of Gallaecia in accordance with the civilisation patterns of late antiquity and their development and trade relations have not changed significantly in the 5th and 6th centuries.

(5) In the course of time, a Romanized tribal elite was formed, using Latin and accepting and exploiting the preserved elements of Roman civilization. Their assimilation with the Roman elite is also reflected in the ecclesiastical and administrative organization of the Kingdom.

Cultura romana and *cultura christiana* benefited from the patronage of the Church (e.g. the milieu of Bishop Balconius in Braga or the monastery of St. Martin of Braga in Dume) and from the kings of the Sueves (e.g. Ariamir, Teudemir, Miro).

A Book for the King. Some Reflections on the Situation of the Roman Population and the Preservation of the Heritage of Ancient Civilization in Gallaecia and Lusitania in the 5th and 6th Centuries

(summary)

Saint Martin of Braga, active in Gallaecia in the second half of the 6th century, referred to cardinal virtues in several of his writings, in accordance with the teachings of Seneca that he knew well. One of these works was *Formula vitae honestae*, given to Miro, king of Suebi and Gallaecia. The existence of Roman and “barbarian” elites in the kingdom of Suebi, capable of understanding the moral teachings of St. Martin of Braga in the 6th century, prompts reflection on the continuity of Roman culture and heritage of ancient civilisation in 160 years after the invasion of Hispania by Germanic tribes. The article contains some remarks on the preservation of Roman civilisation among the Roman elites in the times of the existence and development of the kingdom of Suebi, and on the processes of romanization of the tribal elites. The problem of the assimilation of the local population and Germanic newcomers, which was very interesting and specific to Gallaecia under the reign of Suebi, was also discussed.

Keywords: cardinal virtues; kingdom of Suebi; Saint Martin of Braga; ancient Roman civilisation; cultura romana; cultura christiana

Książka dla króla. Kilka refleksji na temat sytuacji ludności rzymskiej i zachowaniu dziedzictwa cywilizacji antycznej w Gallaecji i Luzytanii w V i VI wieku

(streszczenie)

Święty Marcin z Bragi, działający w Gallaecji w drugiej połowie VI wieku, w kilku swoich pismach odnosił się do cnót kardynalnych zgodnie z naukami Seneki, które dobrze znał. Jednym z nich była *Formula vitae honestae* podarowana Mironowi, królowi Swebów i Gallaecji. Istnienie w Królestwie Swebów elit rzymskich i „barbarzyńskich”, które w VI wieku potrafiły zrozumieć nauki moralne św. Marcina z Bragi, skłania do refleksji nad ciągłością kultury rzymskiej i dziedzictwa antycznej cywilizacji 160 lat po inwazji plemion germańskich na Hiszpanię. Artykuł zawiera kilka uwag na temat zachowania cywilizacji rzymskiej wśród elit rzymskich w okresie istnienia i rozwoju imperium suebskiego oraz procesów romanizacji elit plemiennych. Omówiono również problem asymilacji ludności tubylczej i przybyszów germańskich, który to proces był bardzo interesujący i specyficzny dla Gallaecji pod panowaniem Swebów.

Słowa kluczowe: cnoty kardynalne; Królestwo Swebów; św. Marcin z Bragi; *cultura romana*; *cultura christiana*

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Błażej Cecota¹

Could a Caliph Be Virtuous? Selected Aspects of the Image of Mu‘awiya ibn Abi Sufyan in the *Chronography* of Theophanes the Confessor

1. Introduction

In the introduction, it is worth recalling the opinion formulated by Cyril Mango and Roger Scott, contained in their English translation *Chronographia* – no other Byzantine historian, apart from Theophanes (or also George Syncellus)², showed such interest in Muslim matters and the history of Christians people under Muslim rule, nor was so determined to incorporate these experiences into a narrative that had, after all, the ambition of *summa* of world history³. This is one of the most striking features of the chronicle discussed in this paper. However, most often, Theophanes lim-

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² It may have been George Syncellus prepared most of the material on Muslim issues for Theophanes. The question about relations between Theophanes and George Syncellus is a subject of many papers. Discussion described for example A. Kompa, *Gnesioi filoi. The Search for George Syncellus and Theophanes the Confessor's Own Words and the Authorship of Their Oeuvre*, "Studia Ceranea" 5 (2015) p. 155-230; A. Kompa, *In search of Syncellus' and Theophanes' own words: the authorship of the Chronographia revisited*, in: *Studies in Theophanes*, ed. M. Jankowiak – F. Montinaro, TM 19, Paris 2015, p. 73-92; W. Treadgold: *The Life and Wider Significance of George Syncellus*, in: *Studies in Theophanes*, ed. M. Jankowiak – F. Montinaro, TM 19, Paris 2015, p. 9-30.

³ C. Mango – R. Scott, *Introduction*, in: *The Chronicle of Theophanes Confessor. Byzantine and Near Eastern history A.D. 284–813*, tr. and ed. C. Mango – R. Scott – G. Greatrex, Oxford 1997, p. LII.

ited himself only to giving the dates of the reign of the caliphs. He wrote about the Arabs as a group much more often than about the individual rulers. There are, however, important exceptions to this rule.

Theophanes repeatedly condemned the actions of the caliphs by using specific terms to describe the rulers. For example, he called Walid I “wretched man” or “sinner”⁴. However, this term should not be taken literally. The Byzantine made it clear through this word that the person who persecutes Christians, and therefore a sinner, must be infelicitous or calamitous (cursed by God). And this is also the meaning of *ho alitērios*, used in this passage, discussing the circumstances of converting the Christian cathedral of St. John the Baptist into a mosque. Theophanes also mentioned that the reason why believers were taken away from their basilica was the jealousy of Walid (*phthonō*)⁵, one of the deadly sins. Overall, the phrases seem to have a more spiritual than a material dimension here. The second caliph to be described with one or two insults was Yazid II. He was called by Theophanes “thoughtless”, “unreasonable”, or simply “stupid” (*ho anoētōs*)⁶. In this way, the Byzantine chronicler summed up the caliph’s policy of iconoclasm. On the other hand, the words used by Theophanes may have been intended to imply that Yazid was merely a mindless (or passive) tool in the hands of a “Jewish magician”. Definitely one “villain” example among the Muslim rulers depicted by Theophanes was ‘Umar II. In the passages devoted to this caliph, the Byzantine chronicler collected most of the information about the persecution of Christians by Muslims, giving the impression that it was the main occupation of this ruler⁷. Very symptomatic is the way of presenting the stay of one of the most important Muslim caliphs of the conquest period ‘Umar ibn al-Khattab – a model example of a negative image. It is likewise the most extensive of the text fragments that have been devoted to the caliph in *Chronography*. Definitely, Theophanes did not present a positive image of the Muslim ruler in this passage. Rather, he emphasized his rough, dirty clothes, made of camel hair, completely incongruous with the nature of the visited place, i.e. the Temple Mount⁸. Using a quotation from the *Book of Daniel* supposedly uttered by patriarch Sophronius, Theophanes considered the behavior of ‘Umar to be

⁴ *Theophanis Chronographia*, ed. C.G. de Boor, Lipsiae 1883, Annus Mundi 6199, p. 376.

⁵ Theophanes, *Chronographia*, Annus Mundi 6199, p. 375-376.

⁶ Theophanes, *Chronographia*, Annus Mundi 6215, p. 402.

⁷ Theophanes, *Chronographia*, Annus Mundi 6210, p. 399.

⁸ Theophanes, *Chronographia*, Annus Mundi 6127, p. 339.

“the abomination of desolation”⁹. It is worth adding that in contrast to the case of the righteous caliphs and representatives of the Umayyad dynasty Theophanes did not pay much attention to the Abbasid caliphs. He certainly did not portray As-Saffah in a good light, whose legitimacy seems to be undermined by describing the meeting in Trachontis¹⁰. The author emphasized al-Mansur’s tendency to fraud and trickery¹¹. He mentioned al-Mahdi’s anger¹². Not much information, considering that they were the rulers of his times.

2. Mu‘awiya ibn Abi Sufyan

As can be seen, it is difficult to find in the above-mentioned references any premises allowing the presumption that Theophanes saw in the behavior of any of the caliphs any evidence of virtues¹³. However, after this brief introduction, I would like to draw our attention to two unique figures of the caliphs described in the chronicle – Mu‘awiya and ‘Abd al-Malik. In the case of both these rulers, Theophanes’ descriptions are not limited to two or

⁹ Theophanes, *Chronographia*, Annus Mundi 6127, p. 339.

¹⁰ According to Theophanes, he was not actually elected a new caliph, but randomly selected by the representatives of the Abbasid family gathered in Samaria and Trachonitis (eastern Jordan) as the supreme leader: Theophanes, *Chronographia*, Annus Mundi 6241, p. 425. Let us remember that from the point of view of the Byzantine chronicler this could seem like a total aberration, while according to the principles of choosing a leader raised by the Abbasid circles, i.e. *al-rida min al-Muhammad* (chosen from the Prophet’s family by Muslims and the choice was not imposed in any way) and *al-kitab wa’l-sunna* (according to the Book and Tradition, solely on the basis of God’s law), such a choice would not be strange. On these principles, see: A. Marsham, *Rituals of Islamic Monarchy: Accession and Succession in the First Muslim Empire*, Edinburgh 2009, p. 183-191.

¹¹ I am referring primarily to the way in which the conflict between al-Mansur and Abu Muslim was described: Theophanes, *Chronographia*, Annus Mundi 6246, p. 429; but also a description of tricks against another competitor to the dignity of the caliph – Isa ibn Musa: Theophanes, *Chronographia*, Annus Mundi 6256, p. 435-436. Theophanes also mentioned the end of another competitor to the caliph’s throne, ‘Abdallah ibn Ali, importantly – in two passages of the chronicle. He wrote both about the death in the famous tower (without giving any details) and directly about the assassination committed in the ruins of the building – Theophanes, *Chronographia*, Annus Mundi 6246, p. 428-429; Annus Mundi 6258, p. 439.

¹² Theophanes, *Chronographia*, Annus Mundi 6271, p. 452.

¹³ In the case of this work, using the word “virtue” I understand the example of the positive traits of character of a ruler described by the Chronicler.

three-sentence mentions with blunt epithets, but the chronicler tried to provide a bit more information about these two specific caliphs. Due to editorial requirements I will limit my considerations in this article to the first one¹⁴.

At the outset, attention should be paid to the passage from AM 6129, in which Theophanes stated that ‘Umar chose Mu‘awiya as leader and emir over all the armies and lands conquered by Muslims from Egypt to the Euphrates¹⁵. Similar phrases marking the boundaries between the two great rivers of that region – the Nile and the Euphrates, appear in the context of the Promised Land to Abraham, the ancestor of both progenitors of great Jewish and Arab nations – Israel and Ishmael¹⁶. The essence of the problem, however, is the extension of Mu‘awiya’s authority beyond the area that was actually under his control, taken over from his brother Yazid¹⁷. Mu‘awiya controlled Damascus, possibly Jordan as well. He later received from ‘Uthman control over Palestine and also al-Jazeera¹⁸, but

¹⁴ Some discussions of how to describe both caliphs have already been found in one of my previous articles: B. Cecota, *Islam, the Arabs and Umayyad Rulers According to Theophanes the Confessor’s Chronography*, “*Studia Ceranea*” 2 (2012) p. 97-111. Background information on the life and reign of Mu‘awiya: S. Humphreys, *Mu‘awiya Ibn Abi Sufyan. From Arabia to Empire*, London 2006, p. 23-114; I.M. Fil’shtinskiy, *Khalifat pod vlast’yu dinastii Omeyyadov (661-750)*, Moskva 2005, p. 37-62; G.R. Hawting, *The First Dynasty of Islam. The Umayyad Caliphate AD 661-750*, London – New York 2000, p. 24-45; H. Kennedy, *The Prophet and the Age of the Caliphates. The Islamic Near East from the Sixth to the Eleventh Century*, London – New York 1986, p. 82-90.

¹⁵ Theophanes, *Chronographia*, Annus Mundi 6129, p. 340.

¹⁶ Overview of the messages concerning the “Promised Land”: U. Bechmann, *Genesis 12 and the Abraham-Paradigm Concerning the Promised Land*, “The Ecumenical Review” 68/1 (2016) p. 62-80; Sh. Sheinfeld, *The Euphrates as Temporal Marker in 4 Ezra and 2 Baruch*, “Journal for the Study of Judaism in the Persian, Hellenistic and Roman Period” 47/1 (2016) p. 104-118; G. Alroey, *Mesopotamia – ‘The Promised Land’. The Jewish Territorial Organization Project in the Bilād Al-Rāfidayn and the Question of Palestine, 1899-1917*, “Middle Eastern Studies” 50/6 (2014) p. 911-935; W.C. Kaiser Jr., *The Promised Land. A Biblical-Historical View*, “Bibliotheca Sacra” 138 (1981) p. 302-312.

¹⁷ Yazid was predestined by the first two Rashidun Caliphs to perform important military functions in the Muslim state and the role of leader of Abu Sufyan’s family. Unfortunately, he died prematurely of the plague in 640: E. Bosworth, *Yazīd b. Abī Sufyān*, in: *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, ed. P. Bearman – Th. Bianquis – C.E. Bosworth – E. van Donzel – W.P. Heinrichs, in: https://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-2/yazid-b-abi-sufyan-SIM_8004 (accessed: 10.07.2022).

¹⁸ About Muawiya’s rule in Syria and the expansion of its territories, see: S. Humphreys, *Mu‘awiya Ibn Abi Sufyan*, p. 43-64; W. Madelung, *The Succession to Muhammad: A Study of the Early Caliphate*, Cambridge 1997, p. 60-61.

he never consolidated in his hands the governorship of Egypt and Syria at the same time, especially in the times of 'Umar. This fragment can only be explained by a specific prediction – Theophanes “announced” a later great career of Mu'awiya, pointing out that his taking power over the Muslim community was, among others, the result of the decision of 'Umar. It seems possible that Theophanes absorbed some fragment of the Umayyad traditions in which the connection with 'Umar emphasized¹⁹. The discussed sentence of Theophanes may be another interesting reminiscence of the period of shaping Muslim historical memory, preserved in the Byzantine material, in which at some point a conflict can be observed between the traditions related to the Prophet and the power of the caliphs, with particular emphasis on 'Umar ibn al-Khattab. After all, many years ago Avraham Hakim noticed that the preserved traditions in which it is strongly emphasized that the authority of Muhammad is higher than that of 'Umar may be a trace of the period in which the importance of the caliph as a religious and political leader began to replace the memory of the role of the Prophet. This process was finally stopped and the Muslim community chose the way of referring to the authority of the Prophet as the supreme leader, nevertheless the trace of the confrontation was preserved, for example, by the over-representation of 'Umar in collections of hadiths²⁰. In summary, the fragment seems to be part of one of the Umayyad traditions, referring to the second Rashidun Caliph as one of the undisputed Islamic authorities. The narrative of the receipt of power by the founding of the Banu Umayya dynasty from this caliph was certainly

¹⁹ About the image and promotion of 'Umar ibn al-Khattab in Umayyad narratives see: A. Hakim, *'Umar b. al-Ḥaṭṭāb: l'autorité religieuse et morale*, “Arabica” 55/1 (2008) p. 21-23. Elements emphasizing the relationship of the Umayyads with Ibn al-Khattab can be found for example in panegyric poetry written at the Damascus court: A. Alajmi – Kh. Keshk, *Umayyad Ideology and the Recurrence of the Past (Ideología omeya y el curso al pasado)*, “Anaquel de Estudios Árabes” 24 (2013) p. 15-17. See also the pro-Umayyad traditions preserved in the writings of al-Jahiz – according to which 'Umar ibn al-Khattab noticed the superiority of Mu'awiya over other members of the *shura*, appreciating his honesty, simplicity and fairness in governing Syria, not taking away his governorship despite the fact that he did so in relation to others, and even extending his power – there are threads of appointing him the sole ruler (in his territory), later confirmed by 'Uthman: Ch. Pellat, *Le culte de Mu'āwīya au IIIe siècle de l'hégire*, “Studia Islamica” 6 (1956) p. 59-62.

²⁰ A. Hakim, *Muḥammad's Authority and Leadership Reestablished: The Prophet and 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb*, “Revue de l'histoire des religions” 226/2 (2009) p. 181-200; A. Hakim, *'Umar b. al-Ḥaṭṭāb: l'autorité religieuse et morale*, p. 1-34; A. Hakim, *'Umar b. al-Ḥaṭṭāb, calife par la grâce de Dieu*, “Arabica” 54/3 (2007) p. 317-361.

more convenient than referring to the controversial figure of ‘Uthman, their true relative.

In this context, the clash between Mu‘awiya and Ali ibn Abu Talib could be presented as the efforts of son of Abu Sufyan to maintain the established order, as a ruler with stronger legitimacy than Ali. Theophanes seemed to pass over the complicated situation that arose after the murder of ‘Uthman (perhaps due to a lack of knowledge), and yet one should realize, as John McHugo rightly emphasized in his cross-sectional studies of the rise of Sunni and Shi‘a, that: *something that would once have seemed unbelievable had happened. A son of Abu Sufyan and Hind had become the ruler of the empire of the Muslims*²¹. Indeed, a man whose family was very much committed to fighting Islam became leader of the Muslim community. The narrative of Theophanes in some passages seems to indirectly appreciate Mu‘awiya’s greatness as a ruler. The chronicler was particularly impressed by the way son of Abu Sufyan took power from Ali through the use of a ruse that cut him off from the water and forced his warriors to withdraw from the battle without a fight²². Theophanes emphasized the cunning of Mu‘awiya in other cases as well. A good example is the attempt to use the bishop to try to conquer the city on the island of Arados²³. Interestingly, emphasizing his cunning was also one element of the Arab classical tradition²⁴. It is worth adding that such a way of behaving – considering the battle as a last resort carrying the risk of unnecessary defeat – was also recommended in Byzantine military manuals.

Although Theophanes was aware that the caliph was ‘Uthman (which is reflected in the chronological tables), he seems to treat Mu‘awiya, at least from the account of AM 6142, as a ruler who is not only the military leader of the expeditions against Byzantium, but an independent partner in diplomatic negotiations. The Confessor clearly stated that Constans II sent Procopius to Mu‘awiya to inquire about peace conditions. Additionally, by the same principle, Mu‘awiya, not yet a caliph, acts as the main diplomatic player in the game for control of Armenia. The Chronograph mentioned that Theodore Rshtuni (he called him *Pasagnathes*)²⁵ made a treaty with

²¹ J. McHugo, *A Concise History of Sunnis and Sh‘is*, Washington 2017, p. 67.

²² Theophanes, *Chronographia*, Annus Mundi 6148, p. 347.

²³ Theophanes, *Chronographia*, Annus Mundi 6140, p. 343-344.

²⁴ *Classical Arabic Stories. An Anthology*, ed. S. Kh. Jayyusi, New York 2010, p. 103-108.

²⁵ On the career of the Armenian marzban, who probably managed (briefly) to regain the independence of Armenia from both, Byzantine empire and Islamic state, see:

Mu‘awiya when the Armenian rebelled against Constans II²⁶. There is some summary of Mu‘awiya’s diplomatic skills, as set forth in the *Chronography* in AM 6169, in which Theophanes described the manner in which the caliph received the imperial ambassadors. The leader of the faithful gathered a group of emirs around him, with whom he welcomed the envoy with great honors. Then there was an exchange of mutual courtesies and speeches calling for peace, which ended with the signing of a real treaty. The visit concluded with the endowment of the embassy with many gifts for the emperor²⁷. Despite the lack of any more detailed descriptions, it should be noted how much the tone of this account differs from the above-mentioned description of ‘Umar ibn al-Khattab’s visit in Jerusalem. One could say that this is a revolutionary change that puts the Umayyad caliph in the ranks of recognized, “civilized” rulers²⁸. Interesting in this context is also the reference to “the kingship” of Mu‘awiya rule²⁹. The caliph’s internal actions are related to a fragment of an account from AM 6170, in which Theophanes mentioned the earthquake in Mesopotamia, which also struck Edessa, causing the destruction of one of the churches³⁰. There would be nothing particularly interesting about it if the *Chronograph* had not added that son of Abu Sufyan rebuild of the temple³¹. It is difficult to say whether the caliph simply issued a permit to start the reconstruction works, or whether he really helped in this restoration financially or materially. Anyway, the

A.K. Shaginyan, *Armeniya i strany Yuzhnogo Kavkaza v usloviyakh vizantiysko-iranskoy i arabskoy vlasti*, Sankt-Peterburg 2011, p. 96-132; W. Kaegi, *Byzantium and the Early Islamic Conquest*, Cambridge 1992, p. 196-197.

²⁶ Theophanes, *Chronographia*, Annus Mundi 6143, p. 344.

²⁷ Theophanes, *Chronographia*, Annus Mundi 6169, p. 355-356.

²⁸ As it was done later, certainly in the time of the Abbasid’s: A.M.H. Shboul, *Byzantium and the Arabs: The Image of the Byzantines as Mirrored in Arabic Literature*, in: *Byzantine Papers Proceedings of the First Australian Byzantine Studies Conference Canberra, 17-19 May 1978*, ed. E. Jeffreys – M. Jeffreys – A. Moffat, Leiden – Boston 2017, p. 43-68; G.E. von Grunebaum, *Parallelism, Convergence and Influence in the Relations of Arab and Byzantine Philosophy, Literature and Piety*, “Dumbarton Oaks Papers” 18 (1964) p. 91-111; M. Canard, *Les relations politiques et sociales entre Byzance et les Arabes*, “Dumbarton Oaks Papers” 18 (1964) p. 35-56.

²⁹ Theophanes, *Chronographia*, Annus Mundi 6151, p. 347. The question is whether this reference to the “kingship” exercised by him results only from the belief of Theophanes himself about the nature of the office of caliph, or some kind of reminiscence of the debates about the Umayyad way of exercising power. Accusations of irregularities in this regard became, after all, one of the constitutive elements of the Abbasid revolution.

³⁰ Theophanes, *Chronographia*, Annus Mundi 6170, p. 356.

³¹ Theophanes, *Chronographia*, Annus Mundi 6170, p. 356.

Confessor emphasized that Mu‘awiya’s activity in this area was a response to the requests of the local Christian community.

At the same time, it should be remembered that the Chronograph limited a significant part of the fragments concerning Mu‘awiya to the mention of military expeditions. It can therefore be assumed that the Byzantine saw the founder of the Umayyad dynasty mainly as a conqueror. In these fragments we also find a lot of negative information about the caliph as a man who destroyed cities and killed Byzantines, e.g. in Caesarea Maritima³², as well as on Arados³³ and Rhodes³⁴.

Important for understanding the role that Theophanes seems to assign to Mu‘awiya in establishing the function of the caliph, which is particularly evident in the above-mentioned references to his diplomatic activity, is the last fragment devoted to this ruler, regarding his death. In this fragment the Confessor named him *tōn Sarakēnōn prōtosymboulos*³⁵. In the Cyril Mango and Roger Scott editions, it was proposed to translate the title as *the Caliph of Saracens*³⁶, while Harry Turtledove suggested to translate as *the chief counselor of the Saracens*³⁷, but the following phrase *gegone de stratēgos etē k’, kai amēreusen etē kd’*³⁸ as he had been a general for twenty years, then caliph for twenty-four³⁹, while the aforementioned authors pass it on as *he had been military commander 20 years and emir 24 years*⁴⁰. In summary, respected the above-mentioned translators of these passages tend to emphasize that Mu‘awiya was the first Muslim ruler to be called a caliph by Theophanes. The matter, however, does not seem so simple. In the context of the first of the terms *prōtosymboulos* used in this account, it seems clear that it is a combination of two terms – *prōtos*, which we can translate as the first, most worthy or the highest; and *symboulos*, which corresponds rather to the meaning of counselor, adviser, not the council (which would

³² Theophanes, *Chronographia*, Annus Mundi 6133, p. 341.

³³ Theophanes, *Chronographia*, Annus Mundi 6141, p. 344.

³⁴ Theophanes, *Chronographia*, Annus Mundi 6145, p. 345.

³⁵ Theophanes, *Chronographia*, Annus Mundi 6171, p. 356.

³⁶ *The Chronicle of Theophanes Confessor*, tr. and ed. C. Mango – R. Scott – G. Greatrex, p. 497.

³⁷ *The Chronicle of Theophanes. An English translation of Anni Mundi 6095-6305 (A.D. 602-813)*, tr. and ed. H. Turtledove, Philadelphia 1982, p. 55.

³⁸ Theophanes, *Chronographia*, Annus Mundi 6171, p. 356, 16-17.

³⁹ *The Chronicle of Theophanes Confessor*, tr. and ed. C. Mango – R. Scott – G. Greatrex, p. 497.

⁴⁰ *The Chronicle of Theophanes. An English translation of Anni Mundi 6095-6305 (A.D. 602-813)*, tr. and ed. H. Turtledove, p. 55.

be more suited to the wording *symbolē*). The word *symbolos* was used to describe specific officials in the Greek polis, but importantly – the Roman legate. It is true that Theophanes, in his earlier reports does not give us any premises to recognize that he knew how the caliph's election procedures were performed, he rather emphasized the family relationships of the first rulers, however, the form used in the fragment which is interesting to us seems to be a premise for admit that he might have had some knowledge of how the Arabs elected their supreme leader. The translation of the title as the first of the councilors or councils would be consistent to the Islamic traditions of the first decades, such as the *shura*, that is a form of a council advising the caliph⁴¹. However, this was quite a surprising observation, taking into consideration the classical Islamic tradition (with its present-day continuators, even defending Mu'awiya's decision to introduce in fact a hereditary monarchy)⁴², according to which the first Umayyad was accused primarily of contradicting the principle of the caliph's rule as "the first among equals".

Regarding to the other two titles used in the fragment – *stratēgos* and *amēreusen*, the first seems to be a reference to the military activity of Mu'awiya, repeatedly emphasized by the Confessor, while the second is probably a distorted form of *amermounēs* – "the leader of the faithful"⁴³. One way or another, the titles included in the *Chronography* used by Mu'awiya are consistent with the conclusions of contemporary research on this topic, according to which the Umayyads (or rather Marwanids) have permanently put into use the title of the caliph as the viceroy or God's deputy on earth. The earlier Muslim rulers were satisfied with the more modest term *amir al-mu'minin*, the leader of the faithful. From this point of view the emergence of the commonly used title of caliph is somehow a response

⁴¹ On the importance of this council as an advisory institution as well as a traditional electoral institution, see: P. Crone, „*Shūrā*” as an *Elective Institution*, „Quaderni di Studi Arabi” 19 (2001) p. 3-39.

⁴² In some present-day Muslim interpretations of this reign, this reference to Byzantine models in the context of the administration of the early Islamic state was actually due to Mu'awiya, who, through these reforms, reintegrated the divided *umma* and adapted it to the new social and economic conditions in which it had to function after its incredible success what were the great conquests of the first two Rashidun caliphs. The adaptation of the Sassanid and Byzantine patterns allowed to save the caliphate from rapid disintegration through tribal and religious wars: A.A. Bewley, *Mu'awiya. Restorer of the Muslim Faith*, London 2002.

⁴³ About the meaning of this title: R. Pennell, *What is the significance of the title 'Amīr al-mu'minīn'?*, „The Journal of North African Studies” 21/4 (2016) p. 623-644.

to the need for a more expressive emphasis on the function of the first Muslim and, in fact, reformatted for the needs of Islam, to return to the royal titles according to old Arabic traditions⁴⁴.

3. Conclusions

Summarizing the above considerations, one more aspect should be emphasized. Khaled Keshk, who researched the Muslim stories about Mu'awiya several years ago, indicated that his image differs depending on the specific period described – in one sentence, the son of Abu Sufyan as a companion of the Prophet and one of the leaders of conquering expeditions to Syria was someone other than the leader from the period of governorship of this province, while both of these figures differ from the person of the caliph Mu'awiya presented by historians. The main turning point in the way of describing this character was First Fitna anyway. And although the main elements of Mu'awiya's biography remain the same in all these narratives, Khaled Keshk proved that individual historians tried to manipulate the details to take into account their version of events, often hostile to Banu Umayya⁴⁵. Looking from this perspective, it should be noted that the concept of Theophanes in terms of building the image of this ruler seems to be quite consistent in comparison with Muslim literature⁴⁶. Confessor emphasized in a fairly orderly manner several elements important for the positive image of Mu'awiya: no doubts as to the legitimacy of the caliph, his importance in the context of conquests, and diplomatic abilities. And

⁴⁴ A.A. Shahin, *An Interpretation of the Title Khalīfat Allāh in Light of Pre-Islamic Arabian Inscriptions and Early Islamic Documents*, in: *Re-defining a Space of Encounter. Islam and Mediterranean: Identity, Alterity and Interactions: Proceedings of the 28th Congress of the Union Europeenne des Arabisants et Islamisants, Palermo 2016*, ed. A. Pellitteri – M. Grazia Sciortino – D. Sicari – N. Elsakaan, Leuven – Paris – Bristol 2019, p. 335-344.

⁴⁵ K. Keshk, *The Historians' Mu'āwiya: The Depiction of Mu'āwiya in the Early Islamic Sources*, Saarbrücken 2008.

⁴⁶ Although it is believed that Theophanes did not use this work, the positive image of the first Banu Umayya caliph was found also in the anonymous *Maronite Chronicle*, the author of which clearly sided with Mu'awiya in his conflict with Ali: *Extract from the Maronite Chronicle*, in: *The Seventh Century in the West-Syrian Chronicles*, tr. and ed. A. Palmer, Liverpool 1993, p. 29. About other similar narratives, also in the context of Theophanes' account: O. Heilo, *Seeing Eye to Eye: Islamic Universalism in the Roman and Byzantine Worlds, 7th to 10th Centuries*, Die Universität Wien 2010, p. 43-44 (PhD Thesis).

this is a narrative that, after all, differs significantly from the classic Muslim versions created in the Abbasid period, for example Tabari, where we find numerous moments of criticism: dubious legitimacy of power against the claims of the Alid's, instability of the state, incorrect personnel decisions (concerning the election of Yazid as his successor)⁴⁷. The possibility that Theophanes' narrative about Mu'awiya might have been a reflection of Umayyad propaganda about this ruler was also noted by Kemal Bozkaya⁴⁸. The next research step should therefore be to make detailed comparisons of the content of Theophanes with those that we can consider representative of Pro-Umayyad's Muslim narratives. Of course, the difficulties arise immediately, from the issue of comparing translations and originals, through a completely different way of narrating and, in fact, incompatible literary genres represented by Byzantine and Arabic historiography, which can be seen, for example, in the work of by Khalifa ibn Khayyat⁴⁹, who seemed to favor figures such as Mu'awiya. Anyway, Theophanes' method of presenting Mu'awiya allows us to state that the *Chronography* is absolutely not a one-dimensional work in the context of accounts concerning Muslims. It also allows to note that the Byzantines also saw among Islamic leaders people distinguished by positive qualities or virtues.

Could a Caliph Be Virtuous? Selected Aspects of the Image of Mu'awiya ibn Abi Sufyan in the *Chronography* of Theophanes the Confessor

(summary)

The Chronicle of Theophanes the Confessor is one of the few Byzantine historiographical works in which so much space is devoted to the Islamic world and the first ruling caliphate. Of course, most references to Muslims concern mostly military issues – numerous Muslim invasions on Byzantine lands that were happening almost since the beginning of Islam. Also important was the way Theophanes treated Islam itself as a religion – as he-

⁴⁷ On the image of Mu'awiya in Islamic literature, see: A.A. Shahin, *In Defense of Mu'awiya ibn Abi Sufyan: Treatises and Monographs on Mu'awiya from the Eighth to the Nineteenth Centuries*, in: *The Lineaments of Islam: Studies in Honor of Fred McGraw Donner*, ed. P.M. Cobb, Leiden – Boston 2012, p. 177-208.

⁴⁸ K. Bozkaya, *Bizans Tarih Yazıcılığı (Başlangıçtan XI Yüzyıla Kadar)*, Edirne 2017, p. 60-63 (Tez Danışmanı, Trakya Üniversitesini).

⁴⁹ Recently, a new translation of his work into English is available: *Khalifa ibn Khayyat's History on the Umayyad Dynasty (660-750)*, tr. and ed. C. Wurtzel, Liverpool 2015, p. 51-314.

resy. Therefore, it is hard to expect that the descriptions of the caliphs can be considered positive. In most of them, we find rather “evidence” of the greed, stupidity, or propensity to violence, which were to characterize the caliphs. Nevertheless, in the context of the answer to the question posed in the title – whether the caliph could be virtuous – it is worth taking a closer look at the image of the two rulers in the *Chronography* – Mu‘awiya and ‘Abd al-Malik. This text is dedicated to the first of these rulers.

Keywords: Byzantium; Caliphate; byzantine historiography; Theophanes the Confessor; Mu‘awiya ibn Abi Sufyan

Czy kalif mógł być cnotliwy? Wybrane aspekty wizerunku Mu‘awiji ibn Abi Sufjana w *Chronografii* Teofanesa Wyznawcy

(streszczenie)

Chronografia Teofanesa Wyznawcy to jedno z niewielu bizantyńskich dzieł historiograficznych, w którym tak wiele miejsca poświęcono światu islamskiemu i pierwszym władcom kalifatu. Oczywiście większość wzmianek na temat muzułmanów dotyczy raczej zagadnień militarnych – licznych najazdów na ziemie bizantyńskie, jakie miały miejsce praktycznie od początku powstania islamu. Istotny był też sposób, w jaki Teofanes traktował sam islam – jako herezję. Trudno więc spodziewać się, aby opisy dotyczące kalifów można było uznać za pozytywne. W większości z nich znajdziemy raczej „dowody” na chciwość, głupotę czy skłonność do przemocy, jakie charakteryzować miały kalifów. Niemniej jednak w kontekście odpowiedzi na zadane w tytule pytanie (czy kalif mógł być cnotliwy) warto przyjrzeć się bliżej wizerunkowi dwóch władców w *Chronografii* – Mu‘awiji oraz ‘Abd al-Malika. Niniejszy tekst poświęcony został pierwszemu z wymienionych kalifów.

Słowa kluczowe: Bizancjum; kalifat; historiografia bizantyńska; Teofanes Wyznawca; Mu‘awija ibn Abi Sufjan

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The Temperance and Prudence of Simeon, the Bulgarian Ruler in the Letters of Nicholas Mystikos, Patriarch of Constantinople: Some Remarks

Between 912-925, Nicholas Mystikos – twice Patriarch of Constantinople² – maintained a correspondence with Simeon, ruler of Bulgaria.

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² Nicholas was born in 852 in Constantinople. He was one of Patriarch Photius' students. His career was initially secular in nature. From this period came the nickname Mystikos (μυστικός), that is, an official dealing with secret affairs. He is known to history as the Bishop of Constantinople. He first held this function from 901-907, and then from 912 until his death in 925. The loss of the patriarchal throne followed Nicholas' tenacious attitude toward the fourth marriage of Leo VI. On Nicholas' role in the affair of the tetragamia, see: P. Karlin-Hayter, *Le synode à Constantinople de 886 à 912 et le rôle de Nicolas le Mystique dans l'affaire de la tétragamie*, JÖB 19 (1970) p. 59-101; S. Tougher, *The Reign of Leo VI (886–912). Politics and People*, Leiden – New York – Köln 1997, p. 156; G. Dagron, *Kościół i państwo (połowa IX – koniec X wieku*, in: *Historia chrześcijaństwa. Religia. Kultura. Polityka*, v. 4: *Biskupi, mnisi i cesarze 610–1054*, tr. M. Żurowska – G. Majcher – A. Kuryś – J.M. Kłoczowski – M. Kurkowska, ed. G. Dagron – P. Riché – A. Vauchez, Polish ed. A. Romaniuk, Warszawa 1999, p. 163-169. Neither the circumstances nor the exact date of Nicholas' reinstatement to the position of patriarch are known. However, there seem to be indications that this happened while Leo VI was still alive, which would suggest that he and the emperor reached an agreement. Cf. I. Bozhilov, *Car Simeon Veliki: zlatnijat vek na Srednovekovna Bulgarija*, Sofija 1983, p. 102; Dagron, *Kościół*, p. 166. On the career of Nicholas Mystikos, see J.Ch. Konstantinides, *Nikolaos A ho Mistikos (ca. 852-925) patriarches Konstantinupoleos (901-907, 912-925)*, Athenes 1967; R.J.H. Jenkins, *A Note on the Patriarch Nicholas Mysticus*, in: R.J.H. Jenkins, *Studies on Byzantine History of the 9th and 10th Centuries*, London 1970, art. V, p. 145-147; L.G. Westerink, *Introduction*, in: Nicholas I Patriarch of Constanti-

Twenty-six of his letters have been preserved³. They were written in a period when Nicholas held his patriarchal office for the second time, amid the Byzantine-Bulgarian conflict⁴. During the early part of this period (May/June 913-February 914), Nicholas headed the regency council, which ruled on behalf of the minor Constantine VII (he still held this position for a short time in late 918 and early 919, along with the magister Stephen). Mystikos was entrusted with the resolution of the first phase of the Byzantine-Bulgarian conflict. It seems that his later letters to Simeon were inspired, on the one hand, by a sense of shared responsibility – as head of the Constantinopolitan Church – for the fate of the state, and, on the other hand, by a purely personal obligation to conclude the matter he was trying to settle during his time as regent of Constantine VII. In the letters addressed to Simeon, Nicholas presented himself as an arbitrator, an intermediary between the Bulgarian ruler and the Constantinopolitan court, and even in some of them, as a representative of the Bulgarian ruler's interests⁵. Per-

nople, *Letters*, tr. R.J.H. Jenkins – L.G. Westerink, Washington 1973, p. XV-XXVII; V. Stanković, *Carigradski patrijarsi i carevi makedonske dinastije*, Beograd 2003, p. 87-112.

³ The so-called Bulgarian *dossier* of Nicholas Mystikos contains letters to Simeon [Nicolaus I Constantinopolitanus patriarch, *Epistula*, 3, May 912/July 913; 5, early July 913; 6, July/August 913; 7, July/August 913; 8, summer/autumn 914; 9, late August/early September 917; 10, early 918; 11, winter 918/919; 14, between July 9 and early August 920; 15, August/September 920; 16, after December 17, 920 and before February 921; 17, February 921?; 18, spring/summer 921; 19, spring/summer 921; 20, summer 921; 21, between summer 921 and the end of 922; 22, between summer 921 and the end of 922; 23, 922; 24, 922/ June 923; 25, 922/ June 923; 26, 922/ June 923; 27, 922/ June 923; 28, June 922/June 923; 29, 923/924; 30, right after November 924; 31, January/April 925], as well as to the Archbishop of Bulgaria (4, May 912/July 91; 12, winter 918/919) and *To the Chief Man of Simeon* – 13, winter 918/919. Chronology of letters based on Jenkins – Westerink's edition (with a correction regarding Letter VIII).

⁴ On Bulgarian-Byzantine relations in the era of Nicholas Mystikos' correspondence with Simeon, see M.J. Leszka, *Symeon I Wielki a Bizancjum Z dziejów stosunków bułgarsko-bizantyńskich w latach 893–927*, Byzantina Lodziensia 15, Łódź 2013, p. 117-233 (additional literature there).

⁵ This position is visible, for example, in Letter IX (Nicolaus I Constantinopolitanus, *Epistula* 9, p. 58-64) in which Nicholas explains that he did not know about the military expedition that the Byzantines organized against Simeon. He mentions his intervention at the court and his resentment that he had not participated in the meeting where the decision was made to take military action against the Bulgarians. At the same time, he makes an attempt to justify it by stating that the mobilization of the army was provoked by the Bulgarian side, and its purpose was to ensure the security of the empire, not to strike a blow against the Bulgarians.

haps this was just a measure calculated at gaining Simeon's trust and sympathy for himself and, by extension, the cause he represented. As Nicholas grew older, he may have been driven by guilt for his failure to fulfill the terms of the 913 agreement⁶.

The goal of Nicholas' correspondence was to persuade Simeon to end hostilities and make peace with Byzantium. For this purpose, he employed various methods and resorted to a variety of arguments⁷. He stressed the horror and tragic consequences of war, and contrasted them with the virtues of peace. On the one hand, he portrayed Simeon as a good Christian ruler⁸ and pointed out the qualities that characterized him as such, while, on the other hand, he condemned his unworthy, impious behavior. This was meant to influence the Bulgarian ruler, to shock him and open him to a peaceful settlement of the Byzantine conflict. It is worth noting that the Patriarch of Constantinople corresponded with a man who was not only a politician and a leader, but also a person well versed in matters of religion. In his youth, Simeon spent nearly a decade in the Byzantine capital, where he studied and became a monk. He continued to be one until he seized the Bulgarian

⁶ On the nature of the relationship between Nicholas Mystikos and Simeon, see M.J. Leszka, *Mikołaj Mistyk, patriarcha Konstantynopola w świetle korespondencji z Symeonem, władcą Bułgarii*, "Balcanica Posnaniensia" 18 (2011) p. 23-33 (additional literature there).

⁷ On the argumentation used by Nicholas Mystikos, see, e.g.: D. Angelov, *Metody vizantijskoj diplomatii v odnoszenijakh s Bolgarijej po danym pisem konstantinopolskogo patriarkha Nikolaja Mistika*, "Voprosy Istorii Slavjan" 1 (1963) p. 60-69; M.J. Leszka, *Wizerunek władców pierwszego państwa bułgarskiego w bizantyńskich źródłach pisanych (VIII-pierwsza połowa XII wieku)*, *Byzantina Lodziensia* 7, Łódź 2003, p. 100-111; P. Angelov, *Religiozni argumenti v korespondencijata na car Simeon*, in: *Simeonova B'lgarija v istorijata na evropejskija jugoiztok: 1100 godini ot bitkata pri Akheloj*, v. 1, ed. A. Nikolov – N. Ky'nev, Sofija 2018, p. 206-213.

⁸ On the ideology of power in Byzantium, see, e.g.: K.G. Pitsakis, *Sainteté et empire. A propos de la sainteté impériale: forms de sainteté 'd'office' et de sainteté collective dans l'empire d'Orient*, "Byzantinistica" 3 (2002) p. 155-227; G. Dagron, *Emperor and Priest. The Imperial Office in Byzantium*, tr. J. Birrel, Cambridge 2003, esp. p. 13-53; D. Feissel, *Cesarz i administracja cesarska*, in: *Świat Bizancjum*, v. 1: *Cesarstwo wschodniorzymskie 330-641*, ed. C. Morrisson, tr. A. Graboń, Kraków 2007, p. 97-109; on the image of Symeon I in the Byzantine written sources, e.g.: P. Angelov, *B'lgarija i b'lgarije v predstavite na vizantijscite*, Sofija 1999, p. 182-199; Leszka, *Wizerunek*, s. 89-123; K. Marinow, *In the Shackles of the Evil One The Portrayal of Tsar Symeon I the Great (893-927) in the Oration On the treaty with the Bulgarians*, "Studia Ceranea" 1 (2011) p. 157-190.

throne in 893⁹. Nicholas Mystikos knew this and could use it in when crafting his polemic.

The arguments employed by Nicholas Mystikos include direct and indirect references to the cardinal virtues¹⁰ that the Bulgarian ruler had or should have. The patriarch pointed out that virtue comes from God; man, created to the image of God, has the ability to imitate God's virtue, which helps him overcome evil¹¹. Describing the Bulgarian ruler, the patriarch primarily referred to temperance and prudence. I will reflect on these two qualities, however, without ambition to exhaust the subject. Nicholas did not refer directly to the virtue of fortitude, which is not particularly surprising if one considers its military context. Nicholas Mystikos, a student of Photius, was probably familiar with his master's views on the matter. In a letter to Boris Mikhail – a Bulgarian ruler – Photius wrote:

It is not so much his bravery in war as his goodwill and kindheartedness toward his subjects that enhances and saves the ruler. For many rulers, though they had conquered enemies in war were destroyed by their own people because of their cruelty; and many who had run the risk of being captured by their enemies were saved by their subjects, who preferred the safety of their ruler to their own life¹².

⁹ On Simeon's youth and education, see: Kh. Trendafilov, *Mladostta na car Simeon*, Sofija 2010, p. 19-49; Leszka, *Symeon I Wielki*, p. 25-38.

¹⁰ On the understanding of the cardinal virtues (prudence, temperance, justice, and fortitude) in Byzantium, see, e.g.: G. Zografidis, *Ethics, Byzantine*, in: *Encyclopedia of Medieval Philosophy. Philosophy between 500 and 1500*, ed. H. Lagerlund, Heidelberg – London – New York 2011, p. 326-327 (additional literature there).

¹¹ Nicolaus I Constantinopolitanus, *Ep.* 21, p. 140; cf. 8, p. 52 (this section notes that Simeon was distinguished by God with prudence, wisdom, kindness and honesty).

¹² Photius, *Ep.* 1, in: *Photii Patriarchae Constantinopolitani Epistulae et Amphilochia*, rec. B. Laurdas – L.G. Westerink, v. 1, Leipzig 1983, p. 28, tr. D. Stratoudaki White – J.R. Berrigan Jr, *The Patriarch Photios of Constantinople to Khan Boris of Bulgaria*, Brookline 1982, p. 66-67. For a more extensive discussion of this letter from Photius, see, e.g.: B. Angelov, *Poslanie patriarcha Fotija bolgarskomu knjazju Borisu*, "Byzantinobulgarica" 6 (1980) p. 45-50; V. Gjuzelev, *Photius' Constantinople Model of a Ruler Newly Converted to Christianity*, "Bulgarian Historical Review" 15/3 (1987) p. 34-42; L. Simeonova, *Vizantijskata koncepcija za izkustvoto da se upravljava spored Fotievoto poslanie do kniaz Boris*, "Problemi na kulturata" 4 (1988) p. 91-104; L. Simeonova, *Diplomacy of the Letter and the Cross. Photios, Bulgaria and the Papacy 860s-880s*, Amsterdam 1998, p. 112-156; Leszka, *Wizerunek*, p. 85-87.

Leaving aside whether Nicholas Mystikos concurred with this argument or not, to say that the ruler ought to be characterized by fortitude was certainly out of place in the era of Simeon's conflict with Byzantium. Moreover, justice is also a relatively rare thread in the narrative of the Constantinopolitan Patriarch¹³.

1. Temperance

In his letters to Simeon, Nicholas Mystikos refers to the virtue of temperance, although without using the specific term. The most vivid example of this reference seems to be the paragraph in Letter XIV, which describes Simeon as someone "who is above sensual pleasures, who stints his belly like a hermit on the mountains, who tastes no wine, who differs from those who profess to live out of the world in nothing except in his government of the rule granted to him by God"¹⁴. It appears that the patriarch is not so much postulating such behavior of Simeon, but portraying the actual lifestyle of the Bulgarian ruler, who cultivated the virtue of temperance and applied it to his everyday life. This attitude of Simeon was probably linked to the aforementioned fact that before becoming the Bulgarian ruler, he had been a monk. As illustrated in Nicholas' letter, he retained these habits after 893. The belief that Simeon had a fondness for monastic life and monks, in general, is evoked in the patriarch's descriptions of the horrors of war, where a recurring motif are destroyed monasteries and murdered monks and nuns¹⁵. It reveals Nicholas' hope that this element could influence the Bulgarian ruler.

In his letters to Simeon, the Patriarch of Constantinople explores the theme of power, which is given to man by God to make him an example to his subjects. He should use it with temperance, restraining his passions and not harming his subjects¹⁶.

¹³ Nicholas Mystikos applies this quality to both the Bulgarian ruler (e.g. Nicolaus I Constantinopolitanus, *Ep.* 5, p. 29 in the context of accusing Simeon of seeking to usurp the throne; 14, p. 94), and the Byzantine emperor (Nicolaus I Constantinopolitanus, *Ep.* 31, p. 210)

¹⁴ Nicolaus I Constantinopolitanus, *Ep.* 14, p. 94 (tr. p. 95); cf. Photius, *Ep.* 1, p. 28.

¹⁵ E.g. Nicolaus I Constantinopolitanus, *Ep.* 14, p. 96; 24, p. 170; 26, p. 182. I elaborated on this thread in the text: M.J. Leszka, *Obraz wojny w Listach Mikołaja Mistyka do Symeona, władcy bułgarskiego*, „Slavia Antiqua” 47 (2006) p. 9-16.

¹⁶ Nicolaus I Constantinopolitanus, *Ep.* 3, p. 18.

Nicholas Mystikos touches on temperance relatively often in the area of Simeon's political aspirations. One of the most significant themes addressed by the patriarch in this context is Simeon's assertion of his right to rule in the Byzantine Empire. It is exemplified in Letter XIX, in which Nicholas Mystikos wrote that Simeon should not demand that the Byzantine emperor (Romanos Lekapenos) resign from the throne and offer Simeon the rule of the empire. The patriarch clearly indicated that this was not possible. At the same time, he suggested that the Bulgarian ruler make his demands feasible, which he defines as stipulations that could benefit the Bulgarians and would not bring "intolerable loss"¹⁷ to the Byzantines.

In this context, the paragraph of Letter XXI is particularly clear and unambiguous. There the patriarch urges Simeon "to be content with the lordship and honor granted to you by God from the beginning and received from your fathers, and not to transgress the boundaries which your fathers set, or the peace between Bulgarians and Romans that was agreed upon when you recognized Christ Who is God"¹⁸. The patriarch notes that he should exercise temperance in his ambitions, because failing to do so would mean going against God, who defined the nature of the relationship between Bulgarians and Byzantines when they adopted Christianity. Modifying it would serve the devil and would not please God. Preservation of the established order would guarantee "sacred peace" between Bulgarians and Byzantines.

In some of his letters, the patriarch pointed to Simeon's lack of culpability in starting the armed conflict with Byzantium, claiming that an evil spirit and corrupt state dignitaries were behind the war, and that the ruler himself was reasonable and good. However, over time, Nicholas spoke very clearly about Simeon's responsibility for continuing the war as a consequence of his intemperance – his desire to rule over the Byzantine empire¹⁹. The closer it got to 925, the more crystalized this view became,

¹⁷ Nicolaus I Constantinopolitanus, *Ep.* 19, p. 128 (tr. p. 129). In this context, it is worth noting a passage from Letter XVIII, where Nicholas Mystikos writes that Simeon considered his demands if not moderate, then at least feasible; the ruler claimed – surely with a dose of irony – that he was not demanding that the dead Bulgarians be resurrected (Nicolaus I Constantinopolitanus, *Ep.* 18, p. 122).

¹⁸ Nicolaus I Constantinopolitanus, *Ep.* 21, p. 148 (tr. p. 149).

¹⁹ In addition to the paragraph from Letter XXI indicated above, see: Nicolaus I Constantinopolitanus, *Ep.* 5; 18, p. 126; 19, p. 128; 25, p. 178; 27, p. 190; cf. F.E. Wozniak, *The Metaphysics of Byzantine Diplomacy in the Relations of the Byzantines and Bulgarians 880's – 920's*, GOTR 21 (1976) p. 292-293, 295. In a letter, probably dating from 914, he warned Simeon against losing his own soul, even if he satisfied his ambitions. (Nicolaus

revealing increasing pessimism of the capital bishop as to the effectiveness of his own influence over Simeon.

2. Prudence

Nicholas Mystikos refers to prudence in building a positive image of Simeon. He repeatedly states that the Bulgarian ruler is a prudent man, able to discern between good and evil. As the patriarch writes, God bestowed this virtue on the Bulgarian tsar²⁰. In Letter V, Nicholas claims that Simeon's prudence helped him lament the "wrongful expedition"²¹, which was abhorred by God. This passage suggests that prudence was not a virtue that was permanently associated with Simeon. Indeed, Nicholas Mystikos adds that despite his sorrow over the aforementioned expedition (in other words, understanding that it was evil in the eyes of God), the ruler prepares a new one, according to the patriarch, even more abhorred by God, and aimed at "an infant and an orphan, the son of an emperor", "an innocent who has done you no harm whatsoever"²².

When the Patriarch of Constantinople writes about the fighting between the Bulgarians and Byzantines²³, he indicates that Simeon's prudence helped him see that the blame for the situation rested both on the Byzantine and the Bulgarian side. Nicholas emphasizes that he did not have to explain this to the ruler, because Simeon had realized it himself.

In Letter XIX, Nicholas Mystikos implies that Simeon would be a prudent person if he restored the peace between the Bulgarians and Byzan-

I Constantinopolitanus, *Ep.* 8, p. 48). Incidentally, in Letter XII, the patriarch described Simeon's soul as virtuous (Nicolaus I Constantinopolitanus, *Ep.* 12, p. 86).

²⁰ Nicolaus I Constantinopolitanus, *Ep.* 21, p. 50; in Letter X, Simeon's prudence is even referred to as "perfect" (Nicolaus I Constantinopolitanus, *Ep.* 10, p. 70).

²¹ Nicolaus I Constantinopolitanus, *Ep.* 5, p. 26 (tr. p. 27). This probably refers to the Bulgarian Byzantine War of 894-896. Cf. *Testimonia najdawniejszych dziejów Słowian*. Seria grecka 3, ed. A. Brzóstkowska – W. Swoboda, Warszawa 1995, s. 364. For more on the war, see Bozhilov, *Car Simeon*, s. 88-94; D. Angelov – S. Kashev – B. Cholpanov, *B'lgarska voenna istorija ot antichnostta do vtorata chetv'rt na X v.*, Sofija 1983, p. 255-263; Leszka, *Symeon I Wielki*, p. 67-98.

²² Nicolaus I Constantinopolitanus, *Ep.* 5, p. 26 (tr. p. 27).

²³ Nicolaus I Constantinopolitanus, *Ep.* 9, p. 56. Cf. *Testimonia*, p. 366. It is unclear to which battle he is referring. Most likely, Nicholas Mystikos means the Bulgarian victory in the Battle of Achelous (August 917). On this battle, e.g.: Leszka, *Symeon I Wielki*, p. 177-180; *Simeonova B'lgarija, passim*.

tines that was given to them “by Christ, our God and Savior”²⁴. By doing so, he would end the Christian bloodshed and enmity between Christians, for which the devil was responsible. Prudence means acting in accordance with God’s will and fighting the Evil One.

Furthermore, in Letter XIV, the Patriarch of Constantinople stresses that Simeon’s prudence, combined with his love for God, allowed the Bulgarians to achieve great glory²⁵. He continues this theme in Letter XXIX, in which he mentions that prudence was one of the reasons Simeon enjoyed the highest admiration of all the Bulgarian rulers²⁶.

I would like to end these brief reflections with several conclusions. Appeals to temperance and prudence were clearly means of influencing Simeon to abandon military action and take steps that would bring peace.

As for temperance, the Constantinopolitan pastor certainly appreciated that Simeon led an austere lifestyle, which he had practiced since he became a monk at a young age. This unquestionably set him apart from other rulers. For Nicholas, however, what mattered more was the political layer of Simeon’s temperance, or rather the lack of this virtue. In his letters, Nicholas repeatedly pointed out the Bulgarian ruler’s driving ambition, expressed in his appetite for the throne in Constantinople.

Prudence, according to the patriarch, is a tool for judging between good and evil. It is the foundation for the proper management of both oneself and, in the case of a ruler, the state. Ultimately, it brings great fame to both the ruler and the entire state. Prudence is not a permanent quality of the ruler, or more broadly, of a man who takes actions that he previously considered inappropriate.

It seems that for Nicholas Mystikos, the primary criterion for recognizing Simeon as a temperate and prudent man were his actions in the political sphere and whether they were aligned with Byzantine interests. It is not particularly surprising if we bear in mind that while the correspondence was penned by an ecclesiastical hierarch who repeatedly employed religious arguments, its purpose was entirely political. Its author may have tried to seem impartial, but the fact remains that he represented

²⁴ Nicolaus I Constantinopolitanus, *Ep.* 19, p. 128.

²⁵ Nicolaus I Constantinopolitanus, *Ep.* 14, p. 94.

²⁶ Nicolaus I Constantinopolitanus, *Ep.* 29, p. 200; this thread also appears in earlier letters, such as Letter VI (Nicolaus I Constantinopolitanus, *Ep.* 6, p. 40).

Byzantine interests, and this was the lens through which he viewed the Bulgarian ruler.

The Temperance and Prudence of Simeon, the Bulgarian Ruler in the Letters of Nicholas Mystikos, Patriarch of Constantinople: Some Remarks

(summary)

Between 912-925, Nicholas Mystikos, Patriarch of Constantinople maintained a correspondence with Simeon, ruler of Bulgaria. The goal of Nicholas' correspondence was to persuade Simeon to end hostilities and make peace with Byzantium. For this purpose, he employed various methods and resorted to a variety of arguments. Appeals to temperance and prudence were clearly means of influencing Simeon to abandon military action and take steps that would bring peace. It seems that for Nicholas Mystikos, the primary criterion for recognizing Simeon as a temperate and prudent man were his actions in the political sphere and whether they were aligned with Byzantine interests.

Keywords: Nicholas Mystikos; Simeon I the Great; Byzantium; Bulgaria; temperance; prudence

Umiarkowanie i roztropność Symeona, władcy bułgarskiego, w listach Mikołaja Mistyka, patriarchy Konstantynopola. Kilka uwag

(streszczenie)

W latach 912-925 Mikołaj Mistyk, patriarcha Konstantynopola, prowadził korespondencję z Symeonem, władcą Bułgarii. Jej celem było nakłonienie Symeona do zakończenia działań wojennych i zawarcia pokoju z Bizancjum. By ten cel osiągnąć, Mikołaj Mistyk imał się różnych metod i sięgał po różnorodne argumenty. Odwoływanie się patriarchy do umiaru i roztropności było jednym z środków wpłynięcia na Symeona, by ten zaniechał działań militarnych, a podjął takie, które doprowadziłyby do zawarcia pokoju. Dla Mikołaja Mistyka podstawowym kryterium uznania Symeona za człowieka kierującego się w swoim życiu m.in. cnotami umiarkowania i roztropności było to, czy jego działania w sferze politycznej były zgodne z bizantyńskimi interesami.

Słowa kluczowe: Mikołaj Mistyk; Symeon I Wielki; Bizancjum; Bułgaria; umiarkowanie; roztropność

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Kirił Marinow¹

Enemy of All Virtues: Once Again on the Image of Tsar Simeon I (893-927) in the Oration *On the Treaty with the Bulgarians*

The cardinal virtues – prudence (φρόνησις), temperance (σωφροσύνη), fortitude (ἀνδρεία) and justice (δικαιοσύνη) – are usually associated with individual attitudes and character traits desirable among the broader followers of Christ. Essentially Christian, although growing out of and drawing on virtues propagated by ancient pagans, they applied with particular importance to the person of the ruler, who was expected not only to be a role model but also to propagate them among his subjects². Who but a Christian ruler, exercising power by divine appointment, should be their embodiment? He was an ideal not only of courage, both on the battlefield, in preaching the Gospel and in overcoming his own weaknesses, of wise and prudent governance, an embodiment of justice, giving to everyone what was due and not harsh and quick to punish; but also characterised by a broad-minded control of anger and a humble disposition. Such attitudes were expected of both the Eastern Roman emperor and the other rulers

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² More broadly on the topic see I.P. Bejczy, *The Cardinal Virtues in the Middle Ages: a Study in Moral Thought from the Fourth to the Fourteenth Century*, Leiden – Boston 2011; G. Zografidis, *Ethics, Byzantine*, in: *Encyclopedia of Medieval Philosophy. Philosophy between 500 and 1500*, ed. H. Lagerlund, London 2011, p. 323-328, especially p. 326-327; G. Diamantopoulos, *The Cardinal Virtues in the Works of Nicetas Stethatos*, in: *The Byzantine Platonists (284-1453), Theandrites: Byzantine Philosophy and Christian Neoplatonism*, v. 1, ed. F. Lauritzen – S. Wear, Steubenville – Ohio 2021, p. 155-191.

of the Orthodox oikoumene³. An ideal was an ideal, but individual rulers often deviated from this model. This was true not only of the native ones, from the Byzantine point of view, but also those representing neighbouring countries. This was especially so if they played an important role in the history of Eastern Rome, above all by violating the integrity of the Byzantine territories, threatening the capital Constantinople, the subjects of the Basileus and, above all, the imperial crown and dignity itself. In this respect, a particularly graceful figure in Byzantine literature was the Bulgarian Tsar Simeon I (893-927), a great antagonist of the empire, who not only unleashed war against it, but also ventured to claim the title of basileus. Here, then, was the ruler of a neighbouring state, an Orthodox Christian who had Byzantine upbringing, for he studied in the capital on the Bosphorus, who should have been the embodiment of all virtues but became, at least from an Eastern Roman perspective, their complete negation. A text that raises this issue particularly vividly is the rhetorical work (Ἐπὶ τῇ τῶν Βουλγάρων συμβάσει)⁴ dedicated to the conclusion of the Byzantine-Bulgarian peace of 927, which finally ended the struggle of Simeon's time which, in retrospect (the Bulgarian was already dead by then) presented, among other things, the image of the Bulgarian tsar.

The question of the image of the tsar in the speech has already been addressed, to varying degrees, in the scholarly literature. In his basic text devoted to the era of Tsar Simeon, Ivan Bozhilov draws attention to some biblical and ancient characters with whom the Bulgarian ruler is compared, but is content to only list them, alongside a cursory commentary⁵. Other scholars also confine themselves in this respect to a general characterization of the anonymous rhetorical text⁶. This stems from the fact that most

³ For an example, see the advice Patriarch Photios gave to the newly converted Bulgarian ruler, Boris-Michael, in this regard – Photius Patriarcha Constantinopolitanus, *Epistulae et Amphilochia*, v. 1: *Ep. 1*, ed. B. Laourdas – L.G. Westerink, Leipzig 1983, p. 2-39.

⁴ In the text I use the following critical edition of the oration – Anonymos, *De pace cum Bulgaris*, in: I. Dujčev, *On the Treaty of 927 with the Bulgarians*, DOP 32 (1978) §1-22, p. 254-288.

⁵ I. Bozhilov, *Tsar Simeon Veliki (893-927): Zlatniyat vek na srednovekovna Balgariya*, Sofia 1983, p. 158-160.

⁶ P. Angelov, *Balgariya i balgarite v predstavite na vizantiytsite (VII-XIV vek)*, Sofia 1999, p. 190-191; M.J. Leszka, *Wizerunek władców Pierwszego Państwa Bułgarskiego w bizantyńskich źródłach pisanych (VIII – pierwsza połowa XII wieku)*, Łódź 2003, p. 121-122; M.J. Leszka, *Symeon I Wielki a Bizancjum. Z dziejów stosunków bułgarsko-bizantyńskich w latach 893-927*, Łódź 2013, p. 272-273; P. Angelov, *Obrazat na tsar Simeon vav vizantiyskata knizhnina*, in: *Balgarskiyat Zlaten vek. Sbornik v chest na tsar Simeon*

often they take into account a wider range of Byzantine sources relating to the personality of Tsar Simeon and present a composite image of the ruler, being as representative as possible of the entire Byzantine literary community. Filling this gap, in my modest contribution from 2011, I focused explicitly on this issue in the mentioned oratorical work⁷. The present short article is a continuation of that endeavour, and in fact a small elaboration of some of the issues related to the topic that I failed to realise in that text.

In the speech, the Bulgarian ruler is obliquely or directly likened to various historical and mythological figures from Antiquity, as well as to a selection of biblical characters. Among them we meet Croesus and Polycrates, Xerxes, Eteocles and Polynices, Cyrus the Younger, Alexander the Great, Typhon, Ares, Coribos, Antheus, the Egyptian Pharaoh, Adair, Holofernes, Goliath, David, Satan. One feature unites them – according to the author's interpretation they each have a decidedly negative connotation. In the text Simeon is characterized as a follower of ancient pagan deities who were violent, arrogant and ambitious, and in their image he was also lacking in temperance, and therefore deprived of one of the cardinal Christian virtues. For the anonymous author he was proud and aggressive, his actions towards Byzantium are defined as *apostasias*, i.e. a breaking away from unity with it; the imperial title he flaunted and the power Simeon aspired to, similar to those of the Byzantine basileus, were tyrannical in nature. Violating the hierarchy of earthly rulers established by the Most High, at least according to Byzantine views, the Bulgarian ruler became, following the definitions of the Byzantine rhetor, a barbarian and a Scythian, an obedient tool in the hands of Satan⁸.

What the Byzantine orator thought was the ultimate end of Tsar Simeon is not difficult to guess. In pursuit of his quest for the vanities of this world (the crown, the Byzantine throne and their transitory, earthly glory)⁹,

Veliki (893-927), ed. V. Gyuzelev – I.G. Iliev – K. Nenov, Plovdiv 2015, p. 338-340 (the same text in: *Treti mezhdunaroden kongres po balgaristika, 23-26 may 2013 g. Kragla masa "Zlatniyat vek na tsar Simeon: politika, religiya i kultura"*, ed. V. Stanev, Sofia 2014, p. 57-79); cf. H. Trendafilov, *Tsar i vek. Vremeto na Simeona. Chetri instalacii*, Shumen 2017, p. 139, 145-150.

⁷ K. Marinow, *In the Shackles of the Evil One: The Portrayal of Tsar Symeon I the Great (893–927) in the Oration 'On the Treaty with the Bulgarians'*, „Studia Ceranea” 1 (2011) p. 157-190.

⁸ See Marinow, *In the Shackles of the Evil One*, p. 166-189; K. Marinow, *Vizantiyskata imperska ideya i pretentsiite na tsar Simeon spored slovoto „Za mira s balgarite”*, in: *Kirilo-Metodievski studii*, v. 25, ed. S. Barlieva, Sofia 2016, p. 345, 348.

⁹ Cf. e.g. Is 40,6-8; 1Peter 1,24 – *Septuaginta. Id est Vetus Testamentum graece iuxta LXX interpretes editit A. Rahlfs. Editio altera quam recognovit et emendavit*

he lost sight of the really important matters, i.e. the eternal things. He ends his earthly journey as the rebellious Lucifer, overthrown from his place of arrogance and pride, as Typhon, defeated by Zeus and cast into Tartarus. In our source these are only suggestions, such as may be gathered from the context of the author's entire speech¹⁰. So in the letters of the Basileus Romanos Lekapenos (920-944) to the Bulgarian ruler, Theodore Daphnopates (890/900-after 961), an imperial secretary and their true author, emphatically warns the tsar of the consequences of his persistence in rebellion and the continuation of the war. Through the mouth of the Byzantine ruler he reminds the tsar of the Last Judgment and the punishment for bad deeds¹¹. From the contents of the speech being discussed here, it follows that Simeon may be counted among those who love strife and war¹², and is included in the band of murderers who resemble, as the anonymous person has written, Cain and Lamech¹³, i.e. the types of wicked men directly designated in Holy Scripture as children of the Evil One¹⁴.

What, then, do we know about Cain and Lamech? The fundamental text for both characters is the Book of Genesis 4,1-24. Taken together, they are bloody, cruel and vengeful people, given over to sin and the whispers of the Devil. For the first of them, out of envy, killed his own brother Abel, simply because God was predisposed toward him and not toward Cain. Thus he became a fratricide. He is also listed in the Bible¹⁵ with people despising rules, blaspheming the glory of beings greater than themselves (here: the immaterial, i.e., spiritual beings – God, angels, even those fallen ones), with unreasonable individuals, envious, murmuring, angry and dissatisfied with their lot (i.e., not trusting in the Lord, not relying on Him,

R. Hanhart, v. 2: *Libri poetici et prophetici*, Stuttgart 2006, 619; *Novum Testamentum Graece: Textus Byzantinus (The New Testament in Original Greek: Byzantine Textform)*, ed. M.A. Robinson – W.G. Pierpont, Southborough 2005, p. 331; Marinow, *Vizantiyskata imperska ideya*, p. 343-348.

¹⁰ Marinow, *In the Shackles of the Evil One*, p. 168-174.

¹¹ Theodorus Daphnopates, *Ep. 7*, ed. and tr. J. Darrouzès – L.G. Westerink, Paris 1978, p. 79-84.

¹² Cf. Anonymos, *De pace cum Bulgaris* 21, p. 284, 466-472.

¹³ Anonymos, *De pace cum Bulgaris* 9, p. 268, 240-270, 269.

¹⁴ See Gen 4,1-24; Wis 10,3; Matt 23,35; 1Jn 3,12-13; Jude 11 – *Septuaginta*, v. 1: *Leges et historiae*, p. 5-6; v. 2, p. 358; *Novum Testamentum Graece*, p. 53, 345, 351.

¹⁵ Wis 10,3 – *Septuaginta*, v. II, p. 358; Jude 3-19 – *Novum Testamentum Graece*, p. 351-352. This fragment has a broader meaning, but Cain (explicitly mentioned in verse 11) is listed there as the first of the personal examples of an apostate/godless person, and the characteristics of pseudo-brothers, false Christians, mentioned there apply to him as well.

making claims on Him), ignoring God's commandments and the Wisdom that gave them power to rule over all things, including themselves¹⁶. Cain is implicitly characterized as a flagrant sinner, uttering cruel, haughty and mocking words¹⁷, acting according to his wicked lusts, being a filthy dreamer. A person who causes schisms among believers, separates himself from the unity of the faith¹⁸, with a soulish rather than a spiritual inward disposition, would say a person moving according to earthly, fleshly (to use the Church's language) desires rather than the teachings of God. Someone resembling animals, devoid of the Spirit of God, and though taking part in the brotherly, Christian "love-feasts (αἱ ἀγάπαι)"¹⁹, a barren individual, not possessing the qualities of a true believing Christian²⁰, in other words

¹⁶ And Cain indeed ignored God's warning not to give in to sin, but to rule over it – Gen 4,7-8 – *Septuaginta*, v. 1, p. 5-6.

¹⁷ Are not these the words with which he answered God after He had asked him – after the murder of Abel – where his brother was: "I know not; am I my brother's keeper? (Οὐ γινώσκω· μὴ φύλαξ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ μου εἰμι ἐγώ;)" – Gen 4,9 – *Septuaginta*, v. 1, p. 6.

¹⁸ Cain separated from Abel, both spiritually, in terms of faith, the knowledge of the Lord, and physically, by removing him from the face of the Earth.

¹⁹ It refers to gatherings of believers in Christ during which they shared the table, i.e. ate together.

²⁰ The comparisons used by the New Testament writer (Jude 12b-13 – *Novum Testamentum Graece*, p. 352) to describe such persons are very telling – they are "waterless clouds carried by winds (νεφέλαι ἄνυδροι ὑπὸ ἀνέμων παραφερόμεναι)" (v. 12b), i.e. not directly guided by the Holy Spirit, but rather pushed and nudged here and there by false and contradictory teachings (cf. Jas 1,6 – *Novum Testamentum Graece*, p. 323, though there the reference is to waves, not clouds) or pagan deities whose incarnations were the winds (Gr. ἄνεμοι – see A.J. Atsma, *Anemoi*, in: *Theoi: Greek Mythology*, in: <http://www.theoi.com/Titan/Anemoi.html> [accessed: 13.07.2022]). The plural used here is of great significance, since in the Bible the Holy Spirit is also likened to the wind (Jn 3,7-15 – *Novum Testamentum Graece*, p. 197-198), but it is explicitly referred to in the singular, which alludes to the only true direction of the movement of the faithful Christian child of God (cf. Rom 8,14 – *Novum Testamentum Graece*, p. 364). Furthermore, the fragment of John's Gospel referred to is only saying that, like the wind, we do not know where He comes from or where He goes, and the Spirit Himself cannot be seen, but therefore His works (by means of hearing and the eyes) can be known. And so the individuals mentioned – "waterless clouds" – do not bring coolness to living creatures and irrigation to the earth, which would in principle lead to life, growth and fruitfulness (cf. Ps 62,2; Is 55,10-11 – *Septuaginta*, v. 2, p. 63, 641). Let me add that rain in Holy Scripture is again a symbol of the Spirit of the Lord, i.e., if they are deprived of it, the rain, it means that they are actually deprived of Him, the Spirit. They are further compared to "autumn trees, barren, twice dead, uprooted (δένδρα φθινοπωρινὰ ἄκαρπα δις ἀποθανόντα ἐκρίζωθέντα)" (v. 12b). Twice dead, first, because, like the trees in autumn, they are destitute of fruit (probably

alluding to late autumn). Second, because they are uprooted, removed from the natural conditions in which they would flourish, i.e., from the fertile and life-giving soil. And are not believers in the Lord called to bring forth the following fruit of the Spirit: “love, joy, peace, patience, kindness, goodness, faithfulness, gentleness, self-control (ἀγάπη, χαρά, εἰρήνη, μακροθυμία, χρηστότης, ἀγαθωσύνη, πίστις, πραότης, ἐγκράτεια)” – Gal 5,22-23a – *Novum Testamentum Graece*, p. 427; cf. Col 3,12-15 – *Novum Testamentum Graece*, p. 448. And this is only possible when the believer is planted in the House of the Lord (cf. Ps 1,1-3 – *Septuagint*, v. 2, p. 1), when he is rooted in Christ and from Him receives the life-giving juices that consequently produce the expected fruits of faith (cf. Jn 15,1-8; Col 2,6-7 – *Novum Testamentum Graece*, p. 233, 446). It is also possible that the mention of the twice-dead may also allude to the so-called Second Death of John’s Revelation (Rev 2,11; 20,6; 21,8 – *Novum Testamentum Graece*, p. 499, 527, 528), signifying the final separation from fellowship with God and his faithful people, i.e. the saints (cf. Matt 25,46; 2Thess 1,9 – *Novum Testamentum Graece*, p. 59, 457). In the context of Cain, it is interesting that the Second Death, expressed by eternal torment in the lake of fire, is intended, among others, for “the unbelieving, the filthy, the murderers [...] and all liars (ἀπίστοις καὶ ἐβδελυγμένοις καὶ φονεῦσιν [...] καὶ πᾶσιν τοῖς ψευδέσιν)” (Rev 21,8 – *Novum Testamentum Graece*, p. 528) – i.e., the things which he was guilty of because he disbelieved the Lord in spite of the warning he had heard; he polluted his soul by indulging in sinful desires, in consequence of which he killed his brother and lied to God that he did not know what had happened to Abel. And Jude goes on to say that men like him are “fierce waves of the sea, foaming their shame, starry wanderers, for whom blackest darkness is forever reserved (κύματα ἄγρια θαλάσσης, ἐπαφρίζοντα τὰς ἑαυτῶν αἰσχύνας· ἀστέρες πλανῆται οἷς ὁ ζόφος τοῦ σκότους εἰς αἰῶνα τετήρηται)” – verse 13 – *Novum Testamentum Graece*, p. 352. Here we have a very dangerous and violent, absolutely uncontrolled sea-waves, which indiscriminately and furiously throw to the surface what has hitherto been hidden in the depths of the sea. The image is emphatic and highly evocative to anyone who has seen such wild and destructive sea waves. For the Byzantines, whose lives were accompanied by the sea on a daily basis, especially in the metropolitan city of Constantinople, as well as along the coasts of the countryside, such sights were certainly familiar. In this context, let me recall that the Byzantine rhetor, in characterizing the war, also likens it to a sea storm, and more precisely to triple sea billows (Anonymos, *De pace cum Bulgaris* 2, p. 254, 25). And so, with the help of the agitated sea expanse, St. Jude wanted to show the fearful and unrestrained power of the vices of the flesh which controlled the wicked, including Cain himself, and which they were unable to hide from the world’s view, just as the raging sea was tearing out of its bowels all that was hitherto unrecognizable. The image of the foaming water seemed to recall the drunken water that gushed over the mouth of the sinner seized with passions or demonic powers. Thus all their shameful deeds saw the light of day. The comparison with the starry wanderers refers us again to Cain, who, after his sin, was doomed to wander, thus deprived of his roots, away his own land, i.e. he was excommunicated from the rest of mankind. This is even more evocative if one considers that according to ancient and medieval (and still other) views the wanderer, the foreigner, was a dubious and undesirable person for settled communities (A.E. Laiou, *The foreigner and the stranger in 12th century Byzantium*, in: *Fremde der Gesellschaft. His-*

a false brother (such as Cain was to Abel). To put it in another way, here was a man who was part of God's family, and although he had the chance and right to enjoy God's grace, he seems not to have treated it seriously, and as the apostle Jude says of his kind, he turned it to dissipation, and thus, in a sense, denied God, i.e. became ungodly²¹.

Furthermore, as other biblical passages inform us, by killing his brother Cain proved that he was in fact descended from the Evil One, i.e. he was the son of the Devil, and as such hated Abel because, unlike him, the slain sibling had been righteous. In other words, the deeds they performed, their actions, bore witness to who they were, as people, by nature. Those of Cain were evil, lacking faith, so he fundamentally hated his brother instead of loving him, which made him sympathetic to the evil, sin-manifested, Satan-obeying world, changing him into a natural enemy of God's faithful people²². However, when Cain expressed his fears about his fate – after God cursed him and deprived him of the opportunity to fruitfully till the ground, making him an exile and a wanderer upon it – God promised him that in the event someone killed him, after finding out who he was and (presumably) what he had done to his brother, he would be avenged sevenfold (ἑπτὰ; ἑπτάκις). But God's mercy and protection for Cain did not end there, but the Most High put a mark upon him, that he should not be hurt by anyone who met him²³. According to the biblical meaning of the number seven

torische und Sozialwissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zur Differenzierung von Normalität und Fremdheit, ed. M.Th. Fögen, Frankfurt am Main 1991, p. 71-97; see also *The Stranger in Medieval Society*, ed. F.R.P. Akehurst – S.C. Van D'Elden, University of Minnesota Press 1997). Additionally, a stellar wanderer could have been a comet or meteor (or, as the Byzantines called them, "shooting stars"), which according to contemporary beliefs portended extraordinary, usually malevolent, events (cf. Leo Diaconus, *Historia* X 8, ed. C.B. Hase, Bonnae 1828, p. 172, 1-8). Intuitively, we understand that the blackest darkness, or more literally, the darkness of darkness, is reserved for all of them, for the "clouds" and the "trees" as well as for the "waves" and the "star-wanderers", i.e., for the wicked pseudo-brothers, even though on first reading the text we think only of the cosmic darkness in which the stars are located. There is a strong semantic opposition in the text of the rain-bearing clouds to the arid ones, of the healthy, fruitful trees to the uprooted and dead ones, of the light of the solitary wandering (or falling) star to the impenetrable darkness. An impenetrable, unnatural, inhumanly profound darkness (alien to human experience), for how else to understand the definition "the blackest darkness/the darkness of darkness (ὁ ζόφος τοῦ σκότους)" if not the embodiment of absolute, physical and spiritual darkness, the essence of darkness and nothingness.

²¹ Jude 4 – *Novum Testamentum Graece*, p. 351.

²² 1John 3,7-15; Hebr 11,4 – *Novum Testamentum Graece*, p. 344-345, 474.

²³ Gen 4,15.24 – *Septuaginta*, v. 1, p. 6.

– i.e. perfection, perfect completeness of something, wholeness, absolute completion of a deed, ideal finality²⁴ – it meant that God would provide/would measure the complete, appropriate, ideal and just punishment of the one who killed Cain. On the other hand, taking this figure literally, we can see in the sevenfold vengeance an underlining of the importance of Cain's life in the eyes of God, because for one life of his the Creator would have required a satisfaction consisting, most likely (according to the Old Testament rule “fracture for fracture, eye for eye, tooth for tooth”)²⁵, of seven human lives²⁶. And all this in spite of his evil deed.

In the context of Simeon, an interesting connection arises here, suggesting that the reason he started the war with his southern neighbour was his envy of the Byzantine ruler, whom God had honoured with a preeminent position among earthly monarchs, i.e., showed a greater, extraordinary predisposition toward him than toward the others, for whom such a position was unavailable. Probably, like the people of Cain's ilk, in accordance with the views of the orator, the Bulgarian ruler murmured because of his inferior position to the basileus of Constantinople, and the apparent injustice, at least in his opinion, of the judgments of God. Here was the place for him to utter violent blasphemies and angry invectives even against the Most High because of this state of things. Such an attitude – rise against God – would undoubtedly testify to a lack of reason, prudence, and be evidence of the loss of another cardinal virtue. In doing so, Simeon broke the established rules and ignored God's warning, giving in to his own, fleshly desires (as a filthy dreamer, to use St. Jude's nomenclature) for position and glory. This conclusion is consistent with other fragments of the oration relating to the personality of the Bulgarian tsar. Let me recall that the author of the speech also compares Simeon to the biblical King David and does so, in a manner unusual for the Middle Ages, because of a negative connotation – David could not build God's temple of peace, in which the glory of the Lord would reside, because he had shed much human blood and his

²⁴ See J.P. Dickson, *The Genesis of Everything: An historical account of the Bible's opening chapter*, „ISCAST Online Journal: Christian Perspectives on Science and Technology” 4 (2008) p. 7-8, 9, 11, 13-14; A. Bandy, *The Hermeneutics of Symbolism: How to Interpret the Symbols of John's Apocalypse*, „The Southern Baptist Journal of Theology” 14/1 (2010) p. 46-58; Th. Saaty, *Seven is the Magic Number in Nature*, „Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society” 160/4 (2016) p. 358.

²⁵ Cf. Exod 21,22-25; Lev 24,19-21; Deut 19,19-21; Matt 5,38 – *Septuaginta*, v. 1, p. 122, 201, 322; *Novum Testamentum Graece*, p. 9.

²⁶ For example, among the relatives of the possible killer.

hands were stained with it²⁷. In this case we can look for an immediate connection with the image of Cain, especially since according to Byzantine tradition and art²⁸ to kill Abel he used a curved knife (Gr. μάχαιρα), which implies the draining of the blood from the body²⁹, and probably staining the murderous hand with it.

This also applies to the statements emphasizing the audacity shown by the Bulgarian ruler, his boastfulness, the haughty and pompous verbosity with which he appeared during his personal meeting with the Byzantine emperor under the walls of Constantinople in 923³⁰. It is the same on the occasion of his personification, especially his character and the consequent conduct of the Bulgarian, with the unreasoning wild beasts³¹, guided only

²⁷ Anonymos, *De pace cum Bulgaris* 16, p. 278. 371-378; T. Todorov, „Slovo za mira s balgaitе” i balgaro-vizantijskite politicheski otnosheniya prez poslednite godini ot upravlenieto na tsar Simeon, in: *Balgariya, balgarite i tehните sasedi prez vekovete. Izsledvaniya i materialy ot nauchnata konferenciya v pamet na doc. d-r Hristo Kolarov, 30-31 oktombri 1998 g., Veliko Tarnovo*, ed. Y. Andreev, Veliko Tarnovo 2001, p. 142-145. On the matter of King David, the blood he shed and his failure to build the temple of God see 2 Reigns 16,5-11; 3 Reigns 8,15-20; 1 Suppl. 22,6-10 – *Septuaginta*, v. 1, p. 598-599, 646-647, 797.

²⁸ Dionisius Phurnensis, *Interpretatio ars pingendi* II 15, ed. A. Papadopoulou-Kerameos, Petroupoleos 1909, p. 48.

²⁹ Which agrees well with the biblical text mentioning that Abel’s blood cried out from the earth to the Lord (Gen. 4,10 – *Septuagint*, v. 1, p. 6), i.e. flowed out upon the latter.

³⁰ Cf. Anonymos, *De pace cum Bulgaris* 16, p. 276, 362-278, 369. There is no mention in this passage of any threatening statements made by the Bulgarian ruler to the Byzantines, but the reader may be left with such a conviction, given that in it the tsar is compared to the biblical Goliath, who blasphemed the Jewish army and its God (cf. 1Kings 17,8-10.16.23.36.42-44 – *Septuagint*, v. 1, p. 533-534, 535, 536). Despite the seemingly precise information of the Byzantine sources on the date of Simeon’s meeting with Romanos Lekapenos, the issue remains debatable – see the serious arguments for 923 in J. Howard-Johnston, *A short piece of narrative history: war and diplomacy in the Balkans, winter 921/2 – spring 924*, in: *Byzantine Style, Religion and Civilization. In Honour of Sir Steven Runciman*, ed. E. Jeffreys, Cambridge 2006, p. 348; Leszka, *Symeon I Wielki a Bizancjum*, p. 206, n. 44.

³¹ It is in connection with the Byzantine campaign against Bulgaria in 917 that the orator claims that the Romans set out “against the wild boar in the forest (κατὰ τοῦ ἐκ δρυμοῦ μονιοῦ)” (Anonymos, *De pace cum Bulgaris* 14, p. 276, 343-346), and more specifically the meeting of Tsar Simeon with Emperor Romanos Lekapenos in 923. He writes that, like the fiercest of the beasts (τὰ τῶν θηρίων ὀμότερα), when they get into difficulty before those who are shooting them and begin to struggle against the arrows (τὰ βέλη, also: the spears), so he (tr. Simeon), when he lost because he did not get what he wished, with hostility burst out holy bile (or anger) upon the forest (τοῖς δρυμοῖς τὸν χόλον ἀπέσκηψε

by their senses and instincts, and not by the wisdom proceeding from the Spirit of God. Again, this would demonstrate a lack of wisdom. In the case of the latter, by adopting an uncompromisingly hostile attitude towards the Byzantines, his brethren in Christ, by rejecting God's rules and decrees, in a certain sense the tsar lost his humanity, especially if it be borne in mind that he did so quite deliberately, as a Christian illumined by the light of faith and truth. In this sense it may be said that he then lost the vital Breath (Gr. ἡ πνοὴ ζωῆς, i.e. the Spirit of God) which Adam received at the time of creation³². To some extent this harmonizes with his comparison with the beasts³³, which, according to the Old Testament account of the creation, though possessed of a living soul (Gr. ἡ ψυχὴ ζωῆς), were not animated directly by the Creator Himself (He did not create them personally, as in the case of man), but according to His spoken word the earth brought them into being – hence, probably, the difference in the nouns used by the biblical author. In other words, the Bulgarian ruler lost the personal connection with the Creator³⁴.

However, the passage quoted in connection with Cain from the Epistle of Jude primarily refers to the fact of the new creation in Christ and the related indwelling of the Holy Spirit within the born-again believer. This motif also appears elsewhere in the discourse, where the author mentions

– Anonymos, *De pace cum Bulgaris* 16, p. 278, 369-371), by which the rhetorician means the destruction of the forests in the neighbourhood of the Byzantine capital. And elsewhere in the work Simeon is defined as a “wild beast” (τὸ θηρίον – Anonymos, *De pace cum Bulgaris* 15, p. 276, 359) or, to adopt an even more eloquent translation, “a predator, a monster, a bloodthirsty beast hostile to man”. It is worth adding that this last Greek definition was also used as a curse, with the meaning “vile beast, monster, scoundrel” (cf. *A Greek-English Lexicon*, ed. H.G. Liddell – R. Scott – H.S. Jones – R. McKenzie, Oxford 1996, p. 800; *Słownik grecko-polski*, v. 1, ed. O. Jurewicz, Warszawa 2000, p. 449). For a fuller picture, I also pass on related definitions: θῆρ, θηρός – “wild beast,” plural “mythological animals, monsters, mythological personages” (cf. Typhon, to whom Simeon is also equated in the speech) – *A Greek-English Lexicon*, p. 799; *Słownik grecko-polski*, v. 1, p. 449. Nor can I exclude that in the oration the author uses the definition τὸ θηρίον (also in the plural) in its purely ecclesiastical sense, referring, among others, to pagan deities, to animals as the incarnation of demons, to Antichrist, Satan and his angels – cf. *A Patristic Greek Lexicon*, ed. G.W.H. Lampe, Oxford 1961, p. 651-652.

³² Gen 2,7 – *Septuaginta*, v. 1, p. 3; cf. Anonymos, *De pace cum Bulgaris* 9, p. 268, 241-243.

³³ Cf. also Anonymos, *De pace cum Bulgaris*, § 9, p. 270. 250, where the man endowed with divine inspiration, after having rebelled against his brother in imitation of Ares, is likened to the wild beasts, i.e. the Arabian predators.

³⁴ Gen 1,24-30; 2,4-7 – *Septuaginta*, v. 1, p. 2, 3.

Simeon's claim to the imperial crown. He designates his actions as apostasy (ἀποστασία), because of his proclamation as basileus and the other things³⁵, by which the sign (σφραγίς) was profaned. On the one hand, the rhetor means the seals on which Simeon is designated as basileus, chiefly of the Romans, thus profaning the true imperial seals belonging to the Byzantine ruler. On the other hand, however, in a considerably deeper sense, he thinks primarily of the sign of the Holy Cross, and by means of this metaphor of the profanation of the Christian faith by the Bulgarian ruler in general. According to the rhetorician evil (κακόν) was thus born, and Simeon appropriated to himself the fruits of his parent (τὰ γεννήματα τοῦ τεκόντος ἐξιδιάζεται), on the one hand having rejected his father, and on the other hand the spirit (καὶ ἀθετεῖ μὲν τὸν πατέρα, ἀθετεῖ δὲ τὸ πνεῦμα) which is the pledge of sonship (δι' οὗ ὁ ἀρραβὼν τῆς υἰότητος)³⁶. In this fragment, the Byzantine author deliberately uses New Testament clichés to define the nature of the spiritual relationship between the Byzantine basileus (the father) and the Bulgarian ruler (the son). In this biblical reference, we can also discern a hint that by rejecting the spiritual fatherhood of the Byzantine emperor, his adoption by him, Simeon in fact also rejected the Lord the Father, as well as the Holy Spirit, who is the pledge of his personal relationship with God, his own salvation, and his heavenly inheritance awaiting him³⁷. Instead of resigning himself to his situation and obediently waiting for the inheritance destined for him by the Saviour, Simeon, coveting above all that which was not destined for him, and on that occasion committing murders against his brethren in faith, betrayed not only his spiritual parent, i.e. the Byzantine emperor, personally, but in fact the Lord Himself, because he defied His laws and decrees, thus denying the communion with the Byzantines in faith and the Holy Spirit Himself, sustaining and guaranteeing the unity between them³⁸. His deeds and their consequences proved that he was not under the influence of the Spirit of God, did not allow the latter to guide him according to the teachings and will of Christ, i.e., was no longer a son of God³⁹. As a consequence of this, in the context of Cain

³⁵ The author doesn't specify what, but most likely he is referring to either other titles/dignities or deeds that took place after assuming the imperial dignity.

³⁶ Anonymos, *De pace cum Bulgaris*, § 12, p. 274, 310-316.

³⁷ Rom 8,14-15.23; 2Cor 1,21-22; 5,5; Eph 1,13-14 – *Novum Testamentum Graece*, p. 364, 404, 408, 429; cf. also A. Stavridou-Zaphraka, *Ho Anonymos logos „Epi te ton Boulgaron symbasei”*, „Byzantina” 8 (1976) p. 394-395, note to p. 372, v. 2-4.

³⁸ Cf. 1Cor 12,12-14.27; Eph 4,3-4 – *Novum Testamentum Graece*, p. 394, 395, 433.

³⁹ Cf. Rom 8,14 – *Novum Testamentum Graece*, p. 364.

and his ilk, there was a split in the Body of the Christ, i.e. the community of believers, the Orthodox Church! And Simeon's entire conduct would have been nothing short of injustice – reaching for someone else's title, elevating himself above his assigned position and, above all, taking armed action against the Christians to enable him to carry out his plans.

In turn, the aforementioned Lamech, descended from the lineage of Cain (one would say that the apple does not fall far from the tree!), was willing to kill anyone, even a child, if it merely hurt or bruised him. Therefore, out of selfish motives, i.e., a sense of self-importance and inviolability of his own life, he wanted to repay disproportionately the damage suffered. Additionally, on his own, i.e. without God's sanction, explicitly referring to the example of his ancestor, he wanted to be avenged even seventy-seven times (ἑβδομηκοντάκις ἑπτὰ), in other words an unimaginable number of times, and in fact, using the symbolic meaning of the number, an infinite number of times⁴⁰. Lamech's exaggerated statement testifies that he sought for himself a vengeance out of all proportion to reality and in excess of God's justice, in effect belittling it and deeming it insufficient, which was no doubt a manifestation of disrespect, an affront to God's majesty. The example of Lamech may hint that even if the Bulgarian tsar was in some way wronged, deprived of something by the Byzantines, he in turn did them far more harm than they did him, and his conduct, his attitude, was in complete contradiction to God's law. Furthermore, we know what the response, the attitude of a true disciple and follower of Christ (as Simeon ought to have been!) should have been looking at the two examples of behaviour discussed here – i.e., those of Cain and Lamech. And so, on the question of the apostle Peter, how many times he should forgive his brother when he sinned against him, and whether it should be as many as seven times (ἑπτάκις; the example of Cain!), Jesus answers, not seven, but seventy-seven times (ἑβδομηκοντάκις ἑπτὰ; the example of Lamech!), in other words, always. He informs his disciples, moreover, that to such an attitude they must be motivated by the fact that God has forgiven them many more trespasses than they have to forgive others. He also warns that the lack of sincere forgiveness of their brethren (primarily those by faith, but also those according to creation) leads to a lack of forgiveness of their own sins by the Most High⁴¹.

⁴⁰ Gen 4,24 – *Septuaginta*, v. 1, p. 6.

⁴¹ Matt 18,21-35 – *Novum Testamentum Graece*, p. 40-41; cf. Lk 17,3-4 – *Novum Testamentum Graece*, p. 168.

Simeon, however, did not habituate himself to the teaching of Jesus. Resembling the evil characters mentioned in the Bible, and with them those who, as the author says, were found on the left side of the judgment throne of Christ, where the goats belonged, i.e. those whose names were blotted out of the Book of the Saved (ἀπαλειφῆ δὲ τῆς βίβλου τῶν σωζομένων)⁴², to be cast into the eternal fire destined for the Devil and his angels⁴³, Simeon might have expected a similar fate. For he chose the way of Cain (τῆ ὁδοῦ τοῦ Κάϊν)⁴⁴, the way of hatred, which is utterly opposed to the gospel of Christ and the Christian way of life⁴⁵, and became a fratricide, because he really shed fraternal, Byzantine, and therefore Christian blood. And whoever hates his brother is a murderer (ἀνθρωποκτόνος), and therefore is deprived of eternal life, will not enter the Kingdom of God, and abides in death⁴⁶. Going a little beyond the circle of the author's direct references to Holy Scripture, not excluding at the same time that his own thought could have taken this path of interpretation, while at the same time having the certainty that it fitted within his Christian worldview, I might add that the aforementioned transgression – the shedding of brotherly, Orthodox blood – is so much greater a transgression than that of Cain, inasmuch as the spiritual kinship of all believers in Christ is much stronger and more important than that of the flesh, based on physical ties (i.e. ephemeral, terrestrial), because, unlike it, it has an eternal character⁴⁷. And so, Simeon's fate was foreordained, for Cain, and Lamech, like every hardened sinner, were facing God's judgment and eternal punishment under the guise of the blackest of darkness, in other words, a terrible eternity devoid of relation-

⁴² Anonymos, *De pace cum Bulgaris*, § 9, p. 270. 255-260.

⁴³ Matt 25,31-46 – *Novum Testamentum Graece*, p. 58-59. It is possible that to this idea expressed in the rhetorical work must be referred the already mentioned Second Death (ὁ θάνατος ὁ δεύτερος), which in the Revelation of John (Rev 21,8 – *Novum Testamentum Graece*, p. 528) is associated, among others, with “the lake that burns with fire and brimstone (τῆ λίμνη τῆ καιομένη πυρὶ καὶ θείῳ)”.

⁴⁴ Cf. Jude 11 – *Novum Testamentum Graece*, p. 351. The term “way” has a great significance in Christian teaching because it means, symbolizes the whole way of one's life, his behavior, and the direction in which he is headed. That is why the whole Christian teaching has been called “The Way (ὁδός)” – Acts 9,2; 18,25; 24,22 – *Novum Testamentum Graece*, p. 269, 296, 311; cf. Jn 14,6 – *Novum Testamentum Graece*, p. 231.

⁴⁵ 1John 3,11-13 – *Novum Testamentum Graece*, p. 345.

⁴⁶ 1John 3,14-15; Gal 5,19-21; Rev 22,14-15 – *Novum Testamentum Graece*, p. 345, 426-427, 531; cf. Wis 10,3 – *Septuaginta*, v. 2, p. 358.

⁴⁷ Cf. Matt 12,46-50; Mk 3,31-35; 10,29-30; Lc 8,19-21 – *Novum Testamentum Graece*, p. 26, 76, 97, 141.

ship with God⁴⁸. Without much error, therefore, it could be pointed out that the Bulgarian ruler lacked the personal fortitude to fight the temptations, the enticements of his own corrupt and fallen heart.

And so, according to the Byzantine author of the oration, Simeon chooses the earthly, the carnal, and ultimately the temporal and mortal, which by its nature is opposed to the spiritual, the eternal, i.e., he chooses human wisdom and glory instead of that of God. Instead of resigning himself to his God-ordained place in the earthly hierarchy of rulers, to remain a faithful spiritual son of the Roman basileus, he rises up against his spiritual mentor, stretching out his hands to that which is fundamentally not his, in effect murmuring and rebelling against the very Creator and Founder of this earthly structure of rulership. Moved by his own discontent and envy of the Basileus of Constantinople, for whom God had shown greater favour, he began a bloody and destructive war against the Byzantines, his Orthodox brethren. In this way he resembles the murderer Cain, proving himself to them a false brother in the faith, likening himself to Lamech, the cruel representative of Cain's family, who had too high an opinion of his own person and expected to be granted considerably more than was really his due. For this reason God did not even allow him to lay the foundation of the House, i.e., His temple, in other words to restore peaceful coexistence between the Christian nations divided by war (even if he would have liked to!), although he was a legitimate Bulgarian ruler, i.e., in assuming the throne he received the anointment (χρῖσμα) and Divine inspiration (ἐπίπνοια) from above⁴⁹. The cardinal virtues with which he should legitimise himself became alien to him when he followed a false voice tempting him to reach for what did not belong to him by starting a war with his southern neighbours, his brothers in faith. In the eyes of the Byzantines, he became their embodied opposite.

Although the above reflections are to a certain extent hypothetical, they are a logical consequence of the explicit, if brief and indirect, comparison of the eminent Bulgarian ruler with the two Old Testament characters. I cannot be entirely certain that the Byzantine orator had in mind all the biblical connotations I have mentioned referring to Cain and Lamech, but by all accounts, keeping in mind the importance of the Bible as a hypertext of the Byzantine world and a basic element in education during the period under consideration (combined with the most important ancient texts

⁴⁸ Jude 13-15 – *Novum Testamentum Graece*, p. 352.

⁴⁹ Cf. Anonymos, *De pace cum Bulgaris* 16, p. 278, 371-374, 375-378.

and motifs), it seems that the interpretation I have proposed fits perfectly with the author's worldview and his knowledge of these two figures from the Scripture. Moreover, the analysis of this comparison is in full accord with other passages of the oration that are relevant to the personality of the Bulgarian ruler. I have no doubt that through this reference the rhetor was intending to belittle, and present in the darkest possible colours, both the personality of Tsar Simeon and his aims and achievements. Of course, one (for there are more) of the reasons for this lies in the oratorical technique itself – against the background of the Bulgarian ruler thus presented, the personages of Emperor Romanos I Lekapenos and Tsar Peter I (927-969), Simeon's successor, who concluded the peace treaty in 927, finally ending the long-standing Bulgarian-Byzantine feud, stood out more brightly and more positively⁵⁰.

Enemy of All Virtues: Once Again on the Image of Tsar Simeon I (893-927) in the Oration *On the Treaty with the Bulgarians*

(summary)

This article focuses on the Bulgarian Tsar Simeon I (893-927), who in the second half of his reign entered into a protracted military and ideological conflict with the Byzantine Empire. He wished not only to extend his dominions at the expense of his southern neighbour, but also to equal it in titulature, and it is possible – although scholars differ on this point – that his aspirations reached even further, namely Constantinople itself. Either way, Bulgaria under his reign posed a serious threat to Byzantium and was its main antagonist. The death of the Tsar in 927 and the conclusion of peace with the Empire by his son, Peter I (927-969), finally put an end to the conflict between both the states. The celebrations marking the conclusion of the agreement provided an opportunity to recapitulate. In a rhetorical speech written for the occasion, Simeon's actions and aspirations were severely criticised – through comparisons to figures from ancient literature and biblical texts, the Byzantine speaker discredited the attitude of this ruler. Comparisons to characters who aroused negative connotations in listeners and readers deprived Simeon of all the virtues belonging to a Christian ruler and, above all, of the cardinal ones by which he should, above all, legitimise himself.

Keywords: cardinal virtues; Simeon I (893-927); medieval Bulgaria; Byzantine-Bulgarian relations; Byzantine rhetoric; Byzantine ideology; the image of Bulgarians in Byzantine sources; the others in medieval sources; medieval biblical exegesis

⁵⁰ See Anonymos, *De pace cum Bulgaris* 16, p. 278, 374-375; 17, p. 278, 379-383.

Wróg wszelkich cnót: Raz jeszcze w sprawie wizerunku cara Symeona I (893-927) w mowie *Na pokój z Bułgarami*

(streszczenie)

Artykuł koncentruje się na postaci cara bułgarskiego Symeona I (893-927), który w drugiej połowie swojego panowania wszedł w długotrwały konflikt militarny i ideologiczny z cesarstwem bizantyńskim. Pragnął bowiem nie tylko poszerzyć swoje włości kosztem południowego sąsiada, lecz także zrównać się z nim w tytulaturze, niewykluczone zaś, jakkolwiek w tej materii zdania uczonych są rozbieżne, iż jego aspiracje sięgały jeszcze dalej, a mianowicie samego Konstantynopola. W każdym razie Bułgaria czasów jego panowania stanowiła poważne zagrożenie dla Bizancjum. Śmierć cara w 927 roku i zawarcie pokoju z cesarstwem przez jego syna, Piotra I (927-969), ostatecznie położyła kres konfliktowi pomiędzy oboma krajami. Uroczystości związane z zawarciem porozumienia stały się okazją do podsumowań. W napisanej z tej okazji mowie retorycznej działania i aspiracje Symeona zostały poddane surowej krytyce – poprzez porównania do postaci z literatury antycznej i tekstów biblijnych bizantyński mówca zdyskredytował postawę tego władcy. Porównanie do tych z nich, którzy wzbudzali u słuchaczy i czytelników negatywne konotacje, pozbawiło Symeona wszelkich cnót przynależnych chrześcijańskiemu władcy, a nade wszystko tych cnót kardynalnych, którymi przede wszystkim powinien się legitymizować.

Słowa kluczowe: cnoty kardynalne; Symeon I (893-927); średniowieczna Bułgaria; relacje bizantyńsko-bułgarskie; retoryka bizantyńska; ideologia bizantyńska; obraz Bułgarów w źródłach bizantyńskich; obcy w źródłach średniowiecznych; średniowieczna egzegeza biblijna

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Eirini Artemi¹

Powerful Women in Byzantine Empire: The Life and Ideology of the Empress Theophano (941-after 978)

1. Introduction

In Christian theology, women are thought equal to men. Christ's teaching and later Church Fathers' preaching did not assume or recognize any inferiority of women to men. Despite the Christian teaching about the role of women, the majority of them were obliged to live in their houses and deal with the housework. P.C. Miller underlines that

Contemporary historians do not have much direct access to women's perspectives on their lives and roles as Christians because so few documents written by women have been preserved. However, there are many kinds of texts that can be used both to reconstruct the history of actual women in Christianity as well as to analyze the ideologies of gender that affected how women were perceived in social and religious terms in Graeco-Roman culture².

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² *Women in early Christianity. Translations from Greek Texts*, ed. P.C. Miller, Washington 2005, p. 1. M. Alexandre, *Early Christian Women*, in: *A History of Women in the West*, v. 1: *From Ancient Goddesses to Christian Saints*, ed. P. Schmitt Pantel, Harvard 1992, p. 412.

Their chief role was to give birth to children³ Of course, the position of women in the Byzantine Empire was much better than that of ancient Greece⁴ but worse than it was in Minoan Crete,

Minoan Crete held a very different role for women than the typical male-dominated society the woman was ubiquitous. Not only were women involved in the religious and social life of Minoan civilization but it would be more correct to say that they were the centre of it. The strength, bravery, grace and beauty of the women rulers of Crete were an ideal ensemble that represented the culture of Crete and created feelings of respect and pride⁵.

In the Byzantine Empire women, in general, did not have independent significance and were imprisoned in a gynaeceum. Only noble women had the freedom to act in the social and religious life and could have a catalytic role on the political stage. They were empresses, leaders or influencers to the roman Emperors⁶.

The powerful women of the Byzantine Empire contributed not only to the shaping of this Christian Empire⁷; many of them were distinguished for their strong character, intelligence and involvement in political intrigue⁸. One of these powerful women in Byzantine society was Theophano, the mother of Basil II Porphyrogenitus, the Macedonian and the Bulgar Slayer (976-1025)⁹ Constantine VIII (962-1028) and the princess Anna Porphyrogenita (963-1011), who later married the Russian Prince, Vladimir. Also,

³ E. Goodman – W. Goodman, *The family, Yesterday, Today, Tomorrow*, New York 1975, p. 22-37. E.A. Clark, *Early Christian Women: Sources and Interpretation*, in: *That Gentle Strength: Historical Perspectives on Women in Christianity*, ed. L.L. Coon – K.J. Haldane – E.W. Sommer, Charlottesville 1990, p. 19.

⁴ S. Blundell, *Women in ancient Greece*, Cambridge – Massachusetts 1995, p. 15-21.

⁵ S. Alexiou, *The Minoan Civilization*, Heraklion 1996, p. 85.

⁶ K. Nikolaou, *Ἐπιθεσῆ τες γυναῖκας στῆ Βυζαντινῆ Κοινωνία* (=Η θέση της γυναίκας στη Βυζαντινή Κοινωνία = *The position of woman in Byzantine Society*), Athens 1993, p. 38.

⁷ Nikolaou, *Ἐπιθεσῆ τες γυναῖκας στῆ Βυζαντινῆ Κοινωνία*, p. 49.

⁸ Cf. A. Christophilopoulou, *Byzantine Empire. Modern Hellenism*, v. 1, Athens 2006, p. 262-263.

⁹ E. Artemi, *Basileios II ο Μακεδών, ο επονομαζόμενος Βουλγαροκτόνος* (= *Βασίλειος II ο Μακεδόν, ο επονομαζόμενος Βουλγαροκτόνος* = *Basilus II the Macedonian, the Bulgar Slayer*), “Ενομήνι Ρομιοσίνι” 15 (2013) p. 14. See also A.A. Vasiliev, *Arabs, II.1: La dynastie macédonienne (867-959)*, Bruxelles 1968, p. 1-114; N. Tobias, *Basil I, (867-886), the founder of the Macedonian dynasty: a study of the political and military history of the Byzantine Empire in the ninth century*, New Jersey 1969, p. 48-53.

Theofano had relations with four great emperors of this period. She was the daughter-in-law of Constantine VII (905-959), the wife of Romanos II (938-963) and Nikephorus II Phokas (912-969) and the lover of Ioannis Tzimiskis (925-976).

In this paper through a bibliographical review, we will try to present the character of this woman who managed from being the daughter of a poor tavern-keeper named Krateros, to become the wife of Emperor Romanos II and finally one of the most powerful and vicious women in the Byzantine Empire. However, every historical story including Theophano is not plain black and white with one side being all good and the other side being all evil. Finally, we will try to answer the question of how Christian teaching was compromised by these vicious actions. Were all these important and powerful Christians only on the thought of the name “Christians” to cover their evil way of life through the curtain of pure Christian teaching? But which was the attitude of the Orthodox Church toward this woman? Was there any discrimination among men and women in byzantine society and Christian Church as far as their ethical life according to social laws and religion?

2. The life of Theophano

The ruling class of the Byzantine Empire, protecting its privileges and ensuring their perpetuation, strictly forbade marriages between persons of different social classes. Of course, every rule has its exception. So some women in the Byzantine Empire, although they were born very poor, managed to get married to Emperors. They became empresses and they had a very important role in the Byzantine Society as female regents such as Theophano, who married Romanos II, or as political advisors of their husbands, most famously Theodora, the wife of Justinian I.

Theophano was born in 941 in Constantinople. She was one of the members of a very poor family¹⁰. Her father was a poor tavern-keeper named Krateros:

The new ruler, Romanos II [...] took possession of the government, or rather handed it over to his wife Theophano. We have already seen who this wife

¹⁰ J.B. Bury – H.M. Gwatkin – J.P. Whitney – J.R. Tanner – Ch.W. Previt -Orton – Z.N. Brookem, *The Cambridge medieval history*, Cambridge 1923, p. 67-68.

was. The daughter of Craterus, a poor tavern-keeper of Laconian origin, she owed the unhoped-for honour of ascending the throne solely to her beauty and her vices¹¹.

Her name was Anastasia or Anastaso¹². Furthermore, after her marriage to Romanos II, she became Theophano¹³. All the historians referred to the poor generation of Theophano¹⁴. The only exception was the history of Theophanes Continuatus, in which Theophano was presented as a woman from a noble generation, “Theophano is the daughter of Crateros, a member of a high ranking family with connections to the Macedonian house; a much more likely origin for the wife of an emperor”¹⁵. But this source is not though as reliable, because some scholars support that Theophanes Continuatus wrote the history according to the instructions of the Emperors who related to Theophano. The latter was a very beautiful woman¹⁶ and with her beauty,

¹¹ Cf. Theophanes Continuatus names “Anastasiam [...] Crateri filiam” as wife of “Romano filio suo” (referring to Emperor Konstantinos VII), stating that she adopted the name Theofano on her marriage (Theophanes Continuatus, *Chronographia* VI, *Constantini imperium* 39, ed. I. Bekker, *Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae* 45, Bonn 1838, p. 458). Cedrenus records in his history that Romanos married secondly “genere [...] plebeio, ortam parentibus cauponibus [...] Anastasiam”, and he underlines that this woman adopted the name “Theophano” (Georgius Cedrenus, *Historiarum Compendium* II, *Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae* 35, Bonn 1839, p. 329). Leo Diaconus says that “Theophano, obscuro loco nata” when recording that she was regent for “filii eius Basilii et Constantinus infantes” after the death of her first husband, recording her second marriage in a later passage. Leo describes her as a woman who came from non – famous family but she was the most beautiful of the all women in the Byzantine Empire. Leo continues and writes that Theophano was regent in 963 for her infant sons Emperors Basileios II and Konstantinos VII, they were set aside by Nikeforos Phokas who was crowned emperor and married Theofano as her second husband (Leo Diaconus, *Historia* II, PG 117, 705BC).

¹² L. Garland, *Byzantine Empresses Women and Power in Byzantium AD 527-1204*, London 2002, p. 135.

¹³ J. Herrin, *Unrivalled influence: women and empire in Byzantium*, Princeton 2013, p. 250: “In fact, Theophano was quite a common name in the tenth century, particularly among the Macedonian dynasty, which produced a saint in the first wife of Leo VI, whose relics were treasured in the palace”.

¹⁴ Georgius Cedrenus, *Historiarum Compendium* II, p. 329; Leo Diaconus, *Historia* II, PG 117, 708A.

¹⁵ Theophanes Continuatus, *Chronographia* VI, *Constantini imperium* 39, p. 458. See also L.L. White, *The ideology of the feminine in the byzantine historical narrative: the role of John Skylitzes' Synopsis of Histories*, Winnipeg-Manitoba 2003, p. 120-121.

¹⁶ Theophanes Continuatus, *Chronographia* VI, *Constantini imperium* 39, p. 458. Michaelis Pselli, *Historia Syntomos*, *Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae* 30, Berlin 1990, p. 94.

she managed to get married to Romanos II in 955. Before this marriage, Romanos II had been affianced or married to the daughter of a Frankish king but she died in 949. Skylitzes says that Theophano was of lowly origins:

When the fiancée of Romanos, the daughter of Hugh, died still a virgin (as we said,) his father the Emperor engaged him to another woman, not the scion of a distinguished family, but one born of humble folk whose trade was inn-keeping. Her name was Anastaso but [the Emperor] changed it to Theophano¹⁷.

The low origin of Theophano was presented by Leo Diacone, too¹⁸. Many modern historians have adopted a more romantic opinion of the love of Theophano with Romanos II and they have expressed scepticism about the hostility of Skylitzes against Theophano¹⁹. Except for these scholars who were fond of Theophano, many others agreed that Theophano was a vicious and opportunist woman²⁰. Warren Treadgold underlines in a characteristic way:

Then the emperor's son Romanos, who had been widowed at the age of ten, fell in love with the statuesque daughter of the owner of a tavern. To end much less shocking liaisons, the empress Theodora and emperor Basil had forced marriages on their heirs that brought ruin to themselves and plagued the empire long afterwards. Out of passivity or wisdom, Constantine let his son marry the woman he loved; blandly pretending that she was wellborn. The bride took the name of Leo VI's first wife Saint Theophano, whom she in no way resembled²¹.

It is said that Anastaso-Theophano, brought her mother, Maria, to the palace to have someone to support and help her²². In 959, Theophano be-

¹⁷ Johannes Skylitzes, *Synopsis historiarum* 11, 7, tr. J. Wortley, New York 2010, p. 232.

¹⁸ Leo Diaconus, *Historia* II, PG 117, 709A.

¹⁹ G. Ostrogorsky, *History of the Byzantine State*, translated by Joan Hussey, Oxford 1956, p. 283-284. See also R. Jenkins, *Byzantium: The Imperial Centuries (A.D. 610-1071)*, London 1966, p. 270; M. Whitlow, *The Making of Orthodox Byzantium 600-1025*, London 1996, p. 341-343; Garland, *Byzantine Empresses*, p. 126-127.

²⁰ M. McCormick, *Emperors*, in: *The Byzantines*, ed. G. Cavallo, Chicago 1997, p. 243: "Romanos II had been bewitched by a tavern keeper's daughter who took the name of Theophano when she climbed out of bed and into the throne".

²¹ W. Treadgold, *A History of the Byzantine State and Society*, Stanford 1997, p. 492.

²² J. Herrin, *Unrivalled Influence: Women and Empire in Byzantium*, Princeton 2013, p. 228.

came the empress because her father-in-law, Constantine VII, died at the age of 55, and Romanos II became emperor²³. Theophano tried to get rid of her mother-in-law and her sisters-in-law. Therefore, she tried to persuade her husband to banish his mother and sisters from the Great Palace. His sisters were removed to a monastery, although they did not take their monastic status seriously, Helena, his mother, refused to go, and after much pleading Romanos allowed her to stay²⁴. The relations between the two empresses Theophano and her mother-in-law, Helena, were very difficult, although Helena with eunuchs educated Theophano to become “suitable” for the role of empress²⁵. When Helena died, her tomb was at her father’s foundation, rather than with her husband Constantine VII in the imperial mausoleum²⁶. This shows Theophano’s attempt to devalue her mother-in-law even when the latter was dead.

Skylitzes supports that Constantine VII died because of a poison which was given to him some months before his death. The historian accuses Romanos II and Theophano as responsible for Emperor’s death, although Constantine VII died of a fever which lasted several months, not showing evidence of poisoning. Skylitzes writes:

Romanos the son of Constantine had now reached the age of maturity; he could not bear seeing how the affairs of state were handled by his father, so he decided to get rid of him by poison and this with the full knowledge of his wife, the inn-keeper [-’s daughter]. When Constantine was about to take a purgative drink they secretly mixed a noxious substance with it and prevailed upon Niketas the butler to serve it to the Emperor. It was standing before the sacred icons when Niketas was about to take it up and – perhaps accidentally, perhaps on purpose – he knocked it over and spilt most of it. The remainder (which Constantine drank) proved itself inert and ineffectual, deprived of its power because there was so little of it. Nevertheless, Constantine was only just able to survive, for the poison lodged in his lung and tormented him considerably²⁷.

²³ Theophanes Continuatus, *Chronographia* VI, *Constantini imperium* 39, p. 469.

²⁴ Herrin, *Unrivalled Influence*, p. 230.

²⁵ Herrin, *Unrivalled Influence*, p. 75.

²⁶ Herrin, *Unrivalled Influence*, p. 87.

²⁷ Johannes Skylitzes, *Synopsis historiarum* 11, 16, p. 237.

After Constantine's death, Romanos and his mother became the rulers of the Empire²⁸. Then, Theophano was 18 years old²⁹. Romanos' total dependence upon his wife for advice and support allowed her to dominate the empire during his short reign³⁰. Romanos showed a great interest in the issues of the Empire and he managed to create important laws for the economy, defence and agriculture. Unfortunately, he died on 15th March 963 at the age of 24³¹. Theophano became a widow. She was thought as responsible for her husband Romanos' II death. Theophano was rumoured to have poisoned him, although she had nothing to gain and everything to lose from this action. Of course, the causes of the death of Romanos could be poisoning or the immoral and corrupt way of his life.

Their sons Basil II and Constantine VIII were heirs and Theophano was named regent³². However, she realized that to secure power she needed to align her interest with the strongest general at the time, Nikephorus II Phokas³³. As the army had already proclaimed him as an Emperor in Caesarea, Nikephorus entered Constantinople on August 15, broke the resistance of Joseph Bringas, the eunuch palace official who had become Romanos' chief counsellor, in bloody street fights, and on 16 August 963 he was crowned emperor by Patriarch Polyeuctus in the Cathedral of Hagia Sophia³⁴. Although he was an ascetic and a deeply religious man, he married the widow empress Theophano on 20th September, over the objections of the patriarch³⁵ but until their marriage, they did not have sexual rela-

²⁸ Theophanes Continuatus, *Chronographia* VI, *Constantini imperium* 39, p. 468-469.

²⁹ Johannes Skylitzes, *Synopsis historiarum* 12, 1, p. 239.

³⁰ Johannes Skylitzes, *Synopsis historiarum* 12, 3, p. 239: "[Romanos] was young and devoted to pleasure; he abandoned the oversight of every matter to Joseph Bringas, the Praepositus and Parakoimomenos for he would have nothing to do with anything but the pursuit of ribaid behaviour in the company of silly young men who frequented prostitutes, wantons, actors and comedians".

³¹ Johannes Skylitzes, *Synopsis historiarum* 13, 1, p. 243; Michaelis Pselli, *Historia Syntomos*, p. 94, 21.

³² Johannes Skylitzes, *Synopsis historiarum* 13, 1, p. 243. Michaelis Pselli, *Historia Syntomos*, p. 98, 60-81.

³³ Skylitzes refers that Theophano had sexual relations with Nikephorus II Phokas, before the coronation of Phokas. See Johannes Skylitzes, *Synopsis historiarum* 13, 7, p. 247.

³⁴ Ostrogorsky, *History of the Byzantine State*, p. 284.

³⁵ J.J. Norwich, *Byzantium: The Apogee*, New York 1992, p. 192-194: "Polyeuctus excommunicated Nikephoros II for having married Theophano on the grounds that he had been the godfather to one or more of her sons. He had previously refused Nikephoras com-

tions³⁶. This marriage there was legitimizing his reign by marrying into the Macedonian dynasty³⁷. Theophano had a protector for her and her children, although Nikephorus was thought of as ugly³⁸.

munion for a whole year for the sin of having contracted a second marriage. Nikephoros' first wife had been dead several years when he married Theophano, but in the religious views prevalent in the Eastern Roman Empire, especially in the 10th Century, remarriage after the death of one the first wife was a sin only begrudgingly tolerated. Polyeuctus banned Nikephoros from kissing the holy altar on the grounds that he must first perform the penance for remarrying. In the issue of his role as godfather, however, Nikephoros organised a council at which it was declared that since the relevant rules had been pronounced by the iconoclast Constantine V Copronymus, it was of no effect. Polyeuctus did not accept the council as legitimate and proceeded to excommunicate Nikephoros and insist that he would not relent until Nikephoros put away Theophano. In response, Bardas Phokas and another person testified Nikephoros was not in fact godfather to any of Theophano's children, at which Polyeuctus relented and allowed Nikephoros to return to full communion and keep Theophano as his wife". See also Leo Diaconus, *Historia* II, PG 117, 733A. Canon 53 of Quinisext Ecumenical Council: "Since familiarity with respect to the spirit is superior to the association of bodies, while, on the other hand, we have learned that some persons, after becoming sponsors to children subjected to the formalities of a holy and salvatory baptism, have entered into a marriage contract with the widowed mothers of those children, we decree that henceforth nothing of the kind shall be done. If any persons be detected doing this hereafter, first and foremost let such persons desist from such unlawful state of matrimony, and afterwards let them be compelled to undergo the penances prescribed to be suffered by those guilty of fornication".

³⁶ N. Koutrakou, *La propagande imperiale byzantine. Persuasion et reaction (VIIIe siècles)*, Athènes 1994, p. 74-75: "D'autre part le gouvernement imperial s'adonnait parfois à des formes de désinformation. Tel fut le cas de la résidence surveillée de l'impératrice Theophanô au palais de Pétrion. En effet Nicéphore Phocas y relégua l'impératrice de son mariage avec Phocas. C'était une mesure de prudence qui visait à donner impression qu'il n'existait pas de rapport entre le nouvel empereur et l'impératrice-régente. Toutefois, l'intention de désinformation fut immédiatement perçue".

³⁷ Ostrogorsky, *History of the Byzantine State*, p. 284.

³⁸ Liutprandus Cremonensis, *Relatio de legatione Constantinopolitana* 3, *Liutprandi Cremonensis Opera*, ed. P. Chiesa, Turnhout 1998, p. 186: *Legatio*: "[...] ante Nicheporum sum deductus, hominen satis monstruosum, pygmaeum, capite pinguem atque oculorum parvitate talpinum, barba curta, lata spissa et semicana foedatum, cervice digitali turpatum, prolixitate et densitate comarum satis hyopam, colore Aethiopem, 'cui per mediam nolis occurrere noctem', ventre extensum, natibus siccum, coxis ad mensuram ipsam brevem longissimum, cruribus parvum, calcaneis pedibusque aequalem, villino, sed nimis veterioso vel diuturnitate ipsa foetido et pallido ornamento inductum, Sicioniis calcamentis calceatum, lingua procacem, ingenio vulpem, periurio seu mendacio Ulyxem". This description should be thought of in doubt because Liutprandus disliked Nikiforos II Phokas.

The ascetic way of Phokas' life, his absence from the palace to fight the enemies of the Empire, the great difference between his age and Theophano, and the fact that he did not have sexual relations with his wife for too many months, all these became the cause for Theophano to organize a conspiracy against him³⁹. She was afraid that Nikephorus was influenced by his brother Leo. So if Nikephorus had decided to become a monk, perhaps his nephews would become emperors and not her children⁴⁰.

Soon, Theophano fell in love with John Tzimiskes, the nephew of Nikephorus II Phokas. She confessed her love to him and after their sexual bond, they decided to kill Nikephorus⁴¹. Theophano's and Tzimiskes' adulterous relationship began when Tzimiskes' ambitions for military power had been refuted. Tzimiskes knew that only with the help of Theophano could enter as a ruler to the palace and the conspiracy would have the effect of legitimacy. Michael Psellos notes that Theophano had seen John Tzimiskes several times in the palace⁴². He was a charming man and the empress fell in love with him and became his mistress. So she wanted to find a way to get rid of Nikephorus. So she advised the young man to organize the murder of Nikephorus II Phokas. Many historians underline the affair between Theophano and John Tzimiskes, although they cannot specify its beginning⁴³.

M. Whittow narrates the murder of Nikephorus II Phokas:

On the night of 10/11 December (969) John Tzimiskes, Michael Bourtzes, Isaac Brachamios and a small group of their supporters, presumably with the help of the empress Theophano, climbed into Nikephorus' Boukoleon palace from the side facing the sea [...]. The emperor was slaughtered at once and John Tzimiskes as his successor to a startled palace⁴⁴.

The conspirators treated with an immoral and desecrated way the headless body of the emperor. The corpse of the great General lay for a whole day in public view at outdoors and only in the afternoon of December 11th

³⁹ Michaelis Pselli, *Historia Syntomos* 105, p. 100.

⁴⁰ Michaelis Pselli, *Historia Syntomos* 105, p. 100.

⁴¹ Michaelis Pselli, *Historia Syntomos* 105, p. 102.

⁴² Michaelis Pselli, *Historia Syntomos* 105, p. 102.

⁴³ M. Whittow, *The making of Byzantium, 600-1025*, Berkeley – Los Angeles 1996, p. 352-354.

⁴⁴ Whittow, *The making of Byzantium*, p. 354.

Tzimiskis ordered his burial with great secrecy in the church of the Holy Apostles⁴⁵.

H.L. Garland supports that Theophano helped the conspiracy against Nikephorus because she was afraid that her husband would make her son Eunuchs. So the children would not become emperors and the new emperor would be one of the nephews of Nikephorus II Phokas⁴⁶. A historian of that era Matthew of Edessa writes that the most dangerous enemy for the two sons of Theophano was the empress herself, their mother. For this reason, after the success of the conspiracy Tzimiskes sent the two children to Armenia right away⁴⁷.

In this crucial period for the Byzantine Empire, the patriarch Polyektus had a catalytic role in the coronation of Tzimiskes. Polyektus would agree to crown Tzimiskes, only if had Tzimiskes punished the murderer of Nikephorus. Then he had to send Theophano to exile and withdraw the tome of Nikephorus with which the Emperor had the right to interfere with the ecclesiastic things⁴⁸. Polyektus forgave Tzimiskes and the patriarch accepted that Tzimiskes had no relation to the murder of Phokas. The power of authority was stronger than the love for Theophano. Tzimiskes preferred the power of being a ruler of the Byzantine Empire and he sent Theophano to exile⁴⁹.

Tzimiskes betrayed Theophano again when he married Theodora, one of the five sisters of Romanos II, who had been sent to the monastery⁵⁰. Theophano was accused of everything about the conspiracy against Nikephorus and his murder. Tzimiskes was presented innocently of these accusations. The death of the emperor Tzimiskes took place on 10th January 976. After his death, the only emperors for the Byzantine Empire were the sons of Romanos II and Theophano, Basil and Constantine⁵¹. Theophano was called back from exile. The Eunuch Basil Lakapenos gave this order for his benefit. In this way, he would get rid of any suspicions about the death of Tzimiskes and he would

⁴⁵ Leo Diaconus, *Historia* V, PG 117, 792A.

⁴⁶ L. Garland, *Byzantine women: Varieties of experience (800-1200)*, London 2006, p. 143.

⁴⁷ Mattheus Edessae, *Chronicon*, tr. A. Edmonton Dostourian, Lanham – New York – London 1993, p. 34.

⁴⁸ Johannes Skylitzes, *Synopsis historiarum* 15, 2, p. 272.

⁴⁹ Johannes Skylitzes, *Synopsis historiarum* 15, 2, p. 272.

⁵⁰ Johannes Skylitzes, *Synopsis historiarum* 15, 8, p. 281.

⁵¹ Johannes Skylitzes, *Synopsis historiarum* 16, 1, p. 298.

have a strong alliance between him, Theophano and her son Basil II the Macedonian⁵².

There is no information about the life of Theophano during the reign of her son Basil. The only thing that was said is that Theophano supported her son in any manner she could. She preferred to remain backstage on the political scene. She rather died on 15th June 991. To sum up, according to the English author Frederic Harrison⁵³ who wrote that Theophano was portrayed as the arch-schemer of Constantinople who manipulated the court to make powerful her role and position in the Byzantine Empire. She had to fight against her father-in-law, her drunkard husband Romanos II, and the possible danger that her sons had to face up because of Nicephorus Phocas. Perhaps we could support that Theophano did all these things to protect herself and her children and she was accused of everything because she was a woman and she was the victim who was presented as a vicious woman.

3. The Roles for Women in Christianity and in the Byzantine Empire. The different behaviour of people against a vicious woman of a lower social class and an evil Empress

Everyone remembers that in the Byzantine Empire the emperor was thought of as the temporary representative of God on earth. His reign was perceived as the intervention of the Holy Spirit and as the revelation of the divine will. So the Emperor or the Empress, when she acted as regent, must serve God and the people of the Empire. They should imitate God and should rule with justice, charity, generosity, purity, philanthropy, benevolence and piety. They had to respect laws and live according to them and judge everyone based on legislation⁵⁴.

Emperor and Empress should put into practice the Christian teaching and obey the laws. For Christ all people were equal in front of Him: "There is neither Jew nor Greek, there is neither slave nor free, there is no male

⁵² Ch. Sifonas, *Basile II et l' aristocratie Byzantine*, "Byzantion" 64 (1994) p. 118-133.

⁵³ D. Harrison, *Theophano: The Crusade Of The Tenth Century; A Romantic Monograph*, New York 1904, p. 135-140.

⁵⁴ D.J. Geanakoplos, *Church and State in the Byzantine Empire: A Reconsideration of the Problem of Caesaropapism*, "Church History" 34/4 (1965) p. 385.

and female, for you are all one in Christ Jesus”⁵⁵. Many Church fathers as Gregory Nazianzen strongly criticized the laws that forgave the man for adultery and punished and condemned the woman as an adulteress⁵⁶. This discrimination of the civil law against women was repeatedly condemned by the Christian Church⁵⁷. Women should have the same rights and dignity in Christianity as men but this many times remained only as theory.

Sofia Matzarioti-Kostara argues that

Although Christianity was the decisive element in the formation of Byzantium, the practical application of the Christian ethos as a way of life met with the resistance of the old cultural principles that were deeply rooted in the consciousness of the people. Accordingly, the theology of gender as expressed before faced two opposing extremes: the chauvinism of the Roman civilization, which pushed women into the background, on the one hand, and the pagan liberality that was a danger for the social ethos, on the other⁵⁸.

The Christian teaching was put into practice only for women of lower social class but there were exceptions for men and women of aristocracy and mainly for the Empress. In early Christian material, ethics were the single standard of sexual morality and the condemnation of divorce and remarriage⁵⁹. Adultery was condemned and the penalties for the misconduct of adultery were a lot of. Women of a lower social class who were adul-

⁵⁵ Gal 3:28.

⁵⁶ *Gregorius Nazianzenus, Oratio 37, 7*, PG 36, 289AB: “The question which you have put seems to me to do honour to chastity, and to demand a kind reply. Chastity, in respect of which I see that the majority of men are ill-disposed and that their laws are unequal and irregular. For what was the reason why they restrained the woman, but indulged the man, and that a woman who practises evil against her husband’s bed is an adulteress, and the penalties of the law for this are very severe; but if the husband commits fornication against his wife, he has no account to give? I do not accept this legislation; I do not approve of this custom. They who made the Law were men, and therefore their legislation is hard on women since they have placed children also under the authority of their fathers while leaving the weaker sex uncared for. God does not so.

⁵⁷ *Gregorius Nazianzenus, Oratio 37, 7*.

⁵⁸ S. Matzarioti-Kostara, *The Theology of Gender – The Place of Women in Byzantine Society*, 3 April 2017, in: <https://pemptousia.com/2017/04/the-theology-of-gender-7-the-place-of-women-in-byzantine-society/> (accessed: 20.07.2021).

⁵⁹ E. Clark, *Early Christian Women: Sources and Interpretation*, in: *That Gentle Strength: Historical Perspectives on Women in Christianity*, ed. L.L. Coon – K.J. Haldane – E.W. Sommer, Charlottesville 1990, p. 20.

teresses were punished with mowing or spoofing and they were scratched, lashed and were scorned⁶⁰. These punishments did not refer to higher social class women, and of course, there was the exception for Empresses. The rape of a virgin, or even an adulterous affair with one, was punished heavily by civil legislation, but only if the woman was a free citizen. Unfortunately, the punishment was not always taken place⁶¹.

Especially, in Byzantine society, according to the law, adultery was concerned with the breach of marital fidelity, but only on the part of the woman spouse. In the period of Constantine the Great, adultery was punished with the penalty of death⁶². In the time of Justinian, the adulteress was forbidden to be remarried, while a man was in danger of being sentenced to death if he had an affair with a married woman⁶³. Many times, an adulteress was forced to be isolated in a monastery for repentance⁶⁴.

As we presented above, Theophano was not punished for her adultery or the possible connection to the murders of her husbands. Her only punishment was her isolation in the monastery because Tzimiskes had loved the power of the authority more than her. So he had to obey the order of Bishop Polyeuktus. Her punishment was not very strict if someone had to think about all her illegal actions. Later, the punishment of seduction in a monastery stopped existing when her son Basil II became emperor⁶⁵.

General, a woman of the lower social class had to dedicate her life to domestic skills which remained an archetypal part of woman's status and function⁶⁶. Such activities were also expected to be practised by members of the imperial family, although this remained only in theory for women as

⁶⁰ M. Nasaina, *Woman's Position in Byzantine Society*, "Open Journal for Studies in History" 1 (2018) p. 29-38, esp. 31.

⁶¹ Matzarioti-Kostara, *The Theology of Gender – The Place of Women in Byzantine Society*.

⁶² J. Beaucamp, *Le statut de la femme a Byzance (4e-7e siècle). I. le droit imperial*, Travaux et memoires du Centre de recherche d'histoire et civilisation de Byzance, College de France. Venographies 5, Paris 1990, p. 139-140.

⁶³ *Codex Justinianus* IX 9, 28.

⁶⁴ J.A. Evans, *The Emperor Justinian and the Byzantine Empire*, London 2005, p. 28; E. Artemi, *Male homosexuality, adultery and concubinage in the Byzantine Society*, "Ekklesiastikos Faros" 89 (2018-2019) p. 44.

⁶⁵ L. Garland, *The life and ideology of byzantine women: a further note on conventions of behaviour and social reality as reflected in eleventh and twelfth century historical sources*, "Byzantion" 58/2 (1988) p. 381.

⁶⁶ Garland, *The life and ideology of byzantine women*, p. 379.

Theophano⁶⁷. Many women of the upper and middle classes were obliged to live in seclusion but they could not always have to face up to the punishments for their illegal acts. On the opposite hand, women of lower classes had to work and were not often isolated but they had to face up to the punishments according to law and to Church⁶⁸.

When Theophano became a widow after Romanos' death, she married again in the same year 963. According to tradition the widow was obliged to mourn her husband for one year before she remarries. She had the right to inherit a quarter of her husband's property with the presupposition that she would not be remarried⁶⁹. These ethical rules were not put into practice by Theophano and nobody expressed an objection to her.

To sum up, the imperial women, including Theophano, were faced up with more different and not so strict criteria for their morality or immorality than women of lower or sometimes upper classes. Of course, in the case of Theophano was accused of many things and we do not know if she was responsible for all of them. She was banished for the conspiracy and the murder against Nikephorus, although John Tzimiskes had led a conspiracy to overthrow a ruler and he was responsible for the murderer of Phokas.

So society and unfortunately the Church did not behave differently toward women depending on their class but they expressed a more forgiving attitude toward any man, and mainly to an Emperor or a man of the upper class. Christianity influenced society and legislation but money, social position and gender created discrimination against the attitude of people among men and women.

4. Conclusions

Theophano was a poor and beautiful woman who managed to be married to the successor of the byzantine throne and finally, she became empress. Perhaps, nobody in the imperial family forgave her poor background. Soon, she gained the reputation of a clever, ambitious and ruthless woman in achieving her goals. She was accused of murders, although she was not responsible for all.

⁶⁷ Garland, *The life and ideology of byzantine women*, p. 380.

⁶⁸ Garland, *The life and ideology of byzantine women*, p. 375.

⁶⁹ A. Kiousopoulou, *The institution of the family in Epirus in the 13th century*, Athens 1990, p. 52.

Theophano was portrayed as the arch-schemer of Constantinople who manipulated the court to make powerful her role and position in the Byzantine Empire. She had to fight against her father-in-law, her drunkard husband Romanos II, and the possible danger that her sons had to face up because of Nikephorus Phocas. Some other scholars support that Theophano did all these things to protect herself and her children and she was accused of everything because she was a woman and she was the victim who was presented as a vicious woman.

Of course, her actions were not punished in a strict way as it would happen to another woman. Nobody could say if she had exploited Nikephorus and Tzimiskes for the protection of her children or if the historians created the portrait of a vicious woman. The fact is that throughout her life, anyone could observe the discrimination of people according to their status and gender. This separation of people existed and it continues to exist not in the teaching of law and the ethic of Christianity but in people who put into practice the social and religious orders of a Christian society.

Powerful Women in Byzantine Empire: The Life and Ideology of the Empress Theophano (941-after 978)

(summary)

In this paper we present the life and the character of Theophano, the mother of Basil II Porphyrogenitus, the Macedonian. Some women made spectacular progress up the social ladder by marrying into higher-class families, even sometimes into the imperial family itself and to become empresses as Theophano did. So, social advancement could be achieved through marriage. The power and privileges of an imperial spouse were directly dependent on the emperor. Did it have a catalytic role in the life of Theophano? Through her life we will examine woman's position in Byzantine Empire. It will be searched if there was any discrimination among women according to their classes and if the byzantine society faced with the same way a vicious life of an imperial woman and of a poor one. Which was the position of the Christian Church for woman? Had Church Fathers forgiven rich and powerful women and had they condemned poor women from lower social class? All these questions are going to be answered through the life and the actions of Theophano, a woman who managed from being the daughter of a poor tavern-keeper, to become the Empress and one of the most powerful and vicious women in the Byzantine history.

Keywords: Theophano; Nikephorus Phocas; Romanos II; Basil II Porphyrogenitus the Macedonian and the Bulgar Slayer

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Piotr Ł. Grotowski¹

The Lost Cameo, the Vanished Statue of the Emperor and Constantine as a New Alexander

A work of art belongs to the realm of the inanimate, and yet it is notable for its magical power to recall to human memory the world of bygone times, its crowded streets, heroic victories, triumphal entrances and splendid deeds of now long-deceased rulers and military commanders. Therefore, its loss – although it is merely the loss of an inanimate object – is always painful for us. Nonetheless, the disappearance of an artefact does not necessarily lead to oblivion about it and about the memories it had evoked. The art historian's duty is to make every effort to reconstruct – using all available measures and relying on all relevant premises – the missing work of art and the ideas it conveyed. The correctness of the attitude chosen for such reconstruction is attested by the coherence of conclusions and by a convincing interpretation of the lost work of art.

1. The lost cameo

Among the valuables once stored in the treasury of the cathedral in Cammin (Polish: *Kamień Pomorski*), there was an oval sardonyx gem with a full-figure representation of a youth in an aegis, set between the arms of a mid-fourteenth-century gilded silver cross-shaped pax (fig. 1). The frontally shown figure was carved in the lighter layer of the gemstone, thus contrasting with the darker background. Only the aforementioned goatskin

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plastron, in the form of an asymmetrical, mid-thigh-long cloak, fastened at the left shoulder (i.e. a Macedonian chlamys), was modelled in the stone's dark layer. The warrior's attire was complemented with cuffed boots, mid-calf in height, and a radiate nimbus around his head. The young man's right arm was raised and bent at a right angle, his right hand resting on the shaft of a spear; in his left hand, he carried the Palladion – whose form resembled that of a tropaeum – with a small oval shield, peplos, helmet and a short javelin pointed obliquely downwards in its raised right hand (fig. 2).

2. The history of the gem

We have no knowledge of when and under what circumstances this small object found its way to Cammin. The cross the gem adorned was first mentioned in the cathedral's oldest inventory from 1499 ('Item cruce de auro cum lapide precioso videlicet canisu') and then it reappeared in a number of consecutive registers from the sixteenth century (at the beginning of the century: 'Cruzifixus argentus et aureus suerius cum lapide precioso chanisu'; in Johann Block's inventory: 'Crux alta argentea inaurata cum lapidibus preciosis [sic]'; in 1535: 'Item ein sulverne Pacifical mit einem Vote'; in 1542: 'Cruze golt mit edlen steinen')². We find no record of the cross in a later account of the cathedral's treasury by Philipp Hainhofer (1578-1647), an antiquarian and a diplomat from Augsburg in the service of Philip II of Pomerania-Stettin (1573-1618), but this omission could have resulted from the nature of his assignment. In 1617, at the Duke's command, Hainhofer visited Cammin with the aim of reviewing local valuables, which were supposed to be transferred to William V of Bavaria (1548-1626). In his account, the Duke's envoy briefly mentions only St. Cordula's head and a few minor relics of uncertain authenticity ('alß in der kirchen zu Camin Sanctae Cordulae haupt, vnd in aim klainen tãfelin etliche klaine stücklen vnd bainlen, aber alles sine testimonijs authenticis')³. Considering the fact that the humanist acted on behalf of the

² The State Archive in Szczecin, Repertory 40 I 9 e, see W. Borchers, *Der Camminer Domschatz*, Stettin 1933, p. 19, 21-23. See also J. Kochanowska, *Skarby katedry w Kamieniu Pomorskim*, Szczecin 2004, p. 21-22. Note that J.L. Jurkiewicz (*Tajemnice skarbcza katedry kamińskiej*, Stargard Szczeciński 2014, p. 15-19) falsely believes that the pax was first entered in the 1535 inventory.

³ Philipp Hainhofers, *Reisetagebuch, enthaltend Schilderungen aus Franklen, Sachsen, der Mark Brandenburg und Pommern im Jahr 1617*, ed F.L. von Medem, Baltische Studien 2/2, Stettin 1834, p. 74.

Duke, who was reluctant to give away the valuables, we can assume that he intentionally underestimated the assets of the cathedral's treasury. For that very reason, he might have omitted a number of objects, including the cross with the cameo.

In the absence of any written evidence for the origin of the gem, we can only put forward some uncertain hypotheses and unresolved questions. We do not know whether and when the pax was purchased for the cathedral by one of the bishops. It is possible that it only arrived at Cammin in the second half of the fifteenth century, along with the other treasures which Eric of Pomerania (1382-1459), expelled from Denmark, brought here in 1449. It is worth noting that they comprised not only the jewels brought from Scandinavia, but also the spoils which Eric had gained as a pirate operating from Visby on the island of Gotland in 1442-1449. The valuables were then inherited by Eric's niece, Sophie of Pomerania (1435-1497). Since they were never found after the Duchess's death – despite her son Bogislaw X's efforts – it is likely that she had donated them to the cathedral in Cammin⁴. On the other hand, we cannot rule out the possibility that the cameo with the emperor's effigy had already been in the cathedral's treasury in the early Middle Ages⁵ and then in the mid-fourteenth century, one of the bishops of Cammin – presumably Johann von Sachsen-Lauenburg (1318-1370) – handed it to a goldsmith and commissioned him to make a silver-gilt cross with the gem set in it⁶. From the inventory records cited above we also

⁴ The hypothesis about Sophia of Pomerania-Stolp's donation to the Cammin cathedral was put forward by J. Kochanowska, *Tajemnice Pomorza. Okolice, Tajemnice, Szlaki*, Szczecin 2004, p. 44. See also Jurkiewicz *Tajemnice skarbcza*, p. 29. In Book Nine of his *Pomerania*, Thomas Kantzow refers to Eric's lost treasure and gives a general idea of its scope, see Des Thomas Kantzow, *Chronik von Pommern in Hochdeutscher Mundart*, v. 1, ed. G. Gaebel, Stettin 1897, p. 274.

⁵ The gem could have come to Cammin either via the German Empire as a gift from one of the local bishoprics (e.g. Bamberg or Cologne) or via Scandinavia, where it might have been brought by members of the Varangian Guard – who had remained in the service of the emperors in Constantinople since the ninth century – and whence it was possibly looted by the Pomeranians during one of their expeditions (e.g. the attack of the troops of Racibor I on Kungahälla on 9 August 1135). The above-mentioned hypotheses were proposed, in the context of the origin of the reliquary of Saint Cordula by Jurkiewicz, *Tajemnice skarbcza*, p. 28-30, 36.

⁶ Johann was a son of Eric I of Saxe-Lauenburg and Elisabeth of Pomerania. Intended for the clergy since his youth, he was appointed bishop of Cammin in 1343 and held the office until his death, see J. Petersohn, *Die Kamminer Bischöfe des Mittelalters*, Schwerin 2015, p. 52-56.

learn that in the late Middle Ages the cameo was no longer associated with the Roman Empire and the emperor's unusual costume was perceived as oriental⁷.

The gem found its way to scholarly literature through a publication about the cathedral in Cammin, written by a local historian Rudolf Spuhrmann in 1915. The author mentions a pax offered to the congregation to kiss during the Holy Communion and encloses a photograph in which the cross is standing among the reliquaries from the Cammin cathedral's sacristy⁸. More information on the cameo can be obtained from the pre-war catalogue of the cathedral's treasury, composed by Walter Borchers (1906-1980). The art historian from Stettin was the first to note the presence of a gemstone with brown-red veining in the pax; in the engraved figure he recognized Emperor Claudius (A.D. 41-54), holding the Palladion of Rome – the statuette of Nike brought to Rome from Troy⁹. Borchers did not specify the gem's size but gave the overall dimensions of the cross (height: 25.5 cm; width of the base: 11.5 cm), which – compared with the surviving photographs of the pax – allow us to estimate the cameo's height at approximately six and its width at three and a half centimetres. The accuracy of this calculation has been attested by the plaster cast of the artefact, kept at the Archaeological Institute of the University of Göttingen, which measures: 6.4 cm by 4.1 cm (including the rim) (fig. 3)¹⁰.

⁷ The meaning of the term *canisu*, used by the author of the 1499 inventory, remains unclear to us. In the next entry, however, the word was corrected to *chanisu*, which may indicate that in the Middle Ages the image on the cameo was interpreted as the image of a khan (Latin: *chanis*).

⁸ R. Spuhrmann, *Der Camminer Dom*, Cammin in Pom. 1915, p. 36, fig. 12.

⁹ Borchers, *Der Camminer Domschatz*, p. 43-44, fig. 21-23 and n. 88, where Borchers expresses his gratefulness to Prof. Zahn from Berlin (certainly identical with archaeologist Robert Zahn, who was an honorary professor at Berlin University in 1928-1936) for helping him to identify the figure. Borchers's own contribution is the dating of the pax and the reading of the inscription on its reverse: 'De lingo Dni (Domini) de spinea corona monommento et tunica Dni de lacte et vestibus beate Marie de sancto Petro apostolo et Paulo Andrea Johanno Jacobo Thoma Marco Bartholomea Matheo Luca Barnaba apostolis de sto (sancto) Stephano Laurentio Vincencio Olavo magno martyribus de hundred Martino Nicholao Dominico Franzisco sancta Maria mag. Caterina K.'

¹⁰ Das Archäologisches Institut der Universität Göttingen, no. 1749, cf. M. Bergmann, *Die Strahlen der Herrscher: theomorphes Herrscherbild und politische Symbolik im Hellenismus und in der römischen Kaiserzeit*, Mainz 1998, p. 75 and n. 449; R. Amedick, "Jesus Nazareus Rex Iudaeorum". *Hellenistische Königsikonographie und das Neue Testament*, in: *Picturing the New Testament. Studies in Ancient Visual Images*, ed. A. Weisenrieder – F. Wendt – P. von Gemünden, Tübingen 2005, p. 56, fig. 2.

Borchers is also credited with organizing in 1938 an exhibition in the Pommersches Landesmuseum in Stettin, entitled *Kammin: Domschatz, Urkunden, Drucke*, where the contents of Cammin's treasury were shown. After the closure of the exhibition, the objects were returned to the cathedral, where they were displayed in the specially adapted scriptorium and archive in the eastern wing of the chapterhouse¹¹. The situation did not change significantly after the outbreak of World War II¹². Only after the Allied carpet bombing of Lübeck on the night of 28/29 March 1942, which inflicted much damage, was an assembly of provincial conservators summoned at the Reich Ministry of Science, Education and Culture in Berlin. At the meeting, a directive was issued to dislocate the most valuable objects from museums and cathedral treasuries. It was decided that the cathedral treasures would be hidden in rural brick or stone churches within a radius of fifteen kilometres from the seat of the diocese¹³.

According to the list of the objects, drawn up on 8 May 1942 and signed by superintendent Johann Scheel, Cammin's treasury was packed into two wooden crates in the presence of the local conservator Gerhard Bronisch (1905-1945). Thirty smaller items, including the reliquary of St. Cordula and the pax, listed under number twelve in the register as *Pacificalkreuz*, were placed in one box, while bishop's vestments with some sculptures from the main altar were contained in the other, bigger box. The valuables secured in this manner were relocated to the Flemming family's estate in Benz (Polish: *Benice*), fifteen kilometres south-east of Cammin, and deposited in the palace. As we can learn from the list, the items of relatively big size – the main altar, gothic crucifix, wooden sacramentary and oil

¹¹ W. Borchers, *Kammin. Domschatz, Urkunden, Drucke, Ausstellungskatalog, Pommersches Landesmuseum Stettin 1.02-31.05.1938*, Stettin 1938, p. 22-23; O. Kunkel, *Urgeschichte, Volkskunde, Landesgeschichte und Stadtkultur, kirchliche Kunst (Mitteilungen aus dem Pommerschen Landes-Museum)* "Baltischen Studien, Neue Folge" 40 (1938) p. 308-309; Kochanowska, *Skarby katedry*, p. 26; M. Łuczak, *Evakuacja skarbcia kamińskiego w 1945 roku. Próba analizy materiałów dotyczących poszukiwań utraconych zbiorów*, in: *Śłużby w ochronie dziedzictwa sakralnego i archeologicznego Europy Wschodniej*, ed. M. Łuczak, Szczecin 2018, p. 29-30.

¹² Following the recommendation of the provincial conservator, issued on 10 January 1940, the cathedral's superintendent Scheel temporarily deposited the contents of the treasury at the premises of the district bank in Cammin, R. Czejarek, *Sekrety Pomorza Zachodniego*, Łódź 2017, p. 9; Łuczak, *Evakuacja skarbcia*, p. 31, n. 8.

¹³ Jurkiewicz, *Tajemnice skarbcia*, p. 50; Łuczak, *Evakuacja skarbcia*, p. 31; M. Łuczak, *The Lost Kamień Treasury: a Catalogue of War Losses from the Cathedral in Kamień Pomorski*, Warszawa 2020, p. 72-78.

paintings – were taken to the new brick church in the village of Benz. Only two chalices, a paten and other utensils necessary for the celebration of the liturgy had been left in the cathedral¹⁴. Klara Scheel, the superintendent's wife, moved to the Flemming's palace too, presumably entrusted with the task of supervising the deposited objects¹⁵.

The contents of the cathedral's treasury remained in Benz until 5 March 1945. On the previous evening, Count Hasso von Flemming, faced with an imminent threat from advancing troops of the First Belorussian Front, held a telephone conversation with the district authorities during which he obtained authorization to evacuate the village. At 5 a.m. a convoy formed of the residents of Benz set off in the direction of Cammin. The smaller case with Cammin valuables, including the pax with the cameo, was carried on a wagon drawn by a Bulldog tractor whose driver was a Serbian prisoner of war, formerly employed at the estate. At the crossroads in Revenow (Polish: *Rzewnow*), the column turned south, heading for the bridge over the Strait of Dievenow (Polish: *Dziwna*) in the town of Wollin. The decision to take the longer southern evacuation route, in addition leading towards the approaching Soviet troops, turned out to be disastrous. Having arrived at Parlowkrug (Polish: *Parłówko*) around noon on the same day, Hasso Fleming left the convoy and went on horseback to the local police station to obtain permission for the wagons to move on in two columns. Meanwhile the evacuees reached the Greifenhagen-Wollin road and headed

¹⁴ Jurkiewicz, *Tajemnice skarbcza*, p. 50-55 (and p. 75-82, where the author published the original inventory, ref. no.: Tgb. IV Nr 3221, together with its Polish translation and a commentary); Łuczak, *Ewakuacja skarbcza*, p. 31, 34; for English translation, cf. Łuczak, *The Lost Kamień Treasury*, p. 84-90. The narratives about the treasury being transported to Benz in 1944, appearing occasionally in the literature, probably derive from the imprecise account presented by Count Hasso von Flemming at the Congress of Evangelical Assemblies of Pomeranian Communes in Heersum near Hildesheim (3-5 June 1955): "Der Pommernschatz von Cammin war in den letzten Kriegsmonaten nach Benz bei Cammin um der größeren Sicherheit willen gebracht worden", see A. Holtz, *Ist der Cordula-Schrein aus dem Domschatz Cammin verloren? Bericht und Dokumentation*, "Baltische Studien, Neue Folge" 52 (1966) p. 133-134, who dates the transfer of the treasury to late 1943 or even to 1944. Any speculations about the time and destination of the treasury's transfer have been dismissed by an inventory document of 5 May 1942, composed at the superintendent's office: in response to the instruction given by the conservation circles on 13 April 1942, the document defined the precise locations of every particular object transferred to Benz.

¹⁵ The speculation that a special function had been assigned to Klara Scheel was brought forward by Jurkiewicz, *Tajemnice skarbcza*, p. 54-55.

west. After they had passed through the village of Tessin (Polish: *Troszyn*) and got to the isthmus between the lakes Martenthiner (Polish: *Ostrowo*) and Paatziger (Polish: *Piaski*), they were shelled by Soviet tanks from the battalion under the command of Captain Sanachev. The convoy was scattered and only those refugees who had crossed the bridge over a local brook before it was detonated by German troops managed to reach Wollin¹⁶.

It is not known what happened to the crate and its content after that. Did it arrive at Wollin with the remainder of the convoy or did it fall a spoil to the Red Army on the road near Tessin?¹⁷ Of the Cammin treasure only

¹⁶ Holtz, *Ist der Cordula-Schrein*, p. 135-136 cites the account by Irena Haufschild, recorded on 20 April 1965. The woman was travelling on a wagon on which there was a box (the size of which she estimated at no more than fifty centimetres by sixty-five centimetres by forty centimetres). When the bridge was destroyed, her wagon was still on the eastern side of the brook, probably the fourth in the column. During the shelling, she abandoned the vehicle and hid behind the embankment. After the Soviet tanks ceased fire, she returned to the undamaged wagon, took a pram and set off on foot towards Wollin. This testimony was confirmed by her aunt Barbara Vierks, who saw – while returning to Benz the next morning (6 March 1945) – an undamaged wagon lying by the road. She could not however say whether the crate was or was not there. See also Jurkiewicz, *Tajemnice skarbcza*, p. 59-66, 71; Łuczak, *Ewakuacja skarbcza*, p. 35, 38-39.

¹⁷ A rather obvious assumption that the crate with a part of the Cammin treasure was looted by the Soviet army was proposed by K. Harms, *Wo blieb der Cordula-Schrein? Ein kostbares Stück des Camminer Domschatzes – Im Treck 1945 verloren*, “Pommerschen Heimatkirche” 6 (1955) p. 4. Nonetheless, if we assume that its size, as Irena Haufschild had observed, was relatively small, we cannot rule out that valuables were transferred to another means of transport and carried to Wollin and further into Germany. The testimony of a witness who saw Hasso von Flemming in the town of Misdroy (Polish: *Międzyzdroje*) with an oval package whose shape resembled that of the reliquary of St. Cordula makes this version quite plausible. The count himself admitted in an interview with the parish priest of the Cammin cathedral, Rev. Roman Kostynowicz, that during the evacuation, he had had with him a bag which had contained the most valuable items. On the other hand, the small size of the crate loaded on the wagon in Benz may indicate that the remaining valuables were transported in a separate convoy, along with the Flemmings’ belongings, which, according to a forced labourer employed in their estate, were taken from Benz by a Serbian prisoner of war in two trailers hauled by a tractor, see Kochanowska, *Tajemnice Pomorza*, p. 45-47; Jurkiewicz, *Tajemnice skarbcza*, p. 67-69, 93, 95-96 (the author does not rule out that despite his own declarations, Hasso von Flemming had opened the crates deposited in the palace, selected the most valuable items and had taken them over time further into Germany). Recently Łuczak, *The Lost Kamień Treasury*, p. 162-164 has published an additional piece of evidence – the letter of Hildegard Kobi from Lübeck in which she informs the Flemming family that the reliquary of St. Cordula was found by a French prisoner of war in a roadside ditch near Cammin. He took it to France and deposited in

a few objects have survived: those left behind in the cathedral and hidden by superintendent Scheel in the old rectory, the Gothic crucifix and the altar with the sculptures deposited in the bigger case, which under vague circumstances found its way to the church in Benz¹⁸.

3. The Cammin cameo in modern scholarship

The history of the Cammin cameo did not end with its disappearance during the war. Despite the absence of the object proper, the gem has entered academic debate and has gradually aroused interest of scholars thanks to the pre-war photographic documentation and the plaster cast preserved in Göttingen. Borchers's identification of the figure carved in the gemstone as Claudius, though still present in publications for the general public (as well as in the caption under the photograph of the pax exhibited in the Cathedral Museum in Kamień Pomorski, reopened after the war in the gallery of the chapterhouse), has not found acceptance among the subsequent generations of scholars of antiquity¹⁹.

The curator of the Hermitage's collection of glyptics, Oleg Neverov, stated that the Cammin cameo depicted Emperor Nero, but this was not

an unspecified chapel on the coast of Normandy or Bretagne. Although the actual place, where, according to the author, the reliquary is housed, remains unknown, the testimony confirms that the crate with the cathedral deposit was abandoned on the road to Wollin. So far, the attempts to find Cammin's treasures have been to no avail.

¹⁸ According to her own testimony, Klara Scheel, having returned to Benz on 17 March 1945, found the items from the second crate – i.e. the liturgical vestments and the sculptures from the main altar – scattered on the floor of the new church. Some of its contents had been stolen by the local population, but the presence of the bigger box in the church was confirmed in 1968, when a fragment of a painted case for bishop's mitre, funded by Martin Karith (1510) and listed in the 1942 register under number 34, was discovered in the sacristy; see Holtz, *Ist der Cordula-Schrein*, p. 137 (who explains that the discrepancy between the actual location of the crate with bishop's robes and the place of destination recorded in the list from 1942 can be accounted for by its later transfer to the church or by a mistake); Jurkiewicz, *Tajemnice skarbcza*, p. 86-89, 94-95 (who notes that among the objects described by the superintendent's wife there were liturgical books, which according to the list – item no. 30 – had been placed in the first box); Łuczak, *Ewakuacja skarbcza*, p. 42-44.

¹⁹ The identification of the figure on the cameo as Claudius, proposed by the German scholar, has been repeated by some authors interested in the history of the Cammin treasury, see for example Kochanowska, *Skarby katedry*, 25; Jurkiewicz, *Tajemnice skarbcza*, 16, 19.

without reservation, as the attributes accompanying the figure were unusual for the representation of this emperor and had never been attested by written sources²⁰. At the same time, a similar attribution was adopted on the basis of the stylistic features by Wolf Rüdiger Megow, who in the carved figure recognized young Nero, although he did not exclude the possibility that it was young Claudius who had been depicted on the jewel²¹. Subsequently, Andrew Stewart saw in the relief an image of Caracalla intentionally imitating Alexander the Great, the founder (κτίστης) of Alexandria²². Marianne Bergmann approaches the question more cautiously: while she agrees that the figure on the lost artefact follows the iconographic type of Alexander-ktistes popular in the Alexandrian circle, she also notes that the traces of modifications done to the model's face and hair, still visible on the plaster cast, make it difficult to date the object with absolute certainty, and thus to connect it with a particular ruler²³.

Although the opinion that the Cammin cameo was created during the Principate prevails in the scholarly discussion on the object's origin, soon after World War II some attempts were made to associate it with the later Roman Empire. The first hypothesis that the emperor depicted in the gem was Constantine the Great was put forward in 1948 by Gerda Bruns. The Berlin archaeologist pointed to the statue portraying the emperor as Apollo,

²⁰ O. Neverov, *Nero-Helios*, in: *Pagan Gods and Shrines of the Roman Empire*, ed. M. Henig – A. King, Oxford 1986, p. 189, fig. 1.

²¹ W.R. Megow, *Kameen von Augustus bis Alexander Severus*, Berlin 1987, p. 244-245, (A 156) tab. 49,1.

²² A. Stewart, *Faces of power: Alexander's image and Hellenistic politics*, *Hellenistic Culture and Society* 11, Berkeley – Los Angeles – Oxford 1993, p. 246, fig. 82; A. Stewart, *Alexander in Greek and Roman Art*, in: *Brill's companion to Alexander the Great*, ed. J. Roisma, Boston 2003, p. 63, fig. 15 (Caracalla dressed up in the costume of Alexander-Aigiochos from Alexandria). Recently to his hypothesis returned A. Trofimova, *Imitatio Alexandri in Hellenistic Art. Portraits of Alexander the Great and Mythological Images*, Roma 2012, p. 135, fig. 148.

²³ Bergmann, *Die Strahlen der Herrscher*, p. 67, 75, tab. 1,4 (her opinions were repeated by Amedick, *Iesus Nazarenus*, p. 56). A. Lichtenberger, *Severus Pius Augustus: Studien zur sakralen Repräsentation und Rezeption der Herrschaft des Septimius Severus und seiner Familie (193-211 n. Chr.)*, *Impact of Empire* 14, Leiden – Boston 2011, p. 249-250, fig. 209 has recently taken a similar stance towards the attempts, unsupported by literary sources, to link the Cammin gem with Caracalla. Neutral in regard to the question of attribution remain authors of the catalogue *Aurea Roma: dalla città pagana alla città cristiana (Roma, Palazzo delle esposizioni, 22 dicembre 2000 – 20 aprile 2001)*, ed. S. Ensoli – E. La Rocca, Roma 2000, p. 68, fig. 7 ('a ruler with the features of Jupiter and Romulus').

erected in 328 on top of a porphyry column in the middle of the emperor's eponymous forum in Constantinople, as a model possibly used by the Cammin cameo's engraver and linked the object with a group of gems which she considered to be official products of Constantine's time²⁴. Admittedly, her work faced severe criticism from the academic community, but her study of the stylistic resemblance between the Cammin cameo and the Hague Cameo (the so-called *gemma Constantiniana*; now at the National Museum of Antiquities in Leiden²⁵) has been acknowledged by scholars of antiquity²⁶.

Brun's stance on the Constantinian origin of the gem won Raissa Calza's approval²⁷, and in the recent years, the number of its supporters has begun to grow²⁸. Sarah Bassett referred to it in the context of her attempts to reconstruct the appearance of the statue of Constantine standing on top of the porphyry column²⁹. In turn, Ignazio Tantillo drew attention to a wooden, gilded statuette of the emperor, which was made to commemorate the dedication of Constantinople on 11 May 330 and paraded in annual proces-

²⁴ G. Bruns, *Staatskameen des 4. Jahrhunderts nach Christi Geburt*, Winkelmannsprogramm der Archäologischen Gesellschaft zu Berlin 104, Berlin 1948, p. 16-17, fig. 11.

²⁵ Het Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, Leiden, inv. no. GS-11096.

²⁶ The first to critically comment on Bruns' findings was H. Möbius, *Römischer Kameo in Kassel*, "Archäologischer Anzeiger" 63/64 (1948/1949) p. 110, who classified the Cammin cameo on the basis of stylistic features among those made in the third century and linked it with Gordian III (225-244). In his later article, the scholar reverted to the traditional attribution proposed by Borchers, identifying the emperor on the gem as Claudius, H. Möbius, *Der Grosse Stuttgarter Kameo (zuseiner Veröffentlichung durch Marie-Louise Vollenweider)*, "Schweizer Münzblätter" 13-17 (1963-1967) p. 123. See also the review of Bruns' paper by J.-J. Hatt, *Review: 'Staatskameen des 4. Jahrhunderts nach Christi Geburt'*, "Latomus" 10 (1951) p. 271-272, who argues that the Licinius cameo from the Cabinet des Médailles in Paris (inv. no. D 2566), considered by Bruns to be the key item for the whole group, is a Renaissance forgery and was in fact made in a workshop in Milan in the late sixteenth century; therefore, he proposes to link the Pomeranian cameo with the Great Cameo of The Hague and the image of Constantinople's Tyche in the Vienna collection. Also J.H. Jongkees, *De "apothéose Van Claudius" in Het Haagsche Penningkabinet*, "Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek" 4 (1952) p. 31-32 accepts late dating of the gems from The Hague and Vienna (but he makes no direct reference to the Cammin cameo).

²⁷ R. Calza, *Iconografia romana imperiale: Da Carausio a Giuliano (287-363 d. C.)*, Quaderni e Guide di Archeologia 3, Roma 1972, p. 146, 235-237, n. 20, tab. LXXXI, fig. 286.

²⁸ See, for example, G. Fowden, *Constantine's porphyry column: the earliest literary allusion*, JRS 81 (1991) p. 126, n. 73.

²⁹ S. Bassett, *The urban image of late antique Constantinople*, Cambridge 2004, p. 202, fig. 22.

sions on the anniversaries of that event³⁰. It should, however, be noted that in referring to the dedication of Constantinople, both Malalas and the anonymous author of the *Chronicon Paschale* mention only a figurine of the city's Tyche (called Anthousa), carried by Constantine in his right hand³¹, while on the lost jewel the emperor held the Palladion in his left hand and resting the right one on the spear.

4. The cameo's Constantinian origin

Judged solely on the basis of the photographs and the plaster cast, the style and costume details of the Cammin cameo at first sight give the impression that the carving was made in accordance with the principles of classical aesthetics. The well-proportioned beardless face of an ephebe, encircled by evenly trimmed hair; the slight counter-posture with some body weight clearly transferred to the spear; the soft modelling of the limbs – all seems to reinforce this impression. Nevertheless, a closer look at this work of art reveals elements typical of the imperial portrait of the late Roman Empire, too: the rigidity of the pose; unnatural proportions; summarily shaped features indicative of a lack of care in carving details³². Most notably, the emperor's massive neck and legs add a hieratic flavour to the figure, giving the impression that we are viewing a monumental statue from below.

Divergences from the style of depicting rulers in Hellenistic art can also be observed in the details of clothing. Although on the whole the image on the gem emulates the iconographic type of Alexander-ktistes in an aegis (fig. 4)³³, tall boots covering calves – as Steward notes – were not part of

³⁰ I. Tantillo, *L'impero della luce. Riflessioni su Costantino e il sole*, "Mélanges de l'école française de Rome" 115 (2003) p. 1043-1045 and n. 159, fig. 11. This hypothesis was accepted by J. Bardill, *Constantine, Divine Emperor of the Christian Golden Age*, New York 2012, p. 157, n 3 (with summarised state of research on this subject).

³¹ *Chronicon Paschale ad exemplar Vaticanum*, v.1, ed. L. Dindorf, Corpus scriptorum historiae Byzantinae 11, Bonn 1832, p. 530; Ioannis Malalae, *Chronographia*, ed. I. Thurn, Corpus Fontium Byzantinae Historiae 35, Berlin 2000, p. 247.

³² See, for example, H.P. L'Orange, *Studien zur Geschichte des spätantiken Porträts*, Oslo 1933, p. 15-46; E. Kitzinger, *Byzantine Art in the Making. Main Lines of Stylistic Development in Mediterranean Art 3rd-7th Century*, London 1977, p. 7-29.

³³ The Roman statue made in Alexandria (first century A.D.), from D. M. Foquet's collection, currently at the British Museum (inv. no. 1922.0711.1), seems to be particularly close to the Cammin cameo, see Stewart, *Faces of power*, p. 230, fig. 83 and n. 63, where the iconographic patterns of the lost gem are discussed minutely.

the original representation of the Macedonian king and must have been the Roman artist's addition³⁴. Similarly, the motif of a radiate nimbus around the head of the founder of Alexandria did not appear in art before the late Hellenistic period³⁵. Moreover, on the Cammin gem, the nimbus takes an unusual form of a wide wreath with eleven pointed rays. The above-mentioned observations allow us to rule out the Hellenistic origin of the object, pointing at the same time to the fact that the stylistic features reveal its affiliation with late Roman art. Stewart's proposal to identify the emperor as Caracalla should also be rejected, for the figure on the gem was shown without the beard and moustache characteristic of the representations of this emperor. The physiognomic type, which will be discussed later, corresponds to the portraits of Constantine executed during his lifetime. We can therefore consider the hypothesis of the lost cameo's Constantinian origin as plausible.

5. The cameo and the emperor's statue on the column

In searching for iconographic and ideological patterns for the representation of the emperor on the gem, one should return to the identification proposed by Gerda Bruns. Here, however, another problem arises. While the hundred-*palmipes* tall (37 m) porphyry column³⁶, erected by Constan-

³⁴ Stewart, *Faces of power*, p. 246-247 and Amedick, *Iesus Nazareus*, p. 56 describe the figure's shoes as Macedonian high *krepides*. However, the rhomboidal cuts, clearly visible in the photographs, suggest a kind of legwraps tied round with a strap, which in turn allow us to recognise the emperor's shoes as *servoula* (also called *muzakia*). On the other hand, the lack of visible toes and bindings in the forepart prompts the exclusion of *endromides*, popular in the iconography of ancient rulers, see P.Ł. Grotowski, *Arms and Armour of the Warrior Saints: Tradition and Innovation in Byzantine Iconography (843-1261)*, The Medieval Mediterranean 87, Leiden – Boston 2010, p. 198-201, figs. 19a-b, 25c-d, 27, 29, 46a, 46c, 61.

³⁵ The first ruler to be depicted with a radiate crown was Ptolemy III Euergetes, as portrayed on the coins minted by his son Ptolemy IV (222-205 B.C.). Subsequent Hellenistic kings, up to Hermaios Soter of Bactria (ca. 90-70 B.C.), acquired the motif, sometimes together with cognomen Epiphanes (derived from φάω, to shine). In Rome, the motif of a radiate crown was adopted in the time of Tiberius, who had portrayed Octavian in this style since A.D. 15, cf. Stewart, *Faces of power*, p. 246; J. Bardill, *Constantine*, p. 36-57, fig. 28, 34-36, 38-45, 50.

³⁶ The height of the column corresponds precisely to the measure of a hundred Roman feet increased by the width of a palm (*palmipes*, 37 cm), while the height of the

tine in 328 in the centre of his forum linking Septimius Severus' Byzantium with his own city³⁷, still stands in Divan Youlu Street in Istanbul, in the district of Çemberlitaş (the name derived from the Turkish term for the column, literally: a stone in metal hoops), the bronze statue which once crowned it, collapsed during a windstorm in the spring of 1106³⁸ and its detailed description has not been preserved in medieval sources.

All we know is that the figure was holding a spear (λόγχη) in its right hand. The spear fell down as a result of an earthquake on 16 August 554, digging three cubits deep into the ground, and was replaced with a sceptre

seven-drum porphyry shaft (23.4 m) equals eighty Roman feet (29.6 cm) and the diameter of the lowest drum (2.9 m) equals around ten feet, cf. J. Neal, *The structure and function of ancient metrology*, in: *Wonders Lost and Found: A Celebration of the Archaeological Work of Professor Michael Vickers*, ed. N. Sekunda, Oxford 2020, p. 34-35.

³⁷ For the monument's dating, see *Chronicon Paschale*, v. 1, p. 528; Theophanis, *Chronographia*, v. 1, ed. C. de Boor, Leipzig 1883, p. 28 (under the date A. M. 5821, i.e. A.D. 328/9). See also, for example, C. Mango, *Constantinopolitana*, "Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts" 80 (1965) p. 306-313 (reprint in: C. Mango, *Studies on Constantinople*, Aldershot 1993, text II; also for the column's size); M. Karamouzi, *Das Forum und die Säule Constantini in Konstantinopel: Gegebenheiten und Probleme*, "Balkan Studies" 27 (1986) p. 222-231; A. Berger, *Untersuchungen zu den Patria Konstantinupoleos, Poikila Byzantina* 8, Bonn 1988, p. 297-299; F.A. Bauer, *Stadt, Platz und Denkmal in der Spätantike*, Mainz 1996, p. 172; Bardill, *Constantine*, p. 28; R. Ousterhout, *The life and afterlife of Constantine's Column*, "Journal of Roman Archaeology" 27 (2014) p. 305-308; P. Yonca-Arslan, *Towards a new honorific column: The column of Constantine in early Byzantine urban landscape*, "Middle East Technical University Journal of the Faculty of Architecture" 33 (2016) p. 124-126.

³⁸ Annae Comnenae, *Alexias*, XII 4/5, v. 1, ed. D.R. Reinsch – A. Kambylis, *Corpus Fontium Byzantinae Historiae* 40, Berlin – New York 2001, p. 370. John Zonaras reports about numerous victims of the disaster, which according to him happened in the time of Alexius I Comnenus, see Ioannis Zonarae, *Epitome historiarum libri XVIII*, XIII 3/27, v. 3, ed. M. Pinder, *Corpus scriptorum historiae Byzantinae* 49, Bonn 1897, p. 18. An annotation in the *Patria of Constantinople* gives the exact date of the incident (5 April 1106), which, however, contradicts Comnena's statement that the storm took place when the sun was in the sign of Taurus, cf. *Scriptores originum Constantinopolitanarum*, I 45a, ed. Th. Preger, Leipzig 1901, p. 138. Ousterhout, *The life and afterlife*, p. 310 recognizes a remnant of the colossus in the head of Apollo, attributed to Phidias, which John Tzetzes saw in the Great Palace, cf. Johannes Tzetzes, *Historiarum variarum Chiliades* VIII 192, ed. Th. Kiessling, Leipzig 1827, p. 295. I. Karayannopoulos, *Konstantin der Große und der Kaiserkult*, "Historia: Zeitschrift für Alte Geschichte" 5 (1956) p. 353 doubts, however, that the statue's head could survive a fall from such a great height.

or a staff (σκήπτρον)³⁹. In the statue's left hand, a sphere (σφαῖρα) rested, which fell to the ground twice in the time of Emperor Zeno⁴⁰ and again in 869⁴¹, also due to seismic activity. Since the earliest account of the first of these incidents comes from the so-called Great Chronographer, active in the mid-eighth century, who admittedly relied on an earlier source, yet not earlier than the late sixth century⁴², we do not know what the imperial orb originally looked like. Cyril Mango (1928-2021) put forward the hypothesis that in Constantine's time it was topped with a statue of Victory and only the second or even the third orb took the form of *globus cruciger*⁴³. We can assume then

³⁹ Malalas, *Chronographia* XVIII 118, p. 416; Theophanes, *Chronographia*, v. 1, p. 222 (dated A. M. 6034, i.e. 541/2); Georgius Cedrenus, *Compendium Historiarum*, v. 1, ed. I. Bekker, *Corpus scriptorum historiae Byzantinae* 8, Bonn 1838, p. 656. The information about the sceptre in the statue's right hand comes from Anna Comnena, who could have seen the statue and its remains at the age of 23, but the fact that she compiled her description only four decades after the accident might have affected the accuracy of her testimony. Karayannopoulos, *Konstantin der Große*, p. 351 advocates credibility of her account.

⁴⁰ Symeonis Magistri et Logothetae, *Chronicon* CI 8, ed. S. Wahlgren, *Corpus Fontium Byzantinae Historiae* 44/1, Berlin – New York 2006, p. 133; Theophanes, *Chronographia*, v. 1, p. 126 (dated 477/8).

⁴¹ Symeon, Logothete, *Chronicon* CXXXII 4, p. 261.

⁴² The text with an annotation about the Great Chronographer's authorship was inserted in the Parisian manuscript of the *Paschal Chronicle* on pages 241v-243r. The passage containing information about the damage caused by the earthquake is at the very beginning of this insertion, see L.M. Whitby, *The Great Chronographer and Theophanes*, "Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies" 8 (1982) p. 17.

⁴³ C. Mango, *Constantine's Column*, in: C. Mango, *Studies on Constantinople*, Aldershot 1993, text III, p. 3. One could agree in principle with Mango's thesis, nevertheless, it should be corrected in detail. *Globus cruciger* must have replaced the original orb already after the first incident, because it is mentioned (οὐτινος ἐν τῷ μήλω τῆς [δεξιᾶς] χειρὸς πῆξας τὸν τίμιον σταυρὸν ἐπέγραψεν [ἔγραψεν] ἐν αὐτῷ ταῦτα · "σοὶ Χριστὲ ὁ θεὸς παρατίθημι τὴν πόλιν [μου] ταύτην) in the anonymous *Vita Constantini* III, preserved in epitomized form in *menologia* from the eighth and ninth centuries, but with all probability drawing on the text written not later than the beginning of the sixth century, see F. Winkelmann, *Die ältesteerhaltene gr. hagiographische Vita Konstantins und Helenas (BHG 365Z, 366, 366a)*, in: *Texte und Textkritik. Eine Aufsatzsammlung*, ed. J. Dummer, *Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur* 133, Berlin 1987, p. 634. The description is repeated in another *Life of Constantine* [BHG 364, § 24], dating from the second half of the ninth century, and then again in Nicephorus Callistus' *Ecclesiastical History* (ca. 1320), which however wrongly states that the orb rested in the emperor's right hand, see *Un βίος δι Costantino*, ed. M. Guidi, "Rendiconti della Reale Accademia dei Lincei, Classe di Scienze Morali, Storiche e Filologiche, Serie quinta" 16 (1907) p. 337;

that the attributes presented by the ruler on the Cammin cameo match those, which originally accompanied Constantine on his column.

Besides, the sources consistently report about the radiate crown on the statue's head; John Malalas mentions – and George Hamartolos repeats after him – the exact number of seven rays⁴⁴. In this detail, the statue varied the most from the image on the Cammin cameo, where – as already mentioned – the emperor is portrayed in a crown with eleven broad spikes. This difference does not necessarily rule out the emperor's figure on the Constantinople column as a model used by the Cammin gem's engraver, whose intention might only have been to roughly render the iconographic details of the statue, as seen from the forum's ground level.

Nicephori Callisti Xanthopuli, *Ecclesiasticae historiae libri XVIII*, VII 49, PG 145, 1325. Nevertheless, the lack of similar representations in the art of the fourth century belies the idea that there was a cross present on the statue of Constantine. The imperial orb topped with a cross first time appears on coins minted by Theodosius II in 420 in order to commemorate the crucifix placed by the emperor on Golgotha. The motif of Victoria, popular in ancient times, gradually disappeared replaced by the cross, although the image of the winged goddess standing on the orb held by the ruler occasionally appears in coinage until the time of Heraclius (610-641), cf. E. Stepanova, *Victoria-Nike, on Early Byzantine Seals*, "Studies in byzantine Sigillography" 10 (2010) p. 17, fig. 5. Also the inscription stating that Constantine has dedicated his city to Christ, carved according to a legend into the cross on the orb and known in various versions from the accounts by Constantinus Rhodius, *Descriptio Urbis Constantinopolitanae* [v. 71-74] and Georgius Cedrenus, indirectly indicates that the *globus cruciger* was made only after Christianity had solidified and become the only religion accepted by the state, see, Constantine of Rhodes, *On Constantinople and the Church of the Holy Apostles*, v. 1, ed. L. James – I. Vassiss, Surrey – Burlington 2017, p. 22; Cedrenus, *Compendium Historiarum*, p. 565.

⁴⁴ Malalas, *Chronographia* XIII 7, p. 245-246: ἔχοντα ἐν τῇ κεφαλῇ αὐτοῦ ἀκτῖνας ἐπτὰ; Georgios Monachos, *Chronicon*, v. 2, ed. C. de Boor, Leipzig 1904, p. 500: ἔχοντα ἐπὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀκτῖνας ἕπτ. *Chronicon Paschale*, v. 1, p. 528 makes a mention of rays of light around the head of the figure, while Symeon, Logothete, *Chronicon* LXXXVIII, 7, p. 109 recalls an inscription indicating that the sculpture had a radiate nimbus: διὰ τὰς ἐν αὐτῷ ἀκτῖνας Κωνσταντίνῳ λάμπουντι ἡλίουθ' δίκην. *Scriptores originum*, II 45, p. 174 and Zonaras, *Compendium Historiarum* XIII 3/26, v. 3, p. 18 claim that among the rays on the head of the statue, Constantine fixed also the nails with which Christ was crucified. Also Nicephorus, presbyter at Hagia Sophia, refers in *Vita Sancti Andreae Sali* [BHG 115z] to the legend of the nails from the Holy Cross hidden in the column, cf. *The Life of St. Andrew the Fool*, v. 2, tr. et ed. L. Rydén, Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis. Studia Byzantina Upsaliensia 4/2, Uppsala 1995, p. 276. Considering the presence of a vertically arranged crown on Constantine's coins minted between 310 and 326, Bardill, *Constantine*, p. 30, 34, 42, fig. 23, 46-47 assumes that the *corona radiata* on the statue might have had such a shape too, which would have made it very close to the crown carved in the cameo.

None of the texts of the period provides information about the clothes in which the emperor shown on the column was clad. Indirect and ambiguous clues on this matter can only be found in a few pictures of the column, executed hundreds of years after the statue's collapse and based on older representations. In reconstructing the original form of the statue, scholars most often refer to a vignette on the medieval copy of an ancient map (the so-called *Tabula Peutingeriana*; *Codex Vindobonensis 324*, segment VIII B1) schematically depicting the network of public roads (*cursus publicus*) of the late Roman Empire (ca. 375)⁴⁵. The vignette shows the personification of Constantinople, seated on a throne and pointing at a pillar with a double shaft of three segments, sketched in black ink next to her. Standing on top of the pillar is a naked figure with its arms spread wide, holding an orb and a spear (fig. 5). This image gave rise to an opinion, widespread among scholars, that Constantine had been shown on the column as a naked Helios, thus referring in form to the colossal statue of Nero, visually

⁴⁵ The map, originally in the form of a parchment scroll 34 cm × 674 cm (divided in 1875 into twelve sheets), was discovered in 1507 by the Viennese humanist Konrad Celtis, who handed it over to Konrad Peutinger. Purchased in 1717 by Prince Eugene of Savoy, it was transferred after his death (1736) to the Habsburgs' private library in the Hofburg, which was incorporated into the Austrian National Library in Vienna in 1920, see R.J.A. Talbert, *Rome's World: the Peutinger map reconsidered*, Cambridge 2010, p. 10-30, 73-76 (see also Martin Steinmann's comments on the palaeography and dating of the map, Talbert, *Rome's World: the Peutinger map reconsidered*, p. 76-84). The *terminus post quem* for the Roman archetype is determined by the presence of Constantinople (described as *Constantinopolis*) on the map, although Pompeii and Stabia (destroyed by the eruption of Mount Vesuvius in A.D. 79) have also been marked and Jerusalem bears the name *Aelia Capitolina* ('antea dicta Herveusalem mo[do] Helya Capitolina'), referring to the Roman colony built by Hadrian after A.D. 132 on the site of the capital city of Judea, demolished in A.D. 70. These discrepancies can be explained by the hypothesis that the Viennese map, made between 1175 and 1225 – as one can deduce from the typeface of the early Gothic script – was modelled not directly on the ancient original but on a Carolingian copy, which in turn undermines the veracity of the vignette with the image of Constantinople, see B. Salway, *The Nature and Genesis of the Peutinger Map*, "Imago Mundi" 57 (2005) p. 120, 123-129; E. Albu, *Imperial Geography and the Medieval Peutinger Map*, "Imago Mundi" 57 (2005) p. 143; E. Albu, *The Medieval Peutinger Map. Imperial Roman Revival in a German Empire*, Cambridge 2014, p. 13-17, 48-58, 76-78, 95-103; Talbert, *Rome's World*, p. 124 (on the Constantinople vignette being added by the copyist). The state of research of the monument and the analysis of the image of Constantinople are discussed in detail by P. Kochanek, *Vignette of Constantinople on the Tabula Peutingeriana. The Column of Constantine or the Lighthouse*, "Studia Ceranea" 9 (2019) p. 475-521.

closing the axis of the arch erected in Rome (312-315) to commemorate the victory over Maxentius⁴⁶.

However, the image on the map, probably dating from the first quarter of the thirteenth century, differs considerably from the known descriptions of the statue on the porphyry column. Apart from the lack of the radiate crown, usually accounted for by the small size of the drawing, and the absence of a cross on the orb, the image of which could be expected on a medieval copy of the vignette, another fact – so far unnoticed – is worth highlighting: the naked figure on the map holds the attributes in the reverse manner to that in Anna Comnena's description: the orb in the outstretched right hand and the spear in the left⁴⁷. All these differences imply that the author of the vignette (or its archetype) – if his intention was to show the Constantine column (as the structure of the double shaft divided into segments seems to suggest) – had a rather vague idea of the monument's appearance. Therefore, without rejecting the interpretation of the column's image on the map as a symbolic representation of the statue from the Constantine Forum, it should be concluded that the picture differs significantly from the model and cannot be used as a reliable source for visual reconstruction of the statue.

The question of the costume in which Constantine was portrayed on the porphyry column becomes even more complicated when we take into account another image of the monument, not preserved in its original form either and known only from an Early Modern sketch. On the spiral frieze

⁴⁶ See, for example, M. Bergmann, *Der römische Sonnenkoloss, der Konstantinsbogen und die Ktistes-statue von Konstantinopel*, "Jahrbuch Braunschweigische Wissenschaftliche Gesellschaft" 14 (1997) p. 125-126, fig. 19; Basset, *The urban image*, p. 202-203 (who notes, however, the lack of a radiate crown in the picture on the map); Bardill, *Constantine*, p. 29, 33-34, 108, fig. 17-19, 24; Ousterhout, *The life and after-life*, p. 311-312, fig. 6; Yoncaci-Arslan, *Towards a new honorific column*, p. 136, fig. 15; P. Yoncaci-Arslan, *Registrars of Urban Movement in Constantinople: Monumental Columns and the Mese*, "Annual of Istanbul Studies" 7 (2018) p. 7, 12, 18, fig. 2, 5; A. Berger, *Constantine's City: the Early Days of a Christian Capital*, "Studia Ceranea" 10 (2020) p. 16-17 (who mistakenly considers the vignette to be the sole image of the column dating from the Constantine era); A. Berger, *The Statues of Constantinople*, Cambridge 2021, p. 8-9, fig. 1-2.

⁴⁷ In the context of this error, worth noting is the coincidence between the mirror image of the statue (in addition to the switched hands, the figure in the vignette is facing west, while the figure in the Constantine Forum looked to the east) and the late account by Nicephorus Callistus (cf. footnote 43 above), who described the *globus cruciger* as resting in the emperor's right hand.

covering the shaft of the column of Arcadius (erected in 401-421), depicted in a convex relief were the emperor's campaigns (399-401) against revolted Gothic mercenaries under the leadership of Gainas, a newly appointed *magister militum*. Although the whole column down to the base of its shaft was dismantled after the 1715 earthquake had undermined the stability of its structure and put the monument at risk of collapse⁴⁸, we know the scenes carved on the frieze from three detailed drawings made by a German-speaking artist – probably the Flemish draughtsman Lambert de Vos – who in 1574 was a member of a diplomatic mission sent by Maximilian II Habsburg to Selim II⁴⁹. In one of de Vos' sketches, in the lower part of the frieze on the eastern side of the column, i.e. at the place where the expulsion of the Goths from Constantinople in 400 was depicted (fol. 11), one can see an image of the Constantine Forum in the form of a circle surrounded by a schematically rendered colonnade (fig. 6). Inside it, a column on a rectangular pedestal is shown, topped with a figure dressed in a toga clinging tightly to the body (*statua togata*)⁵⁰. Because of the small size of the drawing, its conventional and derivative character and the fact that the artist sketched also the crack in the shaft of the column, running through the head and shoulders of the figure, it cannot be determined on the basis of this watercolour whether the statue had a radiate crown on its head and whether it held any attributes in its hands.

This reconstruction of the image on the column showing Constantine in a long tunic has found support in a hypothesis formed by Hans Peter L'Orange, who pointed to a small bronze statuette with a radiate crown, long robe and a cloak pinned with a fibula, kept at the National Museum

⁴⁸ The column of Arcadius was measured in detail by the French scholar Petrus Gyllius [*De Constantinopoleos topographia* IV 7] during his stay in Constantinople (1544-1547), see Pierre Gilles, *The Antiquities of Constantinople*, tr. J. Ball, ed. R.G. Musto, New York 1988, p. 196-199. On the column of Arcadius, see Bauer, *Stadt, Platz und Denkmal*, p. 209-212 (who also provides further bibliography).

⁴⁹ Twenty-one watercolors documenting the monuments of Constantinople have been preserved in the so-called *Freshfield Album*, dated 1574, held at Cambridge (Trinity College Library, Ms. O. 17.2). On folios 11-13, the column of Arcadius is shown from the eastern, southern and western sides. On the significance of the manuscript for studies on Constantinople, see Mango, *Constantinopolitana*, p. 305-315.

⁵⁰ See e.g. Bauer, *Stadt, Platz und Denkmal*, p. 179-182, fig. 20, 2; F.A. Bauer, *Statuen hoher Würdenträger im Stadtbild Konstantinopels*, "Byzantinische Zeitschrift" 96/2 (2003) p. 497, fig. 3; J. Matthews, *Viewing the Column of Arcadius at Constantinople*, in: *Shifting Cultural Frontiers in Late Antiquity*, ed. D. Brakke – D. Deliyannis, London – New York 2012, p. 221, fig. 11, 9.

in Copenhagen (inv. No. 8040), as a possible iconographic formula of the Constantinople colossus⁵¹. This type of costume, however, seems unusual in the official imperial images in the time of the Tetrarchy⁵²; and above all, due to its schematic character, this small fragment of the sketch offers no grounds for a certain and unambiguous interpretation of the original statue or even its representation on the frieze of the column of Arcadius.

In this situation, it seems reasonable to get back to the lost late Roman cameo. The bronze statue of Constantine set on top of the column in the middle of his forum had an official character; there is a consensus among scholars that for such representations of the emperor not only nudity and the form of *statua togata* but also the form of *statua loricata*, portraying the ruler in a military uniform⁵³, was acceptable and – what is more important – particularly popular in the late Roman art. Nonetheless, the aegis and radiate crown on the cameo are part of a specific costume and the assumption that Constantine was depicted in a similar way entails the necessity for the reinterpretation of the meaning of the statue on the Forum.

6. Constantine-founder as a new Alexander

The choice of the iconographic type of Alexander – the founder of the city which bears his name – can be fully understood in regard to a sculpture displayed on the summit of a column standing in the forum linking the old Byzantium of Septimius Severus' time with the new city established upon Constantine's initiative. If the account conveyed in *The Brief Historical Notes* (Παραστάσεις σύντομοι χρονικά) from the eighth century is to be believed, the forum with the porphyry column was the main site for the forty-day-long celebrations to commemorate the dedication of Constantinople, which commenced on 11 May 330. During the festivities, in the

⁵¹ H.P. L'Orange, *Kleine Beiträge zur Ikonographie Konstantins des Großen*, "Opuscula Romana" 4 (1962) p. 102, fig. 2 (reprint in H.P. L'Orange, *Likeness and Icon: Selected Studies in Classical and Early Medieval Art*, Odense 1973, p. 28, fig. 10); H.P. L'Orange, *Das spätantike Herrscherbild von Diokletian bis zu den Konstantin-Söhnen: 284-361 n. Chr.*, Berlin 1984, p. 122.

⁵² Ousterhout, *The life and afterlife*, p. 312 considers L'Orange's thesis not convincing due to the religious connotations of the Copenhagen figurine. Of less consequence for our study is the rejection of the documentary value of the watercolors, made solely on the basis of the non-nudity of the emperor's image by Yoncaci-Arslan, *Towards a new honorific column*, p. 135, fig. 14.

⁵³ Mango, *Constantine's Column*, p. 3; Ousterhout, *The life and afterlife*, p. 311-312.

presence of the citizens gathered in great numbers in a solemn procession, the figure of the emperor was transported along the *Mese* from the Philadelphion and lifted to the top of the column⁵⁴.

During the games in the Hippodrome, Constantine appeared with a new imperial insigne: a diadem (διάδημα) decorated with precious stones and pearls, adopted from his great Macedonian predecessor⁵⁵. Following the emperor's decree, celebrations commemorating the city's 'birthday' (as was the case in Alexandria, officially founded on 7 April 331 B.C.) were repeated every year on the anniversary of the event, and at least until the sixth century the aforementioned smaller copy of the image of the ruler with a figurine of Tyche in his hand was paraded in a festive procession⁵⁶. The associations

⁵⁴ Anonymi, *Narrationes breves chronographicae*, § 55-56, cf. *Constantinople in the early eighth century: the Parastaseis syntomoi chronikai: introduction, translation, and commentary*, ed. Av. Cameron – J. Herrin, Columbia Studies in Classical Tradition 10, Leiden 1984, p. 128-132, 241-246 (commentary). On the significance of the monument in celebrating the consecration of Constantinople, see also Yoncaci-Arslan, *Registrars of Urban Movement*, p. 18; Berger, *Constantine's City*, p. 20; Berger, *The Statues*, p. 8. It is worth noting that as early as the fifth century, Philostrogios, an Arian historian of the Church, accuses Constantinople's Christians of worshiping the image of Constantine on a column, lighting lamps and burning incense for him and praying to him for protection as if he were God, cf. Philostorgius, *Historia ecclesiastica* II 17, Philostorgius, *Kirchengeschichte. Mit dem Leben des Lucian von Antiochien und den Fragmenten des arianischen Historiographen*, ed. J. Bidez – F. Winkelmann, Berlin 1981, p. 28.

⁵⁵ Malalas, *Chronographia* XIII 8, p. 246-247: καὶ φορέσας τότε ἐν πρώτοις ἐν τῇ ἰδίᾳ αὐτοῦ κορυφῇ διάδημα διὰ μαργαρίτων καὶ λίθων τιμίων, βουλόμενος πληρῶσαι τὴν προφητικὴν φωνὴν τὴν λέγουσαν· “ἔθηκας ἐπὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτοῦ στέφανον ἐκ λίθου τιμίου” [Ps 20:3] οὐδεὶς γὰρ τῶν πρὸ αὐτοῦ βασιλευσάντων τοιοῦτόν τι ποτε ἐφόρεσεν. On the diadem as an attribute adopted by Constantine from Alexander, see Bardill, *Constantine*, p. 13-19, 398, fig. 5-8, who suggests that contrary to the chronicler's statement, Constantine had already been depicted in a headband on the coins minted in 324 (and he links this fact with the foundation of Constantinople on 8 November of that year); the imperial diadem, however, had not yet been decorated with jewels. L. Ramskold – N. Lenski, *Constantinople's dedication medallions and the maintenance traditions*, “Numismatische Zeitschrift” 119 (2012) p. 41-43 come to similar conclusions. For the iconography of a diadem in the Hellenistic period, see R.R.R. Smith, *Hellenistic Royal Portraits*, Oxford 1988, p. 34-37. Amedick, *Jesus Nazarenus*, p. 54, 60-66 points out that in the imperial Rome the diadem was used solely as a poetic metaphor and iconographic convention, as it lost its insignia function due to official state doctrine, which avoided any associations with the kingdom.

⁵⁶ Malalas, *Chronographia* XIII 8, 247; *Narrationes breves chronographicae*, § 5, 38, p. 60, 102. Theophanes, *Chronographia*, v. 1, p. 383 under the year 712/13 refers only to the games organized at the Hippodrome on the occasion of the city's anniversary. For the Alexandrian models of the Constantinople procession, see Bardill, *Constantine*, p. 151-157.

between Constantinople and Alexandria were strengthened by the fact that the two cities bearing the names of their founders had not been founded *in cruda radice*, but at the places of older settlements – Byzantium and Rhacotis (Ρακῶτις)⁵⁷. Constantine’s decision to commemorate his own achievement as the founder of Constantinople by adopting the iconography known from the Alexandrian statue of the famous and still venerated founder of many Greek cities would thus have been fully justified and understandable⁵⁸.

The significance of that reference to the great Greek predecessor might have had a local aspect too, as Alexander had been credited with founding the Strategion – a square located about 750 metres to the north-east of the Forum and adjacent to the walls of ancient Byzantium⁵⁹. Also this place Constantine engaged in celebrating the dedication of the city by placing there his equestrian statue and a column with an inscribed edict which secured Constantinople’s status of the New Rome⁶⁰. Moreover, according to

⁵⁷ The foundation of Alexandria on the site of an earlier settlement is reported, for example, by Strabo, *Rerum geographicum* XVII 1, 6 and Plinius, *Historia naturalis* V 11, 62, and among the Byzantine authors, by Malalas, *Chronographia* VIII 1, Ioannis Nikiou, *Chronicon* LIX 1 and Cedrenus, see *The Geography of Strabo*, v. 8, tr. H.L. Jones, London 1967, p. 28; Pliny, *Natural History*, v. 2, ed. H. Rackham, London 1959, p. 266; Malalas, *Chronographia* p. 146; *The Chronicle of John, Bishop of Nikiu, translated from Zotenberg’s Ethiopic Text*, tr. R.H. Charles, London 1916, p. 47; Cedrenus, *Compendium Historiarum*, v. 1, p. 271. On the tradition of naming cities after their founders, which began with multiple Alexandrias founded by Alexander of Macedon, see Bardill, *Constantine*, p. 251-252.

⁵⁸ The idea that Alexander was the model which Constantine followed while founding the new capital of the Empire is not new, for it was referred to by Tierney as early as 1934, cf. M. Tierney, *Constantine the Great and His City*, “An Irish Quarterly Review” 23 (1934) p. 59-70. On the social status of *ktistes* and *conditor* in ancient Rome and on the Ptolemaic cult of Alexander-ktistes in Alexandria, see, for example, V. Györi, *The lituus and Augustan provincial coinage*, “Acta Antiqua Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae” 55 (2015) p. 52-59. On celebrating Alexandria’s anniversaries in the second half of the third century and on the cult of the city’s founder in the fourth century, see A. Wojciechowska – K. Nawotka, *The Reception of Alexander the Great in Roman, Byzantine and Early Modern Egypt*, in: *Brill’s Companion to the Reception of Alexander the Great*, ed. K.R. Moore, Leiden – Boston 2018, p. 427-433.

⁵⁹ Malalas, *Chronographia* VIII 1, p. 146; *Chronicon Paschale*, v. 1, p. 495; Georgios Monachos, *Chronicon*, v. 1, p. 25-26. On Malalas’ sources relating to the foundation of the Strategion and on medieval reception of this passage from Malalas, see C. Jouanno, *Byzantine Views on Alexander the Great*, in: *Brill’s Companion to the Reception of Alexander the Great*, ed. K.R. Moore, Leiden – Boston 2018, p. 464-465.

⁶⁰ Socrates Scholasticus, *Ecclesiastica historia* I 16, 1, cf. Socrate de Constantinople, *Histoire ecclésiastique*, v. 1, ed. P. Périchon – P. Maraval, SCh 477, Paris 2004, p. 172.

the *Patria*, the emperor had fetched from Chrysopolis an ancient statue of Alexander funded by his own soldiers and placed it on the Strategion⁶¹.

Although the patriographic texts written many centuries after the city's foundation are not fully reliable⁶², we have tangible evidence of Constantine's purposeful use of Hellenistic forms: rare tetradrachms with a profile portrait of the emperor in a diadem on the obverse and enthroned Tyche on the reverse. The coins issued in 330 to celebrate the dedication of Constantinople had no analogies in contemporary coinage but they evidently emulated (also in weight) the silver tetradrachms of the times of Alexander and his successors, who ascended Hellenistic thrones after the Diadochian wars⁶³. Modelled on the worshipped image of the founder of Alexandria, the statue of Constantine, towering above his forum, not only fitted perfectly into this Hellenistic narrative but also became its culmination, visible to

See also Berger, *Untersuchungen*, p. 408. For more on Strategion, its genesis and functions, see N. Westbrook, *Notes towards the Reconstruction of the Forum of the Strategion and Its related Roads in Early Byzantine Constantinople*, "Journal of the Australian Early Medieval Association" 9 (2013) p. 3-38, esp. p. 5-6.

⁶¹ *Scriptores originum* [II 59], p. 183. *Narrationes breves chronographicae*, § 69, p. 150 mentions a tripod with an image of Alexander displayed on the Strategion. Berger, *Untersuchungen*, 406-407 considers the legend implausible and suggests that the monument might have been identical with the equestrian statue of Constantine in the Strategion (cf. Cedrenus, *Compendium Historiarum*, v. 1, p. 563), although he is aware of the passage in *Short historical notes* referring to the inscription. Bardill, *Constantine*, p. 26, n. 64 believes that the story about the statue's origin might have been invented to remind of Constantine's warfare, for it was Chrysopolis where he routed Licinius' army.

⁶² On the credibility of early accounts of the foundation of Constantinople, see N. Lenski, *Constantine and the Tyche of Constantinople*, in: *Contested Monarchy: Integrating the Roman Empire in the Fourth Century AD*, ed. J. Wienand, Oxford 2015, p. 339-347; Berger, *Constantine's City*, p. 14-15.

⁶³ Ramskold, Lenski, *Constantinople's dedication*, p. 31-48, fig. 1-2, pl. 1-3; Lenski, *Constantine*, p. 330-338, fig. 16, 2-16, 3; 16, 5; 16, 7. Both scholars note that the imitation might have been intentional and point to the tetradrachms minted by Demetrius I Soter, who ruled Antioch in the years 162-150 B.C., as particularly similar to Constantine's coins. D. Woods, *Constantine's Tetradrachms*, "The Numismatic Chronicle" 176 (2016) p. 207-220 revises their findings, pointing out that the motif of Tyche on coins had no religious connotations, but was adopted from the Hellenistic era for the sake of political propaganda. At the same time, the scholar notes possible reasons for minting the tetradrachms other than the foundation of Constantinople: an antiquarian desire to preserve the imagery present on Hellenistic coins confiscated from temple treasuries and melted down on a massive scale, or an urge to refer to Alexander the Great in the emperor's eastern policy. Neither of them, however, seems entirely convincing. On early references to Alexander's coins in Constantine's monetary policy of the Trier period, see Bardill, *Constantine*, p. 11, fig. 3-4.

everyone and confirmative of the status of the emperor as the new Alexander – the founder of the capital bearing his name⁶⁴.

7. Conclusions

The identification of the figure on the Cammin cameo as the image of Constantine from his forum in Constantinople has some significant implications. Most of all, it changes our previous understanding of the imperial image as referring to pagan cults (Helios, Apollo) and allows us to interpret it mainly as a product of the political propaganda referring to the epitome of a perfect ruler which Alexander of Macedon was considered to be⁶⁵. Using the iconographic formula of Alexander-ktistes with a radiate nimbus around the head and other attributes – an aegis, a spear and perhaps the Palladion – adopted from an undoubtedly Hellenistic iconographic type⁶⁶, but

⁶⁴ The choice of Alexander as a pattern on which Constantine modelled his image of the founder of a new city obviously accords with the emperor's overall propaganda policy. Since a detailed discussion on this matter would go beyond the scope of this article, we will confine ourselves to presenting a few selected examples. In the military context, the two rulers were quite early compared to each other by an anonymous author of a panegyric speech delivered in Trier in 313 after the victory over Maxentius, see *XII Panegyrici Latini* XII 5, ed. R.A.B. Mynors, Oxford 1964, p. 274 (Constantine's good looks, too, are compared – by the author of a *Panegyric* from 310 – to those of a great king and Thesalian hero, undoubtedly Alexander, *XII Panegyrici Latini*, p. 198 [VI 17, 2]). Eusebius, *Vita Constantini*, I 7-8 compares the Constantine's military victories to those of Cyrus and Alexander, cf. Eusebius, *Über das Leben Constantins*, ed. F. Winkelmann, in: Eusebius, *Werke*, Die Griechischen Christlichen Schriftsteller 7/1, Berlin – New York 1991, p. 17-18. See also Bardill, *Constantine*, p. 19, 87, 144, 293, 359-360, 371-372, 397.

⁶⁵ The use of bronze, instead of marble or chryselephantine, which were typically applied to religious sculptures, indicates the honorific character of the statue, see Smith, *Hellenistic Royal Portraits*, p. 15-16, n. 6 and also p. 18, 25, 33, followed by Basset, *The urban image*, p. 203-204 and Yoncaci-Arslan, *Towards a new honorific column*, p. 125. Woods, *Constantine's Tetradrachms*, p. 214 emphasizes the propagandist, not religious, aspect of the Hellenizing images on Constantine's coins.

⁶⁶ The statue on which the image on the cameo was modelled – the type of Alexander in an aegis (Aigiochos) associated with the sculpture at his grave in Alexandria – has been preserved to our times in sixteen ancient copies of Egyptian provenience (cf. among others: bronzes at the British Museum, inv. no. 1922,0711.1 and at the Walters Museum in Baltimore, inv. no. 54.1075; marble statues at the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, inv. no. GR.69.1970; at the Louvre, inv. nos MND 947 and MND 1390; at the Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe in Hamburg, inv. no. 1963.74 and at the Musée des Beaux-Arts

over time already faded into oblivion as a model for the imperial statue lead to misunderstanding and misinterpretation⁶⁷. Both the medieval Greeks who wrote about the figure of the emperor on the porphyry column and modern researchers consider the presence of a radiate crown to be proof of the religious nature of the monument showing the emperor as Helios.

Malalas, George the Monk and Zonaras mention that the figure had been brought from Troy (incorrectly located by them in Phrygia), whereas

in Lyon; inv. no. E 501-27), see Stewart, *Faces of power*, p. 243-252, fig. 83; K. Parlasca, *Alexander Aigiochos: Das Kultbild des Stadtgründers von Alexandria in Ägypten*, "Städel-Jahrbuch, Neue Folge" 19 (2004) p. 340-462; C. Reinsberg, *Alexander-Porträts*, in: *Ägypten, Griechenland, Rom: Abwehr und Berührung*, ed. H. Beck – P.C. Bol – M. Bückling, Frankfurt 2005, p. 226-229, fig. 7 and 557-560 with catalogue notes: p. 126-129; A. Kühnen, *Die imitation Alexandri in der römischen Politik (1. Jh. v. Chr. bis 3. Jh. n. Chr.)*, Münster 2008, p. 19-20, 102-106; Trofimova, *Imitatio Alexandri*, p. 134, fig. 146-147. Unfortunately, none of the statues has survived to our times undamaged and the presence of the attributes – the spear and the Palladion – researchers can only presume from the hands' layout and the image on the lost gem from Cammin. On the cult of Alexander as the Egyptian god Ra and on the earliest representations of him as Helios (the metope from the Temple of Athena in Troy, ca. 300 B.C.), see B. Küllerich, *The Head Posture of Alexander the Great*, "Acta ad Archaeologiam et Artium Historiam Pertinentia" 29 (2017) p. 15-19. The question of *corona radiata* as an attribute of Hellenistic rulers, referring to Helios, and of its possible derivation from worshipped images of Alexander is discussed by Stewart, *Faces of power*, p. 197-198, 246-247: with reference to late copies of Alexander's image in the Aigiochos type, 334. E. Schwarzenberg, *The portraiture of Alexander*, in: *Alexandre le Grand*, ed. E. Badian – D.A.B. van Berchem – A.B. Bosworth et al, Entretiens sur l'Antiquité Classique 22, Genève 1976, p. 235, n. 5; M. Moreno Dorka, *Imitatio Alexandri? Ähnlichkeitsrelationen zwischen Götter-sowie Heroenbildern und Porträts Alexanders des Großen in der griechisch-römischen Antike*, Rahden 2019, p. 173; M.B. Comstock – C.C. Vermeule, *Sculpture in Stone: the Greek, Roman and Etruscan Collections of the Museum of Fine Arts*, Boston 1976, p. 82, fig. 137A give examples of sculptures of Alexander-Aigiochos, with holes in their heads – the traces of a radiate halo (added in the Hellenistic period).

⁶⁷ Paradoxically the reason of abandoning of Alexander's pattern, popular among Roman politicians and emperors, can be explained by its replacement by the new model of the ideal Christian ruler, based actually on Constantine. On imitations and emulations of Alexander in Rome from Pompey the Great through Octavian August till Trajan and Caracalla – aroused in context of their Eastern wars cf. e.g. Kühnen, *Die imitation Alexandri*, p. 55-172. The idea of Byzantine emperors as New Constantines in early stage of its development (Marcian with Pulcheria, Tiberius II) analyses M. Whitby, *Images for emperors in late antiquity: a search for New Constantine*, in: *New Constantines: The Rhythm of Imperial Renewal in Byzantium, 4th-13th Centuries, Papers from the Twenty-sixth Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies, St Andrews. 1992*, ed. P. Magdalino, Aldershot 1994, p. 83-84, 89-92.

Michael Glycas claims it had originated in Heliopolis in Phrygia⁶⁸. The information about transferring the sculpture from one of the ancient cities, particularly from Ilion, associated with Alexander, or Heliopolis, linked with the cult of the Sun, was probably intended to imply that an older, Hellenistic sculpture had been reused, and as such it is interpreted by some modern scholars⁶⁹. However, the emperor on the cameo was depicted with his hair cropped short above his brow, with smoothly shaven cheeks and with a protruding jaw – the physiognomic features known from the portraits of Constantine on his arch in Rome, from the colossal statue from the Basilica of Maxentius (now in the Capitoline Museum; inv. no. MC0757), from a bronze head which is probably part of the colossus from the House of Fausta, funded to commemorate the emperor's *vicennalia* (Capitoline Museum, inv. no. MC1072), as well as from the bronze head from Niš (National Museum in Belgrade, inv. no. NMB 79 / IV) and from the depictions on coins⁷⁰. Assuming that the gem cutter faithfully rendered the emperor's features observed in the statue in Constantinople, one should reject the hypothesis that Constantine had reused an older *spolium* for his monument: a statue of long-haired Alexander the Great in particular⁷¹.

⁶⁸ Malalas, *Chronographia* XII 7, p. 246; Georgios Monachos, *Chronicon*, v. 2, p. 500; Zonaras, *Compendium Historiarum* XIII 3/25, v. 3, p. 18 (who also notes that it was a figure of Apollo); Michaelis Glycae, *Annales* IV, ed. I. Bekker, *Corpus scriptorum historiae Byzantinae* 24, Bonn 1836, p. 464. *Chronicon Paschale*, v. 1, p. 528 mentions only that the bronze statue was brought from Phrygia, but does not name the exact place of its origin.

⁶⁹ Among those who support the hypothesis that Constantine used a *spolium* can be numbered Bergmann, *Der römische Sonnenkoloss*, p. 125; Bardill, *Constantine*, p. 112; Yoncaci-Arslan, *Registrars of Urban Movement*, p. 18 and Berger, *The Statues*, p. 9 (who however denies the credibility of Malalas' statement that the statue had been brought from Troy). T.D. Barnes, *Constantine and Eusebius*, Harvard 1981, p. 222 represents a more balanced approach in stating that Constantine had had a statue of Apollo reshaped into his image.

⁷⁰ On portraits of Constantine, see, for example, L'Orange, *Studien zur Geschichte*, p. 15-46; E.B. Harrison, *The Constantinian Portrait*, DOP 21 (1967) p. 82-83, 90-95, fig. 1-4, 34-47; N. Hannestad, *Die Porträtskulptur zur Zeit Konstantins des Grossen*, in: *Konstantin der Grosse: Ausstellungskatalog*, ed. A. Demandt – J. Engemann, Trier – Mainz 2007, p. C-CIV, fig. 2, 7-11, 13, pl. I.8.6, I.8.3; Bardill, *Constantine*, p. 203-217, fig. 13, 25-27, 81-82, 134-135, 149. D.H. Wright, *The True Face of Constantine the Great*, DOP 41 1987, p. 493-507, discusses the question of Constantine's image being deliberately fashioned to serve his propaganda policy. Rather modest tradition of Constantine descriptions in literary sources is analysed by Marina Tortelli in Calza, *Iconografia romana imperiale*, p. 33-51.

⁷¹ As observed by Bardill, *Constantine*, p. 19, Constantine did not in every respect emulate Alexander: one of the examples is the emperor's different short-cut hairstyle.

Attempts to explain more literally the unusual form of the statue appear in Middle Byzantine sources. Symeon Logothete attributes the authorship of the sculpture to Phidias, whereas the *Patria* mention a figure of Apollo – called Helios – which Constantine set on a column as an image of himself⁷². Finally, Anna Comnena writes that although the statue actually represented Apollo, the citizens of the capital called it Anthelios (ἀντῆλιος – facing the sun or reflecting the sunshine) and even after the emperor renamed it after himself, the name Anelios or Anthelios was still in general use⁷³. Pierre Gilles, a French envoy sent to Constantinople by King Francis I, combines both traditions when he speaks of an ancient statue of Apollo brought from Troy⁷⁴.

On the other hand, the iconographic form chosen by Constantine, misunderstood by posterity and misinterpreted as an image of the Christian emperor in the costume of a pagan deity, could have conduced to the invention of stories in which the column became an object of half Christian, half magical nature. The legend about the nails of the Holy Cross, which were reportedly set among the rays of the crown, seems to derive from the fifth-century account by Socrates Scholasticus, who makes mention of the relics of the Cross, sent from Jerusalem to Constantine by Helena and then placed inside the statue⁷⁵. Cedrenus and Rodius, in turn, inform us of twelve baskets hidden under the column, filled with the bread multiplied by Jesus in the desert⁷⁶. The *Patria* add to them the crosses on which the

On the Macedonian ruler's hairstyle (long flowing hair with a parting in the middle – ἀναστολή), see Stewart, *Faces of power*, p. 246; Moreno Dorca, *Imitatio*, p. 13, 21, 25, 35, 48-52, 62-64, 77-78, 81-82, 86, 89-90, 132-140, 147, fig. 14, 24, 38, 83, 86-89 et passim; Harrison, *The Constantinian Portrait*, p. 90-91, fig. 36-37 notes the presence of slightly longer hair in the later Constantinian coins from the eastern provinces of the Empire.

⁷² Symeon Logothete, *Chronicon* LXXXVIII 7, p. 109; *Scriptores originum* II 45, p. 174 (cf. also more detailed version preserved in *Cod. Kutlumus N 220 [= Athos 3293]* on fol. 172r, ed. S. Ivanov – V. Zharkaya, *The Unknown Version of "Patria Constantinoupo-leos"*, "Scrinium" 11 (2015) p. 221).

⁷³ See n. 38 above. For the etymology of the term 'Anthelios', see Berger, *Untersuchungen*, p. 299.

⁷⁴ Petrus Gyllius, *De Constantinopoleos topographia* III 3, p. 132.

⁷⁵ Socrates Scholasticus, *Ecclesiastica historia* I 17, 8-9, p. 178-180. On the relics of the Holy Nails, used in Constantine's radiate crown, see n. 43 above. Further in his narrative, Socrates mentions the nails from the Holy Cross, which – as he claims – Constantine used to make a horse's bit and fixed to his helmet. This mention may have inspired later authors to create a story about the Holy Nails placed in the radiate crown.

⁷⁶ Cedrenus, *Compendium Historiarum* v. 1, p. 564; Constantinus Rhodius, *Descriptio Urbis Constantinopolitanae* [v. 75-82], p. 22-24.

two thieves were crucified and a flacon with the oil which was used to anoint the body of Christ, and Nicephorus Callistus, active in the times of the Palaiologoi, adds the axe which Noah used to build his ark⁷⁷. In the accounts about the relics hidden under the monument's base, another legend seems to resound – the one about the Palladion stolen by Constantine from Rome and placed under the column⁷⁸.

The question of the statue's pagan connotations, raised by Byzantine authors, forces modern scholars to confront the task of explaining the reasons why Constantine, who had publicly been showing his devotion to Christianity since at least the year 326, would have had himself portrayed as Helios in such an exposed point of his new capital⁷⁹. Apart from attempts to justify the adoption of the form of a pagan deity in the image of the ruler by stressing the emperor's syncretic approach to religious issues⁸⁰, efforts have been made to Christianize the image itself by denying the presence of the solar attribute – the radiate nimbus⁸¹. Reconstruction based on the presumption that the statue on the column standing in the middle of the

⁷⁷ *Scriptores originum*, II 20, p. 161; Nicephorus Callistus, *Ecclesiastic History* VII 49, PG 145, 1325-1328. A detailed list has been provided by Karamouzi, *Das Forum*, p. 222-223, n. 19.

⁷⁸ The first to mention the Palladion hidden under the porphyry column in the Forum are Malalas, *Chronographia* XIII 7 and Procopius of Caesarea, *De bellis* VI 15, see Malalas, *Chronographia*, p. 246; Procopii Caesariensis, *Opera omnia*, v. 2, ed. J. Haury – G. Wirth, Leipzig 1963 p. 82. The information about the statuette hidden under the column is then repeated by *Chronicon Paschale*, v. 1, p. 528; *Scriptores originum* II 45, p. 174 (according to Kulumus manuscript it was brought from Troada) and Zonaras, *Compendium Historiarum* XIII 3/28, v. 3, p. 18, see also Basset, *The urban image*, p. 205-206 (with references to ancient sources on the statuette and with its reconstructed iconography). It cannot be ruled out that the legend was inspired by the figurine of Nike standing on the orb held by the statue of Constantine; its early replacement with *globus cruciger*, however, would make this hypothesis questionable.

⁷⁹ On Constantine's religious beliefs, according to his own declarations and official documents, see P. Maraval, *La religion de Constantin*, "Anuario de Historia de la Iglesia" 22 (2013) p. 17-36.

⁸⁰ See, for example, Bergmann, *Der römische Sonnenkoloss*, p. 121-122, 127-129.

⁸¹ Karayannopoulos, *Konstantin der Große*, p. 352, fig. 1, followed by Berger, *Untersuchungen*, p. 298, presumes that Constantine's head was crowned with a diadem (similar to that depicted on the statue from Niš), misinterpreted by later authors as *corona radiata*. Besides, Karayannopoulos notes that a spear in the statue's right hand was never associated with the iconography of Helios. Mango, *Constantine's Column*, p. 3-4 accepts the statue's identification as Constantine and notes that the first attempts to link it with Apollo or Helios can only be found in relatively late sources.

imperial forum invokes the visual formula of a ruler who is also a founder of a new city and whose myth was willingly used by the Roman emperors⁸², makes all these efforts pointless and allows us to read in the figure of Constantine a logical, coherent message associated with the propaganda of power and thus free of any straightforward references to ancient solar cults.

8. Epilogue

The Cammin cameo has been lost for over seventy-five years. Nonetheless, thanks to the photographs taken by Spuhrmann and Borchers as well as the plaster cast held at the University of Göttingen, its visual form has been preserved and we have thereby been offered a chance to look from a different angle at the problem of reconstructing the appearance and meaning of another lost work of art – in this instance irretrievably – namely the statue of Constantine on the porphyry column. It should be stressed that the value and significance of the sardonyx gem, as well as of the other lost items from the cathedral treasury, do not lie in the material from which it was made, but in the documentary aspect of the object, which is in all probability the only contemporary iconographic testimony offering a representation of the statue, which at one time towered over the city named after her founder. One can therefore hope that its rediscovery, when it finally occurs, will allow to study its stylistic features minutely and, in result, positively verify the hypotheses presented above.

Translation: Dariusz Wójtowicz

The Lost Cameo, the Vanished Statue of the Emperor and Constantine as a New Alexander

(summary)

The aim of this paper is to propose a reinterpretation of the meaning of the lost colossus of Constantine the Great from the Forum of his name in Constantinople, in the light of the iconography of the emperor on the cameo from the cathedral in the Pomeranian town of Cammin. Although the gem was lost during the last war, it is known to us thanks to archi-

⁸² Bergmann as early as 1997 pointed out that the statue may have functioned as an image of a ktistes (in this case the ktistes of Constantinople), commonly worshiped in the ancient world, but she did not link this fact with a specific iconographic type, cf. Bergmann, *Der römische Sonnenkoloss*, p. 125.

val photographs and the plaster cast housed at Göttingen University. On this basis, Gerda Bruns associated the jewel with the statue of Constantine on the porphyry column in the New Rome, and her identification has since been widely accepted by the scholarly milieu. In recent years one has been able to observe growing popularity of this interpretation among researchers, who however refrain in their studies from pointing to the consequences of such a reconstruction of the statue's form. The author of this paper points out that Constantine purposefully chose the iconographical type of Alexander-ktistes as a model for his own representation in order to allude to his great predecessor and the founder of a number of cities which bore his name. The iconography of the statue became then a part of the programme of the celebrations arranged on the occasion of the dedication of Constantinople, in which numerous references to Alexander played the key role. This new understanding of the colossus, placing its significance within the frames of political propaganda, better matches the actual historical circumstances and the ruler's attitude towards Christendom than traditional interpretations which recognised the statue as Helios or Apollo, and thus introduced an incoherence – difficult to explain – in Constantine's attitude towards the new religion. This cumbersome question, which baffled the inquisitive minds already in the Constantinople of the Byzantine era, will be considered unsubstantial if we correctly interpret the monument on the Forum solely in the political and propagandistic context.

Keywords: Cammin Cathedral; Constantine; Cameo; Constantinople; *Imitatio Alexandrii*

Zaginiona kamea, nieistniejący posąg cesarza i Konstantyn jako Nowy Aleksander

(streszczenie)

Celem niniejszego artykułu jest reinterpretacja znaczenia bezpowrotnie utraconego posągu Konstantyna z noszącego jego imię Forum w Konstantynopolu w świetle ikonografii cesarza na kamei z katedry w Kamieniu Pomorskim. Choć gemma ta zaginęła podczas ostatniej wojny, jej wygląd jest nam znany dzięki archiwalnym fotografiom i gipsowemu odlewowi przechowywanemu na Uniwersytecie w Getyndze. Na ich podstawie Gerda Bruns podjęła próbę połączenia wyobrażenia na klejnocie z rzeźbą cesarza na porfirowej kolumnie w Nowym Rzymie, a zaproponowana przez nią identyfikacja spotkała się z życzliwym przyjęciem w środowisku naukowym. W ostatnich latach można zaobserwować wzrastającą popularność owej interpretacji wśród badaczy, którzy jednak powstrzymują się w swoich pracach przed określeniem treści niesionych przez taką rekonstrukcję formy posągu. Autor artykułu stara się wykazać, że Konstantyn celowo sięgnął po ikonograficzny typ Aleksandra ktistesesa jako wzór dla własnego przedstawienia, czyniąc tym samym aluzję do swojego wielkiego poprzednika, a zarazem fundatora wielu miast noszących jego własne imię. Ikonografia posągu wpisała się tym samym w szerszy program uroczystości z okazji dedykacji Konstantynopola, w trakcie których rozliczne odniesienia do Aleksandra odgrywały istotną rolę. Proponowane nowe odczytanie przekazu niesionego przez posąg, lokalizujące jego znaczenie w ramach propagandy politycznej, znacznie lepiej pasuje do realiów epoki, a w szczególności do stosunku władcy wobec chrześcijaństwa, niż tradycyjne interpretacje wyobrażenia jako Heliosa lub Apollina, wprowadzające trudną do wytłumaczenia niespójność w postawie Konstantyna wobec nowej religii. Owa kłopotliwa kwestia, z którą borykały się już dociekliwe umysły średniowiecznych miesz-

kańców Konstantynopola, staje się nieistotna w momencie, gdy poprawnie zinterpretujemy pomnik na Forum wyłącznie w jego politycznym i propagandowym kontekście.

Słowa kluczowe: Katedra w Kamieniu Pomorskim; Konstantyn; kamea; Konstantynopol; *Imitatio Alexandrii*

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Figures



Figure 2. Emperor in an aegis, sardonyx cameo from the cathedral treasury in Cammin, photo taken in 1938 (from the archive of the National Museum in Szczecin, acc. No. 6386).



Figure 1. Gothic cross-pax with the ancient cameo (lost) from the cathedral treasury in Cammin, photo taken 18. 12. 1934 (from the archive of the National Museum in Szczecin, acc. No. 6697A).



Figure 4. Alexander-ktistes, bronze statuette, Alexandria, first century A.D., the British Museum (formerly in D. M. Fouquet collection), © The Trustees of the British Museum.



Figure 3. Plaster cast of the Cammin cameo, the Archaeological Institute of the University of Göttingen, photo by Stephan Eckardt, © Archäologisches Institut der Universität Göttingen.



Figure 5. Vignette of Constantinople on *Tabula Peutingeriana* (*Codex Vindobonensis* 324), first quarter of the thirteenth century (?), photo by the author.



Figure 6. Forum of Constantine depicted on the column of Arcadius, drawing by Lambert de Vos (?), ca. 1574, *Freshfield Album*, Cambridge, Trinity College Library, Ms. O. 17.2., photo: <https://mss-cat.trin.cam.ac.uk/Manuscript/O.17.2> (accessed: 15.07.2022).

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Cyryl Aleksandryjski, *Komentarz do Pierwszego Listu św. Pawła do Koryntian*, z języka greckiego, syryjskiego i armeńskiego przełożył, wstępem i objaśnieniami opatrzył Konrad F. Zawadzki, Edycja Świętego Pawła, Częstochowa 2022, ss. 261

Całość tomu składa się z dwóch części, szeroko rozwiniętego wprowadzenia (strony 5-64) i polskiego tłumaczenia *Komentarza* (strony 67-242). We wprowadzeniu w punkcie pierwszym autor prezentuje postać św. Cyryla Aleksandryjskiego (zm. 444), jednego z największych pisarzy starochrześcijańskich. Był człowiekiem o mocnym charakterze i wielkiej erudycji, co prawdopodobnie miało wpływ na jego bezwzględność w walce z wszelkimi wrogami chrześcijaństwa, zarówno Żydami, jak i poganami. Żył w czasie tzw. rozkwitu literatury patrystycznej, którą charakteryzowały wielkie dyskusje chrystologiczno-trynitarne, polemiki z manichejczykami, donatystami i pelagianami oraz rozwój historiografii i literatury monastycznej.

Cyryl należał do przedstawicieli ośrodka egipskiego, z centrum w Aleksandrii, obok Ariusza, Atanazego Wielkiego, Dydyma Ślepego, Teofila Aleksandryjskiego, Pachomiusza i Ewagriusza z Pontu. Aleksandryczyk odegrał ważną rolę w dyskusji na temat właściwego sformułowania teologicznego dogmatu chrystologicznego, który *de facto* otrzymał swój pełny wyraz na Soborze Chalcedońskim w 451 roku, już po śmierci Cyryla. Autor monografii wnikliwie omawia stosunki panujące między Wschodem a Zachodem w piątym wieku, na tle gorących polemik toczących się wtedy między szkołami teologicznymi. Dużo uwagi poświęca kontrowersji nestoriańskiej. To właśnie ona przyczyniła się do uznania Cyryla za jednego z największych teologów z zakresu mariologii. On to przyczynił się do przyjęcia tytułu *Theotokos* (Bogarodzica) dla Maryi. Pomogła mu w tym jego chrystologia, skoro bowiem przyjmuje się *communicatio idiomatum* (współorzekanie przymiotów) pozwalające na przypisywanie Bogu przymiotów ludzkich (Bóg cierpi), i odwrotnie, człowiekowi – przymiotów boskich (wszechmocny Jezus), to nie można, na wzór nestorian, ograniczać tytułów Maryi do *Christotokos* i *Anthropotokos*. Cyryl jasno wykazywał, że Chrystus nie jest człowiekiem goszczą-

cym w sobie Boga, ale jest w jednej osobie Bogiem-człowiekiem. Głosił unię hipostatyczną. Niestety, z winy słabych teologów aleksandryjskich żyjących po nim wymiennie terminów *physis* (natura) i *hypostasis* (osoba) przyczyniła się do powstania monofizytyzmu. Dla ścisłości należy dodać, że nie ma w tym winy samego Cyryla.

Aleksandryczyk systematycznie stosował metody teologiczne. Jako pierwszy połączył argumenty pochodzące z Pisma Świętego z ich żywym komentarzem w postaci wypowiedzi „Ojców” będących przedstawicielami prawowiernej tradycji.

Monografia dotyczy jednego z wielu dzieł egzegetycznych Aleksandryczyka, które, co należy zaznaczyć, powstały jeszcze przed kontrowersją nestoriańską. Cyryl umiejętnie syntetyzował egzegezę aleksandryjską i antiocheńską. W Liturgii Godzin są umieszczone fragmenty jego dzieł, co już pozwala spotykać się z jego cenną egzegezą, oczywiście nieopracowaną systematycznie, ale mimo to rzucającą na nią sporo światła.

W rozdziale drugim autor wnikliwie omawia *Komentarz* Cyryla Aleksandryjskiego do Pierwszego Listu św. Pawła do Koryntian. Ta część pracy jest najbardziej odkrywczą, autor bowiem bazuje na tekście przez siebie przetłumaczonym. Prezentuje on wiadomości, które dzięki jego badaniom stają się przystępne i dostępne dla szerszego grona czytelników. Widać rzeczowość i pasję autora piszącego z nieskrywanym entuzjazmem, czemu nie należy się absolutnie dziwić – to jest radość z odkrywania, radość tworzenia i dzielenia się owocami swojej pracy z innymi. Autor przedstawia rękopisy tegoż dzieła i dokładnie opisuje teksty zachowane w wersjach greckiej, syryjskiej i ormiańskiej. Następnie omawia nowożytnie wydania i tłumaczenia *Komentarza*. Podaje dokładne informacje dotyczące datowania wspomnianego dzieła, by później opisać jego gatunek literacki. Autor fachowo prezentuje jego adresatów tego, co, jak wiadomo, winno być uwzględnione przy omawianiu każdego dzieła literackiego. Do odbiorców pisma Cyryla, jak stwierdza autor, zaliczali się ludzie wykształceni, odznaczający się dobrym przygotowaniem ogólnym oraz znajomością teologii, niezależnie od ich przekonań i poglądów religijnych.

Autor z polotem omawia język oraz styl *Komentarza*, gdyż Cyryl był mistrzem słowa i stylu. Oprócz tego jego język był innowacyjny, bogaty w neologizmy, co zdradza nietuzinkowość Aleksandryczyka. Po tych omówieniach autor monografii prezentuje teologię zawartą w *Komentarzu* Cyryla. Ogniskuje się ona na następujących, dogłębnie przedstawionych zagadnieniach: Chrystus, Duch Święty, Trójca Święta, Kościół, małżeństwo i bezżeństwo, życie moralne, tematy dotyczące liturgii, uwagi doty-

czące duszpasterstwa, duchowość, polemika antyheretycka, polemika antypogańska, polemika antyżydowska oraz przedstawienie osoby Apostoła Pawła wyłaniającej się z tego dzieła.

Niezwykle cenne jest omówienie hermeneutyki i metody egzegetycznej w *Komentarzu* Cyryla. Autor czyni to jasno i dobitnie. Zaprezentowane podejście Cyryla w egzegezie w niczym nie odbiega od metody stosowanej przez Orygenesę, Jana Chryzostoma czy Augustyna, by wymienić tylko tych najbardziej znanych. Metoda Cyryla z powodzeniem może być stosowana i dzisiaj, zawiera się bowiem w tym, co zostało zdefiniowane w encyklice papieża Piusa XII *Divino afflante Spiritu* z 1943 roku, w instrukcji Komisji Biblijnej *De historica evangeliorum veritate* z 1964 roku, w konstytucji soborowej *Dei Verbum* z 1965 roku i wreszcie w dokumencie Papieskiej Komisji Biblijnej o interpretacji Biblii w Kościele wydanym w 1993 roku.

W dalszej części autor podaje przystępnie uwagi dotyczące polskiego tłumaczenia *Komentarza* i przechodzi do zaprezentowania jego 72 fragmentów. Wszystkie rozdziały zostały opatrzone przypisami, a na końcu przedstawiono bibliografię zawierającą wykaz źródeł oraz dostępną literaturę przedmiotu. Zwraca uwagę fakt, iż autor monografii sięgnął zasadniczo tylko do literatury obcojęzycznej, poza jednym wyjątkiem, książką F. Drączkowskiego *Patrologia* (a przecież są i inne podręczniki autorstwa np. S. Pieszczocho, J. Czuja, A. Żurka).

Układ monografii jest logiczny i przemyślany. Należy podkreślić, że autor dokonał dogłębnej analizy tekstu *Komentarza*, a wyciągnięte wnioski zostały dobrze uzasadnione. Szkoda, że nie ma indeksu tematycznego, co ułatwiłoby poruszanie się w tekście. Zwraca uwagę pominięcie prawie całkowitym milczeniem rodzimego dorobku naukowego, by wymienić najbardziej znane prace autorów, takich jak W. Kania¹, F. Drączkowski², A. Hołasek³, B.J. Huculak⁴,

¹ *Wykład wiary prawdziwej, W obronie tytułu Bogarodzicy, Homilie Efezkie*, PSP 18, Warszawa 1980.

² *Antynestoriańska teologia wcielenia Cyryla Aleksandryjskiego*, VoxP 38-39 (2000) s. 259-266.

³ *Kilka uwag o episkopalnej elekcji Cyryla Aleksandryjskiego na marginesie przekazu Sokratesa Scholastyka*, w: *Byzantina Europaea. Księga Jubileuszowa ofiarowana Profesorowi Waldemarowi Ceranowi*, red. M. Kokoszko – M.J. Leszka, Łódź 2007, s. 149-156 oraz *Rola pontyfikatu Cyryla w procesie umacniania potęgi patriarchy aleksandryjskiego w Kościele wczesnochrześcijańskim*, VoxP 58 (2012) s. 107-135.

⁴ *Pochodzenie Ducha Świętego także od Syna według Cyryla Aleksandryjskiego*, w: *In persona Christi. Księga na 80-lecie Księdza Profesora Czesława Bartnika*, red. K. Gózdź, Lublin 2009, s. 227-237.

P. Janiszewski⁵, B.J. Marciniak⁶, A. Paciorek⁷, E. Stanula⁸, L. Wasilkowski⁹, V. Zhukovkyy¹⁰, J.W. Żelazny¹¹.

Prezentowaną publikację należy uznać za cenny wkład w badania i popularyzację właściwej egzegezy biblijnej. Autor przybliżył osobę św. Cyryla Aleksandryjskiego, który odegrał doniosłą rolę w historii Kościoła. Do niedawna jeszcze pisano, że „Cyryl był wielkim świętym, ale jego metody nie były zawsze święte”. Taka niechlubna ocena nie ma pokrycia z prawdą historyczną. Autor monografii przybliżył tę wybitną postać, przedstawiając Cyryla jako wielkiego erudyty, teologa i świetnego egzegetę, znawcę tekstu natchnionego Pisma Świętego. Książka stanowi cenne źródło wiedzy nie tylko dla teologów, historyków i filozofów, ale także dla każdego współczesnego człowieka. Napisana zwięźle i jasno pozwala szybko zrozumieć zagadnienie, a więc może być impulsem do dalszych badań nad ogromną spuścizną literacką wybitnego Aleksandryczyka.

ks. Józef Pochwat MS – Kraków

⁵ *Świętość i korupcja: prezenty patriarchy Cyryla*, „Mówią Wieki” 4 (2000) s. 6-11.

⁶ *Koncepcja grzechu Adama u Cyryla Aleksandryjskiego*, VoxP 59 (2013) s. 269-293.

⁷ *Tajemnica Chrystusa w egzegezie św. Cyryla z Aleksandrii*, w: *Miłość jest z Boga. Studium ofiarowane Ks. Prof. J. Łachowi*, red. M. Wojciechowski, Warszawa 1997, s. 287-302.

⁸ *Wykład prawdziwej wiary, Wstęp*, w: *Cyryl Aleksandryjski, Wykład prawdziwej wiary, W obronie tytułu Bogarodzica, Homilie efeskie*, PSP 18, Warszawa 1980, s. 7-33. Zob. *Eseje patrystyczne*, Warszawa 2014, s. 431-454.

⁹ *Ojciec soboru Efeskiego św. Cyryl Aleksandryjski o boskim macierzyństwie NMP*, AK 28 (1931) s. 217-237.

¹⁰ *Antiochia i Aleksandria – czy zawsze polaryzacja? Problem transcendencji i immanencji Boga w teologii Cyryla Aleksandryjskiego i Jana Złotoustego*, VoxP 58 (2012) s. 91-106.

¹¹ *Nestoriańska wizja konfliktu Cyryla z Nestoriuszem na podstawie „Listu” 39 Tymoteusza I, patriarchy Seleucji-Ktezyfontu*, w: *Ortodoksja, herezja i schizma w Kościele starożytnym*, red. F. Drączkowski – J. Pałucki – P. Szczur – M. Szram – A. Wysocki – M. Ziółkowska, Lublin 2011, s. 169-179.

Karol Piotr Kulpa, *Tyconius' Theological Reception of 2 Thessalonians 2:3-12, History of Biblical Exegesis 4*, Mohr Siebeck, Tübingen 2022, ss. XIX + 319

Ks. Karol Piotr Kulpa, salezjanin, doktor teologii biblijnej (stopień ten uzyskał w 2021 roku na Uniwersytecie w Ratyźbonie), adiunkt Wydziału Teologicznego Papieskiego Uniwersytetu Salezjańskiego w Rzymie, w zainteresowaniach badawczych skupia się głównie na historycznej recepcji Nowego Testamentu i myśli teologicznej Tykoniusza.

Publikacja Kulpy poświęcona właśnie tym zagadnieniom, obok prezentacji głównego materiału rozprawy w czterech zasadniczych rozdziałach, zawiera spis treści, wykaz skrótów, wprowadzenie i zakończenie, bibliografię, trzy indeksy: odniesień do Starego i Nowego Testamentu oraz źródeł starożytnych, autorów współczesnych, a także indeks tematyczny (czy też przedmiotowy).

Apokaliptyczny charakter i złożony charakter treści 2Tes 2,3-12, mówiącej o paruzji Chrystusa, staje się dla Kulpy jednym z najlepszych kluczy do odczytania dzieł Tykoniusza, stosunkowo wciąż mało znanego wywodzącego się z donatystów teologa z IV wieku. Autor określa go jako „maverick theologian and exegete” (s. 2) i słusznie to czyni, Tykoniusz bowiem rzeczywiście okazuje się nieszablonywym i niezależnym egzegetą, który, co zauważa już wcześniej Anthony Thiselton, kształtował „przedrozumienie kolejnych pokoleń interpretatorów” Biblii oraz „utrzymał szczególnie wpływ na teologię i życie Kościoła” (s. 5; tł. własne). Kulpa pokazuje Tykoniusza oczami ceniącego tego egzegetę Augustyna (por. *Contra Epistolam Parmeniani, De doctrina christiana* czy *Epistula* 41, 93 i 249; zapewne – gdyby nie biskup Hippony – „heretyk” Tykoniusz zostałby zapomniany), a nade wszystko poprzez wnikliwą analizę dwóch zachowanych tekstów: *Liber regularum* i niedawno zrekonstruowanym tekście *Expositio Apocalypseos*.

Kulpa koncentruje się na egzegezie 2Tes 2,3-12, a zwłaszcza wersetów 2,3 i 2,7, dostrzegając, jak może to być istoty fragment dla Tykoniusza w interpretacji Pisma Świętego oraz odkrywaniu prawdy o Kościele, mistycznym Ciele Chrystusa, człowieku i sprawach ostatecznych. Autor podkreśla, jaki aspekt teologii Afrykańczyka szczególnie go interesuje: „obok wymiaru eklezjologicznego i eschatologicznego, wymiar antropologiczny, ponieważ, jak zobaczymy, to człowiek jest w centrum obecnego życia Kościoła i to człowiek w Kościele określa swoją eschatologiczną przyszłość.

[...] wymiar antropologiczno-kościelny zajmuje centralne i genialne miejsce w teologicznej aplikacji systematycznej Tykoniusza” (s. 8).

Badacz swoje analizy – po omówieniu w rozdziale I metodologii łączącej „historię recepcji” z metodą historyczno-krytyczną – przeprowadza aż na trzech (ale wzajemnie powiązanych) poziomach: kontekstu historycznego, tematów literackich i spostrzeżeń teologicznych, co odpowiada procesowi transformacyjnej, performatywnej i produktywnej asymilacji:

Proces transformacyjnej asymilacji Tykoniusza, czyli jego wewnętrzny dialog czy wręcz zmaganie się z tekstem i rzeczywistością, staje się punktem wyjścia dla jego działalności performatywnej – procesu, w którym odkrywa on w tekście biblijnym ścieżki jego interpretacji, a więc tworzenia swojego literackiego świata. Te dwa etapy hermeneutycznego rozeznania otwierają drogę do produktywnych rezultatów teologicznych, które z kolei mogą być przydatne do przemiany rzeczywistości. Siedem reguł Tykoniusza nie jest więc tylko regułami interpretacji Pisma Świętego, ale także regułami rozumienia, interpretacji i przemiany człowieka i jego egzystencji w świetle tekstów biblijnych (s. 31).

Kulpa słusznie zwraca uwagę, że *Liber regularum* jest najwcześniejszym systematycznym podręcznikiem interpretacji Pisma Świętego napisanym przez zachodniego teologa chrześcijańskiego. Tykoniusz wskazuje na podstawowe zadanie egzegety, mianowicie na odczytywanie tekstu biblijnego nie w sposób powierzchowny, lecz na różnych poziomach: od historycznego poprzez typologiczny aż po teologiczny i moralno-duchowy. Siedem Tykoniuszowych reguł – *De Domino et corpore eius*, *De Domini corpore bipertito*, *De promissis et lege*, *De specie et genere*, *De temporibus*, *De recapitulatione*, *De diabolo et eius corpore* – stanowi nie tylko hermeneutyczny przewodnik w interpretacji Pisma Świętego, ale są one tytułami, pod którymi teolog rozwijał własną wizję Kościoła, człowieka i doczesności (s. 33). Apokalipsa dla Tykoniusza „eklezjocentrysty” nie stanowiła tylko tekstu apokaliptycznego czy eschatologicznego, ale przede wszystkim mówiła o aktualnych wydarzeniach w Kościele w Afryce, czyli o ostrym konflikcie między chrześcijanami, którego był naocznym świadkiem, i prowadziła go do postrzegania historii jako walki między prawdziwym i fałszywym Kościołem czy też między dobrem i złem w Kościele.

Autor książki omawia także datację oraz stan zachowania tekstu dzieł Tykoniusza, tradycję rękopisów, wydania, próby rekonstrukcji komentarza do Janowej Apokalipsy (na podstawie późniejszych komentarzy łaciń-

skich, m.in. Bedy czy Beautsa z Liébany), a także wspomina, jaki wpływ miał ten teolog na innych egzegetów zachodnich.

W drugim rozdziale jest interesująco przypomniana historia Kościoła północno-afrykańskiego, zwłaszcza dzieje powstania wspólnoty donatystów, następnie eskalacji przemocy i prześladowań między dwiema wspólnotami chrześcijan, wśród których dorastał Tykoniusz, oraz utrwalenia rozdziału w Kościele północnoafrykańskim. Kulpa wyjaśnia, jak istotna jest dla Afrykańczyka jego osobista historia, czyli uczestniczenie w konflikcie dwóch grup chrześcijan – w tym, co „dzieje się teraz w Afryce”, jak pisze w szóstej regule w *Liber regularum*, nie podając jednak żadnych konkretnych okoliczności politycznych czy religijnych. Dla Tykoniusza wydarzenia w Afryce są paradygmatem dla całego Kościoła, o czym świadczy także jego komentarz do Apokalipsy, np. w swojej interpretacji Ap 6,8 mówi, że „to, co dzieje się w Afryce, jest figurą przyszłego objawienia się Antychrysta na całym świecie, który teraz pod wagą w wyciągniętej ręce dokonuje dzieł nieprawości”, i podobnie omawia Ap 9,5.10.14: „z Afryki bowiem będzie pokazane, co musi wycierpieć cały Kościół”. Taka „katolickość”, powszechność Kościoła była sprzeczna z donatystycznymi poglądami.

Kulpa trafnie zauważa już w pierwszym rozdziale, że według Tykoniusza teksty biblijne nie przepowiadają odległych wydarzeń, ale te biblijne wydarzenia dzieją się wewnątrz Kościoła, który nieustannie zмага się z *mysterium facinoris* (por. 2Tes 2,7a; podobnie jest z motywem *homo peccati* – por. 2Tes 2,3c – i motywem *discessio* – por. 2Tes 2,3b), co uwiadczenia przemoc, prześladowania, męczeństwo i nienawiść między dwiema grupami chrześcijan w IV wieku w Afryce. Takie przekonanie wpływa na sposób czytania Pisma Świętego przez Tykoniusza. Podkreśla on historyczną realizację prorocstwa i deeschatologizuje znaczenie fragmentów apokaliptycznych, przenosząc je w przeszłość, a ponadto interpretuje obecną historię za pomocą Biblii, a nie odwrotnie. Taką samą praktykę egzegetyczną będzie można znaleźć u większości autorów patrystycznych, także u Augustyna (por. s. 43-44).

Kulpa przypomina historię prześladowań chrześcijan w Afryce, niekiedy bardzo brutalnych. Część wyznawców Chrystusa bezkompromisowo wówczas trwała w wierze, ale część dokonywała apostazji. Po ustaniu prześladowań zrodził się problem, jak postąpić z tymi drugimi – *lapsi*. Tych, którzy chcieli wrócić, zazwyczaj ponownie przyjmowano do Kościoła. Jednak powstawały też różne ruchy rygorystyczne, jak donatyści, którzy kategorycznie odmawiali takiej możliwości powrotu. Jak podkreśla Kulpa, dla nich istniała tylko albo absolutna wierność, albo godne potępie-

nia bałwochwalstwo. Właśnie z takim punktem widzenia nie zgadzał się Tykoniusz, co widać w jego wykorzystaniu motywów z 2Tes 2,3-12 w celu przedstawienia własnej wizji Kościoła, który obejmuje zarówno świętych, jak i grzeszników.

Autor opracowania słusznie przypomina znaczenie wśród donatystów fanatycznej grupy zwanej *circumcelliones* (opisywanej przez Optata z Milewe i Augustyna), która stosowała przemoc fizyczną jako protest przeciwko chrześcijanom związanym z cesarstwem. Tykoniusz, żyjąc pośród takiej wrogości dwóch wspólnot w Kościele afrykańskim, gdzie Chrystusowe przykazanie miłości zdawało się być zapomniane lub ignorowane, opisuje tę straszną sytuację w kategoriach duchowych za pomocą wspomnianego już motywu *mysterium facinoris* z 2Tes 2,7a i stara się zrozumieć, dlaczego Bóg do niej dopuścił (por. s. 69), co zapewne było jedną z głównych przyczyn jego konfliktu z hierarchią własnego Kościoła – „Kościoła świętych”, donatystów, którzy usilnie dążyli – podobnie jak w III wieku Tertulian i Nowacjan – do oddzielenia się od tego, co nieświęte (por. s. 86).

Interesujący jest także podrozdział o „geograficznej” interpretacji *in meridie* (por. Pnp 1,7) przez donatystów, dla których szczególnie ważna była Numidia jako ziemia wyznaczona przez Pana na Jego Oblubienicę – na południu i zatem z dala od rzymskiej cywilizacji. Dlatego to właśnie tutaj mieściło się centrum donatyzmu. Kulpa także trafnie objaśnia trzy „narzędzia literackie”: *species* i *genus* (reguła IV), *synekdocha* (reguła V) i *recapitulationis sigillum* (reguła VI), które Tykoniuszowi pomagają odczytywać przekaz biblijny i objaśnić pojęcie *corpus bipertitum* (ciała dwudzielnego).

W trzecim rozdziale autor bada z perspektywy literackiej *Liber regularum* i *Expositio Apocalypseos* pod kątem nawiązań do 2Tes 2,3-12 i wyodrębnia kilka motywów, zwłaszcza wspomnianych już *homo peccati*, *mysterium facinoris* oraz *discessio*, które Tykoniusz interpretuje jako odpowiedź na ówczesny kontekst historyczny, a teologicznie łączy w temat obecności zła w Kościele, budując swoją koncepcję dwudzielnej natury Kościoła i człowieka.

Spostrzeżenia teologiczne, które wyłaniają się z recepcji 2Tes 2,3-12 przez Tykoniusza, oraz możliwości ich zastosowania są omówione przede wszystkim w czwartym rozdziale. Autor bada „dwudzielność”, która dla Tykoniusza stanowi zarówno istotny element natury Kościoła, jak i człowieka oraz czasowości.

Istotne w odczytywaniu dzieł Tykoniusza jest stwierdzenie, że ten *Augustinus ante Augustinum*, tak ceniony przez Augustyna, jednak inaczej niż

on realizował swoją „bytność” w Kościele, który obaj kochali i w którym widzieli Ciało Chrystusa, jednak czynili to na dwa różne sposoby:

Tykoniusz był poza Kościołem widzialnym, ale robił wszystko, co możliwe, aby egzekwować autentyczność wspólnoty chrześcijańskiej. Augustyn był wewnątrz Kościoła widzialnego, a poprzez swoją ortodoksję działał również dla dobra Kościoła. To, czego nie był w stanie osiągnąć Tykoniusz, zrobił Augustyn i odwrotnie. Lepiej więc byłoby wyjść poza istniejące różnice (także na poziomie nauczania) między tymi dwoma Afrykańczykami i docenić komplementarność ich dwóch różnych sposobów wyrażania miłości do ciała Chrystusa (s. 212).

Kulpa niezwykle trafnie przedstawia teologię Tykoniusza, który ani nie był fundamentalistą, ani relatywistą, ale proponował teologię mistyczną, czyli autentyczne życie chrześcijańskie spójne z wymaganiami Ducha Świętego oraz scalające to, co zostało podzielone. Takie rozumienie życia chrześcijańskiego ochroniło go przed popadnięciem w ekstremizm oraz motywowało do poszukiwania prawdziwego sensu życia chrześcijańskiego, a także do rozwijania pasterskiej gorliwości i poświęcenia swojego życia dla dobra Kościoła, Ciała Chrystusa (por. s. 214-215).

Kościół, tak jak każdy człowiek, jest dobry i zły i jest zarazem paradigmatycznym obrazem egzystencji człowieka wierzącego:

Człowiek Tykoniusza jest nie tylko dobry, piękny i prawdziwy, ale także zły, brzydki i fałszywy. Na tym właśnie polega tajemnica człowieka: na przeciwieństwach, które zbiegają się w tej samej ludzkiej substancji. Czytając afrykańskiego teologa, można szybko dojść do wniosku, że jego podstawową troską nie jest Kościół w ogóle, ale członek Kościoła i jego dwudzielna kondycja duchowa. Analogicznie, jak Kościół wewnętrznie podzielony stanowi całość, tak również człowiek w swojej całości doświadcza sprzecznych sił, takich jak na przykład jego godność i jego nędza. Człowiek ma jednak zdolność do bycia w ciągłym dynamicznym procesie przemiany w to, czym ma być w odwiecznej myśli Bożej, i jest wyposażony we wszystkie niezbędne środki, które prowadzą go do tego boskiego celu. [...] W myśli Tykoniusza człowiek ma zdolność do podążania w kierunku właściwej autentyczności, nawet jeśli istnieje ryzyko zagubienia się przez błędne decyzje. Natura ludzka jest więc dwudzielna, ale ukierunkowana na eschatologiczną jedność i ostateczną harmonię. [...] Tykoniusz, medytując nad tajemnicą ludzkiej natury, promuje dynamiczną antropologię, która pozwala każdemu człowiekowi

dojrzewać w prawdzie i ukazuje wiarę Boga w człowieka i jego decydujące czyny (s. 233-234).

Kulpa, jak sam podkreśla w zakończeniu zbierającym i podsumowującym wyniki badań, ukazuje w swojej rozprawie Tykoniusza jako pokornego poszukiwacza prawdy, uważnego na głos Ducha Świętego, rozkochanego w Piśmie Świętym i mającego odwagę, by mówić szczerze, nawet z narażeniem własnej pozycji w społeczności chrześcijańskiej, a może nawet i życia. Przy czym nie twierdził, że jako jedyny zna prawdę o Kościele, lecz wytrwale wskazywał na Pismo Święte ożywiane przez Ducha Świętego jako źródło owej prawdy i normę życia chrześcijańskiego (por. s. 270-271).

Monografia ta poprzez dogłębną analizę na poziomie historycznym, literackim i teologicznym zachowanych pism Tykoniusza nie tylko przypomina i przybliża te dzieła i zawartą w nich myśl tego teologa, ale porusza niezwykle ważne badawczo zagadnienia, zwłaszcza dla teologów i humanistów, w tym szczególnie dla patologów, historyków wczesnego Kościoła, biblistów, także literaturoznawców, jak również kwestie niezmiernie istotne dla życia współczesnego Kościoła.

Dominika Budzanowska-Weglenda, Warszawa – UKSW

Sprawozdania



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Posiedzenia naukowe Komisji Badań nad Antykiem Chrześcijańskim KUL w latach 2017-2022

**Scientific meetings of the Committee for Research on the Christian Antiquity of the
John Paul II Catholic University of Lublin in 2017-2022**

Naukowa i popularyzatorska działalność Komisji Badań nad Antykiem Chrześcijańskim KUL trwa już pół wieku. Z inicjatywy ówczesnych wykładowców Katolickiego Uniwersytetu Lubelskiego, mianowicie patrologa o. Jana Marii Szymusiaka SJ i filologa klasycznego Leokadii Małunowiczówny 13 maja 1969 roku powstał na KUL-u Międzywydziałowy Zakład Badań nad Antykiem Chrześcijańskim, prowadzący systematyczne badania nad problematyką starożytnego chrześcijaństwa w okresie od I do VIII wieku. W dniu 20 kwietnia 1972 roku natomiast przy Wydziale Historyczno-Filologicznym Towarzystwa Naukowego KUL zostało powołane do istnienia ciało doradcze Zakładu. Instytucja otrzymała nazwę Komisja Badań nad Antykiem Chrześcijańskim. Jest to ogólnopolskie stowarzyszenie naukowe badaczy zajmujących się różnymi aspektami starożytności chrześcijańskiej. W skład komisji wchodzi członkowie Towarzystwa Naukowego KUL oraz pracownicy naukowcy polskich wyższych uczelni. Głównym zadaniem Komisji jest cykliczne organizowanie otwartych interdyscyplinarnych spotkań dyskusyjnych połączonych z wykładem zaproszonego naukowca na wybrany temat związany ze starożytnością chrześcijańską. Szczególną zaletą posiedzeń Komisji jest możliwość konfrontacji poglądów przedstawicieli różnych dziedzin wiedzy związanych z szeroko rozumianą starożytnością: historii Kościoła, patrologii, historii sztuki, archeologii, filologii klasycznej. Pełnią one również rolę integrującą środowisko naukowe badaczy zajmujących się antykiem przedchrześcijańskim i wczesnochrześcijańskim.

W przeszłości przewodniczącymi Komisji byli prof. Leokadia Małunowiczówna (1972-1980), prof. Barbara Filarska (1980-1994), ks. prof. Henryk Wójtowicz (1994-2012). Przez wiele lat funkcję sekretarza Komisji pełnił ks. prof. Stanisław Longosz, główny organi-

zator comiesięcznych posiedzeń naukowych do 2013 roku. W latach 2013-2016 w skład zarządu Komisji wchodził prof. Bożena Iwaszkiewicz-Wronikowska – przewodnicząca, ks. prof. Marcin Wysocki – zastępca przewodniczącego i s. dr Marta Ziółkowska – sekretarz. Obecny zarząd, którego druga 3-letnia kadencja kończy się w grudniu 2022 roku, tworzą ks. prof. Mariusz Szram – przewodniczący, prof. Ewa Osek – zastępca przewodniczącego i dr Anna Głowa – sekretarz.

W okresie od marca 2020 do października 2021 roku nastąpiła przerwa w organizowaniu posiedzeń Komisji spowodowana przez ograniczenia związane z pandemią Covid-19. Wcześniej spotkania odbywały się stacjonarnie w gmachu głównym KUL-u, były otwarte dla wszystkich osób zainteresowanych i pełniły swoistą rolę dydaktyczną, propagując wiedzę o starożytnym chrześcijaństwie. Pojawiały się jednak postulaty z różnych ośrodków naukowych, aby spotkania transmitować lub nagrywać, ponieważ wielu naukowców nie miało możliwości przyjeżdżać do Lublina. Dlatego czas pandemii stał się w pewnym sensie „nieszczęściem błogosławionym”, ponieważ wymusił konieczność pracy zdalnej za pośrednictwem internetu, a zarazem otworzył możliwość łączenia się ludzi z odległych miejsc. Od jesieni 2021 roku posiedzenia Komisji zostały wznowione w formule „on-line” i mimo mankamentów związanych z niemożnością osobistego spotkania się prelegenta ze słuchaczami spotkały się z życzliwym przyjęciem i zainteresowaniem środowiska polskich starożytników, którzy bez konieczności pokonywania dużych odległości mogą w nich uczestniczyć i wymieniać myśli podczas fachowej dyskusji.

Podczas ostatnich 6 lat, czyli w okresie kierowania Komisją przez obecny zarząd, zorganizowano 37 posiedzeń naukowych z udziałem prelegentów reprezentujących różne ośrodki zagraniczne (Kopenhaga – 1) i polskie (Lublin – 18, Warszawa – 10, Łódź – 4, Poznań – 2, Kraków – 1, Bielsko-Biała – 1). Tematyka referatów dotyczyła takich zagadnień, jak historia Kościoła w starożytności, relacja między wczesnym chrześcijaństwem i starożytną kulturą grecko-rzymską, prawodawstwo, literatura i teologia patrystyczna, sztuka starożytna i wczesnochrześcijańska, wczesnośredniowieczna kartografia. Bogaty zakres poruszanej problematyki dokumentuje i unaocznia zamieszczony poniżej wykaz wszystkich prelegentów i tematów podjętych przez nich podczas posiedzeń Komisji w latach 2017-2022.

2017

- 19 stycznia: ks. prof. dr hab. Mariusz Szram (KUL) – „Egzegeza literalna Starego Testamentu jako źródło herezji. Stanowisko Filastriusza z Brescii”;
- 23 lutego: ks. prof. dr hab. Marek Starowieyski (UW) – „Chrześcijaństwo na jedwabnym szlaku”;
- 16 marca: mgr Adam Maiński (UMCS, Lublin) – „Logistyka podróży Apostołów”;
- 27 kwietnia: dr Henryk Kowalski (UMCS, Lublin) – „Religia i polityka. Tertulian wobec rzymskiej pietas”;
- 25 maja: mgr Tomasz Górecki (Centrum Archeologii Śródziemnomorskiej UW) – „Wybrane aspekty życia codziennego pustelników egipskich na podstawie wykopalisk w eremie MMA 1152 w Gurna (Luksor)”;
- 23 czerwca: dr Zofia Brzozowska (Uniwersytet Łódzki) – „Chrześcijańska muza? Najstarsze wizerunki żeńskiej personifikacji Mądrości Bożej – między sztuką antyczną a ikonografią Kościoła wschodniego”;
- 19 października – ks. prof. dr hab. Ryszard Knapieński (KUL) – „Lumen de lumine – alegoryczne wypowiedzi biblijne o symbolice światła i ich obrazowanie w sztuce”;
- 16 listopada – prof. dr hab. Sławomir Bralewski (Uniwersytet Łódzki) – „Wybór boskich patronów przez Konstantyna Wielkiego”;
- 14 grudnia: prof. dr hab. Piotr Kochanek (KUL) – „Krzyż w przestrzeni geometrycznej i geograficznej”.

2018

- 18 stycznia: dr Lesław Łeszyk (KUL) – „(Nie)znany Żywot Konstancy i Heleny w zbiorach Muzeum Książąt Czartoryskich w Krakowie”;
- 22 lutego: ks. prof. dr hab. Marek Starowieyski (UW) – „Ostatnie starcie z pogaństwem. Spór o posąg Wiktorii”;
- 15 marca: ks. dr Dariusz Piasecki (KUL) – „Anastazego Synaity wskazania pastoralne (VII wiek)”;
- 19 kwietnia: ks. prof. dr hab. Józef Naumowicz (UKSW, Warszawa) – „Osobliwości obchodów Wielkanocy w Kościele starożytnym i bizantyńskim oraz w Kościołach orientalnych”;

- 17 maja: ks. dr hab. Janusz Lewandowicz (Łódź) – „Cesarские правodawstwo zakonne do czasów Grzegorza Wielkiego”;
- 14 czerwca: dr Daniel Próchniak (KUL) – „O bazylice w Ezeruk i o tym, jak łatwo trafić na manowce”;
- 18 października: dr Henryk Kowalski (UMCS, Lublin) – „Bellum impium w starożytnym Rzymie”;
- 15 listopada: prof. dr. hab. Piotr Kochanek (KUL) – „Winiety klasztoru św. Katarzyny na Synaju na mapach średniowiecznych i wczesnonowożytnych”;
- 13 grudnia: ks. prof. dr. hab. Józef Naumowicz (UKSW, Warszawa) – „Św. Mikołaj z Myry - rozwój kultu i tradycji od IV w. do czasów nowożytnych”.

2019

- 17 stycznia: dr Anna Zimnowodzka (Poznań) – „Kult św. Fruktuoza, Auguriusza i Eulogiusza w Tarragonie (IV-VIII w.)”;
- 21 lutego: ks. prof. dr. hab. Marek Starowieyski (UW) – „Po co nam wiedza o Kościele starożytnym?”;
- 14 marca: ks. dr hab. Janusz Lewandowicz (Łódź) – „Celibat w pierwotnym Kościele – mit czy rzeczywistość?”;
- 11 kwietnia: dr Mateusz Byra (UMCS, Lublin) – „Wrogowie Rzymu? Żydzi i chrześcijanie wobec wojny partyjskiej Trajana”;
- 16 maja: dr Daniel Próchniak (KUL) – „Eczmiadzyn. Do jakiego kościoła chodził Tirydates Wielki?”;
- 13 czerwca: ks. dr. hab. Krzysztof Sordyl (Bielsko-Biała) – „Priscylian – heretyk czy ofiara kościelnej nietolerancji?”;
- 17 października: prof. dr hab. Bożena Iwaszkiewicz-Wronikowska (KUL) – „Czy to chrześcijanie zniszczyli rzeźbę starożytną?”;
- 21 listopada: prof. dr. hab. Marek Wilczyński (Uniwersytet Pedagogiczny im. Komisji Edukacji Narodowej, Kraków) – „Kręta droga galacyjskich Swebów do Kościoła katolickiego”;
- 12 grudnia: prof. dr. hab. Piotr Kochanek (KUL) – „Pharus w pismach późnoantycznych i wczesnośredniowiecznych łacińskich autorów chrześcijańskich”.

2020

- 16 stycznia: dr hab. Ireneusz Łuć (UMCS, Lublin) – „Rzymski korpus oficerski w świetle Zarysu wiedzy wojskowej Wegecjusza”;
- 27 lutego: ks. prof. dr hab. Marek Starowieyski (UW) – „Chrystus islamu – apokryficzna «Ewangelia Barnaby»”.

2021

- 28 października: prof. dr hab. Piotr Kochanek (KUL) – „Ruś Moskiewska jako ziemia hyperborejska w Byzantina historia Nicefora Gregorasa”;
- 18 listopada: ks. prof. dr hab. Piotr Szczur (KUL) – „Kradzież jako grzech w nauczaniu Ojców Kościoła”;
- 16 grudnia: mgr Aleksandra Chołuj (Instytut Archeologii i Etnologii PAN) – „Groby i obrządki pogrzebowe na terenie Hiszpanii od IV do VII wieku”.

2022

- 20 stycznia: dr Katarzyna Maria Dźwigała (Instytut Historii UKSW, Warszawa) – Kobieta w kontakionach Romana Melodosa na podstawie literackich kreacji postaci biblijnych”;
- 24 lutego: ks. prof. dr hab. Marek Starowieyski (UW) – „«Mężowie znakomici» łacińscy i syryjscy”;
- 17 marca: ks. prof. dr hab. Bogdan Czyżewski (UAM, Poznań) – Eklezjalno-mariologiczna interpretacja Ap 12,1-6 w pismach wczesnochrześcijańskich”;
- 28 kwietnia: dr hab. Paweł Madejski (UMCS, Lublin) – „Prawo czy bezprawie: o zemście w społeczeństwie republikańskiego Rzymu”;
- 23 czerwca: dr Maria Mossakowska-Gauber (Uniwersytet Kopenhański, Instytut SAXO) – „Strój mnichów w późnoantycznym Egipcie”.

Kolejne posiedzenia Komisji Badań nad Antykiem Chrześcijańskim KUL w roku akademickim 2022-2023 planowane są nadal w trybie zdalnym. W grudniu 2022 roku odbędą się wybory nowego zarządu. Z pewnością będzie on kontynuował ideę spotkań, które wpisały się już na stałe

w życie kulturalne Lublina i stanowią cenione przez polskich badaczy starożytności wczesnochrześcijańskiej forum wymiany myśli naukowej.

Ks. Piotr Wilk, Lublin – KUL

**Posiedzenia Komisji Bizantynologicznej Polskiego Towarzystwa
Historycznego w roku akademickim 2021/2022**
**Meetings of the Byzantine Commission of the Polish Historical Society
in the Academic Year 2021/2022**

Zgodnie z wieloletnią tradycją także i w bieżącym roku akademickim zostały zorganizowane dwa posiedzenia KB PTH. W sobotę 27 listopada 2021 roku odbyło się pierwsze w roku akademickim 2021/2022 spotkanie KB PTH. Przeprowadzono je w tzw. trybie zdalnym za pośrednictwem programu MS Teams. Rozpoczęło się ono zgodnie z planem o 11:30. Moderatorem zebrania był przewodniczący KB PTH, prof. dr hab. Maciej Kokoszko (UŁ). Rozpoczął on posiedzenie Komisji od powitania uczestników i przedstawienia porządku obrad (11:30-11:37). Następnie oddał głos dr Bognie Kosmulskiej (UW), która przybliżyła obecnym postać niedawno zmarłej dr Iriny Tatarowej (23 I 1964-30 X 2021), bizantynistki rosyjskiego pochodzenia, pracującej na Wydziale „Artes Liberales” UW. Podstawą kommemoratywnego wystąpienia dr B. Kosmulskiej (11:37-11:48) był tekst wspomnieniowy pióra Witalija Michalczuka, kustosa Muzeum Ikon w Warszawie. Kolejnym punktem części wstępnej była prezentacja najnowszych polskich publikacji z zakresu szeroko rozumianej bizantynistyki (11:50-12:05).

Na drugi punkt programu złożyły się dwa referaty. Autorem pierwszego z nich był dr hab. Bartosz Awianowicz, prof. UMK. Tytuł jego wystąpienia brzmiał: „Rzymskie mennictwo prowincjonalne jako możliwa inspiracja brązowych nominałów wczesnego Bizancjum” (12:06-12:50). Po wystąpieniu miała miejsce dyskusja (12:50-13:14), w której udział wzięli (w kolejności zabierania głosu) prof. M. Kokoszko, dr Andrzej Kompa (UŁ i sekretarz KB PTH), dr Magdalena Łaptaś (UKSW) i prof. dr hab. Adam Łajtar (UW). Z kolei autorem drugiej prelekcji był prof. UJ, dr hab. Michał Bzikowski. Przedmiotem jego wykładu było „Bizancjum oczami

Greków – Nikosa Kazantzakisa wędrowki po Peloponezie” (13:15-13:30 i 13:40-14:05). Nieplanowana przerwa w trakcie tego wystąpienia została spowodowana internetowymi problemami technicznymi, które jednak udało się szczęśliwie przezwyciężyć. Następnie odbyła się dyskusja (14:05-14:48). Jej uczestnikami byli kolejno dr Sławomir Skrzyniarz (UJ), dr Piotr Ł. Grotowski (UPJPII w Krakowie), dr B. Kosmulska (UW), dr hab. Anna Kotłowska (prof. UAM), dr hab. Małgorzata Smorąg-Różycka (prof. UJ), dr Grzegorz Rostkowski (badacz niezależny) oraz dr A. Kompa (UŁ).

Kolejnym, trzecim punktem programu było przyjęcie nowych członków KB PTH (14:48-15:15). W skład Komisji weszło trzech nowych badaczy historii Bizancjum: dr Magdalena Garnczarska (UJ), której naukową sylwetkę przedstawił dr S. Skrzyniarz, dr hab. Agnieszka Groniek (prof. UJ) rekomendowana przez dr hab. M. Smorąg-Różycką (prof. UJ) oraz ks. dr Przemysław Szewczyk, wykładowca Wyższego Seminarium Duchownego w Łodzi, którego dorobek omówił prof. M. Kokoszko. W głosowaniu jawnym wszystkie kandydatury zostały przyjęte jednogłośnie.

Następnie (15:15-15:17) dr A. Kompa przedstawił krótko aktualne informacje na temat XXIV Międzynarodowego Kongresu Studiów Bizantyńskich, który został zaplanowany na sierpień 2022 roku. Obrady mają toczyć się w dwóch miastach: w Wenecji i w Padwie. Ostatnim punktem spotkania KB PTH były tzw. „pozostałe sprawy organizacyjne” (15:17-15:40). Głównym elementem tego segmentu harmonogramu posiedzenia Komisji była tzw. ministerialna lista czasopism. Dyskusję na ten temat rozpoczął dr A. Kompa. Mówca podkreślił brak znowelizowanej listy, na którą środowisko czeka już od dłuższego czasu. Omówił również potrzebę tzw. dopunktowania wielu czasopism oraz konieczność dodania do listy około 250 tytułów zagranicznych, których dziś brakuje w przedmiotowej wykazie. Dr A. Kompa zaproponował wystosowanie przez Komisję pisemnego apelu do MNiSW w sprawie nowej listy czasopism punktowanych. Stanowisko to poparł w krótkim wystąpieniu prof. dr hab. Kazimierz Ilski (UAM i wiceprzewodniczący KB PTH), wspominając jednocześnie o podobnych działaniach podjętych przez Komitet Nauk o Kulturze Antycznej PAN i Komisję Historii Starożytnej PTH. Następnie odbyło się głosowanie jawne, w którym uczestnicy spotkania jednogłośnie poparli ideę wystosowania wspomnianego wyżej apelu. Kolejnym tematem, który podniósł prof. M. Kokoszko, był tzw. współczynnik kosztochłonności, który w myśl tzw. reformy Gowina stosuje MNiSW przy finansowaniu poszczególnych dyscyplin naukowych. Współczynnik ten jest wybitnie niekorzystny dla dyscypliny historia. Mówca poprosił członków Komisji o nadsy-

łanie pisemnych opinii w tej materii. Głos w tej sprawie zabrał również dr hab. Aleksander Paroń (prof. Instytutu Archeologii i Etnologii PAN we Wrocławiu), postulując całkowitą likwidację współczynnika kosztochłonności. Na koniec głos zabrał powtórnie dr A. Kompa, podkreślając bardzo niekorzystny wpływ tego współczynnika na humanistykę jako taką. Jednocześnie zaznaczył on, że *de facto* chodzi o dwa elementy: kosztochłonność badawczą i kosztochłonność dydaktyczną.

Ponieważ nikt nie zgłosił żadnego „wolnego wniosku”, prof. M. Kokoszko krótko podsumował całość obrad oraz podziękował za wirtualne uczestnictwo w tym spotkaniu (15:40-15:42). W posiedzeniu wzięły udział 44 osoby, choć nie wszystkie były obecne przez cały czas jego trwania. Środowisko KUL-u reprezentowali ks. dr hab. Piotr Szczur (prof. KUL), ks. prof. dr hab. Mariusz Szram oraz niżej podpisany.

W sobotę 11 czerwca 2022 roku odbyło się drugie spotkanie KB PTH. Miało ono miejsce w gościnnych murach Uniwersytetu im. Adama Mickiewicza w Poznaniu (Collegium Historicum, ul. Uniwersytetu Poznańskiego 7, Sala Dziekańska nr 1.63). Nad organizacją posiedzenia Komisji czuwali badacze Pracowni Historii Bizancjum UAM, którą kieruje prof. K. Ilski. Spotkanie, którego początek zaplanowano na godzinę 11:30, rozpoczęło się faktycznie o 11:40. W ramach części wstępnej (11:40-11:50) prof. M. Kokoszko powitał wszystkich przybyłych do Poznania, przedstawił porządek obrad oraz omówił najnowsze polskie publikacje z zakresu bizantynistyki. Następnie rozpoczęła się część merytoryczna posiedzenia Komisji, w ramach której wygłoszono w języku angielskim dwa referaty oraz komunikat (11:50-13:45). Autorem pierwszego wykładu był prof. Juan Signes Codoñer, wieloletni pracownik (1996-2020) Universidad de Valladolid (UVA), a od 2020 profesor Universidad Complutense de Madrid (UCM). Jego prelekcja nosiła tytuł „Rewriting the Annals of the Macedonian Dynasty: A Teamwork?” (11:50-12:48). Po wykładzie odbywał się krótka dyskusja (12:48-12:58), w której głos zabrali kolejno prof. dr hab. Jan Prostko-Prostyński (UAM), dr A. Kompa (UŁ) i prof. M. Kokoszko (UŁ). Drugie wystąpienie było dziełem dwóch autorów z Uniwersytetu Łódzkiego. Byli nimi prof. M. Kokoszko i dr Zofia Rzeźnicka. Temat ich referatu brzmiał: „Beef in the Byzantine Period: Dietetic Advice and Dietary Reality” (13:00-13:25). Dopełnieniem tej prelekcji była krótka dyskusja (13:25-13:36), której jedynym uczestnikiem był prof. J. Prostko-Prostyński. Ostatnim elementem segmentu merytorycznego był komunikat, który przedstawił wykładowca Uniwersytetu w Białymstoku, dr hab. Rafał Kosiński, prof. UwB. Omówił on (również po angielsku) „Projekt wydania bi-

lingwicznego ‘*Historia Tripartita*’ Teodora Lektora” (13:36-13:45). W tym przypadku dyskusji nie było. Należy dodać, że wszystkie poprzednie dyskusje toczyły się w języku angielskim.

Po tym wystąpieniu prof. M. Kokoszko zarządził przerwę (13:45-14:05). Po wznowieniu posiedzenia rozpoczęła się część organizacyjna (14:05-14:45). Część tę zdominowała kwestia XXIV Międzynarodowego Kongresu Studiów Bizantyńskich, który będzie trwał od poniedziałku (22 sierpnia 2022) do soboty (27 sierpnia 2022) w Wenecji i w Padwie. Problemy techniczne i organizacyjne związane z tym wydarzeniem zreferował obszernie sekretarz Komisji, czyli dr A. Kompa. Zastanawiano się również nad formą spotkań KB PTH. Rozpatrywano trzy możliwe warianty: tradycyjny model realnych kontaktów międzyludzkich, model zdalny za pośrednictwem programu MS Teams oraz model hybrydowy. Wydaje się, że wagę decydującą miał w tym względzie autorytet prof. J. Prostko-Prostyńskiego, który opowiedział się zdecydowanie za tradycyjną formą spotkań na żywo. Jako miejsce następnego posiedzenia zaproponowano wstępnie Łódź. Poruszono także, podobnie jak miało to miejsce w czasie spotkania listopadowego, zagadnienie tzw. dopunktowania niektórych czasopism zagranicznych.

W drugim, czerwcowym posiedzeniu KB PTH wzięło udział 25 osób. Najwięcej badaczy, bo aż 6 osób, reprezentowało Uniwersytet Łódzki. Z kolei ekipa gospodarzy, czyli Uniwersytet im. Adama Mickiewicza, liczyła 5 osób. Po dwóch przedstawicieli miały Uniwersytet Jagielloński, Uniwersytet Warszawski i Uniwersytet w Białymstoku. Jednoosobowo natomiast były reprezentowane następujące ośrodki: Akademia Katolicka w Warszawie, Katolicki Uniwersytet Lubelski Jana Pawła II (przez niżej podpisanego), Universidad Complutense de Madrid, Uniwersytet Gdański, Uniwersytet Mikołaja Kopernika w Toruniu, Uniwersytet Wrocławski, Uniwersytet Zielonogórski. Był również obecny dr Grzegorz B. Rostkowski (badacz niezależny). Generalnie do Poznania przybyli bizantyniści z 11 ośrodków polskich oraz prof. Juan Signes Codoñer z UCM.

Należy podkreślić gościnność gospodarzy, którzy przed posiedzeniem podjęli przybyłych obfitym śniadaniem we foyer Collegium Historicum oraz zapewnili kanapki i napoje w czasie wspomnianej wyżej przerwy (13:45-14:05). Za naddatek serca natomiast należy uznać serdeczną atmosferę, jaką stworzyli poznańscy badacze historii Bizancjum.

**Pamięć. Sposoby i cel pamiętania w chrześcijaństwie antycznym
(XLVIII Spotkanie Badaczy Antyku Chrześcijańskiego, Instytut
Patrystyczny Augustynianum, Rzym, 5-7.05.2022)**

**Memory. Forms and aim of remembering in the Christian antiquity (48th Meeting
of the Researchers of the Christian Antiquity, Rome, Italy, 5-7.05.2022)**

Po dwuletniej przerwie spowodowanej ograniczeniami związanymi z pandemią COVID, podczas których organizatorzy świadomie nie zdecydowali się na formułę hybrydową, podkreślając, że ma to być rzeczywiste spotkanie badaczy antyku chrześcijańskiego, w dniach 5-7 maja 2022 roku odbyła się już 48. edycja tego ważnego wydarzenia patrystycznego. Zaproponowany przez organizatorów temat *LA MEMORIA. Forme e finalità del ricordare nel cristianesimo antico* pierwotnie zaplanowany był na rok 2020, jednak ze względu na pandemię został zrealizowany dopiero właśnie w 2022 roku. Jej wpływ zresztą można było zauważyć podczas całej konferencji: znacznie mniejsza liczba słuchaczy, wszechobecne maseczki – to niektóre z przejawów czasu pandemii. Nie przeszkodziło to jednak w odkrywaniu tajemnic pamięci i jej rozumienia w starożytności chrześcijańskiej, szczególnie, że wydaje się to temat bardzo aktualny.

Konferencję otworzył rektor *Augustynianum* ks. Giuseppe Caruso OSA, który wprowadził w tematykę sympozjum i poprowadził sesję otwierającą, w której znalazły się następujące wystąpienia: Laury Faranda (Rzym), „Mnemosyne. Dal tempo mitico alla conquista della memoria storica nella Grecia antica”, Cateriny Moro (Rzym), „Una memoria polifonica: riflessioni sulle scritture ebraiche” oraz Enrico Moro (Padwa), „Memoria, dimenticanza e oblio nelle *Confessiones* di Agostino”. Następnie, jak zawsze podczas Incontro, rozpoczęły się dwie równoległe sesje. W sesji A poświęconej *Monastycyzmowi* głos zabrali Francesco Aleo (Katania), „Basilio di Cesarea e lo Ps. Macario Egizio fra euché, mneme e diáthesis. Contatti, differenze, rapporti”, Matteo Poiani (Strazburg), „Memoria Dei in Isacco di Ninive”, w sesji B zaś zatytułowanej: *Egzegeza* swoje przedłożenia zaprezentowali Jerónimo Leal (Rzym), „*Rovesciamenti della memoria ed esegesi dei Padri a proposito dell’episodio di Naaman il Siro (2Re 5, 14)*”, Maria Rosaria Petringa (Katania), „Christi memor, immemor aevi. La memoria di Cristo nei poeti cristiani antichi”, Giulia Piccaluga (Rzym), „Gesù tra scrittura e memoria”.

W części popołudniowej, która odbyła się po obiedzie serwowanym, co było nowością na tegorocznym Incontro, w budynku *Augustynianum*

przez wszystkie dni konferencji (w poprzednich latach takiego posiłku nie było, a organizatorzy zapraszali wszystkich uczestników na jednorazową uroczystą kolację do ogrodów Instytutu, skąd wieczorem rozciągał się niezwykły widok na oświetloną kopułę bazyliki św. Piotra, czego z pewnością będzie brakowało) odbyły się również dwie równoległe sesje, które zawierały w sobie po dwie części tematyczne. W ramach popołudniowej sesji A pierwszego dnia Incontro w podsesji zatytułowanej *Alternatywy* głos zabrali Rossana Barcellona (Katania), „La natività tra mito storia e memoria: il *Protoevangelium Jacobi* e il *Liber de nativitate Salvatoris*”, Francesco Berno (Rzym), „Memoria apocrifia: dispositivi di continuità biografica con Gesù nei dualismi eretici”, Andrea Annese (Rzym), „*Mentre tutti insieme ricordavano e disponevano in libri...* (NHC I,2). Rappresentazioni della trasmissione scritta della memoria in alcuni testi cristiani del II secolo”, Maurizio Girolami (Pordenone), „Selezionare la memoria: il caso di Marcione”, Pietro Podolak (Arezzo), „Tertulliano e il Montanismo: la memoria del movimento come fattore di identità”, Paola Marone (Rzym), „Il *Liber genealogus* e il donatismo”, w części zaś poświęconej *Prawu* referaty wygłosili Elio Dovere (Neapol), „Memoria auctorum e continuità ordinamentale: la novella 1 di Teodosio”, Raúl Villegas Marín (Barcelona), „La construcción de la memoria histórica de la controversia pelagiana en las colecciones canónicas tardoantiguas”, László Odobina (Madryd), „Formas y objetivos de la memoria alterada o distorsionada en el tema de los matrimonios mixtos”. W popołudniowej sesji B pierwsza część dedykowana była *Kapadoczykom* i wśród prelegentów znaleźli się Manuel Mira Iborra (Rzym), „*Μνήμη* e rafforzamento dei vincoli di comunione negli scritti di Basilio di Cesarea”, Giuseppe Germinario (Molfetta), „Memoria, sogno, poesia. Il Carmen II. 1. 16 di Gregorio di Nazianzo”, Antonio Stefano Sembiante (Neapol), „Forme di memoria nell’orazione 18 di Gregorio Nazianzeno”, Mariapia Muccigrosso (Louvain-la-Neuve), „[...] negli abissi della dimenticanza (Or. 44, PG 36, 608 A 6): un viaggio tra memoria e oblio nelle opere di Gregorio di Nazianzo”, Jonathan Farrugia (Malta), „Memory as a catalyst of fear and shame: the practical instructions for salvation given by Gregory of Nyssa in his sermons”, Giulio Maspero (Rzym), „La *historikê alêtheia* e la memoria personale in Gregorio Nissa”, Ilaria Vigorelli (Rzym), „Memoria e speranza nell’antropologia trinitaria di Gregorio di Nissa”, w części noszącej tytuł *Archeologia* zaś znaleźli się Margherita Cecchelli (Rzym), „I contesti storici che indirizzarono i papi nella scelta della dedicazione *a martiri stranieri* delle chiese di Roma al fine di incrementare e propagare la loro memoria”, Fabrizio Bisconti

(Rzym), „Memoria apostolorum: la commemorazione uno die dei principi degli apostoli nella Roma tardoantica”, Isabel Maria Alçada Cardoso (Lizbona), „L'esempio del calendario della *Depositio martyrum* della Chiesa di Roma incluso nel *Cronografo* dell'anno 354 da Furio Dionisio Filocalo”.

Drugi dzień spotkania (piątek, 6 maja 2022 roku) rozpoczął się dwiema równoległymi sesjami. W pierwszej badacze zgłębiali zagadnienie pamięci w *Hagiografii i historii*, a swoje badania przedstawili Teresa Sardella (Katania), „Costruzione della memoria tra storia e mito: i dossier agiografici di Agata e Lucia”, László Perendy (Budapeszt), „Memory and Remembrance in the *Martyrium Polycarpi*”, Juri Leoni (Rzym), „*In archivio memoriae conscripta sunt* (Saturn. Dat. 1, 1). Formazione e comunicazione della memoria negli atti dei martiri: alcuni specimina”, Claudio Biagetti (Rzym), „Ερμιόνης μνήμη. Memorie (perdute) di una santa nella tradizione liturgica bizantina”, Diego Elias Arfuch (Bruksela), „Memoria e agiografia. Il caso di Cipro e la costruzione e trasmissione dell'identità”, Tessa Canella (Rzym), „La costruzione della memoria di Elena Augusta fra propaganda politico-religiosa ed esigenze devozionali”, Letizia Broganelli (Rzym), „Memorable bustum/barbariae: la battaglia di Pollenzo nel *De bello Getico* di Claudiano”, Nico De Mico (Rzym), „Raccontare e fare memoria secondo Gregorio di Tours”. Druga sesja przedpołudniowa drugiego dnia obrad ukazywała pamięć w dziełach łacińskich pisarzy wczesnochrześcijańskich, a mówcami tej drugiej sesji byli Roberta Franchi (Mediolan), „La costruzione letteraria della memoria di Ambrogio: Agostino, Paolino ed Ennodio”, Michele Cutino (Strazburg), „Il valore ambiguo della memoria nella parafrasi genesiaca di Claudio Mario Vittorio (V sec.)”, Emiliano Faccio (Padwa), „Memoria naturale e memoria razionale in Tertulliano”, Alessandro Capone (Lecce), „Gerolamo e Ambrosiaster tra memoria esegetica e damnatio memoriae”, Ivan Bodrožić (Split), „Girolamo e lo status virginale: una chiave d'accesso alla memoria pura in vista dell'unione con Dio”, Calogero Cerami (Palermo), „Memoria divina e memoria umana nei *Tractatus in Psalmos* di Girolamo”, Daniela Scardia (Lecce), „Memoria ed esegesi nel Commento a Matteo di Gerolamo”, Marcin Wysocki (Lublin), „Letters as a Form of Memory. A Study of Latin Christian Letters of the 4th and 5th Century (Ambrose, Jerome, Augustine and Paulinus of Nola)”.

Popołudniowe sesje drugiego dnia Incontro poświęcone były *Pisarzom greckim* oraz *Augustynowi*. W sesji A zaprezentowali się Alfio Cristaudo (Katania), „Giustino e la rimozione dell'anamnesi escatologica: il riassorbimento della memoria passionis nel paradigma didascalico del Logos”, Leszek Misiarczyk (Warszawa), „APOMNHMONEUMATA negli scritti di

Giustino Martire. Inizio della formazione della memoria cristiana”, Alessia Brombin (Rzym), „Memoria Dei e ricordo del peccato in Giovanni Crisostomo”, Salvatore Costanza (Ateny), „Μάρτυς e μαρτυρία in Nonno di Panopoli, Par. S. Io. Ev.: memoria del Risorto e identità comunitaria”, Carlos Marcelo Singh Mesconi (Salta), „Μνήμη θεοῦ in Diadoco di Fotica”, Alberto Nigra (Turyń), „Il *Tomus ad Armenios* e altri testimonia di Proclo di Costantinopoli nel VI secolo: un caso di riscrittura della *memoria dogmatica* precalcedonese, Rocco Schembra (Katania), „Memoria e identità nell’*Homilia in mulieres unguentiferas* di Gregorio di Antiochia”. W sesji Augustyńskiej zaś głos zabrali Alberto D’Inca (Varese), „*Hodiernus dies [...] nobis in memoriam revocat* (Aug., Serm. 280, 1). Il paradoss delle *memorie* nella riflessione di Agostino di Ippona e la sua apparente soluzione nella celebrazione liturgica del martirio”, Concetta Scibetta (Palermo), „Forma e finalità del far memoria di sé nelle Confessiones di Agostino tra tradizione e innovazione”, Rachele Baviera (Rzym), „Mandare memoriae: la memorizzazione delle Scritture come strumento ermeneutico nel *De Doctrina Christiana* di Agostino”, Gerald Boersma (Ave Maria [Fl]), „Memory as the site of Divine Participation in Augustine”, Graziano Malgeri (Cagliari), „*Memento verbi tui servo tuo, in quo spe dedisti mihi. Senza memoria non c’è speranza* (cf. en. Ps. 118, XV, 1-8)”, Pauline Rates (Lyon), „La mémoire des mots chez Saint Augustin”.

Trzeci i ostatni dzień XLVIII Spotkania Badaczy Antyku Chrześcijańskiego składał się z dwóch sesji. W pierwszej poświęconej myśli Aleksandryczyków zaprezentowali się Pierluigi Banna (Mediolan), „La filosofia come *alleanza* concessa ai Greci in Clemente Alessandrino: la ricostruzione della memoria cristiana”, Jana Plátová (Olomouc), „Ἀμνησικακία e il suo posto nel concetto di assimilazione a Dio negli *Stromati* di Clemente Alessandrino”, Miklós Gyurkovics (Nyíregyháza), „La *memoria razionale* nell’epistemologia di Clemente Alessandrino”, Giovanni Hermanin de Reichenfeld (Rzym), „Origene, Zaccaria e la memoria di Dio”, druga sesja tego dnia zaś była sesją podsumowującą i składały się nań dwa wykłady znanych badaczy: Angelo Di Berardino (Rzym), „Memoria, memorie e calendario cristiano” oraz Pablo Argárate (Graz), „Remembrance and Ritual mimesis at the loca sancta in the *Itinerarium Aegriae*”.

Podczas obrad i w rozmowach kuluarowych przebijala się radość, że po dwóch latach ograniczeń udało się wreszcie spotkać twarzą w twarz i dyskutować o antyku chrześcijańskim. Pojawiała się też nadzieja, że nie nastaną już żadne okoliczności, które zakłóca normalny bieg corocznych spotkań i że ponownie uczestniczyć w nich będą goście także spoza Euro-

py. Miejmy nadzieję, że pojawiać się będzie także coraz więcej polskich głosów, gdyż w tegorocznym Incontro wzięło udział tylko dwóch prelegentów z Polski: ks. prof. Leszek Misiarczyk i piszący te słowa, a i wśród słuchaczy zabrakło w tym roku Polaków. Przyszłoroczne XLIX Incontro di Studiosi dell'Antichità Cristiana odbędzie się w dniach 11-13 maja 2023 roku i poświęcone będzie tematowi „Oblicza Boga we wczesnym chrześcijaństwie”.

Ks. Marcin Wysocki, Lublin – KUL

**Doroczna Konferencja Północnoamerykańskiego Towarzystwa
Patrystycznego (NAPS) (Chicago, USA, 26-28.05.2022)
Annual Meeting of the North American Patristic Society (Chicago, USA,
26-28.05.2022)**

Po raz pierwszy od 2018 roku twarzą w twarz spotkali się badacze antyku chrześcijańskiego zrzeszeni w Północnoamerykańskim Towarzystwie Patrystycznym (NAPS). W 2019 roku konferencja nie odbyła się z racji tradycyjnego rocznego przestoju w roku Konferencji patrystycznej w Oksfordzie, w 2020 roku spotkanie było niemożliwe z powodu pandemii Covid, w 2021 roku zaś obrady celebrujące 50-lecie NAPS odbyły się za pośrednictwem internetu w formule online, co jeszcze podczas tegorocznego zjazdu było komentowane jako nieudany eksperyment. Po czterech latach zatem ponownie w murach hotelu Hyatt Regency w centrum Chicago spotkało się w dniach 26-28 maja 2022 roku ponad 280 badaczy wczesnego chrześcijaństwa przede wszystkim z Ameryki Północnej, ale także z innych części świata (łącznie 52 osoby), aby dzielić się swoimi badaniami. Jak zawsze konferencji towarzyszył kiermasz książek, na którym zaprezentowały się najważniejsze światowe wydawnictwa przedstawiające swe publikacje z zakresu antyku chrześcijańskiego.

Zgodnie ze zwyczajem obrady odbywały się w formie plenarnych wykładów oraz równoległych sesji tematycznych. W tym roku takich sesji było 68, w tym niektóre dwuczęściowe ze względu na dużą liczbę zgłoszonych propozycji dotyczących danego tematu. Trudno byłoby w tym miejscu zamieszczać nazwiska wszystkich prelegentów i tematy ich przedłożeń,

choćby ze względu na to, że książkowy program konferencyjny zawierał 46 stron i można go znaleźć na stronach NAPS. Warto tu jednak przywołać tematy sesji, aby mieć obraz rozległych zainteresowań badawczych uczestników i pewnego rodzaju trendów, które dają się zauważać również w światowych badaniach nad antykiem chrześcijańskim. W kolejności chronologicznej były to takie tematy: Facing Death; Letters and Authority; Traditions and Transmissions in Syriac Literature; Rethinking Christians and Violence; Minority Reports in the Fourth-Century Trinitarian Controversies; Classical Latin Receptions; Rhetoric and Education; A Compendium, a Council, a Colloquy, and Combat: Assessing New Developments in Donatist Studies; Alternative Christianities: Rethinking the Boundaries of „Patristics”; Remembering Saints; Anxious Sexualities; Evagrius of Pontus: Fragments and Constructions; Historical Theology: Aims & Methods; Imagined Scenarios and Real Feelings; *Auctoritas* in Augustine’s Life and Legacy; Apologetics in the Fourth Century; Second-Century Terminology; Human Flourishing and Well-Being in Early Christianity: Flourishing and Positive Psychology; Non-Christians and Christians; Patristic Receptions: Medieval to Modern; Local Expressions of Early Christianity: The East (and Beyond); Human Flourishing and Well-Being in Early Christianity: Flourishing and Asceticism; Irenaeus, Doctor; Late Antique Apocryphal Acts; Augustinian Visions; Liturgy and Community; Liturgy and Community; Producing Gender; Porphyry in the School of Origen; Philo of Alexandria and Early Christian Literature; Before and After Origen; Heresy and Discipline; Spiritual Perception in Late Antiquity; Apocryphal Texts in Transmission; Human Flourishing and Well-Being in Early Christianity: Flourishing and the Common Good; Local Expressions of Christianity: The West; Reading and Writing; Monastic Formations in and out of Egypt; Celibacy, Sexuality, and Authority; Textual Transmissions; Authors, Teachers, and Learners in Late Antiquity: Pedagogical Programs; Human Flourishing and Well-Being in Early Christianity: Flourishing and Family, Marriage, and Sex; Cyril’s *Contra Julianum* Book 7: Angles of Inquiry; Jewish Roots of Eastern Christian Mysticism; Ecological Thought and Encounter in Late Ancient Christianity; Human Beginnings and Endings; Human Time from Theophilus of Antioch to Marcellus of Ancyra; Maximus the Confessor and Greek Philosophy; Deifications; Jews and Judaism in Christian Discourse; Platonic Patristics; The Self and Society; Authors, Teachers, and Learners in Late Antiquity: The Role of the Teacher; Scriptural Exempla; Disciplining Augustine; Demons, the Demonic, and Ritual Power; Authorship and Genre; The Virgin Mary; Human Possibilities and

Difference in Gregory of Nyssa; Maximus the Confessor in the Medieval Latin West; Citation and Imitation; Literary Genres in Syriac; Augustine the Preacher; Exegesis and Innovation in the Second and Third Centuries; Interpretations in Cyril of Alexandria; Free Will and Predestination in the Late Latin West; Interpreting Fathers; Augustine and Friends (and Former Friends).

Poza krótkimi 15-minutowymi wystąpieniami, które mieściły się w ramach powyższych sesji, miały miejsce także, jak wspomniano, trzy wykłady plenarne: prof. Pauli Fredriksen „The Subject Vanishes: Jews, Heretics, and Martyrs after the *Linguistic Turn*”, prof. Claytona N. Jefforda „How Shaky a Foundation: The Apostolic Fathers” oraz prof. Robin Darling Young „The Lady Advances: Women Imagined and Actual in Late Antiquity”.

Warto podkreślić, że znacząco zwiększyła się liczba osób z Europy środkowo-wschodniej uczestniczących w konferencji NAPS. W minionych latach jedyną taką osobą był piszący te słowa, w tym roku zaś przybyły już łącznie trzy osoby, co z pewnością wpłynie na popularyzację naszych badań i zaznajomienie z nimi dość hermetycznego „rynku” amerykańskiego.

Ks. Marcin Wysocki, Lublin – KUL

Angelologia Ojców Kościoła (Sekcja Patrystyczna, Świdnica, 19-21.09.2022)

Angology of the Church Fathers (Patristic Section, Świdnica, Poland, 19-21.09.2022)

W dniach 19-21 września 2022 roku odbył się doroczny zjazd Sekcji Patrystycznej przy Komisji ds. Nauki Katolickiej Konferencji Episkopatu Polski. Gospodarzem spotkania było Wyższe Seminarium Duchowne Diecezji Świdnickiej (pl. Wojska Polskiego 2, 58-100 Świdnica), a głównymi jego organizatorami – obok Prezesa Sekcji Patrystycznej, ks. prof. dr. hab. Bogdana Czyżewskiego – byli dr Magdalena Józwiak i ks. mgr lic. Paweł Traczykowski oraz moderatorzy Seminarium Duchownego z rektorem ks. prof. PWT dr. hab. Dominikiem Ostrowskim na czele. Zjazd związany był z dwoma ważnymi wydarzeniami: konferencją naukową, której temat brzmiał *Angelologia Ojców Kościoła*, oraz wyborem nowego Zarządu Sekcji Patrystycznej.

Spotkanie nieoficjalnie rozpoczęło się w poniedziałek (19 IX) wieczorem podczas kolacji. Drugi dzień spotkania (pierwszy dzień obrad – wtorek, 20 IX) rozpoczął się w seminaryjnej kaplicy o godz. 7.30 Mszą Świętą, której przewodniczył jego ekscelencja ksiądz biskup dr Adam Bałabuch, biskup pomocniczy diecezji świdnickiej, który też wygłosił homilię. Po śniadaniu o godz. 9.15 prezes Sekcji Patrystycznej ks. prof. dr hab. Bogdan Czyżewski dokonał formalnego otwarcia spotkania: przywitał wszystkich obecnych oraz dokonał merytorycznego wprowadzenia w tematykę konferencji, po czym rozpoczęła się pierwsza część sesji przedpołudniowej, której przewodniczył ks. prof. Jan Żelazny z Uniwersytetu Papieskiego Jana Pawła II w Krakowie. W czasie tej części konferencji wygłoszono dwa referaty: (1) „Aniołowie w *Apoftegmatach* Ojców Pustyni” (ks. dr hab. Arkadiusz Nocoń, Rzym), (2) „Tajemnicza sekta angelitów w pierwszych wiekach chrześcijaństwa” (o. prof. UT dr hab. Celestyn Paczkowski OFM, Uniwersytet Toruński). Po drugiej prelekcji miała miejsce ożywiona dyskusja, a po niej dwudziestominutowa przerwa kawowa.

Druga część sesji przedpołudniowej rozpoczęła się o godz. 11.00. W czasie jej trwania zostały wygłoszone trzy referaty: (1) „Aniołowie w literaturze pryscyliańskiej” (ks. dr hab. Krzysztof Sordyl), (2) „*Anioł symbolizuje naszego Pana*: angelologia św. Hieronima w świetle Homilii o Psalmach 83-84 (seria II)” (ks. dr hab. Waldemar Turek, Rzym), (3) „Serafiny w egzegezie biblijnej św. Hieronima ze Strydonu” (dr Magdalena Józwiak, Katolicki Uniwersytet Lubelski Jana Pawła II). Również tę część spotkania zakończyła dyskusja, a po niej odbyła się pierwsza część bloku informacyjnego na temat nowości wydawniczych, po czy wszyscy udali się na obiad.

Po obiedzie uczestnicy konferencji mieli możliwość zwiedzenia niezwykle ciekawej (pod wieloma względami) Katedry Świdnickiej pw. św. Stanisława, biskupa i męczennika oraz św. Wacława, męczennika, jak również świdnickiego rynku. Po powrocie do seminarium miało miejsce spotkanie przy kawie, po którym rozpoczęła się sesja popołudniowa. Sesji tej przewodniczyła dr hab. Karolina Kochańczyk-Bonińska z Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego. W czasie jej trwania zostały wygłoszone dwa referaty: (1): „Anioły są wśród nas. Studium pism św. Paulina z Noli” (ks. prof. KUL dr hab. Marcin Wysocki, Katolicki Uniwersytet Lubelski Jana Pawła II) – referat ten został wygłoszony w formie zdalnej przez platformę Microsoft Teams, (2) „Aniołowie (dobrzy i źli) w alegorycznej interpretacji Ksiąg Rodzaju, Wyjścia i Kapłańskiej w homiliach św. Cezarego z Arles” (ks. dr hab. Józef Pochwat, Kraków). Po referatach odbyła się dyskusja koncentrująca się wokół nauczania św. Cezarego, gdyż pojawi-

ły się problemy techniczne z internetowym połączeniem się z pierwszym prelegentem.

Po dyskusji, ok. godz. 17:00, rozpoczęło się zebranie sprawozdawczo-wyborcze, gdyż w związku z upływem pięcioletniej kadencji ustępował dotychczasowy Zarząd Sekcji. Spotkanie to prowadził ks. prof. Bogdan Czyżewski, dotychczasowy prezes Sekcji. Omówił w skrócie prace, które zostały zrealizowane przez Zarząd w ciągu minionych lat, a następnie poprosił ks. prof. dr. hab. Piotra Szczura, dotychczasowego skarbnika Sekcji, o przedstawienie sprawozdania finansowego za pięć minionych lat. Po części sprawozdawczej odbyły się wybory nowego Zarządu Sekcji Patrystycznej, którym przewodniczył ks. prof. dr. hab. Antoni Żurek z Tarnowa. Najpierw dokonano wyboru prezesa. Członkowie Sekcji wykazali w tym względzie wielką jedynomyślność, gdyż już w pierwszym głosowaniu ponad 50% głosów zdobył dotychczasowy prezes, ks. prof. dr. hab. Bogdan Czyżewski z Uniwersytetu im. Adama Mickiewicza w Poznaniu. Elekt przyjął wybór i wskazał swego zastępcę w osobie dotychczasowego wiceprezesa, ks. prof. dr. hab. Norberta Widoka z Uniwersytetu Opolskiego, oraz skarbnika, ks. prof. dr. hab. Piotra Szczura z Katolickiego Uniwersytetu Lubelskiego Jana Pawła II w Lublinie, którzy wyrazili zgodę i chęć dalszej pracy w Zarządzie Sekcji Patrystycznej. W ten sposób ukonstytuował się nowy Zarząd Sekcji Patrystycznej (w niezmienionym składzie) i rozpoczął pięcioletnią kadencję trwającą do września 2027 roku. Po zebraniu sprawozdawczo-wyborczym głos zabrał ks. prof. dr. hab. Marek Starowieyski, wyrażając ogólną refleksję na temat badań teologicznych i patrystycznych. Ten bogaty w wydarzenia dzień spotkania patrologów zakończył uroczysty raut.

Trzeci dzień spotkania (drugi dzień obrad – środa, 21 IX) rozpoczął się Mszą Świętą sprawowaną w kaplicy seminaryjnej o godz. 7.30, której przewodniczył i wygłosił homilię pierwszy biskup świdnicki, prof. dr. hab. Ignacy Dec. Po śniadaniu o godz. 9.15 rozpoczęła się pierwsza część sesji przedpołudniowej, której przewodniczył dr Krzysztof Morta z Uniwersytetu Wrocławskiego. W czasie tej części konferencji wygłoszono trzy referaty: (1) „Chrystologiczny charakter angelologii Pseudo-Dionizego Areopagity?” (ks. prof. dr. hab. Tomasz Stępień, Uniwersytet Kardynała Stefana Wyszyńskiego) (2) „Kim są aniołowie? Wczesnochrześcijańskie deskrypcje w komentarzach potomnych” (ks. prof. dr. hab. Jarosław Nowaszczuk, Uniwersytet Szczeciński), (3) „Kult archaniołów w późnej starożytności” (ks. dr. hab. Stanisław Adamiak, Uniwersytet Toruński).

Po ostatnim wystąpieniu miała miejsce dyskusja, a po niej nastąpiła przerwa kawowa. Potem Prezes Sekcji Patrystycznej, ks. prof. dr hab. Bogdan Czyżewski dokonał podsumowania obrad. Następnie miała miejsce druga dyskusja na temat nowości i planów wydawniczych. Zostały też omówione sprawy bieżące i ogłoszone komunikaty. Prezes poinformował, że kolejny zjazd Sekcji Patrystycznej odbędzie się w Tarnowie, najprawdopodobniej w dniach 11-13 września 2023 roku, a tematem będzie „Świat stworzony w literaturze wczesnochrześcijańskiej”. Podziękował też organizatorom za logistyczne przygotowanie dorocznego zjazdu patrologów.

Ks. Piotr Szczur, Lublin – KUL

**Chrześcijanie epoki patrystycznej wobec świata przyrody
(IV Międzynarodowa Konferencja Patrystyczna, KUL, Lublin,
18-20.10.2022)**

**Christians of the Patristic Period in Relation to Nature (4th International Patristic
Conference, KUL, Lublin, Poland, 18-20.10.2022)**

Już po raz czwarty w Katolickim Uniwersytecie Lubelskim Jana Pawła II w Lublinie spotkali się badacze antyku chrześcijańskiego z Polski i zagranicy, aby tym razem zgłębiać zagadnienie niezwykle aktualne i popularne, także w dyskusjach eklezjalnych – odniesienie chrześcijan epoki patrystycznej do świata przyrody. Organizatorzy kolejnej edycji lubelskiej konferencji patrystycznej, która weszła już na stałe do kalendarza imprez patrystycznych i cieszy się dużą popularnością wśród badaczy z całego świata, proponując taki temat, chcieli ukazać, że kwestie ekologii i odniesienia chrześcijan do otaczającego ich świata stworzonego nie są domeną tylko współczesności. Również dzieła okresu patrystycznego zawierają interpretacje i wskazówki dotyczące relacji człowiek–Bóg–stworzenie. Świadczą o tym choćby komentarze Ojców do heksameronu, czyli teologiczna, historyczna i filozoficzna refleksja nad sześcioma dniami stworzenia opisanymi w Księdze Rodzaju. W centrum znajduje się zarówno przyroda ożywiona, jak i nieożywiona. Obie są wyrazem wszechmocy Boga, a zarazem dowodem na Jego istnienie. Celem więc

tej IV Międzynarodowej Konferencji Patrystycznej było przypomnienie i pogłębienie intuicji oraz interpretacji pisarzy wczesnochrześcijańskich na temat relacji oraz odniesienia człowieka do otaczającego go świata przyrody stworzonej przez Boga oraz przemyślenie, jakie wzorce i podejścia do świata przyrody, ożywionej i nieożywionej, współczesny człowiek może przejąć od chrześcijan epoki patrystycznej, na ile są one dzisiaj aktualne, ale także na ile wpisywały się one w ówczesny kontekst filozoficzny i teologiczny, a na ile były oryginalne wobec poglądów pogańskich. Ostatecznie w czasie konferencji na te pytania odpowiadało 36 badaczy z Polski i z zagranicy. Ze względu na duże zainteresowanie osób z zagranicy, a także dla udostępnienia przebiegu Konferencji jak najszerszemu gronu, zdecydowano się na formę hybrydową za pomocą platformy MS Teams.

W trakcie konferencji odbyły się cztery wykłady plenarne wygłoszone przez uznanych badaczy antyku chrześcijańskiego. Na jej rozpoczęcie głos zabrał prof. Markus Vinzent, emerytowany profesor King's College w Londynie oraz redaktor naczelny serii *Studia Patristica*, publikowanej przez wydawnictwo Peeters, którego temat wykładu brzmiał „Nature – our common good, a Patristic challenge?”, a popołudniu pierwszego dnia wykład plenarny zatytułowany „Clement of Alexandria on nature: allegory and beyond” wygłosił prof. Piotr Ashwin-Siejkowski, również z King's College w Londynie. Drugi dzień konferencji otworzył wykład światowej sławy orygenesisty prof. Lorenzo Perronego z Bolonii zatytułowany „Looking at the world with the eyes of God: The relationship of humankind to nature according to Origen”. W ostatni, trzeci dzień konferencyjnych dyskusji nad wczesnym chrześcijaństwem i przyrodą wprowadziła uczestników prof. Carol Harrison z Uniwersytetu Oksfordzkiego wykładem zatytułowanym „*Nature made nothing dumb. Listening to animal voices in early Christianity*”, podczas którego uczestnicy mogli się wsłuchać w śpiew ptaków gdzieś w północnej Anglii podczas ciszy pandemii.

Poza wykładami plenarnymi program konferencji obejmował następujące wystąpienia. pierwszego dnia w sesji przedpołudniowej głos zabrali Juri Leoni (Włochy) „Natura mirante. The cosmic suspension for the birth of Jesus in the *Protoevangelium of James* (Prot. Iac. 18, 1-19, 3)”, Roberto Spataro (Włochy) „Between Literal and Allegorical Interpretation: An exegetical proposal on *Hexameron* of Theophilus of Antioch”, Agnès Bastit-Kalinowska (Francja) „The presence of the natural world in the work of Irenaeus of Lyon”, Geoffrey Dunn (Australia) „Senectus mun-

di in Tertullian and Cyprian: Theology not Ecology”, Mariya Horyacha (Ukraina) „Attitudes to Nature in Early Christian Monasticism”, Przemysław Piwowarczyk (Polska) „The snake of the Garden and the snake of the desert: Life-threatening reptiles in Egyptian and Palestinian monastic literature”, Travis W. Proctor (USA) „Nature, Animals, and Sexual Ethics in Early Christian Literature”, Stanisław Adamiak (Polska) „The power of saints and the power of nature in the North African accounts of martyrdoms”, Mieczysław Paczkowski OFM (Polska) „The cosmological, anthropological and naturalistic threads of patristic exegesis of Rom 8:18-22” oraz w sesji popołudniowej Cody Glen Barnhart (USA) „Now The Work of God is Suffering Earth: Ante-Nicenes and the Vivification of Clay through Son and Spirit”, Damian Mrugalski OP (Polska) „The Goodness of God and the Problem of the Creation of the World in Time: Philo, Clement, and Origen of Alexandria in Dialogue with the Middle Platonists”, Pui Him Ip (Wielka Brytania) „Origen’s de Princ. II,1,1-3 and Ecclesiastes as Solomonic Physics”, Monica Tobon (Wielka Brytania) „Evagrius and Nature”.

Drugiego dnia konferencji w sesji przedpołudniowej zostały przedstawione następujące wystąpienia: Daniele Iezzi (Włochy) „Man as *Microcosmos*: The Philosophical Conception of Nature in Nemesius of Emesa’s Anthropology”, Harri Huovinen (Finlandia) „Animals as Models for Virtuous Life in the *Hexaemeron* of Basil of Caesarea”, Paul Claude Dioh (Francja) „In his image (κατ’ εἰκόνα) and likeness (καθ’ ὁμοίωσιν). An ecological word starting from Chrysostom”, Theocharis Papavissarion (Grecja) „The reevaluation of material creation in the theology of saint Maximus the Confessor”, Daniel Heide (Kanada) „The Human as Cosmic Hierarchy: The Theocentric Anthropology of Maximus Confessor”, Marek Gilski, Damian Wąsek (Polska) „The natural world in the eyes of Epiphanius of Salamis: between admiration and deification”, Serafim Seppälä (Finland) „Relationship of God and Animals in Theodoret of Cyrillus”, Mateusz Kusio (Polska) „*Sub antro refugite* – Nature, Domestication, and Paganism in the Poetry of Commodianus”. W sesji popołudniowej zaś znalazły się cztery przedłożenia: Emanuele Piazza (Włochy) „Water as Religious Symbol and Natural Element in the Works of Gregory of Tours”, Paweł Wygralak (Polska) „The cult of the natural world in the reflection of the Latin Fathers of the Church”, Dominika Budzanowska-Weglenda (Polska) „Animated and inanimate nature in the Latin commentaries on the Apocalypse of St. John”, Jan Kurowicki (Polska) „The eschatological image of nature as an expression of longing for the golden

age in the vision of a thousand-year-old kingdom in the *Divinae institutiones* by Lactantius”.

Popołudnie i wieczór tego dnia wypełniły zwiedzanie lubelskiej starówki wraz z kaplicą Trójcy Świętej na zamku i Wieżą Trynitarą, skąd uczestnicy mogli podziwiać wieczorną panoramę Lublina, oraz uroczysta kolacja konferencyjna z regionalnymi potrawami.

Na trzeci i ostatni dzień lubelskiej konferencji patrystycznej składała się tylko jedna, przedpołudniowa sesja, w której swoje referaty przedstawili Mariusz Szram (Polska) „Negative semantics of animals in Philastrius of Brescia’s *Diversarum hereseon liber*”, Łukasz Krzyszczyk (Polska) „The bird milvus in Jerome’s translation of the Old Testament”, Magdalena Józwiak (Polska) „A lion in the biblical exegesis of St. Jerome of Stridon on the example of *Commentary on the Book of Amos*”, Krzysztof Morta (Polska) „*Regulus, qui rex serpentium est*. The basilisk in the writings of St. Jerome”, Ivan Bodrožić, Maja Rončević (Chorwacja) „Garden of Eden or a Place of Temptation and Fear: St. Jerome about the Desert”, Jimmy Chan (Kanada) „*Dust As We Are*: Augustine’s Ethopoetic Call through Creation in *Confessions*”, Oleksandr Kashchuk (Ukraina) „Food Production as a Result of the Relationship of Human Beings with Nature: Brewing in the Christian Literature of Late Antiquity and Early Middle Ages”.

W ten sposób do historii przeszła IV Międzynarodowa Konferencja Patrystyczna, nad którą z jednej strony wciąż jeszcze unosił się złowróżbny duch pandemii, a z drugiej czuć było radość ze spotkania się osobiście i toczenia dyskusji o relacji wczesnych chrześcijan do stworzenia i przyrody. Dyskusje te byłyby niemożliwe, gdyby nie wsparcie Ministerstwa Edukacji i Nauki w ramach programu Doskonała Nauka – Organizacja Konferencji oraz programu Regionalna Inicjatywa Doskonałości, a ich materialne efekty będzie można przeczytać w jednym z kolejnych tomów serii *Studia Patristica*, w którym ukażą się wygłoszone referaty.

Ks. Marcin Wysocki, Lublin – KUL

„Teoretyczny i praktyczny aspekt cnót kardynalnych w kulturze bizantyńskiej” (VI Ogólnopolska Konferencja Bizantynistyczna „Wybrane aspekty kultury bizantyńskiej”, Lublin, 17-18.11.2022)
„The Theoretical and Practical Aspect of the Cardinal Virtues in Byzantine Culture” (VI National Byzantine Conference „Selected Aspects of Byzantine Culture”, Lublin, Poland, November 17-18, 2022)

Konferencje z cyklu „Wybrane aspekty kultury bizantyńskiej” odbywają się zwykle co dwa lata. Pierwsza z nich miała miejsce w 2011 roku. Tak było do 2019 roku. Tzw. epidemia przerwała regularność tych spotkań, dlatego szósta konferencja odbyła się dopiero w dniach 17-18 (czwartek-piątek) listopada 2022. Miejszem obrad była Kaplica Trójcy Świętej na Zamku Lubelskim. Organizatorem tego spotkania polskich bizantynistów i patrologów były trzy podmioty: Katedra Historii Kościoła KUL, Katedra Historii Starożytnej, Bizantyńskiej i Średniowiecznej KUL oraz Muzeum Narodowe w Lublinie. Udział w konferencji zgłosiło szesnastu prelegentów, jednak w ostatniej chwili dwóch z nich zrezygnowało z przyjazdu do Lublina. Ich nazwiska widniały już jednak na plakacie zawierającym program konferencji. Czternastu rzeczywistych uczestników reprezentowało dziesięć centrów badawczych. W kolejności alfabetycznej były to: Katolicki Uniwersytet Lubelski Jana Pawła II (3 osoby), Muzeum Narodowe w Lublinie (1 osoba), Papieski Uniwersytet Jana Pawła II w Krakowie (1 osoba), Uniwersytet Jagielloński (1 osoba), Uniwersytet Jana Kochanowskiego w Kielcach Filia w Piotrkowie Trybunalskim (1 osoba), Uniwersytet Łódzki (3 osoby), Uniwersytet Marii Curie Skłodowskiej w Lublinie (1 osoba), Uniwersytet Pedagogiczny im. Komisji Edukacji Narodowej w Krakowie (1 osoba), Uniwersytet Śląski w Katowicach (1 osoba), Uniwersytet Zielonogórski (1 osoba).

Program konferencji przedstawiał się następująco. Czwartek (17 XI 2022) był pierwszym dniem spotkania, które rozpoczęło o godzinie 9:00 od oficjalnego otwarcia obrad dokonanego przez dr Katarzynę Mieczkowską, Dyrektor Muzeum Narodowego w Lublinie oraz prof. KUL dr. hab. Piotra Kochanka. Następnie rozpoczęła się pierwsza sesja (9:15-11:00), której przewodniczył P. Kochanek. Złożyły się na nią cztery referaty: (1) dr K. Mieczkowska (MNwL), „Freski bizantyńsko-ruskie w projektowaniu komunikacji wizualnej Muzeum Narodowego w Lublinie” (9:15-9:35), (2) prof. dr hab. Marek Wilczyński (UP KEN Kraków), „Cnoty kardynalne i Seneka u atlantyckich brzegów – kilka uwag o trwaniu kultury antycznej

w „Galaecji” w VI wieku” (9:35-9:55), (3) prof. UMCS dr hab. Ireneusz Łuć, „Idea „Virtus” na monetach cesarza Konstantyna Wielkiego” (9:55-10:15), (4) dr Piotr Ł. Grotowski (UPJPII Kraków), „Zaginiona kamea, utracona statua i konstantyński ideał władcy-założyciela” (10:15-10:35). Po tej serii prelekcji odbyła się dyskusja (10:35-11:00), a po niej okazję do dalszej wymiany opinii stworzyła przerwa na kawę (11:00-11:30). Drugiej sesji (11:30-13:00) przewodniczył prof. dr hab. Sławomir Bralewski (UŁ). Objęła ona trzy referaty: (1) ks. prof. UŚ dr hab. Andrzej Uciecha, „Sprawiedliwość i sprawiedliwi w ujęciu wybranych Ojców Syryjskich” (11:30-11:50), (2) prof. KUL dr hab. P. Kochanek, „Cnoty kardynalne w pismach Bazylego z Cezarei” (11:50-12:10), (3) ks. prof. dr hab. Piotr Szczur (KUL), „Rozumienie gniewu u Jana Chryzostoma” (12:10-12:30). Również i tę sesję zamknęła dyskusja (12:30-13:00). Czwartkowe obrady wznowiono po przerwie obiadowej (13:00-15:00). Trzeciej sesji (15:00-16:30) przewodniczył prof. dr hab. Mirosław J. Leszka (UŁ). W ramach tego segmentu konferencji wygłoszono także trzy referaty: (1) prof. dr hab. S. Bralewski (UŁ), „Hierarchia cnót u Sozomenesa z Bethelii a cnoty kardynalne” (15:00-15:20), (2) prof. UJ dr hab. Stanisław Turlej, „Obrona Tracji w VI wieku” (15:20-15:40), (3) prof. dr hab. M.J. Leszka (UŁ), „Wątek cnót kardynalnych w korespondencji Michała Mistyka, patriarchy Konstantynopola, z Symeonem Wielkim, władcą Bułgarii” (15:40-16:00). Po tych wystąpieniach rozpoczęła się dyskusja, która trwała nieco dłużej niż planowano (16:00-16:50), co było spowodowane wyjątkowym zaangażowaniem uczestniczących w niej badaczy.

W drugim dniu konferencji na Zamku Lubelskim, czyli w piątek (18 listopada 2022), było przewidzianych sześć wystąpień. Ponieważ jednak dr Błażej Cecota (UJK) i dr Agata Sowińska (US) w ostatniej chwili odwołali swój udział w lubelskim spotkaniu, zatem zmodyfikowano program tego dnia obrad. Zmiana polegała na połączeniu dwóch zaplanowanych sesji, jak to przewidywał ogłoszony oficjalnie program, w jeden blok (9:20-11:30), któremu przewodniczył prof. UJK dr hab. Jacek Bonarek. Złożyły się na niego cztery prelekcje: (1) prof. UŁ dr hab. Kiril Marinow, „Wróg wszystkich cnót: raz jeszcze w sprawie wizerunku Symeona Wielkiego w oracji *Na pokój z Bułgarami*” (9:20-9:40), (2) prof. UZ dr hab. Jarosław Dudek, „Ideowa legalizacja panowania bizantyńskiego nad Bułgarią” (9:40-10:00), (3) prof. UJK dr hab. J. Bonarek, „Teofano i Tornikios. Między obowiązkiem a uczuciem” (10:00-10:20), (4) prof. dr hab. Leszek Wojciechowski (KUL JPII), „Cnoty kardynalne w dziele Kekaumenosa”

(10:20-10:40). Ostatnim punktem programu była dyskusja oraz podsumowanie całości obrad (10:40-11:30).

Lubelskie spotkanie pozwoliło nie tylko na wysłuchanie interesujących referatów, lecz stanowiło także dobrą okazję do osobistych spotkań i rozmów. W konferencji wzięła również udział niewielka grupa studentów i doktorantów. Wartością dodaną stanowił klimat gotyckiej Kaplicy Trójcy Świętej, której ściany pokrywa bizantyńsko-ruska polichromia będąca idealną scenografią dla spotkań bizantynistów. Jeśli nic nie stanie na przeszkodzie, następna „konferencja w Kaplicy” odbędzie się w 2024 roku.

Piotr Kochanek, Lublin – KUL

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