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EAST AND WEST
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REPRESENTANT OR DEAD: EAST AND WEST ATTITUDES TOWARDS LATE-MEDIEVAL HERETICS

In any society the content of the true faith as well as of the deviations from that faith, namely heresy ("αἵρεσις"),¹ is the result of continuous social struggles and conflicts. The boundaries between the two are incessantly subjected to question, which renders them fluid and difficult to discern. The parallel discourses which evolve, in the guise of theological rhetoric, give expression to the Weltanschaung of both camps, as well as to the objects, material and symbolic, which are at stake. In the same way, the leniency or severity of the sanctions imposed by the dominant political and ecclesiastical authorities are also indicative of the scale of threat they believe is posed by the spread of heresies.

In the case of the heretics of the later Middle Ages, the methods of repression or persuasion employed against them in both the East and the West can be explained through a variety of political and ideological factors in the Christian world, such as the reciprocal influence at work between the canonical decisions and the civil criminal code, the social tensions taking the form of theological disputes, the redefining of the relationship between God and man and thus between Church and congregation, etc. Moreover, a comparative approach to the above-mentioned factors as they are manifested in the East and the West sheds light on the various forms of social controversy and protest, as well as on the means employed in their repression. Such an approach will help us gain a new perspective on the much debated dogmatic differences between the East and the West and will help us better understand the reasons why the two worlds embarked on and followed divergent paths.

Let us then begin with some principal points on late-medieval dualistic heresies:

The most important of the dualistic sects which spread through the Byzantine Empire were the Bogomils and the Paulicians. Their beliefs display certain similarity, at least from the 10th century onwards.² According to Byzantine sources, dualistic here-


sies originated in the Asian provinces of the Empire, and were brought over to Thrace by migrating populations. Various internal reasons contributed to the dissemination of the dualistic heresies throughout the Balkan peninsula. The question of the speed of propagation and the geographical diffusion of the absolute dualists (Paulicians) and the moderate ones (Bogomils), like that of the social composition of the heretic communities, among poor and wealthy strata alike, are matters about which we have vague and no direct information.

The surviving sources suggest that in the Balkans, besides the existing social and political disorder, the considerable spread of the dualistic heresy with its characteristic rejection of the basic political and theological tenets (the fundamental doctrines like Incarnation, Redemption and Resurrection, the Biblical version of the creation of the world, the divine origin of the ecclesiastical and secular authorities, the veneration of the Cross, the icons, the saints, the use of chrism, etc.) was becoming a serious threat to the status quo. The heretics were seen as servants of the devil, insane and contagious persons capable of destroying society. Indeed, in the early centuries, Christianity took a unified stance towards heresy: it was regarded as being both a religious and civil offence and, for this reason, the Church and the state ought to confront it together. In other words, heresy was both a religious and a political iniquity (Δισσάβεια καὶ ἀποστασία), because it challenged the view that the emperor was by the grace of God His appointed representative on earth (οἰκουμένη). Thus, the Church and state made a concerted effort to halt the spread of heresy and to bring the lost sheep back into the fold.

Nevertheless, the two institutions’ attitudes towards the heretics were not identical. Besides compulsory conversions, the punishment (ποιναί) imposed by the state included the adoption of violent measures against those heretics who would not recant: military action, confiscation, burning at the stake, exile. The Church, on the other hand...


For further information, see my Heresies and Myroblytoi Saints in the Late-Medieval Balkans, Ioannina 1998.

The most reliable sources are to be found in the works of contemporary polemicists and the proceedings of the synods convened to discuss the question. Not surprisingly, there are only a few surviving texts written by heretics, see J. Ivanov, Livres et légendes Bogomiles (Aux sources du Catharisme), Paris 1976 [1925]. See also below, n. 13.

See, for example, Euthymios Zygabenos, Πανοπλία δοματική, P. G. 130, 1289–1332, ch. Κατά Βογομίλων, composed in 1122.


See, for example, the canon adopted by the Nicean council (325): Μανιχαίοι βαπτιζόνται... αρχιεπίσκοποι χρίονται. On the contrary, secular law extracted death penalty from Manichéans and Montanists (Ecclesia 17, 52, early 8th century). Around 688, when heresy was still a local phenomenon, Justinian II had a Manichean didaskalos, Symeon-Titos, burned at the stake, P. Lemerle. L’Histoire des

Секция „История“ 457
hand, tried from the very beginning to use persuasion in order to make dualist heretics repent. To this end, the early Church devised a system of symbolic actions (anointing and baptism according to the degree of involvement in the heresy, drawing up of statements of abjuration, proclamations of anathema, etc.) which emphasized the importance of timely repentance under the threat of excommunication. For unrepentant heretics, there was the penalty ("επιτιμία") of anathema. In exceptional cases, the Church resorted to death sentence which was carried out by the state. This, however, was a matter over which ecclesiastical authorities, monastic circles etc. were divided. As for the Western world, there is evidence proving that, according to the degree of involvement in the heresy, a similar course of action against heretics was taken.

A letter which the Patriarch of Constantinople, Theophylaktos, sent to the Bulgarian Tsar Peter (927–69) in the period between 933 and 944, presents an eloquent example of the policy which the Church and the state were to carry out with regard to the Bulgarian heretics. The Patriarch’s letter was written in response to a letter of the Bulgarian ruler, now lost, in which Tsar Peter asked the Patriarch what measures he needed to adopt in order to stop the dissemination of heresy in his country. According to Theophylaktos, Peter had, in the first place, to show some leniency in his dealings with the heretics; secondly, the measures he adopted against them ought to vary according to the degree of their involvement in the heresy. His efforts should mostly be directed towards bringing them back to Orthodoxy: the leaders ("διδάσκαλοι") had to be baptised ("εξοναβαπτιζόμεθα οἱ ἁρτοῖ"), while the believers only to be anointed ("σφραγίζομεθα οἱ ἁρτοῖξον τὸ ἄγαμο μέρος"); those, who had joined them but were less involved in the heresy, had to be kept at a distance for a four-month period ("δεκατρίημην ἁπατοῦσιν ἀφορισθέντες"). The Patriarch also informs Peter of the civil laws ("Πολιτικοὶ νόμοι"), according to which death penalty should be extracted from the heretics ("θανατου επάγομεν αὐτοῦ") primarily whenever there is a case of a widespread dissemination of heresy. Finally, Theophylaktos provides Peter with the text of a model anathema.

While examining the dissemination of dualistic heresies in the West, one finds out


that they had many elements in common. Western heretics appeared almost simultaneously. In 1030, the epithet Cathar – in itself a term of heretical origin – was already in use. According to a letter written by Henry, brother of King Louis VII, soon after his ascent to power in 1162, in Flanders there were „Manchaeans who are known as Populicani (=Pavlikiano)“.\(^\text{10}\) Contemporary sources provide evidence of their expansion throughout Western Europe. Like their counterparts in the East, Western heretics professed cosmological dualism; one can speculate whether, in the second half of 12th century, their moderate dualism involved into an absolute one under the influence of the Eastern heretics, probably Paulicians. They shared the same religious beliefs and had similar attitudes towards the ecclesiastical and political authorities. More significantly, they refused to work and to pay taxes.\(^\text{11}\) They were divided into two orders: priesthood („perfetti“) and ordinary believers („credentes“).

Testimony about the origin, the relationship and the Eastern influence over Western dualism is provided predominantly by Western polemists, the proceedings of the councils as well as the inquisitorial depositions (see maps p. 25 and 26). We only know a few names of Eastern heretics who travelled to the West and brought their religious books.\(^\text{12}\) For example, the well-known Interrogatio Iohannes, according to the last phrase of its text, was brought from Bulgaria to Italy by the Italian Cathar Nazarius (see map p. 26).\(^\text{13}\) Further, we must note that in the West dualists posed a...

\(^{10}\) Runciman. The Medieval Manichee, p. 121–2.

\(^{11}\) Labal. L’Eglise de Rome, p. 28 and 40–3.

\(^{12}\) Б. Прымов. Райнер Сакони като извор за връзките между катари, павликiani и богослии, Известията в чест на Марин Дринов, София 1960, c. 535–69. Th. S. Thomov. Les appellations de „Bogomiles“ et „Bulgares“ et leurs variantes et équivalents en Orient et en Occident, Etudes Balkaniques 9, 1(1973), p. 77–99. B. Labal (L’Eglise de Rome, p. 33ff., 39–42, 223 and p. 199 whith cited bibliography, cf. p. 54) traces the origins of Western dualism back to the „vision hyperspiritualiste des Grecs“, exemplified by Origen, Pseudo-Dionysios the Areopagite and others who were translated into Latin during the Carolingian Renaissance; further, Labal stresses the significance of the socio-economic changes which were similar to those described by the Bulgarian Cosmas the Priest (10th century, see H. Ch. Puech, A. Vaillant. Le Traité entre les Bogomiles de Cosmas le Prêtre, traduction et étude, Paris 1945).

threat to the ecclesiastical and political establishment in the same way in which
Bogomils and Paulicians jeopardised the status quo in Byzantium and the Balkan
states.

The above-mentioned combination of legal and spiritual punishment greatly con-
tributed to the suppression of heresies all the way down to the 9th century, so that they
did not pose a serious threat to the establishment. However, the revival of the dualis-
tic heresies in the 10th–11th centuries resulted in a more serious ideological threat
to the establishment and brought about their wider spread in geographical terms. This
entailed a fundamental change in the attitude of both Christian worlds, as far as theo-
logical controversy and the existing system of punishments, spiritual or real, were
concerned. It is from this point in time that we see divergence we mentioned earlier,
of such decisive significance: at almost exactly then East and West are faced with the
threat of heresies from within their agitated societies, but then internal processes and
external factors exert a different influence on each of the two worlds and bring dif-
f erent developments in their wake.

The 11th century witnessed the beginning of a dynamic demographic and eco-
nomic expansion of the Westerners which involved, among other developments, pen-
etration of the Balkan peninsula. The intensifying of the commercial activities of the
Italian and Languedocian cities – what has been called „commercial capitalism“ – cre-
ated a new class of merchants and manufacturers,14 while on the ideological level sec-
ular interests were gaining ground at the expenses of theological concerns. However,
for the Byzantine world the same century marked the beginning of a period in which
menacing enemies were to emerge: between 1071 and 1081 the empire had to defend
its frontiers, not always successfully, from East (defeat in Matzikert), North (capture
of Belgrade by Magyars), and West (Norman invasion). Although internal changes
brought new energy to certain sectors – a new social group of merchants and craftsmen
equally appeared – and the revival of interest in antiquity had an enriching effect
on both theological and secular inquiry,15 however, in the long term no dynamic
changes occurred in the social and economic structure.

The dualist heresies were establised and grew more widespread throughout the
Christian world from the 11th century. It was exactly from this period onwards that the
Byzantine state only rarely imposed death penalty. The question which arises, then, is
why in the years of their resurgence the state and Church of the „East“ – which was
still not conceived of as different from the „West“ – treated in different ways the unre-
pentant dualists. The indulgence expressed in the canons, already introduced in the
Eastern civil penal code, became the predominant way of confronting dualist heretics,
though according to the civil law the punishment for heretics and the sorcerers was

14 F. Braudel. Η Μεσογείωση και ο μεσογειακός κόσμος την εποχή του Φιλίππου Β’. Α’Ο ρόλος του
15 N. Svoronos. Société et organisation intérieure dans l’empire byzantin au XIe siècle: Les princi-
paux problèmes. Etudes sur l’organisation intérieure, la société et l’économie de l’Empire Byzantin, Va-
riorum reprints, p. 9: the „οι αριστοκρατικοί, οι εν γεγονότες, οι εν τέλει, οι άρχοντες, οι ευγενε-
ιές“ are opposed to „οι δημοτικοί, το δημοτικόν, οι αστικοί, οι της αγοράς“ organised in „δημόσιοι
death. It was according to this „mixt“ penal code that hereafter the penalty of excommunication and not the death sentence was imposed to them, with very few but quite illustrating exceptions. Instead, they attached great importance to the return of the heretics to the orthodox fold.

Albeit this general Church attitude, it is noteworthy that the lenient attitude of the Byzantine authorities was accompanied by a cluster of ideological practices of which some are common to both Christian worlds:

a) the collaboration between political and ecclesiastical authorities in the confrontation of heretics and the heterodox groups in general from the 12th century in the West, much earlier in Byzantium. Particularly one can find characteristic parallel examples, in both the East and West, of organized preaching campaigns, of active preachers later canonized, like St Hilarion of Moglena (d. 1164) and St Bernard and St Dominic (12th c.), and of monasteries founded in areas where massive groups of heretics lived. This is the case of the Armenian monastery of Petritzou founded by Gregorios Pakourianos in 1083 in the area of Philippopolis where massive groups of monophysit Armenians and dualistic heretics lived and St Dominic’s establishment of the nunnery at Prouille in Languedoc in 1206.17

b) the demonization of heretics as well as sorcerers, heterodox groups etc., with the increasingly intense and bitter social and ideological conflict which ensued. The heretics in the entire Christendom were considered as possessed by Satan or even more as his precursors.

c) the sanction of a growing number of locations (sancti loci), like saints’ tombs — often myroblyte saints in the East — which itinerant pilgrims visited. The pilgrimage was connected with the more widespread diffusion of an already known custom to bring from there a vessel, in Greek „κουτρούβιον“ — full of holy water in West, full of myrrh in East (see ph. p. 24).18 like the ampullae, the oil-flasks („ευλογίατι“) of the


early Christian period. It has rightly be pointed out that in the Western Christianity "a Christian culture largely mythological" has appeared in which the element of perfume was central. Even more intensively the same could be argued for the Eastern Church.

Comparing East and West Church attitudes towards heretics (Paulicians and Bogomils), it must not be lost sight of two factors of different nature that contribute, in my opinion, to a greater differenciation of their attitudes towards dualists. Manicheans, as it is asserted, initially were not allowed to be engaged in military service. Many indirect testimonies, however, show that the same policy was not pursued in 8th/9th-century Asia Minor. The History of Paulicians, a treatise composed by Peter of Sicily in late 9th century, gives useful information about the military role and the unstable relationship between them and the central Byzantine authority at the beginning of the century. We are told that they who have repented are "υπόσταντοι" under an "ἐξαρχόμενος". Peter informs us also that their religious beliefs brought about the impressive policy of the emperors Michael (811–13) and Leon (813–20), who imposed over them the death penalty (§175–78). Besides the Paulician counter-attack, which ended with the murder of their "ἐξαρχόμενος", of particular interest is that they passed the borders and joined the Saracens. Being near the frontiers, the repellant heretics and the ones who were expelled to the Saracens kept plundering Byzantine empire (§178 and 185). Emperor Basil I (867–86) also induced Manicheans to take service in his regiments led to Crete ("τάγμα Μανιχαίων, ἐξαρχόν ἔχων τὸν Χρυσάνθειρον Διακονίτζην"). The available documentary evidence regarding Manicheans of Asia Minor as well as of the Balkan peninsula, albeit lacunary, gives an insight into their equally oppositional relationship with the central authorities during the following centuries. An emperor whose action explicitly connects Paulicians with military service and particularly with the defense of the borders is John Tzimisces (969–76). According to Anna Comnena he mooved them from "abrupt cities and castles" of Asia Minor and relocated them in Thrace as "firm guardians" of the places where Skythians invaded. In Anna's word, he transformed them from "enemies" ("ἀντιμο-

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21 Pierre de Sicile Histoire des Pauliciens, p. 67, 16; 65, 18, 21; 167, 21, 34. The term exarch is described in the Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium only as being "the name of several officials in both secular, not military, and ecclesiastical administration". Nevertheless, it is interesting for us to take a look at the contradictions and the centrifugal tendencies characteristic of the Exarchate, a type of territorial and administrative unit created at the end of 6th century in Carthage and Ravenna: "All this formed a certain antinomy between the strong administration of an exarchate and its tendency toward economic and social separation from the empire."
22 Georgius Kedrenus, Annales, p. 236. "Pavlikian" are also attested among other groups in the Byzantine army who fought the Saracens in Italy in 1040, Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores, V, p. 55.
23 Anne Comnène. Alexiadæ. ed. B. Leib, III, Paris 1945, p. 179ff., not to mention previous compulsive relocations under Constantine V (741–75) and Leon IV (775–80)
χους”) to “allies in arms” („συμμάχους κατά τα ὀπλα“).

From this period on Manicheans’ unstable loyalty and their religious persistence are traits attested even later. Religious and political/military apostasy, will be a constant trait in the relationship between the Byzantine state and several rebels with long-lasting effects. Particularly the Balkan peninsula, though unified since 1018, remained virtually out of Byzantine control. For this reason it became an appropriate space for both economic development – because of the Western influence – but also for religious dissent and political rebellion. Moreover, the upheaval caused by invaders like Cumans, Petsenegs and Normans encouraged disobedience of the local competitors or, in alliance with them committed pillage incursions devastating and troubling the agricultural population and menacing urban centers.

Alexios Comnenos several times confronted them. Anna emphatically and in length refers both to her father’s combats and catechism, for he decided to convert them than to fight. According to her account, he systematically attempted by several means to keep Paulicians allies for he felt that the „Empire was cycled from everywhere by barbarians“24: When the „tagma of the Manicheans“ – 2800 or 2500 soldiers, probably Paulicians – under Xantas and Kouleon („γηγεμόνες“) led against the Normans abandoned the emperor. Alexios then reacted with temperament. He disarmed, confined them and confiscated their properties (1083). Afterwards, however, he released those who abjured their faith.25 Yet, the central part of the Balkan peninsula has been left insecure and open to plundering until the end of his reign. The absence of any political control in the Balkan peninsula went hand in hand with the vacuum of the ecclesiastical authority of Ohrid. When he marched against the Cumans, Alexios, since he „knew that they were extremely bold and impetuous against the enemy“,26 attempted „an apostolic rather than a military campaign“ („αποστολικήν αντί στρατιωτικής αναδεξάμενος αγωνίας“) in the area of Philippiopolis, a center of monophysite Armenians and Paulicians. We are told that he succeeded in converting thousands of them27 and that he awarded the repentants accordingly: to the military leader Kouleon offered donations, the soldiers were enlisted, to the farmers granted land, vineyards, houses etc., after relocating them in a castle called Neokastron close to Philippiopolis, whereas Kousinos and Pholos were confined.28 But all his efforts to fight rebels like Travlos, Alexios’ former servant and repentant Manichean, who joined Petsenegs (1083–86), like some years earlier Lekas (1078), were not successful.29 What all the abovementioned cases show is that between heresy, rebellion and social upheaval there is a link, a fact which means that religious dissent is a multi-dimensional historical phenomenon.

24 Ibidem, II, p. 47.
26 Ibidem, II, p. 44.
27 Ibidem, III, p. 184, „εἰς μυρίας καὶ χιλιάδας ανδρῶν πολλαριθμητῶν“. 
28 Ibidem, p. 183ff „ἀνδρες προστάτατος τῆς Μανιχαϊκῆς αἱρέσεως“. Similar practices existed in the West: see, for example, Barber, The Two Cities, p. 192.
Particularly, the punishments imposed by Alexios to the leaders, confinement, confiscation, and his lenient attitude towards the majority of dualists of the Balkan peninsula can be better understood, if we take into account their military role. Not accidentally, I suppose, Anna, like Peter of Sicily in 9th century, refers to Manicheans of Philippopolis as "υπόστοντος", a term reminding a special military body of the early Byzantine period, also heretical. It is about the Arian Goths who, since they were "foederati", were exempt from death penalty.30 Pursuing this practice Alexios Comnenos, like Justinian earlier, tried to balance the defense of the Balkan frontiers on the diffusion of dualism. This unstable equilibrium can, probably, explain the variety of the punishments imposed by him: he decided to confine the obstinate dualist military leaders, Cusinos and Pholos at the Palace of Constantinople while the bogomil Basil, the dualist "αφεσιάρχης", and his fellows, were condemned to death at stake by the emperor in common with the ecclesiastical authorities.31 In this way it becomes clear that religious tolerance in Byzantium is a determinate choice of earlier times linked with the concern for socio-political rather than religious coherence and for the defense of the state.

The above analysed evidence clearly shows that the notoriously belligerent character of the dualist heretics made them perfect defenders of the empire. On the other hand their doubtful loyalty – viewed as religious and political as well apostasy – and their pillage incursions created acute sociopolitical problems than solved the military ones. This contradictory relationship led the Byzantine state to the only possible policy: to attempt their conversion to orthodoxy rather than to condemn them to death. In this way religious dissent, viewed as multi-dimensional historical phenomenon conveying more general differences, can cast new light not only on the matter of attitudes towards heretics. It can also show that choice between death sentence and more lenient punishment is a matter not of penal code but of policy bound in contradictory way with military and social issues. The military role appointed to numerous dualist heretics32 – a phenomenon unknown to Western societies – can be then considered as a serious reason why the Byzantines avoid imposing death penalty over dualist heretics mainly Paulicians.

Besides the aforementioned socio-economic developments, as for the Western attitudes towards heretics, mainly Cathars, we should emphasize a doctrinal reorientation towards an absolute dualism, concerning the Western more than the Eastern heretics, occurred probably in the years between 1147 and 1167.33 As it has been argued by D.


31 Codex Justinianus, I, 5, 12 De haereticis et Manichaeis et Samaritis, "Ουδένα ... ούτε μετέχειν αξιώματος καθάπαξ ουδένος... πληρός της των καλοῦμενων κοσμίλινων... Εννοιαν μέντοι λαμβάνοντες, ότι Γοθως πολλάκις τοις καθοσιωμένοις εγγράφωντο φοιδηράτοις, ...ηυχηρήσας τι της ακριβείας αυτοίς συνοιδομένης και γινομένους ανεχεισθή φοιδηράτων και τιμώμενον, ου γαρ παραστατά τρόπον... Also Malchus, Excerpta de Legationibus, ed. Regiae, p. 94 „Πρασβείς ήλθον εκ Θράκης των υποστόνων Γόθων, ους δ' ει και φοιδηράτοις οι Ρωμαίοι καλούσι...“.


33 According to theTractatus de Hereticis, composed between 1260 and 1270 in Genoa, „since the
Obolensky, Nicetas, a leader of the Paulician community of Constantinople, who presided over the council of St Felix de Caraman (variably dated between 1167 and 1174–77, see map p. 25), 34 preached the absolute dualism to the Western dualists. According to some Latin documents, we know that he succeeded in imposing the absolute tendency of dualism originated in „Ecclesia Dugunthiae“ upon the Cathars who until then followed a moderate one, originated in Bulgarian dualistic Church. Additionally we are told that „he is known to have bestowed upon a number of Cathars the consolamentum, in a solemn ritual whereby an ordinary member of the sect was raised to the rank of ‘elect’ or ‘perfect’“. 35

This doctrinal tendency reminds us the homologue of the Paulicians of the Eastern Balkan area whose radical and tenacious beliefs alongside their military engagement engendered an alerting situation. Some decades later the widespread diffusion of the absolute dualism in the West developed an equally sharp conflict with the Church. The fact, however, that the Cathars were not soldiers but merchants and craftsmen differentiated greatly, among many other factors, the kind of menace they exerted over Western society. For this reason the punishment applied by the political and the ecclesiastical authorities towards them differed accordingly. Secular authorities and Church, when the campaigns of persuasion – worthy of note are the Cistercians with their military and monastic order 36 and later the Franciscans – the founding of monasteries or the menace of excommunication were not enough successful, resorted to the physical annihilation of the unrepentant heretics. 37

From the beginning the imposed punishment was the death at stake. Priscillian, the ascetic bishop of Avila was the last person to be condemned and decapitated in 384. Centuries afterwards the Capetian Robert the Pious applied the same policy: In 1022 he condemned dualists to death at stake. 38 During the 12th century councils were convened to elaborate a discourse against heresy as well as to define spiritual and temporal practices. The Church reminded secular authorities their duty to extirpate heresy and from 1178 an inquisitorial tribunal functioned in the county of Toulouse. But it was Pope Innocent III (1198–1213) who defined that heretics and dissident groups


35 Obolensky, Papas Nicetas, p. 497. According to the Summa de Catharis et Leonists, composed around 1250 by the former heresiarch Rainer Sacchoni, all the heretical churches „habuerunt originem de duabus ultimis (=Ecclesia Bulgariae and Dugunthiae)“, Primov, Rajner Sakoni, p. 548, n. 2.

36 In St Bernar’s words, they were „the restorers of the lost religion“, Br. Bolton. For the See of Simon Peter: The Cistercians at Innocent III’s Nearest Frontier, in: Innocent III: Studies on Papal Authority and Pastoral Care, Variorum Reprints, Hampshire 1995, p. 3.

had to return to the fold or suffer persecution. He also inaugurated more effective measures: In 1197 the Council of Gérome issued the death sentence at stake for the heretics. The inquisition of the bishops was also replaced by the papal inquisition equipped with full powers to persecute heresy. It was composed, for this purpose, a manual for the inquisitioners. Languedoc was the first place to accept such a body. Similarly, in the Balkan peninsula Bosnia experienced more than one Crusade, in 1221 and probably ca 1236–7.14 Meanwhile Crusades were organised to persecute Cathars. But mainly the Cathars of Languedoc suffered by the crusaders of the north with far-reaching political consequences. Later the emperor Frederik II included Honorius III’s anti-heretical canon code into the emperial legislation.

The difference we have just identified between Eastern and Western attitudes towards dualist heretics cannot be confined in terms of positive vs negative meaning, neither be dated, at least as far as the East is concerned, to the period in which the relevant laws and canons were being applied. As we have already stated, orthodoxy and heresy are manifestations of two conflicting views of reality, while the balance between them is the result of lengthy theoretical process and social transformations on many levels. From the general observations above it is evident that the heretics, when they claim that the visible world is created by the devil and advocate an ascetic life and resistance to secular authority or when they refuse to procreate, are challenging different social values in East and West. Of course, we would have a fuller understanding of what exactly was at stake, if we knew the social composition of the heretical groups in various different location. For the West it is known that dualism diffused all social strata and professions. Even though the phrase „L’ hérésie fille de la laine“ can be seemed as a simplification, as regards the question of the social status of the Cathars, it sheds light on the connection of the heresy with the newly appeared strata of merchants and manufacturers.42

Something similar could be said also regarding the Byzantine Bogomils and Paulicians. But, since these strata are not in a wide range developed in this period, we can only speculate: Disperse items of information about aristocrats and even bishops who had converted to dualism, show that the agitated and insecure atmosphere of urban settlements43 as well as some monastic centers (Athos, the monastery of Perlbletos in Constantinople etc.) were appropriate places for the diffusion of the heresy.

39 Br. Bolton. Tradition and Tenuity: Papal Attitudes to deviants, 1159–1216, Innocent III. p. 90 „All heretics were to be condemned ‘...no matter by what names they are known: they may have different faces but they are all tied together by their tails since they are united by their emptiness’“. Labal. L’ Eglise de Rome. p. 121. G. Bechtle. La sorcière et l’Occident La destruction de la Sorcellerie en Europe des origines aux grands bûchers, Paris 1997, p. 65.
42 Le Roy Ladurie, Histoire du Languedoc, p. 39. In this connection, it is worth nothing that Tisserants was also a name applied to heretics in France, Primov, Les appellations, p. 96. J. Duvernoy, L’ Histoire des Cathares, p. 122 and 208 where sources.
It is not a mere accident that the only woman referred to by name, the nun Irene, who takes an active role in converting two monks of Mount Athos, lives in Thessalonica.\textsuperscript{44} But what can be also accepted as certain is that the bulk of dualists were farmers and soldiers. The place does not allow us to focus on the available linguistic material revealing the eventual connection between the mountainous relief and the spread of dualism in the Balkans, namely the place-names like Babuni, Bogomili, Armenisko etc. It is also worth of mentioning the mountain and the river called both Babuni in the central part of Macedonia between Prilep and Veles.\textsuperscript{45}

On the other hand, comparing the socio-geographical diffusion of the heresy in the two worlds, a question arises about the fortified settlements, the „castra“, known in the West in this period as „sedes Satanae“.\textsuperscript{46} Montségur (=secure mountain), the „siège et tête“ of the Cathar Church in south France, burnt to the ground in 1244, remains the best and most famous example of such a fortified heretical castrum (see ph. p. 27).\textsuperscript{47} Indeed, Byzantine documentary evidence provides us with a few cases which allow us to connect this kind of settlement with the spread of dualism: Tefiki is the well known castrum in Asia Minor (see ph. p. 28), the cradle of Manichaeanism in 9th century.\textsuperscript{48} The „castrum heretricorum“ in Pelagonia, mentioned in the Western accounts of the First Crusade,\textsuperscript{49} as well as the „πολίχνιον“ Beliatova, probably a mountain retreat north of Philippopoulis used as base of Paulicians’ incursions under Travlos (1085–6),\textsuperscript{50} and Neoakron near river Evros seem to be similar cases. All these castra, though not necessarily identical from sociological perspective, since they are dated in different periods, are at least indicative references. Tefiki is connected with the military bastions known in accordance with the danger of Arabs. The unidentified „castrum heretricorum“ must be one from the numerous castra repaired or built on the Via Egnatia from the 11th century on. Neoakron is an even more illustrative case, since this kind of habitat was chosen by Alexios Comnenos to settle the repentant dualists who, according to Anna, were farmers.\textsuperscript{51} It is known that the fortified

\textsuperscript{44} Житие на свети Теодосий Търновски от патриарх Каллист Константинополски, текст, превод и коментар Ив. Марченевски, София 1995, с. 40. Irene reminds us of the Western „perfectae“; see M. Barber. Women and Catharism, in: Crusaders and Heretics, 12th–14th centuries. Variorum Reprints, London 1995.

\textsuperscript{45} Ivanov, Livres et Légendes Bogomiles, p. 63. Obolensky, The Bogomils, p. 165.

\textsuperscript{46} Labal, L’Eglise de Rome, p. 117 and 77; p. 101 on the social crisis of the castle nobility, a topic widely discussed by modern West-European scholars, see Le Roy Ladurie, Histoire du Languedoc, p. 39 („féodalité laïque“); Barber, The Two Cities, p. 186 („lesser nobility“).


\textsuperscript{50} Anne Comnène, Alexiade, II, p. 49 „πολίχνιον δε τοῦτο διακείμενον κατὰ τὴν ακροφιλίαν τοῦτο ταυτιστήκατο τῷ Βελισάντων τιμόμενος. Αυτὸν δὲ τοῦτο εὐθυρημοῦτος ὡσπερ ἵδιον τί λάχος λογισάμενοι εἰς αὐτὸ τῆς οἰκῆς επισύνοντο εἰς τὰς καθ᾽ εκάστην εκκαθήν εὐκρομάς ποιούμενον...“.

\textsuperscript{51} Ibidem, III, p. 184, „Τοὺς μὲν τὰ πρώτα φέροντας μεγάλοις ἐν οἷς διαρρέων καὶ τῶν στρατιωτῶν τοὺς λόγους κατέλεγον· τους δὲ χυδαιότερους συναθροίσας ἀπάντας καὶ ὅσοι σκαλαπεῖς ἥσαν καὶ περί ἄρτα καὶ βότας ἑσύληντο, πάντας συναγαγών ἀμα καὶ τέκνους καὶ γυναῖ-
castra in agricultural areas or the citadellae of cities were highly regarded thereafter, because of the growing danger of several invaders and the necessity of the agricultural population to be protected from them. From sociopolitical point of view it is worthy of noting that these very important places of habitat were offered by the Byzantine emperor quite often from the 11th century on, as a long-life donation to aristocrats in order to be repaired.  

Similarly, in the 12th century Theodores Balsamon informs us that "villages and entire castles" are inhabited by Bogomils. The testified number of Eastern castra which were settlements of heretics, albeit small, can they shed light not only on the social position of Paulicians but also on the difficulty which the Byzantine state had to exert control over them or, even more, to impose death penalty at least to their leaders. It is outside the scope of this paper to discuss in length the question which arises from the comparison of the Eastern and Western castles as suitable places for the dissemination of dualism. I only limit myself to put forward a question worthwhile to be studied: 

whether or not the diffusion of the heresy can be explained by a social crisis as regards the instability and the centrifugal political trends appeared from this period on. 

How, then, can we compensate, in our pursuit of a comparative approach to the phenomenon of the persecution of the heresy in East and West, for the absence of sources similar to the records kept by the inquisitioners so abounding of information? Despite the speculative character of our research on heresy as social phenomenon in East, there are in fact groups of sources which are capable of casting light on the ideological practices of the Eastern Church and state towards the heretics during the late Medieval period. I am speaking first of all here of the "humane" tendency introduced into the penal code from the 8th century onwards. But more illustrative sources for our subject are some hagiographic texts, principally those referring to the myroblytoi saints (St. Demetrios, St. Theodora of Thessalonica etc.), the texts abjuring heresy ("έγγραφος ἁρπαζεσσ") as well as some archaeological finds, such as the small vessels called koutrounia (see ph. p. 23), the lockets worn around the neck ("εὐκόλπιος" or "εὐκόλπιο") etc. These groups of sources are not, of course, homogeneous nor do they provide direct testimony concerning heresies. The one thing they have in common, however, is that they presuppose the existence of evil in everyday life, an evil from which the Church is at pains to protect its orthodox flock. From this perspective we are enabled to

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53 Photii Patarchae Nomocanon tit. x, cap. 8, "χωρία βοσομιλικά καὶ ακέραια κάστρα" (the reference in Obolensky, The Bogomils, p. 229. He also suggests Macedonia as the original home of the sect whereas Eastern Bulgaria and Thrace as the cradle of Paulicians, hence he locates Ecclesia Bulgariæ in Macedonia and Ecclesia Dugnathie in the Paulician communities of Thrace, p. 156 and 167).
a) avoid the danger of confining our comparative approach entirely to the contradistinction between the Eastern and Western Church, and

b) focus our attention precisely on a content analysis of Byzantine „humanism“, which, despite being the feature of most striking contrast with the Western Church, has received little attention from scholars.

Then, we emphasize the group of archeological sources, namely the various kinds of *phyllacteries*, because we consider them, from anthropological perspective as a strong evidence of developing a style of popular religiosity. The militant Eastern Church, promoting widely the use of myron in *phyllacteries* – the words „φυλακτήριον“ and „φυλακτήριον“ were hitherto used by pagans – as well as relics of saints etc., offered an alternative protection against evil.

We ascertained, then, that the healing oil or myrrh acquired enhanced significance in both theological thought and everyday life by the acquisition of new properties: known hitherto as a symbol of the confirmation of the faith („confirmatio fidei“), along with the act of anointing and the rite of baptism, the myrrh is also used in the later Middle Age as an *apotropaic* symbol, one with the power to ward off evil. In this latter capacity the myrrh was believed to protect the faithful Christian from the evil which threatened him and stood between him and the possibility of eternal bliss. But what, apart from the natural calamities and all the various ills associated with earthy life, were the new manifestations of evil? It had long been known that the devil was accustomed to employ „demons in corporal form“ („σαρκίνοι δαιμόνες“, „δαιμονοπρόσωποι“), i.e. heretics, as his precursors and heralds. And now, devil was more visible in everyday life than ever before, with the unprecedented spread of dualist heresies, which strongly emphasize his power as creator of the terrestrial world („αρχών της ύλης“).

It would appear, then, that, in response to this new danger, the myrrh functioned as a faith-reinforcement, through the spread of the cult of these saints. At the same time it was used, and this appears to have been close to its original function, in anointing, sometimes after baptism, those heretics who proclaimed their repentance and wished to be accepted into the fold. The aforementioned letter, addressed to Peter of Bulgaria by the Patriarch of Constantinople Theophylaktos, is revealing from several points of view: He advises Peter, to deal with the „newly emerged heresy“ („νεοφανής αἵρεσις“) as „a preacher of piety, a teacher of orthodoxy and a corrector of heretical error rather than as a persecutor and a murderer“. In this way Theophylaktos gives an illu-

55 See The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium, v. III and I respectively, Popular religion and Demonology. P. Joannou. Démonologie populaire, démonologie critique au Xe siècle: La Vie inédite de S. Auxence par M. Psello, Wiesbaden 1971. One can find no „critical“ nuance in late-medieval demonology. For popular religion in the West, which is not different of that described above, see Barber, The Two Cities, p. 168ff.


Секция „История“ | 469
minating example of the Church’s influence over civil authorities to adopt a lenient attitude towards heretics in a period even earlier than the one under scrutiny.

The Church pursuing this practice maintained the old pattern of thought and fought with “weapons” — this is meant in the title Πανοπλία δομικσική of the anti-heretical treatise by Euthymios Zigabenos — not dissimilar from the ones of heretics: appropriated the pagan instruments of exorcism and, by “christianizing” their content, presented them as superior to the pagan phylacteries, called thereafter “prisons” („δεσμωτήρια“). As the pagan phylacteries were substituted by the Christian ones, the sorcerers gave their position to the saints.⁵⁷ Both, phylacteries full of myrrh and saints, mainly myrobyltoi, were presented as more powerful in the sphere of visible and superior in that of the invisible.⁵⁸ In this way the Eastern Church keeping intact the underlying conceptions tried to modify pagan practices towards evil by christianizing only their content.

Among the aforementioned practices the use of myron, as an exclusively Eastern practice, is, I think, worthy to be studied from ideological and political point of view. I have analysed in a previous study, the documentary evidence on the relationship between the emergence and spread of dualism in the Balkans in the late Medieval period and the spread of the cult of myrobyltoi saints. I attempted to explain the phenomenon of the emanation of myron out of the relics of myrobyltoi saints as an ideological practice initially inspired by the Church as a counter-measure in view of the dissemination of dualistic heresies. Afterwards it also received the sanction of the political authorities and spread through the Byzantine Empire. Among many others saints, Demetrios of Thessalonica is an illustrative example of a myrobyle saint: venerated initially as an aristocrat („ὑποκεφαλική“) protector of the city, after the close of the 7th century he was transformed to a military saint to defend Thessalonica from the slave invasions. Finally from the 11th century onwards myron began emanating from his tomb capable to work miracles. During the reign of Manuel Comnenus his cult was transferred to Constantinople and even to the Medieval Balkan states with this new attribute, as a myrobyle saint.⁵⁹

The transformation of both Christian worlds are clearly portrayed in the theories pertaining the framework of the terrestrial and the celestial worlds. While the enhanced significance of sacramental symbolism gained prominence in the East, new theories elaborated by Western theologians led to the redefinition of the spatial disposition into the visual representation of the soul’s destination after death, introducing a new element, the purgatory. It was to purgatory an intermediate location between hell and paradise, that the souls of „the intermediate good“ and „intermediate bad“ persons („οι μεσοί“) would come immediately after separation from their worldly bodies. Here, it was supposed, they would be granted the opportunity to repent of, at least, some of their sins.⁶⁰ I have not been able to establish with certainty whether or

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⁵⁷ It is interesting to note that heretics („αποστάτες“) and sorcerers („μάγοι“ and „φιλοκτήριοι“) were sentenced to death. See above, n. 7.


⁵⁹ For further information, see my Heresies and Myrobyltoi Saints.

not apostasy, like f.i. usury, was numbered among the venial sins.

From this point of view the question of purgatory, as it was elaborated in the West, is outside the scope of this paper, although its establishment has been connected with the spread of heresies. The insistence, however, of the Eastern Church on retaining the old structure of the after-life world (hell/paradise vs eternal fire/life) is pertinent to our theme insofar as the call to repentance for all sins as a matter of urgency here and now, in the visible world, was psychologically even more compelling. The significance of after-death penance is enhanced, of course, throughout Christendom. From this perspective it is no mere accident that through theological discourse and iconography the Church, intended to inspire terror of the eternal fire which awaits the unrepentant, emphasize vivid and grotesque descriptions, textual and pictorial, of the devil and hell. It is known that in the West the Fourth Lateran Council (1215), emphasized the sacramental nature of penance by the requirement of universal annual confession and absolution by a priest. But repentance during lifetime was even more stressed, particularly by the Eastern Church, because no other way of remission and salvation could be expected after death. By the striking way in which Church art represented the eternal fire – a distinction between official art and art in agricultural areas would be illustrative (,,το εξώτερον,, ,,τριγύρος των οδόντων,, etc.), one could realize the way in which the faithful Christian experienced the urgency to perform penance before death.

Additionally the Eastern Church shows a vivid concern to


63 Purgatory (,,καθαρτήριον") was from the 13th century onwards a much debated issue between Eastern and Western European intellectuals. The debate was initiated by Georges Bardanes (G. Dagon. La perception d’une différence, Les débuts de la ,,Querelle du Purgatoire", Actes du XVe Congrès international, d’études byzantines, Athènes sept. 1976, Athens 1980, p. 84–92) and continued during the Council of Lyon (V. Laurent, J. Darrouzès. Dossier grec de l’Union, de Lyon (1273–1277). Archives de l’ Orient Chrétien, 16, Paris 1976, p. 497 ff. and p. 499). Later Marcus Eugenios voiced the same opinion in the Council of Florence (Documents relatifs au Concile de Florence. I. La Question du Purgatoire à Ferrare, éd. L. Petit. Patrologia Orientalis, t. XV, 1, no. 72, Turnhout 1973, c. 150, ,,ούδεμία πρόσκαιρας τιμωρία φοβεί, καὶ δριμυτὰ τασῶν νομίζοιτο, τους επηρεπός πρὸς τὴν κακίαν ἔχοντας... καὶ αὐξανόμεθα ταῦτα τῆς ἐπικαιρίας διὰ τὸ λείψαν ηδονῆς καὶ τὸ τραχόν τῆς αρετῆς καὶ πρόσωπος, ὥστε βέλτιον εἶναι καὶ φοβερότερον τὴν ἁξιολογία τοῦ μέλλοντος εαυτοῦ επηρεαστεινκαι αγνοεῖν ὁποιας τινὸς εἰπετείχει δίκης τα παρ’ ἡμῶν ειρηματένα...). Ταῦτα οὖν φοβερότερα τοῦ καθαρτήριον καὶ πρὸς μετάνοιαν κινητικώτερα...”). See also Symeon of Thessalonica, Dialogos contra Haereses, P G. 155, 117, who emphasises the need for the Church to insist on the existence of the Hell as a secure crown: ,,Εἰ γαρ ἔστι νῦν πῦρ, καὶ τελευτά αὐτῷ ἡ οὐδήν, καὶ τέλος ἔσται κολάσεως. Αὐτὸ τοῦ οὐδήν κολάσεως εἰρήκει ο Κύριος, ως καὶ αἰώνιον βασίλειαν...Οὕτω γαρ η ἀπόδασις... Καὶ επελεύσονται οὕτω εἰς κολάσιν αἰώνιον, οι δὲ δίκαιοι, εἰς ζωήν αἰώνιον." Cf. Manuel Calecas, Adversus Graecos, P G. 152, 228–36, ch. ,,De igne purgatorii", who shared the Western opinion on purgatory.

64 On public penitence in the West, see Barber, The Two Cities, p. 172; in Bosnia it was organised by Franciscan missionaries (1373–78), Duvernoy, L’Histoire des Cathares, p. 61.
inspire together with the fear of the hell the eschatological message of Christianism. In the representations of the Last Judgement – a theme fully developed after 11th century – among the depictions of several sinful professionals one can find a few heretical teachers (Arios, Nestorios etc.) or, seldom, groups of heretics being punished in the eternal fire. 65 How much deep-rooted in the Orthodox worldview is the above belief about eternal punishment is the phrase often heard in everyday life „your sin on your neck“ („το κρίμα στο λαμό σου“). 66 This probably can also explain the enhanced eschatological message as well as the absence of individualisation of different punishments in the hell, mainly in the official iconography of big centers in East Christendom. 67

The points we have touched on briefly have shown that both Christian worlds treated the threat of heresy as an issue of central importance, and further evidence for this is the fact that the combined response of both Church and state was considered necessary. In both worlds the heretics, portrayed either as demon-possessed, insane, contagious or just as dangerous persons, 68 were demonized and made into scapegoats, like in general all heterodox groups. By the threat of anathema or death at the stake for those who refused to abjure their heretical dogmas, the Church and state were not only providing for the salvation of the souls of their Christian flock, but also preserving the cohesion of their societies and, above all, assuring the continuation of their own authority.

Our investigation of the historical aspects and complexity of the phenomenon of heresy has shown that the measures employed to repress it were significant on more than one level and corresponded to socio-political concerns of great importance. Manifestation of popular intolerance are testified in both East and West but they are unequally investigated. 69 It appears that the authorities and possibly a part of the dynamic middle class emerging in the West viewed heresy as a mortal danger. On the other hand, it cannot be excluded that centrifugal tendencies of similar strata led them to religious dissidence. And thus a penalty of appropriate severity was inflicted initially by the Western states and later also by the Church on those who dared to challenge the ruling class (12th century).

In the East the contradictory relationship between dualists – „υπόστονδοι“ sol-

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67 There is also another similarity between the East and the West. Speaking about Western Christendom, Morris, *The Papal Monarchy*, p. 526, concludes that the „soul was now thought of as being assigned at death to heaven, hell, or purgatory. The Last Judgement continued to be depicted in churches, but significance was now to represent the choice facing the individual at death... the great majority of Christians was ceasing to have any eschatology at all.”

68 A. Vauchez. *Diables et hérétiques*, passim, suggests a transformation of the portrait of the heretics during the late-medieval period.

69 See, for example, H. Delehaye, *Les Saints Stylistes*, Subsidia hagiographica 14, Bruxelles-Paris 1923, p. 72, „ο δήμος επέφονει λέγον... ο βασιλεύς ορθόδοξος εστιν... τους εθνους της ορθοδοξίας ζώντας καύσουν...“. Ioannou, *Dénonomologie populaire*, passim and A. Vauchez. *Diables et hérétiques*, p. 594, see the cited bibliography on the change which occurred in the Church’s attitude towards the heretics as a cultural phenomenon. See also above, n. 10.
diers or not – led the „humane“ („φιλάνθρωπος“) emperor and the Church to the virtual abolition, except in extreme cases, of the death penalty. The available documentary evidence, albeit disperse, provides us with an insight into the balancing between „humane“ and repressive attitudes towards heretics: it showed that all dualist heretics, though equally dangerous, were not to be extirpated especially those engaged as „υπόσπονδοι“ in the Byzantine army. Confronting the problem of cohesion and that of the defense of the empire, Eastern Church and state felt compelled to devise fair than violent counter-measures for the restriction of the heresy.

In this complex socio-political process the Church came to occupy a central position more significant than the repressive mechanism of the state in the late-Byzantine society. All spheres felt its ideological impress, everyday life, legal code and even political conflicts. The perturbed late-Medieval society, because of menacing enemies and the insecure political atmosphere, was oriented by the predominant hesychast movement to the invisible world and the eternal salvation than to the problems of the terrestrial life. According to this reorientation ideological means than physical repression was preferable: The enhanced spiritual nature of the sacraments, among them the emanation of myron out of the relics and tombs of myroblintoi saints, as well as the reinforcement of the eschatological content of the Orthodox faith are such a means. While the Western Church was developing elaborated scholastic ways of questioning and persecuting heretics, witches etc., the Eastern Church devised symbolic ways of reinforcing the faith of the Christian. Following the tradition of Symeon the Theologian, the hesychasts, like Symeon of Thessalonica and Nicolaos Cabasilas, elaborated, from a mystical point of view, the symbolic content of liturgy. They have also invented additional attributes of myron connected with deification („Θεοσοφία“). In this way, depreciating the terrestrial world, they emphasized the final opportunity for repentance of those heretics who would accept baptism and receive unction, abjuring their heresy.\(^{70}\) For this reason abjurations and anti-heretical treatises rather were composed than questionnaires.

Can we assume that Eastern authorities resort to these means because less important things were at stake than those we have hinted at in the Western world or because contradictory factors relating with the defense of the Byzantine empire impeded extreme means? Were absolute dualists (Cathars, Patarins etc.) more numerous in the West than in the East (Paulicians) and how coherent were all these dualist groups in the cities and in the rural areas?\(^{71}\) Between the Eastern Manicheans one can discern, following mainly Anna’s clear evidence, a distinct social character of two groups: the Bogomils, who were farmers usually inhabitants of towns and preferred moderate dualism, and the Paulicians, the armed warlike groups („αναλαμβανόμενοι ἵππους καὶ ὀπλα“, „μοχιμώτατοι“ and „αἰματως ἀπουγείσθαι τῶν εὐθρών ετοιμασθείσων“).


tatót"), inhabiting strong cities and "castra", who believed in absolute dualism. 72 But how one can explain the lenient ("humane") stance of the Byzantine emperor and of Church towards both heretic groups? Once more Anna provide us with an eloquent evidence: We are told that the emperor did not impose to the Paulicians a severe punishment in order to avoid revenge ("εδείξει μη απογόντες χείρον τι μελετήσειν"). On the contrary, the Bogomils were not supposed to react violently. For this reason in the case of their hierarch Basil the emperor thought he could impose the death punishment, without taking the risk of provoking an uprising. From this perspective the quite different attitude followed by him and the Church, for example towards Kouleon and Xantas, leaders of warlike soldiers, and, on the other hand, towards Basil, monk by appearance ("το ἐνδύμα μοναχός"), and his apostols ("ούς εκείνος προσεχισάτο αποστόλους") shows what was the rule and what was the exception. It seems, then, that what differentiates the second from the first case is the military service, often appointed to Paulicians as 'professional' soldiers. Different reasons can explain the "humane" stance towards Bogomils: probably they were a more numerous group, but not equally dangerous, since they were not armed and because their moderate dualism was closer to the 'orthodox' Christian faith.

The fragmentation of the empire in 1204 and the political instability after 1261, already suggested as reasons for the prevailing of the humane) stance in Byzantium, can also explain this kind of attitude. 73 In the same way one can understand why the Paulicians survived until 19th century unlike their coreligionists in the West. Indeed, the political situation of the empire must have had some impact on the way in which Church and state confronted dualism, but, on the other hand, we have to take into account that the "humane" stance was inaugurated and applied, albeit not systematically, in earlier centuries, when the empire was, at least theoretically, strong enough to extirpate dualism. Equally crucial for our understanding are, in my opinion, the questions concerning the prevailing religious and political ideology of hesychasm as well as symbolic devices adopted by political and ecclesiastic power to reinforce the faith of the orthodox flock and to convince the heretics to abjure dualism. Was there a chance that excommunication and the eternal damnation of the soul was experienced in the Eastern world as a far worse fate than the mere death of the body? A last question arises from the standpoint of the dualists who – we should not forget – also considered themselves as pure Christians: Were the absolute and the moderate dualists equally ready to repent or to afford the "μαρτύριον" of conflagration? 74 Unfortunately we know less about them than those who condemned heretics.

72 Anne Commène, Alexiad, II, p. 45 and III, p. 179, "οι λεγόμενοι Βογόμιλοι... και οι δωσθενότατοι Παυλικαίνοι... και οι δωσθενότατοι Παυλικαίνοι" and "... αγριωτέρους όντας τας γνώμας και ωμος και μέρης αίματος διακινησθήσων..."; p. 180 "... των ερμηνοτάτων πόλεων και φρούριον, α κατεχον τυραννικές... των σκυθικών εκείνων διεκδικοί των υπούλιων..." (the emphasis is mine).

73 According to Lambert, Medieval heresy, p. 141, "both the impact and the ultimate fate of dualism was less dramatic than in the West... It was handicapped by the troubles of the failing Byzantine state, fragmented as it was after the Fourth Crusade of 1203-4 and still afflicted in problems of authority in the last phase after...1261.".

74 Th. Balsamon, Rhalli, Potli, Σύνταγμα, I, p. 191, "... Τότε αμεταθέτως έχοντες της οικείας αἰρέσεως οι βογόμιλοι, ως μαρτύριον προήφτασον την καυσίν...". We are often told by Anna Comnena that often they fake repentance and easily abjure their faith.
1a. Vessels (κουτρούβια) for myron from Gratianou

Sources:


1b. Vessels for holy water from St Thomas of Canterbury
2. Western Heretics and Eastern Dualists

Source:

3. Dualists Churches and the Spread of Dissension
4. Monstégur in Languedoc, France

5. Tefrike: cradle of Manichaeism in Asia Minor

Source: