СРЕДНОВЕКОВНА ХРИСТИЯНСКА ЕВРОПА: ИЗТОК И ЗАПАД

MEDIEVAL CHRISTIAN EUROPE: EAST AND WEST

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REPENTANT 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-

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[1] See *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, v. I, New York, Oxford 1991, *Heresy*, p. 918–20. M. D. Chenu. *Orthodoxie et hérésie. Le point de vue du Théologien*, In: Hérésies et sociétés dans l'Europe préindustrielle 11e–18e siècles, Communications et débats du Colloque de Royaumont, ed. J. Le Goff, Paris-La Haye 1968, p. 9–17.

[2] There is a vast literature on dualistic heresies: St. Runciman. *The Medieval Manichee. A Study of the Christian Dualist Heresy,* Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 1991 [1947]. D. Obolensky. *The Bogomils. A Study in Balkan Neo-Manichaeism,* Twickenham Middlesex 1972 [1948]. J. Gouillard. *L'*

sies originated in the Asian provinces of the Empire, and were brought over to Thrace by migranting populations.[3] 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.[4]

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.)[5] 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 („δυσ-σέβεια και αποστασία"), because it challenged the view that the emperor was by the grace of God His appointed representative on earth („οικουμένη").[6] 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 mesures against those heretics who would not recant: military action, confiscation, burning at the stake, exile.[7] The Church, on the other

hérésie dans I' empire Byzantin dès origines au XIIe siècle, Travaux et Mémoires 1(1965), p. 299–324. N. G. Garsoïan. *Byzantine Heresy. A Reinterpretation*, Dumbarton Oaks Papers 25 (1971), 87–113. D. Angelov. *Le Bogomilisme en Bulgarie*, Paris 1972. M. Loos. *Dualist Heresy in the Middle Ages*, Praha 1974. B. Primov. *Les Bougres. Histoire du Pope Bogomile et de ses adeptes*, Paris 1975. Fr. Sanjek. *Les Chrétiens Bosniaques et le mouvement Cathare XIIe-XVe siècles*, Publications de la Sorbonne, Nauwelaerts, Louvain 1976.

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

[4] 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.

[5] See, for example, Euthymios Zygabenos, *Πανοπλία δογματική*, P. G. 130, 1289–1332, ch. Κατά Βογομίλων, composed in 1122.

[6] The Satan was believed to have committed a rebellion („απόστασις") against God, see Pierre de Sicile. *Histoire des Pauliciens*, éd. Ch. Astruc et al.; *Les sources grecques pour I' histoire des Pauliciens d' Asie Mineure*, Travaux et Mémoires 4 (1970), p. 19, 20 and 57, 29 passim. Also *De Photius récit abregé de la récente réapparition des Manichéens*, ibidem, p. 141, 7 and 25. Th. Balsamon. *Collectio Ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae*, P. G. 138, 1188; 1193.

[7] See, for example, the canon adopted by the Nicean council (325): „Μανιχαίοι βαπτίζονται... αρειανοί χρίονται". On the contrary, secular law extracted death penalty from Manicheans and Montanists (*Ecloga* 17, 52, early 8th century). Around 688, when heresy was still a local phenomenon, Justinian II had a Manichaean *didaskalos*, Symeon-Titos, burned at the stake, P. Lemerle. *L' Histoire des*

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 („ἐπιτιμία") 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.[8] 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 mesures 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 („ἐξαναβαπτιζέσθωσαν"), while the believers only to be anointed („σφραγιζέσθωσαν δε χριόμενοι τω αγίω μύρω"); those, who had joined them but were less involved in the heresy, had to be kept at a distance for a four-month period („δεχθήτωσαν επί τετράμηνον αφορισθέντες").[9] The Patriarch also informs Peter of the civil laws („πολιτικοί νόμοι"), according to which death penalty should be extracted from the heretics („θάνατον επάγουσι αυτοίς") 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

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Pauliciens d' Asie Mineure d' après les sources grecques, In: Essais sur le Monde Byzantin, Variorum Reprints, London 1980, p. 63 and 75 (Pierre de Sicile. *Histoire des Pauliciens*, §111 and *De Photius récit abregé*, §71). Theophanes. *Chronographia*, ed. C. de Boor, I, Leipzig 1839, p. 401, mentions the unsuccessful attempt of Constantine V (741–75) to convert a group of Montanists, who, however, preferred to commit suicide in their churches. The emperor Michael (811–13) also persecuted the Paulicians vehemently: Ibidem, p. 494–5. See Th. Korres. Οι διώξεις των Παυλικιανών επί Μιχαήλ Α΄, *Βυζαντινά* 10 (1980), p. 206–15. One century later, the aforementioned canon of the Nicean council was introduced into the *Appendix* of the *Ecloga*, L. Burgmann, Sp. Troianos. *Appendix Eclogae*, Fontes Minores III, ed. D. Simon, Frankfurt am Main 1979, p. 107. Sp. Troianos. *Τα περί την θρησκείαν εγκλήματα εις τα νομοθετικά κείμενα των μέσων βυζαντινών χρόνων, Δίπτυχα* 1(1978), p. 169. Idem, „Θεσπίζομεν τοίνυν, τάξιν νόμων επέχειν τους αγίους εκκλησιαστικούς κανόνας...", Βυζαντινά 13, 2(1985), p. 1191–1200. Idem, *Η μαγεία στα βυζαντινά νομικά κείμενα,* Η Καθημερινή ζωή στο Βυζάντιο, Proceedings of the I Intern. Symposium, Athens 1989, p. 565.

[8] See, for example, the debate between Theodore of Stoudios (759–826) and patriarch Nikephoros cited by P. Lemerle, L' Histoire des Pauliciens, p. 80–1. P. Alexander. *Religious Persecutions and Resistance in the Byzantine Empire of the Eighth and Ninth Centuries: Methods and Justifications*, Speculum 52(1977), p. 238ff.

[9] Iv. Dujčev. *L'epistola sui Bogomili del Patriarca Constantinopolitano Teofilatto*, Studi e Testi 232, Mélanges Eugène Tisserant, v. II, Città del Vaticano 1964, p. 89.

that they had many elements in common. Western heretics appeared almost simulta-
neously. 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 „Manechaeans who are known as
Populicani (=Pavlikianoi)".[10] Contemporary sources provide evidence of their expan-
sion 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 ecclesiastial and political authorities. More signifi-
cantly, they refused to work and to pay taxes.[11] They were divided into two orders:
priesthood („perfecti") and ordinary believers („credentes").

Testimony about the origin, the relationship and the Eastern influence over Western
dualism is provided predominantly by Western polemicists, 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 reli-
gious books.[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).[13] Further, we must note that in the West dualists posed a

[10] Runciman. *The Medieval Manichee,* p. 121–2. R. I. Moore. *The Birth of Popular Heresy.
Documents of Medieval History* I, London 1975, p. 8ff. A. Vauchez. *Diables et hérétiques: Les réactions
de l' Eglise et de la société en Occident face au mouvements religieux dissidents, de la fin du Xe au début
du XIIe siècle,* In: Sancti e demoni nell' alto Medio Evo occidentale (secoli V–XI), Settimane di Studio
dell' Centro Italiano di Studi sull' alto Medioevo 36, Spoleto 1989, v. II, p. 573–601. P. Labal. *L' Eglise
de Rome face au Catharisme,* Les Cathares en Occitanie, Paris 1982, p. 11 ft. See also R. Nelli. *Les
Cathares. Hérésie et démocratie,* Paris 1972. J. Duvernoy. *L' histoire des Cathares,* In: II Le Catharisme,
Toulouse 1979. R. Laffont. Les *Cathares en Occident,* Paris 1982. Anne Brenon. *Les Cathares. Pauvres
du Christ ou Apôtres de Satan,* Paris 1997. B. Primov. *Medieval Bulgaria and the Dualist Heresies in
Western Europe,* Etudes historiques à l' occasion du XIe Congrès international des sciences historiques
– Stokholm 1960, Sofia 1960, p. 79–103. C. Morris. *The Papal Monarchy. The Western Church from 1050
to 1250,* Oxford, p. 339ff. Ancient Καθαροί were considered schismatics, see above, n. 1. The terme is
supposed to derive from Cattus, C. Ginzburg. *Ecstasies. Deciphering the Witche's Sabbath,* London 1991,
p. 78 and A. Brenon. *Heresies in the Middle Ages: „There are two Churches",* Concilium 271 (juin
1997), p. 67.

[11] Labal. *L' Eglise de Rome,* p. 28 and 40–3.

[12] Б. Примов. *Райнер Сакони като извор за връзките между катари, павликяни и богомили,*
Изследвания в чест на Марин Дринов, София 1960, с. 535–69. Th. S. Thomov. *Les appellations de
„Bogomiles" et „Bulgares" et leurs variantes et équivalents en Orient et en Occident,* Etudes Balka-
niques 9, 1(1973), p. 77–99. B. Labal (*L' Eglise de Rome,* p. 33ff., 39–42, 223 and p. 199 whith cited bib-
liography, 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 contre les Bogomiles de Cosmas le Prêtre,* traduction et étude, Paris
1945).

[13] *Le Livre secret des Cathares.* Interrogatio Iohannis *Apocryphe d' ohgine bogomile,* édition critique,
traduction, commentaire Ed. Bozóky, Paris 1980, p. 86: „Explicit secretum hereticorum de Concorresio
portatum de Bulgaria Nazario suo episcopo plenum erroribus." Also M. D. Lambert. *Medieval Heresy.
Popular Movements from Bogomil to Hus,* London 1977. D. Obolensky. *Papas Nicetas: A Byzantine*

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 contributed 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 dualistic 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 theological 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 different developments in their wake.

The 11th century witnessed the beginning of a dynamic demographic and economic expansion of the Westerners which involved, among other developments, penetration of the Balkan peninsula. The intensifying of the commercial activities of the Italian and Languedocian cities – what has been called „commercial capitalism" – created a new class of merchants and manufacturers,[14] while on the ideological level secular 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 successfuly, 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 occured in the social and economic structure.

The dualist heresies were established 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 unrepentant 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

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Dualist in the Land of the Cathars, Harvard Ukrainian Studies. Okeanos. Essays presented to Ihor Ševčenko 7 (1983), p. 489–500.

[14] F. Braudel. *Η Μεσόγειρος και ο μεσογειακός κόσμος την εποχή του Φιλίπου Β΄. Α΄Ο ρόλος του περίγυρου*, Athens 1991 (Greek translation), p. 390. On the socio-economic developments in the south of France, see Em. La Roy Ladurie. *Histoire du Languedoc,* Paris 1962, p. 23ff.

[15] N. Svoronos. *Société et organisation intérieure dans l'empire byzantin au XIe siècle: Les principaux problèmes*. Etudes sur I 'organisation intérieure, la société et l'économie de l'Empire Byzantin, Variorum reprints, p. 9: the „οι αριστοκρατικοί, οι ευ γεγονότες, οι εν τέλει, οι άρχοντες, οι ευγενείς" 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.[16] 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 Philippoupolis 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 („ευλογίαι") of the

Tabl. 3, 1a – 1b

σύλλογοι, σωματεία, συστήματα" as well as „οι άρτι προκόπτειν αρξάμενοι" who are also distinguished from the crowd. Al. Kazdan, Ann Wharton Epstein. *Changes in the Byzantine Culture in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries*, Berkeley 1994, p. 158ff.

[16] On Basil, see below, n. 31. Another exception is mentioned by Th. Balsamon, G. A. Rhalli, M. Potli. *Σύνταγμα θείων και ιερών κανόνων*, v. I, Athens 1852, p. 191 (1143–46). A third case known to us is luvenalius, in the 14th century, see Ig. Medvedev. *Η υπόθεση του αποστάτη Ιουβενάλιου από την άποψη του δικαίου*, Βυζαντιναί Μελέται 3 (1991), p. 152–73. Idem, *Η θανατική ποινή στην ερμηνεία του Βαλσαμώνος*, Ibidem 4(1992), p. 118–37. M. Barber. *The Two Cities. Medieval Europe 1050–1320*, London, New York 1993, p. 173, rightly points out that „Crusading did more than anything else to turn prejudice into violence.". To this, we could add that they „exported" to Byzantium the violent pattern of attitude towards heretics: they burnt „quodam castrum hereticorum" located in Pelagonia in 1096, *Anonymi Gesta Francorum et aliorum Hierosolymitanorum*, ed. B. A. Lees, Oxford 1924, p. 8 (Obolensky. *The Bogomils*, p. 163, thinks that they were Paulicians) and according to Villehardouin. *La Conquête de Constantinople*, ed. A. Faral, Paris 1961, v. II, p. 210, the Frankish knight Renier de Trit burnt the quarter of the heretics in Philippoupolis.

[17] В. Николаев. *Един феодален институт от XII в. в нашите земи със специално предназначение*, Известия на Института за българска история 1951, с. 99–186 and P. Gautier, *Le Typikon du Sébaste Grégoire Pakourianos*, Revue des Etudes Byzantines 42 (1984). Barber, *The Two Cities*, p. 192.

[18] Ch. Bakirtzis. *Ampoules de Thessalonique*, L'Art de Thessalonique et des pays balkaniques et les courants spirituels au XIVe siècle. Recueil des Rapports du IVe colloque serbo-grec, Belgrade 1985, Belgrade 1987, p. 205–9. See, for example, *Vie Saint Thomas le Martyr de Canterbire of Gamier of Pont-Sainte-Maxence* by Janet Shirley, Garnier's Becket translation of the 12th century, Llanerch 1996 [1975],

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.[19] 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.[20] 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 „ὑπόσπονδοι" under an „ἔξαρχος".[21] Peter informs us also that their religious beliefs brought about the impressive policy of the emperors Michel (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 „ἔξαρχος", of particular interest is that they passed the borders and joined the Saracens. Being near the frontiers, the repentant 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, ἔξαρχον ἔχον τον Χρυσόχειρον Διακονίτζην").[22] 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 explicticly connects Paulicians with military service and particularly with the defense of the borders is John Tsimisces (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.[23] In Anna's word, he transformed them from „enemies" („αντιμά-

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p. 157 „...they take phials home with them as a sign of their journey. People bring a cross back from Jerusalem, a Mary cast in lead from Rocamadour, a leaden shell from St. James; now God has given Saint Thomas this phial, which is loved and honoured all over the world, ...he has the martyr's blood taken all over the world, to cure the sick.".

[19] J.-P. Albert. *Odeurs de sainteté. La mythologie chrétienne des aromates,* Paris 1990.

[20] Ioannis Zonarae, *Annales,* Bonn 1897, p. xviii, 23 speaking about a τάγμα Μανιχαίων under Alexios Comnenos, refers that „εκθέσμως μέχρι τότε δη στρατευόμενον· στρατεύεσθαι γαρ τους Μανιχαίους αρχαίος φόμος καθάπαξ απείργει.". See below, n. 32.

[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,*II, 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. „Pavlikiani" 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. *Alexiade,* 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 όπλα").

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 lenth 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 („ηγεμόνες") led against the Normans abandoned the emperor. Alexios then reacted with temperance. 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 extremly bold and impetuous against the enemy",[26] attempted „an apostolic rather than a military campaign" („αποστολικήν αντί στρατιωτικής αναδεξάμενος αγωνίαν") in the area of Philippoupolis, a center of monophysites Armenians and Paulicians. We are told that he succeeded in converting thousand of them[27] 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 Philippoupolis, 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.

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[24] *Ibidem,* II, p. 47.

[25] *Ibidem,* I, p. 151–2 „Άνδρες άπαντες ούτοι μαχιμώτατοι και αίματος απογεύεσθαι των εχθρών καιρού καλούντος ετοιμότατοι και προς γε έτι και ιταμοί και αναίσχυντοι." and II, p. 14.

[26] *Ibidem,* II, p. 44.

[27] *Ibidem,* III, p. 184, „εις μυρίας και χιλιάδας ανδρών πολυαριθμήτων".

[28] *Ibidem,* p. 183ff. „άνδρας προστάτας της Μανιχαϊκής αιρέσεως". Similar practices existed in the West: see, for example, Barber, *The Two Cities,* p. 192.

[29] Anne Comnène. *Alexiade,* II, p. 48ff. El. Malamut. *L'image byzantine des Petaénègues,* Byzantinische Zeitschrift 88, 1(1995), p. 134ff. On Lekas, see Ph. Malingoudis. Ένα αλβανικό όνομα στις βυζαντινές πηγές, Βυζαντινά 8 (1976), p. 159–65, where the cited sources. J.-Cl. Cheynet. *Pouvoir et contestations à Byzance (963–1210),* Byzantina Sorbonensia 9, Paris 1990, p. 317 and 392.

Particularly, the punishments imposed by Alexios to the leaders, confinment, 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 Philippoupolis as „υπόσπονδοι", 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 „αιρεσιάρχης", 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 heretics[32] – 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, occured probably in the years between 1147 and 1167.[33] As it has been argued by D.

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[30] Anne Comnène. *Alexiade*, II, p. 50. The exemption is mentioned byTh. Balsamon. *Collectio*, P. G. 138, 1193, the „cohortalini" (=„gregarii et viliores milites") heretics. Cf. J. Maspero. *Φοιδεράτοι et Στρατιῶται dans l' armée byzantine au VIe siècle*, Byzantinische Zeitschrift 21 (1912), p. 99, n. 10. *Codex Justinianus*, I, 5, 12 De haereticis et Manichaeis et Samaritis,

„Ουδένα ... ούτε μετέχειν αξιώματος καθάπαξ ουδενός..., πλην της των καλούμενων κοορταλίνων... Έννοιαν μέντοι λαμβάνοντες, ότι Γόθους πολλάκις τοις καθωσιωμένοις εγγράφομεν φοιδεράτοις, ...συγχωρήσαί τι της ακριβείας αυτοίς συνοίδομεν και γινομένων ανέχεσθαι φοιδεράτων και τιμώμενων, ον αν ημίν παρασταίη τρόπον.". Also Malchus, *Excerptia de Legationibus*, ed. Regiae, p. 94 „Πρέσβεις ήλθον εκ Θράκης των υποσπόνδων Γόθων, ους δη και φοιδεράτως οι Ρωμαίοι καλούσι.".

[31] Anne Comnène, *Alexiade*, III, p. 219–28.

[32] *Ibidem*, I, p. 151 cf. II, p. 14 on the heretics' numbers.

[33] According to the*Tractatus 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 (variously 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 homologe of the Paulicians of the Eastern Balkan area whose radical and tenacious beliefs alongside their military engagment 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 craftsmaen differenciated 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 convoked 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 functionned in the county of Toulouse. But it was Pope Innocent III (1198–1213) who defined that heretics and dissident groups

French were first seduced in Constantinople by the Bulgarians, in the whole of France they call the heretics Bulgarians." (1147) [the reference in Obolensky, Papas Nicetas, p. 495]. Cf. the words „bou(l)gre (ancient Français) 'albigeois, sodomite', les Bulgares ayant été manichéens" and „**Bougre, -esse** (Bogre 'Bulgare', 1172)... péjoratif ...Interjection Bougre!", *Dictionnaire Petit Robert*, Paris 1979. Runciman, *The Medieval Manichee*, p. 168–9. Primov, *Les appellations*, p. 96–7.

[34] Obolensky, *Papas Nicetas*, p. 497. A. Dondaine. *Les Actes du concile albigeois de saint Félix de Caraman*, Miscellanea Giovani Mercati V, Studi e Testi 125, Rome 1946.

[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 ultimus (=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.

[37] J. Le Goff. *Les racines médiévales de l' intolérance*, in: L' intolérance, Paris 1998, p. 39 „La situation change profondément du XIe au XIVe siècle. La chrétienté devient une 'société de persecution'.". Morris, *The Papal Monarchy*, p. 344, in „the century after 1140 the Church moved from persuasion to coercion.".

[38] Brenon, *Heresis*, p. 65. Labal, *L'Eglise de Rome*, p. 46–7 and J. B. Russell. *A History of Witchcraft. Sorcerers, Heretics and Pagans*, London 1980, p. 58 „the core ideas of historical witchcraft were now assembled for the first time at a trial for heresy.".

had to return to the fold or suffer persecution. He also inaugurated more effective mesures: In 1197 the Council of Gérome issued the death sentence at stake for the heretics.[39] The inquisition of the bishops was also replaced by the papal inquisition equiped with full powers to persecute heresy. It was composed, for this purpose, a manual for the inquisitioners.[40] 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.[41] 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 lenthy 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 settlements[43] as well as some monastic centers (Athos, the monastery of Peribleptos in Constantinople etc.) were appropriate places for the diffusion of the heresy.

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[39] Br. Bolton. *Tradition and Temerity: 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. Bechtel. *La sorcière et l'Occident La destruction de la Sorcellerie en Europe dès engines aux grands bûchers,* Paris 1997, p. 65.

[40] A. Dondaine. *Le Manuel de l' Inquisiteur (1230–1330),* Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum 17(1947), p. 85–194.

[41] Lambert, *Medieval Heresy,* p. 142–3. Duvernoy, *L'Histoire des Cathares,* v. II, p. 58 ff.

[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.

[43] See, for example, Annae Comnenae, *Alexias,* II, Bonn 1878, p. 352, „καί τινες τῶν Βογομίλων εἰς τὰ ἀνάκτορα ἤγοντο..." and p. 358. On the existing centrifugal trends and the role of the Church, see N. Oikonomides. *Pour une typologie des villes „séparées" sous les Paléologues,* Geschichte und Kultur der Palaiologenzeit, ed. W. Seibt, Wien 1996, p. 169–75 and my *Βυζαντινή Θεσσαλονίκη Χῶρος καὶ ιδεολογία,* Ioannina 1996, p. 173ff. and 193–4.

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.[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, Armensko etc. It is also worth of mentioning the mountain and the river called both Babuna in the central part of Macedonia between Prilep and Veles.[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".[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).[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: Tefrike is the well known castrum in Asia Minor (see ph. p. 28), the cradle of Manichaeism in 9th century.[48] The „castrum hereticorum" in Pelagonia, mentioned in the Western accounts of the First Crusade,[49] as well as the „πολίχνιον" Beliatova, probably a mountain retreat north of Philippoupolis used as base of Paulicians' incursions under Travlos (1085–6),[50] and Neokastron 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. Tefriki is connected with the military bastions known in accordance with the danger of Arabs. The unidentified „castrum hereticorum" must be one from the numerous castra repaired or built on the Via Egnatia from the 11th century on. Neokastron 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.[51] It is known that the fortified

[44] *Житие на свети Теодосий Търновски от патриарх Калист Константинополски*, текст, превод и коментар Ив. Марчевски, 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.

[45] Ivanov, *Livres et Légendes Bogomiles*, p. 63. Obolensky, *The Bogomils*, p. 165.

[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").

[47] M. Roquebert. *Montségur Les cendres de la liberté*, Toulouse 1998, p. 45.

[48] See Pierre de Sicile. *Histoire des Pauliciens*, §184ff. and Lemerle, *L' Histoire des Pauliciens*, p. 92ff. and pi. I and II.

[49] See above, n. 16. N. G. Garsoïan. *The Paulician Heresy. A Study of the Origin and Development of Paulicianism in Armenia and the Eastern Provinces of the Byzantine Empire*, p. 15, n. 9 with cited sources („Publicani") and Obolensky, *The Bogomils*, p. 163, n. 2.

[50] Anne Comnène, *Alexiade*, II, p. 49 „πολίχνιον δε τούτο διακείμενον κατά την ακρφίαν του κατά ταυτηνί την Βελιάτοβαν τέμπους. Άοικον δε τούτο εφευρηκότες ώσπερ ίδιον τι λάχος λογισάμενοι εν αυτώ τας οικήσις εποιούντο είτα τας καθ' εκάστην εκαίθεν εκδρομάς ποιούμενοι...".

[51] *Ibidem*, III, p. 184, „Τους μεν τα πρώτα φέροντας μεγάλων ηξίου δωρεών και των στρατιωτών τοις λόγασι κατέλεγε· τους δε χυδαιοτέρους συναθροίσας άπαντας και όσοι σκαπανείς ήσαν και περί άροτρα και βόας ησχόληντο, πάντας συναγαγών άμα και τέκνοις και γυναξ-

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.[52]

Similarly, in the 12th century Theodores Balsamon informs us that „villages and entire castles" are inhabited by Bogomils.[53] 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 lenth 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.[54] 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 („ἔγγραφος ἄρνησις"), as well as some archaeological finds, such as the small vessels called *koutrouvia* (see ph. p. 23), the lockets worn around the neck („εγκόλπια" or „επικόλπια") 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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ίν και πόλιν τούτοις δειμάμενος αγχού που Φιλιππουπόλεως και πέραν Εύρου του ποταμού εκείσε τούτους μετώκισεν. Αλεξιούπολιν την πόλιν κατονομάσας ή και Νεόκαστρον, ό και μάλλον επεκράτησεν, αποδασάμενος και τούτοις κακείνοις αρούρας τε και οινόπεδα και οικίας και κτήσιν ακίνητον.".

[52] N. Oikonomides. *The donations of castles in the last quarter of the 11th century, in:* Polychronion Festschrift Franz Dölgerzum 75. Geburgstag, Heidelberg 1966, p. 413–7.

[53] *Photii Patriarchae Nomocanon* tit. x, cap. 8, „χωρία βογομιλικά και 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 Bulgariae* in Macedonia and *Ecclesia Dugunthiae* in the Paulician communities of Thrace, p.156 and 167).

[54] T. H. Gregory. *The Ekloga of Leo III and the concept of Philanthropia,* Βυζαντινά 7 (1975) p. 269–87. Th. Balsamon's commentary, Phalli, Potei, Σύνταγμα II, p. 442–47.

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 *phylacteries,* because we consider them, from anthropological perspective as a strong evidence of developing a style of popular religiosity.[55] The militant Eastern Church, promoting widely the use of myron in *phylacteries* – the words „φυλακτήρια" and „φυλακτήριοι" 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 δαίμονες", „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 („άρχων της ύλης").[56]

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 αίρεσις") 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-

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[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. Psellos,* 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.

[56] C. Mango. *Diabolus Byzantinus,* Dumbarton Oaks Papers 46 (1992), p. 215–22, for the period till 11th century. In both literature and iconography after the 11th century there appears a widespread concern with the devil: P. Gautier. *De Daemonibus du Pseudo-Psellos,* Revue des Etudes Byzantines 38 (1980), p. 131 dates the text in the second half of 13th-first half of the 14th century. Idem, Pseudo-Psellos. Graecorum opiniones de Daemonibus, ibidem 46 (1988), p. 85–107. Th. Provatakis. *Ο Διάβολος εις την Βυζαντινήν τέχνην,* Thessaloniki 1980. For a social history of Satan, see El. Pagels. *The Origin of Satan,* London 1995. J. Baschet. *Les Justices de I'Au-Delà. Les représentations de I'Enfer en France et en Italie (XIIe–XVe siècle),* Paris 1993.

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 δογματική* of the anti-heretical treatise by Euthymios Zigabenos – not dissimilar from the ones of heretics: appropriated the pagan instruments of exorcisation 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 *myroblytoi,* 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 *myroblytoi* saints. I attempted to explain the phenomenon of the emanation of *myron* out of the relics of *myroblytoi* saints as an ideological practice initially inspired by the Church as a counter-mesure 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 *myroblyte* saint: venerated initially as an aristocrate („ύπατος") protector of the city, after the close of the 7th century he was transformed to a military saint to defend Thessalonica from the slav invasions. Finally from the 11th century onwards *myron* began emanating from his tomb capable to work miracles. During the reign of Manuel Comnenos his cult was transferred to Constantinople and even to the Medieval Balkan states with this new attribute, as a *myroblyte* 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 prominance 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 μέσοι") would come immediately after separation from their wordly 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 „φυλακτήριοι") were sentenced to death. See above, n. 7.

[58] D. de Abrhamse. *Magic and Sorcery in the Hagiography of the Middle Byzantine Period,* Byzantinische Forschungen 8 (1982), p. 3–17. The same type of punishment was imposed on heretics („αποστάται"), see Th. Balsamon's commentary, Rhalli, Potli, *Σύνταγμα,* II, p. 442–7. Troianos, *Η μαγεία στα βυζαντινά νομικά κειμένα,* p. 549–72. See also, n. 57.

[59] For further information, see my *Heresies and Myroblytoi Saints.*

[60] Jacques Le Goff, *La naissance du Purgatoire,* Paris 1981. P. Brown. *Vers la naissance du Purga-*

not *apostasy*, like f.i. usury,[61] 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.[62] 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.[63] 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".[64] 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 („πυρ το εξώτερον", „τριγμός των οδόντων" etc.), one could realize the way in which the faithful Christian experienced the urgency to perform penance before death.

Additionally the Eastern more than the Western Church shows a vivid concern to

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toire. Amnistie et Pénitence dans le Christianisme occidental de l'Antiquité tardive au Haut Moyen Age, Annales ESC 52, 6 (1997), p. 1247–61. The purifying fire („καθαρτικόν πυρ") has nothing to do with the fire where heretics found the death. See πυρ in G. W. H. Lampe. *A Patristic Greek Lexicon,* Oxford 1968. Also *Purgatoire* in *Dictionnaire de Théologie Catholique* 13 (1936).

[61] J. Le Goff. *The Usurer and Purgatory,* in: The Dawn of Modern Banking, Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, University of California, Los Angeles, New Haven-London 1979, p. 25–52 (non vidi).

[62] Le Goff, *La naissance du Purgatoire,* p. 229–35.

[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. Dagron. *La perception d'une différence: Les débuts de la „Querelle du Purgatoire",* Actes du XVe Congrès intern, 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 Marcos Eugenicos voiced the same opinion in the Council of Florence *(Documents relatifs au Concil de Florence. I. La Question du Purgatoire à Ferrare,* éd. L. Petit. Patrologia Orientalis, t. XV, 1, no. 72, Turnhout 1973, c. 150, „ουδεμία πρόσκαιρος τιμωρία φοβεί, καν δριμυτάτη πασών νομίζοιτο, τους επιρρεπώς προς την κακίαν έχοντας, ... καταφρονήσουσι ταύτης της επικαίρου διά το λείον της ηδονής και το τραχύ της αρετής και πρόσαντες, ώστε βέλτιον είναι και φοβερώτερον τη αδελία του μέλλοντος εαυτούς επιτρέπεινκαι αγνοείν οποίας τινός επιτεύξαι δίκης τα παρ' ημών ειργασμένα... Ταύτα ουν φοβερώτερα του καθαρτηρίου και προς μετάνοιαν κινητικώτερα...")*. See also Symeon of Thessalonica, *Dialogus contra Haereses, P. G.* 155, 117, who emphasises the need for the Church to insist on the existence of the Hell as a scare crow: „Ει γαρ έστι νυν πυρ, και τελευτά αυτού η οδύνη, και τέλος έσται κολάσεως. Αλλ' αιώνιον κόλασιν ειρήκει ο Κύριος, ως και αιώνιον βασιλείαν. ...Ούπω γαρ η απόφασις, „Και επελεύσονται ούτοι εις κόλασιν αιώνιον, οι δε δίκαιοι, εις ζωήν αιώνιον". 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 λαιμό 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 mesures employed to repress it were significant on more than one level and corresponded to socio-political concerns of great importance. Manifestation of popular intolerence 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 tendancies 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 – „υπόσπονδοι" sol-

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[65] M. K. Garidis. *Etudes sur le Jugement Dernier post-byzantin du XVe à la fin du XIXe siècle. Iconographie-esthétique,* Thessalonica 1985, p. 22 ff. and 85–91. See also El. Revel-Neher, *The image of the Jew in the Byzantine Art,* Oxford, 1992, p. 108.

[66] K. P. Chatziioannou. *Αι παραστάσεις των κολαζομένων εις τους βυζαντινούς και μεταβυζαντινούς ναούς της Κύπρου,* Επετηρίς Εταιρείας Βυζαντινών Σπουδών 23 (1953), p. 299.

[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. Vaucher. *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 Stylites,* Subsidia hagiographica 14, Bruxelles-Paris 1923, p. 72, „ο δήμος επεφώνει λέγων· ... ο βασιλεύς ορθόδοξός εστιν· τους εχθρούς της ορθοδοξίας ζώντας καύσον· ...". Joannou, *Démonologie 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 perturbated late-Medieval society, because of menacing enemies and the insecure political atmosphere, was oriented by the predominent hesychast movement to the invisible world and the eternal salvation than to the problems of the terresrial 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 *myroblytoi* 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 („θέωσις“). 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 ίππους και όπλα“, „μαχιμώτατοι“ and „αίματος απογεύεσθαι των εχθρών ετοιμό-

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[70] Symeonis Thessalonicensis, *De sacro ritu sancti unguenti*, P. G. 155, 237 ff; Nicolai Cabasilae, *De Vita in Christo* II, P. G. 150, 521 c respectively. For a general survey of sources see, L. Clucas. *The Triumph of Mysticism in Byzantium in the Fourteenth Century*, Byzantina και Metabyzantina, 4, Byzantine Studies in Honor of Milton V. Anastos, ed. Sp. Vryonis, Jr., Malibu 1985, p. 163–224.

[71] Cf. Obolensky's conclusion: „the seeds of the Albigean Crusade well and truly sown at the Council of St. Felix de Caraman", Papas Nicetas, p. 500. C.Violante. *Hérésies urbaines et hérésies rurales en Italic du XIe au XIIIe siècle*, in: Hérésies et Sociétés dans I'Empire pre-industrielle, p. 171–98 and Ph. Wolff. *Villes et Campagnes dans I' hérésie cathare*, ibidem, p. 203–7.

τατοι"), 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 („εδεδίει μη απογνόντες χείρον τι μελετήσειεν"). On the contrary, the Bogomils were not supposed to react violently. For this reason in the case of their heresiarch 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 ένδυμα μοναχός"), and his apostols („ους εκείνος προεχειρίσατο 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.

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[72] Anne Comnène, *Alexiade,* II, p. 45 and III, p. 179 „οι λεγόμενοι Βογόμιλοι... και οι **δυσθε**-**ώτατοι** Παυλικιανοί" and „... αγριωτέρους όντας τας γνώμας και ωμούς και μέχρις αίματος διακινδυνεύοντας ..."; p. 180 „... των ερυμνοτάτων **πόλεων** και **φρουρίων,** α κατείχον τυραννιώντες ... των σκυθικών εκείνων διεκδρομών ..." (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 αιρέσεως οι βωγόμιλοι, ως μαρτύριον προήρπαζον την καύσιν.". We are often told by Anna Comnena that often they fake repentance and easily abjure their faith.
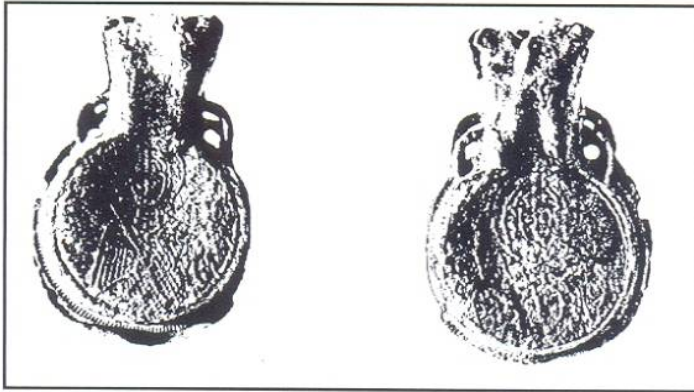
1a. Vessels (κουτρούβια) for myron from Gratianou
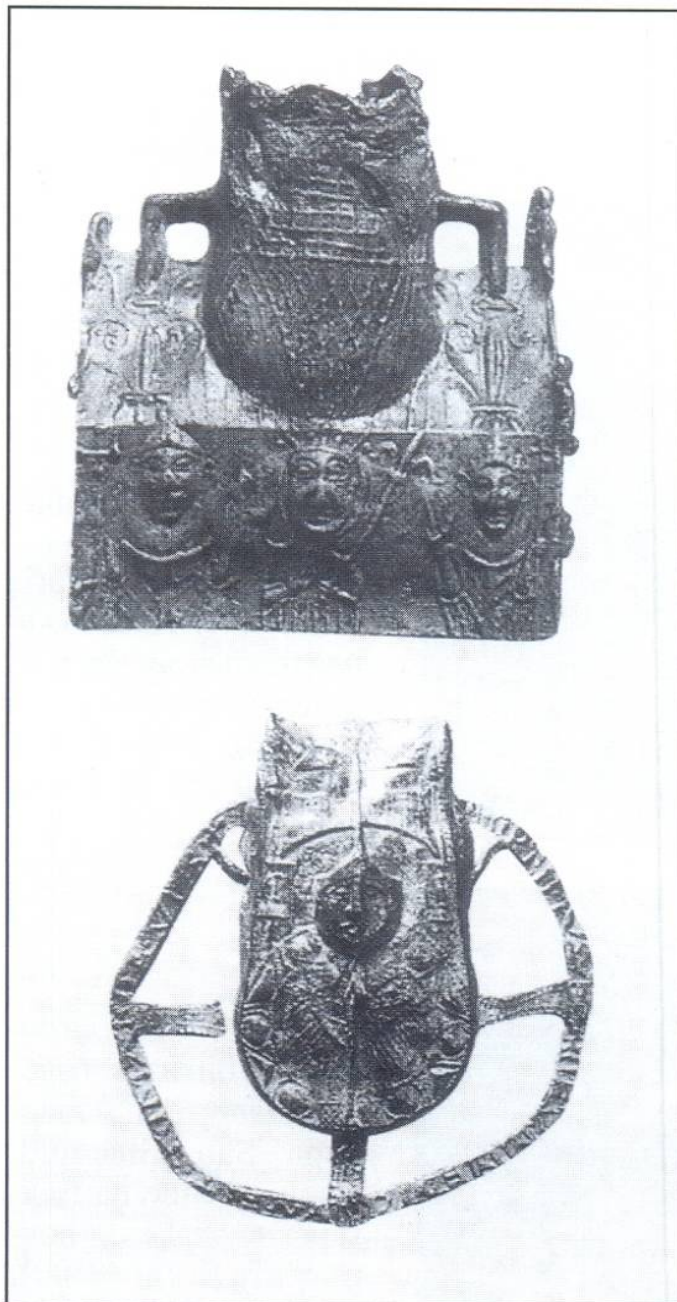
Sources:
1a. Ch. Bakirtzes, Κουτρούβια μύρου από τη Θεσσαλονίκη, *Jahrbuch der Österreichschen Byzantinistik* 23/ 3 XVI. Internationaler Byzantinistenkongress Akten II/ 3, Wien 1982, 529.

1b. *Canterbury and Becket "Power to Inspire"*, 7th April-31st October 1997, Canterbury Cathedral (Leaflet of the Exposition).
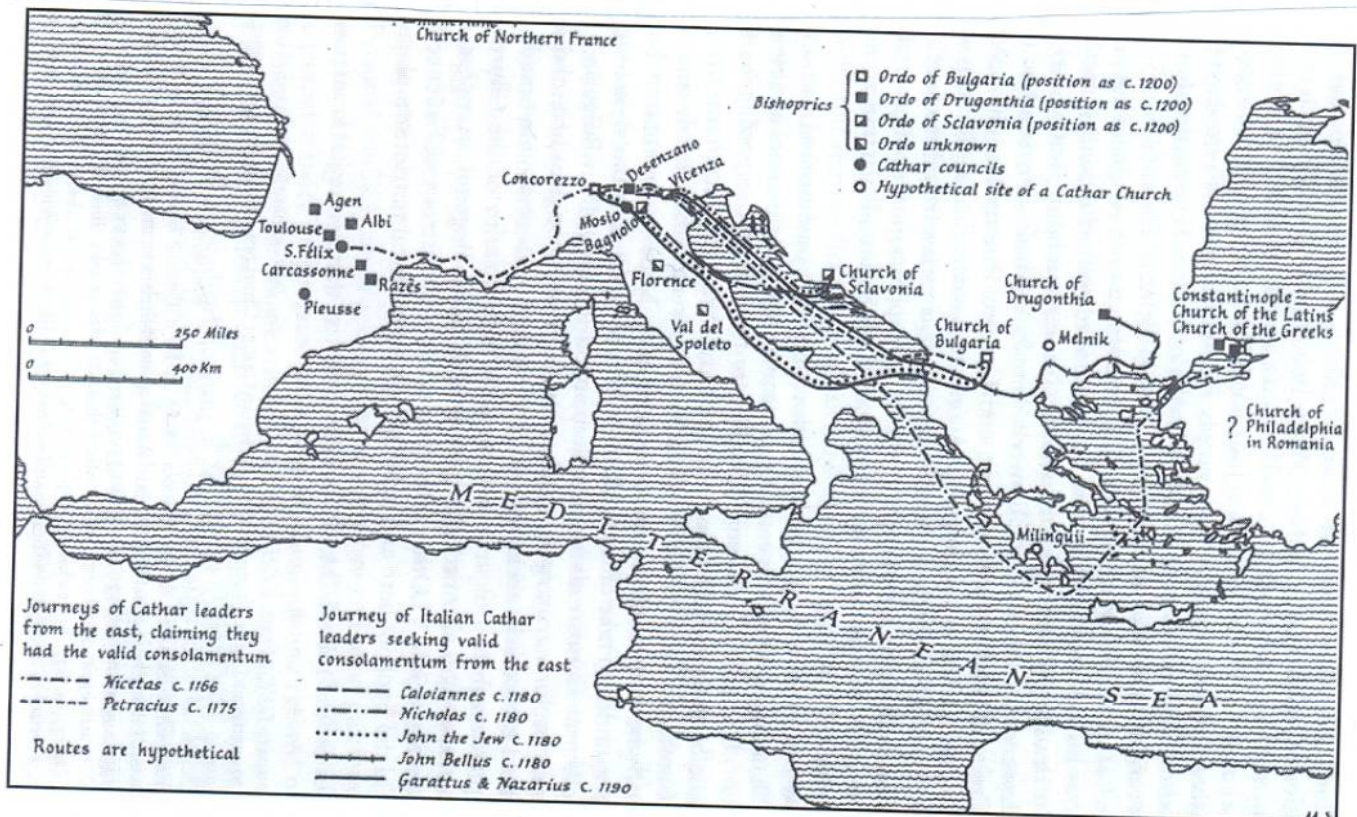
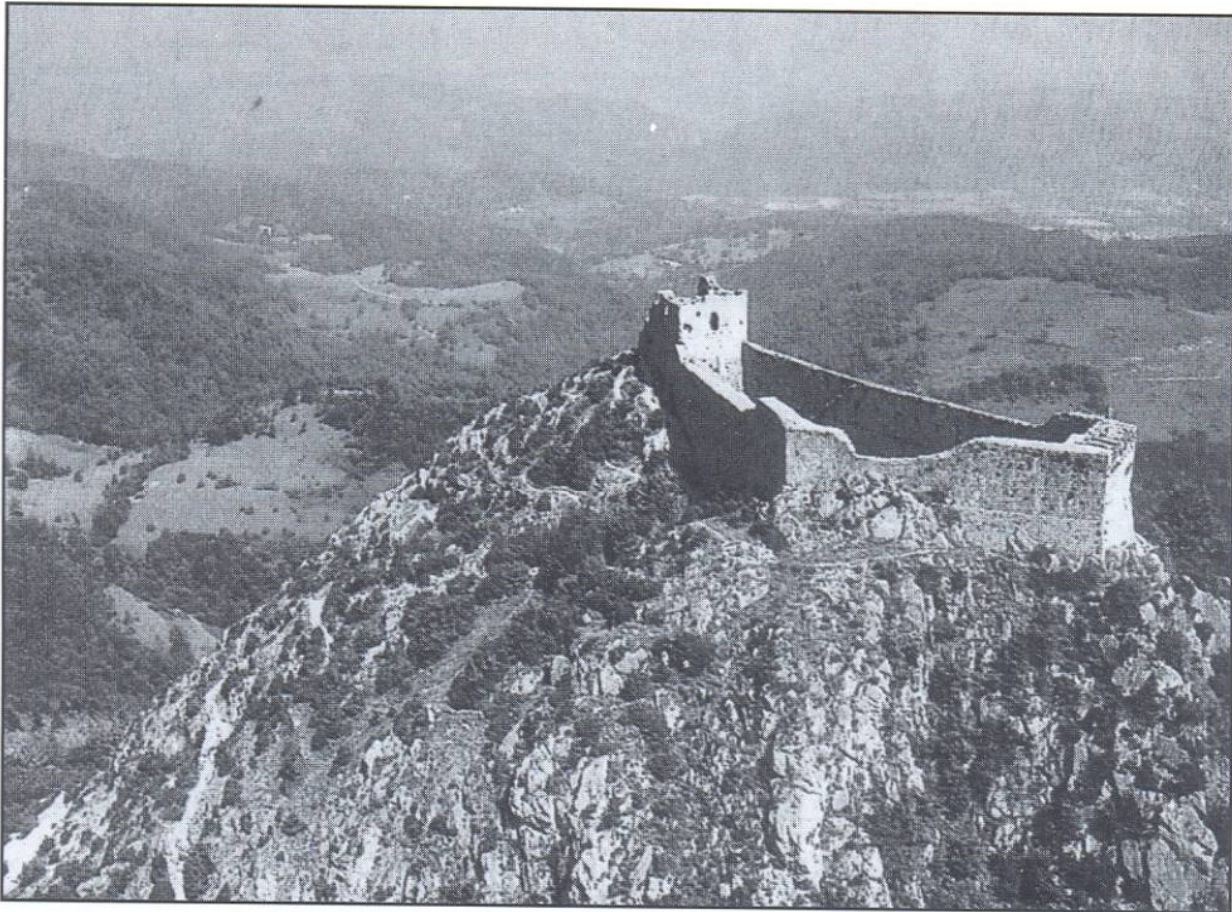1b. Vessels for holy water from St Thomas of Canterbury

Tabl. 3
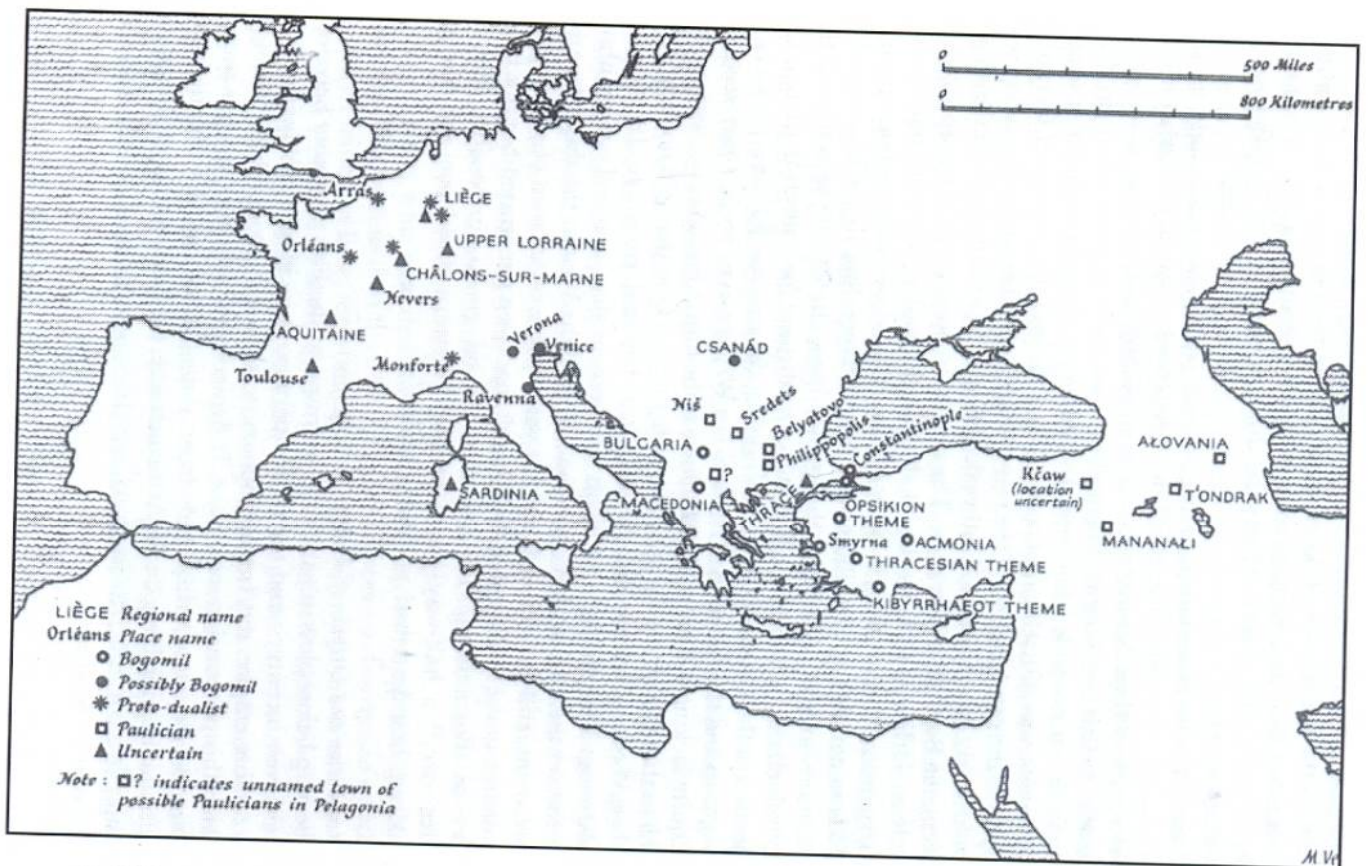
2. Western Heretics and Eastern Dualists

Source:

M. D. Lambert, *Medieval Heresy Popular Movements from Bogomil to Hus*,
London 1977, p. 34 and 129.

3. Dualists Churches and the Spead of Dissension

4. Monstégur in Languedoc, France

5. Tefrike: cradle of Manichaeism in Asia Minor

Source:
P. Lemerle, L'Histoire des Pauliciens d'Asie Mineure d'après les sources grecques,
Essais sur le Monde Byzantin, Variorum Reprints, London 1980, pl. 1.

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