

INTERNATIONAL SCIENTIFIC CONFERENCE
**CYRIL AND METHODIUS:
BYZANTIUM
AND THE WORLD OF THE SLAVS**
THESSALONIKI 2015



ΔΗΜΟΣ ΘΕΣΣΑΛΟΝΙΚΗΣ

ΠΡΑΚΤΙΚΑ ΔΙΕΘΝΟΥΣ ΕΠΙΣΤΗΜΟΝΙΚΟΥ ΣΥΝΕΔΡΙΟΥ
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ΜΟΥΣΕΙΟ
ΒΥΖΑΝΤΙΝΟΥ
ΠΟΛΙΤΙΣΜΟΥ



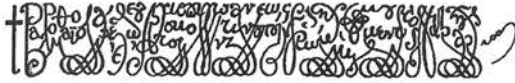
MUSEUM
OF BYZANTINE
CULTURE



ΚΕΝΤΡΟ ΜΕΛΕΤΗΣ
ΠΟΛΙΤΙΣΤΙΚΗΣ
ΚΑΡΠΟΝΟΜΙΑΣ
ΚΥΡΙΑΛΟΥ
ΚΑΙ ΜΕΘΟΔΙΟΥ



2013 *Year of Saints*
CYRIL AND
METHODIUS



Τῷ Ἐντιμωτάτῳ κυρίῳ Ἰωάννῃ Μπουτάρη, Δημάρχῳ Θεσσαλονίκης, τέκνῳ τῆς ἡμῶν Μετριότητος ἐν Κυρίῳ ἀγαπητῷ, χάριν καὶ εἰρήνην παρὰ Θεοῦ.

Εἰς τὴν παγκόσμιον ἱστορίαν ἐλάχιστα ἀποστολαὶ ἔχουν καθορίσει εἰς τοιοῦτον βαθμὸν τὴν ἐξέλιξιν αὐτῆς καὶ ἔχουν καταλείψει τοσοῦτον ἀνεξίτηλον ἴχνος ὅσον ἡ ἀποστολὴ τῶν ἁγίων ἀδελφῶν Κυρίλλου καὶ Μεθοδίου τῶν Θεσσαλονικῶν εἰς τὴν Μεγάλῃν Μοραβίαν πρὸς εὐαγγελισμόν τῶν Σλαβικῶν λαῶν. Τοιοῦτον περιτράνωσ ἀποδεικνύει ὁ ἀποδιδόμενος αὐτοῖς σεβασμὸς καὶ ἡ εὐγνώμων ἀναγνώρισις τῆς προσφορᾶς τῶν ἁγίων ἱσαποστόλων τόσον ὑπὸ τῶν ἐν Μεγάλῃ Μοραβίᾳ Σλαβικῶν φύλων ὅσον καὶ ὑπὸ πάντων τῶν Σλαβικῶν λαῶν, τῶν τιμῶντων αὐτοὺς ὡς φωτιστὰς καὶ εὐεργέτας αὐτῶν. Καὶ οὐχὶ ἀναίτιως διότι οἱ δύο Θεσσαλονικεῖς ἀδελφοὶ δὲν μετέδωκαν «τοῖς ἐν σκότει καὶ σκιᾷ θανάτου καθημένοις» Σλαβικοῖς λαοῖς μόνον τὸ ἀληθὲς φῶς τῆς εἰς Χριστὸν πίστεως, ἀλλ' ἤνοιξαν εἰς αὐτοὺς τὴν λεωφόρον τοῦ πολιτισμοῦ, θέσαντες τὰ θεμέλια τῆς ἀναπτύξεως καὶ ἐξελιξέως τῶν Σλάβων ἐν τῷ ἱστορικῷ γίγνεσθαι καὶ δικαίωσαντες τὸν ὄραματισθέντα τὴν ἀποστολὴν ταύτην καὶ ἐπιτέλεσαν αὐτοὺς μέγαν πατριάρχην Κωνσταντινουπόλεως Φώτιον.

Δικαίως, ὅθεν, σεμνύνεται καὶ καυχᾶται ἡ γενέτειρα αὐτῶν Θεσσαλονικίη διὰ τὰ λαμπρὰ αὐτῆς τέκνα καὶ τιμὰ κατὰ χρέος τὰς ἱεράς αὐτῶν μορφὰς καὶ τὴν μεγίστην αὐτῶν προσφορὰν. Ἀποτελεῖ δὲ ἀξίειπαινον πρωτοβουλίαν ἡ ἀπόφασις τοῦ Δήμου Θεσσαλονίκης ὅπως τιμῆσῃ τὴν 1150ὴν ἐπέτειον τῆς ἐνάργεως τῆς ἀποστολῆς τῶν ἁγίων Κυρίλλου καὶ Μεθοδίου ἐν Μεγάλῃ Μοραβίᾳ διὰ τῆς ἀνακηρύξεως τοῦ τρέχοντος ἔτους ὡς ἔτους «Ἁγίων Κυρίλλου καὶ Μεθοδίου», διοργανώσῃ δὲ καὶ τὸ ἐγκαινιζόμενον σήμερον Διεθνὲς Ἐπιστημονικὸν Συνέδριον μὲ τίτλον «Κυρίλλος καὶ Μεθόδιος. Τὸ Βυζάντιο καὶ ὁ κόσμος τῶν Σλάβων» πρὸς τιμὴν τῶν δύο ἁγίων καὶ τοῦ πολυεπιπέδου αὐτῶν ἔργου.

Διὸ καὶ ὀλοκαρδίως συγχαίρομεν τὸν Δήμον Θεσσαλονίκης καὶ τοὺς παντοιοτρόπως ἐργαζομένους διὰ τὴν προβολὴν τῆς προσφορᾶς τῶν ἁγίων Κυρίλλου καὶ Μεθοδίου καὶ τὴν ἀνάδειξιν τῆς οἰκουμενικῆς διαστάσεως τῆς ἀποστολῆς αὐτῶν καὶ ἐπισημαίνοντες τοὺς τε διοργανώσαντας τὸ Συνέδριον καὶ τοὺς δι' ἀνακοινώσεων συμμετέχοντας ἐν αὐτῷ ἐπιφανεῖς ἐπιτηθῆναι τῆ Πατριαρχικῆς ἡμῶν εὐλογίᾳ, εὐχόμενοι εὐόδωσιν τῶν ἐργασιῶν αὐτοῦ.

Ἰβγ' Νοεμβρίου 1975

Ἐκ τῆς προεδρίας
Ὁ Ἐπίσκοπος Δικίουρος Ἰωάννης Θεός ἐυχέτω

Με πολύ μεγάλη μου χαρά, και εκπροσωπώντας τον Δήμαρχο Θεσσαλονίκης, κηρύσσω την έναρξη του τριήμερου συνεδρίου «Κύριλλος και Μεθόδιος: Το Βυζάντιο και ο κόσμος των Σλάβων».

Η συμμετοχή επιστημόνων από όλο τον κόσμο στο συνέδριο – από το Λος Άντζελες των ΗΠΑ έως το Νοβοσιμπίρσκ της Ρωσίας, από την Σιβηρία μέχρι την Καλιφόρνια – υπογραμμίζει τόσο την παγκόσμια κληρονομιά των δύο Αγίων της πόλης μας όσο και την εξωστρεφή στρατηγική του Δήμου Θεσσαλονίκης. Στόχος μας, δεν είναι άλλος από το να καταστεί η Θεσσαλονίκη προνομιακός τόπος της επιστημονικής έρευνας για τον Κύριλλο και Μεθόδιο, για τη σχέση του Βυζαντίου με τους Σλάβους και για τις σύγχρονες και πάντα επίκαιρες προεκτάσεις της Κυριλλο-Μεθοδιακής κληρονομιάς.

Με εφελτήριο το συνέδριο αυτό, ευελπιστούμε ότι η πόλη μας μπορεί να αναπτύξει προνομιακή σχέση με ένα σημαντικό πνευματικό κεφάλαιο που ενσωματώνει θεματικές διαχρονικού ενδιαφέροντος. Προνομιακή σχέση με το σλαβικό κόσμο και τα έθνη και τις κοινωνίες που τον συνθέτουν. Προνομιακή σχέση με όσους ασχολούνται με το σλαβικό κόσμο και συναντιούνται σε όλη την οικουμένη. Προνομιακή σχέση με την υπόλοιπη ελληνική επικράτεια μια που για τη χώρα και την κοινωνία μας στο σύνολό της η σχέση με το σλαβικό κόσμο είναι ένα διαρκές ζητούμενο – ζητούμενο πολιτισμικό, πολιτικό, οικονομικό.

Εμείς από την πλευρά μας βλέπουμε τα 1150 χρόνια από την αποστολή των Αγίων Κυρίλλου και Μεθοδίου στη Μεγάλη Μοραβία ως αφορμή για την ενεργοποίηση αυτού του κεφαλαίου της πόλης μας. Ευελπιστούμε ότι αυτή η ενεργοποίηση θα συμπεριλάβει από τον εξειδικευμένο ερευνητή του σλαβικού κόσμου μέχρι τον περαστικό επισκέπτη σλαβικής καταγωγής. Επιθυμούμε, και θα εργαστούμε γι' αυτό, η ενεργοποίηση αυτού του κεφαλαίου να αναβαθμίσει τη σχέση των πανεπιστημιακών μας σχολών, των ερευνητικών ιδρυμάτων της πόλης μας, του Μουσείου Βυζαντινού Πολιτισμού, της Εκκλησίας μας με τους δυνητικούς, ανά τον κόσμο, συνομιλητές τους. Αποσκοπούμε με την ενεργοποίηση του κεφαλαίου της Κυριλλο-Μεθοδιακής παράδοσης, να καταστήσουμε την πόλη μας σημείο αναφοράς ενός διαπολιτισμικού διαλόγου, που θα φέρει την ίδια τη Θεσσαλονίκη εγγύτερα στο σλαβικό κόσμο και το σλαβικό κόσμο εγγύτερα στη Θεσσαλονίκη.

Θα ήθελα από αυτό το βήμα να εξάρω τη συμβολή του Προέδρου του Κέντρου Μελέτης Πολιτιστικής Κληρονομιάς Κυρίλλου και Μεθοδίου, καθηγητή Αντώνιου-Αιμίλιου Ταχιάου. Επίσης, ευχαριστώ τα μέλη της επιστημονικής επιτροπής που συγκρότησε και διαμόρφωσαν, υπό την καθοδήγηση του, αυτό το εξαιρετικά ενδιαφέρον διεθνές συνέδριο. Καθοριστική ήταν βέβαια και η συμβολή των ίδιων των συνέδρων που εργάστηκαν, από μέρη κοντινά όσο και απομακρυσμένα, για να συμβάλλουν στην επιστημονική έρευνα και στο διάλογο για τον Κύριλλο και τον Μεθόδιο.

Ο καθηγητής Αντώνιος-Αιμίλιος Ταχιάος κράτησε τη φλόγα της Κυρριλο-Μεθοδιανής παράδοσης ζωντανή στη Θεσσαλονίκη και φώτισε τη δικιά μας σημερινή διαδρομή. Συνεισέφερε με αυτόν τον τρόπο μέγιστες υπηρεσίες στην πόλη του, υπήρξε γενναιόδωρος στη Θεσσαλονίκη, και ακλόνητος, για χρόνια, στην πίστη του ότι η πόλη κάποια στιγμή θα αναγνωρίσει τη σημασία του έργου του για την ίδια. Στο βαθμό που θα μπορέσει να πει ο ίδιος ότι αυτή η πίστη του δικαιώθηκε, σε αυτόν το βαθμό και μόνο θα έχουμε πετύχει και στο δικό μας έργο.

Επίσης, ήθελα να ευχαριστήσω την Προϊσταμένη του Μουσείου Βυζαντινού Πολιτισμού, Δρ. Αγαθονίκη Τσιλιπάκου, που αγκάλιασε από την πρώτη στιγμή το συνέδριο, και είχε καθοριστική συμβολή στην εκθεσιακή διάσταση της επετείου. Οι εκδηλώσεις, συμπεριλαμβανομένου και του συνεδρίου αυτού, είναι η αρχή και όχι το τέλος της σχέσης του Δήμου μας και του Μουσείου με τους Κύριλλο και Μεθόδιο και με την επιρροή τους στο Βυζάντιο και στον κόσμο των Σλάβων. Απώτερος σκοπός μας είναι να συνενώσουμε δυνάμεις, να κινητοποιήσουμε χορηγούς, να ενεργοποιήσουμε εθνικούς και διεθνείς φορείς, για την οργάνωση μιας έκθεσης με θέμα «Το Βυζάντιο και οι Σλάβοι», που θα αποτελέσει διεθνές γεγονός.

Θα κλείσω με ένα μεγάλο ευχαριστώ για τα στελέχη του Δήμου μας και του Μουσείου Βυζαντινού Πολιτισμού, που σε μια δύσκολη περίοδο για τους ίδιους και τις οικογένειές τους, αντιμετώπισαν την πρόκληση της διοργάνωσης του συνεδρίου με πραγματικό πατριωτισμό και όχι ως θέμα ρουτίνας. Χωρίς τη συμβολή και την αυταπάρησή τους δεν θα ήμασταν εδώ όλοι σήμερα.

Γιάννης Μπουτάρης
Δήμαρχος Θεσσαλονίκης

MAYOR'S GREETING

On behalf of the Mayor of Thessaloniki Mr Yiannis Boutaris and with great pleasure, I inaugurate the three-day conference “Cyril and Methodius: “Byzantium and the world of the Slavs.”

The participation of scientists from all over the world at the conference -from Los Angeles US to Novosibirsk Russia, from Siberia to California - underlines both the universal impact of the heritage of the two Saints of our city and the range of the extroverted strategy of the Municipality of Thessaloniki. Our goal is to render Thessaloniki a place of outstanding scientific research and dialogue on Cyril and Methodius, the relationship between Byzantium and the Slavs and the current influence of Cyril and Methodius heritage.

Due to this conference we hope that our city will develop a closely relationship with an important intellectual topic which is mostly related to a relevant to us context.

A privileged relationship with the Slavic world, the nations and societies which comprise. A privileged relationship with other people who deal with the Slavic world and can be encountered throughout the whole world. A privileged relationship with the rest of the Greek territory which is affected by the Slavic influence in several ways.

We see the 1150 years anniversary, of the mission to instigate the interest for Saints Cyril and Methodius in Great Moravia, as a good reason to instigate the interest for the heritage of the two Saints. We hope that this activation will attract both the specialized researcher of the Slavic world as well as the visitors of Slavic origin. We desire, and we will work in this direction in order to enhance the relationship between the relevant university faculties, our city research institutions, the Byzantine Museum, the Church with all of their potential interlocutors all over the world.

In the end, we seek, by activating the interest for Cyril and Methodius tradition, to transform our city into a centre of intercultural dialogue, which will bring Thessaloniki closer to the Slavic world.

I would also like to take the opportunity to pay tribute to the contribution of the President of the Heritage Study Center of Cyril and Methodius, Professor Athonios -Aimilios Tachiaos. Moreover, I would like to thank the members of the scientific committee which he set up and under his guidance organized this exceptional international conference. I would also like to stress the decisive contribution to the conference of the delegates themselves who worked both from nearby places and distant ones in order to conduce to the scientific research and dialogue on Cyril and Methodius, here in Thessaloniki.

Professor Anthonios -Aimilios Tachiaos kept the flame of Cyril and Methodius tradition alive in Thessaloniki and illuminated our own current path. He offered services of outmost importance to the city and he has been generous and steadfast to his belief that eventually Thessaloniki will recognize for its own benefit the importance of his work.

Furthermore, I would like to thank the Head of the Byzantine Museum Dr. Agathoniki Tsilipakou who embraced the conference from the beginning and had a decisive contribution to its fruition through the anniversary exhibition. The events, including the conference, are the beginning and not the end of the process to strength the relationship of the Municipality of Thessaloniki and the world of the Slavs through Cyril and Methodius. Our ultimate aim is to unite forces, to mobilize donors, national and international organizations, in order to organize an exhibition entitled “Byzantium and the Slavs”, which will hopefully become a major international event.

Finally, I would like to thank very much the employees of our Municipality and of the Byzantine Museum who faced the challenge of organizing the conference with real zeal and enthusiasm despite all the shortcomings they were faced with. Without their contribution and altruism we would not have been here today.

Yiannis Boutaris
Mayor of Thessaloniki

Ως πρόεδρος του Κέντρου Μελέτης Πολιτιστικής Κληρονομίας Κυρίλλου και Μεθοδίου (Center for the Study of the Cultural Heritage of Cyril and Methoios) αισθάνομαι σήμερα μία ιδιαίτερη συγκίνηση. Από αυτή τη στιγμή αρχίζει ένα διεθνές συνέδριο το οποίο έχει ως θέμα τη ζωή, τη δράση και τον πολιτιστικό πλούτο που κληροδότησαν στον κόσμο των Σλάβων οι συμπατριώτες μας Θεσσαλονικείς άγιοι Κύριλλος και Μεθόδιος. Το συνέδριο αυτό πραγματοποιείται με την επέτειο των 1150 χρόνων από τη μετάβαση των δύο μεγάλων αυτών προσωπικοτήτων στη Μεγάλη Μοραβία, όπου έδωσαν αλφάβητο και κατέθεσαν τις πρώτες αρχές της σλαβικής θείας λατρείας και γραμματείας. Ένα τόσο μεγάλο γεγονός, το οποίο δημιουργούσε μία νέα πραγματικότητα στον ευρωπαϊκό χώρο, δεν ήταν δυνατό να περάσει απαρατήρητο και να μην εορτασθεί καταλλήλως εδώ, σ' αυτήν την πόλη. Όταν πριν από δύο χρόνια το Κέντρο μας αποτάθηκε στον Δήμαρχο της πόλης μας κύριο Γιάννη Μπουτάρη και τού πρότεινε να αναλάβει ο Δήμος Θεσσαλονίκης με τη δική μας συνεργασία, τη διοργάνωση αυτού του συνεδρίου, το οποίο και αρχίζει σήμερα, ο κύριος Δήμαρχος, αμέσως και με πλήρη ενθουσιασμό και κατανόηση της αναγκαιότητας ενός τέτοιου εορτασμού, αποδέχτηκε την πρότασή μας και, με τη συγκατάθεση και ολοκλήρου του Δημοτικού Συμβουλίου, προχώρησε στην εξεύρεση των οικονομικών πόρων για τη πραγματοποίηση του συνεδρίου. Πρέπει λοιπόν να εκφράσουμε τόσο προς τον κύριο Δήμαρχο προσωπικώς όσο και προς τα μέλη του Δημοτικού Συμβουλίου τις θερμότερες ευχαριστίες μας για την κατανόηση αυτής της ανάγκης, ώστε να πραγματοποιείται σήμερα ένα καθαρώς επιστημονικό συνέδριο για τους δύο μεγάλους Θεσσαλονικείς εκπολιτιστές των Σλάβων. Κατά δεύτερο λόγο πρέπει να ευχαριστήσουμε εγκαρδιώς όλους εσάς που δεχθήκατε με προθυμία να συμμετάσχετε στο συνέδριο και με τον πλούτο των ειδικών γνώσεών σας να δώσετε μία νέα ώθηση και προοπτική στην επιστημονική έρευνα των υπό εξέταση θεμάτων του προγράμματος, όπως και εσάς που θα θελήσετε να παρακολουθήσετε τις εργασίες του Συνεδρίου.

Είναι σε όλους μας γνωστό ότι ο Κύριλλος και ο Μεθόδιος δεν ήταν απλώς δύο θρησκευόμενοι πολίτες του Βυζαντίου, αλλά ήταν εξόχως ταλαντούχες προσωπικότητες και συγχρόνως δημιουργοί ενός νέου πολιτισμού. Η πρώτη σλαβική γραφή ήταν αυτή την οποία εφεύρε ο Κύριλλος και ονομάστηκε *glagolica*. Στη συνέχεια αυτή αντικαταστάθηκε από μία νέα γραφή, την οποία δημιούργησε ο επίσκοπος Πρεσλάβας (Preslav) της Βουλγαρίας Κωνσταντίνος, και αυτή προς τιμήν του Κυρίλλου ονομάστηκε *kyrillica*, είχε δε ως πρότυπο την ελληνική γραφή. Τόσο η πρώτη γραφή του Κυρίλλου, όσο και η δεύτερη του επισκόπου Κωνσταντίνου, υπήρξαν δημιουργήματα τα οποία έφεραν ακόμη πιο κοντά τον σλαβικό κόσμο προς τον ελληνικό, αυτόν ο οποίος είχε μία τεράστια πνευματι-

κή και πολιτιστική παράδοση. Αυτή η πραγματικότητα περιλαμβάνει και ένα κάλεσμα στην έρευνα των στοιχείων που ενώνουν πολλούς λαούς σήμερα. Η ελληνική γραφή και η συγγενής της *kyrillica* κρύβουν μία διαχρονική συνέχεια και αποτελούν ένα μόνιμο ενωτικό στοιχείο που φέρνει τον σλαβικό κόσμο εγγύτερα προς τον ελληνικό. Ωστόσο δεν πρέπει να παραγνωρίσουμε ότι και οι σλαβικοί λαοί, οι οποίοι υιοθέτησαν τη λατινική γραφή, έχοντας όμως πάντοτε ζωντανή την κυριλλομεθοδική παράδοση, διατηρούν πολλά κοινά στοιχεία με εμάς τους Έλληνες όπως και με τους λοιπούς Σλάβους της κυριλλικής γραφής. Ο μεγάλος Ιταλός σλαβολόγος Riccardo Picchio, καθηγητής του Πανεπιστημίου του Yale, αναφερόμενος σ' αυτήν την βυζαντινής προέλευσης σλαβική παράδοση, την ονόμασε *Slavia ortodossa*, συγχρόνως όμως και στο άλλο σκέλος, της γραφής δηλαδή με χρήση του λατινικού αλφαβήτου που αναφέραμε, έδωσε τον τίτλο *Slavia romana*, δηλαδή ρωμαϊκό σλαβισμό, βλέποντας ακριβώς τις κοινές βάσεις των δύο κόσμων.

Τελειώνοντας θα ήθελα, ως πρόεδρος της επιστημονικής επιτροπής που διοργάνωσε το Συνέδριο που αρχίζει σήμερα, να ευχαριστήσω θερμώς όλους εσάς που τόσο προθύμως προσήλθατε σ' αυτό, για να προσφέρετε με τις γνώσεις σας μία νέα όψη των επιστημονικών θεμάτων. Επίσης θα ήθελα δημοσίως να ευχαριστήσω την *assistant professor* της Φιλοσοφικής Σχολής του Αριστοτελείου Πανεπιστημίου Θεσσαλονίκης κυρία Αγγελική Δεληγάρη και τις συνεργάτιδες του Τμήματος Δημοσίων και Διεθνών Σχέσεων του Δήμου Θεσσαλονίκης κυρίες Κατερίνα Κρικιώνη και Ολγα Κοτσαμπά, οι οποίες, με υπερβάλλοντα ζήλο και υπερβολικό κόπο, εργάστηκαν για την προετοιμασία του Συνεδρίου. Εύχομαι σε όλους εσάς υγεία και δύναμη για τη συνέχιση του δημιουργικού επιστημονικού έργου σας.

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THE CHURCH IN SERBIA AT THE TIME OF CYRIL - METHODIAN MISSION IN MORAVIA*



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The two accounts of Porphyrogenitus on the Christianization of the Serbs. As it is well known, there are conflicting data in the sources about the Christianization of the Serbs. The very same author and the principal source for that question, the Emperor Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus (913–959), gives two different accounts on how the Serbs were baptized. One account states they were baptized at the time of the Emperor Heraclius (610–641) by the priests that the Emperor brought from Rome,¹ another states that they were baptized at the time of the Emperor Basil I (867–886) by the priests that he sent from Constantinople.²

* This article is part of the project “Tradition, innovation and identity in the Byzantine world” (no. 177032), supported by the Ministry of Education, Science and Technological development of the Republic of Serbia.

1 *Constantine Porphyrogenitus, De administrando imperio* I, edd. Gy. Moravcsik, R. J. H. Jenkins, Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae (CFHB) 1, Washington 1967², § 32.21–29.

2 *De administrando imperio* I, § 29.54–84; *Chronographiae quae Theophanis Continuati nomine fertur liber quo Vita Basilii Imperatoris amplectitur*, ed. I. Ševčenko, CFHB 42, Berolini 2011, § 54.1–35.

On Porphyrogenitus’ accounts on the Christianization of the Serbs and Croats, with relevant bibliography, cf. P. Komatina, *Crkvena politika Vizantije od kraja ikonoborstva do smrti cara Vasilija I*, Beograd 2013, 261–285; T. Živković, «On the Baptism of the Serbs and the Croats in the Time of Basil I (867–889)», *Studia Slavica et Balcanica Petropolitana* 1/13 (2013) 35–38.

The time of the conversion of the Serbs according to the second account is the time of the Cyrilo-Methodian mission in Moravia. But, my opinion is that there was no mission sent by the Emperor Basil I to convert the Serbs. The whole story on that, which is to be found in the 29th chapter of the *De administrando imperio* and the 54th chapter of the *Vita Basilii*, Porphyrogenitus based on the story he found in the *Tactica* of his father Leo VI (886–912), that Basil I *graecized* and baptized the Slavs.³ Porphyrogenitus misunderstood and misinterpreted the story, for it dealt with the Slavs of Greece, and used it in the context of the Serbs and Croats.⁴

On the other hand, there are traces that suggest a strong influence of the Church of Rome among the Serbs in the earliest times of their history as Christians. These traces are reflected primarily in the Latin origin of some of the most important terms of Christian terminology in the Serbian language, in Latin architectural features of the oldest known Serbian churches, as well as in toponymy.⁵ We should also add something that has not been noted in historiography so far – there are remains of some of the Latin holidays in the Serbian folk calendar, such as Vidovdan – St. Vitus' Day (June 15), Miholjdan – Michaelmas (September 29) and Mratinjdan – St. Martin's Day (November 11), which the Serbian Orthodox church doesn't celebrate today, and which in the Middle Ages were not part of the liturgical practices of the Byzantine church.⁶

3 *The Taktika of Leo VI*, ed. G. T. Dennis, CFHB 49, Washington 2010, 18.453–457.

4 Komatina, *Crkvena politika*, 283–285.

5 K. Jireček, J. Radonić, *Istorija Srba I*, Beograd 1952, 98; K. Jireček, *Romani u gradovima Dalmacije*, Zbornik Konstantina Jirečeka II, Beograd 1962, 41; F. Dvornik, *Byzantine Missions among the Slavs. SS Constantine-Cyril and Methodius*, New Jersey 1970, 37–39; J. Kalić, «Crkvene prilike u srpskim zemljama do stvaranja arhiepiskopije 1219.», *Evropa i Srbi. Srednji vek*, Beograd 2006, 114–115; *Istorija srpskog naroda I*, Beograd 1981, 152 (S. Ćirković); A. Loma, «Sutelica – toponomastički tragovi latinskog hrišćanstva u unutrašnjosti prednemanjičke Srbije», *Istorijski glasnik 1–2 (1987) 7–28*; Idem, «Rani slojevi hrišćanskih toponima na starosrpskom tlu», *Onomatološki prilozi 11 (1990) 1–18*; Idem, «Podunavska prapostojbina Slovena: legenda ili istorijska realnost», *Južnoslovenski filolog 49 (1993) 187–220*; Lj. Maksimović, «Pokršćavanje Srba i Hrvata», *Zbornik radova Vizantološkog instituta 35 (1996) 163*; T. Živković, *Crkvena organizacija u srpskim zemljama (rani srednji vek)*, Beograd 2004, 131–139; N. Gilbetic, «Early Liturgical History of the Serbs», *Bollettino della Badia Greca di Grottaferrata, III serie, 7 (2010) 87–101*.

6 For those holidays in the Latin *Martyrologia* of the 9th century, cf. *S. Adonis archiepiscopi Viennensis Martyrologium cum additamentis*, *Patrologia Latina* 123, 287, 368–369, 393; *Usuardi monachi Sangermanensis Martyrologium I*, PL 124, 155–156, 517–518, 681–682; *Le Martyrologe d'Usuard*, ed. J. Dubois, *Subsidia Hagiographica* 40, Bruxelles 1965, 247, 311, 340; *S. P. N. Notkeri, cognomento Balbuli, monachi Sancti Galli Martyrologium per anni circulum*, PL 131, 1154–1155. On the other hand, the Byzantine *Synaxaria* and *Menologia* of the time do not contain any of those memories on the said dates, cf. *Synaxarium ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae*, ed. H. Delehaye, *Bruxellis* 1902, 87.21–90.19, 211.16–216.8, 749.26–752.11; *Menologium Basilii II*, *Patrologia Graeca* 117, 77, 153–156, 500. The memory of St. Vitus is to be found only in Sicilian and South Italian recensions of Byzantine *Synaxaria* and *Menologia*, *Synaxarium CP*, 751.42–43, cf. also LVII–LX; M. Marković, «Kult Svetog Vita (Vida) kod Srba u srednjem veku», *Zograf* 31 (2006–2007) 38–39, the memory of St. Martin is linked to November 12th, and not November 11th, *Synaxarium*

Evidence from some contemporary sources also gives some information on the influence of the Roman Church among the Slavs on the Eastern side of the Adriatic from the 7th to 9th centuries. In a letter addressed to the Emperor Constantine IV (668–685) concerning the Sixth Ecumenical Council of 680/681, the Pope Agatho (678–681) stated that *many of (his) fellow servants* (ie. the Bishops of the Roman Church) *are in the middle of the barbarians – the Lombards and Slavs, as well as the Franks, Goths and Britons.*⁷ An episcopal notitia from the mid-8th century, a rare one that describes the territorial jurisdictions of all the five Patriarchates, counts the *Slavs*, along with the Saxons, Gauls, Franks, Illyrians, Lombards, Arabs, Avars, Scythians, as part of the territory under the jurisdiction of the Apostolic See of the *Greater Rome*.⁸

The papal letter of 873. Yet the strongest evidence on the influence of the Roman Church in the early medieval Serbia could be found in a well known letter of Pope John VIII to the Serbian Prince Mutimir in 873. In that letter the Pope wrote the following:

(1) *Presbiteri illic absoluti et vagi ex omni loco adventantes quaedam ecclesiastica contra canones officia peragunt, immo numerosa, cum sint ascephali, scelera contra Dei precepta committunt.*

(2) *Quapropter ammonemus te, ut progenitorum tuorum secutus morem quantum potes ad Pannonensium reverti studeas diocesin. Et quia illic iam Deo gratias a sede beati Petri apostoli episcopus ordinatus est, ad ipsius pastorem recurras sollicitudinem.*⁹

That is:

The priests there loose and wandering, coming from all sides, occupy some church services against canons, certainly commit many wicked acts against God's rules, for being acephali.

That is why I warn you that you, following the customs of your ancestors, as much as you can try to get back to the Pannonian Diocese. And since there has just been ordained a bishop, thanks to God, by the See of the Blessed Apostle Peter, place yourself back under his pastoral care.

CP, 217.30–218.28; *Menologium Basilii II*, 156; Ch. Walter, *Warrior Saints in Byzantine Art and Tradition*, Ashgate 2003, 200–206, while there is not any trace of commemorating St. Michael the Archangel on September 29th.

7 *S. Agathonis papae epistolae*, Patrologia Latina 87, 1226 A; Maksimović, «Pokršćavanje», 171.

8 *Hieroclis Synecdemus et Notitiae Graecae episcopatum*, ed. G. Parthey, Amsterdam 1967², no. 5.2–20, esp. l. 13.

9 *Johannis VIII papae epistolae*, ed. E. Caspar, Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Eppistolae VII, Eppistolae Karolini aevi V, Berolini 1928, 282.25–30. On the letter, cf. Komatina, *Crkvena politika*, 276–278, with relevant bibliography. The subject has been discussed in another paper recently, Živković, «On the Baptism», 44–46, but with the results with which I cannot agree.

The presence of the *acephali* priests in the then Serbia testifies about good links that it had with other countries under the spiritual authority of the Roman Church at that time, and its involvement in religious affairs of Western Europe, as the *acephali* priests were well known and very widespread phenomenon throughout the Early Medieval Western Europe.¹⁰ Although at first glance it instigates such a notion, the presence of the *acephali* priests in the then Serbia does not mean at once that at that time there was no episcopal organization in the country. In Western Europe these *acephali* operated in the territory with the ancient and much developed episcopal organization.

The mere presence of the *acephali* in the then Serbia was not the main reason why the Pope addressed a letter to Mutimir. It was just an excuse to Pope to command the Serbian Prince to submit to the spiritual jurisdiction of the new Pannonian Bishop Methodius, presenting it as a necessary disciplinary measure, due to the presence of the *acephali* in the country, their illegal occupation of church offices, and thus caused *wicked acts against God's rules*. Pope's intention was primarily to expand the territory under the jurisdiction of the Bishop Methodius, as the bull of his predecessor Hadrian II *Gloria in excelsis Deo* of 870 confined it to the territories ruled by the Prince of the Pannonian Slavs Kocelj and Moravian Princes Rastislav and Svetopluk.¹¹

Letter to the Serbian Prince Mutimir is one of the few letters that Pope sent to a series of rulers and church dignitaries with the political and ecclesiastical influence in Pannonia in May 873, in order to liberate Methodius from his two and a half years long captivity in Swabia and return him to his position as Bishop of Pannonia, to which he was ordained by Pope Hadrian in 870. Letters were sent to the East Frankish King Louis the German, then to his son, the Bavarian King Carloman and to the Southern German Bishops who had claims to spiritual authority over Pannonia and who deprived Methodius of his chair and held him captive – Adalwin of Salzburg, Hermeric of Passau and Anno of Freizing, as well as to the Pannonian Prince Kocelj.¹²

At first glance, it is not clear how the Serbian Prince Mutimir fits into the whole picture and what is his place in the Pope's endeavor. The answer to this question lies within the lines of the Pope's letter addressed on the same occasion to Bishop Paul of Ancona, who was appointed by the Pope as his legate in the entire case surrounding Methodius' release and return

10 Komatina, *Crkvena politika*, 279–280.

11 *Żywoty Konstancyjna i Metodego (obszerne)*, ed. T. Lehr-Spławiński, Poznań 1959, M VIII, 109. On the territory under the jurisdiction of bishop Methodius, cf. Đ. Bubalo, K. Mitrović, R. Radić, *Jurisdikcija Katoličke crkve u Sremu*, Beograd 2010, 32–35.

12 *Johannis VIII epp.*, 280.18–286.36.

to the Diocese, and by whom he sent all the other above-mentioned letters, including that to Mutimir. In the letter to Paul, the Pope points out that the Apostolic See in the days of old used to perform the consecrations, appointments and overthrows *not only in Italy and certain provinces of the West, but also within the overall boundaries of Illyricum*.¹³ These words reflect the Pope's intention to extend the jurisdiction of Methodius' Episcopal See, which originally encompassed Pannonia and Moravia, to the parts of Illyricum, where Mutimir's Serbia was located. The Pope's intention, which was only insinuated in the letter to Paul, got its full expression in the letter to Mutimir, with an open command to place himself under the spiritual jurisdiction of the new Pannonian Bishop. The formal justification for this act the Pope found in historical reasons and because of that he *reminds* Mutimir to *return* to the Pannonian Diocese and the pastoral care of its Bishop, *following the custom of his ancestors*. Namely, the ancient Syrmium, whose Episcopal See Methodius has been occupying at least formally, was, as the capital of the Roman Province of Pannonia Secunda and the Diocese of Pannonia in the 4th century, also a major ecclesiastical center of the whole of Illyricum, until it was divided in 380 with the separation of Eastern Illyricum, with Thessalonica then becoming its religious center.¹⁴ Calling upon Mutimir to *return* to the spiritual power of the Pannonian Diocese, the Pope had in mind this distant past, and referring to *the custom of his ancestors*, the Pope did not think of Mutimir's biological ancestors, the previous Serbian rulers, but in general of the people who in those days of old inhabited the area that in the 9th century was within the borders of Mutimir's Serbia.

Strife for expanding the jurisdiction of the new Pannonian Bishop to the parts of Illyricum in 873 had the very specific meaning. According to the decisions of the Council of Constantinople in 870, the Roman Church lost its jurisdiction over Bulgaria and the Patriarchate of Constantinople then carried out the organization of the church in that country based on its own principles.¹⁵ Throughout his pontificate, between 872 and 882, Pope John VIII led an active policy in order to restore his spiritual authority over Bulgaria.¹⁶ After losing Bulgaria in 870, Serbia became the easternmost area of jurisdiction of the Roman Church, and Methodius' Pannonian Diocese was Rome's most important spiritual center in the area of Central and Eastern Europe. Expanding Methodius' Diocese to Serbia could help the Roman Church to largely regain influence in the area of the ancient Illyricum that it lost by leaving Bulgaria.

From the letter of Pope John VIII to the Prince Mutimir in 873, it is clear that Serbia was

13 *Johannis VIII epp.*, 284.8–11.

14 Cf. Bubalo, *Jurisdikcija*, 14–15, 21–22.

15 Komatina, *Crkvena politika*, 236–251.

16 Komatina, *Crkvena politika*, 252–260; L. Simeonova, *Diplomacy of the Letter and the Cross. Photios, Bulgaria and the Papacy, 860s-880s*, Amsterdam 1998, 296–330.

a Christian country, where existed church services and offices, where the *acephali* priests operated, as well as across Western Europe at the time, a country with a long Christian tradition, in the eyes of the Pope even unbroken since the Roman times. How was it possible then that such a country be just simply placed under the jurisdiction of a newly created Diocese? Was not there any unit of church organization whose rights would have been violated by this act?

The Pope was absolutely silent about such a unit. It is important to emphasize that in this, as in other letters of May 873, Pope treated Methodius as the Pannonian Bishop, not as the Archbishop.¹⁷ The fact that the Pope calls Mutimir to be placed under the *pastoral care* of the Pannonian *Bishop* leads to the conclusion that in the Mutimir's Serbia of the time there was no local bishop. How much is this conclusion certain, as the country, as just mentioned, was a Christian one and involved in all religious streams of Christian Europe?

There were in Europe of the 9th century known examples of the existence and activity of the Christian church in a specific territory without any Bishop residing in it. One such case was Pannonia itself between 796 and the inauguration of Methodius in 870, during which time the Christian church operated in Pannonia under the spiritual authority of the Archbishop of Salzburg, which was the reason why Archbishop Adalwin and his suffragans, the Bavarian bishops, challenged the appointment of Methodius and kept him in captivity from 870 until 873, and thus entered into a conflict even with the Pope.¹⁸

Obviously, the Pope intended to subdue Serbia to the Pannonian Bishopric of Methodius in the same way as the Principality of the Pannonian Slavs and Moravia, ignoring the possible rights of some other Diocese over it, as he ignored the rights the Archdiocese of Salzburg had over Pannonia. However, with Serbia, it was not that simple, and, in order to carry out his intention, the Pope had to find a formal reason in the unsettled conditions in its church caused by the presence of *acephali* priests and formal justification in the ancient rights of the Pannonian Diocese for the primacy over Illyricum, in whose territory Mutimir's Serbia was situated.

The outcome in the 870-ies. It is not known whether the Pope's intentions were realized, did the Serbian Prince act according to his will and command and *returned to the pastoral care of the Pannonian Bishop*. Methodius was in 873, thanks to Pope John VIII, restored to his episcopal position and his Episcopal See in Mosaburg on Lake Balaton, the capital of the prince Kocelj, but soon, most probably around 875, perhaps due to Kocelj's death, he was

17 Komatina, *Crkvena politika*, 335–336, n. 514; Bubalo, *Jurisdikcija*, 32–35.

18 Cf. Komatina, *Crkvena politika*, 335–337, with relevant bibliography.

forced to go further north to Moravia, where he was warmly received by Prince Svetopluk. Further activity of Methodius and his hard work in creating the *Slavic Church* would be linked to Moravia and its capital Višegrad, where Methodius resided until his death in 885.¹⁹ Based on the current knowledge about relationships between Methodius' activity in Pannonia and Moravia between 873 and 885, and Serbia, it is not at all certain that Mutimir obeyed to the Pope's will and subjugated to the spiritual authority of the first Slavic Bishop.

The development of the church conditions in Serbia took a completely different direction. In the second charter of the Emperor Basil II (976–1025) to the Archbishopric of Ochrid in 1020, there was mentioned a Bishopric of Ras in Serbia as one of the Dioceses that belonged to the Bulgarian church during the time of Emperor Peter (927–969).²⁰ Therefore, the reign of this Bulgarian Emperor is a *terminus ante quem* for the inclusion of the Diocese of Ras within the jurisdiction of the Bulgarian church.²¹ When the church in Serbia could become part of the Bulgarian church before the mid-10th century? Having regained jurisdiction over Bulgaria in 870 from the Roman Church, the Patriarchate of Constantinople established the church organization in Bulgaria according to its own principles. The territory of Bulgaria was divided into a number of Metropolitanates that were fully part of the Patriarchate, one of them being the Metropolitanate of Morava, in the valley of the Great Morava and Danube, in the westernmost part of the then Bulgarian state, on the border with Serbia.²² On the other hand, after gaining ecclesiastical authority over Bulgaria in 870, the Byzantine state and church ruling circles, led by Emperor Basil I, began to implement a policy of further territorial expansion of the jurisdictional area of the Patriarchate of Constantinople. Thus, in the decade between 870 and 880, within its borders were included, along with Bulgaria, the areas of the Khazars and the Russians and the island of Cyprus. Using his undisputed political influence during that decade in Dalmatia and Croatia, Emperor Basil attempted to submit the church of those countries to the Patriarchate of Constantinople as well.²³ This latter attempt, however, did not bring lasting results, as the Dalmatian and Croatian Bishops in 879 renewed

19 Cf. Komatina, *Crkvena politika*, 338–344, with relevant bibliography.

20 H. Gelzer, «Ungedruckte und wenig bekannte Bistümverzeichnisse der orientalischen Kirche II», *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 2 (1893) 44.17–45.13.

21 I. Ravić, *Crkva i država u srpskim zemljama od XI do XIII veka*, Beograd 2013 (unpublished doctoral dissertation), 50.

22 Komatina, *Crkvena politika*, 241–251. The Metropolitanate of Morava was at that time headed by Metropolitan Agathon, who was envoy of the Emperor Basil I to the court of Louis the German in 873, and took part in the Photius' Council of Constantinople in 879/880, P. Komatina, «Moravski episkop Agaton na Fotijevom saboru 879/880. g.», *Srpska teologija danas* 2009. Prvi godišnji simposion, Beograd 2010, 363–367; Idem, *Crkvena politika*, 250–251.

23 Komatina, *Crkvena politika*, 303–319.

their allegiance to the Pope of Rome.²⁴ It is really hard to believe that in the circumstances of absolute political and spiritual domination of the Byzantine Emperor Basil I in the entire Balkans in the period between 870 and 880, the Serbian Prince Mutimir, otherwise always under the undisputed political authority of Constantinople, could escape the fate of stronger binding to the Byzantine church. Is it not possible that it was then, that, by the decision of the Emperor Basil, the Church in Serbia was linked to the Church in Bulgaria, then within the Patriarchate of Constantinople, either by being annexed to the Metropolitanate of Morava as its westernmost ecclesiastical unit, or in some other way? Relationships between the Serbian prince Mutimir and the Bulgarian Prince Boris Michael were friendly at that time, so that political circumstances would not constitute an obstacle to such a step.²⁵ When, after the Council of Constantinople in 880, the Church in Bulgaria became autocephalous in relation to the Patriarchate of Constantinople, the Church of the Principality of Serbia become a part of it, which it remained until 1218/1219 and the creation of the autocephalous Serbian Archbishopric, thanks to St. Sava.²⁶ However, all this still remains in the domain of hypotheses. What is certain on the basis of what has been exposed here is that Serbia became familiar with the work of the *brothers of Thessalonica*, Cyril and Methodius, at all probability indirectly, via Bulgaria, after Methodius' disciples got there in 886, after his death, and not directly, as it was envisioned by Pope John VIII at the time when he wrote to the Prince Mutimir in the year 873.



24 Komatina, *Crkvena politika*, 318–319; P. Komatina, *Dalmatian Bishops at the Council of Nicaea in 787 and the status of the Dalmatian Church in the 8th and 9th centuries*, *The Treaty of Aachen, AD 812: The Origins and Impact on the Region between the Adriatic, Central, and Southeastern Europe*, Zagreb – Zadar (in print), with relevant bibliography. Cf. also, Živković, «On the Baptism», 41–43.

25 According to *De administrando imperio* I, § 32.38–65, two wars were waged between Serbia and Bulgaria in the mid-9th century. Then peace was established and afterwards, during an internal strife, the Serbian Prince Mutimir exiled his two brothers, Strojimir and Gojnik, to Bulgaria, where at that time Boris Michael was ruling. Cf. T. Živković, *Portreti srpskih vladara (IX–XII vek)*, Beograd 2006, 24–26.

26 Ravić, *Crkva i država*, 243–254.