

**Abstract.** All the sanctuaries of the local martyrs in Dacia and Thrace, without exception, were destroyed and the episcopal sees in the region were lost to the Avar, Slavic, and Bulgar invasions of the Balkans in the 6<sup>th</sup> and 7<sup>th</sup> centuries. Only those local saints whose relics were taken to Constantinople, had an active cult in the Byzantine capital or were included in the Constantinopolitan Typicon and the Byzantine menologia had their memory still conserving in the Middle Byzantine period. Along with the Christianization of the Bulgars and the establishment of their local ecclesiastical structures in ca. 870 AD, Bulgarian Church adopted the calendar of the Typicon of Constantinople. With the conquest of Bulgaria started under John Tzimiskes and completed by Basil II, the presence of the Dacian and Thracian saints in the Byzantine calendars increased. However, the Byzantine attempts to re-transplant these cults in Bulgaria remained unsuccessful. There was apparently a fear that these cults would justify the claim of the Byzantine rule over these territories, which led to the deletion of the mentions of Durostorum/Drastar, Moesia, or Danube from the Bulgarian menologia, or to their reduction to a minimum. Instead, the Balkan Churches, especially from the late 12<sup>th</sup> to the 14<sup>th</sup> centuries, focused on the canonization of their local Slavic saints as a mark of their own identity. The emphasis put on the local Slavic saints suggests a desire to build their own identity that would reflect the ecclesiastical and political history of these states, other than the Byzantine one. This identity construction was reflected in the panegyrics of the local South Slavic saints and was then transferred through the circulation of manuscripts and iconography to the Romanian Principalities in the 15<sup>th</sup> century, where it was perpetuated after the fall of the Balkan states.

**Keywords:** cults of saints, Dacia and Thrace, the Middle Byzantine period, Balkan churches, menologia.

## HAGIOGRAPHY AND IDENTITY: SAINTS FROM THE DIOCESES OF DACIA AND THRACE IN BALKAN MEDIEVAL MENOLOGIA (10<sup>th</sup>-16<sup>th</sup> CENTURIES)

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The martyrs from Dacia and Thrace appear for the first time treated as a group in a study of Hippolyte Delehaye published in *Analecta Bollandiana* in 1912, entitled *Saints de Thrace et de Mésie*<sup>1</sup>. What the Bollandist researcher offered on that occasion was the publication in original language and in French translation of several lives of martyr saints from Thrace and Moesia, most of them still lacking a translated edition at the time, plus a documentation of their cults from historical sources (it does not include any archaeological reference), up to the invasions of the 7<sup>th</sup> century. The territory chosen by Delehaye corresponded to the configuration of the dioceses after the division of the empire in 395 AD, relevant thus for the 5<sup>th</sup> and 6<sup>th</sup> centuries. The 4<sup>th</sup>-century partition followed that of Diocletian in 284 AD, that divided the Balkan Peninsula into two, the west with the diocese of Dacia belonging to the prefecture of Illyricum, based in Sirmium, and Thrace under the prefecture of the Orient with its capital at Nicomedia in Asia Minor. In 395, Pannonia and Dalmatia came under the administration of Rome, and the rest of the Balkans was ceded to the Eastern Roman Empire, with their public and ecclesiastical administration subordinated to Constantinople<sup>2</sup>.

Delehay's study is an attempt to trace the historical development of the cults of the martyrs in two administrative units with a common dependency on Constantinople, the dioceses of Dacia and Thrace, which also shared common cultural and ethnic features. The way in which his study is structured follows the application of a center-periphery hierarchical principle, as the first analyzed are the martyrs from Byzantium become Constantinople, then the martyrs from southern and central Thrace, the martyrs from Moesia Superior and finally those in Moesia Inferior and Scythia Minor. The study also has the merit of including the martyrs of the Gothic Church, established in the north of the Danube and then in Moesia Inferior in the middle of the 4<sup>th</sup> century<sup>3</sup>. Delehay focused on martyrs and their *Vitae* and did not include other categories of saints, such as bishops (Theotimus and Bretanion of Tomis) or monks (John Cassian, who is not known to have an early cult in Scythia Minor). He selected 9 lives of saints: Mocius of Byzantium (2 texts), Lucilian and his companions, Severus and Memnon of Byze and Philippopolis, the 40 martyr virgins from Adrianople, Nicetas the Goth, Innas, Pinas and Rimas, and Sabas the Visigoth, but also discussed other related cults of local saints: apostle Andrew, Callistratus and his companions, Marcian and Martyus the notaries of Constantinople, Trajan and Saturninus in Macedonia, Phillip, Hermes, Maximus, Teodot and Asclepiodot from Philippopolis, Alexander of Drizipara, Agatonicus of Selymbria, Gliceria of Heraclea, Hermylus and Stratonius at Singidunum, Hermes of Bononia, Lupus of Novae, Macrobius, Zoticus, Elijah, Lucian and Valerian in Tomis, Marcianus, Nicander and 47 companions in Tomis, Dasius of Axiopolis, Cyril and Kyndaos of Axiopolis, Emilian of Durostorum, Julius the Veteran, Pasocrates, Valentinus and Hesychius of Durostorum, Epictetus and Astion at Halmyris. Romanian Orthodox Church canonized in 1992 as local saints, aside those already mentioned by

Delehay, also saints from Pannonia and Dacia Mediterranea: Nicetas of Remesiana, Montanus and Maxima of Sirmium, Ireneus of Sirmium<sup>4</sup>. Lately, archaeologist Georgi Atanasov documented an impressive number of 345 saints from Dacia and Thrace<sup>5</sup>.

In the following, I will analyze the evolution of the cults of the saints of the two dioceses of Dacia and Thrace from the point where Delehay left it, the invasions of the 7<sup>th</sup> century, and up to the first post-Byzantine century, investigating how the early Christian past of these Balkan regions was recovered in the local cults of the medieval states of the South Slavs and the north Danubian Voivodates, Moldavia and Wallachia, a subject which was not systematically investigated. I will use the term Dacian and Thracian saints primarily as a topographical denomination and not as an ethnic one. Delehay's solution of grouping the saints according to the criterion of the territorial and ecclesiastical administration seems to us the most appropriate, since the ecclesiastical hierarchy was the one responsible for the implementation of the local cults of the saints in the liturgical service, in menologia and in churches built around their relics. In the conclusions, I will discuss to what extent a sense of local identity was assigned to these saints in the Middle Ages and what significance this could have acquired in the context of the medieval South-Slavic and Romanian states.

The peak period of the cult of the Christian martyrs of the Danube manifested between the end of the 4<sup>th</sup> century and the end of the 6<sup>th</sup> century, and was ended severely by the Avar, Slav, and Bulgar invasions of the Balkans. The circulation of coins in the bishoprics of Abritus, Ratiaria, Oescus and Marcianopolis in Dacia Ratiaria and Moesia Secunda was interrupted after the invasion of the Avars in 586 AD. In the episcopal cities of Novae, Tropaeum Traiani, Axiopolis, Odessos, Aegyssus, Halmyris, and Noviodunum (the headquarters of Legion I Iovia Scythica), this happened after the Slavic

invasion (614-615); and in Tomis and Durostorum, monetary circulation ceased with the invasion of Asparukh's Bulgars at the end of the 7<sup>th</sup> century<sup>6</sup>. There are no traces of habitation, pottery, and coins in any of these episcopal cities during the 8<sup>th</sup> century. Durostorum, the former headquarters of Legion XI Claudia (second cent. AD to the fifth cent.), remained active until its destruction by Asparuh in 681, after which the city was abandoned and remained uninhabited until the end of the 8<sup>th</sup> century<sup>7</sup>.

After the Christianization of Boris-Michael, Constantinople granted the Bulgarian kingdom the right to an autocephalous archbishopric and its cathedral was built in 870 in the Durostorum fortress. On the banks of the Danube near the northern wall of the fortress, a royal church was erected, on a place which, according to archaeologist Georgi Atanasov, coincided with the one in which the martyr Emilian from Durostorum was burned on July 18<sup>th</sup> 362, as indicated in the saint's two hagiographical versions<sup>8</sup>. The relics of St. Emilian were initially buried north of the Danube, in the necropolis near the village of Ostrov, identified with Gezidina/Gavidina, a *vicus* of Durostorum<sup>9</sup>, and it is possible, although there is no clear evidence, that they were transported sometime in the 5<sup>th</sup> century to the episcopal basilica of Durostorum<sup>10</sup> and to Constantinople.

St. Emilian is mentioned on July 18<sup>th</sup> in the Constantinopolitan Typicon<sup>11</sup>, as the first and the most important commemoration of the day, with the indication "from the city of Durostorum of Moesia in Thrace", ἐκ πόλεως Δωρωστόλου Μοισίας τῆς Θράκης<sup>12</sup>. A synaxis was held for his commemoration in the Rhabdos (Rod) neighborhood in Constantinople, τελεῖται δὲ ἡ αὐτοῦ σύναξις ἐν τῷ μάρτυρίῳ αὐτοῦ τῷ ὄντι ἐν τῇ Ῥαβδῷ<sup>13</sup>. The Rod neighborhood was named so because of a church of the Mother of God that housed the staff of Moses, a relic which, according to tradition, was brought in the capital by Emperor Constantine through one of the city's maritime gates, located near

Theodosius' bay, called St. Emilian's Gate (today, Davut Paşa Kapısı)<sup>14</sup>. The gate had this name taken after an old church in its vicinity, which was dedicated to the martyr Emilian from Durostorum and which probably dated from the late 4<sup>th</sup>-5<sup>th</sup> centuries, since in *Patria Constantinoupoleos* (compiled during Basil II, end of 10<sup>th</sup> century), the church was mentioned as having been restored by Constantine the Great: "The so-called gate of Aimilianos – it was close to Saint Aimilianos and thus received its name. It was a small chapel. When the rod of Moses was brought, Constantine the Great went on foot to receive it and deposited it there and he built the church of the Mother of God there, and so the place was called the Rod. He also rebuilt Saint Aimilianos on a larger scale and then transferred the Holy Rod to the palace"<sup>15</sup>. The information is inaccurate, because the saint was martyred on July 18<sup>th</sup> 362, under Julian the Apostate<sup>16</sup>, but it is significant because it suggests that the church dated from an early period, most probably ante Justinian. The old church of St. Emilian was renovated and fortified by Basil I with two lateral towers, as specified in the *Vita Basilii*: "Having noticed that the church of the martyr Aimilianos, in the vicinity of that of the Holy Virgin in Rhabdos, had withered on account of old age, he had it renovated, providing it with buttress towers on both sides"<sup>17</sup>. It is also mentioned by Kedrenos (mid-11<sup>th</sup>-century), after which it disappears from sources<sup>18</sup>. But it is certain that at least between the 9<sup>th</sup> and the 11<sup>th</sup> centuries, under the Macedonian dynasty, there was an active cult in Constantinople dedicated to saint Emilian of Durostorum, which could be transferred to the Bulgarian synaxarion.

The first Bulgarian synaxarion was probably compiled around 870, with the establishment of the Bulgarian Archbishopric, having as a source a 9<sup>th</sup>-century form of the Typicon of Constantinople<sup>19</sup>. The cults of the Dacian and Thracian martyrs had radiated much further from Constantinople, entering the global menological thesaurus of the Church early on, as reflected by their presence

in the Hieronymian Martyrology, compiled in ca. 430-440 and attributed apocryphally to St. Jerome<sup>20</sup>, and in the Syrian calendar of 411 AD<sup>21</sup>. However, comparing with the Constantinopolitan typicon, the monastic typicons of St. Sava from Jerusalem, originally composed in 531 AD and known today from a 12<sup>th</sup>-century Greek manuscript from Sinai<sup>22</sup>, and that of the Studion Monastery, composed before 826, probably reformulated in 1034 and preserved in a Serbian copy from the 12<sup>th</sup> century, contained a much smaller selection of saints from Thrace and Dacia (see Annex 1)<sup>23</sup>. Simeon Metaphrastes, in his Menologion composed in the third quarter of the 10<sup>th</sup> century, which is a collection of 148 lives of saints, most of them reworked by him on this occasion<sup>24</sup>, included only the Lives of Saint Nicetas the Goth and Hermylus and Stratonicus from Singidunum<sup>25</sup>. But the presence of saints from the dioceses of Thrace and Dacia becomes numerous in the Menologion of Basil II (see Annex 1), composed after 979, which was a revised version of the Constantinopolitan Typicon that corrected and supplemented some of its entries<sup>26</sup>. The emphasis given to the Dacian and Thracian saints in the Menologion of Basil II<sup>27</sup> was probably related both to the fact that the founder of the dynasty, Basil I, was a native of eastern Thrace (of Armenian descent) who fled to the Danube after the conquest of Adrianople<sup>28</sup>, and especially to the reconquest of the Thracian territory that begun under John Tzimiskes in 971 and was extended to the Danube by Basil II in 1018. The Macedonian dynasty is a period of revival for many cults of saints, or rebounding with the older traditions after the Iconoclastic gap, a tendency which was interpreted as an antiquarianism, a structural symptom of the Macedonian renaissance<sup>29</sup>. However, there had been too many context changes that made the return to the ante-

Iconoclastic state impossible. The need for reshaping the cults in the new contexts was overcome by a growing standardization controlled by Constantinople that generated local reactions<sup>30</sup>. It is a period of renovation of the older hagiographic genres but also of binding new regional identities through local Middle Byzantine saints<sup>31</sup>.

Although in the Constantinopolitan Typicon was specified the place of origin of St. Emilian, Δωρωστόλον Μοισίας τῆς Θράκης, and he was the first commemoration of the day in the Byzantine menologion, in the Bulgarian menologia of 10<sup>th</sup>-14<sup>th</sup> centuries St. Emilian does not appear anywhere accompanied by the indication of *Durostorum* or *Drastar* and he is often degraded to the second place in the synaxarion of the day<sup>32</sup>, in favor of Hyacinth of Amastris, a Paphlagonian local saint who had a but a regional cult in the Middle Byzantine period<sup>33</sup>. The Bulgarian menologies reversed the order of the Synaxarion of Constantinople for July 18<sup>th</sup> which had St. Emilian as the first commemoration of the day and St. Hyacinth as the second<sup>34</sup>. Moreover, Emilian's name sometimes appears corrupted, which indicates a distancing from the Byzantine sources of his cult: in 822 (Bulgarian Apostle cod. 882, 12<sup>th</sup> century), as *Yeminian*; in Strum (Strumica Apostle, Macedonian, 13<sup>th</sup> century) as *Amilian* on July 18 and an alter ego of him, *Elmian*, on July 19<sup>35</sup>, as if they were two different saints, in the Zograph Trephologion (late 13<sup>th</sup> cent.) as *Milian*, which indicates that his life was not sufficiently known, nor his cult developed in the Bulgarian milieus.

The Jerusalem Typicon gradually replaced the Constantinopolitan one on a large scale up to the 13<sup>th</sup> century, because it had a simpler formula, and could be observed without specialized singers, as stressed by Simeon of Thessalonica<sup>36</sup>. The adoption of the Jerusalem typicon also led to changes in the calendars. St. Emilian was among those few Danubian saints who had a

cult in Constantinople and mainly for this reason he was also included in the Jerusalem Typicon, which later made him omnipresent in the medieval menologia that observed the Jerusalem typicon. In mural paintings, St. Emilian appears as a beardless young man martyred by burning in the fire, in the menologia at Staro Nagoričane<sup>37</sup>, Budimlja<sup>38</sup>, Dečani<sup>39</sup>, Peć<sup>40</sup>, and Cozia<sup>41</sup>, and he is found with the same iconography in all the painted Moldavian and Wallachian

menologia of the 15<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> centuries. An exception is Bucovăț, where Emilian is wrongfully represented decapitated, together with Hyacinth of Amastris<sup>42</sup>. Representations of St. Emilian outside menologia are however extremely rare; there is one image of him beardless, joining the similarly beardless St. martyr Marinus of Cesarea (Dec. 10)<sup>43</sup>, painted on the south-eastern arch in the western bay of the nave at Dečani (fig. 1).



Fig. 1. – Sts. Marinus and Emilian of Durostorum, Dečani, nave, the south-western arch.

There are several other cases of saints from Moesia who had relics and an active cult in the Middle Byzantine period, such as Maximus, Quintilian, and Dada from Durostorum, martyred during emperor Maximianus. A brick martyrdom with three arcosolia tombs, discovered in the old necropolis of Durostorum and dated to the 4<sup>th</sup> century, is associated with this group of martyrs<sup>44</sup>. Their cult may be later than the mid-4<sup>th</sup> century, as they were not included in the *Martyrologium Hieronymianum*<sup>45</sup>. Shortly before Durostorum was conquered by the Avars in 579 AD, their relics were transported to Constantinople and placed in the church of the Virgin in the Biglentos (Vigil) quarter<sup>46</sup>, where it was then kept their synaxis<sup>47</sup>. The three saints had several feasts in the Byzantine synaxaria: on April 28<sup>th</sup> their martyrdom was commemorated<sup>48</sup>; a synax of them in the Biglentos quarter in Constantinople was held on July 28<sup>th</sup> that marked the translation of their relics<sup>49</sup>; and a celebration of the discovery of their relics, on August 2<sup>nd</sup> where the *vicus* of Ozovia is mentioned as the place of their burial<sup>50</sup>. In the Bulgarian menologia, however, the group appears only on April 27<sup>th</sup>, incomplete, with their names corrupted and without any place indication: in the 882, *килинтия*; and in the *Zograph Trephologion*, *дадиа·и клитиника*. In the painted menologia, they are illustrated on April 28<sup>th</sup> at Staro Nagoričane and Gračanica, beheaded with the sword. At Dečani and Cozia, the scene corresponding to April 28 has been lost. The group of saints does not appear in any of the painted menologia or menaia manuscripts from Moldavia and Wallachia in the 15<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> centuries, although they are present in the Jerusalem Typikon on April 28<sup>th</sup>.

Hermylus and Stratonikus from Singidunum (today's Belgrade), martyred by drowning in the Danube on January 13<sup>th</sup> 314, also had a cult in Constantinople and their presence in the South Slavic synaxaria is

frequent (see Annex 1). The Byzantine cult of Hermylus and Stratonikus was focused on the veneration of their relics, which were brought from Singidunum to Constantinople before the destruction of the city by the Avars and Slavs in the early 7<sup>th</sup> century<sup>51</sup>. Anthony of Novgorod saw in 1200 the relics of their heads in the collection of the church of St. Sophia<sup>52</sup>. The hagiography of the two saints is believed to have been written in Constantinople, no earlier than the 6<sup>th</sup> century, and the text was then stylized by Simeon Metaphrastes<sup>53</sup>. They have verses by Christopher of Mytilene in his hymnographic calendar written from the 1030s to the 1050s<sup>54</sup>. They are frequently illustrated in the Byzantine illuminated menologia of the 11<sup>th</sup> and 12<sup>th</sup> centuries<sup>55</sup>, starting with the *Menologion of Basil II*<sup>56</sup>. The celebration of the transfer of their relics to Constantinople was commemorated on June 1<sup>st</sup> in the Constantinopolitan typicon, where their synaxis was held in a church in the Zealot Quarter near the Orphanage, and in a few other Byzantine churches: *Τελεῖται δὲ ἡ αὐτῶν σύναξις ἐν τῷ εὐκτηρίῳ οἴκῳ τοῦ ἀρχαγγέλου Μιχαήλ τῷ ὄντι ἐν τῇ Ὁξείᾳ, καὶ ἐν Φιρμουπόλει καὶ ἐν τοῖς Σπουδαίου, πλησίον τοῦ Ὁρφανοτροφείου*<sup>57</sup>. There was also a church dedicated to St. Stratonikus in Constantinople, dating from the mid-6<sup>th</sup> century, which we know little about<sup>58</sup>. The two saints appear in the Jerusalem Typicon only on January 13<sup>th</sup>, but in the Bulgarian menologia of the 12<sup>th</sup>-13<sup>th</sup> centuries, they also appear on June 1<sup>st</sup> (the commemoration day of the translation of their relics) which reflects the Constantinopolitan source of their South-Slavic cult<sup>59</sup>. In the painted menologia they are illustrated only on the day of their martyrdom, January 13, at Staro Nagoricane<sup>60</sup> and Peć Patriarchate<sup>61</sup>. At Dečani, the two saints were represented on the arches in the western bay of the naos (fig. 2 a-b). In the menologia at Dečani and Cozia, the painted area of the month of January was destroyed, but in the 15<sup>th</sup>- and the 16<sup>th</sup>-centuries Moldavian and Wallachian painted menologia they are omnipresent on January 13<sup>th</sup>.

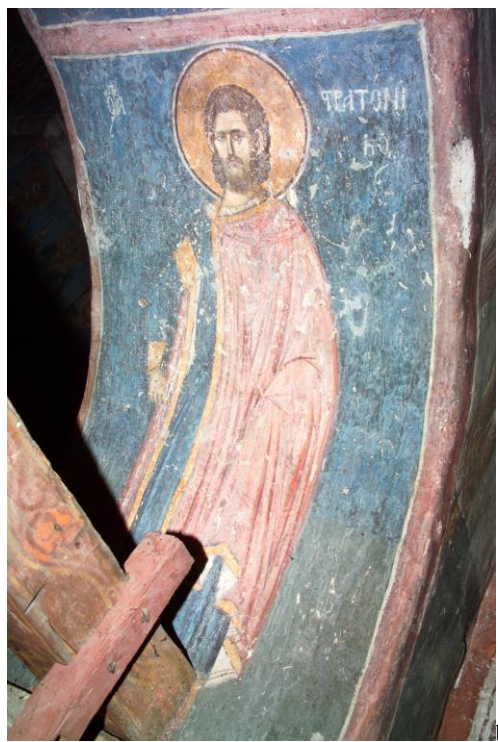


Fig. 2 a-b. – Saints Hermylus and Stratonice of Singidunum, Dečani, nave, western bay.

Another saint is Dasius/Tasius of Durostorum, whose earliest mention is in the 9<sup>th</sup> century marble calendar of the St. John the Baptist church in Naples, which is considered to reflect a 7<sup>th</sup>-century Byzantine tradition<sup>62</sup>. His Vita<sup>63</sup> and its recensions in the Byzantine menologia mention him as a martyr in the fortress of Durostorum on November 20<sup>st</sup> 303 AD during Maximianus; ἐπὶ Μαξιμιανοῦ βασιλέως ἐν πόλει Δοροστόλῳ (the Typicon of Constantinople) and Ἀθλησις τοῦ ἁγίου μάρτυρος Δασίου τοῦ ἐν Δοροστόλῳ (the menologion of Basil II). While in the Menologium of Basil he is the first commemoration of the day (fig. 3), in the 12<sup>th</sup>-century Synaxarion of Constantinople he becomes only the fourth entry<sup>64</sup>. He is present in several Bulgarian menologia from the 12<sup>th</sup> to the 14<sup>th</sup> centuries which preserve archaic commemorations from the Constantinople Typicon: Karpino Apostle and Evangelion, the Zograph Trepheologion and the Palauzov Menaion<sup>65</sup>. However, in most cases he appears without the place of martyrdom, while in the Zograf Trepheologion appears twice, once on Nov. 20 as “Dasius and his companions at Dorostolon”, ἱερεῖς σὺν αὐτῷ ἐν Δοροστόλῳ,

and once on Nov. 19 as “Dionysius of Drastar”, въ дрѣстарѣ (copied *tale quale* in the Palauzov Menaion)<sup>66</sup>. The confusion was probably generated by the compilation of different sources, some in Greek and others with Slavized forms which, as with St. Emilian, generated two separate saints, the original and an alter ego. Dasius is missing from the Jerusalem Typicon and consequently does not appear in the Serbian or Romanian medieval menologia either. The sarcophagus with his relics had been taken from Durostorum during the Avar invasion of 579. He had no dedicated synaxis in a church in Constantinople, which makes it unlikely that his relics were brought to Constantinople, but apparently, they were transported in a Greek-speaking city, where his *Life* was translated into Greek and the lid of his sarcophagus was repaired and inscribed<sup>67</sup>. Probably immediately after the Fourth Crusade, the sarcophagus with his relics, a 4<sup>th</sup>-century object, was taken to Ancona, where it was registered at the Cathedral of San Salvatore in 1224 and where it is kept today<sup>68</sup>. He has no known depictions in the Balkans.



Fig. 3. – St. Dasius of Durostorum, Menologion of Basil II, Vat. Gr. 1613, Nov. 20, p. 93.

The 40 virgin martyrs from Adrianople (fig. 4) commemorated on September 1, also had a higher frequency in the menologia in Bulgaria and Serbia (see Annex 1). They appear in the Bulgarian 11<sup>th</sup>-century Enina Apostle<sup>69</sup>. They are also present in the painted menologia from Staro Nagoričane<sup>70</sup>, Gračanica<sup>71</sup>, Dečani<sup>72</sup>, and the Peć Patriarchate. In all these cases, the group appears as the secondary commemoration, next to the first one which is St. Symeon the Stylite<sup>73</sup>. They are absent at Cozia, which keeps the system of the painted menologion of the 40 martyrs church in Turnovo (1230s), which has only one saint or scene for the day, usually the first entry of the calendar. In Moldavia, the 40 virgin martyrs appear only at Dobrovăț Monastery (1529), next to St. Symeon the Stylite<sup>74</sup>.

Maximus, Theodotus and Asclepiodotus at Saltus near Philipopolis (19 Feb.) appear in the Macedonian late 13<sup>th</sup>-century Karpin Gospel<sup>75</sup>. The Menologion of Basil II<sup>76</sup> and the Greek Prologue of 1295<sup>77</sup> also list a St. Hesychius together with this group. In the frescoed menologia, Maximus appears at Staro Nagoričane

(on 15 Sep.)<sup>78</sup> and at Dečani (19 Feb., Maximus, Theodotus, et alii)<sup>79</sup>. In Moldavia, only Dobrovăț has a depiction of Theodotus on Feb. 19<sup>80</sup>, and at Snagov and Tismana the inscription indicates “Maximus and those with him”. On February 19<sup>th</sup>, Cozia and the rest of the Moldavian painted menologia have St. Apostle Archippus and Apphia, the main commemoration of the day.

Macrobius, Gordian, Elias, Zoticus, Lucian and Valerian, martyrs with an uncertain location, sometimes mentioned at Noviodunum<sup>81</sup> and other times at Tomis<sup>82</sup>, are present as a group in the Typicon of Constantinople and in the Menologion of Basil II on September 13<sup>th</sup> as “Macrobius, Gordian and those with him”<sup>83</sup>, and in complete form in the 12<sup>th</sup>-century Synaxarion of Constantinople<sup>84</sup>. In Bulgarian and Serbian menologia, they appear only in the Zograph Trephologion, without any mention of place. They were illustrated at Dečani (Sep. 13)<sup>85</sup>, but are missing from the Romanian painted menologia, where they are replaced by the main commemoration of the day, St. Cornelius the Centurion.



Fig. 4. – The 40 virgin martyrs in Adrianople, Menologion of Basil II, Vat. Gr. 1613, Sep. 1, p. 26.

Meletina, martyr at Marcianopolis (fig. 5), the capital of Moesia Secunda, is commemorated on September 16<sup>th</sup> in the Typicon of Constantinople and other Middle Byzantine menologia<sup>86</sup>, and on the 15<sup>th</sup> in the Menologion of Basil II<sup>87</sup>. In the Greek Prologue of 1295, she is found several times, on Sep. 16, Oct. 29, and Oct. 30. In the Synaxarion of Constantinople she is mentioned only the fourth, on September

16<sup>th</sup><sup>88</sup>. In the Bulgarian synaxaria, her name is frequently transcribed as *Melentiia*, without any place of origin. She was painted in the calendars at Staro Nagoričane<sup>89</sup> and Gračanica<sup>90</sup>. At Cozia is missing, as she is eclipsed by the main commemoration of the day, that of St. Megalomartyr Euphemia of Chalcedon, a situation that is repeated in all the Moldavian and Wallachian painted menologia.



Fig. 5. – St. Meletina of Marcianopolis, Menologion of Basil II, Vat. Gr. 1613, Sep. 16, p. 42.



Fig. 6. – St. Alexander of Drizipara, Menologion of Basil II, Vat. Gr. 1613, Feb. 25, p. 422.

Alexander of Drizipara in Thrace (fig. 6), a local martyr whose relics and church were desecrated during the Avar war, had no known churches or relics in Constantinople, but he had a life which circulated in Byzantium<sup>91</sup>. His great martyrion church located extra muros at Drizipara in Thracia Prima, where the silver reliquary with his relics was kept, was plundered by the Avars in 591 and destroyed in 600, events narrated by Simocatta and Theophanes Confessor<sup>92</sup>.

He is mentioned on 25 Feb. in the Byzantine and the Bulgarian menologia, but in the latter the place of his life and martyrdom is not specified. Alexander of Drizipara also had a synaxis that was held on May 14<sup>th</sup> in Kentoukellais, where part of his relics was kept<sup>93</sup>, which is why he appears painted in Staro Nagoričane on February 25 and May 14<sup>94</sup>, and in Gračanica on May 14<sup>95</sup>. He was not included in the Romanian menologia and his presence in the rest of the iconographic

programs is difficult to identify because of his homonymy with other martyrs.

The Goth martyrs Inna, Pinna and Rhima are present in the Byzantine menologia on January 20<sup>th</sup><sup>96</sup>, a date chosen to match the circumstances of their martyrdom in a river on a winter day (fig. 7). Their ethnicity and location of martyrdom is uncertain. According to the Menologion of Basil II, the three men lived and were martyred in Scythia, probably the archaic nomen for the Gothic lands at the Danube. They had a *Vita* which survived only in a short recension in which is narrated their martyrdom in a river during winter in the barbaric lands of Gothia<sup>97</sup>. According to other sources, the three saints, identified as Slavs, or apostles of Slavs, might have suffered in Crimea, and their relics were transferred to the port of Alisk or Alix<sup>98</sup>. They also had a second day of commemoration, on June 20, which was probably linked to a translation of their relics<sup>99</sup>. They are absent from the Balkan or Romanian menologia.

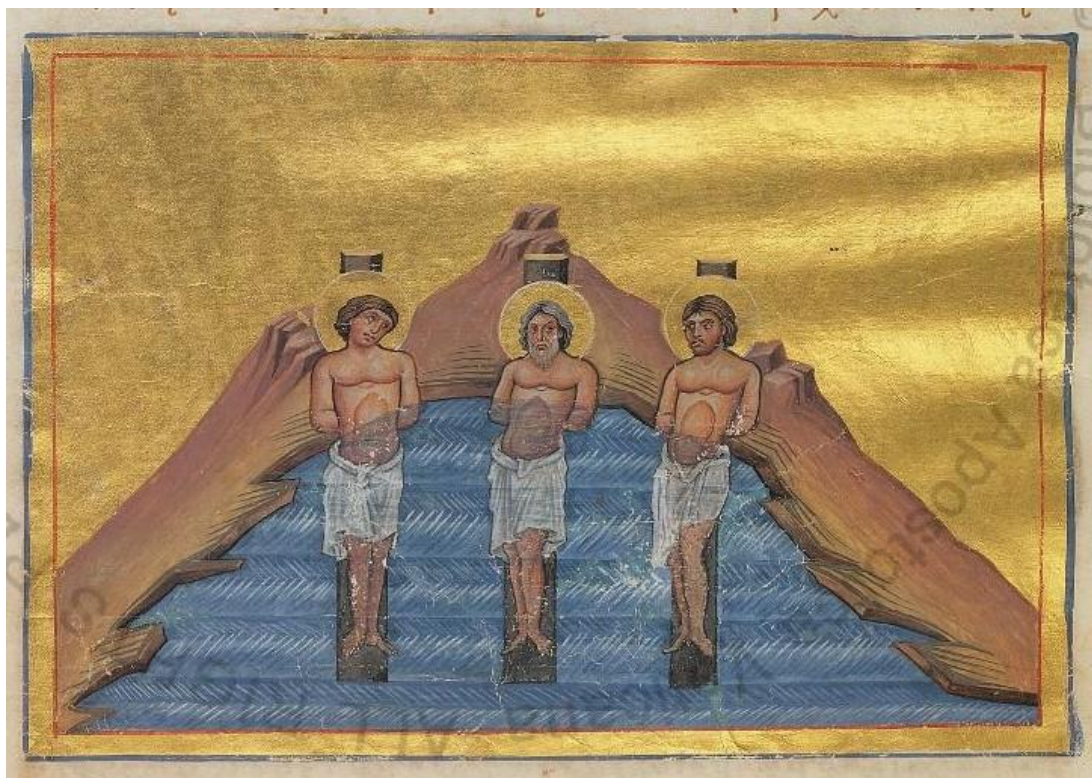


Fig. – 7. Sts. Inna, Pinna and Rhima, Menologion of Basil II, Vat. Gr. 1613, Jan. 20, p. 337.

Martyrs Pasicrates and Valentinus from Durostorum appear on April 24 in the Typicon and the Synaxarion of Constantinople<sup>100</sup> but not in Slavic or Romanian sources. Nicander and Marcianus from Tomis, mentioned on June 8 in the Syriac calendar of 411 AD together with 47 other martyrs at Tomis<sup>101</sup>, in the Martyrologium Hieronymianum on January 8<sup>102</sup> and in the Typicon and the Synaxarion of Constantinople on June 8<sup>103</sup>, are present very rarely in Slavic manuscripts, without any mention of place (codex Assemanianus, Bulgarian, late 11<sup>th</sup> cent.)<sup>104</sup>. They were depicted in the menologion at Gračanica<sup>105</sup>.

Hermes the exorcist from Ratiaria, the capital of Dacia Ripensis, was included only in the Martyrologium Hieronymianum on December 31, January 1 and January 4, together with another local martyr, Gaius. Hermes was martyred in

Ratiaria and Gaius in Bononia, but the two saints were venerated in both the two close cities<sup>106</sup>. Hermes the exorcist at Bononia is also present in the Syriac calendar, on December 30<sup>107</sup>. The two are missing from all the Byzantine, Slavic and Romanian menologia.

Cyril and Quindeus, martyrs from Axiopolis who also had a martyrium in a fortress 30 km of Durostorum, still active in the 6<sup>th</sup> century<sup>108</sup>, are also missing from the Byzantine and Slavic synaxaria. They are present in the Martyrologium Hieronymianum (April 26)<sup>109</sup> and the Syriac calendar (March 9, 10 and May 12)<sup>110</sup>. Zotikos, Atallos, Kamasios and Philip in the necropolis at Niculițel near Noviodunum (June 4)<sup>111</sup> are absent as well from the Byzantine and Slavic calendars, and the same is true for Epictetus and Astion, found in 2001 in the basilica in the

necropolis at Halmyris (July 8)<sup>112</sup>, bishop Bretanion of Tomis (Jan. 25) and bishop Theotimus of Tomis<sup>113</sup>, Montanus the priest and Maxima of Singidunum (March 26)<sup>114</sup>, Julius the Veteran (May 27)<sup>115</sup> and Hesychius (June 15)<sup>116</sup>, Nicetas of Remesiana (Biala Palanka, Bulgaria, June 24)<sup>117</sup>, Philip, Severus, and Hermes of Adrianople (22 Oct.)<sup>118</sup>. Those who belonged to the Prefecture of Illyricum entered the Hieronymian Martyrologium of the Roman church and those of Scythia Minor, which belonged to the prefecture of the East, also appear in the Syriac calendar of Antioch from 411. But the fact that they did not survive in the Middle Byzantine menologia indicate that they had not have an active cult at Constantinople nor their relics translated to the Byzantine capital, which also led to their absence from the Slavic and Romanian menologia.

There are three special cases of cults of local saints that deserve a more detailed analysis.

Perhaps the most substantial cult of a Danubian saint in the Middle Ages is that of St. Megalomartyr Nicetas the Goth, mentioned in all the Byzantine and Slavic calendars, on September 15. His Vita<sup>119</sup> and the Constantinopolitan Typicon (Patmos recension), specify that he was a Goth living north of the Danube during the time of King Athanaric, ἐπὶ τοῦ μεγάλου βασιλέως Κωνσταντίνου (sic) ὑπάρχων ἐκ τῆς βαρβάρων πέραν τοῦ Οἴστρου ποταμοῦ τοῦ Δαουβίου, ἐκ τῶν οἰκούντων ἐκεῖσε Γοτθῶν ἐπὶ Ἀθαναρίχου.<sup>120</sup> The same mention appears in the Slavic menologia: *ŭ галатска ꙗзыка живѣщаго прѣз дунавъ*.<sup>121</sup>, of “Gaulish” language and living across the Danube. In his Life stylized by Metaphrastes, Nicetas was a soldier of Gothic origin from the Danube, condemned

and burned by Athanaric in 372. His body was brought to Mopsuestia in 375, where his life was also composed, and then transferred in Constantinople, at the church of St. martyr Roman the deacon, a church which, according to the tradition recorded by the patriographers from the 11<sup>th</sup> century, had been built by empress Helena<sup>122</sup>. The chronology of the translation of his relics to Constantinople can be reliably reconstituted, as Mopsuestia is conquered by the Byzantines in 965, the Life of St. Nicetas is stylized by Metaphrastes in the 970s and included in the Byzantine typica, and representations of Nicetas appear beginning with the Menologion of Basil II (fig. 8), then at Nea Moni in Chios, Hosios Lukas in Phocis (fig. 9), on a reliquary at the Great Lavra, and in frescoes in Cappadocia – all in the 11<sup>th</sup> century<sup>123</sup>. The translation of his relics generated a wave of interest during the 11<sup>th</sup> century, which resulted in constructing a cult for him in Constantinople and spreading it beyond. Now it enters the Slavic synaxaria as well. Next to the church of St. Roman in Constantinople, a church dedicated to him was built, where a portion of his relics (a leg) was transferred. The relics in the two churches were seen by the pilgrim Anthony of Novgorod in 1200, who reported that the body of St. Nicetas was in the church of St. Roman together with the relics of the prophet Daniel. Stephen of Novgorod in 1350 and the Russian anonymous traveler in 1389 both recorded that the relics of St. Nicetas were still in the crypt of the church of St. Roman<sup>124</sup>. Hagia Sophia also had a relic which the 1389 Russian traveler (doubtfully) identified as linked to St. Nicetas: “on the right-hand side of the altar, leaning against the rear wall is the iron pallet on which St. George and St. Nicetas were roasted”<sup>125</sup>, which accounts for the great celebrity of the saint at that time among Greeks and Russians.



Fig. 8. – St. Nicetas the Goth, Menologion of Basil II, Vat. Gr. 1613, Sep. 15, p. 37.

Saint Nicetas is the only saint from the Danube who was included in the Kievan synaxaria; he appears at a short time after his relics were transferred to Constantinople, in the 11<sup>th</sup>-century Ostromir Evangelion<sup>126</sup> and Arxangel'sk Gospel<sup>127</sup>. In the Balkans, he is depicted in murals among the military saints at Sopoćani, Gračanica, Dečani, Novi Pazar, Manasija but the center of his cult is the church dedicated to him in Čučer, built by Stefan Nemanja in 1183-1192, supposedly on the site of an initial construction dating from the 11<sup>th</sup>-12<sup>th</sup> centuries built by a Byzantine aristocrat<sup>128</sup>. The church was rebuilt by King Milutin in 1299-1300s, dedicated as a metochion to Chilandar Monastery and painted by Euty chius and Michael Astrapas in c. 1322-24 (fig. 10). The cult of St. Nicetas in Serbia is of Constantinopolitan origin, possibly dating from the 11<sup>th</sup> century and linked to the Middle Byzantine foundation at Čučer, but in Bulgarian menologies he is mentioned as a saint who lived across the Danube, and it

is not improbable that this cult had been driven in the Balkans by the Goth saint's origin in the Danube area. This is an exceptional case of an early Danubian martyr that had a strong local cult in the Balkans during the Middle Ages, and this was owed to his consistent cult developed and spread in the Middle Byzantine period after the translation of his relics at Constantinople. In the Romanian principalities, Nicetas is present in the menologion of Cozia and in all Moldavian menologia, without exception, even in the selective ones at Lujeni, Rădăuți, Voroneț, Baia and Humor. In Wallachia he is still preserving in the menologia at Snagov and Tismana (at Bucovăț the painting corresponding to September 15 was lost). At Moldovița, Nicetas is depicted in the register of military saints, in the naos, next to St. John the New of Suceava, another cardinal local saint and on the western façade of the church at Arbore a cycle of his life was depicted<sup>129</sup>.



Fig. 9. – St Nicetas the Goth, fresco in the southwestern chapel of the Hosios Lucas catholicon in Phocis, 11th c.

Nicetas' cult reached as far as Antioch. The patriarch of Antioch Joachim V Daw (†1592), en route towards Lvov, Kiev and Moscow, met with Bishop Gheorghe Movilă of Rădăuți, to whom he gave an icon of the Mother of God with the Child and Saint Nicetas, which the bishop bequeathed in 1587 to the Sucevița Monastery, the foundation of his family<sup>130</sup>.

In Rus' and later Russia, circulated an apocryphal variant of his life which made him a martyr of Nicomedia, son of emperor Maximianus and protector against devils<sup>131</sup>. This second saint was developed as an alter ego of Nicetas the Goth, a mixture of fantasy and folklore

that finally blended into the original and became one person. Miodrag Marković suggested that the apocryphal *Passio* of Nicetas, which originated in the Middle Byzantine period, came into being as part of the prodigious process of creating the cult of a new saint<sup>132</sup>.

Another local saint of *Gothia*, martyr Sabbas (Sava) of Buzău was a Visigoth martyr north of the Danube, mentioned in the Byzantine and Slavic menologies with a constant frequency (see Annex I) and always accompanied by his ethnic mention, “ὁ Γότθος”. His relics were requested by St. Basil the Great from the governor of Scythia Minor to be brought to Cappadocia.



Fig. 10. – St. Nicetas the Goth, fresco in the nave of St. Nicetas church in Čučer, c. 1322-1324.

Together with his relics, also his *Life* was sent to Basil, a text composed in the form of a letter addressed by the Gothic Church north of the Danube to the Church of Cappadocia, in 373-374<sup>133</sup>. The trace of his relics is then lost, and the martyr has no preserved Middle Byzantine depictions, despite that his life has recensions kept in the Byzantine synaxaria, although not as the main commemoration of the day. He was not included in the Jerusalem Typicon. According to his *Life*, his martyrdom took place on April 12<sup>th</sup> 372, but subsequently he was commemorated on April 15<sup>th</sup> in the Constantinopolitan typicon and the Bulgarian and Serbian menologia. In the Balkans, he is depicted in the fresco menologium of the Patriarchate of Peć, on April 15<sup>th</sup>, with the inscription (martyrdom of) *Савой горѣиѡа*, but the painting dates from the re-establishment of the Serbian Patriarchate in 1557. In the Synaxarion of Constantinople (12<sup>th</sup>-13<sup>th</sup> cent.) Sabbas the Goth appears on April 17<sup>th</sup>, and later April 18<sup>th</sup> in codex Coislin 223 (written in 1301 for Ioannikios the Protos of Mount Athos)<sup>134</sup>. On April 18<sup>th</sup> he is present in all the painted Moldavian menologia (fig. 11), sometimes with the indication *горѣиѡн*, exception making the selective synaxaria at Lujeni, Rădăuți, the pronaos of Voroneț, at Humor, and Baia. In Wallachia, he is present on the same date (but without the ethnonym “Goth”) in the painted menologia of Snagov, Tismana, and Bucovăț. His commemoration on April 18<sup>th</sup> in the menologia in Moldavia and Wallachia denotes a common synaxarial tradition which is not that of the classical Constantinopolitan calendar, nor Bulgarian or Serbian, but a later one known from the 14<sup>th</sup>-century manuscripts from Mount Athos (Coislin 223). This later menological redaction present at Mount Athos in the 14<sup>th</sup> century, which has Sabbas the Goth on April 18 and not 15, will constitute one of the main sources for the printed edition of the Menaion of Venice which will become the prototype for all the later printed Menaia. At Cozia, the image corresponding to April 15

has been lost, and on April 18 is depicted St. John the disciple of St. Gregory of Decapolis<sup>135</sup>, which indicates a more archaic tradition than the one that will become current in Moldavia and Wallachia in the 15<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> centuries.

St. Sabbas the Goth developed an alter ego as well, St. Sabbas Stratelates (April 24 or 25), a Goth martyr at Rome under Aurelian, executed by drowning. Enrica Folieri<sup>136</sup> and Christopher Walter<sup>137</sup> stressed that this second saint is a fictitious creation modelled on the life of the real St. Sabbas of Buzău. His earliest recording dates from the 9<sup>th</sup> and 10<sup>th</sup> centuries: Paris. Gr. 63 and the Typicon of Constantinople, on April 24<sup>138</sup>. His *Vita* comes from a single manuscript, the late 10<sup>th</sup>-century cod. 254, ff. 289-291v, of the St. John Monastery on Patmos<sup>139</sup>. Both Sabbas the Goth and Sabbas Stratelates have versed hymns composed by Christopher of Mytilene in the 11<sup>th</sup> century<sup>140</sup>. E. Follieri found the sources for the *Vita* of Sabbas Stratelates in the Passio of St. Procopius the exorcist<sup>141</sup> and the life of Sabbas the Goth, exception making that Stratelates was stylized into a military saint, a general (*στρατιώτης* / *στρατηλάτης*). He was even fashioned a physical description, in the Patmos recension of the Typicon of Constantinople (April 25): a general by class, of Goth family, of mature age, with a body white like snow, red face, and golden hair and eyes, *στρατηλάτης τὴν τάξιν, τὸ γένος Γότθος λή ἐτῶν ὑπάρχων, λευκὸς ὑπὲρ χιόνα τῷ σώματι, ῥοδινὸς τῷ προσώπῳ, ἡ δὲ θριξὶς τῆς κεφαλῆς αὐτοῦ ἦν ὡς τὸ χρυσίον, οἱ δὲ ὀφθαλμοὶ αὐτοῦ*<sup>142</sup>. Some assimilations occurred between Sabbas Stratelates and Nicetas the Goth as well<sup>143</sup>. Stratelates enjoyed a much greater fame than the original Sabbas. In iconography, he is more often depicted than Sabas the Vizigoth, as a courtier, of an age about that of Sabbas the Goth (38 years old) or older, among the military saints at Studenica (1314), Karye Djami, Gračanica, Peć Patriarchate, Dečani, and St. Nicholas in Curtea de Argeș. In menologia, he is present at Dečani, Treskavac, and in all Moldavian and Wallachian menologia on April 24.



Fig. 11. Sabbas the Goth, Voroneț Monastery, exonarthex (1547), the Menologion, April 18

St. Lupus is also a martyr who is arguably the result of merging two or more hagiographies together. The cult of early martyr Lupus at Novae (on the Danube, near today's Svishtov in Bulgaria) had been important in the region until the destruction of the city by the Slavic invasions. However, it seemed it remained of a strict local relevance as he is not found in any of the early synaxaria, *Martyrologium Hieronymianum*, the Syriac calendar or the Neapolitan calendar, nor in the Middle Byzantine sources. The only information about his cult in Novae comes from Simocatta. The general Peter, the brother of emperor Maurice (582-602) passed through Novae with his army during the campaign against the Slavs in 594. The episode is recounted by Simocatta, who mentions Peter's participation in the St. Lupus's Day festival in Novae in 594: "Then, when the inhabitants heard of the general's imminent arrival [of Peter, the brother of emperor Maurice, at Novae], they came out of the city, provided him with a most distinguished reception, and begged Peter to

join the celebration for the festival of the martyr Lupus: for that day was the festal eve feast for the martyr Lupus. And so the general said that he was unable to spend the day in the place because of the urgency of his march, but the citizens amplified their request with superabundant pleas, and compelled the general to take part in the festival. And so, Peter, after being two days in the city, set out from there and pitched camp at Theodoropolis"<sup>144</sup>. We are not informed by the chronicle on which days the vespers and the liturgy for St. Lupus were taking place. The oldest mention of a saint Lupus is in the 12<sup>th</sup>-13<sup>th</sup> centuries *Synaxarion* of Constantinople on August 23<sup>rd</sup> but lacking a hagiographic recension or a mention of the place of his martyrdom or relics<sup>145</sup>. Archaeological excavations revealed two large churches in Novae, a basilica with a crypt on the site of his tomb in the necropolis near the city and an episcopal cathedral with a crypt, built at the end of the 5<sup>th</sup> century inside the city<sup>146</sup>. The crypt was supposedly built for the relics of St. Lupus, which had to

be moved from the martyrion because of the application of Canon 94 of the Council of Carthage in 419, which had decided that the relics of the martyrs should be moved from the necropolises outside the cities to the basilicas inside the city, so that their cult be brought from the peripheries to the urban centers<sup>147</sup>. Some exceptions functioned however well into the 5<sup>th</sup> and the 6<sup>th</sup> centuries, like the extra muros basilica of St. Alexander at Drizipara<sup>148</sup> or the martyrion in the necropolis at Niculițel. The episcopal basilica of Novae also had buildings for pilgrims, which proves that the feast of St. Lupus was an important one in the region and frequented by pilgrims. The destruction of the basilica with its relics took place during the Slavic invasion of 614-615, after which the city remained uninhabited for more than a century. St. Lupus from Novae does not appear in the Constantinopolitan Typicon and neither in the Roman Martyrologium, which suggests that he did not have a written life, nor a cult or a dedicated church outside the region of Novae.

In one of the two versions of the Life of St. Demetrius, the more developed one which was included by Simeon Metaphrastes in his Menologion<sup>149</sup>, a certain Lupus appears as the slave, or the batman, of Demetrius. This variant of the hagiographic text mentions that the bloody coat and the ring of St. Demetrius was taken by his servant Lupus, with whom he began to perform miracles, and that the prefect of Illyricum, Leontios, erected a basilica in honor of Saint Demetrius in Sirmium, where the relic coat of St. Demetrius saved by Lupus was deposited<sup>150</sup>. The basilica in Sirmium – a city on the Sava River, a branch of the Danube – could be the place where the legends of the two saints may have intersected, if we accept that the hagiographical version of St. Demetrius later stylized by Simeon Metaphrastes dates from a period before the invasions of the 7<sup>th</sup> century. But the hagiography of St. Demetrius does not mention anything about

Novae and throughout the Middle Ages there is no information regarding the Danubian origin of Saint Lupus. Christopher Walter even suggests that, in the absence of other identification elements, it could be the case that they were two different saints<sup>151</sup>. Only by the end of the 12<sup>th</sup> century the first evidence of the canonization of the servant of St. Demetrius appears through his inclusion in the Synaxarion of Constantinople on August 23. From this moment on, St. Lupus begins to spread in Byzantine and South-Slavic menologia and paintings. He was included in the Karpin Gospel (Macedonian, end of 13<sup>th</sup> cent. or the beginning of the 14<sup>th</sup> cent.)<sup>152</sup> and in frescoes he appears at Studenica, Protaton (fig. 12), then during the 14<sup>th</sup> century he appears painted individually or in scenes of the Life of St. Demetrius at St. Apostles church in Thessaloniki, Bogorodica-Ljeviška in Prizren, Gračanica, Dečani, the Peć Patriarchate (church of St. Demetrius), at St. Nicholas Princely church in Curtea de Argeș, Vatopedi, the Great Meteora, then in Cretan icons with scenes from the Life of St. Demetrius, and in the 16<sup>th</sup> century he was painted on Mount Athos, Moldavia (Dorohoi, Hârlău, Humor, Părâuți, Probota) and Wallachia (The Monastery of Curtea de Argeș – fig. 13; Cozia infirmary church<sup>153</sup>). His cult gained momentum during the late 13<sup>th</sup> and the 14<sup>th</sup> centuries having Thessaloniki as the center of its initial diffusion, but between the 14<sup>th</sup> and the 16<sup>th</sup> centuries he becomes omnipresent in the Balkans and the Romanian Principalities. He was included in Athonite ms. Coislin 223, par. 1 (Lupus) and in Oxf. ms. Gr. th. f. 1, fol. 52<sup>v</sup>, which is an illustrated menologion of the despot Demetrios Palaeologos from Thessaloniki, 1322-1340<sup>154</sup>. In the Serbian menologia, Lupus is depicted at Gračanica, in the scene of the martyrdom of St. Demetrius on Oct. 26. In the Moldavian synaxaria, he is present alone or with companions on Aug. 23, at Dobrovăț, St. George in Suceava (?), Neamț (?), Moldovița, Probota, the Roman cathedral, and in Wallachia at Bucovăț.



Fig. 12. – St. Lupus, Protaton Monastery, nave, end. of 13<sup>th</sup> c.

In conclusion, a series of considerations can be formulated with regards to the cult of the early martyrs from the dioceses of Dacia and Thrace in the Balkans and the Romanian Principalities in the medieval period. First, it can be concluded that, after the complete interruption of habitation in the episcopal

centers along the Danube during the 7<sup>th</sup> and the 8<sup>th</sup> centuries, which led to a loss of the cult of the local saints, only those saints who had their relics transferred to Constantinople before the destruction of the shrines in the Balkans survived up to the Middle Byzantine period. Moreover, Middle Byzantine era

is a time of deep transformations, reshaping and revival for many obsolete cults of saints, as well as of promotion of new ones<sup>155</sup>, after the Iconoclastic period. Beginning in the 10<sup>th</sup> century, these revived cults could be transplanted again in the Balkans, to the converted South Slavic peoples. It is significant that Byzantium did not transfer these cults also to Kievan Russia. The 11<sup>th</sup>-century gospels Archangelsk and Ostromir contain only St. Nicetas the Goth, and no other Danube saint. St. Lupus is also a special case, as, significantly, his cult is almost exclusively a Balkan one – and it also extends to the Romanian Principalities and Crete in the 15<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> centuries, but not to Russia. The source and center of his cult is the hagiography of St. Demetrius and it was seemingly cultivated in relation to the strong devotion during the Late Byzantine period to the category of military saints – the suites of military saints in churches become now omnipresent in the iconographic programs. This late medieval type of devotion towards military makes martyrs who previously did not have a martial iconography, like Procopius, Lupus, or Nicetas, to be included in the taxis of the military saints.

The recurrence of some of the Danubian saints in the Moldavian and Wallachian menologia, such as St. John Cassian on February 29, indicates the widespread use in the monastic space of the Jerusalem Typicon, which had this saint on the bissextile day. In Middle Byzantine period, Saint John Cassian is absent from menologia and calendars. Later in the Palaiologan period (Synaxarion of Constantinople) he was included on February 28<sup>156</sup>. The date of April 18 for the commemoration of Sabbas the Goth (a saint who does not appear in the Jerusalem Typicon), and not April 17 – his commemoration in the Constantinopolitan synaxarion, which also gives a different type of execution, by being burned on the top of a roof<sup>157</sup>, indicates a tradition coming from manuscript sources from Mount Athos (Coislin 223<sup>158</sup> and the subsequent Menaia), followed by both the Romanian Principalities.

Some of the Vita recensions of these saints also circulated in the Romanian Principalities, such as that of Sabbas the Goth (Sl. Ms. 51-565-571 at Putna Monastery<sup>159</sup>, Nicetas the Goth or St. Demetrius and Lupus. But it is debatable to what extent they generated a sense of identity in the Balkans and the Romanian Principalities. By comparison, in the Second Bulgarian Tsardom and in the Serbian Kingdom, a strong cult with identity purposes had been developed with respect of the local Slavic saints. Ivan I Kaloyan, Boril, Peter and Ivan Asen II in the 13<sup>th</sup> century style themselves as defenders of the true faith by translating for this purpose, to the Turnovo capital, the relics of local Slavic saints Hilarion of Moglena<sup>160</sup> and Michael the soldier from Potuka<sup>161</sup>. At the same time, in Bulgarian and Serbian menologia are included South-Slavic saints who do not appear in any Middle Byzantine menologium, but exclusively in Slavic manuscripts: St. Methodius bishop of Moravia<sup>162</sup>, Cyril the philosopher<sup>163</sup>, Michael the soldier<sup>164</sup>, John of Rila<sup>165</sup>, Gregory of Ohrid<sup>166</sup>, Clement of Ohrid<sup>167</sup>, Constantine Kabasilas of Ohrid, Tsar Peter of Bulgaria<sup>168</sup>. The model is followed by the Serbs, with Simeon Nemanja<sup>169</sup>, Sava Nemanjić<sup>170</sup>, Prochor of Pčinja. The cult of these local saints is highlighted in the iconographic programs to which figures venerated locally as St. Paraskeve of Turnovo or Achillius of Larissa<sup>171</sup> are added, who also become part of this program of building an identity through local (or imported) saints. This trend is preceded by Rus' (the canonization of Boris and Gleb in the 11<sup>th</sup> century) and is followed by the Romanian Principalities, particularly Moldavia<sup>172</sup>.

Sometimes these prominent local saints are associated with Saint Nicetas, like the figures of Saint Simeon Nemanja and Saint Sava of Serbia at Čučer<sup>173</sup>, or St. John the New of Suceava<sup>174</sup> with St. Nicetas at Moldovița, but apart from Nicetas, no other early local martyr seems to be involved in an identity construct and is debatable what extent he was included in these programs as a local saint.



Fig. 13. – St. Lupus, fresco from the Curtea de Argeș Monastery (Episcopal cathedral), nave, 1526 (today, at the National Museum of Art Bucharest).

The cults of the “Slavic” saints, well-articulated through the panegyrics of Euthymius of Turnovo and the Serbian ones, also radiated in the Romanian Principalities, where, at the Neamț Monastery in Moldavia were copied in the 15<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> centuries: the Life and Praise of the holy Serbian kings<sup>175</sup>, the Life of St. Constantine the Philosopher<sup>176</sup>; the Life of Saint John of Rila<sup>177</sup>, of Hilarion of Moglena<sup>178</sup>, of Michael the soldier<sup>179</sup>, of John of

Polyboton<sup>180</sup>. In Wallachia, were copied menaia of Bulgarian and Serbian origin, where are found feasts from South-Slavic calendars such as the translation of the relics of Saint Hilarion of Moglena<sup>181</sup>, the commemoration of John of Rila<sup>182</sup>, the Life of St. Paraskeve (by Euthymius of Turnovo)<sup>183</sup>, of Michael the soldier<sup>184</sup>, hymns to Sts. Simeon and Sava of Serbia<sup>185</sup> and which are also confirmed by the presence of some of these saints in paintings, such as the life of St. Paraskeve at Arbore and the Roman Cathedral, Sts. Simeon and Sava and St. John of Rila in the painted menologion at Roman and St. John of Rila in the pronaos at Tismana.

These are conscious selections, which reflect a sense of belonging to a tradition and to cults that circumscribe a specific area, the Slavic-Balkan one, in which the Romanian Principalities considered themselves to take part, culturally and religiously. The Byzantine world, which had preserved the cults of the Danubian martyrs, failed to pass them on and revitalize them to the same extent in the South-Slavic churches. The Balkan states apparently were not interested in practicing them in a programmatic manner, nor in stressing their local origin, although relevant information on the location of their origin and early cults such as “the fortress of Durostor” or “the bank of the Danube in Thrace” could be found everywhere in the Byzantine menologia. There was probably a fear among the South-Slavs of not stimulating a sense of Byzantine identity with regards to these saints and a possible claiming of these territories by the Byzantine empire, which led to the deletion of the mentions of Drastar or its reduction to a minimum in the Slavic menologia, contrary to common sense and cult tendencies that would have presuppose exactly the opposite. The only exception seems to be Nicetas the Goth, who had a very developed cult spread all over the Orthodox world and whose Gothic ethnicity did not pose a possible threat on the Slavic identity as the Byzantine one did. On the other hand, the emphasis put on the local Slavic saints suggests an express desire to

build an own identity, other than the Byzantine one, that would reflect the ecclesiastical and political history of these new states. These identity constructions reflected in the menological selection is transferred through

the circulation of manuscripts and iconographic structures, from both Bulgaria and Serbia to the Romanian Principalities, which perpetuates them after the fall of the Balkan states.

## Notes

<sup>1</sup> Hippolyte Delehaye, *Saints de Thrace et de Mésie*, in *Analecta Bollandiana*, 31 (1912), p. 161-294. See also idem, *Les origines du culte des martyrs*, Bruxelles, 1912<sup>1</sup>, p. 266-291.

<sup>2</sup> Emilian Popescu, *La hiérarchie ecclésiastique sur le territoire de la Roumanie. La structure et son évolution jusqu'au VII<sup>e</sup> siècle*, in *Christianitas Daco-Romana*, Editura Academiei, București, 1994, p. 200-216; Georgi Atanasov, *Notes and Codicils to the Ecclesiastical Structure of Scythia and Moesia Secunda during 4<sup>th</sup>–6<sup>th</sup> Century AD* (in Bulgarian, with English abstract), in *Terra Antiqua Balcanica et Mediteranea. Miscellanea in Honour of Alexander Minchev, International Conference, Varna, Feb. 23 2007 (Acta Musei Varnaensis, VIII-1)*, Varna 2011, p. 297-318.

<sup>3</sup> H. Delehaye, *op. cit.*, in AB, p. 236-240; J. Mansion, *Les origines du christianisme chez les Goths*, in *Analecta Bollandiana*, 33 (1914), p. 5-30. The classic study of Jacques Zeiller, *Les origines chrétiennes dans les provinces danubiennes de l'empire romain* (Bibliothèque des Écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome, fasc. CXII), Paris, Éditions de Boccard, 1918, stated that the propagation of Arianism among Goths was caused by the spread of the Arian heresy in Illyricum in the 4<sup>th</sup> century. However, Church fathers such as Basil the Great, Ambrose of Milan and Cyril of Jerusalem insisted that the Christian Goths martyred under king Athanaric (369-381), for the simplicity of their faith, must be considered true Orthodox Christians.

<sup>4</sup> Mircea Păcurariu, *Sfinți daco-romani și români*, Editura Trinitas, Iași, 1994, the synodal act of 1992, p. 5-11.

<sup>5</sup> Georgi Atanasov, *345 Early-Christian Saints Martyrs from the Bulgarian Lands, I–IV C.* (in Bulgarian, with English abstract), National Historical Museum, Sofia, 2011.

<sup>6</sup> Idem, *Christianity along the Lower Danube Limes in the Roman Provinces of Dacia Ripensis, Moesia Secunda and Scythia Minor (4<sup>th</sup>–6<sup>th</sup> C. AD)*, in L. Vagalinski, N. Sharankov et al. (eds.), *The Lower Danube Limes (1<sup>st</sup>–6<sup>th</sup> C. AD)*, Sofia, NIAM-BAS, 2012, p. 364 with bibliography.

<sup>7</sup> See Rumen Ivaniv, Georgi Atanasov, Peti Donevski, *The Ancient Durostorum* (in Bulgarian with English abstracts), Sofia, 2006.

<sup>8</sup> BHG I, p. 9, cat. 33, 33b, 33e; P. Boschius, *Acta Sanctorum Julii*, t. IV, Parisiis et Romae, 1868, p. 373-377. Georgi Atanasov, *From episcopate to an autonomous Patriarchate of the First Bulgarian*

*Empire in Drustar (Silistra). The history of the Patriarchal Complex* (in Bulgarian with English abstracts), Sofia, 2017, p. 40-43, 50-51, 136.

<sup>9</sup> François Halkin, *Saint Émilien de Durostorum martyr sous Julien*, in *Analecta Bollandiana*, 90 (1972), p. 27-35; *Actele martirice*, translation, notes and commentary by Fr. Ioan Rămureanu, (Părinți și Scriitori Bisericești 11), Editura EIBMBOR, 1982, *Martiriul Sf. Mucenic Emilian din Durostor*, introduction, p. 299-303; *Vita*, p. 304-307; G. Atanasov, *À propos du martyre de Saint Émilien de Durostorum (Silistra)*, in *Pontica*, 44 (2011), p. 211-220; idem, *Christianity along the Lower Danube Limes*, p. 338-341; Emilian Popescu, *Din nou despre Sfântul Emilian, martir la Durostorum (18 iulie 362)*, in *Pontica*, 52. Supplementum VI, 2019, p. 109-114.

<sup>10</sup> On it, see G. Atanasov, *Le palais des évêques de Durostorum des V<sup>e</sup>-VI<sup>e</sup> siècles*, in *Pontica*, 40 (2007), p. 275-287.

<sup>11</sup> The Typicon of the Great Church is a liturgical ordinal of the rite of Hagia Sophia of Constantinople, the earliest complete liturgical typicon of the Byzantine rite, dating in its advanced form from the post-iconoclastic period and reformulated under Constantine Porphyrogenettes in ca. 950-959. It is preserved in seven manuscripts of which two – Jerusalem, Hagiou Staurou, cod. 40 (10<sup>th</sup>–11<sup>th</sup> C.), and Patmos, cod. 266 (10<sup>th</sup> C.) – contain the relatively complete text.

<sup>12</sup> The Patmos codex 266, online at Cynthia M. Vakareliyska and David J. Birnbaum, *Medieval Slavic Menologies database*, <http://dev.obdurodon.org:8080/exist/apps/menology/index> (redaction P).

<sup>13</sup> Juan Mateos, *Le Typikon de la Grande Église: Ms. Sainte-Croix no. 40, X<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Orientalia Christiana Analecta 165), vol. 1, Rome, 1962, p. 344-345; online, at Cynthia M. Vakareliyska and David J. Birnbaum, *Medieval Slavic Menologies database*, <http://dev.obdurodon.org:8080/exist/apps/menology/index> (redaction H).

<sup>14</sup> Alexander van Millingen, *Byzantine Constantinople: The Walls of The City and Adjoining Historical Sites*, London: J. Murray, 1899, p. 264; Byron C. P. Tsangadas, *The Fortifications and Defence of Constantinople* (New York: Colombia University Press, 1980), p. 58.

<sup>15</sup> *Accounts of Medieval Constantinople: The Patria*, transl. by Albrecht Berger, Dumbarton Oaks Medieval Library 24, 2013, 3.88, p. 183.

<sup>16</sup> St. Jerome gives erroneously the year 363, July 18 in his *Chronicon*, 36<sup>th</sup> of the Romans, Julian, 2a

(Julian dies on June 26, 363); Roger Pearse et al. (transl. and ed.), *The Chronicle of St. Jerome*, Ipswich, 2005, p. 352: "Aemilianus is burned by the vicarius because he had overturned the altars at Dorostorum", online at [https://www.tertullian.org/fathers/jerome\\_chronicle\\_03\\_part2.htm](https://www.tertullian.org/fathers/jerome_chronicle_03_part2.htm). See further discussion and bibliography at R. Constantinescu, *Les martyrs de Durostorum*, in *RESEE*, V (1967), 1-2, p. 12-14.

<sup>17</sup>Ihor Ševcenko (ed.), *Chronographiae quae Theophanis Continuati nomine fertur Liber quo Vita Basilii Imperatoris amplectitur* (Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae, Series Berolinensis 42), Berlin, 2011, 81.10, p. 269-271.

<sup>18</sup>Raymond Janin, *La géographie ecclésiastique de l'Empire byzantin, première partie: Le Siège de Constantinople et le Patriarcat Œcuménique*, tome III. *Les églises et les monastères*, Paris, 1969, p. 12-13.

<sup>19</sup>Cynthia M. Vakareliyska, *A Typology of Slavic Menology Traditions*, in Christina Y. Bethin (ed.), *American Contributions to the XIVth International Congress of Slavists (Ohrid 2008)*. Vol. I: Linguistics. Bloomington: Slavica 2008, p. 228-229.

<sup>20</sup>Henri Quentin, Hippolyte Delehaye (eds.), *Acta Sanctorum Novembris, vol. II, Pars posterior: Commentarius perpetuus in Martyrologium Hieronymianum ad recensionem H. Quentin Delehaye*, Soc. Bollandistarum, Bruxelles, 1931. For St. Emilian, see p. 383.

<sup>21</sup>F. Nau (ed. and transl.), *Un martyrologe et douze ménologes syriaques*, in *Patrologia Orientalis*, t. X, fasc.1, no. 46, Brepols, 1912, p. 3-133.

<sup>22</sup>Jerusalem Typikon, Egypt, Mt. Sinai Monastery Library, SINAI No. 1096, 12th c. Transcription edition by A[leksej] A[fanas'evič] Dmitrievskij, *Opisanie liturgičeskix knig*, t. III, Kiev: Tip. G.T. Korčak-Novickogo, 1917 [Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1965]; online at Vakareliyska, Birnbaum, *Medieval Slavic Menologies Database*, <http://dev.obdurodon.org:8080/exist/apps/menology/index>.

<sup>23</sup>Online *ibidem*.

<sup>24</sup>BHG I, cat. 744y, 744z, and 745; Christian Høgel, *Symeon Metaphrastes and the Metaphrastic Movement*, in Stephanos Efthymiadis (ed.), *The Ashgate Companion to Byzantine Hagiography*, vol. II, *Genres and Contexts*, Ashgate, Burlington, 2014, p. 187. On his work, see Christian Høgel, *Symeon Metaphrastes: Rewriting and Canonization*, University of Copenhagen, 2002. The earliest surviving dated manuscripts containing extracts from Metaphrastes were produced in 1004 and 1011 while the earliest surviving whole volume which can be securely dated was produced in 1042 (Athos, MS Iveron 16). See Nancy Patterson-Ševcenko, *Illustrated Manuscripts of the Metaphrastian Menologion*, Chicago and London, 1990.

<sup>25</sup>Symeon Logotheta Metaphrastes, *Menologium seu Vitae Sanctorum*, Saec X., PG, vols. 114 and 115.

<sup>26</sup>For the date of the manuscript Vat. gr. 1613, see Sirarpie der Nersessian, *Remarks on the Date of the*

*Menologium and the Psalter Written for Basil II*, in *Byzantion* 15 (1940-1941), p. 104-125; Anna Zakharova, *Los ocho artistas del «Menologio de Basilio II»*, in F. D'Aiuto (ed.), *El «Menologio de Basilio II»*, Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. gr. 1613. *Libro de estudios con ocasión de la edición facsímil* (Madrid – Atene – Città del Vaticano 2008), p. 131-195; Alberto Longhi, *On the date of the Menologion and the Psalterion of Basil II*, Ghent University, Project DBBE (Database of Byzantine Book Epigrams), 2023, online at <https://www.projectdbbe.ugent.be/blog/on-the-date-of-the-menologion-and-the-psalterion-of-basil-ii/>.

<sup>27</sup>See the complete edition of the Basilian Menologium (from September to August) by Cardinal Albani, in PG 117 and online at Vakareliyska, Birnbaum, *Medieval Slavic Menologies database*, <http://dev.obdurodon.org:8080/exist/apps/menology/index>. The illustrated Ms. Vat. Gr. 1613 is digitized at [https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS\\_Vat.gr.1613](https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Vat.gr.1613).

<sup>28</sup>Ralph-Johannes Lilie, Claudia Ludwig, Beate Zielke, Thomas Pratsch, *Prosopographie der Mittelbyzantinischen Zeit Online*, Berlin-Brandenburgische Akademie der Wissenschaften. Nach Vorarbeiten F. Winkelmanns erstellt, s.v. *Basileios I*, online la <https://www.degruyter.com/database/PMBZ/entry/PMBZ11920/html>.

<sup>29</sup>Claudia Rapp, *Byzantine Hagiographers as Antiquarians, Seventh to Ninth Centuries*, in *Byzantinische Forschungen*, 21 (1995) p. 31-44.

<sup>30</sup>Peter Brown, *A Dark-Age Crisis: Aspects of the Iconoclastic Controversy*, in *The English Historical Review*, Jan. 1973, Vol. 88, No. 346, p. 26: "We have seen to what an extent the icons of the immediately previous age had owed their charge of holiness to acting as the focus of very real civic patriotism. By the eighth century, this had vanished. The morale of the towns was broken. The pilgrimage-sites that had dotted Asia Minor were deserted. The relics of the saints were abandoned or hurriedly transferred [...] Refugees were bringing, from all corners of the empire, icons that lacked local approval. Craftsmen were turning out increasingly standardized images of Christ and of the Virgin that had none of the homely familiarity of the image of one's local martyr."

<sup>31</sup>Andrei Timotin, *Identités régionales et communautés religieuses dans l'Empire byzantin aux VIIIe-XIe siècles*, in *Études Byzantines et Post-Byzantines*, VII (2016), edited by Nicolae-Șerban Tanașoca and Alexandru Madgearu, p. 147-192.

<sup>32</sup>See *Encyclopaedia Slavica Sanctorum* (2010), a database of Christian saints in Bulgaria from the Early Christian period to the present day, Sofia University „St. Kliment Ohridski“, online at [http://www.eslavsanct.net/home.php?lang=bg](http://www.eslavsanct.net/home.php?lang=bg;); see also Vakareliyska, Birnbaum, *Medieval Slavic Menologies database*, <http://dev.obdurodon.org:8080/exist/apps/menology/index>.

<sup>33</sup>Nicetas Paphlagon, *Oratio XIX, Laudatio S. Hyacinthi Amastreni*, in *Patrologia Graeca* 105, cols.

417-440. St. Hyacinth of Amastris was represented on the obverse of a lead seal of Michael Stryphnos, grand dux and husband of Theodora, sister of the Empress Euphrosyne Doukaina, wife of Alexios III Angelos (1195-1203), Dumbarton Oaks Collection 33.1.3651; Nicolas Oikonomides, *A Collection of Dated Byzantine Lead Seals*, Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection Washington, 1986, p. 119-120 (seal no. 126).

<sup>34</sup> See Hippolyte Delehaye, *Synaxarium Ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae. Propylaeum Ad AASS Novembris*. Apud Socios Bollandianos, Bruxelles, 1902, col. 827-828.

<sup>35</sup> Online at Vakareliyska, Birnbaum, *Medieval Slavic Menologies database*, <http://dev.obdurodon.org:8080/exist/apps/menology/index>.

<sup>36</sup> St. Symeon of Thessalonike, *Treatise on Prayer. An Explanation of the Services Conducted in the Orthodox Church*, translated by H. L. N. Simmons, The Archbishop Iakovos Library of Historical and Ecclesiastical Sources 9, Hellenic College Press, Brookline, Massachusetts, 1984, chapt. 11, *Typikon of Jerusalem*, p. 22. On the topic, see Stefano Parenti, *The Cathedral Rite of Constantinople: Evolution of a Local Tradition*, in *OCP* (2011), p. 440-469, and Stig Simeon R. Frøyshov, *The Early History of the Hagiopolitan Daily Office in Constantinople*, in *DOP*, 74 (2020), p. 351-382.

<sup>37</sup> Pavle Mijović, *Menolog, istorijsko-umetnicka istraživanja*, Belgrade, 1973, p. 283.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 341.

<sup>39</sup> Sanja Kesić-Ristić, Dragan Vojvodić, *Menolog*, in Vojislav Djurić (ed.), *Mural painting of Monastery of Dečani, Material and Studies* (in Serbian), Monographs 82, Department of Historical Sciences 22, Belgrade, 1995, p. 415.

<sup>40</sup> P. Mijović, *Menolog*, p. 375.

<sup>41</sup> E. Negrău, *Menologul de la Cozia. Iconografie și inscripții*, in *SCIA-AP*, 8(52), 2018, p. 145.

<sup>42</sup> Ecaterina Cincheza-Buculei, *Sur la peinture du narthex de l'église du monastère de Bucovăț (XVIe siècle): présence d'un peintre grec ignoré*, in *RRHA-BA*, XXVI (1989), pl. II.

<sup>43</sup> Eusebius Pamphilus, *The Martyrdom of Marinus at Caesaria*, in *Church History*, Book VII, Chapt. XV, 1-5, ed. Philip Schaff, *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers Series II*, vol. 1, 1885, online at [https://en.wikisource.org/wiki/Nicene\\_and\\_Post-Nicene\\_Fathers:\\_Series\\_II/Volume\\_I](https://en.wikisource.org/wiki/Nicene_and_Post-Nicene_Fathers:_Series_II/Volume_I).

<sup>44</sup> G. Atanasov, *За късноантичния мавзолей-мартирий в Дуросторум-Силистра и доростолските мъченици св. Максим, Дада и Квинтиан*, in *Добруджа*, 20 (2002), p. 55-65; idem, *Christianity along the Lower Danube Limes*, p. 337-338.

<sup>45</sup> R. Constantinescu, *Les martyrs de Durostorum*, in *RESEE*, V (1967), 1-2, p. 15.

<sup>46</sup> Raymond Janin, *Constantinople byzantine. Développement urbain et répertoire topographique*, Paris, 1950, p. 302-303; idem, *Les églises*, p. 161.

<sup>47</sup> Constantinople Typikon (recensions H and P), Jerusalem Typikon, online at Vakareliyska, Birnbaum, *Medieval Slavic Menologies database*, <http://dev.obdurodon.org:8080/exist/apps/menology/index>.

<sup>48</sup> Constantinople Typikon (recensions H and P), Jerusalem Typikon, online at Vakareliyska, Birnbaum, *Medieval Slavic Menologies database*, <http://dev.obdurodon.org:8080/exist/apps/menology/index>.

baum, *Medieval Slavic Menologies database*, <http://dev.obdurodon.org:8080/exist/apps/menology/index>.

<sup>49</sup> Constantinople Typikon, P recension, online *ibidem*; H. Delehaye, *Synaxarium Ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae*, col. 602, 1. 16-17.

<sup>50</sup> Constantinople Typikon, recensions H and P, online *ibidem*; H. Delehaye, *Synaxarium Ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae*, col. 636-637.

<sup>51</sup> Efthymios Rizos, *Martyrs from the North-Western Balkans in the Byzantine Ecclesiastical Tradition: Patterns and Mechanisms of Cult Transfer*, in Ivan Bugarski, Orsolya Heinrich-Tamáska, Vujadin Ivanišević, Daniel Syrbe (eds.), *GrenzÜbergänge: spätromisch, frühchristlich, frühbyzantinisch als Kategorien der historisch-archäologischen Forschung an der mittleren Donau: Akten des 27. Internationalen Symposiums der Grundprobleme der Frühgeschichtlichen Entwicklung im Mittleren Donaauraum, Ruma, 4.-7.11.2015* (Forschungen zu Spätantike und Mittelalter 4), Remshalden, 2016 p. 204.

<sup>52</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>53</sup> Symeon Logotheta Metaphrastes, *Menologium seu Vitae Sanctorum, Saec X.*, PG 114, Vita SS. Hermyl et Stratonici, col. 553-566.

<sup>54</sup> Enrica Follieri, *I calendari in metro innografico di Cristoforo Mitileneo, I. Introduzione, testo e traduzione, II. Commentario e indici*, Société des Bollandistes, Bruxelles, 1980, vol. 1, p. 160.

<sup>55</sup> P. Mijović, *Menolog*, p. 189, 195, 199, 200.

<sup>56</sup> Ms. illustration at p. 314, [https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS\\_Vat.gr.1613](https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Vat.gr.1613).

<sup>57</sup> Constantinople Typikon (recension H), online at Vakareliyska, Birnbaum, *Medieval Slavic Menologies database*, <http://dev.obdurodon.org:8080/exist/apps/menology/index>.

<sup>58</sup> R. Janin, *Les églises*, p. 478-479.

<sup>59</sup> C. Vakareliyska, „Archaic Constantinople Typikon Commemorations in the Menologion to Apostolus Dečani-Crkolez” no. 2, *Palaeobulgarica*, XXXVI (2012), 3, p. 96.

<sup>60</sup> P. Mijović, *Menolog*, p. 271.

<sup>61</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 368.

<sup>62</sup> C. M. Vakareliyska, *The Neapolitan Wall Calendar from a Medieval Slavic Perspective*, in *Scripta & e-Scripta*, 14-15 (2015), p. 131; see the transcription of the Neapolitan calendar, online at Vakareliyska, Birnbaum, *Medieval Slavic Menologies database*, <http://dev.obdurodon.org:8080/exist/apps/menology/index>.

<sup>63</sup> Franz Cumont, *Les Actes de S. Dasius*, in *Analecta Bollandiana*, XVI (1897), p. 5-16; *Acte le martirice*, p. 241-251.

<sup>64</sup> Syn. Eccl. Const., Delehaye, col. 241 nr. 4.

<sup>65</sup> Online at Vakareliyska, Birnbaum, *ibidem*.

<sup>66</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>67</sup> See Georgi Atanasov, Zdravko Dimitrov, *About the Dating and History of the Urn-Sarcophagus with Relics of St. Dasius from Durostorum († 20 November 303 AD)*, in *Pontica*, XLVII (2014), p. 99-110.

<sup>68</sup> Franz Cumont, *Le tombeau de S. Dasius de Durostorum*, in *Analecta Bollandiana*, XXVII (1908), p. 369-372; more recently, G. Atanasov, Z. Dimitrov, *ibidem*.

<sup>69</sup>Enina Apostle, Cyril and Methodius National Library, Sofia, NBKM 74 and 873, Bulgarian, 11th cent., September only. Facsimile edition by Kiril Mirčev and Xristo Nikolov Kodov, *Eninski apostol. Starobŭlgarski pametnik ot XI v.*, Bŭlgarska Akademija na Naukite, Sofia, 1965; online at Vakareliyska, Birnbaum, *ibidem*.

<sup>70</sup>P. Mijović, *Menolog*, p. 259.

<sup>71</sup>*Ibidem*, p. 285.

<sup>72</sup>*Ibidem*, p. 316; Kesić-Ristić, Vojvodić, *Menolog*, p. 426.

<sup>73</sup>P. Mijović, *ibidem*, p. 361.

<sup>74</sup>Ecaterina Cincheza-Buculei, *Menologul de la Dobrovăţ*, in *SCIA-AP*, 39 (1992), p. 29 and pl. I.

<sup>75</sup>Karpin Gospel, Moscow, State Historical Museum, Xlud. 28, Macedonian, late XIII–early XIVth c. Transcription edition by V[anagelija] Despodova, K[jita] Bicevska, D[imitar] Pandev, and L[jupčo] Mitrevski, eds., *Karpinsko evangelie. Institut za staroslovenska kultura, Makedonski srednovekovni rakopisi*, 1. Prilep: Institut za staroslovenska kultura, 1995, online at Vakareliyska, Birnbaum, *ibidem*.

<sup>76</sup>Illustration in the ms. at p. 413, [https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS\\_Vat.gr.1613](https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Vat.gr.1613).

<sup>77</sup>See C. M Vakareliyska, *Relationships between the Greek Prologue of 1295 and Nine South and East Slavic Calendars*, in Adelina Angușeva, Margaret Dimitrova, Marija Jovčeva, Maja-Petrova-Taneva, and Dilijana Radoslavova (eds.), *Vis et sapientia: Studia in honorem Anisavae Miltenovae. Novi izvori, interpretacii i podxodi v medievistikata* (New sources, interpretations, and approaches in medieval studies), Sofia: Bojan Penev, pp. 350-394 (2016, issued 2017); the calendar, online at Vakareliyska, Birnbaum, *ibidem*.

<sup>78</sup>P. Mijović, *ibidem*, p. 260.

<sup>79</sup>Kesić-Ristić, Vojvodić, *Menolog*, p. 429.

<sup>80</sup>E. Cincheza-Buculei, *ibidem*, p. 30 and pl. II.

<sup>81</sup>Cardinal Baronius's *Martyrologium Romanum*, Sep. 17, [SS] Nouioduni sanctorum martyrum [S] Valeriani, [S] Macrini, et [S] Gordiani; Caesar Baronius Soranus (ed.), *Martyrologium Romanum ad novum kalendarii rationem, ex ecclesiasticae historiae veritatem restitutum, Gregorii XIII. Pont. Max. iussu editum. Accesserunt notationes atque tractatio de Martyrologio Romano*, Rome, 1586, online at Vakareliyska, Birnbaum, *ibidem*.

<sup>82</sup>*Synaxarion of Constantinople*, ed. Delehaye, col. 40-41, no. 4.

<sup>83</sup>*Martyrologium Hieronymianum*, ed. Quentin and Delehaye, p. 507-509 (Sep. 15); *Menologion of Basil II*, online at Vakareliyska, Birnbaum, *ibidem*. Illustration in ms, at p. 33, [https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS\\_Vat.gr.1613](https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Vat.gr.1613).

<sup>84</sup>Syn. Eccl. Const., Delehaye, col. 40-41, no. 2.

<sup>85</sup>Kesić-Ristić, Vojvodić, *ibidem*, p. 426.

<sup>86</sup>Oxford Bodleian Barocci 230, September 16, eleventh century; P. Mijović, *Menolog*, 192.

<sup>87</sup>Illustration in the ms. at p. 42, [https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS\\_Vat.gr.1613](https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Vat.gr.1613).

<sup>88</sup>Syn. Eccl. Const., col. 50-52, no. 4.

<sup>89</sup>*Ibidem*, p. 260.

<sup>90</sup>*Ibidem*, p. 287.

<sup>91</sup>BHG I, p. 14, cat. 48-49.

<sup>92</sup>Theophylact Simocatta VI, 5.3; VII, 14.11, translated by Michael and Mary Whitby, *The History of Theophylact Simocatta: An English Translation with Introduction*, Oxford, 1986; Theophanes Confessor, translated by Cyril Mango, Roger Scott, and with the assistance of Geoffrey Greatrex, *The Chronicle of Theophanes Confessor: Byzantine and Near Eastern History, AD 284-813*, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1997, AD 591/2, p. 392; AD 605, p. 342; AD 600, p. 404: "The barbarians, having come to Drizipera, destroyed the city and burned the church of St. Alexander. Having found that his tomb was plated with silver, they stripped it in unholy fashion and subjected the martyr's body to mockery". See *ibidem*, p. 405, notes 10 and 11.

<sup>93</sup>Syn. Eccl. Constant., col. 684 – 44 (Coislin 223).

<sup>94</sup>P. Mijović, *Menolog*, p. 277, 279.

<sup>95</sup>*Ibidem*, p. 299.

<sup>96</sup>The Typicon of Constantinople, the *Menologion* of Basil II, The Typicon of Jerusalem, the Greek Prologue of 1295; see Vakareliyska, Birnbaum, *Medieval Slavic Menologies database*.

<sup>97</sup>BHG, III, epitome, 2184, p. 33; the text, at H. Delehaye, *Saints de Thrace et de Mésie*, p. 215-216, 287-288; *Typicon of Constantinople*, ed. Mateos, vol. 1, p. 203-204.

<sup>98</sup>See the Russian Orthodox Encyclopedia (Russian: Православная энциклопедия), online at <https://pravenc.ru/text/389611.html>, s.v. Inna, Pinna and Rhina.

<sup>99</sup>Jerusalem Typicon; *Synaxarion of Constantinople*, ed. Delehaye, col. 407, 757 – 58-59.

<sup>100</sup>Typicon of Constantinople; *Synaxarion of Constantinople*, col. 627-628, no.3.

<sup>101</sup>F. Nau, *Un martyrologe*, p. 17-18.

<sup>102</sup>*Martyrologium Hieronymianum*, ed. Quentin and Delehaye, p. 25.

<sup>103</sup>Typicon of Constantinople, online at Vakareliyska, Birnbaum, *Medieval Slavic Menologies database*; *Synaxarion of Constantinople*, ed. Delehaye, col. 738-739, no. 3.

<sup>104</sup>Codex Assemanianus, Italy, Vatican City, Vatican Library, Vat 3. Slav, Bulgarian, late 11th–early 12th c. Transcription edition by J[osef] Vajs and J[osef] Kurz, *Evangeliiar Assemaniuv. Kodex Vatikánský 3. slovanský*, Pt. II. Úvod, text v přepise cyrilském, poznámky textové, seznamy čtení. Prague: Pragae Acad. Scientiarum et Artium Bohemicae, 1955. Ms. is transcribed online at Vakareliyska, Birnbaum, *Medieval Slavic Menologies database*.

<sup>105</sup>P. Mijović, *Menolog*, p. 301.

<sup>106</sup>*Martyrologium Hieronymianum*, p. 16-17, 20, 25. See also Bryan Ward-Perkins, Robert Wiśniewski et al., *The Cult of Saints in Late Antiquity Database*, Oxford University, <http://csla.history.ox.ac.uk/>, s.v. Hermes, martyr in Bononia.

<sup>107</sup>F. Nau, *Un martyrologe*, p. 11.

<sup>108</sup>Georgi Atanassov, *Le martyrium, la basilique et le confesio avec des reliques dans le castel bas byzantin près du village de Goleche, région de Silistra (Durostorum)*, in *Early Christian Martyrs and Relics and Their Veneration in East and West*, *International*

Conference, Varna, Nov. 20-23, 2003 (Acta Musei Varnaensis IV), Varna, 2006, p. 199-226.

<sup>109</sup> Ed. Quentin and Delehay, p. 210.

<sup>110</sup> F. Nau, *Un martyrologe*, p. 13, 16.

<sup>111</sup> Petre Ș. Năsturel, *Quatre martrs de Noviodunum* (Scythie Mineure), in *Analecta Bollandiana*, 91 (1973), p. 5-8.

<sup>112</sup> H. Delehay, *Les martyrs Epictète et Astion*, in *Académie Roumaine. Bulletin de la section historique*, 14 (1928), p. 1-5; Mihail Zahariade, *The episcopal basilica from Halmyris and the crypt of Epictetus and Astion*, in *Thraco-Dacica*, 24 (2009) p. 131-150; idem, *A Historical Commentary to a Hagiographic text: Passio Epicteti et Astionis Monachi*, in *The Christian Mission the Romanian Territory during the First Centuries of the Church*, Constanța, 2009, p. 83-111.

<sup>113</sup> Emilian Popescu, *Bretanion, Gerontie* (Gerontius-Terentius) et Theotime I, trois grandes figures de Tomis aux IV'-V' siècles), in *Christianitas Daco-Romana*, Editura Academiei, București, 1994, pp. 111-123; *Actele Martirice* (PSB 11), p. 329-351.

<sup>114</sup> *Martyrologium Hieronymianum*, ed. Delehay, p. 162-163; *Actele Martirice*, p. 184-191.

<sup>115</sup> G. Atanassov, *Christianity along the Lower Danube Limes*, p. 336; L. Arik Greenberg, *My Share of God's Reward. Exploring the Roles and Formulations of the Afterlife in Early Christian Martyrdom*, Peter Lang (Studies in Biblical Literature 121) Bern, 2009, p. 195-198.

<sup>116</sup> *Martyrologium Hieronymianum*, p. 319.

<sup>117</sup> Philippe Blasen, *Nicetas of Remesiana – A Missionary Bishop in Dacia?* in *Studia Universitatis Babeș-Bolyai, Theologia Catholica*, 1-2, 2012, p. 39-49.

<sup>118</sup> Paul F. Hittner, *The Acts of the Martyr Philip of Heraclea in the Time of the Persecution of Diocletian*, Master's thesis, Creighton University, Omaha, 1963.

<sup>119</sup> Nicetas has a *Passion* (BHG, 1339), H. Delehay, 'Sts de Thrace et de Mésie, 7. Passio S. Nicetae', p. 209-215, and a *Metaphrastic Life* (BHG, 1340), Symeon Logotheta Metaphrastes, *Menologium seu Vitae Sanctorum*, Saec X., PG 115, Martyrium S. Nicetae Gothi, col. 697-712.

<sup>120</sup> Vakareliyska, Birnbaum, *Medieval Slavic Menologies database*, s.v. Nicetas Megalomartyr, Sep. 15.

<sup>121</sup> Zograph Trephologion and Draganov Menologia; ibidem. On the similarities between the two manuscripts, see C. M. Vakareliyska, *The Commemorations in Two Very Closely related Bulgarian Menaia: The Zograph Trephologion and Menaion F.I.n.72.*, in Greta Stojanova (ed.), *Filologija i tekstologija. Jubileen sbornik v čest na 70-ta godišninata na prof. Ujljam Feder. In honorem* vol. 2., Shumen University Press, Shumen, p.412-450.

<sup>122</sup> R. Janin, *La géographie*, p. 367.

<sup>123</sup> See Christopher Walter, *The Warrior Saints in Byzantine Art and Tradition*, Ashgate, Aldershot – Burlington, 2003, p. 231-233; Miodrag Marković, *St.*

*Niketas the Goth and St. Niketas of Nikomedeia. Apropos Depictions of St. Niketas the Martyr on Medieval Crosses*, in *Zbornik Matice Srpske za Likovne Umetnosti*, 36 (2008) p. 19-42.

<sup>124</sup> R. Janin, *ibidem*. See George P. Majeska, *Russian Travelers to Constantinople in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries* (Dumbarton Oaks Studies 19), Washington DC, 1984, p. 40, 148, 162, 326-327.

<sup>125</sup> Majeska, *ibidem*, p. 132, 226, 230.

<sup>126</sup> Ostromir Gospel, Russia, St. Petersburg, Russian National Library, RNB.F.p.I.5, Russian, 1056-57. Facsimile edition by N[ikolaj] N[ikolaevič] Rozov, *Ostromirovo evangelie 1056-57 goda. Faksimil'noe vosproizvedenie pamjatnika, xranjaščegosja v Gosudarstvennoj Publičnoj Biblioteke imeni M.E. Saltykova-Ščedrina v Leningrade*, Avrora, Leningrad, 1988; online transcription of ms., at Vakareliyska, Birnbaum, *Medieval Slavic Menologies database*.

<sup>127</sup> Arx. Arxangel'sk Gospel, Russia, Moscow, Russian State Library, GRB Mus.1666, Russian, 1092. Transcription edition by L[iđija] P[etrovna] Žukovskaja and T[at'jana] L[eonidovna] Mironova, eds., *Arxangel'skoe evangelie 1092 goda. Issledovanija. Drevnerusskij tekst. Slovoukazateli*, Skriptorii, Moscow, 1997; online transcription of ms., at Vakareliyska, Birnbaum, *Medieval Slavic Menologies database*.

<sup>128</sup> See Miodrag Marković, *Saint Niketas near Skopje. A foundation of King Milutin* (in Serbian, with an English summary), *Službeni glasnik / Institute of Art History, Faculty of Philosophy, Belgrade* 2015

<sup>129</sup> Emil Dragnev has a study on it in preparation which will appear in *Analele Putnei*, 2024.

<sup>130</sup> Teodora Voinescu, *Contribuții la studiul manuscriselor ilustrate din mănăstirile Sucevița și Dragomirna*, in *SCIA*, II (1955), 1-2, p. 107; Olimpia Mitric, *Tezaurul de manuscrise din timpul domniei lui Ieremia Movilă*, in *Movilești. Istorie și spiritualitate românească*, vol. 2: *Ieremia Movilă, domnul, familia, epoca*, Sucevița, 2006, p. 68-69. I thank Dr. Ioana Feodorov from the Institute of South-East European Studies in Bucharest for making this icon known to me. The icon is currently undergoing a restoration process.

<sup>131</sup> M. Marković, *St. Niketas the Goth and St. Niketas of Nikomedeia*, p. 26-28. See an extensive article on St. Nicetas in the Russian Orthodox Encyclopedia, <https://pravenc.ru/text/2565366.html>.

<sup>132</sup> M. Marković, *ibidem*, p. 29.

<sup>133</sup> H. Delehay, *Saints de Thrace et de Mésie*, p. 216-221; Petre Ș. Năsturel, *Les actes de Saints Sabas le Goth* (BHG<sup>3</sup>, 1607). *Histoire et archéologie*, in *RESEE*, VII (1969), 1, p. 175-197; *Actele martirice*, introduction, p. 311-318, *Vita*, p. 319-324; *Fontes Historiae Dacoromanae* (Izvoarele Istoriei României), vol. 2, edited by Haralambie Mihăescu, Gheorghe Ștefan, Radu Hincu, Vladimir Iliescu, Virgil C. Popescu, Editura Academiei Române, București, 1970, p. 88-89 (letters CLV and CLXIV). See more recently, Ionuț Holubeanu, *A less Unusual Sin Confession Presented in the Passion of St. Saba the Goth (4<sup>th</sup> Century CE)*, in *Études Byzantines et Post-Byzantines*, VII (2016), p. 7-24.

<sup>134</sup> Syn. Eccl. Const., col. 608-609; 612 – 45.

- <sup>135</sup> E. Negrău, *Menologul de la Cozia*, p. 140.
- <sup>136</sup> Enrica Follieri, *Saba Goto e Saba Stratelata*, in *Analecta Bolllandiana*, 80 (1962), p. 249–307.
- <sup>137</sup> C. Walter, *The Warrior Saints*, p. 62, 239–240.
- <sup>138</sup> E. Follieri, *ibidem*, p. 253.
- <sup>139</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 258; François Halkin, *Un ménologe de Patmos (ms. 254) et ses légendes inédites*, in *Analecta Bolllandiana*, 72 (1954), p. 15–34.
- <sup>140</sup> E. Follieri, *I calendari in metro immografico*, vol. 1, p. 136.
- <sup>141</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 271–272.
- <sup>142</sup> Typicon of Constantinople, Patmos recension, online at Vakareliyska, Birnbaum, *Medieval Slavic Menologies database*, s.v. Sabas the General/the Goth, April 25.
- <sup>143</sup> E. Follieri, *Saba Goto e Saba Stratelata*, p. 265–266.
- <sup>144</sup> Teofilact Simocata, VII, 2.17–18. (ed. M. And M. Whitby).
- <sup>145</sup> Syn. Eccl. Const., Delehaye, col. 917; *idem*, *Saints de Thrace et de Mésie*, p. 258.
- <sup>146</sup> G. Atanasov, *Apropos de martyrium de St. Loup de Novae (Svichtov)*, in Adriana Panaite, Romeo Cîrjan, Carol Căpiță (eds.), *Moesica et christiana. Studies in Honour of Professor Alexandru Barnea*, Muzeul Brăilei “Carol I” –Editura Istros, Brăila, 2016, p. 413–419.
- <sup>147</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 414–415.
- <sup>148</sup> Theophylact Simocatta, ed. Whitby, Book VI, notes 25 and 26.
- <sup>149</sup> H. Delehaye, *Les légendes grecques des saints militaires*, Librairie Alphonse Picard et fils, Paris, 1909, p. 105–107, 259–263.
- <sup>150</sup> C. Walter, *The Warrior Saints*, p. 105.
- <sup>151</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 230.
- <sup>152</sup> Karpin Gospel, Moscow, State Historical Museum, Xlud. 28, Macedonian, late 13th–early 14th c. Transcription edition by V[anagelija] Despodova, K[ita] Bicevska, D[imitar] Pandev, and L[jupčo] Mitrevski, eds., *Karpinsko evangeliie* (Makedonski srednovekovni rakopisi 1), Institut za staroslovenska kultura, Prilep, 1995; online transcript of the ms. at Vakareliyska, Birnbaum, *Medieval Slavic Menologies database*.
- <sup>153</sup> E. Negrău, *Policy and prophecy. The legend of the Last Emperor and the iconography of the ruler crowned by angels in Wallachia*, in *Zograf*, 43 (2019), p. 172, 174.
- <sup>154</sup> See [https://medieval.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/catalog/manuscript\\_5935](https://medieval.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/catalog/manuscript_5935). Ms. is digitized at <https://digital.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/objects/a77c8264-9651-49c8-bf6b-f6d9f9077586/>.
- <sup>155</sup> See Alexander Kazhdan, Alice-Mary Talbot, *Dumbarton Oaks Hagiography database. Vitae of 8<sup>th</sup>–10<sup>th</sup> C. Saints*, Dumbarton Oaks, Washington DC, 1998.
- <sup>156</sup> See E. Negrău, *Menologul de la Cozia*, p. 140.
- <sup>157</sup> Syn. Eccl. Const., Delehaye, col. 608–609 (4).
- <sup>158</sup> *Ibidem*, col. 641–642 – 45.
- <sup>159</sup> *Apud Actele martirice*, p. 317–318.
- <sup>160</sup> Miodrag Marković, *Reflections on the Cult of St. Hilarion of Moglena in Post-Byzantine Art in the Balkans* (in Serbian with English summary), in *Zbornik Matice Srpske za Likovne Umetnosti*, 32–33 (2002), p. 213–221.
- <sup>161</sup> Sergey Yurievich Temchin, *О греческом происхождении славянской службы Михаилу Воину из Потуки*, in *Старобългарска литература*, 47 (2013), 211–221.
- <sup>162</sup> April 6, in Arx, As, B, C, DC2, KarpAp, Oh, Xlud.31, F72, S, ZT (the legends of the initials, in Annex I; mss. online at Vakareliyska, Birnbaum, *Medieval Slavic Menologies database*).
- <sup>163</sup> Feb. 14, in 501, 882, As, Arx, B, C, DC2, F72, KarpAp, Oh, Os, Xlud.31, ZT (*idem*).
- <sup>164</sup> Nov. 22, DC2, F72, ZT.
- <sup>165</sup> Oct. 19, B, C, DC2, F72, Strum, ZT.
- <sup>166</sup> †1012. Jan. 7, 882; Jan. 8, F72, Oh, Os, ZT.
- <sup>167</sup> Jul. 27, 882, As.
- <sup>168</sup> Jan. 30, B, C, ZT.
- <sup>169</sup> Feb. 13, ms. 501 (online at Vakareliyska, Birnbaum, *Medieval Slavic Menologies database*).
- <sup>170</sup> Jan. 14, ms. 501. Their Vita, BHG<sup>3</sup> 1693–1693b.
- <sup>171</sup> For his cult, see Iskra Hristova-Shomova, *Службата за св. Ахил Лариски в Драготиния миней*, in *Beati possidentes. Юбилеен сборник, посветен на 60-годишнината на проф. дфн Боряна Христова*, София, 2012, 243–254.
- <sup>172</sup> For Moldavia, see Elena Firea, Ștefan cel Mare și cultul sfinților locali. Ipoteze de lucruri și limitări documentare, in *Analele Putnei*, VII, 2011, 1, p. 351–368. For Wallachia, E. Negrău, *Rulers’ Contribution to the Cult of Saints: Patron Saints of Wallachia (14<sup>th</sup>–18<sup>th</sup> Centuries)*, in *Patrimonium.Mk. Periodical for Cultural Heritage, Monuments, Restoration, Museums*, vol. 4 (2011), nr. 9, p. 129–140.
- <sup>173</sup> M. Marković, *St. Nicetas near Skopje*, p. 339.
- <sup>174</sup> On his cult in Moldavia, see Petre Ș. Năsturel, *Une prétendue œuvre de Grégoire Tsamblak: «Le martyre de saint Jean le Nouveau»*, in *Actes du premier Congrès International des Études Balkaniques et Sud-Est Européennes*, VII, Sofia, 1971, p. 345–351; Matei Cazacu, *Saint Jean le Nouveau, son martyre, ses reliques et leur translation à Suceava*, in Petre Guran, Bernard Flusin (eds.), *L’Empereur hagiographe. Culte des saints et monarchie byzantine et post-byzantine*, Bucharest, 2001, p. 137–158.
- <sup>175</sup> Petre P. Panaitescu, *Manuscrisele slave din Biblioteca Academiei R.P.R.*, I, Editura Academiei, Bucharest, 1959, cat. 134.
- <sup>176</sup> *Ibidem*.
- <sup>177</sup> *Ibidem*, cat. 151.
- <sup>178</sup> *Ibidem*, cat. 164.
- <sup>179</sup> *Ibidem*.
- <sup>180</sup> *Ibidem*.
- <sup>181</sup> *Ibidem*, cat. 256.
- <sup>182</sup> *Ibidem*.
- <sup>183</sup> *Ibidem*, cat. 187.
- <sup>184</sup> *Ibidem*.
- <sup>185</sup> *Ibidem*, cat. 221.

# Annex I

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# Annex I (continued)

|                                       | CT | MenS | Bas | JT | ST | Ek | SynC | 1295 | Os | Arx | En | As | Oh | S | Slep | Strum | DC2 | ZT | 882 | Karp. Ev. | B |
|---------------------------------------|----|------|-----|----|----|----|------|------|----|-----|----|----|----|---|------|-------|-----|----|-----|-----------|---|
| Alexander of Drizipara (Feb. 25)      | x  |      | x   |    |    |    | x    | x    |    |     |    |    |    |   |      |       |     | x  |     |           |   |
| John Casian (Feb. 29)                 |    |      |     | x  |    |    |      | x    |    |     |    |    |    |   |      |       |     |    |     |           |   |
| Sabbas Goth (Apr. 15)                 | x  |      | x   |    |    |    | x    |      |    |     |    |    |    |   | x    |       | x   | x  | x   |           |   |
| Maximus, Quintilian, Dadas (Apr. 28)  | x  |      | x   | x  |    |    |      |      |    |     |    |    |    |   |      |       |     |    |     |           |   |
| Nicander, Marcian at Tomis (Jun. 7/8) | x  |      | x   |    |    |    |      |      |    |     |    | x  |    |   |      |       |     |    |     |           |   |
| Emilian of Durostorum (Jul. 18)       | x  |      | x   | x  |    | x  |      |      |    |     |    |    |    |   |      | x     | x   | x  | x   |           |   |
| Lupus (Aug. 23)                       |    |      |     |    |    |    | x    |      |    |     |    |    |    |   |      |       |     |    |     | x         |   |

882: Apostol 882, Bulgaria, Sofia, Cyril and Methodius National Library, NBKM No. 882, Bulgarian, 12th c.  
1295: Sin. Greč. 354, State Historical Museum in Moscow, Greek verse prologue for September-Feb. dated 1295  
Arx: Arxangel'sk Gospel, Russia, Moscow, Russian State Library, GRB Mus.1666, Russian, year 1092  
As: Codex Assemanianus, Italy, Vatican City, Vatican Library, Vat 3.Slav, Bulgarian, late 11th–early 12th c.  
B: Banica Gospel, Bulgaria, Sofia, Cyril and Methodius National Library, NBKM No. 847, Bulgarian, 13th–14th c.  
Bas: Menologium of Emperor Basil II (revised version of the Constantinople Typikon), Italy, Vatican City, Vatican Library, Vat. gr. 1613, late 10th–11th c.  
CT: Typikon of the Great Church of Constantinople, Hagiaou Staurov, cod. 40 (10th–11th C.), and Patmos, cod. 266 (10th C.)  
DC2: Dečani-Crkolez Apostol, Serbia, Dečani-Crkolez Monastery Library, No. 2, 13th c.  
Ek: Eklogadion to a Greek Gospel, Grottaferrata Monastery collection, 11th c.  
SynC: Sinaxarium Sirmonianum, Cod. Berol. Phillips 1622, Staatsbibliothek, Berlin, 12<sup>th</sup>–13<sup>th</sup> c.  
En: Enina Apostol, Bulgaria, Sofia, Cyril and Methodius National Library, NBKM 74 and 873, Bulgarian, September only, 11th c.

F72: Palauzon Menaion, F.I. п 72, full year menaion, Russian National Library, St. Petersburg, Bulgarian, 13th-14th c.  
 JT: Jerusalem Typikon, full menology, Egypt, Mt. Sinai Monastery Library, SINAI No. 1096, 12th c.  
 Karp. Ev: Karpin Gospel, Russia, Moscow, State Historical Museum, Xlud. 28, Macedonian, late 13th-early 14th c.  
 Oh: Ohrid Apostol, Russia, Moscow, Russian State Library, GPB.Grig (f.87).13, Macedonian, late 12th c.  
 Os.: Ostromir Gospel, Russia, St. Petersburg, Russian National Library, RNB.F.p.I.5, Russian, year 1056-57.  
 S: Savvina kniga, Russia, Moscow, Russian State Archive for Archaic Documents, RGADA f. 381, Sin. Tip. No. 14, Bulgarian and Serbian, 10th-11th and 12th cc.  
 Slep: Full menology of the Macedonian Slepce Apostolus, lectionary, 12th c.  
 Strum: Strumica Apostol, Czech Republic, Prague, Czech National Museum, IX E 25, Macedonian, 13th c.  
 Xlud 31: Menology to a Serbian gospel, Xludov coll. of Slavic mss no. 31, State Historical Museum, Moscow, 14th c.  
 ZT: Zograph Trephologion (Draganov Menaion), ZOG.R.54., Athos, Zograph Monastery Library; no. 42/M 1725, Western Bulgarian, late 13th c.