Polemics and Persecution: East Romans and Paulicians (*c*.780-880)

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Abstract

Paulicians represent one of the most dynamic religious and military phenomena in the eastern Mediterranean during the ninth century. Despite being unknown to Greek sources at the beginning of this century, Paulicians were persecuted by the East Roman Empire in the 810s and again in the 840s. After this later persecution, they aligned themselves with the Emirate of Malaṭiya and raided the empire's eastern provinces until their eclipse as a regional power in the 870s. Yet modern scholarship concerning Paulicians has conventionally focused on their religiosity, which has traditionally been identified as a variant of adoptionism descended from primordial forms of Armenian Christianity, and/or as a Manichaean or Marcionite dualism which would influence later heresies in Bulgaria and the Languedoc. In contrast to approaches such as these, which locate Paulicians within broader religious metanarratives, this thesis seeks to analyse Paulician religiosity on its own terms by grounding it within its social, religious and politico-military contexts. In doing so, it will reappraise Paulician activity after a comparative dearth of scholarly interest lasting several decades.

Firstly, it will reinterpret the relationship of the Greek heresiological sources which describe the heresy, in the process arguing that several of these sources (notably Peter of Sicily's *History of the Paulicians* and Pseudo-Photios' *Contra Manichaeos*) are forgeries which date to the reign of Constantine VII (945-59), many decades after the Paulicians' downfall in the 870s. It will explain the significance of this fact for the study of Paulicians, as well as positing methods by which these forgeries could have been undertaken, and their testimony corroborated. In doing so, I will pay particular attention to the symbolic language (particularly numerical and onomastic) with which Roman heresiologists read religious texts.

Secondly, the thesis will offer a new explanation for Paulicians as a historical phenomenon indigenous to Asia Minor, without tangible links to earlier Armenian heretics, or dualists, such as Manichaeans or Marcionites. It will argue that Paulicians in this area had an apostolic religiosity founded upon reverence for the apostle Paul, by employing two Paulician sources which are now preserved in the *History of the Paulicians*, namely the *Didaskalie* and the *Letters of Sergios*. I will contextualise these sources in the aftermath of the Roman persecutions of the 810s,

in the process examining the Paulicians' idiosyncratic understanding of the Holy Spirit and the sin-based narratives which they developed after these persecutions. These findings on Paulician religion will then be placed in an even wider context by positing reasons for the Paulicians' expansion which locate them within the cultural and socio-economic fabric of the borderlands between the East Roman Empire, the ʻAbbāsid Caliphate and Armenia. It will refute the traditional interpretation that a de-facto alliance with the iconoclast movement was instrumental to Paulician expansion, instead arguing that their success was intimately linked to East Roman persecutions against them and the manner in which they made sense of these events. Beyond this, the thesis will undermine the conception of a distinct Paulician identity and religiosity throughout the period in question, arguing that they should best be understood as a fractious and heterogeneous network, rather than a single confessional entity.

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Abbreviations

AS	*Acta Sanctorum*
B	*Byzantion*
BMGS	*Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies*
BS	*Byzantinoslavica*
BZ	*Byzantinische Zeitschrift*
CDH	B. and J. Hamilton (eds.), *Christian Dualist Heresies in the Byzantine World c.650-c.1405* (Manchester, 1998).
DOP	*Dumbarton Oaks Papers*
GRBS	*Greek Roman and Byzantine Studies*
JHS	*Journal of Hellenic Studies*
JÖB	*Jahrbuch der österreichischen Byzantinistik*
Mansi	*Sacrorum Conciliorum nova et amplissima Collectio*, ed. by J.D. Mansi (Florence, 1759).
MGH	*Monumenta Germaniae Historica*
OCP	*Orientalia Christiana Periodica*
ODB	A.P. Kazhdan *et al.*, *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium* (Oxford/New York, 1991).
PG	*Patrologiae Cursus completus*, *series Graeco-Latina*, ed. by J.-P. Migne (Paris, 1857-66; 1880-1903).
PmbZ	R.-J. Lilie, C. Ludwig, T. Pratsch, I. Rochow, *Prosopographie der mittelbyzantinischen Zeit. Erste Abteilung (641-867)*, 6 vols. (Berlin/New York, 1999-2002).
REA	*Revue des Études Arméniennes*

REB	*Revue des Études Byzantines*
TM	*Travaux et Mémoires*

Note on Terminology

I have employed the anglicised form of personal names when these are in common usage (e.g. Constantine, Peter), but have retained the original Greek names and transliteration in other cases (e.g. Nikephoros, Theophylaktos). I have preferred the name of each primary source that is most common in scholarly usage (whether that is in Greek, English or Latin form), unless the currently accepted name is inappropriate. The most notable example of this is the *Epitome* or *Précis*, which is conventionally attributed to Peter the Hegoumen. The interpretation offered here argues that this work was not an epitome. As such, I have referred to this text as the *Treatise*, following Nina Garsoïan. I have preferred the term 'East Roman', or for shorthand 'Roman', to 'Byzantine' in this thesis, largely because this is the term is closest to that found in the primary sources, yet is distinct enough to avoid confusion. This usage mirrors that of much recent scholarship. I have also adopted John Haldon's argument that the thematic system originated in the reign of Nikephoros I (802-11). For this reason, I will refer to 'provinces' before Nikephoros' reign and 'themata' afterwards.

In this thesis I have adopted the interpretation that the *History of the Paulicians* and *Contra Manichaeos*, which are respectively attributed to Peter of Sicily and the Patriarch Photios by modern scholars, are forgeries composed at the court of Constantine VII. As the works of Photios are well-attested, I have referred to the author of the *Contra Manichaeos* as Pseudo-Photios throughout. By the *Contra Manichaeos* I understand only the metaphrasis of the *History* and the *Treatise* (which is known in the *PG* edition as *Contra Manichaeos I*), in order adequately to differentiate it from the three genuinely Photian sermons that follow it. I will refer to these as sermons, rather than terming them *Contra Manichaeos II-IV*. The authorship of the *History* is a more complex matter, since there are no references to a Peter of Sicily outside this text. Since there is no evidence that there was a ninth-century personage named Peter of Sicily, there is little scope for confusion and hence I will retain the authorial name given by the source. Finally, I have adopted Afinogenov's argument that *Coislinianus* 305 (P) represents the first recension of George the Monk's *Chronicon*. The reader should note that this manuscript is not given precedence in De Boor's edition, which notes this manuscript's variant readings in the apparatus.

Chapter 1: Introduction

"You are the Macedonians and I am Silvanos, who has been sent to you by Paul."[1]

Statement attributed to Constantine-Silvanos, a mythical Paulician *didaskalos*

Thrice-wretched man, full of all lawlessness, if you are a student of Paul, as you say, why do you not imitate the teacher?[2]

Peter of Sicily's retort to the long-dead Sergios-Tychikos, the last Paulician *didaskalos*

… The Paulicians say that they have St Paul as their teacher, as these people [the Phundagiagitae] do, and have the gospels on their lips, and the epistles of St Paul, as they do. Their teaching is very like that of these blasphemers, but their heresy is obvious and cannot harm anyone except those who hold it as inherited tradition; no one is grieved or upset on their account.[3]

Euthymios of the Peribleptos, mid-eleventh century

The above quotations agree in identifying the first-century apostle Paul as the ultimate doctrinal inspiration for the Paulicians, heretics who are first attested in the East Roman Empire at the beginning of the ninth century and who became one of the empire's most inveterate enemies between 844 and 878. Yet this interpretation is not representative of the majority of East Roman sources which describe the heresy.[4] Instead, these quotations are the proverbial needles in a haystack of polemical references in which East Roman heresiologists traced Paulician belief back to individuals whom the Paulicians anathematised, such as Mani and Paul of Samosata.[5] While the latter was sometimes credited with lending his name to the

[1] Peter Sic., 101, pp.42-3 (*CDH*, p.78): << Ὑμεῖς ἐστε οἱ Μακεδόνες, ἐγὼ δέ εἰμι Σιλουανός, ὁ ὑπὸ Παύλου ὑμῖν ἀποσταλείς >>.
[2] Peter Sic., 159, pp.58-9 (*CDH*, p.87): Ὦ τρισάθλιε καὶ πάσης ἀνομίας πεπληρωμένε, εἰ μαθητὴς Παύλου, ὡς λέγεις, ὑπάρχεις, ἵνα τί οὐ μιμῇ τὸν διδάσκαλον.
[3] Euthymios Peri., p.63 (*CDH*, p.158).
[4] For an overview of Roman identity see I. Stouraitis, 'Roman Identity in Byzantium: a Critical Approach', *BZ* 107:1 (2014), pp.175-220. I have preferred the term 'East Roman' or 'Roman' to 'Byzantine' in line with the approach adopted by recent scholarship. See also A. Kaldellis, *The Byzantine Republic: People and Power in New Rome* (Cambridge, MA/London, 2015), pp.ix-xvi; J.F. Haldon, *The Empire that Would Not Die: the Paradox of Eastern Roman Survival, 640-740* (Cambridge, MA, 2016), p.4.
[5] *Treatise*, 6, p.83 (*CDH*, p.93). Recent literature on Manichaeism is extensive. See K.J. Coyle (ed.), *Manichaeism and its Legacy* (Leiden, 2009); J. Beduhn (ed.), *New Light on Manichaeism* (Leiden,

Paulicians, East Roman sources claim that they took this appelation from one of their leaders, who is conventionally known as Paul the Armenian. But this Paul is never identified as a *didaskalos* (literally a 'teacher'; in a Paulician context it designates the head of their religious community) in Paulician sources.[6] Much effort has been expended in attempts to decipher the origin of the term 'Paulician', largely due to the Armenian roots of the word (the diminutive root –ik is characteristically Armenian) and the conflicting doctrinal identifications associated with the appellation in Greek and Armenian sources.[7] If a solution to this puzzle remains distant, one truth can be ascertained: that this confusion arises from the readiness of Roman heresiologists to assimilate the Paulicians with any Paul except the one that they venerated: Paul the apostle. Research on Paulician sources (rather than the testimony of their opponents) by Claudia Ludwig has shown that Paulicians traced their religiosity back to this apostle.[8] While we cannot assume that Paulician religiosity was static, their own testimony suggests that in the ninth- and tenth-century East Roman Empire Paulicians had no tangible links to dualism or adoptionism – and therefore to Mani or Paul of Samosata. As the witness of Peter of Sicily and Euthymios of the Peribleptos shows, even Roman writers acknowledged their reverence for the apostle Paul, even though they only stated this in the process of repudiating the fact.

This thesis aims to ascertain why Roman actors identified Paulicians in such erroneous ways. Naturally, these identifications are conditioned by the rhetorical and polemical functions of heresiological sources, which are in turn dictated by the religious cultures which demarcated Paulician identities. These observations are founded on a truism of heresy studies: that heresies cannot be defined except in contradistinction to corresponding orthodoxies.[9] While this is also true of Paulicians,

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2009). Scholarship on Paul of Samosata is rarer. See F. Millar, 'Paul of Samosata, Zenobia and Aurelian: the Church, Local Culture and Political Allegiance in Third-Century Syria', *The Journal of Roman Studies* 61 (1971), pp.1-17.

[6] Peter Sic., 112-3, pp.46-7 (*CDH*, p.80).

[7] See M. Loos, 'Deux contributions à l'histoire des Pauliciens. II: Origine du nom des Pauliciens', *BS* 18 (1957), pp.202-17; K.B. Vuzbašyan, 'De l'origine du nom "Pauliciens"', *REA* 9 (1972), pp.355-77; H. Bartikian, 'Encore un fois sur l'origine du nom "Pauliciens"', *REA* 9 (1972), pp.445-51. For the root –ik, see K. Ter Mkrttschian, *Die Paulikianer im byzantinischen Kaiserreiche und verwandte ketzerische Erscheinungen in Armenien* (Leipzig, 1893), p.63.

[8] C. Ludwig, 'Wer hat was in welcher Absicht wie beschreiben? Bemerkungen zur Historia des Petros Sikeliotes über die Paulikianer', *Varia 2 POIKILA BYZANTINA* 6 (1987), pp.224-5.

[9] See P. Biller, 'Through a Glass Darkly: Seeing Medieval Heresy', in P. Linehan and J.L. Nelson (eds.), *The Medieval World* (London, 2001), pp.308-26, esp. p.309; J.H. Arnold, 'The Cathar Middle Ages as a Methodological and Historiographical Problem', in A.C. Sennis (ed.), *Cathars in Question* (Woodbridge, 2016), pp.53-78.

the existence of the Paulician sources noted above allows us to problematise the testimony of East Roman heresiological sources, thereby giving a more balanced portrayal of the relationship between orthodoxy and heresy. This is appropriate because the textual relationship of the heresiological sources is extremely close and an analysis of these sources shows that East Roman authors circumscribed Paulician identity and religiosity differently in particular contexts. Above all, views on how to punish Paulicians were fiercely debated. It was only in the mid-tenth century, at the court of Constantine VII (sole reign: 945-59), that the classic filiation from Manichaeans via Paulianists (that is, the school of Paul of Samosata) to Paulicians became fully developed. The influence of works of this period is such that we can speak of the invention of Paulicians as a historiographical phenomenon at this time. Finally, our Paulician sources demonstrate that Paulicians defined their identity and religiosity in contrast to East Roman actors; in other words, they unknowingly misrepresented Romans in the same way that Romans misrepresented them. Taken as a whole, this thesis aims to transcend the truism of heterodoxies as reflections of orthodoxies.

Analysing these heresiological traditions has a second aim, which is intimately connected with that described above. This is to revise the current consensus regarding the relationship between the heresiological texts, which has been uncontested since the work of Paul Lemerle in the 1970s.[10] These texts are Peter of Sicily's *History of the Paulicians* and the *Contra Manichaeos*, which is conventionally attributed to Photios (858-67; 877-86), the twice-exiled Patriarch of Constantinople who is now best known for his voluminous writings and his conflicts with his patriarchal rival Ignatios (847-58; 867-77) and Pope Nicholas I (858-67).[11] This source is a metaphrasis of another heresiological work known as the *Treatise*, followed by a metaphrasis of the *History*.[12] Prior to Lemerle's study, the relationship of these sources to one another – and in several cases, even the authenticity of these works – had been debated since the nineteenth century. Lemerle defended these

[10] P. Lemerle, 'L'histoire des Pauliciens d'Asie Mineure d'après les sources grecques', *TM* 5 (1973), pp.1-144.
[11] For the *Contra Manichaeos* see *TM* 4, pp.120-73. Although now dated, Dvornik's study remains the most accessible overview of Photios' career. F. Dvornik, *The Photian Schism: History and Legend* (Cambridge, 1948).
[12] For the *Treatise*, see p.20 below and Chapter Two, pp.69-76. For the *History* see *TM* 4, pp.6-67 (*CDH*, pp.66-92). For metaphrasis, see D.D. Resh, 'Toward a Byzantine Definition of Metaphrasis', *GRBS* 55 (2015), pp.754-7.

sources by maintaining that they had been composed at the time that the sources assert. He was responding to the work of Nina Garsoïan, who claimed that both sources were later forgeries.[13] In this thesis, I will adopt and expand upon Garsoïan's interpretation.

Two sophisticated Paulician literary works are preserved within these polemical texts. These are a mythologised – and therefore historically unreliable – account of Paulician origins now known as the *Didaskalie*, and the *Letters of Sergios*, which were respectively commissioned and composed by the final Paulician *didaskalos*, Sergios-Tychikos (*c*.800/1-34/5).[14] They supply a final aim of the thesis: a critical reading of these sources that elucidates Paulician history during the eighth and ninth centuries. Although historians have used these sources to provide an outline of their history, further investigation shows that the sources were unhistorical prior to their incorporation into East Roman polemical texts. Hence, a new explanation is required for Paulicians as a historical phenomenon. In particular, we must address the remarkable expansion of Paulician influence in the ninth century. Despite being unattested in East Roman sources at the beginning of this century, they became one of the empire's principal enemies by its halfway point, first aligning themselves with the Emirate of Malaṭiya (Melitene) and later raiding independently as far as Nicaea and Ephesus.[15] Yet their downfall during the 870s was swift. This rise and fall implies dynamic social processes which have not been explained by prior scholarship. For instance, the conventional explanation of close filiation between Paulicians and iconoclasm fails to explain the growth of Paulician influence, or their successes during the ninth century.[16] The same is true of the Armenian sources of the heresy, which do not refer to Paulicians during our period.

Naturally, any explanation of Paulician activity must incorporate the observation that Paulicians had an apostolic religiosity based on a reverence for the

[13] N.G. Garsoïan, *The Paulician Heresy* (Paris/The Hague, 1967).
[14] Ludwig, 'Bemerkungen,' pp.151-3; See Peter Sic., 94-167, pp.40-63 (*CDH*, pp.76-89).
[15] Genesios, 4:35, p.86 (Kaldellis, p.107-8).
[16] For Paulicians and iconoclasm see N.G. Garsoïan, 'Byzantine Heresy. A Reinterpretation', *DOP* 25 (1971), pp.97-105; M. Loos, 'Le mouvement paulicien à Byzance', *BS* 24 (1963), pp.267-76; L.W. Barnard, 'The Paulicians and Iconoclasm', in A. Bryer and J. Herrin (eds.), *Iconoclasm: Papers Given at the Ninth Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies, University of Birmingham, March 1975* (Birmingham, 1977), pp.75-82.

apostle Paul.[17] An important implication of this interpretation is that Paulician religiosity was similar to that of other Christians in Asia Minor. Paulicians could therefore have originated from indigenous forms of Christianity in the region, which were not necessarily those of the Constantinopolitan church. Aspects of Paulician religiosity, such as their militarism and estrangement from the established church are representative of broader regional trends, thereby rationalising the expansion of Paulician influence. These similarities, along with migration to Asia Minor from Armenia and elsewhere in the Caucasus, represent key reasons for Paulician successes. In all this I do not consider Paulician identity to be static. Rather, I conceive of communal identities as malleable, plural and context-specific.[18] Identities are demarcated from within and without, often as part of a dialectical process between the two. As a consequence, the agency of East Roman actors will assume critical importance in this thesis.

Accordingly, I will explain the growth of Paulician networks through processes of collective identity formation, proposing that the labelling of forms of behaviour as 'Paulician' by local actors resulted in heterodoxies differentiable from provincial religiosity.[19] Networks espousing these heterodoxies then developed shared identities as a consequence of their common identification as 'Paulician' during East Roman persecutions, most notably those of Michael I (811-3) and Leo V (813-20). These persecutions occasioned different responses, with some communities being driven underground, some taking reprisals against Roman authorities and others challenging existing Paulician leadership structures. As a result, Paulician lived experience and the context in which it operated had changed by the death of the Emperor Theophilos (829-42). Thus, a second major persecution of Paulicians (*c*.843-4), conducted by the Empress Theodora, regent for her young

[17] By apostolic, I mean only that they based their beliefs on the works of Paul and saw themselves as the direct continuation of the Christian communities of the Gospels and *Acts*. This phrasing corresponds to Ludwig's understanding, although she does not employ this term. See C. Ludwig, 'The Paulicians and Ninth-Century Byzantine Thought', in L. Brubaker (ed.), *Byzantium in the Ninth Century: Dead or Alive?* (Aldershot, 1998), p.29.
[18] R. Brubaker, *Ethnicity without Groups* (Cambridge, MA/London, 2004); J.C. Scott, *The Art of Not Being Governed: an Anarchist History of Upland South East Asia* (New Haven, 2009).
[19] This interpretation bears some resemblance to Mark Pegg's explanation for the adoption of dualist belief by the 'good men' or 'Cathars' of the Languedoc. See M.G. Pegg, *A Most Holy War: the Albigensian Crusade and the Battle for Christendom* (Oxford/New York, 2008), pp.167-9; 187. For heresy as a result of social interaction see also D. Smythe, 'Alexios I and the Heretics: the Account of Anna Komnene's *Alexiad*', in M. Mullett and D. Smythe (eds.), *Alexios I Komnenos: I Papers* (Belfast, 1996), p.233.

son Michael III, elicited a momentous occurrence: the defection of some five thousand Paulicians under the *protomandator* Karbeas to ʻAmr ibn ʻUbaydallāh ibn Marwān al-Aqṭaʻ al-Sulamī (*c*.835-63), the Emir of Malaṭiya. This led to the establishment of Paulician settlements near the anti-Taurus mountains, whence these Paulicians raided the empire in concert with Islamic armies. Although these defectors are still termed Paulicians, I will dissociate this 'militaristic' phase of Paulician history from the 'religious' one which preceded it, arguing that they are only loosely related. The apparent continuity between the two is a mirage caused by the nature of our sources and changes in how Paulician identity was demarcated. Our comparative dearth of sources renders a unified account of Paulician history problematic and hence I will not provide one here. Instead, I will critique the most misleading assumptions about Paulicians, while examining their activity when our sources are full enough to justify such an approach.

Paulician Religiosity

Prior to substantiating these aims, we must discuss the nature of Paulician belief, since on this topic I will differ from the majority of earlier scholarship. Here I will follow the seminal analysis of Ludwig, who argued that Paulicians had an apostolic religiosity through a detailed analysis of the Paulician sources described above. In doing so, she provided a foundation for discarding traditional dualist and adoptionist identifications, although surprisingly her conclusions have not been adopted by subsequent scholarship.[20] We will examine the development of dualist and adoptionist portrayals here in order to explain why earlier scholars reached the conclusions that they did, thereby contextualising my reasons for adopting an apostolic thesis. Since both Garsoïan and Lemerle have provided extensive overviews of earlier scholarship, it is unnecessary to recapitulate this except when it pertains to Paulician beliefs or the authenticity of the Greek sources, which are the main points of interest here.[21]

In brief, earlier scholarship concerning Paulicians has been dictated by historiographical metanarratives; firstly, between Catholic and Protestant

[20] Ludwig, 'Bemerkungen', pp.224-5.
[21] See Garsoïan, *Paulician Heresy*, pp.17-25; Lemerle, 'L'histoire', pp.2-15.

historiography in the seventeenth to nineteenth centuries; and secondly, between specialists concerned with Armenia and the East Roman Empire in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. To some degree, this second metanarrative is descended from the first, since both Catholic historians and scholars studying the East Roman Empire have argued that the Paulicians were dualists, while Protestant historians and Armenologists have instead claimed that they espoused a primordial, adoptionist form of Christianity.[22] The doctrinal baggage associated with these metanarratives still conditioned the competing reconstructions of Garsoïan and Lemerle and, insofar as Ludwig avoided the main points of contention between these two authors, this baggage has arguably still not been jettisoned.[23] More specifically, by denying the authenticity of the Greek sources (namely, the *History of the Paulicians* and the *Contra Manichaeos*) Garsoïan, like some of her forebears, could marginalise these sources' dualist claims, thereby allowing her to argue that Paulicians were originally adoptionists and only embraced dualism after interaction with the empire. This marked an instrumentalisation of source criticism that was predictably disputed by scholars who worked primarily with these sources; a sentiment that finds its logical expression in Lemerle's rehabilitation of the sources. Lemerle's intervention was paralleled forty years previously by that of Henri Grégoire, who dismissed the first criticism of the authenticity of the Greek sources by Karapet Ter Mkrttschian, who anticipated many of Garsoïan's most important contributions.

Dualist and adoptionist interpretations of Paulician belief are ultimately indebted to competing metanarratives associated with Catholic and Protestant historiography. The dispute between the two dates to the end of the seventeenth century, when the Catholic Jacques-Bénigne Bossuet argued that Manichaean belief was transmitted from Paulicians via Bogomils to Cathars and Waldensians and then to the later Hussites, Wycliffites and ultimately Protestants.[24] This transmission allowed him to show that Protestantism descended from heretical Manichaean ideas.[25] His principal source regarding Paulicians was the *History of the Paulicians*, as was true of his contemporaries, since the *Contra Manichaeos* was not yet

[22] See below p.22, n.45.
[23] Ludwig adopts Lemerle's date of the *History* without engaging with Garsoïan's interpretation. See Ludwig, 'Bemerkungen', pp.151-2.
[24] J.-B. Bossuet, *Histoire des variations des eglises protestantes*, 2nd ed., vol. 3 (Paris, 1689), pp.124-377.
[25] Garsoïan, *Paulician Heresy*, pp.18-9.

accessible.[26] In Bossuet's account, the lineage of dualist historiography is already apparent, albeit in an elongated and polemical form. Bossuet's narrative was naturally contested by Protestant historians, who either denied that Paulicians were Manichaeans, or emphasised the descent of reformist ideas through non-dualist Waldensians.[27] Many great luminaries of this period, such as Pierre Bayle and Edward Gibbon, wrote about Paulicians, although not always within broader religious metanarratives.[28] Even at this stage, the sources were considered unreliable, albeit largely as a device to undercut rival interpretations. Moreover, the Manichaean identification of these heretics was considered polemical by some, notably by Voltaire.[29]

As yet, no systematic analysis of the Greek sources had taken place, largely because they were not available in satisfactory editions. This situation changed with Johann Gieseler's publication of both the *History of the Paulicians* in the original Greek and an edition of the recently discovered *Treatise* – a briefer text which related many of the key elements of Paulician history and belief outlined in the *History* – during the 1840s.[30] In his study of the *Treatise*, Gieseler argued that it was an epitomisation of the *History*, thus maintaining the authority that the *History* had for his predecessors.[31] However, a satisfactory edition of George the Monk's *Chronicon* was not yet available and so Gieseler did not notice that the *Treatise* had been interpolated into this work. This only became apparent after an edition of the *Chronicon* appeared in 1856.[32] As for Paulician belief, Gieseler's interpretation was still located within the dispute between Catholic and Protestant historiography, with Gieseler in the latter camp. However, like some previous scholars he dissented from

[26] The first edition of the *Contra Manichaeos* was J.C. Wolf, *Anecdota graeca sacra et profana*, 2 vols. (Hamburg, 1722-4).
[27] For the Waldensians, see P. Biller, *The Waldenses, 1170-1530* (Aldershot, 2001).
[28] For a summary, see Garsoïan, *Paulician Heresy*, pp.17-9.
[29] Voltaire, 'L'Examen important de milord Bolingbroke', ed. by R. Mortier, in *Les œuvres completes de Voltaire*, vol.62 (Oxford, 1987), pp.343-4.
[30] See J.C.L. Gieseler, *Petri Siculi historia Manichaeorum seu Paulicianorum. Textum graecum Matthaei Raderi recognovit, et de integro latine vertit* (Göttingen, 1846); J.C.L. Gieseler, 'Appendix ad Petri Siculi historiam Manichaeorum seu Paulicianorum', *Academiae Georgiae Augustae prorector cum senatu Sacra Christi Natalitia anno MDCCCXLIX pie celebranda indicunt* (Göttingen, 1849), pp.57-67. Prior to Gieseler's edition of the *History*, this text was known from Latin translations.
[31] Gieseler, 'Appendix', pp.58-9.
[32] E. de Muralt (ed.), *Georgius hamartolus chronikon syntomon ek diaphorōn chronographōn te kai exēgētōn syllegen kai syntethen* (St Petersburg, 1856).

the *History*'s Manichaean filiation and instead argued that Paulician belief resembled Marcionism.[33]

This view was also espoused by Ter Mkrttschian, whose most lasting contribution was his analysis of the Greek sources. [34] He argued that the *Contra Manichaeos*, with the exception of the paraphrased *Treatise* (which Ter Mkrttschian believed was genuinely composed by Photios) and the entirety of the *History* were forged during the Komnenian period.[35] These hypotheses had their limitations. J.B. Bury noted that the *History* could not be a Komnenian forgery, since the single extant manuscript predates the Komnenian era.[36] Ter Mkrttschian argued more convincingly that the *Treatise* was the earliest extant text of the polemical tradition, which he believed was evident from its interpolation into George the Monk's *Chronicon*.[37] Ter Mkrttschian's work was exceptional in its focus on the Armenian character of the movement. Disregarding connections with western medieval heresy, he contextualised Paulicians within indigenous Armenian traditions from the fifth century onward, although he believed that they were primarily informed by Marcionism.[38]

He could do so because he was among the first scholars to engage with Armenian sources describing Paulicians. Despite this he did not see continuity in Armenian religiosity, since he distinguished Paulicians from later Tʿondrakecʿi, Armenian heretics who are first attested in the ninth century, and Bogomils, both of whom he characterised as mystical groups influenced by Messalians.[39] Importantly, this dissociation of Bogomils from Paulicians called into question the dualist filiation of earlier Catholic historiography.[40] His study was impelled by a romanticised

[33] J.C.L. Gieseler, 'Untersuchen über die Geschichte der Paulikianer', *Theologische Studien und Kritiken*, 2:1 (1829), pp.103-11. For Marcionism, see J. Lieu, *Marcion and the Making of a Heretic: God and Scripture in the Second Century* (New York, 2015).
[34] Ter Mkrttschian, *Die Paulikianer*, pp.104-12.
[35] Ter Mkrttschian, *Die Paulikianer*, pp.8-18; 126-7. His observation that the first section of Photios' work is a paraphrase of the *Treatise* has since been unanimously accepted.
[36] J.B. Bury (ed.), 'Appendix 6. The Paulician Heresy', in E. Gibbon, *The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, vol. 6 (London. 1898), p.541.
[37] Ter Mkrttschian, *Die Paulikianer*, pp.2-4.
[38] Ter Mkrttschian, *Die Paulikianer*, pp.104-12.
[39] Ter Mkrttschian, *Die Paulikianer*, pp.122-3. For the Tʿondrakecʿi see V. Nersessian, *The Tondrakian Movement: Religious Movements in the Armenian Church from the Fourth to the Tenth Centuries* (London, 1987).
[40] For a recent restatement of the traditional narrative concerning Bogomils, see J. Sanidopoulos, *The Rise of Bogomilism and its Penetration into Constantinople: with a Complete Translation of Euthymios Zygabenos' Concerning Bogomilism* (Rollinsford, 2011), pp.33-68. In my view, this

conception of Armenian identity, viewing Paulicians as pure, militaristic Christians resisting Islamic dominance.[41] A subsequent article by Johann Friedrich only disagreed with Ter Mkrttschian's source analysis on minor points and was most notable for advocating Manichaean influence on Paulicians.[42]

Soon afterward, Ter Mkrttschian's interpretation was absorbed into the Catholic-Protestant dichotomy. Thus, Frederick Conybeare, who focused on Armenian sources, also understood Armenian Christianity in romanticised terms.[43] By employing the problematic *Key of Truth*, he argued that Paulicians had an adoptionist religiosity.[44] For him, adoptionism was not only the primordial form of Armenian Christianity, but had also comprised the beliefs of the ancient Roman, Spanish and British churches, as well as the Tʿondrakecʿi and the Albigensian heresy.[45] By positing this adoptionist filiation, he reconciled Ter Mkrttschian's romanticised, militaristic Paulicians with Protestant historiography. Crucially, by employing Ter Mkrttschian's interpretation that the Greek sources were forged, Conybeare could portray them as unreliable works which slandered his adoptionist heretics.[46] This instrumentalisation of source criticism would characterise later historiographical disputes. However, Conybeare's analysis was unfavourably received and Marcionite interpretations prevailed.

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narrative is in need of revision. On this see Chapter Eight, pp.241-2. Most recent research on Bogomils has focused on the trial of the Bogomil Basil in the reign of Alexios I, rather than a reappraisal of the heresy. For this trial see A. Rigo, 'Il processo del Bogomilo Basilio (1099 c.a.): una riconsiderazione', *OCP* 58 (1992), pp.185-212; Smythe, 'Alexios I and the Heretics', pp.235-44.

[41] Ter Mkrttschian, *Die Paulikianer*, pp.112-9.

[42] J. Friedrich, 'Der ursprüngliche, bei Georgios Monachos nur theilweise erhaltene Bericht über die Paulikianer', *Sitzungsberichte der Philosophisch-Philologischen und Historischen Classe der K.B. Akademie der Wissenschaften zu München (Jahrgang 1896)* (1897), p.91.

[43] The *Key of Truth* was obtained in 1837 from a group of sectarians in Arkwhêli in what was then Russian Armenia. Although the extant manuscript was copied in Taron in 1782, Conybeare believed that it originally derived from a classical Armenian document, which he dated to the ninth century. Conybeare (ed.), *Key of Truth*, pp.xxiii-xxx; For his conception of Armenian identity see Conybeare (ed.), *Key of Truth*, pp.lvi-lvii.

[44] Conybeare (ed.), *Key of Truth*, pp.vi-xiii.

[45] For Paulician adoptionism see Conybeare (ed.), *Key of Truth*, pp.cv-cxv. Conybeare understands adoptionism as an older and more rational form of belief which conceived of Christ as the Son of God only after his baptism rather than after the incarnation. This interpretation was subsequently adopted by many Armenian scholars, who employed this idea of a primordial belief to restate the antiquity of Armenian Christian traditions. For Paulician links with other groups see Conybeare (ed.), *Key of Truth*, pp.clxx-clxxxi. I have referred to dualist heresy in the Languedoc and Lombardy by the names employed by the secondary source in question, whether this identifies them as 'Albigensians' or 'Cathars.' I will not address the scholarly debate about this terminology here.

[46] Conybeare (ed.), *Key of Truth*, pp.vi; xl-xlvi.

Subsequent scholarship would not frame Paulicians in terms of the Catholic-Protestant metanarrative, but the transmission of heterodoxy from Manichaeans to Paulicians was still maintained. This dispute was transposed onto disagreements between those scholars who were primarily interested in the East Roman Empire, and those concerned with Armenia. In the 1930s, Grégoire subjected the source analysis of Ter Mkrttschian to concerted attack.[47] In doing so, he rehabilitated the *History* as the earliest source for the heresy.[48] Moreover, he found a *terminus post quem* of 932 for the *Contra Manichaeos* (amended by subsequent scholarship to 934), thereby proposing that this was a tenth-century forgery.[49] However, he concurred with the existing consensus that Paulicians had Marcionite influences and that they informed the movements of Cathars and Waldensians.[50] Thus, the doctrinal affiliations maintained by Catholic historiography survived.

In subsequent years Grégoire's interpretation became entrenched. Steven Runciman argued that a medieval strand of dualist thought ran through Paulicians and Bogomils to Cathars.[51] For him, Paulicians were primarily influenced by gnosticism.[52] Similarly, Dmitri Obolensky sought to demonstrate continuity between dualist movements, particularly Paulicians and Bogomils, believing that Paulician belief was a synthesis of Manichaeism and Marcionism.[53] Thus, these scholars restated a doctrinal connection between Paulicians and Bogomils, thereby reaffirming the filiation between these heresies that Ter Mkrttschian had disavowed. During the 1950s focus shifted from Paulician religiosity and Friedrich Scheidweiler and Milan Loos once more analysed the sources, in the process arguing that the

[47] H. Grégoire, 'Les sources de l'histoire des Pauliciens. Pierre de Sicile est authentique et 'Photius' un faux', *Académie Royale de Belgique, Bulletin Classe des Lettres, 5e série* 22 (1936), pp.95-6.
[48] Grégoire, 'Les Sources', pp.101-6.
[49] Grégoire, 'Les Sources', pp.109-11. For the confusion around these dates, see Chapter Two, p.57, n.94.
[50] Grégoire, 'Les Sources', p.105; H. Grégoire, 'Pour l'histoire des églises pauliciennes καινοχώριον du Pont, Episparis en φανάροια', *OCP* 13 (1947), p.513.
[51] S. Runciman, *The Medieval Manichee: a Study of the Christian Dualist Heresy* (Cambridge, 1948), p.vii.
[52] Runciman, *Medieval Manichee*, p.62. For gnosticism, which is best understood as an array of related belief systems, see K.L. King, *What is Gnosticism?* (Cambridge, MA, 2003).
[53] D. Obolensky, *The Bogomils: a Study in Balkan Neo-Manichaeism* (Cambridge, 1948), pp.45-52.

Treatise was the earliest extant text of the polemical tradition.[54] Both scholars held to the prior consensus that Paulicians were influenced by Marcionism.[55]

At this time, the dualist filiation posited by Catholic historiography had been integrated into the mainstream of Paulician studies. By contrast, Armenian scholarship of the 1940s and 1950s was confined to Marxist scholarship.[56] Since these forms of scholarship rarely engaged with one another, there was little dispute between East Roman and Armenian specialists. This situation changed with the pioneering work of Garsoïan in the 1960s. She reprised Ter Mkrttschian's thesis that the *History* and *Contra Manichaeos* were forgeries, although she assigned these to the tenth century.[57] Moreover, her groundbreaking analysis of these sources showed that Paulician sources ultimately informed them.[58] Unlike her predecessors, she attempted to reconcile the Greek and Armenian sources. In doing so, she reprised Conybeare's thesis that Paulicians were adoptionists and thus the "Armenian Old Believers", who remained faithful to the Syriac Christianity that predominated in Armenia before Greek traditions from Kappadokia prevailed.[59] By contrast, she believed that Paulicians in East Roman territory adopted dualist beliefs due to influence from iconoclasm.[60] However, this reconciliation is deceptive, since Garsoïan's contextualisation of the Paulicians was analogous to the Armenocentric approach of Ter Mkrttschian and Conybeare. She barely engaged with Paulicians in an East Roman context, since she considered that the sources for such a study were late and unreliable. This perhaps explains the unduly harsh dismissal of her work by much subsequent scholarship, most of which has been based upon the Greek sources.[61]

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[54] F. Scheidweiler, 'Paulikianerprobleme', *BZ* 43 (1950), pp.21-9; 36-7; M. Loos, 'Deux contributions à l'histoire des Pauliciens. I: a propos des sources grecques reflétant des Pauliciens', *BS* 17 (1956), pp.31-6.
[55] Scheidweiler, 'Paulikianerprobleme', pp.366-71; Loos, 'Deux contributions I', pp.22-38.
[56] Garsoïan is critical of the Marxist approach. See Garsoïan, 'Byzantine Heresy', pp.87-91.
[57] Garsoïan, *Paulician Heresy*, pp.73-9.
[58] Garsoïan, *Paulician Heresy*, pp.55-79. For the Paulician sources see Garsoïan, *Paulician Heresy*, pp.62-7. Moeller had previously advanced a similar interpretation. See C.R. Moeller, *De Photii Petrique Siculi libris contra Manichaeos scriptis* (Bonn, 1910), pp.41-3.
[59] Like Conybeare, her adoptionist interpretation was founded on the *Key of Truth*. See Garsoïan, *Paulician Heresy*, pp.151-230.
[60] Garsoïan, 'Byzantine Heresy', pp.97-105.
[61] See Lemerle, 'L'histoire', pp.12-15; P. Speck, 'Petros Sikeliotes, seine Historia und der Erzbischof von Bulgarien', *ELLHNIKA* 27 (1974), pp.385-6, n.6.

As remarked above, Lemerle's subsequent rehabilitation of the *History* and *Contra Manichaeos* has now become the established consensus. His study is also noteworthy because he rejected Manichaean, Marcionite and Messalian links to Paulicians. He instead divided heresy in Asia Minor into two variants, claiming that Paulicians belonged to an eastern, dualistic strand, whereas the Montanists and Athinganoi active in western Asia Minor were inspired by Judaism.[62] The Athinganoi first appear in our sources contemporaneously with Paulicians and are sometimes identified as the precursors of the modern Rom/Romani people.[63] Lemerle paid little attention to later dualist heresies and instead traced evolution within Paulician belief. However, his study was dedicated to Grégoire and bears a significant debt to dualist interpretations.[64] Since later scholars have invariably adopted Lemerle's position, the distinction between adoptionist and dualist conceptions of the heresy has remained.[65] Similarly the vestiges of the traditional Catholic-Protestant dispute have not dissipated, particularly in non-specialist works.

This is surprising because the justification for adopting dualist perspectives was undermined by Ludwig. Following the suggestion of Paul Speck, she analysed the Paulician sources which now underpin the *History*, focusing on the *Didaskalie*.[66] Ludwig demonstrated that this source gave no indications of dualist thought, but instead implied that Paulician belief was characterised by reverence for the apostle Paul.[67] She did so for several reasons. The text describes Paulician *didaskaloi* adopting the names of Paul's disciples and its narrative is moulded on the *Acts of the Apostles*.[68] In a subsequent article, Ludwig contextualised her analysis of the *Didaskalie*, arguing that the Manichaean identification of the *History* arose from its

[62] Lemerle, 'L'histoire', pp.132-4. For Montanism see C. Trevett, *Montanism: Gender, Authority and the New Prophecy* (Cambridge, 1996).
[63] For the Athinganoi see also J. Starr, 'An Eastern Christian Sect: the Athinganoi', *Harvard Theological Review* 29:2 (1936), pp.93-106; P. Speck, 'Die vermeintliche Häresie der Athinganoi', *Jahrbuch der österreichischen Byzantinistik* 47 (1997), pp.37-50. Speck's contention that the Athinganoi are the ancestors of the Rom is adopted by Brubaker and Haldon (who further equate them with the Jats or Zuṭṭ of Islamic sources) but contested by Signes-Codoñer. I am sceptical of Speck's identification. See L. Brubaker and J.F. Haldon, *Byzantium in the Iconoclast Era, c. 680-85: a History* (Cambridge, 2011), p.364, n.451; J. Signes Codoñer, *The Emperor Theophilos and the East, 829-842: Court and Frontier in Byzantium during the Last Phase of Iconoclasm* (Farnham, 2014), p.197.
[64] Lemerle, 'L'histoire', p.1.
[65] See esp. Speck 'Petros Sikeliotes', pp.381-7; Ludwig, 'Bemerkungen', pp.149-227.
[66] Ludwig, 'Bemerkungen', pp.154-213; Speck, 'Petros Sikeliotes', pp.385-7. Although Speck's hypothesis concerning the Paulician sources bears a remarkable resemblance to that of Garsoïan, he nowhere credits her for this.
[67] Ludwig, 'Bemerkungen', pp.224-5.
[68] Ludwig, 'Bemerkungen', pp.168-70.

aim of demonstrating that Paulicians were worthy of the death penalty.[69] Remarkably, this was the first attempt to take the genre and purpose of the *History* into account while studying the text.[70] Here, Ludwig's conclusions can be questioned because she followed Lemerle's assertion that this was a genuine ninth-century text, but her analysis of ninth-century sources, such as the works of Theophanes and Theodore the Stoudite, remains valuable.

In the scope of her work, Ludwig did not investigate the authenticity of the Greek sources, or analyse the texts of the polemical tradition, aside from the *Didaskalie* and selected passages of the *History*. As a result, her conclusions on the apostolic character of Paulician belief require corroboration from other sources. Crucially, these sources support her conclusions. The reconstruction adopted here suggests that the earliest Greek polemical source regarding Paulicians was the *Treatise*, which was composed *c*.834/5-843.[71] This source claims that Paulicians are dualist Manichaeans and implies that they have an aberrant understanding of the Father, but the Paulician sources never refer to the Father and instead indicate that their heterodoxy revolves around the Holy Spirit.[72] The *Treatise* does not place Mani among the Paulician heresiarchs and it notes that Paulicians anathematised him.[73] References to Paulicians as 'Manichaeans' in secondary sources are adequately explained by Ludwig's theory that this legitimates capital punishment against them.[74] Furthermore, as we will see in Chapter Four, Paulicians did not reject the prophets, or the books of the Old Testament, as the *Treatise* implies.[75] The disingenuous way in such claims could be made is apparent in the *History of the Paulicians*, where indications that Peter of Sicily does not faithfully represent Paulician belief are abundant.[76] Despite all of this, since the *Didaskalie* does not allude to Paulician conceptions of cosmology or divinity, it cannot definitively refute the idea that they were dualists. But, by the same reasoning, it also cannot corroborate them. We must remember here that these heresiological texts operated

[69] Ludwig, 'The Paulicians', pp.23-36.
[70] See also A. Cameron, 'How to Read Heresiology', *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 33:3 (2003), p.480.
[71] See Chapter Two, pp.69-76.
[72] *Treatise*, 10, p.86 (*CDH*, p.94).
[73] *Treatise*, 1-6, pp.80-3 (*CDH*, p.93).
[74] See also Chapter Six, pp.168-70.
[75] Chapter Four, pp.138-41.
[76] See Chapter Three.

within a wider legal framework that sought to apply capital punishment to Paulicians because they were Manichaeans and, hence, dualists. All indications suggest that this concern, which was the preserve of the secular arm, conditions the doctrinal allegations made by our texts, thereby suggesting that their claims of dualism are spurious.

In any event, despite their importance, Ludwig's studies have not been heeded by later scholarship. The subsequent work of Bernard Hamilton and Yuri Stoyanov has retained dualist interpretations, maintaining the filiation from Paulicians through Bogomils to Cathars posited by Runciman and Obolensky.[77] Ludwig's analysis has also not been heeded by works concerned with the East Roman Empire.[78] All this suggests that scholarship on Paulicians has escaped the attention of scholars in related fields. As a result, Paulicians are routinely identified as adoptionists or dualists, despite Ludwig's argument that they venerated the apostle Paul. Moreover, Garsoïan's valid criticisms of the sources' reliability are rarely acknowledged.[79] The *History of the Paulicians*, which is conventionally understood as the most reliable source, is a forgery which distorts its sources and fabricates individuals and events. The following study will reinterpret Paulician activity by expanding on the important contributions of Garsoïan and Ludwig.

Methodology

My aims in this thesis are centred on the interaction between heresy and orthodoxy. These aims differ from prior historiography on Paulicians, which has been confined to three main questions: firstly, what Paulicians believed and whom these beliefs influenced; secondly, whence they took their name; and thirdly, how the Greek sources which describe the movement during its apogee in East Roman territories relate to one another. I will engage with all of these questions in the present thesis, but will place more emphasis on understanding Paulicians as a socio-

[77] B. Hamilton (ed.), Hugo Eteriano, *Contra Patarenos*, pp.1-102; Y. Stoyanov, *The Other God: Dualist Religions from Antiquity to the Cathar Heresy* (New Haven/London, 2000).
[78] See L. Brubaker and J.F. Haldon, *Byzantium in the Iconoclast Era, c. 680-85: the Sources* (Aldershot, 2001), pp.271-2; Signes, *Emperor Theophilos*, pp.49-51.
[79] For Hamilton's appraisal of Garsoïan's work see *CDH*, p.8, n.27. Stoyanov cites Garsoïan on several occasions, but he does not address the reliability of the sources. See Stoyanov, *Other God*, pp.126-7; 368-9.

religious phenomenon. This approach is largely positioned in contradiction to the traditional lines of inquiry described above. Earlier scholars have respectively emphasised the precedence of the Greek or Armenian sources, claimed that Paulicians held dualist or adoptionist beliefs, or argued as to which text of the Greek polemical tradition is the oldest extant variant. As I have suggested, the focus on these matters has precluded more innovative approaches.

The methodological perspective adopted here is also influenced by innovations in heresy studies during the last few decades. These approaches are evident in studies of western medieval heresy, which have focused on the importance of social context in explaining heresy; in depth analyses of sources; the established church and its role in identifying, combatting and moulding heresy; and finally, attempts to locate heresy within broader patterns of deviance and persecution.[80] Likewise, innovative approaches have been developed through studies of theological controversies and heresies throughout the lifetime of the Roman Empire, including studies of the importance of rhetoric during early Christological controversies; the retroactive construction of the first iconoclasm during the late eighth century and the second iconomachy in the tenth; and the transposition of twelfth-century arguments onto ninth-century doctrinal controversies between Latins and Greeks.[81] Yet the associated methodological developments have not been applied to the study of Paulicians. For East Roman specialists, it appears that Paulicians are less interesting than other religious phenomena, such as the well-documented theological controversies which occur throughout the empire's history.[82] These controversies often traverse the fault lines of East Roman religion, such as emperor versus

[80] The classic studies of Lerner and Moore adopt a religio-political contextualisation of heresy. See R.E. Lerner, *The Heresy of the Free Spirit in the Later Middle Ages* (Berkeley, 1972); R.I. Moore, *The Origins of European Dissent* (London, 1977). For the difficulties associated with heresiological sources see Biller, 'Through a Glass Darkly', pp.308-26. For reflections on the relationship between heresy, texts and discourses see P. Biller and C. Bruschi (eds.), *Texts and the Repression of Medieval Heresy* (Woodbridge, 2003). For the dangers of an intellectualist approach see M.G. Pegg, 'Albigenses in the Antipodes: an Australian and the Cathars', *Journal of Religious History* 35:4 (2011), pp.577-600. Finally, for an overview of heresy within the wider phenomenon of persecution see R.I. Moore, *The Formation of a Persecuting Society: Authority and Deviance in Western Europe, 950-1250*, 2nd ed. (Oxford, 2007).

[81] See S. Wessel, 'Literary Forgery and the Monothelete Controversy: Some Scrupulous Uses of Deception', *GRBS* 42:2 (2001), pp.201-220; Brubaker and Haldon, *Byzantium: a History*; T.M. Kolbaba, *Inventing Latin Heretics: Byzantines and the Filioque in the Ninth Century* (Kalamazoo, 2008).

[82] See the lack of references to Paulicians in Brubaker and Haldon, *Byzantium: a History*.

patriarch, centre versus periphery, and, in later periods, Greek East versus Latin West.[83] It is easy to see why they have formed a lodestone of interest.

By contrast, references to Paulicians in studies of western medieval heresy are few, since the traditional Paulician-Bogomil-Cathar filiation has come to be challenged.[84] This lack of interest is predominantly dictated by the insistence of contemporary heresy studies with studying heresy in its social context, with a corresponding distrust of doctrinal relationships between groups. Studies exemplifying social approaches have considered dualist interpretations inadmissible and have thereby marginalised these approaches without undermining the arguments which underpin them.[85] In the case of heresy in the high medieval west, these criticisms have led upholders of dualist interpretations to refine their terminology and contextualise their doctrinal arguments.[86] However, since these criticisms have not been addressed to scholars concerned with Paulicians and Bogomils, teleological dualist, Marxist or nationalist interpretations have yet to be critiqued. Although little has been written in this regard recently, these viewpoints remain current because interest in Paulicians has remained bound within broader religious or nationalist metanarratives.[87]

As noted above, this thesis focuses on the interaction between heresies and orthodoxies, in this case between Paulicians and the East Roman Empire. This leads to the most contentious decision I have made in this study, namely to refrain from studying the Armenian sources and instead to concentrate on the Greek sources.[88] This is necessarily controversial because I have argued that disputes between these historiographical schools have stunted methodological innovation. However, I am

[83] Dualist heresy receives most attention when it encounters the imperial power, as in Alexios I's trial of the Bogomil Basil. For this, see pp.21-2, n.40 above.
[84] Of the two, the Bogomil-Cathar link has received most attention. It was disclaimed, most notably in M.G. Pegg, *A Most Holy War: the Albigensian Crusade and the Battle for Christendom* (Oxford/New York, 2008), pp.167-71; 187; M.G. Pegg, 'Albigenses in the Antipodes: an Australian and the Cathars', *Journal of Religious History* 35:4 (2011), pp.592-4; R.I. Moore, *The War on Heresy: Faith and Power in Medieval Europe* (London, 2012), pp.320-3. But recently, the link has come to be asserted once again. On this continuing debate, see the contributions in A.C. Sennis (ed.), *Cathars in Question* (Woodbridge, 2016).
[85] See Pegg, 'Albigenses in the Antipodes', pp.585-7; Moore, *War on Heresy*, pp.322-3; 332-6.
[86] J. Arnold, *Inquisition and Power: Catharism and the Confessing Subject in the Medieval Languedoc* (Philadelphia, 2001); C. Taylor, *Heresy, Crusade and Inquisition in Medieval Quercy* (Woodbridge, 2011), pp.1-17.
[87] For recent dualist interpretations see Stoyanov, *The Other God*; Hamilton, 'Introduction', pp.1-102.
[88] For the Armenian sources see Garsoïan, *Paulician Heresy*, pp.80-111.

concerned with the relationship between Paulicians and East Romans between 780 and 880 and the Armenian sources are uninformative about this subject and period. As such, they do not require consultation here. Notably, modern studies of Armenian Paulicians have marginalised the few contemporary Armenian sources and subordinated these to the late and problematic *Key of Truth*.[89] To my knowledge, this scholarship has always interpreted Paulicians as a continuation of indigenous traditions of Armenian Christianity which pre-dated the influence of Greek Christianity, rather than the more logical hypothesis that it developed from strands of Miaphysitism which were espoused within Armenia following the final rejection of the Council of Chalcedon in the sixth century.[90] In the works of Ter Mkrttschian, Conybeare and arguably also Garsoïan, this position arises from a tendency to emphasise the antiquity of Armenian Christian traditions as a means to uphold modern understandings of Armenian national identity. Since the study of Paulicians has been subordinated to these concerns, early Armenian sources describing Paulicians have rarely been studied on their own merits.

In a more fundamental sense, I believe that the Greek and Armenian sources should not be reconciled. If we accept that the understanding of a heresy by a corresponding orthodoxy is conditioned by the anxieties of that orthodoxy and the rules which govern the composition of its texts, then we would expect the same heresy to be unrecognisable in Armenian sources (where the most contentious religious groups are Zoroastrians, so-called Nestorians and later, Chalcedonians and Julianists) and Greek writings (where Arians and Manichaeans are the traditional

[89] See also K. Haleblian, 'Heresy and Orthodoxy in the Armenian Church', *Exchange* 31:1 (2002), pp.67-8. The most notable contemporary Armenian heresiological source concerning Paulicians is the *Contra Paulicianos* of Yovhannēs Ōjnec'i (John of Ojun), Kat'ołikos of Armenia from 717 to 728. For this source, with Latin translation see 'Contra Paulicianos', in J.B. Aucher (ed.), *Domini Johannis philosophi Ozniensis Armeniorum Catholici opera* (Venice, 1834), pp.78-107. Conybeare offers only a short appraisal of the *Contra Paulicianos*, while Garsoïan employs it only twice in passing during her analysis of Paulician belief. See Conybeare (ed.), *Key of Truth*, pp.lvii-lix; Garsoïan, *Paulician Heresy*, pp.165; 203. Regarding the heresy more generally, Garsoïan herself has recently considered Paulicians a phenomenon largely confined to the eastern provinces of the empire. See N.G. Garsoïan, *Interregnum: Introduction to a Study on the Formation of Armenian Identity (ca 600-750)* (Leuven, 2012), pp.66-7. See also Chapter Six, pp.172-3.

[90] For the Armenian Church and its relationship with Chalcedonianism see N.G. Garsoïan, *L'Église arménienne et le grand schisme d'Orient* (Leuven, 1999). For a non-exhaustive overview of Armenian heresies see Haleblian, 'Heresy and Orthodoxy', pp.65-74, who does not address heretical strands of Miaphysitism, such as Julianism or Theopaschitism. For Julianism see A. Kofsky, 'Julianism after Julian of Halicarnassus', in B. Bitton-Ashkelony and L. Perrone (eds.), *Between Personal and Institutional Religion: Self, Doctrine and Practice in Late Antique Eastern Christianity* (Turnhout, 2013), esp. pp.258-62; 271-8. For Theopaschitism see W.H.C. Frend, *The Rise of the Monophysite Movement* (London, 1972), pp.244-6.

bêtes noires).[91] And indeed, this turns out to be the case. The most sustained attempt to reconcile the Greek and Armenian traditions was made by Garsoïan, who characterised heretics within the empire as dualists and those in Armenia as adoptionists.[92] A true portrayal of Paulician religiosity can only be attained through an analysis of Paulician sources (which are preserved only in Greek), such as that which Ludwig undertook – and even the findings associated with this cannot be expanded beyond these sources' immediate context. For this reason, analysis of the Armenian sources is not appropriate in the context of this thesis, although these sources would make a fascinating object of study in their own right.

This thesis is informed by two methodological approaches which merit further attention. Firstly, in my approach to source analysis I will pay especial emphasis to the manner in which sources were read by contemporaries. This is possible due to the close relationship of the Greek sources concerning Paulicians. As a result of this approach, I have paid particular attention to the symbolic language (especially numerical and onomastic) of these sources, as authors contemporary with these sources did. In doing so, I have interpreted these heresiological sources as literary works, as Averil Cameron advocates.[93] This is in contrast to prior scholarship, which has employed these sources as repositories of historical events. In Chapter Three, I have used this symbolic approach in order to examine how Peter of Sicily employed the *Didaskalie*, while in Chapter Four I have employed it to examine the aims of the Paulicians who authored this text. The logical culmination of this approach is an analysis of why the *History* and *Contra Manichaeos* were forged in the tenth century and their importance in that context. This study cannot be included in the present thesis for spatial reasons, but will be undertaken in future research.

Secondly, I will conceive of collective identities as malleable, contingent entities which evolve through interaction with other actors. This approach is inspired

[91] For Armenian sources identifying Paulicians with Zoroastrian and Nestorian tendencies see Garsoïan, *Paulician Heresy*, pp.85-95.
[92] Garsoïan, *Paulician Heresy*, pp.26; 231-3. Sources implying Zoroastrian, Nestorian, or other influences on Armenian Paulicians have been subordinated to the *Key of Truth* and the adoptionist religiosity that it suggests. For examples of this, see Garsoïan, *Paulician Heresy*, pp.85-95.
[93] See, for instance, her reading of Epiphanios' *Panarion*. Cameron, 'How to Read', pp.475-6.

by recent anthropological literature.[94] As such, I have posited mechanisms by which Paulician and Roman identities could interact and consequently develop, as well as identifying where these identities could overlap. I have done so by arguing that different sources labelled actors as Paulician for different ends. Where possible, I have recounted how Romans and Paulicians interacted in practice, which often differs markedly from the relationship implied by religious texts. I will thus argue that there was a gap between theory and practice.[95] Hence, our extant discourses concerning Roman-Paulician interaction are not necessarily representative of actual relations. As noted above, this methodology has led me to argue for discontinuity between the 'religious' and 'militaristic' phases of Paulician activity. In a broader sense, the conclusions reached here regarding Paulician identity and religiosity cannot necessarily be applied to other time periods. Even within the temporal confines of this thesis, it is difficult to posit continuity in aspects of Paulician belief and behaviour due to the limitations of our sources.

The Paulicians: A Historical Overview

Since the last historical works devoted to Paulicians were published decades ago, it is worth giving an overview of the established consensus here, particularly since the present thesis necessitates a revision of the narrative offered below.[96] Although this thesis will not attempt to substitute a rival narrative, it will investigate the periods of most intense conflict between Romans and Paulicians. The following account provides a useful overview for the reader because the narrative framework of Paulician history has undergone little revision in the course of prior scholarship. In its essentials, the account of Paulician history in the study of Gieseler in 1829 corresponds with that of Lemerle in 1973. Indeed, the differences in their chronology are inconsequential.[97] This consensus is primarily dictated by the influence of the

[94] See p.17, n.18. For the applicability of such approaches to our context see also Chapter Six, p.191, n.123.
[95] See also Cameron, 'How to Read', p.483; A. Cameron, 'Byzantium and the Limits of Orthodoxy', *Proceedings of the British Academy* 154 (2008), p.132.
[96] Those scholars who emphasise the Armenian character of Paulicians adopt a narrative extending from Late Antiquity, but this extends beyond the scope of this thesis and will not be considered here. For such approaches see Ter Mkrttschian, *Die Paulikianer*, pp.39-82; Garsoïan, *Paulician Heresy*, pp.130-9; 145-50.
[97] See for instance Gieseler, 'Untersuchen', p.101; Lemerle, 'L'histoire', p.84.

History of the Paulicians (and indirectly the *Didaskalie*), which has formed the basis of all these accounts and consequently will form the core of this overview. For ease of reference, all dates attributed to Paulician *didaskaloi* in the following reconstruction are derived from Lemerle's study.[98]

Although the *History* states that Paulicians derived their belief from Mani through the intermediary of Paul of Samosata, scholarship of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries has almost unanimously rejected the connection between these individuals and Paulicians. According to the *Didaskalie*, the first Paulician *didaskalos* (teacher) was Constantine-Silvanos (*c*.655-82), who was active during the reigns of Constans II (641-68) and/or Constantine IV (668-85).[99] He was named Constantine at birth, but changed this to Silvanos upon the advent of his teaching career, naming himself after the disciple of Paul who appears in *Acts* and the Pauline epistles.[100] His successors would rename themselves in the same way. According to our sources, Constantine taught orally, deriving his teaching from the Gospels and *Acts*, although Paulicians also employed the Pauline letters and perhaps other scriptural texts.[101] Constantine established his community at Kibossa in north-eastern Asia Minor, although he was originally based at Mananalis, which lay in western Armenia, an area which had recently been incorporated within the Umayyad sphere of influence. This geographical context, which saw Paulicians based in the eastern provinces/themata of East Roman Asia Minor, or in the frontier regions between empire and caliphate, was to characterise them throughout our period, although there are also indications that there were Paulicians in Constantinople and western Asia Minor in the early ninth century.[102]

From the outset, the *History* (and therefore the *Didaskalie*) states that Paulicians were persecuted in Asia Minor, but this receives no corroboration from other East Roman sources. Both Constantine and his successor Symeon-Titus (*c*.685-8), who was originally an imperial official, were martyred during East Roman

[98] See Lemerle, 'L'histoire', pp.40-113.
[99] For this chronological difficulty see Lemerle, 'L'histoire', pp.56-61.
[100] *Acts*, 18.5; *2 Cor*., 1.19; *1 Thes*., 1.1.
[101] Peter Sic., 44, pp.22-3 (*CDH*, p.73). For further observations on the Paulician canon see Chapter Four, pp.138-9; Lemerle, 'L'histoire', pp.130-2.
[102] Theoph., p.488, l.22-5 (Mango and Scott, p.671); Theod. Stoud., *Epistulae*, Ep.455, vol.2, pp.644-5 (*CDH*, p.61). For the terminology of 'provinces' and 'themata', see p.12. See also Brubaker and Haldon, *Byzantium: a History*, pp.744-55.

inquiries into Paulician activity. An obscure period follows, during which the *History* states that the Paulicians were led by Paul the Armenian. Yet Paul was not a *didaskalos* and Symeon's successor was Paul's son Gegnesios-Timothy (718-48). After quarrelling with his brother Theodore, Gegnesios was summoned to Constantinople by the iconoclast Emperor Leo III and was subsequently found to be orthodox by the Patriarch of Constantinople.[103] This interview is conventionally interpreted as corroborating the hypothesis that Paulicians espoused iconoclasm, or formed a de-facto alliance with iconoclast emperors.[104] However, this alliance is problematic, as we will see. It is poorly supported by the *History*'s account, which states that Gegnesios fled from the empire to Mananalis after his patriarchal interview and remained there for the rest of his life.[105] Gegnesios's successor Joseph-Epaphroditos (748-778) subsequently returned to East Roman territory. This flight is conventionally explained by the oppressive tax system which had recently been enacted in Islamic Armenia.[106]

At turn of the ninth century, the Paulicians were led by the *didaskalos* Sergios-Tychikos (800/1-34/5), who is usually recognised as their most successful leader. Sergios' success has sometimes been explained by amenable conditions during the reign of the Emperor Nikephoros I (802-11), who, according to the *Chronographia*, favoured Paulicians and Athinganoi.[107] Nikephoros' successor Michael I (811-13) persecuted Paulicians and although some of his advisors, in particular Theodore the Stoudite, persuaded him to curtail these, they were reintroduced under his successor Leo V (813-20).[108] Both Nikephoros and Michael had suffered humiliating military defeats at the hands of the Bulgars, with the former losing his life at Pliska in 811. After the death of the Bulgar Khan Krum, Leo managed to stabilise the situation in the Balkans. He subsequently inaugurated the second iconoclasm (815-43). This change in policy was dictated by the military disasters suffered by iconodule rulers, which demonstrated to Leo that icon

[103] For a discussion of Leo III's iconoclasm and the possibility that this may never have been officially instituted see Brubaker and Haldon, *Byzantium: a History*, pp.69-155.
[104] See Garsoïan, 'Byzantine Heresy', pp.97-105; Barnard, 'Paulicians and Iconoclasm', pp.75-82.
[105] *History*, 121, pp.48-9 (*CDH*, p.81).
[106] Loos, 'Le mouvement', p.265.
[107] Theoph., p.488, l.22-5 (Mango and Scott, p.671); For Nikephoros and these heretics see Barnard, 'Paulicians and Iconoclasm', pp.78-9; Lemerle, 'L'histoire', p.80.
[108] Theoph., pp.494-5, l.33-l.15 (Mango and Scott, p.678).

veneration was not favoured by God.[109] Leo's initiatives against Paulicians would continue under his successors Michael II (820-9) and Theophilos (829-42), although persecution was localised, infrequent and uncoordinated.

In any event, shortly after Michael's and Leo's persecutions, militaristic Paulicians took reprisals against the Roman authorities responsible (primarily in the Armeniakon thema, where these persecutions were principally directed) and – according to the erroneous account of the *History* – fled the empire, seeking the protection of the Emir of Malaṭiya, 'Amr al-Aqṭa'. Allying with him, they supposedly established themselves at Argaous and later Tephrikē, whence they raided the empire.[110] Sergios also fled to this area and remained there until his death in 834/5. At this point the Paulicians ceased to have a *didaskalos* and their religious leadership fell to Sergios' disciples: the *sunekdemoi*.[111] Irrespective of this, the end of the second iconoclasm brought about a further deterioration of fortune for Paulicians within the empire, as Theodora, the wife of Theophilos and regent for her young son Michael III (842-67), restarted persecutions against them. This led Karbeas, a *protomandator* of the Anatolikon army – and more importantly a Paulician – to flee with many followers to 'Amr al-Aqṭa' at Malaṭiya.[112] The claim that there were two distinct flights to Malaṭiya is suspicious and will lead me to argue that the first flight (to which only the *History* refers) is ahistorical. As in the case of the purported earlier migration, Paulicians used this area as a base to raid East Roman territory, although this time their raids, in concert with 'Amr, are well-attested. It was during one of these raids that 'Amr was killed at the Battle of Poson in 863 and since Karbeas is attested as perishing in the same year, it is generally assumed that he died alongside him.[113] This did not blunt Paulician military power, since Karbeas' successor Chrysocheir bedevilled Michael III's successor Basil I (867-86), until Chrysocheir's death at the Battle of Bathyryax in 872.[114] This marked

[109] Brubaker and Haldon, *Byzantium: a History*, pp.366-72.
[110] Peter Sic., 175-8, pp.64-5 (*CDH*, p.90).
[111] Peter Sic., 182-3, pp.66-7 (*CDH*, p.91).
[112] Theoph. Cont., 4:16, pp.236-7.
[113] For 'Amr's death see: Theoph. Cont., 4:25, pp.254-61. For that of Karbeas see: Mas'ūdī, vol.8, p.75.
[114] Lemerle, 'L'histoire', pp.96-103.

the eclipse of the Paulicians as a military power, although Tephrikē was only conquered in 878.[115]

Despite their longstanding opposition, Paulicians and Romans could still be reconciled, since Diakonitzes, who fought alongside Chrysocheir at Bathyryax, is attested as leading a Paulician unit during Nikephoras Phokas' campaign in the thema of Langobardia during 885.[116] Aside from this reference, Paulicians drop from view during the late ninth and early tenth centuries. However, they become prominent again during the mid-tenth century, when hagiographical and epistolary sources mention them across Asia Minor and northern Syria. As we shall see, this period is when the majority of our heresiological and historical sources (including the *History of the Paulicians*, the *Contra Manichaeos*, Genesios' *Basileion* and *Theophanes Continuatus* I-IV), were composed.[117] Paulicians were still famed for their militarism, which resulted in John I Tzimiskes (969-76) relocating them from the environs of Antioch to the empire's restless northern border, where their martial characteristics could prove useful.[118] Here they remained as distinct communities during the crusades and even into the Ottoman period, when Mary Wortley Montagu described 'Paulines' at Phillipopolis who venerate the apostle Paul.[119]

Thesis Structure

This thesis addresses both the relationship between the Greek sources and the social dynamics which caused Paulicians to become regionally significant. The second of these aims is predicated on the first and departs from approaches which have been employed by prior historiography. In a corresponding way, the findings of the second part of the thesis are based on the sources analysed in the first part. Since this structure is complex and the material under discussion is relatively obscure, it is worthwhile to provide an overview here. Chapter Two re-evaluates the relationship

[115] Lemerle, 'L'histoire', pp.104-8.
[116] *V. Basilii*, 71, pp.244-5, l.16-8.
[117] For the historical sources, see A. Lesmüller-Werner and I. Thurn (eds.), *Iosephi Genesii regum libri quattuor* (Berlin/New York, 1978); J.M. Featherstone and J. Signes Codoñer (eds.), *Theophanis Continuati libri I-IV*, (Boston/Berlin, 2015).
[118] Zonaras, 17:1, vol.4, pp.92-3.
[119] See R. Halsband (ed.), *The Complete Letters of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu*, ed. by R. Halsband, vol. 1, (Oxford, 1965), p.319.

between the Greek polemical sources concerning Paulicians, arguing that the current consensus that the most important sources – Peter of Sicily's *History of the Paulicians* and the *Contra Manichaeos*, which is conventionally attributed to Photios – are authentic is fundamentally flawed. The chapter seeks to demonstrate that these sources are forged and in so doing posits a new interpretation of the relationship between these sources. Chapter Three examines Peter of Sicily's use of the most important material preserved within the *History*: an account of Paulician history which originally stemmed from Paulician sources. Its primary finding is that Peter's extensive reworking of the original Paulician sources undermines a historically based analysis of this Paulician material. As a result, Chapter Four analyses this Paulician material and argues that it was composed by partisans of Sergios in order to legitimate him. It will analyse the sin-based narrative of the *Didaskalie*, as well as Paulician understandings of the Holy Spirit and Old Testament.

The second part begins with Chapter Five, which repudiates the explanation that iconoclasm provided the foundations for Paulician successes via a critique of primary and secondary sources. Chapter Six offers a new explanation for the origins of Paulicians in Asia Minor based on Ludwig's observation that they revered the apostle Paul. It argues that early Paulician identities were formed as a consequence of complex labelling processes between various social groups in north-eastern Asia Minor and that their subsequent success was conditioned by interaction with Armenia and the appeal of its apostolic religiosity. Chapter Seven examines the convergence of Paulician identities in the wake of persecutions enacted against them by the East Roman Emperors Michael I and Leo V *c*.812-20. It then differentiates this period from the Paulician insurrection begun by the former *protomandator* Karbeas *c*.844, asserting that this represents a fundamentally different phenomenon, even if it is still labelled Paulician by East Roman authors. In its essentials, Part Two seeks to reinterpret Paulicians as a ninth-century phenomenon that became significant largely because of the persecutions enacted by the East Roman Empire.

Part One

Chapter Two: Source Analysis

Most scholarship about Paulicians within the East Roman Empire is predicated on several closely related Greek polemical sources. As we saw in Chapter One, the relationship between these sources has been contested since the late nineteenth century. As noted there, this thesis adopts a fundamentally different reconstruction of the polemical sources than the accepted consensus of Paul Lemerle. I will argue that Peter of Sicily's *History of the Paulicians*, previously believed to be the earliest source concerning the heresy, and the *Contra Manichaeos* (though not its accompanying sermons), traditionally attributed to the Patriarch Photios, are tenth-century forgeries.[1] By contrast, the earliest extant source concerning Paulicians is the previously marginalised *Treatise*, which is conventionally attributed to Peter the Higoumen, but was originally an anonymous work. This interpretation is similar to that of Garsoïan.[2]

Since Lemerle's interpretation has formed the basis of scholarship for forty years, we will take it as our starting point. He took these sources at face value, dating the *History* and the *Contra Manichaeos* according to internal evidence within these texts. His reconstruction is as follows. Peter wrote the *History* after a diplomatic mission to Tephrikē in 869/70. It should be dated to 870, rather than 872 as his predecessors argued.[3] The *Treatise* was a revised version of the *History* authored by Peter of Sicily because the latter text was too lengthy to be of practical use in the conflict with Paulicians. This revision occurred in 871/2.[4] The *Contra Manichaeos*, which employs both of the above works and was attributed by Lemerle to Photios, was written soon afterward, also in 871/2. The lack of reference to the death of

[1] An intention to deceive is usually a prerequisite of identifying a work as a forgery. See further W. Speyer, *Die literarische Fälschung im heidnischen und christlichen Altertum* (Munich, 1971), pp.5-15.
[2] N.G. Garsoïan, *The Paulician Heresy* (Paris/The Hague, 1967), pp.27-79. See also K. Ter Mkrttschian, *Die Paulikianer im byzantinischen Kaiserreiche und verwandte ketzerische Erscheinungen in Armenien* (Leipzig, 1893), pp.1-28.
[3] P. Lemerle, 'L'histoire des Pauliciens d'Asie Mineure d'après les sources grecques', *TM* 5 (1973), pp.18-9; 24-6. This interpretation arises from his reading of the dating formula: "the second year of the rule of Basil, Constantine and Leo, our pious, just and great emperors", which he believes originally referred to the rule of Basil and Constantine (who assumed the throne in 867/8), but not Leo (who was elevated to emperor in 870). The original date of 872 represents a problem for his reconstruction, since this is when he believes that the *Contra Manichaeos* was composed. See also pp.45-6 below; Peter Sic., 187, pp.66-7 (*CDH*, p.92).
[4] Lemerle, 'L'histoire', p.29.

Chrysocheir in the *Contra Manichaeos* necessitates this *terminus post quem*.[5] For Lemerle, Photios' work adds little worthwhile material to the *History*'s account.

Lemerle was aware that his reconstruction presented serious chronological difficulties.[6] He assumed that four texts referring to Paulicians were composed within just three years. Thus, the *History* was written, then abbreviated by Peter himself and subsequently plagiarised by the exiled Photios. The *Treatise* was then interpolated into the *Chronicon* of George the Monk. In order to substantiate this reconstruction, Lemerle was forced to dispense with the previously accepted dating of the *Chronicon* (which at this time was 866-7), for which he did not offer a justification.[7] In doing so, he employed the second recension of the *Chronicon*, which contains the *Treatise*. However, Dmitry Afinogenov's recent reappraisal of the *Chronicon* convincingly proposes an earlier date of *c*.846-7 for the first recension – which also contains the *Treatise* – while questioning Lemerle's attribution of the *Treatise* to Peter of Sicily.[8] Lemerle's reconstruction also necessitated the refutation of a *terminus post quem* which demonstrated that the *Contra Manichaeos* was a forgery and, finally, dissented from the previously assumed dating of the *Treatise*.[9]

Before Lemerle's position came to be accepted, scholars had questioned the authenticity of these sources since the late nineteenth century, when Karapet Ter Mkrttschian argued that the *History* and parts of the *Contra Manichaeos* were Komnenian forgeries. Although he believed that the opening section of the *Contra Manichaeos*, which was paraphrased from the *Treatise*, was authored by Photios, he thought that the subsequent material was a Komnenian forgery, possibly authored by Euthymios Zigabenos.[10] Unlike later critics, he incorrectly believed that the *Contra*

[5] Lemerle, 'L'histoire', p.39.
[6] Lemerle, 'L'histoire', p.39.
[7] This *terminus ante quem* is derived from the *Chronicon*'s lack of reference to the death of Michael III. In his review of Grégoire's study 'Les sources de l'histoire des Pauliciens…' Lemerle notes that Grégoire's article necessitates that the accepted date of composition of the *Chronicon* must be revised. His own reconstruction also necessitates this redating. Lemerle, 'L'histoire', p.5. See also D. Afinogenov, 'The Date of Georgios Monachos Reconsidered', *BZ* 92 (1999), pp.437-8.
[8] D. Afinogenov, 'Le manuscrit grec *Coislin*. 305: la version primitive de la *Chronique* de Georges le Moine', *REB* 62:1 (2004), p.246. In this article, he finds Lemerle's conclusions less doubtful than in his earlier study. For this, see Afinogenov, 'The date of Georgios', pp.439-41.
[9] Garsoïan, following Friedrich, hypothesised a mid-eighth-century date for the *Treatise*. Garsoïan, *Paulician Heresy*, pp.53-4; J. Friedrich, 'Der ursprüngliche, bei Georgios Monachos nur theilweise erhaltene Bericht über die Paulikianer', *Sitzungsberichte der Philosophisch-Philologischen und Historischen Classe der K.B. Akademie der Wissenschaften zu München (Jahrgang 1896)* (1897), pp.82-3. See also the studies of Loos and Scheidweiler in p.44, n.20.
[10] Ter Mkrttschian, *Die Paulikianer*, pp.8-13.

Manichaeos predated the *History*.[11] As for the *History*, Ter Mkrttschian's suspicions were raised by its ignorance of the 870s, such as its lack of reference to the Paulician military threat. Moreover, it was addressed to the Archbishop of Bulgaria – an office that he believed did not exist at this time.[12] He thought that this text was also forged in the Komnenian period, since it was appropriate for an emperor who vigorously opposed heresy, which in his view must be Alexios I.[13] Ter Mkrttschian's conclusions on the Komnenian origins of the *History* were swiftly disproved, since the earliest extant manuscript predates this period.[14] His hypothesis that the *Contra Manichaeos* was forged has been received more favourably, although his scepticism has generally been extended to the entire work. For Ter Mkrttschian, the earliest extant polemical source was the *Treatise*, which he considered earlier than the variants of the text in George the Monk's *Chronicon*.[15]

His reconstruction was adopted by Johann Friedrich, who nevertheless thought that the *Treatise* post-dated a variant of the *Chronicon*.[16] Ter Mkrttschian's interpretation went unchallenged until the work of Henri Grégoire, who rehabilitated the *History* as the earliest and most reliable of these texts in the 1930s. In his opinion, the *Treatise* was an epitomisation of the *History* because the latter text was more accurate.[17] However, Grégoire agreed with Ter Mkrttschian's hypothesis that the *Contra Manichaeos* was forged. Importantly, Grégoire provided a *terminus post quem* of 932 (later redated to 934) for the composition of this work, due to an erroneous reference to Malaṭiya as a former Muslim city.[18] He also proved that the *Contra Manichaeos* was a paraphrase of the *History*, and was therefore the later of the two texts.[19]

Grégoire's rehabilitation of the *History* was generally accepted, but in the 1950s several studies were published which again maintained the precedence of the

[11] Ter Mkrttschian, *Die Paulikianer*, p.7.
[12] Ter Mkrttschian, *Die Paulikianer*, pp.13-28. The existence of an Archbishop of Bulgaria at this time is still contested. See pp.46-7, n.39 below.
[13] Ter Mkrttschian, *Die Paulikianer*, pp.18; 126-7.
[14] J. B Bury (ed.), 'Appendix 6. The Paulician Heresy', in E. Gibbon, *The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire,* vol. 6 (London, 1898), p.541.
[15] Ter Mkrttschian, *Die Paulikianer*, pp.2-4.
[16] Friedrich, 'Der ursprüngliche', pp.108-10. See Chapter One, p.21, n.37.
[17] H. Grégoire, 'Les sources de l'histoire des Pauliciens. Pierre de Sicile est authentique et 'Photius' un faux', *Académie Royale de Belgique, Bulletin Classe des Lettres, 5e série* 22 (1936), pp.101-6.
[18] For full discussion see pp.55-9 below.
[19] H. Grégoire, 'Autour des Pauliciens', *B* 11 (1936), p.613.

Treatise. Both Friedrich Scheidweiler and Milan Loos argued that the *Treatise* was written prior to the *History* and was employed by Peter of Sicily in his composition of the latter source, which was however a genuine ninth-century text.[20] Likewise, both scholars argued that Grégoire's *terminus post quem* for the *Contra Manichaeos* was inadmissible. Loos accounted for this by hypothesising that a marginal note had become incorporated within the text, while Scheidweiler thought that the text was merely corrupt.[21] Subsequently, Nina Garsoïan agreed with Scheidweiler and Loos in arguing that the *Treatise* was the earliest extant text. She maintained that the *Contra Manichaeos* was a forgery, upholding Grégoire's *terminus post quem* against the above objections. Finally, she reformulated Ter Mkrttschian's hypothesis that the *History* was a forgery and suggested that this belonged to a similar date and context to the *Contra Manichaeos*, namely Constantine VII's reign.[22]

Shortly after Garsoïan's study, Lemerle's reconstruction rehabilitated both the *History* and *Contra Manichaeos* and argued that former was the earliest extant polemical text, while refuting Grégoire's *terminus post quem* for the *Contra Manichaeos*, following Loos in believing that this was originally a marginal note. Lemerle's interpretation has become the consensus, although later scholars have noted issues with the *History*, in particular its ignorance of Paulician history in the mid-ninth century.[23] In summation, the *History of the Paulicians* has been considered the earliest extant polemical work by Grégoire and Lemerle. By contrast, the *Treatise* has been considered the earliest text by Ter Mkrttschian, Scheidweiler, Loos and Garsoïan.[24] In the following reconstruction I will agree with the latter group of scholars in terms of the *Treatise*'*s* precedence, arguing that the *History* and *Contra Manichaeos* were forged during the sole rule of Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos (945-59).

[20] See F. Scheidweiler, 'Paulikianerprobleme', *BZ* 43 (1950), pp.21-9. M. Loos, 'Deux contributions à l'histoire des Pauliciens. I: a propos des sources grecques reflétant des Pauliciens', *BS* 17 (1956), p.36.
[21] See p.57, n.95 below.
[22] Garsoïan, *Paulician Heresy*, pp.68-78.
[23] P. Speck, 'Petros Sikeliotes, seine Historia und der Erzbischof von Bulgarien', *ELLHNIKA* 27 (1974), pp.381-7; L. Brubaker and J.F. Haldon, *Byzantium in the Iconoclast Era (c.680-850): the Sources* (Aldershot, 2001), pp.181-2.
[24] Ter Mkrttschian, *Die Paulikianer*, pp.1-4; Scheidweiler, 'Paulikianerprobleme', pp.10-29; Loos, 'Deux contributions I', pp.31-6; Garsoïan, *Paulician Heresy*, pp.43-54.

The Authenticity of the *History of the Paulicians*

I will begin by demonstrating the inauthenticity of the *History* because this is currently believed to be the earliest extant text and has been the most important in historiographical terms. The *History* survives in a single manuscript, the eleventh-century *Vaticanus gr.* 511, which lacks marginalia or an apparatus.[25] The manuscript is uninformative regarding the authenticity of the text.[26] The lack of corroborating witnesses presents an issue because an interpolation is evident. This is the preface of a letter to the Archbishop of Bulgaria in which Peter notes that he has sent his work to the archbishop in order to combat the spread of the heresy in Bulgaria.[27] This letter is subsumed within the *History* shortly after Peter has recounted another context for its composition. Here, Peter alleges that Basil I dispatched him to the Paulician settlement of Tephrikē in order to conduct a prisoner exchange. In the course of this mission, he gathered the information necessary to compose the *History*.[28] The eulogistic references to Basil imply that this emperor comprised his purported audience.[29] Thus, the *History* as now extant has two distinct audiences and reasons for its composition. I will concur with several other scholars in maintaining that the letter to the archbishop is a later addition.[30] By the interpretation posited here, the *History* did not originally refer to Bulgaria and this material was added as a result of the spread of a heresy erroneously identified as Paulician in the *Letter of Theophylaktos Lekapenos* to Emperor Peter I of Bulgaria (written 945-56).[31] Peter of Sicily is unattested elsewhere and there is therefore no possibility of using the contextual information provided by his other writings. Given our conclusions on the authenticity of the *History*, there is no evidence that a ninth-century personage of this name existed, or that Peter's mission ever occurred. The historicity of both must ultimately be rejected.

The *History* has numerous irregularities which suggest that the alleged contexts of its composition are specious. Peter dates his visit to Tephrikē, which he

[25] See *TM* 4, pp.3-6.
[26] I consulted this manuscript during a visit to the Vatican in March/April 2016. The manuscript is available online: https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Vat.gr.511.
[27] Peter Sic., 7-35, pp.10-19 (*CDH*, pp.67-72).
[28] Peter Sic., 4-5, pp.8-9 (*CDH*, p.67).
[29] See Peter Sic., 89-92, pp.38-41 (*CDH*, pp.75-6. Partial translation); 187, pp.66-7 (*CDH*, p.92).
[30] Speck, 'Petros Sikeliotes', pp.382-3. See also Scheidweiler, 'Paulikianerprobleme', pp.14-5.
[31] See pp.67-9.

presumably undertook before he wrote the text, in "the second year of the rule of Basil, Constantine and Leo, our pious, just and great emperors."[32] This date is inaccurate, since these emperors did not assume the throne together. Basil and his son Constantine were crowned in 867, but Basil's younger son Leo only became emperor in 870.[33] This dating formula led Ter Mkrttschian to suspect that the text was forged or corrupt.[34] A further textual problem is evident in the *History*'s title, which is certainly not original:[35]

> The same Peter of Sicily, a useful history, refutation and overthrow of the hollow and foolish heresy of the Manichaeans, who are also called Paulicians, dramatised as if to the Archbishop of Bulgaria (*προσωποποιηθεῖσα ὡς πρὸς τὸν ἀρχιεπίσκοπον Βουλγαρίας*).[36]

The problematic words in this title are *προσωποποιηθεῖσα ὡς πρὸς*. The verb *προσωποποιέω* is rare and derives from the noun *πρόσωπον*, which can have a range of meanings, including face, person, appearance or mask. It has been suggested that this word means 'addressed.'[37] This is not impossible in isolation, but improbable when followed by both *ὡς* and *πρὸς*, both of which could indicate a method of address individually, but not in conjunction with one another. Instead, it seems that *πρόσωπον* is used in the sense of 'mask' and the verb should therefore mean 'dramatise', or 'assume the character of', which is a more conventional use.[38] If this interpretation is accepted, the following *ὡς* could mean 'as if', thereby explaining the combination of *ὡς πρὸς* (ie. as if to). Hence, the extant title of the *History* shows that later Roman critics thought that the letter to the archbishop was suspicious. This is corroborated by the form of this letter, which is awkwardly inserted into the text after Peter has explained his imperial commission. Furthermore, we cannot definitively state that there was an Archbishop of Bulgaria at this time.[39] Some

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[32] Peter Sic., 187, pp.66-7 (*CDH*, p.92): …ἐν τῷ δευτέρῳ ἔτει τῆς βασιλείας Βασιλείου καὶ Κονσταντίνου καὶ Λέοντος, τῶν εὐσεβῶν καὶ δικαίων μεγάλων βασιλέων ἡμῶν.
[33] See Lemerle, 'L'histoire', p.19.
[34] Ter Mkrttschian, *Die Paulikianer*, pp.27-8.
[35] See also Ter Mkrttschian, *Die Paulikianer*, p.13; Speck, 'Petros Sikeliotes', p.383.
[36] *History*, pp.6-7 (*CDH*, untranslated): Τοῦ αὐτοῦ Πέτρου Σικελιώτου, ἱστορία χρειώδης ἔλεγχός τε καὶ ἀνατροπὴ τῆς κενῆς καὶ ματαίας αἱρέσως τῶν Μανιχαίων, τῶν καὶ Παυλικιάνων λεγομένων, προσωποποιηθεῖσα ὡς πρὸς τὸν ἀρχιεπίσκοπον Βουλγαρίας.
[37] For this translation, which Lemerle also adopts, see Peter Sic., p.6; Lemerle, 'L'histoire', p.18.
[38] See entry for προσωποποιέω in the *Thesaurus Linguae Grecae*. http://stephanus.tlg.uci.edu/.
[39] This objection was originally raised by Ter Mkrttschian, *Die Paulikianer*, p.14. Lemerle refers to a Greek epitaph found in Bulgaria, which in his view suggests that the East Roman Church was in the process of establishing Greek clergy in Bulgaria at this time. See Lemerle, 'L'histoire', pp.20-1. As he

scholars have used this title as evidence that the *History* was forged, but the relevant phrase only indicates that the address to the Archbishop of Bulgaria is questionable.[40]

The *History*'s opening paragraphs illustrate one of its most problematic aspects: the otherwise unattested Peter of Sicily. Peter claims to have been appointed by imperial command, but adds catechetical and polemical excursuses appropriate to a churchman.[41] In the *History*'*s* sermons, he refers to himself with unambiguously monastic characteristics, calling himself "a sinner and unworthy."[42] This contradiction is evident in the two compositional contexts noted above, which posit secular and ecclesiastical audiences. If Peter's characterisation is unconvincing, the same is true of his knowledge of the ninth century. The Paulician leader Chrysocheir, the empire's greatest military opponent in the early 870s, merits a single reference within the *History*, despite his career being at its apogee when Peter supposedly undertook his mission.[43] Instead of addressing the military threat that the Paulicians posed when he was allegedly writing, Peter remains preoccupied with their beliefs and long-dead *didaskaloi*. It is difficult to believe that a contemporary Roman official considered a *potential* threat from Paulician missionaries more important than the spoliation of the empire's eastern themata.[44] For Paul Speck, Peter's ignorance of contemporary politics suggested that he never travelled to Tephrikē, but, given these observations, our scepticism must go further.[45]

Although many scholars have noted the *History*'s shortcomings, none have yet formulated a *terminus post quem*. I will now seek to do so, arguing that Peter had access to the compilation now known as *Theophanes Continuatus*, and more specifically books I-IV of this collection. These books were written during the sole reign of Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos (945-59).[46] I will show that Peter based his account of the persecutions of Paulicians by Michael I (811-13) and Leo V (813-

notes, the *Vita Basilii* states that Basil appointed an archbishop for Bulgaria, but this cannot be securely dated. *V. Basilii*, 96, pp.310-3.
[40] Ter Mkrttschian made the former argument, while Scheidweiler made the latter. See Ter Mkrttschian, *Die Paulikianer*, pp.13-4; Scheidweiler, 'Paulikianerprobleme', pp.14-5.
[41] Peter Sic., 187, pp.66-7 (*CDH*, p.92).
[42] Peter Sic., *Sermones*, col.1305-6: ἐγὼ ὁ ἁμαρτολὸς καὶ ἀνάξιος.
[43] An instructive comparison is with Genesios, 4:34-7, pp.85-8 (Kaldellis, pp.106-110).
[44] See also Ter Mkrttschian, *Die Paulikianer*, pp.14-5; Garsoïan, *Paulician Heresy*, pp.72-3.
[45] Speck, 'Petros Sikeliotes', pp.384-5.
[46] Featherstone and Signes Codoñer (eds.), Theoph. Cont., pp.8*-9*.

20) on the account of Theodora's persecutions described in *Theophanes Continuatus* IV. Since the *Contra Manichaeos* was employed by the *Letter of Theophylaktos Lekapenos*, which must pre-date 956, when Theophylaktos died, it follows that the *History* and the *Contra Manichaeos* were written between 945 and 956.

Before engaging with the dependency of the *History* on *Theophanes Continuatus* I-IV, it is necessary to contextualise the latter source in order to determine whether Peter could have instead had access to one of its sources. The compilation now termed *Theophanes Continuatus* is preserved in a single manuscript of the early eleventh century and comprises three originally independent texts, which were compiled into their present form *c*.1000.[47] *Theophanes Continuatus* I-IV describes the reigns of the emperors from Leo V to Michael III and takes a biographical approach which is also evident in Genesios' *Basileion*, a near contemporary history. The second text is the *Vita Basilii*, a eulogistic biography of the Emperor Basil I ostensibly written by Constantine VII himself, but actually by a ghost writer.[48] Finally, *Theophanes Continuatus* VI is a stylistically simpler chronicle spanning the period 886 to 961 – that is, the reigns of Leo VI to Romanos II.[49] Since these latter texts do not cover our period, their sources are not of interest, but the relationship between *Theophanes Continuatus* I-IV and the *Vita Basilii* is important due to the prominence of Basil I in the *History*. These two sources were originally conceived as separate compositions and although it is probable that the *Vita Basilii* was composed first, this cannot be proven.[50] *Theophanes Continuatus* I-IV refers to the *Vita Basilii* in its prologue, thereby demonstrating that the latter had already been completed, or had at least been conceived as a future project.[51] Peter of Sicily therefore potentially had access to the *Vita Basilii*, but even if he did not, he

[47] Ševčenko (ed.), *V. Basilii*, pp.3*-4*.
[48] Ševčenko (ed.), *V. Basilii*, p.13*.
[49] For the form of this work see Featherstone and Signes Codoñer (eds.), Theoph. Cont., pp.16*-17*. For the difference in genre between East Roman chronicles and histories see M. Angold and M. Whitby, 'Historiography', in E. Jeffreys, J.F. Haldon and R. Cormack (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Byzantine Studies* (Oxford, 2008), pp.840-3.
[50] Treadgold believes that the *Vita Basilii* predated both Genesios and *Theophanes Continuatus* I-IV. Ševčenko concurs with this view, while observing several difficulties which preclude a definitive conclusion. See W. Treadgold, *The Middle Byzantine Historians* (Basingstoke, 2013), p.165; Ševčenko (ed.), *V. Basilii*, p.8*-10*.
[51] Featherstone and Signes Codoñer (eds.), Theoph. Cont., p.4*.

was evidently aware of the high esteem in which Basil I was held at Constantine's court.

Theophanes Continuatus I-IV is closely related to Genesios' *Basileion*, which was also written during the reign of Constantine VII.[52] There is now an overwhelming consensus that the *Basileion* is the earlier text, with Anthony Kaldellis, Athanasios Markopoulos and Warren Treadgold all espousing this view.[53] The close similarity between these two histories has long suggested the use of a common source. Although older scholarship posited that one source derived its information from the other, this does not do justice to the complexity of both works. The form that this common source took is disputed.[54] Jakov Ljubarskij believed that it resembled both excerpta and a chronicle, since it gives indications of being compiled from separate sources, but still contains a narrative element. He thought that it resembled the *Chronicon* of George Synkellos, which formed the basis for Theophanes' *Chronographia*.[55] By contrast, Juan Signes Codoñer argued that the source was comprised of excerpta and that Constantine VII had some role in collating this.[56] This debate is relevant here, since it is possible that Peter of Sicily consulted this source instead of *Theophanes Continuatus* I-IV. However, this is unlikely because there is no reference to Theodora's persecution in Genesios' *Basileion* and therefore this episode was not necessarily in the common source. More notably, Peter does not relate Theodora's persecutions in the *History*, thereby suggesting that he was attempting to conceal his dependence upon a well-known source, which must surely be *Theophanes Continuatus* I-IV. Hence, it is most likely that he consulted this work directly.[57] Even if he consulted the common source

[52] For the attribution of the *Basileion* to Genesios, see Featherstone and Signes Codoñer (eds.), Theoph. Cont., p.15*.
[53] Kaldellis (ed.), Genesios, pp.x-xi; A. Markopoulos, 'Genesios: a Study', in S. Kotzabassi and G. Mavromatis (eds.), *Byzantinisches Archiv: Realia Byzantina* (Berlin/New York 2009), p.140; Treadgold, *Middle Byzantine Historians*, p.180.
[54] This common source was first posited in H. Grégoire, 'Michel III et Basile le Macédonien dans les inscriptions d'Ancyre', *B* 5 (1929-30), p.346.
[55] J.N. Ljubarskij, 'Theophanes Continuatus und Genesios: das Problem einer gemeinsamen Quelle', *BS* 48 (1987), pp.12-27.
[56] J. Signes Codoñer, 'Constantino Porfirogéneto y la fuente común de Genesio y Theophanes Continuatus I-IV', *BZ* 86/7 (1993/4), pp.324-31; 333-4. See also Markopoulos, 'Genesios: a Study', pp.145-7.
[57] Peter Sic., 184, pp.66-7 (*CDH*, p.91).

instead, since this source likely dates to Constantine's reign, it does not alter our conclusions appreciably.

The *History* and the Persecutions of Theodora

As already hypothesised, I believe that the account of Michael I's and Leo V's persecutions in the *History* is based on *Theophanes Continuatus* I-IV's account of Theodora's persecutions. In both accounts the relevant persecutions cause Paulicians to flee the empire and settle in Argaous, having come to an agreement with the Emir of Malaṭiya (Melitene), who is variously referred to as Amer or Monocherares. Scholars have identified both names with 'Amr ibn 'Ubaydallāh ibn Marwān al-Aqṭa' al-Sulamī, or avoided the issue of identification entirely.[58] As we will see, it seems that these names refer to different individuals. Besides this, textual similarities suggest that one of our two sources is derived from the other. Despite this, the chronology and actors referred to in each case are different. The majority of individuals in the *History*, such as Parakondakes and Thomas the Metropolitan, are unattested elsewhere. As we will see in the following chapter, Peter of Sicily invented the former personage and this is probably also true of the latter.[59] Ironically, the passage which reveals that the *History* was forged is identical to that which Grégoire used to demonstrate that the *Contra Manichaeos* is a forgery. The relevant extracts are as follows:

Theophanes Continuatus I-IV*:*

> When he [Karbeas] heard that his own father had been hung on the furca he considered this the most terrible of things and, taking thought for his own life, he fled as a refugee together with another five thousand adherents of this heresy to *Amer who then occupied Melitene* (*πρὸς τὸν τὴν Μελιτηνὴν τηνικαῦτα*

[58] For 'Amr's name, see M. Canard, 'Les principaux personnages du roman chevalerie arabe Ḏāt al-Himma wa-l-baṭṭāl', *Arabica* 8:2 (1961), p.170. Most scholars of Paulicians have avoided identifying the emir(s) in question. See Loos, 'Le mouvement', pp.277-8; 282; L.W. Barnard, 'The Paulicians and Iconoclasm', in A. Bryer and J. Herrin (eds.), *Iconoclasm: Papers Given at the Ninth Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies, University of Birmingham, March 1975* (Birmingham, 1977), pp.80-1; C. Ludwig, 'The Paulicians and Ninth-Century Byzantine Thought', in L. Brubaker (ed.), *Byzantium in the Ninth Century: Dead or Alive?* (Aldershot, 1998), p.25. Only Lemerle has addressed the difficulties pertaining to the name. Lemerle, 'L'histoire', p.73, n.64.

[59] See Chapter Three, pp.84-5.

κατέχοντα Ἄμερα γίνεται), and from there they went to the caliph and were received with great honour.[60]

History of the Paulicians:

> But later some of the students of Sergios, the so-called *Astatoi*, slaughtered the *exarch* [Parakondakes] by means of cunning and trickery and the *Kynochoritae* likewise slew Thomas the Metropolitan. Thus, the *Astatoi* fled to Melitene. *The emir Monocherares then ruled the Saracens living there* (*Ἀμηρᾶς δὲ τότε τῶν ἐκεῖσε ὄντων Σαρακηνῶν ὑπῆρχεν ὁ Μονοχεράρης*). Taking Argaous from him, the *Astatoi* settled there, and having assembled from all parts they began to plunder Romania.[61]

Although both accounts refer to almost identical circumstances, the events occur in different periods. In the *History*, these events take place during Sergios-Tychikos' (*c*.800/1-34/5) leadership, shortly after the persecutions of Michael I and Leo V, while in *Theophanes Continuatus* I-IV Karbeas (*c*.844-63) leads the Paulicians. There are textual similarities, notably in the fact that the *τότε* which proves crucial to the interpretation of the *Contra Manichaeos* is paralleled by the *τηνικαῦτα* of *Theophanes Continuatus* I-IV.[62] The latter text and the *History* are probably not independent because the Continuator and Genesios refer to 'Amr in an almost identical way to these passages during an earlier event.[63] The most probable explanation for this dependence is that Peter of Sicily has reworked the events described in *Theophanes Continuatus* I-IV to reconcile two different groups of sources (the Paulician sources, namely the *Didaskalie* and *Letters of Sergios*, and the later Greek histories). In doing so, he shifted the emphasis on Paulician actions against East Romans from military leaders such as Karbeas to religious groups affiliated with Sergios because this conforms with his aims of demonising Sergios

[60] Theoph. Cont., 4:16, pp.236-7, l.14-9.
[61] Peter Sic., 177-8, pp.64-5 (*CDH*, p.90): Ὕστερον δέ τινες τῶν τοῦ Σεργίου μαθητῶν, οἱ λεγόμενοι Ἄστατοι, διὰ προδοσίας καὶ δόλου τὸν ἔξαρχον κατέσφαξαν, καὶ οἱ Κυνοχωρῖται ὁμοίως Θωμᾶν τὸν μητροπολίτην· καὶ οὕτως προσέφυγον οἱ Ἄστατοι ἐν Μελιτηνῇ. Ἀμηρᾶς δὲ τότε τῶν ἐκεῖσε ὄντων Σαρακηνῶν ὑπῆρχεν ὁ Μονοχεράρης. Λαβόντες τοίνυν παρ' αὐτοῦ οἱ Ἄστατοι τὸν Ἀργαοῦν κατῴκησαν ἐκεῖσε, καὶ οὕτως ἐπισυναχθέντες ἐκ πάντων τῶν μερῶν ἤρξαντο πραιδεύειν τὴν Ῥωμανίαν.
[62] For the *terminus post quem* of the *Contra Manichaeos* see pp.54-7.
[63] Theoph. Cont., 4:31, pp.182-3, l.7-8: λαβόντος γοῦν αὐτοῦ Ἄμερα τὸν τηνικαῦτα διέποντα τὴν Μελιτινὴν... (And taking with him Amer, the then ruler of Melitene). See also Genesios, 3:13, p.47, l.25 (Kaldellis, p.63): ...καὶ Ἄμερ τηνικαῦτα τὴν Μελιτηνὴν διέποντος... (Amer, who was the ruler of Melitene at the time).

and emphasising the Paulicians' doctrinal threat. This interpretation is corroborated by three observations; firstly, as we will see in Chapter Three, Peter lacked sources for Sergios' career, which implies that he was using *Theophanes Continuatus* I-IV to fill this gap; secondly, a fuller analysis of the *History* shows that Peter invents and distorts the events, actors and chronology of other sources, thereby giving precedents for his use of *Theophanes Continuatus* I-IV here.[64] Thirdly, the *History*'s characterisation of the Emirate of Malaṭiya is not corroborated by other sources.

If Peter was trying to reconcile different sources, we would expect to see factual errors and inconsistencies in the *History*'s content and structure. This is precisely what we find. An obvious indicator that Peter has reworked the events of *Theophanes Continuatus* I-IV lies in his brief description of Karbeas' career. The *History* merely states that "Karbeas appeared in those times" after Sergios' death, despite the fact that he was infamous to posterity for raiding Asia Minor in conjunction with Muslim armies.[65] Tellingly, Theodora's persecutions, which are crucial to his rise to prominence, are never recounted in the *History*. This omission suggests that Peter has attempted to conceal his dependence on *Theophanes Continuatus* I-IV. In order to reconcile the latter source's testimony with the *History*, Lemerle, like his predecessors, is forced to posit two analogous flights to Malaṭiya, but it is obvious that the first flight is Peter's invention.[66]

But the decisive objection to the *History*'s authenticity is its references to 'Amr al-Aqṭa' and the Emirate of Malaṭiya. After relating the persecutions conducted against Paulicians in the Armeniakon thema during the reigns of Michael I and Leo V, the passage noted above describes the assassination of the officials responsible by the *Astatoi* and their subsequent flight to a certain 'Monocherares' (the one-handed).[67] This term is a faithful translation of 'Amr's Arabic surname al-Aqṭa' and it is noteworthy that only the *History* and *Contra Manichaeos* call the emir by this name.[68] It has conventionally been assumed that these sources are

[64] See Chapter Three.
[65] Peter Sic., 184, pp.66-7 (*CDH*, p.91): Ὁ οὖν Καρβέας ἐν τοῖς τότε καιροῖς ἀναφανείς… Ṭabarī, 34, pp.146-7; 167.
[66] Lemerle, 'L'histoire', pp.72-4; 82-90. See also Loos, 'Le mouvement', pp.277-83; Garsoïan, *Paulician Heresy*, pp.120-8.
[67] Note that there is no indication that 'Amr had one hand. For this, see p.53, n.73 below.
[68] Peter Sic., 178, pp.64-5 (*CDH*, p.90); Ps.-Photios, *Contra Manichaeos*, 137, pp.166-9.

referring to ‘Amr al-Aqṭa‘, but there are good reasons to reject this.[69] It is uncertain when ‘Amr became Emir of Malaṭiya, but it is generally assumed that he acquired this role during the 830s. He is first attested in 838 in the course of al-Mu‘taṣim’s Amorion campaign.[70] Bernd Vest’s study of Melitene (Malaṭiya) proposes that ‘Amr’s father – or perhaps even his grandfather – ruled the city during the Roman persecutions of the 810s. A further piece of evidence is notable: Balādhurī’s testimony that in either 809 or 813, a certain ‘Ubaydallāh ibn al-Aqṭa‘ ransomed his son from the Romans in return for the fortress of Kamkh.[71] To reconcile these observations with the testimony of the *History*, Lemerle judiciously equivocates, noting that the ‘Monocherares’ to whom Peter of Sicily refers could be either ‘Amr al-Aqṭa‘, ‘Ubaydallāh ibn al-Aqṭa‘, or even the latter’s father, without commiting himself.[72] Insofar as Monocherares/al-Aqṭa‘ is a family name, all these suggestions are theoretically possible.[73] In my view, Peter is almost certainly referring to an earlier emir here, especially considering that ‘Amr al-Aqṭa‘ is otherwise known as Amer in Greek sources.[74] The reasons that Peter did not refer to ‘Amr/Amer are obvious: to rectify the chronology of this passage and conceal his dependence on *Theophanes Continuatus* I-IV.

The theory that the *History* was forged is further corroborated by the characterisation of the Emirate of Malaṭiya, which was not sufficiently powerful to oppose the empire at the time which the *History* implies. Although the *History* intimates that Islamic raiding was common during this period, raids all but ceased

[69] The two Greek names are conflated at *PmbZ*, #8552, vol.5, pp.76-7. N.G. Garsoïan, ‘Byzantine Heresy. A Reinterpretation’, *DOP* 25 (1971), p.91; J. Signes Codoñer, *The Emperor Theophilos and the East, 829-842: Court and Frontier in Byzantium during the Last Phase of Iconoclasm* (Farnham, 2014), pp.49-50. See also p.50, n.58.
[70] B.A. Vest, *Geschichte der Stadt Melitene und der emliegenden Gebiete: vom Vorabend der arabischen bis zum Abschluß der türkischen Eroberung (um 600-1124)*, 3 vols., vol.3 (Hamburg, 2007), p.1788. Vest’s dates for ‘Amr’s leadership (pre. 834/5-863) are flawed because he did not notice that Michael the Syrian’s account of ‘Amr’s purported victory over Theophilos in 835 is a mistaken duplicate of the 838 Battle of Anzes. As Signes Codoñer notes, Theophilos was campaigning in Qālīqalā far to the north in this year, so ‘Amr’s alleged victory is impossible. See Signes, *Emperor Theophilos*, pp.259-62; Michael Syr., 12:18, p.564. For a contrary perspective see Vest, *Melitene*, vol.2, pp.633-4.
[71] A.A. Vasiliev, *Byzance et les Arabes*, vol.1 (Brussels, 1935), p.466.
[72] Lemerle, ‘L'histoire’, pp.72-3, esp. n.64.
[73] Vest, *Melitene*, vol.2, p.661.
[74] Theoph. Cont., 3:31, pp.182-3; Genesios, 3:13, p.47, l.25 (Kaldellis, p.63); Sym. Mag., 131:4, p.233.

during the civil war between al-Amin and al-Ma'mūn and its aftermath (*c*.809-30).[75] Malaṭiya only became a regional power after the accession of al-Mu'taṣim in 833. Vest sees 'Amr al-Aqṭa' as a partisan of this caliph and it is difficult to place the emirate's rise before this period, especially because al-'Abbās ibn Ma'mūn, the son of the reigning Caliph al-Ma'mūn, held jurisdiction over the frontier provinces before his downfall, which occurred *c*.835-8.[76] Al-Mu'taṣim's destruction of Tyana (Ṭuwāna) in 833 meant that Islamic invasion routes increasingly began to pass through Malaṭiya, rather than the Kilikian gates, as had previously been the case.[77] All this implies that the emirate's capacity to raid Roman territory was a product of this context. This is supported by other observations. Paulician raids against the empire are otherwise unattested at a date as early as the 810s.[78] Finally, as we will see, the *Didaskalie*, which was written in the aftermath of the persecutions of the 810s, implies that an Islamic alliance was unthinkable when it was composed, yet this is the period when the *History* alleges that this alliance first arose.[79]

Thus, the *History*'s account of the persecutions of Michael I and Leo V is dependent upon the account of Theodora's persecutions in *Theophanes Continuatus* I-IV and must have been written after this text – and consequently after 945. The *History* fits neatly into such an intellectual context. Its compilation and reuse of other sources is typical of the period, as evidenced by works such as the *De administrando imperio* and *De ceremoniis*, both written under the direction of Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos.[80] Moreover, the *History*'s praise of the Emperor Basil I, the founder of the Macedonian dynasty according to the tradition promulgated by Constantine VII, notably in the *Vita Basilii*, suggests a date of composition during the reign of the latter emperor. In fact, this context provides a convincing rationale for the composition of the *History*. Peter of Sicily placed his work in the context of Basil's reign in order to persuade his grandson Constantine

[75] J.F. Haldon and H. Kennedy, 'The Arab-Byzantine Frontier in the Eighth and Ninth Centuries: Military Organisation and Society in the Borderlands', *Zbornik radova Vizantološkog Instituta* 19 (1980), pp.113-4.
[76] Al-'Abbās was the governor of al-thughūr, al-'Awāṣim and al-Jazīra. See Vest, *Melitene*, vol.2 pp.663-4.
[77] Signes Codoñer, *Emperor Theophilos*, p.243. See also Chapter Seven, p.222-4.
[78] See also Chapter Seven, pp.208-16.
[79] See Chapter Four, p.143.
[80] *Constantine Porphyrogenitus*: *De administrando imperio*, ed. by G. Moravcsik, trans. by R.J.H. Jenkins, 2 vols. (Washington, D.C., 1967); *The Book of Ceremonies*, trans. by A. Moffatt and M. Tall, 2 vols. (Canberra, 2012).

VII to enact Peter's aim: to decree the death penalty against Paulicians. Furthermore, this dating explains the closeness of the relationship of the *History* to the *Contra Manichaeos*. This relationship is typical of literary practice in this era, as shown by the fact that *Theophanes Continuatus* I-IV and Genesios also employed the same source material.[81] Indeed, it is commonly assumed that *Theophanes Continuatus* I-IV was composed due to the stylistic deficiencies of the *Basileion*.[82] The same context applies to our works, since the *Contra Manichaeos* omits any reference to capital punishment, while also being more coherent than the *History*. If these observations were not conclusive enough, it is also possible to demonstrate that the *Contra Manichaeos* was forged at a similar time, as will become apparent.

The Authenticity of the *Contra Manichaeos*

Since we have already demonstrated that the *History of the Paulicians* is a forgery dating from the reign of Constantine VII an examination of the *Contra Manichaeos*' authenticity is academic. As we will see, the *Letter of Theophylaktos Lekapenos*, which dates between 945 and 956, is indebted to the *Contra Manichaeos*. Since the *Contra Manichaeos* is a metaphrasis of the *History* and must therefore postdate the latter, it must be dated between 945 and 956. Nevertheless, I will examine this source briefly, both to account for peculiarities in its manuscript tradition and to corroborate the forging of the *History*. Like the *History*, there are several oddities which suggest that the *Contra Manichaeos* is inauthentic, although all indications suggest that its associated sermons are genuinely Photian.[83] Firstly, according to existing interpretations Photios supposedly wrote this work during his first exile, since the *Contra Manichaeos* is conventionally dated to 870-2 and Photios was exiled after Basil I reinstalled Ignatios as patriarch. This exile began in 867 and ended sometime after 872.[84] He was probably exiled to the monastery of Skepe on

[81] See Markopoulos, 'Genesios: a Study', p.147; Garsoïan, *Paulician Heresy*, p.77.
[82] F. Barišić, 'Génésios et le Continuateur de Théophane', *B* 28 (1958), pp.120-2; Lesmüller-Werner and Thurn (eds.), Genesios, p.xii.
[83] Grégoire, 'Les sources', pp.113-4; J. Scharf, 'Zur Echtheitsfrage der Manichäerbücher des Photios', *BZ* 44 (1951), pp.487-90; Garsoïan, *Paulician Heresy*, p.39. For these sermons see *PG* 102, col.85-264. This edition is based on the manuscripts *Parisinus Coislinianus* 270 and *Parisinus graecus* 1228, rather than the more reliable *Palatinus graecus* 216.
[84] The date when Photios was recalled from his first exile is obscure. Dvornik's more circumspect dating of his recall after 872 should be favoured. F. Dvornik, *The Photian Schism: History and Legend* (Cambridge, 1948), pp.161-4.

the Bosphorus.[85] One of the major difficulties Photios experienced during this exile was his lack of access to books, as he complains in a letter to Basil I.[86] Although his treatment was subsequently relaxed, it is difficult to believe that he could have had access to (and therefore metaphrased) the *Treatise* and the *History* so soon after their supposed publication.[87]

If Photios did have access to them, this suggests that he had a rationale for writing the text. One such rationale immediately springs to mind, but is not substantiated by the *Contra Manichaeos*. Given the vociferousness with which the *History* argues that the Paulicians should be subject to the death penalty, we might imagine that Photios' swift reply would argue forcefully against such a punishment, since he favours clement approaches elsewhere.[88] However, in the *Contra Manichaeos* there are no references whatsoever to the punishment to which the Paulicians should be subjected. References in its genuinely Photian sermons imply a harsh approach to punishment, although this may be due to the sermons' context.[89] It is therefore difficult to find a rationale for the composition of the work. Furthermore, the subsequent influence of the *Contra Manichaeos* suggests that it was not written by a contemporary exile. How could the work of an imperially appointed ambassador have come to be supplanted by that of an exile with numerous enemies at court and elsewhere, not least when that same court must have known of Peter's mission and hence Photios' forgery?

To these issues can be added the stylistic deficiencies of the work, most of which Grégoire demonstrated.[90] Although the *Contra Manichaeos* refers to a greater range of anti-Manichaean works than the *History*, these sources are never employed in the work itself.[91] The brief reference to Chrysocheir can hardly be reconciled with the fact that Photios wrote to this Paulician leader on several occasions.[92] Grégoire's

[85] R. Janin, *La géographie ecclésiastique de l'empire byzantin*, 3 vols., vol.3 (Paris, 1969), p.455.
[86] Photios, *Epistulae*, Ep.98, vol.1, p.133, l.17-21.
[87] Photios, *Epistulae*, Ep.99, vol.1, pp.136-7; Dvornik, *Photian Schism*, pp.161-3.
[88] See his letters to Chrysocheir, which attempt to bring about reconciliation. Photios, *Epistulae*, Ep.33-40, vol.1, pp.85-9.
[89] Photios, *Sermones contra Paulicianos*, col.175-8; 183-6.
[90] Grégoire, 'Les sources', pp.109-11.
[91] Grégoire, 'Les sources', p.112.
[92] The letters in question are Ep.33-40; 57; 80 and 134. It is disputed whether all of these were sent to the same individual. Letters 57 and 80 are addressed to a John Spatharios who need not necessarily be Chrysocheir, although I favour this identification. Furthermore Ep.33-38 correspond with sections of

most pressing criticism of the authenticity of the source is the *terminus post quem* that he posited. He noticed that the *Contra Manichaeos* refers to Malaṭiya as a former Muslim possession, although the city was only recaptured by East Roman forces in 932.[93] The text must therefore be dated after this, although this date has subsequently been emended to 934.[94] This observation is dependent on the single word *τότε* (then). Consequently, scholars have argued that this *terminus post quem* arose from a corruption of the text.[95] However, such a corruption is unlikely because this error is present in every manuscript of the *Contra Manichaeos*.[96] Grégoire's objection is a serious one.

Lemerle makes an ingenious argument to account for this *terminus post quem*. He asserts that the relevant phrase was originally a marginal note which was incorporated into the text.[97] At this point it must be remembered that the *Contra Manichaeos* was metaphrased from the *History*. Therefore, if we were to find a passage akin to the relevant phase within the corresponding part of the *History*, it would show that this phrase was not a marginal note. This proves to be the case. The relevant sections are worth quoting in full:

Contra Manichaeos:

> Thus, after the inquiry, the judgement and the reckoning had proceeded, the so-called *Kynochoritae* and those whom they named *Astatoi* decided on the slaughter of the aforementioned judges. These men [the *Astatoi*] were picked from the students of Sergios. And so the *Astatoi*, who were bound to no other except themselves, slew the already-mentioned exarch [Parakondakes] by

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the *Amphilochia*. Photios, *Epistulae*, Ep.33-40, vol. 1, pp.86-9; Ep.57, vol.1, p.104; Ep.80, vol.1, p.121; Ep.134, vol.1, pp.176-8. See also Lemerle, 'L'histoire', pp.40-2.

[93] Grégoire, 'Les sources', pp.95-6.

[94] Malaṭiya surrended to the empire in 932, but its control was subsequently contested. It was only captured by John Kourkouas in 934. See Vasiliev, *Byzance et les Arabes*, vol.2:1, pp.268-71.

[95] Scheidweiler, 'Paulikianerprobleme', pp.36-7. Likewise, Scharf and Loos believed that the passage in question arose from later interpolation. Scharf, 'Zur Echtheitsfrage', p.493; Loos, 'Deux contributions I', p.55.

[96] Ps.-Photios, *Contra Manichaeos*, 137, p.169.

[97] Lemerle, 'L'histoire', pp.39-40. Lemerle argues that the phrase *πολιτείαν οὖσαν τότε τῶν μισοχρίστων Σαρακηνῶν* comprises the marginal note, observing that *πολιτείαν οὖσαν* does not agree with *πόλει*, with which it should be in apposition. Nevertheless, it is possible to treat *πολιτείαν οὖσαν* as an accusative of respect, as Paramelle does in his translation. See Paramelle (trans.), Ps.-Photios, *Contra Manichaeos*, 137, p.168. Finally, as Lemerle notes, if this reference is a marginal note dating after 934, it suggests that the earliest extant manuscript of the text (*Palatinus graecus* 216, which is conventionally dated to *c*.900 and contains the relevant phrase) is a later witness to the tradition of the text than its palaeography and codicology make plausible. Lemerle, 'L'histoire', p.40. Lemerle's arguments cannot be considered decisive in light of the interpretation offered below.

> means of deceit and treachery. On the other hand, since a leader for the crime was lacking among the *Kynochoritae*, one of the aforementioned *Astatoi* stood forward, and these men also slew the high priest of God, Thomas. When these transgressions had occurred without restraint, the previously mentioned *Astatoi* – for they were, it is said, the architects of each blood-letting – fled in haste with their followers from all the land which the law of the Christians governed, and arrived in Melitene, a city in second Armenia, whose government was then that of the Christ-hating Saracens (*πολιτείαν οὖσαν τότε τῶν μισοχρίστων Σαρακηνῶν)*, who were led by an emir, whom they called Monocherares.[98]

History of the Paulicians:

> But later some of the students of Sergios, the so-called *Astatoi*, slaughtered the *exarch* by means of cunning and trickery, and the *Kynochoritae* likewise slaughtered Thomas the Metropolitan. Thus, the *Astatoi* fled to Melitene. The emir Monocherares then ruled the Saracens living there (*δὲ τότε τῶν ἐκεῖσε ὄντων Σαρακηνῶν)*.[99]

The dependence of the *Contra Manichaeos* on the *History* is apparent in this passage. Although Pseudo-Photios changes the structure and syntax of the *History*, he retains most of the original vocabulary. This is so similar that we can pinpoint the section he was metaphrasing while describing Malaṭiya, since this is signposted by the words *Μονοχεράρης*, *Ἀμηρᾶς* and *ἦρχεν*/*ὑπῆρχεν* in both works. In the relevant section we see not only a repetition of *τῶν Σαρακηνῶν* and a particle form of *εἶμι*, but crucially the *τότε* upon which Grégoire's argument rested. This was evidently Pseudo-Photios' mistake, as the manuscript tradition suggests. We can now

[98] Ps.-Photios, *Contra Manichaeos*, 136-7, pp.167-9 : Οὕτω δὴ τῆς ἐρεύνης τε καὶ κρίσεως καὶ τοῦ λογοθεσίου καὶ τῆς πράξεως προϊούσης, μερίζονται τῶν εἰρημένων κριτῶν τὴν σφαγὴν οἵ τε λεγόμενοι Κυνοχωρῖται καὶ οὓς ἐπωνόμαζον Ἀστάτους· ἦσαν δὲ οὗτοι τῶν τοῦ Σεργίου μαθητῶν οἱ λογάδες. Οἱ μὲν οὖν Ἄστατοι μηδενὸς ἑτέρου δεηθέντες αὐτοὶ καθ' ἑαυτοὺς δόλῳ καὶ προδοσίᾳ κατασφάζουσι τὸν εἰρημένον ἔξαρχον, τοῖς δὲ Κυνοχωρίταις, ἐπείπερ ἐνέδει στρατηγὸς τοῦ μιάσματος, εἷς τῶν εἰρημένων Ἀστάτων ἐφίσταται, καὶ κατασφάζουσι καὶ οὗτοι τὸν ἀρχιερέα τοῦ θεοῦ Θωμᾶν. Ἀνέδην δὲ τούτων οὕτω παρανομηθέντων, οἱ προειρημένοι Ἄστατοι - αὐτοὶ γὰρ ἦσαν, ὡς ἔφην, ἑκατέρας μιαιφονίας ἀρχιτέκτονες - φεύγουσι μὲν σὺν τοῖς ἑπομένοις σπουδῇ ἀπὸ πάσης γῆς ἣν ὁ Χριστιανῶν ἐκόσμει θεσμός, παραγίνονται δὲ ἐν Μελιτινῇ, πόλει τῆς δευτέρας Ἀρμενίας, πολιτείαν οὖσαν τότε τῶν μισοχρίστων Σαρακηνῶν ἧς καὶ ἀμηρᾶς ἦρχεν, ὃν ἐπεκάλουν Μονοχεράρην.

[99] Peter Sic., 178, pp.64-5 (*CDH*, p.90): Ὕστερον δέ τινες τῶν τοῦ Σεργίου μαθητῶν, οἱ λεγόμενοι Ἄστατοι, διὰ προδοσίας καὶ δόλου τὸν ἔξαρχον κατέσφαξαν, καὶ οἱ Κυνοχωρῖται ὁμοίως Θωμᾶν τὸν μητροπολίτην· καὶ οὕτως προσέφυγον οἱ Ἄστατοι ἐν Μελιτηνῇ. Ἀμηρᾶς δὲ τότε τῶν ἐκεῖσε ὄντων Σαρακηνῶν ὑπῆρχεν ὁ Μονοχεράρης.

demonstrate that the *Contra Manichaeos* should be dated after 934 with greater certainty than at the time of Grégoire's observation.

Palatinus graecus 216 and the Manuscript Tradition of the *Contra Manichaeos*

There is a final obstacle to identifying the *Contra Manichaeos* as a tenth-century forgery. This is the testimony of *Palatinus graecus* 216, which contains the *Contra Manichaeos* and its associated sermons. The manuscript has been dated between the last third of the ninth century and the first quarter of the tenth by Joseph Paramelle.[100] This dating is corroborated by Maria Agati, who prefers a date in the late ninth century.[101] From a palaeographic viewpoint, this dating is convincing, but as we have seen, the philological evidence suggests a later provenance. Julien Leroy and Basil Laourdas, who favour a mid-tenth century date, have perhaps been influenced by this contradiction, although it is unclear whether their dating is based on philological or palaeographical grounds.[102] Atypically, Lemerle explicates the paradox, noting that he favours a date of around 900 for the manuscript on palaeographic grounds, but that the textual evidence necessitates a later date.[103] In order to account for Grégoire's problematic *terminus post quem*, Lemerle was forced to argue that the relevant passage was a marginal note that was incorporated into the text. This cannot have occurred before 934, but the manuscript appears to have been copied earlier. This comprises one of the most convincing reasons for questioning the provenance of the manuscript: its authenticity is similarly problematic if we were to assume that the *Contra Manichaeos* is genuine. This objection also applies to the version of the *Mystagogia* preserved in the manuscript, which suggests a later date than the manuscript warrants. Differences between the text of the *Mystagogia* in this manuscript and *Bologna B.U.* 2412 (a fourteenth-century manuscript which attributes the *Mystagogia* to Metrophanes of Smyrna) suggest that both derived from a common exemplar, which was somewhat removed from the original exemplar of

[100] *TM* 4, p.101.
[101] M.L. Agati, 'Il problema della progressiva divisione delle parole tra IX e X secolo', in G. Prado (ed.), *I manoscritti greci tra riflessione e dibattito: Atti del V Colloquio internazionale di Paleografia Greca* (Florence, 2000), p.193.
[102] For Leroy, see Lemerle, 'L'histoire', p.38, n.48; B. Laourdas, 'Τὰ εἰς τὰ << Ἀμφιλόχια >> τοῦ Φωτίου σχόλια τοῦ κώδικος 449 τῆς Λαύρας', *ELLHNIKA* 12 (1953), p.270.
[103] Lemerle, 'L'histoire', pp.38-40.

the manuscript tradition.[104] Valerio Polidori believes that the original exemplar for both the Vatican and Bologna manuscripts should date to the early tenth century – that is almost contemporaneously with our manuscript, thereby further problematising its early date.

In order to reconcile the philological and palaeographical aspects of the manuscript, I will propose that the manuscript was forged in the mid-tenth century and made to resemble a late-ninth-century exemplar. By this interpretation, this manuscript is the original forged exemplar of the *Contra Manichaeos*. This argument is appropriate because the orthography of the manuscript is excellent and suggests that there were no previous exemplars of the *Contra Manichaeos*. I will also suggest a forging strategy through an analysis of the manuscript tradition of the *Mystagogia*. Nonetheless, this interpretation cannot be corroborated by palaeographical grounds. While consulting the manuscript, I could not unearth any evidence that suggests a tenth-century origin.[105] The palaeography implies a late-ninth- or early-tenth-century date, as argued by Paramelle, Lemerle and Agati. Nevertheless, as we have seen, the philological evidence that the manuscript was forged is convincing. I will explicate my argument fully because the methodological difficulties inherent in Greek palaeography make this a contentious endeavour.[106] Interpreting a manuscript as a forgery necessitates a belief that it was produced as part of a deliberate attempt at deception. As a result, its idiosyncracies (whether these are omissions, marginal corrections, or lost folia) could be interpreted as part of such a strategy, thereby undermining the grounds for a palaeographic study. Accordingly, I will limit palaeographic analysis to a minimum in what follows.

For Paramelle, certain details of *Palatinus graecus* 216, notably the three crosses on the first folio of each quire, suggest that it was produced at the Stoudios monastery.[107] Other monasteries also marked manuscripts in this way, so this observation is not decisive.[108] If the presence of the polemical texts was

[104] For the *stemma textuum* of the *Mystagogia* see Polidori, 'Photius and Metrophanes of Smyrna', p.201. For *Bologna B.U.* 2412 see http://pinakes.irht.cnrs.fr/notices/cote/9729/.
[105] This consultation occurred in March/April 2016. The manuscript is available online: https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Pal.gr.216.
[106] See R. Barbour, *Greek Literary Hands A.D.400-1600* (Oxford, 1981), pp.xv-xvi; N.G. Wilson, 'Greek Palaeography', in E. Jeffreys, J.F. Haldon and R. Cormack (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Byzantine Studies* (Oxford, 2008), p.103.
[107] Paramelle (ed.), *TM* 4, p.101.
[108] Wilson, 'Greek Palaeography', p.103.

acknowledged in the manuscript, its content is atypical of the Stoudios, since extant manuscripts from the monastery are generally confined to patristic writers, *menologia*, or the writings of Theodore the Stoudite.[109] Nevertheless, the manuscript resembles other manuscripts which were copied at the Stoudios monastery. [110] The rarity of ligatures, abbreviations and uncial forms all suggest a date close to the turn of the tenth century. *Palatinus graecus* 216 is the product of a single scribe and, like many manuscripts of this period, contains marginalia that are nearly contemporaneous to (and perhaps identifiable with) the main hand. The most idiosyncratic feature of the manuscript is that it attributes the *Contra Manichaeos* and other Photian texts to Metrophanes of Smyrna, one of Photios' most inveterate enemies, rather than to Photios himself.[111] Its contents are as follows:

ff.1-76, Basil of Caesarea: *Contra Eunomios I-III*

ff.76-107v, Metrophanes of Smyrna: *Contra Manichaeos*

ff.106v-161, Metrophanes of Smyrna: *Sermons I-III*

ff.161v-211v, Anonymous: *Retractatio*[112]

ff.211v-252v, Metrophanes of Smyrna: *Mystagogia*

ff.252v-254, Basil of Caesarea: *On Saint Mamas*

Despite the testimony of the manuscript, the attribution of these works to Metrophanes has conventionally been rejected.[113] Until a short time ago, only a handful of works were ascribed to Metrophanes, but the identification of anonymous works with his style has expanded the scope of his oeuvre.[114] In part, the paucity of works attributed to him is a result of the fact that, like Photios, he was twice exiled.

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[109] N.X. Eleopoulos, *Ἡ Βιβλιοθήκη καὶ τὸ βιβλιογραφικὸν ἐργαστήριον τῆς μονῆς τῶν Στουδίου* (Athens, 1967), pp.39-42. Menologia are catalogues of saint's lives ordered by month. See N.P. Ševčenko, 'Menologion', *ODB*, vol.2., p.1341.

[110] See *Vaticanus graecus* 1660.

[111] For this enmity see Dvornik, *Photian Schism*, pp.5, 43-5, 192. For Metrophanes see *PmbZ*, #4986, vol.3, pp.245-6.

[112] The *Retractatio* is not attributed to an author, but because the *Mystagogia* is attributed to 'the same Metrophanes' it appears that this text was supposed to be attributed to Metrophanes, as Paramelle observes. See Paramelle (ed.), *TM* 4, p.101.

[113] For Metrophanes and the *Contra Manichaeos* see Moeller, *De Photii Petrique*, pp.9-11; Lemerle, 'L'histoire', pp.38-9. Until the publication of Polidori's forthcoming edition, the best edition of the Mystagogia remains *PG* 102, col.279-400. For this text, see also p.62, n.122.

[114] P. Van Deun, 'La chasse aux trésors: la découverte de plusieurs œuvres inconnues de Métrophane de Smyrne (IX^{e}-X^{e}) siècles', *B* 78 (2008), pp.346-67.

The anonymous preservation of his works thereby suggests that he "suffered from a kind of *damnatio memoriae*."[115] The majority of these works have been identified through Metrophanes' literary style, which incorporates a number of idiosyncratic phrases, none of which are evident in the *Contra Manichaeos*.[116] By contrast, this text is so similar to Photios' style that the work has been used in a linguistic analysis of Photios' use of heresiological terminology.[117] Metrophanes wrote on the theme of heresy, since another early-tenth-century manuscript contains several of his sermons against Manichaeans.[118] He also wrote polemical works against Judaism.[119] It is not just stylistic factors which suggest that the *Contra Manichaeos* was not composed by Metrophanes. Even though many manuscripts containing his works are of comparatively early date, the orthography of his works is often poor. These errors have convincingly been explained by errors arising from the transcription of an uncial to a minuscule hand. Thus, even at the beginning of the tenth century, Metrophanes was still writing (or using a scribe who wrote) in uncial.[120] By contrast, the orthography of the *Contra Manichaeos* is excellent. Finally, it should be noted that several exemplars credit Metrophanes with the *Mystagogia*.[121] Despite this, the *Mystagogia* is generally accepted as a Photian work, even if it betrays signs of interpolation.[122] All of this evidence implies that the Photian oeuvre was disordered at an early date. Aside from the collection attributed to Metrophanes, all texts within the manuscript are genuine works of Basil, Bishop of Caesarea (370-9).

The manuscript's most interesting codicological feature is that the works attributed to Metrophanes form a distinct unit in the codex as now extant. The

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[115] E. Gielen and P. Van Deun, 'The Invocation of the Archangels Michael and Gabriel Attributed to Metrophanes Metropolitan of Smyrna (BHG 1292)', *BZ* 108 (2016), p.655.
[116] See Van Deun, 'La chasse aux trésors', pp.353-60.
[117] See R. Salvemini, 'Empieta e follia nella caratterizzazione degli eretici. Alle origini del lessico di Fozio', *Nicolaus. Rivista di teologia ecumenico-patristica* 27 (2000), pp.355-89.
[118] Van Deun, 'La chasse aux trésors', pp.350-1. The manuscript in question is BL Add MS 39605. See K. Hansmann (ed.), *Ein neuentdeckter Kommentar zum Johannesevangelium: Untersuchungen und Text* (Paderborn, 1930).
[119] M. Hostens (ed.), *Anonymi auctoris Theognosiae (saec. IX/X) Dissertatio contra Iudaeos* (Turnhout, 1986), pp.3-285.
[120] Van Deun, 'La chasse aux trésors', p.366.
[121] These are *Bologna B.U.* 2412, *Athêna EBE Metochion tou Panagiou Taphou* 145 and *Österreichisches Nationalbibliothek theol. gr.* 249. See V. Polidori, 'Towards a Critical Edition of Photius' Mystagogy of the Holy Spirit', *Studi sull'Oriente Cristiano* 19:1 (2015), pp.10-16.
[122] See T.M. Kolbaba, *Inventing Latin Heretics: Byzantines and the Filioque in the Ninth Century* (Kalamazoo, 2008), pp.87-92; V. Polidori, 'Photius and Metrophanes of Smyrna: the Controversy of the Authorship of the *Mystagogy of the Holy Spirit*', *Medioevo greco: rivista di storia e filologia bizantina* 14 (2014), pp.199-208.

numbering of the quires suggests that some two hundred folios are missing between *Contra Eunomios III* and *Contra Manichaeos*.[123] Only three mutilated folios of *On Saint Mamas* are preserved before the manuscript comes to an end. Hence, discerning the relationship of the works attributed to Metrophanes with those around them is problematic, although the collection was evidently bookended with works of St Basil. The numbering of the quires demonstrates that the manuscript began with the *Contra Eunomios*, although the first few folios of this are now mutilated. The termination of the Metrophanes collection is also noteworthy, since the *Contra Manichaeos* ends with the phrase "The works of Metrophanes, Bishop of Smyrna against the Manichaeans", despite the fact that the last work in the collection is against the *Filioque*.[124] This notice privileges the importance of the *Contra Manichaeos* and its sermons over the *Mystagogia*, thereby suggesting that the former work was more important in the context of the manuscript.

To substantiate the hypothesis that this manuscript could represent the original forged exemplar of the *Contra Manichaeos*, we must demonstrate that it does not rely on earlier manuscripts. This is possible because the manuscript represents the earliest exemplar of this text. The majority of the marginal corrections found in *Palatinus graecus* 216 have been assimilated into the main body of the text in subsequent manuscripts, including the most reliable surviving exemplars.[125] Most crucially, these marginal corrections are minor: only four are evident and just one of these exceeds a single word in length. This latter correction relates to a passage which is evidently corrupt, but importantly, the correction can be reconstructed from the wider context of the passage in question, thereby removing any need for a corroborating witness from an earlier manuscript.[126] Unsurprisingly, there are some

[123] 72R-75V is numbered quire I in Greek notation (10), whereas 76R-83V is quire MH (48).
[124] *Palatinus graecus* 216, 252V: Μητροφάνους ἐπισκόπου Σμύρνης τὰ κατὰ μανίχαιων. The *Filioque* would become one of the primary sources of antagonism between Rome and Constantinople in later centuries. It was not espoused by the papacy in this period, but became a point of contention during Photios' quarrel with Pope Nicholas I because Carolingian missionaries in Bulgaria promulgated this creed. See Kolbaba, *Inventing Latin Heretics*, pp.50-4.
[125] For the manuscript tradition see *TM* 4, pp.99-118. The marginal additions of ποθεν and μακροῖς are incorporated into all subsequent manuscripts. See Ps.-Photios, *Contra Manichaeos* 37, p.131; 150, 173 respectively. The final correction of αὐτὸν is omitted in some manuscripts. See Ps.-Photios, *Contra Manichaeos* 120, p.163.
[126] This marginal correction corresponds to the words προσκυνεῖν, οὐ μὴν ἔνθα τοῦ τιμίου σταυροῦ ὁ τύπος. The prefix προσ from προσκυνεῖν is present in the manuscript and the rest of the word is supplied in the wider context of the passage, as is the phrase τὸ ἀπεικόνισμα τοῦ σταυροῦ, which could have been used to paraphrase τοῦ τιμίου σταυροῦ ὁ τύπος. The suggested words suffice to make

defective readings, but these are isolated and relatively minor.[127] Hence, the orthography of the text suggests that *Palatinus graecus* 216 may be the original exemplar of the manuscript tradition of the *Contra Manichaeos*. This is supported by the observation that the notation which subdivides the work does not number its paragraphs, as in the case of the *Retractatio* (that is, the third of Photios' sermons) and *Mystagogia*.[128] This suggests that the *Retractatio* and *Mystagogia* were well known and that a scholarly apparatus had been applied to them, whereas this was not true of the *Contra Manichaeos*.[129]

When these observations are taken into consideration, we can discern a strategy which the forgers may have used to substantiate the authenticity of the text and manuscript. This approach centred on its attribution to Metrophanes of Smyrna and, less certainly, its Stoudite origins. The contested reception of Photios' legacy makes it unsurprising that his works could be attributed to a personal enemy such as Metrophanes. Photios' eventful career made him many enemies and his reputation was contested long after his death, even if he may have been rehabilitated by his erstwhile pupil Leo VI.[130] The controversy over the respective patriarchates of Ignatios and Photios was only settled with the *Tome of Union* in 920.[131] Lemerle argued that the attribution of the texts in *Palatinus graecus* 216 to Metrophanes could be explained by contemporaries' attempts to preserve Photios' works when his reputation was at a low point.[132] He believes that the Stoudios monastery was a suitable location for this.[133] The Stoudites were not well disposed to Photios, having come into conflict with him as early as his first elevation to the patriarchate in 858.[134] However, since the manuscript's Stoudite origin can be questioned, we must be wary of relating this monastery to potential forging strategies.

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the clause comprehensible in light of the rest of the passage. See Ps.-Photios, *Contra Manichaeos*, 35, pp.130-1.

[127] *TM* 4, pp.115-6.

[128] See *Palatinus graecus* 216. For the *Retractatio* see *PG* 102, col.177-264. See also *TM* 4, pp.179-83. For the *Mystagogia* see *PG* 102, col.279-400.

[129] The stemma given by Polidori suggests the *Mystagogia* was well known by this time. Polidori, 'Photius and Metrophanes', p.201.

[130] S. Tougher, *The Reign of Leo VI (886-912): Politics and People* (Leiden, 1997), pp.84-6.

[131] This work was primarily intended to resolve the Tetragamy controversy. See L.G. Westerink (trans. and ed.), *Nicholas I Patriarch of Constantinople: Miscellaneous Writings* (Washington, D.C., 1981), pp.56-85.

[132] Lemerle, 'L'histoire', pp.38-9.

[133] Lemerle, 'L'histoire', p.38.

[134] Dvornik, *Photian Schism*, pp.63-5.

In fact, the connection with Metrophanes allows us to posit that the forgers of the text based their strategy on a now lost manuscript. As noted above, both *Palatinus graecus* 216 and *Bologna B.U.* 2412 are dependent upon a common exemplar dating to the early tenth century for the text of the *Mystagogia* and both manuscripts attribute this text to Metrophanes.[135] This suggests that this common exemplar may also have attributed the *Mystagogia* to Metrophanes, in which case works of Photios circulated under Metrophanes' name during this period. Hence, our forgers could have derived their forging strategy from this common exemplar, which could also have served as a template for the palaeography and/or codicology of *Palatinus graecus* 216. Recognising that the conflict between Photios and Ignatios was still contested in the early tenth century and that this affected the manuscript tradition of several authors, the forgers of the manuscript attributed the *Contra Manichaeos* and other genuine Photian works to Metrophanes in order to both conceal the act of forgery and explain the fact that the text was previously unknown. Since the manuscript begins and ends with the works of Basil of Caesarea, it is probable that this manuscript originally purported to be a collection of Basil's works. Hence, it follows that the works attributed to Metrophanes may not have been acknowledged and may even have been deliberately concealed. If this is accepted, then *Palatinus graecus* 216 resembles a secret collection of Photian works, which sought to preserve these texts by hiding them within another collection and providing a false attribution.

The forgers' strategy may be reconstructed on the basis of these assumptions. By attributing these Photian works to Metrophanes they followed the example of other manuscripts extant at the time, as we have seen. Since these works were concealed within a collection of the works of St Basil, the fact that the *Contra Manichaeos* had not come to light around eight decades after it was supposed to have been written would not be surprising. In this sense, any misgivings about the authenticity of the manuscript may have been allayed, particularly if the 'discovery' of this manuscript were contrived to allay these suspicions. It must be emphasised that this hypothesised forgery was an achievable task. Since the sermons appended to the *Contra Manichaeos* are genuine works of Photios, the production of the manuscript would not have been onerous because the *Contra Manichaeos* was

[135] See p.62, n.121.

paraphrased from other texts and the other works within the manuscript could have been copied from other sources. Although the *Contra Manichaeos* refers to works which the *History* does not, there is no indication that these works were actually consulted.[136] Furthermore, the forging strategy would have been straightforward if it was derived from the common exemplar with *Bologna B.U.* 2412, as argued above.

Contemporary texts provide evidence for the composition of forgeries at this time, while demonstrating that these were substantiated through palaeographical and codicological means. Niketas David's *Vita Ignatii*, written during the late ninth or early tenth century, explains Photios' recall by Basil I by alleging that he forged an erroneous ancestry of Basil.[137] The historicity of this account is doubtful, but it is important that this allegation could have been taken seriously by contemporaries.[138] The extract reads as follows:

> He [Photios] then finished off his composition with countless falsehoods, which he knew would delight the ears of the emperor, and wrote it on very old sheets of papyrus in Alexandrine letters, imitating as far as possible the ancient style of writing. And he also put it inside very old cover plates, which he took from a very old book, before depositing it in the great library of the imperial palace.
>
> His faithful servant in all this and helper in organizing the deception of the piece was the famous Theophanes, who at that time was a cleric at the imperial court and was considered by the emperor to have a sufficient reputation for wisdom. Later, in fact, he became bishop of Caesarea in Cappadocia and that, of course, was the reward he received for this wicked scheming. For he took the forged book and deposited it in the library, as I have said, then at a convenient time took it out and showed it to the emperor, claiming it to be the most wonderful and mystical of all books.[139]

This extract demonstrates not only that East Roman writers were capable of forging texts and concealing their actions, but also that the authenticity of these forgeries

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[136] Grégoire, 'Les sources', p.112.
[137] The classic study is R.J.H. Jenkins, 'A Note on Nicetas David Paphlago and the Vita Ignatii', *DOP* 19 (1965), pp.241-7. Recent work has offered some justification for redating this work to the late ninth century (*c*.886-901/2). I. Tamarkina, 'The Date of the Life of the Patriarch Ignatios Reconsidered', *BZ* 99:2 (2006), pp.615-30.
[138] Treadgold considers the event to be historical. W. Treadgold, 'The Prophecies of the Patriarch Methodios', *REB* 62 (2004), pp.235-7. For constrasting opinions, see Tougher, *Reign of Leo VI*, pp.70-1; Dvornik, *Photian Schism*, pp.164-5.
[139] *V. Ignatii*, pp.120-1. A parallel account is found in Pseudo-Symeon. Ps.-Symeon, 5:7, pp.689-90.

could be substantiated by exploiting personal ties and institutions within the Roman court. There are other instances of forgery connected with Photios. In the preface of the (Catholic) Eighth Ecumenical Council of 869/70, Anastasius the Librarian accuses Photios of fabricating this council in its entirety, including its conciliar acts.[140] In a broader context, recent scholarship has demonstrated that there was a tradition of forgery within the empire in the preceding centuries.[141] The forger of the *Contra Manichaeos* also adopted a common forging strategy by employing the persona of an author in exile. Claiming such an attribution concealed the act of forgery, since the forger could explain his own ignorance of contemporary events, or his inability to access relevant texts, by the fact that the alleged writer was in exile. An instructive example of this approach is found in the interpolated chapters which repudiate iconoclasm (*c*.40-3) within the Patriarch Germanos' *De synodis et haeresibus*.[142] In our example, the approach is more subtle, since Pseudo-Photios never mentions his supposed exile. Nevertheless, these examples show that forgery encompassed philological and codicological strategies and was well attested in East Roman traditions, thereby corroborating our hypothesis that *Palatinus graecus 216* could have been forged.

The Letter of Theophylaktos Lekapenos to Peter of Bulgaria

Much attention has traditionally been devoted to the texts we have discussed so far, but tenth-century works referring to Paulicians have attracted little attention for the understandable reason that they are dependent upon what were perceived to be much earlier sources. However, given our findings on the *History* and *Contra Manichaeos*, the intellectual context of these later works and their relationship with earlier texts becomes an imperative concern. The most important source in this regard is the *Letter of Theophylaktos Lekapenos* to Emperor Peter I of Bulgaria, which is the fourth (and only surviving) letter in a prolonged correspondence

[140] Anastasius the Librarian, *Sancta synodus octava*, pp.1-2.
[141] See S. Wessel, 'Literary Forgery and the Monethelete Controversy: Some Scrupulous Uses of Deception', *GRBS* 42 (2001), pp.201-20.
[142] Germanos, *De synodis et haeresibus*, 40-3, col.77-82; D. Stein, *Der Beginn des byzantinischen Bilderstreites und seine Entwicklung bis in die 40er Jahre des 8. Jahrhunderts* (Munich, 1980), pp.262-8.

between the pair.[143] Theophylaktos was the Patriarch of Constantinople from 933-56 and these dates have traditionally provided the termini for the letter, which was written by the *cartophylax* John on Theophylaktos' behalf.[144] However, as we will see, the text is dependent on the *Contra Manichaeos*, which revises these dates to 945-56. Little work has been conducted on the letter's sources previously, which is surprising given the pronounced similarities between the letter and the *History of Paulicians*. Both sources refer to heresy in Bulgaria and are concerned with how these heretics should be punished. Furthermore, both sources incorporate an epistolary form – although the *History* is obviously more problematic in this regard. Given our revised dating of the *History*, these parallels must be considered important. We must note that this source does not refer to Paulicians as such, but rather characterises the heresy in question as a mix of "Manichaeanism and Paulianism", that is, the filiation posited by the *Treatise*.[145] Since the *Letter*'s sources are anti-Paulician works, the *Letter* is evidently directed at Paulicians, but this terminology should be borne in mind. Finally, the *Letter* incorporates an abjuration formula. There are several other abjuration formulae for Paulicians, but I will not examine these in the present thesis because their implications for Paulicians as a historical phenomenon are minor.[146]

To date, interest in whether the *Letter* was dependent on the *History*, the *Contra Manichaeos*, or both, has been limited. Ivan Dujčev argued that its principal source was the *History*.[147] However, while studying the *Letter*'s anathemas, Jean Gouillard thought that several of these (namely seven, eleven, twelve and fourteen) indicated a greater dependence on the *Contra Manichaeos*.[148] Neither author definitively argued either way, perhaps understandably given that the *Letter* could be drawn from both sources, but a study of the *Letter*'s anathemas upholds Gouillard's

[143] A single manuscript (*Ambrosianus graecus* E9 sup.) survives. See I. Dujčev, 'L'epistola sui Bogomili del Patriarca Constantinopolitano Teofilatto', *Mélanges E. Tisserant II*. *Studi e Testi* 232 (Vatican City, 1964), pp.283-4.
[144] For this dating see Dujčev, 'L'epistola sui Bogomili', p.310. For reference to John the *cartophylax* see Dujčev, 'L'epistola sui Bogomili', p.311 (*CDH*, p.98). For this office see *CDH*, p.98, n.1.
[145] Dujčev, 'L'epistola sui Bogomili', p.312 (*CDH*, pp.98-9).
[146] Including the formula appended to the *Letter*, there are four such formulae. Formulas I-III are informed by the *History* or *Contra Manichaeos* and therefore our extant versions postdate these latter sources. The same is probably true of Formula IV, which seems to be a variant of Formula III. They are primarily useful for analysing the reception of our polemical sources and as such do not require attention here.
[147] Dujčev, 'L'epistola sui Bogomili', p.307.
[148] Gouillard (ed.), *TM* 4, p.187.

view that its primary debt is to the *Contra Manichaeos*. In this regard, anathema 12 is decisive. This anathema states that the Paulicians obtained their name from both Paul and John of Samosata.[149] This can only be a reference to the *Contra Manichaeos*, since the *History* states that the Paulicians received their name from Paul alone.[150] The other anathemas which Gouillard notes similarly suggest a greater dependence on the *Contra Manichaeos*.[151] Naturally, this does not preclude the eventuality that the author of the *Letter* also consulted the *History*. However, the fact that the *Letter* advocates moderate punishments for heretics suggests that if its author were aware of the *History* he would not have received it favourably.

Hence, the *History of the Paulicians*, the *Contra Manichaeos* and the *Letter of Theophylaktos* were composed between 945 and 956, in the order stated here. All were written after the *Vita Basilii*, Genesios' *Basileion* and *Theophanes Continuatus* I-IV. The *History* was reworked to refer to Bulgaria after Theophylaktos' letter. All of this shows that the relationship of the above works is very close. This reflects East Roman preoccupation with Paulicians, and in particular the punishments to which they should be subjected, at this time. The focus on Basil I in the *History of the Paulicians* suggests that this work was intended to influence the Emperor Constantine VII, perhaps not directly, but at least through his court. The circumstances of the *Contra Manichaeos*' composition suggest a similar audience.

The *Treatise against the Paulicians*

Now that we have demonstrated that both the *History* and the *Contra Manichaeos* are tenth-century forgeries, it only remains to examine the *Treatise*. This text has conventionally been attributed to Peter the Hegoumen, but the identification of this author is found in a single manuscript and presumably arises from a connection with Peter of Sicily, who is not an early source for the heresy.[152]

[149] *Abjuration Formula II*, pp.196-7 (*CDH*, p.101).
[150] Peter Sic., 85, pp.36-7 (*CDH*, p.75).
[151] The verb φρίσσω employed in anathema 11 is typical of Photios (and in this case the author impersonating him) whereas this is never used by Peter of Sicily. See *Abjuration Formula II*, pp.196-7 (*CDH*, p.101).
[152] See Astruc (ed.), *TM* 4, p.71. For the association of Peter of Sicily with Peter the Hegoumen see J.C.L. Gieseler, 'Appendix ad Petri Siculi Historiam Manichaeorum seu Paulicianorum', *Academiae Georgiae Augustae prorector cum senatu Sacra Christi Natalitia anno MDCCCXLIX pie celebranda indicunt* (Göttingen, 1849), pp.58-9.

Both Grégoire and Lemerle believed that this text was an epitomised version of the *History* and for this reason it has been termed the *Épitomé*, or *Précis*.[153] By contrast, Garsoïan simply called it the *Treatise*.[154] Given our findings, the text cannot be termed an epitome, or a work composed by Peter the Hegoumen, so I have adopted the term *Treatise* to refer to what was probably an anonymous work. In what follows, I will argue that it was originally composed in an iconoclast milieu, *c*.834/5-43.

This work was identified as the earliest source for the heresy by Ter Mkrttschian, Loos and Garsoïan.[155] I will adopt this view for several reasons. The *Treatise* survives in several manuscripts and was interpolated into the *Chronicon* of George the Monk at an early date.[156] As Afinogenov has shown, the first recension of the *Chronicon* dates to *c*.846/7.[157] The only significant manuscript of this recension concludes with the interpolated *Treatise*, which is placed after the reign of Constantine V (741-75).[158] By contrast, the *Treatise* is interpolated into the main body of the second recension of the *Chronicon* between the reigns of Constans II (641-68) and Constantine IV (668-85).[159] Although we cannot be exactly sure when these interpolations occurred (and they probably happened at different times in different variants of the *Chronicon*) the second half of the ninth century presents the most likely hypothesis. Since the second recension of the *Chronicon* ends with an account of the reign of Michael III (842-67) which was not originally composed by George, a ninth-century date is also probable for this recension.[160] The interpolation of a text concerning Paulicians is comprehensible at this time, since they were a pressing concern from Theodora's persecutions (843/4) to the fall of Tephrikē (878).

[153] See Grégoire, 'Les sources', p.101; Lemerle, 'L'histoire', pp.26-31.
[154] Garsoïan, *Paulician Heresy*, p.40.
[155] Ter Mkrttschian, *Die Paulikianer*, pp.2-4; Loos, 'Deux contributions I', pp.31-6; Garsoïan, *Paulician Heresy*, pp.50-4. Scheidweiler adopted the same conclusion, but, unlike these authors, he believed that the *Treatise* was originally a work of Peter of Sicily. See Scheidweiler, 'Paulikianerprobleme', pp.21-9.
[156] For the manuscript tradition of the text see Astruc (ed.), *TM* 4, pp.69-78.
[157] Afinogenov, 'Le manuscrit grec', p.246. See also Afinogenov, 'The Date of Georgios', p.446.
[158] Georg. Mon., p.765, apparatus. The manuscripts are *Parisinus Coislinianus* 305 and *Vindobonensis jur. gr. 6*. The latter comprises only a single folio. See Afinogenov, 'Le manuscrit grec', p.241.
[159] Georg. Mon., 24, pp.718-25.
[160] Afinogenov, 'The Date of Georgios', p.445.

Beyond this evidence for its early date, the most convincing argument for the precedence of the *Treatise* is that all of the Greek polemical sources preserve it in some form. The sole manuscript of the *History* is preceded by a (now fragmentary) copy of the *Treatise* and the *Contra Manichaeos* begins with a paraphrase of the *Treatise*.[161] Briefer sources such as the abjuration formulae and *Letter of Theophylaktos Lekapenos* have a similar format to the *Treatise* and retain its focus on Paulician belief. Finally, as already noted, the text is preserved within all variants of George the Monk's *Chronicon*. Consequently, the textual tradition shows that it is the most widely disseminated text. An analysis of the text's contents also shows that it was the earliest.

Before undertaking this analysis, an overview of the *Treatise* is appropriate. Surprisingly for such an early source, the *Treatise* is not illuminating for investigating the history and beliefs of the Paulicians, since the later forged texts make fuller use of Paulician sources. However, the *Treatise*'s author certainly had access to the *Didaskalie* and the *Letters of Sergios*.[162] This perhaps provided an impetus for the composition of this work, although this also seems to have been conditioned by the Paulicians' reaction to the persecutions of the 810s, which involved practicing their beliefs underground. The *Treatise* is difficult to characterise. Garsoïan has described it as "a sort of inquisitor's manual" and while this description is valid insofar as it is a practical text concerned with identifying heretics, it is problematic given our ignorance of how East Romans identified and combatted heresy.[163] Nevertheless, Garsoïan was perhaps correct when she ascribed a "semi-official" character to the text, if only because of its influence on later sources.[164] Whether the text originally had this character is open to dispute. We must remember that the prosecution of heresy involved collaboration between secular and ecclesiastical authorities. Since the former were responsible for punishing heretics, it is unsurprising that the *Treatise* does not mention punishment. The *Treatise*

[161] For the *History* see H. Grégoire, 'Sur l'histoire des Pauliciens', *Académie Royale de Belgique, Bulletin Classe des Lettres, 5e série* 22 (1936), pp.224-6.
[162] In the case of the *Didaskalie*, this is evident in the *Treatise*'s knowledge of the Paulician *didaskaloi*, particularly in the identification of Zacharias as "a mercenary and not a true shepherd", which derives from the Paulician exemplar. See *Treatise*, 5, p.82 (*CDH*, p.93); Peter Sic., 125, pp.50-1 (*CDH*, p.82). Its knowledge of the *Letters of Sergios* is apparent in its reference to the Paulician churches, since Peter of Sicily notes that this reference appears in the letters. See *Treatise*, 7, p.84 (*CDH*, pp.93-4); Peter Sic., 163, pp.60-1 (*CDH*, p.88).
[163] Garsoïan, *Paulician Heresy*, pp.52-3.
[164] Garsoïan, *Paulician Heresy*, p.54.

necessarily operated in a wider legal context, which is not apparent from its manuscript tradition, or its presence in George the Monk's *Chronicon*. Since it notes that Paulicians anathematised Mani and Paul of Samosata, in earlier periods Paulicians were presumably examined with Manichaean abjuration formulae.[165] Accordingly, the *Treatise* was probably employed alongside other religious and legal texts. This makes it difficult to determine how official the text originally was. As we will see, the text has an iconoclast provenance and the iconoclast preoccupation with religious authority suggests a more official origin.[166]

The *Treatise* has a loose bipartite structure, describing Paulician history and beliefs in succession. There is a crucial difference between these parts, since the historical section depends on Paulician sources (both the *Didaskalie* and *Letters of Sergios*) and the section on belief derives from orthodox views and hence is less trustworthy. Significantly, the *Treatise* identifies Paul of Samosata as the ultimate inspiration of Paulician belief, by contrast with Theophanes' *Chronographia*, which considers them Manichaeans.[167] There is still some emphasis on Manichaeism in the *Treatise*, but Manichaean heresiarchs are not identified as precursors of the Paulicians.[168] This change of emphasis could conceivably be indebted to the knowledge of Paulician sources, considering that the *Didaskalie* traces their religiosity to a Paul (although this is the apostle, not Paul of Samosata), but if so a misreading of the source is evident. This is perhaps apparent in the unusual characterisation of Paul, including the references to his mother Kallinike and brother John, who are not attested in earlier heresiological texts. Despite the reduced emphasis on Manichaeans, it is still probable that Paulicians are regarded as synonymous with these. The possibility that the *Treatise* was used in conjunction with other texts, including Manichaean formulae, needs to be borne in mind here. The Manichaean identification probably endured, especially because this rendered capital punishment appropriate to Paulicians. Irrespective of this, the *Treatise* is notable for being concise, systematic and comparatively unpolemical. It served as a

[165] See *Manichaean Formula*, pp.97-103.
[166] Loos argues for a monastic provenance. See Loos, 'Deux contributions I', p.36.
[167] *Treatise*, 1-2, p.80 (*CDH*, p.93); Theoph., p.488, l.22-3 (Mango and Scott, p.671).
[168] *Treatise*, 6, p.83 (*CDH*, p.93); 9, p.85 (*CDH*, p.94); 18, p.90 (*CDH*, p.95).

practical guide for those tasked with identifying Paulicians, but it could also serve as a warning against heresy if it were read before Roman audiences.

Among those scholars who considered the *Treatise* to be the earliest variant of the heresiological tradition, only Garsoïan has attempted to provide a date for the text.[169] She dated it to the patriarchate of Methodios, that is during Theodora's regency for her infant son Michael III, believing that this text was consistent with both the restoration of orthodoxy and Theodora's persecutions.[170] These persecutions may explain the subsequent dissemination of this text, but the interpretation offered here implies that the *Treatise* is earlier and belongs to an iconoclast milieu. Determining a *terminus post quem* is straightforward, since it speaks of the last *didaskalos* Sergios in the past tense and the *History* states that Sergios died in 834/5.[171] Of course, we should not take the *History*'s testimony at face value, since it is a late and often unreliable source. Nevertheless, this date fits with the broader context of the period. Since the *Treatise* betrays no knowledge of Karbeas, the infamous Paulician leader from 844 onward, the text was probably authored prior to the early 840s. Finally, the text strongly suggests an iconoclast authorship, which therefore places its composition before the restoration of icon veneration in 843.

While the historical material preserved within the *Treatise* has its origin in Paulician sources, the heretical tenets of which the text accuses Paulicians come from the perspective of a Roman writer. This is evident from its account of the Paulicians' supposed dualism:

> They [the Paulicians] have the first heresy of the Manichaeans, confessing two principles as those men do. They say that: "There is only one difference between us and the Romans, that we say that the Father in heaven is one God, who has no authority in this world, but does in the world to come, and that another God is the creator of the cosmos, who has authority in the present world. The Romans confess that one and the same God is the Father in heaven and the creator of all the world." They call themselves Christians and us Romans.

[169] See p.42, n.9.
[170] Garsoïan, *Paulician Heresy*, pp.53-4.
[171] See also Garsoïan, *Paulician Heresy*, p.53.

> And they eagerly say to those who do not know them: "We believe in the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit, the heavenly Father, and anathema to whoever does not believe as we do." They studiously conceal their evil, for when they say "the Father in heaven" they do not add "the only true God, the maker of heaven and earth and everything in them." It is necessary for the orthodox interrogator to ask the Manichaean to say the creed which begins "I believe in one God, the Father, the almighty, the maker of heaven and earth, of all things seen and invisible" and the things which follow.[172]

The extract, which is by far the fullest explanation of any heretical tenet in the *Treatise*, begins by explaining the Paulicians' supposed dualism, adopting a Paulician voice to do so. It then discloses how Paulicians conceal this from the orthodox, before explaining how an orthodox believer may unmask this strategy. Thus, the account of this tenet has been framed by a Roman writer. The passage also incorporates Paulician material, but the origins of this are obscure. This section stresses the Paulicians' heterodox conception of the Father, but, as we will see, the Paulician sources never refer to the Father, and instead place most emphasis on the Holy Spirit.[173] It states that they reject the prophets and, by implication, the Old Testament, but our Paulician sources imply the opposite.[174] Like many heresiological texts, the *Treatise* is arguably a richer source for understanding orthodox beliefs and preconceptions than for learning about heretics. Consequently, the order in which Paulician errors are described can also be interpreted as arising from orthodox concerns, since these are listed in an order corresponding to the seriousness of their transgression of orthodoxy.

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[172] *Treatise*, 9-10, pp.85-6 (*CDH*, p.94): Ἔχουσι δὲ πρώτην αἵρεσιν τὴν τῶν Μανιχαίων, δύο ἀρχὰς ὁμολογοῦντες ὡς κἀκεῖνοι. Λέγουσι δὲ οὗτοι ὅτι· << Ἕν ἐστι μόνον τὸ διαχωρίζον ἡμᾶς ἐκ τῶν Ῥωμαίων, ὅτι ἡμεῖς μέν, φησίν, ἕτερον θεὸν λέγομεν ὑπάρχειν τὸν πατέρα τὸν ἐπουράνιον, ὃς ἐν τούτῳ τῷ κόσμῳ οὐκ ἔχει ἐξουσίαν, ἀλλ' ἐν τῷ μέλλοντι, ἕτερον δὲ θεὸν τὸν κοσμοποιητήν, ὅστις ἔχει τοῦδε τοῦ παρόντος κόσμου τὴν ἐξουσίαν· οἱ δὲ Ῥωμαῖοι, φησίν, ἕνα καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν θεὸν ὁμολογοῦσιν εἶναι καὶ πατέρα τὸν αὐτὸν ἐπουράνιον καὶ τοῦ κόσμου παντὸς ποιητήν>>. Καλοῦσι δὲ ἑαυτοὺς μὲν χριστιανούς, ἡμᾶς δὲ Ῥωμαίους. Λέγουσι δὲ πρός τοὺς ἀγνοοῦντας αὐτοὺς προθύμως· << Πιστεύομεν εἰς πατέρα καὶ υἱὸν καὶ ἅγιον πνεῦμα, τὸν ἐπουράνιον πατέρα, καὶ ἀνάθεμα, φησίν, τῷ μὴ οὕτως πιστεύοντι >>, μεμελετημένως λίαν τὴν ἑαυτῶν κακίαν μεθοδεύοντες· οὐ γὰρ προστιθέασιν, ὅτε λέγουσι << τὸν πατέρα τὸν ἐπουράνιον >>, ὅτι << τὸν μόνον ἀληθινὸν θεόν, τὸν ποιήσαντα τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν καὶ πάντα τὰ ἐν αὐτοῖς >>. Χρὴ δὲ τὸν προσδιαλεγόμενον ὀρθόδοξον αἰτεῖν τὸν Μανιχαῖον τοῦ εἰπεῖν τὸ σύμβολον τῆς πίστεως, ὅ ἐστιν· << Πιστεύω εἰς ἕνα θεὸν πατέρα παντοκράτορα, ποιητὴν οὐρανοῦ καὶ γῆς, ὁρατῶν τε πάντων καὶ ἀοράτων >>, καὶ τα ἑξῆς.

[173] Chapter Four, pp.134-8.

[174] Chapter Four, pp.138-40.

The first tenet listed by the *Treatise* is the Paulicians' dualism; a belief which contradicts the basis of Christian cosmology. The second tenet is the rejection of the sanctity of the Virgin.[175] Since Constantinople had been associated with her from end of the sixth century – and even more so from the Avar-Sasanian siege of 626 – a repudiation of Marian sanctity could be interpreted as an attack on the city, or on the empire more generally.[176] In this sense, the first two tenets could be interpreted as assailing the Christian religion and the empire, thereby suggesting that the author of this tract has listed the beliefs that are likely to shock a Roman audience first. Given this fact, the next two tenets are of crucial importance to us. These are the rejection of the Cross and the Eucharist: the two true images of Christ according to iconoclast theology.[177] As we have seen, the form and content of this work have been conditioned by its author, who has brought his conceptions of orthodoxy into the text. In this case, the orthodoxy in question is evidently an iconoclast one.[178] This is conclusively shown by the surprising fact that icons are not mentioned in the *Treatise* at all, whereas according to Armenian sources Paulicians were characterised by their rejection of icons.[179] Of course, the Cross and the Eucharist were also of importance to iconodules, which perhaps best explains why the text subsequently had the influence that it did, but the manner in which Paulician deviations from orthodoxy are listed here demonstrates an iconoclast authorship.

Hence, the *Treatise* was written after the death of Sergios and before the restoration of icon veneration in 843, although it is most likely that it was written before the death of Theophilos in 842. It is improbable that such a work could be written by an iconoclast after this date and still become widely disseminated. These findings have several repercussions for the study of Paulicians. As already noted, the fact that these heretical tenets are ordered in this way suggests that they are more

[175] *Treatise*, 11, p.87 (*CDH*, p.94).
[176] A. Cameron, 'The Virgin's Robe: an Episode in the History of Early-Seventh Century Constantinople', *B* 49 (1979), pp.42-56. For iconoclast devotion to Mary see K. Parry, *Depicting the Word: Byzantine Iconophile Thought of the Eighth and Ninth Centuries* (Leiden, 1996), pp.191-201; N. Tsironis, 'The Mother of God in the Iconoclastic Controversy', in M. Vassilaki (ed.), *Mother of God: Representations of the Virgin in Byzantine Art* (Athens/Milan, 2000), pp.27-39.
[177] *Treatise*, 12-3, pp.87-8 (*CDH*, pp.94-5). For iconoclast reverence of the Cross see Brubaker and Haldon, *Byzantium: a History*, pp.140-3. For the Eucharist see Brubaker and Haldon, *Byzantium: a History*, pp.181; 192; 374.
[178] The Paulician rejection of the church hierarchy would also be received unfavourably by iconoclasts, who placed considerable emphasis on obedience to authority. See Brubaker and Haldon, *Byzantium: a History*, pp.376-83; 392-400.
[179] See esp. Garsoïan, *Paulician Heresy*, pp.164-5; 201-7.

informative about the doctrinal concerns of the author and the orthodoxy of his time than about Paulician belief. Few prior scholars who have examined this material were aware of this, which explains why their conclusions concerning Paulician belief differ so markedly from those of Claudia Ludwig. Furthermore, subsequent iconodule authors failed to notice, or dismissed as irrelevant, the fact that the text that they were employing had an iconoclast provenance. Insofar as the *Treatise* does not overtly express iconoclast sympathies, this is understandable. The assimilation of this text into the *Chronicon* of George the Monk suggests the continued use of this document, which may in turn represent a deliberate policy of continuity between Theodora's regency and her husband's reign. As in the case of Leo V before her, Theodora intensified persecutions against heretics to stress the legitimacy and sanctity of her religious policy, as the persecutions attributed to her by *Theophanes Continuatus* I-IV attest.[180] In any event, Roman actors were not attentive to connections between Paulicians and icon veneration during the ninth and tenth centuries. Needless to say, this implies that Paulicians were not associated with iconoclasm in practice.[181] Even if the iconoclast authorship of this tract was comprehended during the regency of Theodora and reign of Michael III, its origins were probably not apparent once the threat of a resumption of iconoclasm had receded. In later periods, writers were inattentive to any connections between the two belief systems, as Peter of Sicily's bizarrely neutral characterisation of the iconoclast Leo III also suggests.[182]

Conclusion

In brief, the reconstruction I have proposed for the Greek polemical texts concerning Paulicians is as follows. The *Treatise* was the earliest of these works and was composed during the reign of Theophilos, after the death of the *didaskalos* Sergios and before the restoration of icon veneration (*c*.834/5-43). The *Treatise* was then incorporated into the *Chronicon* of George the Monk after the composition of the latter work in *c*.846-7. This process is difficult to date precisely and since

[180] Theoph. Cont., 4:16, pp.236-40.
[181] See also Chapter Five.
[182] Peter Sic., 114, pp.46-7 (*CDH*, p.80).

different versions of the *Chronicon* exist, it could have occurred at several different times. It may have been interpolated soon after the composition of the *Chronicon*, or when Paulician influence was at its zenith in the 860s/70s.

For the most part, however, the height of Paulician power did not result in the authorship of new texts against the Paulicians (with the genuine sermons of Photios appended to the *Contra Manichaeos* comprising a prominent exception). After East Roman victories over the Paulicians during the 870s, Paulicians provoked little interest until the mid-tenth century, when they start appearing in epistolary and hagiographical sources once more. Around the same time (*c*.945-56), the polemicist now known as Peter of Sicily wrote the *History of the Paulicians*, a text reputedly of the 870s, to convince the court of Constantine VII that Paulicians merited the death penalty. Soon afterward, another text, the *Contra Manichaeos*, which is erroneously attributed to the Patriarch Photios, was composed. Like the *History*, this work was purportedly written in the 870s. A short time later, John the *cartophylax*, on behalf of the Patriarch Theophylaktos Lekapenos, identified a new heresy which had infiltrated the Bulgarian priesthood as 'Paulician' and advocated that any but its most staunch adherents should face moderate punishments, basing his description of the heresy largely upon the *Contra Manichaeos*. At a later date, probably shortly after Theophylaktos' letter, the *History of the Paulicians* was reworked to make it relevant to this new context.

Chapter Three: Peter of Sicily and the Paulician Sources

Now that we have analysed the most important texts in the heresiological tradition against the Paulicians, we can evaluate the most important material preserved within these texts: the section of Peter of Sicily's *History of the Paulicians* which is devoted to Paulician history. Since the beginning of the twentieth century, a number of scholars, including Carl Moeller, Nina Garsoïan, Paul Lemerle and Paul Speck, have proposed, more or less independently of one another, that this material was based on Paulician sources.[1] These hypothetical sources no longer survive as independent works, but there are several reasons why their existence has been posited. For instance, since other sections of the *History* are taken almost verbatim from known heresiological and catechetical works, this implies that the Paulician material may also have been derived from pre-existing sources. The hypothesised texts also differ from the preceding material in the *History* in both form and subject matter. Additionally, in many places Peter reads this source material so mendaciously that the original intent of the passage is apparent, in many cases revealing evidence of Paulician belief which undermines Peter's claims concerning their supposed dualism.

If the Paulician derivation of these sources is beyond doubt, the same cannot be said for their form prior to Peter's reworking of them to fit the purposes of the *History*. Most scholars, including Garsoïan, Speck and Claudia Ludwig believed that there were two distinct sources, namely a Paulician historical text (subsequently termed the *Didaskalie* by Ludwig), which comprised a narrative account of the *didaskaloi*, the notional leaders of the Paulician community, and the *Letters of Sergios*, which were written by the final *didaskalos* Sergios-Tychikos.[2] Beyond this, their views differed. Only Speck considered the *Didaskalie* and the *Letters* to be distinct sources, while Garsoïan and Ludwig thought that the *Letters* had originally

[1] C.R. Moeller, *De Photii Petrique Siculi libris contra Manichaeos scriptis* (Bonn, 1910), pp.41-3; N.G. Garsoïan, *The Paulician Heresy* (Paris/The Hague, 1967), pp.62-7; P. Lemerle, 'L'histoire des Pauliciens d'Asie Mineure d'après les sources grecques', *TM* 5 (1973), p.56; P. Speck, 'Petros Sikeliotes, seine Historia und der Erzbischof von Bulgarien', *ELLHNIKA* 27 (1974), pp.384-7.
[2] For the term *Didaskalie* see C. Ludwig, 'Wer hat was in welcher Absicht wie beschreiben? Bemerkungen zur Historia des Petros Sikeliotes über die Paulikianer', *Varia 2 POIKILA BYZANTINA* 6 (1987), pp.151-3.

been subsumed within the *Didaskalie*.[3] I will adopt this position, demonstrating this by showing that the *Didaskalie* did not contain the account of Sergios' career now preserved in the *History*. Thus, the *Letters of Sergios* could not have been integrated into such an account. Additionally, Peter of Sicily's specific reference to the *Letters of Sergios* suggests that they were independent of the *Didaskalie*.[4] I will therefore treat these sources separately, although the fact that both sources were employed by the *Treatise* implies that they had been closely associated in Greek manuscript traditions from the mid-ninth century. As we will see, an analysis of Peter's account of Sergios' career suggests that these texts were preserved with a marginal apparatus, or other supplementary material. I will concentrate on the *Didaskalie* in the following account because its narrative form makes it easier to identify Peter's modifications. The *Letters* are more difficult to analyse in this regard and therefore will only be examined occasionally. Scholars have used the historical narrative that these sources provide to formulate an outline for Paulician history, but the analysis adopted in this chapter demonstrates that this narrative was unhistorical prior to Peter of Sicily's alterations. This chapter, along with Chapters Four and Five, undermines the established account of Paulician history.

The disputed nature of these sources is understandable because they were not studied as a distinct body of material until the work of Ludwig in the late 1980s.[5] Prior to this, most scholars ignored the *History*'s aims and instead treated it as a repository of historical events, although admittedly they diverged from the *History*'s narrative (and thereby that of the *Didaskalie*) in places.[6] Unlike her predecessors, Ludwig identified that the *Didaskalie* consisted of a mythologised account reflecting how Paulicians conceived of themselves rather than an accurate historical narrative.[7] This finding invalidates any attempt to reconstruct Paulician history from this source. Ludwig's main focus was Paulician belief, which she concluded was an

[3] Garsoïan, *Paulician Heresy*, pp.62-7; Speck, 'Petros Sikeliotes', pp.385-6; Ludwig, 'Bemerkungen', pp.213-21.
[4] Peter Sic., 43, pp.20-3 (*CDH*, p.73).
[5] Ludwig, 'Bemerkungen', pp.149-227.
[6] Instructive examples of this approach is H. Grégoire, 'Précisions géographiques et chronologiques sur les Pauliciens', *Académie Royale de Belgique, Bulletin Classe des Lettres, 5e série* 33 (1947), pp.298-321. Many works postdating Ludwig's study also adopt this approach. See *CDH*, pp.1-19.
[7] A notable exception is Loos, who understood the legendary nature of this material, but still considered it a faithful account of the movement's origins. The same is true of Lemerle's approach, though to a lesser extent. See M. Loos, 'Le mouvement paulicien à Byzance', *BS* 24 (1963), p.258; Lemerle, 'L'histoire', p.56.

apostolic form of Christianity.[8] Although I have already endorsed this conclusion, I will seek to corroborate it in the following chapter, but my main focus there will be an investigation of Paulician communal identity. Before undertaking this study, it is necessary to determine the extent to which Peter of Sicily modified these sources, in order to ascertain how accurately this Paulician material is preserved.

This is essential because no scholar has studied these Paulician texts within the wider context of the *History* and with the consideration of the aims which Peter of Sicily develops. Ludwig is a partial exception, since she accounted for Peter's aims, noting that his polemical identification of Paulicians with Manichaeans dictates his reading of these texts.[9] However, since she focused purely on Peter's account of Paulician history, she did not place his modification of these sources in the wider context of the *History*. As a result, she thought that Peter generally preserved the structure of the *Didaskalie* (which she believed incorporated the *Letters*) because his methodology was restricted to commenting on this material, accompanied by excursuses on orthodox belief and polemical asides against Paulician leaders where appropriate.[10] She believed that his revisions were confined to episodes and *topoi* within the narrative which might have cast doubt on the heterodoxy of the Paulicians.[11] However, as we will see, Peter's modification of the *Didaskalie* is more extensive than Ludwig recognised. He littered his work with intertextual references, historicised the Paulician material by superimposing a chronological framework upon it, and even fabricated sections of the narrative himself.

The Authorship and Purpose of the *History of the Paulicians*

The methodological approach adopted here requires an understanding of the context of our sources. We will fully explicate the context of the *History of the Paulicians*, but not the *Didaskalie* or the *Letters of Sergios*, since we will address these in the following chapter. However, we must indicate the circumstances which

[8] Ludwig, 'Bemerkungen', pp.224-5.
[9] C. Ludwig, 'The Paulicians and Ninth-Century Byzantine Thought', in L. Brubaker (ed.), *Byzantium in the Ninth Century: Dead or Alive?* (Aldershot, 1998), pp.29-35.
[10] Ludwig, 'Bemerkungen', pp.156-8. See also Speck, 'Petros Sikeliotes', p.386.
[11] See Ludwig, 'Bemerkungen', p.158.

elicited the composition of the *Didaskalie*. This source was authored in response to the persecutions of Michael I and Leo V during the 810s.[12] It was originally composed under the direction of Sergios-Tychikos, but despite this, it acknowledges criticisms of his leadership in places.[13] As we have already described the aims of the *History* and its relationship to other texts, an overview of its structure will suffice. The *History* is a polemical work composed between 945 and 956 and was intended for the Emperor Constantine VII. It traces the origins of Paulician religiosity through Mani and Paul of Samosata, thereby arguing that Paulicians are worthy of capital punishment as in the case of Manichaeans.[14] The *History* begins with an interpolated letter to the Archbishop of Bulgaria, followed by a polemical section which characterises heresy as arising from the agency of the devil. It identifies this heresy as Manichaean and Paulician (which for the author are identical). This section is followed by Peter of Sicily's six points, in which he describes how Paulicians deviate from orthodox belief.

We then come to the historical section of the *History*'s narrative, which begins with an account of the Manichaean heresy based on Cyril of Jerusalem's *Catechetical Sermons*.[15] Next, Peter traces Mani's teaching to Samosata and, more specifically, Kallinike and her sons Paul and John. These are the instigators of the Paulician heresy according to the *Treatise*, which is the *History*'s source.[16] After this, the *Didaskalie* provides a framework for Paulician history.[17] This is followed by an account of Sergios' career which I will argue was not original to the *Didaskalie*, but was fabricated by Peter of Sicily with the aid of the *Letters of Sergios* and other sources.[18] The *History* ends with a short account of the later Paulician leaders Karbeas and Chrysocheir.[19] The *History* was originally followed by six sermons against Paulicians, which were devoted to the six main departures from orthodoxy

[12] See Chapter Four, pp.112; 118.
[13] For Sergios and the *Didaskalie* see Ludwig, 'The Paulicians', pp.24-6. For a contrary view, see Garsoïan, who believes that an opponent of Sergios rewrote the source. Garsoïan, *Paulician Heresy*, pp.63-7.
[14] Peter Sic., 46-67, pp.22-31 (*CDH*, p.74. Untranslated except c.46).
[15] Peter Sic., 46-67, pp.22-31 (*CDH*, p.74. Untranslated except c.46); Cyril of Jerusalem, *Catecheses*, 6:22-31, pp.184-201 (McCauley and Stephenson, pp.161-7).
[16] Peter Sic., 84-7, pp.36-9 (*CDH*, p.75); *Treatise*, 1-3, pp.80-1 (*CDH*, p.93).
[17] Peter Sic., 94-129, pp.40-51 (*CDH*, pp.76-83).
[18] Peter Sic., 132-81, pp.50-65 (*CDH*, pp.83-91).
[19] Peter Sic., 184-7, pp.66-7 (*CDH*, pp.91-2).

described above. Only two of these sermons, and parts of a third, now survive.[20] For our purposes, the important parts of the *History* are the historical sections describing the Manichaean, Paulianist (that is, the school of Paul of Samosata) and Paulician heresies, since these sections contain the intertextual references by which Peter of Sicily substantiates the heretical filiation that he posits.

Although I have characterised the narrative accounts of these heresies as historical, this description is misleading because this narrative does not adhere to contemporary Roman standards of historiographical writing or chronological accuracy.[21] In fact, the *History*'*s* account of the Paulicians' heretical genealogy is historically incoherent. In the *History*, Paul of Samosata's belief stems from his mother Kallinike, who in turn received this from Mani's disciples. However, Mani (*c*.216-74) and Paul of Samosata (Bishop of Antioch 260/1-72) were contemporaries, so this account is not historically viable.[22] The link between the two is also unattested in earlier sources. Similarly, the difference between their respective beliefs was vast. Peter's narrative is not dictated by doctrinal or historical coherency, but rather by the tradition of anti-Paulician polemic. Hence, his account combines the Manichaean labelling of Paulicians by Theophanes and Theodore the Stoudite with the Paulianist identification of the *Treatise*.[23] For Peter, textual authority was of crucial importance, which is naturally fitting to the court of Constantine VII.

In this chapter, I will demonstrate that Peter of Sicily's revisions to the *Didaskalie* are more extensive than previous scholarship has acknowledged. This will inform my analysis of the *Didaskalie* and its value for the study of Paulician identity and religiosity in the following chapter. I will concentrate on three case studies. Firstly, by investigating the names of minor characters which Peter of Sicily has inserted into the *Didaskalie*, I will show that Peter used onomastic references to substantiate the heretical filiation he posited for the Paulicians. Secondly, by investigating the dating schemata now evident in the *History*, I will show that Peter

[20] Peter Sic., *Sermones*, col.1305-52.
[21] These standards were not especially high. See Kaldellis (ed.), Genesios, pp.xxiv-xxviii.
[22] For Mani see K.J. Coyle, 'Mani, Manichaeism', in A.D. Fitzgerald (ed.), *Augustine through the Ages: an Encyclopedia* (Grand Rapids, 1999), pp.520-1. For Paul see F. Millar, 'Paul of Samosata, Zenobia and Aurelian: the Church, Local Culture and Political Allegiance in Third-Century Syria', *The Journal of Roman Studies* 61 (1971), pp.11-14.
[23] Theoph, p.488 (Mango and Scott, p.671); Theod. Stoud., *Epistulae*, Ep.94, vol. 2, pp.214-5. See also Ludwig, 'The Paulicians', pp.31-3.

invented these in order to historicise the *Didaskalie*'*s* account, in the process employing number symbolism in order to diminish Paulician claims to religious authority. Thirdly, and most importantly, I will demonstrate that Peter's account of the career of the *didaskalos* Sergios was not original to the Paulician text, but was composed by him with the aid of the *Letters of Sergios*, East Roman historical works such as *Theophanes Continuatus* I-IV, and perhaps additional Paulician material. Through these case studies, I will characterise Peter of Sicily as a subtle and imaginative polemicist and posit that the *History* is a sophisticated literary work.[24] This contrasts with prior scholarship, which has identified Peter as an inattentive copyist.[25]

Peter of Sicily and Invention

The subtlest way in which Peter of Sicily develops symbolic meaning within the *History* is by inventing the names of individuals. Peter's fondness for puns is evident in his use of nicknames for the Paulician *didaskaloi*. Thus, he dubs Symeon-Titus "the Whale" and Joseph-Epaphroditos "the Senseless."[26] This follows a long heresiological tradition of deprecating enemies with such nicknames.[27] An obvious example is the habitual allegation, which Peter also espouses, that Mani's name (*Μάνης*) resembles the Greek word for madness (*μανία*).[28] This usage is found in Cyril of Jerusalem's *Catechetical Sermons*, the primary source for the *History*'s account of Mani.[29] In his account of Paulician history, Peter's use of nicknames arises because the Paulician *didaskaloi* adopted the names of the apostle Paul's disciples, as in the case of Constantine adopting the name Silvanos. His deprecation of these names therefore characterises their claims to authority as spurious. Notably, in Cyril's *Catechetical Sermons* Mani and his predecessor Terebinthos changed their names, thereby providing Peter with a trope by which Manichaeans and Paulicians

[24] See also Cameron, 'How to Read', pp.471-6.
[25] Garsoïan, *Paulician Heresy*, pp.64; 68-73.
[26] Peter Sic., 108, pp.44-5 (*CDH*, p.79): Κῆτος for Τίτος; 129, pp.50-1 (*CDH*, pp.82-3): Ἀφρόνητος for Ἐπαφρόδιτος.
[27] See the naming of John the Grammarian as Iannes by writers such as Genesios to associate him with the Jewish magician described in *Exodus* 7:10-12. Genesios, 1:22, p.20; 3:10, p.44 (Kaldellis, pp.23-4; 58).
[28] Peter Sic., 52, pp.24-5 (*CDH*, untranslated).
[29] Cyril of Jerusalem, *Catecheses*, 6:24, pp.186-9 (McCauley and Stephenson, pp.161-2).

could be associated.[30] In this sense, his use of nicknames to associate the two heresies is comprehensible within the internal logic and symbolism of his source texts. This approach is typical of Peter's authorship throughout the *History*, in that he has co-opted a literary trope from his sources and developed this to form a polemical motif. There is an underlying logic by which Peter substantiates his arguments, but this is polemical and symbolic in nature, rather than doctrinal or historical.

Although it is evident that these references represent Peter's attempts to mock Paulicians, scholars have not observed that his onomastic additions enrich the symbolism of the text on a deeper level. The most obvious case is Sergios' reputed father Druinos, who is wholly of Peter's invention. The name Druinos is related to two relevant Greek words. The first of these is *δρυΐνας*, which refers to a snake which inhabits oaks trees.[31] The association of snakes with evil is well-known, but in this case a textual parallel is also evident. In the archetypal Greek heresiological text, Epiphanios of Salamis' *Panarion*, Paul of Samosata is compared to a *δρυΐνας* at the culmination of Epiphanios' account of his heresy.[32] Throughout the *History*, Peter seeks to demonstrate Sergios' heretical filiation and the textual parallel with the *Panarion* associates Sergios with a heresiarch whom Greek writers linked to Paulicians. The second parallel with this name is the adjective *δρύϊνος* which refers to the oak tree, oak wood, or the quality of being wooden more generally.[33] This too is relevant to Sergios, who is killed in the hills above Argaous while chopping planks of wood.[34] Thus, the name of Sergios' father is a macabre joke on Peter's part: he not only links Sergios with an earlier heresiarch, but also alludes to his violent demise.

This is not the only instance of a name which Peter has invented. The individuals responsible for the persecution of Paulicians in the reign of Michael I are named as Thomas, Bishop of Neocaesarea and the exarch Parakondakes – an unusual name which is otherwise unattested. Only the hapax *παρακονδακίζω* resembles this. It is found in the *Chronographia* of Theophanes, which is coincidentally the best source for this persecution and hence was probably known to Peter.[35] The word is

[30] Cyril of Jerusalem, *Catecheses*, 6: 22-3, pp.184-7 (McCauley and Stephenson, p.161).
[31] See entry for δρυΐνας in the *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae*. http://stephanus.tlg.uci.edu/.
[32] Epiph., Panarion, 65:9:4-7, vol.3, p.13 (Williams, p.226).
[33] See entry for δρύϊνος in the *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae*. http://stephanus.tlg.uci.edu/.
[34] Peter Sic., 179-80, pp.64-5 (*CDH*, pp.90-1).
[35] This seems a reasonable assumption, but note that the Continuator of Theophanes did not necessarily consult Theophanes, so we can hardly be certain. See Featherstone and Signes Codoñer

used in the context of a campaign of Constantine IV in Bulgaria and is commonly interpreted as 'harry.'[36] Therefore our exarch is named 'the harrier'; an apt name for an official responsible for persecution. A final example of Peter's invention is the imperial official Tryphon, who accompanies Symeon in his persecution of Paulicians. In one of the earliest anti-Manichaean polemics, the *Acta Archelai*, which is now only preserved in Latin, the primary agent of Mani's downfall is Archelaus, Bishop of Charchara.[37] In Peter's account this narrative is taken from a later version recounted by Cyril of Jerusalem's *Catechetical Sermons*, which refers only to Archelaus.[38] However, the original Greek version of the *Acta Archelai* referred to another figure who assists Archelaus: a presbyter called Tryphon.[39] Peter of Sicily refers to this Tryphon through a third account of this episode, preserved in Epiphanios' *De mensuris et ponderibus*.[40] Crucially, in Peter's account of the Symeon's investigation of Constantine-Silvanos, Tryphon is subordinated to him in the same manner that the other Tryphon is subordinated to Archelaus.[41] Hence, by naming Symeon's subordinate Tryphon, Peter associates these two anti-heretical initiatives, thereby implying that the later persecution overseen by Symeon is also directed against Manichaeans. As in the previous examples, this name is derived from intertextual references.

On the basis of these examples, I am inclined to suspect the historicity of the minor characters who appear in Peter's account, many of whom have unusual names and are unattested elsewhere. This scepticism should extend to place names, since locales described by the *History*, such as Episparis and Soros, have clear onomastic significance.[42] Since Peter refers to the word play associated with both locations it

(eds.), Theoph. Cont., p.10*. For the passage, see Theoph., pp.358-9, l.27-3 (Mango and Scott, p.499).

[36] See entry for παρακονδακίζω in the *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae*. http://stephanus.tlg.uci.edu/.

[37] C.H. Beeson (ed.), *Acta Archelai* (Leipzig, 1906). For an English translation see S.L. Lieu, K. Kaatz (eds.) and M. Vermes (trans.), *Acta Archelai: the Acts of Archelaus* (Turnhout, 2001), pp.35-153.

[38] Cyril of Jerusalem, *Catecheses*, 6:27-30, pp.190-9 (McCauley and Stephenson, pp.163-6).

[39] In the Latin version, the name of Tryphon has been confused with the town Diodoris, where he resided. See Lieu et. al. (eds.), *Acta Archelai*, p.9. For the references to this 'Diodorus' in the Latin version, see *Acta Archelai*, 43, pp.63-4 (Lieu et. al., pp.163-6).

[40] Peter cites Epiphanios in the relevant passage. See Peter Sic., 82, pp.36-7 (*CDH*, untranslated). For the *De mensuris*, see *PG* 43, col.270. Socrates of Constantinople, whom Peter also cites, does not refer to Tryphon. See Socrates, *Ecc. History*, 1:22, pp.66-8 (Zenos, pp.25-6).

[41] Peter Sic., 82-3, pp.37 (*CDH*, untranslated); 104, pp.42-5 (*CDH*, p.78).

[42] Ἐπίσπαρις (from ἐπισπείρω) refers to the familiar heresiological motif of sowing weeds. Σωρός could refer to *σωρός* (a heap, or mound). In the text, this refers to the heap of stones with which

seems that he has also modified the geography of the *Didaskalie*.[43] In the case of Episparis, this is evident because the *Treatise* refers to this village, stating that Paul of Samosata taught there.[44] Since Paul's career was not documented by the *Didaskalie,* it follows that Peter has introduced this locale into its narrative. Hence, as in the above instances, Peter has co-opted polemical tropes for his work. His intertextual references are largely confined to the *Didaskalie*, but they are found elsewhere in the *History*. In a rare deviation from Cyril's *Catechetical Sermons*, Peter twice adds the phrase "as the Paraclete" (ie. the Holy Spirit) while referring to Mani.[45] Admittedly, Cyril alleges that Mani referred to himself as the Paraclete once in his account, but Peter's restatement of his allegation associates Mani and Sergios, since one of Peter's principal complaints against Sergios is that he proclaims himself the Paraclete.[46] Once again, Peter's textual revisions corroborate the heretical filiation that he posits. This example shows that Peter integrated the *Didaskalie* into his broader historical account.

So far, these alterations scarcely change our interpretation of the *Didaskalie*, but they necessitate a more critical approach to the extant text. This observation is supported by the form in which the *Didaskalie* is preserved in the *History*. For instance, the *History*'s reworking of this source begins with the phrase "in the days of the Emperor Constantine, the grandson/descendant of Herakleios"; hardly a likely starting point for a Paulician narrative.[47] Likewise, the *History*'s account is descriptive and dispassionate, even in the case of events such as the mass immolation of Paulicians at Justinian II's command.[48] This can hardly have been true of the original Paulician source, which suggests that Peter of Sicily has suppressed its authorial voice. This raises a fundamental question which must now be addressed: to what extent has Peter altered the original account? In one case – the career of Sergios

Paulicians were stoned at this location. Alternatively, *σορός* refers to a funerary urn, which is similarly fitting to this context.

[43] For Episparis see Peter Sic., 86, pp.36-9 (*CDH*, p.75). For Soros see Peter Sic., 105, pp.44-5 (*CDH*, p.78).

[44] *Treatise*, 2, p.80 (*CDH*, p.93).

[45] See Peter Sic., 56, pp.26-7 (*CDH*, untranslated); 65, pp.30-1 (*CDH*, untranslated).

[46] Cyril of Jerusalem, *Catecheses*, 6:25, pp.188-9 (McCauley and Stephenson, p.162); Peter Sic., 134, pp.52-3 (*CDH*, untranslated); 156, pp.58-9 (*CDH*, p.87).

[47] Peter Sic., 94, pp.40-1 (*CDH*, p.76): Ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις Κωνσταντίνου τοῦ βασιλέως, τοῦ ἔγγονος Ἡρακλείου…

[48] Peter Sic., 111, pp.46-7 (*CDH*, pp.79-80).

– this is important enough to require a separate discussion, but for now I will concern myself with less significant events.[49]

There are several episodes in the *History*'s narrative which suggest an alteration of the archetype, many of which have been identified by Ludwig. Certainly, Gegnesios-Timothy's interview with the Patriarch of Constantinople has been reworked, although not necessarily in the way that Ludwig believed. She suggested that Gegnesios would have preached freely in the original exemplar, like Paul at Rome, but this is speculative.[50] However, the patriarch's line of questioning is almost identical to the six main heretical beliefs that Peter attributes to Paulicians and thus is of his invention.[51] There are two further events which Ludwig thought that Peter had emended from the original source. Firstly, she suspected that Peter had suppressed the conversion experience of Symeon-Titus, postulating that this must originally have resembled Paul's experience *en route* to Damascus, given the similarity of Symeon's role to that of Paul in *Acts*.[52] This is possible, but again speculative, given the lack of evidence. Secondly, she believed that Peter might have invented the figure of Paul the Armenian.[53] There are good grounds for accepting this, since he is never referred to in the *Treatise*, abjuration formulae, or any list of individuals that the Paulicians venerated.[54]

A clear motive for this invention is apparent: to weaken the link between the Paulicians and Paul the apostle by insinuating that they took their name from another Paul. Thus, it seems that this Paul did not originally figure in the *Didaskalie*. If this is so, then a link between Gegnesios and the earlier *didaskaloi* in the original account has been suppressed. As a final note, the dispute between Paul's sons Gegnesios and Theodore is so terse in the *History* that we must suspect that Peter has summarised the original account.[55] For instance, it is never explained why Gegnesios is regarded as the legitimate *didaskalos* and Theodore is not, or why only Gegnesios was summoned before the Patriarch of Constantinople. Given the extent of these modifications, the admissibility of interpreting the *Didaskalie* must necessarily be

[49] See pp.97-107.
[50] Ludwig, 'Bemerkungen', pp.180-1.
[51] See Peter Sic., 38-45, pp.20-3 (*CDH*, pp.72-4); 115-20, pp.46-9 (*CDH*, pp.80-1).
[52] Ludwig, 'Bemerkungen', p.171.
[53] Ludwig, 'Bemerkungen', pp.177-8.
[54] See *Treatise*, 5, p.82 (*CDH*, p.93); *Abjuration Formula I-IV*, pp.190-207 (*CDH*, pp.100-1; 103-10).
[55] Peter Sic., 113, pp.46-7 (*CDH*, p.80).

drawn into question. Certainly, these revisions problematise any interpretation of the source, but, as we will see in the following chapter, the intricate structure of the *Didaskalie* and its wealth of symbolic meaning still allow us to extract something of value.

In summary, Peter has modified the *Didaskalie* in a more meaningful way than by suppressing its theological content, as Ludwig believed.[56] These modifications are largely semiotic in nature and, although they have not been observed by modern scholars, this symbolism was probably effective in persuading contemporaries of the heterodoxy of the Paulicians. Related sources, such as the *Contra Manichaeos*, acknowledged and engaged with the symbolism of the *History*, as we will see. Nevertheless, it must be asked why Peter's methodology for this source is so different from that employed by the other composite texts which constitute the *History*, most of which are paraphrased faithfully. The answer predominantly lies in his attempt to demonstrate the link between Manichaeans and Paulicians. The *Didaskalie* is an attractive source in this regard, because its key themes mirror his own aims. The *Didaskalie*'s description of internal Paulician dissension fits the trope of a fractious heretical community, while references to the persecution of Paulicians by Romans afforded Peter with precedents for the capital punishment for which he argued. Likewise, its reference to Paulician leaders adopting Pauline names coheres with the name changes attested of Manichaean heretics.

Hence, if the orthodox axiom that heretics outwardly professed uncontroversial beliefs while secretly twisting their sense is taken literally, then it is understandable that Peter manipulated these texts to make his point. The duplicitous manner in which he employs his sources suggests that he conceived of heresy in this way, as does his characterisation of Constantine-Silvanos, whom Peter alleges concealed his dependence on heretical ideas.[57] The reasons why he was attracted to the *Didaskalie* are not hard to fathom, but the source was hardly appropriate for substantiating his position that Paulicians were Manichaeans, undoubtedly because, as Ludwig noted, the *Didaskalie* gives no indication of dualist thought.[58] It is

[56] Ludwig, 'Bemerkungen', pp.156-7.
[57] See also Peter Sic., 96-7, pp.40-1 (*CDH*, pp.76-7).
[58] Ludwig, 'The Paulicians', pp.29-30; 34.

interesting that the *Letters of Sergios* do not betray the same kind of revisions as the *Didaskalie*, perhaps because in his use of these sources Peter wished to employ the well-known polemical device of refuting a heresiarch by his own words, as he notes himself.[59] In any case, the modifications we have examined to date are minor, but this is not true of two matters I will now discuss: the chronology of the *Didaskalie* and the *History*'s account of Sergios' career. These examples suggest a fundamental revision of the *Didaskalie* and its structure, as well as an attempt to relate events not originally present in its narrative.

Peter of Sicily and the Chronology of the *Didaskalie*

On first impressions, the chronological framework of the *Didaskalie* is sophisticated, since the text as now preserved in the *History* contains three main dating schemata. However, a closer analysis of these dating methods shows that none of these were original to the Paulician exemplar. Thus, Peter of Sicily has historicised the *Didaskalie*'s narrative in order to incorporate it within the historical framework of his account of the Manichaean filiation of the Paulicians. In the following inquiry, I am not interested in how Peter achieved this, but rather in how the symbolism generated by these schemata contributes to Peter's attempts to denigrate Paulicians, as well as the repercussions of this fact for our understanding of Paulician history. In the following discussion, I will focus primarily on number symbolism.[60]

The events described by the *History* fit broadly within the history of this period, despite the fact that the account was originally mytho-historical. The mytho-historical origins are clear from certain episodes which are based on *Acts*, such as the stoning of the *didaskalos* Constantine-Silvanos, which is moulded on the death of the protomartyr Stephen.[61] As we will see, the *Didaskalie*'s repeated *topoi* and formulaic nature further substantiate its unhistorical character, as do the themes developed

[59] Peter Sic., 137, pp.52-3 (*CDH*, p.84, partial translation). As noted above, it is difficult to identify emendations in these letters.
[60] For a contemporary use see A. Németh, 'The Imperial Systematisation of the Past in Constantinople: Constantine VII and his Historical Excerpts', in J. König and G. Woolf (eds.), *Encyclopaedism from Antiquity to the Renaissance* (New York, 2013), pp.245-7.
[61] *Acts*, 7.54-60.

throughout the text.[62] Most crucially, the chronology of the *Didaskalie* is highly improbable, in spite of its coherence with external events. This is shown through a comparison between the Paulician *didaskaloi* and the regnal lengths of contemporary rulers. If we take the *History*'s information literally, then the Paulicians had a remarkable continuity of leadership, despite frequent internal conflicts, with seven leaders attested for a period of *c.*180 years, if we adopt Lemerle's chronology.[63] For this same period, there were nineteen East Roman Emperors and twenty-four Caliphs (ʻUmayyad and ʻAbbāsid), even when usurpers and co-rulers are excepted.[64] If this were not enough, the lengths of office attested for the *didaskaloi* are formulaic and are given in multiples of three, as Karapet Ter Mkrttschian noted long ago.[65] These numbers are inconceivable and represent Peter's attempts to historicise this Paulician account and reconcile it with external events.

Irrespective of these observations, and the fact that none of the events attested within this narrative can be corroborated independently, Peter's chronology is so convincing that most historians for the past two centuries have taken his narrative at face value.[66] For instance, the references to ruling emperors within the source are chronologically admissible. Peculiarities within the *Didaskalie*'s framework perhaps explain how Peter could make his chronology so convincing. Ludwig argued that the *Didaskalie* originally had a generational framework, in that each *didaskalos* heads the sect for thirty years, or alternatively a pair of *didaskaloi* rule for this period.[67] As we will soon see, these dates – and hence the generational framework – were not actually original to the text, but the Paulician leaders are separated by indeterminate periods of strife. These periods lend the chronology significant flexibility, which allowed Peter to reconcile the *Didaskalie*'*s* narrative with genuine historical events.

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[62] Chapter Four, pp.113-9.
[63] Lemerle, 'L'histoire', p.84.
[64] See J. Shepard (ed.), *The Cambridge History of the Byzantine Empire c.500-1492* (Cambridge, 2008), pp.906-7; 917.
[65] K. Ter Mkrttschian, *Die Paulikianer im byzantinischen Kaiserreiche und verwandte ketzerische Erscheinungen in Armenien* (Leipzig, 1893), p.17.
[66] As noted previously, this chronology barely changed between the 1820s and 1970s. See Chapter One, p.32.
[67] Ludwig, 'Bemerkungen', pp.187-8. Ludwig notes that, when taken as a pair, Constantine-Silvanos and Symeon-Titus held a combined leadership of thirty years. Gegnesios-Timothy and Joseph-Epaphroditos held the office for thirty years each.

Peter's attempts to historicise the *Didaskalie* are most evident in his use of number symbolism. This *topos* was not originally developed in the *Didaskalie*, but that is not to say that it was not apparent in Paulician thought at the time of its composition. It is most visible in the description of Paulician churches in the *Letters of Sergios*. In the relevant extract, Sergios identifies himself as the sixth *didaskalos* and describes the seven churches founded by these *didaskaloi*, noting that he founded the last three himself.[68] As we will see in Chapter Four, there are indications that this passage incorporates apocalyptic undertones based on the number seven.[69] This was not explicit in the *Didaskalie* because this source refers to only four *didaskaloi*. Furthermore, the *Treatise* misunderstood these numbers, mistakenly stating that Paulicians had seven teachers and six churches.[70] Irrespective of these differences, it is clear that Peter of Sicily adopted his concern with number symbolism from the *Treatise* and, less certainly, the *Letters of Sergios*.[71]

In the *History*, Peter subverts all references to the number seven in his account and instead employs the number six.[72] He nowhere numbers the Paulician churches and *didaskaloi*, so this is never made explicit, but numerical references elsewhere demonstrate that this is intended: instances of the number six are rife and, crucially, Peter never explicitly employs the number seven.[73] In doing so, Peter denies the Paulicians access to a number particularly associated with sanctity, just as he denies their doctrinal affiliation with Paul. The systematic omission of the number

[68] Peter Sic., 163, pp.60-1 (*CDH*, p.88).
[69] These seven churches are unsurprisingly different from those described at *Rev*., 1:11, given that the authenticity of *Revelation/Apocalypse* was rarely accepted in Greek traditions. See J. Irmscher, A.W. Carr and A. Kazhdan, 'Apocalypse', *ODB*, vol.1, p.131. Similar numerical concerns are found in the *Apocalypse* of Pseudo-Methodios. See Garstad (ed.), Ps.-Methodios, pp.2-71. The number seven also assumes importance in Paul's letters. On this, see W. Schmithals, *Paul and the Gnostics*, trans. by J.E. Steely (Nashville, 1972), pp.259-62. Aside from scriptural parallels, the number seven was considered significant because it equalled the number of the days of the week and the number of wandering stars. It was also associated with virginity by pagan and Christian philosophers. Pythagoreans are particularly associated with the number. See F. Dölger, 'Antike Zahlenmystik in einer byzantinischen Klosterregel', *Προσφορά εις Στίλπωνα Π. Κυριακίδην: επί τη εικοσιπενταετηρίδι της καθηγεσίας αυτού (1926-1951)* (Thessalonika, 1953), pp.183-7.
[70] *Treatise*, 5-8, pp.82-5 (*CDH*, pp.93-4).
[71] Chapter Four, pp.120-3.
[72] In some Christian traditions, the impiety of the number arises from the number of the beast being 666, although some manuscripts have variant readings. See *Rev*., 13. In Neoplatonic circles the number was conceived positively. A notable example is Porphyry's use of this number in the *Enneads*, his edition of the treatises of Plotinus. See S. Slaveva-Griffin, 'Unity of Thought and Writing: "Enn". 6.6 and Porphyry's Arrangement of the "Enneads"', *The Classical Quarterly, New Series* 58:1 (2008), pp.277-85.
[73] But note p.101 below, where he employs seven extracts from the *Letters of Sergios*.

seven is apparent in the six beliefs which Peter attributes to the Paulicians, which he refutes in the six sermons which originally followed his work. In the *Treatise*, the heretical tenets of the Paulicians are not numbered, but they certainly exceed six.[74] Furthermore, in the unnamed patriarch's interview with Gegnesios, the patriarch asks Gegnesios six questions which closely correspond to the six beliefs just mentioned.[75] As noted above, this interview has changed beyond recognition from that found in the original Paulician exemplar.[76] Finally, when Peter relates Sergios' disciples, he names six of these, while adding that there are many others.[77]

The most interesting numerical references are found within the *History*'s dating schemata, where Peter employs number symbolism freely, again avoiding references to the number seven.[78] The most notable example is the dating schema which dates the teaching of Paulician leaders a number of centuries after the teaching of Paul. These references are only invoked in the case of the first and last *didaskaloi*, Constantine-Silvanos and Sergios-Tychikos, and thereby bookend the account of the *didaskaloi*. Similarities between these references suggests that Peter is responsible for their composition: The first refers to Constantine:

> And he [Constantine] showed these pupils the book of the Apostle, which he had received from the aforementioned deacon and prisoner of war, saying: "You are the Macedonians and I am Silvanos who has been sent to you by Paul." And he said this having appeared six hundred years after the martyrdom of Paul, as I said before, in the time of Constantine the grandson/descendant (*ἔγγονος*)[79] of Herakleios.[80]

[74] *Treatise*, 9-24, pp.85-92 (*CDH*, pp.94-6).
[75] The only difference between the two sections is that Gegnesios is questioned about baptism by the patriarch, while Peter does not refer to this in his six points. The order of the tenets is slightly different. See Peter Sic., 38-45, pp.20-3 (*CDH*, pp.72-3); 115-20, pp.46-9 (*CDH*, pp.80-1).
[76] See Ludwig, 'Bemerkungen', pp.180-1.
[77] Peter Sic., 182, pp.66-7 (*CDH*, p.91).
[78] For prior views on the origins of these dating references see Ludwig, 'Bemerkungen', pp.166-7; L.W. Barnard, 'The Paulicians and Iconoclasm', in A. Bryer and J. Herrin (eds.), *Iconoclasm: Papers Given at the Ninth Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies, University of Birmingham, March 1975* (Birmingham, 1977), p.75.
[79] The term *ἔγγων/ἔγγονος* can mean either descendant or grandson.
[80] Peter Sic., 101, pp.42-3 (*CDH*, pp.77-8): Ἐπεδείκνυεν δὲ τοῖς μαθηταῖς αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν τοῦ Ἀποστόλου βίβλον, ἥνπερ εἴληφε παρὰ τοῦ προμνημονευθέντος διακόνου τοῦ αἰχμαλώτου, λέγων· << Ὑμεῖς ἐστε οἱ Μακεδόνες, ἐγὼ δέ εἰμι Σιλουανός, ὁ ὑπὸ Παύλου ὑμῖν ἀποσταλείς. >> Καὶ τοῦτο δὲ μετὰ χρόνους ἑξακοσίους τῆς μαρτυρίας Παύλου ἀναφανεὶς ἔλεγεν, ὡς γὰρ προείρηται, ἐπί Κωνσταντίνου τοῦ ἔγγονος Ἡρακλείου.

The second refers to Sergios:

> …he [Sergios] was aroused by satanic zeal and became a new herald of error, naming himself Tychikos after the one referred to in the letters of the apostle Paul. He said to everyone that he was a student of the apostle and that he was sent by him to preach – not the word of God, but ruinous error. This man eagerly travelled around many cities and lands, in which the apostle had proclaimed the word of truth eight hundred years beforehand, and he made many fall away from orthodox belief and led them to the devil, as he himself said in one of his letters: "From east to west, north to south I ran, proclaiming the gospel of Christ, having been weighed down to my knees."[81]

The context of these passages is similar, since both refer to the Paulician leader's quoted claim to be identified with a student of Paul and in both cases the references to the period during which they lived undermines these claims. Both references correspond with Peter's polemical aim and suggest that he has imposed this dating method onto the source. Although Ludwig argues that Peter may have distorted original Paulician references, number symbolism within the *History* shows that this is not the case.[82]

Interestingly, the dating of Constantine to six hundred years after Paul's teaching has no counterpart in the *Contra Manichaeos*. However, the *Contra Manichaeos* provides a corresponding dating for the teaching of Sergios. Unlike the *History*, which dates this to eight hundred years after the teaching of Paul, the *Contra Manichaeos* places it seven hundred years after this date.[83] Both dates are not wholly inaccurate, since according to Lemerle's reconstruction Sergios held his

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[81] Peter Sic., 152-3, pp.56-7 (*CDH*, p.86): …διεγείρεται ζήλῳ σατανικῷ καὶ γίνεται νέος κῆρυξ τῆς πλάνης· ἑαυτόν τε ἐπονομάσας Τυχικόν, τὸν ἐν ταῖς ἐπιστολαῖς ἐμφερόμενον τοῦ ἀποστόλου Παύλου, τοῖς πᾶσιν ἔλεγεν εἶναι μαθητὴς τοῦ ἀποστόλου καὶ παρ' αὐτοῦ ἀπεστάλθαι κηρύσσειν οὐ λόγον θεοῦ, ἀλλὰ πλάνην ὀλεθρίαν. Οὗτος περιελθὼν τὰς πόλεις πάσας καὶ τὰς χώρας ἀόκνως, ἐν αἷς ὁ ἀπόστολος πρὸ ὀκτακοσίων ἐτῶν τὸν λόγον τῆς ἀληθείας ἐκήρυξεν, πολλοὺς ἀπέστησεν τῆς ὀρθοδόξου πίστεως καὶ τῷ διαβόλῳ προσήγαγεν, ὡς αὐτὸς ἐν μιᾷ τῶν ἐπιστολῶν αὐτοῦ λέγει· << Ἀπὸ ἀνατολῶν καὶ μέχρι δυσμῶν καὶ βορρᾶ καὶ νότου ἔδραμον κηρύσσων τὸ εὐαγγέλιον τοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῖς ἐμοῖς γόνασι βαρήσας. >>.

[82] Ludwig, 'Bemerkungen', pp.166-7.

[83] Ps.-Photios, *Contra Manichaeos*, 114, pp.160-1. Καὶ πολλάκις τοῖς ἔτι μᾶλλον μυστικωτέροις τὴν ἀσέβειαν πνεῦμα καὶ παράκλητον ὑμνῶν ἑαυτόν, εἰς τὸν χορὸν τῶν μαθητῶν τοῦ θεσπεσίου Παύλου πρὸς τὸ ἄλλο πλῆθος κατέλεγεν ἑαυτόν, ἑκτακοσίων ἐτῶν ἐγγὺς μεταγενέστερος καὶ Παύλου καὶ Τυχικοῦ γεγονώς. Translation: And many times this man praised himself with even more mystical words of impiety, saying that he was the Spirit and Paraclete. He declared that he was from the chorus of the divine Paul – instead of another rabble – he who was born nearly seven hundred years after Paul and Tychikos.

office around 145 years after Constantine.[84] However, the dating schemata of the *History* operates on two levels, with the second of these based on number symbolism. If we use the dates which the *History* gives for each *didaskalos* to provide our chronology the significance of these references becomes apparent. The dates of the *didaskaloi* prior to Sergios are as follows:

Constantine-Silvanos	27 years
Interregnum	3 years
Symeon-Titus	3 years
Gegnesios-Timothy	30 years
Joseph-Epaphroditos	30 years
Total	93 years

If we employ the *History*'s dates, we find that Sergios ruled almost exactly a hundred years after Constantine and hence, the seven hundred years after Paul that Pseudo-Photios alleges. That Pseudo-Photios has employed these numbers is evident in his reference to Gegnesios ruling for *about* thirty years, thereby providing a rationale for rounding these dates up to a hundred.[85]

However, as noted above, Peter of Sicily dated Sergios' career (*c.*800/1-834/5) to eight hundred years after Paul. How do we account for this? The answer lies in Peter's use of number symbolism. As noted previously, Peter is unwilling to use the number seven while referring to Paulicians. As a result of this numerical concern, Peter amends the seven hundred years his reconstruction should elicit to eight hundred years, thereby avoiding reference to the number seven. This is decisively shown by the seven year anomaly in Peter's dating, which represents a deliberate admission that he is denying the Paulicians' right to this number and its associated sanctity, since in the only place he alludes to this number in his text, he does so in its absence. This was noticed by Pseudo-Photios, who employs the number which Peter should have used. Naturally, this observation shows that the dates assigned to each *didaskalos* were fabricated by Peter.

[84] Lemerle, 'L'histoire', p.84.
[85] Ps.-Photios, *Contra Manichaeos*, 84, pp.148-9.

This dating schema has several implications. Firstly, since Peter of Sicily's concern with number symbolism was derived from the *Treatise*, and Pseudo-Photios recognised and participated in this symbolism, there were established modes of reading texts of this kind. Further research is necessary to ascertain whether this was specific to the intellectual culture of Constantine VII's reign, or to the genre of heresiology more generally. However, the lack of onomastic and numerical symbolism within later works against Bogomils implies that the former context is of primary importance.[86] If so, the methodology and conclusions adopted here are not straightforwardly applicable to Greek heresiology. Secondly, the fact that Pseudo-Photios engaged with the *History*'s symbolism implies a particularly close relationship between these works, as their close textual relationship also suggests.

A final dating framework remains unstudied. This is the method which dates events (usually a *didaskalos*' assumption of this role or his death) to the reigns of East Roman emperors. In the following analysis, I will argue that this dating schema was not original and that Peter of Sicily superimposed this framework upon the *Didaskalie* in order to emphasise imperial agency in persecuting heresy. This naturally furthers his aim of persuading Constantine VII to declare the death penalty against Paulicians. Nonetheless, as we will see in the following chapter, it is still evident that, despite the lack of reference to specific emperors in the original text, Paulicians saw themselves within an East Roman thought-world.[87] The conclusion that Peter of Sicily imposed this dating schema on the source is supported by the views of Leslie Barnard and Ludwig, both of whom remained uncommitted about whether this schema was present in the *Didaskalie*, but ultimately preferred the interpretation that it was added by Peter.[88] Since the chronological schemata which we examined above have been invented by Peter of Sicily, it seems probable that the *Didaskalie* was originally unhistorical and had no dating framework. As we will see in the following chapter, Paulicians did not interpret their *didaskaloi* in

[86] Important sources for Bogomils, such as Cosmas the Priest's *Discourse*, the *Letter* of Euthymios of the Peribleptos and the *Alexiad* of Anna Komnene differ markedly in their aims and contexts, unlike our texts. For Cosmas see J.K. Begunov (ed.), *Kosma presviteri v slavjanski literaturach* (Sofia, 1973) (*CDH*, pp.115-34). For Euthymios see G. Ficker (ed.), *Die Phundagiagiten: ein Beitrag zur Ketzergeschichte des byzantinischen Mittelalters*, pp.3-86 (*CDH*, pp.143-64). For Anna see *Alexiad*, 15:8-9, pp.485-491 (Dawes, pp.412-7).
[87] Chapter Four, pp.120-8.
[88] Ludwig, 'Bemerkungen', pp.166-7; Barnard, 'Paulicians and Iconoclasm', p.75. For some chronological problems arising from this dating schema see Lemerle, 'L'histoire', pp.60-1.

conventionally historical terms, so it is unlikely that they did so with East Roman emperors either.[89] In terms of dating by imperial reigns, it seems that Peter also invented this schema because the dates of the emperors in question fit within the framework of the dating mechanisms we have already discussed.

Ultimately, the chronology of this period was too complex to be reconstructed by the provincial authors who composed the *Didaskalie*. This is suggested by the fact that the dating references that the *History* uses resemble those employed in East Roman historiographical texts, notably in its predilection for dating emperors of the Herakleian dynasty with respect to Herakleios (610-41). For instance, the first such emperor alluded to in the *History*'s account – conventionally identified either as Constans II (641-68) or Constantine IV (668-85) – is described as "Constantine, the descendant/grandson (*ἔγγονος*) of Herakleios."[90] Likewise, Justinian II (685-95; 705-11) is referred to as "Justinian, the one who ruled after Herakleios."[91] Both Theophanes' *Chronographia* and the *Chronographikon syntomon*, a text which has conventionally been attributed to the Patriarch Nikephoros, but whose authorship is disputed, adopt analogous schemes.[92] The approach of these texts is not surprising given the torturous difficulty of identifying and dating Herakleios' successors, some of whom were ephemeral and some of whom were not popularly known by their regnal names.[93] The chronology of these emperors therefore confused many historians from the eighth century onward. This is also true in the *History*, which implies that the same "Constantine, the grandson/descendant of Herakleios" described above reigned at the beginning of Constantine-Silvanos' teachings and at the investigation which led to his death twenty seven years later, but imperial chronology necessitates a change of emperor from Constans II to Constantine IV.[94] The chronology is thus highly complex. It is more likely that it was created by an intellectual with access to historical works at the court of Constantine VII than by provincial Paulician authors in the early ninth

[89] See Chapter Three, pp.114-20.
[90] Peter Sic., 94, pp.40-1 (*CDH*, p.76). For *ἔγγονος* see n.84 above.
[91] Peter Sic., 111, pp.46-7 (*CDH*, pp.79-80).
[92] Theoph., p.341, l.26-8 (Mango and Scott, p.475); Theoph., p.361, l.20-4 (Mango and Scott, p.504); *Chronographikon syntomon*, p.99.
[93] See W. Treadgold, *A History of the Byzantine State and Society* (Stanford, 1997), pp.307-22.
[94] Lemerle, 'L'histoire', pp.56-62. The *Chronographikon syntomon* incorrectly describes Constantine IV as the 'grandson of Herakleios' and thereby also confuses him with his father Constans II. Perhaps the *History*'s confusion on this point arises from Peter's use of this text. See *Chronographikon syntomon*, p.99.

century. Crucially, East Roman historical works also suggest a rationale which led Peter to begin his chronology with these emperors. The second recension of George the Monk's *Chronicon* incorporates the *Treatise* – and hence its material on the Paulicians – between the reigns of Constans II and Constantine IV, thereby suggesting that Peter's reconstruction was influenced by this text.[95]

For the reasons stated above, it seems that Peter of Sicily added these references to Roman emperors himself. In spite of this, as we will see, Roman agency still played an important role in the original variant of the *Didaskalie*. This is unsurprising, since the testimony of *Acts* suggests that the *Didaskalie* would have referred to Roman emperors, although it is unlikely that they were identified. In any event, Peter of Sicily made extensive modifications to the *Didaskalie*. Most notably, he added several dating mechanisms, thereby historicising a previously unhistorical text. The extent of these modifications problematises the validity of analysing the *Didaskalie* for information concerning Paulician history, since the source was not originally intended to be historically accurate. On the one hand, our observations suggest we should be wary of Peter's agency, especially because the material which he has suppressed from the original account is irrecoverable. But on the other hand, these alterations are not pronounced enough to invalidate an analysis of the *Didaskalie* because the narrative structure of the text and the outcome of individual episodes seem to be preserved faithfully. This is evident because most episodes contradict, rather than support, Peter's identification of Paulicians and Manichaeans. As a result, an analysis of the source in terms of Paulician belief and identity is admissible, as we will see in Chapter Four, but must be approached with care.

The *Didaskalie* and Sergios

The impression that the *History*'s account is broadly faithful to the *Didaskalie* is shown most clearly by the portion that did not belong to the original text – that is, its account of the final Paulician *didaskalos* Sergios. Although the *Didaskalie* was written under Sergios' direction and sought to legitimate his leadership, it does not necessarily follow that the text documented his career. Ludwig

[95] Georg. Mon., 24, pp.718-25.

believed that the *Didaskalie* related Sergios' career, arguing that the *Letters of Sergios* were subsumed within this source. To do so, she noted parallels in Sergios' career with those of the first *didaskalos* Constantine-Silvanos, such as the focus on their use of biblical books.[96] To this we could add the observation that an outsider instigates the careers of both *didaskaloi*.[97] However, there are crucial differences between the account of Sergios' life and that of the other *didaskaloi,* which suggest that Peter composed the account of Sergios' life himself, or at the very least reworked an existing account. While the latter is possible, the former is more likely given the absence of the *Didaskalie*'s usual symbolism and the fact that this symbolism fails to associate him with other *didaskaloi*. As we will see, the incoherence of the *History*'s narrative implies that Peter had access to extra Paulician material beyond the *Didaskalie* and *Letters of Sergios*, but it seems clear that this was not a coherent narrative account.

The hypothesis that Peter authored the account of Sergios' life is convincing because this account is more polemical than other sections of the *History*. It concentrates on excerpts of the *Letters of Sergios*, while incorporating Peter's excursuses on the correct interpretation of scripture. This differs from the emphasis on events which has hitherto predominated. Two decisive points show that the *Didaskalie* did not originally recount Sergios' career. As we will see in Chapter Four, the symbolism of this source associates pairs of *didaskaloi* with one another and it is difficult to conceive how Sergios' career could fit into this framework, which is complete as it stands.[98] Moreover, as noted in Chapter Two, Peter employed other sources, particularly *Theophanes Continuatus* I-IV, in his account of Sergios career, thereby suggesting that a coherent account was not already extant.[99] In addition to clarifying the nature of the *Didaskalie*, I have two main aims in conducting an analysis of the account of Sergios' career. Firstly, this gives us additional insight into Peter of Sicily's methodology while composing the *History*. Secondly, it is important to clarify Peter's additional sources to ascertain how reliable this narrative is.

[96] Ludwig, 'Bemerkungen', pp.202-4.
[97] A Syrian deacon and a 'Manichaean' woman respectively. See Peter Sic., 95, pp.40-1 (*CDH*, p.76); 135-47, pp.53-7 (*CDH*, pp.83-5).
[98] Chapter Four, pp.116-8.
[99] Chapter Two, pp.50-5.

If many of the above observations suggest that we should be sceptical about believing that the account of Sergios' career is original, suspicion is further raised by the account of his conversion to Paulician belief. We have already discussed the origins of Sergios' supposed father, but Sergios' family has little importance in his subsequent life. Instead, Sergios' heretical origins are developed by his conversations with a female 'Manichaean', which undoubtedly means Paulician in this context.[100] Immediately prior to his account of the pair's conversations, Peter lists several stereotypical instigators of heresy, including slaves, Saracens, the offspring of prostitution and – most pertinent to this case – women.[101] The agency of women in fomenting heresy is documented by other constituent parts of the *History*, since Mani's descent into heterodoxy is inspired by an Egyptian widow and Paul of Samosata is taught by his mother Kallinike.[102] We have already remarked Peter's attempts to associate Paulicians with these heresiarchs. In all of these cases, the women take dominant roles. Sergios' interlocutor assumes a seductive role, corrupting him and drawing him into heresy. She is never named and disappears from the narrative after his conversion. It is difficult to conceive why Sergios would credit his religious awakening to such a figure and hence it seems that this affair was not original to the *Didaskalie*.

The conversations between the two figures revolve around the undermining of Sergios' ties with the established church by a duplicitous reading of the Gospels.[103] It is therefore an account of the improper interpretation of texts and a departure from orthodoxy. These are themes which have little relevance to legitimating Sergios' leadership, but are pertinent to an orthodox writer aiming to denigrate a heresiarch.[104] This is evident in Peter's commentary on these conversations and his elucidation of correct scriptural interpretation.[105] As Sergios is portrayed as an unlearned and unwitting convert, he assumes the trope of the simple heretic. In this sense, Sergios' fall into heresy serves a didactic function for the reader. The reasons why Peter has employed a popular trope of heresiological literature here are obscure, but it is perhaps because the Paulician material furnished

[100] On these terms, see Chapter Six, pp.168-70.
[101] Peter Sic., 136, pp.52-3 (*CDH*, p.83).
[102] Peter Sic., 51, pp.24-5 (*CDH*, untranslated); 85, pp.36-7 (*CDH*, p.75).
[103] Peter Sic., 138-46, pp.52-5 (*CDH*, pp.84-5).
[104] See also Speck, 'Petros Sikeliotes', p.386, n.4.
[105] See esp. Peter Sic., 141-3, pp.52-5 (*CDH*, pp.84-5).

little testimony which supported a charge of dualism – for the simple reason that the Paulicians were not dualists.

There are two exchanges between the 'Manichaean' woman and Sergios, both of which are followed by Peter's repudiation of her reasoning and his own explanation of the orthodox interpretation. In both cases, her scriptural quotations and lines of argument are not doctrinal in nature, but rather undermine the authority of the established church.[106] Hence, the principal community delineated in this section is the East Roman Church. This is hardly appropriate to a Paulician source and again shows Peter's role in the composition of this account. After this account of Sergios' heretication, Peter refutes Sergios from his own letters. Unlike the rest of the account of Sergios' career, the authenticity of these letters is unproblematic: they are certainly a set of original Paulician sources and cannot be of a heresiologist's invention because they often contradict the *History*'s aims. The most obvious example of this is Sergios' claim within these letters that he dissuaded Paulicians from taking Roman prisoners; a claim that hardly supports Peter's portrayal of him as an arch-heresiarch and enemy of the East Roman Empire.[107] The contrast with the preceding material is stark.

Peter is explicit in his methodology for analysing these letters: he wishes to convict Sergios by his own words.[108] Admittedly, this method bears similarities to that which he used for the preceding material. That is, he notes where Sergios' remarks deviate from orthodoxy and criticises these, before giving the correct orthodox interpretation. This usually involves ignoring the context of Sergios' remarks and instead making hair-splitting criticisms that have no relevance to Sergios' intended meaning. This is obvious despite the fact that the contexts of these letters are obscure. Although this method may appear pedantic, it was an established practice of heresiologists.[109] When Sergios writes to the church at Koloneia, he invokes his own sanctity by quoting *Matt*. 6.22 "If your eye is healthy, your whole body will be full of light", but Peter turns this on its head, characterising him as the

[106] Peter Sic., 138-46, pp.52-5 (*CDH*, pp.84-5).
[107] Peter Sic., 157, pp.58-9 (*CDH*, p.87). For Peter's polemical portrayal of Sergios see Peter Sic., 133-4, pp.50-3 (*CDH*, p.83).
[108] Peter Sic., 137, pp.52-3 (*CDH*, p.84).
[109] See M.V. Anastos, 'Basil's *Κατὰ Εὐνομίου,* a Critical Analysis', in P.J. Fedwick (ed.), *Basil of Caesarea: Christian, Humanist, Ascetic* (Toronto, 1981), p.79.

blind leading the blind (*Matt*. 15.14).[110] Similarly, when Sergios notes that Paul founded the Church of Corinth, Peter criticises him because Paul actually founded many more.[111] In both instances, Peter disregards Sergios' intended meanings. Thus far, Peter's account of Sergios' career amounts to little more than a character assassination.

The *History* as now extant gives us little indication of the form that the *Letters of Sergios* took when Peter consulted them. Surprisingly given its concern with number symbolism, the *History* gives seven extracts from his letters.[112] It also quotes a single statement accredited to his adversary Baanes (the Greek equivalent of the Armenian name Vahan) and another to Sergios' disciple Theodotos.[113] Since Theodotos' statement occurs after Sergios' death, it is clear that this is not recounted in the letters. The same is probably true of Baanes' statement, since the extract in question reflects negatively on Sergios. We are therefore left with the seven extracts mentioned above. As we will see in Chapter Four, uneasiness concerning schism is a key concern of these extracts and this is perhaps true of the letters as a whole.[114] If this is so, then the relatively sparse use of these letters may reflect the fact that they were not as useful for substantiating Peter's aims, which caused him to use them selectively. Equally, it is possible that these letters had been excerpted when Peter consulted them. The testimony of the *Treatise*, which employs both the *Didaskalie* and *Letters of Sergios*, does not settle this matter either way. There is only a single instance where the source's debt to the *Letters* is apparent, but its condensed account of the *Didaskalie* shows that it has employed both sources selectively.[115] As a result, it is impossible to ascertain the form in which the *Letters* were originally preserved. This causes relatively few problems for the purposes of ascertaining how Peter of Sicily gained his information for the account of Sergios' career because it is unlikely that these letters provided a coherent historical narrative. Peter certainly gives no indication of using them for this end.

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[110] Peter Sic., 158-60, pp.58-61.
[111] Peter Sic., 163-5, pp.60-3.
[112] Peter Sic., 153, pp.56-7; 157, pp.58-9; 158, pp.58-9; 161, pp.60-1; 163, pp.60-1; 166, pp.62-3; 167, pp.62-3 (*CDH*, pp.86-9).
[113] Peter Sic., 171, pp.62-5 (*CDH*, p.89); 174, pp.64-5 (*CDH*, p.90).
[114] Chapter Four, pp.120-33.
[115] The passage in question is the description of Paulician churches. For this, see *Treatise*, 7, p.84 (*CDH*, pp.93-4); Peter Sic., 163, pp.60-1 (*CDH*, p.88). For its debt to the *Didaskalie*, see *Treatise*, 4-5, pp.81-2 (*CDH*, p.93).

After the extracts from Sergios' letters, we come to the narrative account of Sergios' career. This material is principally historical and therefore represents a better candidate for derivation from the *Didaskalie*, but an analysis of this section shows that this is not the case. It is unlikely that Peter would have co-opted *Theophanes Continuatus* I-IV's account of Theodora's persecutions if the appropriate persecutions were documented in the *Didaskalie*, particularly because the latter source was composed in their aftermath. Likewise, since the *Didaskalie* was written under Sergios' auspices, it would not relate his death, especially in the inglorious terms described here. The same is true for the alleged massacre of Baaniotes after Sergios' death. The *Letters of Sergios* also could not describe these events. Hence, we are forced to ask whence Peter obtained his information, since we saw in Chapter Two that his narrative of Sergios' career was incoherent and confused. This is unlikely to have been the case if he had invented it, so we are forced to posit source(s) for these events. This will comprise the focus of the following discussion, but the nature of these source(s) cannot be determined conclusively. The most important conclusion is that they were favourable to Sergios.

The principal reason for proposing that Peter of Sicily is drawing upon unknown sources is that the *History*'s account of Sergios' career is confused. In this account, Peter refers to three events: the conflict between Baanes and Sergios, the persecutions of Michael I and Leo V and the death of Sergios. There are two interpretive difficulties with this narrative. Firstly, the followers of the respective Paulician leaders are characterised differently before and after the persecutions. Sergios' followers are characterised as Sergiotes beforehand and afterwards as *Astatoi* and *Kynochoritae*.[116] By contrast, Baanes' followers are characterised as Baaniotes before the persecutions, but Baanes and his followers are never mentioned afterward.[117] Secondly, before the persecutions it is implied that Baanes' followers will be implicated in the death of Sergios, but Sergios is murdered by a lone individual with no connection to Baanes.[118] These inconsistencies have similarities which suggest the reconciliation of separate accounts, since both difficulties span the period before and after the persecutions and both are centred on Sergios, Baanes,

[116] Peter Sic., 172-78, pp.64-5 (*CDH*, pp.89-90).
[117] Peter Sic., 170-2, pp.62-5 (*CDH*, pp.89-90).
[118] Peter Sic., 173; 179-80, pp.64-5 (*CDH*, pp.90-1).

their followers and the conflict between the relevant parties. Given our observations throughout this chapter, it is not impossible that Peter has fabricated this material, but it seems unlikely given the incoherence of the *History*'s account.

At first sight, it appears that these difficulties are caused by Peter's use of *Theophanes Continuatus* I-IV, since this text describes the persecutions which occasion such difficulties. However, this cannot be the case because *Theophanes Continuatus* I-IV does not refer to any of the events or actors mentioned above. A second explanation is more persuasive: namely, that these inconsistencies arise from Peter's attempts to reconcile the religious and militaristic phases of Paulician history, which are respectively dependent on heresiological sources such as the *Treatise*, and historiographical works such as the *Basileion* and *Theophanes Continuatus* I-IV. Since the *History* places the transition between these phases at the time of the East Roman persecutions this seems a fitting reason for this inconsistency. However, it does not explain the impression that Peter is reconciling different sources. Since the sources in question are not the *Didaskalie* or the *Letters of Sergios*, it is important to ascertain what these sources are.

Some clues are found in the *Treatise*'s testimony on Sergios' career. For instance, in its description of the Paulician churches, it refers to Sergios' foundations as follows:

> …they call the Church of the Laodicaeans the Argaoutes and they call the Church of the Ephesians those in Mopsouestia. They call the Church of the Kolossians the Kynochorites. These three churches, they say, Sergios-Tychikos taught.[119]

Importantly, the *History*'s account demonstrates that this information does not derive from the *Letters of Sergios*. For the most part, the *History*'s account resembles the *Treatise*, although the identification of some churches are different:

> "Yet I say, Paul founded the Church at Corinth, Silvanos and Titus the Macedonian [Church]" and by Macedonia he means the assembly at Kibossa, and he calls Constantine Silvanos and Symeon Titus. "Timothy taught the

[119] *Treatise*, 7, p.84 (*CDH*, pp.93-4):...τὴν τῶν Λαοδικέων, λέγουσι δὲ τοὺς Ἀργαούτας, καὶ τὴν τῶν Ἐφεσίων, τοὺς ἐν Μομψουεστίᾳ, καὶ τὴν τῶν Κολασσαέων, λέγουσι τοὺς Κυνοχωρίτας· ἅσπερ τρεῖς ἐκκλησίας, φησίν, Σέργιος ὁ καὶ Τυχικὸς ἐμαθήτευσεν.

> Church of Achaea" and by Achaea he means Mananalis, and he names Gegnesios Timothy who was really 'Thumotheos'. "Epaphroditos ministered at the Church of the Phillipians" and he means by him Joseph the goatherd, born of fornication, who was really 'the Senseless'. He names his students the Philippians. "Tychikos taught the Church of the Laodikaeans and Ephesians, and still yet that of the Kolossians" and by Kolossians he means the Argaoutes, by Ephesians those at Mopsuestia, and by Laodikaeans the dogs who inhabit the land of the dog [i.e. the *Kynochoritae*]. Concerning all these, it is said that the three are one and are taught by one, by Tychikos.[120]

The point of crucial importance here is that Peter adds his commentary throughout this quotation in order to identify the *didaskaloi* and their churches. It is therefore clear that his source for this information was not the *Letters of Sergios*. Two possibilities present themselves: Peter's source could be the *Treatise*, or alternatively, it could derive from extra material preserved with the *Letters* and the *Didaskalie*. While the former eventuality could explain this passage, its lack of a historical narrative of Sergios' career means that it cannot be the source we are seeking. Moreover, if the *Treatise* is the ultimate source of Peter's commentary to this letter, we are still left with the problem of whence it obtained its information. Since both the *History* and the *Treatise* employed the *Didaskalie* and *Letters* it is most likely that both received the identification of these churches via information preserved with these sources in their manuscript tradition. Given the incoherence of the *History*'s account, the possibility that this extra material was fragmentary in nature, such as marginalia or excerpta, is an attractive one. If this is the case, the *Didaskalie* and *Letters* circulated together in manuscript traditions with an apparatus of some description that provided information on Sergios' career. Another convincing reason for supposing such a source is that it is evident that it must have been favourable to Sergios, while we would expect the opposite to be true if Peter of

[120] Peter Sic., 163, pp.60-1 (*CDH*, p.88): Καὶ πάλιν φησίν· *Ἔτι δὲ λέγω· τὴν ἐν Κορίνθῳ ἐκκλησίαν ᾠκοδόμησε Παῦλος, τὴν δὲ Μακεδονίαν Σιλουανὸς καὶ Τίτος*· λέγει δὲ Μακεδονίαν τὸ συνέδριον τὸ εἰς Κίβοσσαν, Κωνσταντῖνον δὲ καὶ Συμεῶνα Σιλουανὸν καὶ Τίτον ἀποκαλεῖ. *Τὴν Ἀχαΐαν ἀνιστόρησε Τιμόθεος*· λέγει δὲ Ἀχαΐαν τὴν Μανάναλιν, καὶ τὸν Γεγνέσιον Τιμόθεον ὀνομάζει τὸν ὄντως Θυμόθεον. *Τὴν τῶν Φιλιππησίων ἐκκλησίαν ἐλειτούργησεν Ἐπαφρόδιτος*· λέγει δὲ τὸν ἐκ πορνείας Ἰωσὴφ τὸν αἰπόλον, τὸν ὄντως Ἀφρόνητον, καὶ Φιλιππησίους ὀνομάζει τοὺς μαθητὰς αὐτοῦ. *Τὴν Λαοδικέων καὶ Ἐφεσίων ἐκκλησίαν, ἔτι δὲ καὶ τὴν τῶν Κολασσαέων, ἐμαθήτευσε Τυχικός*· καὶ Κολασσαεῖς μὲν λέγει τοὺς Ἀργαούτας, Ἐφεσίους δὲ τοὺς ἐν Μοψουεστίᾳ, Λαοδικεῖς δὲ τοὺς κατοικοῦντας κύνας τὴν τοῦ Κυνὸς χώραν· περὶ τούτων πάντων λέγει ὅτι αἱ τρεῖς ἕν εἰσιν καὶ ὑφ' ἑνός, τοῦ Τυχικοῦ, μηνύονται.

Sicily invented this material himself. Since the *Didaskalie* and *Letters* were composed by Sergios or those favourable to him, this extra material agrees with their aims. It thus follows that this material may be Paulician in origin and may have been associated with these texts before they fell into East Roman hands.

The negative characterisation of Baanes and his followers demonstrates that this extra material was originally favourable to Sergios. After the latter's death, the Sergiotes slaughter the Baaniotes, until a companion of Sergios, Theodotos, halts them and reconciles the two groups.[121] This passage portrays the Sergiote faction positively and contradicts Peter' aims. Admittedly, the sole quotation attributed to Baanes does not portray Sergios as sympathetically:

> "You have appeared recently and you have never seen one of our teachers, or stayed with them. I am the student of lord Epaphroditos; as he handed down to me from the beginning, so I also teach."[122]

Since this quotation presents Sergios as illegitimate, it is difficult to reconcile it with a pro-Sergiote source. However, as we will see in Chapter Four, the *Didaskalie* attempts to placate criticisms of Sergios and thereby makes references which are less favourable to him. This quotation may belong in a similar context, even if it does not belong to the *Didaskalie*. In any event, the negative characterisation of Baanes in the *History* and *Treatise* shows that their sources were unfavourable to him. Both sources call him 'the Filthy.'[123] He is also never given the name of a disciple of Paul, unlike Sergios-Tychikos, thereby showing that he was not considered a legitimate *didaskalos*. Hence, the testimony of the *Treatise* and *History* agrees with the hypothesis of a Paulician dossier which contained the *Didaskalie* and the *Letters of Sergios*, as well as contextual information which documented the conflict between Baanes and Sergios, which was not covered by either of the main Paulician sources. Overall, this analysis corroborates Speck's position that the *Didaskalie* and *Letters of Sergios* were distinct sources, but the complexity of these sources renders it understandable that Garsoïan and Ludwig came to different conclusions.[124]

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[121] Peter Sic., 173-4, pp.64-5 (*CDH*, p.90).
[122] Peter Sic., 171, pp.62-5 (*CDH*, p.89): Ὁ δὲ Βαάνης φησὶ πρὸς αὐτόν· << Σὺ νεωστὶ κατεφάνης καὶ οὐδένα τῶν διδασκάλων ἡμῶν ἑόρακας ἢ συμπαρέμεινας, ἐγὼ δὲ τοῦ κυροῦ Ἐπαφροδίτου μαθητὴς ὑπάρχω καί, καθὼς παρέδωκέν μοι ἀπαρχῆς, οὕτως καὶ διδάσκω >>.
[123] *Treatise*, 5, p.82 (*CDH*, p.93); Peter Sic., 130, pp.50-1 (*CDH*, p.83); 170, pp.62-3 (*CDH*, p.89).
[124] Garsoïan, *Paulician Heresy*, pp.63-7; Ludwig 'Bemerkungen', pp.209-11; 213-6.

The most immediate consequence of the above findings is that the historicity of this section of the *History*'s narrative is doubtful, albeit in a different sense from the narrative of the early *didaskaloi*. Rather than being unhistorical, it seems that the account of Sergios' career was merely undocumented and thereby incoherent. Peter of Sicily exploited these deficiencies for his own ends, in the process composing an account which portrayed Sergios as an arch-heresiarch and reconciled the 'religious' and 'militaristic' phases of Paulician history that were documented by Paulician and East Roman sources respectively. These findings have particular relevance to two events: the conflict between Baanes and Sergios, and Sergios' death. As remarked above, Peter of Sicily employs *Theophanes Continuatus* I-IV to bridge the two phases of Paulician history. In the resulting narrative, he portrays the conflict between Baanes and Sergios as enduring throughout these persecutions until Sergios' death. However, as noted above, Baanes or his followers do not reappear after the account of the Roman persecutions. This suggests that the conflict between these rivals may have been confined to the early years of Sergios' career, perhaps to the first decade of the ninth century. As for Sergios' death, since his demise contributes to the symbolism of his father Druinos' name, I consider this account suspect.[125] However, this event is of peripheral interest for the study of Paulicians, so its implications are limited. On the whole, many of the episodes recounted about Sergios are questionable, but it is at least evident that he was a historical personage who led some, but not necessarily all, Paulicians *c*.800/1-34/5.

Finally, it remains to be seen why Peter composed an account of Sergios' career, considering that he did not do likewise for the later Paulician military leaders Karbeas and Chrysocheir. His motives are fairly straightforward: the invention of this account allows him to characterise Sergios as the most dangerous exponent of Paulician teaching, which fits perfectly with his aim of emphasising the religious threat of the Paulicians. Moreover, by associating Sergios with militaristic followers such as the *Astatoi* and *Cynochoritae*, Peter regards him as the forerunner of this later militaristic threat. Peter's allegations are spurious, as the quotation that Sergios attempted to stop his followers capturing Romans demonstrates. The amount of invective Peter hurls at Sergios is unprecedented and is irreconcilable with the later events that the *History* describes. According to Peter, he is a murderer, schismatic,

[125] Peter Sic., 179-80, pp.64-5 (*CDH*, pp.90-1).

liar and extortionist who splits up families, ransacks monasteries, estranges people from their native land and subverts the whole social order.[126] Moreover, Peter's reference to Mani's claim to be the Paraclete in Cyril's *Catechetical Sermons* serves to associate Sergios with this notorious heretic. In this sense, Peter's account of Sergios' career can be interpreted as the climax of his work in that it substantiates his Manichaean-Paulianist-Paulician identification. Peter's sources suggested that Sergios was the most successful Paulician *didaskalos*, although, given that these sources were written under this heresiarch's direction, he was merely their most effective propagandist. Nevertheless, the *History* would be incomplete without an account of his career. Peter used the silence of his sources as a mandate to compose an account which had relevance to heresy more generally.

Conclusion

Peter of Sicily's *History of the Paulicians* does not faithfully preserve the *Didaskalie*, which in any case did not document historical events. However, as we will see in Chapter Four, we can still extract valuable information from this account. Peter modified episodes within the *Didaskalie*, imposed a chronological framework upon it and invented numerous minor characters, in the process cross-referencing the *Didaskalie* with other constituent parts of the *History* by means of inter-textual references. The sophistication of this approach has not previously been recognised because the *History* has rarely been analysed as a whole. Naturally, these modifications problematise the *Didaskalie*'s value as a historical witness, particularly since it was never intended to act as a historical source. To some degree, the *Letters of Sergios* are less problematic, in that Peter does not seem to have modified these to the same degree. However, because Peter has selected this material our knowledge of the *Letters* as a body of material is limited. It is most likely Peter had access to the *Didaskalie* and *Letters* in the form of a collection that contained extra material that contextualised Sergios' conflict with Baanes and perhaps other events in his career. It is probable that the writer of the *Treatise*, almost a century earlier, had access to a similar dossier.

[126] Peter Sic., 133-4, pp.50-3 (*CDH*, p.83).

Peter's revision of his source material contributes to the aims of the *History* in several respects. It allows him to draw symbolic parallels between Manichaean, Paulianist and Paulician religiosities, thereby emphasising his argument that these are essentially the same heresy. Similarly, it stresses imperial agency in order to appeal to the Emperor Constantine VII. Both of these emphases have the same result: they further Peter's aim of subjecting Paulicians to capital punishment. In this sense, the *History* reaches its climax in the account of Sergios' career. Peter's ingenuity and reworking of sources is more evident here than elsewhere and serves to characterise Sergios as the most dangerous exponent of Paulician belief. In doing so, Peter integrates the contrasting portrayals of Paulicians apparent in the sources: the religious portrayal of the heresiological sources and the militaristic portrayal of the hagiographical sources. Although the resulting account is by no means coherent, it represents the first attempt to conceive Paulicians in a holistic sense. In this sense, the *History of the Paulicians*, the conventional modern name for the source, is apt. Peter's literary achievement is considerable enough to merit interest beyond the attention of heresy specialists. Yet, the continuity that he posits between the religious and militaristic phases of Paulician activity is questionable and may have misled generations of modern scholars. We will examine this matter in Chapters Six and Seven.

Chapter Four: The *Didaskalie* and the Paulicians

Now that we have analysed the manner in which Peter of Sicily modified the *Didaskalie* it only remains to analyse what implications this source, and to a lesser degree, the *Letters of Sergios*, have for our knowledge of Paulician history. Both sources were originally authored by Paulicians and composed in Greek. Claudia Ludwig has argued that the *Didaskalie* was composed under Sergios-Tychikos' direction.[1] I will agree with this interpretation here, but nuance this by positing that it was composed in the aftermath of the East Roman persecutions promulgated by Michael I (811-3) and Leo V (813-20). I will problematise Sergios' relationship to this text and substantiate this dating by arguing that themes such as martyrdom and contested leadership are best explained within the context of these persecutions. More importantly, I will analyse the *Didaskalie*'s narrative in order to investigate whether the values and anxieties that it expresses are representative of broader Paulician concerns and whether we can discern anything of historical value from it despite its unhistorical nature. In doing so, I will conclude that the source is partially representative of broader Paulician conceptions of identity and leadership, but that Sergios' relationship to the source shows that contrary understandings of these factors were also extant at the time of its codification, and probably beforehand. This implies that not all Paulician communities were beholden to Sergios and that there were multiple competing Paulician identities which were still evolving in the early ninth century. The situation was unquestionably similar in the late eighth century. I will substantiate this position in Chapter Six. Beyond this, I will examine the most characteristically Paulician beliefs that are evident from the source, focusing particularly on the emphasis that they placed on the Holy Spirit, as well as the sin-based narratives by which they made sense of their history and identity.[2] As we will see, narratives of this kind were crucial to Paulician successes in the aftermath of the persecutions of the 810s, and perhaps gives some indications about why Paulician belief proved so attractive beforehand.

[1] C. Ludwig, 'Wer hat was in welcher Absicht wie beschreiben? Bemerkungen zur Historia des Petros Sikeliotes über die Paulikianer', *Varia 2 POIKILA BYZANTINA* 6 (1987), pp.209-10.
[2] By sin-based I mean only that the narrative revolves around how Paulician understandings of sin (which our Paulician sources generally associate with schism) affected how they perceived their place in the world.

Given our conclusion that Peter of Sicily reworked the *Didaskalie* extensively while composing the *History of the Paulicians*, it may be surprising that we can make such significant conclusions. Fortunately however, the narrative structure and symbolic motifs preserved by the *History* demonstrate that the *Didaskalie*'s underlying aims and meanings survive, regardless of Peter's revisions. In brief, this symbolic narrative aims to substantiate Sergios' legitimacy by emphasising the preservation of the Paulician community as the most important criterion for being a *didaskalos*. Interestingly, the text downplays courage, thereby suggesting that Sergios was found wanting in this regard. This observation suggests that although Ludwig's hypothesis that Sergios commissioned this text was correct, his writers were forced to acknowledge pre-existing traditions of the behaviour expected of a *didaskalos*. To some degree, this undermined the source's aim of legitimising him. Sergios' struggle for legitimacy was conditioned by two main factors: firstly, he was not the presumptive heir of his predecessor Joseph-Epaphroditos; and secondly, he responded indecisively to the Roman persecutions of the 810s.

Although we may suspect that the *Didaskalie* was unsuccessful in substantiating Sergios' legitimacy, it seems that the distinctly Paulician sin-based narrative, which was based on New Testament works, particularly *Acts*, was more successful.[3] By examining this narrative, I will build upon the work of Ludwig, the only previous scholar to analyse the *Didakalie* as a literary source. While Ludwig used the source to examine the matter of Paulician belief, in the process demonstrating its apostolic character, she did not ground this belief in a wider historical context, or explain why it was so attractive to many provincials.[4] I believe that its attractiveness was ultimately due to the *Didaskalie*'s sin-based narrative, which I will describe in this chapter. Aside from this, I will expand upon Ludwig's analysis of the distinctly Paulician doctrine of 'the reception of the grace of the Spirit', arguing that this concept applied to all Paulician adherents, not just their elites.[5] All indications suggest that this phrase was informed by conventionally

[3] For eschatological/messianic explanations with relevance to our example see P.M. Cobb, *White Banners: Contention in 'Abbasid Syria, 750-880* (Albany, 2001), pp.112-5 for the Jarājima/Mardaites; or, more generally, Ps.-Methodios, *Apocalypse*, ed. and trans. by B. Garstad (Cambridge, MA/London, 2012).
[4] Ludwig, 'Bemerkungen', pp.224-5.
[5] Ludwig, 'Bemerkungen', pp.185; 189-90.

Christian theology, thereby implying that Paulician beliefs could have developed organically from Christianity in the provinces, as well as indicating a context in which provincials engaged with complex theological thought. Finally, I will further corroborate Ludwig's claims that Paulicians espoused an apostolic religiosity by disavowing their supposed dualism and rejection of the Old Testament. Taken together, these aims serve as a prelude to the investigation of Paulicians as a social phenomenon. This analysis will be conducted in Chapter Six. The *Letters of Sergios* are occasionally useful in this regard, but for the most part, I will concentrate on the *Didaskalie* because it is easier to contextualise.

The existence of traditions hostile to Sergios are interesting because it implies discourses which circulated within wider Paulician networks, rather than an official narrative promulgated by their elite. This is a valuable perspective, since it proves a corrective to the primary narrative of the *Didaskalie*, which remains centred on the teachings and rivalries of male clerical elites, undoubtedly because narratives of this kind were customary during our period. Indeed, they still underpin most modern accounts of Paulicians. However, they prove inadequate for explaining the sudden appearance of Paulicians in the early ninth century, or explaining how they became a group with regional influence within decades. To evaluate these matters, we must place Paulicians within the social, political and religious contexts of this period and examine their religiosity, social organisation and interactions with other actors. This analysis properly belongs in Chapter Six, but we must acknowledge here that by its nature the *Didaskalie* cannot adequately explain the expansion of Paulician influence. As a result, I will explain why the constraints of the *Didaskalie* necessitate that an analysis of the development and interaction of Paulician communities requires an approach based on non-elite Paulician actors and 'bottom-up' processes.[6] This will lead me to propose that Paulicians were composed of independent networks and communities, rather than being a unified entity, before – and to some degree after – the persecutions of the 810s. Despite this, the sin-based narrative mentioned above suggests that Paulicians swiftly internalised Roman persecutions.

[6] For a provocative recent study with similar emphasis see A. Kaldellis, *The Byzantine Republic: People and Power in New Rome* (Cambridge, MA/London, 2015).

The Context of the *Didaskalie* and *Letters of Sergios*

As previously remarked, Ludwig has assigned the authorship of the *Didaskalie* to the partisans of Sergios.[7] She also asserted that Sergios ordered the text to be codified shortly after the supposed flight of Paulicians from East Roman territory following the persecutions of Michael I and Leo V.[8] As we saw in Chapter Two, this flight never took place.[9] Nevertheless, Ludwig's interpretation still places the codification of the text in the immediate aftermath of the persecutions of the 810s. This view will be adopted here. Although it is impossible to date the text precisely, I prefer a date relatively close to these persecutions, perhaps at the close of the 810s or during the 820s. The primary reason for positing this date is the emphasis placed on persecution and schism within the *Didaskalie*, since all of the *didaskaloi* described by the source face persecution and contest their leadership with a rival. As we saw in the previous chapter, the *Didaskalie* is unhistorical. It subordinates the past to the present, transposing the primary concerns apparent during Sergios' time – that is, persecution and schism – onto earlier periods. At any rate, the observation that the text did not originally refer to the career of Sergios, an interpretation adopted in Chapter Three, demonstrates that the source was formalised prior to his death in 834/5. These observations render a date shortly after the persecutions of the 810s likely. Since much of my rationale for dating this text arises from its narrative themes and structure, I will substantiate this hypothesis throughout the course of this chapter.

The *Didaskalie* is exceptional in many regards. To my knowledge, it is the only extant narrative source which describes the growth of a heretical movement from its own perspective in East Roman traditions, during, or prior to, our period.[10]

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[7] Ludwig, 'Bemerkungen', pp.209-10. By contrast, Lemerle thinks that this information represents a Paulician vulgate dating *c*.870. See P. Lemerle, 'L'histoire des Pauliciens d'Asie Mineure d'après les sources grecques', *TM* 5 (1973), p.56. Speck believes that the narrative dates from after 835. P. Speck, 'Petros Sikeliotes, seine Historia und der Erzbischof von Bulgarien', *ELLHNIKA* 27 (1974), p.386. These interpretations are challenged by the argument that the *Didaskalie* did not originally refer to Sergios' career.

[8] C. Ludwig, 'The Paulicians and Ninth-Century Byzantine Thought', in L. Brubaker (ed.), *Byzantium in the Ninth Century: Dead or Alive?* (Aldershot, 1998), p.25.

[9] Chapter Two, pp.50-5.

[10] A parallel from the same region, but without reference to heresy is Şikari's *History of the Karamanids*, a "semi-historical" Turkish source with roots in nomadic society and oral culture which

Given the history of the term 'Paulician' in Armenian sources and the later Paulician alliance with the Emirate of Malaṭiya, it may seem surprising that we can place the text in an East Roman cultural orbit. However, the *Didaskalie* was composed in Greek and identifies Romans as the Paulicians' primary enemy. All four *didaskaloi* described by the text are persecuted by Romans, while only Joseph-Epaphroditos faces a confrontation with Islamic actors. As we will see, this mirrors the scriptural precedent of *Acts*, which opposes Christians (and by implication, Paulicians) with Romans. The text was therefore conceived within a thought-world conditioned by the influence of the empire. The *Didaskalie* is also exceptional in that it originated in a provincial setting (most probably north-eastern Asia Minor) without discernible links to monastic networks or aristocratic groups. As for genre considerations, the text is not conventionally historical, as noted in the previous chapter.[11] Its lack of focus on individual religiosity also precludes it being hagiographical.[12] Moreover, since wrongdoers do not suffer for their actions the text is hardly didactic. Our inability to fit the source within conventional genre boundaries may be instructive: it may have not originally been a text, but rather a product of oral culture. This sits uneasily with the observation that the source was conceived as a whole but the existence of material unfavourable to Sergios indicates a complex origin. Alternatively, the eccentricities of the source may also be explained by its provincial and/or Paulician origins.

By contrast, the *Letters of Sergios* are more conventional, but also more difficult to contextualise. This is because they necessarily comprise a diffuse body of material and because they are now preserved in fragmentary form.[13] As noted in Chapter Three, the form in which these letters were preserved is unclear. We can

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dates from the sixteenth century but deals with thirteenth-century events. See S.N. Yildiz, 'Reconceptualising the Seljuk-Cilician Frontier: Armenians, Latins, and Turks in Conflict and Alliance during the Early Thirteenth Century,' in F. Curta (ed.), *Borders, Barriers and Ethnogenesis: Frontiers in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages* (Turnhout, 2005), pp.115-7.

[11] For genre considerations see P.A. Agapitos, 'Contesting Conceptual Boundaries: Byzantine Literature and its History', *Interfaces – A Journal of Medieval European Literatures* 1 (2015), pp.62–91. For historiography see M. Angold and M. Whitby, 'Historiography', in E. Jeffreys, J.F. Haldon and R. Cormack (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Byzantine Studies* (Oxford, 2008), pp.838-51.

[12] A.-M. Talbot, 'Hagiography', in E. Jeffreys, J.F. Haldon and R. Cormack (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Byzantine Studies* (Oxford, 2008), pp.862-71; E.C. Bourbouhakis and I. Nilsson, 'Byzantine Narrative: the Form of Storytelling in Byzantium', in L. James (ed.), *A Companion to Byzantium* (Chichester, 2010), pp.263-74.

[13] The usual caveats of epistolography should be borne in mind while analysing these letters. See M. Mullett, 'Epistolography', in E. Jeffreys, J.F. Haldon and R. Cormack (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Byzantine Studies* (Oxford, 2008), pp.882-892.

only state that they were composed during Sergios' career (*c*.800/1-34/5). Several important observations present themselves. Firstly, these *Letters* are moulded on the Pauline epistles. This is particularly evident in their pastoral theme.[14] Consequently, Sergios intended them to be preserved and to have confessional significance. Secondly, both the extant fragments of the *Letters* and the *Didaskalie* demonstrate a similar concern with the preservation of Paulician communities. It is impossible to ascertain whether this was true of the original letters, but their pastoral nature and the conventions of epistolography suggest that this was the case. An intriguing possibility arises from this hypothesis: because Sergios was responsible for the *Didaskalie* and the *Letters of Sergios*, which respectively draw upon *Acts* and the Pauline epistles, these two sources may have been consciously related to one another (and presumably also these biblical works). If so, they may have achieved canonical status among at least some Paulicians. Peter of Sicily states that this was true of the *Letters of Sergios*, so perhaps the same was true of the *Didaskalie*.[15] Thus, the Paulician scriptural canon, like their conceptions of their history and identity, was still evolving during the early ninth century and these changes were framed by traditional scriptural concerns such as New Testament texts. This much is suggested by the narrative framework which informs these texts.

The Narrative Meaning of the *Didaskalie*

Since the *Didaskalie*'s narrative reveals the symbolic meanings which underpin the source and clarify its authorship and its aims, an analysis of this text affords an appropriate introduction to the source as a whole. Since I am interested in its symbolic content, I will focus on the application of similar *topoi* to *didaskaloi* or their placement within similar locations and circumstances. I will then explicate the narrative meanings of the source. The examination of this narrative is crucial because it demonstrates that the narrative was conceived as a whole and does not refer to historical events. It also allows us to situate the source in the aftermath of the Roman persecutions of the 810s and understand how significantly these persecutions impacted Paulician conceptions of their history. Finally, it also affords an

[14] See esp. Peter Sic., 158, pp.58-9 (*CDH*, p.87); 161, pp.60-1 (*CDH*, p.87-8); *1 Cor*.; *2 Cor*.; *Gal*.
[15] Peter Sic., 43, pp.20-3 (*CDH*, p.73).

opportunity to nuance Sergios' relationship to this work. His involvement in the source's composition is apparent because the narrative attempts to uphold the legitimacy of the *didaskalos* by emphasising the importance of expanding and preserving the Paulician faith community. This has direct relevance to Sergios, but in pursuing these aims the source implicitly questions his leadership and courage, thereby suggesting that it took traditions hostile to him into account.

The *Didaskalie*'s aim of legitimating the *didaskalos* is most apparent in its recurring *topos* of a leadership dispute in which an individual who is not the heir presumptive triumphs on account of his greater piety. This theme has obvious relevance to Sergios, who was not the appointed successor of his predecessor Joseph. The key events in this narrative are as follows. The first *didaskalos* Constantine leads a harmonious community at Kibossa, after adopting the name Silvanos from a disciple of Paul the apostle. He then becomes subject to an inquiry headed by the imperial official Symeon. In the course of this inquiry, Symeon forces Constantine's adoptive son Justos to stone his master to death.[16] For a time this Paulician community is leaderless, until Symeon returns to Kibossa, repents and converts to Paulician belief, renaming himself Titus.[17] Thus the pious outsider (Symeon) takes precedence over the proclaimed, but flawed, heir (Justos). As several commentators have noted, these individuals are based on figures in *Acts*, since Constantine is moulded on the protomartyr Stephen and Symeon is based on the apostle Paul.[18] After Symeon and the majority of his community are eradicated by a second Roman persecution, some refugees regroup in Episparis under the command of an obscure figure known as Paul the Armenian.[19]

Subsequently, there is a conflict between Paul's two sons, Gegnesios-Timothy and Theodore, over the succession, although it is clear that Peter of Sicily has abbreviated this affair.[20] Peter however states that the legitimate *didaskalos* Gegnesios was the designated successor of Paul, thereby suggesting that this episode did not originally fit the *topos* of the pious outsider. As his father Paul may have

[16] Peter Sic., 104-5, pp.42-5 (*CDH*, p.78).
[17] Peter Sic., 106-7, pp.44-5 (*CDH*, pp.78-9).
[18] Ludwig, 'Bemerkungen', pp.168-71; M. Loos, 'Le mouvement paulicien à Byzance', *BS* 24 (1963), pp.258-62.
[19] Peter Sic., 112, pp.46-7 (*CDH*, p.80).
[20] Peter Sic., 113, pp.46-7 (*CDH*, p.80).

been invented by Peter, it is difficult to substantiate this conclusively.[21] The next conflict occurs between Gegnesios' son and heir Zacharias, whom the *Didaskalie* claims is a bastard born of a prostitute, and a pretender who becomes the *didaskalos* Joseph-Epaphroditos, whom Zacharias strikes with a stone and almost kills. Nevertheless, when Islamic troops attack the followers of both leaders, Zacharias flees his companions and allows them to be massacred, while Joseph preserves his followers and becomes the undisputed leader of a single Paulician community.[22] Once again, the pious outsider saves the community. All of this is pertinent to Sergios, whom the *History* states was not born into a Paulician community and was not the designated successor of his predecessor. This source notes that the designated heir to the previous *didaskalos* Joseph was actually Sergios' rival Baanes.[23] Nevertheless, the *Didaskalie* shows that such claims should not be taken seriously. Piety takes priority. A superficial reading of the source suggests a white-wash which legitimates Sergios' leadership by employing Pauline *topoi*.

But the narrative meaning of the *Didaskalie* goes deeper than this. As Ludwig has observed, its narrative groups the *didaskaloi* into two pairs, comprising firstly Constantine-Silvanos and Symeon-Titus, and secondly Gegnesios-Timothy and Joseph-Epaphroditos.[24] The symbolic framework delineates these pairs clearly: Constantine and Symeon teach in the same location, have the same opponent and are martyred, dying alongside their followers.[25] By contrast, Gegnesios and Joseph are also connected by location (the narrative locates both at Episparis and Mananalis) and die in relative peace, having saved their communities from external dangers. These two *didaskaloi* also legitimate their claim to leadership of the community by claiming to receive the 'grace of the Spirit', which in the case of Joseph took precedence over heredity in proving his legitimacy.[26] The distinction between the two pairs is further supported by the obscurity following the near extinction of Paulicians after Symeon's death, which marks a temporal break between the pairs. Moreover, since the first pair of *didaskaloi* are based on Stephen and Paul, they are readily distinguishable from the later pair. The existence of these pairs was one of

[21] Chapter Three, p.87.
[22] Peter Sic., 123-5, pp.48-51 (*CDH*, pp.81-2).
[23] Peter Sic., 171, pp.62-5 (*CDH*, p.89).
[24] Ludwig, 'Bemerkungen', pp.187-94.
[25] Ludwig, 'Bemerkungen', pp.187-9.
[26] Ludwig, 'Bemerkungen', pp.189-90.

the reasons which led Ludwig to believe that the *Didaskalie* was designed as a whole and this impression is reinforced when we remember that Sergios' career was never alluded to in the original source, since then every *didaskalos* to whom the narrative refers is incorporated within this symbolic framework.[27]

However, Ludwig did not note that these pairs of *didaskaloi* are linked to one another in order to further develop this narrative framework. These pairs are connected by associating one individual from each pair, with Constantine-Silvanos linked to Joseph-Epaphroditos and Symeon-Titus linked to Gegnesios-Timothy. Constantine and Joseph both begin their teaching at Mananalis before migrating westward into the empire.[28] Both *didaskaloi* are struck with a stone by their rival, in what is perhaps the *Didaskalie*'s most important piece of symbolism.[29] Before the inquiry headed by Symeon, Constantine leads an idealised community, but this state of harmony ends when Justos strikes him with a stone. This act brings dissension into the Paulician community, which endures through the careers of the next two *didaskaloi* Symeon and Gegnesios. However, with Joseph the story comes full circle. At the outset of his career, Joseph contests his leadership with Zacharias, who strikes Joseph with a stone and almost kills him. Shortly afterward, when these rivals are fleeing Islamic lands, Zacharias abandons his community, which is subsequently slaughtered by a Muslim army. Since Joseph saves his community, he then leads the Paulicians without opposition, as Constantine did before Justos killed him. The euphoric reception which Joseph receives upon returning to Episparis attests to this.[30] These references encourage obedience by showing that opposing the legitimate *didaskalos* has disastrous consequences. This has direct relevance to Sergios, the source's commissioner, who contested his legitimacy with his rival Baanes.

As for the second link, Symeon travels from Constantinople to Kibossa and is martyred there with his followers. By contrast, Gegnesios makes a similar journey in reverse, travelling from Episparis to the capital, where he is pronounced orthodox. He subsequently preserves his community by fleeing Roman lands.[31] Both earlier

[27] Ludwig, 'Bemerkungen', p.190.
[28] Peter Sic., 94, pp.40-1 (*CDH*, p.76); 121-4, pp.48-9 (*CDH*, pp.81-2).
[29] Peter Sic., 105, pp.44-5 (*CDH*, p.78); 124, pp.48-9 (*CDH*, pp.81-2).
[30] Peter Sic., 127, pp.50-1 (*CDH*, p.82).
[31] Peter Sic., 107, pp.44-5 (*CDH*, pp.78-9); 114, pp.46-7 (*CDH*, p.80).

didaskaloi are martyred and their community suffers, while the later *didaskaloi* survive and their community prospers. These later *didaskaloi* succeed through their cunning, thereby emphasising the value of this trait. In particular, the declaration of Gegnesios' orthodoxy at the religious centre of the empire must be interpreted as a vindication of this revised morality of the *didaskalos* because his experience is juxtaposed with his immediate predecessor Symeon, who made a similar journey in the opposite direction and perished while failing to safeguard his community. Similarly, Joseph saves his followers from Islamic attack by convincing the Muslim army that he is travelling toward Syria for pasturage. Like Gegnesios, Joseph prevails by deceiving his enemies. Read as a whole, the *Didaskalie*'s narrative downplays the *didaskalos*' role as a martyr in favour of that of a cunning, charismatic leader who preserves his community.

Once more, this characterisation relates to Sergios. The focus on the expansion and preservation of the community is evident in his career, which marked the point at which Paulicians were first perceived as a threat by Roman authorities.[32] But there is a dimension to the account which reflects less positively on him. Clearly, the change in the characterisation of the *didaskalos* from martyr to cunning opportunist does not correspond to historical reality, but the juxtaposition of these two approaches plausibly arises from different responses to persecution, such as those of the 810s. It is this, and the ubiquitous references to persecution, that suggest that the *Didaskalie* should be dated shortly after these imperial initiatives, perhaps to the late 810s or 820s, as reasoned above. Given this context, the unfavourable view of martyrdom in the source is suspicious, since this is celebrated in the majority of Christian traditions. We must suspect that this is also true of Paulicians, who were famed for their militarism in later periods.[33] Of course, martyrdom and violent responses to persecution are not equivalent, but both involve defying the imperial power and the possibility of death. They are therefore related. In any case, the inefficacy of martyrdom within the account represents an attempt to ameliorate a perception that Sergios' role dictated more courageous actions during these persecutions. The conciliatory attitude he adopts toward Romans must have angered

[32] Theoph., p.488, l.22-5 (Mango and Scott, p.671).
[33] Chapter Seven, pp.215-33. See also *V. Basilii*, 71, pp.244-5, l.16-8; *Alexiad*, 14:8, pp.454-8 (Dawes, pp.383-7).

other Paulicians, since he notes in his letters that he requested his followers not to take Romans prisoner:

> "I am innocent of these evils, for many times I told them to desist from taking the Romans prisoner and they did not listen to me."[34]

Even the *History*, a text which takes Sergios as its primary antagonist, does not credit him with the major Paulician initiatives at this time and instead assigns these to his followers.[35] Hence, implicit criticisms of Sergios were acknowledged by the *Didaskalie* and circulated among Paulician networks at the time of its composition. This suggests that pre-existing conceptions of what a *didaskalos* should be conditioned the text, thereby showing that its themes were not solely dictated by Sergios. The *Didaskalie* postulates that the preservation of the community was of greater importance than personal bravery, but we must suspect that most Paulicians held the opposite view.

An analysis of the *Didaskalie*'s historical value belongs at the end of this chapter. But for the purposes of the present discussion, it is important to discuss the implications of the narrative sketched above. As Ludwig noted, this narrative was conceived in its entirety.[36] It is essentially unhistorical. It was formulated in a particular context for particular reasons, that is, after the persecutions of the 810s in order to legitimate Sergios. As a result, the source subordinates the concerns of the past to those of the present. The source's continual references to schism and persecution are dictated by the importance of these concerns in Sergios' time. Notwithstanding its aims, the *Didaskalie* incorporates implicit criticisms of Sergios. This observation is important since it implies more longstanding traditions which may trace back to the eighth century. Sergios' inability to dictate the narrative of the *Didaskalie* is unsurprising when it is considered that he was not the appointed heir of his predecessor and had to contest his position with his rival Baanes. Although the *History* implies that their rivalry continued throughout Sergios' leadership, we have grounds to believe that this conflict was confined to the early years of Sergios' career, as noted in the previous chapter.[37] This hypothesis is supported by the

[34] Peter Sic., 157, pp.58-9 (*CDH*, p.87): << Ἐγὼ τῶν κακῶν τούτων ἀναίτιός εἰμι· πολλὰ γὰρ παρήγελλον αὐτοῖς ἐκ τοῦ αἰχμαλωτίζειν τοὺ Ῥωμαίους ἀποστῆναι, καὶ οὐχ ὑπήκουσάν μοι >>.
[35] Peter Sic., 175-9, pp.64-5 (*CDH*, pp.90-1).
[36] Ludwig, 'Bemerkungen', p.190.
[37] See Chapter Three, p.106.

observation that of the three legitimation criteria we have examined (heredity, martyrdom and success), the *Didaskalie* emphasises success, thereby suggesting that Sergios was already regarded as a more successful leader than Baanes when it was composed, especially because he does not fit the other criteria. The principal reason by which this success was judged is easy to ascertain: it must have been decided by the support of Paulician communities and therefore by the communal expectations placed upon Sergios and Baanes. As a pretender Sergios would have had more trouble legitimating himself than Baanes and would therefore have been viewed with suspicion by some. This opposition was significant enough to require repudiation by the *Didaskalie*.

Although the *Didaskalie* suggests that Baanes and Sergios contested the leadership of the same community, this *topos* may have arisen from the *Didaskalie*'s aim of legitimating Sergios. More complex dynamics were perhaps at play. The incessant conflicts described by the *Didaskalie* suggest a fractious movement, but these conflicts could be impelled by geographical, organisational or confessional factors, rather than matters relating to leadership. Irrespective of this fact, Sergios' uncertain legitimacy has an important implication: concerns about his legitimacy demonstrate that he could not ride roughshod over contrasting models of legitimacy, as the ambivalent portrayal of martyrdom in the *Didaskalie* shows. Although there is no contextual evidence to allow us to evaluate how Paulicians understood the *Didaskalie*'s *topoi*, it seems that Sergios' pacifism was viewed unfavourably when seen in the context of provincial Asia Minor. In this regard, the crucial events in undermining his authority were the persecutions of the 810s. In summary, these findings suggest that the Paulician community which Sergios would come to lead pre-dated the ninth century, but that it did not represent all those who could be identified as Paulicians.

Paulician Sin-Based Narratives

As demonstrated above, the *Didaskalie*'s narrative framework encompasses the four *didaskaloi* Constantine, Symeon, Gegnesios and Joseph. It therefore gives little indication of participating in the number symbolism of the *History*, which revolves around the numbers six and seven. However, when we read this source in

the wider context of the *Letters of Sergios*, sin-based conceptions of Paulician history become evident. I will now outline the evidence for this in the *Letters*, while noting evidence within the *Didaskalie* which implies that sin-based conceptions of their history were widely espoused. Sin-based narratives were intimately linked with persecution, but, I believe, did not necessitate any apocalyptic expectations and were instead founded upon the sense of belonging to a shared (if not necessarily politically unified) Paulician community.

Ultimately, I will argue that inconsistences in the way that the *Didaskalie* and the *Letters of Sergios* understand the Paulicians' place in the world imply that Sergios appropriated apocalyptic modes of explanation, placing himself in a central role in order to emphasise his own authority and legitimacy. By all indications, Sergios' act of self-aggrandisement was disputed by other Paulicians. The difference in emphasis between the two Paulician sources arises because the *Didaskalie* takes other Paulician perspectives into account, while the *Letters of Sergios* do not. This difference implies that the Paulician habit of explaining the world through New Testament texts was an established practice and predated these sources, the persecutions and indeed Sergios' career. This is plausible because such explanations were widespread in contemporary Christian society, although Christian eschatologies were primarily founded upon readings of Old Testament works.[38] Despite this different focus, Paulicians did not reject the Old Testament, as our polemical texts imply.

Of our two Paulician texts, I will examine the *Letters* first because an extract from these suggests interaction with traditional forms of apocalypticism. In the extract in question, Sergios describes himself, his predecessors and the Paulician churches, identifying the four *didaskaloi* mentioned above, as well as the apostle Paul, as his predecessors. He notes that they founded four churches between them: Paul founded the Church of Corinth, Constantine-Silvanos and Symeon-Titus were responsible for the Church of Macedonia, Gegnesios-Timothy founded the Church of Achaea and Joseph-Epaphroditos taught at the Church of the Phillipians. By contrast,

[38] Note that the Bible was rarely preserved as a single entity in our period, so referring to the Old and New Testament as codified bodies of material is somewhat misleading, especially considering that apocryphal works were often consulted. See J. Miller, 'The Prophetologion: the Old Testament of Byzantine Christianity?', in P. Magdalino and R.S. Nelson (eds.), *The Old Testament in Byzantium* (Washington, D.C., 2010), pp.55-7.

Sergios-Tychikos established three Paulician churches, those of the Kolossians, the Ephesians and the Laodikaeans.[39] We have already seen that the *Didaskalie*'s narrative was not historically accurate and was conceived to legitimate a specific portrayal of the *didaskalos*. Moreover, Sergios was involved in its composition. Since he (or at least his associates) dictated the portrayal of Paulician history, it follows that he portrayed himself as the sixth *didaskalos* who completed the foundation of the seven Paulician churches. This potentially implies that he placed himself within an apocalyptic framework. Since *Revelation* (or, to give it its Greek name, *Apocalypse*) was rarely accepted as canonical in East Roman ecclesiastical traditions, this emphasis probably derived from other texts, perhaps including the apocalypse of Pseudo-Methodios.[40] Alternatively, there may be an allusion to *Acts* 6.1-6, which refers to the seven deacons chosen by the apostles. In any case, within this framework, Sergios' successor, the seventh *didaskalos*, presumably had an epochal role. This much is suggested by the fact that Sergios had no direct successor; some Paulicians were perhaps awaiting this seventh *didaskalos*.[41] This is admittedly speculative. Since there is no reference to such a seventh *didaskalos* in our Paulician sources, his crucial role must remain only a hypothesis. Nevertheless, it is an attractive one considering the way that Sergios portrayed himself.

One of the best indications that Sergios saw himself in an apocalyptic context lies in the character of the churches he claims to have founded. These are identified as follows:

> "Tychikos taught the Church of the Laodikaeans and Ephesians, and still yet that of the Kolossians" and by Kolossians he means the Argaoutes, by Ephesians those at Mopsuestia, and by Laodikaeans the dogs who inhabit the land of the dog [i.e. the *Kynochoritae*]. Concerning all these, it is said that the three are one and are taught by one, by Tychikos.[42]

On first impression, we should be cautious about accepting the locations of these Paulician churches, since they are provided by Peter of Sicily's gloss. The source of

[39] Peter Sic., 163, pp.60-1 (*CDH*, p.88).
[40] J. Irmscher, A.W. Carr and A. Kazhdan, 'Apocalypse', *ODB*, vol.1, p.131; Ps.-Methodios, pp.2-71.
[41] But see also p.133 below.
[42] Peter Sic., 163, pp.60-1 (*CDH*, p.88): *Τὴν Λαοδικέων καὶ Ἐφεσίων ἐκκλησίαν, ἔτι δὲ καὶ τὴν τῶν Κολασσαέων, ἐμαθήτευσε Τυχικός*· καὶ Κολασσαεῖς μὲν λέγει τοὺς Ἀργαούτας, Ἐφεσίους δὲ τοὺς ἐν Μοψουεστίᾳ, Λαοδικεῖς δὲ τοὺς κατοικοῦντας κύνας τὴν τοῦ Κυνὸς χώραν· περὶ τούτων πάντων λέγει ὅτι αἱ τρεῖς ἕν εἰσιν καὶ ὑφ' ἑνός, τοῦ Τυχικοῦ, μηνύονται.

his information is unknown; it perhaps comes from the *Treatise* or from the additional information that we proposed accompanied the Paulician sources in Chapter Three.[43] However, all indications suggest that this is largely accurate, since Paulicians are attested at Argaous by the Continuator, while the Church of Macedonia is located near Koloneia, which is described by several sources as a hotbed of the heresy.[44] In this context, Sergios' reputed foundation at Mopsuestia (Maṣṣīṣa) is intriguing. This city remained in Islamic hands throughout our period and lay far to the south of other Paulician settlements, without obvious infrastructural links to these. It is an improbable location for a Paulician church. It seems likely that Paulicians were not present here and that the reference to this location is dictated by the necessity of having seven Paulician churches. The same is perhaps true of the *Kynochoritae*. This implies a deliberate attempt to invoke an apocalyptic context by Sergios. Admittedly, we have no indications of this elsewhere in the *Letters*, but given their diffuse nature, this is unsurprising. Since there are no such apocalyptic undertones in the *Didaskalie*, Sergios' portrayal of himself was not widely accepted.

If Paulicians did not necessarily comprehend their history in apocalyptic terms, the same is not true with regard to their understandings of sin. The most obvious example of a sin-based *topos* in the *Didaskalie* is the means by which Paulicians come to the attention of Roman actors. In her pioneering study, Ludwig made the crucial observation that almost all instances of persecution (by both Romans and Muslims) are intimately connected with disputes over the Paulician leadership.[45] She believed that this meant that Roman persecutions in the text had no meaning save for their effects on these leadership disputes, but I would rather take the opposite view.[46] By my reading, the fact that the *Didaskalie* envisages Roman persecutions as arising from Paulician internal disputes, suggests that it understood these as a punishment for the sins of the Paulician community. For the *Didaskalie* and the *Letters*, the primary sin is schism. This mode of explanation was widespread in the Near East. Most notably, East Roman (and also other Christian) authors interpreted the disasters of the seventh century, notably the successive invasions of

[43] Chapter Three, pp.97-107.
[44] Theoph. Cont., 4:16, pp.236-7; See *Treatise*, 7, pp.84 (*CDH*, p.93); *42 Martyrs, Γ*, pp.27-9.
[45] Ludwig, 'Bemerkungen', pp.191-2.
[46] Ludwig, 'Bemerkungen', p.192.

the Sasanian Empire and the early Muslims, within a "biblical eschatology", which identified the Romans as the Chosen People and placed particular emphasis on the sins of the community, and more particularly those of their leaders. In particular, correct belief was connected to military success and hence the defeats of the seventh century were associated with the heterodoxy of emperors at that time.[47] In the Paulician case too, we must assume a connection between correct belief and the fate of the community, since although correct belief is scarcely evident in the *Didaskalie* as now extant, this is because it was presupposed of any reader of the text. Thus, East Roman and Paulician modes of understanding the world incorporate similar features.

These links between the agency of the *didaskaloi* and their enemies runs through the main narrative thread of the *Didaskalie* recounted at the beginning of this chapter. As noted there, prior to his stoning by Justos, Constantine led a unified community. This is apparent because there was no pre-existing enmity between the pair. Before Symeon (who is an imperial official at this point of the narrative) specifically ordered Justos to stone Constantine, Constantine's students refuse to stone their master by casting their stones behind their backs.[48] It therefore follows that Justos' act is exceptional and transgressive; his casting of the stone symbolically brings sin into the Paulician community. Our sources show that apostasy and schism were consider sinful by Paulicians (or at least their clerical elite). This is evident in the association of stoning with sin by *John* 8.7, but it is also noteworthy that in another passage – that describing the respective sins of Adam and Cain – Sergios explicitly associates the rejection of Paulician traditions with sin.[49] This is crucial considering the prominence of sin in Christian eschatological narratives.

Most importantly, the sinless character of the Paulician community prior to this act is evident because beforehand there is no link between disputes among Paulicians and violence directed against them from without. Peter of Sicily does not know the reason for the emperor's inquiry into Constantine's community, noting: "For the emperor, I do not know how he understood the affairs regarding him

[47] J.F. Haldon, *The Empire that Would Not Die: the Paradox of Eastern Roman Survival, 640-740* (Cambridge, MA, 2016), pp.79-83.
[48] Peter Sic., 104, pp.42-5 (*CDH*, p.78).
[49] Peter Sic., 167, pp.62-3 (*CDH*, p.89).

(Constantine-Silvanos)…"[50] The fact that Peter has noted the uncertain causal relationship here implies that this was exceptional, thereby showing that the relationship between internal and external affairs was a central element of the original text. This is borne out by the rest of the narrative: before the persecution of Justinian II, a dispute breaks out between Symeon and Justos on the basis of the biblical passage *Col.* 1.16-17. This leads Justos to consult the Bishop of Koloneia, who refers the matter to Justinian, who subsequently orders Symeon and his followers to be judged, sentencing those who do not repent to be burned.[51] In this event, the familiar link between the actions of the *didaskalos*, and the Paulicians' internal and external enemies, is first explicated. In this instance, the outcome for the Paulicians is disastrous, but, as already noted, in later incidents the *didaskaloi* manage to save their followers. Peter of Sicily has abbreviated the account of the next pair of rivals, the brothers Gegnesios and Theodore, so that the circumstances of their dispute are not explicated. Nevertheless, Peter observes that their quarrel brings them to the attention of Leo III: "The emperor having heard of their affairs – it was at that time Leo the Isaurian."[52] There is no such link in the case of Joseph and Zacharias, but this is because Zacharias has already struck Joseph with a stone, which erased the transgression of the first stoning and restored the community to a state of unity. One episode contradicts this pattern, since Joseph subsequently comes to be pursued by the *archon* Krikoraches and there is no suggestion that Krikoraches' actions proceed from a Paulician dispute.[53] Nonetheless, since this narrative framework encompasses all four *didaskaloi* described in the *Didaskalie*, its significance is evident.

Hence, this framework shows that the *Didaskalie* considers the sins of the Paulicians to be responsible for their sufferings, as in the case of contemporary Christian explanations of the seventh-century invasions. However, these Christian modes of explanation (which are more explicitly eschatological) were founded upon Old Testament texts, in that they saw East Romans as successors of the Jews as God's Chosen People. By contrast, Paulician explanations were suffused with

[50] Peter Sic., 103, pp.42-3 (*CDH*, p.78): Ὁ γὰρ βασιλεύς, οὐκ οἶδ' ὅπως μαθὼν τὰ κατ' αὐτόν...
[51] Peter Sic., 111, pp.46-7 (*CDH*, pp.79-80).
[52] Peter Sic., 114, pp.46-7 (*CDH*, p.80): Ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς τὰ περὶ τούτων ἀκούσας - ἦν δὲ τηνικαῦτα Λέων ὁ Ἴσαυρος...
[53] Peter Sic., 128, pp.50-1 (*CDH*, p.82).

references to New Testament works, particularly *Acts*. The most notable of these are the parallels with the protomartyr Stephen. When Stephen is killed in *Acts*, he calls upon the Lord not to hold those responsible as sinful, while persecutions against the Christian community also begin after this time.[54] The similarity with the *Didaskalie* is uncanny, particularly regarding the relationship between sin and persecution. Paulicians surely identified themselves with the primordial Christian communities described in *Acts*, since from their perspective they were resisting an oppressive Roman power. The *Didaskalie* therefore comprehends Roman persecution by combining the Paulicians' favoured scriptural texts with contemporary methods of explaining disaster.

The modes of explanation outlined above are consistent with the apocalyptic number symbolism developed by Sergios in the extract of his Letters, as well as Peter of Sicily's historicisation of the *Didaskalie*. Even though our sources suggest that Paulicians did not develop a coherent apocalyptic understanding of themselves after these persecutions, sin-based modes of explanation played a crucial role in Paulician belief systems, particularly because they could be logically derived from the context of the East Roman persecutions and the scriptural texts that Paulicians already used. Furthermore, explanations centred upon sin were common throughout our region. In the case of the eschatology that saw Romans as the new Chosen People, this explanation arose due to the disintegration of narratives which had previously explicated their thought world.[55] The persecutions of the 810s presumably had a similar effect on existing Paulician ways of comprehending the world, thereby explaining why the *Didaskalie*'s sin-based narrative arose at this time.[56] Since this narrative juxtaposed an oppressed Christian community with a hostile Roman power, as in the case of *Acts*, it rendered these calamitous events comprehensible to Paulician adherents within familiar frames of reference. Although several aspects of the *Didaskalie* are dictated by an attempt to legitimate Sergios, this sin-based narrative surely belongs to broader Paulician understandings of their identity. If these

[54] *Acts*, 8.1-3.
[55] L. Brubaker and J.F. Haldon, *Byzantium in the Iconoclast Era, c. 680-85: a History* (Cambridge, 2011), pp.18-22; Haldon, *The Empire*, pp.79-80.
[56] For the applicability of eschatological modes of explanation to peripheral and unruly areas see J.C. Scott, *The Art of Not Being Governed: an Anarchist History of Upland South East Asia* (New Haven/London, 2009), pp.283-323. For an instructive example of messianism among the Mardaïtes/Jarājima see Cobb, *White Banners*, pp.113-5.

sin-based means of explanation were as popular as I believe, then it seems that Paulicians made sense of Roman persecutions quickly. If so, they did not meaningfully interact with the allegations of dualism made against them by Roman discourses, but instead explained the contemporary world through their own world-views.

Two intriguing questions follow from this analysis: firstly, since Christian eschatologies are linked to Jewish supersessionism, insofar as the Romans succeeded the Jews as God's Chosen People, could the sin-based narrative of the *Didaskalie* similarly imply Roman supersessionism, if taken to its logical exteme? Given the frequency of persecution and warfare in later relations between the two, it seems possible that some Paulicians did reach this logical extreme. The *Treatise*'s allegation that Paulicians "call themselves Christians and us Romans" perhaps points in this direction.[57] This seems the most natural direction for Paulician belief to evolve, but, given our lack of evidence, it must remain merely a hypothesis. We should remember that Paulician and Roman identities were not as distinct as our sources are accustomed to portray. It is at least evident that Paulician views of Romans had not reached such a point by the time that the *Didaskalie* was composed.

Secondly, did Paulicians adopt sin-based modes of explanation before these persecutions, or, more modestly, did they consider themselves part of an apostolic Christian community before this time? In my view, the first part of this question should be answered in the negative, while the answer to the second part is more complex. In both cases, the crucial element is the Paulicians' interactions with their Roman persecutors. Since communal identities are commonly defined in contradistinction to those of external actors, I do not believe that a fully developed sense of Paulician identity could arise before East Romans began to consider them as a single identification. This is certainly true of an identity which was inextricably linked with persecution by Romans. But, on the other hand, Paulicians would have interacted with provincial populations distinct from themselves before this time and, as we will see in Chapter Six, I believe that this interaction was crucial to the development of their veneration of the apostle Paul and, as a result, a sense of

[57] *Treatise*, 9, p.85 (*CDH*, p.94): Καλοῦσι δὲ ἑαυτοὺς μὲν χριστιανούς, ἡμᾶς δὲ Ῥωμαίους.

apostolic community.[58] As such, I believe that understandings of apostolic community did predate these persecutions, but that they were not as developed as they were when the *Didaskalie* was composed.

Schism and the Legitimacy of the *Didaskalos*

As we noted in the overview of the *Didaskalie*'s narrative structure, this source incorporates views which were unfavourable to Sergios. The frequent references to schisms between the *didaskalos* and an illegitimate pretender imply that substantiating the legitimacy of this role was a crucial concern. Given the source's subordination of the past to the present, this evidently refers to the legitimacy of Sergios. Concerns about legitimation are also evident in the *Letters of Sergios*, where loyalty and schism are important themes. In the following discussion, I will examine the references to schism in these sources because doing so shows that the influence of Paulician elites is far less important in the history of the movement than prior scholarship has assumed.

The anxiety concerning legitimate authority in the *Didaskalie* is most evident in the source's attempts to demarcate this precisely. It is evident in the structure of the text, since the symbolic pairing of *didaskaloi* noted above makes their identification clear and explicates the qualities expected of them. The rigidity and repeated symbolism of this structure is illustrative, since it suggests anxiety about identifying legitimate Paulician leaders. Piety and preservation of the community are the most important criteria expected of a *didaskalos*. The source indicates who the true *didaskalos* is, even though there are numerous pretenders and rivals in the *Didaskalie*. That the text goes to such lengths to emphasise this is readily comprehensible: with its frequent reference to conflicts and successful challenges to recognised authority, the text would be an invitation to insurrection without this symbolism.

A similar concern with legitimacy is evident in the *Letters of Sergios*. This emphasis is appropriate because the surviving extracts suggest that these were open letters encouraging Paulician communities to uphold their faith. It is also

[58] Chapter Six, pp.191-6.

unsurprising given Sergios' contested authority. However, the manner in which Sergios frames these concerns differs from the *Didaskalie* and therefore further illuminates our understanding of the relationship between *didaskalos* and community. As we saw in the previous chapter, the career of Sergios was not originally related in the *Didaskalie*, but his *Letters* show that he participated in the symbolism it expresses by other means. In these letters, he emphasises his continuity with his forbears in order to bolster his authority. Thus, he conforms to conceptions of Paulician history found in the *Didaskalie*. The best example of this is his listing of the Paulician *didaskaloi* and their churches noted above.[59] In the context of this list, Sergios, using his Pauline name Tychikos, refers to himself in the third person. Ludwig has argued that this problematises Sergios' authorship of this letter, but he evidently uses this device to stress his continuity with his predecessors.[60] Sergios employed these traditions rhetorically in order to gain (or retain) the support of Paulician communities. A particularly illustrative example is his letter to the Church of Koloneia:

> "Since we have foreknowledge of the reliability of your belief, we are making a reminder to you that just as the churches who came before you received shepherds and teachers – he speaks of Constantine and the rest – in this manner you received a shining lamp, a light-giving star and guide of salvation, as it is written that: 'If your eye is sound, your whole body will shine.'"[61]

Here Sergios locates himself within the tradition of his reputed predecessors to convince the Church of Koloneia to maintain their loyalty and faith, by implying that he shares mutual traditions with them, which are developed by his language and quotations from the New Testament. The reference to prior teachers is interesting, since it implies that these individuals were considered to be authoritative figures outside the context of the *Didaskalie*. We must suspect that their status as *didaskaloi* had been established for some time. In this letter, Sergios' relationship with his

[59] Peter Sic., 163, pp.60-1 (*CDH*, p.88).
[60] Ludwig, 'Bemerkungen', p.217.
[61] Peter Sic., 158, p.59 (*CDH*, p.87): Τὸ δοκίμιον ὑμῶν τῆς πίστεως προεγνωκότες ὑπόμνησιν πρὸς ὑμᾶς ποιούμεθα ὅτι, ὥσπερ αἱ παρελθοῦσαι ἐκκλησίαι ποιμένας καὶ διδασκάλους ἐδέξαντο - λέγει δὲ Κωνσταντῖνον καὶ τοὺς λοιπούς -, οὕτως καὶ ὑμεῖς λαμπάδα φαεινὴν καὶ λυχνοφανῆ ἀστέρα καὶ ὁδηγὸν σωτηρίας ἐδέξασθε κατὰ τὸ γεγραμμένον ὅτι· << Ἐὰν ὁ ὀφθαμός σου ἁπλοῦς ᾖ, ὅλον τὸ σῶμά σου φωτεινὸν ἔσται >> (*Matt*., 6, 22).

correspondents is benign, but there are other instances in these letters which suggest tensions between Sergios and other Paulicians.

Issues of authority and schism are evident in another, more abstract, extract from these *Letters*, although in this case Sergios' correspondent is unidentified. This passage, which is of considerable importance to our understanding of Paulician doctrine and will be examined in full shortly, likens the rejection of Paulician belief to murder and fornication.[62] In doing so, it considers Adam's and Eve's expulsion from paradise to be a lesser evil than Cain's murder of Abel, which it likens to apostatising the Paulician community.[63] The abstract nature of the statement shows that it is relevant to all Paulicians and, as in the previous instance, the means by which Sergios alleviates any challenge to authority is by recourse to Paulician traditions. Finally, a similar concern with demarcating the community is evident in Sergios' letter to Leo the Montanist.[64] In this letter, Sergios locates Leo outside the Paulician community, although Lemerle, probably correctly, identifies Leo as a dissident Paulician.[65] The three extracts that we have discussed here explore concepts of identity and belief in relation to those within the community, to those whose relationship to the community was ambiguous, as well as in an abstract sense. This implies that demarcating the Paulician community and preventing division was an important aim of Sergios, regardless of the difficulties of our sources.

Thus far, we have seen that the *Didaskalie* and *Letters* betray a pronounced anxiety about legitimate authority. This is understandable considering that Sergios was not the appointed successor of his predecessor. However, I believe that this anxiety is not entirely conditioned by historical schisms, but is also impelled by a desire to expand Sergios' community after these persecutions. As we will see in Chapter Seven, these persecutions were intended to kill as many Paulicians as possible within a short period.[66] In view of their indiscriminate nature, we may suspect that these persecutions encompassed agents who would not originally be

[62] See pp.139-40 below.
[63] Ludwig, 'Bemerkungen', pp.219-20.
[64] Peter Sic., 166, pp.62-3 (*CDH*, pp.88-9).
[65] See Lemerle, 'L'histoire', p.120. Montanists are rarely attested in previous centuries, thereby suggesting that the identification of Leo may be polemical. The *Chronographia* refers to them burning themselves alive rather than undergoing forced baptism during the reign of Leo III. See Theoph, p.401 (Mango and Scott, pp.554-5).
[66] Chapter Seven, pp.199-203.

termed Paulician. The persecutions therefore offered Sergios' community an opportunity to incorporate networks which did not originally acknowledge his authority, particularly if the persecutions formed a more cohesive sense of Paulician shared identity. The *Didaskalie* sought to do so by providing a blueprint for legitimate authority and by emphasising the value of unity. Ultimately, the evidence suggests that Sergios failed in this attempt, but also that his militaristic competitors achieved his aims more successfully.

In another sense, anxieties about schism reflect the precarious legitimacy of Paulician elites. Paulician adherents and communities were more influential than narratives based on the *didaskaloi* would tend to suggest. At the outset of this chapter I remarked that the *Didaskalie* is a literary product of its time, in that it focuses almost exclusively on the actions of male elites. Yet it is clear from the examples of Gegnesios and Joseph that the preservation or expansion of the Paulician faith community is a key aim of the *didaskalos*. This is hardly surprising: a leader is dependent on the support and approval of those beholden to him. In practice, the support of Paulician adherents must have played a crucial part in legitimating authority figures, particularly in the case of conflicts between rival claimants, such as that between Sergios and Baanes. Despite this, the importance of Paulician communities in legitimating such leaders is never explicitly acknowledged by the *Didaskalie*. However, since none of these legitimating mechanisms that the *Didaskalie* posits could operate in practice, the text implicitly suggests that the most important legitimating factor was the support of Paulician believers.

The criteria by which a *didaskalos* could substantiate his legitimacy include being the acclaimed heir of his predecessor and expanding the Paulician faith community. However, the formal process by which a *didaskalos* assumed his office is never defined. As we have seen, the first two Paulician leaders, Constantine and Symeon, are legitimated by their martyrdom, while the third and fourth *didaskaloi*, Gegnesios and Joseph, are legitimised by the preservation of their community. In the former case, the means by which authority is transmitted from Constantine to Symeon is not explicit because there is an interval between the pair. Despite this, it is clear that martyrdom is the primary mode of legitimation. This form of legitimation can only be fulfilled at death and its logic is only comprehensible within a narrative. Such a method cannot exist in practice; a fact which demonstrates the mythical

nature of these episodes. By contrast, at the time of Gegnesios and his conflict with Theodore, there are two competing succession mechanisms at play: heredity and the 'reception of the grace of the Spirit' (*τὴν χάριν εἰληφέναι τοῦ πνεύματος*).[67] We will examine this phrase, which played a key role in Paulician understandings of community and sanctification, shortly. In this episode it is unclear which of these two mechanisms is predominant, since the *History* describes Gegnesios and Theodore in conflict at the end of their lives, although Gegnesios is characterised as the legitimate *didaskalos*. If this episode is not decisive, in the next conflict Joseph triumphs over Zacharias and the 'reception of the grace of the Spirit' definitively trumps heredity, considering that Zacharias is Gegnesios' son.[68] As noted in the previous section, the key outcome of the *Didaskalie*'s narrative is to legitimise a leadership style founded on preserving Paulician communities and in this regard Sergios is associated with Gegnesios and Joseph.

While 'the grace of the Spirit' is not associated with the preservation of Paulician communities, like the above examples it cannot be a legitimating criterion in practice because it is only ever claimed in the *Didaskalie* as now extant and these claims are invariably contested. An instructive example is the dispute between Gegnesios and his rival Theodore:

> And there was a conflict between both of these brothers, Gegnesios, I say, and Theodore, one saying that he had received the divine grace of the Spirit, the other again alleging this for himself. And thus quarrelling with each other and hating one another completely, the leaders of abomination remained so until the end of their lives.[69]

In this example, it is clear that the reception of the 'the grace of the Spirit' does not legitimate Gegnesios, since Theodore still claims this until his death. Instead, the symbolic allusions of the text, such as the assumption of a name of Paul's disciple, demonstrates that Gegnesios was the legitimate *didaskalos*. As in the case of martyrdom, the 'grace of the Spirit' could not legitimate a *didaskalos* in practice.

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[67] Peter Sic., 112-3, pp.46-7 (*CDH*, p.80).
[68] Peter Sic., 123-4, pp.48-9 (*CDH*, pp.81-2).
[69] Peter Sic., 113, pp.46-7 (*CDH*, p.80): Καὶ γίνεται στάσις μεταξὺ ἀμφοτέρων τῶν ἀδελφῶν, Γεγνεσίου, φημί, καὶ Θεοδώρου, τοῦ μὲν λέγοντος χαρίν εἰληφέναι θεϊκὴν τὴν τοῦ πνεύματος, τοῦ δὲ πάλιν ἑαυτὸν ἐπὶ τοῦτο προβαλλομένου· καὶ οὕτως εἰς ἑαυτοὺς στασιάζοντες καὶ τέλειον μῖσος ἀλλήλους μισήσαντες οἱ τοῦ μύσους προστάται διέμειναν οὕτως μέχρι τέλους ζωῆς αὐτῶν.

The only criterion which could provide legitimacy – that is, heredity – is dismissed by the *Didaskalie* because Zacharias does not succeed his father Gegnesios.

Thus, we have seen that the legitimating criteria described by the *Didaskalie* cannot have operated outside the confines of a narrative. As a result, it appears that the assumption of this office was not formalised. In practice, a *didaskalos*' status was presumably conditioned by his charismatic religiosity and his acceptance by Paulician communities. The anxiety concerning schism which characterises the *Didaskalie* and the *Letters of Sergios* suggests that these communities played a much greater role in the evolution of the movement than these sources are accustomed to portray. If we heed the *Didaskalie*'s preoccupation with the present, it is likely that Sergios had difficulty imposing his authority over those who were theoretically beholden to him. In relation to the apocalyptic allusions that he invokes, we discussed the possibility that he may not have had a successor because there may have been eschatological expectations of the seventh *didaskalos*. Equally, this may have been conditioned by the criticisms of his authority that the *Didaskalie* implicitly acknowledges. By this interpretation, the Paulician religious hierarchy failed to respond to the persecutions of the 810s in a manner which was acceptable to broader Paulician networks. These preferred militaristic responses in keeping with traditions of resistance to the imperial power which were common to communities throughout Asia Minor, particularly when faced with excessive taxation or other forms of repression.[70] This is consistent with Sergios' plea that he did not wish his followers to take Roman prisoners. It would be tempting to interpret these martial tendencies as precursors of the independent Paulician polity which raided Roman territory during the leadership of Karbeas and Chrysocheir. However, as we will see in Chapter Seven, this polity is most convincingly contextualised by established practices of employing dissident actors against their former overlords by both Roman and Islamic polities.[71] There is little to link it with the community headed by Sergios in terms of forms of leadership, geographical location, or modes of organisation. It is by all indications a separate, if related, phenomenon.

[70] Haldon, *The Empire*, pp.183-5.
[71] See Chapter Seven, pp.217-21.

Dualism and the 'Grace of the Spirit'

Ludwig's boldest claim is that the Paulicians were not dualists and that East Roman accusations to this end arise from a desire to make them subject to the death penalty. I find this argument convincing, but insofar as Ludwig did not analyse the allegations of our heresiological sources, she did not demonstrate this definitively. I will now corroborate her argument more fully. In this regard, our redating of the *Treatise* to the reign of Theophilos is crucial, since it is now evident that it was written shortly after our Paulician sources. Indeed, it derives much of its testimony from them.[72] By analysing the *Treatise* in conjunction with these Paulician sources, we can demonstrate that the *Treatise* does not faithfully reproduce the religiosity that they express. Through its accusations of dualism, it implies that the Paulicians' most important heterodox doctrine is their conception of the Father (insofar as dualists posited discontinuity between the heavenly Father and the creator of the present world), but the *Didaskalie* implies that their heterodoxy actually revolved around their understanding of the Holy Spirit. Furthermore, the allegation that Paulicians reject the Old Testament – or, perhaps more accurately, the sense of historical continuity between the Old and New Covenants – is demonstrably false. This latter observation undermines the hypothesis that Paulicians were influenced by Marcionism, which has been an influential element of modern scholarship from the nineteenth century onward.[73]

When we examined the *Treatise*'s account of Paulician dualism in Chapter Two, we remarked that it expresses this allegation by quoting supposedly Paulician views to imply an aberrant understanding of the Father. This is evident in a phrase that it attributes to a Paulician voice: "We believe in the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit, the heavenly Father, and anathema to whoever does not believe as we do."[74] But the Father is never referred to in the *Didaskalie* or the *Letters of Sergios*. Likewise, references to the Son are infrequent. The only notable reference to the latter is in the dispute between Symeon and Justos in the *Didaskalie*, which revolves around *Col*. 1.16-17; a passage which describes the Son.[75] By contrast, evidence for

[72] Chapter Two, pp.71-2.
[73] Chapter One, pp.18-27.
[74] *Treatise*, 10, p.86 (*CDH*, p.94).
[75] Peter Sic., 110, pp.44-7 (*CDH*, p.79).

a distinctly Paulician understanding of the Holy Spirit is abundant. I will now examine this, focusing particularly in the form in which it is most invoked: 'the reception of the grace of the Spirit.' This discussion will often digress from the relevance of this term to allegations of dualism, but this is worthwhile considering that our sources suggest that Paulicians understandings of the Holy Spirit were an idiosyncratic element of their belief. I will conclude that Paulician understandings of this term are informed by conventional theological usages.

As Ludwig has noted, there are no references to 'the grace of the Spirit' within the scriptural texts that Paulicians are attested as using, such as the Gospels, *Acts* or Pauline Letters. Although grace (*χάρις*) comprises an important theme of the Pauline epistles, it is not used in connection with the Spirit, although the related term 'spiritual gifts' (*χάρισματα*) is used in this regard.[76] Ludwig notes that spirit refers to the Holy Spirit within this Paulician context and this is corroborated by references within the *History*.[77] Peter of Sicily notes that Sergios' disciples pray using the phrase "Let the prayer of the Holy Spirit have mercy upon us."[78] Since the role of the Holy Spirit came to be defined more precisely in the course of the ecumenical councils of the fourth and fifth centuries, it is unsurprising that 'the grace of the Spirit' does not appear in scriptural texts that the Paulicians used. In authors of the fourth and fifth centuries, such as Athanasios, Pseudo-Makarios and the Kappadokian fathers, references to this phrase are plentiful.[79] According to patristic tradition, the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father and inspires both the Church and individual Christians who have reached a level of sanctification or purification that enables them to receive this grace.[80] Hence, 'the grace of the Spirit' is often associated with baptism or salvation.[81] It is also the means by which the prophets of

[76] Ludwig, 'Bemerkungen', p.185. Grace is generally considered as an attribute of the Godhead as a whole. Paul's letters emphasise *χάρισμα* (which can be loosely translated as spiritual gifts), which are considered manifestations of the Spirit. These *χάρισμα* have no discernible relation to our Paulician context. See G.D. Fee, *God's Empowering Presence: the Holy Spirit in the Letters of Paul* (Grand Rapids, 1994), pp.32-5; 886-95.
[77] Ludwig, 'Bemerkungen', p.185.
[78] *History*, 156, pp.58-9 (*CDH*, p.87): << Ἡ εὐχὴ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος ἐλεήσει ἡμᾶς >>.
[79] See notes 80-86 below.
[80] The term is commonly used to refer to the inspiration of important religious figures. For the example of Peter and Paul, see Basil of Caesarea, *Homilia 15, De fide*, 3, col.469D (DelCogliano, p.238).
[81] For baptism see Gregory of Nyssa, *De perfectione Christiana ad Olympium Monachum*, vol.8:1, p.202, l.6-14 (Callahan, p.114). For salvation see Gregory of Nyssa, *De instituto Christiano*, vol.8:1, p.77, l.9 (Callahan, p.151). On the remission of sins see Basil, *De spiritu sancto*, 19:49, p.420, l.18-9 (Anderson, p.77).

the Old Testament prophesised.[82] The 'grace of the Spirit', which has a divine origin, is generally understood in an active, or economical, sense. The verbs most associated with it include 'teach', 'inspire', 'manage', 'illuminate' or 'descend.'[83] In addition, references to the 'grace of the Spirit' being received are commonplace.[84] As a result, this Paulician phrase coheres with patristic theological thought.

As we have already seen, 'the reception of the grace of the Spirit' is portrayed as a key determinant of the *didaskalos*' legitimacy, but it could not actually have operated in this way in practice. Nonetheless, if Paulicians believed that the 'the grace of the Spirit' was received exclusively by the *didaskalos*, this would render them heterodox, since patristic authors do not mention an exclusivist indwelling of the Spirit. In theological works, the 'grace of the Spirit' generally descends upon only a single individual, but it could inspire any number of such individuals at any time. Moreover, it could also be a vessel which joins people together.[85] Yet an exclusivist indwelling of the Spirit is evident when we examine the dispute between Gegnesios and Theodore, since, although they both claim to have received the 'the grace of the Spirit', the narrative implies that this is only true of one of them. In this case, it is clearly Gegnesios, who adopts the name Timothy from a disciple of Paul. There are no indications in the *Didaskalie* that a *didaskalos* ever relinquished this grace.[86] Instead, it seems that it inspired and dwelt within the individual concerned. Peter of Sicily's accusation that Sergios claimed to be the Paraclete presumably refers to just such an assumption of the Spirit.[87] Hence, the *Didaskalie* implies that Paulicians believed that this grace was received exclusively

[82] John Chrysostom, *In principium Actorum*, 2, col.96, l.20-1.
[83] Many of these meanings incorporate the possibility of this 'grace of the Spirit' being received by another.
[84] This is common in Pseudo-Makarios. Ps.-Makarios, *Homily 17*, 2:1, vol.1, p.189, l.3-5 (Maloney, untranslated); *Homily 49*, 6:5, vol.2, p.121, l.17-20 (Maloney, *Homily 4*, p.52). This 'Makarios' was evidently a late-fourth-century author based in Syria, but he cannot be securely identified. On this, see M. Plested, *The Macarian Legacy: the Place of Macarius-Symeon in the Eastern Christian Tradition* (Oxford, 2004), pp.12-16. On reception of the Spirit see also Athanasios, *Orationes tres contra Arianos*, *PG* 26, col.273C (Bright, pp.152-3); Basil, *De spiritu sancto*, 22:53, p.442, l.24-6; 26:11, p.468, l.16-9 (Anderson, pp.84; 93).
[85] For the use of 'grace of the Spirit' in a communal sense, see Athanasios, *Epistula ad Marcellinum de interpretatione Psalmorum*, 10, col.20B (Gregg, pp.107-8). Basil of Seleucia refers to it as an entity which unites the apostles. See Basil of Seleucia, *Homilia in sanctum Andream*, col.1101-4. This meaning could conceivably be intended in the quotation noted in the previous paragraph. See Peter Sic., 156, pp.58-9 (*CDH*, p.87).
[86] Note however that Basil states that the grace of the Spirit is always present, even if it is not always in operation. See Basil, *De spiritu sancto*, 26:11, p.468, l.16-9 (Anderson, p.93).
[87] Peter Sic., 134, pp.52-3 (*CDH*, p.83); 156, pp.58-9 (*CDH*, p.87).

by the *didaskalos*, but there are indications that it is not representative of broader strands of Paulician belief on this point. Most importantly, we must remember that this source was commissioned by Sergios to legitimate himself. Since we find 'the grace of the Spirit' in this context of legitimation, we must be sceptical of its usage, particularly because it could not have been a legitimating criterion in practice. It seems most likely that Sergios co-opted this phraseology for his own ends. If so, then it was certainly in broader usage among Paulician communities.

As we saw above, Sergios' disciples prayed for the Holy Spirit to have mercy upon them. This implies that it interceded for them at times, thereby suggesting that its agency was not exclusive to the *didaskalos*. There are few indications of this elsewhere in the *Didaskalie* – unsurprisingly, since it focuses on the *didaskaloi* to the detriment of Paulician adherents. Interpreting the term in a communal sense would however be representative of Paul's thought, since his letters conceive of the membership of Christian communities in terms of immersion in the Spirit.[88] If Paulicians interpreted the 'grace of the Spirit' in this way, then they surely believed that the Spirit dwelt within themselves, rather than just their *didaskalos*. I believe that this was indeed the case. Admittedly, the sense of charismatic leadership which arises from the *Didaskalie* and *Letters of Sergios* contravenes this, but the continual anxiety about schism evident in both sources imply an attempt to justify this form of leadership, rather than suggesting that it enjoyed great support. On the whole, it is probable that the *didaskalos* was presumably only different by degree to which he received this grace, as is true of the prophets and apostles in most theological understandings.

Admittedly, we cannot substantiate this conclusively, but the observations made above adequately show that the Holy Spirit – and more specifically the grace that it bestowed – was a crucial part of Paulician participation in the divine. It plays a central role in the *Didaskalie* and probably Paulician religiosity more broadly. Yet the author of the *Treatise* nowhere acknowledges this. As a result, we must suspect that his allegations of dualism are governed by a desire to make Paulicians subject to capital punishment, as Ludwig argued was the case in other texts. In the few instances where the *Treatise* mentions Manichaeans, its links are unconvincing.

[88] Fee, *God's Empowering Presence*, pp.870-95.

Although it identifies Paulicians as Manichaeans, it considers their first heresiarch to be Paul of Samosata.[89] Despite this, it notes that Paulicians reject both Mani and this Paul.[90] Aside from this, the only reference to Mani is his claim that he will forgive his followers if they deny him to escape punishment.[91] This characterises Paulicians as dishonest, but it hardly demonstrates any continuity between them and Manichaeans. The accuracy of the *Treatise*'s allegations are difficult to prove in other cases because many of its claims centre upon sacramental practice, about which there is no testimony in the *Didaskalie*. Importantly, however, the *Letters of Sergios* show that the *Treatise*'s allegation that Paulicians rejected the prophets of the Old Testament is false.

In order to address this allegation sufficiently, we must analyse the relevant passage of the *Treatise*, since it does not imply a straightforward rejection of the Old Testament:

> They reject the prophets and other saints. They abhor and reject the holy Peter, the great chief apostle even more so. They say that none of these is in the party of those who are to be saved.[92]

There is no indication in this passage that Paulicians rejected the Old Testament, but since it does claim that they rejected the prophets, modern scholars have frequently inferred the former from the latter. This tendency is perhaps a result of the influence of the *History of the Paulicians*, which makes the allegation explicit, noting that "they do not accept an ancient book of any sort (*τὴν οἱανοῦν βίβλον παλαιάν*), calling the prophets brigands and cheats."[93] Yet the same allegation is evident to the lesser extent in the *Treatise*, since an earlier passage of this text notes that Constantine-Silvanos forbade the consultation of any book except "the Gospel and the Apostle."[94] In many respects, the unclear phrasing of these tenets is unsurprising, since the Old Testament was so rarely consulted as a single work in our period.[95] But the emphasis

[89] *Treatise*, 1, p.80 (*CDH*, p.93).
[90] *Treatise*, 6, p.83 (*CDH*, p.93).
[91] *Treatise*, 18, p.90 (*CDH*, p.95).
[92] *Treatise*, 13, p.88 (*CDH*, p.95): Τοὺς προφήτας καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς ἁγίους ἀποβάλλονται, ἔτι δὲ καὶ τὸν ἅγιον Πέτρον, τὸν μέγαν πρωταπόστολον, πλέον πάντων καὶ δυσφημοῦσι καὶ ἀποστρέφονται, ἐξ αὐτῶν μηδένα τινὰ ἐν μέρει τῶν σωζομένων εἶναι λέγοντες.
[93] Peter Sic., 42, pp.20-1 (*CDH*, p.73).
[94] *Treatise*, 4, p.81 (*CDH*, p.93); *History*, 96, pp.40-1 (*CDH*, pp.76-7).
[95] Miller, 'The Prophetologion', pp.55-7.

on the prophets in both the *Treatise* and *History* suggests rather more than the rejection of a textual tradition. It seems that the Paulicians are being accused of rejecting continuity between the Old and New Covenants and the implication that the former foreshadows the latter. Still, even if we frame this allegation in this limited sense, it does not apply to Paulicians during Sergios' career.

This much is evident from a crucial passage of the *Letters of Sergios*, which likens schism to sin and fornication:

> Elsewhere you [Sergios] said: "The first fornication, which we received from Adam, is a providential example, but the second fornication is more beneficial, about which he said: 'He who fornicates sins against his own body.'"[96] And he continues, saying "We are the body of Christ; if someone overthrows the traditions of the body of Christ – these are my things – he sins, because he runs to teachers of error and disobeys healthy words."[97]

As Ludwig has rightly noted, the first fornication described here is Adam's and Eve's explusion from paradise, while the second is Cain's murder of Abel.[98] But it is surprising to see the latter labelled "a fornication." It is usually characterised as a sin, for reasons which Paul notes in the part of *1 Cor*. 6.18 that Sergios does not quote: "Every sin that a person commits is outside the body." Cain's act of murder is only considered a fornication because Sergios understands Abel to be part of Cain's own body in the sense that they are both part of the body of Christ, rather than unrelated individuals. As a result, the passage interprets sinning against the Paulician Christian community as more serious than bodily sin. Three observations are appropriate here. Firstly, insofar as Sergios uses an example from the Old Testament to frame his discussion, he clearly does not reject it. Secondly, since he reinterprets Cain's actions in light of Paul's letters, he accepts that the Old Testament has exegetical significance for the interpretation of the New Testament. Finally, since he does not clarify the "second fornication", it follows that he expects his audience to understand this, thereby suggesting that they too would be familiar with books of the Old

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[96] *1 Cor*., 6, 18.
[97] Peter Sic., 167, pp.62-3 (*CDH*, p.89): Καὶ ἀλλαχοῦ ἔφης· *Ἡ πρώτη πορνεία, ἣν ἐκ τοῦ Ἀδὰμ περικείμεθα, εὐεργεσία ἐστίν, ἡ δὲ δευτέρα μείζων πορνεία ἐστί, περὶ ἧς λέγει· << Ὁ πορνεύων εἰς τὸ ἴδιον σῶμα ἁμαρτάνει >>.* Καὶ ἐπάγεις λέγων· *Ἡμεῖς ἐσμεν σῶμα Χριστοῦ· εἴ τις δὲ ἀφίσταται τῶν παραδόσεων τοῦ σώματος τοῦ Χριστοῦ, τοῦτ' ἔστι τῶν ἐμῶν, ἁμαρτάνει, ὅτι προστρέχει τοῖς ἑτεροδιδασκαλοῦσι καὶ ἀπειθεῖ τοῖς ὑγιαίνουσι λόγοις* (*1 Tim*., 6, 3).
[98] *Gen*., 3-4; Ludwig, 'Bemerkungen', pp. 219-20.

Testament. We cannot be sure that his intended audience was Paulician in this instance, but it is the most likely eventuality. A claim that "We are the body of Christ" would make little sense outside his own faith community. As a result of these observations, we can state that Paulicians did not reject the Old Testament as the *History* claims. Since they interpreted Old and New Testament texts together, it is also highly likely that they did not reject the prophets, as the *Treatise* claims.

Since neither of our Paulician sources discuss cosmological themes, we cannot definitively assert that Paulicians were not dualist at the time that our Paulician sources were composed, but we can demonstrate that East Roman authors did not accurately represent the religiosity of the *Didaskalie* and posit a convincing reason for why they sought to portray them as Manichaeans. Furthermore, Sergios' faithful reference to the sins recounted in *Genesis* shows that Paulicians were not indebted to Marcionism, which posited discontinuity between the Old and New Covenants.[99] Scholars with interpretations as diverse as Karapet Ter Mkrttschian, Henri Grégoire and Milan Loos have all posited such Marcionite influences, although this hypothesis was not received as favourably in the more recent works of Nina Garsoïan and Paul Lemerle.[100] Indeed our conclusions on the Old Testament undermine the notion that Paulicians were dualist in a conventional sense, since heresies of this kind invariably centre on a conception that a different God is described in the Old and New Testaments. Beyond this, the foregoing discussion is important because it implies that Paulician religiosity was not especially different from contemporary forms of Christianity. Their understanding of 'the grace of the Spirit' is broadly in keeping with Trinitarian theology, although the emphasis that they placed on this marks them as distinct and surely implies heterodoxy. They certainly inhabited a more complex textual world than is implied by the *Treatise* and *History,* which implies that they used only the Gospels and *Acts*.[101] Sergios' reading

[99] J. Lieu, *Marcion and the Making of a Heretic: God and Scripture in the Second Century* (New York, 2015), pp.398-432.
[100] K. Ter Mkrttschian, *Die Paulikianer im byzantinischen Kaiserreiche und verwandte ketzerische Erscheinungen in Armenien* (Leipzig, 1893), pp.104-12; H. Grégoire, 'Les sources de l'histoire des Pauliciens. Pierre de Sicile est authentique et 'Photius' un faux', *Académie Royale de Belgique, Bulletin Classe des Lettres, 5e série* 22 (1936), p.105; M. Loos, 'Deux contributions à l'histoire des Pauliciens. I: a propos des sources grecques reflétant des Pauliciens', *BS* 17 (1956), pp.22-38; N.G. Garsoïan, *The Paulician Heresy* (Paris/The Hague, 1967), p.232; Lemerle, 'L'histoire', pp.133-4.
[101] *Treatise*, 4, p.81 (*CDH*, p.93); *History*, 95-7, pp.40-1 (*CDH*, pp.76-7). This portrayal departs from Stock's concept of 'textual communities' which posits that the religiosity of heretical communities derived from key individuals who interpreted texts on behalf of a community. Despite the

of Paul's letters to frame his understanding of Cain's murder of Abel also corresponds to established theological practices. On balance, their religiosity shows evidence of engagement with established forms of Christianity, in my view, because it derived organically from these.

While we can discern some aspects of Paulician belief from our sources, there is much less information about their devotional practices. Nonetheless, differences in doctrine surely necessitate differences in praxis. In particular, the emphasis that Paulicians placed on the Holy Spirit potentially implies deviance in regard to baptism, and also other sacraments. Since we know so little of their Christology, it is impossible to clarify if they rejected the Eucharist and Cross, as the *Treatise* and *History* allege, on this basis.[102] On balance, as I will argue in Chapter Six, I believe that differences in Paulician religious praxis were largely conditioned by the socio-economic niches that they occupied and the fact that they operated outside the institutional church. Paulicians thrived in contexts where regional hegemons had limited influence and anti-institutional sentiment was strong. In some periods they seem to have practiced pastoralism, whose semi-nomadic lifestyle implies a sense of religious community distinct from the established church, as well as probable differences in sacramental practice.[103] If Paulicians were mainly considered distinct for practical reasons, then their religiosity was not conditioned by distinctions between Miaphysite and Dyophysite beliefs, as our geographical context might suggest.[104] If this were the case, then contemporary writers, who were well acquainted with these doctrines, would surely have recognised it.

Historical Implications of the Paulician Sources

Although the *Didaskalie*'s narrative is unhistorical, it, together with the testimony of the *Letters*, can still develop our understanding of Paulicians. Some scholars who have evinced scepticism about the source's historicity have conducted

resemblance of this to descriptions of Constantine-Silvanos, a broader theological context is clearly evident in the Paulician case. See B. Stock, *The Implications of Literacy: Written Language and Models of Interpretation in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries* (Princeton, 1983), pp.90-2.
[102] *Treatise*, 12-3, pp.87-8 (*CDH*, pp.94-5); *History*, 40-1, pp.20-1 (*CDH*, pp.72-3).
[103] Chapter Six, pp.172-3.
[104] Chapter One, pp.29-31.

research on this matter, particularly Ludwig and to a lesser extent Loos.[105] For Ludwig, only the career of Sergios was described reliably in the *History of the Paulicians*, although some events in Joseph's career also seemed credible.[106] I will adopt a similar interpretation, although, as we have seen, I also have reservations about Sergios' career.[107] Loos, meanwhile, displayed considerable scepticism about the earliest episodes described in the *Didaskalie*, but he believed that its narrative from the middle of the eighth century onward provided convincing reasons for explaining the Paulicians' rise to prominence.[108] Thus, both scholars agree that the *Didaskalie* is only of historical value for several decades prior to its composition. This is corroborated by our observation in the previous chapter that the *Didaskalie* was never intended to be a historical work prior to Peter of Sicily's reworking of it. The findings advanced in this chapter further substantiate this conclusion. Nevertheless, some points of historical importance can be derived from it. I will outline these briefly here.

It is likely that Joseph-Epaphroditos was a historical figure. Since Sergios' rival Baanes legitimated himself by claiming continuity with Joseph, the latter was probably an earlier *didaskalos*, since it otherwise difficult to account for why Sergios would refer to an individual who called his own legitimacy into question. Despite this, Joseph's career has been integrated into the symbolic framework of the *Didaskalie,* thereby demonstrating that the source's propagandistic function and its indebtedness to New Testament scriptural traditions overrode any concern with historical accuracy. Hence, there is little we can glean of Joseph's career. The same applies to his purported predecessors, but even the historicity of these figures must be disputed. Nonetheless, Sergios' reference to them in his letters implies that their authority was widely accepted before the *Didaskalie* was codified. These difficulties render it difficult to trace Paulician activity prior to the ninth century. Since the *Chronographia* only identifies them at this time, we must suspect that they became a significant concern to Roman authorities only a short time beforehand.

[105] Ludwig, 'Bemerkungen', pp.221-5; Loos, 'Le mouvement', pp.258-66.
[106] Ludwig, 'Bemerkungen', p.223.
[107] Chapter Three, pp.97-107.
[108] Loos, 'Le mouvement', p.266.

As a result, the conflict between Baanes and Sergios is the first event of certain historicity described in the *History*. As argued in Chapter Three, the most important phase of this conflict was probably confined to the beginning of the ninth century.[109] It is unclear whether this conflict endured at the time of the persecutions of Michael I and Leo V in the 810s. It is however evident that these persecutions did not result in a flight of Paulicians from the empire. This only occurred in *c*.844, as the Continuator states. The testimony of the *Didaskalie*, and more specifically the limited prominence its gives to Muslims, supports this interpretation. As we have seen, the *Didaskalie* was composed in Greek and operates within an East Roman thought world. In its narrative, all four *didaskaloi* are subject to investigation or persecution from Roman actors, whereas only Joseph faces a confrontation with Islamic forces. In this example, the characterisation of these Muslims is underdeveloped, which suggests that an alliance with an Islamic polity such as the Emirate of Malaṭiya was inconceivable when the *Didaskalie* was codified. The flight to Malaṭiya therefore occurred almost a decade after Sergios's death, which Peter of Sicily dates to *c*.834/5. From 844 onward, historiographical sources leave us better informed, but prior to this date this is all we can say of Paulician history. However, we can at least make some remarks on Paulician religiosity and organisation prior to this date.

Most importantly, the difficulties that Sergios faced while attempting to legitimate himself suggest that conceptions of what a *didaskalos* (and perhaps also a Paulician in general) should be were already well developed by the turn of the ninth century. Since Joseph was probably a historical individual, it seems clear that the office of *didaskalos* had already been instituted by this time. Paulicians had clearly adopted hierarchies and institutional characteristics before the empire had identified them as a threat. These presumably arose through their interactions with imperial systems and hierarchies when the movement began to expand through Asia Minor. They could also have arisen independently, but the anxiety about the role of the *didaskalos* that our sources portray suggest that roles such as this were inimical to earlier Paulician traditions.[110] We cannot trace the development of these institutions due to a dearth of evidence, but the lack of reference to Paulicians in eighth-century

[109] Chapter Three, p.106.
[110] Chapter Six, pp.195-6.

sources suggests that these innovations should be confined to the final decades of the eighth century.

It is difficult to trace Paulicians earlier than this. As we will see in Chapter Six, Paulicians begin to appear in Roman sources from the ninth century because the empire was able to act more freely in Asia Minor at this time.[111] But their sudden appearance also seems to arise from the fact that their influence had only recently become notable. I have already noted that Sergios used the *Didaskalie* and *Letters* to impel the sense of a unified Paulician community.[112] This explains the lack of reference to Paulicians before the ninth century. Prior to this time, they are most convincingly conceptualised as a series of disjointed networks, rather than a unified Paulician community. As a result, Paulicians in the early ninth century were not necessarily beholden to the authority of Sergios. In a similar vein, earlier Paulicians may not have belonged to the community that he came to lead. As we have already seen, Paulician religiosity had similarities with conventional forms of Christianity in Asia Minor and therefore may have developed organically. Accordingly, it is possible that these early Paulician networks developed independently of one another and could coalesce or fragment depending on circumstances. This interpretation best accounts for the anxiety that the *Didaskalie* and the *Letters* show regarding schism and legitimate authority, which seem to transcend concerns about Sergios' legitimacy.

Overall, the Paulicians' apostolic focus and engagement with theological terms implies that their ideas may have developed organically from existing forms of Christianity. The *Didaskalie*'s narrative explains the persecutions of the East Roman Empire as a consequence of Paulician sins, particularly the fractiousness of the Paulician community. This narrative reinterpreted recent Roman persecutions with reference to the testimony of *Acts* and, by all indications, contemporary Paulicians found it convincing. The development of this narrative shows that the Paulician canon of scriptural texts was not static. They accepted the Gospels, *Acts* and the Pauline Letters. According to Peter of Sicily, they also accepted the epistles of James and Jude, as well as the three epistles of John.[113] He also states that they rejected the

[111] Chapter Six, pp.174-7.
[112] Chapter Three, pp.114-20.
[113] Peter Sic., 42, pp.22-3 (*CDH*, p.73).

epistles of Peter, although this allegation probably stems from the *Treatise*'s doubtful allegation that the Paulicians defamed Peter.[114] Despite their focus on New Testament works, it is clear that they did not reject books of the Old Testament. They certainly engaged with theological concepts and the apocalyptic allusions mentioned above also suggest engagement with eschatological texts. Lastly, some of them accepted the *Didaskalie* and *Letters of Sergios*. To Paulician adherents, the above texts were all read in conjunction with one another. The *Treatise* and *History* both imply that Paulicians only read a few New Testament books, but their use of texts was actually much more sophisticated.[115] These observations demonstrate that Paulician religiosity was still evolving when these sources were composed in the early/mid-ninth century. Paulician belief probably continued evolving after this period, but as we lack Paulician sources from later periods, we cannot substantiate this. In my view, it is most likely that it developed more explicitly anti-Roman sentiments. Despite this evolution, there are few indications that Paulician religiosity diverted from its apostolic character and veneration of Paul. Existing Paulician modes of explanation could adequately explain Roman persecutions, with the result that Roman actions entrenched pre-existing Paulician belief systems, even if it changed the manner in which they were expressed.[116]

Conclusion

The *Didaskalie* was composed in the aftermath of the persecutions of Michael I and Leo V in the 810s. The *didaskalos* Sergios commissioned the text, but despite this, its authors incorporated traditions about the traits that were expected of a *didaskalos* which reflected badly upon him. In particular, his pacifism in the face of persecution was challenged. The source implies that Sergios' legitimacy was disputed, but we must still suspect that the *Didaskalie* was received favourably. Its eschatological narrative, which cast Paulicians as the apostolic Christians of *Acts* in the face of Roman persecution, must have proved persuasive in terms of encouraging

[114] *Treatise*, 14, p.88 (*CDH*, p.95); Peter Sic., 44, pp.22-3 (*CDH*, p.73).
[115] *Treatise*, 4, p.81 (*CDH*, p.93); Peter Sic., 95-7, pp.40-1 (*CDH*, pp.76-7).
[116] This contrasts with the findings of Pegg regarding the Albigensian heresy. M.G. Pegg, *A Most Holy War: the Albigensian Crusade and the Battle for Christendom* (Oxford/New York, 2008), pp.167-71; 187; M.G. Pegg, 'Albigenses in the Antipodes: an Australian and the Cathars', *Journal of Religious History* 35:4 (2011), pp.592-4.

shared Paulician identities, even if it did not resolve Sergios' uncertain legitimacy. The source subordinates the past to the present, as is shown by its characterisation of persecution as a defining *topos* throughout Paulician history. Accordingly, it is difficult to extract much of historical value from this work. The same is true of the *Letters of Sergios* because they are preserved in extracts and cannot be reduced to a single context.

Despite this, these sources provide a useful starting point for analysing the origins of Paulician religiosity. In its fundamentals, this was based on reverence for the apostle Paul. Paulicians regarded the Gospels, *Acts* and Paul's letters as canonical. In later periods, they probably accepted the *Didaskalie* and *Letters of Sergios*. The *Didaskalie*'s reference to 'the reception of the grace of the Spirit' implies that they were aware of patristic theological concepts. Thus far, there is little that is unusual, thereby implying that Paulician belief could have derived from existing forms of Christianity. Some of their beliefs are more suspect. It is possible that their conception of 'the grace of the Spirit' may have involved a permanent indwelling of the Spirit within the *didaskalos*, but it is more likely that this grace was received by every Paulician believer. However, there is no indication that their beliefs were informed by Manichaeism or Marcionism. They certainly accepted some books of the Old Testament. Even if the way that their beliefs were expressed differed, these tenets were probably characteristic of Paulician religiosity in earlier periods. They are therefore important for our explanation of the origins of Paulician religiosity.

Part Two

Chapter Five: Paulicians and the Iconomachy

Before positing mechanisms for the origins of Paulicians in the East Roman Empire, we must dispel a misleading *topos* found in prior scholarship: that is, the supposedly close relationship between Paulicians and iconoclasm.[1] Conceptualising Paulician origins in the early ninth century is difficult because the account of the *History of the Paulicians* is unpersuasive. Its portrayal of Paulicians in the eighth century – which is largely confined to the narrative of internal disputes and migrations related in the *Didaskalie* – is insufficient to explain why they would later pose a significant threat to the empire.[2] Their importance at the turn of the ninth century is apparent, since Theophanes' *Chronographia* often refers to them during this period and the empire also began to persecute them in the 810s. Nonetheless, it is difficult to reconcile these facts with the silence of East Roman sources during the eighth century, which is admittedly a period whence a dearth of sources have survived. Nevertheless, those that do, such as the *Breviarum* of the future Patriarch Nikephoros (806-15), do not mention Paulicians. The reasons why they came to importance lie in obscurity. This problem has conventionally been explained by a de-facto alliance between Paulicians and the iconoclast emperors of the eighth century, which allowed Paulicians to disseminate their ideas without hindrance. This hypothesis initially appears convincing, since it is founded on primary sources which associate the two groups. However, a closer analysis of the relevant passages shows that these associations arise from polemical references made during later periods. Edward Martin, who disavowed a significant relationship between Paulicians and iconoclasts, argued that 'Paulician' was used in a polemical sense in Theophanes' *Chronographia*.[3] I will substantiate this hypothesis more fully while applying it to other sources. When these sources are read with attention to their context, several polemical *topoi* emerge and the supposed alliance becomes untenable. I will then argue that because both iconoclasts and iconodules regarded Paulicians as a malign heterodoxy, they could be invoked to circumscribe the iconomachy and thereby

[1] See pp.149-50 below.
[2] Peter Sic., 112-31, pp.47-53 (*CDH*, pp.80-3).
[3] Martin was responding to the work of Conybeare. See E.J. Martin, *A History of the Iconoclastic Controversy* (New York/Toronto, 1930), pp.275-8.

alleviate the most acute tensions associated with it. This explains the association of Paulicians with iconoclasts in our sources.

The de-facto alliance between Paulicians and iconoclasts has its origins in late-nineteenth-century scholarship. It was first adduced by Karapet Ter Mkrttschian and Frederick Conybeare, whose interpretations were conditioned by a romanticised characterisation of Paulicians as a pure form of Christianity which reformed the decadent Greek church through what they perceived as the characteristically Armenian phenomenon of iconoclasm.[4] In subsequent decades, most scholars who have supposed a common cause between iconoclasts and Paulicians (notably Milan Loos and Leslie Barnard) have stressed the distinctiveness of the two movements.[5] Loos did not consider Paulicians iconoclastic, but rather as anti-clerical. He believed that shared interests led Paulicians to support iconoclasts, which in turn facilitated Paulician expansion.[6] Barnard's study is a refined restatement of this view.[7] These scholars substantiated their interpretations by arguing that Paulicians were favoured by the iconoclast Emperor Constantine V, but as we will see, the evidence for this is non-existent. Indeed, with the exception of Photios' letters to Chrysocheir, East Roman sources do not accuse Paulicians of iconoclasm until the mid-tenth century.[8] Photios' letters, while important and well-informed sources, also attempt to dissuade Chrysocheir from Miaphysitism, Monoenergism, Monotheletism and earlier heresies, so we cannot place too much emphasis on his references to iconoclasm.[9] The *History* and the *Contra Manichaeos* do not refer to the Paulician rejection of images, predominantly because, as we have seen, their portrayals of Paulician belief are predicated on the *Treatise*, which was authored by an iconoclast.[10] This

[4] See K. Ter Mkrttschian, *Die Paulikianer im byzantinischen Kaiserreiche und verwandte ketzerische Erscheinungen in Armenien* (Leipzig, 1893), pp.112-7; Conybeare (ed.), *Key of Truth*, pp.xxxvi; xlviii; lxxiii-lxxv. For Armenian Paulicians and iconoclasm see also P.J. Alexander, 'An Ascetic Sect of Iconoclasts in Seventh Century Armenia', in K. Weitzmann (ed.), *Late Classical and Medieval Studies in Honor of Albert Mathias Friend, Jr.* (Princeton, 1955), p.159.
[5] Nina Garsoïan is an exception, since she explains the dualist beliefs of the 'Neo-Paulicians' through iconoclast influences. See N.G. Garsoïan, 'Byzantine Heresy. A Reinterpretation', *DOP* 25 (1971), pp.97-105.
[6] M. Loos, 'Le mouvement paulicien à Byzance', *BS* 24 (1963), pp.267-76.
[7] L.W. Barnard, 'The Paulicians and Iconoclasm', in A. Bryer and J. Herrin (eds.), *Iconoclasm: Papers Given at the Ninth Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies, University of Birmingham, March 1975* (Birmingham, 1977), pp.75-82.
[8] See especially Photios, *Epistulae*, Ep.37-8, vol.1, pp.87-8. For the mid-tenth-century sources see *Abjuration Formula III*, pp.200-1, l.35; pp.202-3, l.81-5; *Abjuration Formula* IV, pp.202-3, l.8.
[9] Photios, *Epistulae*, Ep.33-6, vol.1, pp.86-7.
[10] Chapter Two, pp.69-76.

iconoclast author naturally would not consider the rejection of icons heretical and hence did not examine this matter. Finally, Paulicians were persecuted throughout the second iconoclast period, when their historicity is more clearly attested. The connection between Paulicians and iconoclasm therefore rests on unstable foundations. I will disclaim this connection by focusing on two polemical devices: firstly, the association of Paulicians with Constantine V and secondly, the use of the term 'Paulician' to question rhetorically an individual's Christianity.

Paulicians, Iconoclasm and Constantine V

There are two extant references to Paulicians during the eighth century, one from the *Chronographia* of Theophanes and the other from the *Third Antirrheticus* of the Patriarch Nikephoros I (806-15). Both works date from the early ninth century. Since the *Chronographia* contains other references to Paulicians which have collective importance, I will examine this source before proceeding to the *Third Antirrheticus*. Our extant version of the *Chronographia* was perhaps completed during the latter part of 814, but since Theophanes had been bedridden since 810 it is disputed whether the *Chronographia* primarily represents his own work, or that of George Synkellos, who began the task of compiling this text.[11] The difficulty is most pronounced in regard to events of the early ninth century.[12] Since we are concerned with this period here, I will acknowledge this disputed agency in the course of this discussion.

In regard to Paulicians, the *Chronographia* is valuable because it contains the earliest extant reference to them in an East Roman source. Read at face value, the event in question implies a relationship between iconoclasts and Paulicians. It describes a relocation of Paulicians from Malaṭiya in 750 and Qālīqalā

[11] The former date is assumed because the *Chronographia* portrays the future Leo V as an orthodox figure, but Leo went on to assume the throne and reimpose iconoclasm late in 814. See Mango and Scott (eds.), Theoph., pp.lvii; lxilxii.
[12] Mango has argued that the majority of first-hand observations in the *Chronographia* for this period were composed by George Synkellos, rather than Theophanes. C. Mango, 'Who Wrote the Chronicle of Theophanes?', *Zborknik Radova Vizantinoškog Instituta* 18 (1978), pp.14-7.

(Theodosiopolis/Karin) in 754/5 to Thrace, that is, during the reign of the infamous iconoclast Constantine V:[13]

> The Emperor Constantine transferred to Thrace the Syrians and Armenians whom he had brought from Theodosiopolis and Melitene and, through them, the heresy of the Paulicians spread about.[14]

This passage comprises an example of our first polemical device, the association of Paulicians and Constantine. It implies a possible relationship between the two, although, notably, there is no indication of the de-facto alliance favoured by prior scholarship. However, there are indications that this event has no relevance to Paulicians, since the relocation is mentioned in other sources without any reference to them. Before discussing the passage noted above, it is important to examine an earlier relocation of populations by Constantine, with which the above event is sometimes confused.[15] This earlier relocation took place after Constantine's campaigns in northern Syria in 746, after which he also relocated Christians to Thrace.[16] These events are related by the earlier *Breviarum* of Nikephoros (the author of the *Third Antirrheticus*), which was probably composed in the 780s or 790s, as well as by the *Chronographia* and George the Monk's *Chronicon*.[17] The *Breviarum* only mentions the campaign, but the *Chronographia* and *Chronicon* both mention Constantine's relocation of the populace and link this to the spread of Miaphysite heresy in the area. The *Chronicon*'s account follows the *Chronographia* closely. Thus, we have an earlier analogue for our event, which our sources associate with the spread of Miaphysitism.

As for the later relocations, although the *Chronographia* relates these events to the subsequent spread of Paulicians, this interpretation is not followed by the

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[13] The *Chronographia*'s account implies that both cities were captured in the course of a single campaign, but geography makes this highly unlikely. See R.-J. Lilie, *Die byzantinische Reaktion auf die Ausbreitung der Araber: Studien zur Strukturwandlung des byzantinischen Staates im 7. und 8. Jhd.* (Munich, 1976), pp.164-5. See Theoph, p.427, l.14-6; p.429, l.19-22 (Mango and Scott, pp.590; 593); Michael Syr., 11:24-5, pp.510; 512-3.
[14] Theoph, p.429, l.19-22 (Mango and Scott, p.593).
[15] Barnard, for instance, confuses the two events. L.W Barnard, *The Graeco-Roman and Oriental Background of the Iconoclastic Controversy* (Leiden, 1974), p.109. The same is true of Martin, who favours a Miaphysite identification of these heretics. See Martin, *Iconoclastic Controversy*, p.277.
[16] Lilie, *Die byzantinische Reaktion*, p.164.
[17] Nikeph., *Breviarum*, 70, pp.142-3; Georg. Mon., 34, p.752, l.12-17; Theoph., p.422, l.11-18 (Mango and Scott, p.584). For the date of the *Breviarum* see P.J. Alexander, *The Patriarch Nicephorus of Constantinople: Ecclesiastical Policy and Image Worship in the Byzantine Empire* (Oxford, 1958), p.162; Mango (ed.), Nikeph., *Breviarum*, pp.8-12.

Breviarum or the *Chronicon*. The example of the *Breviarum* is particularly interesting, since it shares a common source with the *Chronographia* for the period 668-769, thereby covering both episodes with which we are concerned here.[18] Unlike the relocation of 746, the *Breviarum* notes that the 754/5 campaign was followed by a relocation of the local populace, but Nikephoros does not associate this with religious deviance.[19] It is therefore probable that George/Theophanes has developed a *topos* linking Constantine V's forced migrations with heresy, since both relocations are not associated with the spread of heresy by Nikephoros (and therefore presumably the common source). This polemical device is comprehensible given the many forms of invective hurled at Constantine.[20] It is also comprehensible, since, as we will see, Paulicians were a matter of acute concern when the *Chronographia* was composed.[21] However, the crucial point is that later authors did not follow the *Chronographia*'s identification of Paulicians. George the Monk's account of this event differs markedly and does not mention heresy.[22] The *Third Antirrheticus* refers to heresy, but does not identify it.[23] More notably, the *Chronicon* of Symeon the *logothetes*, whose first recension perhaps dates to the late 940s, adopts a different interpretation.[24] Symeon has assimilated the two migrations noted here into a single event, but claims that the relocated heretics "hold fast to the heresy of the tyrant" (ie. Constantine V).[25] For Symeon, the heretics are iconoclasts. Finally, Michael the Syrian considers these heretics Miaphysites.[26] In summary, only the *Chronographia* associates the forced migration of 754/5 with Paulician activity. This identification is questionable because there are other indications of anachronism in the *Chronographia*.[27] The association of Constantine and Paulicians most probably arose in the 810s, when the *Chronographia* was composed and, more importantly, when Paulicians were persecuted. Even scholars who have maintained Paulician

[18] Mango and Scott (eds.), Theoph., p.liv.
[19] Nikeph., *Breviarum*, 73, pp.144-5.
[20] For the proposition that polemic directed at Constantine originally took several forms see: P. Speck, *Ich bin's nicht, Kaiser Konstantin ist es gewesen* (Bonn, 1990), pp.139-90.
[21] See pp.155-6.
[22] Georg. Mon., 34, p.763, l.14-18.
[23] Nikeph., *Third Antirrheticus*, 72, col.507-10. The passage probably refers to Miaphysitism. Its authorship is disputed. See pp.156-8 below.
[24] Dating the various recensions of the *Chronicon* is a troublesome endeavour. See Wahlgren (ed.), Sym. Mag., pp.5*-8*.
[25] Sym. Mag., 122:5, p.190, l.77-83.
[26] Michael Syr., 11:25, p.513.
[27] See his use of the term *thema* in the reign of Herakleios. J.F. Haldon, *The Empire that Would Not Die: the Paradox of Eastern Roman Survival, 640-740* (Cambridge, MA, 2016), pp.267-8.

links with iconoclasm have not found the Paulician identification of this passage persuasive.[28] If we are to link this relocation with heresy, the event should be linked with Miaphysite activity, as in the case of the relocations of 746.

Since the next reference to Paulicians in the *Chronographia* dates to Nikephoros I's reign, the above interpretation undermines any link between Constantine V and Paulicians. A passage in the *Chronicon* of George the Monk demonstrates more clearly that this association is polemical. The excerpt refers to Constantine V's alleged repudiation of the Theotokos. The version quoted below comes from the second recension of the *Chronicon*, which dates to the last third of the ninth century:[29]

> In this manner he said that even Mary (for the impious man was not worthy to call her Theotokos) began to be honoured when she held Christ within herself, but after she bore him she was not different from other women. Alas for the daring abuse of the Saracen-believing and Jewish-minded! For he was not a Christian – let it not be so! – but a Paulician, to speak more truly and more fittingly, an idolater, servant of demons and human sacrificer.[30]

This passage is important because as well as connecting Constantine and Paulicians, it also illustrates our second polemical usage of the term Paulician. This usage employs 'Paulician' in contradistinction to 'Christian', thereby implying that the Christian involved is so far from orthodoxy as to invite comparisons with dualist heretics.[31] This is the essential meaning of this passage, which certainly does not imply that Constantine was a Paulician (or indeed a worshipper of demons).

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[28] Barnard, *Graeco-Roman and Oriental Background*, p.109.

[29] Afinogenov, the most recent scholar to date the *Chronicon*, makes contradictory remarks concerning the dating of the second recension. He first noted that this work need not date after 871/2 – the *terminus post quem* posited by Grégoire and Lemerle – by presenting evidence which showed that the Paulician material indebted to the *Treatise* pre-dated this, in contrast to the claims of the French scholars. As we saw in Chapter 2, this is correct. See D. Afinogenov, 'The Date of Georgios Monachos Reconsidered', *BZ* 92 (1999), pp.438-441. However, in a subsequent study he accepted the *terminus post quem* posited by Grégoire and Lemerle. See D. Afinogenov, 'Le manuscrit grec *Coislin.* 305: la version primitive de la *Chronique* de Georges le Moine', *REB* 62:1 (2004), p.246.

[30] Georg Mon., 34, p.751, l.13-20: οὕτως, ἔφη, καὶ ἡ Μαρία (οὐ γὰρ θεοτόκον ὁ ἄθεος ἠξίου λέγειν) ἕως μὲν εἶχε τὸν Χριστὸν ἐν ἑαυτῇ τετιμημένη ὑπῆρχεν, ἀφ' οὗ δὲ τοῦτον ἀπέτεκεν, οὐδὲν τῶν λοιπῶν γυναικῶν διενήνοχεν. φεῦ τῆς τολμηρᾶς δυσφημίας τοῦ σαρακηνοπίστου καὶ ἰουδαιόφρονος. οὐ γὰρ ἦν χριστιανός, μὴ γένοιτο, ἀλλὰ Παυλικιάνος ἤ, τό γε ἀληθέστερον εἰπεῖν καὶ οἰκειότερον, εἰδωλολάτρης καὶ δαιμόνων ὑπηρέτης καὶ ἀνθρωποθύτης.

[31] See also Martin, *Iconoclastic Controversy*, pp.276-7.

Critically, this polemical association is a later invention, since the first recension of the *Chronicon*, dated *c*.846/7, characterises Constantine in a different manner:[32]

> …for he was not a Christian, but a worshipper of gold, to speak more truly and more fittingly, an idolater…[33]

As in the case of the above example, the polemical identification of Constantine as a Paulician is not contemporary. On this occasion, it arises during the later ninth century, when Paulician forces were at war with the empire. A further example from the *Chronographia* combines the two polemical tropes we have examined thus far.

The relevant passage describes a group of iconoclasts who broke into the tomb of Constantine V and entreated him to save the empire. The *Chronographia* places this event in the course of Michael I's Balkan campaign, during which the Bulgar ruler Krum (*c*.800-14) defeated him decisively at Versinikia (813). Loos and Barnard consider this episode important, since in their view it suggests that Paulicians and iconoclasts were distinct, yet held shared interests.[34] The passage reads as follows:

> In the City, while the people and patriarch were performing a litany in the church of the Holy Apostles, some impious members of the foul heresy of the God-hated Constantine prised up the door of the imperial mausoleum (no one was paying any attention because the throng was so thick) and made it open suddenly with some kind of noise as if by a divine miracle. They then rushed in and fell before the deceiver's tomb, calling on him and not on God, crying out "Arise and help the State that is perishing!" They spread the rumour that Constantine had arisen on his horse and was setting out to fight the Bulgarians – he who dwells in Hell in the company of demons! The City prefect arrested those men and at first they lied, pretending that the doors of the mausoleum had opened automatically by God's will. But when they had been brought before the prefect's tribunal and failed to produce witnesses, they admitted the stratagem of the wrenching before any torture had been applied to them. The prefect had them suitably 'wrenched' and condemned them to be paraded in public and to cry aloud the reason for their punishment… Most of those who uttered such blasphemies were Christians only in semblance, but in truth were

[32] Afinogenov, 'Le manuscrit grec', p.246
[33] Georg Mon., 34, p.751, l.18-9 (apparatus): ... οὐ γὰρ χριστιανὸς ἀλλὰ χρυσιανὸς καὶ χρυσολάτρης ἢ τό γε ἀληθέστερον καὶ οἰκειότερον εἰπεῖν εἰδωλάτρης…
[34] Loos, 'Le mouvement', pp.275-6; Barnard, 'Paulicians and Iconoclasm', p.79.

> Paulicians who, unable to make manifest their own loathsome doctrines, seduced the ignorant by this device, extolling the Jewish-minded Constantine as a prophet and victor…[35]

The participation of Paulicians in this episode is doubtful since they are only referred to after the event and its repercussions are recounted. As in the passage of George the Monk, they are juxtaposed with Christians to emphasise the heterodoxy of the iconoclasts. Contrary to Loos and Barnard, there are no indications that the two groups are distinct actors. Instead, the *Chronographia* conceives of heterodoxy in an amorphous fashion, as is evident in other references from this text. An earlier plot to replace Michael I with the surviving sons of Constantine V is blamed on the "Paulicians and Athinganoi, Iconoclasts and Tetradites" and his predecessor Nikephoros I is smeared by association with Paulicians and Athinganoi.[36] There is little reason to believe that George/Theophanes is being precise when he refers to Paulicians, or other heretics.

Most crucially, the polemical use of the term Paulician must be interpreted with the knowledge that Paulicians were a contemporary concern when the *Chronographia* was written in the early 810s, since they were being persecuted during the reign of Michael III (811-13).[37] I will examine these persecutions in their proper historical place, but for now an overview will suffice. Soon after Michael's accession, the Patriarch Nikephoros (the author of the *Third Antirrheticus*) presented him with a tract which recommended that capital punishment should be imposed upon Paulicians, Athinganoi and – according to the *Vita Nicephori* – Jews.[38] The persecutions were enacted until some of Michael's advisors convinced him to curtail them. Nikephoros' support for these persecutions is clear. This is also true of the author of the *Chronographia*, who pours calumnies upon the "perverse counsellors"

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[35] Theoph., p.501, l.3-25 (Mango and Scott, pp.684-5).
[36] Theoph., p.496, l.8-16 (Mango and Scott, p.679); Theoph., p.488, l.22-5 (Mango and Scott, p.671). The term 'Tetradites' refers to those whose belief was thought to imply a Godhead of four persons. It was most often applied to those with a heterodox understanding of the crucifixion, such as Theopaschites, Julianists and the followers of Peter the Fuller, Bishop of Antioch. To the opponents of these groups, their teaching implied that the crucified Christ was essentially a fourth person. See W.H.C. Frend, *The Rise of the Monophysite Movement* (London, 1972), pp.167-8; K. Haleblian, 'Heresy and Orthodoxy in the Armenian Church', *Exchange* 31:1 (2002), p.60.
[37] For these persecutions see Chapter Seven, pp.199-206.
[38] Theoph., pp.494-5, l.33-l.6 (Mango and Scott, p.678); *V. Nicephori*, pp.158-9, l.25-l.8 (Talbot, p.65)

who opposed persecution.[39] Thus, the connection between Paulicians and iconoclasm arises from iconodule writers who approved of persecuting Paulicians. These persecutions explain the *Chronographia*'s comparison of iconoclasts with Paulicians in the affair of Constantine's tomb. Since Paulicians were considered worthy of the death penalty during Michael I's reign, George's/Theophanes' identification of iconoclasts with Paulicians rationalises the punishments inflicted upon them. This is comprehensible within the fraught political climate of the time, particularly the looming Bulgar threat and the prospect of a resumption of iconoclasm.[40] This hypothesis becomes more convincing when it is noted that our other main source for Paulicians in the eighth century, Nikephoros' *Third Antirrheticus*, employs this same coincidence of iconoclasts, Paulicians and punishment.

Before tackling the passage in question, it is necessary to give some background on the *Third Antirrheticus*.[41] The stated aim of this source is to recount the main scriptural arguments for icon veneration.[42] This purpose occupies its first sixty-one chapters, but after this the text becomes more historical and polemical, with no explanation for this change. When Paul Speck analysed this text he hypothesised that this material was interpolated. He argued that from chapter eighty-four onward this material was added after 843, but came to a more nuanced view for chapters sixty-two to eighty-three, which is where our passage lies. He believed that these chapters did not belong with the rest of the text, but thought that they had the hallmarks of a genuine work of Nikephoros.[43] I will endorse Speck's conclusions here because these chapters were composed by a well-informed author with a sophisticated literary style and a command of polemical writing. These observations imply that Nikephoros authored this section, but even if this is not the case, the material in question is sophisticated enough to require attention here. Paul Alexander has dated the *Antirrhetici* between 818-20, but because our material was not necessarily original, these dates are inapplicable. If Nikephoros composed this

[39] Theoph., p.495, l.4-6 (Mango and Scott, p.678).
[40] Alexander links the persecutions with recent Bulgar victories. P.J. Alexander, 'Religious Persecution and Resistance in the Byzantine Empire of the Eighth and Ninth Centuries: Methods and Justifications', *Speculum* 52:2 (1977), p.245.
[41] For related texts, such as the first and second *Antirrhetici* and the *Apologeticus Major*, see Alexander, *Patriarch Nicephorus*, pp.167-73.
[42] Alexander, *Patriarch Nicephorus*, pp.170-2.
[43] Speck, *Ich bin's nicht*, pp.553-6.

material, he did so after the resumption of iconoclasm in 815 and before his death in 828.[44]

The relevant passage states that after the Second Council of Nicaea (787) many iconoclasts became Manichaeans; the habitual term for Paulicians in sources of this period.[45] This identification derives from a desire to make Paulicians subject to the death penalty, as Ludwig suggested.[46] The council is placed within a loose framework of historical events, including the plague of Constantine V's reign. The author describes these events to counter the popular opinion that iconoclasts enjoyed divine favour.[47] Our passage reads as follows:

> For a short time beforehand, when [Eirene], who was known for piety, ruled the empire and demonstrated inspired and praiseworthy zeal on behalf of our belief, God awakened the spirit and with a divinely inspired vote [the iconoclasts] were fairly and auspiciously banished from this city, the city which they had settled in impiously and wickedly at the behest of the one who had gathered them. Wandering around like planets, they began to strive for a religion in which visible icons and memorials of the ministry of Christ were not made, and so they discovered the faithless and godless thing vomited forth from the many – I mean that of the Manichaeans. They were in accord with their doctrines, entrusted their belief to them and proclaimed things which were enjoyed and rejoiced at long ago. At any rate, because of these things the majority of them abjured our confession entirely and delivered themselves wholly into this madness. Some of them were discovered among these and paid the ultimate price, which the laws commanded, and were given over to the sword.[48]

[44] Alexander, *Patriarch Nicephorus*, pp.155; 186-8.
[45] For the equivalence of Manichaeans and Paulicians, see Chapter Six, pp.168-70.
[46] C. Ludwig, 'The Paulicians and Ninth-Century Byzantine Thought', in L. Brubaker (ed.), *Byzantium in the Ninth Century: Dead or Alive?* (Aldershot, 1998), pp.29-34.
[47] Nikeph., *Third Antirrheticus*, 65, col.496-7.
[48] Nikeph., *Third Antirrheticus*, 68, col.501: Ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἐν ὀλίγοις τοῖς πρόσθεν χρόνοις, τῆς ἐπ' εὐσεβείᾳ γνωριζομένης, καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν τὴν βασίλειον διεπούσης, ἀξιοζήλωτόν τε καὶ ἔνθεον σπουδὴν περὶ τὴν καθ' ἡμᾶς πίστιν ἐπιδειξαμένης, ἐξήγειρεν ὁ θεὸς τὸ πνεῦμα, καὶ θεοκρίτῳ ψήφῳ, τῆς πόλεως τῆσδε ἐφ' ἧς κακῶς καὶ ἀθέως παρὰ τοῦ ἠθροικότος ἐνίδρυντο, καλῶς καὶ αἰσίως ἐξώσθησαν· περιαλώμενοι οἷα πλανῆτες περιεζήτουν θρησκείαν, καθ' ἣν εἰκόνες καὶ ὑπομνήματα τῆς Χριστοῦ οἰκονομίας οὐκ ἐμφανίζονται· εὑρίσκουσιν οὖν δὴ τὴν ἐρωμένην ἐκ πλείονος τὴν Μανιχαίων δὴ λέγω ἀπιστίαν καὶ ἀθεῖαν, καὶ τῇ δόξῃ τῇ ἐκείνων συνᾴδουσαν, καὶ τὰ κατὰ γνώμην αὐτοῖς ἐπιτρέπουσαν, καὶ ταῦτα ἐπαγγέλλουσαν οἷσπερ ᾖδοντο καὶ ἔχαιρον πόρρωθεν· διὰ δὴ ταῦτα οἱ πλείους αὐτῶν τὴν καθ' ἡμᾶς ὁμολογίαν ὁλοτρόπως ἀπώμοτον ποιησάμενοι, ἐκείνῃ τῇ λύσσῃ προσέθεντο τέλεον· ἀφ' ὧν καί τινες φωραθέντες, τιμωρίας τὰς ἐσχάτας, ἃς οἱ νόμοι κελεύουσιν, ἔτισαν τῷ ξίφει παραδιδόμενοι.

The reference to capital punishment in this extract can only refer to the persecutions enacted by Michael I and Leo V, since we know of no other contemporary persecution of Paulicians (or indeed Manichaeans). Almost twenty-five years elapsed between these events and the Seventh Ecumenical Council. This lack of precision is concordant with the rhetorical function of these chapters and thus problematises the attestation of Paulicians prior to Nicaea II. In any event, the reference to iconoclasts "wandering around like planets" before discovering Paulician belief does not suggest a pre-existing alliance between iconoclasm and Paulicians. It rather implies that Paulicians became a significant concern after 787, as the *Chronographia*'s testimony suggests. From our perspective, the most interesting aspect of this extract is that the iconoclast-Paulician link once again appears in the context of persecution. As in the passage in the *Chronographia*, iconoclasts are the main focus of this passage. Paulicians, who are coincidental to the narrative, characterise iconoclasts as being closer to dualist heterodoxy than to conventional Christianity. Consequently, "the majority" of these iconoclasts became Paulicians and some of those who remained so were executed. All this characterises iconoclasm as a dangerous form of heterodoxy.

According to the above interpretation, there was no alliance, informal or otherwise, between Paulicians and iconoclasts. As we have seen, our sources employ the label 'Paulician' in conjunction with particular tropes, notably to associate them with Constantine V or to call the orthodoxy of others into question. In doing so, they often refer to punishment in periods when Paulicians were subject to the death penalty. Other observations refute a connection between Paulicians and iconoclasm. The revised dating of the *Treatise* adopted in Chapter Two implies that iconoclasts held particular disdain for Paulician doctrine as they understood it.[49] The independence of Paulicians from the established church renders them inimical to iconoclasts, who sought to define the sources of spiritual authority more precisely.[50] In a broader sense, understandings of Paulicians were used to circumscribe the iconomachy by invoking a heresy considered extreme by iconodule and iconoclast alike. An extract from the *Vita Nicetae Medicii* supports this case. The extract relates

[49] Chapter Two, pp.69-76.

[50] Iconoclasm sought both to ensure that religious expressions were made in the correct contexts and, during some periods, to bring religious policy under imperial control. The latter approach is particularly associated with Constantine V, Leo V and, to a lesser extent, Theophilos. L. Brubaker and J.F. Haldon, *Byzantium in the Iconoclast Era, c. 680-85: a History* (Cambridge, 2011), pp.182-4; 234-47; 366-85; 392-404.

to the Emperor Leo V's attempts to persuade recalcitrant bishops to support his policy of reimposing iconoclasm. Leo's words imply that he is pursuing a conciliatory policy and will only resort to more forceful measures if necessary.[51] This relatively favourable portrayal suggests that the source, which dates before 844/5, is a reliable witness.[52] In the course of the debate, the iconophile bishop Peter of Nicaea tells Leo V that if he allied with Manichaeans (ie. Paulicians) they would be victorious as a result of his support. This passage reads as follows:

> Then Peter, the Bishop of Nicaea said: "Whatever can you say that will lead us to speak with [the iconoclasts], while you fight with them and on their behalf? Do you fail to realise that even if you brought forward Manichaeans to let them speak, if you wished to fight on their behalf, would you overcome or aid us?"[53]

In the extract, Peter refers to Paulicians in a rhetorical sense to delimit the iconomachy. By associating Leo with the heterodoxy which was assumed to be most dangerous at this time, he makes Leo's behaviour appear more extreme. Peter certainly does not countenance an alliance between Leo and the Paulicians. This was unthinkable, since Leo's reign saw the reimposition of persecutions against Paulicians. Peter's allegations are therefore equivalent to those directed at Constantine V.

This use of Paulicians to delimit the iconomachy is most apparent from the major shifts in the image controversy during the ninth century. Both prominent volte faces – the reimposition of iconoclasm in 815 and the Triumph of Orthodoxy in 843 – were accompanied by renewed persecution of Paulicians. The first of these events is habitually connected to the empire's loss of divine favour and it is apparent that persecuting Paulicians was also considered a way to regain this. Furthermore, persecuting a heresy which both iconodules and iconoclasts considered the most malign heresy would serve to deflect tensions between them by having them fight a common enemy. There are also indications that Paulicians were used to delimit the iconomachy in a less conciliatory sense. As we remarked above in the affair of

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[51] *V. Nicetae Medicii*, 34-5, p.262.
[52] L. Brubaker and J.F. Haldon, *Byzantium in the Iconoclast Era, c. 680-85: the Sources* (Aldershot, 2001), p.222.
[53] *V. Nicetae Medicii*, 35, pp.262-3: Deinde Petrus Nicænus Episcopus, Quomodo dicis ut loquamur cum eis, dum tu pro eis & cum eis pugnas? Ignoras quod etiamsi Manichæos induceres ad loquendum, si eos propugnare volueris, superaturi nos sint a te adjuti?

Constantine V's tomb, in some instances labelling iconoclasts as 'Paulicians' may have legitimated the punishments inflicted on them.[54] On balance, there is little indication that this was pursued systematically as part of a policy to punish iconoclasts, considering that iconoclast emperors also persecuted Paulicians. Still, I would not rule out some persecution of iconoclasts on this basis, but this must have been rare and was perhaps confined to Michael I's reign.[55] We should recall here that iconoclast persecution of iconodules was rather less frequent than many of our sources claim.[56] As we will see, conciliation between Paulicians and Romans was also easier than our heresiological sources would like to admit.

Our extant sources only imply a connection between Paulicians and iconoclasts because iconodule works comprise the majority of our surviving sources. We can now counterbalance this, given the iconoclast authorship of the *Treatise*. It is often alleged that Paulicians rejected images, but our sources do not state this.[57] Instead, the *Treatise* implies that they rejected the veneration of the Theotokos, the Eucharist and the Cross.[58] Whether they actually did so is uncertain; we must be sceptical given that they are supposed to have rejected the prophets of the Old Testament.[59] It may be that they did not venerate these sacred symbols in the manner that the author of the *Treatise* did. This seems to explain the iconodule claim that iconoclasts rejected the Theotokos, since the *Treatise*, along with other evidence, implies that they did not.[60]

Conclusion

In summary, the hypothesis of an alliance between Paulicians and iconoclasts does not withstand scutiny. This link arises because iconodule authors often equated the two in order to emphasise the heterodoxy of iconoclasts. In our extant sources, this connection manifests itself in two polemical devices: firstly, the association of

[54] See pp.154-8.
[55] For the view that iconodules did not persecute iconoclasts, see Alexander, 'Religious Persecution', p.244.
[56] Brubaker and Haldon, *Byzantium: a History*, pp.234-47.
[57] For this allegation see p.149.
[58] *Treatise*, 11-13, pp.87-8.
[59] Chapter Four, pp.138-40.
[60] Chapter Two, p.75, n.176.

Paulicians with Constantine V; and secondly, the invocation of the term ‘Paulician’ to doubt an individual’s orthodox Christianity. Iconoclasts may have made similar allegations, but their sources do not survive. In any case, ‘Paulician’ was already a polemical term when it first appears in our sources at the turn of the ninth century. Our other salient conclusion is that iconodule and iconoclast discourses employed the term ‘Paulician’ to circumscribe the iconomachy and the religious tensions associated with it. As a result of this, the extent to which Paulician identity could overlap between iconoclast or iconodule religiosities in practice is unknowable. This circumscription is most evident in the fact that East Romans persecuted Paulicians during both major shifts in the image controversy during the ninth century. For the purposes of the following chapters, the evidence for East Roman awareness of Paulicians prior to the ninth century is slight, even if they certainly existed beforehand. An alliance between Paulicians and iconoclasts is insufficient in explaining the rise of the Paulicians in the eighth century. A new explanation is needed.

Chapter Six: Paulicians before the Persecutions

Most scholarship on the Paulicians has taken Peter of Sicily's *History of the Paulicians* as the most authoritative source on the movement, but as I hope to have demonstrated, the text is a tenth-century forgery which distorts its sources. In addition, we saw in Chapters Three and Four that the Paulician sources which underpin the *History* are of limited value from a historical perspective. Moreover, Chapter Five has shown that an alliance between Paulicians and iconoclasts cannot convincingly account for the former's historical development. In themselves, these observations would require a reappraisal of Paulician history, but this is further necessitated by methodological developments in the study of heresy in the decades since the last major historical studies of Paulicians. As noted in Chapter One, recent scholarship in heresy studies has emphasised the importance of the social and political context of heresy, as well as the significance of orthodox agency in conditioning the development of heresy.[1] These observations will inform this chapter and the one that follows it. By contrast, most prior studies of Paulicians have adopted the account of Paulician history preserved within the *History* (and therefore the *Didaskalie*). They contextualised this with reference to other events and developments where appropriate, but these references were predominantly employed to uphold the *History*'s narrative.[2] More dubiously, prior studies have largely understood Paulician identity and religiosity as unchanging phenomena. These methodologies cannot explain why the social context in which Paulicians operated led them to become a significant threat to the East Roman Empire. This is a key concern of this part of the thesis.

Perhaps the most illustrative example of an unchanging conception of Paulician religiosity is Nina Garsoïan's comparatively sophisticated reconstruction. She sought to portray the evolution of Paulician belief from adoptionism to dualism in East Roman territory. In doing so, she conceived of the East Roman "Neo-Paulicians" as a departure from the adoptionist Paulicians of Armenia, whose belief showed continuity from ancient to modern times.[3] As such, the belief of these

[1] Chapter One, pp.27-9.
[2] See esp. M. Loos, 'Le mouvement paulicien à Byzance', *BS* 24 (1963), pp.260-79; P. Lemerle, 'L'histoire des Pauliciens d'Asie Mineure d'après les sources grecques', *TM* 5 (1973), pp.49-84.
[3] N.G. Garsoïan, *The Paulician Heresy* (Paris/The Hague, 1967), pp.229-30.

Armenian Paulicians remained immutable. Moreover, Garsoïan did not ground the evolution of Paulician belief from adoptionism to dualism within the social context of Asia Minor, but instead explained this development as a "*reductio ad absurdum*" of iconoclast tenets.[4] She therefore comprehended Paulician religiosity in broadly theological terms, just as earlier scholars had identified Paulician belief with Marcionite, gnostic or adoptionist beliefs.[5] Likewise, although Paul Lemerle's subsequent analysis engaged with possible evolutions of Paulician belief, he did so by differentiating the belief in Sergios-Tychikos' time with that beforehand.[6] Consequently, he founded his analysis on Sergios' portrayal within the *History* (particularly the *Letters of Sergios*) and thus did not place Paulicians within a social context. Like Garsoïan, he adopted a top-down method of analysis.

This chapter, together with Chapter Seven, will depart from prior scholarship by considering the issues of Paulician belief, identity and history as a totality, while grounding these within the social context of eastern Asia Minor (and to a lesser extent Armenia) during the eighth and ninth centuries. I will do so by extracting the few reliable facts from the sources that we have examined to this point, complementing this process with reference to the political, religious, social and economic contexts of our area. This chapter will focus on the issue of Paulician origins by accounting for the formation of Paulician communities by processes of collective identity formation, namely, via local interactions among actors and networks within eastern Asia Minor. In doing so, I will conceive of communal identities as malleable and context-specific. The demarcation of these identities (from within and without) evolves through dialectical interactions with other social actors.[7] The respective demarcations are not identical and thus we cannot assume that references to 'Paulicians' in different accounts designate individuals who considered themselves part of the same confessional identity.

This leads to a compelling conclusion: that we cannot necessarily explain Paulicians as a unitary phenomenon, even within the confines of the ninth century.

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[4] N.G. Garsoïan, 'Byzantine Heresy. A Reinterpretation', *DOP* 25 (1971), pp.97-105.
[5] Chapter One, pp.18-27.
[6] Lemerle, 'L'histoire', pp.122-3.
[7] For the methodological inspiration behind this approach see R. Brubaker, *Ethnicity without Groups* (Cambridge, MA/London, 2004); J.C. Scott, *The Art of Not Being Governed: an Anarchist History of Upland South East Asia* (New Haven/London, 2009).

The Paulician community headed by Sergios-Tychikos *c*.800/1-34/5 is located primarily within the Armeniakon province/thema and is defined as a religious movement by our heresiological sources, which are ultimately informed by Paulician texts. By contrast, the Paulician community headed by Karbeas *c*.845-63 originally comprised of defectors from the army of the Anatolikon thema and is consequently defined by our sources (predominantly East Roman historical works) as a militaristic phenomenon. There are few commonalities between these two contexts, save for the term 'Paulician.' Existing scholarship has not identified this difficulty and has instead followed the *History*'s narrative, which posits continuity between these phases of activity.[8] It was the first source to do so and, as we have seen, it does so unconvincingly.[9] In these chapters I will disclaim this continuity, interpreting these phases of activity as largely independent phenomena that are only equated as a result of the changing use of the label 'Paulician' by Roman actors. That is not to say that there were no commonalities between these phenomena, but that assuming continuity inevitably simplifies the complex dynamics involved.

The Paulicians: General Observations

Most of the preceding material in this thesis has been devoted to undermining the conventional interpretation of Paulician beliefs and history by critiquing the sources which document these. As a result, it is helpful to outline which evidence is reliable for examining Paulicians as a historical phenomenon. Most importantly, I will adopt Claudia Ludwig's theory that Paulician belief was apostolic. This certainly applies after the persecutions of Michael I's and Leo V's reigns, but the swiftness with which Paulicians made sense of these persecutions suggests that the same is true beforehand. Several elements of Paulician religiosity can be more securely identified after the observations made in Chapter Four. There are indications that Paulicians had adopted religious hierarchies by the turn of the ninth century and that their thought was informed by post-Nicene theology. They did not reject the Old Testament and there is no evidence that they were dualists in the Paulician sources. These two observations suggest that they were not as distinct from

[8] Peter Sic., 170-84, pp.63-7.
[9] Chapter Two, pp.50-5.

provincial Christianities than has generally been assumed. Although we cannot discount the possibility that adherents could belong to Paulician and Roman confessional communities, this seems unlikely in most cases. To the Constantinopolitan church, it may have seemed that Paulicians rejected the institutional church, but they essentially operated outside of this. In addition, their idiosyncratic ideas about the Holy Spirit suggest that they were both heteroprax and heterodox.

Because the *Didaskalie* is a product of a particular place and context, we cannot assume that Paulicians had formalised the eschatological conception of their history related within it prior to the ninth century. Since this narrative was impelled by the persecutions of the 810s, their understanding of their history and place in the world was malleable and had probably changed markedly after these persecutions. From a historical perspective, this means that we cannot trace Paulician history reliably prior to the career of Sergios-Tychikos (or perhaps, Joseph-Epaphroditos). Certainly, there is little sense of a distinct Paulician religious community prior to the latter decades of the eighth century. Sergios' attempts to placate Roman authorities shows that the interests of their clerical elite did not align with all Paulician adherents, while the continual anxiety concerning schism in both the *Didaskalie* and the *Letters of Sergios* implies that the authority of Paulician elites was contested. We are not looking for a politically unified community, but rather at a more diffuse network which expanded and contracted depending on circumstances.

In geographical terms, there is little to fault with our sources, which imply that Paulicians first arose in the borderlands between Armenia and the East Roman Empire. More specifically, the Lykos Valley was a particular locus of Paulician activity in its earliest phases. This valley lies close to the northernmost passes to Armenia, thereby implying that intercourse with Armenia, and Caucasia more generally, was crucial to the movement. Armenian links are attractive for a number of reasons. They may contribute to an explanation of Paulician heteropraxy, which, as we will see, is an important determinant of how East Romans identified Paulicians. This heteropraxy need not have have derived from Miaphysite beliefs, whether this was the moderate Miaphysitism of the Armenian church, or more

extreme Miaphysite groups such as Julianists and Theopaschites.[10] Roman thinkers were familiar enough with strands of Miaphysite belief that they would have recognised these if they encountered them. As a result, Paulician heteropraxy perhaps resulted from a different way of life. Like Paulicians, Armenians within the empire are often associated with militarism, while the borderlands between the empire and caliphate are suited to pastoralism, which one passage of the *Didaskalie* implies that at least some Paulicians practised.[11] As a result of their lifestyle, semi-nomadic pastoralists would not have shared the sacramental practices of the institutional churches in this region, particularly in a region where ecclesiastical oversight was limited. This suggests that Armenian intercourse may have been important to the development of our Paulicians, but it cannot be fundamental. As we saw in Chapter Four, the *Didaskalie* was composed in Greek for a Paulician audience who understood themselves within an East Roman thought-world. This does not mean that this was true of earlier periods, but the testimony of sources such as the *Chronographia*, or Theodore the Stoudite's *Letter 455* to Theophilos of Ephesus, imply that Paulicians were found beyond areas synonymous with pastoralism or Armenian settlement. More multifaceted interactions between Romans and Armenians are required to adequately explain Paulician activity.

In this chapter, my primary task will be to situate a Paulician religiosity incorporating the above observations into the social, political, economic and religious contexts of our area and period. Since our source material is unreliable and sparse, we cannot arrive at a definitive explanation. The reconstruction offered here is only a possible solution. In its specifics, it is open to question, however I am confident in two observations: firstly, that the success of Paulician religiosity cannot be distilled to monocasual explanations (such as Armenian influence or pastoralism), but must involve a dynamic phenomenon that could transcend particular social groups and economic niches; and secondly, that the processes behind this must

[10] Julianists were the followers of Julian of Halicarnassus, a Miaphysite theologian who advocated aphthartodocetism, that is, the heresy that Christ was incorruptible from his conception. Paulicians may have been influenced by such groups, but since we are so ill-informed about their Christology, we cannot be sure of this. On this and Theopaschitism, see Chapter One, p.30, n.90.

[11] N.G. Garsoïan, 'The Problem of Armenian Integration into the Byzantine Empire', in H. Ahrweiler and A.E. Laiou (eds.), *Studies on the Internal Diaspora of the Byzantine Empire* (Washington, D.C., 1998), pp.61-4. For the presence of such pastoral groups in military ventures, see A.A. Eger, *The Islamic-Byzantine Frontier: Interaction and Exchange Among Muslim and Christian Communities* (London, 2014), pp.280-2.

involve complex intercourse between many social actors, whether these are heterodox or orthodox, or Greek- or Armenian-speaking, rather than as a straightforward identification of a pre-existing group.

I will propose that Paulician religiosity developed from largely conventional forms of Christianity that existed in eastern Asia Minor. Early Paulicians were distinct from the local populace, perhaps by virtue of unconventional Armenian religious practices that were conditioned by a pastoral way of life. Local actors, notably including Armenian speakers, labelled these Christians 'Paulicians', thereby terming them heretical, but these Paulicians reacted to this labelling by emphasising their veneration of the apostle Paul in order to uphold the legitimacy of their belief. In doing so, they developed a sense of community founded upon apostolic precedents and developed a thought-world based upon New Testament works. The sin-based discourses and sense of apostolic community associated with this thought-world proved popular throughout Asia Minor because provincials understood these works. Religious controversies and frequent Islamic raids contributed to the notion that the empire had lost divine favour, leaving provincials to search for alternative modes of explanation. Moreover, the emphasis on apostolic and egalitarian communities rendered Paulician religiosity attractive to provincials. Factors such as these resulted in Paulician expansion throughout Asia Minor, primarily via trade routes, or to areas where pastoralism was practiced.

Although these processes imply the expansion of a single Paulician religiosity and identity, it would be more accurate to characterise this diffusion as the concurrent evolution of different networks which converged and fragmented depending on circumstances. During these processes, Paulicians encountered and engaged with provincial Roman institutions. As a result, they adopted institutional characteristics. These institutions seem to have been adopted by the turn of the ninth century. Prior to this time, the East Roman imperial system played a crucial role in determining the frames of reference within which the reciprocal interactions mentioned above took place, but there is little evidence of Paulician engagement with the central institutions of the East Roman Empire. As such, Paulician identity at this time was not shaped to a significant degree by imperial institutions. This situation changed markedly with the persecution of the 810s, which heralded a new era of continual, antagonistic interaction between Romans and Paulicians. Since the

social, economic and political contexts of the area covered by this study are at least as complex as this multicausal reconstruction, substantiating this argument will require in depth analyses of various contextual factors. But for clarity's sake, I believe that the two most important factors which explain Paulician successes are contacts with Armenia and Caucasia, as well as the Paulicians' use of New Testament texts, particularly their explanation of the contemporary world through the reinterpretation of these works.

The Manichaean Identification

Before analysing the historical development of the Paulicians, we must address the Manichaean identification of Paulicians adopted by many of our sources. We have already seen that the *Third Antirrheticus* and the *Vita Nicetae Medicii* identify Paulicians as 'Manichaeans' and this is true of many ninth- and tenth-century sources.[12] This appellation, together with the dualist allegations of the polemical sources, has conventionally been used to substantiate the allegation that Paulicians were dualist. Ludwig, on the other hand, argued that this Manichaean identification arose from a desire to make Paulicians subject to the death penalty, which had been prescribed for Manichaeans under the Justinianic law codes and the *Ekloga*.[13] She notes that this fact underlies Peter of Sicily's association of Paulicians with Manichaeans, and, although she adopted the view that this source was a ninth-century work, her conclusion remains valid for its actual tenth-century context.[14]

One of Ludwig's more interesting arguments is that the Manichaean-Paulician identification was only becoming established in the early years of the ninth century because the *Chronographia* (composed *c*.814) explains its equivalence of the two groups on two separate occasions, referring to "The Manichaeans who are now called Paulicians."[15] By contrast, she observes that Theodore the Stoudite refers to Paulicians shortly after these persecutions, but then calls them Manichaeans around a

[12] Chapter Five, pp.157-9.
[13] C. Ludwig, 'The Paulicians and Ninth-Century Byzantine Thought', in L. Brubaker (ed.), *Byzantium in the Ninth Century: Dead or Alive?* (Aldershot, 1998), p.33; *Ekloga*, 17:52, pp.242-3 (Humphreys, p.77).
[14] Ludwig, 'The Paulicians', pp.34-5.
[15] Theoph, p.488, l.22-3; p.495, l.1-2 (Mango and Scott, pp.671; 678); Ludwig, 'The Paulicians', pp.31-2.

decade afterward. To her, these observations suggested that the identification was only becoming established during these years.[16] This implies that something prompted this identification and, although Ludwig does not draw the link, the event in question is clearly the outbreak of persecution under Michael I (*c*.811-2) and – more specifically – the Patriarch Nikephoros' authorship of a tract advocating capital punishment against Paulicians and perhaps also other heretics.[17] This tract no longer survives, but since works such as the *History* employ the Manichaean identification to the same end, we may speculate that Nikephoros first made the connection. It must be emphasised that if later authors were dependent on Nikephoros' identification, it is not surprising that we are not aware of it. Nikephoros' works were readily available to intellectuals in the patriarchate of Methodios, but fell into obscurity soon afterward, only to reemerge in the fourteenth century.[18] It is therefore possible that later polemical texts against Paulicians were scarcely informed by his work, if at all.

In any case, the terminology of our sources should not mislead us into believing that the 'Manichaeans' to which these sources refer were dualists, or indeed Manichaeans. As far as we know, Manichaeans were not present within the empire in significant numbers during the period covered by this thesis. Confusion arises most easily in hagiographical or epistolary sources, where the beliefs of the relevant individuals is often unstated. In polemical and historiographical texts the context generally makes the Paulician identification of the actors in question apparent. As well as being informed by the considerations noted above, the Manichaean identification is also symptomatic of an archaising tendency in Greek heresiology.[19] This also has analogues in historiographical writing, for instance in the description of steppe nomads by archaic names such as Scythians or Huns. Different concerns underlie the association of Paulicians with Paulianists, that is, the followers of Paul of Samosata, but this identification only arises in the *Treatise*. It perhaps arose from an etymological concern to associate Paulicians with a historical Paul, but notably, neither the *Treatise* nor the *History* traces their beliefs to this Paul.

[16] Ludwig, 'The Paulicians', p.31. See also pp.174-7.
[17] See also Chapter Seven, pp.199-202.
[18] D. Afinogenov, 'The Date of Georgios Monachos Reconsidered', *BZ* 92 (1999), pp.445-6.
[19] A. Cameron, 'How to Read Heresiology', *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 33:3 (2003), p.472.

Ultimately, the Paulianist identification is less apparent in Greek sources because it has less relevance to the issue of punishment.

The Identification of Paulician Communities

Before examining the various contexts of this area and period, we must address an interpretive difficulty regarding the portrayal of Paulicians in our sources: the extent to which they were identified (by themselves or others) as distinct communities. Prior scholarship has tended to analyse Paulicians as both a religious movement and an ethnic category – that is, with the implication that their religiosity is one manifestation of an identity which is essentially different from other cultural formations.[20] This approach is not wholly inappropriate, but the assumption requires justification. In the following analysis, I will consider Paulicians as a religious movement, but explicate this by investigating its manifestations as contingent products of distinct contexts. A more dangerous assumption arises from that noted above: scholars have often reified the term 'Paulician', understanding it to mean a self-evident community that possesses distinct religious, ethnic, cultural, social or militaristic characteristics, largely irrespective of period or geographical context. In such analyses, the possibility that different sources may deploy the term in different senses to further their aims is not acknowledged. The limitations of such an approach should be evident from the discussion of the association of Paulicians and iconoclasts in Chapter Five. In the following reconstruction, by contrast, I will understand Paulician identities and religiosities as discrete concepts which evolved through reciprocal interactions between various social actors, including East Roman institutions and other Paulicians. As a result of these interactions, these phenomena were necessarily perceived differently by Paulicians and other actors. Ideas of who could be termed Paulician varied and continually evolved. In this analysis, there are two main factors which affected the demarcation of the term 'Paulician'; firstly, the logic of the East Roman imperial system; and secondly, the expansion of Paulician

[20] Smythe notably shows awareness of the link between ethnic and religious categorisations in Greek heresiological sources. See D. Smythe, 'Alexios I and the Heretics: the Account of Anna Komnene's *Alexiad*', in M. Mullett and D. Smythe (eds.), *Alexios I Komnenos: I Papers* (Belfast, 1996), pp.234-6.

religiosity, whose apostolic focus was comprehensible and attractive amongst the inhabitants of Asia Minor.

This methodology interprets Paulician identities as plural and contingent, but in East Roman sources Paulicians are invariably presented as recognisable communities.[21] The *Chronographia* portrays the persecutions of the 810s as indiscriminate massacres, with little indication of how Paulicians were identified. The same is true in the 840s, when the Continuator portrays persecution similarly. In later periods, whether they are serving in East Roman armies in the Langobardia thema in southern Italy, or dwelling in Phillipopolis, Paulicians are understood as distinct communities.[22] In all of the above, there is little indication of how East Roman actors determined Paulician identity, although the fact that this invariably takes place on a large scale implies that they were identified on a communal basis. On balance, a reified sense of Paulician identity arises from our sources. This portrayal is obviously not conducive to an analysis of contingent Paulician identities. Several remarks are timely here. The sources for all of these episodes are histories or chronicles. As such, they are Constantinopolitan-centred works which display little interest in provincial affairs. Where they do display interest in Paulicians, they are predominantly concerned with their actions rather than their social composition. A monolithic view of Paulician identity is therefore unsurprising.

In our sources, Paulician religiosity only operates on an individual basis in hagiographies. Even here the Paulician is a stock figure, who exists solely to be converted by the protagonist of the narrative, so we have little indication of how Paulician religiosity operated in practice.[23] A similar situation arises from heresiological sources such as the *Treatise* and *History*, since their descriptions of Paulician religiosity are abstract and/or erroneous. Although they incorporate Paulician sources, these are stylised works with aims that preclude an accurate portrayal of Paulician religiosity. As a result, our sources are uninformative for Paulician religion as practised on either an individual or communal level, or how

[21] For similar concerns about Bogomils, who conceal their religiosity yet are easily identifiable, see Smythe, 'Alexios I and the Heretics', pp.235-7.
[22] *V. Basilii*, 71, pp.244-5, l.15-18; Alexiad, 14:8-9, pp.455-60 (Dawes, pp.383-9).
[23] On this, see my remarks on the *Vita Macarii*. Chapter Seven, pp.212-3. In the *Vita Lazari*, Lazaros of Mt. Galesion converts firstly an unidentified group of heretics and then a Paulician. *V. Lazari in monte Galesio*, 10; 115, pp.512; 543 (Greenfield, pp.86-8; 205). The life dates to the eleventh century. Greenfield (ed.), *Life of Lazaros*, p.52.

these levels interacted. This is a significant problem for a socially-based analysis of heresy. We are therefore forced to read between the lines by extracting what value we can from our sources and positing mechanisms which explain the diffusion of Paulician ideas. Several difficulties arise here. Firstly, the proposition that there were multiple, contingent Paulician identities and religiosities problematises the conventional vocabulary of heresy, which is generally described via terms such as 'spreading.' This implies the exportation of a pre-codified set of beliefs. Although this vocabulary is misleading, I have retained it for the sake of clarity, but the proviso that I conceive of Paulician religiosity as contingent and evolving should be continually borne in mind. Secondly, when we speak of the diffusion of Paulician ideas, it is unclear what is being disseminated. These ideas could be identities, doctrines, religious praxes, or some combination of these. We cannot clarify this to the degree that we would like, but a few notable observations present themselves.

At the outset, we must heed Ludwig's observation that Paulician religiosity was based on the Gospels and reverence for the apostle Paul. Since this is similar to conventional Christianities, we may suspect that actors originally identified Paulicians on the basis of heteropraxy, not heterodoxy, although the distinction between the two is anachronistic, at least when identification is not concerned. Identifying heretics on the basis of heteropraxy seems symptomatic of the East Roman Empire and is evident in theological controversies of the period, notably in Roman criticisms of the use of the *Filioque* in the creed, or in the use of *azymes*.[24] Although the doctrinal significance of these controversies soon outstripped concerns with ritual practice, they were ultimately informed by this. The importance of praxis is corroborated by the differing portrayals of Paulician religiosity in Greek sources. The *Chronographia* identifies Paulicians as Manichaeans, while polemically associating them with iconoclasts, whereas the *Treatise* traces their religiosity to Paul of Samosata and makes no reference to icons. Greek heresiological traditions provided the means to identify a bewildering number of heresies, including those which originated in Caucasia. Yet these could not explicate Paulicians precisely because they were a new and unfamiliar phenomenon that was not characterised by

[24] For the *Filioque* see T.M. Kolbaba, *Inventing Latin Heretics: Byzantines and the Filioque in the Ninth Century* (Kalamazoo, 2008). For *azymes* see J.H. Erickson, 'Leavened and Unleavened: Some Theological Implications of the Schism of 1054', *St. Vladimir's Theological Quarterly* 14 (1970), pp.155-76.

doctrinal deviance. As noted above, this praxis may have been religious, but it may also have been cultural, or even socio-economic. Armenian cultural practices, militarism and pastoralism could all explain why Paulicians were considered distinct, but these factors cannot rationalise why they became so successful and could operate in different socio-economic and cultural niches.

In this regard, the decisive factors were undoubtedly the sin-based Paulician narratives we examined in Chapter Four, as well as the sense of apostolic community that was inherent in them. As noted there, the *Didaskalie*'s eschatology is a product of the persecutions of the 810s. Since it derived from well-known New Testament texts, it was comprehensible and attractive to potential adherents. Importantly, this narrative forsook currents of East Roman religiosity from the time of Herakleios onward, which adopted modes of explanation founded on Old Testament works.[25] This is evident not only in the eschatological narrative which saw East Romans as the inheritors of the Jews as God's Chosen People, but also in legislative terms, such as the *Ekloga*, the law code of Leo III (717-41).[26] As a result, Paulician ways of explaining the world were distinct from those in broader currency. Even the quintessential eschatological text of the period, the *Apocalypse* of Pseudo-Methodios, which originated in a Miaphysite milieu in Islamic Syria, placed significant emphasis on the final Roman emperor.[27] The narrative of the *Didaskalie*, on the other hand, was founded upon participation in Paulician communities and it characterised emperors as distant persecutors.[28] As a result, it could exploit tensions arising from the persecutions of the 810s, as well as the anti-institutional and anti-imperial sentiment which had long conditioned life in much of Asia Minor.[29] Crucially, these narratives reconfigured the agonising experience of persecution in positive terms, by invoking a sense of belonging to an apostolic community of Christians. But these narratives cannot explain the appeal of Paulician belief before these persecutions, which is rather more nebulous. To do this, we must invoke

[25] J.F. Haldon, *The Empire that Would Not Die: the Paradox of Eastern Roman Survival, 640-740* (Cambridge, MA, 2016), pp.79-83.
[26] *Ekloga*, 17:52, pp.242-3 (Humphreys, p.77).
[27] Ps.-Methodios, 14, pp.62-5.
[28] Chapter Four, pp.114-28.
[29] Haldon, *The Empire*, pp.183-5.

Armenian and pastoral influences, as well as other factors, such as charismatic religiosity.

Towards a History of Paulicians in the Ninth Century: The Religio-Political Context

We have seen that the *Chronographia* describes Paulicians during the first decades of the ninth century, but that the *Breviarum* does not mention them shortly beforehand. This suggests that Paulicians were first identified by East Roman actors around the turn of the ninth century and this observation fits perfectly with the testimony of the *History*, which notes that Sergios' leadership (*c*.800-34) saw a significant growth of Paulician influence.[30] Our task is to explain how this occurred and why our sources remain ignorant of it. The first question is complex enough that it will be addressed throughout the course of this chapter, but the second of these questions is rather simpler: Greek sources prior to the ninth century show no awareness of Paulicians because imperial institutions had neither the inclination nor the ability to act against them at this time. Of course, our sources are Constantinopolitan in focus, so we cannot exclude the possibility that Paulicians were better known to provincials.

To a large extent, the lack of references to Paulicians prior to the ninth century can be attributed to their swift rise to prominence, which occured within a few decades. It is also conditioned by the empire's shaky hold over Asia Minor during the period *c*.790-810. Hārūn al-Rashīd (786-809), who was known to posterity as a *ghāzī* caliph for his razzias against Roman territory, reorganised the *thughūr* (the Islamic frontiers, or borderlands) to facilitate Islamic raiding.[31] His policy was successful and on those occasions when Roman lands were not despoiled, they were forced to buy him off, as Eirene attempted to do in 798.[32] The damage that these raids caused may be exaggerated, but the continuity of raiding from previous centuries rendered this an underdeveloped area. This instability only ended with the death of Hārūn in 809 and the civil war between his sons al-Amin (809-13) and al-

[30] Peter Sic., 132-4, pp.51-3; 155-6, p.59 (*CDH*, pp.83; 86-7). But note also Chapter Three, pp.106-7.
[31] M.D. Bonner, *Aristocratic Violence and Holy War: Studies in Jihad and the Arab-Byzantine Frontier* (New Haven, 1996), pp.99-106. For *thughūr* see Eger, *Islamic-Byzantine Frontier*, p.8.
[32] Theoph., p.473, l.7-11; l.24-32 (Mango and Scott, pp.650-1); L. Brubaker and J.F. Haldon, *Byzantium in the Iconoclast Era, c. 680-85: a History* (Cambridge, 2011), p.292.

Ma'mūn (813-33), who predictably fought each other because their father had not reached a definitive settlement of succession.[33] It is hardly coincidental that Roman initiatives against Paulicians began shortly after Hārūn's death. These persecutions were primarily dictated by a newfound capacity to act in the area, rather than by an increased Paulician threat. The few Roman initiatives enacted in Asia Minor prior to this time betray the weakness of their position. This is apparent in the reforms of Nikephoros I (802-11), which attempted to increase the manpower and taxable revenue of the empire by relocating impoverished soldiery from the peninsula to Thrace.[34]

Not all disorder within Asia Minor was conditioned by foreign actors. During the incessant conflicts between Constantine VI (780-97) and his mother and regent Eirene (regent 780-90; reigned 797-802), there were rebellions by the armies of the Armeniakon and Anatolikon regions, both of which incorporated territories where we may surmise that Paulicians were present at this time.[35] These armies were the largest and most powerful within Asia Minor and their rivalry had been a constant source of friction over the preceding century.[36] Nor were the empire's troubles restricted to the peninsula. The Bulgar menace in the west, exemplified by Krum (*c*.800-14), was even more dangerous than the caliphate in the east. This is most evident from the disastrous defeats at Pliska (811) and Versinikia (813).[37] At the former battle the Emperor Nikephoros lost his life while his son and heir Staurakios (811) was mortally wounded. By contrast, Staurakios' successor Michael I's rule (811-13) became untenable after the latter defeat and he was forced to abdicate in favour of Leo V (813-20), who restored iconoclasm in the following year.[38]

[33] Brubaker and Haldon, *Byzantium: a History*, p.289; J. Signes Codoñer, *The Emperor Theophilos and the East, 829-842: Court and Frontier in Byzantium during the Last Phase of Iconoclasm* (Farnham, 2014), p.181.
[34] J.F. Haldon, 'Military Service, Military Lands, and the Status of Soldiers: Current Problems and Interpretations', *DOP* 47 (1993), pp.25-6; Brubaker and Haldon, *Byzantium: a History*, pp.744-55.
[35] For the conflicts between Constantine VI and Eirene see Brubaker and Haldon, *Byzantium: a History*, pp.287-92. For the Armeniakon-Anatolikon rivalry see Brubaker and Haldon, *Byzantium: a History*, p.637. The Paulician presence in the Anatolikon province/thema is difficult to trace. See p.179 below.
[36] W.E. Kaegi, jr., *Byzantine Military Unrest 471-843: an Interpretation* (Amsterdam, 1981), p.246.
[37] For Pliska see Theoph., pp.489-91, l.17-l.17 (Mango and Scott, pp.672-3); For Versinikia see Theoph., pp.500-2, l.10-l.1 (Mango and Scott, pp.684-5).
[38] Theoph., pp.502-3, l.1-l.5 (Mango and Scott, pp.685-6).

The issues afflicting the empire – and imperial prestige – were broader than just military defeats. The factional debates between Constantine VI, Eirene and their respective advisors were only curtailed by Eirene's blinding of her son in 797. This was shocking enough, but the imperial office suffered a further blow to its prestige in 800 when Charlemagne (768-814) had himself crowned Roman Emperor, although the significance of this event from an East Roman standpoint can be exaggerated.[39] Numerous religious controversies pervaded the iconodule intermission. The most notable example was the Moechian Controversy, which began in 795 when Constantine VI divorced his wife Maria and confined her in a convent, as the prelude to marrying his mistress Theodote. Their subsequent union was considered adulterous and caused factional disputes between the patriarchate, the imperial power and the Stoudios monastery even during the reigns of Nikephoros and Michael I.[40] Beyond this, the continuing dispute over images loomed over the period. This brought Eirene into conflict with the tagmatic armies in 786.[41] Throughout the respective ascendancies of Eirene and Constantine conspiracies sought to bring sons of Constantine V to the throne and such attempts occurred as late as the reign of Michael I.[42] As noted above, iconoclasm was restored after Michael's reign and this restoration is conventionally explained by an attempt to restore divine favour, since the events of the preceding decades implied that the empire had lost this.[43]

In summary, the period of icon veneration between 787 and 813 saw dislocation throughout the empire and particularly Asia Minor. Recent disasters intimated that the empire had lost divine favour. Insofar as most controversy revolved around the imperial power, with which divine legitimacy was often connected, this was predominantly seen as an issue of imperial authority. The crisis left people looking for alternative religious explanations. In Constantinople during Michael I's reign the primary solution was iconoclasm, but this was an imperially centred response to an imperial crisis of authority. In provincial Asia Minor other, more radical, explanations were possible. Prior to the codification of the *Didaskalie*, there is little indication that Paulician narratives were tailored to this end, but

[39] M. Whittow, *The Making of Orthodox Byzantium 600-1025* (Basingstoke, 1996), pp.304-5.
[40] Brubaker and Haldon, *Byzantium: a History*, pp.290-1; 360-3. See also T. Pratsch, *Theodoros Studites (759-826) - zwischen Dogma und Pragma* (Frankfurt, 1998), pp.83-114; 147-78.
[41] Brubaker and Haldon, *Byzantium: a History*, pp.269-70.
[42] Theoph., p.454, l.12-25; pp.496-7, l.8-l.6 (Mango and Scott, pp.626-7; 679-80).
[43] Brubaker and Haldon, *Byzantium: a History*, pp.366-70.

Paulicians were well placed to exploit existing dissatisfaction. We must suspect that an apostolic form of Christianity had a significant appeal even before it placed Paulicians in sharp opposition to their Roman persecutors. Since the *Treatise* and *History* reveal that Paulician modes of explanation were founded on scriptural texts such as the Gospels, *Acts*, and the Pauline letters, there was always potential for Paulician discourse to incorporate anti-Roman elements.[44] This is particularly true because the rural church was only becoming an effective presence in the provinces during our period.[45] Not every settlement had a priest and the maintenance of churches was often the preserve of landholders, rather than the clergy.[46] Private churches were also common, particularly in Kappadokia, but also elsewhere.[47] The lack of religious oversight throughout the region provided opportunities for deviant beliefs to develop.

Eastern Asia Minor at the Turn of the Ninth Century: The Social Context

Thus far, we have observed that the Paulicians' growth to prominence occurred against the backdrop of religio-political dislocation within the East Roman Empire. However, the more immediate reason for this expansion was the social context of eastern Asia Minor during the eighth century. I will now provide an overview of this context and that of Islamic and Armenian areas to the east. Due to the paucity of information for eastern Asia Minor, I will also refer to subsistence patterns in areas where we are better informed. In doing so, I will investigate the socio-economic niches that Paulicians occupied. I will conclude that socio-economic patterns across Asia Minor were so complex that pastoralism and Armenian intercourse can only partially explain the diffusion of Paulician ideas. Instead, the complexity of the region is itself key, since it necessitates ties and interactions which allowed Paulician ideas to diffuse and develop in various ways depending on context.

[44] *Treatise*, 20, p.91; Peter Sic., 42, pp.20-1.
[45] M. Kaplan, *Les hommes et la terre à Byzance du VIe au XIe siècle: propriété et exploitation du sol* (Paris, 1992), pp.202-3.
[46] Haldon, *The Empire*, pp.106-7.
[47] J.E. Cooper and M.J. Decker, *Life and Society in Byzantine Cappadocia* (Basingstoke, 2012), pp.154-8.

The cradle of Paulicians within the East Roman Empire can safely be located within the Lykos Valley and surrounding areas in north-eastern Asia Minor. The *History* identifies the two earliest Paulician churches as the Church of Macedonia at Kibossa, near Koloneia and within the Lykos Valley, and the Church of Achaea at Mananalis, in western Armenia.[48] Although the locations of subsequent churches in the *History* are less convincing, these churches mark a likely focus for Paulician genesis, insofar as both lie close to the northernmost passes between Asia Minor and Armenia. These passes comprised a common migration route from Armenia into Asia Minor and were infrequently used by invading armies, thereby rendering these areas a likely setting for seeking Paulician origins, particularly because the linguistic evidence implies that Paulicians were a phenomenon that saw interaction between Armenian- and Greek-speaking agents.[49] Koloneia is a plausible locus of Paulician activity.[50] This settlement was defensible and located at the intersection of important road networks, even though it did not control valuable lands and was distant from the river valley.[51] As well as being located along the main axis of east-west travel, Koloneia was ideally situated for travelling southward into the interior of the Anatolian plateau.[52] Areas to the west, particularly Paphlagonia and Bithynia, were important producers of grain in this period and consequently were well connected with Constantinople, thereby furnishing a route along which Paulician ideas could spread.[53] The presence of pastoral land near Koloneia is significant because references to Paulician flocks within the *Didaskalie* suggest a pastoral milieu. We will examine the Paulician connection with pastoralism in due course.

Numerous studies have been devoted to identifying locations mentioned within the *History*, but, for our purposes, explaining why Paulicians thrived in

[48] Peter Sic., 163, pp.60-1 (*CDH*, p.88).
[49] Most expeditions from this pass in prior centuries were conducted from East Roman territory and aimed at increasing Roman influence in Caucasia. For the campaigns of Justinian II see Theoph., p.363, l.26-32 (Mango and Scott, p.507). For those of Theophilos see Signes, *Emperor Theophilos*, pp.245-59. A rare example of an Islamic attack launched from this area is the attack on Koloneia in 778. A. Bryer and D. Winfield, *The Byzantine Monuments and Topography of the Pontos*, vol.1 (Washington, D.C., 1985), p.167.
[50] Version *Γ* of the *42 Martyrs of Amorium* also identifies Koloneia as a Paulician stronghold in the mid-ninth century. For this source see Chapter Seven, pp.210-2. V.G. Vasil'evsky, P.V. Nikitin (eds.), 'De XLII martyribus Amoriensibus narrationes et carmina sacra', *Zapiski Imperatorskoĭ akademīi nauk po Istoriko-filologicheskomu otd͡ielenīiu (Mémoires de l'Académie impériale des sciences de St.-Pétersbourg. Classe historico-philologique VIIIe série)*, 7:2 (1905), p.27.
[51] Bryer and Winfield, *Byzantine Monuments*, vol.1, pp.145-6.
[52] Bryer and Winfield, *Byzantine Monuments*, vol.1, p.46.
[53] Haldon, *The Empire*, pp.240-6.

particular niches is more important than locating Paulician centres.[54] In this vein, the *Chronographia* shows that Paulicians were known in Constantinople by the early ninth century, while Theodore the Stoudite's letter to Theophilos of Ephesus implies that they may have been present in western Asia Minor by this time. Admittedly, neither source conclusively shows that Paulicians were active in these areas, but it is likely that they were, albeit in lesser numbers than in the east.[55] *Theophanes Continuatus* IV locates Paulicians within the Anatolikon thema by the 840s.[56] Given its proximity to the Armeniakon thema we must suspect that they had been present here for decades, although we have no testimony to substantiate this. Evidently, Paulicians were identified in different socio-economic contexts. The interactions which caused the westward diffusion of Paulician ideas to Paphlagonia and thence to Constantinople were evidently conditioned by trade routes. From the urban centres of the Lykos Valley, particularly Koloneia and Nikopolis, both of which had good road links, Paulician ideas spread westward to Neokaisareia and thence to ports associated with the grain trade, such as Amisos and Sinope. These ports ultimately facilitated transmission to Constantinople. Since Paulicians are unattested in the Aegean, or in Pontic ports such as Trebizond, it seems that maritime routes did not facilitate Paulician expansion elsewhere, although this may be due to the nature of our sources.[57] By contrast, in the regions of Kappadokia and the Anatolikon, pastoralism may have been more important to Paulician expansion. The most important consequence of this analysis is that the towns of the Lykos Valley, as well as Amisos and Sinope, were located in areas with a significant Armenian-speaking population.[58] This is naturally also true of the borderlands between the empire and Armenia.

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[54] H. Grégoire, 'Pour l'histoire des églises pauliciennes: καινοχώριον du Pont, Episparis en φανάροια', *OCP* 13 (1947), pp.509-14; H. Grégoire, 'Précisions géographiques et chronologiques sur les Pauliciens,' *Académie Royale de Belgique, Bulletin Classe des Lettres, 5e série* 33 (1947), pp.289-324. For Kibossa, see Bryer and Winfield, *Byzantine Monuments*, vol.1, p.147.
[55] Theod. Stoud., *Epistulae*, Ep.455, vol. 2, pp.644-7.
[56] Theoph. Cont., 4:16, pp.236-7.
[57] Koloneia had road links to Kerasous and Trebizond, thereby opening the possibility that Paulicians were present here. These routes were connected with the alum trade of Koloneia, but it is unknown whether the mines were exploited during our period. Bryer and Winfield, *Byzantine Monuments*, vol.1, pp.145-6.
[58] P. Charanis, 'The Linguistic Frontier in Asia Minor Towards the End of the Ninth Century', in M. Berza and E. Stanescu (eds.), *Actes du XIVe congrés international des études byzantines. Bucarest, 6-12 septembre, 1971*, vol.2 (Bucharest, 1975), p.315.

Aside from this, we have little indication of Paulicians elsewhere. To my knowledge, they are unattested in Armenian sources in our period.[59] There are only two Armenian sources that have been interpreted as referring to Paulicians during the eighth century. One of these, the *History of Łewond* does not mention Paulicians, but rather the "sons of sinfulness." Despite this, both Nina Garsoïan and Hrach Bartikian have identified these actors as Paulicians.[60] The passage in question describes the aftermath of the Armenian revolt against Islamic rule in 748 and the subsequent flight of Armenian rebels to the province of Tayk', to the north-east of the first attestation of Paulicians in Roman territory.[61] Here, these rebels encountered the "sons of sinfulness" and incorporated them into their army. Aside from the geographical location, there are no grounds for assuming that the group in question are Paulicians, or indeed that they are heterodox, especially because Łewond also refers to other "sons of sinfulness" active in Persia, far to the south-east.[62] Łewond's characterisation most closely resembles bandits. The second source, the *Contra Paulicianos* of the Kat'ołikos Yovhannēs Ōjnec'i, has been of marginal interest even to scholars of Armenian Paulicians.[63]

The absence of Paulicians from Armenian sources could be conditioned by our lack of provincial sources, since it seems probable that religiosities similar to that posited by Ludwig existed east of the empire. The essential difference is that religiosities outside the empire were not subject to the same coercion and therefore did not develop in contradistinction to hegemonic actors. Nonetheless, intercourse with Armenian speakers was evidently crucial to the development of our Paulicians. Armenians had migrated into the empire for centuries, generally employing the passes near which Paulicians were located. On some occasions, such as the relocations of Constantine V described in the previous chapter, Armenians were forcibly transferred.[64] On others, they migrated of their own volition. Large numbers of Armenians fled from the environs of Qālīqalā (Karin) after the revolt of 747-50,

[59] Garsoïan, *Paulician Heresy*, pp.80-98.
[60] Garsoïan, *Paulician Heresy*, pp.136-7.
[61] Łewond, 26, pp.120; 180 n.6. For the date of the source see T.W. Greenwood, 'A Reassessment of the History of Łewond', *Le Muséon* 125 (2012), pp.99-167.
[62] Łewond, 30, p.124.
[63] Chapter One, p.30, n.89.
[64] Chapter Five, pp.150-3.

and others departed after the rebellion of 774/5.[65] Likewise, over twelve thousand Armenians under Shapuh Amatunik' migrated from Ayrarat province, west of Duin, to Hamshen, to the east of Trebizond, in 789-90.[66] These large-scale migrations have attracted scholarly attention, but continual low-level migration was perhaps more significant in the long run. Through demographic movements such as these, Armenians comprised a substantial part of the populace in north-eastern regions of Asia Minor, notably the Armeniakon.[67]

Given the Armenian origins of the term 'Paulician', Armenians must have played a considerable role in the demarcation of the movement. They perhaps comprised a major proportion of Paulician adherents in some periods, but we should be cautious about overstating the essentially 'Armenian' character of the heresy. Migration from the east also comprised migrants from elsewhere in Caucasia. Moreover, the concept of Armenian identity is frustratingly broad and imprecise in both primary and secondary sources. References to Armenians in Greek sources are commonplace enough to be meaningless and give little indication of the political, confessional or cultural differences which made Armenia so fractious in practice.[68] Meanwhile, some modern scholars have considered the equivalence of Armenians and Paulicians so axiomatic that they have understood the former term as being synonymous with the latter.[69] This is clearly inadmissible. Through a prosopographical analysis of Paulician leaders, Garsoïan has emphasised that other ethnic groups were important to the movement.[70] Nevertheless, she believed that its Armenian character was more pronounced prior to the career of Sergios.[71] The reality is perhaps more complex. Her conclusions must be questioned because her analysis is founded on the *Didaskalie*, which is manifestly unhistorical. On balance, I would prefer to conceptualise Paulician characteristics as being the result of complex

[65] A. Ter Ghewondyan, *The Arab Emirates in Bagratid Armenia*, trans. by N.G. Garsoïan (Lisbon, 1976), pp.32-3.
[66] Łewond, 42, p.149.
[67] Garsoïan, 'The Problem of Armenian Integration', pp.53-6.
[68] The issues are considerable, especially in older scholarship. A recent overview of the primary sources and historical issues is given by Redgate, but this does not address the difficulties of secondary scholarship. See A.E. Redgate, 'Myth and Reality: Armenian Identity in the Early Middle Ages', *National Identities* 9:4 (2007), pp.281-306.
[69] Most recently see H. Bartikian, 'Armenia and Armenians in the Byzantine Epic', in R. Beating and D. Ricks (eds.), *Digenes Akrites: New Approaches to Byzantine Heroic Poetry* (Aldershot, 1993), pp.86-92.
[70] Garsoïan, 'Byzantine Heresy', pp.91-2.
[71] Garsoïan, 'The Problem', pp.87-8.

ethnic interaction, rather than a sequential transition from an 'Armenian' to 'Greek' character, as Garsoïan implies.

Beyond the 'No-Mans' Land' and 'Shatter Zones'

We have seen that Paulicians are first found in Roman territory within north-eastern Asia Minor. This context implies extensive but complex participation from Caucasian actors. Before investigating the socio-economic character of this area, we must discuss the conceptual frameworks by which it can be understood, since this has implications for possible Paulician modes of subsistence, especially pastoralism. The most important concepts are the 'no-man's land' and 'shatter zones.' Twentieth-century scholarship posited that a 'no-man's land' existed between the empire and caliphate.[72] Within the empire, this area roughly corresponded to Kappadokia, the Anatolikon region and the southern part of the Armeniakon region. According to this interpretation, the 'no-man's land' was created in the aftermath of the Arab invasions, as part of a policy of defence. It is argued that Herakleios (610-41) uprooted the area's inhabitants and levelled its fortresses in order both to prevent these falling into Muslim hands and to make it an unappealing target for Islamic raiding.[73] Constantine V's relocation of populations from Muslim-held territories served to undermine the infrastructure of Islamic raiding.[74] By contrast, the ninth-century reorganisation of the *thughūr* has been interpreted as an attempt to institutionalise the raiding of Roman territories.[75] All these processes made the 'no-man's land' a depopulated and undeveloped area.

However, the concept of the 'no-man's land' has recently been undermined.[76] A. Asa Eger's analysis, which is based upon the Islamic side of the frontier, notes that the region shows significant archaeological continuity from Late Antiquity.[77] He

[72] Eger, *Islamic-Byzantine Frontier*, pp.2-6.
[73] R.-J. Lilie, 'The Byzantine-Arab Borderland from the Seventh to the Ninth Century', in F. Curta (ed.), *Borders, Barriers and Ethnogenesis: Frontiers in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages* (Turnhout, 2005), pp.13-6.
[74] Lilie, 'Byzantine-Arab Borderland', pp.15-6.
[75] W.E. Kaegi, jr., 'Confronting Islam: Emperors Versus Caliphs (641-c.850)', in J. Shepard (ed.), *The Cambridge History of the Byzantine Empire c.500-1492* (Cambridge, 2008), pp.388-90.
[76] Cooper and Decker still use the term 'no-man's land' but they stress the dynamism of this area. See Cooper and Decker, *Byzantine Cappadocia*, p.43.
[77] Eger, *Islamic-Byzantine Frontier*, pp.16-7.

asserts that the despoliation of Roman areas through raiding, while significant, was partially ameliorated through changing patterns of land use which had already been adopted for economic reasons.[78] His study, together with that of J. Eric Cooper and Michael Decker, has placed emphasis on the dynamism of this area, which attracted new social actors. Despite these findings, we have little indication of how the socio-economic character of the region evolved.[79] Nonetheless, the dynamism that these scholars have posited is consistent with anthropological models. Here, James Scott's concept of 'shatter zones' is instructive. For Scott, shatter zones comprise areas whose geography and ecology preclude state formation. The flexible social character of these areas is a manifestation of deliberate strategies for resisting state control. As such, shatter zones are geographically inaccessible and demonstrate "bewildering ethnic and linguistic complexity."[80] Both observations can be applied to eastern Asia Minor, but are more evident in greater Caucasia to the east.[81]

Importantly, this concept suggests processes which undermine the formation of a 'no-man's land.' In Scott's analysis, shatter zones have a fundamentally different socio-economic character. Their social structures are consciously non-hierarchical and their subsistence patterns are founded upon shifting cultivation, pastoralism, and sometimes brigandage. It is likely that Paulicians were associated with the latter two niches at various times.[82] In any case, this analysis implies that even if imperial and caliphal authorities depopulated the borderlands of eastern Asia Minor, they would subsequently be repopulated from neighbouring regions, with people who were accustomed to these kinds of environments. The supposed formation of this 'no-man's land' therefore perhaps comprised a destatification, rather than a depopulation, of the region. I would prefer to emphasise the agency of

[78] Eger, *Islamic-Byzantine Frontier*, pp.260-1.
[79] Eastern Asia Minor has not been extensively excavated. Nearby areas which have substantial remains (notably Kappadokia) occasion interpretive difficulties. See R.G. Ousterhout, *Visualizing Community: Art, Material Culture and Settlement in Byzantine Cappadocia* (Washington, D.C., 2017), pp.1-18; V. Kalas, 'The 2004 Survey of the Byzantine Settlement at Selime-Yaprakhisar in the Peristrema Valley, Cappadocia', *DOP* 60 (2006), pp.271-93.
[80] Scott, *Art*, pp.7-8.
[81] For an application of Scott's approach to Asia Minor in earlier periods see P. Thonemann, 'Phrygia: an Anarchist History, 950 BC-AD 100', in P. Thonemann (ed.), *Roman Phrygia: Culture and Society* (Cambridge, 2013), pp.1-40.
[82] Scott, *Art*, pp.150-3; 184; 191-207.

the local populace in effecting this destatification, rather than arguing that this was imposed by regional hegemons, as earlier scholarship implies.[83]

Even more crucially, areas such as these could result in the formation of new communal identities, whether these were religious and/or ethnic.[84] A notable example is the Mardaïtes (or, as they are described in Islamic sources, Jarājima), who are first attested in late seventh-century Syria. Like Paulicians, they were a militaristic group who allied with regional hegemons when it suited them to do so.[85] Our period was amenable to these processes, since other new social groups appeared in our region nearly contemporaneously with Paulicians. The most notable examples are magnate families such as the Skleroi and Argyroi, who became the principal political actors in the region shortly after the apogee of the Paulicians in the mid/late ninth century.[86] Again, these families could be found in allegiance with Roman or Islamic actors depending on circumstances.[87] This implies that Paulicians were only one manifestation of a complex interaction of social factors on the eastern frontier. A further indication of this are the *Digenes Akrites* epics, which are extant in two variants, namely the Grottaferrata and Escorial texts. Although these versions date considerably later than our period, many characters from the epics can be traced to Paulician and Islamic actors of the ninth century.[88] This is particularly true of the Grottaferrata version, which refers to characters who resemble Karbeas, Chrysocheir and ʻAmr al-Aqṭaʻ.[89] Moreover, its milieu suggests familiarity with the socio-cultural context of the ninth century.[90] These observations are surprising considering

[83] For a complementary view of destatification see Thonemann, ʻPhrygiaʼ, pp.8-15.
[84] Scott devotes a chapter each to ethnogenesis and millenarian religious movements, while noting that the latter can inform the former. See Scott, *Art*, pp.238-324; esp. pp.312-3.
[85] They were used as military forces by Justinian II, but also formed part of the Islamic frontier defences. See H. Ditten, *Ethnische Verschiebungen zwischen der Balkanhalbinsel und Kleinasien vom Ende 6. bis zweiten Hälfte des 9. Jahrhunderts* (Berlin, 1993), pp.146-7; P.M. Cobb, *White Banners: Contention in ʻAbbasid Syria, 750-880* (Albany, 2001), pp.113-5.
[86] Cooper and Decker, *Byzantine Cappadocia*, pp.247-52; J.-F. Vannier, *Familles byzantines: les Argyroi, IXe-XIIe siècles* (Paris, 1975); W. Seibt, *Die Skleroi: eine prosopographisch-sigillographische Studie* (Vienna, 1976).
[87] For a broken alliance between the ʻson of Sklerosʼ and ʻAmr al-Aqṭaʻ see Theoph. Cont., 4:16, pp.238-9, l.30-1.
[88] This approach is most associated with Grégoire. See espec H. Grégoire, ʻLes sources historiques et littéraires de Digénis Akritasʼ, in *Actes du III^e Congrès international d'études byzantines* (Athens, 1932), pp.281-294. For criticism of this approach see H.F. Graham, ʻDigenis Akritas as a Source for Frontier Historyʼ, in M. Berza and E. Stanescu (eds.), *Actes du XIVe congrés international des études byzantines*, vol.2 (Bucharest, 1975), pp.321-9.
[89] Jeffreys (ed.), *Digenis Akritis*, pp.xxxiv-xxxv.
[90] The same is true of the Escorial text, but to a lesser extent. See Jeffreys (ed.), *Digenis Akritis*, pp.xxxvii-xxxviii.

the late date of the only surviving manuscript (late-thirteenth- or fourteenth-century), as well as the theory that the poem was only codified in the twelfth century.[91] The late origins of these poems render it futile to seek material of historical value from them, but the Grottaferrata version suggests that the borderlands of eastern Asia Minor had a distinct socio-cultural character in our period and that this still resonated for audiences in later centuries. This implies considerable dynamism in eastern Asia Minor during the ninth century, of which of our Paulicians were only a part.

Land Use and Socio-Economic Praxis

The foregoing analysis has proposed that subsistence and settlement patterns were evolving in eastern Asia Minor throughout our period. We can now examine these more fully. The predominant concern with characterising the socio-economic character of Asia Minor in our period has been the impact of Islamic raiding. Its significance has rarely been questioned. Indeed, modern palynological studies have emphasised the predominance of anthropogenic factors in conditioning land use over climactic factors.[92] However, the socio-economic implications of Islamic attacks are obscure, mainly due to our lack of evidence for the rural economy. These difficulties have occasioned debates even on basic issues, such as the changing relationship between urban and rural life, and that between aristocratic elites and the peasantry. We must engage with these debates where appropriate in order to determine whether Paulicians were more attuned to particular socio-economic contexts, whether these were urban or rural, agrarian or pastoral.

Let us begin with the less contentious matter of rural-urban dynamics. Deurbanisation is a notable phenomenon throughout Asia Minor from the sixth century onward which endured throughout our period. There seems little doubt that this was partially caused by the successive depredations of Sassanid and Islamic armies, but recent scholarship has also stressed that the changes that these invasions occasioned can be seen in continuity with long-term developments, most notably the

[91] Jeffreys (ed.), *Digenis Akritis*, pp.xvii-xxi.
[92] W.J. Eastwood et al., 'Integrating Palaeoecological and Archaeo-Historical Records: Land Use and Landscape Change in Cappadocia (Central Turkey) since Late Antiquity', in T. Vorderstrasse and J. Roodenberg (eds.), *Archaeology of the Countryside in Medieval Anatolia* (Leiden, 2009), p.55.

changing role of the city.[93] Cities' fiscal and administrative roles had been steadily eroded since Late Antiquity, with their functions increasingly being assumed by elites, whether secular or ecclesiastical, based at Constantinople.[94] Cities no longer comprised the centre of social and economic life, except in exceptional cases, such as when they acted as the administrative centres of provinces/themata, or important trade centres.[95] In many cases, the distinction between urban and rural centres was blurred. In some instances, cities were depopulated, while in others agricultural activity occurred within city walls.[96] In summary, rural and urban norms had converged.[97] Insofar as towns were more appealing raiding targets, they suffered the depredations of these centuries more fully.

This convergence of urban and rural norms explains why Paulician religiosity spread so quickly, since this implies that discourses (such as those founded on the New Testament) that were successful in one context could be effective in another. Since the first Paulician churches were located in relatively remote places, such as Kibossa, near Koloneia, and Mananalis in Islamic Armenia, we must suspect that the first Paulicians were identified in rural areas and spread to urban environments later. They presumably did so through kinship or trade networks, which linked settlements of all kinds. If this matter has proved relatively simple to resolve, the same is not true regarding pastoralism. It is worth examining this here because this mode of subsistence could explain Paulician heteropraxy. George Huxley has previously supposed that some Paulicians were transhumant pastoralists.[98] This possibility is implied by a single passage in the *Didaskalie*. The passage relates to Joseph's

[93] For an interpretation which stresses the impact of the Sassanid invasions see C. Foss, 'The Persians in Asia Minor and the End of Antiquity', *English Historical Review* 90 (1975), pp.721-47.
[94] Brandes places the decline of the city in continuity with long term changes from Late Antiquity. See W. Brandes, *Die Städte Kleinasiens im 7. und 8. Jahrhundert* (Amsterdam, 1989).
[95] Brandes, *Die Städte Kleinasiens*, pp.134; 189. Excavations at Amorion, which housed the administration of the Anatolikon thema, have unearthed evidence of sophisticated industry during the ninth century. See C.S. Lightfoot and E.A. Ivison (eds.), *Amorium Reports 3: the Lower City Enclosure. Find Reports and Technical Studies* (Istanbul, 2012).
[96] G. Dagron, 'The Urban Economy, Seventh-Twelfth Centuries', in A.E. Laiou (ed.), *The Economic History of Byzantium: from the Seventh through the Fifteenth Century*, vol.2 (Washington, D.C., 2002), p.398.
[97] W. Brandes and J.F. Haldon, 'Towns, Tax and Transformation: State, Cities and their Hinterlands in the East Roman World, ca. 500-800', in G.P. Brogiolo, N. Gauthier and N. Christie (eds.), *Towns and their Territories Between Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages* (Leiden, 2000), pp.143-50.
[98] G. Huxley, 'The Historical Geography of the Paulician and T'ondrakian Heresies', in T.J. Samuelian and M.E. Stone (eds.), *Medieval Armenian Culture* (Chico, 1984), pp.81; 89.

attempts to save his community from an Islamic attack while migrating from Mananalis to Episparis:

> And Joseph the Senseless, having learnt this, turned the wagons as if he were going toward Syria, and when the Saracens came, he told them that he had set out for pasture and cheese making. Since they were persuaded by this defence, the Agarenes departed and allowed them to go unmolested.[99]

The reference to pasture and cheese making suggests the conduct of pastoral activity. Besides this reference, other allusions in the *Didaskalie* suggest such a connection, such as the repeated migrations between locations. The fact that these migrations traversed Islamic and Christian territories is not an obstacle, since there is evidence to show that pastoral groups crossed these frontiers.[100] Finally, during the Paulician apogee in the mid-ninth century, raiding was an important source of their revenue. Since raiding and pastoralism often coincide, they may have practiced both, albeit not necessarily at the same time.[101]

The connection between Paulicians and pastoralism is tentative and requires further study. Firstly, we must observe that symbiosis between agrarian and pastoral modes of life is characteristic of Asia Minor in our period.[102] In earlier periods, most pastoral activity in central Anatolia was devoted to ranching, while imperial stud farms were dedicated to providing mounts for the army.[103] In this sense, pastoral activity was composite and diversified. The same is true for agrarian modes of production, and thus polyculture was the norm in most settings.[104] Since the interaction between these modes of subsistence is complex, the agrarian-pastoral dichotomy breaks down in practice, as in the case of the urban-rural dichotomy. One implication of this is that ideas could be transmitted between agents practicing

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[99] Peter Sic., 126, pp.50-1 (*CDH*, p.82): Ἰωσὴφ δὲ ὁ καὶ Ἀφρόνητος γνοὺς τοῦτο τὰς ἁμάξας ἐνστρέφει ὡς πρὸς Συρίαν, καὶ ἐλθόντων τῶν Σαρακηνῶν, φησὶ πρὸς αὐτοὺς ὡς ἐπὶ γαλουργίᾳ καὶ βουκολίᾳ ἐξεληλυθέναι. Οἱ δὲ Ἀγαρηνοὶ ταύτῃ τῇ ἀπολογίᾳ πληροφορηθέντες, ἐάσαντες αὐτοὺς ἀναδικήτους, ὑπεχώρησαν.

[100] Eger, *Islamic-Byzantine Frontier*, pp.280-2.

[101] Eger *Islamic-Byzantine Frontier*, pp.283-5.

[102] For an account of likely pastoral patterns in this area see M. Rowton, 'Enclosed Nomadism', *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 17:1 (1974), pp.1-7.

[103] J. Lefort, 'The Rural Economy, Seventh-Twelfth Centuries', in A.E. Laiou (ed.), *The Economic History of Byzantium: from the Seventh through the Fifteenth Century*, vol.1 (Washington, D.C., 2002), pp.263-4.

[104] For polyculture see A.E. Laiou and C. Morrisson, *The Byzantine Economy* (Cambridge, 2007), p.12.

different subsistence patterns relatively easily. Secondly, pastoralism cannot adequately account for Paulician expansion because many places that Paulicians inhabited were not suited to this activity. Large areas in the northern Armeniakon, where Paulicians were present, were given over to agrarian activity. More importantly, transhumant pastoralism is not widely attested in Anatolia until the Seljuk period.[105] For most centuries of Roman rule, pastoralism was confined to ranching practiced by landed elites. Ranching is well-attested in the western and central Anatolian plateau, as well as Paphlagonia and Kappadokia, but it is less evident in the Paulician heartlands to the north-east.[106] In this area, there is little indication of great landholders in prior centuries, or indeed during the tenth and eleventh centuries, when magnate families were at their most prominent.[107] If some Paulicians were transhumant pastoralists, it therefore seems that this behaviour could only be practiced in the borderlands, rather than central Anatolia.

Scholars have disputed how widely ranching was practiced in our period. It is worthwhile to provide an overview of this dispute here, both because it informs the Paulician relationship with pastoralism and because it gives some idea of the complexity of socio-economic life in the region. The scale of ranching is difficult to appraise due to lack of evidence. By its nature, pastoral activity leaves few remains in the archaeological record. Moreover, interpreting the social, economic or religious significance of finds in this area is fraught with complications.[108] Scholarly interest has focused on two textual sources, namely the *Farmer's Law* and the *Life of Philaretos*.[109] These sources also occasion interpretive difficulties.[110] While our

[105] Lefort, 'The Rural Economy', p.265.
[106] Although it dates from the later tenth century, the *Book of the Eparch* implies that pastoral ranching was important in Anatolia, mainly from its reference to regulations concerning butchers in the area. See *Book of the Eparch*, 15, pp.122-7 (Freshfield, pp.38-9). For ranching see A. Harvey, *Economic Expansion in the Byzantine Empire 900-1200* (Cambridge, 1989), pp.40-1; 149-57; J.F. Haldon, *Byzantium in the Seventh Century: the Transformation of a Culture* (Cambridge, 1997), pp.155-60.
[107] S. Vryonis, *The Decline of Medieval Hellenism in Asia Minor and the Process of Islamization from the Eleventh through the Fifteenth Century* (Berkeley, 1971), p.25, n.132.
[108] J. Crow, 'Archaeology', in E. Jeffreys, J.F. Haldon and R. Cormack (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Byzantine Studies* (Oxford, 2008), pp.47-58; See also p.183, n.79 above.
[109] For the *Farmer's Law* see I. Medvedev et al. (eds.), *Vizantiĭskiĭ zemledel'cheskiĭ zakon* (Leningrad, 1984). For a recent translation see M.T.G. Humphreys (ed.), *The Laws of the Isaurian Era: the Ecloga and its Appendices* (Liverpool, 2017), pp.129-39. For the *Life of Philaretos* see M. Leroy, 'La vie de S. Philarète', *B* 9 (1934), pp.85-170.
[110] The Farmer's Law is a legal text which is most informative regarding the fabric of village communities. Its date has been disputed. Humphreys' recent study favours the eighth century. Since it is a legal text with particular aims, it is uncertain how it relates to contemporary agricultural methods, particularly because it operated alongside other legal texts. Humphreys, for instance, posits a

evidence for the seventh through tenth centuries is limited, ranching is attested before and after this period. The pivotal question is whether we can posit continuity throughout our period. This question must be encompassed within a wider debate about the economy of the region. During the mid-twentieth century, George Ostrogorsky argued that a free peasantry predominated from the seventh century onward. For him, this was instrumental to the empire's success in resisting Islamic invasions before the tenth century.[111] As a consequence, he believed that landed magnates (and therefore ranching) were essentially wiped out.[112] Ostrogorsky's model is now discredited, but there is still dispute about the importance of ranching and the relative status of elites and peasants. Paul Lemerle, for instance, believed that elites declined in importance.[113] By contrast, John Haldon posits continuity of influence, if not composition, of landed elites through the seventh to ninth centuries.[114] However, in an earlier study he countenanced the possibility that their influence declined.[115] Given our lack of evidence, these conclusions are generally made by inference and relate to how socio-economic phenomena (predominantly the impact of Islamic raids) affected the relative status of elites and peasants.

Thus, Haldon's position is informed by his belief that landed elites were better situated to preserve their status than peasants, given their extra resources.[116] By contrast, others, such as Michel Kaplan, James Howard-Johnston and Peter Sarris, believe that the scarcity of labour caused by this dislocation elevated the

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relationship with the *Ekloga*. See M.T.G. Humphreys, *Law, Power and Imperial Ideology in the Iconoclast Era: c.680-850* (Oxford, 2015), pp.195-233. As for the *Life of Philaretos*, it provides an account of the livestock owned by a magnate, but it is unclear whether this corresponds to reality or is an idealistic portrayal conditioned by the source's hagiographical form. See *V. Philareti*, pp.112-5, l.4-l.2. For criticism of the source's usefulness see P. Sarris, 'Economics, Trade and "Feudalism"', in L. James (ed.), *A Companion to Byzantium* (Oxford, 2010), pp.28-9.

[111] G. Ostrogorsky, 'Agrarian Conditions in the Byzantine Empire in the Middle Ages', in M.M. Postan (ed.), *The Cambridge Economic History of Europe: Volume I: the Agrarian Life of the Middle Ages* (Cambridge, 1966), pp.207-15. For criticism of this interpretation see Haldon, *The Empire*, pp.267-8.

[112] J. Howard-Johnston, 'Social Change in Early Medieval Byzantium', in R. Evans (ed.), *Lordship and Learning: Studies in Memory of Trevor Aston* (Woodbridge, 2004), p.49.

[113] P. Lemerle, *The Agrarian History of Byzantium: from the Origins to the Twelfth Century*, trans. by G. Mac Niocaill (Galway, 1979), pp.64-5. A similar emphasis is evident in the work of Kaplan. See Kaplan, *Les hommes*.

[114] Haldon, *The Empire*, pp.171-6.

[115] Haldon, *Byzantium in the Seventh Century*, p.153.

[116] This is the view he has expressed most recently, although in my opinion his recent work adopts an maximal view of the reach and effectiveness of elite and imperial agency. See Haldon, *The Empire*, pp.162-77; pp.183-7. A similar view is espoused in his earlier work, although here he is more willing to consider that the bargaining power of the peasantry increased. See Haldon, *Byzantium in the Seventh Century*, pp.129-30; 153.

status of the peasantry, which thereby eroded the influence of the magnates.[117] As we have seen above, our textual sources cannot determine this matter. The same is true of archaeological evidence.[118] Palynological data from Nar Gölü (south-central Anatolia) suggests a decline in the extent of arable land between the late-seventh and mid-tenth centuries, with a corresponding increase in woodland.[119] Pastoral activity also declined, albeit not to the same degree.[120] Eger links this data with the practice of limited stockraising, as opposed to large-scale ranching.[121] The data is hardly decisive in this regard, but the socio-economic context of the region implies a decline in elite influence and an expansion of more flexible socio-economic patterns.

Despite this flexibility, the transhumant activity that the *Didaskalie* implies could not be easily transplanted to other regions. For this reason, it cannot be a primary cause of Paulician expansion. It is better to understand pastoralism as an economic choice that could be adopted in particular contexts, rather than an intrinsic characteristic of Paulician identity. It could characterise practice in the borderlands between Armenia and the empire, but not necessarily elsewhere. The location of the early Paulician churches implies that pastoralism could have been important to early Paulician activity, but our evidence for this is slight. There are few indications that pastoralism was important after the foundation of Argaous and Tephrikē. Even though Paulician raids in the mid/late ninth century focused on seizing livestock, this was because it was a form of readily movable wealth. This activity was therefore conditioned by raiding patterns which Muslims had developed over the preceding centuries.[122] Although pastoralism may have been practiced at this time, it was not the primary determinant of Paulician activity. More broadly, our discussion of the socio-economic character of this region has shown that modes of subsistence across Asia Minor were complex and symbiotic. For Paulician religiosity to thrive in this

[117] Kaplan, *Les hommes*, p.185; Howard-Johnston, 'Social Change', pp.46-8; Sarris, 'Economics, Trade', pp.33-5.
[118] C. Morrisson and J.-P. Sodini, 'The Sixth-Century Economy', in A.E. Laiou (ed.), *The Economic History of Byzantium: from the Seventh through the Fifteenth Century*, vol.1 (Washington, D.C., 2002), p.183.
[119] Eastwood et al., 'Integrating Palaeoecological', pp.52-3.
[120] Eastwood et al., 'Integrating Palaeoecological', p.62.
[121] Eger, *Islamic-Byzantine Frontier*, pp.259-60.
[122] For instance, Kennedy characterises small raids as a form of "stock rustling" and/or "militarised transhumance." J.F. Haldon and H. Kennedy, 'The Arab-Byzantine Frontier in the Eighth and Ninth Centuries: Military Organisation and Society in the Borderlands', *Zbornik radova Vizantološkog Instituta* 19 (1980), pp.115-6.

environment it was necessary for it to be appropriate to many different socio-economic contexts.

Labelling Processes and the Paulicians of Asia Minor

We have now surveyed the socio-economic context of the region and concluded that no single explanation adequately explains Paulician identity or activity. The most significant factor we have discussed thus far is the Armenian connection. It now only remains to explicate how Paulician communities arose within Asia Minor. Despite the fragmentary nature of our sources, their testimony, when supplemented by the contexts described above, offers a convincing rationale: Paulician religiosity arose out of conventional forms of Christianity in the borderlands of Asia Minor and Armenia, due to complex labelling processes between various social actors. Processes of identity formation are particularly attuned to areas of this kind.[123] I propose that Paulician explanations of the contemporary world through New Testament texts proved more attractive to provincials than competing narratives and served to engender a sense of shared community. This mode of explanation is most appropriate to the period after the Roman persecutions, but I believe that the Paulicians' use of the New Testament was similarly effective in an earlier period, even if this was in a less-developed form. The influences of other cultural practices, be they Armenian, pastoral and/or militaristic, are more difficult to conceptualise, but I suspect that these were important, even if they were inimical to the clerical and institutional strand of Paulician belief espoused by Sergios. On the whole, it is most appropriate to characterise Paulician religiosity as converging around apostolic tenets, rather than as the exportation of a pre-existing belief system, at least in the early phases of the movement. In all of the above, I have interpreted communal identities as contingent, socially constructed ideas. It is worth reiterating

[123] The connection between frontiers and the development of new collective identities is well established. See D.A. Chappell, 'Ethnogenesis and Frontiers', *Journal of World History* 4:2 (1993), pp.267-75. Pertinent studies for our period are included within R.W. Mathisen and H.S. Sivan (eds.), *Shifting Frontiers in Late Antiquity* (Aldershot, 1996); F. Curta (ed.), *Borders, Barriers and Ethnogenesis: Frontiers in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages* (Turnhout, 2005). For the relationship between religious and ethnic identities see also n.184, n.84 above.

that this is only a possible explanation, albeit one that best reconciles our limited evidence.

The key to understanding the origins of the Paulicians of Asia Minor lies in the most characteristically Armenian trait of these heretics: the term 'Paulician' and its Armenian diminutive root.[124] The polemical use of the term 'Paulician' is already established within the *Chronographia*, yet the word had evidently only come into common discourse recently. As we have seen, there are indications that East Roman authors were still making sense of Paulician religiosity during the ninth century.[125] In any case, the mechanisms by which the term entered the Greek language are unclear. Since there is no record of formal contact between the East Roman and Armenian churches from the correspondence between Germanos I and Yovhannēs Ōjnec'i in the 720s until Photios' correspondence with Zak'aria, which began in the 860s, it is unlikely that this came about through high level correspondence.[126] Rather, it seems that the term passed into Roman terminology via monastic or episcopal networks, although non-elite forms of communication may also have contributed to its dissemination.

In our context the term 'Paulician' comprises a paradox. Ludwig has conclusively shown that Paulicians revered the apostle Paul, thereby rendering their name appropriate. Nevertheless, this usage differs from that of earlier Armenian sources, where Paulician doctrine is obscure. Garsoïan's identification of them as adoptionists (i.e. followers of Paul of Samosata) is substantiated by the use of the eighteenth-century source, the *Key of Truth*.[127] There is little in medieval Armenian sources to suggest links with Paul of Samosata. Hence, despite being appropriate to our context, the label 'Paulician' shows little continuity with its previous usage. The most convincing explanation for this paradox is that this labelling demonstrates complex interactions between Armenian- and Greek-speaking actors, rather than an

[124] See also Chapter One, p.14.
[125] See above, pp.168-74.
[126] Greenwood, 'History of Łewond', p.162. For Photios' correspondence with Armenia see I. Dorfmann-Lazarev, *Arméniens et Byzantins à l'époque de Photius: deux dèbats théologiques après le triomphe de l'orthodoxie* (Leuven, 2004); T.W. Greenwood, 'Failure of a Mission? Photius and the Armenian Church', *Le Muséon* 119 (2006), pp.123-67.
[127] Garsoïan, *Paulician Heresy*, pp.150-67.

accurate deployment of a term upon a well-defined religiosity.[128] As noted above, portrayals of Paulician religiosity in Greek sources evolved during the first half of the ninth century. However, none of these portrayals resemble the apostolic religiosity that Ludwig posits that Paulicians held. This is surprising because both East Roman and Armenian intellectuals were well versed with divergent forms of Christianity in the area. It certainly seems that our heresy was not an aberrant brand of Miaphysite or Dyophysite belief. Given the confusion evident in the Greek sources, it seems that Paulician religiosity was misunderstood because it did not fit into conventional discourses about heterodoxy, which primarily related to Christology or the use of images at this time. As remarked above, it is likely that these difficulties arise because Paulicians were initially identified as a result of heteropraxy, rather than heterodoxy. It is most probable that their heteropraxy was conditioned by Armenian norms and/or pastoral subsistence patterns, considering that Armenian speakers supplied the polemical term. As noted above, the development of deviant beliefs is characteristic of the 'shatter zones' east of the empire.[129] Evidently, this praxis was atypical even in Armenia.

In any case, Armenian-speaking actors deployed the term 'Paulician', presumably rhetorically given the obscurity of the term in Armenian sources, against an abnormal form of religious and/or social praxis, which need not have been overtly apostolic at this stage. As a conscious rejection of this labelling, the actors involved emphasised their veneration of Paul and the apostolic character of their belief. In doing so, they challenged their interlocutors by considering their own religiosity to be more pure than theirs. This seemingly implies an adversarial relationship between the groups involved, but it is possible that this relationship was symbiotic. Interactions of this kind probably occurred concurrently in different areas over some time. The critical point to remember is that because of its focus on New Testament texts Paulician ideas were similar to existing expressions of Christianity within Asia Minor.[130] It was therefore relatively easy to transmit ideas to other actors, but

[128] For heresy as the product of interactions between actors see Smythe, 'Alexios I and the Heretics', p.233. Greek and Armenian speakers also co-existed east of the empire, so analogous processes could have occurred outside Asia Minor.
[129] See pp.182-5 above.
[130] Aside from the *Athinganoi*, there are few heresies known in Asia Minor during our period, thereby suggesting the populace was, loosely speaking, orthodox. Older heresies seem to have died out by this time. See P. Charanis, 'Cultural Diversity and the Breakdown of Byzantine Power in Asia Minor', *DOP* 29 (1975), p.10.

equally, it was easy for Paulicians to adopt influences from elsewhere. It is by these processes that Paulicians could transcend socio-economic contexts or co-opt anti-institutional characteristics. Instead of positing the transmission of a pre-codified Paulician religiosity, we should see this period as marking mutual exchanges between many local actors, particularly given the lack of penetration that East Roman institutions had in this area. This is appropriate given the complex socio-economic patterns that we discussed above, which implies symbiosis and interactions between many actors. Thus, Paulicians represent a gradual convergence of provincial networks that were initially loosely connected. These networks might align or splinter depending on circumstances, thereby giving the movement a fractious quality which is represented by the narrative of the *Didaskalie*.[131] In all of this, I consider that the ideas of apostolic community that these interactions engendered were crucial. As implied above, Paulician ideas of community varied and could operate differently in different contexts. Armenian kinship networks were perhaps initially important, but these – and pastoralism – cannot adequately explain the ability of Paulician ideas to transcend particular contexts. Localised interactions such as these provided the primary impetus for the evolution of Paulician ideas before the advent of sophisticated, institutionalised Paulician communities, such as that associated with Sergios, in the late eighth century. This process might be tentatively dated to the last quarter of the eighth century. Even then however, these communities expanded, fractured and evolved.

Although the labelling mechanism posited above influenced Paulicians, this did not extend as far as Paulicians adopting this label for themselves. As the *Treatise* notes, Paulicians "call themselves Christians and us Romans."[132] This quotation pertains to a later period, when antipathy between Paulicians and Romans had become entrenched. It does not apply to the formational period of Paulician identity. However, this – like the account of Paulician origins sketched above – is in keeping with our observation that Paulicians did not engage directly with the accusations of their adversaries, but instead made sense of these within their own thought worlds.[133] This observation is important because it shows that while Paulician religiosity could

[131] See Chapter Three, pp.114-20.
[132] *Treatise*, 9, p.85 (*CDH*, p.94): Καλοῦσι δὲ ἑαυτοὺς μὲν χριστανούς, ἡμᾶς δὲ Ῥωμαίους.
[133] Chapter Four, pp.144-5.

adopt anti-institutional facets in some contexts, on a more fundamental level it explained the world to its adherents in positive and constructive terms.

Before Roman persecution, it presumably did so through a sense of apostolic community, as well as the charismatic religiosity of its leaders and adherents. The latter factor was certainly crucial, but it is difficult to assess due to the unhistorical narrative of the *Didaskalie*. Perhaps the most important observation concerning Paulician religious elites is that they operated outside conventional religious hierarchies. Again, this was not entirely unusual in provincial society at that time. Itinerant holy men had operated in these areas for many centuries and their popularity and influence often exceeded those of provincial bishops, with whom they had a troubled relationship.[134] Paulician leaders may have occupied roles that were further beyond the pale, although the uncertain historicity of the *Didaskalie* renders it uncertain when the office of *didaskalos* was instituted.[135] I suspect that it only came into being in the last decades of the eighth century, though an earlier date is not impossible. The same is probably true of the *sunekdemoi* and *notarioi* that the *Treatise* and *History* describe. The holders of both roles could not be distinguished from ordinary adherents, thereby suggesting an egalitarian focus in Paulician communities.[136]

The sense of belonging to an apostolic Christian community was surely key to Paulician appeal at this stage of the movement's development, but there is little that we can glean from this in our sources. As noted in Chapter Four, the proclivities of the *Didaskalie* marginalise the importance of Paulician communities wherever possible.[137] The wide appeal of the Paulicians' favoured New Testament texts, which could be interpreted in different ways, are crucial to my interpretation here. There was no blueprint for a Paulician community as such; rather, diverse communities reinterpreted their own ideas of belonging to form a loose network of adherents. This allowed Paulicians to thrive in a plurality of contexts, whether these were urban or rural, agrarian or pastoral. Nothing shows this adaptability as much as the

[134] P.R.L. Brown, 'Holy Men', in A. Cameron, B. Ward-Perkins and M. Whitby (eds.), *The Cambridge Ancient History, XIV: Late Antiquity. Empire and Successors AD 425-600* (Cambridge, 2000), pp.781-801.
[135] Chapter Four, pp.142-3.
[136] *Treatise*, 19, p.90 (*CDH*, p.95); Peter Sic., 183, pp.66-7 (*CDH*, p.91).
[137] Chapter Four, pp.128-33.

institutionalisation of Paulician belief at the end of the ninth century, which is primarily evident in the adoption of clerical hierarchies. This presumably occurred as a result of the expansion of the movement, as well as its encounters with similar frameworks in Roman administrative systems. Encounters such as these are apparent in Sergios' opposition to the practice of taking Roman prisoners by fellow Paulicians.[138] This course of action implies that he had something to gain by collaborating with Romans, or that he understood his cultural values to be essentially Roman. At this time that this letter was written, Paulician and Roman identities were not mutually exclusive. Paulician clerical elites favoured accommodation with the empire, while other Paulicians favoured armed resistance. All this shows that Paulician identity could cover a spectrum of positions at this time, which in turn implies that Paulicians comprised a heterogeneous movement which had expanded quickly over the preceding decades, particularly since we find them in different locations and socio-economic contexts. This demonstrates that ideas of Paulician identity and community had not been exported as pre-made entities, but instead evolved, somewhat independently, in different contexts. The codification of the *Didaskalie* comprised an attempt to assimilate and consolidate these divergent ideas.

Conclusion

The unsuitability of the *Didaskalie* for explaining Paulician origins forces us to rely on the few reliable references provided by our sources, supplemented by the social, economic and religious circumstances of the area. Taken together, these suggest that Paulicians arose in north-eastern Asia Minor as a result of being labelled heterodox 'Paulicians' by local actors. Interactions between Greek and Armenian speakers were important in this regard, although Armenian networks and pastoralism also played a role. Paulician belief subsequently percolated through provincial networks within Asia Minor and in doing so evolved via dialectical interactions. It proved successful here because it could transcend socio-economic niches and ethnic categories because it offered religious explanations founded upon New Testament texts. As a consequence of this expansion, Paulicians adopted institutional characteristics. These processes occurred during the final decades of the eighth

[138] See also Chapter Seven, pp.204-5.

century and resulted in fragmented and heterogenous Paulician networks, which contracted and realigned depending on circumstances. Paulician and Roman identities were not mutually exclusive at this time, or even after the Roman persecutions of the 810s. The logic of expansion I have sketched here implies a dynamic that was impelled by the logic of the East Roman Empire. This matter will comprise a more prominent theme in the following chapter, where we will examine Roman persecutions and their repercussions.

Chapter Seven: Paulicians in the Era of East Roman Persecution

Despite the absence of references to Paulicians in eighth-century Greek sources, they were prominent enough to be targeted by East Roman authorities during the 810s. There are indications that Paulician hierarchies (as exemplified by the *didaskalos*) had formed by the end of the eighth century, but as yet, there is little evidence that Paulician and Roman identities were incompatible. This changed with the persecutions imposed by Michael I (811-13). Although Michael's advisors persuaded him to curtail these persecutions, his iconoclast successor Leo V (813-20) reimposed them. Our sources show that these events elicited various Paulician responses, including appeals to unity and violent reprisals. By contrast, with the second major persecution of Paulicians, which was once again connected with a change in imperial policy, namely the restoration of image veneration by the regent Theodora (*c.*843), the Paulician response was emphatic: several thousand Paulicians fled the empire, allied themselves with the Emirate of Malaṭiya and began an insurrection which lasted over three decades.[1] On first impressions, this account suggests that Paulicians were alienated from the empire by successive Roman actions and – after Roman and Paulician identities became incompatible – allied themselves with Islamic actors.[2] Nevertheless, our sources suggest that the social composition and organisation of the Paulician actors involved prior to the respective persecutions were fundamentally different. While the *didaskalos* Sergios headed a religious community in north-east Asia Minor during the 810s, the former *protomandator* Karbeas, who led the Paulician insurrection of the 840s, was a defector from the Anatolikon army based in central Asia Minor. The main objective of this chapter is to posit discontinuity between these communities, arguing that although they have commonalities, they are only loosely related.

[1] This development has conventionally been dated to the early ninth century, but this interpretation is refuted by our observation that Peter of Sicily's account of these events distorts the account of *Theophanes Continuatus* IV. See P. Lemerle, 'L'histoire des Pauliciens d'Asie Mineure d'après les sources grecques', *TM* 5 (1973), pp.82-90.

[2] Prior scholarship has not addressed this matter because the flight to Malaṭiya has conventionally been dated to the 810s, even by scholars who rejected Paulician dualism or considered the *History* to be a forgery. See C. Ludwig, 'The Paulicians and Ninth-Century Byzantine Thought', in L. Brubaker (ed.), *Byzantium in the Ninth Century: Dead or Alive?* (Aldershot, 1998), pp.24-5; N.G. Garsoïan, *The Paulician Heresy* (Paris/The Hague, 1967), p.53.

The Persecutions of Michael I and Leo V

It is not easy to explain how and why the persecutions of the 810s were enacted.[3] Accordingly, they require attention here. Our best sources are the *Chronographia* and the *Vita Nicephori*, a hagiography of the patriarch responsible for the persecutions, Nikephoros I (806-15), who, as we have seen, composed the *Breviarum* and *Third Antirrheticus*.[4] Both sources state that Nikephoros wrote a treatise in order to argue that Paulicians should be persecuted. This work has not survived, perhaps unsurprisingly, considering that the works for which Nikephoros is best known today had a limited circulation prior to the fourteenth century. Nevertheless, George the Monk had access to some of his works, which suggests that Nikephoros' tome may have circulated in the early ninth century and hence could have influenced subsequent polemic against Paulicians.[5] Its impact was probably slight because it predated the composition of the Paulician sources which would inform the *Treatise*. However, I believe that it may have substantiated the Manichaean identification of the Paulicians.[6] The account of the *Chronographia* is as follows:

> Moved by an excess of divine zeal, the most pious emperor [Michael I], at the instigation of the most holy patriarch Nikephoros and other pious persons, decreed the death penalty against the Manichees (that is the Paulicians of today) and the Athinganoi who live in Phrygia and Lykaonia, but was turned back from this course by certain perverse counsellors who used the pretext of repentance, although those who have fallen into that error are incapable of repenting. The counsellors argued in their ignorance that priests ought not to condemn the impious to death, being in this respect in complete contradiction to Holy Scripture. For if Peter, the chief apostle, put Ananias and Sapphira to death for nothing more than a lie; if the great Paul cries out saying "They which commit such things are worthy of death"; and this with reference to bodily sin

[3] These persecutions receive surprisingly little attention in existing literature. See Garsoïan, *Paulician Heresy*, pp.124-5; Lemerle, 'L'histoire', pp.71-2; V. Grumel, *Les regestes des actes du Patriarcat de Constantinople*, vol.1, fasc.2 (Paris, 1936), p.27; T. Korres, 'Οἱ διώξεις τῶν Παυλικιάνων ἐπί Μιχαὴλ Α'', *Byzantina* 10 (1980), pp.203-15.
[4] For the *Vita Nicephori*, which was composed by Ignatios the Deacon, see I. Ševčenko, 'The Hagiography of the Iconoclast Period', in A. Bryer and J. Herrin (eds.), *Iconoclasm: Papers Given at the Ninth Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies, University of Birmingham, March 1975* (Birmingham, 1977), pp.123-5.
[5] D. Afinogenov, 'The Date of Georgios Monachos Reconsidered', *BZ* 92 (1999), p.444.
[6] Chapter Six, pp.168-70.

> only; does it not follow that those who deliver from the sword persons that are filled with every manner of spiritual and bodily impurity and are worshippers of demons stand in contradiction to the apostles? Even so, the pious emperor Michael executed not a few of those heretics.[7]

The *Vita Nicephori* inevitably places most emphasis on Nikephoros' role:

> Therefore, zeal motivated him [Nikephoros] to turn his steps in a different direction, against the unbelieving and outlandish heresies which just then were celebrating their abominable rituals without a blush of shame for their own mad folly – I am referring to Jews, and Phrygians, and those who followed the oversubtle arguments of Mani and drank the potion of his unbelief. For that reason Nikephoros presented a written document to the emperor outlining the basic tenets of their unnatural religion in great detail and explaining how these tenets would maim the whole society if these sects were allowed to continue doing as they wished. He demonstrated all this in the treatise, reproaching the Jews for slaying the Lord, assailing the monstrous sophistry of the Phrygians, and striking a serious blow against the hallucination of the Manichaeans, so that the pollution of these groups would not proceed out of their mouths, but rather their guileful nonsense would be only whispered in obscure secrecy. For if the impious had been deprived of free speech by the authorities, they would have been unable to do anything even in secret.[8]

Both sources agree in identifying Nikephoros as the instigator of the affair, thereby suggesting that his tome was influential.[9] However, Theodore the Stoudite notes that Nikephoros adopted a more clement view subsequently.[10] For our purposes, the primary points of interest are identifying which groups the persecutions targeted and how they were enacted.

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[7] Theoph., pp.494-5, l.31-15 (Mango and Scott, p.678).
[8] *V. Nicephori*, pp.158-9, l.25-l.8 (Talbot, p.65).
[9] Nikephoros' authorship of a work recommending capital punishment to an emperor has later analogues. I have already argued that Peter of Sicily wrote with such a purpose to Constantine VII. Another example is Hugh Etheriano's treatise for Manuel II, which was directed against the Patarenes. See Hugo Eteriano, *Contra Patarenos*, pp.155-7; 175-6. Translation: pp.177-8; 191-2.
[10] Theodore recounts that he voiced his opposition to this policy to Nikephoros, Michael I and Leo V. He implies that only Nikephoros subsequently changed his mind, although Michael's volte face must also be taken into account. Theod. Stoud., *Epistulae*, Ep.455, vol.2, p.647, l.82-5.

If the *Chronographia*'s reconstruction is chronologically accurate, the persecutions began soon after Michael's accession, in late 811, or early 812.[11] Since Michael's rule only lasted from October 811 until June 813, these persecutions lasted little over a year at the longest estimate. While the *Chronographia* claims that they were curtailed by the opposition of "perverse counsellors" – the foremost among whom was Theodore the Stoudite, as another passage notes – several of Theodore's letters, together with the testimony of the *History*, show that his successor Leo V reintroduced them.[12] Leo's reimposition of iconoclasm aimed to counteract the notion that the empire had lost divine favour under the preceding iconodule rulers, so his resumption of persecution was presumably another means to this end. Both emperors also sought to deflect the religious tensions of the image controversy onto more obvious forms of heterodoxy. As a result, the persecutions were largely unrelated to how threatening heretics were at the time.

Consequently, various heretics were targeted. The *Chronographia* claims that these initiatives targeted Paulicians and Athinganoi, whereas the *Vita Nicephori* also specifies Jews.[13] Despite this, most scholars have believed that they were primarily directed against Paulicians.[14] This judgement is dictated by the Paulicians' subsequent importance and should be discarded. In the *Chronographia*, a contemporary source, Athinganoi occupy a similar prominence to Paulicians.[15] Its rhetoric suggests that heterodoxy was understood in an amorphous fashion at this time.[16] This surely underlies the reference to Jews in the *Vita Nicephori*, since other heterodox groups which were not originally encompassed by these measures may have been subsequently targeted, or at least associated with these events by later authors. Importantly, this concern with heterodoxy was largely independent of the image controversy. Except in the case of events as aberrant as the affair of

[11] Theoph., pp.494-5, l.31-15 (Mango and Scott, p.678); Grumel, *Les regestes*, vol.1, fasc.2, p.27. Korres, by contrast, argues that the persecutions date from the end of Michael's reign. Korres, 'Οι διώξεις', pp.213-4.
[12] Theoph., p.498, l.19-20 (Mango and Scott, p.678); Peter Sic., 175, pp.64-5; Theod. Stoud., *Epistulae*, Ep.94, vol.2, p.214. For Theodore see R. Cholij, *Theodore the Stoudite: the Ordering of Holiness* (Oxford, 2002).
[13] For the Athinganoi, see Chapter One, p.25, n.63.
[14] Ludwig, 'The Paulicians', pp.32-3; Korres, 'Οι διώξεις', pp.203-15. For the impact of these persecutions on Athinganoi see P. Charanis, 'Ethnic Changes in the Byzantine Empire in the Seventh Century', *DOP* 13 (1959), p.27.
[15] Theoph., p.488, l.22-3; pp.494-5, l.31-15 (Mango and Scott, pp.671; 678).
[16] See also Chapter Five, pp.150-60.

Constantine V's tomb, there are few indications that anxieties concerning heterodoxy extended to iconoclasts or iconodules.[17]

We must now examine how these persecutions were enacted. Our sources are not enlightening. It is even unclear who carried out the imperial orders. The *History* claims that local provincial officials, the exarch and the bishop of Neokaisareia, performed these but, as we remarked earlier, the individuals in question are not historical personages.[18] The *Chronographia* notes that Michael I ordered the Athinganoi to be "subjected to confiscation and banishment" at the hands of the future Leo V for attempting to restore the sons of Constantine V between June and August 812.[19] This implies that the highest ranks of the provincial army were involved. It is also possible that imperial officials were involved since these conducted Theodora's persecution.[20] In any event, provincial cooperation was required for imperial orders to be effective.

As for the form that the persecutions took, the dominant impression, which is apparent in Theophanes' account, is that they represented little more than a series of executions or massacres, although the reality is more complex.[21] The *Vita Nicephori*, perhaps tactfully, does not explicate the outcomes of Nikephoros' actions, but its martial imagery suggests forceful measures. This impression is corroborated by the later persecutions of Theodora, since the account of *Theophanes Continuatus* IV shows that Paulicians were executed by various means, while their property was appropriated by the imperial treasury.[22] The Continuator, like Theophanes, emphasises the number of heretics killed. The *History* gives a similar portrayal.[23] Other approaches were perhaps used.[24] The *Chronographia* describes various events where heretics face lesser punishment. As we have just seen, Athinganoi were

[17] Chapter Five, pp.154-5.
[18] Since Parakondakes is an invented figure, the same is probably true of Thomas. Chapter Three, pp.84-5.
[19] Theoph., p.497, l.4-6 (Mango and Scott p.680).
[20] Theoph. Cont., 4:16, pp.236-7, l.6-7.
[21] For the exceptionality of the punishment of Paulicians see P.J. Alexander, 'Religious Persecution and Resistance in the Byzantine Empire of the Eighth and Ninth Centuries: Methods and Justifications', *Speculum* 52:2 (1977), pp.252-3; 262-3.
[22] Theoph. Cont., 4:16, pp.236-7, l.8-10.
[23] Peter Sic., 175-6, pp.64-5.
[24] It is unlikely that such harsh punishments were imposed on Jews, further suggesting that they were not originally targeted. For instance, they were often forcibly baptised. See Theoph., p.401, l.22-5 (Mango and Scott, pp.554-5); *Vita Basilii*, 95, pp.308-10; Sym. Mag., 132.10, pp.263-4.

banished in 812, when the persecutions were still in operation. It is unlikely that Athinganoi actually had any role in the attempted restoration of Constantine V's sons, but the reference to forced relocation within these months implies that capital punishment was not always employed even when Michael's orders were in effect. Meanwhile, the iconoclasts whom Theophanes equates with Paulicians are tortured after their spectacle before Constantine's tomb. Since this event occurred during the Versinikia campaign at the end of Michael's reign, the persecutions had now been curtailed, but, in any event, the variety of punishments meted out during these years suggests that capital punishment was not imposed as systematically as our heresiological sources suggest.

Despite this, the tenor of our sources implies that when persecution did occur, it was indiscriminate. Notably, it spanned the most inaccessible parts of Asia Minor, since, aside from Paulicians in the east, Athinganoi in the centre of the peninsula (notably Phrygia and Lykaonia) were also targeted.[25] Since heretical status was judged on a communal basis, imperial authorities played a crucial role in demarcating heretical identities from without. By identifying communities as 'Paulician' and persecuting them, Roman authorities impelled a sense of shared identity among them. There is little evidence that this occurred immediately and, as we saw in the previous chapter, Paulician identities were complex before the persecutions. Roman and Paulician identities took some time to diverge. The continued persecution and demonisation of Paulicians in the following decades went some way towards achieving this, as did the changing ways in which Romans understood Paulicians. But at this stage, Sergios still sought reconciliation with Roman actors. He also unsuccessfully attempted to unify Paulician communities. This is apparent from our Paulician sources, to which we will now turn.

The Paulician Responses

The *Didaskalie* and *Letters of Sergios* are instrumental in evaluating Paulician responses to these persecutions. As we observed in Chapter Four, these sources were composed in the aftermath of these persecutions and reveal the

[25] Theoph., p.488, l.22-3 (Mango and Scott p.671).

anxieties associated with them.[26] During the 810s, the *didaskalos* Sergios (*c*.800/1-34/5) led a substantial Paulician community in Asia Minor. The continual schisms mentioned by the *Didaskalie* suggest that his authority was limited and that various different Paulician networks co-existed. The *Didaskalie*'s narrative shows that his authority was still challenged after the persecutions. As a consequence, the source does not represent the views of all Paulicians, particularly because it was written to legitimise Sergios. The *Didaskalie* represents only one response to these events. In the case of Sergios' legitimation, we must suspect that its aims were unsuccessful, but its religiosity and understanding of sin probably resonated widely.

As noted in Chapter Four, the *Didaskalie* does not document the persecutions of the 810s, even though it was composed as a response to them.[27] The experience of these events permeated Paulician society so pervasively that it was unnecessary to mention them. Nonetheless, the persecutions influenced the text markedly, particularly regarding its conception of the *didaskalos* and its characterisation of East Roman agency. I will concentrate firstly on the role of the *didaskalos*. As we have seen, the *Didaskalie* betrays a heightened anxiety about this role, which is dictated by Sergios' pacific reaction to these persecutions.[28] This is most apparent in an extract from his letters, in which he claims to have attempted to stop his followers from taking actions against Romans.

> "I am innocent of these evils, for many times I told them to desist from taking the Romans prisoner and they did not listen to me."[29]

Since Sergios' policy favoured Romans, it is evident that the letter's recipient was similarly favourable, or was perhaps even Roman himself. The extract is interesting because it posits Paulician reprisals against Romans prior to the career of Karbeas. This probably involved uncoordinated action by isolated groups, since Roman sources do not mention Paulician resistance before the 840s. Beyond this possibility, the extract suggests internal differences amongst Paulicians, demonstrating that some of them rejected Sergios' attempts at conciliation. This is unsurprising because his

[26] Chapter Four, pp.109; 118-20.
[27] Chapter Three, pp.102-3.
[28] Chapter Four, pp.128-33.
[29] Peter Sic., 157, pp.58-9 (*CDH*, p.87): << Ἐγὼ τῶν κακῶν τούτων ἀναίτιός εἰμι· πολλὰ γὰρ παρήγελλον αὐτοῖς ἐκ τοῦ αἰχμαλωτίζειν τοὺ Ῥωμαίους ἀποστῆναι, καὶ οὐχ ὑπήκουσάν μοι >>.

response was inimical to Anatolian traditions of resistance.[30] It is tempting to interpret Sergios' complaint as marking a distinction between the militaristic and religious wings of the movement. This distinction is apparent in the *History*'s narrative and underlies many secondary accounts.[31] As we will see, this dichotomy is a false one conditioned by the nature of our sources. I would rather interpret the tension between militarism and religiosity as being a fundamental tension within Paulician identity, rather than characteristing opposing parties as 'militaristic' or 'religious.' In any case, the above extract demonstrates that Sergios' authority was disputed and flouted. The most important ramification of this extract is that it implies that Paulician and Roman identities were still compatible at this time. As noted several times, the *Didaskalie* places Paulicians within a Roman cultural orbit, rather than within that of Armenia or the Islamic world. Some Paulicians still considered themselves part of the East Roman Empire, irrespective of how Romans perceived them.[32]

In spite of Sergios' contested authority, the *Didaskalie* comprises an appeal for unity among Paulician communities. The source subordinates the past to the present, which thereby implies that its concern with schism is a contemporary one. Since the source sees persecution against Paulicians as intrinsically linked with internal Paulician disputes, it follows that further disasters can be avoided by rallying around a leader who preserves his community.[33] This can only be Sergios. Similarly, the *Letters of Sergios* stress continuity with Sergios' forebears in order to ensure the loyalty of Paulician communities.[34] To some degree, Sergios' preoccupation with unity is conditioned by his conflict with Baanes, but he also sought to appeal to those who had been encompassed by the broadening use of the term 'Paulician' following the Roman persecutions. The fractiousness which characterises Paulician activity implies that his initiatives did not result in unity. Sergios' pleas to stop his followers taking Roman captives suggest that others defied his authority. Since later Paulician organisation is indistinguishable from the norms he espoused, his project presumably

[30] J.F. Haldon, *The Empire that Would Not Die: the Paradox of Eastern Roman Survival, 640-740* (Cambridge, MA, 2016), pp.184-5.
[31] Garsoïan, *Paulician Heresy*, pp.120-1; 124-8; Lemerle, 'L'histoire', pp.49-113; Ludwig, 'The Paulicians', p.34.
[32] See also Ludwig, 'The Paulicians', p.23.
[33] See Chapter Four, pp.120-8.
[34] *History*, 163, pp.60-1 (*CDH*, p.88).

failed, although we should be wary of overstating this because our later sources are of a different character.

Although East Roman persecutions did not engender a unified Paulician community, this is not especially important. The point of significance is that Paulician actors *attempted* to achieve this aim. They failed because Paulician responses were diffuse. The militaristic response that Sergios bemoaned attests to this. Here, perhaps, lies the key to developments in Paulician activity. Changes undoubtedly occurred, but these comprised long-term processes dictated by the lived experience of Paulician communities, whether conditioned by repression, resistance, or practicing their religiosity underground, rather than as a result of doctrines promulgated by their clerical elite. This much is suggested by Sergios' inability to dictate his agenda, if not necessarily by the form that later Paulician activity took.[35] The authority of elites such as Sergios was clearly questioned at this time, but as noted in Chapter Four, there are few indications that Paulician religiosity changed appreciably.

In summary, the persecutions enacted by Michael I and Leo V were intended to gain divine favour and provide an outlet for existing religious tensions. They had little to do with how threatening Athinganoi and Paulicians were. It is difficult to ascertain how these persecutions were enacted. Executions were a significant element, but other punishments were also used. The *didaskalos* Sergios responded to these persecutions by attempting to unify disparate groups of Paulicians under his aegis. The writing of the *Didaskalie* was one initiative which contributed to this end. This project was unsuccessful and evolutions in Paulician identity and praxis were instead driven by bottom-up processes based on the experiences of Paulician communities and the measures East Roman actors imposed upon them. We cannot adequately clarify these changes due to difficulties with positing continuity between the respective Paulician communities of Sergios and Karbeas. As with many aspects of this topic, our sources cannot adequately represent a complex variety of social developments.

[35] See esp. *History*, 177-9, pp.64-5 (*CDH*, pp.90-1), where Sergios influence is inconsequential, despite Peter of Sicily's attempts to portray him as an arch-heresiarch.

Paulicians during the Second Iconoclasm

The primary aim of this chapter is to posit a degree of discontinuity between the Paulician communities led by Sergios and Karbeas. To investigate this matter we must assess Paulician activity between the persecutions of the 810s and those of the 840s. Although our sources for this period are limited and often problematic on account of their late authorship, we can still draw important conclusions from them, even though they are comparatively uninformative regarding Paulician belief and activity. Sources for the period show that Paulicians were still subject to capital punishment and that this policy still enjoyed support. The *Treatise* shows that Roman understandings of Paulicians were evolving during this period, although probably only to a limited degree. Finally, these sources give little grounds for assessing the extent of continuity between the Paulicians of Sergios' time and that of Karbeas. Nevertheless, most references to Paulicians in this period resemble the militaristic activity associated with Karbeas, although this is probably reflective of our sources' concerns, rather than being an accurate portrayal of Paulician activity.

The first event during this period which is commonly connected with Paulicians is the rebellion of Thomas the Slav. Since Thomas' rebellion helps to rationalise Karbeas' insurrection against the empire, I will give a detailed account. Thomas is a shadowy figure and the circumstances of his rebellion have perhaps been obscured by his conflation with Thomas the Armenian, who was an associate of both Leo V and Michael II.[36] Both Genesios and the Continuator give two accounts of Thomas the Slav's rebellion and both considered the account termed 'version A' more trustworthy.[37] Modern historians have traditionally favoured 'version B', but recent research by Juan Signes Codoñer suggests that our primary sources are correct in considering the following account more plausible, though a synthesis of the two should not be ruled out.[38] According to version A, Thomas fled from Constantinople during the reign of Eirene after being discovered committing adultery with his

[36] J. Signes Codoñer, *The Emperor Theophilos and the East, 829-842: Court and Frontier in Byzantium during the Last Phase of Iconoclasm* (Farnham, 2014), pp.194-6. The two Thomases are conflated in *PmbZ*, #8459, vol.5, pp.33-8.
[37] For the naming of these versions see Signes, *Emperor Theophilos*, p.43.
[38] For the accounts of Thomas' invasion see Genesios, 2:2-9, pp.23-32 (Kaldellis, pp.28-39); Theoph. Cont., 2:9-20, pp.76-107. For Signes' view see Signes, *Emperor Theophilos*, pp.183-9. For contrary perspectives see P. Lemerle, 'Thomas le Slave', *TM* 1 (1965), pp.258-9; 283-4; H. Köpstein, 'Zur Erhebung des Thomas', in H. Köpstein and F. Winkelmann (eds.), *Studien zum 8. und 9. Jahrhundert in Byzanz* (Berlin, 1983), pp.67-72.

master's wife. After journeying to the 'Abbāsid Caliphate, he apostasised and lived in obscurity for decades. However, in 819, Thomas gained command of an army and rebelled against Leo V, claiming to be either the same Constantine VI who had been blinded by his mother Eirene in 797, or Constantine's son.[39] Although the reason why Thomas received this support is not documented by either source, this is probably connected with the end of the strife which had plagued the caliphate ever since the death of Hārūn al-Rashīd in 809, since al-Ma'mūn gained possession of Baghdad in 819. As Signes argues, this lack of infighting allowed al-Ma'mūn to reopen hostilities with the empire and he did so by providing Thomas with troops.[40] Al-Ma'mūn had other difficulties to address and his use of independent military leaders to combat his enemies is representative of his strategy elsewhere.[41] In any case, Leo was murdered soon afterward and Thomas continued his struggle against Michael II. He traversed Asia Minor and threatened Constantinople for several years, but ultimately failed to remove Michael. He was eventually captured and executed in 823.

For our purposes, this invasion is interesting due to the composition of Thomas' army. Both Genesios and the Continuator list the contingents that he led and both mention Manichaeans – that is to say, Paulicians.[42] However, unlike these tenth-century sources, contemporary accounts of Thomas' rebellion make no references to Paulicians. The ultimate source of both historians' lists is the letter of Michael II to Louis the Pious, which states that Thomas' army was composed of "Saracens, Persians, Iberians, Armenians, Abasgians and other foreign peoples."[43] Both tenth-century historians list a greater range of peoples. Here I have provided the Continuator's account, which is shorter than Genesios' archaising list:

> …Hagarenes, our neighbours on the borders, but also those dwelling further, Egyptians, Indians, Persians, Assyrians, Armenians, Chaldeans, Iberians,

[39] For assigning Thomas' rebellion to the end of Leo V's reign see Signes, *Emperor Theophilos,* pp.40-5. Contrariwise see Lemerle, 'Thomas le Slave', p.258; Köpstein, 'Zur Erhebung', p.70.
[40] Signes, *Emperor Theophilos,* pp.196-200.
[41] Signes, *Emperor Theophilos,* pp.212-4.
[42] See also Signes, *Emperor Theophilos*, pp.45-52.
[43] *Letter to Louis*, p.476: …cum Sarracenis et Persis, Hiberis, Armeniis et Avasgis et reliquis gentibus alienigenarum…

> Zechians, Kabeirans and all those who followed the doctrines and decrees of Manes…[44]

This list is fanciful even if we accept that al-Ma'mūn provided troops for Thomas.[45] Given the lack of reference to Paulicians in Michael II's contemporary letter, it seems safe to disavow Paulician involvement in this rebellion, particularly because there is no corroborating witness of systematic Paulician involvement in campaigns against the empire at this early date. Instead, their militaristic actions seem to have been confined to small-scale acts of resistance and brigandage, as implied by the *Letters of Sergios*. The reference to Paulician militarism at this time evidently arises from the increased interest in Paulician activity at the court of Constantine VII.

Aside from Thomas' rebellion, historians have not associated Paulicians with major political events until Theodora's persecution in 843/4. They are however described by another letter of Theodore the Stoudite, as well as by various hagiographical sources, most of which are not contemporary. Theodore's letter to Theophilos of Ephesus shows that some iconodule bishops still favoured persecuting Paulicians during the 820s. The letter is the only source for Paulicians during the reign of Michael II (820-9). It dates from between 821 and 826, but considering that Thomas the Slav retained control of Asia Minor until his rebellion collapsed in 823, it was perhaps written closer to the end of this interval.[46] The letter is devoted entirely to Theophilos' support for capital punishment, about which Theodore has learned from a letter of Theophilos that was originally addressed to Theodore's associate Athanasios.[47] The most apposite passage reads as follows:

> What is this thing in your writing, which causes me grief? It says: "We have neither counselled that Manichaeans should be killed nor not be killed, but if we did allow the latter, we would devote ourselves to doing the best of fine things." What are you saying, most honoured by God? The Lord forbade this in the

[44] Theoph. Cont., 2:12, pp.82-3. For the list in Genesios, see Genesios, 2:2, p.24, l.17-21 (Kaldellis, pp.29-30).
[45] Signes argues that al-Ma'mūn did so. Signes, *Emperor Theophilos*, pp.45-52. For contrary perspectives see Lemerle, 'Thomas le Slave', pp.285-7; Köpstein, 'Zur Erhebung', p.73.
[46] L. Brubaker and J.F. Haldon, *Byzantium in the Iconoclast Era, c. 680-85: a History* (Cambridge, 2011), pp.386-8.
[47] There are difficulties with identifying this Athansios. See *PmbZ*, #675; #676, vol.1, pp.217-9.

> Gospels, saying "No, lest in collecting the weeds you uproot the grain along with them. Let them grow together until the harvest."[48]

Despite being in office under Michael II, Theophilos was an iconodule, yet he still favoured the persecution of Paulicians.[49] As we have already seen, iconoclasts and iconodules clearly both considered Paulicians a malign heresy. Our sources suggest that Theodore the Stoudite is decidedly in the minority in his opposition to capital punishment. It is not possible to determine conclusively whether Theophilos' view on punishment comprised the official policy in Michael II's reign, but it seems probable that it was. The statement quoted by Theodore gives clear sign of prevarication on Theophilos' part and it seems that he was trying to placate both Theodore and Athanasios on the one hand, and his superiors on the other. If so, Michael II approved the punishment of Paulicians, like his predecessors. It is unsurprising that we do not have clearer testimony on this matter. Michael spent much of his reign addressing Thomas the Slav's invasion, so his control of Asia Minor was ineffectual. He lacked the ability to confront Paulicians in the eastern provinces, even if he wished to do so.

Our sources are fuller during the reign of Michael's son and successor Theophilos (829-43), but even here, they are limited, considering that Theophilos was more active in the east than any emperor since Constantine V.[50] These sources give little indication of why Theophilos' wife persecuted Paulicians soon after his death. The foremost of these sources is the *Treatise*, which I will discuss later. Beforehand I will examine hagiographical sources which describe Paulicians during Theophilos' reign. In general, the impression which arises from this reign is ambivalent: our sources are unanimous in implying that Paulicians were sought out and punished, but they could evidently thrive in some circumstances.

The sources which I will discuss here are the *Vita St. Macarii*, an account of the life of the abbot Makarios of the Pelekete Monastery composed by his disciple

[48] Theod. Stoud., *Epistulae*, Ep.455, vol.2, p.645, l.10-16 (*CDH*, p.61): Τί δὲ τὸ ἐμφερόμενον ἐν τοῖς γράμμασι, περὶ οὗ ἡ λύπη· ἡμεῖς, φησίν, οὔτε κτένεσθαι τοὺς Μανιχαίους οὔτε μὴ κτένεσθαι συνεβουλεύσαμεν· εἰ δὲ καὶ ἐπετρεψαμεν, τῶν καλλίστων τὸ μέγιστον εἴχομεν ἂν ποιῆσαι. τί φῆς, ὦ θεοτίμητε; ὁ Κύριος ἀπηγόρευσεν ἐν τοῖς εὐαγγελίοις τοῦτο, εἰπών· οὔ, μήποτε συλλέγοντες τὰ ζιζάνια ἐκριζώσητε ἅμα αὐτοῖς τὸν σῖτον· ἄφετε συναυξάνεσθε μέχρι τοῦ θερισμοῦ (*Matt.*, 13, 29).
[49] For Theophilos see *PmbZ*, #8209, vol.4, pp.647-8.
[50] Signes, *Emperor Theophilos*, pp.215-333; Brubaker and Haldon, *Byzantium: A History*, pp.407-10.

Sabas, and version *Γ* of the *42 Martyrs of Amorion*.[51] We will begin our analysis with version *Γ* of the 42 Martyrs, which is a later source than has commonly been supposed. Since it is of limited interest and has chronological inaccuracies, I will dispense with it quickly here. The tale of the 42 Martyrs was popular and elicited many accounts. The martyrs in question were captured during al-Mu'taṣim's sack of Amorion in 838 and subsequently executed under his successor al-Wāthiq seven years later.[52] Unlike most versions of this passion, version *Γ* places little emphasis on the events at Amorion and instead emphasises the role of Paulicians, who do not appear in the other variants. This variant is attributed to a certain Michael, monk and synkellos, which has led some commentators to ascribe the text to the famous Michael the Synkellos (*c*.761-846).[53] However, this attribution is unlikely because he died only a year after the martyrs.[54] The text probably dates to the early tenth century at the earliest.[55]

Although Paulicians play an important role in this passion, there is little information about them. After the protagonist Kallistos is appointed Duke of Koloneia by Theophilos, he discovers "Manichaeans" among his soldiers and attempts to convert them. The Manichaeans subsequently conspire against him and capture him.[56] They then cede him to their coreligionists under Karbeas, until the caliph learns of Kallistos' presence and orders him to be confined with the remaining martyrs in Syria. There is a chronological difficulty here, since Karbeas only came to prominence during Theodora's regency, but the source never refers to the death of Theophilos. In the course of this narrative we learn nothing of Paulician beliefs or social organisation. The source corroborates the geographical basis described by our other sources and also implies that Paulicians still served in Roman armies after the

[51] V.G. Vasil'evsky and P.V. Nikitin (eds.), 'De XLII martyribus Amoriensibus narrationes et carmina sacra', in *Zapiski Imperatorskoĭ akademīi nauk po Istoriko-filologicheskomu otdi͡elenīi͡u (Mémoires de l'Académie impériale des sciences de St.-Pétersbourg. Classe historico-philologique VIIIe série)*, 7:2 (1905), pp.22-36. For the other variants (*A*-*Θ*), see pp.1-90.
[52] See A. Kolia-Dermitzaki, 'The Execution of the Forty-Two Martyrs of Amorion: Proposing an Interpretation', *Al-Masāq* 14:2 (2002), pp.141-62.
[53] S. Kotzabassi, 'Τὸ μαρτύριο τῶν μβ' μαρτύρων τοῦ Ἀμορίου. Ἁγιολογικὰ καὶ ὑμνολογικὰ κείμενα', *Επιστημονική επετηρίς φιλοσοφικής Σχολής του Αριστοτελειου Πανεπιστημίου Θεσσαλονίκης* 2 (Thessalonika, 1992), pp.120-4; Kolia-Dermitzaki, 'The Execution', p.144.
[54] See Cunningham (ed.), *V. Michaelis syncelli*, p.37.
[55] Kazhdan places the group of texts to which our variant belongs to *c*.900 and it is clear that our version is among the latest of these because its interest in the events at Amorion is peripheral. See A.P. Kazhdan, 'Hagiographical Notes 13-6', *B* 56 (1986), p.153.
[56] *42 Martyrs, Γ*, p.29.

defection of Karbeas. However, the uncertain provenance of the text renders these points of limited value.

As for the *Vita St. Macarii*, it has attracted little attention, perhaps as a result of the "vapidity" that Ševčenko attributes to it.[57] He suspected the authenticity of the text, but on balance there is little to suggest that the life is not an early and credible witness, albeit an imprecise one.[58] It lacks any agenda that could be indicative of interpolation or falsification. It contains only a single reference to Paulicians, which occurs when Makarios is imprisoned by Theophilos. While confined, Makarios attempts to convert Paulician prisoners, succeeding in one case:

> There were Paulicians, that is, Manichaeans, held in the prison under sentence of death, who begged the saint to pray for them at their death, but he said, 'There is no fellowship as this between light and darkness. That is why you are receiving the fitting end of your impiety. Not merely are you undergoing punishment in this life, but you will receive unending correction hereafter.' So one of the condemned said that he would receive the pledge of salvation in place of food, and Macarius himself baptised him. So though all came to a fatal end, this man alone was saved and fulfilled the works of promise, laying aside the filth of heresy and putting on the shining doctrines of piety.[59]

This extract is notable in showing that Paulicians were confined in prison prior to execution, thereby demonstrating that the death penalty decreed under earlier emperors still applied at this time. The iconodule Makarios, like Theophilos of Ephesus, advocates this.[60] In converting the Paulician, he baptises him, in accordance with the *Treatise*'s claim that Paulicians did not undertake this ritual.[61] Despite this, our extant sources do not mention persecutions, thereby suggesting that initiatives against Paulicians were modest in scale under Theophilos. There is no evidence that the emperor concerned himself with these matters, unlike his

[57] Ševčenko, 'The Hagiography', p.117.
[58] Hamilton notes a chronological difficulty with the source, namely that Sabas could not have succeeded Makarios as abbot of the Pelekete, as the *vita* implies. However, as Mango and Ševčenko have noted, Sabas actually succeeded Makarios as abbot of a second monastery on the Propontis. See *CDH*, p.62, n.1; C. Mango and I. Ševčenko, 'Some Churches and Monasteries on the Southern Shore of the Sea of Marmara', *DOP* 27 (1973), p.245.
[59] *V. Macarii Pelecetes*, 14, p.159 (*CDH*, p.62).
[60] Alexander, 'Religious Persecution', p.256.
[61] *Treatise*, 16, p.89 (*CDH*, p.95).

predecessors or his wife. The initiative for punishing Paulicians seemingly came from local authorities at this time.

The most important source from Theophilos' reign is the *Treatise*. It has a number of important features which merit attention. The first of these is the minor significance it places on Mani and Manichaeism.[62] This suggests that East Roman conceptions of Paulicians had evolved since the codification of Theophanes' *Chronographia* in 814, although since the *Treatise* may have operated alongside other texts, we cannot disregard the Manichaean identification entirely. This is presumably a consequence of a second important observation: the *Treatise* is the first extant source to betray knowledge of the *Didaskalie* and *Letters of Sergios*, which were composed after the persecutions of the 810s. Interestingly, the *Treatise* describes the circumlocutions that Paulicians used to feign orthodoxy and the measures that orthodox interlocutors used to unmask these.[63] This implies that by this time Paulicians had reacted to Roman persecutions by concealing their religiosity, while ecclesiastical authorities addressed this by formulating interrogation tactics. These developments probably occurred gradually and therefore cannot be straightforwardly ascribed to Theophilos' reign, but the *Treatise* suggests that Roman practices were becoming more systematic and sophisticated.

These sources demonstate that Roman authorities sought out and punished Paulicians during Theophilos' reign. A more ambivalent picture emerges when we contextualise events more fully. Karbeas was *protomandator* for Theodotos Melissenos, general of the Anatolikon thema, on the eve of Theodora's persecutions, thereby suggesting that Paulicians could occupy important ranks within the East Roman army during Theophilos' reign, that is, if we can be sure that he was considered a Paulician beforehand.[64] The fact that he fled with many followers suggests that Paulicians may have been present in significant numbers in the army, although, as we will see, this is also uncertain.[65] But it would still be unsurprising to find heterodox groups serving within Theophilos' army, since he made extensive use of Khurramite troops.[66] Khurramiyya – whose belief is traditionally interpreted as a

[62] Chapter Two, pp.71-3.
[63] *Treatise*, 7-17, pp.84-9 (*CDH*, pp.93-5).
[64] Theoph. Cont., 4;16, pp.236-7.
[65] See pp.226-7 below.
[66] Signes, *Emperor Theophilos*, pp.173-8; 250-6.

revival of Mazdakism – had migrated to the empire from modern Azerbaijan and Iran after several unsuccessful uprisings against the ʻAbbāsid Caliphate (*c*.816-38). The Khurramiyya provide an invaluable example for contextualising Karbeas' flight to Malaṭiya and thus I will give a detailed account of their incorporation within Theophilos' armies below.[67] For the present, it suffices to note that Theophilos' relationship with them was conditioned by their martial capabilities and not their heterodoxy. It is unlikely that the Khurramiyya renounced their beliefs, since although Michael the Syrian suggests that they converted to Christianity, this is not attested in other sources. Even if they did convert it may have comprised a symbolic gesture.[68] Since Theophilos campaigned in the east throughout his reign, Paulicians could have prospered in the Roman military, as long as their heterodoxy was not overt.

Our evidence for Paulicians in Theophilos' reign is ambivalent. There is no indication of systematic persecution, but they were still sought out and executed. Our sources imply that iconodules and iconoclasts believed that they were still worthy of capital punishment. More sophisticated methods were being used to identify and punish them. Nevertheless, the identification and punishment of Paulicians was dictated by local officials and consequently the extent of initiatives must have depended by region. In the east, where they were most plentiful, Paulicians were probably too numerous to oppose. At the very least, decades of measures against them had not stunted their dynamism. This was to become apparent when Theophilos' wife Theodora became regent for their son Michael III on her husband's death. More generally, our evidence from the second iconoclasm is uninformative regarding the extent of continuity between Sergios and Karbeas. Those references which imply organised militarism before the career of Karbeas, such as the account of Thomas the Slav's invasion in the *Basileion* and *Theophanes Continuatus* I-IV, are late and untrustworthy. But it is significant that Romans were accustomed to portray Paulicians in militaristic terms. By contrast, no sources from this period allude to Sergios, or to the Paulicians of his era. To a large extent, this is because

[67] See pp.218-21 below.
[68] Signes, *Emperor Theophilos*, pp.140-1; Michael Syr., 12:19, p.566; Theoph. Cont., 3:21, pp.162-3.

knowledge of Sergios was derived from Paulician texts. Romans understood Paulicians in very different ways to how Paulicians perceived themselves.

The Persecutions of Theodora

A final event which merits attention in Theophilos' reign is the death of Sergios, which, according to Peter of Sicily, took place in 6343 A.M. (ie. 834/5 C.E.).[69] Despite the deficiencies of the *History* there is little reason to doubt this date. Within a decade of Sergios' death Paulicians were campaigning against the empire in concert with the Emirate of Malaṭiya, but there are good grounds for distinguishing these Paulicians from those whom he led. Our knowledge of Sergios derives from contemporary Paulician sources which are concerned with the religiosity of the movement. He led a religious community centred on the Armeniakon province/thema. By contrast, our knowledge of Karbeas derives from tenth-century historiographical texts. He was a former officer in the army of the Anatolikon thema.[70] These two leaders and the communities they headed have little in common. This could be explained by positing a gradual evolution in Paulician behaviour, or by a radical break occasioned by the severity of Theodora's persecutions. However, I believe that these two phases of activity are largely independent and were only understood as part of a unitary Paulician phenomenon because different types of sources applied the same label to them. This theory is substantiated by our observation that most of the chronological and interpretive difficulties in the *History*, which was the first source to link Sergios and Karbeas, pertain to the period between these leaders.[71] In the following analysis I will substantiate this interpretation by examining Theodora's persecution and the context of Karbeas' defection. In doing so, I will critique the idea of an independent 'Paulician state', as maintained by much recent scholarship.

Shortly after the death of Theophilos in 842, his wife, the regent Theodora, made two momentous interventions in religious policy: the restoration of icon

[69] *History*, 181, pp.64-5.
[70] For Karbeas, see *PmbZ*, #3625, vol.2, pp.455-6.
[71] Chapter Two, pp.50-5; Chapter Three, pp.97-107.

veneration in 843 and the renewal of persecution against the Paulicians in 843/4.[72] These policies are certainly related, as is true of the persecutions during the 810s. As in Leo V's case, religious devotion must have played its part, but it also appears that Theodora's persecutions were intended to deflect religious zeal from the image controversy. But there are several differences between these persecutions and those of the 810s. Firstly, on this occasion our sources specify that the persecutions targeted only Paulicians. Secondly, while the *Chronographia* endorses the earlier persecutions, the Continuator interprets Theodora's persecutions as a disaster for the empire.[73] Later Roman authors mirrored this judgement.[74] The Paulician polities founded by Karbeas in the vicinity of Malaṭiya would harry the empire throughout her son's reign and that of his successor Basil I. These events cloud the account of the Continuator, which recounts the persecutions and then immediately segues into Karbeas' insurrection:

> Thus affairs in the West proceeded in a splendid way and were the common talk everywhere. The empress rejoiced in this, and as if desiring to set up a greater trophy, she made an attempt also on the Paulicians in the east, either to convert them to piety, as she wished, or else to do away with and wipe them out from mankind; and this brought many evils upon our land. For she sent certain men of rank with authority – those dispatched were called the son of Argyros, the son of Doux and Soudales – and they hung some Paulicians on the furca, others they gave over to the sword and yet others to the depths of the sea. The host thus destroyed numbered some hundred thousand, and their property was given over and paid into the imperial treasury. Now, amongst the servitors of the general of the Anatoliacs – this was Theodotos of the family of Melissenos – there was a certain man by the name of Karbeas who held the office of protomandator and who prided himself and exulted in the faith of these aforesaid Paulicians. When he heard that his own father had been hung on the furca, he considered this the most terrible of things and, taking thought for his own life, he fled as a refugee[75] together with another five thousand adherents of this heresy to Amer who when occupied Melitene, and from there they went to the ameramnounes[76] and were received with great honour. And having given

[72] Lemerle, 'L'histoire', pp.88-9.
[73] Theoph. Cont., 4:16, pp.236-7.
[74] Skyl., 8, p.92, l.9-10 (Wortley, p.92)
[75] *Φυγάς*. Deserter is a more appropriate translation.
[76] The name for the caliph in Greek sources. In this case, it is al-Wāthiq (842-7).

> and likewise received guarantees, they soon set out against the land of the Romans; and on account of their victories, when their numbers had increased, they endeavoured to found cities for themselves, one called Argaoun, <and also Amara>.[77]

As in the case of the earlier persecutions, this was clearly an intensive but brief affair. The figure of a hundred thousand victims is certainly inflated, perhaps to emphasise how disastrous this decision was for the empire. The three named individuals assumed control of the local administration, including the army, to enact these persecutions.[78] It is unclear whether persecutions extended beyond the east, but similar initiatives were possibly conducted by local authorities elsewhere, albeit without co-ordination from the centre.

If our evidence for these persecutions is slight, the same is not true for the Paulician reaction. The Continuator recounts Karbeas' flight to the Emir of Malaṭiya, ʻAmr ibn Ubaydallāh ibn Marwān al-Aqṭaʻ al-Sulamī, along with five thousand followers, after which he was apparently sent to the Caliph al-Wāthiq (842-7). As we will see, there are reasons to doubt this sequence of events. Nonetheless, soon afterward Karbeas began raiding Roman territories in conjunction with ʻAmr al-Aqṭaʻ. I will argue that he participated in ʻAmr's defeat of the *logothetes* Theoktistos at the Battle of Mauropotamos (844) in this capacity.[79] Karbeas' primary achievement in the years subsequent to his flight was the establishment of the Paulician centres of Argaous and Tephrikē close to Malaṭiya. Although his Paulician followers would later act with greater independence, at this stage they were subordinate to ʻAmr. As we will see, ʻAmr's influence grew steadily after the accession of the Caliph al-Muʻtaṣim (833-42), with whom he had close ties.

There are analogous examples of the use of military clients in this period which contextualise the relationship between Karbeas and ʻAmr, most notably the rebellion of Thomas the Slav and Theophilos' incorporation of Khurramiyya into his armies. As already noted, Thomas' rebellion can be explained by al-Ma'mūn's

[77] Theoph. Cont., 4:16, pp.236-7.
[78] The full names of these officials are given by Skylitzes, but he has inferred the forenames from *Theophanes Continuatus* VI, sometimes correctly, sometimes not. See D.I. Polemis, 'Some Cases of Erroneous Identification in the Chronicle of Skylitzes', *BS* 26 (1965), pp.75-6; Skyl., 8, p.92, l.11-2 (Wortley, p.92). For these officials see *PmbZ*, #436, vol.1, p.135; *PmbZ*, #4506, vol.3, pp.67-8; *PmbZ*, #7155, vol.4, p.280.
[79] Sym. Mag., 131:4, p.233.

penchant for expanding his influence by employing independent military commanders.[80] In Thomas's case, the individual was a Roman exile and if Michael II's *Letter to Louis I* (and following this Genesios and the Continuator) can be trusted, an apostasised Christian.[81] This allegation may well be a product of Michael's propaganda, but the fact that Thomas claimed to be Constantine VI (or his son) shows that he used his knowledge of the empire to his advantage.[82] From al-Ma'mūn's perspective, this must be viewed as a successful venture because Thomas reached Constantinople and an effective Roman presence was not restored in the east during Michael II's reign. Further examples show that employing aggrieved parties from enemy polities was an effective and established military practice at this time.

A notable example is the incorporation of Khurramiyya into the armies of Theophilos. Signes equivalates the two examples by considering the Khurramite Theophobos to be the Roman counterpart of Thomas the Slav.[83] Before examining this parallel, it is helpful to contextualise the Khurramiyya, who resemble Paulicians in important respects. The Khurramiyya were a more complex phenomenon than extant sources portray, with the uniformity attributed to the movement by modern historiography being somewhat illusory.[84] This is apparent from the varied terminology used by Islamic sources, including terms such as al-Muḥammirah, while these sources also suggest filiation with Shi'a groups.[85] The Khurramiyya are worthy of fresh study, but can be profitably interpreted as a succession of localised rebellions against the 'Abbāsid Caliphate and local Islamic elites, largely in mountainous regions, often founded upon an alliance between local rulers and the weakly Islamicised lower classes.[86] These revolts had a social revolutionary and ethnic Iranian character. Scholars have often linked Khurramiyya to Mazdakism, a

[80] Signes, *Emperor Theophilos*, pp.196-200; 212-4.
[81] *Letter to Louis*, p.476. See also Genesios, 2:4, p.25 (Kaldellis, p.31); Theoph. Cont., 2:10, pp.76-9.
[82] See Brubaker and Haldon, *Byzantium: a History*, p.388 for Thomas' possible links to image veneration.
[83] Signes, *Emperor Theophilos*, p.194.
[84] The complex nature of the movement is best expressed by W. Madelung, *Religious Trends in Early Islamic Iran* (Albany, 1988), pp.1-12. See also B.S. Amoretti, 'Sects and Heresies', in R.N. Frye (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Iran IV: the Period from the Arab Invasion to the Saljuqs* (Cambridge, 1975), p.496.
[85] For al-Muḥammirah see Ṭabarī, 30, p.163; H. Sadighi, *Les mouvements religieux iraniens an IIe et au IIIe siècles de l'hégire* (Paris, 1938), p.108. For Shi'a influence see Madelung, *Religious Trends*, pp.7-8.
[86] Crone's recent study sees Khurramite belief as a continuation of pre-Avesta strands of Iranian religiosity. This seems a little far-fetched. See P. Crone, *The Nativist Prophets of Early Islamic Iran: Rural Revolt and Local Zoroastrianism* (Cambridge, 2012).

strand of Zoroastrian belief which emphasised social justice. This seems to be a simplification which takes Islamic heresiographers at their word.[87] The Khurramiyya could have derived the social aspects of their belief independently.

Existing scholarship conventionally identifies three Khurramite rebellions, all of which occurred in weakly Islamicised areas. The first broke out in Ādharbāyjān and is best known for the successful resistance of Bābak al-Khurramī (*c*.816-838) against a series of ‘Abbāsid generals.[88] The second took place in Jibāl province, centred on the Zagros Mountains and the regions to the east. This revolt, which is not well documented, was quickly suppressed in 833.[89] The final revolt is associated with Māzīyār (825/6-839), a ruler of Ṭabaristān, who aimed to break the power of his Islamicised nobility.[90] The details of these rebellions need not concern us here. Our interest lies in the actions of Khurramiyya after they entered Theophilos’ service in 833. As noted previously, it is doubtful that these Khurramiyya converted upon their defection. The fact that Thomas, the Khurramiyya and Karbeas all submitted to the caliph or emperor implies that there were established modes of defecting to the enemy. Furthermore, there are indications that Theophilos promoted the Khurramiyya as a loyal military force to counterbalance aristocratic opposition to him.[91] In some respects, his policy resembles al-Mu‘taṣim’s favour to Turkic warriors, who originally comprised his personal retinue.[92]

Theophilos’ Khurramiyya are primarily associated with military activities, but they also played a role in East Roman politics. The Khurramite leader Theophobos, who had a Roman education and may have been appointed *kaisar*, is important in this respect.[93] The Khurramiyya’s military activities began almost as soon as they entered Theophilos’ service. In 834, or perhaps 836, they undertook raids toward Basean, to the east of Qālīqalā, before suffering a serious defeat while

[87] Madelung, *Religious Trends*, pp.1-2.
[88] See Ṭabarī, 32; 33, *in passim*; Sadighi, *Les mouvements*, pp.229-276; Crone, *Nativist Prophets*, pp.46-76.
[89] Ṭabarī, 33, pp.2-4; M. Rekaya, ‘Mise au point sur Théophobe et l’alliance de Bâbek avec Théophile (833/34 - 839/40)’, *B* 44 (1974), pp.43-5.
[90] Ṭabarī, 33, pp.135-72; 179-80; Sadighi, *Les mouvements*, pp.60-3.
[91] Signes, *Emperor Theophilos*, p.126.
[92] M.S. Gordon, *The Breaking of a Thousand Swords: a History of the Turkish Military of Samarra (A.H. 200-275/815-889 C.E.)* (Albany, 2001), pp.25-6.
[93] Signes, *Emperor Theophilos*, pp.153-72. For Theophobos’ possible role as *kaisar* see pp.167-8.

advancing toward Tiflis.[94] As Signes notes, this campaign was probably independent of Theophilos' attack on Qālīqalā in 835, thereby suggesting that they were not yet integrated into his army.[95] At this point, the Khurramiyya must be judged as an asset to Theophilos, but there are indications that their presence caused friction among the ruling elite. This became apparent at the crucial Battle of Anzes in 838, by which time Khurramiyya fought alongside Roman forces.

This battle, which Theophilos fought against the Persian general al-Afshīn, who had defeated Bābak al-Khurramī in the previous year, occasions interpretive difficulties regarding the Khurramiyya. Surviving accounts suggest that East Roman forces initially held the upper hand, until the decisive intervention of al-Afshīn's mounted Turkish archers turned the tide. Theophilos was surrounded and almost lost his life, although the Khurramiyya remained with him and distinguished themselves during the battle. Theophilos escaped, but rumours of his death spread. Claimants for the throne arose in the aftermath of the defeat, upon which the Caliph al-Muʿtaṣim capitalised by sacking Amorion later in the year. One such claimant was the Khurramite Theophobos, who despite not being present at Anzes was reportedly proclaimed emperor by the Khurramiyya, who had fled to Sinope after the battle. The true circumstances of this affair and Theophobos' complicity in it are difficult to judge. Signes' hypothesis that they were the victim of political conspiracy is an attractive one, since the Khurramiyya owed their privileged position to Theophilos and remained with him at Anzes.[96] In any event, both Theophobos and the Khurramiyya fell from grace after this episode. Theophobos was executed, either shortly afterward or on Theophilos' death in 842.[97] The Khurramiyya were disbanded and integrated into the thematic armies.

The significance of the Khurramiyya's downfall is difficult to judge. Regardless of whether they were victims of a conspiracy, as seems probable, their prominence had occasioned resentment in the Roman ruling class. This is most evident in the surviving accounts of Anzes, which comprise variants which reflect positively on Theophobos, or alternatively, Manuel the Armenian, another of

[94] Signes, *Emperor Theophilos*, pp.245-59.
[95] Signes, *Emperor Theophilos*, pp.246-62.
[96] Signes, *Emperor Theophilos*, pp.176-80.
[97] Signes, *Emperor Theophilos*, p.180.

Theophilos' most important advisors.[98] On the whole, the example of Theophilos' Khurramiyya shows that using defectors as military forces was an established practice, but that it could also backfire. More generally, the Khurramiyya provide a close parallel to the Paulicians, in that they are both amorphous groupings with religious and militaristic characteristics who could change their political allegiances when it suited them. The most notable difference between our contexts is that Theophilos attempted to integrate the Khurramiyya into his army, while 'Amr al-Aqṭa' allowed Paulicians to operate largely independently.

Karbeas' Flight and the Battle of Mauropotamos

As we have already seen, the Continuator rationalises Karbeas' defection to the Emirate of Malaṭiya as a response to the persecution of Paulicians by Theodora.[99] While this conceivably played a part in his decision to revolt, there are indications that this event was more complex than a large-scale revolt of Paulicians. This is apparent from a coincidence of dates which has so far gone unnoticed: Karbeas' defection from the empire is dated to 843/4, while 'Amr's raid through Asia Minor which culminated in the Battle of Mauropotamos is dated to 844. I will argue that the similarity between these dates is uncoincidental and that Karbeas defected to 'Amr's army while it was still advancing, rather than by travelling to Malaṭiya itself. As a result, Karbeas' defectors were predominantly from the Anatolikon army, thereby downplaying the Paulician nature of this revolt. His defection is best contextualised with the examples of Thomas the Slav and the Khurramiyya. Let us now examine Karbeas' defection and 'Amr's actions before Mauropotamos.

Our understanding of the latter is complicated by the shadowy history of the Emirate of Malaṭiya. As noted in Chapter Two, it was only with 'Amr, who is first attested in 838, that the emirate became important, largely due to his high standing with al-Mu'taṣim.[100] This newly-found importance also stems from a reorientation of

[98] Signes, *Emperor Theophilos*, pp.132-6.
[99] As noted above, Karbeas is best characterised as a defector rather than a refugee. See p.204, n.811.
[100] Chapter Two, pp.52-4. B.A. Vest, *Geschichte der Stadt Melitene und der emliegenden Gebiete: vom Vorabend der arabischen bis zum Abschluß der türkischen Eroberung (um 600-1124)*, vol. 2 (Hamburg, 2007), pp.663-4.

Islamic raiding patterns.[101] From the reigns of Hārūn al-Rashīd to al-Ma'mūn, most major raids had passed through Kilikia into Kappadokia.[102] This pattern changed from al-Mu'taṣim's reign as a result of his decision to abandon the strategic basis of Tyana, to the north of the Taurus Mountains, in 833.[103] In the main campaign of al-Mu'taṣim's reign, the 838 sack of Amorion, which was conducted as a reprisal to Theophilos' attack on Zibatra (Sozopetra), Shimshāṭ (Arsamosata) and Malaṭiya the previous year, al-Mu'taṣim himself still took the Syrian route, but 'Amr entered Roman territory either through passes around Malaṭiya, or through the the pass of Ḥadath in the south, as in the case of al-Afshīn, who was his immediate commander during this campaign.[104] The invasion was ambitious and the size of his army caused al-Mu'taṣim difficulties on his retreat, eventually contributing to his decision to execute many Roman prisoners. Subsequent expeditions through Kilikia, such as that of al-Wāthiq during the late 840s, were similarly unsuccessful.[105] After al-Mu'taṣim's Amorion campaign, raids into Asia Minor were primarily conducted by local commanders, especially 'Alī ibn Yahyā al-Armanī, the Emir of Ṭarsūs, who still employed the Kilikian route.[106] It is in this context of dependence on local commanders that 'Amr al-Aqṭa' rose to prominence.[107]

'Amr's rise was also connected with changes in caliphal policy. For much of the eighth century Armenia was weakly Islamicised and had a small Arabic presence. This changed after several major revolts in Armenia and other Caucasian principalities, most notably in 737/40 and 774/5.[108] In the wake of these rebellions, the power of many *naxarar* houses (that is, noble families) was broken, while large

[101] See also Chapter Six, p.190, n.122.
[102] Reference to raids in Hārūn's reign are notably more frequent than in subsequent periods. Ṭabarī, 30, pp.91-335. See also J.F. Haldon and H. Kennedy, 'The Arab-Byzantine Frontier in the Eighth and Ninth Centuries: Military Organisation and Society in the Borderlands', *Zbornik radova Vizantološkog Instituta* 19 (1980), pp.113-4.
[103] Ṭabarī, 33, p.2; J.E. Cooper and M.J. Decker, *Life and Society in Byzantine Cappadocia* (Basingstoke, 2012), pp.23-4.
[104] 'Amr's exact movements are uncertain, but it is clear that he served under al-Afshīn. Ṭabarī, 33, pp.98-100; 124; Signes, *Emperor Theophilos*, pp.288-9.
[105] Vest, *Melitene*, vol.2, pp.666-7.
[106] 'Alī invariably led the summer expedition during the 850s. See Ṭabarī, 34, pp.120; 127; 129; 146; 165.
[107] For instance, when 'Amr conducted his raid during 863, he sought permission from the leader of the summer expedition Ja'far ibn Dīnār, but it is implied that he operated independently of Ja'far. See Ṭabarī, 35, pp.9-10.
[108] A. Ter-Ghewondyan, *The Arab Emirates in Bagratid Armenia*, trans. by N. Garsoïan (Lisbon, 1976), p.33.

numbers of Arabs were settled in the Caucasus.[109] These settlers were independent of the caliphate and for this reason the ʻAbbāsid government attempted to maintain control by counterbalancing these settlers and the *naxarar* houses.[110] Thus, the elevation of Ašot Msaker Bagratuni as prince of Armenia in 806 is conventionally explained as an attempt to control these Arab magnates. In this instance, the policy was successful and Ašot was the dominant actor in central Armenia until his death in 826.[111] While it is unlikely that Ašot had much influence on the Emirate of Malaṭiya, the emirate was counterbalanced in a similar way to other actors in this system. During the early 830s the most powerful regional actor was al-ʻAbbās ibn Maʾmūn, the governor of al-thughūr, al-ʻAwāṣim and al-Jazīra and son of the reigning Caliph al-Maʾmūn.[112] While al-ʻAbbās was considered a viable successor to his father, the latter's chosen successor was his own brother al-Muʻtaṣim. Since al-ʻAbbās was a contender to the incumbent caliph, he was relieved of this important role, perhaps as early as 833, but certainly by the time of his death in 838. It was not until 845 that a successor was appointed to this post, by which time ʻAmr al-Aqṭaʻ had already expanded his power base.[113] This is also true of ʻAlī ibn Yahyā al-Armanī and should be seen in the context of the gradual erosion of caliphal authority during the ninth century. Just as al-Maʾmūn had employed clients to expand their power, rulers such as ʻAmr were now employing these tactics themselves. Karbeas is one such example. The mysterious "son of Skleros", whom the Continuator identifies a "co-ruler" against whom ʻAmr fought during the mid-ninth century, is perhaps another.[114]

ʻAmr's first attested raid against the East Roman Empire occurred in 844, when Symeon the *logothetes* describes him defeating the *logothetes* Theoktistos, the principal figure of Theodora's new regime, at the Battle of Mauropotamos.[115] This battle is critical for our purposes, since I believe that Karbeas had already fled to ʻAmr before the battle and participated in it. This argument is speculative, since Symeon does not mention Karbeas, but this is unsurprising considering that Symeon

[109] M. Whittow, *The Making of Orthodox Byzantium 600-1025* (Basingstoke, 1996), pp.213-5.
[110] For *naxarars* see Whittow, *Orthodox Byzantium*, pp.202-3.
[111] Ter-Ghewondyan, *Arab Emirates*, pp.53-60; R. Grousset, *Histoire de l'Arménie: des origines à 1071* (Paris, 1947), pp.341-2.
[112] Vest, *Melitene*, vol.2, p.663.
[113] Vest, *Melitene*, vol.3, p.1801.
[114] Theoph. Cont., 4:16, pp.238-9.
[115] This battle is not related by either Genesios or the Continuator.

never refers to Paulicians in the *Chronicon*. Given the condensed nature of Symeon's account, this omission is not decisive, particularly because Paul Lemerle noted chronological difficulties with Karbeas' actions during this period.[116] Although Lemerle's analysis is predicated on Peter of Sicily's unreliable account, the same problems appear if we employ the alternative account of the Continuator. According to the latter, Theodora's persecutions began in 843/4 and precipitated Karbeas' flight to Malaṭiya. Karbeas was then sent to al-Wāthiq and upon his return began raiding Roman territory in conjunction with 'Amr. As Lemerle observed, the Continuator's account compresses many events into a short period, but, on first impressions, it is implausible that Karbeas could have fought at Mauropotamos.

Karbeas' presence at Mauropotamos becomes more comprehensible when we observe that 'Amr was marching through Asia Minor in 844, that is, at the time of Theodora's persecutions. Let us examine these events more closely. In light of the evidence presented here, the battle was probably fought in Bithynia.[117] 'Amr's raid was intended to test the military capabilities of the empire after the demise of the experienced Theophilos. He penetrated deep into Asia Minor, probably following a similar route to that he used in 863. [118] This route would have taken him north through Sebastaia toward Amaseia and Amisos, before proceeding westward until he encountered Theoktistos in Bithynia. This route, which took him toward the major urban centres of north-western Asia Minor, best explains the panicked reaction of Theodora's regime. Although this route would take him north of the Anatolikon thema, it still represents a possible opportunity for Karbeas' defection. This possibility becomes more attractive when we consider Symeon's account of Mauropotamos. I have included the preceding account of Theoktistos' campaigns in Crete, for reasons which will become apparent:

> [Theodora] sent Theoktistos the *logothetes* against Crete, who, after departing with a great host and exceedingly large provisions, terrified the Agarenes, who were still incapable of contending with his army. But he was even more terrified than them and embraced flight, when he understood that [Theodora]

[116] Lemerle, 'L'histoire', pp.88-90.
[117] Given the generic name of the battle site (Mauropotamos means black river) other locations have been proposed, notably in Kappadokia. Both Lemerle and Treadgold prefer Bithynia. Lemerle, 'L'histoire', pp.90-1; W. Treadgold, *A History of the Byzantine State and Society* (Stanford, 1997), p.943, n.3.
[118] See Theoph. Cont., 4:25, pp.254-6; Vest, *Melitene*, vol.2, p.690.

> was to choose another emperor. This matter astounded him, so with the connivance of the Saracens and by bribing those with him, the affair persuaded him to return to the city and leave the army to perform martial deeds against those in Crete. In this way after making a bad impression in Crete he returned from there seeming worse and even more unlucky.
>
> For at that time Amer had already marched out against the Romans and was plundering and destroying all the land under his feet. Again it was the same Theoktistos, the most faithful and reliable, that Theodora and Michael sent out with great power against Amer. And this man, after arriving and making war against Amer, was defeated and overthrown at the so-called Mauropotamos, at which many were killed and some deserted to Amer as a result of the harshness and onerousness of the *logothetes*. Among these was one Theophanes Pharganos,[119] who was distinguished from the many by his strength and bravery. At some later time he defected to the Christians, having taken a promise of safety.[120]

The key to interpreting this passage is the role of the *logothetes* Theoktistos, who is portrayed negatively by many sources, including Symeon and the Continuator.[121] Although Symeon explains Theoktistos' return to the capital by his paranoia that his position is under threat, this hardly explains why he immediately left to campaign in the east. The real reason why Theoktistos was recalled from Crete is obvious: to meet the impending threat of 'Amr's army, which had already set out while Theoktistos was in Crete. Theoktistos' recall implies that there was no resistance on the part of the armies of the eastern themata, which is most comprehensible if Karbeas had defected in the course of 'Amr's march, as the chronology suggests. Moreover, if 'Amr had already welcomed defectors prior to the battle, their example

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[119] *PmbZ*, #8150, vol.4, p.623.

[120] Sym. Mag., 131:3-4, pp.232-3: ἀπέστειλε δὲ θεόκτιστον τὸν λογοθέτην κατὰ τῆς Κρήτης, ὅς ἀπελθὼν μετὰ πολλοῦ πλήθους καὶ στόλου μεγάλου σφόδρα μὲν ἐπτόησε τοὺς Ἀγαρηνοὺς ἀδυνατοῦντας ἔτι πρὸς τὴν στρατείαν ἐκείνου ἀνταγωνίζεσθαι, σφοδρότερον δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπτοήθη καὶ τὴν φυγαδείαν ἠσπάσατο τὴν αὐγούσταν μαθών, ὡς ἄλλον βασιλέα προεχειρίσατο. ὅπερ μεθόδῳ Σαρακηνῶν καὶ δωροληψίᾳ τῶν μετ' αὐτοῦ ἐκπλῆξαν αὐτὸν πέπεικε πρὸς τὴν πόλιν ἐπανελθεῖν καὶ καταλιπεῖν τὸν στρατὸν μαχαίρας ἔργον τοῖς ἐν Κρητῃ γενόμενον. οὕτω δὴ κακῶς ἐν Κρήτῃ φανεὶς χείρων ἐφάνη καὶ δυστυχέστερος ἐκεῖθεν ὑποστραφείς· ὡς γὰρ ἐξελθὼν τότε κατὰ Ῥωμανίας ὁ Ἄμερ ἐληΐζετο πᾶν τὸ ἐν ποσὶ καὶ κατέστρεφεν, τὸν αὐτὸν πάλιν Θεόκτιστον ὡς πιστότατον καὶ οἰκειότατον μετὰ δυνάμεως πολλῆς κατὰ τοῦ Ἄμερ Θεοδώρα καὶ Μιχαὴλ ἀπεστάλκασι. καὶ παραγεγονὼς οὗτος καὶ πόλεμον προσβαλὼν τῷ Ἄμερ εἰς τὸ λεγόμενον Μαυροπόταμον ἡττήθη τε καὶ ὑπέστρεψε, πολλῶν μὲν ἀναιρεθέντων, τινῶν δὲ καὶ προσφυγόντων τῷ Ἄμερ διὰ τὴν τοῦ λογοθέτου βαρύτητα καὶ ἐπάχθειαν· ὧν εἷς ἦν Θεοφάνης ὁ ἐκ Φαργάνων, ἀνδρείᾳ τε καὶ ῥώμῃ διαφέρων πολλῶν, ὅς ὕστερον χρόνοις τισὶν λόγον ἀπαθείας λαβὼν προσφεύγει τοῖς Χριστιανοῖς.

[121] See Theoph. Cont., 4:39, pp.286-9.

perhaps explains why Theoktistos' troops were willing to desert him. It seems unlikely that Karbeas defected from Theoktistos' army, since we might then expect Symeon to mention this, considering that he alludes to Theophanes Pharganos. By this interpretation, Karbeas only travelled to al-Wāthiq at Sāmarrā' after this campaign. This event would have been effective propaganda for both 'Amr and al-Wāthiq, since it would commemorate a victory over Roman forces, as well as the desertion of troops.

Before we can corroborate this hypothesis, we must examine the role of Karbeas, who at the time of his defection held the office of *protomandator* for Theodotos Melissenos, the general of the Anatolikon thema.[122] A *mandator* is attached to a senior official and carries out special missions for him, while a *protomandator* is a senior rank with the same purpose.[123] Information on these ranks is available from Philotheos' *Kletorologion*, which was composed during the reign of Leo VI (886-912) and comprises lists of the precedence of ranks. It is now only preserved in the *De ceremoniis*, another encyclopaedic project of Constantine VII's reign.[124] Its testimony shows that the *protomandator* was the lowest of the eleven ranks who served immediately below the general of the Anatolikon thema.[125] The general of the Anatolikon thema is admittedly a high rank (the fourth highest listed in the *Kletorologion*), but Karbeas' office is not important enough to imply that he led thousands of men.[126] The five thousand with whom he is supposed to have defected is clearly an exaggeration, but even after taking this into account, it is difficult to explain his subsequent importance. According to some accounts, Thomas the Slav was the leader of the Phoideratoi of the Anatolikon when he launched his failed bid for the throne, while Bardanes the Turk was general of the Anatolikon.[127] Leo V was also raised to the throne from this position.[128] These are much more senior positions than the rank of *protomandator*. The dislocation evident in the

[122] For Theodotos see *PmbZ*, #7962, vol.4, p.551.
[123] The office of *protomandator* is rarely attested. For this see F. Winkelmann, *Byzantinische Rand und Ämsterstruktur im 8. und 9. Jahrhundert* (Berlin, 1985), pp.120, n.5; 128, n.1. For the office of Mandator see A. Kazhdan (ed.), 'Mandator', in *ODB*, vol. 2 (Oxford, 1991), p.1281.
[124] *De cer*., 2:52-3, vol.2, pp.702-91.
[125] *De cer*., 2:52, vol.2, p.716.
[126] *De cer*., 2:52, vol.2, pp.712-3.
[127] For Thomas see Genesios, 2:2, p.23 (Kaldellis, p.28); Theoph. Cont., 2:11, pp.78-81. For Bardanes see *PmbZ*, #766, vol.1, pp.250-4; Genesios, 1:6, pp.6-7 (Kaldellis, pp.8-10); Theoph. Cont., 1:1-3, pp.12-19.
[128] Theoph., p.502, l.1-6 (Mango and Scott, p.685).

Anatolikon thema possibly afforded Karbeas opportunities, since the provincial administration had been moved to Polybotus after the sack of Amorion in the previous decade.[129] Yet this would also suggest that the number of troops with whom he defected was exaggerated. We could explain this by proposing that some of his defectors did not belong to the military, in which case they may indeed have been Paulicians. But it also seems possible that he eventually came to lead those troops who had defected from Theoktistos' army, who have perhaps been included in the Continuator's number. This much is suggested by the fact that Karbeas was subsequently sent on to meet al-Wāthiq. He was evidently important, despite his lowly rank. In my view, this is most convincingly explained by his favour with 'Amr, which is most easily reconciled with the fact that he defected to his cause early in the campaign. If he did so, then he probably came to lead other Roman defectors. In any event, the above difficulties suggest that Paulicians may have comprised a significant proportion of Karbeas' followers, since it is otherwise difficult to see whence he obtained his following.

In a more fundamental sense, we may question whether Karbeas was identified as a Paulician before he defected to 'Amr. The interpretation presented above implies that many who defected to 'Amr were actually Romans. It could be objected that these defections led Roman propagandists to label these defectors 'Paulicians' in order to conceal this uncomfortable circumstance. Given our lack of corroborating evidence for Karbeas prior to the persecutions, we cannot determine this either way. Nevertheless, the fact that 'Amr granted Karbeas territories and a measure of independence implies that the latter's estrangement from the empire was definitive, as does the meeting with al-Wāthiq. The Continuator's reasoning that Karbeas deserted because his Paulician father was executed is ultimately convincing in explaining this. Parallels with the Khurramiyya, whom Theophilos allowed to operate somewhat independently, imply that Karbeas did have significant Paulician connections, in my view. As noted above, this was probably also true of many of his followers.

[129] K. Belke and N. Mersich, *Tabula imperii Byzantini. Bd. 7, Phrygien und Pisidien* (Vienna, 1990), p.92.

In any case, this reconstruction shows that Karbeas' motives were more complex than simply representing an attempt to begin a Paulician insurrection. 'Amr's show of strength and the weakness of the empire after the death of Theophilos informed his actions.[130] If 'Amr's presence and the disruption of the Anatolikon thema encouraged Karbeas' actions, then his followers would have comprised Roman troops and Paulicians. Although many Paulicians may have joined Karbeas after he became established in the hinterland of Malaṭiya, the evidence examined thus far suggests no tangible continuity with the communities headed by Sergios, even if Karbeas subscribed to similar beliefs. In some respects, this is not an obstacle to a sense of Paulician continuity. We remarked in Chapter Six that some Paulicians were pastoralists with a penchant for militarism.[131] Since these niches were also appropriate to the period after Karbeas' defection, we can imagine some measure of persistence. Ultimately, it must be acknowledged that we lack the evidence to assess the extent of continuity between these two phenomena, but several cautionary points show that we must not straightforwardly assume continuity. Firstly, as we have already noted, these phenomena have different characteristics and are documented by different types of sources. Secondly, positing a coherent sense of Paulician identity is problematic, since Paulician and Roman identities could overlap even after the persecutions of the 810s. Even Karbeas' identity is difficult to unravel. Thirdly, we have seen that those who migrated with Karbeas were not necessarily Paulicians. Finally, it is arguable that Karbeas, 'Amr and the existing inhabitants of the area were all better placed to mould the social reality of the region than new Paulician migrants. This hypothesis of a complex social milieu around the main Paulician centres of Argaous and Tephrikē is substantiated by later sources, which we will now examine.

Paulician Settlements after the Islamic Alliance

The above analysis suggests that Karbeas' new foundations of Argaous and Tephrikē were not quintessentially Paulician, yet modern scholarship, following

[130] Note that this remains the case if Karbeas defected after Mauropotamos. This is possible, but less likely than the reconstruction proposed above.
[131] See Chapter Six, pp.185-91.

Nina Garsoïan, has described the area in question as a "Paulician state."[132] However, the political unity that this term implies sits uneasily with later accounts, notably the *Vita Basilii*, which suggests a disunited and heterogeneous area in the 870s. This portrayal coheres with theoretical literature on frontiers and shatter zones, which implies that these new centres would create socio-economic niches that would attract a disparate collection of actors.[133] In the following section, I will demonstrate this and thereby posit a more heterogeneous society than a "Paulician state." In doing so, I will further substantiate the diverse and contingent nature of Paulician identity adopted thus far.

This aim is problematised by our lack of testimony about Argaous and Tephrikē in the years following their foundation. The Continuator's testimony is restricted to the following passage:

> And having given and likewise received guarantees, they soon set out against the land of the Romans; and on account of their victories, when their numbers had increased, they endeavoured to found cities for themselves, one called Argaoun, <and also Amara>. And again, after many who held fast to the same wickedness had streamed in there, they undertook to found another, calling it Tephrike.[134]

The *History'*s account, which is dependent on this passage, differs only in minor details, aside from its dubious chronology.[135] According to this source, the Paulician *Astatoi*, who are identified as followers of Sergios, received Argaous from 'Amr, who had previously held the settlement. Tephrikē, on the other hand, was founded by Karbeas.[136] Both sources occasion difficulties, since the *History* seeks to conceal its dependence on *Theophanes Continuatus* I-IV, while the latter source compresses events into a short period.[137] The sources are also uninformative about the

[132] Garsoïan, *Paulician Heresy*, pp.13; 124-9; Speck, 'Petros Sikeliotes', p.386, n.8;; Lemerle, 'L'histoire', p.89. Although Ludwig does not refer to a Paulician state, she does describe Tephrikē as a 'capital.' See Ludwig, 'The Paulicians', p.34.
[133] J.C. Scott, *The Art of Not Being Governed: an Anarchist History of Upland South East Asia* (New Haven/London, 2009), pp.150-8.
[134] Theoph. Cont., 4:16, pp.236-7.
[135] For this chronology, see Chapter Two, pp.50-5.
[136] Peter Sic., 178-84, pp.64-7.
[137] Lemerle, 'L'histoire', p.89.

confessional or cultural composition of the settlements' populace and hence we will be forced to infer this from contextual evidence.

Although we do not have a secure date for the Paulician presence at Argaous, this probably occurred soon after Karbeas' defection. The location of Argaous, which lies close to the passes around Malaṭiya, suggests that the settlement was intended to facilitate raiding into Roman territory, as well as supporting Malaṭiya in the event of an attack such as that conducted by Theophilos in 837.[138] This hypothesis is corroborated by the frequency with which 'Amr and Karbeas campaigned together. The emphasis placed on 'Amr in both of the above accounts suggests that Argaous was founded with Islamic assistance. Aside from the exploitation of the area's natural resources, raiding was probably the primary source of revenue in the early years of the settlement. Since Karbeas and 'Amr collaborated in these ventures, Islamic co-operation was crucial to the economic viability of the fledgling community. This hypothesis receives corroboration from primary sources and contextual evidence. We will examine this matter shortly. In any case, if raids were so important to initial Paulician successes, it is possible that Roman defectors comprised a significant portion of Argaous' original populace. In the previous chapter, I argued that the destatification of eastern Anatolia would attract actors suited to analogous socio-economic niches. In the present case, Karbeas' foundation of a polity predicated on raiding opened niches for militaristic opportunists of all persuasions. This was an important factor in the early growth of these centres.

Admittedly, this tendency is not as evident in the location of Tephrikē. This settlement had been founded by 856/7, since al-Ṭabarī refers to a campaign of Petronas which entered Islamic territory from the direction of Tephrikē, before striking as far as Āmid.[139] This implies that it was founded soon after Argaous, but unlike this it was comparatively distant from Malaṭiya. As Milan Loos rightly notes, Tephrikē was more accessible to areas where Paulicians were previously attested, such as the Khaldiya and Armeniakon themata.[140] It was founded to encourage migration from traditional Paulician areas, which was presumably significant. Nevertheless, this does not preclude an attempt to attract other actors, particularly

[138] For this campaign see Signes, *Emperor Theophilos*, pp.263-78.
[139] Ṭabarī, 34, pp.146-7.
[140] M. Loos, 'Le mouvement paulicien à Byzance', *BS* 24 (1963), p.282.

because there are other reasons why Tephrikē was an important site. Firstly, it was easily defensible. Secondly, it had economic potential insofar as it facilitated control of nearby silver and iron mines. J. Eric Cooper and Michael Decker note that the increase in silver coinage during the reign of Basil I (867-86) can be explained by his capture of Tephrikē (878) and its neighbouring mines.[141] Since this increase is notable despite the capture occurring late in Basil's reign, these mines were probably already exploited under the Paulicians. We must suspect that they did so with Islamic involvement, considering that Malaṭiya is the most obvious market for these metals before the empire reassumed control of the area. In any case, this activity suggests that these Paulician centres were economically bound to Malaṭiya, in both raiding and commercial activities. As yet, it is more appropriate to consider them as an annex of the emirate than the bedrock of an independent polity. This situation changed somewhat after the death of 'Amr (and perhaps also Karbeas) at the Battle of Poson/Lalakaon in 863, since Chrysocheir operated more independently than his predecessor.[142] This must be taken into account while reading the *Vita Basilii*, which describes the situation during and after Chrysocheir's leadership.

The prospect of significant Muslim participation in these Paulician centres finds circumstantial corroboration from several sources. The most notable of these is the *Chronicon* of Symeon the *logothetes*, which despite covering the events with which we are concerned never refers to Paulicians or Manichaeans. For instance, when Symeon describes the capture of Tephrikē he refers to its forces as "Agarenes."[143] Interestingly, the same tendency is found in *Theophanes Continuatus* VI, which also describes Tephrikē as populated by Agarenes while relating Leo Argyros' campaigns, despite the fact that these events are dated to the reign of Michael III.[144] These sources could suggest a significant Islamic presence at Tephrikē, they could indicate that Romans of the ninth century labelled Paulicians as 'Agarenes' to disclaim their Christianity, or alternatively they could denote that Paulicians were considered unimportant by some tenth-century historians, who

[141] Cooper and Decker, *Byzantine Cappadocia*, p.71. See also A.A. Gordus and D.M. Metcalf, 'The Alloy Content of the Byzantine Miliaresion and the Question of the Reminting of Islamic Silver', *Hamburger Beiträge zur Numismatik* 24 (1970), p.16.
[142] This is suggested by the account of Genesios. See Genesios, 4:35-6, pp.86-8 (Kaldellis, pp.107-9). For Poson see Genesios, 4:15, pp.67-9 (Kaldellis, p.83-6); Theoph. Cont., 4:25, pp.254-63; Sym. Mag., 131:26, pp.243-4. For Karbeas' death see Mas'ūdī, vol.8, p.75.
[143] Sym. Mag., 132:7, p.262, l.42-3.
[144] Theoph. Cont. VI, 27, p.374, l.11-19.

subordinated them to the familiar Roman-Islamic conflicts along the eastern frontier. All of these explanations are plausible. As a consequence, the testimony of these sources – and therefore the possible involvement of Islamic actors – is difficult to assess. Nevertheless, the hypothesis that there was significant Islamic involvement at Tephrikē is corroborated by the *Vita Basilii*, which suggests a more nebulous political formation than a 'Paulician state.'

The *Vita Basilii* gives a detailed account of the environs of Tephrikē and Malaṭiya, while describing the campaigns of Basil I. In doing so, it narrates Basil's campaign of 871, which occurred a year prior to Chrysocheir's death at Bathyryax.[145] The campaign began with an attempt to take Tephrikē, before retreating back into Roman territory and then travelling through the pass of Ḥadath. The subsequent expedition followed the route of Theophilos' 837 offensive, incorporating attacks on Zibatra, Shimshāṭ and Malaṭiya. Basil then sacked other Paulician settlements, notably including Argaous, on his return. His attack on Tephrikē safeguarded his lines of supply for the main attack.[146] Tephrikē was too well fortified for Basil to assail, although he attracted several nearby settlements to his cause. The account is as follows:

> When the other city of the Ishmaelites which they call Taranta, saw the ***[147] and the great slaughter of those in Tephrike, it sent ambassadors to sue for peace and to request that it be enlisted among the cities allied with the emperor. The most excellent emperor showed as much magnamity *** as he *** toward anyone who resisted him; he yielded to the embassy, granted peace to those who requested it, and from that time on had allies instead of enemies. As a result, not a few others sought refuge with him, particularly a certain Kourtikios, an Armenian who at the time held Lokana and was relentlessly ravaging Roman borderlands. Kourtikios put his city, troops, and people under the sway of the emperor, admiring his magnamity blended with courage and his justice combined with strength.[148]

Thus, the *Vita Basilii* portrays this area as populated by Armenians and Muslims, as well as Paulicians. Since several of these settlements hastened to an accomodation

[145] For the battle see Genesios, 4:37, p.88 (Kaldellis, pp.109-10).
[146] *V. Basilii*, 40, pp.146-7.
[147] These symbols denote lacunae.
[148] *V. Basilii*, 38, pp.140-1.

with Basil, they operated independently, rather than as a single entity, even while Chrysocheir still lived. As in the case of the examples mentioned above, there are tantalising indications that Tephrikē was not solely a Paulician foundation. When Taranta is described as "the other city of the Ishmaelites" it is clearly contrasted with Tephrikē, which the text therefore considers an Islamic settlement. Unlike the cases considered above, this designation does not arise from a simplified understanding of conflicts on the eastern frontier, given the precision of the *Vita Basilii*'s account and the fact that it refers to Paulician territory as Manichaean elsewhere.[149] Tephrikē could therefore be considered both Paulician and Islamic. This source supports the contention that Muslims played an important role in this and neighbouring settlements, but our evidence is too scant to substantiate this.

More conclusively, this extract shows that the supposed Paulician state was not a unified political entity. This is evident in the treaty which Taranta made with Basil. This town was located south-west of Tephrikē along an entirely different route from Islamic to Roman territory and was not in immediate danger from Basil's army. Chrysocheir's influence evidently did not extend far in the case of a Roman attack. Beyond this, the treaty between Taranta and the emperor suggests that confessional and ethnic differences were not insurmountable obstacles to an agreement. We may suspect that settlements in this area were able to switch allegiances to suit current circumstances. This is the case for Kourtikios, who seems to be little more than an independent bandit leader. Overall, the *Vita Basilii*'s account suggests an area of diverse ethnic and confessional identities, even if the labels used by the source must be interpreted cautiously. In this regard, the source's account resembles James Scott's characterisation of shatter zones as a diverse and complex area.[150] As a result, the portrayal of the area as a "Paulician state" is inappropriate to the character of the region.

Conclusion

The persecutions enacted by Michael I and Leo V served as an outlet for existing religious tensions and were enacted with little emphasis on how threatening

[149] *V. Basilii*, 49, pp.176-7.
[150] Scott, *Art*, pp.7-9.

Paulicians (or indeed Athinganoi) actually were. Although the *didaskalos* Sergios used these persecutions as a device to unify disparate Paulician communities, this attempt ended in failure and the role of the *didaskalos* fell into abeyance. This is largely because the responses of ordinary Paulicians were too diffuse to be represented or controlled by religious leaders such as Sergios. The nature of these responses is difficult to reconstruct from our sources, but a tendency toward low-level militarism against the empire is apparent in the aftermath of the persecutions. During the period between the two main persecutions (*c.*820-43) there is little testimony about Paulician social organisation. Sources such as the *Treatise* suggest that they began to conceal their religiosity and that East Roman actors developed new ways of identifying them in order to combat this. As yet, there are no indications of organised resistance against the Roman state.

The persecutions of Theodora heralded a new period of Paulician activity, characterised by raids against the empire by Karbeas and ʻAmr al-Aqṭaʻ. However, Karbeas' defection was also an opportunistic move occasioned by ʻAmr's raid through Asia Minor. As a consequence, his defectors were a heterogenous grouping, which suggests that the settlements that he subsequently established were not exclusively Paulician in character – and certainly not a "Paulician state." In any event, we must posit discontinuity between these new centres and Sergios' earlier communities. Although widespread Paulician migration to these areas is likely, particularly after the foundation of Tephrikē, the militaristic nature of this new society also attracted adventurers and brigands of all kinds, thereby resulting in a culturally diverse area. This is difficult to substantiate conclusively since we have few sources for the social composition of these areas during the 840s and 850s. However, the detailed testimony of the *Vita Basilii* suggests that this was the case by the 870s, when we see the co-existence of diverse ethnic and confessional identities.

Taken together, this chapter and its predecessor have argued that Paulician identity was not a self-evident, immutable concept. Multiple Paulician identities coexisted and evolved throughout our period. Moreover, Paulician and Roman identities were not as mutually exclusive as heresiological sources would like to admit. Although the logic of the East Roman Empire dictated the manner in which Paulician religiosity expanded, our evidence suggests that interactions with imperial systems played a minor role in conditioning Paulician identities, except in times of

acute conflict. Instead, interactions with various local actors, or indeed other regional powers, such as the Emirate of Malaṭiya, were more crucial. This variety of influences is undoubtedly a result of our Paulicians' geographical position and the comparative weakness of the empire in lands where Paulicians were most prominent. Different processes were no doubt at play after the death of Chrysocheir and the subsequent fall of Tephrikē.

Chapter Eight: Conclusion

This thesis has sought to explain how Paulicians became a movement significant enough to oppose the East Roman Empire in the mid-ninth century, despite being unattested in Roman sources only a few decades previously. It has placed Paulicians within the dynamic social context of eastern Asia Minor, among the border regions which were contested between the empire and the ʿAbbāsid Caliphate, explaining the formation of Paulician religiosity as the result of dynamic interactions between a diverse range of actors within the social, economic, political and religious contexts of Asia Minor. This methodology differs from the approach undertaken by earlier scholarship, which has largely reiterated the account of the primary sources, notably Peter of Sicily's *History of the Paulicians*. In this thesis, I have argued that this source is not only forged, but also distorts its sources, which were in any case originally unhistorical. As for Peter of Sicily the imperial official, he is only a figment of a tenth-century imagination. I substantiated these facts in Part One of this thesis, thereby laying the groundwork for the alternative reconstruction which I proposed in Part Two. I have done so because the established account of Paulician history was unsatisfactory in light of developments in heresy studies, particularly regarding the importance of social context and critical readings of sources, in the decades since the last major studies on Paulicians. Aside from this, this thesis also owes a profound debt to prior scholarship, particularly the work of Nina Garsoïan and Claudia Ludwig. In Garsoïan's case, this thesis has vindicated her reconstruction of the relationship of the Greek sources, while in Ludwig's case it has placed her theory concerning the apostolic character of the heresy into a broader context.

This thesis has proposed that the *Treatise* is the earliest extant polemical text concerning Paulicians, as argued in Garsoïan's reconstruction.[1] It has shown that the *History of the Paulicians* and *Contra Manichaeos* were forged, while offering the further precision that the forgers worked during the reign of Constantine VII.[2] Moreover, it has justified Garsoïan's analysis of the Paulician sources which underpin the *History*.[3] While some scholars considered her analysis unnecessarily

[1] N.G. Garsoïan, *The Paulician Heresy* (The Hague/Paris, 1967), pp.42-54.
[2] Chapter Two, pp.45-67; Garsoïan, *Paulician Heresy*, pp.68-79.
[3] Garsoïan, *Paulician Heresy*, pp.64-68.

complicated, it propagated the notion that the *History*'s account of Paulician activity was founded upon Paulician sources.[4] The analysis of Peter of Sicily's reuse of these sources undertaken in Chapter Three shows that these sources were reworked in an even more complex fashion than she imagined.[5] In their specifics, these details are only important to scholars interested in these sources. Yet in a broader sense, the forgery of these sources is of considerable interest in understanding the contemporary reception of religious controversies. As in the case of the iconomachy, our most authoritative sources for Paulicians are of late derivation. Although there is little evidence that events involving Paulicians were reworked as extensively as those relating to iconoclasts, the polemical nature of these texts is still apparent. Interestingly, the forgeries of the *History* and *Contra Manichaeos* imply that contemporary testimony and textual corroboration were considered crucial to the reliability of a work. In this regard, these texts disclose much about the manner in which contemporaries read and conceptualised heresiological works. This is apparent from the manner in which Pseudo-Photios read the *History*, particularly in terms of his use of number symbolism.[6] By investigating the forgery of these sources in greater depth I have built upon Garsoïan's work, but the logical culmination of this approach would be a study of the context which elicited the composition of the heresiological works during Constantine VII's reign. This topic would have been explored in this thesis were it not for spatial considerations.

Our analysis of the polemical sources in Chapter Two has repercussions for the dating of several sources. The argument that the *Treatise* was composed during Theophilos' reign corroborates Dmitry Afinogenov's hypothesis that the first recension of George the Monk's *Chronicon*, which incorporates the *Treatise* in its entirety, should be dated to *c*.846/7.[7] This observation also invalidates a *terminus post quem* which is often applied to the second recension, also as a result of its incorporation of the *Treatise*. This recension need no longer date after 872 because Paul Lemerle's analysis of the polemical sources is inadmissible, as we have seen.[8]

[4] For criticisms of her approach see P. Lemerle, 'L'histoire des Pauliciens d'Asie mineure d'après les sources grecques', *TM* 5 (1973), pp.12-15; P. Speck, 'Petros Sikeliotes, seine Historia und der Erzbischof von Bulgarien', *ELLHNIKA* 27 (1974), pp.385-6, n.6.
[5] Chapter Three, pp.83-107.
[6] Chapter Three, pp.92-4.
[7] D. Afinogenov, 'Le manuscrit grec *Coislin*. 305: la version primitive de la *Chronique* de Georges le Moine', *REB* 62 (2004), p.246.
[8] D. Afinogenov, 'The Date of Georgios Monachos Reconsidered', *BZ* 92 (1999), pp.438-41.

Aside from this reuse of the *Treatise*, historical works scarcely mention Paulicians until the mid-tenth century. Following the composition of *Theophanes Continuatus* I-IV, the forger Peter of Sicily composed the *History of the Paulicians* in order to argue that Paulicians were worthy of the death penalty. The *History* was subsequently metaphrased by Pseudo-Photios to form the *Contra Manichaeos*, which was used as an authoritative source by the *Letter of Theophylaktos Lekapenos*. All of the above texts were composed in the order noted, within the period 945-56.[9] The composition of so many texts in a short period of time demonstrates the wealth of literary activity that occurred at Constantine's court, particularly because the *History* and *Contra Manichaeos* were forgeries whose authenticity must have been substantiated by palaeographical and codicological means.

For the purposes of non-specialist scholarship, the most notable conclusion of the thesis is that the conventional scholarly interpretation that Paulician belief was dualist is mistaken. The credit for this observation properly belongs to Ludwig, who demonstrated the apostolic character of Paulician belief three decades ago, but her work has not been heeded by subsequent scholarship, largely as a result of a lack of scholarly interest in Paulicians.[10] I hope that by restating her conclusions and developing them within a broader historical context her work will receive its due credit. Her conclusions have significant repercussions for the study of medieval dualistic thought, since the conventional interpretation remains that Paulicians transmitted their dualism to Bogomils, who in turn did so to Cathars.[11] We will examine the implications of the present thesis for the study of these movements shortly. As we saw in Chapter One, this dualist filiation has a long history in secondary scholarship.[12] It has been substantiated by taking at face value the heresiological texts which were written by the opponents of these heretics, which do indeed state that they held dualist beliefs. Methodological developments in heresy studies imply that these texts are more informative in regard to how orthodox actors

[9] Chapter Two, p.69.
[10] C. Ludwig, 'Wer hat was in welcher Absicht wie beschreiben? Bemerkungen zur Historia des Petros Sikeliotes über die Paulikianer', *Varia 2 POIKILA BYZANTINA* 6 (1987), pp.224-5.
[11] Y. Stoyanov, *The Other God: Dualist Religions from Antiquity to the Cathar Heresy* (New Haven/London, 2000); B. Hamilton (ed.), Hugh Eteriano, *Contra Patarenos*, pp.1-102.
[12] Chapter One, pp.18-27.

expressed their anxieties and preconceptions. When this is taken into account, the dualist interpretation becomes less convincing.

Besides building on the work of Garsoïan and Ludwig, the most original contribution of this thesis is its reappraisal of Paulician activity in the East Roman Empire. Although some prior scholars have undermined the historicity of the *History*'s (and thereby the *Didaskalie*'s) account, most have considered it broadly representative of historical truth.[13] This thesis renders such an interpretation inadmissible. Prior to Peter of Sicily's historicisation of it, the *Didaskalie* was an unhistorical source whose conception of Paulician history was determined by the religio-political context of its authors' time, that is, after the persecutions undertaken by Michael I and Leo V.[14] Consequently, the *Didaskalie* can no longer form the basis of a historical account. At most, it is informative about the geographical context of the heresy and the values and anxieties which were expressed in the *didaskalos* Sergios' time. There is no evidence that the Paulician presence within the empire dated back to the seventh century. Their rise to prominence during the eighth century is conventionally explained by a de-facto alliance with iconoclast emperors such as Constantine V, but as we have seen, the evidence for this alliance derives from formulaic polemical tropes in sources which postdate Constantine's reign by decades.[15] Paulicians are only reliably attested at the beginning of the ninth century and even then their activities are obscure, largely because Peter's account of Sergios' career is of his own invention.[16] Similar problems arise when we analyse Sergios' Paulician communities alongside those that are later led by Karbeas and Chrysocheir, since there is no evidence that any source posited continuity between these two social phenomena before the composition of the *History* in the mid-tenth century.[17] As we have seen, Peter of Sicily only reconciles these phenomena by manipulating the chronology of the sources at his disposal.[18] Thus, this thesis has eroded the conventional interpretation of Paulician history. It may be objected that this approach

[13] H. Grégoire, 'Précisions géographiques et chronologiques sur les Pauliciens', *Académie Royale de Belgique, Bulletin Classe des Lettres, 5e série* 33 (1947), pp.298-321. Loos and Lemerle are slightly more sceptical, but still use the *Didaskalie*'s narrative as the basis of their accounts. M. Loos, 'Le mouvement paulicien à Byzance', *BS* 24 (1963), p.258; Lemerle, 'L'histoire', p.56.
[14] Chapter Three, pp.89-97.
[15] Chapter Five, pp.150-60.
[16] Chapter Three, pp.97-107.
[17] Chapter Seven, pp.198-233.
[18] Chapter Two, pp.50-5.

marginalises the testimony of our primary sources, but these sources were composed to justify particular aims or actions to Roman or Paulician audiences. They cannot explain the complex social processes which conditioned the successes of Paulicians (and similar actors) in Asia Minor.

In place of this erroneous narrative, I have understood the growth of Paulician networks in Asia Minor as the result of complex interactions between numerous social actors, including Greek and Armenian speakers.[19] Insofar as these interactions took place in north-eastern Asia Minor and neighbouring regions of Armenia, they took place in areas where the influence of regional hegemons and their coercive religious institutions was weak. Intercourse of a similar kind could, and undoubtedly did, occur elsewhere. The essential difference of our example is that a concatenation of factors, most notably the renewed ability of East Roman institutions to intervene in Asia Minor, as well as the persecutions of the 810s, led to intense and adversarial interactions between Paulicians and Romans.[20] This context allowed Paulicians to flourish into a movement of regional significance, but this was not a necessary development. Indeed, there are good reasons to suppose considerable discontinuity between the Paulicians of the 810s and those of the 840s. Yet the ever-turbulent politico-military context of the region offered outlets for the tensions which Paulicians exemplified. In the case of Karbeas, the recent death of Theophilos, the uncertain political situation in the empire and the proximity of ʻAmr al-Aqṭaʻ informed his actions.[21] Whether he was Paulician in the sense that Sergios understood it is irrelevant; communal identities are malleable and may endure when their social composition, modes of subsistence or geographical context have changed beyond recognition. In any case, while the differences between our respective Paulician phenomena are abundant, there were probably also commonalities that our sources cannot express. In this thesis I have attempted to do justice to complex social phenomena such as these by emphasising the contingent and evolving character of heretical identities.

[19] Chapter Six, pp.191-6.
[20] Chapter Seven, pp.199-206.
[21] Chapter Seven, pp.215-228.

Conceptualising Bogomils in this regard may be profitable, since they are often considered to have been directly influenced by Paulicians.[22] Bogomils occasion interpretive difficulties that are similar to those associated with Paulicians, particularly because the sources connected with their study are preserved in both Greek and Old Slavonic. Like our example, these source traditions do not overlap temporally, but a study of the Bogomils arguably requires the consultation of both. As in our case, these two source traditions are representative of two different cultures and need not necessarily be reconciled. In particular, prior scholarship is open to the criticism that the Old Slavonic sources have been subordinated to Greek texts. As a result, the extent to which all these sources refer to a single religious phenomenon can be questioned.[23] The most obvious implication of this thesis for the study of Bogomils is to place their dualism in doubt. Clearly, our argument that Paulicians were not dualists in the era of Roman persecution does not necessarily imply that the same case of mistaken identity applies to Bogomils, but it does necessitate a reappraisal of the primary sources, with particular emphasis on material of Bogomil origin.

We must however offer the proviso that Paulicians could have adopted dualist belief in some contexts. In Chapter Five, I argued that the apostolic character of Paulician belief arose due to complex interactions between local actors, with minimal involvement from coercive Roman authorities.[24] Our extant evidence suggests that the persecutions of the 810s entrenched their existing beliefs, but it is possible to imagine them adopting dualism in other scenarios.[25] This is unlikely to have happened before 878, when Paulicians were independent of the empire, but is comprehensible in the context of the mid-tenth century, particularly if the developing understandings of Paulicians in heresiological texts led to more intensive Roman-Paulician interaction. On balance, I find it unlikely that the adoption of dualism by some Paulicians adequately explains Bogomil dualism, largely because relocations of Paulicians kept them as distinct communities in order to preserve their martial

[22] For Bogomils, see Chapter One, pp.21-2, n.40.
[23] Most accounts of Bogomil activity distinguish the Balkan and Roman phases of the movement, but the proposition that these phases relate to the same phenomenon has rarely been questioned. See D. Obolensky, *The Bogomils: A Study in Balkan Neo-Manichaeism* (Cambridge, 1948), pp.197-219; Sanidopoulos (ed.), *Rise of Bogomilism*, pp.33-68.
[24] Chapter Six, pp.191-6.
[25] Chapter Four, pp.144-5.

character. As a result, it is unlikely that their identities were sufficiently undermined for them to adopt the labels that Romans applied to them. Nevertheless, this hypothesis should be borne in mind.

Instead, the most pertinent commonality between Paulicians and Bogomils is that the religious cultures which labelled and defined them are commensurate, particularly considering that understandings of Paulicians only became fully developed in the mid-tenth century. Over a century of encounters with Paulicians had caused Roman methods of identifying and combatting heresy to become more sophisticated. It would be interesting to see whether the texts and institutions that developed from these interactions informed Roman encounters with Bogomils. One venture in this direction would be an investigation of whether the Roman identification of Bogomils as dualists is dictated by concerns regarding punishment.[26] Another would be the significance of the doctrinal influence that East Roman sources allege Paulicians had on Bogomils. This point is stressed by Euthymios of the Peribleptos, Euthymios Zigabenos and Anna Komnene, but its ramifications are unclear.[27] In summary, Paulicians and Bogomils can still be usefully studied in conjunction, but the relationship between the two should focus on the varying ways that Romans identified and punished them, rather than positing influence between them.

A methodological approach that considers heretical identities as contingent and informed by interactions with orthodox actors could also be profitably applied in the case of the Cathar heresy. Like our Paulician example, this heresy is inextricably intertwined with warfare, allegations of dualism and a problematic source tradition.[28] Recent historiographical debate has founded upon whether an organised dualist heresy existed in the Languedoc prior to the Albigensian Crusade.[29] Recently Mark Pegg, and following him Bob Moore, have argued that Cathars (or in Pegg's terms,

[26] Rigo's examination of the Manichaean and Messalian identifications of Bogomils would provide a useful starting point for such a study. His article does not consider punishment. See A. Rigo, 'Messalianismo=Bogomilismo: un equazione dell'ereseologia medievale bizantina', *OCP* 56 (1990), pp.53-82.
[27] Euthymios Peri., pp.41-2; 62-3 (*CDH*, pp.154-5; 158); Zigabenos, *Dog. Pan.*, col.1291-2; 1299-1302 (Sanidopoulos, pp.72-3; 82-5); *Alexiad* 15:8, pp.485-6 (Dawes, pp.412-5).
[28] For these issues see J.H. Arnold, 'The Cathar Middle Ages as a Methodological and Historiographical Problem', in A.C. Sennis (ed.), *Cathars in Question* (Woodbridge, 2016), pp.53-78.
[29] For an overview, see A.C. Sennis, 'Questions about the Cathars', in A.C. Sennis (ed.), *Cathars in Question* (Woodbridge, 2016), pp.1-20.

the ‘good men’) self-consciously adopted the heretical identification applied to them by orthodox discourses as a result of the breakdown of regional social conventions in the aftermath of the crusade.[30] This view opposes the traditional interpretation that an organised dualist church existed prior to the crusade.[31] On first impressions, the conclusions of the present thesis contradict Pegg’s view, since we have seen that Roman persecution only entrenched existing Paulician belief systems. Yet we must note that the favoured scriptural texts of Paulicians were uniquely suited for the purposes of allowing them to comprehend these events.[32] Moreover, the ability of church institutions to penetrate into local society was more intensive and enduring in the Languedoc than in our context.[33] Regional social norms and the modes of expression associated with them did not break down in Asia Minor. As a consequence, Pegg’s theory cannot be dismissed out of hand, although, in my view, his work should give greater credence to some early sources which show engagement with heretics (notably the charter of Saint-Félix-de-Caraman and to a lesser extent the *De heresi catharorum in Lombardia*).[34] I hope to have demonstrated that sources authored by heretics can prove illuminating, even if we must often interpret these in unfamiliar ways. It is unlikely that efforts in this regard would not have ramifications as conclusive as those of the present thesis in the case of western medieval heresy, for the reasons that our heresiological sources are closely related and that (comparatively speaking) East Roman heresiologists remained faithful to their heretical source texts. Sources such as the *De heresi* retain little semblance of the heretical sources which underpin them and cannot be used to explore heretical thought worlds.

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[30] M.G. Pegg, ‘Albigenses in the Antipodes: an Australian and the Cathars’, *Journal of Religious History* 35:4 (2011), pp.592-4; R.I. Moore, *The War on Heresy: Faith and Power in Medieval Europe* (London, 2012), pp.322-3; 332-6.

[31] For recent expressions of this view see J.H. Arnold, *Inquisition and Power: Catharism and the Confessing Subject in Medieval Languedoc* (Philadelphia, 2001), pp.116-7; C. Taylor, *Heresy, Crusade and Inquisition in Medieval Quercy* (Woodbridge, 2011), pp.3-17.

[32] Chapter Four, pp.114-28.

[33] This is especially true of inquisition. See Arnold, *Inquisition and Power*, pp.19-110.

[34] For Pegg’s contextualisation of the charter of Saint-Félix see M.G. Pegg, ‘The Paradigm of Catharism; or, the Historians’ Illusion’, in A.C. Sennis (ed.), *Cathars in Question* (Woodbridge, 2016), pp.46-9. The authenticity of this source is fiercely debated. See also B. Hamilton, ‘The Cathar Council of Saint-Félix Reconsidered’, *Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum* 48 (1978), pp.23-53; M. Zerner (ed.), *L'histoire du Catharisme en discussion: le 'Concile' de Saint-Félix (1167)* (Nice, 2001). For the editions of these sources see A. Dondaine, ‘Les actes du concile albigeois de Saint-Félix de Caraman’, *Miscellania Giovanni Mercati 5, Studi e Testi* 125 (1946), pp.326-7; A. Dondaine, ‘La Hiérarchie cathare en Italie, I: le ‘De Heresi catharorum in Lombardia’’, *Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum* 19 (1949), pp.306-312.

Another important conclusion of this thesis is that it posits a significant gulf between theory and practice.[35] Although the Manichaean filiation mentioned above arose so that East Romans could subject Paulicians to capital punishment, in many instances the distinction between Roman and Paulician is blurred. Peter of Sicily's favourite bête noire, the *didaskalos* Sergios, pleaded with his followers to stop taking Roman prisoners.[36] Irrespective of how we interpret his actions, Karbeas could be identified as both Roman and Paulician.[37] Finally, Diakonitzes led a Paulician regiment in Langobardia a decade and a half after he had fought with the great Paulician leader Chrysocheir against Roman forces.[38] Admittedly, all these examples pertain to elites. We may suspect different dynamics were at play in other instances. Nonetheless, Paulicians were not always subject to the punishments that heresiologists advocated. Since they were a provincial phenomenon which operated in areas where the East Roman Empire did not have effective control, we must suspect that the gulf between theory and practice was wider than in other cases. Yet it is surely clear that such a gap existed elsewhere. The heresiological writings which provide the majority of our extant sources express the theory, but in contemporary society discourses which were more representative of practice circulated and maybe even predominated. Where possible, these discourses must be reconstructed and used to counterbalance our written texts.

Perhaps the most distinctive product of this thesis is the manner in which I have analysed primary sources, particularly in regard to onomastic and numerical symbolism. This approach has partially been inspired by the work of Averil Cameron, which advocates analysing heresiological sources on the basis of the tropes and methodologies that they employ, rather than with preconceived historical or doctrinal interests.[39] On the other hand, the methodology adopted here has largely been derived through trial and error. My rationale for adopting this methodology was that heresiology must have been related to the wider literary culture of the period, which involved the evolution of literary forms and the compilation of encyclopaedic

[35] See A. Cameron, 'How to Read Heresiology', *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 33:3 (2003), p.483; A. Cameron, 'Byzantium and the Limits of Orthodoxy', *Proceedings of the British Academy* 154 (2008), p.132.
[36] Chapter Four, pp.118-20.
[37] Chapter Seven, pp.227-8.
[38] *V. Basilii*, 71, pp.244-5, l.16-8.
[39] Cameron, 'How to Read', pp.472-8.

projects. Other works of the period incorporate onomastic and numerical symbolism, as well as literary devices such as acrostics.[40] As a result, I considered it probable that our heresiological sources could hold deeper meanings which required decoding. Indeed, I have shown that East Roman heresiologists substantiated their interpretations via symbolic allusions and intertextual references.[41] Their primary intention was not to compose coherent historical or doctrinal explanations (at least as we would understand them) for Paulician agency. Despite this, modern scholars have remained preoccupied with these same concerns. The truism that heresiological sources tell us more about orthodoxy than heresy has not been sufficiently heeded in the context of these sources. As Cameron noted, there is still much to learn from heresiological writings when we jettison our preconceptions.[42]

The majority of the above remarks have discussed the importance of this thesis to the field of heresy studies. As yet, little has been said concerning its conclusions for the study of the East Roman Empire, primarily because Paulicians are invoked so rarely in scholarship regarding the empire. In this field, its most important finding will probably be the revised dating of the primary sources mentioned at the outset of this conclusion. Beyond this fact, I hope that this study demonstrates that Paulicians are worthy of further attention. Although the hypothesised alliance between iconoclasts and Paulicians can no longer be substantiated, Paulicians are still vitally important for understanding the conflicts between empire and caliphate during the ninth century. The observation that Karbeas' flight stemmed from the weakness of the empire and the conveniently timed raid of 'Amr al-Aqṭa', rather than being wholly Paulician in character, implies that conflicts along the frontier were more complex than our sources admit, particularly when taken alongside Juan Signes Codoñer's proposal that Thomas the Slav's rebellion bears similarities to an Islamic invasion.[43] Importantly, we can safely dismiss the references to Paulician raiding against the empire prior to the mid-840s, such as the *History*'s spurious account of the raids conducted by the *Astatoi*

[40] A. Németh, 'The Imperial Systematisation of the Past in Constantinople: Constantine VII and his Historical Excerpts', in J. König and G. Woolf (eds.), *Encyclopaedism from Antiquity to the Renaissance* (New York, 2013), pp.245-7. For acrostics see D. Krueger, *Writing and Holiness: the Practice of Authorship in the Early Christian East* (Philadelphia, 2004), pp.169-74.
[41] Chapter Three, pp.83-97.
[42] Cameron, 'How to Read', pp.471-92.
[43] Chapter Seven, pp.207-9; J. Signes-Codoñer, *The Emperor Theophilos and the East, 829-842: Court and Frontier in Byzantium during the Last Phase of Iconoclasm* (Farnham, 2014), pp.212-4.

and *Kynochoritae* in the 810s, or the claim of Genesios and the Continuator that Paulicians participated in Thomas' rebellion. As a result, we need not posit that the Emirate of Malaṭiya came to prominence earlier than the mid-830s.

Even though a straightforward link between Paulicians and iconoclasm is no longer admissible, this thesis has repercussions for the study of the iconomachy. The observation that East Romans persecuted Paulicians (and indeed Athinganoi) most intensively during momentous shifts in the image controversy shows that these heresies were connected to broader concerns about heterodoxy and the effect that this had on the empire's divine favour. Moreover, it shows that targeting these heretics could deflect attention from other religious concerns. This shows that religious motivations were an important determinant of policy at this time. There is a danger of reiterating the emphases of our sources here, but it seems that Paulicians were persecuted with little input from provincial officials or institutions. This perhaps explains why these persecutions were often considered counterproductive.[44] Despite the fact that religious tensions struck deep roots, religious policy could still be flexible. Irrespective of its iconoclast authorship, the *Treatise* was regarded as an authoritative source by later writers, including the iconodule George the Monk in the first recension of his *Chronicon*, which was composed shortly afterward.[45] The iconomachy clearly did not override all religious concerns. The above points corroborate Leslie Brubaker and John Haldon's point that the era cannot be defined by the image controversy.[46] One respect in which this thesis might develop Brubaker and Haldon's conclusions lies in the extent to which provincial religiosities differed from those of elites and the capital.[47] Their reconstruction argues that Asia Minor cannot be considered a straightforwardly iconoclast area, but the argument adopted here implies that provincial religiosities were distinct and sophisticated.[48] Our evidence suggests that the way in which Paulician religiosity was expressed became progressively more elaborate. Paulicians were aware of patristic theological

[44] Theoph. Cont., 4:16, pp.236-7.
[45] Chapter Two, pp.75-6.
[46] L. Brubaker and J.F. Haldon, *Byzantium in the Iconoclast Era, c. 680-850: a History* (Cambridge, 2011), pp.9-11.
[47] Brubaker and Haldon, *Byzantium: a History*, pp.642-654.
[48] For instance, they refute the proposition that Anatolian bishops comprised a faction supporting iconoclasm. Brubaker and Haldon, *Byzantium: a History*, pp.103-4. Kaegi originally espoused the argument that Asia Minor was not predominantly iconoclast. See W.E. Kaegi, jr., 'The Byzantine Armies and Iconoclasm', *BS* 27 (1966), pp.68-70.

concepts, thereby implying that sophisticated religious concepts were widespread even in comparatively isolated parts of the empire.[49] All this suggests that we would be unwise to underestimate the fervour and complexity of the religious expression of provincial populations. Although there is little evidence to suggest that these provincial religiosities played an important role in the iconomachy, we must suspect that the issue of images did engage provincials, even if we lack the evidence to ascertain what these provincial opinions were and how they were expressed.

The most notable commonality of Paulician activity and the iconomachy is that the orthodox view of both religious phenomena were codified long after the fact. In the case of the iconomachy, the rewriting of this controversy stems from the numerous volte-faces which occurred during the eighth and ninth centuries.[50] This resulted in the reworking of existing texts, including the interpolation of new material, as well as the authorship of new works which reinvented the preceding period and calumniated the iconoclast emperors.[51] Hence, the reinterpretation of this controversy was a complex affair which occurred over the course of centuries. There are no indications of such radical discontinuities in the case of Paulicians. Although East Roman conceptions of them evolved, in theory at least Romans always understood them as heretics who merited punishment. It is difficult to understand why they should have attracted such attention in the mid-tenth century. I have not examined this context here, but a few explanations present themselves. Firstly, this preoccupation perhaps arises a result of increased Paulician activity, since they appear in several other sources, notably hagiographies at this time.[52] Secondly, interest in Paulicians arises from an increased awareness of the historical past generally, but more specifically a preoccupation with the reign of Constantine VII's grandfather Basil I, the founder of the Macedonian dynasty.[53] Genesios' *Basileion* and *Theophanes Continuatus* I-IV are both associated with attempts to legitimate this

[49] Chapter Four, pp.132-6.
[50] For the cultural background to this process, see Brubaker and Haldon, *Byzantium: a History*, pp.787-799.
[51] The *Vita Stephani Iunioris* is a particularly notable text which influenced many later iconodule works. See M.-F. Auzépy (ed.), *La vie d'Étienne le Jeune par Étienne le diacre* (Aldershot, 1997).
[52] Several sources mention Paulicians at this time. For the *Vita Pauli Iunioris* see H. Delehaye, *Analecta Bollandiana* 11 (1892), 45, p.156. The text perhaps dates to the mid-eleventh century. See L. Brubaker and J.F. Haldon, *Byzantium in the Iconoclast Era, c. 680-85: the Sources* (Aldershot, 2001), p.223; See also Ševčenko, 'The Hagiography', p.114.
[53] A. Markopoulos, 'Byzantine History Writing at the End of the First Millenium', in P. Magdalino (ed.), *Byzantium in the Year 1000* (Leiden, 2003), pp.184-6; 191-2.

dynasty and given the close relationship of these sources to our heresiological texts, we might suspect that a newfound understanding of Paulicians arose as an indirect consequence of research into Basil's reign. In any event, East Roman authors reimagined their past in the case of the iconomachy, the Paulicians and the Macedonian dynasty. In the case of the Paulicians, this occurred primarily through the forgery of several texts at a specific time, as a result of an attempt to legitimate capital punishment. This differs from our other examples. Investigating these rewritings of East Roman history comparatively would be a fruitful endeavour, which would provide insights into how Roman intellectuals understood and engaged with their past.

Finally, the comparative lack of interest in Paulicians and Greek heresiology over the preceding decades is clearly unmerited. Although Paulicians have conventionally been marginalised and the sources that describe them considered boring and derivative, this is only the case when they are studied on the basis of the historical and doctrinal preconceptions that scholars have imposed upon these sources. When the sources are read as composite literary works, we find a wealth of symbolic and intertextual references that provide the logic that corroborates the accusations of heresiologists. The sources shed light on the little-known topic of forgery in the East Roman world, in the process enriching our understanding of contemporary sources and the court of Constantine VII. As for the Paulicians, they emerge from this study as the product of dynamic interactions between Armenian- and Greek-speaking agents in the borderlands between the East Roman Empire and the ʿAbbāsid Caliphate, rather than as a pre-existing heresy which was imported from Armenia. Their religiosity was founded upon reverence for the apostle Paul, rather than dualism, as their orthodox detractors alleged. The commonly accepted portrayal of their origins must be jettisoned, but in place of this we now possess an account of how Paulician elites wished to portray the history of the movement in the immediate aftermath of the persecutions which caused untold suffering and dislocation, but also entrenched aspects of their apostolic identity. Paulicians are no longer the pioneers of a medieval dualism that traversed Europe, but an outgrowth of readings of the Gospels, *Acts* and Pauline letters in provincial Asia Minor.

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Appendix 1: List of Rulers

East Roman Emperors

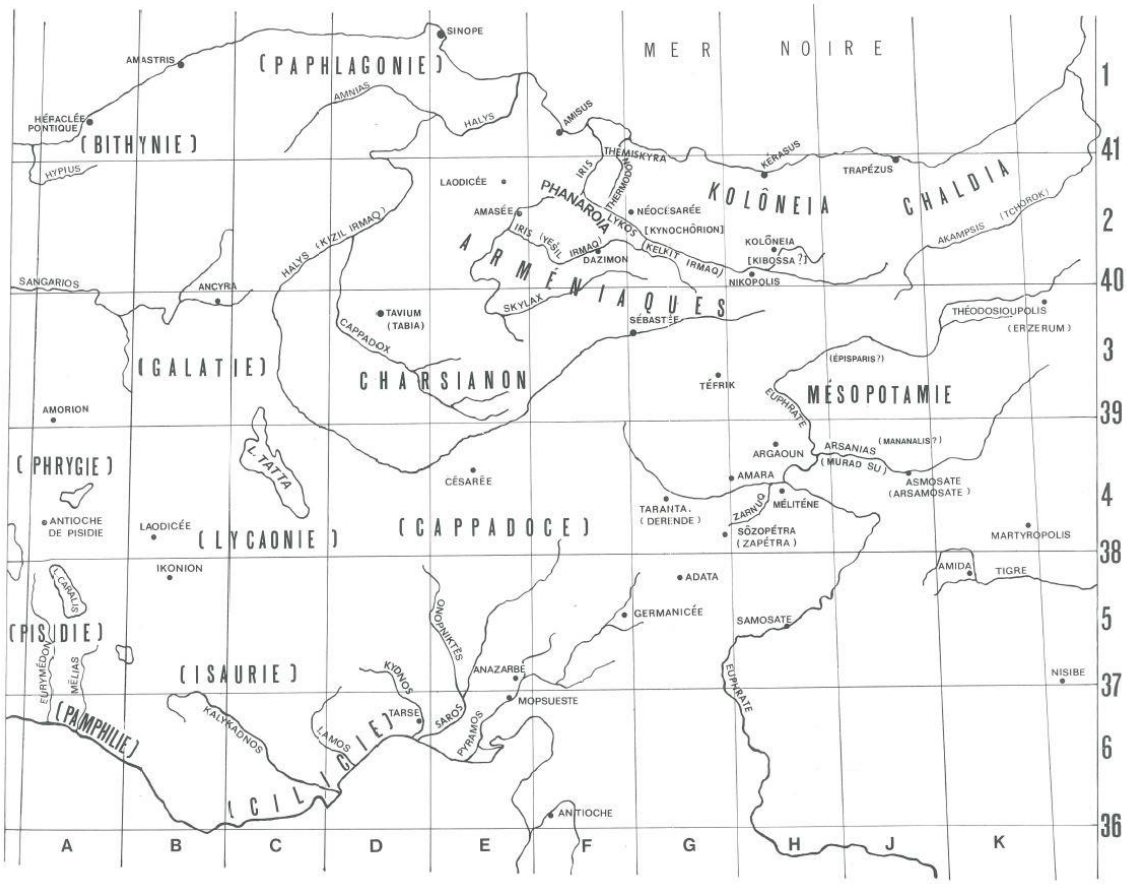
Reign	Emperor
741-775	Constantine V
775-780	Leo IV
780-797	Constantine VI
797-802	Irene
802-811	Nikephoros I
811	Staurakios
811-813	Michael I
813-820	Leo V ‘the Armenian’
820-829	Michael II
829-842	Theophilos
842-867	Michael III
867-886	Basil I
886-912	Leo VI ‘the Wise’
912-913	Alexander
913-920	Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus (regency)
920-944	Romanos I Lekapenos
945-959	Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus
959-963	Romanos II
963-969	Nikephoros II Phokas
969-976	John I Tzimiskes

ʿAbbasid Caliphs

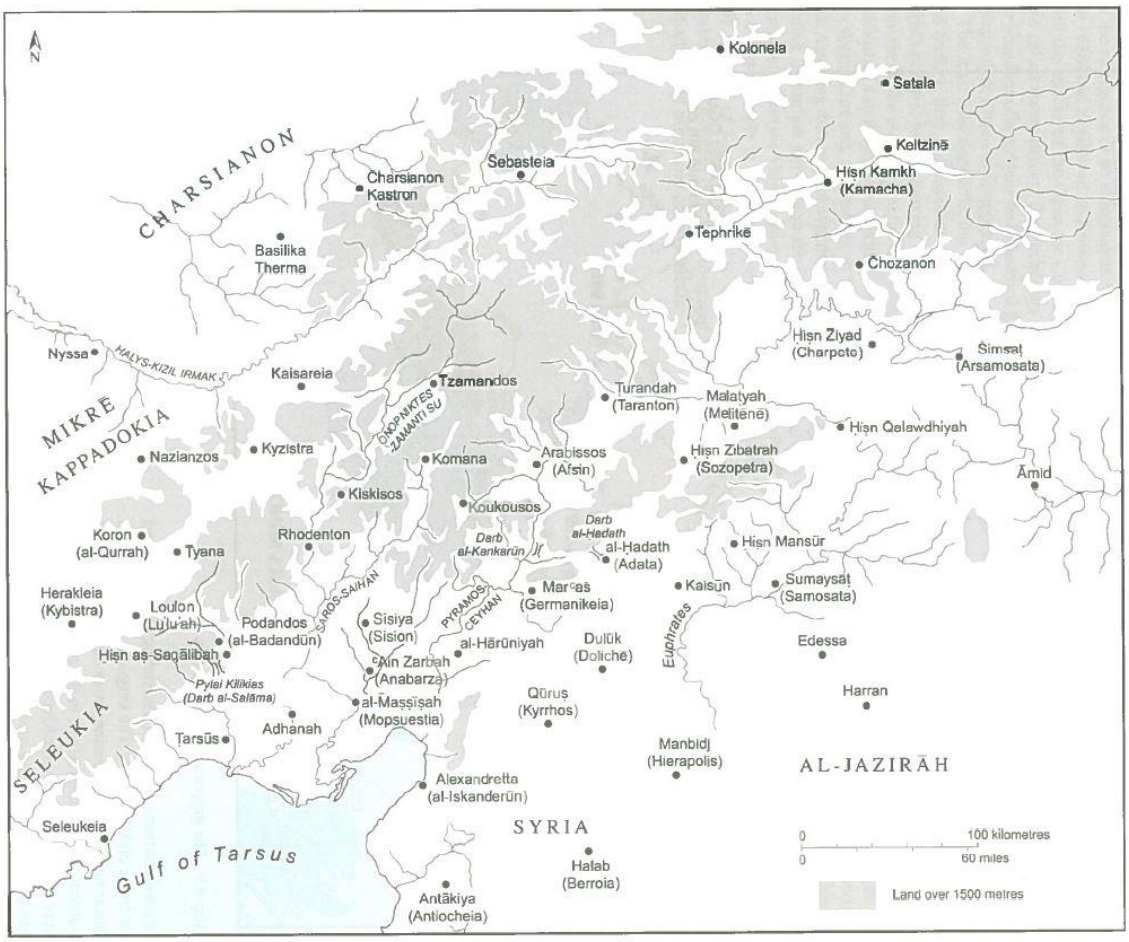
Reign	**Caliph**
775-785	al-Mahdi
785-786	al-Hadi
786-809	Harun-al-Rashid
809-813	al-ʾAmin
813-833	al-Maʾmun
833-842	al-Mutʿasim
842-847	al-Wathiq
847-861	al-Mutawakkil
861-862	al-Muntasir
862-866	al-Mustaʿin
866-869	al-Muʿtazz
869-870	al-Muhtadi
870-892	al-Muʿtamid

From J. Shepard (ed.), *The Cambridge History of the Byzantine Empire c.500-1492* (Cambridge, 2008), pp.906-7; 917.

Appendix 2: Maps



From P. Lemerle, ‘L'histoire des Pauliciens d'Asie Mineure d'après les sources grecques’, *TM* 5 (1973), pp.144-5.



Map 8.8 The eastern frontier c. 700–950.

From J.F. Haldon, *The Palgrave Atlas of Byzantine History* (Basingstoke, 2005), p.109.