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Nina G. Garsoïan

THE PAULICIAN HERESY

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THE PAULICIAN HERESY

A STUDY OF THE ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT
OF PAULICIANISM IN ARMENIA AND THE
EASTERN PROVINCES OF THE BYZANTINE EMPIRE

by

NINA G. GARSOÏAN

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TO MY MOTHER

PREFACE

The idea of re-evaluating the accepted interpretation of the Paulician heresy was originally suggested to me some years ago by Professor Austin P. Evans in his seminar on medieval heresies at Columbia University. Like most other investigators of the problem, I very soon found myself faced with the contradiction presented by the two bodies of sources, Greek and Armenian, the latter of which could not be reconciled with the traditional view of Paulicianism as a Gnostic-dualistic sect. This book is an attempt to rework all the currently available material which bears on the problem of the origin, history, and nature of Paulicianism. Such an attempt must still be tentative and fragmentary; some of the problems are not yet capable of solution because of insufficient evidence. My purpose here has been to present such knowledge as we now possess on the early development of Paulicianism in Armenia, on the Euphrates, and at Constantinople. The problem of later Balkan Paulicianism and its implications is too vast in itself to be included in such a study as this, and I have not attempted it here. The extremely important manuscript material in the National Collection of Ancient Manuscripts of the Council of Ministers of the Armenian SSR (Matenadaran) is only beginning to be known, and I learned of some of the material as this book was going to press. Unfortunately, circumstances have not yet permitted me to see the manuscripts themselves, but I have tried to integrate into the text of this work whatever knowledge I have been able to obtain of them.

No system of Armenian transliteration seems altogether satisfactory for a study of this type. I have used the Hübschmann system, except where this would entail unwarranted pedantry in the case of familiar names.

Among the many people who have helped me in the preparation of this book, my thanks go first to Professor Evans. Throughout the years taken by this investigation, he has always been ready to give me help and advice

both scholarly and practical, and I have imposed on his patience whenever I found myself in difficulty. My debt to him is more than can be acknowledged here. I am most grateful also to Professor Sirarpie Der Nersessian of Dumbarton Oaks for her innumerable kindnesses in encouraging me to enter and persist in the field of Armeno-Byzantine history, for her criticism and guidance, and particularly for calling to my attention much invaluable material which would otherwise have escaped me.

My thanks are due as well to Professor Elias Bickerman of Columbia University, whose invariably incisive criticism was of the greatest help to me in clarifying my own ideas, and provided whatever sharpness this book may possess; and to Professors John Mundy and Garrett Mattingly of Columbia University for their encouragement and counsel at many stages of this work. I am also most grateful to the Mkhitarist Fathers of San Lazzaro in Venice where the research for much of this book was carried out under a Fulbright grant, not only for giving me full use of their library and manuscript collection, but also for providing help with problems of language and Armenian paleography. Finally, for endless hours spent in discussion, correction and proofreading of the manuscript, I am most grateful to my many friends and colleagues and most particularly to Dr. Lenore O'Boyle of Connecticut College for Women, Dr. Marlies Kallmann Danziger of Hunter College, Dr. Wendell Stacy Johnson and Mr. Gerard E. Caspary of Smith College, and Dr. Robert G. Lewis.

Northampton, Mass., September 1, 1960

Note:

As indicated above, the manuscript of this book was completed in September of 1960. Through circumstances outside my control delays in publication have regrettably made it impossible to include material which appeared after that date.

N.G.G.

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ABBREVIATIONS

- ARB-BL* *Académie Royale de Belgique, Bulletin Classe de Lettres*, Bruxelles, 1899-1910, 1911-.
- BL* *The Book of Letters* (Tiflis, 1901).
- BZ* *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, Leipzig, 1892-.
- CHA* *Collection des Historiens Arméniens*, ed. M. Brosset, 2 vols. (St. Petersburg, 1876).
- CHAMA* *Collection des Historiens anciens et modernes de l'Arménie*, ed. V. Langlois (Paris, 1868-1869).
- CSHB* *Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae*, ed. B. G. Niebhur (Bonn, 1822-1897).
- DTC* *Dictionnaire de Théologie Catholique*, eds. A. Vacant, E. Mangenot, and E. Aman (Paris, 1930-1950).
- IAN* *Izvestia Imperatorskoĭ Akademii Nauk, Otdeleniia Russkago Iazyka i Slovestnosti* (Bulletin of the Imperial Academy of Sciences, Division of Russian Language and Philology), St. Petersburg, 1852-1863, 1896-1927.
- IANA* *Izvestia Akademii Nauk Armianskoĭ SSR* (Bulletin of the Academy of Sciences of the Armenian SSR), Erivan, 1950-.
- JHS* *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, London, 1880-.
- JRAS* *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, London, 1834-1863, 1864-1889, 1889-.
- KT* *The Key of Truth. A Manual of the Paulician Church in Armenia*, ed. F. C. Conybeare (Oxford, 1898).
- KT-I* F. C. Conybeare, "Introduction" to *The Key of Truth* (Oxford, 1898).
- Mansi* G. D. Mansi, *Sacrorum Conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio* (Florence-Venice, 1759-1798). New edition, ed. Petit, Paris, 1901-.
- MGHS* *Monumenta Germaniae Historica . . . Scriptorum*, Hanover, 1826-.
- PG* *Patrologiae Cursus Completus, Series Graeco-Latina*, ed. J. B. Migne (Paris, 1857-1866).
- PL* *Patrologiae Cursus Completus, Series Latina*, ed. J. B. Migne (Paris, 1844-1855).
- PO* *Patrologia Orientalis*, eds. R. Graffin and F. Nau, Paris. 1903-.
- REA* *Revue des Etudes Arméniennes*, Paris, 1920-1933.

- RGFS* *Rerum Gallicarum et Francicarum Scriptores* (Recueil des historiens de la France), ed. M. Bouquet (Paris, 1738-1876, 1894, 1899).
- RHC-DA* *Recueil des historiens des croisades. Documents arméniens* (Paris, 1869-1906).
- RHC-Occ.* *Recueil des historiens des croisades. Documents occidentaux* (Paris, 1841-1895).
- RIS* *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*, ed. L. Muratori (Milan, 1723-1751).
- TNA* *Thesaurus Novus Anecdotorum*, eds. E. Martène and V. Durand (Paris, 1717).
- VV* *Vizantiiskii Vremennik*, Moscow, 1947-.
- ZAN* *Zapiski Imperatorskoĭ Akademii Nauk po Istoriko-filologicheskomu Otdeleniiu* (Journal of the Imperial Academy of Sciences, Historico-Philological Division), St. Petersburg, 1895-1922.
- ZKG* *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, Tübingen-Gotha, 1876-.

INTRODUCTION

The sect of the Paulicians achieved a brief period of political importance on the Armeno-Byzantine frontier of the upper Euphrates in the middle of the ninth century and was a source of serious concern to the emperors of the Amorian and early Macedonian dynasties. Nevertheless the origin of the sect, as well as much of its history, and, far more seriously, the very nature of the heresy of which it was accused, remain obscure to this day.

The earliest reference to the sect by name comes from Armenia and dates from the middle of the sixth century. Thereafter a variety of sources throughout the Middle Ages notes the presence of the sectarians on Armenian and Mesopotamian territory, either under the general name of Paulicians, or, after the tenth century, under the regional name of T'ondrakeçi, which is derived from the heretical district of T'ondrak in Armenia.¹

Although the Paulician heresy presumably existed in imperial lands at least from the middle of the seventh century, we possess no Greek sources earlier than the first part of the ninth century. The Greek material consists of both historical and polemical texts which customarily refer to the Paulicians as Manichaeans.² Most of these sources are concerned with the Paulicians in the period preceding the destruction of their capital, Tephrikē, on the upper Euphrates by the Emperor Basil I in 872, but we possess references to the existence of the sect in the western provinces of the Empire until the thirteenth century at least.

The first mention of the Paulicians in western European sources comes from southern Italy in the eleventh century. *The Annals of Bari*, for the year 1041, allude to Paulicians in the imperial army operating against the

¹ The Greek and Armenian sources will be discussed separately in Chapters I and II respectively.

² For a discussion of this term, see Chapter V.

Normans.³ These Paulicians seem to be identified with Manichaeans.⁴ Far more abundant are the documents from the period of the Crusades. Most of the sources on the First Crusade refer to the presence of Paulicians, whom they normally call Publicani,⁵ in the Muslim

³ "Annales Barenenses", *MGHS*, V (Hanover, 1843), 55, "Hinc rediens Michael confessus cum paucis, relictis semivivis pro pavore Normanorum sevientium, scripsit ad Siciliam, et venerunt ipsi miseri Macedones et Paulikiani et Calabrenses; et collectis insimul cum reliquis in catuna Montis Pelosi, tunc descendit catepanus filius Budiano in Apuliam; Michael rediit ad Siciliam, iubente imperatore, unde venerat".

We have evidence from the Greek sources that Paulicians were present in Italy at a still earlier date in the contingents brought by Nicephorus Phocas, the elder, in 885, Theophanes Continuatus, "Chronographia", ed. I. Bekker, *CSHB*, XXXIII (Bonn, 1838), 313; "... τὸν Διακονίτιν ἐκεῖνον, ὃς ὑπερέτης ποτὲ τοῦ κατὰ τὴν Τεφρικήν Χρυσόχειρος ἦν, στίφος τῶν ἀπὸ Μάνεντος τὴν θρησκείαν ἐλκόντων προσεπαγόμενον"; also Cedrenus, "Historiarum Compendium", ed. I. Bekker, *CSHB*, VII (Bonn, 1838), 236. On the career of Diakonitzes among the Paulicians and his subsequent conversion, see Theophanes Continuatus, *Chronographia*, 275; Genesius, "Regum", ed. C. Lachmann, *CSHB*, XXII (Bonn, 1834), 125; and Cedrenus, *Compendium*, 211-212.

It is possible that we have evidence for knowledge of Paulicians in the West at an earlier date, "Anno decimo quinto Imperii sui Constantinus [V] Syros et Armenios, quos a Theodosopoli et Mitilena [sic] duxerat, in Thracem emigravit, ex quibus etiam Publicanorum haeresis est dilata", "Historia Miscella ab incerto Auctore consarcinata", *RIS*, I (Milan, 1759), 158. The date of the *Historia Miscella* is problematic. The editor's preface of the new edition of the *RIS* (Rome, 1900), I, cvii, is of the opinion that the section quoted must be dated in the late ninth or early tenth century and derived from Anastasius Bibliothecarius' translation of Theophanes' *Chronography*. Indeed this passage is an exact translation from Theophanes Confessor, *Chronographia*, ed. C. de Boor (Leipzig, 1883), I, 429. The composition of Theophanes' work is dated between 810/1 and 814/5 by K. Krumbacher, *Geschichte der byzantinischen Litteratur*, 2nd. ed. (Munich, 1897), 342, a date which is confirmed by G. Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica* (Budapest, 1942), I, 147, but the term "Publicanorum haeresis" suggests a late date. The *Annals of Bari* still use the Greek form, "Paulikiani", in the eleventh century, and Anastasius Bibliothecarius, uses the form "Paulicianorum", Anastasius Bibliothecarius, *Chronographia Tripertita*, ed. C. de Boor (Leipzig, 1885), 281. The form "Publicani" is not found normally before the twelfth century.

⁴ William of Apulia, "Gesta Roberti Wiscardi", *MGHS*, IX (Hanover, 1851), I, vv. 339-340, p. 248:

"Cum Graecis aderant quidam, quos pessimus error
Fecerat amentes, et ab ipso nomen habebant".

These verses, which refer to the campaign of 1041 seem clearly to contain the pun on the name of Mani or Manes so dear to early ecclesiastical writers. The doctrine attributed to these sectarians is rather confused:

"Plebs solet ista Patrem cum Christo dicere passum,
Et fronti digito signum crucis imprimit uno,
Non aliam Nati personam quam Patri esse,
Hanc etiam sancti Spiraminis esse docebant". *Ibid.*, vv. 341-344.

⁵ The correct Latin form seems to have been "Publicani", though the forms "Populicani", "Poblicani", and "Poplicani", etc.... also occur. See Ducange, *Glossarium mediae et infimae latinitatis*, V, ed. G. Henschel (Paris, 1845), 350, and

army.⁶ Occasionally these Publicani appear to cooperate with the Crusaders, but their normal position is in the enemy camp.⁷ In the East the Publicani are numbered by the chroniclers among the heathen Muslims rather than among the Christian sectarians,⁸ although the Paulicians met by the Crusaders in the Balkans are always identified as heretics.⁹ After the

Ducange, "Histoire de l'empire de Constantinople sous les empereurs François", *Corpus Byzantinae Storica*, XXVIII (Paris, 1658), 341-342.

⁶ The Paulicians are listed among the Muslim contingents as follows:

a) In Asia Minor and particularly at the battle of Dorylaeum: *Histoire anonyme de la première croisade*, ed. L. Bréhier (Paris, 1924), III, 9, p. 48. Peter Tudebodus, "Historia de Hierosolymitano itinere", *RHC-Occ.*, III (Paris, 1856), 26. Robert the Monk, "Historia Iherosolimitana", *RHC-Occ.*, III, 763; Henry of Huntington, "De captione Antiochae a christianis", *RHC-Occ.*, V (Paris, 1895), 375.

b) In 1098, at the siege of Antioch: *Histoire anonyme*, VIII, 20, p. 102. Peter Tudebodus, *Historia*, 55; Stephen of Chartres, "Ad Adelam uxorem suam epistola", *RHC-Occ.*, III, 888; Baldric of Dole, "Historia Ierosolimitana", *RHC-Occ.*, IV (Paris, 1879), 54.

c) In the relieving Muslim army of Curbaran (Kerbogha): *Histoire anonyme*, IX, 21, pp. 110-112. Peter Tudebodus, *Historia*, 59; Robert the Monk, *Historia*, 808; Baldric of Dole, *Historia*, 59; Henry of Huntington, *De captione*, 377; Baldwin III, "Historia Nicaena vel Antiochena", *RHC-Occ.*, V, 162; Hugo of St. Maria, "Itineris Hierosolymitani compendium", *RHC-Occ.*, V, 364; Guibert de Nogent, "Historia quae dicuntur gesta Dei per Francos", *RHC-Occ.*, IV, 189.

d) In 1099 at the battle of Ascalon: Albert of Aix, "Historia Hierosolymitana", *RHC-Occ.*, IV (Paris, 1879), 490, 493, 497.

e) As garrisons in Muslim cities such as Arche and Neapolis (Nabulus): Peter Tudebodus, *Historia*, 97; Baldric of Dole, *Historia*, 91, 105, var. 19; Gilo of Paris, "Historia Gilonis de via Hierosolymitana", *RHC-Occ.*, V, 788.

⁷ *Histoire anonyme*, IV, 11, p. 62. The author seems to be suggesting a measure of cooperation between the Publicani and the scouts sent by Raymond de Saint-Gilles to investigate the situation of Antioch in the fall of 1097, "Venerunt itaque in vallem prope Antiochiam ad quoddam castrum Publicanorum illicque audierunt Turcos esse in civitate [Antiochia] eamque fortiter defendere preparabant". Peter Tudebodus, *Historia*, 33, and Henry of Huntington, *De captione*, 383-384, are non-committal, but Robert the Monk, *Historia*, 770, shows that the garrison was hostile to the scouts, "Perrexerunt igitur usque ad castrum Publicanorum, eoque sibi subjugato...". This point of view is supported by the Anonymus Rhenanus, "Historia et gesta ducis Gotfridi", *RHC-Occ.*, V, 458. This antagonism is far more characteristic of the attitude of the Paulicians toward the Crusaders.

⁸ *Histoire anonyme*, III, 9, pp. 48 and 110-111, "Erat autem numerus Turcorum, Persarum, Publicanorum, Sarracenorum, Angulanorum aliorumque paganorum..."; also Baldric of Dole, *Historia*, 54, "... Turcos, Publicanos... et plurimas alias gentilium nationes..."; Peter Tudebodus, *Historia*, 26, 55, 59; Stephen of Chartres, *Epistola*, 888; Robert the Monk, *Historia*, 808; Albert of Aix, *Historia*, 490, 497; *et al.*

⁹ The earlier chroniclers do not mention the name of the heretics found near Pelagonia, *Histoire anonyme*, I, 4, p. 22, "Egressi de Castoria, intravimus Palagoniam [sic] in qua erat quoddam hereticorum castrum, quod undique aggressi sumus, moxque nostro succubuit imperio: accenso itaque igne, combussimus castrum cum habitatoribus suis". Also Peter Tudebodus, *Historia*, 16, and Robert the Monk, *Historia*, 745. William of Tyre, however, identifies the heretics as Publicani, P. Paris ed., *Guillaume de Tyr et ses*

period of the First Crusade no more is heard of the Paulicians in Syria-Palestine, and William of Tyre can already use the name Publicanus as a general name for a heretic.¹⁰ In the Balkans they are still known to Villehardouin early in the thirteenth century, but he presents them as traitors rather than heretics.¹¹

In western Europe, particularly in northern France and England, the name of Publicani was given to heretics from the twelfth century onward.¹² The background of these heretics is obscure,¹³ though Evervinus of Steinfeld says that in 1146 heretics at Cologne confessed that their doctrine was ancient and had lingered in Greece.¹⁴ Occasionally we find the

continueurs (Paris, 1879), I, 72, "Après il [Bohemond and his army] vindrent en la terre de Pelagoine... puis oïrent dire que près de là avoit un chastel mout fort, où tuit li popelicaïn de la terre fesoient recet, por la force du lieu; ne n'avoit iluec se teus genz non mescreanz". William may be using the term "Publicani" as a general term of abuse (see n. 10). However, we know that Paulicians were still to be found in the area in the thirteenth century (see n. 11).

¹⁰ *Guillaume de Tyr*, II, 420-421, "... car bien avoit Vc anz passez que uns popeliquans fu qui avoit non [sic] Marons: de cestui estoient-il apelé Maronique, porce qu'il le sivoient en sa mescreandise".

¹¹ Villehardouin, *La Conquête de Constantinople*, ed. E. Faral (Paris, 1939), II, 210-212. This account of the attempt made by the Paulicians of Philippopolis to betray the city to the Bulgar Tsar Johanitza or Kalojan, their subsequent punishment by the Latin lord of Philippopolis, Renier de Trit, and the eventual surrender of the city to the Bulgars treats the entire episode on a purely political basis without any overtones of heterodoxy.

¹² *Historia Miscella*, 158; "Historia Vizeliacensis monasterii", in d'Achéry, *Spicilegium veterum aliquot scriptorum*, II, ed. de la Barre (Paris, 1723), 560; Louis VII, "Epistola CCCLVIII ad Papam Pascalem", in Duchesne, *Historiae Francorum Scriptores*, IV (Paris, 1641), 729; Lateran Council of 1179, *Mansi*, XXII, 232; Alberic the Monk, "Chronicon", *MGHS*, XXIII (Hanover, 1874), 878; Robert of Auxerre, "Chronicon", *RGFS*, XVIII (Paris, 1897), 249-250, 262; William of Newbridge, "Libri quinque de rebus Anglicis", *RGFS*, XIII (Paris, 1869), 108; Radulph Coggeshale, "Chronico Anglicano", *RGFS*, XVIII, 59, 92; Matthew of Paris, *Chronica Majora*, ed. H. R. Luard (London, 1878), III, 375; William Brito, "Philippidos", in Duchesne, *Scriptores*, V, 102; Stephen Bellavilla, "De septem donis Spiritus Sancti", in d'Argentré, *Collectio judiciorum de novis erroribus* (Paris, 1724), I, 90; "Roman de Chantepleure", in Ducange, *Glossarium*, V, 350.

¹³ William of Newbridge, *Libri quinque*, 108, "... incerto auctore habentes". An unknown origin is likewise ascribed to the heretics at Orléans in 1022; see Peter Vivi Senonis, "Chronicon", in d'Achéry, *Spicilegium*, II, 474, "Sub ipso tempore exorta est magna haeresis nova et inaudita in urbe Aurelianensi". The same is true in Milan in 1040; see Landulph Senior, "Medioalensis Historia", *RIS*, IV, 2, new ed. (Bologna, 1942), 67, "...quandam haeresim inauditam...". These last two heresies are not specifically identified with the Publicani by the contemporary sources, though this is done by Ducange, *Glossarium*, V, 350.

¹⁴ Evervinus of Steinfeld, "Epistola ad S. Bernardum de haereticis sui temporis", *PL*, CLXXXII (1879), 679, "hanc haeresim usque ad haec tempora occultatam fuisse a temporibus martyrum, et permanisse in Graecia, et quibusdam aliis terris". The

Publicani identified with the Cathari or Albigensians of southern France.¹⁶ In the sources, the Paulicians are seldom called Manichaeans;¹⁶ they must, however, have been so considered by analogy with the Cathari, against whom this accusation is made.¹⁷ Thus we find, as early as the thirteenth century, the opinion widespread among western authors that the Oriental Paulicians or Publicani were the probable ancestors of western Manichaean sects. The entire study of the Paulician heresy, as a result, has developed in the light of its position as the transmitter of Manichaean dualism to the West, rather than as an independent investigation of its particular characteristics.¹⁸

With the publication early in the seventeenth century of the polemical work of Peter of Sicily against the sect, the Paulicians became a subject for historical research.¹⁹ Yet this work does not seem to have been familiar to Ducange, who presented the Paulicians as Manichaeans and the ancestors of French heretics,²⁰ though it had been used by Baronius in his

heretics of southern France, the Cathari or Albigensians, with whom the Publicani were often identified (see n. 16), were often traced to a Bulgarian origin by their contemporaries; see Robert of Auxerre, *Chronicon*, 274; Matthew of Paris, *Chronica Majora*, 78; Rainier Sacchoni, "Summa de Catharis et Leonistis seu Pauperibus", in Martène et Durand, *TNA*, V, 1767-1768, et al.

¹⁶ Lateran Council of 1179, *Mansi*, XXII, 232; Robert of Auxerre, *Chronicon*, 249-250; William of Newbridge, *Libri quinque*, 108; et al.

¹⁷ Louis VII, *Epistola*, 729, "Archiepiscopus Remensis H. frater meus nuper in Flandriam Terram profectus, ibi invenit homines depravatos, erroris pessimi sectatores in Manichaeorum lapsos haeresim, qui vulgo Populicani vocantur". Also Stephen Bellavilla, *De septem donis*, 90; Alberic the Monk, *Chronicon*, 945.

¹⁸ Eckbert of Schönau, "Sermones contra Catharos", *PL*, CXCIV (1855), 16, et passim; Moneta of Cremona, *Adversus Catharos et Valdenses*, ed. T. Ricchini (Rome, 1743), et al.

¹⁹ The concern of this study is only with the Oriental Paulicians to the exclusion of any considerations of their possible survival in the Balkans or western Europe.

²⁰ M. Rader ed., *Petri Siculi Historia Manichaeorum* (Ingolstadt, 1604). Only the *History* of Peter of Sicily was edited by Rader, and not the *Sermons* following it, which were first published by A. Mai, *Nova patrum bibliotheca* (Rome, 1847), IV, 3, 1-79.

²¹ Ducange, "Observations sur l'histoire de Geoffroi de Ville-hardouin", *Corpus Byzantinae storicae*, XXVIII, 342, does not list Peter of Sicily among his sources. In the *Glossarium*, V, 350, which was published some twenty years later, the mention of Paul and John as the originators of the Paulician sect may well be a reference to Peter of Sicily, *History*, Chapters XXI and XXIII, *PG*, CIV, 1273/4-1275/6. This added source would explain the change in point of view from the suggestion of a doubt in the *Observations*, 342, "Or quoy que les hérétiques Pauliciens soient différens des Manichaeans [sic] ... ils sont ordinairement reconnus dans les auteurs sous le nom de Manichaeans", to the categorical identification of the Paulicians as Manichaeans in the *Glossarium*, V, 350. Here not only does Ducange consider the Paulicians to have been Manichaeans, but he identifies them with the Publicani, and derives the heretics of Orléans and the Waldensians from them.

Ecclesiastical Annals.²¹ Maimbourg, basing himself on Peter of Sicily and the Byzantine chroniclers, Cedrenus and Zonaras, included in his *History of Iconoclasm* a note on the persecutions of Paulicians in the Byzantine Empire during the ninth century. These Paulicians, he noted, were not only Manichaeans, but Iconoclasts. This additional characteristic was the cause of their persecution by the Empress Theodora after the re-establishment of Orthodoxy at Constantinople in 843.²² More importantly, Bossuet, in his history of the Protestant sects,²³ also followed Peter of Sicily and firmly established the thesis that the Paulicians were both Manichaeans and the transmitters of this doctrine to western Europe, through their settlement in the Balkans.²⁴ This thesis, which was to have much weight among scholars, appears in the works of Bayle,²⁵ Fleury,²⁶ Wolf,²⁷ Ricchini,²⁸ Muratori,²⁹ and Le Beau.³⁰ The insistence of Catholic authors on the heretical and specifically Manichaean character of the Paulicians resulted in part from the claim of Waldensian and

²¹ C. Baronius, *Annales Ecclesiastici* (Lucca, 1742-1744), XI, 459-462; XII, 76, 298-299, 628-629; XIII, 489-490; XIV, 313-314; XV, 223, 232 (*editio princeps*, 1588-1607). This is an historical account drawn mainly from Peter of Sicily. The Paulicians are invariably characterized as Manichaeans.

²² L. Maimbourg, *Histoire de l'hérésie des Iconoclastes* (Paris, 1686), 480-482.

²³ J. B. Bossuet, "Histoire des variations des églises protestantes", *Oeuvres*, IV (Paris, 1852), 172-174 (*editio princeps*, 1688).

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 174.

²⁵ P. Bayle, "Pauliciens", *Dictionnaire historique*, new ed. (Paris, 1820), XI, 476-509 (*editio princeps*, 1695-1697). Almost all the material for Bayle's article is taken from Bossuet.

²⁶ G. Fleury, *Histoire ecclésiastique*, new ed. (Paris, 1858), III, 223, 225-227, 229, 243-244, 259, 319, 487-488, 645 (*editio princeps*, 1720). In addition to Cedrenus and Zonaras, Fleury was acquainted with the chronicles of Theophanes Confessor and his Continuator, and with the life of the Emperor Basil I by Constantine Porphyrogenitus. Fleury's historical information is far more extensive than that of any of his predecessors, but he does not alter their thesis of Paulician Manichaeism and its influence on western Europe. See particularly III, 223, 225-227, 487-488, 645, IV, 640, 689.

²⁷ J. C. Wolf, *Anecdota graeca sacra et profana* (Hamburg, 1722-1724), 2 vols. The preface to the four polemical books against the Paulicians attributed to the Patriarch Photius, of which this is the first edition.

²⁸ T. Ricchini, "Preface" to Moneta of Cremona, *Adversus Catharos et Valdenses* (Rome, 1743), xiv-xviii.

²⁹ L. A. Muratori, "Dissertatio sexagesima, Quenam haereses saeculis rudibus Italiam divexarint", *Antiquitates Italicae Medii Aevi* (Arezzo, 1777), XI, 436-444.

³⁰ Le Beau, *Histoire du Bas-empire en commençant à Constantin le Grand* (Maestricht, 1780), XIV, 259-261, 265, 358; XV, 28-30, 88, 172-186; XVII, 569-571. Le Beau is acquainted with most of the chroniclers concerned with the Paulicians with the exception of George the Monk whose chronicle was not published until the following century. He is not interested in Paulician influence in the West, but he does not question the characterization of the sect as Manichaean.

other Protestant authors that the Paulicians were, by way of the Cathari, the original ancestors of the Waldensians in particular and of all the reformed churches in general. Such an assertion would naturally lead Protestant scholarship to the denial of the existence of any Manichaean doctrine among the Cathari and eventually among the Paulicians.³¹

Voltaire suggested that the name "Manichaean" was given inaccurately and pejoratively to all the opponents of the established Church, though he himself referred to the Paulicians persecuted by Theodora as Manichaeans.³² The first serious criticism of the identification of Paulicians with Manichaeans was to come from Mosheim.³³ In his *Institutes*, Mosheim retained the thesis of Paulician influence on western Europe,³⁴ but he pointed out that the Paulicians differed from the Manichaeans on a number of points,³⁵ and that the two had been identified merely on the basis of a dualistic doctrine widespread in early heterodox Christianity.³⁶ He came to the conclusion that the Paulicians were descended from one of the many Gnostic sects.³⁷ The Protestant point of view was probably

³¹ J. Chassanion, *Histoire des Albigeois* (1595), 29 ff.; J. Perrin, *Histoire des Vaudois et des Albigeois* (Geneva, 1618), passim; J. Léger, *Histoire générale des églises évangéliques vaudoises* (Leyden, 1669), I, 18, 126-131; II, 328; E. Gibbon, *The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, ed. J. B. Bury (London, 1902), VI, 111, 113, 125; F. Schmidt, *Historia Paulicianorum Orientalium* (Hafnia, 1826), 1-2, 68-74; J. K. L. Gieseler, "Untersuchungen über die Geschichte der Paulikianer", *Theologische Studien und Kritiken* (Hamburg, 1829), II, 80; Bossuet, *Variations*, and Fleury, *Histoire*, IV, 767, make a point of distinguishing between the Albigensians and the Waldensians. The tradition of the Paulicians as the ancestors of the Waldensians, however, was to persist as late as the nineteenth century; see A. Lombard, *Pauliciens, Bulgares, et Bons-hommes en Orient et en Occident* (Geneva, 1879), xviii-xix, 18-19, 271, etc. On this point see C. Schmidt, *Histoire ... des Cathares ou Albigeois* (Paris-Geneva, 1849), 267 ff.

³² Voltaire, "Examen important de Milord Bolingbroke ou le tombeau du fanatisme, écrit sur la fin de 1736", *Oeuvres*, XLIII, ed. M. Beuchot (Paris, 1831), 196-197.

³³ J. L. Mosheim, *Institutes of Ecclesiastical History Ancient and Modern*, trans. J. Murdock, 3rd ed. (New York, 1845-1849), 3 vols; G. Arnold, *Unparteyische Kirchen und Ketzer Historien*, new ed. (Schaffhausen, 1740), I, 331 (*editio princeps*, 1699), also questioned the Manichaean identification. I. de Beausorbe, *Histoire critique de Manichée et du manichéisme* (Amsterdam, 1734), I, 254, 262, criticized the accuracy of Peter of Sicily, Photius and Euthymius Zigabenus in their accusations against the Manichaeans and the Bogomils. He apparently left a manuscript study of the Paulicians, but this was never published, *ibid.*, I, "Preface", 5, and 262; C. Schmidt, *Histoire*, II, 268 n. 2.

³⁴ Mosheim, *Institutes*, II, 135-136, 465.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, 103-104, "... it is certain that they were not genuine Manichaeans, although they might hold some doctrines bearing a resemblance to those of that sect".

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 103.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 104, and 104, n. 12. The tendency to minimize the heretical aspect of Paulicianism is found here too, "... we discover, as to most of their doctrines, that they had in several respects more correct ideas of religion, of religious worship, and of

best presented by Gibbon. Following the thesis of Mosheim quite closely, Gibbon pointed out that the Paulicians had rejected all identification with Mani and his doctrine, and therefore he, too, considered them a Gnostic sect, though he admitted the presence of Manichaean elements among them. In his opinion the sectarians, in their insistence upon the Scriptures and their rejection of images, personified the opposition to the superstitions of the Church, and as such were worthy precursors of the Reformation.³⁸

The first important monograph on the Paulicians was published by Gieseler in 1829.³⁹ In addition to characterization of the doctrine and establishment of a systematic history and chronology of the sect,⁴⁰ Gieseler gave the first criticism of the existing sources.⁴¹ He pointed out

church government than the prevailing churches of that day had; and that they drew on themselves persecution, by their dislike of images, and by their opposition to the hierarchy, more than by their other religious opinions".

³⁸ Gibbon, *Decline and Fall*, VI, 111-115, 124-125. "The visible assemblies of the Paulicians or Albigeois were extirpated by fire and sword; and the bleeding remnants escaped by flight, concealment, or catholic conformity. But the invincible spirit which they had kindled still lived and breathed in the Western world. In the state, in the church, and even in the cloister, a latent succession was preserved of the disciples of St. Paul; who protested against the tyranny of Rome, embraced the Bible as the rule of faith, and purified their creed from all the visions of the Gnostic theology. The struggles of Wickliff in England, of Huss in Bohemia were premature and ineffectual; but the names of Zuinglius, Luther, and Calvin are pronounced with gratitude as the deliverers of nations" (125). Gibbon was also the first to consider the possible means for the transmission of the Paulician doctrine to the West. He suggested: 1) pilgrims passing through the Balkans on their return from Jerusalem; 2) Eastern traders in Venice; 3) Paulician contingents in the Byzantine provinces in Italy, *ibid.*, 123. Peter de Marca, *Histoire de Béarn* (Paris, 1640), VIII, xiv, 728, had suggested that the Paulicians had joined the French armies returning from Palestine by way of Bulgaria and so reached France, but he gave no proof of this hypothesis.

It is interesting that recent Soviet historians have returned to the thesis that the Paulicians, rejecting the corruption of the Medieval Church, turned back to the tradition of the early Christian communities. This thesis, however, is based on social and economic and not on theological grounds. See, for instance, K. Iuzbashian, "Toward the History of the Paulician Movement in Byzantium in the IX Century", *Problems of the History of Religion and Atheism*, IV (1956), 269-270.

³⁹ Gieseler, "Untersuchungen". Two earlier monographs on the Paulicians exist: 1) F. Schmidt, *Historia Paulicianorum Orientalium* (Hafnia, 1826), and 2) J. Engelhardt, "Die Paulikianer. Eine kirchenhistorische Abhandlung", *Neues kritisches Journal der theologischen Litteratur* (Sulzbach, 1827), VII, 3-33, 129-165. Schmidt, however, merely gave an account of Paulician history and dogma from the attempted reconciliation of Peter of Sicily, Photius, and Cedrenus. The study of Engelhardt, though more critical and thorough than that of Schmidt, was immediately superseded by that of Gieseler.

⁴⁰ Gieseler, "Untersuchungen", 87-101, 114-120.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 80, 82-86, *et passim*. Gieseler was to give a new edition of Peter of Sicily, *Petri Siculi Historia Manichaeorum seu Paulicianorum* (Göttingen, 1846), as well as of the polemical author known as Peter the Higuemen, Πέτρου ἐλαχίστου μοναχοῦ ἡγουμένου περὶ Παυλικιανῶν τῶν καὶ Μανιχαίων (Göttingen, 1849).

that the history of the sect could not safely be traced back further than the middle of the seventh century, and rejected the early or Manichaean phase of Paulicianism as a fable invented by Orthodox polemicists.⁴² Developing the theory of Mosheim and Gibbon, he concluded that the Paulicians were the descendants of a dualistic sect reformed to bring it into closer accord with primitive Christianity, but that they were unable to free themselves entirely from their Gnostic antecedents.⁴³ Through a study of the doctrine of the Paulicians, he further concluded that its closest analogy lay in the early Christian heresy of the Marcionites whose anti-Judaistic, Pauline attitude he found reflected in the later Paulician tradition.⁴⁴

By the middle of the nineteenth century the general theory was, therefore, that the Paulicians had held a non-Manichaean but dualistic Gnostic doctrine containing many elements of primitive Christianity which had been transmitted to anti-Catholic groups in western Europe.⁴⁵ All of the studies were concerned exclusively with the Paulicians within the Byzantine Empire; they were based on the polemical works of Peter of Sicily and the Patriarch Photius, as well as on the notices found in the works of the Greek chroniclers.⁴⁶ Two additional factors were to complicate the study of Paulicianism in more recent times.

Some Armenian documents concerning the Paulicians had been known from the end of the eighteenth century, but had been useless to western scholars because of language difficulty. These had been discussed by

⁴² Gieseler, "Untersuchungen", 81-86.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, 81, 83, 87, 102, 107-108.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 103-111. Gieseler emphasizes the Paulician reverence for St. Paul and their rejection of the Old Testament. He identifies this as part of the Marcionite tradition, *ibid.*, 83, 104-105, 108-109.

⁴⁵ C. Schmidt, *Histoire des Cathares*. Schmidt attempted to demonstrate the absence of any relation between the Cathari and the earlier dualistic sects, "Preface", iv-v, II, 252-271, *et passim*; he did not, however, question the dualistic character of the Paulicians, I, 12; II, 261-262. H. Finlay, *A History of Greece from the Conquest by the Romans to the Present Time, B.C. 146 to A.D. 1864*, new ed., ed. H. F. Tozer (Oxford, 1877), II, 243-244. Finlay comes to no particular conclusions about the Paulicians, but he is inclined to believe in their early Christian character. Lombard, *Pauliciens*, 12-21. The work of Lombard tends to be polemical and unscholarly. At best it reproduces the conclusions of Gieseler.

⁴⁶ The work attributed to Peter the Higuimen had been published by Gieseler (*see* n. 41). Two additional sources on the Greek Paulicians were available in this period: 1) an abjuration formula published by Tollius, *Insignia itinerarii Italici* (1696), 126 ff., reprinted in *PG*, I, 1461/2-1471/2 (known to Gieseler); 2) Euthymius Zigabenus, *Panoplia Dogmatica*, first published in Latin translation by P. F. Zinus (Venice, 1555), and in Greek by the Monk Mitrophanes (Tergovist, 1710). The works of Photius and in particular those of Peter of Sicily remained, however, the principal if not the only sources up to this period.

Michael Çamçeân, who had included some information on the history and doctrine of the Armenian Paulicians and T'ondrakeçi in his *History of the Armenians*, published in Venice in 1784.⁴⁷ Çamçeân considered these sectarians to have been Manichaeans. In 1834 one of the main polemical sources against the Armenian Paulicians, the work of the Kat'olikos John of Ojun, was also published in Venice, together with a Latin translation.⁴⁸ These works were familiar to Neander⁴⁹ and particularly to Döllinger,⁵⁰ and the Armenian material in general was extensively studied by Sargisean and Ter Mkrttschian.⁵¹ This additional material was not, however, to lead any of these scholars to any appreciable modification of the existing theories.⁵²

Toward the end of the preceding century and in the first years of our own, a number of additional sources on the Paulicians were published.⁵³ Furthermore, the validity of both the basic Greek sources, Peter of

⁴⁷ M. Çamçeân (Tchamtchian), *History of the Armenians from the Creation of the World to A.D. 1784 according to the Accounts of all the Sources*, 3 vols (Venice, 1784-1786), I, 765-68; II, 356-357, 386-388, 395, 884-895. Çamçeân was acquainted with the Greek chroniclers as well as with the work of Peter of Sicily, though apparently not at first hand, *ibid.*, I, 767-768.

⁴⁸ John of Ojun, *Domini Johannis Philosophi Otznensis Armeniorum Catholici, Opera*, ed. J. B. Aucher (Venice, 1834). F. Windischmann, "Mittheilungen aus der armenischen Kirchengeschichte", *Tübingen theologische Quartalschrift* (1835), gives a discussion of this work.

⁴⁹ A. Neander, *Allgemeine Geschichte der christlichen Religion und Kirche* (Hamburg, 1836), IV, 450-453. Neander was acquainted with the work of Çamçeân through a translation given to him by Petermann, *ibid.*, 451, nn. 1, 3. He does not seem to have known the work of John of Ojun or the article of Windischmann.

⁵⁰ I. von Döllinger, *Beiträge zur Sektengeschichte des Mittelalters I—Geschichte der gnostisch-manichäischen Sekten im früheren Mittelalters* (Munich, 1890), 1-31, 54, 58-59, 113-116, 123, 127, 129-131. Döllinger was also acquainted with the work of Çamçeân at second hand, but he devoted a chapter to the work of John of Ojun, *ibid.*, 24-31. He was of the opinion that the Paulicians might be related to the sect of the Archontics as well as to the Marcionites, *ibid.*, 2-3, but he does not otherwise seriously modify the thesis of Gieseler.

⁵¹ B. Sargisean, *Research on the Manichaeo-Paulician Sect of the T'ondrakians* (Venice, 1893). K. Ter Mkrttschian, *Die Paulikianer im byzantinischen Kaiserreiche und verwandte ketzerische Erscheinungen in Armenien* (Leipzig, 1893). Some of Ter Mkrttschian's conclusions seem unfounded, but H. Grégoire's condemnation of the work as "un livre faux d'un bout à l'autre", seems unduly harsh, H. Grégoire, "Autour des Pauliciens", *Byzantion*, XI (1936), 610. Much of Ter Mkrttschian's material is of primary importance, and he made some of the Armenian sources available to western scholars for the first time; see, *Die Paulikianer*, Appendices, 129 ff.

⁵² Although Ter Mkrttschian criticized and rejected part of the Greek sources (see n. 54), he too accepted the thesis of the Marcionite origin of Paulicianism, *ibid.*, 106-111, though he also suggested a relation to the Messalians, *ibid.*, 42-49, 62-63, 84, 89, 111.

⁵³ a) George the Monk, *Chronicon*, ed. E. Murlalt (St. Petersburg, 1859). This is the first complete edition of the chronicle and of its continuation. It contains the chapter

Sicily and the Patriarch Photius, was attacked by Ter Mkrttschian.⁵⁴ Consequently the majority of recent works on the Paulicians have devoted themselves primarily to the establishment of the validity and sequence of the Greek sources.⁵⁵ No definitive conclusions on this subject have been reached up to now. Nevertheless, the general opinion at present remains that the Paulicians were a non-Manichaean but clearly Gnostic sect probably most closely related to the Marcionites.⁵⁶

Two other theories give a different interpretation of Paulicianism. One

relating to the Paulicians omitted in *CSHB*, XXXIII (Bonn, 1838). The Muralt edition was reprinted by Migne, *PG*, CX (1863). A better edition was brought out by C. de Boor, *Georgii Monachi Chronicon* (Leipzig, 1904), 2 vols.

b) J. Friedrich ed., "Der ursprüngliche bei Georgios Monachos nur theilweise erhaltene Bericht über die Paulikianer", *Sitzungsberichte der philosophisch-philologischen und der historischen Classe der K.B. Akademie der Wissenschaften zu München* (1896), 67-111. This is the publication of the chapter concerning the Paulicians in the *Codex Scorialensis*, and it differs radically from the version of de Boor (see my Chapter I).

c) G. Ficker ed., "Eine Sammlung von Abschwörungsformeln", *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, XXVII (Gotha, 1906), 443-464. This contains an abjuration formula different from the one published by Tollius and Migne (see n. 46).

d) N. M. Petrovskii ed., "Letter of the Patriarch of Constantinople Theophylactus to the Tsar of Bulgaria Peter", *IAN*, XVIII, 3 (1913), 356-372.

e) A number of Armenian sources referring to the Paulicians were translated by Ter Mkrttschian and Conybeare (see nn. 51, 59). Also new manuscript evidence from Armenia was published by Miaban (G. Ter Mkrttschian), "The Book of Heretics", *Ararat* (Feb., 1892).

⁵⁴ K. Ter Mkrttschian, *Die Paulikianer*, 3-4, 9-14, 127 accepted as genuine the first part of the first book of Photius, but rejected the rest as well as all of Peter of Sicily as twelfth-century forgeries. These conclusions were, however, not accepted.

⁵⁵ K. Ter Mkrttschian, *Die Paulikianer*, 2-14, 28, 127, et passim. J. Friedrich, "Der ursprüngliche Bericht", 67-69, 81 ff. C. de Boor, "Der Bericht des Georgios Monachos über die Paulikianer", *BZ*, VII (1900), 39-49. J. B. Bury, "Appendix 6", in Gibbon, *Decline and Fall*, VI, 540-543. K. R. Moeller, *De Photii Petrique Siculi libris contra Manichaeos scriptis* (Bonn, 1910). H. Grégoire, "Les Sources de l'histoire des Pauliciens. Pierre de Sicile est authentique et 'Photius' est un faux", *ARB-BL*, XXII, 5e série (1936), 95-114. Grégoire, "Sur l'histoire des Pauliciens", *ibid.*, 224-226. Grégoire, "Autour des Pauliciens", *Byzantion*, XI (1936), 610-614 (hereafter, "Pauliciens"). Grégoire, "Précisions géographiques et chronologiques sur les Pauliciens", *ARB-BL*, XXXIII, 5e série (1947), 289-295. F. Scheidweiler, "Paulikianerprobleme", *BZ*, XLIII, 2 (1950), 10-39, 366-384. E. Lipshits, "Problems of the Paulician Movement in the Light of Contemporary Bourgeois Historiography", *VV*, V (1952), 235-243. M. Loos, "Deux contributions à l'histoire des Pauliciens", *Byzantinoslavica*, XVII, 1 (Prague, 1956), 19-57. Good résumés of the various conclusions presented in these works are to be found in Bury, "Appendix", in Gibbon, *Decline and Fall*, VI, 540-543; Grégoire, "Sources", 95-101; and Loos, "Contributions I", 19 ff. See also J. Scharf, "Zur Echtheitsfrage der Manichäerbücher des Photius", *BZ*, XLIV (1951), 487 ff.

⁵⁶ V. Sharenkoff, *A Study of Manichaeism in Bulgaria with Special Reference to the Bogomils* (New York, 1927). H. Grégoire, "Sources", 95-105. Grégoire, "Pour l'histoire des églises pauliciennes Καίνοχάριον du Pont, Episparis en Φανάριον", *Orientalia Christiana Periodica*, XIII (Rome, 1947), 509, 513 (hereafter, "Eglises").

is held by Soviet scholars. In 1947 the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Armenian SSR set before Armenian scholars the problem of tracing the history of the class struggle and of revolts against foreign oppressors in Armenia.⁵⁷ As a result, basing themselves on Engels' interpretation and generally neglecting the theological aspects of the heresy, Soviet scholars view the Paulician movement as a proletarian revolt against the oppression of a feudal nobility. In their opinion, this opposition expressed itself in theological terms, but these were intrinsically of little importance. These studies show acquaintance with most of the Armenian material as well as the Greek sources, and their sociological interpretation may be valid within its limited sphere, though the arguments presented to support it have not been particularly convincing so far. Such an approach, however, is far too limited to give any comprehensive insight into the real character of Paulicianism. In the realm of theology, Soviet scholarship still accepts the thesis of Paulician dualism.⁵⁸

Grégoire, "Précisions", 301. A. Dondaine, *Un traité neo-manichéen du XIII^e siècle le liber de duobus principiis* (Rome, 1939), 52, 56. T. Nersoyan, "The Paulicians", *The Eastern Churches Quarterly*, V, 12 (London, 1944), 403-412. H. C. Puech and A. Vaillant, *Le Traité contre les Bogomiles de Cosmas le prêtre* (Paris, 1945), 305-306, 311, 317-325. S. Runciman, *The Medieval Manichee* (Cambridge, 1948), 26-62. D. Obolensky, *The Bogomils* (Cambridge, 1948), 28-58. Scheidweiler, "Paulikianer-probleme", 366 ff. H. Söderberg, *La Religion des Cathares* (Uppsala, 1949), 24-29, 33, 52-53, 55, 103, 117-118, 120-121, 268, etc.

The thesis of the Manichaean origin of the Paulicians seems to have been abandoned in favor of a Gnostic dualism, though Dondaine still gives the former serious consideration, *Le liber de duobus principiis*, 52, "Les débuts du Paulicianisme sont mal connus; ses premières manifestations certaines ne remontent guère au delà du milieu du VII^e siècle. Un lien historique avec le manichéisme n'a pu être établi, cependant ses origines aux confins de l'Europe et de l'Asie où les doctrines de Mani avaient encore de nombreux adeptes rendent la filiation des plus vraisemblable".

In view of the recent enthusiasm for the Marcionite origin of the Paulicians, it will be well to remember that the authority on the Marcionites, A. Harnack, had doubts as to the resemblance of the two sects; see his *Marcion, das Evangelium vom fremden Gott* (Leipzig, 1921), 303-304, also 382-383. The relation of Paulicianism to Manichaeanism and Marcionitism had already been denied in the last century by I. V. Chel'tsov, "About the Paulicians", *Khristsianskoie Chtenie* (*Christian Readings*), 3-4 (1877), 513-19.

⁵⁷ S. Melik-Bashian, *The Paulician Movement in Armenia*, Russian edition (Moscow, 1955), 12.

⁵⁸ E. Lipshits, "The Paulician Movement in Byzantium in the VIII and the First Part of the IX Centuries", *VV*, V (1952), 49-72. S. Melik-Bashian, *The Paulician Movement in Armenia* (Erevan, 1953). This work was received with severe criticism; see K. Iuzbashian, "Review", *Voprosy Istorii* (1955, #1), 158-162. The Russian translation appeared with some corrections in 1955, and all references to the work of Melik-Bashian in this study will be to the corrected Russian edition. A. G. Ioannisiyan (Hovhannisiyan), "The T'ondrakian Movement in Armenia (IX-XI Centuries)",

One other theory, insufficiently appreciated by most modern scholars, has been advanced as to the origin and nature of the Paulician heresy. Drawing extensively on the Armenian documents, some of which he published for the first time, F. C. Conybeare came to the conclusion that the Paulicians, far from being dualists, were the survivors of early Adoptionist Christianity. That is to say, they believed that Jesus was born an ordinary creature and was adopted by God upon his baptism as a reward for virtue. In their eyes, therefore, he was not both God and man, but, on the contrary, the Son of God by grace and adoption rather than by nature.⁵⁹

Voprosy Istorii, X (1954). A. Manatsakanyan, "On Some Major Problems of the T'ondrakian Movement", *IANA* (1954, #3), 63 ff (unfortunately unobtainable at present). K. N. Iuzbashian, "On the History of the Paulician Movement in Byzantium in the IX Century", *Problems in the History of Religion and Atheism*, IV (Moscow, 1956), 246-279. K. N. Iuzbashian, "The T'ondrakian Movement in Armenia and the Paulicians", *IANA* (1956, #9), 31-44. A. G. Ioannisyan, "Smbat Zarehavançi, his Times and his Contemporaries", *Matenadaran Bulletin*, III (Erivan, 1956), 7-30. H. Bart'ikyan, "On the Problem of the Paulician Movement in the First Half of the Eighth Century", *VV, VIII* (1956), 127-131. H. Bart'ikyan, "Concerning the Evaluation of Certain Sources on the Paulician Movement", *IANA* (1957, #6), 85-97. H. Bart'ikyan, "On the Organization of the Paulician Community", *Historico-philological Journal of the Academy of Sciences of the Armenian SSR* (1958, #3), 183-187.

Soviet scholars have benefited from a great deal of new manuscript material, but their lack of interest in theological matters has kept them from questioning the traditional interpretation of Paulicianism as a dualist heresy. As regards the socio-economic interpretation of the development of the sect, there is no doubt that Paulicians were found in the army of Thomas the Slav in the early ninth century (see my Chapter III), but Thomas had gathered such a heterogeneous following during his rebellion that little can be deduced about the Paulicians from the mere fact of their presence in Thomas' army, which is all that we know. Also, it does not seem safe to argue that the Paulicians were proselytizing exclusively among the oppressed proletariat simply on the basis of their enemies' accusation that they were ignorant folk. We shall see that members of the upper classes of society were also present in the sect. Finally, the iconoclasm of the Paulicians need not be explained exclusively in terms of their opposition to the wealth and exploitative character of the monasteries. For these arguments see, for example, Lipshits, "Paulician Movement", 57-58, 64 ff., 67-72, etc. The theory of a lower-class origin for the Paulicians had already been suggested by Chel'tsov, "About the Paulicians", 495, 512, etc.

⁵⁹ F. C. Conybeare, "Introduction" to *The Key of Truth, A Manual of the Paulician Church in Armenia* (Oxford, 1898), xvii-cxcvi (hereafter *KT-I*). The publication of *The Key of Truth* provides the first document purporting to be by the heretics themselves rather than being the work of their opponents. The theory of Conybeare as to the origin of the Paulicians has not, however, received the attention which it deserves, though Bury acknowledged that: "There can be no doubt that Mr. Conybeare's discovery brings us nearer to the true nature of Paulicianism", "Appendix 6", in Gibbon, *Decline and Fall*, VI, 543. A number of scholars rejected Conybeare's thesis as unfounded; see L. Mariès, "Frederick Cornwallis Conybeare. Notice biographique

The foregoing divergent theories reveal a fundamental problem: the apparent contradiction of the Greek and Armenian sources. Most studies are not able to reconcile the two bodies of material, and therefore reject or disregard part of the evidence. Furthermore, they are led astray by the assumption that Paulician doctrine showed no geographical or chronological variations, but remained static throughout the history of the sect.⁶⁰

The purpose of this study is first to re-evaluate all the available material on the subject of the Paulicians; second to present the history of the Paulician movement, both in Armenia and the eastern provinces of the Byzantine Empire; third to study the evolution of Paulician theology; and finally, by resolving some of the difficulties and contradictions of the subject and tracing the origin and nature of Paulicianism, to attempt a synthesis of the evidence.

et bibliographie critique", *REA*, VI, 2 (1926), 247-251. While it is quite true that Conybeare's enthusiasm carries him too far on a number of occasions, his critics, often insufficiently acquainted with the Armenian sources, were not able to appreciate at its true value a thesis which broke so sharply with the prevailing Manichaeo-Gnostic Paulician interpretation of the period. See my Chapter V for a discussion of Adoptionism and of Conybeare's thesis.

⁶⁰ One more interesting exception to this point of view is to be found in the work of Chel'tsov, "About the Paulicians". He is of the opinion that the Paulicians were never dualists of any denomination (see n. 56), and believes that the sect grew from the widening of the gap between the clergy and the laity in the Empire during the seventh century (527-528). During the first century of its existence the sect showed no signs of heterodoxy, according to him, but was merely a gathering for the reading and expounding of the Scriptures (495-502). It was only with the leadership of Sergius in the early ninth century that this gathering became a definite sect (503). After Sergius' reform the Paulician movement, though heretical, was merely anti-clerical. This opposition to the clergy and to the usages of the Church led the sectarians eventually deeper into heresy and resulted in their rejection of the Orthodox sacraments (519 ff). Although Chel'tsov did not possess the Armenian material nor some of the Greek sources (he does not mention George the Monk or the *Abjuration formulae*), and although he made a number of mistakes and presented unsupported conclusions, his theory of a non-dualistic sect showing a marked evolution in character and a major reform in the time of Sergius, is most interesting. Insofar as I know, it has never been considered by western scholars.

I

THE GREEK SOURCES

The Greek sources which relate to the Paulicians present an extremely complex problem. The interpretation of these sources has caused much confusion and misunderstanding. Hence another analysis of these Greek works seems not only defensible but imperative at this point. We no longer possess a single document in Greek which can be ascribed to the Paulicians themselves. All of our information must be drawn from the works of their opponents. What sources we actually possess can be divided into the following categories:

- 1) Official documents and letters;
- 2) References to the Paulicians in the works of the Byzantine historians;
- 3) Occasional references in other works not directly concerned with the heresy;
- 4) Polemical works of various types aimed specifically at the sectarians. Each category must be considered in turn.

We possess no official Byzantine documents concerned directly with the Paulicians. They are not mentioned by name in any of the imperial constitutions, nor in the patriarchal and conciliar decrees.¹ However, a few religious documents have survived: two *Abjuration Formulae* for heretics returning to the Orthodox Church;² some *Letters* of the Patriarch

¹ The references to the Manichaeans in the imperial documents will be discussed elsewhere, together with the subject to which they pertain. The official documents never associate the Paulicians with the Manichaeans.

² a) Περί τοῦ πῶς χρή τὸν ἀπὸ Παυλικιάνων προσερχόμενον ἀναθεματίζειν τὴν αἵρεσιν τῶν Παυλικιανιστῶν, *Codex Scorialensis R I 15*, fols. 88a-90b, in Ficker, *Abschwörungsformeln*, 453-455 (hereafter *Paulician Formula*).

b) "Quomodo haeresim suam scriptis oporteat anathematizare eos qui e Manichaeis accedunt ad Sanctam Dei catholicam et apostolicam Ecclesiam", *Codex Regius 1818 = Parisinus 1362* in Clement I, "Appendix monumentorum III, dubia", *PG*, I (1857), 1461/2-1471/2. Also *Codex Scorialensis R I 15*, fols. 66b-72b. This version hardly varies from the one published by Migne to which I shall refer. See Ficker, *Abschwörungsformeln*, 445-446, and 445, n. 5, 446, n. 5 (hereafter *Manichaean Formula*).

Photius (858-867, 877-886);³ and one *Letter* of the Patriarch Theophylactus Lecapenus (933-956) to his nephew by marriage, Peter, Tsar of Bulgaria, who had apparently complained of the presence of heretics in his realm.⁴

The *Paulician Formula* is a brief document consisting of eighteen anathemas to be pronounced by the abjuring heretic, followed by an indication of the ritual to be used in receiving him back into the Orthodox community. This formula contains a good deal of material on the doctrine and practice of the Paulicians, but almost no historical information. Despite its brevity, this is an important and useful document. It may be dated toward the middle of the ninth century by means of a comparison of its historical content and the doctrines anathematized in it with some of the other material which we possess from this period.⁵

The second formula is ostensibly devoted to Manichaeans, although it is evident that parts of it, at least, refer to the Paulicians.⁶ The character of this document is very different from that of the *Paulician Formula*. Apparently concerned with completeness rather than coherence, the *Manichaean Formula* anathematizes, pell-mell, Mani, his disciples, doctrines and books, the Paulician leaders, Manichaean feasts, and Paulician beliefs and customs.⁷ Brinkmann⁸ and Ficker⁹ long since observed that we are dealing here with a composite document drawn from a number of sources. The *Manichaean Formula* actually appears to be a confused combination of an earlier formula concerned exclusively with Manichaeans¹⁰

³ Photius Patriarcha, "Encyclia epistola ad archiepiscopales thronos per Orientem obtinentes, Epistolarum liber primus", *PG*, CII (1860), Epistola XIII, 721/2. "Epistolarum liber tertius", *ibid.*, Epistolae I, IX, XIX, XXVI, 927/8, 933/4, 941/2, 945/6.

⁴ *Codex Ambrosianus* 270 E 9 sup., fols. 171v-173r, early fourteenth century. Theophylactus Patriarcha, *Letter*, 361-368. V. Grumel ed., *Les Régestes des actes du patriarchat de Constantinople*, I, 2 (1936), #789, 223-224. On the relation of Tsar Peter to Theophylactus, see Obolensky, *Bogomils*, 111-112, and 112, n. 1.

⁵ See n. 96 and Chapter IV. The tentative suggestion made by Ficker, *Abschwörungsformeln*, 461-464, that the date of this formula should be shifted from the ninth to the eleventh century on the ground of the similarity between the doctrine described in it and that of the Bogomils, is not warranted. The evidence both internal and external points to the ninth century.

⁶ The names of the Paulician leaders and churches are listed, *Manichaean Formula*, 1467/8, but the word Paulician is never used; all the references are to "Manichaeans".

⁷ The references to the Paulicians occur mostly in the latter part of the formula, *ibid.*, 1467/8-1471/2.

⁸ A. Brinkmann, "Die Theosophie des Aristokritos", *Rheinisches Museum für Philologie*, Neue Folge, LI (1896), 273, 275.

⁹ Ficker, *Abschwörungsformeln*, 446, 448.

¹⁰ "Ὅπως δεῖ ἀναθεματίζειν ἐγγράφως τοὺς ἀπὸ Μανιχαίων προσερχομένους τῇ ἀγίᾳ τοῦ Θεοῦ Ἐκκλησίᾳ", *Codex Barberinus Graecus* 336, ninth century at the latest, in *PG*, C (1860), 1321/2-1323/4. Also in Ficker, *Abschwörungsformeln*, 446-448. This for-

and the *Paulician Formula* already described. Several anathemas of the latter are repeated, together with the ritual for the reception of the recanting heretic back into the Church.¹¹ To these sources may be added some material drawn from another work, probably the *History* attributed to the Patriarch Photius.¹²

The inclusion of the *Manichaean Formula* in such collections of abjuration formulae as those found in the *Codex Scorialensis I R 15* and the *Codex Regius 1818* implies that it was a document in actual use, though the confusion of its content and its contradictions undermine its practical value. On the other hand, the similarity long noted by scholars between the *Manichaean Formula* and such polemical works as the *History* attributed to the Patriarch Photius, which must be dated as late as the tenth century,¹³ suggests the possibility that this formula is merely a literary source. At best, this is a late and composite document, belonging to the middle of the tenth century, and must be used with the greatest caution. Its main value lies in the suggestion of a change in Paulician doctrine, a change inadvertently reflected in its internal contradictions.¹⁴

From the same period as the *Manichaean Formula*, we possess a *Letter*

_____mula dates from the fifth century. I shall refer to the Ficker edition, which is more accurate than that of Migne, *ibid.*, 446, and 444, n. 1. The *Manichaean Formula* with which we are concerned may not derive directly from this particular earlier formula, but merely from a similar one. Our formula is rather more elaborate if less precise than the earlier one. Our formula lists the figures of the Manichaean mythology such as Opifex, the Æons, the Virgin of Light, etc. *Manichaean Formula*, 1461/2; the prophets of the Old Testament rejected by the Manichaeans, *ibid.*, 1463/4; and the names of the Manichaean scriptures, *ibid.*, 1465/6. It also refers to such Manichaean doctrines as metempsychosis and the belief in extreme asceticism, *ibid.*, omitted by the earlier formula. However, the anathemas of the *Manichaean Formula*, 1461/2-1463/4, 1465/6A, 1465/6D-1467/8, bear on the identical points as those of the earlier formula whose order even seems to have been followed on a number of occasions, so that an intimate relation between the two formulae cannot be denied. Moeller, *De libris*, 60-61.

¹¹ The parallel between the *Manichaean* and *Paulician Formulae* is as close as the relation discussed in the preceding note:

<i>Paulician Formula</i>		<i>Manichaean Formula</i>
Anathema IV, 453	Mary and the Saints	1469/70B
Anathema V, 453	Christian fasts	1469/70B
Anathema VI, 453	The Gospels	1469/70BC
Anathema VII 453-454	Unnatural vices	1469/70C
453-454	Ritual for the reception of recanting heretics	1469/70D-1471/2 A, etc.

¹² Moeller, *De libris*, 60-61; Brinkmann, "Die Theosophie", 273-275, *et al.*

¹³ Brinkmann, "Die Theosophie", 273-275, dated the *Manichaean Formula* in the ninth century, but solely on the basis of its dependence on the *History* attributed to the Patriarch Photius, which he considered authentic. For a discussion of Photius' authenticity, see below.

¹⁴ For the discussion of the alteration of the Paulician doctrine, see Chapter IV.

of the Patriarch Theophylactus Lecapenus. The authenticity of this document has never been questioned, and it must be dated between 940 and 956.¹⁵ Runciman has expressed a rather low opinion of Theophylactus' competence as a theologian.¹⁶ This *Letter*, however, presumably represents the result of some research on the part of the Patriarch or his chancery, since it is the second missive sent from Constantinople to Bulgaria. Tsar Peter, in a lost *Letter*, had apparently complained that the advice given him in a earlier *Letter* from the Patriarch was insufficiently comprehensive.¹⁷ In the *Letter* which we possess, Theophylactus expresses the intention of satisfying the Tsar with a clearer reply, now that he has obtained additional information on the heretics.¹⁸ The importance of Theophylactus' *Letter* is twofold. It is a practical document composed for a specific purpose, rather than a literary, theological discourse. Furthermore, the heretical doctrines described by Theophylactus provide us with a fixed point of comparison by which we may date other documents.

The *Encyclical Letter for the Year 866* shows that the Patriarch Photius was concerned with the problem of the Paulicians and that his repressive measures against these heretics had met with a certain amount of success.¹⁹ The other *Letters* of the Patriarch are purely unofficial in character.

¹⁵ Theophylactus was patriarch from February 2, 933, to February 27, 956, Grumel *Régestes*, 222. Obolensky, *Bogomils*, 112, observes that the fatherly tone of the *Letter* scarcely suits the beginning of this period, since Theophylactus, the fourth son of Romanus Lecapenus, was made patriarch at the age of sixteen. On the other hand, Runciman, *Medieval Manichee*, 68, thinks that this document cannot postdate 954, the year in which Theophylactus was incapacitated by the riding accident from the consequences of which he was to die two years later. In view of the tone of the *Letter* and of the fact that this was not the first such advice sent to Tsar Peter (see n. 17), I would be inclined to date this document very close to 950.

¹⁶ Runciman, *Medieval Manichee*, 67.

¹⁷ Grumel, *Régestes*, #788, 223. Theophylactus, *Letter*, 359-360, 362, "Ἐπεὶ δὲ σοὶ καὶ ἤδη περὶ τῆς νεοφανοῦς ἀντεγράφη κατὰ τὰ ἐρωτηθέντα αἰρέσεως, καὶ νῦν τρανότερον τε καὶ διεξοδικότερον γράφομεν πάλιν ὡς ἐπεζήτησας".

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 362, "...τελεώτερον ἀναμαθόντες ἐξ ὑμῶν τοῦ δόγματος τὸ ἐξάγιστον. Γράφομεν δὲ σαφεῖ λόγῳ, γυμνά τιθέντες τὰ πράγματα, διὰ λιτῶν γραμμάτων, καθὼς ἡξίωσας". Also Grumel, *Régestes*, 223. The similarity of the anathemas of Theophylactus and of the *Paulician* and *Manichaean Formulae* suggests that the latter documents were familiar to the patriarchal chancery if not still in current use. While the *Letter* of Theophylactus adds little to the Paulician doctrine such as we know it from the *Abjuration Formulae*, its great interest for us lies in the characterization of the heretics given by the Patriarch, and his advice as to the means to be employed in dealing with them (see Chapter V).

¹⁹ Photius, "Epistularum liber primus, Epistula XIII", *PG*, CII, 721/2, "μάλιστα δὲ κατὰ τὴν βασιλεύουσαν πόλιν, ἐν ᾗ πολλὰ θεοῦ συνεργεῖα, τῶν ἀνεπιστῶν κατάρθωται· πολλὰ δὲ γλῶσσαι τὴν προτέραν διαπτυσάμεναι μυσαρύτητα, τὸν κοινὸν ἀπάντων Πλάστην, καὶ Δημιουργόν, μεθ' ἡμῶν ὑμνεῖν ἐδιδάχθησαν".

They are written to a certain *spatharios*, John, who is addressed in one of them as John Chrysocheir, the name of the last Paulician leader in Anatolia known to the Byzantine sources.²⁰ These *Letters*, in which Photius writes to John as a personal acquaintance, are unfortunately very brief and none too explicit, but they indicate a relationship between the Patriarch and the last of the great Paulician leaders.

The references to the Paulicians in the various Byzantine chronicles which form the second category of our sources are not very numerous, but they provide some of the most trustworthy historical information concerning this sect. The earliest mention of the Paulicians by name occurs in the *Chronicle* of Theophanes the Confessor, composed in the first years of the ninth century.²¹ The next reference to the sect comes from the *Chronicle* of George the Monk in the Sixties of the same century.²² The main reference to the Paulicians in this work presents a serious problem and will be discussed subsequently along with the polemical material. Of necessity, both of these sources treat the history of the Paulicians before the period of their political importance, which lies between ca. 843 and 872.²³ The historical documents which cover the period of the established Paulician state date mainly from the middle of the tenth century. They are the *Basileia* of Genesisius, written at the order of Constantine Porphyrogenitus,²⁴ and the so-called Continuator

²⁰ Photius, "Epistolarum liber tertius", *ibid.*, 927/8, 933/4, 941/2, 945/6. "Ἰωάννη σπαθαρίῳ τῷ Χρυσοχείρῳ", *ibid.*, 933/4. These letters indicate that Photius' admonitions did not always meet with the success of which he boasts in his *Encyclical Letter*.

²¹ Theophanes, *Chronographia*, ed. C. de Boor, 2 vols. (Leipzig 1883-1884). Krumbacher, *Byzantinische Litteratur*, 342, dated the work of Theophanes between 811/812 (the death of Syncellus) and 814/815 (the imprisonment of Theophanes); so also Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*, 333 ff. There is no mention of the Paulicians as such in the work of the Patriarch Nicephorus who died in 829. Nicephorus Patriarcha, "Breviarium historicum de rebus gestis post imperium Mauricii", *PG*, C (1860), 875/6-993/4. Nicephorus refers to the shift of population from Armenia to Thrace in the reign of Constantine V, whence Theophanes derives the spread of Paulicianism, *Chronographia* I, 429, but he describes the emigrants as Armenians and Syrians without any suggestion of heterodoxy, Nicephorus, *Breviarium*, 975/6 B.

²² Georgius Monachus, *Chronicon*, ed. C. de Boor (Leipzig, 1904), II. Krumbacher, *Byzantinische Litteratur*, 352, and Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*, 146, date this chronicle ca. 866-867. Ter Mkrttschian, *Die Paulikianer*, 30-31, says that there are no mentions of the Paulicians in George's *Chronicle* outside of the polemical chapter devoted to them. This assertion, however, is inaccurate; cf. Georgius Monachus, *Chronicon*, 751.

²³ For the history of the Paulicians, see Chapter III.

²⁴ Genesisius, "Regum", *CSHB*, XXII, ed. C. Lachmann (Bonn, 1834). Krumbacher, *Byzantinische Litteratur*, 264, and Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*, 175 ff. Also A. A. Vasil'ev, *Byzantium and the Arabs. The Political Relations of Byzantium and the Arabs During the Period of the Macedonian Dynasty (867-959)*, (St. Petersburg, 1902, in Russian), (hereafter *Macedonian Dynasty*). Vasil'ev is of the opinion that Genesisius

of Theophanes,²⁵ of which the fifth book, on Basil I, was considered by Krumbacher to be the work of Constantine Porphyrogenitus himself.²⁶ There is also a brief reference to the Paulicians in the same emperor's work, *On the Themes*;²⁷ and in *The Book of Ceremonies* he gives a description of Basil I's triumphal entrance into Constantinople after the destruction of the Paulician capital of Tephrikē and the end of the Paulician War.²⁸ Finally, we possess for this period the works of Leo Grammaticus and the Continuator of George the Monk, who is identified as Symeon, Magistros and Logothetes.²⁹ These are the main historical sources on the Paulicians. The later works of Georgius Cedrenus³⁰ and Zonaras³¹ repeat

is a good and reliable source in general, *ibid.*, 34, n. 1, though he criticises him for making Basil I the leader of the second campaign against the Paulicians, and for attributing the destruction of Tephrikē to an earthquake.

²⁵ Theophanes Continuatus, "Chronographia", *CSHB*, XXXIII, ed. I. Bekker (Bonn, 1838).

²⁶ Krumbacher, *Byzantinische Litteratur*, 253, ascribes the work to the period of Constantine's sole rule, 945-959, as also does Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*, 340 ff. For the sake of convenience I shall continue to refer to the work as Theophanes Continuatus. Vasil'ev, *Macedonian Dynasty*, 41-43, points out that the fifth book of Theophanes Continuatus is a combination of the account of Genesis and an unknown source. He further points out that the two campaigns of Basil I against the Paulicians are combined to minimize the defeat which ended the first campaign. Thus the entire account is to be considered unreliable and used with the greatest caution.

²⁷ Constantine Porphyrogenitus, "De Thematribus", *Studi e Testi* 160, ed. Pertusi (Vatican City, 1952). Vasil'ev, *Macedonian Dynasty*, 34, n. 1, points out again the inaccuracy of Constantine who speaks of the Paulician leader Karbeas as still alive in the reign of Basil I when we know that he died in 863 under Michael III, *ibid.*, 25.

²⁸ Constantine Porphyrogenitus, "De ceremoniis aulae Byzantinae", *CSHB*, XI, ed. J. Reisk (Bonn, 1829), 498-503. Vasil'ev, *Macedonian Dynasty*, 34-37, and 34, n. 3, notes that the two triumphs of Basil I, the victory over the Paulicians in 872 and the campaign of Germanicia in 882, are described by Constantine as a single ceremony.

²⁹ Leo Grammaticus, "Chronographia", *CSHB*, XX, ed. I. Bekker (Bonn, 1842). Georgius Monachus, "Vitae imperatorum recentiorum", *CSHB*, XLI, ed. I. Bekker (Bonn, 1838), 763-924. This section is not included in the edition of de Boor, which ends with George's own work in 842. I shall cite this section as Georgius Monachus Continuatus. Also Symeon Magister ac Logothetes, "Annales a Leone Armenio ad Nicephorum Phocam", *CSHB*, XLI, ed. I. Bekker (Bonn, 1838), 603-760. See Krumbacher, *Byzantinische Litteratur*, 354-355, 359, 361. Vasil'ev, *Macedonian Dynasty*, 31, n. 4, is of the opinion that the account of George's Continuator is very satisfactory for late Paulician history. It must, however, be noted that his information is not always accurate. The inhabitants of Tephrikē are identified as Arabs rather than Paulicians: "Ἐστράτευσε δὲ ὁ βασιλεὺς κατὰ τῶν Ἀγαρηῶν τῶν εἰς Τεφρικήν...", Georgius Monachus Continuatus, *Vitae*, 841.

³⁰ Georgius Cedrenus, "Historiarum Compendium", *CSHB*, VI-VII, ed. I. Bekker (Bonn, 1838). See Krumbacher, *Byzantinische Litteratur*, 368. Cedrenus incorporated into his chronicle the works of Theophanes, Georgius Monachus, and Theophanes Continuatus. His account is not always clear; see Vasil'ev, *Macedonian Dynasty*, 32, n. 2.

³¹ Johannes Zonaras, "Annales", *CSHB*, XLIII-XLIV, ed. M. Pinder (Bonn, 1841). See Krumbacher, *Byzantinische Litteratur*, 370.

the material found in the earlier sources, but add no further information. An interesting commentary on the Paulicians, however, can be found in the *Annales* of Michael Glycas, which date from the late twelfth century.³² Finally, there are extensive references to Paulicians in the *Alexiad* of Anna Comnena, but she is writing about Bulgarian heretics in a region and period outside the range of this study.³³

In addition to purely historical works, there are various occasional references to the Paulicians in Byzantine literature, the third category of sources. In hagiographic literature we find them in the *Vita of the Forty-two Martyrs of Amorium*³⁴ and in the *Vitae* of Macarius of Pelecetes and Eustratus of Agaurus.³⁵ A fragment of a *Poem* addressed to the Emperor Basil I and containing references to the Paulicians has survived in a Florentine manuscript of the ninth or tenth century.³⁶ The fall of Tephrikē is mentioned in a *Letter* of the Patriarch Nicholas Mysticus.³⁷ A vague and distorted memory of the Paulician leaders, Karbeas and Chrysocheir, lingered in the Byzantine national epic of *Digenes Akrites*.³⁸

³² Michael Glycas, "Annales", CSHB, XXII, ed. I. Bekker (Bonn, 1836). See Krumbacher, *Byzantinische Literatur*, 380-381.

³³ Anna Comnena, *Alexiade*, ed. and trans. B. Leib, 3 vols. (Paris, 1937). A passage in Nicetas Choniates, "Historia", CSHB, XXXI, ed. I. Bekker (Bonn, 1835), 527, probably refers to Paulicians, but they are spoken of as Armenians and the episode takes place exclusively in the Balkans.

³⁴ V. Vasil'evski and P. Nikitin eds., "The Legend of the Forty-two Martyrs of Amorium and their Church Service", *IAN*, 8th series, VII, 2 (1906), 22-36 (in Russian). Only one of the many versions of this legend is of interest to us. This is the version designated as Γ, which was to be found in MS. 380 of the Moscow Synodal Library, written by an unknown Theophanes in 1023, *ibid.*, 150, (hereafter *Martyrs of Amorium*). The other versions contain no references to the Paulicians.

³⁵ H. Delahaye ed., "S. Makarii monasterii Pelecetes hegumeni. Acta Graeca", *Analecta Bollandiana*, XVI (1897), 140-163. This version is derived from the *Codex Parisinus* 548, fols. 136r-154v, of the eleventh century, *ibid.*, 142. A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, 'Ανάλεκτα Ἱεροσολυμιτικῆς Σταχυολογίας, (St. Petersburg, 1897), IV, 382.

³⁶ *Codex Medicus Bibliothecae Laurentianae IX*, 23, printed in the "Introduction" to Alexander of Lycopolis, *Contra Manichaei opiniones disputatio*, ed. A. Brinkmann (Leipzig, 1895), xvi-xvii. Grégoire, "Précisions", 292, dates this poem in the first years of Basil's rule, 867-869. A. Vogt, *Basile I* (Paris, 1908), xxiii, attributes it to Photius in the period 869-871.

³⁷ Nicholas Mysticus, "Epistola LXXV", PC, CXI (1863), 277/8A, "... ὁ πάππος τοῦ βασιλέως ἡμῶν τοῦ κυροῦ Κωνσταντίνου τὴν Τεφρικὴν ἐξηφάνισε...".

³⁸ *Digenes Akrites*, ed. and trans. J. Mavrogordato (Oxford, 1956), I, vv. 284 ff. By the eleventh century when the *Digenes Akrites* was composed, the memory of the Paulician leaders was very confused. Chrysocheir (Χρυσόβεργος) had become the grandfather of Digenes and Karbeas (Καρόης) his great uncle. Both these characters are significantly presented as Muslims. See "Introduction", *ibid.*, xlii, lxi-lxvi, lxxix, lxxxiv; Vasil'ev, *Byzance et les Arabes, la dynastie d'Amorium* (Bruxelles, 1935), 232, n. 1 and H. Grégoire, "Notes sur l'épopée byzantine", *Byzantion*, XIII (1938), 25.

Of particular interest is the brief passage preserved among the works of Nicetas Choniates from a lost *Life* of the Patriarch Methodius (843-847) by Gregory Asbestas, Bishop of Syracuse.³⁹ In this fragment Gregory describes the conversion by Methodius of a "Manichaean" *a secretis* named Lizix and his followers.⁴⁰ The beliefs attributed to these sectarians in the middle of the ninth century are of the greatest importance in connection with the contemporary dogma of the Paulicians.

On the crucial problem of the relation of Paulicianism to Iconoclasm in Constantinople, we possess a number of additional sources among the works directed against the Iconoclasts, although none of these is specifically concerned with Paulicians.⁴¹ The most important of these sources are the works of the great eighth-century father, John Damascene: *The Dialogue against the Manichaeans*, *The Oration on Holy Images against Constantine V*, and the *Three Apologetic Dialogues on Holy Images*.⁴² There is also a description of a very interesting Iconoclastic sect in his *Compendium of Heresies*.⁴³ Equally important are the *Three Treatises against Constantine V* of the Patriarch Nicephorus (806-815), as well as the Patriarch's *Life*, composed by Ignatius the Deacon.⁴⁴ For the second period of the Iconoclastic controversy, we have the numerous works of

³⁹ Nicetas Choniates, "Ex libro incerto thesauri Orthodoxae fidei", *PG*, CXL (1865) 281/2-283/4.

⁴⁰ These sectarians are also known under the name of Zelikians, in Genesis, *Regum*, 85; Theophanes Continuatus, *Chronographia*, 161-162; and Cedrenus, *Compendium*, VI, 150. Unfortunately these sources tell us nothing about these sectarians beyond their conversion to Orthodoxy.

⁴¹ The importance of this material was noted by Lipshits, "Problems", 237. All of these sources speak of Manichaeans rather than Paulicians, but they are of paramount importance in establishing the meaning of the word "Manichaean" in the eighth and ninth centuries (see Chapter V).

⁴² Johannes Damascenus, "Dialogus Contra Manichaeos", *PG*, XCIV (1860), 1505/6-1583/4. "Oratio demonstrativa de sacris et venerandis imaginibus ad Christianos omnes adversusque imperatorem Constantinum Cabalinum ac haereticos universos", *PG*, XCV (1860), 309/10-343/4 (hereafter *Oratio*). "Orationes apologeticae adversus eos qui sacras imagines abjiciunt", *PG*, XCIV (1860), 1231/2-1419/20 (hereafter *Orationes*).

⁴³ Johannes Damascenus, "De haeresibus compendium unde ortae sint et quomodo prodierunt", *PG*, XCIV (1860), 677/8-779/80 (hereafter *Compendium*). The other work occasionally attributed to St. John Damascene, the "Epistola ad Theophilem imp. de sanctis et venerandis imaginibus", *PG*, XCV (1860), 345 ff., cannot be his work on chronological grounds alone. John lived in the first half of the eighth century, while Theophilus reigned from 829 to 842. See Hefele-Leclercq, *Histoire des Conciles*, III, ii (Paris, 1910), 631, 625, n. 1, 631, n. 2.

⁴⁴ Nicephorus Patriarcha, "Refutatio et eversio deliramentorum inscite et impie ab irreligiosi Mamoniae vaniloquentia dictorum adversus salutarem Dei Verbi incarnationem", *PG*, C (1860), 205/6-533/4 (hereafter *Refutatio*). Ignatius Diaconus, "S.P.N. Nicephori Constantinopolitani archiepiscopi. Vita", *ibid.*, 41/2-167/8.

the most vigorous champion of images, Theodore of Studios.⁴⁵ Finally, the attitude of the Patriarch Photius on the dogmatic aspects of Iconoclasm is pertinent to this study, particularly the point of view expressed in the *Confession of Faith to Pope Nicholas I*, in the *Letter to Theophanes the Monk*, and in some of the *Amphilochian Questions*.⁴⁶ These, then, are the sources from which we can draw occasional information as to the history and dogma of the Paulicians. We must now turn to the much debated problem of the works written specifically to combat the heresy—the fourth category of our sources.

The polemical literature consists of a number of sources of various lengths and kinds. I shall list and describe them before I turn to the discussion of their relative value and interrelation:

1) A brief account of the Paulician sect, with a list of its leaders and churches, as well as a summary of its beliefs and practices (this work is generally attributed to a certain Peter the Higuren);⁴⁷

2) A chapter on the Paulicians included in the *Chronicle* of George the Monk; the chapter appears in three versions, all closely related to each other:

a) A brief account of the history and dogma of the sect, characterized by a violently polemical tone (this version is found in only one manuscript);⁴⁸

⁴⁵ Theodorus Praepositus Studitarum, "Antirrhethici tres adversus Iconomachos", *PG*, XCIX (1860), 327/8-435/6 (hereafter *Antirrhethici*). "Refutatio et subversio impiorum poematum Johannis, Ignatii, Sergii, et Stephani, recentium Christomachorum", *ibid.*, 435/6-475/6 (hereafter *Refutatio*). "Quaestiones aliquae propositae iconomachis qui Dominum Nostrum Iesum Christum secundum corpoream formam depingi nolunt", *ibid.*, 477/8-485/6 (hereafter *Quaestiones*). "Epistolae", *ibid.*, 903/4-1679/80.

⁴⁶ Photius Patriarcha, "In omnibus sanctissimo, sacratissimo, reverendissimo comministro Nicolao papae senioris Romae, Photius episcopus Constantinopoleos novae Romae", *PG*, CII (1860), 585/6-593/4. "Epistola CII Theophani monacho", *ibid.*, 923/4-925/6. "Amphilochia sive in sacras litteras et quaestiones diatribae", *PG*, CI (1860), 45/6-1171/2.

⁴⁷ J. Gieseler ed., "Πέτρον ἐλαχίστου μοναχοῦ Ἡγουμένου περὶ Παυλικιανῶν τῶν καὶ Μανιχαίων", *Appendix ad Petri Siculi Historiam Manichaeorum seu Paulicianorum* (Göttingen, 1849). This work was edited by Gieseler from the sole Paris MS., *Codex Parisinus* 852, of the eleventh century, *ibid.*, 58. Another fragment exists in a Vatican MS., *Codex Vaticanus Graecus*, 511, fols. 79r-80r, as was demonstrated by Grégoire, "Sources", 97 (hereafter cited as Petrus Higurenus).

⁴⁸ *Codex Coislinianus* 305. For the MSS. of George the Monk, see the preface to his *Chronicle* in *PG*, CX (1860), 17/8-33/4. Also B. Montfalcon, *Bibliotheca Coisliniana* (Paris, 1715), 419-421, 425. Muralt, *PG*, CX, 17/8, following Montfalcon, 419, dates MS. 305 in the eleventh century as does Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*, 147. The version of George the Monk in MS. 305 is characterized as "Krb. no. 1" by Scheidweiler, "Paulikianerprobleme", 10, *et passim*. I shall refer to it as *Codex Coislinianus* 305. See also Loos, "Contributions, I", 39-41.

b) A slightly different version of the preceding, giving the same material, but written in a much calmer, matter-of-fact, descriptive style (this version is found in most manuscripts of George the Monk⁴⁹ as well as in the editions of Muralt, Migne and de Boor);⁵⁰

c) A more extensive version of the same, embodying the second one (2b) almost verbatim, but containing, in addition, two interpolations and a long section of a discursive-polemical character, the tone being once again argumentative and belligerent (this last version is found exclusively in a single manuscript in the Escorial library).⁵¹

In addition to these works, all of which are relatively brief, there are three lengthier sources:

3a) A *History of the Paulicians* by a certain Peter of Sicily, otherwise unknown (this history has survived in a single Vatican manuscript);⁵²

3b) Two *Sermons* and a fragment of a third from a group of six *Sermons* directed against the heretical doctrine, also written by Peter of Sicily and originally following his *History*;⁵³

⁴⁹ *Codex Coislinianus 310, Codex Coislinianus 134, et al.* See de Boor, *BZ*, VII, 44, for the similarity of these MSS. This is the version called "Krz. no. 2" by Scheidweiler, "Paulikianerprobleme", 10, *et passim*. I shall refer to it as *Codex Coislinianus 310*, from the most important MS. containing it.

⁵⁰ Georgius Monachus, *Chronicon*, ed. E. Muralt (St. Petersburg, 1859), 605-610. "Chronicon breve", *PG*, CX (1863), 883/4-891/2. This is a reprint of the Muralt edition. *Chronicon*, ed. C. de Boor (Leipzig, 1904), II, 718-725. Unless otherwise specified, all references to George the Monk will be given according to the de Boor edition. *Codex Coislinianus 310* is also the version reproduced in the Slavonic translation of George the Monk, V. M. Istrin ed., *The Chronicle of Georgius Hamartolus in the Old Slavonic Translation* (Petrograd, 1920), II, 459-462, as well as in the *Chronicle of Cedrenus*, VI, 756-761.

⁵¹ *Codex Scorialensis I Φ 1*, fols. 164v ff., ed. J. Friedrich, "Der ursprüngliche Bericht", 70-81. This is Scheidweiler's "Krz. no. 3", "Paulikianerprobleme", 10, *et passim*. I shall refer to it as *Codex Scorialensis*.

⁵² Petrus Siculus, "Τοῦ αὐτοῦ Πέτρου Σικελιώτου ἱστορία χρειώδης ἐλεγχός τε καὶ ἀνατροπῆ τῆς κενῆς καὶ ματαίας ἀρέσεως τῶν μανιχαίων τῶν καὶ παυλικιανῶν λεγομένων: προσωποποιηθεῖσα ὡς πρὸς τὸν ἀρχιεπίσκοπον Βουλγαρίας", *Codex Vaticanus Graecus 511*, fols. 80v ff. "Historia utilis et refutatio atque eversio haereseos Manichaeorum qui et Pauliciani dicuntur, Bulgariae Archiepiscopi nuncupata", *PG*, CIV (1860), 1239/40-1303/4 (hereafter *Historia*). Unless otherwise noted, all references to this work will be taken from Migne.

The title of the work is incorrectly given by Migne, *PG*, CIV, 1239, who leaves out the words "τοῦ αὐτοῦ" and "τῆς κενῆς καὶ ματαίας" and by Gieseler, *Petri Siculi Historia Manichaeorum seu Paulicianorum* (Göttingen, 1846), who omits "τοῦ αὐτοῦ" and "χρειώδης ἐλεγχός τε καὶ ἀνατροπῆ".

The date of the MS is suggested as the tenth century by Grégoire, "Pauliciens", 610. However, R. Devresse, *Bibliothecae Apostolicae Vaticanae Codices Manuscripti recensiti, Codices Vaticani Graeci I* (Vatican City, 1937), #364, is of the opinion that those folios of the MS. which contain the work of Peter of Sicily date from the eleventh century.

⁵³ Petrus Siculus, "Verba Tres", *PG*, CIV (1860), 1305/6-1365/6.

4a) *A History of the Manichaeans*, that is to say the Paulicians; purporting to be the work of Photius, Patriarch of Constantinople;⁵⁴

4b) Two *Sermons* against the heretics, and a third on the same subject addressed to a monk named Arsenius, also presumably following the *History* attributed to Photius;⁵⁵

5) One section dedicated to the Paulicians in the *Panoplia Dogmatica* of Euthymius Zigabenus, a theological treatise composed at the command of the Emperor Alexis I, Comnenus, in the late eleventh or early twelfth century.⁵⁶

Not all of the texts found in this catalogue are of equal importance and value. The failure to distinguish among them has distorted many of the studies of Paulicianism. Two of the polemical works can be separated from the remainder at the outset. The work of Euthymius Zigabenus (5) cannot be considered as an independent source, since it is directly derived from the *History* attributed to the Patriarch Photius (4a). The indebtedness is acknowledged by Euthymius himself.⁵⁷ Furthermore, the very

⁵⁴ Photius Patriarcha, "Narratio de Manichaeis recens repullulantibus", *Codex Palatinus* 216, tenth century. *Codex Coislinianus* 270, eleventh century, et al. Printed in PG, CII (1860), 15/6-83/4 (hereafter *Narratio*).

⁵⁵ Photius Patriarcha, "Sermo II, Dubia et solutiones Manichaeorum", and "Sermo III (no title)", PG, CII, 85/6-121/22, 121/2-177/8. "Sermo IV, Eiusdem dissertatio contra repullulantem Manichaeorum errorem ad Arsenium, monachum sanctissimum, presbyterum et praefectum sacrorum", *ibid.*, 177/8-277/8. This Arsenius cannot be identified, Migne, *ibid.*, 177/8, n. 80; there are, however, letters of Photius to a monk of that name.

⁵⁶ Euthymius Zigabenus, "Panoplia dogmatica, Titulus XXIV Adversus Paulicianos ex scriptis Photii Patriarchae Constantinopolitani", PG, CXXX (1865), 1189/90-1243/4. The date of Euthymius' work must be later than 1081; see F. Cumont, "La date et le lieu de la naissance d'Euthymios Zigabenus", *BZ*, XII (1905), 582 ff., and Moeller, *De libris*, 9.

⁵⁷ Euthymius Zigabenus, *Panoplia*, 1189/90, "Κατὰ τῶν λεγομένων Παυλικιάνων ἐκ τῶν Φωτίου τοῦ Μακαριωτάτου πατριάρχου Κωνσταντινουπόλεως". The relation of Euthymius to Photius has already been amply demonstrated by Moeller, *De libris*, 11-13. Ter Mkrttschian held that only the first ten chapters of Photius' *History* had been copied by Euthymius, *Die Paulikianer*, 8. Actually, as noted by Moeller, *op. cit.*, 12-13, and Friedrich, "Der ursprüngliche Bericht", 87-88, Euthymius included in his work some material not in Photius, and altered the organization of the work. Euthymius himself, *Panoplia*, 1197/8-1199/1200, states that he intended to condense and correct the work of Photius, and announces as his own contribution a section on the Heresiarch Sergius, but he does not give it.

The improvements of Euthymius are not of the most fortunate, particularly his information that Sergius lived 500 years after St. Paul, *ibid.*, 1197/8, when the other sources agree that Sergius lived in the reign of the Emperor Theophilus. Cf. Photius, *Narratio*, 69/70, from which the account of Euthymius is taken, and, for the correct date of Sergius' activity, Petrus Siculus, *Historia*, 1293/4-1297/8. It is possible that Euthymius was acquainted with material on the Paulicians other than the work of Photius, but his dependence on this work is both admitted and evident. This relation is far more clear than the one postulated by Runciman, *Medieval Manichee*, 47, 181.

History attributed to Photius must, as the following evidence reveals, be abandoned as an authentic source.

Ter Mkrttschian had already asserted that only the first ten chapters of the *History* were the work of Photius himself.⁵⁸ Grégoire was skeptical of the value of the whole work, which he considered stylistically and dogmatically unworthy of a renowned theologian such as Photius. He finally succeeded in demonstrating, on the basis of internal evidence, that the writer of the *History* had knowledge of events which cannot antedate 932, long past Photius' death. In his opinion, therefore, the *History* attributed to Photius was a mid-tenth century forgery.⁵⁹ His conclusion, though hotly debated, has not been disproved by subsequent studies.⁶⁰

In support of Grégoire's thesis, we possess additional evidence that the historical work attributed to Photius could not have been written in the period of the Emperor Basil I, as it purports to have been. In the closing section of the *History*, brief reference is made to the Paulician

⁵⁸ Ter Mkrttschian, *Die Paulikianer*, 3, 8, 12-13. Even these chapters, in his opinion, were mere paraphrases of the Higuemen's work.

⁵⁹ Grégoire, "Sources", 110-112; "Pauliciens", 612-613.

⁶⁰ In recent years Scheidweiler, "Paulikianerprobleme", 32 ff., J. Scharf, "Zur Echtheitsfrage der Manichäerbücher des Photius", *BZ*, XLIV (1951), 490-492, Lipshits, "Problems", 240, and Loos, "Contributions I", 48 ff., have attempted to rehabilitate the first book of "Photius". Their arguments have not been particularly convincing, however.

Scharf argues that the author of the *Narratio* has the political and theological competence of a great churchman who can be only Photius, but his argument that "Photius" demonstrates his knowledge and accuracy when he tells us that Leo III disqualified himself as theologically incompetent to argue with the Heresiarch Genesis (Narratio, 53/4B), is not supported by our knowledge of the Emperor's career. Leo III had a very high opinion of his theological competence, "Imperator sum et sacerdos", Gregorii II, "Epistola XIII", *PL*, LXXXIX, 521; and St. John Damascene, his contemporary, had occasion to complain bitterly of the Emperor's meddling in church affairs, "Οὐ βασιλέων ἐστὶ νομοθετεῖν τῇ Ἐκκλησίᾳ", *Orationes* II, 1295/6, 1297/8, 1301/2. Furthermore, Scharf, *op. cit.*, 494, is forced to postulate two periods of composition for the *Narratio*, an awkward situation for which there is no evidence.

Loos' argument, *op. cit.*, 51-53, of a parallel passage in the *Narratio* and in the authentic Book II of Photius is based on a point of Paulician theology so familiar that it can be found in every Greek source and, therefore, does not necessarily demonstrate the interdependence of the *Narratio* and Book II.

In refutation of Grégoire, Scheidweiler, Lipshits and Loos consider his arguments based exclusively on the word "τότε", which they attribute to a copyist's error. There is no evidence for assuming that such an error was made, and Scharf, *op. cit.*, 494, is forced to admit that until a clear refutation of Grégoire's thesis is made and an explanation found for the word "τότε", the authenticity of the *Narratio* must remain in doubt.

In connection with the authenticity of the *Narratio* it is finally wise to remember that some of the oldest MSS of this work attribute it not to Photius but to his opponent, Metrophanes of Smyrna, Moeller, *De libris*, 9-10.

leader, Chrysocheir, who is presented as a contemporary, but about whom no additional information is given.⁶¹ Among the authenticated *Letters* of the Patriarch Photius, however, we have seen four written to a *spatharios*, John, who in one of the *Letters* is specifically addressed as John Chrysocheir. While these *Letters* are not as informative as we might desire, all of them have a single purpose—to prevent the vacillating John from abandoning the Orthodox faith. Their progressively more irritated and despairing tone demonstrates the failure of the Patriarch's attempt. Though the particular heretical tendencies of John are not specified, there seems to be no reason to doubt that this Chrysocheir is indeed the last of the great Paulician leaders, whose death in 872 would make him a contemporary of Photius, and that the existing four *Letters* were written by the Patriarch to prevent Chrysocheir from joining his uncle, Karbeas, who had fled the imperial service to become the leader of the Paulicians on the Euphrates.⁶² In this case, it does not seem possible that the same Photius who writes to Chrysocheir as a friend should mention him so vaguely in the *History* of the Paulicians.

Finally, the evidence of the *Sermons* of Photius against the Paulicians (4b) supports the thesis that the *History* attributed to the Patriarch was not written by him. The *Sermons* themselves are clearly authentic. The third of these, addressed to the Monk Arsenius, has all the hallmarks of Photius' own work. The obvious relation of the two preceding sermons to the third makes their authenticity likewise probable. It is, therefore, all the more significant that the *Sermons* indicate no knowledge of, or relation to, the historical treatise, which they supposedly follow. Thus there seems to be no valid reason for continuing to maintain the authenticity of the *History*, the author of which we may now call the Pseudo-Photius.⁶³

⁶¹ Photius, *Narratio*, XXVIII, 83/4, "...Χρυσόχερης. Καθ' οὗς καιροὺς τήνδε τὴν συγγραφὴν ὁ λόγος ἀναταξάμενος τοῦ πρόσω χωρεῖν, ἅτε δὴ τῶν μελλόντων τὴν γνώσιν οὐτε ἔχων, οὐτε ἐπαγγελάμενος ἀπέστη". The protestations of ignorance seem rather overdone.

⁶² Theophanes Continuatus, *Chronographia*, 165-166. Karbeas was *protomandator* of Theodotus Melissenus, Dux Orientis (see Chapter III). If Karbeas was killed in 863 as is generally admitted, his nephew and son-in-law, Chrysocheir, would be of an age to be addressed as a contemporary by Photius, who was born in 820. This is the tone of the *Letters* which we possess. Scheidweiler, Scharf, Lipshits and Loos completely ignore these *Letters*.

⁶³ Scheidweiler, "Paulikianerprobleme", 29-30, 32, corrects the opening *Sermo IV* as given by Migne. See Grégoire, "Sources", 113, and Scharf, "Echtheitsfrage", 490, 494. The complaints made by the author of *Sermo IV* that his documentation is inadequate because his books have been withheld by the authorities, have indeed the tone of the lamentations of Photius during his period of exile. See also Moeller, *De libris*, 9; Scheidweiler, *op. cit.*, 30-31; and Loos, "Contributions, I", 52-53.

All three sermons are philosophical arguments against the same point of Paulician

This work must have been written, as Grégoire concluded, at least half a century later than the composition of the *Sermons*, with which it has been associated, and after the death of the Patriarch to whom it has been attributed. The only value for us of the *History* of the Pseudo-Photius lies in its close similarity to the work of Peter of Sicily (3a), to which we shall return.

The work of the remaining polemicists—namely Peter the Higuren, George the Monk, and Peter of Sicily—must now be considered with some care. The close interconnection of all these texts is evident. The little *Treatise* appearing in an eleventh-century manuscript as an independent work attributed to Peter the Higuren, who is otherwise unidentified, is identical with the version found in the *Codex Coislinianus* 310 (2b) of the Paulician chapter included in the *Chronicle* of George the Monk.⁶¹

doctrine: the belief in two gods, one the Heavenly Father, the other the Creator of this world, and the consequent rejection of the Old Testament as divine Scripture. Since there seems at present no reason for modifying Grégoire's demonstration that the *Narratio* is not the work of Photius, though the *Sermons* are authentic, or of doubting his assertion that there is no relation between the *Sermons* of Photius and either the *Narratio* or the *History* of Peter of Sicily ("Pauliciens", 612-613), I shall hereafter refer to the authentic works of the Patriarch, that is to say the *Sermons* and the *Letters*, as Photius, and cite the *Narratio* as Pseudo-Photius.

⁶¹ The similarity of the two texts is almost complete. The only notable variations are as follows:

a) Georgius Monachus, *Chronicon*, 718, 9-11, "Ἐφ' ὧν χρόνων καὶ ὁ ἀρχηγὸς τῶν Παυλικιάνων ἀνεφάνη Κωνσταντῖνος, ὁ καὶ Σιλουανὸν ἑαυτὸν ὀνομάσας. ἔστι δὲ ἡ αἵρεσις αὐτῶν οὕτως". Petrus Higurenus, I, 1, 60, begins without the opening sentence of introduction.

b) Georgius Monachus, *op. cit.*, 719, 1, "Οὗτοι οἱ Παυλικιανοὶ μετὰ χρόνους τινὰς τῆς διδασκίης τοῦδε τοῦ Παύλου [οὐ πολλοὺς] ἕτερον ἔσχον διδάσκαλον...". The reading of this passage varies with the several MSS. of George the Monk. (Cf. de Boor, *BZ*, VII, 48-49, who considers the words "οὐ πολλοὺς" or "πολλοὺς" an interpolated gloss on "τινὰς". Petrus Higurenus, II, 1, 61, "Οὗτοι οἱ Παυλικιανοὶ μετὰ χρόνους τινὰς τῆς διδασκίης τοῦδε τοῦ Παύλου οὐ πολλοῦ ἕτερον ἔσχον διδάσκαλον...".

c) Georgius Monachus, *op. cit.*, 722, 19 (*Codex Coislinianus* 310), "...καὶ οὐ χρή, φησὶν, προσάγεσθαι ἄρτον καὶ οἶνον". *Codex Scorialensis*, 72, agrees with the *Coislinianus* 310. The Migne edition, *PG*, CX, 889/90 (Muralt, 608) has: "...καὶ οὐχὶ προσάγεσθαι ἄρτον καὶ οἶνον". Petrus Higurenus, VIII, 4, 64, "...καὶ οὐχὶ προσάγορεύεται, φασιν, ἄρτον καὶ οἶνον". Gieseler, n. 2, corrects the MS.'s "οὐχὶ" into "οὐχί". There is probably an error in the MS. since in the parallel passage of the next section, *ibid.*, IX, 2, 64, we find "οὐ χρή".

d) Georgius Monachus, *op. cit.*, 723, 3, "...ἐν τῇ ἀλληγορίᾳ αὐτῶν λέγοντες", *Codex Scorialensis*, 73, agrees. Petrus Higurenus, XI, i, 65, "...ἐν τῇ ὀλιγορίᾳ αὐτῶν λέγοντες".

e) Petrus Higurenus, III, 61, 12-62, 1, drops the name of the heresiarchs, Zacharias and Genesis, from the list of Paulician leaders, though he gives them elsewhere. He also says, XIII, 1, 65, "Ταῦτα πάντα καὶ πλεονα τούτων ὅτε παραθῶσιν ἡ περιστατηθῶσιν...", but the last two words are missing in all the MSS. of George the Monk except the *Codex Coislinianus* 305; see Moeller, *De libris*, 33. The similarity of the two texts has been noted by most scholars.

In addition, Grégoire observed that a fragment of the so-called Higuemen's work immediately preceded the *History* of Peter of Sicily in the *Codex Vaticanus 511* and was ascribed to the latter author in this manuscript.⁶⁵ It must also be noted that the listing of Paulician beliefs given by Peter of Sicily in Chapter X of his *History* reproduces almost exactly the doctrines described by the Higuemen and George the Monk.⁶⁶ Finally, Ter

⁶⁵ Grégoire, "Sources", 97; "Pauliciens", 612; "Histoire", 224-225. The *History* of Peter of Sicily immediately following this fragment of the Higuemen in the Vatican MS. is entitled, "τοῦ αὐτοῦ Πέτρου". *Codex Vaticanus Graecus 511*, fol. 80v.

⁶⁶ The similarity between the description of the Higuemen and the listing of doctrine in Peter's Chapter X are striking:

(a)

Petrus Higuemenus, VI, 1-8, 63, and Georgius Monachus, 721, 7-17:

"Ἐχουσι δὲ πρώτην αἵρεσιν τὴν τῶν Μανιχαίων δύο ἀρχάς ὁμολογούντες ὡς κακεῖνοι. λέγουσι δὲ οὗτοι ὅτι ἔν ἐστι μόνον τὸ διαχωρίζον ἡμᾶς ἐκ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ὅτι ἡμεῖς μὲν, 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 κοσμοποιητὴν, ὅστις ἔχει τοῦδε τοῦ παρόντος κόσμου τὴν ἐξουσίαν, οἱ δὲ Ῥωμαῖοι, φησίν, ἓνα καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν θεὸν ὁμολογοῦσιν εἶναι καὶ πατέρα τὸν αὐτὸν ἐπουράνιον καὶ τοῦ κόσμου παντός ποιητὴν. καλοῦσι δὲ ἑαυτοὺς μὲν χριστιανούς, ἡμᾶς δὲ Ῥωμαίους". [The text quoted is from Georgius Monachus. For variations in Petrus Higuemenus see note 64.]

Petrus Siculus, *Historia*, 1253/4B-D:

"Πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ ἐστι τὸ κατ' αὐτοὺς γνῶρισμα, τὸ δύο ἀρχάς ὁμολογεῖν, πονηρὸν θεὸν καὶ ἀγαθόν· καὶ ἄλλον εἶναι τοῦδε τοῦ κόσμου ποιητὴν τε καὶ ἐξουσιαστήν, ἕτερον δὲ τοῦ μέλλοντος ... ἑαυτοὺς οἱ ἀσπονδοὶ καὶ ἀχρηστοὶ καὶ ἄπιστοι καὶ ἀχάριστοι καὶ ἀφιλάγαθοι, Χριστιανούς ἀποκαλοῦντες· ἡμᾶς δὲ τοὺς ἀληθῶς ἐπώνυμους Χριστοῦ τοῦ ἀληθινοῦ θεοῦ ἡμῶν, Ῥωμαίους ὀνομάζοντες, ... Λέγουσι δὲ τοῦτο εἶναι τὸ χωρίζον αὐτοὺς, ὅτι ἐκεῖνοι μὲν ἄλλον θεὸν λέγουσιν εἶναι τὸν τοῦ κόσμου ποιητὴν· καὶ ἕτερον θεὸν, ὃν καὶ Πατέρα ἐπουράνιον λέγουσι, μὴ ἔχοντα δὲ ἐξουσίαν ἐν τῷδε τῷ κόσμῳ ἀλλ' ἐν τῷ μέλλοντι αἰῶνι. Ἡμεῖς δὲ τὸν αὐτὸν ἓνα θεὸν ὁμολογοῦμεν καὶ παντοῦργον καὶ παμβασιλέα καὶ παντοκράτορα".

(b)

Petrus Higuemenus, VII, 64, and Georgius Monachus, 722, 7-15:

"... ἔπειτα δὲ βλασφημοῦσι μὲν εἰς τὴν παναγίαν θεοτόκον ἄμετρα, ἐὰν δὲ βιασθῶσι παρ' ἡμῶν ὁμολογήσαι αὐτήν, ἀλληγορικῶς λέγουσιν· πιστεύω εἰς τὴν παναγίαν θεοτόκον, ἐν ᾗ εἰσῆλθε καὶ ἐξῆλθεν ὁ κύριος, λέγουσι δὲ τὴν ἄνω Ἱερουσαλήμ, ἐν ᾗ πρόδρομος ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν εἰσῆλθε Χριστός, καθὼς, φησιν ὁ ἀπόστολος, καὶ οὐ λέγουσι κατὰ ἀλήθειαν τὴν ἁγίαν Μαρίαν τὴν θεοτόκον οὐδὲ ἐξ αὐτῆς σαρκωθῆναι τὸν κύριον".

Petrus Siculus; 1255/6A:

"Δεύτερον, τὸ τὴν πανύμνητον καὶ ἀειπάρθενον θεοτόκον μὴδὲ κἂν ἐν φιλή τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἀνθρώπων τάττειν ἀπεχθῶς ἀπαριθμῆσαι· μὴδὲ ἐξ αὐτῆς γεννηθῆναι τὸν Κύριον, ἀλλ' οὐρανόθεν τὸ σῶμα κατενεγκεῖν. καὶ ὅτι μετὰ τὸν τοῦ Κυρίου τόκον καὶ ἀλλοὺς φησίν, υἱοὺς ἐγέννησεν ἐκ τοῦ Ἰωσήφ".

Mkrttschian demonstrated that even the first ten chapters of the Pseudo-Photius are a rather prolix paraphrase of the Higen's work.⁶⁷

The reproduction of identical material in all of these sources suggests

(c)

Petrus Higumenus VIII, 64, and Georgius Monachus, 722, 15-20:

“Βλασφημοῦσι δὲ καὶ εἰς τὰ θεῖα μυστήρια τῆς ἀγίας κοινωνίας τοῦ τιμίου σώματος καὶ αἵματος τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ λέγοντες, ὅτι τὰ ῥήματα αὐτοῦ ὁ κύριος διδοὺς τοῖς ἀποστόλοις ἔλεγεν· λάβετε, φάγετε καὶ πίετε, οὐκ ἄρτον καὶ οἶνον, καὶ οὐ χρῆ, φησὶν, προσάγεσθαι ἄρτον καὶ οἶνον”.

Petrus Siculus, 1255/6A:

“Τρίτον, τὸ τὴν θεῖαν καὶ φρικτὴν τῶν ἁγίων μυστηρίων τοῦ σώματος καὶ αἵματος τοῦ Κυρίου καὶ Θεοῦ ἡμῶν μετάληψιν ἀποτρέπεσθαι. Οὐ μόνον δὲ, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἄλλους περὶ τοῦτου πείθειν οἶεσθαι· λέγοντες ὅτι οὐκ ἦν ἄρτος καὶ οἶνος, ὃν ὁ Κύριος ἐδίδου, τοῖς μαθηταῖς αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τοῦ δεῖπνου, ἀλλὰ συμβολικῶς τὰ ῥήματα αὐτοῦ αὐτοῖς ἐδίδου, ὡς ἄρτον καὶ οἶνον”.

(d)

Petrus Higumenus, IX, 64, and Georgius Monachus 722, 20-723, 2:

“Βλασφημοῦσι δὲ καὶ εἰς τὸν τιμὸν σταυρὸν λέγοντες, ὅτι σταυρὸς ὁ Χριστός ἐστιν, οὐ χρῆ προσκυνεῖσθαι τὸ ξύλον ὡς κατηραμένον ὄργανον”.

Petrus Siculus, 1255/6AB:

“Τέταρτον, τὸ τὸν τύπον καὶ τὴν ἐνέργειαν καὶ δυνάμιν τοῦ τιμίου καὶ ζωοποιοῦ σταυροῦ μὴ ἀποδέχεσθαι, ἀλλὰ μυρίαὶ ὑβρεῖς περιβάλλειν”.

At this point the parallel arrangement of the two lists stops. However, the fifth and sixth points of Peter of Sicily's list, namely the rejection of the Old Testament prophets and of the Apostle Peter by the Paulicians, *Historia*, 1255/6C, 1257/8AB, find their counterparts in the work of the Higen, X, 64-65, and Georgius Monachus, 723, 2-6, as does the Paulician refusal to recognize the Orthodox clergy, also noted by Peter of Sicily. Petrus Higumenus, XIV, 66, and Georgius Monachus, 724, 7-11. It is true that some of the explanations found in the Higen, such as the heretical identification of the Virgin Mary with the Heavenly Jerusalem, VII, 64, and of Christ with the Cross, IX, 64, are not to be found in Chapter X of the *History* but only in Chapter XXIX, 1283/4BC. Scheidweiler consequently argues that the similarity between the accounts of the Paulician doctrine in the two Peters is greater in Chapter XXIX of the *History* than in Chapter X, “Paulikianerprobleme”, 22; see also Loos, “Contributions I”, 31, n. 66. However, in the parallel passage of the Pseudo-Photius, *Narratio* VII, 25/6B, both allegorical explanations are given in this context in exact accordance with the presentation of the Higen. I shall return to the problem of Chapter XXIX in the *History*, as it presents an interesting problem (see my Chapter IV). Finally, Peter of Sicily seems to have information unknown to the Higen, namely the heretical contention that Mary bore other children to Joseph after Jesus, as well as the specific Scriptures used by the Paulicians, *Historia*, 1255/6-1257/8. This might indicate that Peter possessed some additional sources which we do not know. In any case, the parallel passages quoted above seem to make the similarity between Chapter X of Peter of Sicily and the account of the Higen self-evident.

⁶⁷ Ter Mkrttschian, *Die Paulikianer*, 11-12; Moeller, *De libris*, 13; Scheidweiler, “Paulikianerprobleme”, 22. The parallel between the Pseudo-Photius' account of Paulician doctrine and that of the Higen is, if anything, closer than the one we have just observed in the case of Peter of Sicily: e.g., the doctrine of Mary as the Heavenly Jerusalem and Christ as the Cross. Likewise, the information that the Paulicians used crosses in time of illness, *Narratio*, IX, 29/30B, is found in Peter Higumenus, XVII, 1-3, 66, and Georgius Monachus, 724-725, but not in Peter of Sicily.

that, in spite of their varied character, all are not only closely related, but also probably ultimately derived in some degree from a single source, which I shall call *P*. The characteristics of *P*, as we can deduce them from the material common to all the texts, are as follows: The tone is essentially polemical, but without striking violence; there is a fairly detailed knowledge of the beliefs and practices of the sectarians; the emphasis is on dogma rather than history, since *P* apparently contained no more than a list of the Paulician heresiarchs and churches, without further amplification. As for the probable date of *P*, at present we can say only that it cannot be later than the second quarter of the ninth century, since the lists of Paulician leaders based upon it invariably end with Sergius, who died ca. 835.⁶⁸ The problem which we must now attempt to resolve is that of the identification of *P*, if it has survived, and the interrelation of the texts based upon it.

In his publication of the version found in the *Codex Scorialensis* (2c) of the Paulician chapter in George the Monk's *Chronicle*, Friedrich expressed the opinion that the original source for our knowledge of the

⁶⁸ Sergius is the last heresiarch mentioned in Petrus Higumenus, III, 62; Georgius Monachus, 720; the *Codex Scorialensis*, 71; and the *Paulician Formula*, Anathema IX, 454. Since Sergius presumably died in 835 and we hear of the next heresiarch, Karbeas, no later than 845, the possibilities for the dates of these sources and consequently for the date of *P* are considerably narrowed. It is interesting to note that many of the sources which, as we shall see, belong to a later period, also ignore the successors of Sergius on many occasions: Pseudo-Photius, *Narratio*, IV, 21/2AB; Euthymius Zigabenus, *Panoplia*, 1189/90; Theophylactus, *Letter*, 367. The *Manichaean Formula*, 1467/8BC, lists the heresiarchs through Sergius, then adds the last two—Karbeas and Chrysocheir—after a noticeable hiatus.

The only sources acquainted with the names of the last two Paulician leaders, Karbeas and Chrysocheir, are: the *Manichaean Formula*, 1467/8C; Pseudo-Photius, *Narratio*, XXVI-XXVII, 81/2-83/4; Petrus Siculus, *Historia*, XLII-XLIII, 1303/4. Even these mention them only in certain sections and not in others, thus differentiating the parts dependent on *P* from those based on other material which we will consider later.

H. Bart'ikyan, "On the Problem of the Organization of the Paulician Community", *AAS-PBH* (1958, #3), 183-187, particularly 186, proposes a different explanation for the omission of Karbeas and Chrysocheir from most lists of heresiarchs. He argues that the Paulician community had two heads: an ideological (i.e., religious) leader, and a military commander. In his opinion no religious leaders were chosen after Sergius' death, and Karbeas and Chrysocheir were merely military commanders who therefore would not be included in a list of heresiarchs. Though Bart'ikyan's attempt to reconstruct the social structure of the Paulicians is interesting, the chance references in the sources which he has used are quite inadequate to support any conclusions as to this structure, and he has been forced to strain the evidence unduly. The sources, whether polemical or historical, make no differentiation between Karbeas and Chrysocheir and their predecessors. Furthermore, the *Manichaean Formula*, 1467/8BC, though indicating a break after Sergius, anathematizes Karbeas and Chrysocheir on the same basis as all the other Paulician leaders.

Paulicians, which he called the "ursprüngliche Bericht", had failed to survive to our times.⁶⁹ There is undoubtedly a possibility that source *P* is no longer extant. Nevertheless, there is evidence to support the theory that the little *Treatise* of Peter the Higuren is either identical with *P* or the earliest surviving version of *P*. This theory, however, has met with so much opposition that it will be necessary to consider the alternate theories at some length.⁷⁰

Let us examine first the possibility that the earliest version of *P* is to be found in the *Chronicle* of George the Monk. Friedrich was of the opinion that the first version of the original, that is to say of *P*, was to be found in the earliest form of George the Monk's Paulician chapter, which he considered to be the one in the *Codex Scorialensis* (2c). In this manuscript, we find the version of the *Codex Coislinianus* 310 (2b), in which two passages have been added. In addition, the manuscript contains a long theological passage of admonitory character, which closes with the author's Orthodox confession of faith. Friedrich believed that the other versions of George the Monk, to be found in the *Codices Coisliniani*, were abbreviations of the originally longer chapter in the *Codex Scorialensis*. The little *Treatise* of Peter the Higuren was, in turn, a mere epitome of the original version. The order of the texts for him was, therefore: *P* ("ursprüngliche Bericht"), *Codex Scorialensis* (2c), *Codices Coisliniani* (2a and 2b), and Peter the Higuren (1).⁷¹ However, de Boor, the editor of the *Chronicle* of George the Monk, decisively refuted the thesis of Friedrich that the *Codex Scorialensis* could be taken to represent the oldest tradition of George the Monk. By an exhaustive analysis of the manuscripts, he demonstrated that the *Chronicle* consists of two ver-

⁶⁹ Friedrich, "Der ursprüngliche Bericht", 81 ff., *et passim*.

⁷⁰ Ter Mkrttschian, *Die Paulikianer*, 2-3, had already expressed the opinion that Peter the Higuren's *Treatise* was an independent source and our oldest text; that this had been incorporated into the *Chronicle* of George the Monk, and had been paraphrased by Photius. He dismissed Peter of Sicily as a late forgery. Some of these conclusions are unwarranted, as we shall see. It must be borne in mind that Ter Mkrttschian was not acquainted with some of our sources, that he possessed only the defective Muralt edition of George the Monk, and that the version of the *Codex Scorialensis* was as yet unpublished. Even so, some of his arguments are quite sound and worth investigating. See Loos, "Contributions I", for a résumé of the latest theories.

⁷¹ Friedrich, "Der ursprüngliche Bericht", *passim*. The first addition gives a more extensive explanation of the doctrine of the two gods, *Codex Scorialensis*, 72. The second explains the Paulician aversion for St. Peter: The devil was present at the baptism of Christ, who bowed down before him, and it was the devil and not God who spoke the words, "This is my beloved son". Peter was the witness of this scene, and furthermore transmitted to mankind the monk's habit in which the devil had been disguised, *ibid.*, 73. See, *ibid.*, 74-81, for the theological discussion and the confession of faith which Friedrich does not give in its entirety.

sions, of which the older is to be found in the *Codex Coislinianus* 305 (2a), and the more recent in the *Codex Coislinianus* 310 (2b). These two versions, of which the older is more dogmatic and the later more historical, can, in his opinion, be observed throughout the *Chronicle* and not merely in the Paulician chapter, where the change from the first to the second version is reflected in the calmer tone of the *Codex Coislinianus* 310. De Boor believed that the *Codex Scorialensis* occupied a position somewhere in the middle of this evolution and was quite distant from the original tradition. In his opinion, the additional material found in the *Codex Scorialensis* was to be considered as a later interpolation into the text of *Codex Coislinianus* 310.⁷²

The problem of relating the *Codex Scorialensis* to the other versions of George the Monk undoubtedly hinges on the presence of the additional material which it contains, particularly the curious heretical doctrine that Christ was an angel, which is not duplicated in any of the other sources.⁷³ On the basis of the information which we possess at present, it is not possible to trace the origin of this material, and as a result the precise relation of the *Codex Scorialensis* to the other versions of George the Monk cannot be established definitively. On the other hand, it cannot be denied that this relation is very close. In all of the common passages, the *Codex Scorialensis* follows the version of the *Codex Coislinianus* 310, whenever this differs from the text of Peter the Higuemen.⁷⁴ It is possible that the

⁷² De Boor, *BZ*, VII, 43-46, *et passim*. Loos, "Contributions I", 42-47, sees no objection to considering the *Codex Scorialensis* as the original of the *Codex Coislinianus*, but he assigns the former to Peter of Sicily, which is impossible on the basis of chronology and of dissimilarity of material. Scheidweiler, "Paulikianerprobleme", 11-12, argues that the *Scorialensis* represents a better version of the *Chronicle* than the *Coislinianus* 310, and that it is authentic and in the same tradition as the *Coislinianus* with no evidence of interpolation by a different author.

⁷³ *Codex Scorialensis*, XIX, 74-75.

⁷⁴ *Codex Scorialensis*, III, 70, and IV, 71, follows the *Coislinianus* 310, Georgius Monachus, *Chronicon*, 720, in listing the Heresiarch Zacharias omitted by the Higuemen (see n. 64e). There are slight indications that the *Scorialensis* might be later than the *Coislinianus* 310, but they are not conclusive:

a) The *Scorialensis*, 71, gives the name of one of the Paulician churches as "Κυνοχωρίτας", which is the form found in Peter of Sicily who, as we shall see, is a later source, rather than the form "Κοινοχωρίτας", found in *Coislinianus* 310, Georgius Monachus, *Chronicon*, 721. However, the name is given without any indication of an offensive intention such as we find in Peter of Sicily, *Historia*, 1297/8. Furthermore, Grégoire, "Eglises", 512, notes that by the ninth century the pronunciation of the two versions would have been indistinguishable.

b) *Codex Scorialensis*, 71. We find here a lacuna of seventeen words in comparison with the same passage in the *Coislinianus* 310, Georgius Monachus, *Chronicon*, 721, 2-4. This lacuna has all the marks of a copyist's error since it occurs immediately after the word "ἐκκλησία", and the text resumes two lines later after the same word.

writer of the *Codex Scorialensis* possessed sources other than the version of *P* embodied in the *Codex Coislinianus* 310. We shall see in our investigation of the *History* of Peter of Sicily that such sources existed in the ninth century. From these sources the author of the *Codex Scorialensis* could have acquired a knowledge of dogma with which the other extant sources are not acquainted, though they do not contradict it.⁷⁵ At present, the chief value of the *Codex Scorialensis* lies in the fact that it seems to be describing two dissimilar Paulician doctrines, thus indicating an alteration in the beliefs of the heretics, a phenomenon which we have already observed in the *Manichaean Formula*. However, de Boor's demonstration of the relatively late position of the *Codex Scorialensis* in the grouping of the manuscripts of George the Monk precludes the possibility that it is the earliest extant version of source *P*.

The claims of the other versions of George the Monk are no better than those of the *Codex Scorialensis*. Friedrich correctly observed that the Paulician chapter does not occur in the same place in the various manuscripts of George the Monk,⁷⁶ and that George shows almost no interest in the Paulicians elsewhere in his work. Thus we may even be dealing in this chapter with a later interpolation into the *Chronicle*.⁷⁷ De Boor

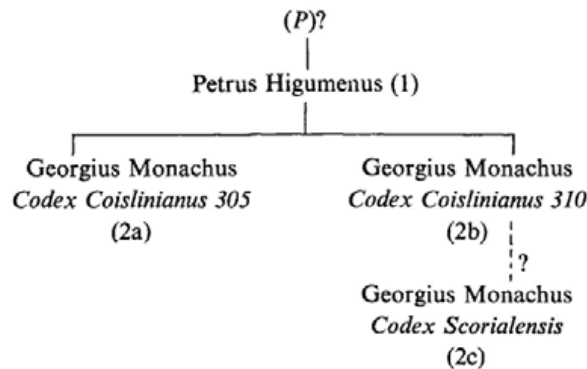
⁷⁵ Photius, *Sermo II*, 89/90, indicates that there were several Paulician groups, and we shall see that the disciples of Sergius quarrelled after their master's death so that a split in the tradition may have occurred, Pseudo-Photius, *Narratio*, XXV, 79/80-81/2 (see my Chapter III). Lipshits, "Problems", 239, observes that many additional sources on the Paulicians, no longer available, must have existed in the early ninth century.

⁷⁶ Friedrich, "Der ursprüngliche Bericht", 109-110. *Codex Coislinianus* 310, Georgius Monachus, *Chronicon*, 718, and *Codex Scorialensis*, 70, place this chapter at the end of the reign of Constans II. In the edition of Muralt, *PG*, CXXX, 833/4, this section follows a brief chapter on the reign of Constantine IV, a chapter which is not found in the edition of de Boor. In the *Chronicle* of Cedrenus, *Compendium*, VI, 756, which normally follows the *Codex Coislinianus* 310 verbatim, this chapter is put into the thirteenth year of Constans II. De Boor, *BZ*, VII, 41-42, objects, however, believing these variations are more apparent than real.

⁷⁷ Friedrich, "Der ursprüngliche Bericht", 108. This had already been noted by Ter Mkrttschian, *Die Paulikianer*, 30-31. The reply of de Boor, *BZ*, VII, 41, seems unsatisfactory. There is no doubt that in spite of his reference to the Paulicians outside the special polemical chapter, George the Monk was not well-informed about them. In the account of the transportation of the Armenians by the Emperor Constantine V, whence Theophanes, *Chronographia*, I, 429, derives the spread of Paulicianism in the Balkans, George, *Chronicon*, 752, merely calls the emigrants Monophysites: "Ἀρμενίους καὶ Σύρους αἰρετικούς εἰς τὸ Βυζάντιον μετόπισεν, ὧν οἱ πλείους οἰκοῦντες ἐν τῇ Θράκῃ μέχρι νῦν θεοπασχίται κατὰ Πέτρον εἰσι τὸν δαίλαιον". [Peter the Fuller, Monophysite Patriarch of Antioch, 461, or Peter Mongus, Monophysite Patriarch of Alexandria, 482]. This, despite the fact that he had just identified Constantine V as a Paulician, *ibid.*, 751.

The introductory sentence of the Paulician chapter in the *Codex Coislinianus* 310, *ibid.*, 718, 9-11. "Ἐφ' ὧν χρόνων καὶ ὁ ἀρχηγὸς τῶν Παυλικιάνων ἀνεφάνη Κωνσταν-

himself acknowledged that both the *Codex Coislinianus* 305 and the *Codex Coislinianus* 310 ultimately went back to a common earlier archetype. There is, therefore, no reason for accepting his theory that the *Codex Coislinianus* 305 is an earlier version than the work of Peter the Higuimen.⁷⁸ The precedence of Peter the Higuimen over George the Monk is still further supported by the greater similarity which the Higuimen's *Treatise* bears to the later *Codex Coislinianus* 310 than to the earlier *Coislinianus* 305, since de Boor himself noted that George the Monk followed his sources far more closely in his second version than he had done in the earlier one.⁷⁹ The relation between source *P* and the works of Peter the Higuimen and George the Monk may, therefore, be expressed in the following manner:



The other possible theory which we must consider is that of Grégoire, in whose opinion the original source was the *History* of Peter of Sicily (3a).⁸⁰ For Grégoire, the *Treatise* of Peter the Higuimen was not an independent

τινος, ὁ καὶ Σιλουανὸν ἑαυτὸν ὀνομάσας. ἔστι δὲ ἡ αἵρεσις αὐτῶν οὕτως", is not to be found in Peter the Higuimen, I, 60. The inclusion of this transition can be explained only as the preface to an extended quotation from an extant source, a conclusion which is supported by the complete similarity of the *Codex Coislinianus* 310 to the work of the Higuimen as noted above (see n. 64). Ter Mkrttschian, *Die Paulikianer*, 2-3, also makes the reasonable suggestion that it is far more likely that George the Monk was the one to include an existing document in his *Chronicle*, than that a passage from a well-known chronicle should be excerpted and presented separately under the name of a different author. All of these points seem to reinforce the thesis of the precedence of Peter the Higuimen over George the Monk.

⁷⁸ De Boor, *BZ*, VII, 45-47.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, 46. Moeller, *De libris*, 33, thought it more likely that George the Monk had merely used the work of the Higuimen rather than incorporated it into his own. However, see n. 77.

⁸⁰ Grégoire, "Sources", 110-112; "Pauliciens", 611-613, *et passim*.

work; it was merely an epitome of the *History* of Peter of Sicily. Furthermore, this epitome was too awkward and careless to have been made by Peter himself, and it added nothing to the original source.⁸¹ Hence Grégoire concluded also that the date of the *Chronicle* of George the Monk must be later than the generally accepted 866-867, since all of the manuscripts of the *Chronicle* include the epitome, which in turn must necessarily postdate its supposed source, Peter of Sicily, presumably composed in 872.⁸² In recent years this theory of Grégoire has been rejected. Scheidweiler pointed out that Grégoire's objection to the listing of the Paulician Churches in the work of Peter the Higumen is not conclusive,⁸³ and that, far from adding nothing to his source, Peter the Higumen gives material which cannot be found in Peter of Sicily.⁸⁴ Loos has furthermore demonstrated that Grégoire's criticism of the composition and organization of Peter the Higumen is unwarranted.⁸⁵ As a result of this revision, there

⁸¹ Grégoire, "Sources", 101-109, "Histoire", 224-225.

⁸² Grégoire, "Histoire", 225-226, "Paulicians", 611.

⁸³ Scheidweiler, "Paulikianerprobleme", 24-26; Lipshits, "Problems", 238-239. I shall return to the problem of the listing of the Paulician churches in connection with Peter of Sicily. See n. 153, and Chapter III, n.5.

⁸⁴ Scheidweiler, "Paulikianerprobleme", 23, and Lipshits, "Paulician Movements", 51. Grégoire, "Sources", 107-108, can suggest only that the additional material found in the "Epitome" of Peter the Higumen and not in the *History* of Peter of Sicily must have been contained in the lost three *Sermons* of Peter of Sicily.

⁸⁵ Loos, "Contributions I", 30, 34, and 34, n. 83. Interpreting the words: "καθὼς περὶ τούτων σαφέστερον ἐν τοῖς διὰ πλάτους μοι λέλεκται" (Petrus Higumenus, XV, 66, Georgius Monachus, *Chronicon*, 724), to which Grégoire ("Sources", 109), had objected as a careless copy of Peter of Sicily since the "Epitome" had never contained a broader development; Loos demonstrated the validity of Gieseler's earlier suggestion that these words merely refer back to an earlier section of the treatise of Peter the Higumen itself, and do not imply the existence of another more developed work, Petrus Higumenus, 66, n. 1. Gieseler, therefore, suggested that the word "ἔνω" had been dropped out of the MS. of the Higumen after "ἐν τοῖς", and cited a parallel passage of Epiphanius. That a suitable reference for this passage can be found "above" in the work of the Higumen is evident from a reading of section II, Petrus Higumenus, 61 (see n. 95): Scheidweiler, "Paulikianerprobleme", 25-26, agrees with Grégoire that the words, διὰ πλάτους refer back to the *History* of Peter of Sicily, but this theory depends on the very early date for the *History* postulated by Scheidweiler, *op. cit.*, 38-39. I shall return to the date of the *History* later, but the explanation of Gieseler and Loos, supported by Ter Mkrttschian, *Die Paulikianer*, 3, and substantiated by the text of the Higumen without the need of an additional text, seems much more reasonable and satisfactory.

As for the organization and wording of the "Epitome" as against Peter of Sicily, Loos, *op. cit.*, 28-31, quite rightly demonstrates that the work of the Higumen is in no way inferior to that of Peter of Sicily, but rather the contrary: "En regardant de plus près les deux textes, on se rend compte de toute la faiblesse de l'objection énoncée par Grégoire..." (28) "On peut même objecter contre Grégoire, que dans l'*Epitomé* l'explication des termes *Romains* et *chrétiens* semble mieux placée". (29) "Il nous

is no longer any reason for considering the work of Peter the Higuemen as an epitome of that of Peter of Sicily, or for questioning the accepted date for the *Chronicle* of George the Monk.

Both Scheidweiler and Loos, however, assume that Peter the Higuemen and Peter of Sicily were one person, and that the two works were, therefore, composed by the same author. In Scheidweiler's opinion, the *History* of Peter of Sicily was written in two different periods, and the short *Treatise* ascribed to Peter the Higuemen was a work of Peter of Sicily, composed between the two parts of his *History*. The short *Treatise* was then included in the *Chronicle* of George the Monk, which also preceded the final version of Peter of Sicily's *History*.⁸⁶ In other words, the sequence of texts in his opinion should be: Peter of Sicily I (3a), Peter the Higuemen (1), George the Monk (2), Peter of Sicily II (3a bis).

Loos in turn showed that the hypothesis of the double version of Peter of Sicily's *History* was both awkward and unnecessary,⁸⁷ and maintained that the short *Treatise* attributed to the Higuemen, though by Peter of Sicily, was written before the composition of the *History*. Thus he reversed the order of Scheidweiler and obtained the following sequence: Peter the Higuemen (1), George the Monk (2), Peter of Sicily (3a).⁸⁸ This order appears more satisfactory, but another problem is rightly raised by Scheidweiler. The *Chronicle* of George the Monk in all of its versions, but particularly in that of the *Codex Scorialensis*, contains material which cannot be found in Peter of Sicily. Since this *Chronicle* merely reproduces the work of Peter the Higuemen, it is unlikely that the Higuemen and Peter of Sicily are one and the same person.⁸⁹

semble donc que la critique de Grégoire blâmant l'auteur de l'*Epitomé* d'avoir fait une compilation inintelligente et superficielle, soit encore plus douteuse que son interprétation des erreurs dans la liste des églises pauliciennes". (30)

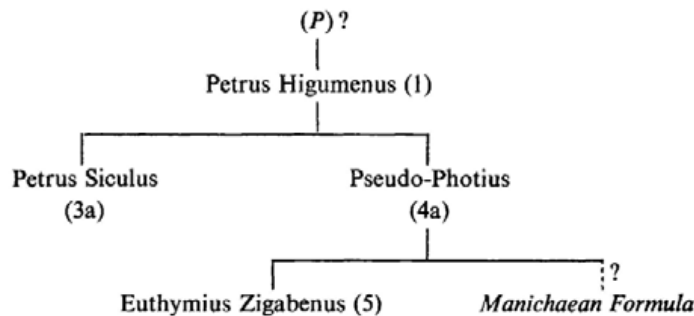
⁸⁶ Scheidweiler, "Paulikianerprobleme", 19, 22-29, 38-39.

⁸⁷ Loos, "Contributions I", 32-36. The basis of Scheidweiler's theory is his interpretation of the Higuemen's words, "διὰ πλάτους", in the same sense as Grégoire, as a reference to another work by the same author, but this interpretation has been rejected (see n. 85). Without it there is no reason for supposing that Peter the Higuemen is later than Peter of Sicily.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, 33-39, 43, particularly 36.

⁸⁹ Scheidweiler, "Paulikianerprobleme", 23-29. Scheidweiler himself has doubts as to the identification of the Higuemen with Peter of Sicily. Furthermore his explanation that the discrepancy between the Higuemen and the *History* on the names and number of the Paulician churches stems from the fact that in the shorter work Peter is quoting his own *History* from memory, hardly seems satisfactory, *ibid.*, 26. Loos, "Contributions I", 42 f., argues that: "Il semble donc qu'aucun obstacle d'importance ne peut nous empêcher de considérer le texte de l'Escurial comme original et de l'attribuer à Pierre de Sicile". However, he too is unable to explain away the objection of Scheidweiler that there is information in the *Codex Scorialensis* which cannot be found in

The conclusive factor dissociating Peter the Higumen from Peter of Sicily and establishing the precedence of the former is the date of the *History* of Peter of Sicily. As we shall see, the work of Peter of Sicily does not belong to the late ninth century, as it purports to do, but must be placed in the same category and period as the Pseudo-Photius, whom Grégoire himself dated after 932, more than sixty years after the composition of George the Monk, who had used the earlier work of the Higumen. Under no circumstances, therefore, could the *Treatise* of the Higumen, composed in the mid-ninth century, have been the work of Peter of Sicily, and even less could it have been derived from it. It is rather Peter of Sicily who was forced to rely upon the Higumen for the material which they share. In this connection, it is interesting to note that a comparison of the works indicates that both Peter of Sicily and the Pseudo-Photius probably relied directly upon the work of the Higumen, rather than on the version of his work incorporated in the *Chronicle* of George the Monk.⁹⁰ The relation of the later works to the original source may, therefore, be presented in the following manner:



Peter of Sicily, *ibid.*, 42. He is, therefore, compelled to take refuge in Grégoire's hypothesis that the missing material was found in the lost *Sermons* of Peter of Sicily (see n. 84).

⁹⁰ a) Peter of Sicily not only incorporates material from the *Treatise* of the Higumen in his own work, he reproduces the entire *Treatise* at the beginning of the *History*, claiming it as his own work in the Vatican MS.

b) Peter shows no signs of being acquainted with the *Chronicle* of George the Monk, and seems to be following another historian, possibly Theophanes Confessor, in the passages which are common to both works.

c) Gieseler noted that both Peter the Higumen and Peter of Sicily habitually use "φησι" for "φασί", though he tried to explain this in term of a Sicilian practice, Petrus Higumenus, 59.

d) Pseudo-Photius, *Narratio*, IV, 21/2B, though not in 21/2A, lists the Paulician heresiarchs, omitting Zacharias as does the parallel passage of the Higumen, but not that of George the Monk.

Since neither the work of George the Monk nor that of Peter of Sicily reproduces the original version of source *P*, we must now consider once again the claim of the *Treatise* of Peter the Higuemen to be the earliest extant version of *P*. The first characteristic of the little *Treatise* is its completeness. It is in no way dependent on the context of the *Chronicle* of George the Monk, but is entirely self-contained. The information is brief, but adequate, containing observations on the origin of the sect, the leaders and heretic communities, the doctrine, and, finally, the organizations and practices of the sectarians. No aspect has been overlooked. Furthermore, the information is given clearly and coherently, without undue rhetoric.

The treatment of the several points is not, however, uniform. The historical section of the work is the briefest and the least satisfactory. This is the section in which errors have been found. The churches of the Paulicians are given as six instead of seven, and the location of the Church of the Koinochoritai is incorrect.⁹¹ Furthermore, the name of the Heresiarch Zacharias has been omitted.⁹² The dogmatic section, on the other hand, is carefully presented. Its tone, despite the author's obvious disapproval of the doctrine exposed, is neither condescending to the reader nor unduly violent.⁹³ The principal purpose of the work seems to be to give information rather than to indulge in polemic. Time and again the writer stops to warn his reader that the sectarians are adept at hiding their doctrine, so that they confuse the ignorant and must be questioned closely and skillfully before the truth is revealed.⁹⁴ He stresses particularly

⁹¹ Petrus Higuemenus, *passim*, the history is given in 36 lines, pp. 60-62, while the doctrine and practices of the heretics occupy double that space—74 lines, pp. 62-67. See Grégoire, "Sources", 102-105.

⁹² See n. 64e. *Codex Coislinianus* 310 and *Codex Scorialensis* put Zacharias back into the list of heresiarchs. It is quite possible that the omission is not a mistake on the part of the Higuemen. We know that many of the Paulicians rejected Zacharias, who had abandoned his followers during a massacre, Petrus Siculus, *Historia*, XXX, 1285/6; Pseudo-Photius, *Narratio*, 57/8; Georgius Monachus, *Chronicon*, 720, 1-2; *Manichaean Formula*, 1467/8; *et al.* Furthermore, Georgius Monachus, *op. cit.*, 720, 8-9, also omits the name of Zacharias when he lists the leaders whom the heretics honored. Therefore, it is possible that the Higuemen's list is intended to present those leaders whom the heretics acknowledged rather than the ones who had actually existed.

⁹³ Scheidweiler, "Paulikianerprobleme", 12, argues that a certain amount of polemic can be found in the work of the Higuemen, but he can bring forth only a few examples, none of them persuasive. The purpose of the Higuemen is polemical, undoubtedly, but his tone is relatively calm. In comparison with the vituperation which we find in some parts of Peter of Sicily, the Higuemen is remarkably dispassionate.

⁹⁴ Petrus Higuemenus, VI, 63-64: "Λέγουσι δὲ πρὸς τοὺς ἀγνοοῦντας αὐτοὺς προθύμως· πιστεύομεν εἰς πατέρα καὶ υἱὸν καὶ ἅγιον πνεῦμα, τὸν ἐπουράνιον πατέρα,

the fact that the heretics use correct texts of the Scriptures, so that they appear orthodox at first glance, but that their interpretation of these texts is heretical. The concern of the author is emphasized by the repetition of his warnings and admonitions.⁹⁵

The *Treatise* of Peter the Higuemen is in no sense a literary creation. Indeed, if we remember the Byzantine love of rhetoric, this work appears remarkably abrupt and practical. This characteristic, combined with the apparent lack of historical interest and the close attention given to the recognition and interrogation of heretics, makes the work curiously unlike a chronicle. The practical character of the Higuemen's account seems far more suited to a sort of inquisitor's manual. That is to say, it gives only enough history to identify the sect; a list of leaders and churches which corresponds to the heretics' confession rather than to historical fact; and little attention to geographical accuracy which is of no immediate importance. On the other hand, it shows precision in the description of the heretical doctrine and practices, and puts particular emphasis on the advice given to examiners. A practical purpose for the work would also explain the matter-of-fact tone of the exposition. Inquisitors stand in need of precise information and specific methods, not rhetoric and

καὶ ἀνάθεμα φασὶ τῷ μὴ οὕτως πιστεύοντι, μεμελετημένως λίαν τὴν αὐτῶν κακίαν μεθοδεύοντες· οὐ γὰρ προστιθέασιν, ὅτε λέγουσι τὸν πατέρα τὸν ἐπουράνιον, ὅτι τὸν μόνον ἀληθινὸν Θεὸν, 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, ὃ ἐστὶ· Πιστεύω εἰς ἓνα Θεὸν πατέρα, παντοκράτορα, ποιητὴν οὐρανοῦ καὶ γῆς, ὁρατὸν τε πάντων καὶ ἀοράτων"; and again *ibid.*, XIII, 65: "Ἄλλὰ χρὴ νουεχῶς καὶ διωρισμένως αὐτοῖς εἰς πάντα διαλέγεσθαι, καὶ γὰρ καὶ τὸ ψεῦδος προχείρως ἔχουσιν ὡς νόμον οἰκεῖον". The same deceitfulness is characteristic of the heretics' habits, *ibid.*, XVII, 66-67, "Τινὲς δὲ ἐξ αὐτῶν καὶ τὰ παιδία ἑαυτῶν βαπτίζουσιν ὑπὸ τῶν ἡμετέρων Πρεσβυτέρων αἰχμαλώτων ὄντων παρ' αὐτοῖς. Ἄλλοι δὲ, εἰσερχόμενοι ἐν τῇ Ἐκκλησίᾳ τῇ ἡμετέρᾳ τῶν ὀρθόδοξων, λεληθότως τῶν θείων μυστηρίων μεταλαμβάνουσιν, πρὸς πλείονα ἐξαπάτην τῶν ἀπλουστέρων". The heretic priests cannot be identified by their outward appearance or comportment, *ibid.*, XIV, 66: "ἐκεῖνοι δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἱερεῖς αὐτῶν συνεκδήμους λέγουσι καὶ νοταρίους, ἀδιαφόρους πᾶσιν αὐτοῖς ὄντας καὶ τοῖς σχήμασι καὶ ταῖς διαίταις καὶ πάσῃ τῇ τοῦ λοιποῦ βίου κατασκευῇ".

⁹⁵ Petrus Higuemenus, II, 61: "οὗτος γάρ [Κωνσταντῖνος ὁ Σιλουανός] αὐτοῖς παρέδωκεν τὰς μὲν αἵρέσεις αὐτοῦ οὐκ ἐγγράφως, ἀλλ' ἀγράφως κατὰ παράδοσιν, τὸ Εὐαγγέλιον δὲ καὶ τὸν Ἀπόστολον ἐγγράφως· ἀπαράλλακτα μὲν τῇ γραφῇ καὶ τοῖς λόγοις, ὡς τὰ καὶ παρ' ἡμῖν ὄντα, αὐτοῖς παραδοὺς, διαστρέψας δὲ ἑκαστον κεφάλαιον πρὸς τὰς αὐτοῦ αἵρέσεις, νομοθετήσας αὐτοῖς καὶ τοῦτο, μὴ δεῖν ἑτέραν βίβλον τὴν οἰκονομῶν ἀναγινώσκειν, εἰ μὴ τὸ Εὐαγγέλιον καὶ τὸν Ἀπόστολον". *Ibid.*, XV, 66: "Ἐχουσι δὲ πάντα τὰ τοῦ Ἀποστόλου καὶ τοῦ Εὐαγγελίου ῥητὰ διάστροφα, πρὸς τὰ παρ' ἡμῖν ὄντα ἐναντία, παρ' αὐτῶν δὲ συντεθέντα, ὡς δὴθεν ἀρμόζοντα ταῖς οἰκείαις αὐτῶν αἵρέσεσιν. Ὡς γὰρ εἴρηται, τῇ γραφῇ καὶ τοῖς λόγοις οὕτως εἰσὶν ὡς καὶ τὰ παρ' ἡμῖν ἀπαράλλακτα· τὰ δὲ νοήματα διαστρέφουσι, καθὼς περὶ τούτων σαφέστερον ἐν τοῖς [ἀνω] διὰ πλάτους μοι λέλεκται".

propaganda, since as ecclesiastics they can presumably be trusted to know the heinous nature of the heresy they are meant to combat.

It seems reasonable, therefore, to suggest that the work of Peter the Higuemen was originally a practical document, written for the enlightenment of the Byzantine clergy for the specific purpose of assisting examiners concerned with the extirpation of heresy. This independent source was consulted by George the Monk in the writing of his *Chronicle*. The first version of the *Chronicle* was merely based on the work of the Higuemen, whereas the second version embodied it almost verbatim. At a later date, this same document was used again by both Peter of Sicily and the Pseudo-Photius. The semi-official character of the Higuemen's *Treatise* is supported by the similarity which we can observe between it and the *Paulician Formula*.⁹⁶

The date of the composition of the work of Peter the Higuemen can be determined fairly accurately. Among the various practices of the Paulicians, the Higuemen notes that "some of them have their children baptized by our priests, who are prisoners among them".⁹⁷ Such prisoners can have existed only in the period of Paulician political power, when the sect formed a semi-independent state on the upper Euphrates (that is to say, between ca. 813 and 872).⁹⁸ In order to have been included in the *Chronicle* of George the Monk, the *Treatise* must have preceded 866-867, or even date still earlier to have been consulted by George for the first version of his work. Finally, the last heresiarch known to the Higuemen is Sergius, who presumably died in 835. The most suitable date for the composition of a work of the type of Peter the Higuemen's would seem to be in the period immediately following the re-establishment of Orthodoxy by the Empress Theodora in 843; her action was followed almost imme-

⁹⁶ The similarity between the two works is extremely close and supports the dating of the *Paulician Formula* in the same period as the Higuemen's work, that is to say, the mid-ninth century:

Petrus Higuemenus	<i>Paulician Formula</i>
I, 60	Anathema XII, 454
III, 61-62	Anathema IX, X, 454
VI, 63-64	Anathema I, VI, 453
VII, 64	Anathema III, IV, 453
IX, 64	Anathema IV, 453
XIV, 66	Anathema XV, XVI, 455
XVIII, 67	Anathema VII, 453-454.

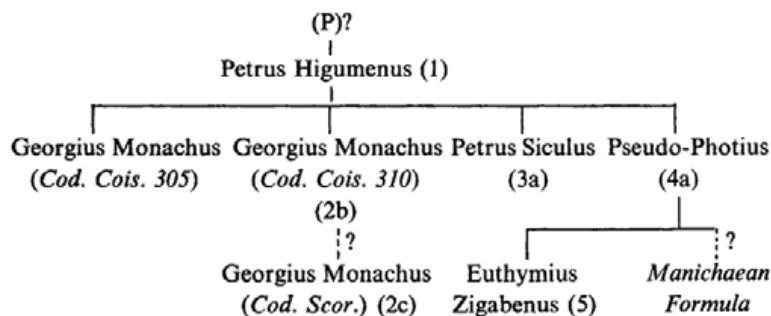
Finally both list the Paulician heresiarchs only as far as Sergius and ignore the later heresiarchs, Petrus Higuemenus, III, 61-62, IV, 63, and *Paulician Formula*, IX, 454.

⁹⁷ See n. 94.

⁹⁸ That is to say, the period between the establishment of Sergius and his followers at Argaios on the frontier of the Empire after the persecution of Michael I (811-813) and the fall of Tephrikë in 872 (see Chapter III).

diately by a violent persecution of Paulicianism. In this same period, we know that the Patriarch Methodius (843-847) was concerned with the conversion of heretics who held a doctrine very similar to that of the Paulicians.⁹⁹ As Friedrich rightly observed, what period could be more suitable than this for the composition of works against the Paulicians,¹⁰⁰ and particularly of a practical treatise for the identification and extirpation of a sect which was becoming a dangerous neighbor for the Empire? In the work of Peter the Higuemen, we have, therefore, a practical document dealing with the Paulicians in the middle of the ninth century, most probably in the period of the patriarchate of Methodius. This document was to be used and preserved in the *Chronicle* of George the Monk composed soon afterward, and in all subsequent works.

The semi-official character of the Higuemen's work and its relation to the *Paulician Formula* suggest that this may indeed be source *P*, of which it exhibits all the characteristics. Such an identification is further supported by our knowledge that the Paulicians were generally favored by the Iconoclastic emperors, so that a semi-official polemical work against them in the period preceding the re-establishment of Orthodoxy is not a likely possibility.¹⁰¹ On the other hand, the familiarity with the Higuemen's work shown by the first version of George the Monk leaves little time for the composition of an earlier polemical document which would postdate 843. We cannot, at our present stage of knowledge, affirm that the work of Peter the Higuemen is identical with source *P*, but it is undoubtedly the earliest extant version of that source and underlies to some extent all our polemical texts:



⁹⁹ Theophanes Continuatus, *Chronographia*, IV, 161, 165; Nicetas Choniates, "Ex libris thesauri Orthodoxae fidei", 281/2-283/4; Genesis, "Regum", 85; Cedrenus, *Compendium*, VII, 150-151 (see Chapter IV).

¹⁰⁰ Friedrich, "Der ursprüngliche Bericht", 82-83.

¹⁰¹ For the favor shown to the Paulicians by the Iconoclastic emperors and the subsequent persecution after the re-establishment of Orthodoxy in the Empire, see Chapter III.

Up to now we have been concerned exclusively with source *P*. However, it has been noted that certain of our texts contain additional material and in particular information of an historical character which cannot be derived from *P*. This additional material is particularly noticeable in the *Codex Scorialensis*, in the *History* of the Pseudo-Photius, and in that of Peter of Sicily. It is evident from the presence of this material that sources, now lost, other than *P* must have existed in Byzantine times. Even though these sources are no longer available to us, some of their characteristics and the information they contained may be reconstructed from a careful analysis of the most complex and baffling of the surviving anti-Paulician works, the *History* of Peter of Sicily.

The *History* of Peter of Sicily is presented to the reader as a straightforward and coherent document. The information which Peter gives about himself and his work is simple and precise. In the second year of the Emperor Basil I, the Macedonian (869), Peter was sent to the Paulician capital of Tephrikē as an ambassador concerned with the exchange of prisoners. He remained in Tephrikē nine months and became acquainted with the heretics and their doctrine. Alarmed by the evidence of missionary activity directed by the Paulicians toward Bulgaria, Peter wrote his *History* for the information of the Orthodox world and particularly for the Archbishop of Bulgaria, to whom he dedicated his work.¹⁰² Peter emphasizes the firsthand quality of his work throughout and repeats the date and purpose of his journey:

On account of this mission to the Paulicians I remained a long time in the city of Tephrikē and often disputed with them [the heretics] and I was accurately informed by the Orthodox many of whom live in that region.¹⁰³

The reputation of Peter's work, however, has not always been of the best among scholars. After having been used as the basic source on the

¹⁰² Petrus Siculus, *Historia*, II, 1241/2-1243/4. Gieseler, *Petri Siculi Historia Manichaeorum seu Paulicianorum* (Göttingen, 1846), 3, correctly puts the words: "τῷ προέδρῳ Βουλγαρίας Πέτρος", immediately after the dedication of the work and entitles the next section merely "πρόλογος". This is the form in which the passage appears in the *Codex Vaticanus Graecus 511*, fol. 81v. Migne, *PG*, CIV, 1243/4B, for some reason divides and alters this heading so that Chapter III is entitled "Τῷ προέδρῳ Βουλγαρίας Πέτρου Πρόλογος"; cf., however, *ibid.*, n., r. Scheidweiler, "Paulikianer-probleme", 14-18, 20-21, demonstrates that such a division is incorrect, since the prologue contains no reference to the Archbishop of Bulgaria. See also Loos, "Contributions I", 20, n. 7.

¹⁰³ Petrus Siculus, *Historia*, 1241/2B, "Χρονотριβήσας τοίνυν ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ δουλείᾳ πρὸς τοὺς Παυλικιάνους ἐν Τιβρική, καὶ πολλάκις αὐτοῖς διαλεχθεὶς, οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ παρὰ πολλῶν ὀρθοδόξων ἐκεῖσε κατοικοῦντων ἀκριβέστερον τὰ περὶ αὐτῶν μαθὼν". *Ibid.*, 1303/4B.

Paulicians until late in the nineteenth century, Peter's work was rejected by Ter Mkrttschian as a Comnenian forgery.¹⁰⁴ Soon, however, Bury was to point out that the sole extant manuscript of Peter's *History* was much earlier than the twelfth century.¹⁰⁵ Grégoire completed Peter's rehabilitation and asserted that the *History* was not only an authentic document, but the unique source on the Paulicians of which Peter the Higuimen was an epitome and the work of the Pseudo-Photius a late copy.¹⁰⁶ We have already seen that Grégoire's thesis that Peter of Sicily is our sole source for the history and dogma of the Paulicians can no longer be maintained. Let us now look at the quality of Peter's own work.

The organization of the *History* is by no means so coherent and orderly as Grégoire would have us believe. The first two chapters contain a statement of the circumstances in which the work was undertaken, its purpose, and the dedication to an archbishop of Bulgaria who is not named.¹⁰⁷ These are followed by two more chapters entitled "Prologue" which are of a general nature and bear no relation to the dedication.¹⁰⁸ At this point the *History* proper presumably begins, but we are faced once again with several chapters dealing generally and discursively with some of the misdeeds of the Paulicians. This section ends with a listing of the main dogmas of the heretics and the promise that the author will refute these after he has finished with the history of the sect.¹⁰⁹ The next ten chapters are concerned with Mani, his life, teachers, disciples, doctrines and the refutation of them, and lead into an account of the origin of the Paulician sect.¹¹⁰ At this point additional confusion arises. The next chapter, XXII, interrupts the exposition of the history of the sect and

¹⁰⁴ See Introduction. J. Gieseler, "Untersuchungen über die Geschichte der Paulikianer", *Theologische Studien und Kritiken*, II (Hamburg, 1829), 80, insisted that "Photius" and Peter's animosity toward the Paulicians did not necessarily make them untrustworthy sources. See Ter Mkrttschian, *Die Paulikianer*, 121-127. Krumbacher, *Byzantinische Litteratur*, 78, refuses to express a final judgement on the work of Peter of Sicily.

¹⁰⁵ Bury-Gibbon, "Appendix VI", VI, 541. Grégoire, "Pauliciens", 610.

¹⁰⁶ Grégoire, "Sources", 110-112; "Pauliciens", 611-613. "J'insiste aujourd'hui sur la parfaite authenticité de Pierre de Sicile, y compris son Prologue" ("Pauliciens", 611). "Il n'y a point d'erreur chez Pierre de Sicile. Il dit bien ce qu'il veut dire. Son récit est logique et cohérent. Et il le confirme en usant d'une source excellente, en citant une épître de Tychikos lui-même" ("Sources", 103). This theory of Grégoire is followed by both Runciman, *Medieval Manichee*, 34, 181, and Obolensky, *Bogomils*, 31.

¹⁰⁷ Petrus Siculus, *Historia*, I-II, 1239/40-1243/4.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, "Πρόλογος", III-IV, 1243/4B-1245/6B.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, "Ἱστορία", V-X, 1245/6-1257/8B. V-VI concern the Incarnation and the Virgin Mary; VII, the cross; VIII, the apostles, prophets and doctors of the Church; IX, the secret nature of the heresy; X, the main dogmas of the Paulicians.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*, XI-XXI, 1257/8B-1271/2D.

turns to the anti-heretical activities of the Macedonian emperors, Basil I and his sons Constantine and Leo, and to a panegyric of these rulers.¹¹¹ Chapter XXIII marks a new beginning, as was observed by Grégoire and Scheidweiler,¹¹² and introduces an extensive and detailed account of the history of the sect down to the death of the Heresiarch Sergius, where it breaks off.¹¹³ The work then ends with an epilogue of two brief chapters on the last Paulician leaders, Karbeas and Chrysocheir, together with a restatement of Peter's mission and his reason for writing the *History*.¹¹⁴

In addition to the confusion of the presentation, innumerable difficulties arise if we are to assume the truth of Peter's statement as to the date and purpose of his work. There is extensive duplication of material; the occasion for the writing of the *History* is told twice, the date stated three times.¹¹⁵ Two accounts are given for the origin of the Paulician sect as well as for Mani's disputation with Archelaus, Bishop of Kaškar, and for the Heresiarch's death.¹¹⁶ Not only is the material repetitive, but much of it is contradictory. Peter tells us at the beginning of his work that he was alarmed by the evidence of Paulician proselytism and that he was therefore writing to inform the Archbishop of Bulgaria of this imminent danger. At the end of the *History*, however, he tells us that the work was undertaken at the order of the Macedonian emperors,¹¹⁷ without any mention of Bulgaria. Similarly, the date of Peter's mission shifts from "the beginning of Basil's reign", presumably alone, to the joint rule of Basil and his two sons, Constantine and Leo, which cannot be earlier than 870.¹¹⁸ Again we are told, in Chapter XXII, that the heresy was first

¹¹¹ Petrus Siculus, *Historia*, 1273/4C-1275/6D.

¹¹² *Ibid.*, XXIII, 1275/6C-1277/8B; Grégoire, "Précisions", 290; Scheidweiler, "Paulikianerprobleme", 17, 19.

¹¹³ Petrus Siculus, *Historia*, XXIII-XLI, 1277/8B-1301/2C.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*, XLII-XLIII, 1301/2C-1303/4C.

¹¹⁵ The circumstances and purpose of Peter's trip, and the composition of the *History*, *ibid.*, II, XLIII, 1241/2B-1243/4A, 1303/4B. The date of Peter's activity, II, XXII, XLIII, 1241/2AB, 1273/4D-1275/6A, 1303/4AB.

¹¹⁶ The origin of the Paulicians, *ibid.*, XXI, XXIII, 1273/4AB, 1275/6D. The disputation with Archelaus, Mani's flight and death, XIV, XV, XX, 1261/2B-1265/6B, 1271/2CD. Pseudo-Photius, *Narratio*, XIII, XV, 39/40B-41/2A, 43/4B-45/6A, also duplicates the account of the disputation with Archelaus, but in a different order.

¹¹⁷ See n. 115. Also Scheidweiler, "Paulikianerprobleme", 14.

¹¹⁸ See n. 115. Petrus Siculus, *Historia*, II, 1241/2AB, "ἐν ἀρχῇ τῆς αὐτοκρατορίας Βασιλείου"; *ibid.*, XXII, 1273/4D-1275/6A, "ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις Βασιλείου καὶ Κωνσταντίνου καὶ Λέοντος, τῶν εὐσεβῶν καὶ ὀρθοδόξων μεγάλων βασιλέων ἡμῶν"; *ibid.*, XLIII, 1303/4B, "ἐν τῷ δευτέρῳ ἔτει τῆς βασιλείας Βασιλείου καὶ Κωνσταντίνου καὶ Λέοντος, τῶν εὐσεβῶν καὶ δικαίων μεγάλων βασιλέων ἡμῶν". Basil came to the throne in 867 after the murder of Michael III. Scheidweiler, "Paulikianerprobleme", 17, rightly observes that Chapters XXII and XLIII must have been written

identified and openly revealed in the time of Basil and his sons.¹¹⁹ Yet elsewhere Peter says that Paulicians had been known and pursued under Basil's predecessors, Constantine IV, Justinian II, Michael I, and Leo V.¹²⁰ These contradictions often follow very closely one upon the other. In Chapter XXI the origin of the Paulicians is ascribed to Paul and John, the sons of a Manichaean woman from Samosata named Kallinike, but in Chapter XXIII the first leader of the sectarians is an Armenian named Constantine.¹²¹ Likewise Chapter XLI ends with the statement that the Paulicians had no single leader after the death of Sergius, but only a group of teachers, all equal in rank. Chapter XLII opens with an account

after January, 870, when Leo VI was associated to the throne. Migne, *PG CIV*, 1275/6, n. 29, says that the sons of Basil were immediately associated with their father; this is true of Constantine, but not of his younger brother, Leo.

¹¹⁹ Petrus Siculus, *Historia*, XXII, 1275/6A: "Πάντας γάρ τοὺς προβεβασιλευκότας διαλαθὼν ὁ ἐγκεκρυμμένος δόλος τῆς μυσαρᾶς ταύτης αἰρέσεως. τὴν δικαίαν βασιλείαν τῶν κοσμοσυστάτων καὶ ἁγίων μεγάλων βασιλέων ἡμῶν [Basil, Constantine and Leo mentioned above] οὐ διέλαθεν".

¹²⁰ *Ibid.*, XXI, 1273/4B: "Οἱ οὖν εὐσεβέστατοι καὶ ὀρθόδοξοι ἡμῶν βασιλεῖς ἵνα μὴ ἐπιπλεῖον διανεμηθεῖσα ἡ λοιμώδης στάσις αὐτῇ, λυμῆνται πολλοὺς τῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς θεϊκῶς ζήλῳ κινουμένων τοὺς κατὰ τόπον εὐρισκομένους τῆς Ῥωμαϊκῆς ἀρχῆς Μανιχαίους κατὰ καιροὺς ἀποκτείνουσιν..."; 1277/8B: "Οἱ γὰρ θεϊότατοι καὶ ὀρθόδοξοι ἡμῶν τῶν δυνάεω Χριστιανῶν βασιλεῖς μετὰ πάντων τῶν ἀγαθῶν αὐτῶν κατορθωμάτων, θεσπίζουσι καὶ τοῦτο, Μανιχαίους καὶ Μοντανούς ξίφει τιμωρεῖσθαι..."; also XXV, 1279/80C—Constantine IV or Justinian II. Constantine the Heresiarch had first appeared in the reign of Constans II, and preached for twenty-seven years before his execution, 1279/80AB; see my Chapter III, n. 34, also Grégoire, "Précisions", 303.

For the chronology of the Paulicians: XXV, 1279/80BC—Constantine IV; XXVII, 1281/2D—Justinian II; XLI, 1299/1300-1301/2A—Michael I and Leo V; see also Scheidweiler, "Paulikianerprobleme", 15.

¹²¹ Petrus Siculus, *Historia*, XXI, 1273/4A (see n. 131 for the text of this passage and its provenance). *Ibid.*, XXIII, 1275/6C, "ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις Κωνσταντίνου τοῦ βασιλέως τοῦ ἑγγονοῦ Ἡρακλείου, γέγονε τις Ἀρμένιος, ὀνόματι Κωνσταντῖνος, ἐν τῷ Σαμωσάτῳ τῆς Ἀρμενίας ἐν κώμῃ Μανανάλει λεγομένῃ, ἥτις κώμη καὶ μέχρι τοῦ νῦν Μανιχαίους ἐκτρέφει". It is true that Peter of Sicily tells us that the new Paulician leaders were the disciples of their predecessors, but Chapter XXIII has no further mention of Paul and John, though they make a brief reappearance in Chapter XXVIII, 1283/4B.

Similarly in Chapter XXI, 1273/4B, Peter tells us rather vaguely that the Byzantine emperors had persecuted Manichaeism, but in Chapter XXIII, 1277/8BC, he is precise enough to quote the very wording of the law in the *Eclogue* of Leo III and the provisions of the *Codex Justinianus*: "Μανιχαίους καὶ Μοντανούς ξίφει τιμωρεῖσθαι, τὰς δὲ βίβλους αὐτῶν εὐρισκομένας πυρὶ παραδίδοσθαι" ἐἴ δὲ τις φωραθεῖ ταύτας ἀποκρύπτων, τὸν τοιοῦτον ψήφῳ θανάτου καθυποβάλλεσθαι, τὰ δὲ ὑπάρχοντα αὐτῷ ἐν τῷ τοῦ δημοσίου εἰσκομίζεσθαι μέρει". Cf. C. Spulber ed., *L'Eclogue des Isauriens* (Cernautzi, 1929), 75, "Οἱ Μανιχαῖοι καὶ οἱ Μοντανοὶ ξίφει τιμωρεῖσθωσαν". *Corpus Iuris Civilis*, II, ed. Krueger (Berlin, 1929), *Codex Justinianus*, I, v, 11—Manichaeans shall be punishable by death; 15, 16, 18—Manichaeans may not bequeath their goods which are to be confiscated by the fisc, Manichaean books are to be burned, and the sheltering of a Manichaean is punishable by death.

of the leadership of Karbeas.¹²² Even more serious are the facts that the doctrine of the Paulicians presented in Chapter X does not coincide with some of the information which we find in the later section of the *History*,¹²³ and that the tone and style of the composition vary from one section of the work to another.¹²⁴

In his study of the works of Photius and Peter of Sicily, Moeller already suggested that the *History* of Peter of Sicily was a composite work, although his divisions of the work are difficult to accept.¹²⁵ That such divisions do exist, however, is evident from a close study of the *History*. We are, therefore, brought to the conclusion that the *History* of Peter of Sicily is not a homogeneous work as it purports to be, but rather a collection of various sources belonging to diverse periods, joined together into a more or less coherent narrative by a compiler whom, for the sake of convenience, I shall continue to call Peter of Sicily.

The first section of Peter's *History* consists of the work of the Higuren, which was taken over verbatim in the Vatican manuscript, as we have already seen. The separate title of the *History* which follows in this manuscript should not blind us to the fact that both works were considered part of a single unit, as is indicated by the incorrect attribution of the Higuren's work to Peter of Sicily.¹²⁶ Next we find the suspicious dedica-

¹²² Petrus Siculus, *Historia*, XLI, 1301/2C, "οἱ καὶ συνέκδημοι [Σεργίου]... μετὰ τὸν τοῦ διδασκάλου αὐτῶν Σεργίου θάνατον... ἰσότημοι πάντες ὑπῆρχον· μηκέτι ἕνα διδάσκαλον ἀνακηρύξαντες, καθάπερ οἱ πρῶν, ἀλλὰ πάντες ἴσοι ὄντες". *Ibid.*, XLII, 1301/2C, "Ὁ οὖν Καρβέας, ἐν τοῖς τότε καιροῖς ἀναφανείς, καὶ τοῦ ὀλεθρίου ἐκείνου λαοῦ καθηγησάμενος...".

¹²³ *Ibid.* The doctrine of the two principles described in Chapter X, 1253/4B, and the docetic principle that Christ received no flesh from the Virgin Mary, 1255/6A, do not reappear in Chapters XXIII-XLIII.

¹²⁴ Moeller, *De libris*, 41; Scheidweiler, "Paulikianerprobleme", 16-7, criticizes Moeller's method but gives no actual proof of the unity of style. Loos "Contributions I", 33, accepts Scheidweiler's conclusion without any further proof.

¹²⁵ Moeller, *De libris*, 41-43, 51, "Neque enim quae Petrus profert omnia eiusdem farinae sunt. Aliis locis temperato placidoque usus est sermone, aliis haereticorum detestationibus abundat". Moeller suggests the following sources for Peter of Sicily: 1) George the Monk, whom Peter consulted but did not cite as an authority; 2) St. Cyril, Epiphanius, and Socrates Scholasticus, whom he named; 3) an anonymous history of the Paulicians amplified by a biography of the Heresiarch Sergius. This theory has been too lightly disregarded by subsequent scholars; see preceding note.

¹²⁶ The inclusion of the Higuren's work into the compilation of the *Histories* is even clearer in the Pseudo-Photius. There, the first ten chapters are a paraphrase of the Higuren, as was demonstrated by Ter Mkrttschian (see n. 58). These ten chapters are then followed, without any transition or new title, by the history of Mani and that of the Paulicians found in the main body of the work of Peter of Sicily. As we shall see, one of the characteristics of the Pseudo-Photius' work is a greater cohesion which obliterates the separations between the various sections still visible in the *History* of Peter of Sicily.

tion to the unnamed archbishop of Bulgaria and the ten preliminary chapters ending with the résumé of Paulician doctrine. These are most likely the works of Peter of Sicily himself. They are confused in style and organization and at best introductory in nature. What Paulician doctrine they discuss is mainly drawn from the Higuemen's work which Peter had already presented in the preceding section. The repetition of material is particularly clear in Chapter X of the *History*, which follows the Higuemen's argument point by point. Here, already, we find a characteristic of Peter's compilation which we shall meet again, the duplication of material. In addition to the demonstration of Peter's indebtedness to the Higuemen, the main value of the first ten chapters lies in their similarity to the *Sermons* which follow the *History*. The *Sermons*, therefore, should probably be accepted as Peter's own work.¹²⁷

With the next nine chapters on Mani we are in a completely different world. Peter himself admits that he was acquainted with the anti-Manichaean works of Socrates Scholasticus, Saint Cyril, and Epiphanius, and Moeller has amply shown the indebtedness of Peter to these works.¹²⁸ Peter may also have known the *Acts of Archelaus*, a work dating presumably from the fourth century and containing a lengthy account of the disputation between Mani and Bishop Archelaus of Kaškar, an account which is repeated by Peter in his *History*.¹²⁹ So intent is Peter on bolster-

¹²⁷ The similarity between the *Sermons* and the early part of the *History* was amply demonstrated by Scheidweiler, "Paulikianerprobleme", 19-22. Useful though the *Sermons* may be as corroboration of the doctrine described in Chapter X of the *History*, they do not add anything to our knowledge, nor are they of any use in dating Peter's work; see n. 171.

¹²⁸ Petrus Siculus, *Historia*, XIX, XX, 1269/70C-1271/2D. Pseudo-Photius, *Narratio*, XI, 31/2-33/4 gives more extensive sources; see n. 173 f., and Moeller, *De libris*, Chapter IV, 21-31, "De ratione quae intercedit inter Cyrillum, Socratem, Epiphanius et Petrum Photiumque".

¹²⁹ Hegemonius, *Acta Archelai*, ed. G. H. Beeson (Leipzig, 1906). The disputed authenticity of the work does not affect our subject. Peter may have known the *Acta Archelai*, since the parallel between his account of Manichaean doctrine and that found in the *Acta* is striking:

<i>Historia</i>	<i>Acta Archelai</i>
1267/8BC	X(IX), 16-17
1267/8A	X(IX), 15-16
1269/70B	IX, 14.

On the other hand, Peter, who cites his authorities at this point, does not mention the *Acta*. Furthermore, he refers to Archelaus in flattering terms, *Historia*, 1265/6AB, as does the Pseudo-Photius, *Narratio*, XIII, 39/40. This may be due to Archelaus' position as the opponent of Mani, but some of the Christology found in the *Acta* could hardly have passed as Orthodox in ninth- and tenth-century Constantinople, though, as we shall see, it was quite acceptable to some branches of fourth-century Christianity; see my Chapter V. The first sentence of Peter of Sicily is obviously a

ing his *History* with all the sources at his disposal, that he follows his account of this disputation and Mani's death with a complete repetition of the whole story, drawn from Epiphanius. It is important to note here that none of the sources cited by Peter dates later than the fifth century, so that this entire section of the *History* is a sort of archaeological excursion into a long vanished Manichaeism.¹³⁰ The relevance of this section to the rest of the *History* is doubtful; at best it provides a background for Peter's thesis that Paulicians and Manichaeans are one and the same. The entire section is drawn together by Peter, but its various sources have been left clearly visible through the repetitions of the compiler.

The next chapter, XXI, with the account of Kallinike, Paul and John, and their founding of the sect, marks the return of Peter to the account of the Higuren. All the material for this chapter, including the explanation given for the name, Paulicians, and for that of the heretical village of Episparis, is to be found in the *Treatise* of the Higuren, though Peter has confused his source in one case.¹³¹ As for Chapter XXII, both Grégoire

transition from the Manichaean section and an introduction for the section to follow.

¹³⁰ Petrus Siculus, *Historia*, 1269/70C, "Ταῦτα γέγραπται ἐν ταῖς τῶν Μανιχαίων βίβλοις. Ταῦτα ἡμεῖς ἀνέγνωμεν ἀπιστοῦντες τοῖς λεγομένοις· ὑπὲρ γὰρ τῆς ὑμετέρας ἀσφαλείας τὴν ἐκείνων ἀπώλειαν ἐπολυπραγμονήσαμεν". Peter seems to be anticipating an objection from his reader; in any case, the admission that his information came from books and was hardly believable argues against the currency or even the knowledge of such beliefs in his own time.

¹³¹ *Ibid.*, XXI, 1273/4AB, Petrus Higurenus, I, 60;

Petrus Higurenus:

"Παυλικιανοί, οἱ καὶ Μανιχαῖοι, μετονομάσθησαν ἀντὶ Μανιχαίων Παυλικιανοὶ ἀπὸ Παύλου τινὸς Σαμωσατέως, υἱοῦ γυναικὸς Μανιχαίας, Καλλινίκης τοῦνομα, ἥτις δύο υἱοὺς ἔσχε, Παῦλον καὶ Ἰωάννην. Τούτους οὖν τὴν Μανιχαϊκὴν αἵρεσιν διδάξασα, ἐκ τοῦ Σαμωσάτου εἰς Ἀρμενίαν ἀπέστειλεν· οἵτινες ἐλθόντες εἰς κώμην τινὰ τῆς Φαναροίας, ἐκεῖσε τὴν ἐαυτῶν αἵρεσιν ἐνέσπειραν. Ἐκτοτε οὖν ἡ μὲν κώμη μετωνομάσθη Ἐπίσπαρις, οἱ δὲ μαθηταὶ αὐτῶν Παυλικιανοὶ ἐκλήθησαν".

Petrus Siculus:

"Τινὲς δὲ τῶν μαθητῶν αὐτοῦ [Μάνη] ἐφθασαν μέχρι Σαμωσάτου τῆς Ἀρμενίας, καὶ τὸ ζιζάνιον τοῦ πονηροῦ ἐν αὐτῷ κατασπείραντες, πολλοὺς τῶν ἐκεῖσε Ἀρμενίων ἠπάτησαν· ... Γυνὴ γάρ τις ἐκ τοῦ Σαμωσάτου Καλλινίκη τοῦνομα δύο υἱοὺς ἔσχε, Παῦλον καὶ Ἰωάννην· τούτους οὖν τοὺς δύο ὄφεις ἡ αὐτῶν γεννήτρια ἐχιδνα ἐκθρέψασα, καὶ τὴν παμμίαρον διδάξασα αἵρεσιν, κήρυκας τῆς πλάνης ἀπέστειλεν ἐκ τοῦ Σαμωσάτου. Οἱ δὲ καταλαβόντες τὴν ἐνορίαν Φαναροίας, ἦλθον εἰς τινὰ κώμην, καὶ τοὺς ἐν αὐτῇ οἰκοῦντας ἀμαθεῖς καὶ ἀστηρίκτους εὐρόντες ἐκεῖσε τὸν ἰὸν τῆς πονηρίας καὶ τὸ πικρὸν ζιζάνιον τοῦ ἐχθροῦ ἐνέσπειραν· διὸ καὶ μέχρι τῆς σήμερον ἡ μὲν κώμη Ἐπίσπαρις μετωνομάσθη· ἡ δὲ αἵρεσις κατὰ τὴν τῶν κηρυζάντων ὀνομασίαν· καὶ γὰρ ἐκ τότε ἐκ Μανιχαίων ἐπεκλήθησαν Παυλικιανοί".

and Scheidweiler observed that it has the aspect of an interpolation or a new beginning with its sudden interruption of the story of Paul and John and its return to the obliteration of the heresy by the Orthodox emperors.¹³² The reason for this awkward chapter becomes quite clear when we recognize its function. It is both a transition and the introduction of a completely new source which forms the bulk of Peter's work.

It has long been observed that the history of the Paulician sect included in Chapters XXIII to XLI shows a different character from the rest of Peter's work. It is a systematic and orderly account of the sect's development from its founder, Constantine, to its greatest leader and reformer, Sergius. Many of the geographical locations given in it can be verified, and a number of historical events mentioned are corroborated elsewhere.¹³³ Finally, this section presents a homogeneous unit without repetitions or interpolations.¹³⁴

The space given to Sergius in this account is disproportionately large.¹³⁵ Not only are we given extensive details on his conversion to Paulicianism, his assumption of the leadership of the sect, and his life and missionary activities, but his *Letters* to his disciples and contemporaries are quoted directly.¹³⁶ The tone of the narrative changes as it reaches Sergius' lifetime. Throughout the history of the sect there is no doubt as to the writer's disapproval of Paulicianism, his constant depreciation of the leaders of the sect, and his malignant joy at imperial persecution, but when he deals with Sergius he becomes positively shrill in his vituperations.¹³⁷ So hysterical are the author's denunciations and so accurate and

¹³² See n. 112.

¹³³ Grégoire, "Précisions", 295-296, "Eglises", 511-514.

¹³⁴ Rader was rather puzzled by Chapter XXXIV, but Migne, *PG*, CIV, 1289/90, n. 38, attributes it correctly to the narrator. It is a perfectly reasonable commentary on the preceding chapter.

¹³⁵ Sergius is the subject of ten chapters out of a total of nineteen; the most given to any other heresiarch is two. This is probably the basis for Moeller's assumption that Peter possessed a biography of Sergius (see n. 125). This is a possibility though not a likely one, as there is no evidence of a break between the account of Sergius' career and the section immediately preceding it.

¹³⁶ Petrus Siculus, *Historia*, XXXVI, 1293/4B—on Sergius' missionary activities; XXXVII, 1295/6A—the inhabitants of Kolonia; XXXVIII, 1297/8AB—on the Paulician Churches; XXXIX, 1197/8-1299/1300A—to Leo the Montanist. All of these are quoted directly and not paraphrased.

¹³⁷ *Ibid.*, XXXII, 1287/8B: "Σέργιον τὸν ἐχθρὸν τοῦ σταυροῦ τοῦ Χριστοῦ, τὸ τῆς ἀθεότητος στόμα, τὸν τῆς θεομήτορος καὶ πάντων τῶν ἁγίων ὕβριστήν· Σέργιον τὸν ἀντίμαχον τῶν τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἀποστόλων τὸν τοῦς προφῆτας μισήσαντα, καὶ τὰς θείας Γραφὰς ἀποστραφέντα καὶ πρὸς μύθους καὶ ψεύδη ἐκτραπέντα· Σέργιον τὸν τοῦ Χριστοῦ μισητήν, τὸν τῆς Ἐκκλησίας πολέμιον, τὸν Υἱὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ καταπα-

detailed his information, that it seems likely that this section of Peter's *History* is the work of one of Sergius' contemporaries. The violence of the style suggests a recanting Paulician writing for the edification of Orthodox readers.¹³⁸ This conclusion as to the date of this section is supported by the fact that the narrator, in dealing with Sergius' life, continually slips into the present tense,¹³⁹ most conspicuously in the following revealing correction:

τήσαντα, καὶ τὸ αἷμα τῆς διαθήκης κοινὸν ἡγησάμενον, καὶ τὸ Πνεῦμα τῆς χάριτος ἐνοβρίσαντα, κ.τ.λ..."; *ibid.*, XXXVIII, 1295/6D: "Ὡς ἐχθρὲ τῆς ἀληθείας, υἱὲ διαβόλου, καὶ πάσης ῥαδιουργίας ἐργάτα· πῶς ἐτόλμησας τοιαῦτα ἀποφθέγγεσθαι, ἴσον ἑαυτὸν ποιῶν τῷ θεῷ"; *ibid.*, 1293/4D ff., 1297/8AB ff., etc. The narrator does not seem able to proceed with his story without exploding. Note the contemporary tone of these attacks.

¹³⁸ Petrus Siculus, *Historia*, XLI, 1301/2BC, the narrator seems well acquainted with the names of Sergius' disciples, who are unknown to source *P* and the texts dependent on it, "μαθηταὶ δὲ τούτου [Σεργίου] ὑπάρχον μυστικώτεροι Μιχαὴλ καὶ ὁ Κανακάρις καὶ Ἰωάννης ὁ Ἀόρατος, οἱ τρεῖς μιαιρεῖς καὶ ὁ μνημονευθεὶς Θεόδοτος, Βασίλειός τε καὶ Ζώσιμος, καὶ ἕτεροι πολλοί". He tells us of the dissensions within the sect after Sergius' death, *ibid.*, 1299/1300D; this is confirmed by the Pseudo-Photius, *Narratio*, XXV, 70/80C-81/2A. It is very tempting to identify, the author of source *S* with one of Sergius' disciples who quarrelled with the others after the master's death and returned to Orthodoxy. The reference to the disciples, Basil and Zosimus, in Chapter XLIII, 1303/4, "...ἔτι περιόντος Βασιλείου καὶ Ζωσίμου τῶν μιαιρῶν συνεκδήμων λεγομένων", whom Peter himself could not possibly have known, may have been taken from source *S*. The phrase is not necessary to the sense or the context, and Scheidweiler, "Paulikianerprobleme", 16, noted that this chapter bears the mark of interpolations.

The personality of the author of source *S* as opposed to Peter of Sicily seems indicated by *S*'s love of nicknames and puns: a) "Κῆτος" for "Τίτος", *Historia*, 1281/2A; b) "Θυμόθεος" for "Τιμόθεος", *ibid.*, 1283/4B; c) "Ἀφρόνητος" for "Ἐπαφρόδιτος", *ibid.*, 1285/6B-D; d) particularly the pun on the name of the Paulician church of the "Κοινοχωρίτας" or "Κυνοχωρίτας", i.e., "Λαοδικεῖς δὲ τοὺς κατοικοῦντας Κύνas τὴν τοῦ Κύνος χώραν", *ibid.*, 1297/8B and 1301/2A. The correct version of the name "Κοινοχωρίτας" is given by source *P*, Petrus Higumenus, IV, 63, though Gieseler corrects the correct reading in the MS.; see p. 63, n. 2, and Georgius Monachus, *Chronicon*, 721. However, the *Codex Scorialensis* and all the other texts have "Κυνοχωρίτας", *Codex Scorialensis*, 71; see n. 74a. Lipshits, "Problems", 239, noted the progress from the correct to the pejorative form. Grégoire, "Eglises", 512, noted that by the ninth century the pronunciation of the two forms would have been indistinguishable. This may be a valid argument in the case of the *Codex Scorialensis* where, as we have seen, the name is given without comment, but the offensive intention of the pun in source *S* is unmistakable. Peter of Sicily, himself, cannot be blamed for these puns and epithets. We do not find them outside the section formed by source *S*. They are not applied to the last two leaders, Karbeas and Chrysocheir, nor do they appear in the earlier part of the *History*.

¹³⁹ Petrus Siculus, *Historia*, XXXIII-XLI, *passim*. *Ibid.*, XXXVI, 1293/4, "ἐν ὅλοις γὰρ τριακοντατέσσαρσι χρόνοις ἐπικρατήσας ἀπὸ Εἰρήνης τῆς Αὐγούστης μέχρι Θεοφίλου τοῦ βασιλέως, συνεστήσατο τὴν νῦν περιούσαν ἀποστασίαν", as a date for Sergius' life this seems the description of a contemporary heresiarch. Pseudo-

So that we may not seem to accuse him [Sergius] at random, we will describe all about him in order. And first let us tell how the wretch was turned to the heresy, then from his own words we will prove what sort of a person the wretch *is or rather was* [italics mine].¹⁴⁰

Under no circumstances can this extensive section of the *History* be drawn from source *P*, since we have already seen that *P* was concerned primarily with dogma and contained no history beyond the bare essentials. We are, therefore, brought to the conclusion that Peter was indebted for the information of this section to a lost independent source which I shall call *S*. This source, despite its violent polemical tone, contained a detailed and generally accurate account of the historical development of the Paulicians and was probably the work of one of Sergius' disciples who had abjured the heresy and returned to the Orthodox community, probably in the very period of the re-establishment of Orthodoxy which followed so closely upon Sergius' death.¹⁴¹

There is no possibility that *S* is the work of Peter of Sicily himself. Its precise, detailed quality contrasts favorably with the vagueness of Peter's own historical information, and a different personality clearly emerges from this section of the work.¹⁴² Finally, even if we were to accept Peter's word that his *History* was written ca. 872 and not, as we shall later show, in the middle of the tenth century, he is not likely to have had the detailed knowledge and passionate reaction to Sergius' career exhibited by the narrator of source *S*.¹⁴³

There is also little probability that source *P* was acquainted with source *S*, although the two appear to be contemporary. Except for their common polemical nature, *P* and *S* are totally dissimilar in character. *P* is dogmatic, *S* historical; *P* appears as a relatively objective and semi-official document, *S*, despite its historical accuracy, degenerates into a hysterical work of personal spite. Finally, *P* ignores *S*'s geographical precision and its historic account of the founding of the Paulician sect by Constantine-Silvanus in favor of the legendary story of the Manichaean leaders,

Photius, *Narratio*, XXI, 71/2A, "...ἐξ οὗ χρόνου [Εἰρήνης] μέχρι τοῦ παρόντος ἡ νῦν ἐπιχωριάζουσα ἀσέβεια τῆς ἐκείνου μὲν ἡρτηται διδασκαλίας".

¹⁴⁰ Petrus Siculus, *Historia*, XXXIII, 1287/8D-1289/90A: "ἵνα δὲ μὴ δόξωμεν εἰς μάτην κατηγορεῖν αὐτοῦ, τὰ περὶ αὐτοῦ μερικῶς διηγησόμεθα. Καὶ πρῶτον μὲν εἰπόμεν πῶς ὁ ἀθλῖος εἰς ταύτην ἐξεστράπη τὴν αἵρεσιν· εἶθ' οὗτος ἐκ τῶν οἰκείων αὐτοῦ λογίων παραστήσομεν ὁποῖός τις ἐστὶ, μᾶλλον δὲ ἢ ὁ πανάθλιος".

¹⁴¹ Sergius died in 835; Orthodoxy was re-established in the Empire in 843.

¹⁴² See n. 138.

¹⁴³ As we shall see, Peter's *History* must have been written in the mid-tenth century, and this date decisively disposes of the possibility that Peter himself was the author of *S*.

Paul and John, albeit he lists Constantine as one of the heresiarchs.¹⁴⁴

So far, we have seen that the account of Peter of Sicily was composed of information drawn from source *P*, early anti-Manichaean works, and finally source *S*. This analysis may now be carried one step further. The information of the author of source *S* was probably drawn in the main from his own experience and knowledge of the sect, and he was obviously acquainted with Sergius' own *Letters*. There are indications, however, that he possessed still another source of the greatest value to us. In Chapter XXV the author tells us of the death of Constantine, the first of the Paulician heresiarchs. Brought before the imperial official, Symeon, at the city of Koloneia, Constantine was condemned to death by lapidation. Symeon ordered Constantine's disciples to perform the execution. But the disciples, unwilling to kill one whom they considered God's messenger, dropped the stones and spared him. Then one among them, Justus, Constantine's adopted son and favorite pupil, picked up a stone and slew his master. The narrator approvingly calls Justus a new David, the slayer of the Goliath of heresy, but in spite of his triumphant tone, the impression given is one of compassion and sorrow. Far from being an execution, Constantine's death takes on the characteristics of a passion.¹⁴⁵ This impression is sustained in the next chapters. The persecutor of Constantine, Symeon, the imperial envoy, was in turn converted by the Paulicians. He returned to Constantinople, but after three years secretly fled from his home, assumed the leadership of the sect, and kept it until his own execution in the persecution by Justinian II.¹⁴⁶ If we remember the reverence given to St. Paul by the sectarians according to all accounts, the parallel here again seems to be too striking to be fortuitous. The author of source *S* seems to have possessed a Paulician history of their own sect written in the style of a *vita sanctorum*. This he distorted at the points necessary for his polemical purpose. The existence of such a source favorable to the Paulicians, which I shall call *A*, underlying the polemical history of the Paulicians, *S*, and incorporated into the work of Peter of Sicily, would also explain some of the other difficulties which we find in this work.¹⁴⁷

¹⁴⁴ For the evaluation of the legend of Paul and John, see Chapters III and V.

¹⁴⁵ Petrus Siculus, *Historia*, XXV, 1279/80C.

¹⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, XXVI-XXVII, 1279/80D-1281/2D.

¹⁴⁷ The main characteristic of source *A* is its pro-Paulician tone; this would be one of the real Paulician sources which was destroyed by Orthodox opponents. The Paulician doctrine, which we can still gather from well-intentioned sources such as *A* and the *Letters* of Sergius, is, therefore, all the more important for our study. This is particularly true where the testimony of the Paulician sources disagrees with that of their opponents.

In Chapter XXIX we are told of the summons to Constantinople of the third heresiarch, Genesius, to exculpate himself before the Patriarch.¹⁴⁸ The narrator of *S* interprets the answers of Genesius as a tissue of lies which deceive the Patriarch. The interpretation which he puts on Genesius' replies brings them into close accordance with the Paulician doctrine described by the Higuren.¹⁴⁹ However, the actual words of Genesius do not of necessity agree with the interpretation of them given by the commentator. We may, therefore, originally have had in this chapter the description of a doctrine quite unlike that of the heresy presented by the Higuren and an account of Genesius' triumphant vindication at Constantinople. This account was then distorted in the subsequent retelling. The same distortion seems to have occurred in ascribing to Joseph, the next heresiarch, the epithets of bastard and hireling usually reserved for his colleague Zacharias whom many of the Paulicians refused to recognize as a leader after his abandonment of his disciples in time of persecution.¹⁵⁰ The story of Joseph's return to the Paulician village of Episparis and his enthusiastic welcome with lighted torches by the inhabitants of the village may once again be an echo of source *A*, the older Paulician account.¹⁵¹

¹⁴⁸ Petrus Siculus, *Historia*, XXIX, 1283/4B-1285/6A.

¹⁴⁹ The interpretations of the answers of the Heresiarch Genesius given by the author of *S* are the same as those found in the work of Peter the Higuren:

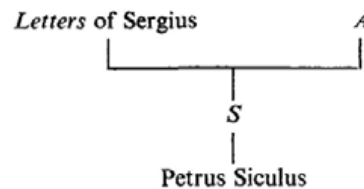
Petrus Higurenus	Petrus Siculus, <i>Historia</i> , XXIX
VI, 63. The Paulicians call their own heresy the true church;	1283/4D
VII, 64. The Virgin Mary is the Heavenly Jerusalem;	1283/4B-C
VIII, 64. The body and blood are to be understood as Christ's words;	1283/4C
IX, 64. The Cross is Christ himself.	1283/4B

The order of the two accounts is not the same, but the interpretation is identical. The only element added in Chapter XXIX is the heretical rejection of Orthodox baptism with water. See n. 66 for the parallel with Chapter X of the *History*. It is possible that this interpretation of Genesius' words is the work of Peter of Sicily following the account of *P* as he had done in Chapter X. On the other hand, it is as likely that this is the work of source *S* interpreting the Paulician dogma of an earlier period in terms of the doctrine current in his own period, which is the same as that of *P*. See also n. 153 and my Chapter IV.

¹⁵⁰ Petrus Siculus, *Historia*, XXX, 1285/6AB. Here the confusion seems due to Peter of Sicily rather than to the author of *S*. Joseph is called "μίσθιος" at the beginning of the chapter, but at the end of the same chapter the epithet has been transferred to Zacharias. Also in Pseudo-Photius, *Narratio*, XXa, 57/8A, and all the other polemical texts, it is Zacharias who is the unworthy hireling. This is probably closer to the Paulician tradition which often refused to recognize Zacharias as a leader. Petrus Higurenus, 61-62, and the *Paulician Formula*, 454, significantly drop Zacharias from the list of Paulician leaders. See n. 92.

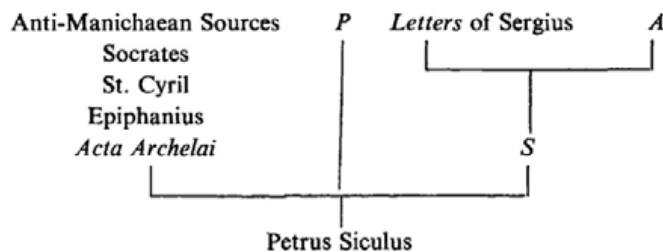
¹⁵¹ Petrus Siculus, *Historia*, XXXI, 1285/6C; Pseudo-Photius, *Narratio*, XXa, 59/60B, gives the same account of the welcome.

The historical section of the *History* of Peter of Sicily, therefore, presents a triple aspect: 1) the original Paulician tradition found both in the history of the sect written by the Paulicians themselves, source A, and in Sergius' *Letters*; 2) the distortion of this tradition for polemical purposes, source S (we have seen that this alteration was probably the work of a contemporary of Sergius writing in the middle of the ninth century—this would explain the similarity between the doctrine ascribed by him to the Heresiarch Genesius and the Paulician dogma described by the contemporary source P);¹⁵² 3) the final reworking of this material by Peter of Sicily. The pattern of this section may be represented as follows:



The historical section of Peter of Sicily ends with an account of the immediate successors of Sergius. The final two chapters of epilogue in the *History* are probably the work of Peter himself. Vague and unclear, they barely mention Karbeas and Chrysocheir before leading to a rather abrupt conclusion. Without the historical source S to guide him, Peter had little knowledge of the last great Paulician leaders and gives less information about them than can be found in the chance references of the Byzantine chroniclers.

From this analysis we can see that the pattern which emerges from the work of Peter of Sicily is one of a multiplicity of sources of various types and epochs worked together into an awkward narrative:



¹⁵² If Sergius died in 835, his disciples would be exact contemporaries of the Higuemen.

Framed between the unlikely dedication and the unsatisfactory epilogue, we find documents of widely differing periods: anti-Manichaean works of the fourth and fifth centuries, Paulician works probably of the early ninth century, and anti-Paulician polemics of the middle of the same century. Little wonder that we still find contradictions of fact and doctrine among the various sections of the work despite the reworking of this heterogeneous material by Peter of Sicily himself.¹⁵³ It is true that Peter does not seem to have been a particularly skilled compiler, but his greatest value lies in the very awkwardness with which he has preserved the flavor of his sources and allowed us a glimpse into the modifications of Paulician doctrine in various periods.

The interpretation of the work of Peter of Sicily as a compilation of various sources of differing character and periods gives us a plausible explanation for the contradictions and confusion which plague the *History*, but it is hardly reconcilable with Peter's own statement that the *History* is entirely his own work based on his personal experiences as the official envoy of Basil I at Tephrikē. For this reason, the supporters of Peter of Sicily as a truthful and independent source have presented various theories to reconcile the contradictions evident in their author's work.

Grégoire attempted to explain these contradictions by the hypothesis that Peter's *History* was not written all at once. In his opinion, the first twenty-two chapters, ending with the panegyric of the emperors, were

¹⁵³ The reworking of all the material incorporated into the *History* by Peter of Sicily, himself, would explain the similarity of expressions noted throughout by Scheidweiler, "Paulikianerprobleme", 16-17, as well as the occasional characterization of the Paulicians as Manichaeans found in Chapters XXIII-XLI, though this identification could also be the work of the intermediary narrator, *S*.

The correct listing of the Paulician Churches in Peter of Sicily, *Historia*, XXXVIII, 1297/8AB, noted by Grégoire, "Sources", 102-105, particularly the location of the Church of Laodicea, also becomes clear. It is not Peter himself who gives the list of churches, nor yet the narrator of *S*, who merely comments upon it. The list is drawn from the *Letter* of Sergius quoted in the *History*. It is quite natural that this earlier and truly Paulician source should be more accurate on this subject than any of the polemicists, including the Hīgumen. Who would know better than Sergius the names and locations of the Paulician Churches, and particularly of his own foundations? Scheidweiler, *op. cit.*, 24, offers a possible alternate explanation as to the number of the Paulician Churches, but he too must admit the superiority of Peter of Sicily's information as to the location of the Church of Laodicea.

In the listing of the Paulician Churches in Chapter XXXVIII of the *History* according to Sergius' *Letter*, we find *S* using the same technique he had applied to the doctrine of Genesis in Chapter XXIX. That is to say, quotations of the inoffensive words of the Paulician leader are interspersed with antagonistic and distorting commentary. Ter Mkrttschian, *Die Paulikianer*, 22-23, has already noted that the *Letters* of Sergius are not particularly heretical in content.

written before Peter went to Tephrikē, at a time when he was still ignorant of the true nature of Paulicianism. For this reason, in this section he associated the Paulicians with the Manichaeans and ascribed the origin of the Paulician sect to the Manichaean disciples, Paul and John. The second half of the work, beginning with Chapter XXIII, represented the account written by Peter after his return from Tephrikē. By that time he was far better informed and had dropped all identification of the Paulicians with the Manichaeans and along with this the doubtful fable of Paul and John. The entire work, despite the hiatus caused by Peter's trip, was completed before the fall of Tephrikē in 872.¹⁵⁴

Scheidweiler advanced a different theory as to the composition of the *History*. He pointed out that Grégoire's division of the work cannot be maintained. Chapter XXII could not have been written before Peter's mission, since the mention of Leo as emperor dates it after 870. Scheidweiler therefore considered that this chapter was a later interpolation into the text, as was the next chapter in which Peter speaks of the refutation of the heretics, which he had merely promised in Chapter X, as already written.¹⁵⁵ Furthermore, he rejected Grégoire's theory that Peter had abandoned the story of Paul and John after he had learned in Tephrikē that it was inaccurate, and pointed out that Peter had not discarded the story, but returned to it in Chapter XXVIII.¹⁵⁶ Finally, Scheidweiler questioned the dedication to the Archbishop of Bulgaria, which he considered false, or rather as distorting the original purpose of the work.¹⁵⁷

¹⁵⁴ Grégoire, "Précisions", 290-291, 293-295; "Pauliciens", 611.

¹⁵⁵ Scheidweiler, "Paulikianerprobleme", 15, 17, 19. Scheidweiler saw an interpolation in Chapter XLIII also, *ibid.*, 16.

¹⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 17-18. Scheidweiler also argues that Peter kept his identification of the Paulicians as Manichaeans throughout the work, and Loos, "Contributions I", 35, n. 84, agrees with him. However, we have already seen that an explanation for this is possible without assuming that the entire *History* is Peter's own work; see n. 153.

¹⁵⁷ Scheidweiler, "Paulikianerprobleme", 14, rightly points out that the words, "προσωποποιηθεῖσα ὡς πρὸς ἀρχιεπίσκοπον Βουλγαρίας", *Historia*, 1239/40, are very puzzling. He suggests that the word, "προσωποποιηθεῖσα", should be translated "masked" to indicate that a work originally intended for another purpose had subsequently been travestied or transformed into an address to the Archbishop of Bulgaria. The suggested translation of Scheidweiler is possible (see Sophokles, *A Greek Lexicon of the Roman and Byzantine Periods*, Cambridge, Mass., 1914, II, 952-953), though it is not likely that Peter would have advertised the fact that his work had a purpose apart from the one it purported to have. However, Scheidweiler also remarks that the tone in which Peter addresses the Archbishop is hardly the one in which a minor Byzantine cleric would speak to his superior. The problem of the curious dedication has troubled scholars since the time of Gieseler; see Scheidweiler, *op. cit.*, 14. The suggestion that the *History* had never been dedicated to the Archbishop is very attractive and explains the absence of any reference to Bulgaria in the rest of the *History*,

Through an analysis of the *Sermons* accompanying Peter's *History*, Scheidweiler came to the conclusion that these had originally been delivered to the Orthodox inhabitants of Tephrikē and reworked for Bulgaria at a later date, though before the fall of Tephrikē. In his opinion, therefore, the bulk of the *History* was written before Peter's mission and only the interpolated Chapters XXII and XXIII and the reworked *Sermons*, together with the new dedication to the Archbishop of Bulgaria, were added after his return. To explain the knowledge of Paulicianism exhibited by Peter before his mission, Scheidweiler was forced to postulate two trips made by Peter to Tephrikē; of these the first, upon which most of the *History* was based, preceded the official voyage.¹⁵⁸

Loos in his study of the *History* rightly objects that the two trips assumed by Scheidweiler are unsupported by any evidence. In his opinion the entire *History*, together with the *Sermons*, was composed at Tephrikē in 869. It was then reworked by Peter after his return home, the interpolated chapters added, and the work sent to the Archbishop of Bulgaria with a dedication, probably still before the destruction of the Paulician capital.¹⁵⁹

None of these theories succeeds in explaining satisfactorily the contradictions and confusions which we have noted above. Indeed, no such explanation is possible if we assume that the *History* is the work of one man and that Peter is telling the truth about his voyage and the composition of his treatise. It is tempting to believe him. We know that an ambassador was sent by Basil I to Chrysocheir, the Paulician leader.¹⁶⁰ Several factors, however, throw doubt on the reality of Peter's journey to Tephrikē.

It is curious, in view of the reiterated assertions concerning his visit, that we find in Peter's narrative not a single specific reference to any particular of his journey, not an event, not a geographical description, not even a detail concerning the Paulician capital in which he is supposed to have sojourned the better part of a year, beyond the uninformative statement that it was a den of iniquity.¹⁶¹ Furthermore, in the second part

though there is one reference in Peter's second Sermon, *Verbum*, II, 1333/4D. An explanation of this dedication will be attempted subsequently, see below, pp. 75-77.

¹⁵⁸ Scheidweiler, "Paulikianerprobleme", 14-15, 19-22.

¹⁵⁹ Loos, "Contributions I", 35-36. Scharf, "Echtheitsfrage", 494, suggests a similar reworking for Pseudo-Photius. These reworkings and double periods of composition of the sources seem unduly complicated.

¹⁶⁰ Genesis, *Regum*, 121-122. See Vasil'ev, *Macedonian Dynasty*, 25-29, 28, n. 1. However, the name of the imperial ambassador is not given, and Peter of Sicily is not known to any other source. Féburel, *Les Pauliciens* (Strasbourg, 1868), 4, questioned the authenticity of Peter's trip to Tephrikē.

¹⁶¹ Petrus Siculus, *Historia*, XLIII, 1303/4BC.

of the *History* we have seen that Peter, who appears quite well informed concerning the earlier history of the Paulicians, becomes vaguest when he approaches what should be his own period. Whereas the career of Sergius is recounted with a wealth of detail, the last two leaders, Karbeas and Chrysocheir, are dismissed in two scant paragraphs. This is particularly curious in the case of Chrysocheir, to whom Peter's mission should have been addressed, since Chrysocheir was ruling in Tephrikē at the supposed time of Peter's visit and continued to do so until his defeat and death and the destruction of the city by Basil I.¹⁶²

Equally surprising is a geographical reference given in Peter's account of the career of the Heresiarch Constantine:

A certain Armenian named Constantine was born in the region of Samosata of Armenia, in the village of Mananali.¹⁶³

Now Samosata is not an Armenian city, but lies on the Euphrates some seventy kilometers northwest of Edessa. Mananali is not near Samosata, but rather in western Armenia in the bend of the Euphrates, southwest of Erzurum in the direction of Erzincan. Furthermore, far from being a village, Mananali is the name of an entire district which is not very distant from Tephrikē.¹⁶⁴ It is, in short, very strange that Peter should have been guilty of such geographical confusion if he had actually visited the Paulician capital.¹⁶⁵

¹⁶² Genesis, *Regum*, 121-126, for the career of Chrysocheir; also Theophanes Continuatus, *Chronographia*, 271-276, *et al.* See my Chapter III. Peter of Sicily, *Historia*, 1303/4, admits that his presumed visit was: "Ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις οὖν αὐτοῦ [Chrysocheir]".

¹⁶³ *Ibid.*, 1275/6C, "γένονε τις Ἀρμένιος ὀνόματι Κωνσταντῖνος ἐν τῷ Σαμώσατῳ τῆς Ἀρμενίας, ἐν κώμῃ Μανανάλει λεγομένῃ".

¹⁶⁴ E. Hönlmann, *Die Ostgrenze des byzantinischen Reiches von 363 bis auf 1071* (Bruxelles, 1935), 64, 180, 184, 192, and map II, gives Mananali as ca. 40°20' × 39°40'; so also in Pauly-Wissowa, *et al.*, *Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, XIV (Stuttgart, 1930), 971-972, "Μανανάλις". The Armenian sources invariably describe Mananali as an extensive border district of Armenia: *KT-I*, lxix-lxx, Appendix II, 139, n. 1; Aristakēs of Lastivert, *History* (Venice, 1901), 61, 98, 102, 117, 122, "ի զաւանս Մանանալիյն ի լեւոնս որ իրի Սճրատայ բերդ" (61), "ի սալճանս Մանանալի" (102), "մինչև յեզր զետեյն եփրատայ. ուր Մանանալի ի նժա խանի" (122). Moses of Khoren, *Histoire d'Arménie*, ed. and trans. P. E. Le Vaillant de Florival (Venice, 1841), III, 110, "ի զաւանս Մանանալի" Tephrikē, the modern Divriği, lies on the upper Euphrates, ca. 38°6' × 39°20'; see Hönlmann, *Ostgrenze*, map II, also G. Le Strange, "Al-Abrik, Tephrike, the Capital of the Paulicians: A Correction Corrected", *JRAS* (1896), 733-741.

¹⁶⁵ Grégoire, "Précisions", 293-294, and 293, n. 1, attempted to substitute Arsamosata on the Murat Nehri for "Σαμώσατα τῆς Ἀρμενίας". However, Arsamosata lies south of the Murat Nehri, ca. 39°45' × 38°40', Hönlmann, *Ostgrenze*, maps I, IV. Mananali lies some one hundred and thirty kilometers northeast of Arsamosata and is further separated from that city both by the Murat Nehri and a mountain range. It can hardly

Finally, it is incredible that Peter, presumably Basil I's official ambassador, should know so little about his master's struggle against the Paulicians. Throughout the *History* there is no indication that the situation in the Empire was in any way difficult. Peter tells us that he personally was alarmed by the evidence of Paulician proselytism and that the heresy was overcome thanks to the vigilance and prayers of the Orthodox emperors.¹⁶⁶ At the time of the embassy sent by Basil, however, the Paulicians under Chrysocheir had advanced as far as the neighborhood of Constantinople, raiding the imperial cities of Nicaea and Nicomedia on the way and stabling their horses in the renowned church of St. John the Theologian in Ephesus.¹⁶⁷ So, powerful did Chrysocheir feel at this point that he returned the haughtiest of answers to Basil's conciliatory overtures:

If you wish to attain peace with us, O emperor, abandon the eastern part of your realm and be satisfied with the western, and we will be at peace with you, but if you do not, we will push on so, that we will drive you from your throne.¹⁶⁸

Surely the time for prayers was passed, as indeed Basil judged, by taking the field in person.¹⁶⁹ But of the great Paulician campaign we find not a

be described as a "village of Arsamosata". Furthermore, the Pseudo-Photius, *Narratio*, 15/6D, writing in the same period as Peter of Sicily, identifies Samosata as a Syrian city: "Σαμόσατα πόλις ἐστὶ τῆς Συρίας". Finally Grégoire gives no explanation for the description of Mananali as a village rather than a province.

The origin of Peter's mistake can probably be found in a misreading of a passage of Peter the Higuem, I, 60, "ἐκ τοῦ Σαμωσάτου εἰς Ἀρμενιῶν", which does not associate Samosata with Armenia and furthermore gives the correct location of Phanaroia as not in Armenia proper, but in the imperial theme of Armeniakon. Having once made the mistake, Peter could easily have repeated it in Chapter XXIII by association with the Armenian background of Constantine-Silvanus. This is all the more likely since the Higuem, IV, 62, makes a similar mistake in putting the Paulician Church of Achaia in Mananali of Samosata, though there is no reference to Samosata in his account of Constantine's career. We have already noted that geographical precision is not a characteristic of the Higuem's work. The error made by Peter of Sicily demonstrates all the more his dependence on the earlier author rather than on his own observation.

¹⁶⁶ Petrus Siculus, *Historia*, 1241/2BC, "πάλιν δὲ καὶ τῶν ἀσεβῶν ἐκείνων ἀκούσας φληναφούντων, ὡς μέλλουσιν ἐξ αὐτῶν ἐκείνων ἀποστέλλειν ἐν τοῖς τόποις Βουλγαρίας, τοῦ ἀποστήσαι τινας τῆς ὀρθοδόξου πίστεως καὶ πρὸς τὴν οἰκίαν καὶ μεμιαμμένην αἵρεσιν ἐπισπάσασθαι"; *ibid.*, 1275/6A: "Τὰ γὰρ πάλαι κεκρυμμένα κάκιστα δηλητήρια καὶ σχεδὸν πάντας ἀνθρώπους διαλανθάνοντα περὶ τῶν μυσαρῶν Παυλικιῶν, νῦν φανερώς θριαμβεύονται ταῖς ἀγρύπνοις προσευχαῖς καὶ ἀκοιμήτοις μερίμναις καὶ θεοδέκτοις ἐργασίαις καὶ τῇ ἐπιστημονικῇ ποιμάνσει τῶν εἰρηνοποιῶν καὶ ὀρθοδόξων μεγάλων βασιλέων ἡμῶν".

¹⁶⁷ Genesius, *Regum*, 121; Vasil'ev, *Macedonian Dynasty*, 25-26, 26, n. 1.

¹⁶⁸ Genesius, *Regum*, 122, "εἴπερ ἐθέλοις ὦ βασιλεῦ, μεθ' ἡμῶν εἰρήνην ἐπιτελέσαι, ἀπόστηθι τῆς κατ' ἀνατολὴν ἐξουσίας σου, τῆς δὲ πρὸς δύσιν ἀντέχου, καὶ εἰρηνεύσομεν μετὰ σοῦ· εἰ δὲ μή, σπεύσομεν ὅλως ἵνα σε καὶ τῆς βασιλείας ἐξοστρακίσωμεν".

¹⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 120-122.

trace in the *History* of Peter, not a word of indignation at the desecration of one of the most outstanding shrines of the Empire or at the unparalleled insolence of the message he himself had presumably brought back. The tone with which he discusses the putting down of the heresy by Basil and his sons is one of utmost complacency.¹⁷⁰ It may be that his trust in the efficacy of the Emperor's prayers was unbounded, but we are rather given the impression that Peter's assurance stems less from faith than from a knowledge of the outcome of the Paulician war. We are, therefore, brought to the conclusion that Peter of Sicily was not a contemporary of Basil I, but was writing at a time when Chrysocheir was long since dead and Tephrikē, which he had never visited, destroyed.¹⁷¹

This conclusion as to the date of the *History* of Peter of Sicily is supported by the evidence which we possess concerning the *History* of the Pseudo-Photius. The pattern of the two works is almost identical.¹⁷² The main divisions of the two works are the same. In the Pseudo-Photius we meet again, in the same sequence, the *Treatise* of the Higuren, here paraphrased and incorporated into the compilation; the Manichaean section; the history of the Paulicians derived from sources *A* and *S*; and the epilogue on Karbeas and Chrysocheir. It is possible that the Pseudo-Photius used these sources independently rather than that he copied the version of Peter of Sicily, since his work occasionally contains additional material or a more correct account of an event. These additions and corrections are, however, rarely significant.¹⁷³ The main difference

¹⁷⁰ Petrus Siculus, *Historia*, 1273/4D-1275/6A, "...νῦν ὡς γελοῖον τοῖς πᾶσι πρόκειται σὺν τοῖς πειθομένοις αὐτῷ καθάπερ νήπιον ἐμπαιζόμενος· τῆς κακίας αὐτοῦ θριαμβευθείσης ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις Βασιλείου καὶ Κωνσταντίνου καὶ Λέοντος τῶν εὐσεβῶν καὶ ὀρθοδόξων μεγάλων βασιλέων ἡμῶν". The Paulician threat was no laughing matter in 869-870, nor does this passage support Grégoire's theory that the Paulician republic was too powerful to be attacked directly, so that only religious polemic could be used; see his "Précisions", 292-293, and "Pauliciens", 611.

¹⁷¹ The suggestion of Scheidweiler, "Paulikianerprobleme", 21, that the *Sermons* of Peter of Sicily were written before the fall of Tephrikē is no better supported than the theory which assigns the *History* to the earlier period. As observed by Loos, "Contributions I", 36, the reference to Tephrikē in the first sermon, "Νόμος γάρ, φησί, Κυρίου ἐκ Σιών ἐξελεύσεται καὶ λόγος Κυρίου ἐξ Ἱερουσαλὴμ, μὴ ἀπὸ Τιβερικῆς", Petrus Siculus, *Verbum*, I, 1327/8B, in no way implies that the city was still in existence.

¹⁷² The discussion of the relation between the works of Peter of Sicily and Pseudo-Photius pertains exclusively to the question of precedence. The similarity of the two sources is inescapable and unanimously accepted. The two works are probably independent but contemporary compilations of the same material.

¹⁷³ The variations between Peter of Sicily and Pseudo-Photius are fairly numerous though relatively minor:

a) The most important correction of Peter of Sicily by the Pseudo-Photius is the giving of the correct date for the death of Sergius. Pseudo-Photius, *Narratio*, XXV, 79/80C, gives A.D. 835, as against Peter of Sicily, *Historia*, XLI, 1301/2B, who gives

between the Pseudo-Photius and Peter of Sicily is one of presentation, not content. In the compilation of the Pseudo-Photius the cohesion is far greater than in that of Peter of Sicily. The work of the Higuemen is incorporated into the body of the text; the suspicious dedication of Peter has vanished together with his prologue and the awkwardly interpolated introduction to the historical narrative of *S.* The violence of the attacks on Sergius has been toned down in this section, the epithets and perorations dropped, and many of the direct quotations found in Peter transformed into paraphrases. As a work of literature, the compilation

A.D. 795, which is patently impossible if Sergius' activity, as Peter tells us himself, lay in the period between the reign of Irene (790-795, 797-802) and that of Theophilus (829-842). Pseudo-Photius, however, is the one at fault when he tells us that Sergius' missionary activity came seven hundred years after St. Paul, *Narratio*, XXI, 69/70C. Peter here has the correct date, eight hundred years after St. Paul, *Historia*, XXXVI, 1293/4A, and XXXIX, 1297/8C.

b) We find additional geographical precision in Pseudo-Photius, *Narratio*, XXIIa, 61/2A, where "Χορτοκόπιον" is identified as a suburb of Antioch of Pisidia. This is not clear in the account of Peter of Sicily, *Historia*, XXXI, 1287/8A. The location of the activity of Paul and John is correctly given by Pseudo-Photius as Armeniakon and not Armenia, *Narratio*, II, 17/8 (see n. 165). However, he also makes the mistake of associating Samosata with Armenia, *ibid.*, XVI, 45/6A, thus showing that his information at this point is also based on that of the Higuemen. In the account of Constantine's passion, the name of the city of Koloneia has been omitted, *ibid.*, XVII, 49/50B, and the entire account lacks the intensity of Peter's tale, cf. *Historia*, XXV, 1279/80BC.

c) The dependence of Pseudo-Photius on the Higuemen is closer than that of Peter of Sicily in the listing of Paulician doctrine (see n. 66 and 67). The use of the list of Paulician leaders which omits Zacharias, *Narratio*, IV, 21/2, indicates that Pseudo-Photius is probably using the Higuemen himself rather than the account of George the Monk (see n. 64). The mention of the Paulicians' use of crosses in times of illness, made by the Higuemen, is repeated by Pseudo-Photius, but not by Peter of Sicily.

d) The account given by Pseudo-Photius of the escape of Joseph, *Narratio*, XXa, 57/8, and the characterization of Karbeas, *ibid.*, XXVI, 81/2, are more satisfactory than the parallel passages of the *History*, 1285/6 and 1301/2C-1303/4A.

e) Loos, "Contributions I", 51, and 43, n. 114, may be right in the assumption that Pseudo-Photius consulted the *Sermons* of Peter of Sicily as well as his *History* for the account of the Paulicians' hatred of the Apostle Peter and for the explanation that Christ at birth passed through Mary as water through a pipe, *Narratio*, VII, VIII, 25/6B, 27/8A. Scheidweiler, "Paulikianerprobleme", 12-13, is, however, of the opinion that the explanation given by Pseudo-Photius for the abomination of St. Peter by the sectarians is an abbreviation of the one given in the *Codex Scorialensis*, 72-73, 77-78. It seems unlikely that Pseudo-Photius should have followed Peter on these two points alone and failed to do so in other cases.

f) The compilation of Pseudo-Photius is different from that of Peter of Sicily. Pseudo-Photius is less lively and more scholarly than Peter. He eliminates the puns on the names of the Paulician leaders found in *S.* He attempts to give an etymological explanation for the name of the Paulicians, *Narratio*, II, 17/8B, and he bolsters his anti-Manichaean section by adding Titus of Bostra, Serapion of Thmuis, Alexander of Constantinople, and Heraclianus of Chalcedon to the list of authorities marshalled by Peter, *ibid.*, XI, 31/2B, 33/4A; cf. *Historia* XIX, 1269/70C-1271/2B, XX, 1271/2CD.

of the Pseudo-Photius is far superior to that of Peter of Sicily, but it is less vivid and, more importantly, it loses much of the value of the earlier sources in the reworking and reorganization by the compiler.¹⁷⁴ As a historical source, therefore, it is far less useful than the *History* of Peter of Sicily.

The great value of the Pseudo-Photius for us, however, lies in the complete similarity of its material and organization to the *History* of Peter of Sicily. They are evidently works of the same period and probably the same milieu. Since Grégoire has demonstrated that the work of the Pseudo-Photius dates after 932, the *History* of Peter of Sicily must belong to the same period and not to the late ninth century as it purports to do.¹⁷⁵

This later date for the work of Peter of Sicily incidentally furnishes a possible explanation for the puzzling and otherwise inexplicable dedication of the *History* to the unknown archbishop of Bulgaria. We have no evidence for extensive Paulician activity in Bulgaria in the late ninth century; the Paulicians' threat to the Empire in this period was on the Euphrates and not in the western provinces. For that matter, it has been pointed out that Bulgaria had no Orthodox archbishop at the time of Peter's mission and returned unexpectedly to communion with Constantinople only at the coup de théâtre presented to the Papal legates by

¹⁷⁴ Pseudo-Photius observes that the listing of the Paulician churches in the *Letter* of Sergius does not agree with the six given by P. Petrus Siculus, *Historia*, XXXVIII, 1295/6D-1297/8B, and Petrus Higumenus, IV, 62-63. To reconcile the contradiction, he proceeds to eliminate the more valuable source, i.e., the *Letter* of Sergius; see *Narratio*, V, 21/2C-23/4A.

Pseudo-Photius incorporates the treatise of the Higumen into his compilation without any mention, whereas the new title of Peter's work kept the separation between the two documents clear even though Peter revivified the composition of both; see n. 65.

In the section of Paulician history based on *S, Narratio*, XVII-XXV, 47/8B-81/2A, Pseudo-Photius compresses and distorts far more than Peter. The reflective chapter, *Historia*, XXXIV, 1289/90-1291/2, has been dropped. The discussion of Sergius with the Manichaean woman has been greatly abbreviated, *Narratio*, XXI, 63/4C-67/8B, cf. *Historia*, XXXIII-XXXV, 1287/8D-1291/2D. All sense of contemporary immediacy in the tale of Sergius' life has vanished from the version of Pseudo-Photius. The important ending of Sergius' *Letter* to Leo the Montanist, quoted by Peter, *Historia*, 1299/1300A, is merely paraphrased, *Narratio*, XXI, 63/4A. Etc.

¹⁷⁵ Had Peter written ca. 871, he would have been a contemporary of the real Photius, but though the work of Pseudo-Photius parallels Peter's throughout, the authentic works of the Patriarch, such as the *Letters* and the *Sermons*, indicate no knowledge of a work against the Paulicians such as the *History* of Peter, which could hardly have escaped the Patriarch's notice in view of his interest in the subject. This was already observed by Grégoire, "Sources", 114, "... ni dans [sermon] IV ni dans III ni dans II on n'aperçoit la moindre trace d'une utilisation de Pierre de Sicile. Le Photius authentique ne connaît pas ce *vir obscurus*".

the Patriarch Ignatius at the Council of 870.¹⁷⁶ In the middle of the tenth century, the situation was quite different. The earliest Bulgarian polemical work against the Bogomils, the *Treatise of Cosmas the Priest*, dating from ca. 972,¹⁷⁷ informs us that:

This is what happened in Bulgarian lands: In the reign of the good Christian emperor Peter [927-969], there was a priest named Bogomil, 'worthy of God's mercy' but to tell the truth unworthy of God's mercy, who *for the first time* [italics mine] began to preach heresy in the land of Bulgaria.¹⁷⁸

This information is confirmed by a later polemical work, the *Sinodik* of Tsar Boril, who specifies that the heresy which Bogomil received and began to propagate in the reign of Tsar Peter was "Manichaeism".¹⁷⁹ We also know that Constantinople did not remain unmoved by the danger of heresy in Bulgaria in this period, since the *Letter* of the Patriarch Theophylactus Lecapenus, which we still possess, was addressed to the same Tsar Peter. It is, therefore, perfectly reasonable that the recrudescence of the Paulician danger in the West almost a century after its obliteration on the Euphrates should produce a new crop of polemical literature based on earlier sources such as the works of the Pseudo-Photius and Peter of Sicily. Writing in this period and aware of the new focus of danger, Peter would understandably dedicate his work to the Archbishop of Bulgaria, but the unsettled state of the Bulgarian Church in the Seventies of the ninth century, when Peter was pretending to write, would prevent him from discovering any particulars or even the name of the individual to whom his work should have been addressed.¹⁸⁰

¹⁷⁶ For the relation of the Bulgarian Church to Constantinople, its vacillation toward Rome and sudden return to the Orthodox communion at the Council of 870, see F. Dvornik, *Le Schisme de Photius, Histoire et légende* (Paris, 1950), Chapter IV, 144-195, and particularly 222-229. The absence of a Bulgarian archbishop at the presumed time of writing of Peter of Sicily was also noted by K. Iuzbashian, "Toward the History of the Paulician Movement in Byzantium in the Ninth Century", *Problems of the History of Religion and Atheism*, IV (Moscow, 1956), 251.

¹⁷⁷ H. C. Puech and A. Valliant eds. and trans., *Le Traité contre les bogomiles de Cosmas le prêtre* (Paris, 1945). See pp. 19-24 for Vaillant's discussion of the date of the work. The title of the treatise, "Against the recent heresy of Bogomil", 53, gives some indication of the date of the appearance of the heresy in Bulgaria. See my Chapter III for the historical and legendary accounts of the spread of Paulicianism in Bulgaria.

¹⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 54: "C'est ce qui est arrivé en pays bulgare: sous le règne du bon chrétien l'empereur Pierre, il y a eu un prêtre nommé Bogomil, 'digne de la pitié de Dieu', mais à dire vrai indigne de la pitié de Dieu, qui pour la première fois a commencé de prêcher l'hérésie dans le pays de Bulgarie".

¹⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, Appendix, 344. The date given for the *Sinodik* is 1211.

¹⁸⁰ The awkwardness of the Bulgarian dedication explains its omission in the work of Pseudo-Photius. Peter of Sicily is invariably less skillful than his colleague.

The compilatory nature of the two *Histories* furnishes the final support for the theory that they were composed in the tenth rather than in the ninth century. We know that this type of composition was popular in Constantinople and particularly at the antiquarian court of Constantine Porphyrogenitus, which produced the chronicles from which we draw our knowledge of the downfall of the Paulician state.¹⁸¹ We have evidence that Constantine, as well as his brother-in-law, the Patriarch Theophylactus, was concerned with the problem of heresy and with the Paulicians in particular. We also know that at least one work against heretics had been presented to the Emperor.¹⁸² There seems, therefore, to be no valid reason for rejecting the theory that the *Histories* of the Pseudo-Photius and Peter of Sicily are compilations of earlier sources produced in the scholarly entourage of Constantine Porphyrogenitus rather than the original late ninth-century sources they purport to be.¹⁸³ On the basis

¹⁸¹ Constantine Porphyrogenitus' own works, the *De Thematis* and *De Ceremoniis*, are of this type.

¹⁸² A small treatise against the Jacobites was presented to Constantine Porphyrogenitus by Demetrius of Cyzicus: "Ἐκθέσις κατ' ἐπιτομὴν τοῦ τῶν Ἰακωβιτῶν δόγματος καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὧν ποιοῦσι παρὰ τὴν ἐκκλησιαστικὴν καὶ ὀρθόδοξον πίστιν τε καὶ παράδοσιν, συγγραφείσα παρὰ Δημητρίου μητροπολίτου Κυζίκου ἐκ προτροπῆς τοῦ φιλοχρίστου δεσπότη Κωνσταντίνου καὶ αὐτοκράτορος τοῦ Πορφυρογεννήτου, ἐν ᾗ καὶ περὶ τῶν Χατζιτζαρίων", *Codex Scorialensis I R 15*, fols. 138-142, and *Codex Vaticanus Graecus 712*, fols. 126 ff., as quoted in G. Ficker ed., *Erlasse des Patriarchen von Konstantinopel Alexios Studites* (Kiel, 1911), 22, n. 1. In the preface to the work Demetrius praises the Emperor because, "οὐκ ὀλίγους δὲ τῶν Ἀνθιγγάνων [sic] καὶ Παυλικιάνων διήλεγξας...". The text though not the introduction of this work is published by Migne, *PG*, CXXVII (1856), 879/80-883/4, who mistakenly attributes it to Philip the Solitary.

Ficker thought that the work was dedicated to Constantine VIII (1025-1028) rather than to Constantine VII (912-959), but Petit, "Demetrius de Cyzique", *DTC*, IV, 264-265, Janin, "Pauliciens", *DTC*, XII, 60, and J. Starr, "An Eastern Christian Sect, the Athingani", *Harvard Theological Review*, XXIX (April, 1936), 97, n. 1, all agree that the earlier emperor is addressed. The dedication of the Escorial MS. to "τοῦ... δεσπότη Κωνσταντίνου καὶ αὐτοκράτορος τοῦ Πορφυρογεννήτου" seems more suited to Constantine VII, who was always specifically styled Porphyrogenitus.

¹⁸³ The ignorance of late Paulician history exhibited by both Peter of Sicily and Pseudo-Photius suggests that their works were composed before the writing of Genesis' *Basileia* from which most of our knowledge of late Paulician history is derived. On the other hand it seems unlikely that Theophylactus Lecapenus or his chancery would have failed to mention in the *Letter* to Peter of Bulgaria a major work on the Paulicians bearing the prestigious name of the Patriarch Photius if such a work had been current. The most likely date for the composition of the *Histories* would therefore seem to be between 954 (the *terminus ante quem* for Theophylactus' *Letter*) and 959 (the death of Constantine Porphyrogenitus).

There is a possibility that the *Sermons* which follow the *History* of Peter of Sicily were added by the compiler to parallel the existing anti-Paulician *Sermons* of the authentic Photius.

One final hypothesis is tempting. One of our compilations was falsely attributed

of this conclusion, the late date of the two works explains their ignorance of the details of the careers of Karbeas and Chrysocheir as well as of the location of Tephrikē, destroyed almost a century earlier, just as their compilatory nature explains the internal contradictions which they exhibit throughout.

In recapitulation, therefore, we can say that the Greek sources dealing specifically with the Paulicians fall into several well-defined categories and periods. The earliest evidence is not polemical, but belongs rather to the true Paulician tradition and dates most probably from the period of Sergius' missionary activity in the early ninth century. To this category belong the *Letters* of Sergius and the Paulician history, source *A*, which we glimpse twice distorted in the *History* of Peter of Sicily. With the re-establishment of Orthodoxy in 843 and the increasing Paulician threat on the Euphrates under the leadership of Karbeas, the need for anti-Paulician works became urgent. To this period belong our first series of polemical sources, source *P*, probably identifiable as the inquisitor's manual of Peter the Higuemen, soon to be included in the *Chronicle* of George the Monk and complemented by the model disputation found in the *Codex Scorialensis*, together with the *Paulician Formula* which would logically accompany the inquisitor's work. From approximately the same period we have the history of the Paulicians presumably written by a recanting companion of Sergius, source *S*, from which Peter of Sicily acquired most of his historical knowledge of the sect. Only a little later come the *Sermons* of the Patriarch Photius. The common trait of these polemical documents is their basically practical character; they are composed for a specific and immediate purpose rather than as works of literature.¹⁸⁴ Finally, the middle of the tenth century was the age of histories and compilations. The Paulician danger was long past on the eastern frontier, but now threatened the western provinces and Bulgaria in particular. To this period belong the chronicles written at the court of Constantine Porphyrogenitus and the *Letter* of the Patriarchal chancery to Tsar

to the Patriarch Photius so that it might benefit from the authority of one of the greatest theologians of the Orthodox Church. Might the name of Peter of Sicily attached to the other compilation have been intended to evoke the prestige of another famous theologian of the period, Peter of Sicily, Bishop of Argos? We have no evidence of such an intent, but the confusion between the two Peters of Sicily was common among early scholars; see Migne, *PG*, CIV, 1231-1238.

¹⁸⁴ The *Sermons* of Photius are certainly the most literary among these documents. They were probably elaborated by the Patriarch during his exile, but even they have a specific purpose. We have seen that Photius was concerned with the conversion of Paulicians.

Peter of Bulgaria. Probably the same milieu was responsible for the composite sources: the *Manichaean Formula*, the *History* of Peter of Sicily, and its more elegant contemporary, the *History* of the Pseudo-Photius.¹⁸⁵

¹⁸⁵ The pattern of drawing upon earlier sources for refutations of the Paulician doctrine, once established in the tenth century, was to be repeated. In the twelfth century, Euthymius Zigabenus, working at the command of the Emperor Alexis I, who was troubled once again by the Paulician problem, turned for his information and arguments to the *History* of the Pseudo-Photius; see nn. 56 and 57.

II

THE ARMENIAN SOURCES

The Armenian sources relating to the Paulician heresy consist of a sizeable body of documents covering the entire span of the medieval period. With the exception of Ter Mkrttschian, Conybeare, and contemporary Russian writers concerned with the Paulicians, scholars have given no more than perfunctory attention to these texts. Even the most recent western scholars, although they acknowledge the existence of this material, rely almost exclusively on the traditional Byzantine sources for the formulation of their theories. The discovery of the Armenian sources has created the basic problem of Paulician scholarship because the Armenian evidence has seemed to contradict the Greek sources on the fundamental points of the character of Paulician dogma as well as on the origin and history of the sect. The tendency of western scholars, therefore, has been to reject or disregard the Armenian material whenever it could not be brought into agreement with the Greek authorities.¹ The danger of such procedure is self-evident, especially since the use of the Armenian sources led Conybeare to conclusions diametrically opposed to those of his colleagues on the fundamental aspects of Paulicianism. Before attempting to study the evidence of the two bodies of sources or to resolve the contradictions between them, it will be necessary to give an account of the entire Armenian material comparable to the treatment of the Greek sources in the preceding chapter.

Armenian texts relating directly to the heresy of the Paulicians exist from at least as early as the middle of the sixth century, if not earlier, and pertinent documents have been found from as late as the nineteenth century. These sources vary greatly in their character and content, but two aspects differentiate them as a whole from the Greek texts: First,

¹ *KT-I*, lvii, lxxiv, "It is difficult to bring the Greek and Armenian sources bearing on the history of the Paulician Church into line with each other. They nowhere overlap one another, and their lists of the names of Paulician leaders are different".

an authentic Paulician document has survived in Armenian, whereas all Greek Paulician material has perished and therefore the heretical doctrine in the Empire can be reconstructed only laboriously from polemical literature. Second, the Armenian sources, in the main, consist of official and authenticated documents, rather than more or less questionable literary texts such as we have found in Byzantium.

The categories of Armenian material which must be considered successively are as follows:

- 1) Various sources not referring to the Paulicians by name, but illuminating the development of Christianity in Armenia and its relation to the growth of heresy;
- 2) Polemical texts aimed at the sectarians, which may be subdivided into two categories:
 - a) Earlier works directed against the Paulicians as such;
 - b) Later documents which refer to the heretics as T'ondrakeçi;
- 3) The authentic Paulician source.

Much of the material composed by Orthodox Armenian writers does not relate specifically to the Paulicians and is often ambiguous in content, but it is indispensable for the study of the early heretical tendencies in Armenia and the development of Paulicianism. Before the early part of the fifth century we do not find any Armenian documents as such, since the Armenian alphabet was first composed in this period (ca. 402), by St. Mesrop.² The entire literature of Armenia up to the fifth century was written in either Greek or Syriac. From this early period one work is of particular interest, the *Letter* sent to the Armenian Apostolic Church ca. 331-335 by the Patriarch of Jerusalem, Macarius.³ While not specifically concerned with heresy, this letter, which Conybeare considered authentic despite some doubts on the subject,⁴ gives us valuable information on

² See P. Peeters, "Pour l'histoire des origines de l'alphabet arménien", *REA*, IX, 1 (1929), 203-237 and J. Marquart, *Über den Ursprung des armenischen Alphabets*, Vienna, 1917, 59-60, *et passim*.

³ Macarius, "Canonical Epistle of the Blessed Macarius Patriarch of the Holy City of Jerusalem to the Armenians, Concerning the Laying down of Canons of the Holy Church, Which it is not Right to Transgress by Command or Definition", *The Book of Letters* (Tiflis, 1901), 407-412. Translation in *KT*, Appendix ix, 178-186. Conybeare mentions ten chapters in the *Letter*, whereas the version of the *Book of Letters* has only nine. The Armenian Church, separated from Rome and Constantinople as a result of the Council of Chalcedon in 451, will be referred to throughout as the Armenian Apostolic Church.

⁴ *KT*, 178 ff. A number of MSS. of the Armenian version of Macarius' *Letter* have survived. The presence of Macarius at the Council of Nicaea is confirmed by the seventh-century author, Ananias of Širak, *ibid.*, 185. See also N. Akinian, *The Letter of Macarius Patriarch of Jerusalem* (Vienna, 1930).

some of the important characteristics of the newly founded Armenian Apostolic Church.

Some references to heresy can be found in the works of Armenian hagiographers and historians of the fourth and fifth centuries, such as Koriun, Agat'angelos, and the anonymous biographer of St. Nersēs I.⁵ Of particular interest is the dogmatic work *Against the Sects* of Eznik of Kolb, Bishop of Bagrewand, written between 441 and 448.⁶ This work consists of four refutations of heretical or pagan doctrine directed against the Messalians, Zoroastrians, Pagans, and Marcionites.⁷

In 447, the Kat'olikos Joseph I of Holoçim called together at Šahapivan a council of the Armenian Apostolic Church. Several of the canons of this council are related to heresy and are of great importance since they may be our first reference to the Paulicians in Armenia. Despite their translation by Ter Mkrttschian,⁸ these canons have received little attention from western scholars and are difficult to obtain, so that a repetition of them seems warranted despite their length:

Canon XIV

Let no bishop or priest or deacon or any member of the clergy or of a congregation keep any kind of housekeeper as is the custom of the Mcnē [մծղնի]. If anyone should have one, and this be confirmed by the testimony of witnesses, let him be deposed from his order, whatever it be, and let him be considered impious and a publican.

Canon XIX

If anyone be found in Mcnēut'iun, whether he be a priest or a deacon or a monk, let him be deprived of his priestly orders, let him be branded on the face

⁵ Koriun, *History of the Holy Doctor Mesrop* (Venice, 1894), trans. in *CHAMA*, II, 9-16. Agat'angelos, *History* (Venice, 1930), trans. in *CHAMA*, I, 105-194. See Thorossian, *Histoire de la littérature arménienne* (Paris, n.d.), 58-60, for the problem of the compilation of Agat'angelos.

Anonymous, "Généalogie de la famille de Saint Grégoire illuminateur de l'Arménie et vie de Saint Nersēs patriarche des Arméniens, par un auteur anonyme du Ve siècle", trans. J. B. Emine, *CHAMA*, II, 18-44 (hereafter, *Nersēs*).

⁶ L. Mariès, *Le De Deo de Eznik de Kolb connu sous le nom de "Contre les Sectes"* (Paris, 1924), 5.

⁷ Eznik of Kolb, *Against the Sects* (Venice, 1926), trans. and ed. J. N. Schmidt, *Wieder die Sekten* (Vienna, 1900), also "Eznik de Kolb De Deo", trans. and eds. L. Mariès and Ch. Mercier, *PO*, XXVIII, 3-4. The interpretation of Mariès as to the purpose and form of Eznik's work has been disputed by Adontz, see Thorossian, *Littérature arménienne*, 73-74, and 74, n.4, but this problem does not affect the value of the work for this study.

⁸ Ter Mkrttschian, *Die Paulikianer*, 42-45, also n. vii for preferring Ter Mkrttschian's text of the canons to the one found in the work of Čamčean. The identification of the heretics condemned at Šahapivan with the Messalians made by Ter Mkrttschian will be discussed in my Chapter V; see also next note.

with the sign of a fox, and let him be confined for penance to a place of hermitage. Then if he be found again, let him be hamstrung on both legs and be sent to a leprosarium, for the man was in the right and did not understand. Let the same punishment be visited on a monk. Further, if men be found in the sect with their wives and children, let the men, women, and children who have reached the age of reason be hamstrung, branded on the face with the sign of a fox and sent for penance to a leprosarium; as for the children who have not reached the age of reason and do not know the pollution, let them be taken away and given into the hands of the holy servants of the Church to be brought up and educated in the true faith and the fear of God.

Canon XX

If there be found any evil doer among the people and the priests have learned of this and not reported it to the bishop; if this be found true upon investigation and the priests have known the matter for many days and months before and not addressed a complaint to the bishop, let the canonical punishment for Mcnē be borne also by the priests and let them not perform their priestly office for the rest of their lives... Then if the priests have reported to the bishop, and this be supported by the testimony of witnesses, and the bishop either accept a bribe and cover it up or show partiality, and if this be shown by the testimony of witnesses, namely that the complaint of the priests really reached his ear and he disdained God's command and did not go out to seek him who was lost, and was not jealous and an avenger of God's law, let him be deposed from his see who hid the adulterer, and let the priest be acknowledged innocent. But if the bishop was diligent and an avenger, and the priests and other men bear witness to the bishop's labors, and he report about the evil doer to the authorities, but the prince [*hymh*] of the country, or the chief naxarar of any village, or the lord [*mtp*] of a province [*qmnnh*], wishes to be the protector of uncleanness and to hide the adulterer, either for the silver of perdition or from partiality or service, and does not prefer to love Christ and his commands and to be an avenger of the laws of the Lord and of the spirit and the flesh—let such a one be accursed and let him be cut off from the holy Church until he shall deliver the polluted one into the hands of the bishop. And if the pollution be found in the house of the naxarar, either in his wife, or his daughter, or his son, or in himself, and he should not hand his family over to the bishop and himself return to holiness, but should wish to be their tyrannical refuge, let him be accursed with all his house, his kin and his life. Let him not dare come out into a public place, let not his friends and all the world consort with him until he shall have gone from his uncleanness and come to the holy Church. And if he be not in the uncleanness [himself] let him hand over his household and his servants into the hands of the chief bishop for rebuke.... And if he [the Ostikan, *numhqw*], himself, with his household, be found in Mcnēut'ian, let him be seized together with his polluted household and let him be brought for judgment before the chief bishop and before the greatest princes and the leading judges, and let them jointly avenge the laws of God so that others, beholding this, in holiness and fear, should revere the Creator of all.⁹

⁹ A. Litčean ed., *Book of Armenian Canons* (Tiflis, 1913), 73, 80-82. These canons are also quoted with a Russian translation in Melik-Bashian, *The Paulician Movement*,

It is evident from Canon XX that heresy was present in all classes of society during the fifth century, and although no tenets of the heresy in question are mentioned, the punishment applied to the culprits in Canon XIX is the same as the one we shall invariably find used for the T'ondra-keçi in later times.

Toward the end of the century, Lazar of P'arpi (Łazar P'arpeçi), the leading historian of the period, was accused of heretical tendencies and wrote a *Letter* which we still possess to the Persian viceroy of Armenia, Vahan Mamikonean, in order to clear himself of the accusation.¹⁰ The *Letter* is not as explicit as we might wish, but it does refer to the presence of a heretical element in Armenia, and the information which it contains concerning both the sectarians and the general state of religion in Armenia during the late fifth century has not been used by scholars to its fullest advantage.

It is unfortunate that the great Armenian chroniclers have evinced but little interest in heresy. We can, however, obtain much useful information concerning the early development of the Church in Armenia from the earlier chronicles mentioned as well as from Zenob of Glak's *History of Taron*, originally written in Syriac, and from his continuator, John Mamikonean.¹¹ This material is of particular interest in any study of the heretical tendencies in Armenia as an indication of the close relations of the Apostolic Church with Syria and as an illustration of the parallel between the political division of Armenia and its theological differences, an aspect of the religious evolution hitherto insufficiently studied. Likewise Moses of Xoren has references to the presence of heresy in Armenia during the next century and to the difficulties of St. Mesrop in dealing with the survivals of Armenian paganism. The *Letter* of the Patriarch of Constantinople, Atticus (405-425), to the Armenian Kat'olikos Sahak I

80-87. For the text of the canons see my Appendix I. M. Tallon, *Livre des Lettres, Premier Groupe* (Beyrouth, 1955), 12, does not hesitate to identify the heretics condemned at Sahapivan as Paulicians, though he then goes on to derive Paulicianism from Manichaeism. See also N. Akinian, *The Canons of the Council of Sahapivan* (Vienna, 1950).

¹⁰ Lazar of P'arpi (Łazar P'arpeçi), *Letter to Lord Vahan Mamikonean*, ed. J. B. Emin (Moscow, 1853). Vahan Mamikonean was Marzpan of Armenia from 485 to 505-510, R. Grousset, *Histoire de l'Arménie des origines à 1071* (Paris, 1947), 229-230.

¹¹ Zenob of Glak, *History of Taron* (Venice, 1889), trans. in CHAMA, I, 337-355. This work is usually considered to be a seventh-century apocryphon, see Thorossian, *Littérature arménienne*, 56-58. The information of the work is of great interest, irrespective of its date and author. Also John Mamikonean, "Histoire de Daron", CHAMA, I, 361-382.

(387-428, 432-439), enjoining him to expel heretics from his land, has also been preserved in Moses' *History*.¹²

Probably the most interesting reference to heresy in the Armenian chroniclers is found in a passage of the *History* of Lewond written in the eighth century.¹³ Bart'ikyan recently showed that Lewond's allusions to nameless heretics, whom he calls "sons of sinfulness", operating in conjunction with Armenian rebels in Pontus in the mid-eighth century, probably refer to Paulicians. The point Bart'ikyan demonstrates is particularly interesting, as it provides us with Armenian corroboration for the account of Paulician activity in the eighth century found in source *S*, and thus establishes a point of agreement between the Armenian and Greek sources.¹⁴ One last reference to nameless sectarians dates from the tenth century when Bishop Xosrov Anjevaçi (†965) describes contemporary heretics who from their doctrine must also have been Paulicians.¹⁵

The evidence for the presence of Nestorianism in Armenia is of the greatest importance for the study of the Paulician heresy since, as we shall see, the Nestorians were compared to the Paulicians by the Armenian ecclesiastical authorities. Most of the evidence on this subject is contained in a collection of official dogmatic letters, to and from the Armenian Kat'olikosate, known as the *Book of Letters*.¹⁶ The manuscript which contains this collection was found in the Monastery of St.

¹² Moses of Xoren (Movsēs Xorenaci), *Histoire d'Arménie*, ed. and trans. Le Vaillant de Florival (Venice, 1841). For the *Letter of Atticus*, see, *ibid.*, III, lvii, 154-157. The problem of the disputed date of Moses' *History* does not affect our study.

¹³ Lewond (Ghevond), *History* (St. Petersburg, 1887), xvi, 122-123, translate by G. Chahnazarian ed., *Histoire des guerres et des conquêtes des Arabes en Arménie par Ghévond* (Paris, 1856), Chahnazarian, however, loosely translates the words "որոշ խնդիր" by "une foule de gens perdus de crimes". *Ibid.*, 119.

¹⁴ See my Chapter III, also Bart'ikyan, "Sources", 88-91, and "Paulician Movement", 128-130.

¹⁵ Xosrov Anjevaçi, MS. #8075, fol. 159, *National Collection of Ancient Manuscripts of the Council of Ministers of the Armenian SSR (Matenadaran)* as quoted in A. Ioannisyan, "The T'ondrakian Movement", 105. Xosrov Anjevaçi was the father of the great Armenian ecclesiastical writer, Gregory of Narek; see M. Abegian, *History of Ancient Armenian Literature* (Erivan, 1948), I, 447-448. Both Gregory of Narek and his uncle, Xosrov's brother Ananias of Narek, were concerned with the problem of Paulicianism, as we shall see. Xosrov's own description of the practices of contemporary heretics corresponds with that of his son and the majority of Armenian sources, so that there is little doubt that he is speaking of the T'ondrakeçi or Paulicians. See my Chapter IV.

The invaluable MSS. collection of the *Matenadaran* is becoming known only at the present time. A number of the MSS. in this collection concern the problem of the Paulician movement and will be referred to at the proper time. Unfortunately circumstances as yet compel me to quote these documents at second hand.

¹⁶ *The Book of Letters* (Tiflis, 1901), hereafter *BL*.

Anthony in Constantinople late in the nineteenth century. It is a copy made in 1298 by a priest named Thomas of Hromklay, at Sis, the capital of Cilician Armenia. Thomas' copy was taken in part from an earlier collection made in 1077 for the Kat'olikos Gregory II Vkeyesēr. The compilation of the *Book of Letters* must have been already in existence in the tenth century, since it was used by Uxtanēs Urhaeci (of Edessa) for his *History of the Armenian Kat'olikoi* composed in this period.¹⁷ Peeters is of the opinion, furthermore, that the first part of the *Book of Letters*, represented by the *Codex* of Gregory II, had already been compiled as early as the seventh century.¹⁸

A sizeable portion of the early documents included in this official collection are concerned with the problem of Nestorianism. The so-called *Tome* of the Patriarch of Constantinople, Proclus (434-446/7),¹⁹ and the *Answer* of the Armenian Kat'olikos St. Sahak I (387-428, 432-439)²⁰ attest the presence of Nestorians in Armenia as early as the fifth

¹⁷ See Tallon, *Le Livre des Lettres*, 17-20, for a résumé of Akinian's study of the MSS. of the *Book of Letters*.

¹⁸ P. Peeters, "Sainte Sousanik martyre en Arméno-Géorgie (14 décembre 482-484). Seconde partie, étude critique", *Analecta Bollandiana*, LIII (1935), 246-247.

T. Poladian, *The Nestorian and Chalcedonian Controversies as Treated in the Armenian Documents of the Girk Thghthotz*, unpublished M.A. thesis, Union Theological Seminary (New York, 1941), I, says that no other mention of the *Book of Letters* is to be found in Armenian literature. However, in the fourteenth century we find a confused reference to unknown books used by the Armenian Apostolic Church. Among these is a reference to the "Textorquire (Teytorgunt) id est Liber Epistolarum (epularum)", also "Sciendum est quod de super scriptis libris sunt aliqui quod nescimus, et sunt isti primus Toctanensis...", Daniel de Thaurizio, "Responsio ... ad errores impositos Hermetis [sic]", *RHC-DA*, II, article cxii, 644. This may well be a garbled reference to the *Book of Letters*, whose Armenian title, *Girk' T'lr'oç*, may have been inverted and distorted in the Latin version. See, however, Tallon, *Le Livre des Lettres*, 17.

¹⁹ Proclus, "Ad Armenios de Fide", *PG*, LXV (1858), 855/6-873/4. Armenian text: "Letter of Prokl, Bishop, to Saint Sahak Patriarch of the Armenians and to Saint Mazdoc", *BL*, 1-8. See Poladian, *Thesis*, 4, and 4, n. 1, for the superiority of the Armenian text.

²⁰ St. Sahak I, "Answer to the Letter of the Blessed Prokl from Sahak and Mašdoc", *BL*, II, 9-13; and Moses of Xoren, *Histoire*, III, lxi, v. II, 166/7. See also Acacius of Malatya (Melitene), "Letter of Akakay, Bishop of Melitine [sic] to Saint Sahak, Patriarch of Armenia", *BL*, 14-15, and St. Sahak I, "Answer of the Lord Sahak to the Letters of Akakay", *BL*, IV, 16-18; also "Letter to Akakay from the Armenians", *BL*, 19-21.

The concern of the Armenian ecclesiastical authorities with the problem of Nestorianism is further attested by the inclusion in the *Book of Letters* of the *Letter* of St. Cyril of Alexandria to Nestorius in an Armenian translation, *BL*, 396-406, and a number of other anti-Nestorian texts, *BL*, 241-242, 413-483, etc. (see next note). For the early period at least, these texts must be directly concerned with true Nestorians rather than with Byzantine (Chalcedonian) Orthodoxy, which the Armenians considered to have lapsed into Nestorianism. The letters to and from St. Sahak must antedate the Council of Chalcedon, since Sahak died in 439.

century as well as the concern they aroused in ecclesiastical authorities both in Byzantium and in Armenia. More important, the source of Nestorian proselytism can be traced to Persia and particularly to Syria through the extensive correspondence of the Armenian Kat'olikosate with Orthodox Persian and Syrian groups in the course of the fifth century.²¹ In these documents, the Armenian authorities invariably appear as the source of Orthodoxy to which the other Churches turn for advice and assistance. Finally, the spread of Nestorianism on the northern frontier of Armenia is demonstrated in the *Letters* of the Kat'olikos John II Gabelean (557-574) to the authorities of Siunik' and Ałovania (Caspian Albania).²²

In addition to the Orthodox texts relating to heresy in general, we possess a number of Armenian polemical sources concerned specifically with the Paulicians. The earlier works in this category refer to the Paulicians as such. The earliest presumed mention of the Paulicians by name in Armenia, or for that matter in any text, has been questioned. It is to be found in the *Call to Repentance* of the Kat'olikos John I Mandakuni (478-490). Here the Kat'olikos decreed that a seven-year penance was to be imposed on Polikean [Պոլիկեան] sectarians.²³ The copy of the manuscript in which this injunction is found is a late one, and Bart'ikyan notes that this work of John Mandakuni is not otherwise known; he is, therefore, of the opinion that this reference is a late interpolation into the text.²⁴

²¹ "Letters of the Armenians to the Persians on Orthodoxy" (two letters), *BL*, 41-47, 48-51. "Letter of the Orthodox Syrians to the Armenians", *BL*, 52-54. "Answer to the Letter of the Syrians from Nersēs Kat'olikos of the Armenians and Meršapuh Bishop of the Mamikonean", *BL*, XI, 55-58. "Letter of Greeting of 'Abdisoy, Bishop of the Syrians, to Lord Nersēs, Kat'olikos of the Armenians", *BL*, XII, 59-60. The first and the last three letters are translated by Ter Minassiantz, *Die armenische Kirche in ihren Beziehungen zu den syrischen Kirchen bis zum Ende des 13. Jahrhunderts* (Leipzig, 1904), appendix, 152-166. Also "From 'Abdisoy, Bishop of the Orthodox Syrians, to Lord Nersēs, Kat'olikos of the Armenians, and to all his Bishops. Concerning the Accursed Heresy of the Nestorians", *BL*, XIII, 62-65. "From the Same Bishop 'Abdisoy, Concerning the Accursed Nestor and all Heretics", *BL*, XIV, 66-67. "From the Same Bishop 'Abdisoy, Concerning the Anathematization of all Heretics who are Opposed to the Orthodox", *BL*, XV, 68-69. "Letter of Blame of Lord Nersēs, Kat'olikos of Armenia, to the Bishops", *BL*, XVI, 70-71.

²² John II, Gabelean, "Letter which Lord John Kat'olikos of Armenia and the Other Bishops Wrote to the Bishops of the Ałovanians", *BL*, 81-84 (hereafter, Ałovanians). John II Gabelean, "Letter which Lord John Kat'olikos of Armenia and the Other Bishops Wrote to the Bishops and Lords of Siunik'", *BL*, XVIII, 78-80 (hereafter Siunik').

²³ John I Mandakuni (Yovannēs Mandakuni), "The Call to Repentance", *Matenadaran* #659, fol. 275v, "... կամ պոլիկեան է է ան ..." in Melik-Bashian, *Paulician Movement*, 239.

²⁴ *Ibid.*; the date of the MS. is A.D. 1268. Bart'ikyan, "Sources", 92, gives the date incorrectly as 1368. The argument of Bart'ikyan as to the accuracy of this reference is

Far more important is the next reference to Paulicians in an official document of the mid-sixth century—the *Oath of Union* taken at the Council of Dvin summoned by the Kat'olikos Nersēs II of Aštarak in 555. This document was first published by K. Ter Mkrttschian and has been accepted by most Armenian scholars.²⁵ The importance of this text, which carries our definite knowledge of the Paulicians back a full century earlier than the date for the appearance of the sect on Byzantine territory, and which is unavailable in any European language, requires a translation of the more significant part of the work before any further discussion of its content and value is attempted.²⁶

Oath of union of the Armenian land given from the hand of Nersēs Kat'olikos of the Armenians and Meršapuh, bishop of the Mamikonean, and Petros, bishop of Siunik' and all the other bishops, magnates [առնաւորք] and freemen [ազաւորք] and the assembly of the people.

On account of the peril of spiritual accident, a daily illness which had reached us, we have come to a council of union so that we might by this means raise the wail of sorrowful sighs from our souls and free with oaths our consciences from foreign sins in which there never was any salvation [expectation]. For this reason, we, all the Armenians, have been compelled to make this agreement, in the twenty-fourth year of Xosrov, king of kings, in the holy forty [days] on Palm Sunday. [We did this] as a result of the evil barbarian heresy of the Nestorians.

This [Nestorius] the Holy Ghost anathematized by the hand of the 318 holy and Orthodox bishops gathered at Nicæa, and the 150 at Constantinople and the 200 at Ephesus. Nestorius having been accursed by them, they cut him off and rejected him, chasing him into a foreign land, into the province of Mēbin [Nisibis]. Having arrived there, his maleficent arts fermented their [the heretics'] spirits, making them thorny and dwellers in darkness. Into this [heresy] they

not altogether convincing since it is based on the *a priori* assumption that a mention of the Paulicians is impossible in the late fifth century and indeed before the eighth century. See below n. 28 for a discussion of Bart'ikyan's rejection of the other Paulician document antedating the eighth century. His strongest argument in rejecting the testimony of John Mandakuni is the absence of any reference to a work of this author called *The Call to Repentance*.

²⁵ K. Ter Mkrttschian, "The Paulician and T'ondrakian Sects in Contemporary Criticism", *Ararat* (July, 1900), 333. The version of the "Oath of Union" used in this study is, "Oath of Union of the Armenian Land", *BL*, 73-75. This document is followed by a reiteration, "Separation of the Nestorians from the Holy Church", *BL*, 76-77.

The "Oath" has been accepted by S. der Nersessian, "Une apologie des images au septième siècle", *Byzantion*, XVII (1944-1945), 71, n. 55, and 86, n. 131, and Poladian, *Thesis*, 22-25; also in Russia by Melik-Bashian, *Paulician Movement*, 17, and by many others, see Bart'ikyan, "Sources", 88. For a discussion of Bart'ikyan's own objections to the "Oath", see below, n. 28.

²⁶ The entire text of the "Oath" will be found in my Appendix II. The meaning of this document is perfectly clear though the style is often awkward and repetitive.

[the Nestorians] also ensnared the province of Xužastan, from which some of them reached very deeply into our land as merchants living with our fathers and with ourselves, confessing themselves of one faith with us through union with our Church. Then in the seventeenth year of Xosrov, king of kings, in the governorship [ծարգապետութիւն] of Nihorak, they concocted something in the monastery dedicated to [in the name of] Manačrhi Ražik—who having believed in Christ and been baptized, was named Grigor and murdered for his faith—and called this the gathering place of their filthiness. They also brought doctors [գաղղապետք], leaders of their perdition. These, having come, began to spread their filthiness into our holy and true faith. And, in the gatherings of the ignorant, they ensnared both the men and the women to participate in the filthiness of faith of their prayers, to bring the bread of offering to the place of their lawlessness, to receive communion from their hands, just as [this is done] in the gathering of dedication [offering] of the Paulicians. They dared to give their seal of absolution to unbaptized children of our people so that they might die an eternal death without baptism. And they took into their filthy and lawless blessing and into the communion of their conventicles, thieves and fornicators and other criminals, who came to them and whom we throw outside the Church and do not consider worthy of communion. And this [they did] from hostility to us.

Seeing this spiritual catastrophe derived from them, we arrived, albeit late, at the origin of their lies, because they falsely assumed the name of Christians yet denied the truth. Then we could not bear the evil of their deeds. All of us, unanimously, produced this document of covenant and confirmation, by the will of everyone, before our Lord Jesus Christ, our God. Destroying it, we obliterated the place of refuge of their lawlessness, and removed from our midst this darkness of night.

I, Nersēs, Kat'olikos of the Armenians, and Meršapuh of Taron ... Petros, bishop of Siunik^c ... and all the other bishops of the Armenian land ...²⁷

The sense of this document is perfectly clear. The Kat'olikos, Nersēs II, became alarmed both at the evidence of increasing missionary activity of the Nestorians from Xužastan centered in the monastery of the martyr, Manačrhi-Grigor, and at the claim of the Nestorians that they were of the same faith as the Armenian Apostolic Church. He therefore summoned a council of the entire Church and the representatives of the laity to demonstrate the heresy of the newcomers and their similarity to already familiar sectarians such as the Paulicians. The council, having duly met, anathematized the heretics, destroyed their center of worship, and bound itself to reject all communion with the sectarians by the *Oath* embodied in the above text.

There is no reason for doubting the authenticity of the *Oath of Union*,

²⁷ The remainder of the "Oath" consists of the signatures of the various participants, the restatement of their common agreement, and the threat of excommunication to anyone breaking the covenant or associating with heretics, this irrespective of rank or station. No additional historical or dogmatic information is given.

since it is found at its logical, chronological place in the official compilation of the *Book of Letters*. The holding of the great council at Dvin under the presidency of the Kat'olikos Nersēs II is also confirmed by a number of documents.²⁸ Hence we possess in Armenia an official record of the existence of Paulicians one century before the supposed organization of the sect by Constantine-Silvanus, whom the Byzantine sources present as a contemporary of the Emperor Constans II (641-668).²⁹

Another document which has not yet been sufficiently considered by Paulician scholars is the brief *Treatise in Defense of Images* written by

²⁸ See my Appendix II. Bart'ikyan, "Sources", 85-88, argues that the reference to the Paulicians in the "Oath" is not authentic and that the "Oath" is not to be considered as our first document on the Paulicians. Bart'ikyan's arguments, however, do not seem convincing for the following reasons:

a) His objection to the mention of Paulician communion in the "Oath"—"to receive communion... just as in the gatherings of the Paulicians"—as an impossibility, is based on a misunderstanding. As we shall see, there is no evidence that the Paulicians rejected communion altogether, but only that they refused this and other Orthodox sacraments as polluted (see my Chapter IV).

b) The objection that the Armenian sources are silent on the subject of the heretics for too long a period—between the sixth and eighth centuries if we accept the evidence of the "Oath"—is due to his ignoring the references to the sectarians in Vrt'anēs K'ert'ol, John Mayragomeçi and other sources which I shall discuss in due course.

c) His criticism of John of Ojun for being insufficiently acquainted with Paulicianism, thus showing that the sect was newly established in Armenia in the eighth century, is unwarranted. The information of John of Ojun is usually accurate, particularly in the case of the history of the Paulicians, which he traces back to the Kat'olikos Nersēs II (see below also my Chapter III).

d) Bart'ikyan accepts the evidence of Peter of Sicily that the Paulicians made their appearance only in the mid-seventh century, not before, and hence cannot be mentioned in the "Oath" a century earlier. We have already seen, however, that Peter's information cannot always be accepted at face value. Furthermore, Peter is speaking of Paulicians in the Byzantine Empire, and not in general.

e) Bart'ikyan argues that the reference to Paulicians in the "Oath" is due to a copyist's error such as he had already postulated in the case of John Mandakuni (see n. 24). In his opinion, the original reference was to Paulinians, followers of Paul of Samosata, and not Paulicians, who had nothing to do with them, *ibid.*, 87. This argument is based on Bart'ikyan's acceptance of the thesis that the Paulicians are a Manichaean sect and therefore not to be associated with the followers of Paul of Samosata. The association was made nonetheless in the Middle Ages by Balsamon, Zonaras, and Theophylactus Lecapenus, whose *Letter* Bart'ikyan does not mention. To maintain his thesis, therefore, Bart'ikyan is not only forced to postulate a hypothetical MS. error for which he gives no evidence, but also to reject the interpretation of all the medieval commentators on the subject. As we shall see in Chapter V, the association between the Paulinians and the Paulicians is perfectly warranted on theological if not on directly historical grounds. Furthermore the association of Paulicians and Nestorians found in the "Oath" is equally possible. On the basis of this discussion, therefore, there seems to be no reason to accept Bart'ikyan's thesis and hence his rejection of the "Oath" as our first authentic document referring to the Paulicians.

²⁹ Petrus Siculus, *Historia*, XXIII, 1275/6CD, *et al.* See my Chapter III.

Vrt'anēs K'ert'ol in the first years of the seventh century. Vrt'anēs was both a poet and an important ecclesiastical dignitary, coadjutor of the Kat'olikos Moses II and *locum tenens* during the three-year vacancy (604-607) which preceded the election of the Kat'olikos Abraham I, whose coadjutor he remained. Much of Vrt'anēs' activity was concerned with the relations of the Armenian and Georgian Churches which separated from each other in this period, when the Georgians returned to communion with the Orthodox Byzantine Church.³⁰ The treatise of Vrt'anēs is not specifically aimed at the Paulicians, but from it we learn a number of interesting characteristics of the Armenian Iconoclastic party which, as we shall see, was closely related to the development of Paulicianism in Armenia. The authenticity of the text, which was questioned by Strzygowski, is supported, in the light of new evidence, by the translator, Sirarpie Der Nersessian.³¹ Indeed the historical facts and the names of the heretical leaders given by Vrt'anēs are corroborated by another source also dating from the seventh century.

A *Letter* of another important ecclesiastical figure, John Mayragomeci, Vrt'anēs' close successor in point of time, has been preserved in the tenth-century *History of the Alovians* of Moses Kalankatwaçi.³² John Mayragomeci, who also played an important rôle in the Armeno-Georgian relations of the seventh century, was a fervent supporter of the Armenian Apostolic Church. He carried on a famous feud with the contemporary kat'olikos, Ezer (630-641), who had accepted the *Ekthesis* of the Emperor Heraclius and had become reconciled with the Greek Church. Consequently, John has been accused of heresy by a number of Armenian writers,³³ and he himself considers the Greeks as the source of

³⁰ Vrt'anēs K'ert'ol, "Traité contre les iconoclastes", in S. Der Nersessian, "Apologie", 58-69.

³¹ Der Nersessian, "Apologie", 75 ff., also 69, 73, 79, 85. J. Strzygowski, "Das Etschmiadzin Evangelium", *Byzantinische Denkmäler*, 1 (Vienna, 1891), 78-79. There is a possibility that this treatise is not by Vrt'anēs K'ert'ol, though Akinian and Tourian did not doubt its authenticity, as S. Der Nersessian points out, but there is no doubt whatsoever that it is a text of the seventh century.

³² Moses of Kalankatuk (Movsēs Kalankatwaçi or Dasxurançi), *History of the Alovians*, trans. K. P. Patkanian (St. Petersburg, 1861), 214-215; S. Der Nersessian, "Apologie", 72. The date of the *Letter* is somewhat problematic.

³³ John VI the Historian, *History* (Jerusalem, 1867), trans. J. Saint-Martin, *Histoire d'Arménie par le patriarche Jean VI dit Jean Catholikos* (Paris, 1841).

Asolik (Stephen of Taron), *Histoire Universelle*, trans. E. Dulaurier (Paris, 1883), 120; Samuel of Ani, *Collection from the Writings of Historians*, ed. A. Ter Mik'elian (Valaršapat, 1893), 60; Kirakos of Ganjak, *Universal History* (Venice, 1865). The suggestion that John had heretical inclinations is usually rejected with indignation by Armenian authors, but it is admitted in the case of his disciple Sargis, see Ter Mkrttschian, *Die Paulikianer*, 67 ff., and Grousset, *Histoire de l'Arménie*, 283-285, et al.

all evils to whom the origin of every heresy must be attributed. The *Letter* preserved by Moses Kałankatwaçi must, therefore, be used with some caution. However, the historical information contained in it appears generally reliable and in agreement with the information given by Vrt'anēs and other sources.³⁴

The relation of the Paulicians with the northern region of Ałovania, noted by Vrt'anēs K'ert'ol and John Mayragomeçi, is supported by a curious document preserved in the twelfth-century *History* of Samuel of Ani: "The Canons and Constitution of the Council of the Ałovanians which occurred in the time of Elia Kat'olikos (703-717) who was the thirty-first see holder after St. Gregory".³⁵ Bart'ikyan considers this to be the first extant reference to the Paulicians. It has never been translated, to my knowledge:

In his [Elia's] time Michael the priest was appointed patriarch of the Ałovanians and he spoke with his bishops who were John, bishop of Kapalak, Sahak, bishop of Amaras, etc. ... and Joachim, bishop of Gardman, concerning the good order of the land and the Orthodox faith.

Thus, I, Široy Apihi, patrician, lord of Gardman and prince of the Ałovanians, Varaz-Grigor, patrician, *sparapet* of the Ałovanians, etc. ... In the eighty-eighth year of the Armenians thus we laid down: If you undertake [anything] for the heresy of the Chalcedonians or of Mayragomeçi or for the payli keank' [պայլի կենաց, sic],³⁶ or confused [mixed?] marriage; if any [of this] should happen, no one may go at your order, and if any one goes let him be condemned by God, and you shall be [able] to judge a prince according to your will and no

³⁴ Der Nersessian, "Apologie", 71, 85, and 85, n. 131.

³⁵ "Կանոնք եւ սահմանադրութիւն ժողովոյն Աղուանից, որ եղեւ ի ժամանակս Եղիայի Հայոց կաթողիկոսի, որ էր ԼԱ. ամսական ի սրբոյն Գրիգորէ:" "Matenadaran #2966, fol. 120 r-v, and #3062, fols. 251-252, in Bart'ikyan "Sources", 96:

"Ի ժամանակին յորում կարգեցաւ ի քահանայապետութիւն Աղուանից Միքայէլ քահանայ խօսեցաւ ամրոտակցօքն իւրովք, որք էին. Յովհաննէս Կապադակոս եպիսկոպոս, Սահակ Ամարասու եպիսկոպոս, ... Յովակիմ Գարդմանայ եպիսկոպոս, յազազս բարեկարգութեան աշխարհիս ե ուղղափառութեան հաւատոյս:

Արդ եւ Շիրոյ Ապիհի-պատրիկ Գարդմանայ տէր եւ Աղուանից իշխան: Վարազ-Գրիգոր պատրիկ Աղուանից սպարապետ, ... ԶԸ թուականութեանս Հայոց այսպէս կանոնեցաք, թէ յորժամ դուք ձեռնարկէք յազազս քաղկեդոնական աղանդոյն, եւ կամ Մայրապոմեցոյն, եթէ վասն պայլի կենաց, եւ թէ վասն խառն ամուսնութեան, եւ թէ զինչ եւ իցէ ոչ որ կարէ ելանել ըստ ձեր Հրամանէ, եւ եթէ որք ելանէ յԱստուծոյ դատապարտեալ եղիցի, եւ դուք իշխան լիջիք ըստ կամաց ձերոց դատել եւ որք յիշխանաց չունի իշխանութիւն օգնել, եւ ի պայմանիս, զոր կարգեցաք Հաստատուն կացցուք:

Եւ կնքեցի զգիրս եւ Շիրոյ Ապահի պատրիկ Գարդմանից տէր եւ Աղուանից իշխան Հանդերձ ամենայն ազատօք":

³⁶ Bart'ikyan, "Sources", 96, n. 2, notes that the word is divided in both MSS. He further observes that this word appears in the form "պայլի կեանք" in a MS of the Canons of the Council of Dvin of 719, *Matenadaran* #795, fol. 129r. The Venice edition of these canons, however, writes the word as one; for a discussion of this form see John of Ojun, *Opera* (Venice, 1834), p. 74, and my Chapter V.

one of the princes have the power to help [him?]. And that which we instituted in this contract let us firmly maintain.

I sealed the books, I, Široy Apahi, patrician, lord of Gardman and prince of Ałovania, together with all free men [*wquun p*].

Bart'ikyan observes that the date of this document presents a problem, that the "eighty-eighth year of the Armenian era", i.e., A.D. 639, cannot coincide with the period of the Kat'olikoi Elia I of Armenia (703-717) and Michael of Ałovania (702-737). He therefore rejects the earlier date as an error and assigns the text to the beginning of the eighth century.³⁷ Two serious difficulties arise if we are to accept Bart'ikyan's conclusion. One of these is chronological. Among the nobles listed in the text we find the *sparapet* of Ałovania, Varaz-Grigor. The historian, Moses Kalankatwaçi, mentions a Varaz-Grigor, grandson of the Lord of Gardman, baptized ca. 627, among the princes of Ałovania. The name does not occur again in the Ałovian ruling house.³⁸ This evidence coincides with the date 639 given by the text but cannot be reconciled with the period of the title and introduction. The other difficulty lies in the text itself. The first part of this speaks of the eighth-century Patriarch, Michael, and his bishops meeting to discuss problems of Orthodoxy. The second part begins abruptly and has no mention of any ecclesiastical figure. It is very curious that the Patriarch, if he were present, did not sign the acts of the council. What we seem to have are two documents rather than one, the title and résumé of a council held by the Kat'olikos Michael of Ałovania in the eighth century and, added to this, a completely different compact entered into by the Ałovian nobility under the leadership of their prince who was also Lord of Gardman. The early date of the second part is supported by the information given in the seventh century by John Mayragomeçi: that the Lord of Gardman of his time had pursued Iconoclastic heretics and surrendered them to the Armenians for punishment.³⁹ Hence, whatever may have been the subject discussed

³⁷ Bart'ikyan, "Sources", 96. Since the text has been preserved in two MSS., it is curious that the same error should occur in both.

³⁸ See M. Brosset, *Histoire de la Siounie*, I, 96, n. 2, and II, 137, n. 2; also Grousset, *Histoire d'Arménie*, 647 table 5.

³⁹ John Mayragomeçi, *Letter*, 216. S. Der Nersessian, "Apologie", 73, dates the deportation of Iconoclastic heretics ca. 633, so that it would already have taken place at the time of the meeting of 639. One more difficulty remains. John Mayragomeçi himself took refuge with the Lord of Gardman in 633, *ibid.*, 73, and yet the text of 639 condemns those who follow the heresy of John. The only explanation which may be hazarded at present is that the Lord of Gardman had changed his opinion. We know that he was a recent convert. Indeed, the provision threatening that the nobles may take the law into their own hands against a heretical prince whom no-one

by Michael and his bishops, the mention of Pailikeank' in our document would seem to date from the beginning of the seventh rather than from the eighth century.

The next reference to the Paulicians by name occurs in the first part of the eighth century. About 719 the Kat'olikos John of Ojun summoned a council at Dvin to deal specifically with the problem of heresy. The thirty-second canon of this synod is directed against the Paulicians.⁴⁰ One chapter of John's *Oratio Synodalis* also originally dealt with the Paulicians, but this portion of the work has been lost. Still another work of John of Ojun, his *Sermon against the Paulicians*, has been preserved.⁴¹ Runciman believes that John of Ojun was hopelessly confused on many occasions and consequently knew not whereof he spoke,⁴² but an examination of John's career and reputation does not support this assertion.

A few years after the Council of Dvin, John called a second council at Manazkert to effect the reunion of the Armenian and Syrian Churches which had separated as the result of the influence in Armenia of a sect known as the Phantasiasts.⁴³ These heretics, who were considered to be the followers of Julian of Halicarnassus, denied the corruptibility of the body of Christ. Their influence in Armenia was great in the early eighth century and alarmed the Syrian prelates, but a doctrinal reconciliation between the Churches was elaborated at Manazkert in 725-726, and the doctrine of the Phantasiasts was rejected in Armenia. We see from his

may help, suggests that the Orthodoxy of some of the members was not above suspicion.

Concerning the linking together of the two texts, it must be remembered that the MSS. we have are not independent documents but quotations of the texts, in a late and notoriously inaccurate chronicle (see my Appendix II). In view of the fact that the first half of the text deals with the Patriarch of Alovania and the Bishop of Gardman, and the second with the Lords of Alovania and Gardman, we may have a careless and inexperienced compilation of documents dealing with the two regions, or else a later ecclesiastical confirmation of what had originally been a purely secular covenant.

⁴⁰ John of Ojun (Yovhannēs Ojneçi), "Canons", *Opera* (Venice, 1834), 74-77. Some of the other canons of the Council of Dvin are also pertinent to this study and will be discussed subsequently. It must be noted that the heretics condemned in the thirty-second Canon of Dvin are occasionally called Payl-i-keank' (see n. 36), but John of Ojun's other work, "Contra Paulicianos", *ibid.*, 78-107, is clearly addressed to Paulicians. The date of the Council of Dvin is not absolutely certain, M. Ormanian, *Azgapatum* (Constantinople, 1912), I, 892, was of the opinion that it took place in 720 after the kat'olikos had returned from Damascus.

⁴¹ John of Ojun, *Contra Paulicianos*, 78-107.

⁴² Runciman, *Medieval Manichee*, 33, 47.

⁴³ J. B. Chabot, trans., *Chronique de Michel le Syrien patriarche jacobite d'Antioche (1166-1199)*, (Paris, 1900-1905), II, 3, 498-500. Ter Minassian, *Die armenische Kirche*, 53-55, 70-91.

activity that John of Ojun gave particular attention to questions of dogma and heresy. He wrote treatises against heresies other than the Paulicians and was the first compiler of the *corpus juris* of the Armenian Church. Commonly known as *Imastaser* (the philosopher), John is honored as one of the greatest Armenian theologians.⁴⁴ The historical information given by John in his *Sermon against the Paulicians* is supported in detail by the evidence of the *Oath* of the Council of Dvin and a number of Armenian and Ałovian sources.⁴⁵ It does not seem likely, therefore, that John, by all accounts a great churchman and scholar, should have been totally baffled and uninformed on the subject of contemporary heretics. He is not always guiltless of repeating old wives' tales of the sectarians' practices, though even here some of his information may be more accurate than has been generally credited,⁴⁶ but his works must be considered on the whole to be reliable and informative sources, as was recognized by the later Armenian writers who invariably cited them as authorities on the Paulicians.

With the exception of the *Catalogues of Heretics* which will be discussed later, John of Ojun's is the last Armenian work to speak specifically of the Paulicians. Thereafter the heretics are commonly known as T'ondrakeçi or T'onrakeçi, from the center of that name.⁴⁷ The identity

⁴⁴ John of Ojun, "Contra Phantasiasticos", *Opera* (Venice, 1834), 109-179. "De Officiis Ecclesiae Christi", *ibid.*, 180-223. On John of Ojun see John the Historian, *Histoire*, 89, and L. Petit, "Arménie", *DTC*, I (1909), 1929, "Jean Otnezi est le premier compilateur du *corpus juris* de l'Eglise arménienne; tous les canons des pères et des conciles antérieurs au VIII^e siècle furent réunis par lui en un seul volume".

⁴⁵ John of Ojun's account of the development of Paulicianism and its relation to the heretics of Ałovania, *Contra Paulicianos*, 88/9, is supported throughout by other sources: "Oath of Union", *BL*, 73; John Gabelean, *Ałovians*, 81-84, particularly 83; Vrt'anēs K'ert'ol, *Treatise*, 67-68; Moses of Kalankatuk, *History*, 97; etc. See my Chapter III.

⁴⁶ Ter Mkrttschian, *Die Paulikianer*, 61. The story of the admixture of a murdered infant's blood in the Host, John of Ojun, *Contra Paulicianos*, 86/7, is one of the oldest and most popular canards. However, it is quite possible that some of the Paulicians had adopted certain other practices mentioned by John, such as exposure of the dead on roof tops and reverence of the sun and moon, from the Persians or from another Armenian sect, the Arewordik' or Sons of the Sun, with whom the Paulicians were occasionally confused; see Daniel de Thaurizio, *Responsio*, 643, and Mas'ūdi, *Le Livre de l'avertissement et de la révision*, trans. Carra de Vaux (Paris, 1896), 208. The Arewordik' should not be confused with the Paulicians, as was noted by Ter Mkrttschian, *Die Paulikianer*, 103; they are specifically distinguished from the Paulicians. The two sects may, however, have been in close relation with each other, since the Paulicians were favoured by the Persian authorities (see my Chapter V).

⁴⁷ *KT-I*, lix-lx; Aristakēs of Lastivert, *History*, 111; Gregory Magistros, "Letter to the T'ulaili", *Letters*, ed. Kostanianz (Alexandropol, 1910), 164 (hereafter, *T'ulaili*). The comment by Gregory Magistros that T'ondrak was made to be burned, "the fire

of the two heresies, however, is evident not only from the similarity of their doctrines,⁴⁸ as will be shown subsequently, but also from the specific identification of the T'ondrakeçi as Paulicians made in the eleventh century by Gregory Magistros in a *Letter to the Syrian Kat'olikos*.⁴⁹

From the ninth century, which is generally considered to be the period in which the sect of the T'ondrakeçi was developing in Armenia, we unfortunately possess no sources except for the heretical treatise known as the *Key of Truth*, if this work was composed in this period.⁵⁰ By the end of the tenth century, however, the sect had become so powerful that numerous Armenian ecclesiastics were accused of the heresy. Among these may even have been St. Gregory of Narek, the author of a book of devotions still in common use, and his uncle, the Abbot Ananias of Narek. Both men wrote doctrinal admonitions to known heretics. Ananias' *Treatise against the T'ondrakeçi* became the standard manual for all subsequent writers on the subject, but it is probably no longer in existence.⁵¹

The *Letter* written by St. Gregory of Narek to the heretical abbot of the monastery of Kčaw, which we find preserved in the *Book of Letters*, contains a great deal of useful information concerning the doctrines and practices of the T'ondrakeçi, mingled with the customary invectives and perorations.⁵² In addition to this work, Gregory included in his book of devotions a curious chapter describing the church entitled *Discourse Con-*

altar of T'ondrak", in the "Letter to the Syrian Kat'olikos", *ibid.*, 158, (hereafter, *Syrian Kat'olikos*) would suit a volcanic region such as Apahunik', the mountain range of the Aladağ, in which T'ondrak was situated.

⁴⁸ See my Chapter IV.

⁴⁹ Gregory Magistros, *Syrian Kat'olikos*, 161.

⁵⁰ See n. 102.

⁵¹ A presumed work of Ananias of Narek, Պր ինստիտուցիոնալ, ed. Miaban (Vataršapat, 1892) has been preserved; see also A. C. Anasian, *Armenian Bibliography of the V-VIII Centuries* (Erivan, 1959), I, 730. However, Ter Mkrttschian, *Die Paulikianer*, 83-84, 99, and Conybeare, *KT-I*, lxii and *KT*, appendix i, 126, n. 4, as well as K. Iuzbashian, "The T'ondrakian Movement", 36, n. 5, and Thorossian, *Littérature arménienne*, 115-116, do not consider this to be Ananias' famous treatise against the Paulicians written at the order of the Kat'olikos Ananias Mokaçi and mentioned by Gregory Magistros, *Syrian Kat'olikos*, 153.

⁵² Gregory of Narek, "Letter of the Blessed Doctor Grigor Narekaçi which he Wrote to the Magnificent and Admirable Congregation of Kčaw Concerning the Refutation of the Accursed T'ondrakeçi", *BL*, XCII, 498-502. Translation in *KT*, appendix I, 125-130. See Thorossian, *Littérature arménienne*, 118; Abegian, *Armenian Literature*, 449-450; and Peeters, "Sainte Sousanik", 251-252. We have already seen that Gregory's father, Xosrov Anjevaçi, was also concerned with the problem of heresy; see n. 15.

cerning the Church against the Manichaeans who are Paulicians.⁵³ The chapter itself is purely descriptive and as such uninformative, but the identification of the Paulicians with the Manichaeans, which we have already met in Byzantine sources such as Peter of Sicily, is curious. In the *Letter to the Abbot of Kĉaw* this identification is not maintained except for a passing remark concerning the sectarians: "What gifts of election have they seen in the abominable Kumbrikios [Mani]".⁵⁴ Other heretics such as Simon Magus and Nestorius are also mentioned in the *Letter* as the forerunners of the T'ondrakeçi, so that no particular identification with Mani seems intended at this point. Furthermore, the doctrine described in the *Letter* has, as we shall see, very little which is consonant with any form of Manichaeism.⁵⁵

The spread of the T'ondrakeçi was not halted by the efforts of the two Narekaçi. In the eleventh century, Aristakēs of Lastivert devoted two chapters of his *History* to the manifestations of the heresy of the T'ondrakeçi, thus providing us, in the opinion of Conybeare, with what may be eyewitness accounts.⁵⁶ Unfortunately, on the subject of the heretical doctrine, Aristakēs, a watchful prelate, announces:

But for their filthy observances, we deem it indecent to commit them to writing, for they are too loathsome; and since it is not everyone who is proof against what he hears, a recital of many sins might draw listeners into lust, or even lead them to commit such things themselves. For this reason we have avoided them.⁵⁷

Far more valuable is the testimony of a contemporary of Aristakēs. In the middle of the eleventh century, an Armenian nobleman, Gregory, was appointed *Dux* of Mesopotamia with the title of Magistros, by the emperor Constantine IX Monomachus (1042-1055) in recompense for what amounted to the betrayal of the last Armenian king of the Bagratid dynasty, Gagik II, and the surrender to the Byzantines of several Armenian fortresses of which he was the guardian. In this period Mesopo-

⁵³ Gregory of Narek, "Discourse Concerning the Church Against the Manichaeans who are Policians [sic]", *Book of Lamentations* (Venice, 1926), 477-492. Iuzbashian, "The T'ondrakian Movement", 34, notes that in certain MSS, e.g., *Matenadaran #1568*, fol. 256v, the name T'ondrakeçi is substituted for Paulicians in the title of the work.

⁵⁴ Gregory of Narek, *Letter*, 500, "Արդ զի՞նչ պարզեաւ ընդդռնութեան տեսեալ ի գարշէլին Կումբրիկոս".

⁵⁵ See my Chapter IV.

⁵⁶ Aristakēs of Lastivert, *History* (Venice, 1901), xxii, xxiii, 111-125. Translation in *KT*, appendix ii, 131-140. See Thorossian, *Littérature arménienne*, 127-129.

⁵⁷ Aristakēs of Lastivert, *History*, xxviii, 125, "Բայց զնոցա մծղնէ զգործն անպաշան Համարեցաք ընդ զրով արկանել, քանզի կարի աղտելի է. և զի ոչ ամենայն ոք պնդակազմ է լսելեօք բազմաց մեղացն յիշատակ՝ ի խաղաանս ձգէ զլսողսն, և ի կատարումն գործոյն իսկ ածէ. վասն այսորիկ և ես խոյս ետու յայնմանէ".

tamia included the southern Armenian districts of Vaspurakan and Taron, and Gregory Magistros, as he is usually known, carried on an active persecution of the T'ondrakeçi within his provinces.⁵⁸ His *Letters*, among them one to the heretics themselves and another to the Kat'olikos of Syria to whom they had appealed for help, have been preserved.⁵⁹ With Gregory Magistros we have again a first-hand informant who claims that his knowledge was derived from the confession of two recanting heretical priests who had acquainted him with the writings of one of their heresiarchs, Hesu.⁶⁰ Consequently, Gregory's *Letters* are of the greatest value for the study of Paulicianism in this period.

In connection with the Armenian sources concerned with the T'ondrakeçi as opposed to the earlier texts dealing with Paulicians, it is interesting to note in the later period the appearance of the accusation of Manichaeism found also in the Byzantine sources. Only late Armenian sources make this charge and even then not uniformly.⁶¹ No suggestion of Manichaean identification is found in the accounts of Aristakēs of Lastivert, but the accusation is made by Gregory of Narek as well as Gregory Magistros. In both these cases, however, an explanation of the charge may be suggested.

Throughout the tenth century the Monastery of Narek, the home of Ananias and his nephew, St. Gregory, was a center of philhellenic and pro-Byzantine activities. The advance of the Emperor Basil II into north-western Armenia in the year 1000 to gain the disputed heritage of the Curopalate David of Tayk', was celebrated by St. Gregory himself in dithyrambic elegies which must have proved far from acceptable to Basil's

⁵⁸ V. Langlois, "Mémoire sur la vie et les écrits du prince Grégoire Magistros", *Journal Asiatique*, I, 6e série, 13 (1869), offprint, *passim*.

⁵⁹ Gregory Magistros, *T'ulaili*, 164-168, *Syrian Kat'olikos*, translation in *KT*, 148-164, appendix iii, 141-151. See Langlois, "Grégoire Magistros", *CHAMA*, I, 401-403, and Conybeare, *KT*, 141.

⁶⁰ Gregory Magistros, *Syrian Kat'olikos*, 158, 161-162, "Իսկ նախքան զայսոսիկ պատճառ այսմ փրկագործութեան եղևն երկուս ոմանց ի նոցունց կերպարանօք քաշանայից, խոստովանեալ զամենայն դիւթիւթիւն և զչար աղանդ իւրեանց. քանզի Հմուտ էին չար և անենապիղծ առաջնորդին իւրեանց. և պաշտօնեայք էին նորա յորջաջեալ զազանային աղծանաց խրջթին. որք կարգաւ զաղանդոյն նոցա, որ այժմ է, պատմեցին մեզ:"

⁶¹ There is no mention of Manichaeism in the "Oath" of the Council of Dvin, or for that matter in the official correspondence of the *Book of Letters*, except in the formal listings of known heresies. Neither Vrt'anēs K'ert'ol nor John Mayragomeçi raises the subject, though Vrt'anēs, *Treatise*, 61, associates Iconoclasm and Manichaeism. The single reference in John of Ojun, *Contra Paulicianos*, 86/7, is not clear; it may refer to the Awordik' or to Persian practices in general rather than to the Paulicians (see n. 46). The later writers who make the accusation in Armenia are Gregory of Narek, Gregory Magistros, and Paul of Taron q.v. Ter Mkrttschian, *Die Paulikianer*, 80, also noticed that the accusation of Manichaeism appears late in Armenia.

opponent, King Gagik I of Armenia.⁶² Gregory's cultural and political inclinations seem to have drawn him toward Byzantium. It is, therefore, quite likely that Gregory, a renowned churchman, versed as he was in Greek culture, was well acquainted with the great Byzantine ecclesiastical writers such as St. John Damascene, the Patriarch Nicephorus, Theodore of Studius, and Photius himself, and that he used the word Manichaean in the same sense as it had been used by them, that is to say, as a synonym for Iconoclast.⁶³ The relevancy of Gregory's chapter, with its listing and descriptions of all the features of the church building, becomes far more intelligible if this section is intended as a refutation of Iconoclastic ideas rather than of true Manichaean doctrine.

In the case of Gregory Magistros, the relation with Byzantium is even clearer. Gregory had lived many years in Constantinople and was a renowned Greek scholar who made numerous translations of Greek classics into Armenian. He might well have been acquainted with the Byzantine polemical writers on Paulicianism and, therefore, might occasionally reflect the Byzantine point of view on the subject prevalent in his period.⁶⁴ The punning explanation given by Gregory for the name of each of the heretical centers, as for example T'onrak (worthy of being burned) and others,⁶⁵ may be only a stylistic mannerism, but it may also have been suggested by the similar explanation for the name of the original Paulician village of Episparis (from ἑπισπείρω—to sow with seed) given by source P,⁶⁶ or by the pun on the name of the Koinochoritai preserved by Peter of Sicily.⁶⁷

⁶² Gregory of Narek, "Յիշատակարան Մանենիս Դրութեան", *Book of Lamentations*, 651-653; Peeters, "Sainte Sousanik", 251-253, and 253, n. 2.

⁶³ See my Chapter V.

⁶⁴ Langlois, "Grégoire Magistros", *CHAMA*, I, 402-403; Conybeare, *KT*, 141.

⁶⁵ Gregory Magistros, *T'ulaili*, 164. Similar explanations are given for the names of the other heretical centers: T'ulay (Թուլայ) from T'ulcnel (Թուլծնել), to weaken or demoralize; Xnun (Խնուն) from Xckel (Խծկել), to obstruct; Xavarel (Խաւարել), to grow dark, or Xoramt'in (Խորամթիւն), to be in the dark. All these etymologies are suggested by Gregory himself.

⁶⁶ Petrus Higumenus, I, 60, *et al.*

⁶⁷ Source S in Petrus Siculus, *Historia*, XXXVIII, 1297/8B (see my Chapter I, n. 138). Particularly interesting is a remark of Gregory Magistros, *Syrian Kat'olikos*, 162, noted by both Ter Mkrttschian, *Die Paulikianer*, and Iuzbashian, "Paulician Movement", 37-38. This refers to certain refugees: "... բնակեալք էին ի Շնախանս". Iuzbashian translates "Շնախանք" as "the community of dogs", rather than "the dog monastery", and takes this to be a reference to "Κυνοχώριον, ... τοὺς κατοικοῦντας Κύνας τὴν τοῦ Κυνὸς χώραν". Cf. Peter of Sicily, *Historia*, 1297/8B. Conybeare, *KT*, 148, n. 5, doubts the relation, but it seems very clear. We have thus another indication that Gregory Magistros was closely acquainted with the Byzantine sources. Gregory may even have known source S directly, but it is more probable that he acquired his

The acquaintance of Gregory Magistros with the Greek sources seems even clearer in a passage from his *Letter to the Syrian Kat'olikos*:

To those who are more matured in wickedness, and are able to receive the deadly poison, they preach a sort of utter despair and godlessness, such as we find among the Epicureans. But others [are taught] after the manner of the Manicheans, whom they anathematize at the same time as they pursue the same practices. To others they make a show of teaching in conformity with the Christian tradition, yet themselves make no confession at all except what is repugnant to all Christian ordinances and beliefs.⁶⁸

The pretense of Orthodoxy and the rejection of Mani were noted by source *P* and most particularly by Peter of Sicily.⁶⁹ The accusation of Epicureanism finds its counterpart exclusively in the *Codex Scorialensis*⁷⁰ and is explicable only in terms of such dualistic doctrine as the one described by source *P*, in which the Heavenly Father has no power in this world, but only in the next.⁷¹ Furthermore, the mention of various heretical groups betrays knowledge of a situation more characteristic of the Empire, where the Greek sources indicate the presence of these various heretical ramifications, than of Armenia.⁷² A tripartite division within

knowledge at Constantinople from later compilers as was done by Euthymius Zigabenus in much the same period.

⁶⁸ Gregory Magistros, *Syrian Kat'olikos*, 158-159: "Որք ի շարն կատարեաղոյնք են և կարող են ընդունել զճաշարս դեղն, ասեղիկ քարոզեն իբրեւ անյուստիքեան անենիկն և անաստա-
ածութեան իբրու զԵպիկուրեանցն. իսկ ոմանց նմանութեամբ Մանիքեացն, զորս անիծեն, բայց
զնոյն զործեն. իսկ զոմանս իբրեւ քրիստոնէական աւանդութեամբ ուսուցանեն առ Երես և ինքեանք
անենիկն ոչ խոստովանին, բայց զայն ևս այլանդակ իմն կարգաց և կրօնից քրիստոնէից".

⁶⁹ On the claim of the Paulicians to be true Christians and their hypocrisy, see Petrus Higumenus, 65, *et al.*; on the Paulician anathematization of Mani, Petrus Siculus, *Historia*, 1245/6B.

⁷⁰ *Codex Scorialensis*, 76, "καὶ ὑποκίπτεις τῇ τῶν Ἐπικουρείων Ἑλλήνων κακίστῃ δόξῃ αὐτομάτως λεγόντων συνεστάναι τὸ πᾶν". No other source mentions the Epicureans. On the other hand, as we shall see, the *Codex Scorialensis* also seems to have some knowledge of such Paulician doctrine as is found in the *Key of Truth*. Might the *Codex Scorialensis* therefore be an elaboration of the *Chronicle* of George the Monk made in the eastern provinces of the Empire, in the proximity of Armenia?

⁷¹ Petrus Higumenus, VI, 63, *et al.*, "ὅτι ἡμεῖς μὲν, φασιν, ἕτερον Θεὸν λέγομεν ὑπάρχειν τὸν πατέρα τὸν ἐπουράνιον, ὃς ἐν τούτῳ τῷ κόσμῳ οὐκ ἔχει ἐξουσίαν, ἀλλ' ἐν τῷ μέλλοντι". The total impassibility of the Heavenly Father cannot be maintained in the presence of a doctrine of redemption, but the Heavenly Father is sufficiently far removed from the affairs of this world to permit his assimilation to the Epicurean deity, especially in a polemical text.

⁷² See my Chapter I. Also Photius, *Sermo I*, v, 89/90B, "Εἴτα τοῦ σκοτόυς πάλιν, εἰ καὶ μὴ πάντες αὐτῶν ἐνιοὶ δὲ ὁμῶς ἀναδύντες λέγουσι, τὸν ἀγαθὸν Θεὸν ἔχειν μὲν τὰ ἐπουράνια καὶ δημιουργὸν εἶναι τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ χορηγὸν εἶναι τοῖς ἀνθρώποις πράξεων, ... τινὲς δὲ αὐτῶν (πολυσχιδῆς γὰρ ἡ πλάνη) καὶ τὸν οὐρανὸν αὐτὸν καὶ τὰ ἐν μέσῳ πάντα τετολμήκασιν λέγειν ποιήματα τοῦ Ἐχθροῦ". Iuzbashian, "The T'ondrakian Movement", 37, is of the opinion that several groups were present in Armenia as well.

the heresy, such as the one indicated by Gregory Magistros, is specifically mentioned by Theophylactus Lecapenus in his *Letter to Tsar Peter of Bulgaria*.⁷³ As a result, then, of a possible Byzantine influence on the works of both Gregory of Narek and Gregory Magistros, these must be used with some caution as they may occasionally reflect the situation within the Empire rather than the one characteristic of Armenia.

From the twelfth century we possess the *Letters* of Paul of Taron and the Kat'olikos Nersēs IV Šnorhali (1166/7-1172/3).⁷⁴ Nersēs IV, although he no longer lived in Greater Armenia but at Hromklay in Cilicia,⁷⁵ gives us a good deal of information about the T'ondrakeçi in his *Letters*. Furthermore, he wrote a *Confession of Faith* at the request of Alexis, the son-in-law of the emperor, Manuel I Comnenus. This work is important for the picture it gives of the later Armenian Church and, through its anathemas, of the heresies of the period. Of equal interest for the differentiation of the T'ondrakeçi from the Armenian Manichaeans is a *Letter* written by Nersēs IV to the city of Samosata concerning the conversion of heretics known as "Sons of the Sun" (Arewordik').⁷⁶

The chronicler Matthew of Edessa (Matt'eos Urhaeci), who likewise belongs to this period, is not considered to be either accurate or well-informed; he was a man of little culture. Nevertheless, he has preserved for us *in extenso* a most valuable document—the *Confession of Faith* of King Gagik II, who was murdered in the latter part of the eleventh century.⁷⁷ Matthew considered Gagik to be a great theologian, and indeed the anathemas pronounced by the King are most informative for contemporary heretical doctrine. Dulaurier, the editor of the *Chronicle* of Matthew, considers the *Confession of Faith* to be an authentic text,

⁷³ Theophylactus, *Letter*, 362-363.

⁷⁴ Paul of Taron, *Letters* (Constantinople, 1735), unobtainable, trans. in *KT*, appendix, viii, 174-177. A particularly important characterization of the Paulicians by Paul of Taron is found in one MS., *Matenadaran* #5787, fol. 294v, in Ioannisyan, "Smbat Zarehavançi", 15, n. 3.

Nersēs Šnorhali, *Encyclical Letters* (Jerusalem, 1871), translated by Cappelletti, *Sancti Nersētis Clajensis Opera*, 2 vols. (Venice, 1833). Nersēs IV is called Šnorhali (the graceful) in recognition of the inspiration and beauty of his religious poetry. He is also called Clajensis because the seat of the Armenian kat'olikosate during his period of tenure was at Hromklay (Qalat-ar-Rūm) on the Euphrates; see next note. He will be referred to in this study as Nersēs Šnorhali.

⁷⁵ The seat of the Armenian kat'olikosate was shifted to Hromklay soon after 1147 but the sources disagree on the precise date.

⁷⁶ Nersēs Šnorhali, *Letters*, 120-130.

⁷⁷ Matthew of Edessa (Matt'eos Urhaeci), *History* (Jerusalem, 1869), 195-214, transl. and ed. E. Dulaurier, *La Chronique de Matthieu d'Edesse* (Paris, 1858), 135-150. See Dulaurier, "Preface", xiv-xv, xviii.

a conclusion which there seems to be no reason for questioning.⁷⁸

In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, chronographers such as Samuel of Ani, Kirakos of Ganjak, and Mxit'ar of Ayrivank' are of some interest insofar as they embody earlier lost sources, but generally speaking they are too remote from the period which they describe and too inaccurate in their chronology to be considered reliable.⁷⁹ The thirteenth-century *History of Siunik'* by Stephen Orbelean is, however, of considerable value not only because it has preserved the *Letter* of the Kat'olikos John II confirming the calling of the Council of Dvin in 555, but also for the additional light which it casts on the Orthodoxy of the Bagratid house in the period of the appearance of the T'ondrakeci.⁸⁰

Finally, among the manuscripts of the Matenadaran at Erevan are to be found *Catalogues of Heresies* which have references to the Paulicians.⁸¹ Bart'ikyan has shown that most of these collections are translations of the *Compendium of Heresies* of St. John Damascene and have nothing to do with the Paulicians.⁸² Two manuscripts, however, #687 and #3681, reproduce the same list which, in addition to the part taken from St. John Damascene, has a section containing a very curious and garbled legend as to the origin of the Paulicians. This account is not found in any other source. The date of this list cannot be fixed with any degree of precision (#3681 was copied in A.D. 1315 and #687 in 1621),⁸³ but

⁷⁸ Dulaurier, "Preface", xvii.

⁷⁹ Samuel of Ani, *Collection*. Kirakos of Ganjak, *Universal History*. Mxit'ar of Ayrivank', *Histoire chronologique*, trans. M. Brosset (St. Petersburg, 1869). See my Appendix II for the inaccuracy of Samuel of Ani. Kirakos not only considered Kat'olikos Moses II to be the successor of John III of Bagaran rather than John's contemporary and opponent, but he also placed the death of Mana'rhi-Grigor in the pontificate of Moses, giving the date as A.D. 551. Moses II, however, ruled the Armenian Church from 574 to 604, and the evidence of the "Oath" makes it clear that Mana'rhi had died long before the Council of Dvin of 555. See P. J. Alexander, "An Ascetic Sect of Iconoclasts in Seventh Century Armenia", *Late Classical and Medieval Studies in Honor of Albert Mathias Friend Jr.* (Princeton, 1955), 153, 155-157.

⁸⁰ Stephen Orbelean, *History of the Province of Siunik'* (Paris, 1859), 2 vols.

⁸¹ *Matenadaran* #687, 1217, 1425, 1495, 1850, 2005, 2019, 2245, 2252, 3488, and 3681 as referred to in Melik-Bashian, *Paulician Movement*, 18-19; and particularly Bart'ikyan, "Sources" 92 ff. Part of MS. #687 was published by Miaban under the name, "The Book of Heretics", *Ararat* (1892). Most of the MSS. are late copies of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, with the exception of #3681, for which see n. 84. Because of the impossibility of studying the MSS. directly, all conclusions about them must be considered provisional.

⁸² Bart'ikyan, "Sources", 92, considers that #1495, which is a dictionary rather than a catalogue, is of interest only to philologists and not to historians. As for #1217, 1850, 2019, 2245, 2252, and 3488, they are translations of the *Περὶ αἰρέσεων* of St. John of Damascus.

⁸³ *Matenadaran* #687 and #3681, heresies #153 and #154, Miaban, "The Book of Heretics", *Ararat* (1892), 113. See H. Bart'ikyan, "The Legend of the Paulician Origin

the obviously legendary setting of the account in which an anonymous "king of Greece" is linked with St. Ephrem, and the changing background and names of the protagonists suggest a late period in which the Paulicians were a confused memory rather than a present reality.⁸⁴

in a Bulgarian Manuscript", *IANA* (1957, #1), 92, and "Sources", 93, for the dates of the MSS. Bart'ikyan, "Sources", 93-95, notes that the MSS. are almost identical. Miaban used #687, as does Bart'ikyan, because of the poor state of preservation of the earlier #368I, but he notes the variants throughout.

The parallel between the Armenian catalogue and the *Compendium* of St. John Damascene is clearly established by Bart'ikyan, "Sources", 94, and had already been observed by Ter Mkrttschian, *Die Paulikianer*, 36-37. Bart'ikyan notes correctly that heresy #62, listed as "Πορνηνισμός" in the Armenian MSS., corresponds to #65, "Παυλιανισμός", in the *Compendium* of St. John, and as such ostensibly deals with Paulianists and not Paulicians. Indeed, even the list of the *Compendium* in this section is taken from the earlier treatise of Epiphanius and is not the original work of St. John. See F. Chase, trans., "St. John of Damascus", *The Fathers of the Church*, XXXVII (New York, 1958), "Introduction", xxxi. Therefore Bart'ikyan rejects Melik-Bashian's use of heresy #62 in reference to the Paulicians; see Melik-Bashian, *Paulician Movement*, 244, 251. There are, however, additions in the Armenian version not to be found in heresy #65 of the *Compendium* (PG, XCIV, 716/7). Bart'ikyan admits these to be non-Greek because of their anti-Chalcedonian tone, "Sources", 94. While it is impossible to come to a conclusion in the absence of the MSS. themselves, the rejection of special prayers for the dead and of the intercession of the saints, which are not part of the Paulianist tradition insofar as we know it, are quite suited to the doctrine of the Paulicians. See my Chapter IV, n. 74.

Ter Mkrttschian, *Die Paulikianer*, 36-37, observed very interestingly that heresies #153 and #154 of the Armenian list replace #101, the "Χριστιανοκατήγοροι", and #102 the "Ἀποσχιστάι", of St. John Damascenes, "Compendium", 773/4 and 775/6-777/8. For the discussion of this point see my Chapter IV, n. 139. Bart'ikyan, "Sources", 95, is of the opinion that heresy #154 is a continuation of #153 and that we have one heresy rather than two; see my Chapter III.

⁸⁴ See my Chapter III and Appendix III for the text and discussion of this legend. The story shifts from Greece (i.e., the Byzantine Empire) to the Caucasus and Armenia. The woman responsible for the heresy is said to come from the Turks (or the Arabs). Her name changes from Marē to Šet'i.

Bart'ikyan, "Sources", 95, n. 9, notes that the "Turkish" origin of the woman is not necessarily an indication of date. He suggests that "Turkish" is a late version for "Arabic" since the earlier MS. #368I has "arabīq". However, the vague story of the blood sacrifice in #153 and the Manichaean suggestion in #154 that "Christ is the Sun", which are not found in the other Armenian sources, suggest a poor knowledge of Paulicianism on the part of the compiler of the catalogue. The slaughter of children may be part of the tale reported by Daniel de Thaurizio, who is a contemporary of MS. #368I (see n. 95). The identification of Christ with the Sun may be part of the Persian customs noted by John of Ojun or of the accusation of Manichaeism which appears in the later Armenian sources.

See J. Markwart, *Südarmenien und die Tigrisquellen* (Vienna, 1930), 270-284, particularly 279-280 and 280, n. 1; also *Eränsahr nach dem Geographie des Ps. Moses Xorenac'i* (Berlin, 1901), 141-142, 161. Markwart, *Südarmenien*, 274-279, notes that by the ninth or tenth centuries the position and nature of the River Šit'it'ma was no longer known to Arab historians, who speak of it as a mountain of shifting or even

All of the sources considered so far have been the work of members of the Armenian Apostolic Church. One more group of polemical sources, however, exists. The creation of the Kingdom of Cilicia in the twelfth century brought the Armenians into close contact with the crusading states of the Holy Land and particularly the principality of Antioch. As a result, extensive efforts were made to heal the dogmatic breach which had followed the Council of Chalcedon and to bring the Armenian Apostolic Church back into communion with Rome or Constantinople.⁸⁵ The attempts at union were surrounded by an extensive polemical literature, as part of the Armenian clergy, supported by the ruling house, favored a compromise, while the rest held to its intransigent dogmatic isolation.

From this period we possess a curious work purporting to be an attack on the Armenian Apostolic Church by an unknown partisan of the union, who is called Isaac Kat'olikos.⁸⁶ Some of the accusations which Isaac

legendary location. As we shall see, the River Šit'it'ma may be the origin of the woman Šet'i in our legend (see my Chapter III). Such confusion would once again argue for a late date for the legend and a composition far from the Armenian locale of the Šit'it'ma or Batmansuyu, one of the northern tributaries of the Tigris.

⁸⁵ J. de Morgan, *Histoire du peuple arménien* (Paris, 1919), 161 f., M. Ormanian, *The Church of Armenia*, trans. G. M. Gregory (London, n.d.), 65-70, et al.

⁸⁶ Isaac Kat'olikos, "S.P.N. Isaaci Magnae Armeniae catholici, Oratio invectiva adversus Armenios", *Codex Parisinus Graecus* #900, I, fols. 152b-173b; II, 173b-180a, published in PG, CXXXII (1864), 1155/6-1217/8, 1217/8-1237/8. The version in KT, appendix vii, 171-173, is taken from Combefisius and does not always agree with that of Migne, which I shall cite.

No kat'olikos named Isaac (Sahak) can be found in the Armenian ecclesiastical lists anywhere near the twelfth century. The name of Isaac does not occur between Sahak III (677-703) and Sahak IV (1624-1626)! See de Morgan, *Histoire*, 364-365. Nevertheless the *Orations* attributed to the "Kat'olikos" Isaac must belong to the twelfth century, since we have a reference to "eight hundred years after the baptism of Constantine", PG, CXXXII, 1200/1B.

The entire problem of "Isaac Kat'olikos" is a most complicated one, since he has been credited with works of widely differing epochs. Furthermore Migne, following earlier editions, reproduces one of "Isaac's" works, the *Narratio de rebus Armeniae*, in two separate volumes of his collection: PG, CXXVII, 885/6-900/1, and PG, CXXXII, 1237/8-1253/4. To add to the confusion, the second of these editions is credited to Isaac, but the first is attributed to Philip the Solitary. The *Narratio* has now received a thorough treatment from G. Garitte, *La Narratio de rebus Armeniae* (Louvain, 1952), who demonstrates that it is neither by "Isaac" nor to be associated with the *Orationes invectivae*, since it was composed ca. 700 and not in the twelfth century.

As far as the *Orationes invectivae* are concerned, Garitte, while refusing to come to a final conclusion, is of the opinion that their authorship is doubtful, but that they are undoubtedly works of the twelfth century, *La Narratio*, 396-398. For the sake of convenience I shall continue to list the *Orationes invectivae* as the work of Isaac Kat'olikos, but he must not be confused with the Armenian patriarch of the fifth century, whom I refer to as St. Sahak I.

makes against the Armenian Church are not consonant with what we know of its practices in this period. Particularly in his eighth chapter, Isaac accuses the Armenians of rejecting the canons, the ecclesiastical hierarchy, the church buildings, religious vestments, and the giving of the eucharist at baptism, all of which, contrary to his view, were and still are fully acceptable to the Apostolic Church.⁸⁷ Furthermore, he accuses the Armenians of being Iconoclasts, but in this very period the Kat'olikos Nersēs IV Šnorhali wrote specifically in his *Confession of Faith*:

It has been said in a letter concerning the images of the saints that the Armenians reject them altogether ... so among some of the common people of our nation there is an aversion to the holy images. These men are berated by us, especially those who dare to blaspheme. For we ... accept and adore images of our incarnate Savior, and we honor likewise the images of the saints ... we paint them also in our churches and on the sacrificial vestments, and those who are ignorant and foolish and do not accept them, we reprove and castigate.

and again: "And whoever does not honor the cross or blasphemes against it, he believes that he dishonors and blasphemes against Christ and not against the visible object".⁸⁸ This is almost a direct answer to the charge made by Isaac. Hence it is unlikely that Isaac's accusation is really directed against the Armenian Apostolic Church proper. On the other hand, many of the beliefs and practices attacked by Isaac closely resemble what we know of Paulician beliefs and customs. The conclusion of Conybeare that Isaac, at least in the eighth chapter of his work, was concerned with Paulicians rather than Orthodox Armenians, and that he was

... a renegade Armenian who had gone over to the Greeks, and who, in his anxiety to blacken his countrymen, ascribes to the Armenian church not only

⁸⁷ Isaac Kat'olikos, "Oratio I", PG, CXXXII, viii, 1179/80B-1181/2: "Ὁ Χριστός, εἰ καὶ ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἐσταυρώθη, ἀλλὰ σταυρὸν προσκυνεῖσθαι οὐ διετάξατο, ὡς μαρτυρεῖ τὸ Εὐαγγέλιον· οὐκοῦν μὴδ' αὐτοὶ σταυρὸν προσκυνήτωσαν. Ὁ σταυρὸς ξύλου ἦν· οὐκοῦν μὴτε χρυσοῦν, μὴτε ἀργυροῦν, μὴτε σιδηροῦν. ἢ χαλκοῦν, ἢ λίθινον σταυρὸν προσκυνεῖτωσαν"; *ibid.*, xiv, 1223/4BC.

⁸⁸ Nersēs Šnorhali, "Confession of Faith", *Letters*, 98: "Էր ի գիրս ասացեալ և վասն Սրբոց պատկերաց՝ եթէ ոչ ընդունին շալք ամենեւին: Եւ որ յայտնել է ճշմարտութիւնն՝ յայտնի զուղանեմք:

Ի Հակառակութենէ անտի՝ որ ի մէջ երկուց ազգացս է. բազում շարիս սերմանեաց սատանայ. որպէս առ ոմանս ի տգէտ ժողովրդոց մերոց զպատկերաց Սրբոց զանընդունելութիւն, որ և ի մէջ զսորվին այնպիսիքն, նաեւ նղովս ի վերայ դնեմք՝ որ յանդիման Հայհոյել. քանզի մեք՝ որ զառջնորդական ունիմք զաստիճան, ընդունիմք և երկրպագեմք պատկերի տնօրէնութեան Փրկչին մերոյ. այլ և զամենայն Սրբոց պատկերս ըստ իւրաքանչիւր կարգի պատուեմք. զորս և լեկեղեցիս մեր նկարեմք (նկարագրիմք?) և ի պատարագածաստուցի Հանդերձս. և պատուհասեալ ըմբերանեմք զոչ ընդունողսն ի մերոց զտգէտս և զախմարսն:": See also *Ibid.*, 270-273: "Եւ որ անպատուէ զխաշն կամ Հայհոյէ, գժրիստոս Համարեցի Հայհոյել և անարգել և ոչ գերեւելի նիւթն" (273).

the errors of Eutychius and Dioscorus, etc. ... but also the characteristic errors of the Paulicians⁸⁹

seems, therefore, altogether acceptable. Thus we find in the work of the mysterious Isaac additional evidence for the study of Armenian Paulicianism.

The controversy within the Armenian Church initiated in the days of the so-called Isaac the Kat'olikos persisted into the fourteenth century. In this period, Nersēs Balientes, ex-Bishop of Urmiah and Archbishop of Manazkert, deposed from his see and living at Avignon, drew up a list of Armenian errors which Pope Benedict XII forwarded to the Armenian Kat'olikosate at Sis with a request for their refutation.⁹⁰ Daniel de Thaurizio [Tabriz], professor of theology at the Cathedral of Sis and subsequently Archbishop of Bostra,⁹¹ was sent back to the papal court at Avignon in 1340-1341, bearing the required refutation which he had composed⁹² and which became the basis for the profession of faith of the Armenian council subsequently held at Sis.⁹³ Both in the refutation of Daniel and to a lesser degree in the profession of faith of the Council of Sis we find mention of heretical practices in Armenia. The presence of dissident Iconoclastic groups among the Armenians is acknowledged in the terms used two centuries earlier by Nersēs Šnorhali.⁹⁴ Even more interest-

⁸⁹ *KT-I*, lxxvi, lxxxi, n. 2. Isaac Kat'olikos, *Oratio II*, 1219/20, tells us that he was born and educated among heretics, and only subsequently recanted.

⁹⁰ C. Kohler, "Introduction" to Daniel de Thaurizio, *RHC-DA*, II, ccviii-ccxviii, and ccx, n. 5, and 559, n.a. Also *RHC-DA*, I, 608, n. 1, and 701-702. The libellum of Nersēs of Urmiah was first published by O. Rainaldi, *Annales ecclesiastici*, XXV (Lucca, 1750), for A.D. 1341, 261-279. See also E. Martène and V. Durand, *Veterum scriptorum et monumentorum ... amplissima collectio*, VII (Paris, 1733), 310-413, and *Mansi*, XXV, 1185-1270, which is taken from Martène and Durand.

⁹¹ Kohler, "Introduction", ccxiii, ccxvi. Daniel was created Archbishop of Bostra on July 26, 1343 by a bull of Pope Clement VI.

⁹² Daniel de Thaurizio [Tabriz], "Responsio ... ad errores impositos Hermenis", *Codex Parisinus Latinus* #3368, fols. 1-48, fifteenth century, printed in *RHC-DA*, II, 559-650.

⁹³ *Mansi*, XXV, 1185-1270 etc. The date of the Council of Sis shifts from 1342, given by *Mansi*, XXV, 1185/6, to 1345. See Kohler, "Introduction", ccxii-ccxiii and ccxvi.

⁹⁴ Daniel de Thaurizio, *Errores*, article lxxvi, 616: *Accusatio* [Nersetis Balientis]: "Apud Armenos Majoris Armenie non fit ymago crucifixi, nec alie ymages tenentur sanctorum".

Respondeo [Daniel]: "Aliquando, inter aliquos Armenos ignorantes et Grecos, fuit controversitas de ymaginibus, sed prelati non respuerunt ymages, et in ecclesiis suis habentur depicte... Modo quare non tenent in Armenia Majori, causa est timor Sarracenorum, qui multum persecuti sunt et persecuntur ymages et tenentes eas, et non causa odii ymaginum quod non tenent, quia etiam Latini in Jerusalem non tenent... sed causa quod non habentur ymages communiter in Majoris Armenia, est persecutio Sarracenorum, qui dominantur Armenis, et valde persequuntur ymages et habentes".

Responsio [of the Council of Sis]: "Quamvis quandoque aliqui ignorantes de Armenis

ing is the recollection of the T'ondrakeçi in the work of Daniel. The description of the heretics may be vague and inaccurate, but some knowledge of the sectarians was still preserved by the Armenian ecclesiastical authorities.⁹⁵

After the fourteenth century however, the Armenian sources cease to speak of either T'ondrakeçi or Paulicians;⁹⁶ their names are no longer to be found in the texts which have survived. The Armenian ecclesiastical authorities struggling to preserve the very existence of their Church in the

contrarii fuerint (imaginibus), sicut supra in lxxiii articulo diximus, tamen a praelatis dictae ecclesiae numquam sunt abjectae, sed potius habentur in multis ecclesiis depictae". See n. 88 for the statement of Nersēs Šnorhali.

⁹⁵ Daniel de Thaurizio, *Errores*, article cx, 643: "Respondeo quod juxta Manasguerd civitatem ... sunt bene quatuor vel circa ville; una illarum vocatur Tondray et habitatores dictarum villarum clarissime et manifestissime sunt heretici, et vocantur filii solis, et locuntur in lingua armenica; non sunt christiani, nec sarraceni, nec judei, sed colunt solem et semel in anno colliguntur in una domo obscura, in nocte, sine aliquo lumine, et tunc miscentur carnaliter ad invicem, confusibiliter, secundum casum et venturam, sive sit mater, sive filia, sive aliena, et proles que generatur in nocte dicta confusionis audivi utrum quando moriuntur, vel studiose occiduntur, comburuntur et de pulvere dictorum corporum prolem combustorum ponunt pro re sacra in omnibus comestibilibus suis. Armeni christiani in nullo participant cum eis, sed abhorrent eos sicut diabolos. Dicti filii solis non cognoscuntur quando vadunt ad alias partes, nisi per certa signa que habent infra se, ed ipsimet tantum sciunt et nullus alius".

Responsio: "In terra nostra, per gratiam Dei, tales haeretici non inveniuntur, sicut ipsi dicunt; tamen, si in Majori Armenia inveniuntur, ignoramus; et talia alia non audivimus, excepto de quibusdam haeticis qui sunt in Majori Armenia, in contrata Manasguerd, et vocantur filii solis, et quamvis ipsi habitent in Majori Armenia et loquantur armenice, tamen Armeni non sunt; sed colunt solem, et sunt infideles manifesti et operantur multas alias turpitudines, quas per prolixitatem, transimus".

We have already seen that the Arewordik', or Sons of the Sun, are probably not the Armenian Paulicians; but the evidence of Daniel de Thaurizio supports that of John of Ojun and Mas'ūdī that the Paulicians in Armenia had acquired some Persian customs and were in close contact with the Arewordik' (see n. 46). It is interesting that neither Daniel nor the Council accuses the heretics of Manichaeism.

The accusation of indiscriminate intercourse without regard to relationship, if not a malevolent fiction, suggests that Daniel might have known source *P*, where the same accusation is found; see Petrus Higumenus, xviii, 67; *Paulician Formula*, anathema VII, 453-454; *Manichaean Formula*, 1469/70; etc.

⁹⁶ In the fourteenth century, Gregory of Tat'ew devoted one chapter of his "Book of Questions" to the Manichaeans, Gregory of Tat'ew, "Against the Manichees", trans. T. Poladian, *Review of Religion*, IX (1945), 242-253. This section, however, consists of a formal refutation of the doctrine of the two principles which is the basic dogma of true Manichaeans. There is not the slightest reference to Paulicians or T'ondrakeçi in the text of the work, or to any doctrine or practice which can be attributed to them in the light of the Armenian sources. Furthermore, even though the T'ondrakeçi are occasionally called Manichaeans by Armenian writers, as we have seen, the doctrine of the two principles is not attributed to them. Therefore it seems likely that the work of Gregory of Tat'ew relates to the classic Manichaeans and is not relevant to a study of medieval Paulicianism.

face of Turkish persecution tell us nothing of heretical movements. However, one very curious document attests the survival of the Paulician heresy in Armenia as late as the nineteenth century. In the years 1837-1845 an investigation was carried out at the order of the Armenian Kat'olikosate at Ejmiacin. The cause for this inquiry was the appearance in the village of Ark'weli in Russian Armenia of a group of heretics who had migrated from the Armenian provinces dominated by the Turks. These sectarians were known as T'ondrakeçi, and their confessions to the ecclesiastical authorities confirmed the evidence of the medieval sources on the doctrine of the Paulicians.⁹⁷ On the basis of this remarkable similarity of doctrine, the confessions of the nineteenth-century heretics should at least be considered as evidence, despite the lateness of the date.

The Scriptures used by the heretics of Ark'weli provide us with the most important single document which we possess for the study of the Paulician heresy. The manuscript of this treatise, known as the *Key of Truth*, was seized by the Armenian ecclesiastical authorities and preserved in the library of the Holy Synod at Ejmiacin.⁹⁸ The work, which is purely dogmatic in nature, contains some seventeen chapters of explanation and admonition on the faith, stressing in particular the significance and the importance of baptism. This section is followed by an account of the ritual to be used for baptism and ordination, some additional chapters of explanation of various minor points, and a catechism.⁹⁹ The sole remaining copy of the text has not reached us in its entirety, as thirty-eight pages have been torn from the codex.¹⁰⁰ Furthermore, the existing manuscript is not the original version of the treatise, but a copy made in the province of Taron in 1782, though the surviving fragment of the colophon indicates that the actual composition of the work was much earlier in date.¹⁰¹ Despite the lateness of the surviving copy, Conybeare, the editor, has accepted the *Key of Truth* as an authentic Paulician work originally composed in the period between the seventh and the ninth centuries, or in part even earlier.¹⁰²

Two objections might be made to the acceptance of the *Key of Truth*

⁹⁷ *KT-I*, xxiii-xxviii.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, xxix.

⁹⁹ F. C. Conybeare ed. and trans., *The Key of Truth. A Manual of the Paulician Church in Armenia* (Oxford, 1898).

¹⁰⁰ Folios 30r-53r, 56-59, 66-67, 74-77, 126-127, and the beginning of the colophon are missing, *KT*, 18(85), 19(86), 23(90), 27(92), 53(114), 64(124). The pages in parentheses refer to the translation. For the circumstances under which the manuscript was injured, see *KT-I*, xxiii-xxix.

¹⁰¹ *KT*, 64-65(124), *KT-I*, xxix.

¹⁰² *KT-I*, vi, xxx-xxxi.

as a work of the Armenian Paulicians in the Middle Ages, the lateness of the date of the existing manuscript and the discrepancies found between it and the Greek sources on the Paulicians. The evidence as to the date of composition of the *Key of Truth* is unfortunately still inconclusive. Conybeare's demonstration that the language and style of the *Key* are most closely related to those of Armenian authors of the ninth and tenth centuries has been questioned by critics who do not, however, challenge the authenticity and value of the work.¹⁰³ It is rather on a theological basis that the medieval origin of the *Key* can be established. We know that the *Key of Truth* was an Armenian heretical text because the existing copy was still being used at the time of its seizure by the Armenian authorities, by a sectarian group professing, as we shall see, a faith comparable to that of the medieval Paulicians.¹⁰⁴ Without going into a de-

¹⁰³ *KT-I*, xxix-xxx, 187-190. The *Key of Truth* is written in the classical form of Armenian (Grabar). Thorossian, *Littérature arménienne*, 192-193, considers the sixth century as the line of demarcation between the use of Grabar and the vulgar tongue which rapidly predominated so that Grabar was a dead language by the tenth century. On this basis the *Key* should be assigned to a period no later than the tenth century. However, Abegian, *Armenian Literature*, 499, remarks on the occasional archaizing use of Grabar as late as the nineteenth century. This is particularly true of ecclesiastical writers. Conybeare, in a systematic analysis of the vocabulary of the *Key*, 187-190, shows that the post-classical words present in the *Key* were current in the tenth century with only one or two exceptions, and that the stylistic forms are common to early authors such as the pseudo Zenob of Glak and particularly the tenth-century authority on the Paulicians, Gregory of Narek.

The main opposition to the ninth-century date assigned to the *Key of Truth* by Conybeare has come from F. Macler, "Review", *Revue d'histoire des religions*, XLIV, 22e année (1901), 456, "... je crois que M. Conybeare s'est un peu avancé en datant *La Clef de la Vérité* du IXe siècle. L'imprécision même du style porterait à faire descendre beaucoup plus bas la date de rédaction de ce précieux document des Pauliciens". This opinion is also shared by A. Meillet, "Review", *Revue critique d'histoire et de littérature*, 32e année, 2e sem. nouv. sér., XLVI, 38-39 (19-26 sept., 1898), 169: "M. Conybeare fait remonter la composition jusqu'au milieu du IXe siècle. Sans vouloir diminuer la très haute importance de la publication, il sera permis d'exprimer des doutes à ce sujet, ... les probabilités sont pour une époque plus récente". On the other hand, the Armenian reviewer, A. Haigazian, *American Journal of Theology*, III (April, 1899), 383, does not object to Conybeare's date. For a collection of the reviews of the *Key of Truth*, see L. Mariès, "Frederick Cornwallis Conybeare", *REA*, VI, 2 (1926), 247-251.

There is obviously no question that the extant MS. of the *Key of Truth* is a late copy. The obvious possibility of alteration of vocabulary and style in the course of many copyings makes the linguistic evidence inconclusive at best for an estimate of the date of the original composition of the *Key*. For this date, the most satisfactory evidence lies in the theological similarity between the doctrine of the *Key* and that discussed by medieval sources. This similarity must be considered in some detail.

¹⁰⁴ *KT-I*, xxv-xxvii. See my Chapter IV for a discussion of the similarity between the doctrine of the nineteenth-century heretics who used the *Key of Truth* and that of the Paulicians in the Middle Ages.

tailed analysis at this point, suffice it to say that the Armenian polemical sources which we possess on the Paulicians and the T'ondrakeçi corroborate the main points of doctrine found in the *Key*, and even support it in detail.¹⁰⁵

Still more interesting perhaps is a comparison of the doctrine of the *Key* with some of the parallel material in the Byzantine sources. It is true that some of the dogma found in the *Key* seems to contradict the evidence of the Greek texts as they have been interpreted hitherto.¹⁰⁶ However, the discrepancies, if they exist, have blinded scholars to a number of interesting similarities.¹⁰⁷ Most significant of these is the presence in the *Key of Truth* of some of the material whose appearance in the Byzantine texts cannot be explained on the basis of existing Greek antecedents: particularly the belief that Mary did not remain a virgin after the birth of Jesus, also found in the *History* of Peter of Sicily,¹⁰⁸ and the heretical interpretation of the Gospels to mean that Christ had transferred the particular blessing of Mary, his mother, to all believers, a belief condemned in the *Codex Scorialensis*.¹⁰⁹ Both of these beliefs find their exact counterparts in the *Key of Truth*.¹¹⁰ It is possible, therefore, that Peter of Sicily and the unknown author of the additional parts of the *Codex Scorialensis* had learned some of the heretical doctrine from the *Key* or a similar source. In any case, there is no reason on doctrinal grounds to doubt Conybeare's identification or dating of the *Key of Truth*. Consequently, the information given by the *Key* on the dogma and ritual of the heretics must be considered as a source of major importance since it has not been distorted by the enemies of the sect, and the evidence of the

¹⁰⁵ See my Chapter IV.

¹⁰⁶ Scheidweiler, "Paulikianerprobleme", 383.

¹⁰⁷ The doctrine of the separate Heavenly Father and the Creator of the World found in source *P* does not occur in the *Key*. However:

a) The rejection of Orthodox baptism in *P*, Petrus Higumenus, XII, 65, supports the *Key's* insistence on a particular ritual to be used by the sectarians, *KT*, 6-7(75-76), 19(88), 25-38(91-101), 55(116), 57(118), *et passim*;

b) The opposition of the Paulicians to the cross, Petrus Higumenus, IX, 64, *KT*, 53(115);

c) The opposition to the Orthodox clergy, Petrus Higumenus, XIV, 66, *KT*, 59(119), viii-ix, 16-17(83-85);

d) The rejection of marriage as a sacrament, *KT*, 59(119), may well be the basis for the accusation of gross immorality, Petrus Higumenus, XVII, 67, *et al.*

¹⁰⁸ Petrus Siculus, *Historia*, V, 1247/8BC. This belief is attributed to the Paulicians by Glycas also, "Annales", 387.

¹⁰⁹ *Codex Scorialensis*, XXI, 78-80. The similarity of the two passages is remarkable. The disguise of Satan in a monk's habit found in the interpolated passage on Christ's baptism in the *Codex Scorialensis*, X, 72-73, is also found in the *Key of Truth*, IX, 110

KT, 51-52(113-114).

Key of Truth may not be disregarded by any serious study of Paulicianism.¹¹¹

In conclusion, as can be seen from the previous discussion, the Armenian sources are both pertinent and extensive. Their chronological span is much greater than that of the Greek sources. The contradictions which have been observed by scholars between the information given by them and the Greek material must indeed be considered in some detail; however, the arbitrary rejection of the Armenian texts is unwarranted in any investigation of Paulicianism, and their evidence must be given sufficient consideration before any valid conclusion may be reached as to the history and dogma of the sect.

In addition to the two major series of documents which we have discussed in these chapters, it is interesting to note the existence of still further material. We have already seen that the presence of Paulicians in the Holy Land was noted by most of the historians of the Crusades.¹¹² A few Oriental sources are also pertinent to this study. The relations of the Armenian and Syrian Churches in the early period of their development and their reconciliation at the council of Manazkert in the eighth century are discussed in the later *Chronicle* of Michael the Syrian.¹¹³ Occasional brief but illuminating references to the Paulicians are to be found in the works of Mas'ūdī and Qudāma.¹¹⁴ Finally, the information given by the Byzantine chroniclers as to the history of the campaigns of the Byzantine emperors against the Paulicians, both in the Amorian and in the early Macedonian dynasties, is supplemented by the evidence of the Muslim historians, Ṭabarī and Ibn-al-Athīr.¹¹⁵

¹¹¹ The theory of Scheidweiler, "Paulikianerprobleme", 383, of a late date for the *Key*, based on a possible Socinian influence on the Paulicians in the Balkans, which he considers apparent in certain portions of the *Key*, remains purely hypothetical and unsupported. No work which might conceivably have been a version of the *Key* is mentioned in the medieval centers of Balkan heresy: Bulgaria, Bosnia, etc.

¹¹² For references to the Paulicians in the sources of the Crusades, see my Introduction. Unfortunately these mentions are relatively uninformative and testify merely to the presence of the Paulicians in the Holy Land.

¹¹³ Michael the Syrian, *Chronique*.

¹¹⁴ Mas'ūdī, *Le Livre de l'avertissement*. Particularly interesting is the reference to the Persian practices of the Paulicians, *ibid.*, 208, which supports the observations of John of Ojun and Daniel de Thaurizio. Qudāma, "The Book of the Revenue", as quoted in G. Le Strange, "Al-Abrik", *JRAS* (1896), 735-736.

¹¹⁵ H. Zotenberg, trans., *Chronique d'Abou-Djafar-Mo'hammed-ben-Djarir-ben-Yezid, Tabari* (Paris, 1867-1874), 4 vols. Ibn-al-Athīr, as quoted in Vasil'iev, *Amorian Dynasty*, 278-326, 349-369; *Macedonian Dynasty*, II, 133.

III

THE HISTORY OF THE PAULICIANS

Two medieval tales, one Greek and one Armenian, account for the appearance of the Paulician heresy. The Byzantine version is found in source *P*, repeated and elaborated by Peter of Sicily and the Pseudo-Photius:

The Paulicians who are also Manichaeans were called by a new name: Paulicians instead of Manichaeans from a certain Paul of Samosata, the son of a Manichaean woman named Kallinike who had two sons, this Paul and John. She taught them the Manichaean heresy and sent them as missionaries of their heresy from Samosata to Armeniakon; they, coming to a certain village of Phanaroia, sowed their heresy in it. From this then the village changed its name to Episparris and their followers were called Paulicians.¹

The Armenian story appears in a *Catalogue of Heresies* of which the earliest manuscript we possess dates from the year 1315. Numbers 153 and 154 of the list tell of a Paulician heresy arising under completely different circumstances:²

153 The K'alert'akan [*Բաղերթաղական*] that is to say 'bloodthirsty'. A certain king from the land of the Greeks chanced on the filthy sect of the Polikeank' [*Պոլիկեանց*] and was not able to turn them from their heresy. He pursued them beyond the mountain of Caucasus. And a woman [was] their leader, her name Marē [*Մարե*], an evildoer and a witch. To evil deeds she gave a reward [good] and to good deeds a punishment, and she taught that all women were common [property], and the five appointed days—those which we call ordinary—she called Satanic, and she said to them [that] to pour out the blood of a man [was] good, and whoever eats and drinks the blood of a man, that [is] justice. And by the operation of Satan she saw a vision and slaughtered children and said that their souls appear in the vision to the witches.

154 Behold a certain woman named Šet'i [*Շեթի*], this woman having come after the Turks, came to the Armenians. And a certain Pōl [*Պոլ*] from the prov-

¹ See Petrus Higumenus, I, 60-61, and my Chapter I, n. 131, for the text.

² See my Chapter II, nn. 83-84. For Bart'ikyan's discussion of the relationship of heresies #153 and #154 as well as the historical content of the tale, see below.

ince of Ayrarat, who was a disciple of St. Ephrem, seduced the woman and so were confused [mingled] heresy with Christianity. Christ, the Sun, they say did not die and was not resurrected, and because of this they fast on Sunday. And St. Ephrem came and could not turn him away from his heresy and [so] he cursed him and left.³

The total absence of relation between the two versions emphasizes the basic problem in the attempt to retrace the history of the Paulicians. It is only with great difficulty that it is possible to achieve a partial reconciliation of the Greek and Armenian sources into a single coherent account of the sect's development. The two series of texts almost never coincide geographically or chronologically. The Armenian sources cover a much longer span of time than the Greek material, but their greatest concentration is either earlier or later than that of the Greek sources. In the ninth century, the period of Paulician political apogee in the Byzantine empire, the Armenian sources fail completely. Therefore, it will be neces-

³ See Appendix III. The version given is taken from *Matenadaran* #687 as quoted in Bart'ikyan, "Sources", 94-95. The variants of the earlier *MS.* #3681 are given by Bart'ikyan, *ibid.*, 94, nn. 2-4, and 95, nn. 1, 3, 4, 9; they are generally not significant.

A third legend concerning the origin of the Paulicians is to be found in Bulgaria; see I. Ivanov, "The Origin of the Paulicians according to Two Bulgarian Manuscripts", *Spisanie of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences*, XXIV, 13 (Sofia, 1922), 20-31; I. Iavorski, "The Legend of the Origin of the Paulicians", *Sbornik of the Division of Russian Language and Philology of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR*, CI, 3 (Leningrad, 1928), 503-507; and H. Bart'ikyan, "The Legend of the Paulician Origin in a Bulgarian Manuscript", *IANA* (1957 #1), 84-92.

According to the Bulgarian legend, the devil, disguised as a scholar (*grammaticus*) and taking the name of Pail, came to Saint Basil of Cappadocia to humiliate him and was unmasked and driven away by Saint John Chrysostom. Two of the devil's disciples named Subotin and Šutil came to Petrich in Bulgaria where, taking the pastoral names of Paul and John, they spread the heresy until St. John Chrysostom came to Bulgaria and had them flayed alive. (See Ivanov, "The Origin", 21-22, for the text of the earlier version of the story.)

This story has more to do with the coming of the Paulicians to Bulgaria, with which we are not concerned, than with the origin of the sect. The anachronistic character of the tale has been observed by all the scholars who have dealt with it. The attempt made in the tale to establish a contact between Bulgarian Paulicianism and the Byzantine tradition of the Paulician founders, Paul and John, found in source *P*, is quite evident, but the origin of the heresy is traced to the ultimate source of all evil, Satan, who is given the name of Payl or Paul. Bart'ikyan's attempt to connect the tale with Armenia seems unconvincing. The relation between the devil's disciple, Subotin, and the Armenian Heresiarch of the ninth century, Smbat, half-heartedly suggested by Ivanov, "The Origin", 30, and adopted by Bart'ikyan, "The Legend", 87, is unlikely. Even more far-fetched is the identification of the second disciple, Šutil, with the woman Šet'i of heresy #154 in *Matenadaran* #687, #3681, *ibid.*, 89. Aside from the dissimilarity of the names, and the change of sex necessary for the identification, it is quite evident that Subotin and Šutil are Slavic and not Armenian names. Subotin probably means "the child of the Sabbath (Saturday)" and Šutil "the jester", both fitting disciples for the devil.

sary to present the two series of evidence separately, before discussing their relation.

The basic text for the history of the Paulician sect within the Byzantine Empire is the historical account, source *S*, used by Peter of Sicily. Not only is this account coherent and detailed, but, as we have seen, it was partially based on a pro-Paulician history of the sect, source *A*. The other basic text on the Byzantine Paulicians, source *P*, is not of equal historical value. The concern of the author of *P* is primarily with dogma, so that his historical information is only perfunctorily included.

With two exceptions, the scanty information of *P* does not contradict the far more detailed account of *S*.⁴ The two points at which the accounts of *P* and *S* disagree serve to emphasize the historical superiority of the latter source. Grégoire observed that *P* erroneously locates the first church founded by the Heresiarch Sergius. *S*, on the contrary, relying on information obtained from Sergius himself, re-establishes the proper and logical order of Sergius' foundations.⁵

Far more important is the other discrepancy between the two accounts, since it relates to the origin of the Paulician sect. As we have seen, according to *P*, the sect was the creation of two brothers, Paul and John, the sons

⁴ The list of Paulician heresiarchs and churches given by *P* generally coincides with the account in *S* except as noted by me. There is an occasional omission of a heresiarch's name, e.g., Petrus Higumenus, III, 61-62, where Zacharias is left out of the list (see my Chapter I, n. 64e), or a condensation or simplification of *S*, but these alterations are never significant.

⁵ Grégoire, "Sources", 105. The churches are listed as follows:

Petrus Higumenus, IV, 63	Petrus Siculus, <i>Historia</i> , XXXVIII, 1297/8B
<i>P</i>	<i>S</i>
a) Laodicea-Argaous	a) Laodicea-Koinochorion
b) Ephesus-Mopsuestia	b) Ephesus-Mopsuestia
c) Colosses-Koinochorion	c) Colosses-Argaous

As Grégoire rightly points out, the list of *S* is based on the information given by Sergius himself and is the correct one. Sergius founded his first church, that of Laodicea, at Koinochorion or Kainochorion in the district of Neo-Caesarea, Grégoire, "Eglises", 513. This foundation preceded Sergius' flight to Muslim territory and was logically still on imperial lands, while the two subsequent foundations, Ephesus-Mopsuestia and Colosses-Argaous, lay in the lands of the Emir of Melitene where Sergius had sought refuge. The acceptance of *P*'s list would require a postulated return of Sergius to imperial territory for the foundation of his last church of Colosses. Not only is this hypothetical return not supported by evidence, but it is specifically contradicted by the account of Sergius' murder when he was still beyond the imperial frontier; see Petrus Siculus, *Historia*, XLI, 1301/2B. Most texts, however, including Pseudo-Photius, *Narratio*, V, 23/4AB, follow the incorrect listing of *P* (see my Chapter I, nn. 153, 174). Unless otherwise specified all the texts based on *P* are assumed to be in agreement.

of a Manichaean woman from Samosata named Kallinike, who brought their heresy to the village of Episparis in the theme of Armeniakon, whence it spread to the neighboring provinces of the Empire. The name of the Paulicians was derived from their founder, Paul, the son of Kallinike.⁶ The account of *S* is entirely different. Ignoring both Paul and John, the author attributes the origin of the sect to an Armenian from Mananali named Constantine who had learned the heretical doctrine from a Syrian deacon in the mid-seventh century.⁷

The story of Paul and John seems to be a legendary fabrication. Neither the identity nor the date of the brothers from Samosata can be established, and there is not the slightest explanation of their relation to Constantine the Armenian, whom *P* accepts as their successor.⁸ The author

⁶ This is the account found in Peter of Sicily, *Historia*, XXI, 1273/4AB, who relies on *P* for this section of his work, and in the Pseudo-Photius, *Narratio*, II, 17/8AB, for the same reason (see my Chapter I). It is interesting, however, that Pseudo-Photius at this point differs from the other texts based on *P*. For the name of the sect he suggests the awkward etymology—"Pauloioannai (Παυλοϊωάνναι)"—derived from the names of both Paul and John of Samosata, Pseudo-Photius, *Narratio*, II, 17/8B. More significantly, both he and Peter of Sicily derive the name of the sect either from the brothers from Samosata or from another, much later Paul the Armenian, a heresiarch of the early eighth century, *Narratio*, XIX, 51/2C, and *Historia*, XXVIII, 281/2D-1283/4A. See Loos, "Deux contributions à l'histoire des Pauliciens. 2. Origine du nom des Pauliciens", *Byzantinoslavica*, XVIII, 2 (1957), 202-217 (hereafter "Contributions II"). I shall return to the problem of the Paulicians' name in Chapter V, but it must be noted here that the explanation of *P* as to the origin of this name was not completely satisfactory even to Byzantine writers.

⁷ Petrus Siculus, *Historia*, XXIII, 1275/6D-1277/8AB. It is true that Peter of Sicily, *Historia*, XXVIII, 1281/2D-1283/4A, refers to Paul and John of Samosata in the historical section based on source *S*. However, it seems most likely that this reference is drawn not from *S* but from *P*. The name Episparis, which occurs in a different connection in the account of *S*, at this point brought back to Peter's mind the association of the story of Paul and John whose headquarters, according to *P*, had been Episparis. The reference back to the story of Paul and John found in the twenty-first chapter of the *History*, which is specifically based on *P*, is acknowledged in Chapter XXVIII, 1283/4A, with the words, "Ἐπίσπαριν, τὴν προλεχθεῖσαν ἡμῖν ἐν τοῖς διὰ πλάτους", which are incidentally reminiscent of the very formula used by *P*, Petrus Higuemenus, XV, 66, "καθὼς περὶ τούτων σαφέστερον ἐν τοῖς [ἄνω] διὰ πλάτους μοι λέλεκται". Pseudo-Photius mentions Paul and John at the same point, only to reject them, *Narratio*, XIX, 51/2C (see n. 6).

⁸ Petrus Higuemenus, II, 61, "Οὗτοι οἱ Παυλικιανοὶ μετὰ χρόνους τινὰς τῆς διδασκίης τοῦδε τοῦ Παύλου οὐ πολλοῦ ἕτερον ἔσχον διδάσκαλον, Κωνσταντῖνον καλούμενον". The transition is very awkward, and the various readings suggested for this passage do nothing to smooth it (see my Chapter I, n. 64b). The unconvincing introduction to the section based on *S*—"ἀλλ' ὅμως καὶ οὗτοι περὶ ὧν διηγησόμεθα, εἰ κενοφωνίας τινὰς ταῖς πρώταις ἐπισυνῆψαν αἵρέσεις, ... ἀλλὰ μαθηταὶ τῶν προηγησαμένων αἵρεσιάρχων ὑπῆρξαν γνήσιοι, καθὼς περ λεπτομερῶς δηλωθήσεται", Petrus Siculus, *Historia*, XXIII, 1275/6C—with its insistence on the relation between the

of *P* admits that the Paulicians named Constantine, and not Paul, as the founder of their sect.⁹ Furthermore, all the Byzantine sources concede that the Paulicians would willingly anathematize Mani and Paul of Samosata, but not Constantine and his successors whom they acknowledged and revered as their leaders.¹⁰ The story of Paul and John of Samosata, together with the derivation of the name "Paulicians", will have to be considered subsequently in connection with the origin of the sect both in Armenia and in the Empire. However, there is no reason to reject at this point the conclusion of Gieseler and Grégoire that the story of Paul and John is purely legendary in character, and that the historical founder of Byzantine Paulicianism was Constantine the Armenian.¹¹ Consequently, the historical account of source *S* must be considered both fuller and more accurate than the references found in source *P*, and must, therefore, constitute the basis of our historical information on the development of Paulicianism on imperial territory.

The following detailed account can be obtained from *S* alone, with the embodied *A*. The founder of the Paulician sect was a certain Armenian named Constantine from the district of Mananali, which Peter of Sicily incorrectly describes as a village in the neighborhood of Samosata.¹²

earlier and later heretics despite their doctrinal dissimilarity, does nothing to improve the verisimilitude of the earlier account. Pseudo-Photius, *Narratio*, III, 17/8B, XVI, 45/6B, also points out an inexplicable lapse of time between Paul and John and the later Constantine. In general the account of *P*, as well as that of *S*, presents a coherent whole from Constantine on; the story of Paul and John, attached to it as a preface in *P*, does not belong to it in any way and merely serves the purpose of explaining the name of the Paulicians.

⁹ Petrus Higumenus, II, 61, "Τοῦτον [Κωνσταντῖνον] οὖν ἔχουσιν ἀρχηγὸν τῶν διδασκάλων αὐτῶν, καὶ οὐχὶ τὸν Παῦλον". Pseudo-Photius, *Narratio*, III, 17/8B, 19/20A, agrees.

¹⁰ Petrus Siculus, *Historia*, XXIV, 1277/8CD: "Ὅθεν ἅπαντες οἱ νῦν περιόντες τῶν Μανιχαίων παῖδες, ... προθύμως ἀναθεματίζουσι Σκυθιανὸν, Βουδδᾶν τε καὶ Μάνεντα, τοὺς τῆς κακίας γεγονότας ἀρχηγέτας· Κωνσταντῖνον δὲ τοῦτον, ... καὶ τοὺς μετ' αὐτὸν ἀναδειχθέντας ὡς ἀποστόλους Χριστοῦ καὶ ἰσοτίμους Παύλου ἡγοῦνται". *Ibid.*, IV, 1245/6AB: "Μάνεντα καὶ τοὺς σὺν αὐτῷ μαροὺς αἰρετικούς, ἔτι δὲ καὶ Παῦλον τὸν Σαμοσατέα ἀναθεματίζουσι προθύμως". Petrus Higumenus, III, 62: "Μάνεντα τοῖνον καὶ Παῦλον καὶ Ἰωάννην, καὶ ἄλλους, οὓς ἂν τις εἴπῃ αὐτοῖς, προθύμως ἀναθεματίζουσιν· Κωνσταντῖνον δὲ ... καὶ Συμεὼν, ... [κ.τ.λ.] οὐκ ἀναθεματίζουσιν, ἀλλ' ἔχουσιν αὐτοὺς ὡς περ' Ἀποστόλους Χριστοῦ". Pseudo-Photius, *Narratio*, IV, 21/2B, *et al.* The seven leaders acknowledged by the Paulicians according to *P* are: Constantine, Symeon, Timothy, Joseph, Zacharias, Baanes, and Sergius; see Petrus Higumenus, IV, V, 62-63. Paul and John are never mentioned in this list.

¹¹ See my Chapter V for this discussion. Gieseler, "Untersuchungen", 82-85; Grégoire, "Précisions", 293-295.

¹² Petrus Siculus, *Historia*, XXIII, 1275/6D-1277/8AB; Pseudo-Photius, *Narratio* XVI, 45/6B-47/8B, *et al.* For the geography of Mananali, see my Chapter I, n. 164.

Constantine lived in the reign of the "grandson of Heraclius", that is to say, Constans II.¹³ He received his doctrine from a Syrian deacon whom he had befriended, and moved with his disciples to Kibossa in the district of Koloneia, where he founded the first Paulician church of Macedonia.¹⁴ Constantine assumed the name of Silvanus in honor of the disciple whom St. Paul had sent to Macedonia, and directed the sect for twenty-seven years. He was then killed at Koloneia by one of his disciples, Justus, during a persecution carried out by an imperial official named Symeon at the order of the Emperor Constantine IV.¹⁵

Symeon, however, was soon won over by the heretics and became their new leader. After three years' hesitation in Constantinople, to which he had returned after Constantine's death, he secretly went back to the Paulician center of Kibossa and gathered together Constantine's scattered disciples. Following the example of Constantine-Silvanus, Symeon assumed the name of another of St. Paul's disciples, Titus. At Kibossa his position was soon endangered by the opposition of Constantine's murderer, Justus, who had managed to maintain his position among some of the remaining Paulicians. After three years, news of the dissension reached the Bishop of Koloneia through Justus, and he, in turn, informed

¹³ Petrus Siculus, *Historia*, XXIII, XXIV, 1275/6D-1279/80A. The date is supported by the comment that the activity of Constantine came six hundred years after the martyrdom of St. Paul. Grégoire, "Précisions", 303, shifts the appearance of Constantine the Heresiarch to the period 662-689, which would place the beginning of the sect in the reign of Constantine IV. The main reason for this transfer is to synchronize the appearance of Constantine the Heresiarch in the Empire with the hypothetical persecution of the Paulicians in Armenia under the Kat'olikos Nersēs III (641-661). This synchronization, however, is impossible since the evidence of the "Oath" of the Council of Dvin clearly points to Nersēs II (548-557) as the opponent of Paulicianism in Armenia. There is a slight variation in the position of the Paulician chapter in the *Chronicle* of George the Monk (see my Chapter I, n. 76). Also, though the Pseudo-Photius, *Narratio* XVI, 45/6B, uses the indefinite term "ἀπόγονος (descendant) ... Ἡρακλείου", Peter is quite definite in specifying the grandson of Heraclius: "ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις Κωνσταντίνου τοῦ βασιλέως, τοῦ ἐγγονοῦ Ἡρακλείου", *Historia*. XXIII, 1275/6D, and again XXIV, 1279/80A. The reign of Constans II (641-668) therefore seems to be the correct date. It is interesting to note that the date of the Heresiarch Constantine is given by George the Monk but not by source P, since the opening sentence of the section giving the date is to be found in George the Monk but not in Peter the Higuemen; see my Chapter I, n. 66a.

¹⁴ Petrus Siculus, *Historia*, XXIII, XXIV, 1275/6A-1279/80A.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, XXIV, XXV, 1279/80. The emperor is not named in the text. If twenty-seven years are allowed for the rule of Constantine-Silvanus, his execution was most probably in the reign of Constantine IV (668-685) unless the Heresiarch began his mission at the very end of the reign of Constans II (641-668). The date given by Cedrenus, *Compendium*, I, 755-756, the thirteenth year of the rule of Constans II, would put the death of Constantine-Silvanus in 681.

the Emperor, now Justinian II. Symeon-Titus and most of his followers died in the ensuing persecution.¹⁶

A hiatus in the succession seems to have occurred at this point, since the new heresiarch was again an Armenian, the son of a certain Paul, who is not included in the lists of Paulician leaders and whose position in the sect is unclear.¹⁷ Paul fled from persecution to the village of Episparis in Phanaroia. There his son Genesisius (or Gegnesius), taking the Pauline name of Timothy, succeeded him and soon became involved in a struggle for power with his own brother, Theodore.¹⁸ During the tenure of office of Genesisius-Timothy, the Emperor, Leo III the Isaurian, alarmed by various reports about the sect, summoned the Heresiarch to Constantinople and confronted him with the Patriarch. Timothy, however succeeded in clearing himself of heretical accusations and even obtained an imperial safe-conduct back to Episparis.¹⁹ Gathering his disciples, Timothy then moved back to Constantine-Silvanus' home, Mananali, where he presumably founded the second Paulician church of Achaia.²⁰ After a long stay at Mananali, Timothy died there in the epidemic of bubonic plague which occurred in 746, having directed the Paulicians for a period of thirty years.²¹

The successors of Timothy, his son Zacharias and a foundling named Joseph, contended with each other for the leadership of the sect. Zacharias abandoned his followers during a Muslim attack and was, therefore, rejected by most Paulicians as unworthy of leadership. Joseph, however, succeeded in hoodwinking the Muslims and brought his followers back in

¹⁶ Petrus Siculus, *Historia*, XXVI-XXVII, 1279/80D-1281/2D.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, XXVIII, 1281/2D-1283/4A. There is no mention of Paul the Armenian in source P or the *Paulician Formula*. However, see Loos, "Contributions II", and below for the possibility of a mention of this Paul in the Armenian sources.

¹⁸ Petrus Siculus, *Historia*, XXVIII, 1283/4A.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, XXIX, 1283/4CD. Peter of Sicily, probably following S, presents Timothy as hoodwinking the Patriarch through his lying answers. This, however, need not have been the case; see my Chapter IV.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 1283/4D, 1297/8A. Gieseler, "Untersuchungen", 89, argued that Timothy fled to Mananali because he did not feel safe in imperial lands. Hence, he concluded that the Paulicians were in no way favored by the Iconoclastic emperors, though the contrary is repeatedly asserted by the chroniclers. The implication in the *History* is that Timothy fled because his safe-conduct had been obtained through a deceitful confession of faith.

²¹ *Ibid.*, XXIX, 1285/6A, "ὁπὸ τοῦ βουβῶνος τὸν βίον κατέστρεψεν". Pseudo-Photius, *Narratio*, XIX, 57/8A, does not mention the nature of Timothy's fatal illness but says that it occurred during an epidemic. Grégoire, "Précisions", 299, noted that the mention of the epidemic of bubonic plague in 746 in Theophanes' *Chronography* gives us the first precise date of Paulician chronology: the rule of Timothy, spanning the years 717-746.

safety to the Paulician center of Episparris, where he was enthusiastically received.²² Denounced once again to the Orthodox authorities, Joseph was forced to flee to Phrygia, where he settled for thirty years at Kortokopeion, a suburb of Antioch of Pisidia. To Joseph, who had taken the name of Epaphroditus, is attributed the founding of the third Paulician church of Philippi, whose location, however, is never specified.²³

With the successor of Joseph, Sergius-Tychicus, a man of great ability, the activity of the sect appears to have been greatly intensified. Born in a village near Tabia, in the theme of Armeniakon, Sergius was to rule the Paulicians for thirty-four years, from the reign of the Empress Irene to that of the Emperor Theophilus (801-835).²⁴ The other successor of Epaphroditus, a certain Armenian named Baanes (Vahan), seems to have been quite overshadowed by his brilliant competitor. Yet the sect was split in this period between the followers of the two leaders.²⁵ The writer of source *S*, who abhors Sergius particularly, describes in detail his incessant missionary activity, his supervision of the various Paulician communities, and his relations with contemporary heretical leaders, such as Leo the Montanist.²⁶ Following the example of his predecessors, Sergius-Tychicus founded a number of new churches; the first of these, Laodicea-Koinochorion, was still established on imperial territory. Sergius's activity, however, awakened the concern of the Emperor, who ordered an investigation by the authorities of the district of Koinochorion: Parakon-dakes, the Exarch, and Thomas, Bishop of Neo-Caesarea.²⁷ The per-

²² Petrus Siculus, *Historia*, XXX-XXXI, 1265/6. Peter confuses the issue by calling Joseph rather than Zacharias the unworthy hireling, but this is probably a distortion to blacken the name of the leader acknowledged by the majority of the Paulicians. See my Chapter I, n. 150. Pseudo-Photius, *Narratio*, XX, 57/8A-59/60, has a more coherent account of Zacharias' defection.

²³ Petrus Siculus, *Historia*, XXXI, 1285/6D-1287/8A, XXXVIII, 1297/8A; Grégoire, "Eglises", 511, and "Précisions", 303, is of the opinion that the Church of Philippi was at Antioch of Pisidia. This seems likely, since it was founded by Joseph-Epaphroditus ca. 753.

²⁴ Petrus Siculus, *Historia*, XXXII, 1287/8, XXXVI, 1293/4. Peter gives the impossible date of A.O.C. 6303 (A.D. 795) for the death of Sergius, *ibid.*, XLI, 1301/2B, though he correctly dates Sergius' activity as being 800 years after St. Paul, XXXVI, 1293/4B. Pseudo-Photius, *Narratio*, XXV, 79/80C, gives the correct date, A.O.C. 6343 (A.D. 835), though he places Sergius' activity 700 years after that of St. Paul, *ibid.*, XXII, 69/70C. See Hönigsmann, *Ostgrenze*, 51, and 51, n. 8, map II, for the location of Tabia (Nefesköe) ca. 39°50' × 34°30'.

²⁵ Petrus Siculus, *Historia*, XXXI, 1287/8A, XL, 1299/1300.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, XXXVI, 1293/4. The letters of Sergius quoted by Peter indicate the breadth of the Heresiarch's activity: XXXVI, 1297/8B, XXXVII, 1295/6—to the church of Koloneia; XXXVIII, 1297/8AB, XXXIX, 1297/8CD-1299/1300A—to Leo the Montanist; XXXIX, 1299/1300A.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, XLI, 1301/2A; Grégoire, "Précisions", 297-298, locates Koinochorion

secution provoked the murder of both imperial officials, and Sergius was forced to take refuge in the domain of the Arab Emir of Melitene, who settled him and his followers at Argaios, some thirty kilometers due north of Melitene.²⁸ In this district Sergius founded the last Paulician churches, Ephesus-Mopsuestia and Colosses-Argaios, and led raids on imperial territory in conjunction with the Muslims until his murder in 835.²⁹

At the death of Sergius, a major change seems to have taken place in the government of the sect. Violence broke out between the followers of Sergius and those of Baanes. The intervention of one of Sergius' disciples, Theodotus, prevented the total extermination of the Baaniotes, but the sect remained leaderless. It was ruled jointly by a group of Sergius' followers for a period of years, until the accession of Karbeas.³⁰ With the immediate succession to Sergius, however, source *S* comes to an end, so that the accounts of Peter of Sicily and the Pseudo Photius become unreliable.³¹ *P* likewise knows nothing of the last Paulician leaders, for

(Kainochorion) in the district of Neo-Caesarea. Hönigmann, *Ostgrenze*, map II, also places Koloneia (Şebinkarahisar) ca. 38°35' × 40°10' in the general neighborhood of Neo-Caesarea. The entire district was evidently riddled with Paulicianism.

²⁸ Petrus Siculus, *Historia*, XLI, 1301/2B; Hönigmann, *Ostgrenze* 56, map II: Melitene (Malatya), ca. 38°27' × 38°15', Argaios (Argawa), 38°40' × 38°15'; see also J. Anderson, "The Road System of Eastern Asia Minor", *JHS*, XVII (1897), 27, and 27, n. 5.

²⁹ Petrus Siculus, *Historia*, XXXVI, 1293/4CD, XLI, 1301/2BC. See n. 5 for the location of Sergius' churches.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, XL, 1299/1300CD, XLI, 1301/2C; see below for the date of Karbeas' leadership.

H. Bart'ikyan, "On the Organization of the Paulician Community", *Historico-philological Journal of the Academy of Sciences of the Armenian SSR* (1958 #3), 183-187, attempts to reconstruct the structure of the sect. He postulates two leaders, one religious, the other military. He further argues that the religious leader was elected by his immediate disciples, the *synekdemoi* (συνεκδημοί) or missionaries who also appointed their own subordinates, the notaries (νοταριοί). The military leader, who was probably independent of the religious one, was elected by the entire community. Finally he considers that the *Astatoi* (Ἀστατοί) were a special group of military missionaries. We have no evidence for the dual leadership postulated by Bart'ikyan in the medieval sources, and though *synekdemoi* and notaries are mentioned by source *P*, Petrus Higumenus, XIV, 66, and Petrus Siculus, *Historia*, XLI, 1301/2C, and the aggressive qualities of the *Astatoi* are demonstrated by the murder of the imperial Exarch and of the Bishop of Neo-Caesarea, *ibid.*, XLI, 1301/2A, we have no evidence whatever for their functions beyond the fact that the first two groups were "priests", or of their relations to one another.

³¹ *Ibid.*, XLII, XLIII, 1301/2C-1303/4B, tells us merely that Karbeas appeared, without any explanation of his origin or claim to the leadership of the sect. He further informs us that Karbeas shifted the Paulician center from Argaios to Tephrikē on the upper Euphrates. Of Chrysocheir, he says no more than that he was Karbeas' son-in-law

whose careers we must rely on the information provided by the chroniclers.³²

Before turning to the later history of the Paulician state under Karbeas and Chrysocheir, we must, however, consider the extent to which the account of *S* is supported by the evidence of the various other sources. As we have seen, the names of the heresiarchs and churches given by *S* coincide with those found in *P* and in the official *Abjuration Formulae*.³³ Most of the sites mentioned in the history of the Paulicians have been identified by Grégoire, who has also demonstrated the accuracy of *S* on the basis of these documents.³⁴

Let us now consider the evidence of the Byzantine chroniclers. For the period of Paulician history covered by source *S*, the information found in the chronicles generally supports the more detailed narrative of *S*, though the surviving references are not nearly as complete as we might desire. The names of Sergius and his predecessors are unknown to the chroniclers, who refer specifically only to Karbeas and Chrysocheir. Nor

and his own contemporary. Pseudo-Photius, *Narratio*, XXVI-XXVII, 81/2A-83/4C, gives a more circumstantial but not a more informative account. Both authors, writing almost a century after the events, were ill-informed of the actual facts (see my Chapter I).

³² Petrus Higumenus, III-IV, 62-63, and the *Paulician Formula*, 454, stop with Sergius. *Manichaean Formula*, 1467/8, suggests a break after Sergius. Theophylactus, *Letter*, 366-367, also stops with Sergius, anathematizing in addition to him those who associate with or welcome the heretics; see my Chapter I, n. 68.

³³ Petrus Higumenus, III, 61-62 (omitting Zacharias), IV, 62-63 (including Zacharias). *Paulician Formula*, anathema IX, 454, lists the heresiarchs by their pastoral names, i.e., Silvanus, Titus, Timothy, Epaphroditus, Tychicus. The *Manichaean Formula*, III, 1467/8A, gives the entire list, including Zacharias and the names of Sergius' disciples found in source *S*. Theophylactus, *Letter*, 366-367, giving the same list, includes even Paul the Armenian, the father of Genesius and Theodore. See n. 5 for the error in the listing of the Paulician Churches.

³⁴ Grégoire, "Eglises", 511-514, "Précisions", 295-297, 301, 303-304. See nn. 13, 15, 21, for a discussion of Grégoire's early chronology. We do not know the length of the rule of Paul the Armenian after the death of Titus. The first definite date as shown by Grégoire is the rule of Timothy, 717-746, which would coincide with the reign of Leo III. The rule of Sergius, 801-835, is also correctly given as lying between the reigns of Irene and Theophilus. All the synchronisms between Paulician history and the reigns of the Byzantine emperors are quite correct:

654-681 Constantine-Silvanus	Constans II, Constantine IV
684-687 Symeon-Titus	Justinian II
? Paul the Armenian	Philippicus? (see nn. 36, 78)
717-746 Genesius-Timothy	Leo III
ca. 747-783 Joseph Epaphroditus	No emperor mentioned (Constantine V)
post 783 Baanes	
801-835 Sergius Tychicus	Irene—Theophilus

are the persecutions of Constantine IV and Justinian II, in which Constantine-Silvanus and Symeon-Titus lost their lives, recorded. However, the sect may not have been of sufficient importance in this period to have attracted the attention of official historians.³⁵

In the beginning of the eighth century the Emperor Philippicus (711-713) is said to have driven Armenians out of the Empire and forced them to settle in Melitene and Armenia IV. It is quite possible that this passage refers not to a deportation of Armenians, for which there is no evidence, but to the persecution of Paulicians from which Paul the Armenian fled. It is true that Paul is said to have gone to Episparis in Phanaroia, but, as Bart'ikyan observes, Melitene was a Paulician center in the mid-eighth century, and the cooperation of the "Armenians" from Melitene with the Arabs, noted by the sources, is characteristic of Paulicians in both the eighth and the ninth centuries.³⁶

With the middle of the eighth century the silence of the chroniclers on the Paulicians is definitely broken. The first reference, in the case of the Emperor Leo III, is not clear; he may have been accused of favoring Paulicians.³⁷ In any case, such an accusation is clearly made concerning his son and successor, Constantine. Not only does Theophanes relate that in the year 747 Constantine V moved Paulicians from Armenia to Thrace in order to strengthen the Bulgarian frontier with a reliable popu-

³⁵ The period of development of Paulicianism in the Empire, the seventh and eighth centuries, is one of particular poverty in Byzantine historiography. The first important works, such as the histories of the Patriarch Nicephorus and Theophanes Confessor, date from the beginning of the ninth century.

³⁶ Bart'ikyan, "Paulician Movement", 127. It is true that Theophanes, *Chronographia*, I, 382, does not mention heresy in connection with this deportation by Philippicus, but he derives the spread of Paulicianism from the Armenians of the region of Melitene in 747; *ibid.*, I, 429, "ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς Κωνσταντῖνος Σύρους τε καὶ Ἀρμενίου, οὓς ἤγαγεν ἀπὸ Θεοδοσιουπόλεως καὶ Μελιτηνῆς, εἰς τὴν Θράκην μετέφικισεν, ἐξ ὧν ἐπλάτυνθη ἡ αἵρεσις τῶν Παυλικιάνων"; see below. Further, as Bart'ikyan also notes, Michael the Syrian, *Chronique*, II, 482, speaks of the alliance of the Armenians from Melitene with the Arabs. The cooperation of the Paulicians with the Arabs in the early eighth century is confirmed by John of Ojun (see n. 99), and the protection given to the heretics by the Emir of Melitene is attested by both source *S* (see p. 120) and the chroniclers (see p. 128 nn. 50 and 60).

³⁷ Stephanus Diaconus, "In vitam et martyrium beatissimi et sancti martyris Stephani Junioris, qui martyrium subiit sub impio Iconocausta imperatore Constantino Copronyma", *PG*, C (1860), 1083/4, "ὁ νέος οὗτος Βαλτάσαρ [Λέων] αἵρεσιν ἐμπνεῖ τῇ Ἐκκλησίᾳ Μανιχαϊκὴν, τάχα, ἵν' εἰπῶ τι, καὶ τῶν Ἀφθαρτοδοκητῶν ἐφάμιλλον". This may be no more than an accusation of Iconoclasm, though see my Chapter V for the implications of the term "Manichaean" at Constantinople in the eighth century; George the Monk, *Chronicon*, 798, accuses Leo III and Constantine V of having derived their heresy from the Manichaeans.

lation,³⁸ but Cedrenus says the heretics were even settled in the capital,³⁹ and George the Monk accuses the Emperor himself of being a Paulician.⁴⁰ This favor shown to the sectarians during the early period of Iconoclasm would explain Genesis' successful trip to Constantinople in the reign of Leo III and his return to Episparis armed with the imperial safe-conduct. Source *S* mentions no imperial persecution during the long rules of Genesis and Joseph, which coincide with the reigns of the Isaurian emperors.⁴¹

In the second period of Iconoclasm at Constantinople, the situation became more complicated. Nicephorus I was considered by Theophanes to have shared the beliefs of the Paulicians. He restored them to full civil rights, which they had presumably lost during the Orthodox reaction under Irene, and allowed them to live peacefully within the Empire and to spread their doctrine.⁴² This period of peace coincides with the early

³⁸ Theophanes Confessor, *Chronographia*, I, 429. This movement of population was noted by Nicephorus Patriarcha, *Breviarium*, 975/6B; George the Monk, *Chronicon*, 752, etc. (see my Chapter I, nn. 21, 77, and III, n. 36). J. Martin, *A History of the Iconoclastic Controversy* (London, n.d.), 277, suggests that the population transplanted by Constantine V was merely Monophysite, since neither Nicephorus nor George the Monk mentions Paulicians. There seems to be no doubt that some Paulicians were included in the group, in view of Theophanes' specific assertion that, "ἐξ ὧν ἐπλάτυνθη ἡ αἵρεσις τῶν Παυλικιάνων".

There is no suggestion that this transfer of population was in any way punitive; the Emperor, concerned with the Bulgarian war, wished merely to resettle and strengthen the frontier; see next note. The Armenian historian, Lewond, *History*, 123, 126, tells that the population of Theodosiopolis begged Constantine V to take them with him and save them from the Muslims.

³⁹ Cedrenus, *Compendium* II, 10, "Τῷ αὐτῷ ἔτει Κωνσταντῖνος τὴν Θεοδοσιούπολιν παρέλαβεν ἅμα τῇ Μελιτηνῇ, αἰχμαλωτίσας πάντας τοὺς ἐκεῖσε. καὶ προφάσει τοῦ θανατικοῦ προσλαβόμενος τοὺς συγγενεῖς αὐτοῦ Ἀρμενίους καὶ Σύρους αἰρετικούς εἰς τὸ Βυζάντιον μετέκισε καὶ τὴν Θράκην· οἱ μέχρι τοῦ νῦν τὴν αἵρεσιν τοῦ τυράννου διακρατοῦσιν. ὅφ' ὧν καὶ ἐπλάτυνθη ἡ αἵρεσις τῶν Παυλικιάνων". See also the fifth year of the reign, *ibid.*, 7. The passage is obviously taken from Theophanes (see n. 36) and is late in date, but the stress on Constantine's favoring of the Paulicians is unmistakable. The suggestion that the heretics were the relatives of the Emperor is not found in Theophanes, but George the Monk goes still further; see next note.

⁴⁰ Georgius Monachus, *Chronicon*, 750; see my Chapter V, n. 92, for the text of this passage.

⁴¹ The relation of Paulicianism to Iconoclasm will be discussed in my Chapters IV and V. See below, p. 138, nn. 111-115, for a possible explanation of the persecution which drove Joseph-Epaphroditus from Episparis to Antioch of Pisidia.

⁴² Theophanes, *Chronographia*, I, 488, "τῶν δὲ Μανιχαίων, τῶν νῦν Παυλικιάνων καλουμένων, καὶ Ἀθιγγάνων τῶν κατὰ Φρυγίαν καὶ Λυκαονίαν, ἀγχιγεϊτόνων αὐτοῦ, φίλος ἦν διάπυρος, χρησιμοῖς καὶ τελεταῖς αὐτῶν ἐπιχαίρων, ... οὗτοι χώραν ἔλαβον ἐπὶ τῇ βασιλείᾳ αὐτοῦ ἀφόβως πολιτεύεσθαι καὶ πολλοὶ τῶν κουφοτέρων ταῖς ἀθεμίτοις αὐτῶν διεφθάρησαν δόξαις"; Cedrenus, *Compendium*, II, 39, repeats this passage.

missionary activity of Sergius-Tychicus and his founding of the church of Laodicaea-Koinochorion in the district of Neo-Caesarea.

With the accession of Michael I Rangabe, however, the benevolent policy of the preceding period was sharply reversed. The Emperor was persuaded by the Patriarch Nicephorus to institute a violent persecution:

... moved by divine zeal, the most pious emperor decreed the death penalty against the Manichaeans now called Paulicians ...⁴³

Leo, general of Anatolikon, the future Emperor Leo V, was sent to carry out the imperial decree whereby many Paulicians were executed.⁴⁴ The part played by Leo in the persecution of Michael I explains the assertion of *S* that both Michael and Leo had persecuted Paulicians, as we have no evidence of any anti-Paulician activity during the actual reign of Leo V.⁴⁵ The persecution itself, which resulted in the murder of the Exarch and the Bishop of Neo-Caesarea and the subsequent flight of Sergius to the Emir of Melitene, is duly recorded by *S*.

The settlement of Sergius at Argaios and his raiding activities on the border districts of the Empire noted by *S* mark the beginning of a serious Paulician threat. It is also the first step in the establishment of the Paulician state on the upper Euphrates. The disaffection of the Paulicians was caused by Michael I's persecution and apparently continued unceasingly. *S* tells that Sergius continued his warlike activities to his death, and the chroniclers, while accusing Michael II of favoring the heretics,⁴⁶ record the presence of Paulicians in the rebellious army of Thomas the Slav.⁴⁷ The position of Paulicians in the early ninth century remained

⁴³ Theophanes, *Chronographia*, I, 495, "ζῆλῳ δὲ θεοῦ πολλῶν κινήσεις ὁ εὐσεβέστατος βασιλεὺς κατὰ Μανιχαίων, τῶν νῦν Παυλικιάνων, καὶ Ἀθιγγάνων τῶν ἐν Φρυγίᾳ καὶ Λυκαονίᾳ, κεφαλικὴν τιμωρίαν ἀποφηνάμενος ταῖς Νικηφόρου, τοῦ ἁγιωτάτου πατριάρχου, καὶ ἄλλων εὐσεβῶν εἰσηγήσεσιν ...". J. Alexander, *The Patriarch Nicephorus of Constantinople* (Oxford, 1958), 227, says that the Patriarch was forced by the Studites to back down in this matter and cease to urge the death penalty.

⁴⁴ Theophanes, *Chronographia*, I, 497, "τοὺς δὲ Ἀθιγγάνους δημεύσας" ἐξορίᾳ παραδίδωκεν διὰ Λέοντος, τοῦ στρατηγοῦ τῶν ἀνατολικῶν". Though the Paulicians are not specifically mentioned, they are associated with the Athinganoi in this period; see the two preceding notes. *Ibid.*, I, 495, "... ὁ εὐσεβὴς βασιλεὺς Μιχαὴλ οὐκ ὀλίγους αὐτῶν ἀπέτεμεν".

⁴⁵ Petrus Siculus, *Historia*, XLI, 1299/1300-1301/2A, "Ἰδὼν δὲ Μιχαὴλ ὁ εὐσεβὴς βασιλεὺς, ὁ Ἀβούας, καὶ Λέων ὁ μετ' αὐτὸν βασιλεύσας, ὅτι πολὺ μέρος τῶν Χριστιανῶν ἢ τοιαύτη αἵρεσις ἐλυμήνατο, ἐκπέμψαντες κατὰ παντός τόπου τῆς Ῥωμιαικῆς ἀρχῆς, τοὺς εὐρισκομένους ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ μυσαρᾷ αἵρεσει ἀπέκτενον".

⁴⁶ Theophanes Continuatus, *Chronographia*, 42-44; Genesis, *Regum*, 31-32; Cedrenus, *Compendium*, II, 69-71; Ephraem, "Chronologi Caesares", PG, CXLIII (1865), 93/4A.

⁴⁷ Genesis, *Regum*, 33, "ποιεῖται τοίνυν σπονδὰς μετ' Ἀγαρηνῶν ... καὶ ὅσοι τῆς

precarious. The Abbot Macarius of Pelecleles, thrown into prison at the accession of Theophilus (829) on account of his Iconodule beliefs, found there a number of Paulicians condemned to death, though we cannot tell whether the condemnation stemmed from the Paulicians' religious beliefs or simply from their rebellious activities.⁴⁸

The description given by the chroniclers of Paulician activity in the reigns of Michael II and Theophilus is the last Greek information pertinent to our evaluation of source *S*, which ends in this period. It is regrettable, though understandable, that the chroniclers ignored the obscure beginnings of the Paulicians in the Empire. However, the corroboration of the official documents of the lists of heresiarchs and the general agreement between *S* and the chroniclers from the reign of Leo III on, all support the authenticity of *S*'s account.

It seems clear from all sources that the Paulician sect, founded on imperial territory in the mid-seventh century by an Armenian refugee, survived early persecution and flourished under the Isaurian emperors. The persecution by Michael I in the early ninth century, however, threw the sect into open rebellion. The return of Iconoclasm under Leo V and the early emperors of the Amorian dynasty, Michael II and Theophilus, could not undo the harm of their predecessor. The Paulicians continued to cooperate with the enemies of Byzantium, both internal ones such as Thomas the Slav, and external ones such as the Emir of Melitene. By the second quarter of the century a threatening Paulician state was established on the eastern frontier of the Empire.

The history of the Paulician state in the mid-ninth century under the leadership of Karbeas and Chrysocheir is amply recorded by the chroniclers, though we no longer possess sources specifically concerned with the Paulicians for this period.⁴⁹ The date of Karbeas' assumption of

Μάνεντος [Παυλικιανῶν] βδελυρίας μετείχον"; Theophanes Continuatus, *Chronographia*, 55., Lipshits, "Paulician Movement", 58, and Iuzbashian, "Paulician Movement", 260, make much of this fact as evidence of the proletarian nature of the Paulician movement, but Thomas had a number of Oriental allies of varied character.

⁴⁸ Delahaye, "Macarius of Pelecleles", 159, 14; Vasil'ev, *Amorian Dynasty*, 230, but in appendix viii, 433, the episode is incorrectly put into the reign of Michael III and Theodora by Germaine Louillet. The latest possible date for Macarius' conversion of the condemned Paulicians would be the very beginning of Theophilus' reign, since the conversion preceded Macarius' own exile, which occurred very soon after Theophilus' accession.

⁴⁹ Both sources *P* and *S* end before Karbeas' accession. The *Paulician Formula* also ignores him, as for the accounts of Peter of Sicily and Pseudo-Photius, they agree generally with the information of the chroniclers, but are much too vague to be of any value.

leadership, however, still remains problematical. Theophanes Continuatus gives a detailed account of Karbeas' early career. According to him, the re-establishment of Orthodoxy in 843 under the Emperor Michael III and his mother, Theodora, was followed by intensified repressive measures against the Paulicians. A violent persecution in the eastern provinces under the supervision of Sudalis, Argyros, and Dukas, resulted in some hundred thousand deaths and confiscations.⁵⁰ One of the results of this persecution was the flight of a Paulician staff officer of the general of Anatolikon, Theodotus Melissenus, one Karbeas. This Karbeas, whose father had been crucified, took refuge with five thousand of his coreligionists in the lands of the Emir of Melitene, who received him with honor and granted him sufficient land on the upper Euphrates to build the cities of Argaios, Amara and subsequently Tephrikē.⁵¹ It would seem then that the flight of Karbeas to Muslim territory immediately followed the re-establishment of Orthodoxy in 843. The existence of a seemingly contradictory document has, however, led Bury, followed by Vasil'ev, to question the date of Karbeas' defection.⁵²

One version of the *Vita of the Forty-two Martyrs of Amorium*, composed ca. 845-846, tells us that Callistus, the governor of Koloneia appointed by Theophilus, tried to convert some of his soldiers who were Paulicians. These betrayed him to their coreligionist Karbeas, who then sent Callistus to the Muslims at Samarra to die with the Amorian martyrs on March 6, 845.⁵³ Since Callistus had been appointed by Theophilus, and Amorium had fallen on August 12/13, 838, Bury and Vasil'ev concluded that

⁵⁰ Theophanes Continuatus, *Chronographia*, 165, "... καὶ τοὺς κατὰ τὴν ἀνατολὴν Παυλικιανούς ἐπειρᾶτο μετὰγειν ὡς βούλοιντο πρὸς εὐσεβείαν ἢ ἐξαιρεῖν καὶ ἀπ' ἀνθρώπων ποιεῖν· ὁ καὶ πολλῶν κακῶν τὴν ἡμετέραν ἐνέπλησεν. ἡ μὲν γὰρ πέμψασά τινας τῶν ἐπ' ἐξουσίας (ὁ τοῦ Ἀργυροῦ καὶ τοῦ Δουκὸς καὶ ὁ Σουδάλης οἱ ἀποσταλέντες ἐλέγοντο) τοὺς μὲν ξύλῳ ἀνήρτων, τοὺς δὲ ξίφει παρεδίδουν, τοὺς δὲ τῷ τῆς θαλάσσης βυθῷ. ὥσει δέκα μυριάδες ὁ οὕτως ἀπολλύμενος ἠριθμεῖτο λαός, καὶ ἡ ὑπαρξίς αὐτῶν τῷ βασιλικῷ ταμιεῖω ... ἦγετο καὶ εἰσεκομίζετο". See also Cedrenus, *Compendium*, II, 154.

⁵¹ Theophanes Continuatus, *Chronographia*, 165-166; Hönigmann, *Ostgrenze*, 55-56, map II, Tephrikē (Abrik), 38°5' × 39°20'; Le Strange, "Al-Abrik", 733 ff.

⁵² J. B. Bury, *A History of the Eastern Roman Empire* (London, 1912), 277, n. 5. Vasil'ev, *Amorian Dynasty*, 229-230, and 229, n. 4. Grégoire, "Précisions", 303, dates Karbeas' flight ca. 838.

⁵³ *Martyrs of Amorium*, 29 ff., Leo Grammaticus, *Chronographia*, 224, Georgius Monachus Continuatus, *Vitae*, 805, Symeon Magister, *Chronographia*, 638-639, all know of the martyrdom of Callistus together with the martyrs of Amorium, but they do not mention the intervention of Karbeas. See Bury, *The Eastern Roman Empire*, 271, for the date of the martyrdom. It is interesting to see that in the ninth century Koloneia was still a Paulician center, as had been observed by source S in an earlier period.

Karbeas' flight was to be dated in the reign of Theophilus (829-842).⁵⁴ This conclusion is not, however, beyond challenge. The account of Theophanes Continuatus is both coherent and detailed. He specifies the names and places of the personages in question. Karbeas is identified as the *protomandator* of the general of Anatolikon, whose name is also specifically given as Theodotus Melissenus. The betrayal of Karbeas cannot have taken place during the Amorion campaign at the end of Theophilus' reign, since the general of Anatolikon on this expedition was not Theodotus Melissenus, but the Patrician Aetius, who was to be one of the forty-two martyrs.⁵⁵ More particularly, we know that Callistus was to die in 845 with the Amorion martyrs, but there is no indication that he was an original member of that group. On the contrary, as Vasil'ev himself acknowledges, Callistus was added to the Amorion captives already at Samarra at a later date and shared their martyrdom only because he was equally steadfast in his faith.⁵⁶ Finally, a later date for Karbeas' flight can best be reconciled with the evidence of source *S*. We know from this text that Sergius died in 835 and that the sect was ruled for some time by his successors. The names of these successors are listed in full by *S*, but Karbeas is not among them, nor had he become the leader of the Paulicians by the time the author of *S* composed his narrative. Therefore, a date before 835 for Karbeas' leadership would contradict the evidence of *S* as to Sergius' rule, and the period 835-838, before the fall of Amorion, seems too short for the quarrels of the successors of Sergius and their reconciliation, their reorganization of the sect, and the composition of source *S*.⁵⁷ Consequently, the chronology of Theophanes seems the most reasonable. The frightful persecution by Theodora drove Karbeas from the Empire, probably late in 843 or early in 844, so that he would have been in a position to send Callistus to Samarra before the beginning of 845.⁵⁸

The establishment of the Paulicians on the upper Euphrates was a

⁵⁴ See n. 52. For the date of the capture of Amorion, see Bury, *The Eastern Roman Empire*, 267, n. 1, and Vasil'ev, *Amorian Dynasty*, 170, n. 3.

⁵⁵ Theophanes Continuatus, *Chronographia*, 126, et al. Vasil'ev, *Amorian Dynasty*, 147, 147, n. 1, 170-171. The account of Theophanes is corroborated by Cedrenus, *Compendium*, II, 153 ff.

⁵⁶ Vasil'ev, *Amorian Dynasty*, 171; Leo Grammaticus, *Chronographia*, 224; Georgius Monachus Continuatus, *Vitae*, 805; Symeon Magister, *Chronographia*, 639.

⁵⁷ The absence of any mention of Karbeas in source *P*, which stops with Sergius, also argues against an early date for his appearance.

⁵⁸ The persecution by Theodora is confirmed by George the Monk, *Chronicon*, 802. We know that the Zelikians, a sect with beliefs similar to those of the Paulicians, were converted to Orthodoxy under Theodora; see Nicetas Choniates, *Thesaurus*, 281/2-283/4.

direct threat to the imperial power. Though Karbeas shifted his capital from Argaous to Tephrikē further north, he still cooperated with the Muslims in their raids, and a continuous state of war existed between the Paulicians and the Empire. A punitive expedition conducted by the Domestic Petronas successfully reached the district of Tephrikē, which was devastated in 856.⁵⁹ The first campaign of the young Michael III against Samosata in 859 may possibly have had a favorable outcome, though the Byzantine sources speak of the outstanding success of Karbeas and of Michael's narrow escape from capture at the hands of the Paulicians.⁶⁰ In the following year, however, Karbeas led a successful raid against the Byzantine Empire, and he probably accompanied his ally, Omar of Melitene, on the great expedition which captured Amisus on the Black Sea.⁶¹

The outstanding victory of Poson in 863 temporarily re-established Byzantine military prestige in the East, and Karbeas was probably killed during the campaign, since we know that he died in 863-864.⁶² However, the period of respite for the Empire was brief. Karbeas was succeeded by another ex-officer of the imperial army, Chrysocheir, sometimes identified as his nephew and son-in-law.⁶³ The war between the Paulicians of Tephrikē and the Empire entered into its final phase. At the beginning of the reign of Basil I, the Macedonian, the Paulician military power seems to have reached its apogee. Emboldened by Basil's difficulties in the West, Chrysocheir in a major raid reached across Asia Minor to the cities of Nicaea and Nicomedia, sacked the coastal city of Ephesus,⁶⁴ and returned an insulting message to the conciliatory embassy sent by Basil, probably in 869-870.⁶⁵ The first retaliatory campaign in 871, led by the Emperor in person, ended in disaster. Though the district of Tephrikē-

⁵⁹ Theophanes Continuatus, *Chronographia*, 166-167; Ṭabarī, "Annals", in Vasil'ev, *Amorian Dynasty*, 318-319; also Vasil'ev, *ibid.*, 231-234.

⁶⁰ Genesisius, *Regum*, 91-93; Theophanes Continuatus, *Chronographia*, 176-177. Vasil'ev, *Amorian Dynasty*, 235-236, and 235, n. 3, is, however, of the opinion that this campaign was successful for the Empire and that the accounts of the chroniclers are distorted as a part of the propaganda to blacken Michael's name during the Macedonian dynasty.

⁶¹ Ṭabarī, "Annals", *Amorian Dynasty*, 320; Vasil'ev, *ibid.*, 246, 250, and 250, n. 2; also Qudāma in Vasil'ev, *ibid.*, 232, n. 2.

⁶² Mas'ūdī, *Les Prairies d'or*, ed. and transl. Barbier de Maynard (Paris, 1861-1877), viii, 75. Karbeas died A.H. 249 (A.D. 863-864); see Vasil'ev, *Amorian Dynasty*, 256, and 256, n. 2.

⁶³ Mas'ūdī, *Prairies d'or*, viii, 75; Genesisius, *Regum*, 121.

⁶⁴ Genesisius, *Regum*, 121; Vasil'ev, *Macedonian Dynasty*, 25-26.

⁶⁵ Genesisius, *Regum*, 121-122, puts the embassy two years before Chrysocheir's last campaign of 872. Vasil'ev, *Macedonian Dynasty*, 26-29; this is Peter of Sicily's presumed mission (see my Chapter I).

Argaous was devastated by the imperial army—Genesius tells us that Chrysocheir was terrified and many Paulicians fled to Syria—the Paulician capital could not be taken, and Basil himself narrowly escaped capture by the enemy.⁶⁶ Chrysocheir, losing no time, launched a second raid the same year and apparently reached Ancyra in the Charsinian theme.⁶⁷ Nevertheless, he seems to have underestimated the power of the Empire at this point. Basil had decided to achieve a final solution of the Paulician problem. A second campaign, led by the Emperor's son-in-law, the Domestic Christophorus, brought about a total rout of the Paulician military might. Tephrikē fell to the imperial troops, and Chrysocheir, identified by a renegade named Pullades, was murdered in flight.⁶⁸ Basil returned in triumph to the capital to receive the victor's crown from the Patriarch. The effective control by the Paulicians on the upper Euphrates was at an end.⁶⁹

... Such an ending had the affair of Chrysocheir and the flourishing power of Tephrikē, with the assistance of God, who had been propitiated by the numerous prayers of the blessed emperor Basil.⁷⁰

⁶⁶ Georgius Monachus Continuatus, *Vitae*, 841, Leo Grammaticus, *Chronographia*, 255, Symeon Magister, *Chronographia*, 690, give the date as the fifth year of Basil's reign, i.e., 871. Theophanes Continuatus, *Chronographia*, 266-267, tries to minimize the defeat of Basil by running the two campaigns together. See Genesius, *Regum*, 121; Vasil'ev, *Macedonian Dynasty*, 30; also J. Anderson, "The Campaign of Basil I against the Paulicians in 872 A.D.," *Classical Review*, X, (1876), 137.

⁶⁷ Genesius, *Regum*, 122; Theophanes Continuatus, *Chronographia*, 271-272; Vasil'ev, *Macedonian Dynasty*, 31.

⁶⁸ Georgius Monachus Continuatus, *Vitae*, 841, is the only source which names Christophorus; all the other speak merely of the Domestic. Theophanes Continuatus, *Chronographia*, 272-276; Cedrenus, *Compendium* II, 209-212. Genesius, *Regum*, 122-126, erroneously attributes the leadership of the expedition to Basil I rather than to his son-in-law and ascribes the destruction of Tephrikē to an earthquake. The date of the second expedition is given by Georgius Monachus Continuatus, *Vitae*, 841, as the year after the first one, i.e., 872. Tabarī, "Annals", *Macedonian Dynasty*, 6, gives the year of Chrysocheir's death as A.H. 258 (A.D. 871-872).

Anderson, "The Campaign of Basil I", 137-139, suggests that the campaign of 872 merely devastated the district of Tephrikē and failed to take the capital. This would necessitate a third expedition to end the Paulician War. Such a campaign is not indicated by the sources and would push the death of Chrysocheir beyond the date given by Tabarī. Also the triumphal coronation of Basil by the Patriarch seems more suited to the end of the war than to the completion of a successful campaign. Iuzbashian, "Paulician Movement", 266, n. 79, is of the opinion that Chrysocheir died before the destruction of Tephrikē. The exact details of Basil's Paulician Wars are still by no means clear; see Vasil'ev, *Macedonian Dynasty*, 31-34, also 42-43.

⁶⁹ Theophanes Continuatus, *Chronographia*, 271, 267-268. For the surrender of the other fortresses of the Paulicians, see Vasil'ev, *Macedonian Dynasty*, 31-32.

⁷⁰ Theophanes Continuatus, *Chronographia*, 276, "καὶ τὰ μὲν κατὰ τὸν Χρυσόχειρα καὶ τὴν ἀνθοῦσαν τότε δύναμιν τῆς Τεφρικῆς τοιοῦτον τὸ τέλος ἐδέξατο συνεργεῖα θεοῦ, ταῖς πολλαῖς ἱκεσίαις καμψθέντος Βασιλείου τοῦ εὐσεβῶς βασιλεύοντος".

The Paulician survivors appear to have fled to the south-east, where they were to harass the Empire in the region of Tarsus in Cilicia.⁷¹ In the late tenth century they were still numerous in Syria so that the Patriarch of Antioch urged the Emperor John I Tsimisces to deport them to Philippopolis in Bulgaria,⁷² where they continued to be centered in the days of Anna Comnena.⁷³ The memory of Karbeas and Chrysocheir, and their association with the Muslims, passed into folklore. They appear in the national epic, *Digenes Akrites*, but their historical rôle was completely forgotten.⁷⁴ With the destruction of Tephrikē the history of the Paulicians within the imperial provinces of the East comes to an end, and the subsequent history of the sect must be sought in the Balkans or beyond the Euphrates in its homeland of Armenia.⁷⁵

The information of the Armenian sources is by no means as explicit as that of the Greek authorities. The scant historical information which is to be obtained from the Armenian legend quoted at the beginning of this chapter has in the main been extracted by Bart'ikyan. Analyzing the name of the sect, "K'alirt'akan or bloodthirsty", of heresy #153 and the name of the heretic woman, Šet'i, of heresy #154, he noted their resemblance to the name of the river K'alirt', called Šidma or Šit'it'ma in Arabic (now the Batmansuyu, a tributary of the Tigris).⁷⁶ Particularly interesting is Bart'ikyan's observation of a passage from the *Geography* formerly attributed to Moses of Xoren in which all of the elements of the legend are brought together:

The K'alirt', which comes out of the mountains of Salin and Sasun, separates Np'rkert and K'limar; therefore, it separates the Romans and the Persians and it is now called Šit'it'ma which is bloodthirsty.⁷⁷

⁷¹ Theophanes Continuatus, *Chronographia*, 283, 284.

⁷² Zonaras, *Annales*, 133-136. E. Tachella, "Les Anciens Pauliciens et les modernes Bulgares catholiques de la Philippopolitaine", *Le Muséon*, XVI (1897), 71.

⁷³ Anna Comnena, *Alexiade*, xiv, Vol. III, 177-185; Tachella, "Les Anciens Pauliciens", 81-83.

⁷⁴ *Digenes Akrites*, I, vv. 283-288, 18:

Εγώ καλοί νεώτεροι, ὁ ἀμηνᾶς ἀντέφη.
 Χρυσοβέργου υἱὸς εἰμι, μητρόδ δὲ τῆς Πανθίας·
 Ἀμβρων ὑπῆρχε μου παπποῦς, θεῖος μου ὁ Καρόης·
 τέθνηκε γάρ μου ὁ πατήρ ἐτι νηπίου ὄντος·
 παρὰ μητρόδ ἐδόθην δὲ εἰς συγγενεῖς Ἀράβους,
 οἵτινές με ἐνέθρεψαν εἰς τὸ εὖ μετὰ πόθου·

⁷⁵ The problem of the heretics in the Balkans lies outside the scope of this study.

⁷⁶ Bart'ikyan, "Sources", 95, and 95, nn. 2-8.

⁷⁷ Ps. Moses of Xoren, *Geography* (Venice, 1881), 37-38 (50): "նախ Քաղիղթ, որ բխիւ է ի լերանց Սալնայ եւ Սանսանոյ, ե իջեալ կարէ յերեքաց զՆփրկերտ ե զՔղիծար, որով բաժանեցան Հռոմք ե Պարսիկք, ե կոչի այժմ Շիթիթմա, որ է արիւնարբու" *ibid.*, 30 (41): "զՆփռեա, զԱղան, ընդ որոց մէջն իջանէ զեան Քաղիղթ, զոր Շիթմա կոչեն Տաճիկք, այսինքն արիւնարբու".

He concludes, therefore, that the foundation of the legend is the presence of Paulician heretics along the banks of K'alirt'-Šit'it'ma, that is to say, along the eastern frontier of the Byzantine Empire. Bart'ikyan's geographical interpretation of the legend attributes to the heretics a territory which corresponds to the Paulician region known to Byzantine sources. Two other pieces of information may be obtained from this text. The K'alirt'akan, according to heresy #153, had been driven "beyond the Caucasus" by a king of the Greeks. Here also the Byzantine polemicists and chroniclers speak of the imperial persecutions which drove the Paulicians out of the Empire.⁷⁸ Finally, in the Armenian version of the *Georgian Chronicle*, the origin of the Muslims is attributed to the K'alirt'akank' who were descended from a mythical eponymous prince, K'alirt'.⁷⁹ The association of the Paulicians with the Arabs is attested, as we have seen, by all the Greek sources whether historical, polemical or epic. Thus, despite its sadly confused content, the Armenian legend provides us not only with geographical information but also with some general historical corroboration of Paulician history as it is reported by the Byzantine sources.

If we turn from legendary to historical material, the value of the Armenian documents becomes far more obvious and is enhanced particularly by their antiquity. It is true that the references to heresy in the early Christian period of Armenia are not altogether clear and will have to be considered later in relation to the question of the origin of Paulicianism in Armenia, and that the mention of the sect in little known work of the Kat'olikos John I Mandakuni in the fifth century is not above discussion.⁸⁰ With the middle of the sixth century, however, we find our

The *Geography* is usually considered to be incorrectly attributed to Moses of Xoren; according to Bart'ikyan, "Sources", 95, it is the work of Ananias of Širak.

The author of the *Geography* knows the locality of the K'alirt'-Šit'it'ma and identifies it correctly as a river. See Markwart, *Erānšahr*, 141-2, 161, and *Südarmerien*, 274-279, for the Šit'it'ma (Batmansuyu) on the eastern frontier of the Byzantine Empire and for the confusion of some Arab geographers on this subject. Markwart further argues that K'alirt' was a pre-Armenian word which also meant "bloodthirsty", *Südarmerien*, 282-284. Bart'ikyan does not seem to be acquainted with these studies.

⁷⁸ See above, nn. 18, 28, 43-44, 50-51. We cannot, of course, date the particular persecution intended. It is tempting to identify "Pōl from ... Ayrarat", with Paul the Armenian of the Greek sources. This would give us a date for Pōl in the very beginning of the eighth century and coincide with the persecution of Philippicus (see nn. 34 and 36). Also, as we shall see (n. 99), the early eighth century is a period of Paulician-Arab cooperation. It is also possible that the period of the flight of Sergius or Karbeas was intended. In connection with Arab-Paulician relations, it is interesting to observe that in the earlier *MS. #3681* the heretic woman Šet'i is called Arab (*uwwāḥ*) rather than Turkish; Bart'ikyan, "Sources", 95, n. 9.

⁷⁹ Markwart, *Südarmerien*, 280-282, and 281, n. 1.

⁸⁰ See my Chapter II, nn. 23-24, and Chapter V.

first specific mention of the Paulicians by name in the *Oath of Union* of the Council of Dvin. This mention indicates the presence of Paulicians in Armenia a full century before the presumed organization of the sect by Constantine-Silvanus and their condemnation by the ecclesiastical authorities. Also by identifying Nestorian practices and pointing out their similarity to those of the Paulicians it implies that the Paulicians, far from being a newly created sect, had existed in Armenia long enough before the middle of the sixth century to be familiar to the Armenian clergy and therefore make such an explanation meaningful.⁸¹

The development of Paulicianism during the century and a half which followed the Council of Dvin is briefly related by the Kat'olikos John of Ojun, whose precise information is corroborated by a number of earlier sources:

At first the incestuous and filthy remnants of the Paulician herd endured a thorough rebuke from Nersēs the Kat'olikos, but by no means mindful of it, they fled after his death and hid somewhere in our land. Certain Iconoclasts who had been castigated by the Kat'olikoi of the Aḡovans united with them—for any wanderer from the truth wishes to join with his own kind. Before these precursors of the Antichrist had found their reinforcement, however, trembling, they feared the true and excellent religion of the Christians.⁸²

Conybeare expressed some doubt as to the identity of the Kat'olikos Nersēs to whom John of Ojun alludes, since three kat'olikoi of that name had ruled the Armenian Church before John. He was inclined to identify him with St. Nersēs I, the Great (340?-374), since this pontiff was responsible for the reform of the Armenian Church in the fourth century.⁸³ On the other hand, Grégoire, following the theory of Runciman, identifies Nersēs as the seventh-century Kat'olikos, Nersēs III, the Builder (641-661),⁸⁴ thereby explaining the appearance of Constantine-Silvanus on imperial territory as the result of the persecution of Paulicians in Armenia at the urging of the Kat'olikos. This identification would then provide

⁸¹ See my Chapter II and Appendix III.

⁸² John of Ojun, *Contra Paulicianos*, 88/9, “Նախկին ճճղնէութն պաղականութ խելերանք. որք խրատեալք, և ոչ իմաստնացեալք, ՚ի Ներսիսէ կաթողիկոսէ, զկնի նորուն մաւանն խուանալք չոգան զօղեցին յօլորտս ուրեք աշխարհիս մերոյ: Եւ ՚ի նոսա Հատուածեալք եկին յարեցան կշտամբեալքն ՚ի կաթողիկոսացն Աղուանից պատկերամարտք ոմանք. զի սիրէ առ Համանմանին իւր Հասանել վրիպեալն ՚ի ճճարտութն: Եւ մինչև էր նոցա զօրավիգն գտեալ զկարապետս դերաբրիստսին, երկուցեալք և սարսեալք կային յուղիղ և ՚ի զերապանձ կրօնից քրիստոսականաց”.

⁸³ *KT-I*, lvii-lviii.

⁸⁴ Runciman, *Medieval Manichee*, 37-38; Grégoire, “Précisions”, 300, 303; Söderberg, *Les Cathares*, 27.

a point of chronological synchronization between the Greek and the Armenian accounts. Unfortunately, not only is Kat'olikos Nersēs III not famous for any outstanding anti-heretical activity, but the evidence of the *Oath of Union* is absolutely clear. The Kat'olikos to whom John of Ojun is referring must be Nersēs II (548-557), as had already been observed by Ter Mkrttschian.⁸⁵

The information given by John of Ojun on the reinforcement of the Paulicians by Ałovanian Iconoclasts is also substantiated by the earlier sources. We learn from Vrt'anēs K'ert'oł that a certain group of Iconoclasts existed in his time under the leadership of Thaddeus and Isaiah.⁸⁶ In the *Letter to David, Bishop of Mec Kolmank'*, by John Mayragomeçi, who lived a few decades after Vrt'anēs, we are told that an Iconoclastic party had existed in Ałovania from apostolic times. This group apparently held doctrines very similar to the ones which we shall see among the Paulicians.⁸⁷ John Mayragomeçi ascribes the origin of the heresy to the Greeks, but this is probably no more than a manifestation of his anti-Chalcedonian prejudice, since he cites non-existent councils.⁸⁸ The heresy apparently disappeared until the period of the schism between Armenia and Georgia (Iberia) in the time of Vrt'anēs K'ert'oł and the Kat'olikos Abraham I (607-615).⁸⁹ In this period, we learn from John Mayragomeçi, three monks, Thaddeus, Hesu or Joshua, and Grigor, began to preach Iconoclasm in Armenia. Persecuted by the Armenian ecclesiastical authorities, they fled to Ałovania, where they also stirred up heretical manifestations. Sent back to Armenia by the Lord of Gardman, they were finally persuaded into reconciliation with the Armenian Apostolic Church.⁹⁰

The similarity of the accounts of Vrt'anēs K'ert'oł and John Mayrago-

⁸⁵ Alexander, "An Ascetic Sect", 159, n. 35; Der Nersessian, "Apologie", 70-71, and n. 131; Ter Mkrttschian, *Die Paulikianer*, 51.

⁸⁶ Vrt'anēs K'ert'oł, *Treatise*, 67-68, "Aucun d'eux ne fit rien concernant les images... des églises, mais seulement l'impie et l'égare Thadée et Isaïe et leurs compagnons qui entraînent à leur suite un grand nombre de personnes, tels vous mêmes".

⁸⁷ John Mayragomeçi, *Letter*, 213-214; Der Nersessian, "Apologie", 71. Alexander, "An Ascetic Sect", 158-160, is of the opinion that the Iconoclastic party was not heretical on theological grounds, a point of view which is not shared by S. Der Nersessian, "Apologie", 85-87, and nn. 130-131. See also Der Nersessian, "Image Worship in Armenia and its Opponents", *Armenian Quarterly*, I, 1 (Spring, 1946), 71, n. 16a.

⁸⁸ John Mayragomeçi, *Letter*, 213-214; Der Nersessian, "Apologie", 71, n. 57.

⁸⁹ The presence of Nestorians in Ałovania and the concern of the Armenian ecclesiastical authorities in the sixth century are attested by the *Letter of John II, Ałovanians*, 81-84. For the relation of Nestorians and Paulicians emphasized by the "Oath" of the Council of Dvin, see my Chapter V.

⁹⁰ John Mayragomeçi, *Letter*, 214-216; Der Nersessian, "Apologie", 71-72.

meçi was observed by Sirapie Der Nersessian in her publication of the treatise of Vrt'anēs:

According to John Mayragomeçi the leaders of the Iconoclasts are Hesu, Thaddeus and Grigor; now Thaddeus is likewise mentioned in the treatise (of Vrt'anēs) and the Isaiah of the treatise could be identified with Hesu, for the two names are often confused in Armenian texts. We, therefore, have here the same movement directed by the same leaders.⁹¹

This identification is also made by Paul Alexander. In his opinion, the sectarians were primarily ascetics protesting against the corruption of the Armenian clergy and its undue involvement in the power struggle between Byzantium and Persia over the control of Armenia, and were only subsequently Iconoclasts whose doctrinal similarities allied them to the Paulicians.⁹² In a *Letter* written by Vrt'anēs K'ert'ol to Kyrion, Kat'olikos of Georgia, at the time of the schism, there are references to the presence of heresy in Georgia and the close relations between that country and Armenia, though there is no direct mention of the heretical leaders or of Iconoclasm.⁹³

The interference of the Lord of Gardman in matters of heresy noted by John Mayragomeçi is witnessed by the *Compact of 639* at which the Lord of Gardman, Prince of Ałovania, and the Ałovanian nobles swore to reject heretics and particularly Paulicians. The relationship of the Paulicians to the Ałovanian Iconoclasts is thus underlined by this document.⁹⁴ The Ałovanian council held in the early eighth century, whose association with the earlier compact perhaps indicates that the council was the ecclesiastical confirmation of the earlier decision, may be the condemnation of the Iconoclasts in Ałovania mentioned by John of Ojun.⁹⁵ From the preceding account it is evident that the Paulicians were present in Armenia throughout the seventh century and indeed that their ranks had been strengthened in this period by their union with Iconoclastic heretics driven from Ałovania, where they had long been active.

⁹¹ John Mayragomeçi, *Letter*, 73, 79, "D'après Jean Mayragometsi les chefs des iconoclastes sont Hesu, Thaddée et Grigor; or Thaddée est également nommé dans le traité [de Vrt'anēs] et l'Isaie du traité pourrait être identifié avec Hesu, car les deux noms sont souvent confondus dans les textes arméniens. Il s'agit donc du même mouvement, dirigé par les mêmes chefs". John Mayragomeçi seems to have been interested in Iconoclasm, as we learn from Mxit'ar of Ayrvank', *History*, 76; see also my Chapter II, n. 33.

⁹² Alexander, "An Ascetic Sect", 157, 159-160, and 160, n. 37.

⁹³ Uxtanēs of Urha, *Histoire en trois parties*, trans. M. Brosset (St. Petersburg, 1870), 283 ff.

⁹⁴ See my Chapter II, n. 35.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, and nn. 37, 39.

The importance of the Paulicians in the period of John of Ojun is emphasized by his own particular attack on this sect as well as by the *Canons* of the council held at Dvin in 719 during his Kat'olikosate. Singling out the Paulicians from other heretics,⁹⁶ the thirty-second canon of the council enjoins:

It is not fitting for anyone to be found in the places of that most wicked sect of obscene men who are called Paulicians, nor to adhere to them, nor speak to them, nor visit them, but one should retreat from them altogether, to execrate them and pursue them with hatred, for they are the sons of Satan, fuel for the eternal fires, and alienated from the love of the Creator's will.

This on pain of severe punishment and eventual excommunication.⁹⁷

Concerning his own times, John of Ojun gives two interesting pieces of historical information: The heretics had originally been centered in a district known as Jrkay whence they had spread,⁹⁸ and, "being deceivers, they found a weapon for their evil [to] kill the souls of lovers of Christ [in] being allies of the circumcised tyrants [Arabs]".⁹⁹ If we accept Inčičean's identification of Jrkay as the district of the Bitlis River, we find the Paulicians in the early eighth century located on a northern tributary of the Tigris adjoining the K'alirt'-Šit'it'ma and in alliance with the Arabs as was implied by the Armenian legend.¹⁰⁰

One more tentative suggestion may be made. From source *S* we know of a mysterious Paul the Armenian who had fled from imperial persecution at the very beginning of the eighth century and whose son, Genesius, assumed the leadership of the sect in 716/7. Could this Paul, so little known to Greek writers, be Pōl from Ayrarat, anachronistically described in the Armenian legend as both the student of St. Ephrem and the companion of an Arab woman? Such an identification is not impossible. The

⁹⁶ John of Ojun, *Canons*, XXIX, 74/5, deals with heretics in general, but XXXII, 74/5-76/7, refers specifically to Paulicians.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, XXXII, 74/5-76/7, "Ոչ էլ պարտ ի շարադանդ ճճղնէիցն տեղիս որ կոչին Պոլլիկեանք, օթել ումեք. և կամ յարել և խօսակից լինել, և երթնելով թիւնս առնել: Այլ ամենեկն Հնոսնալ ի նոցանէ, զարշել և առեալ զնոսա. զի որդիք սատանայի են և լուցկիք յախտենական Հրոյն. և օտարացեալ են ի սիրոյ կամաց արարչին":

⁹⁸ John of Ojun, *Contra Paulicianos*, 88/9.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, 78/9, "Այլ և խորամանկեալ զտին շարութեն իւրեանց զէն խողխողիչ քրիստոսասիրաց անձանց, զաշնակից լինելով բռնակալաց կրճատելոցն": see Bart'ikyan, "Paulician Movement", 127-128.

¹⁰⁰ Լ. Inčičean, *Geography of Armenia* (Venice, 1822); see, *KT-I*, lix. Conybeare notes that Jrkay might be located near Bayezit. The region of the Tigris, however, is more suited to the territory of the Paulicians near the Armeno-Byzantine frontier such as we know it from all the sources. The Bitlis River is the next important affluent of the Tigris on the northern side after the Batmansuyu. The name *Ջրկայ*, meaning "watery", also suits the district of the great tributaries of the Tigris, and it is phonetically closer to the province of *Ջրբան* or *Ջրգան* than to the *Ջրբաշք* district of Bayezit.

legend tells us that the K'alert'akan had been driven by a Greek ruler beyond the Caucasus; however, no proof of it can be offered at present.¹⁰¹

From the generation following John of Ojun, that is to say the middle of the eighth century, hitherto unnoticed information has been uncovered by Bart'ikyan in the contemporary *History* of Lewond.¹⁰² Writing of the great revolt of the Armenian nobility under Grigor Mamikonean against the weakened Umayyad Caliphate in 748, Lewond says of the rebels:

... they particularly counted on the help of the army of the king of the Greeks which was in the province of Pontus because there was a treaty of alliance between them by the decree of the emperor Constantine. And all the sons of sinfulness came and joined the army of the rebels, they who know neither the fear of God nor awe of the princes nor respect of the elders. Just like foreigners and strangers, spreading their raids, they seized their brothers and their compatriots [clansmen] and pillaged greatly, bringing suffering on their brothers through beatings and tortures.

On account of this the mercy of God was angered [and] He destroyed their unity.¹⁰³

In the opinion of Bart'ikyan these nameless "sons of sinfulness" who fear neither God nor earthly lords and who are found in the region of Pontus, can be none other than the Paulicians. Indeed Lewond's characterization of them as compatriots of the Armenians coincides with the description of Paulicians found in John of Ojun and corroborated by the later historian, Aristakēs of Lastivert:

Now these enemies of ours, had they been foreign-speaking races, no matter what, could have easily been guarded against; but as the blessed John writes: "They went out from among us, but they were not all of us and therefore it is difficult to know them". They are of our tongue and nation, and have issued from one same spring, like sweet water and bitter.¹⁰⁴

Their treatment of these compatriots, however, is cruel in the extreme,

¹⁰¹ See nn. 17 and 78.

¹⁰² Bart'ikyan, "Paulician Movement", 128-131; "Sources", 88-92. Lewond, *History*, 118 ff., particularly 122-123. The precise date of Lewond is not known, but the one usually given is the mid-eighth century (720-790?); see Thorossian, *Littérature arménienne*, 108-109.

¹⁰³ Lewond, *History*, 123, "և ապաստանեալք առաւել ի զօրս արքային Յունաց որք էին ի կողմանս Պոնտոսի. քանզի էր ի մեջ նոցա ուխտ խաղաղութեան Հրամանաւ կայսերն Կոստանդնի: Եւ ամենայն որդիք յանցանաց երթեալք խառնէին ի զունդ ապստամբութեան, որք ոչ ճանաչէին զերկիւզն Աստուծոյ և ոչ զաւհ իշխանաց և ոչ զպատիւ ծերոց, այլ իբրեւ այլազգի և օտարացեալ՝ ասպատակ սպոռեալ զերէին զեղբարս և զազգակիցս իւրեանց, և բազում աւարատութիւնս առնէին. խռչտանգանաւ և զանիւք տանջանս ամեալ ի վերայ եղբարց իւրեանց:

Յաղագս որոյ ստրջացեալ ներողութիւնն Աստուծոյ՝ քակեաց զմիաբանութիւն նոցա".

¹⁰⁴ Aristakēs of Lastivert, *History*, 112, "... արդ սոքա թէ յայլալեզու ցեղից էին, յորմէ և էին, մեզ զգուշանալ զիւրաւ էր. բայց որպէս զրէ երանելին Յովհաննէս, թէ "Առ ի մէնջ էլ էին, այլ ոչ էին ամենեքեան նոքա ի մէնջ". և այսմ զհառն լինել զժուարին է: Համալեզուք և Համացեղք. ի միոյ յակնել բոլեալք բողջր ջուր և զառն".

as was also observed by source *S*.¹⁰⁵ Indeed, it is from the information of the Greek sources that Bart'ikyan finds his best evidence for the identification of the "sons of sinfulness" with the Paulicians and incidentally for the synchronization of Byzantine and Armenian sources on the history of the Paulicians. The region of Pontus where the Armenian rebels found the "sons of sinfulness" undoubtedly was Paulician territory in this period.¹⁰⁶ Even more specifically, we know from source *S* that Joseph-Epaphroditus and Zacharias, the successors of the Heresiarch Genesius (who had died in 746/7), fled from the Arabs back to Episparis of Phanaroia on imperial territory.¹⁰⁷ The only reason for this flight of the Paulicians from the Muslims, with whom, on the evidence of John of Ojun, they had cooperated at the beginning of the century, would be participation in the abortive revolt of Grigor Mamikonean in 748. The dates of the two accounts coincide precisely.¹⁰⁸

The cause for the change of attitude of the Paulicians was the parallel change in the position of the imperial authorities in relation to them. The favor shown to Paulicians by the Isaurian emperors in this period would logically turn them toward Byzantium and against the traditional enemies of the empire.¹⁰⁹

In connection with the story of Joseph-Epaphroditus, Bart'ikyan suggests a further explanation for the persecution which destroyed the Paulicians of Episparis and forced Joseph himself to flee to Antioch of Pisidia. According to source *S*:

A certain pious man from the local nobility [ἀρχόντων] whose name was Krikoraches [Κρικοράχης], having learned of this [the heresy in Episparis], surrounded with many soldiers the house in which lodged the disciple of Mani, and he seized his [Joseph's] disciples, but he himself [Joseph] escaped and going as a fugitive to Phrygia settled in Antioch of Pisidia.¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁵ Petrus Siculus, *Historia*, 1293/4BC.

¹⁰⁶ We know from source *S* that the Paulicians were to be found both at Episparis and across the Euphrates frontier in Mananali. The exact location of Episparis is not known, but it was unquestionably in the region of Pontus; see Grégoire, "Eglises", 513-514, and Bart'ikyan, "Paulician Movement", 130-131. For the location of Mananali, see my Chapter I, n. 164.

¹⁰⁷ See pp. 118-119, nn. 18-20, 22.

¹⁰⁸ See n. 21 for the death of Genesius-Timothy according to Grégoire, also Bart'ikyan, "Paulician Movement", 129.

¹⁰⁹ See pp. 122-123, nn. 37-41. It is to be noted that Lewond says that the rebels counted on the assistance of the imperial army stationed in Pontus.

¹¹⁰ Petrus Siculus, *Historia*, XXXI, 1285/6CD, "γνοὺς τοῦτο θεοφιλὴς τις ἀνὴρ τῶν ἐκεῖσε ἀρχόντων Κρικοράχης λεγόμενος, μετὰ πλείστων στρατιωτῶν τὴν οἰκίαν ἐκύκλωσεν, ἐν ᾗ κατέλυσεν ὁ μαθητὴς τοῦ Μάνεντος· καὶ τοὺς μὲν μαθητὰς αὐτοῦ συνέσχεν, αὐτὸς δὲ διαδράς φυγὰς ὤχετο πρὸς τὴν Φρυγίαν· καὶ ἀπελθὼν κατοίκησεν εἰς Ἀντιόχειαν τὴν Πισιδίαν".

Bart'ikyan rightly observes that this persecution runs counter to the avowed protection extended to the Paulicians by the Iconoclastic emperors.¹¹¹ Indeed, Joseph flees in the direction of the capital rather than away from the Empire, and we are told by source *S* that he subsequently lived undisturbed at Antioch of Pisidia for some thirty years.¹¹² Bart'ikyan therefore suggests that "the pious nobleman Krikoraches" who started the persecution may be none other than Grigor Mamikonean, the leader of the rebellion, carrying out a personal vengeance against those who had ruined his revolt rather than acting as an agent of the imperial policy.¹¹³ This identification is possible. There is no doubt that Joseph, reversing the normal direction of the Paulicians, fled away from Armenia rather than toward it. Furthermore we know from Lewond that Grigor Mamikonean, after the failure of the revolt, "went in haste to the city of Karin [Theodosiopolis-Erzurum]".¹¹⁴ He was, therefore in the neighborhood of Episparis and could be described as "a local nobleman". However, tempting though it is, such an identification is not beyond question.¹¹⁵

Despite the difficulty of some of the material, we find that the broad lines of the history of the Paulicians can be reconstituted from the Armenian sources and that they even dovetail occasionally with the Greek evidence. The Paulicians identified in Armenia since before the mid-sixth century received a setback at the time of the council of Dvin of 555.

¹¹¹ Bart'ikyan, "Paulician Movement", 130, "Sources", 91.

¹¹² Petrus Siculus, *Historia*, XXXI, 1285/6. At this point *S* is probably particularly reliable since he is very close to the original source *A*; see my Chapter I, n. 151.

¹¹³ Bart'ikyan, "Sources", 91.

¹¹⁴ Lewond, *History*, 124, "Իսկ բարեգրուծն Գրիգոր որպէս ի մեծ արիւթենէ դարձեալ՝ անկանէր ի քաղաքն Կարնոյ". The hostility of Lewond, the accredited historian of the Bagratids, to Grigor Mamikonean never fails to manifest itself.

¹¹⁵ The argument of Bart'ikyan that "Krikoraches" is the Occidental Armenian pronunciation of Grigor, "Sources", 91, is probable but not proven. The mutation of *g* to *k* is indeed characteristic of western Armenian dialects, but we have no information as to the Armenian pronunciation in Pontus in the eighth century. Bart'ikyan is quite right in rejecting as a chronological impossibility the suggestion of Ter Mkrttschian that Krikoraches is to be identified with Gregory Magistros; see "Paulician Movement", 130, n. 5.

The weakest point of Bart'ikyan's thesis is the explanation of the reason for which Grigor Mamikonean turned against his former allies. Using a purely social interpretation, Bart'ikyan argues that no alliance between the "heretical" proletariat and the exploiting feudal classes could survive, and the revolt fell apart for this reason. We know from Lewond, *History*, 123-124, that the revolt was ruined by the withdrawal of Grigor's traditional opponent, Prince Ašot Bagratuni, and his followers, who made their peace with the Arabs. The continuous rivalry between Grigor and Ašot (*ibid.*, 118 ff.) flared again, and Grigor succeeded in having Ašot blinded. After this deed, Grigor fled to Karin (Erzurum) and soon died there. We know nothing of his feelings toward the "Sons of Sinfulness".

Quiescent for a period after this check, they were reinforced by Alovanian Iconoclasts in the seventh century and perhaps by refugees from Byzantium at the beginning of the eighth. In any case they were dangerous enough to alarm the Kat'olikos John of Ojun and the Council of Dvin of 719. Not only were they a religious problem, but through their alliance with the Arabs a political menace as well. The benevolent policy of the Isaurian emperors brought a change in the traditional enmity of the Paulicians to the Empire and apparently also led to their support of the Armenian nobles against their former Arab allies. Probably as a result of this new Paulician policy we hear no more of the Paulicians in Armenia. At first pursued by the Arabs and Armenian clergy alike, they would logically seek the hospitality of the Isaurian emperors in western Asia Minor or even in Thrace. By the time that Paulician power, once again thrown back to the Euphrates by the persecution of the Orthodox emperors, began to grow in the ninth century, the Armenian sources fail altogether. We have no source whatsoever for this period, and the later documents never speak of Tephrikē, which was destroyed long since, and no longer speak of Paulicians but of T'ondrakeçi, to whom we must now turn.

The relation of the Paulicians to the T'ondrakeçi is no longer seriously questioned.¹¹⁶ The basic reason for the identification is the resemblance in doctrine between the Paulicians, as described in the *Oath of Union* and the writings of John of Ojun, and the T'ondrakeçi, as seen in the *Key of Truth* and the works of later authors. I will discuss the question of dogma in the following chapter; therefore let it suffice to say here that a striking similarity of doctrine and practice is observable between the sects. Reproaches for identical practices were made to the heretics by John of Ojun in the eighth century and by Nersēs Šnorhali in the twelfth. The resemblance was noted by Gregory Magistros in the eleventh century, and he identified the two sects in his *Letter* to the Kat'olikos of Syria. Speaking of the T'ondrakeçi, of whom he had first-hand information, he characterizes them as follows: "Here you see the Paulicians, who got their poison from Paul of Samosata."¹¹⁷ On two other occasions we hear from Gregory that the T'ondrakeçi had been condemned in the writings of the "Lord John".¹¹⁸ To the best of our knowledge, the two kat'olikoi

¹¹⁶ See Iuzbashian, "T'ondrakian Movement", 31-32, *et passim*, though cf. nn. 41-42. See also Ioannisyan, "T'ondrakian Movement", 106 ff., and "Smbat Zarehavançi", *passim*.

¹¹⁷ Grigor Magistros, *Syrian Kat'olikos*, 161, "աւղիկի Պօղիկեանքդ, որք ի Պօղոսի Սամոսատայի դեղեալ ...". Numerous translations have been suggested for this passage without succeeding in altering its obvious meaning.

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 153, 160.

nearest the epoch of Gregory Magistros: John VI the Historian (899-931) and John V of Ovayk' (833-855), did not concern themselves with the heretics; we know of no work of theirs on this subject. On the other hand, John IV of Ojun was renowned for his attacks on heretics and on Paulicians in particular. Furthermore, Gregory refers to the pontiff as "the holy John",¹¹⁹ an appellation more accurately applied to John of Ojun, who was the only saint among the three kat'olikoi under discussion. Finally, the punishment decreed for the heretics condemned at the Council of Šahapivan, who are probably Paulicians,¹²⁰ namely the branding of the heretic on the face with the sign of a fox, is the specific punishment used for the T'ondrakeçi; it is mentioned as such by both Aristakēs of Lastivert and Gregory Magistros.¹²¹ Thus the T'ondrakeçi may be identified with the Paulicians in spite of the difficulties noted by Runciman.¹²²

Concerning the origin of the T'ondrakeçi, the consensus of Armenian sources attributes the founding of the sect to a certain Smbat of Zarehawan.¹²³ The identity of this Smbat has led to a good deal of speculation. Gregory Magistros states that the beginning of the sect of the T'ondrakeçi was to be dated one hundred and seventy years before his own time, that is to say, in the first part of the ninth century.¹²⁴ Of Smbat himself he writes: "This accursed one appeared in the days of the Lord John and of Smbat Bagratuni".¹²⁵ These dates coincide, since the Kat'olikos John V of Ovayk' (833-855) and the *sparapet* (generalissimo), Smbat the Confessor (826-855), the second son of Prince Ašot Bagratuni, lived in the period

¹¹⁹ Grigor Magistros, *Syrian Kat'olikos*, 160; also Ormanian, *The Church of Armenia*, list of kat'olikoi at the back. Mgr. Ormanian rejects John III of Bagaran as an anti-patriarch and therefore lists the three kat'olikoi as John III, IV, V. Aristakēs of Lastivert, *History*, 112, also refers to John of Ojun as "the blessed John"; see n. 104.

¹²⁰ See my Chapter V for a discussion of the heretics condemned at Šahapivan.

¹²¹ *KT-I*, cviii; Aristakēs of Lastivert, *History*, 116, 121; Gregory Magistros, *Syrian Kat'olikos*, 162.

¹²² The alteration of the sect's name and the tradition of the founding of a new sect by Smbat seem to indicate that the association of the T'ondrakeçi with the earlier Paulicians is based on identity of dogma rather than necessarily on historical continuity. This may be the case, but the remarkable similarity of dogma and practice supports Conybeare's thesis that Smbat's activity was one of reform and organization rather than the creation of a new movement. See my Chapter IV.

¹²³ Gregory of Narek, *Letter*, 498, 500. Gregory Magistros, *T'ulaili*, 164; *Syrian Kat'olikos*, 153-154, 160; Nersēs Šnorhali, "Epistola I", *Letters*, 269; Stephen of Taron, *History*, II, 12.

¹²⁴ Gregory Magistros, *T'ulaili*, 167, *Syrian Kat'olikos*, 154.

¹²⁵ Gregory Magistros, *Syrian Kat'olikos*, 153, "պիղծն Սմբատ անիծեալն այն երեսցաւ յուրառ տեսն Յովհաննիսի և Սմբատայ Բագրատունւոյ".

which Gregory assigns to the inception of the sect.¹²⁶ Asolik, however, writing a few years before Gregory (ca. 991-1019), suggests a different possibility:

After him in the year 346 of our era [April 16, 887-April 15, 898] the patriarchal throne was occupied by the Lord John of Dvin, the orator and historian [John VI] who held it for twenty-two years. It was under his pontificate that Smbat, the leader of the T'ondrakeci, the enemy of all institutions, made his appearance. He came from the village of Zarehawan, in the district of Calkotn.¹²⁷

Contemporary with the Kat'olikos John VI the Historian (898-931) there is another Smbat Bagratuni, King Smbat I, known as Smbat Nahadak (the martyr, 890-914). The earlier alternative for the appearance of the T'ondrakeci seems more likely since Gregory insists upon his date, one hundred and seventy to two hundred years earlier, and further writes that from thirteen to fifteen kat'olikoi had anathematized the heretics up to his own time. Conybeare counts thirteen patriarchs from the period of John V of Ovayk' to that of Gregory Magistros.¹²⁸ The coincidence of the two Smbats and the two Johns easily explains the confusion of Asolik, especially since Armenian chroniclers have often failed to distinguish the Sparapet Smbat the Confessor from his grandson, King Smbat the Martyr.

Conybeare makes the suggestion that the Heresiarch Smbat and the *sparapet* of the same name were actually one and the same person, and that heresy was rife in the Bagratid royal house.¹²⁹ This identification seems very doubtful. It is true that both Samuel of Ani and Mxit'ar of Ayrivank' attribute the foundation of the T'ondrakeci to "Smbat called

¹²⁶ Grousset, *Histoire*, 349 ff., and genealogical table at back; Ormanian, *The Church of Armenia*, list of kat'olikoi.

¹²⁷ Stephen of Taron, *History*, II, 12, "Après lui, occupa le trône patriarcal en 346 de l'ère [arménienne] le seigneur Jean, de Dvin, orateur et historien, et y demeura 22 ans. C'est sous son pontificat que parut Smbat, chef des Thondrak, ennemi de toutes institutions chrétiennes, originaire du village de Zarehawan, dans le district de Dzalkotn".

Conybeare makes the further suggestion that the Lord John in question may have been John of Ojun, *KT-I*, lxii, n. 1. To be sure, we have a Smbat Bagratuni, albeit an obscure one, in this period also—the Bagratuni had at least one Smbat in every generation—yet the suggestion does not seem likely. Three hundred thirty years separate John of Ojun from Gregory Magistros, and we should expect some reference to Smbat the Heresiarch in the works of John of Ojun if they were contemporaries.

¹²⁸ Gregory Magistros, *T'ulaili*, 165, 167, *Syrian Kat'olikos*, 154. The calculations of Gregory Magistros seem to be borne out by the facts. Peter Getadarc (1019-1036, 1038-1054) the kat'olikos contemporary with Gregory Magistros (990-1058), was indeed the thirteenth patriarch after John of Ovayk' (835-855) and was separated from him by some 170 to 200 years; see de Morgan, *Histoire du peuple arménien*, 364, col. 2. The early ninth century, therefore, seems the most likely period for the activity of Smbat of Zarehawan.

¹²⁹ *KT-I*, lxi-lxvii.

Abulabas, the son of Ašot", and date this in 824.¹³⁰ This is undoubtedly a reference to the Sparapet Smbat, the son of Ašot Msaker, who received the name of Abū'l-'Abbās during his stay as a hostage at the court of the Caliph al-Ma'mūn.¹³¹ These two references, however, are late and not unimpeachable; no earlier source attempts the identification. Furthermore the feud, presumably on religious grounds, between the Kat'olikos John V and the Sparapet Smbat, postulated by Conybeare, cannot be substantiated. The quarrel lay between the kat'olikos and Smbat's elder brother, Bagarat Bagratuni, who bore the title of Prince of Princes. We also know that when Bagarat succeeded in having John of Ovayk' replaced by a kat'olikos of his own choosing, Smbat called a synod which, in opposition to Bagarat, set John V once more on the pontifical throne.¹³² Finally, the accusation of sodomy which the historian Thomas Arcruni lays against the Bagratid court, and in which Conybeare sees a hidden reference to heresy, cannot be taken too seriously. Thomas, the official historian of his kinsmen, the Arcruni, the greatest rivals of the Bagratuni, takes every opportunity of blackening the reputation of the ruling house.¹³³

Two more identifications of Smbat the Heresiarch have been attempted. Conybeare suggests the possibility that he was that Smbat Bagratuni who was known as "Xosrov Snum". This identification is based on the information given by Gregory Magistros that Smbat the Heresiarch had learned his doctrine from a Persian physician.¹³⁴ We know that Smbat "Xosrov Snum" lived in the period of the anti-patriarch, John III of Bagaran (590-611), and that he was co-president with the chief physician of the Persian court of a doctrinal assembly called at the order of Xosrov II Parviz. Stephen Orbelean accuses yet another Smbat Bagratuni, *sparapet* in 691, of being a diphysite and an enemy of the Orthodox clergy.¹³⁵ These identifications, which completely disagree with the precise chronology of Gregory Magistros, seem altogether implausible, especially since no Smbat is known to Vrt'anēs K'ert'ol or to John of Ojun, who would hardly have ignored such an important heresiarch

¹³⁰ Samuel of Ani, *Collections*, 91; Mxit'ar of Ayrivank', *History*, 83.

¹³¹ Grousset, *Histoire*, 349-350.

¹³² *KT-I*, lxiii-lxiv; Grousset, *Histoire*, 350-351; John the Historian, *History*, 147-148; Joannisyan, "T'ondrakian Movement", 102.

¹³³ Thomas Arcruni, "History of the Arcruni", trans. M. Brosset, *CHA*, I, 101-102, *KT-I*, lxiii.

¹³⁴ *Ibid.*, lxvii; Gregory Magistros, *Syrian Kat'olikos*, 153.

¹³⁵ Sēbēos, *History*, 114. Stephen Orbelean, *History of Siunik'*, I, 177, also transl. by M. Brosset, *Histoire de la Siounie*, (St. Petersburg, 1884-1886), 82, n. 2.

had he lived in a period preceding or contemporary with their own.

In conclusion, Ioannisyan observed the mention in the *Letter* of Gregory of Narek that the T'ondrakeçi, and particularly Smbat, had been massacred by the Emir Aplvard (Ավլարդ).¹³⁶ This personage can now be identified as Abū'l-Bard, Muslim Lord of Manazkert in Apahunik' in the middle of the ninth century.¹³⁷ We must, therefore, accept the period of John of Ovayk' and the Sparapet Smbat the Confessor, that is to say, the early part of the ninth century, as the most likely epoch for the appearance of the T'ondrakeçi and of Smbat the Heresiarch, whom we may not otherwise identify with the royal Bagratid house.

In addition to Smbat, Gregory Magistros lists as heresiarchs of the T'ondrakeçi: T'odoros, Ananēs, Ark'ay, Sargis, Kiurel (Cyril), Yesu, and in his own time Łazar.¹³⁸ The heresy flourished in the tenth and the eleventh centuries. By the end of the tenth century it was so widespread that eminent ecclesiastics could be accused of it, and the Abbot of Kĉaw was an acknowledged heretic.¹³⁹ We hear from Aristakēs of Lastivert, a contemporary, as well as from later sources (Kirakos of Ganjak and Stephen Orbelean), that a certain Bishop Jacob of Hark' was condemned by the Kat'olikos in the mid-tenth century for practices akin to those of the T'ondrakeçi.¹⁴⁰ The high nobility was apparently also touched by the heresy. In about the year 1000 a certain Prince Vrvr of Širi, whose brother was said to be of royal rank, became a member of the T'ondrakeçi, and his district of Mananali was said to be a hotbed of heresy.¹⁴¹

¹³⁶ Gregory of Narek, *Letter*, 498, also 500: "և խանիւ արեան ընդ կոտորեալսն ի սրոյ՝ վրիժախնդիր Հեթանոս ամիրային Ավլարդայ, որ արդարև զաւազան սրածուծեան ի ձեռին Տեանն Յիսուսի"; Ioannisyan, "T'ondrakian Movement", 102.

¹³⁷ *Ibid.*, 103, and nn. 16-20. Ioannisyan notes that Manazkert is only some three hours' ride from T'ondrak, which is also in Apahunik'. See also Ioannisyan, "Smbat Zarehawançi", 13 ff. Conybeare, *KT*, appendix I, 126, n. 3, cannot identify the emir, but the demonstration of Ioannisyan seems convincing.

The reason why a Muslim should have attacked the T'ondrakeçi in the mid-ninth century is not known. The implication in the *Letter* of Gregory of Narek, 500, is that Smbat's claim to be a "Christ" had been the cause of the attack.

¹³⁸ Gregory Magistros, *Syrian Kat'olikos*, 154.

¹³⁹ The revolts in which Ioannisyan sees manifestations of T'ondrakian activity, see "T'ondrakian Movement", 105, and nn. 33, 38, do not seem to have any particular relation to the sect. Ioannisyan's conclusions here stem probably from his thesis that the T'ondrakeçi is a social movement in revolt against feudal oppression and as such related to all other movements directed against the existing social structure.

¹⁴⁰ Aristakēs of Lastivert, *History*, xxii, 111-117; Kirakos of Ganjak, *History*, 47-48; Stephen Orbelean, *History*, I, 140, II, 9-17; Thomas Arcruni, *History*, 198 (this is perhaps a reference to the same heresy).

¹⁴¹ Aristakēs of Lastivert, *History*, 117-125. The evidence of Aristakēs on the heretical leanings of Prince Vrvr of Širi contradicts the thesis of contemporary Soviet historians that the Paulicians were an exclusively lower-class movement.

The spread of the T'ondrakeçi did not pass unnoticed by the authorities. Gregory Magistros informs us that:

Prior to ourselves, many generals and magistrates have given them over to the sword, and without pity, have spared neither old men nor children; and quite rightly. What is more, our patriarchs have branded their foreheads, and burned into them the image of a fox ... Others again have put their eyes out... But for all that they have not been able to check the growth of their lust, nor to direct back into the bounds of legality their imbecile undisciplined mode of living...¹⁴²

According to Aristakēs of Lastivert, the Byzantine authorities cooperated in putting down the heresy in Mananali at the beginning of the eleventh century.¹⁴³ By the middle of the same century the persecution was being carried out by the Duke of Mesopotamia and Vaspurakan, Gregory Magistros:

So we ordered their roof-trees to be thrown down and burned, and the tenants of them to be hunted out of our marches. To none of them, however, did we do any bodily harm, although the law prescribes that they should suffer the extreme of punishment.¹⁴⁴

The violent persecutions instituted by Gregory Magistros do not seem to have had the successful results of which he boasted;¹⁴⁵ the T'ondrakeçi, far from being extirpated, fled in part to Syria, but were still sufficiently flourishing one century later to arouse the indignation of Paul of Taron and the Kat'olikos Nersēs Šnorhali.¹⁴⁶ We also hear from Nersēs of the existence in this period of a Paulician church at Hamayk' in Syrian Mesopotamia.¹⁴⁷ It is interesting to note that the sect's association with Ałovania persisted. Gregory Magistros emphasizes the fact that the

¹⁴² Gregory Magistros, *Syrian Kat'olikos*, 162, "որպէս և նախքան զմեզ բազում զօրավարք և պետք ի սուր սուտերի մատնեցին զնոսա և անողորմաբար ոչ խնայեցին ի ծերս և ի մանկունս, որպէս արժանն էր, նաև մեր քահանայապետք ի կիզումն զիմաց և ի զրոյժ աղուեսակերպ, ... և զոմանց Հրամայեցին փորել զաչս. ... և ոչ կարացին զհեշտախտութեան Հոլովումն զոգտ նաւանջել և ոչ զշամբուշ և զամենի զկեանս իւրեանց անօրէնութեամբն դարձնալ ըստ օրինօքն պարագրել".

¹⁴³ Aristakēs of Lastivert, *History*, 123-124.

The imperial armies were pushing east of the Euphrates as Basil II claimed the inheritance of the Curopalate David of Tayk'; see Grousset, *Histoire*, 529-536.

¹⁴⁴ Gregory Magistrois, *Syrian Kat'olikos*, 162, "Եւ բնակեալք էին ի Շնավանս ... որոց Հրամայեցաք տապալել զՀիմունսն յարկացն և Հրձիգ առնել և զինքեանս Հանել ի սաւմանաց մերոց, այլ ոչ զօք վնասեցաք մարմնական պատուհասիւք. թէպէտև յօրէնսն Հրամայէ զվերջին պատուհասն կրել նոցա"; also T'ulaili, 167-168.

¹⁴⁵ Gregory Magistros, *T'ulaili*, 167-168, *Syrian Kat'olikos*, 157-158, 162. He himself accuses King Gagik II of failing to put down the sect, *Letters*, 212.

¹⁴⁶ Paul of Taron, in *KT*, 175; Nersēs Šnorhali, *Letters*, 269.

¹⁴⁷ Nersēs Šnorhali, *Letters*, 240-289.

T'ondrakeçi had been anathematized by the kat'olikoi of Ałovania as well as Armenia,¹⁴⁸ while Aristakēs of Lastivert traces the heresy of Prince Vrvēr of Širi back to an Ałovian monk.¹⁴⁹

On the later survival of the sect, we do not possess sufficient evidence. Conybeare considers all references to the Paulicians after 1166 as doubtful though some survival of the sect must be recognized, and the T'ondrakeçi were still known to Daniel de Thaurizio in the fourteenth century. Our manuscript of the *Key of Truth* dates from 1782, and we hear of an heretical Abbot John in this period.¹⁵⁰ As late as 1833-1847, the investigation carried out at Ark'weli revealed certain heretics still known as T'ondrakeçi whose doctrine bore a remarkable resemblance to that of their namesakes one millenium earlier.¹⁵¹ However, the continuous pressure exerted by the Muslim authorities on the Armenian Church from the twelfth century onward left little room for the discussion of heresy in the texts of the period.

If we now consider the total information on the history of the Paulicians, it is apparent that much of the evidence can be reconciled. There seems to be no doubt that the sect was present in Armenia before its appearance in Asia Minor. The origin of the heresy outside the imperial frontier is conceded by all the Greek sources as is its Armenian character. We know that Constantine-Silvanus and also Paul, the father of Genesius and Theodore, were specifically singled out as Armenians. Furthermore, Ter Mkrttschian observed that the name of Sergius' opponent, Baanes, is the Greek version of a purely Armenian name, Vahan (Վահան).¹⁵² Indeed, it has been pointed out that the very form of the name "Paulicians" is not Greek but Armenian in origin, containing as it does the characteristic Armenian pejorative diminutive syllable "ik" (իկ).¹⁵³ On the Armenian side, Stephen Orbelean accuses the Georgian Kat'olikos, Kyrion, of having learned the Nestorian heresy from a priest at Kolonia (Կոլոնիա).¹⁵⁴ Now Koloneia seems to have been a Greek Paulician center since, according to source S, the bishop of this city, in which Constantine-

¹⁴⁸ Gregory Magistros, *T'ulaili*, 167, *Syrian Kat'olikos*, 154.

¹⁴⁹ Aristakēs of Lastivert, *History*, 117.

¹⁵⁰ *KT-I*, lxxi-lxxii.

¹⁵¹ *Ibid.*, xxiii-xxviii. It is interesting that the refugees from the Turkish provinces still scolded their children with the term "Satana-Pulik (սատանա-Պուլիկ)". See G. Ter Mkrttschian, *Armeniaca* (Valaršapat, 1903), 73; this is noted by Melik-Bashian *Paulician Movement*, 238, and Bart'ikyan, "Legend", 92.

¹⁵² K. Ter Mkrttschian, *Die Paulikianer*, 21.

¹⁵³ *KT-I*, cv; Runciman, *Medieval Manichee*, 47; Obolensky, *Bogomils*, 55, etc.

¹⁵⁴ Stephen Orbelean, *History*, I, 146, "և գնացեալ էր ի սարկապութեանն ի Կողոնիա և բնակեալ առ երկաբնակ երիցու ընդ և ներկեալ յաղանդն".

Silvanus had been executed, warned the Emperor of the presence of the heresy in his see and thus provoked the persecution in which Symeon-Titus was killed.¹⁵⁵ At least two of the Paulician churches, Macedonia-Kibossa and Laodicea-Koinochorion, were located in the neighborhood. As we have seen from the *Oath of Union*, Nestorianism was associated with Paulicianism from the earliest period, so that we may have here Armenian corroboration of Paulician activity in the district of Koloneia. However, it must be remembered that the evidence of Stephen Orbelean is late and imprecise, and we may have nothing more here than a reference to the Orthodox Byzantine Church, Nestorian by Armenian standards, rather than to heresy.

Even more satisfactory, despite the inaccuracy of the Greek sources, is the evidence as to the geographical location of the sect. Both series of sources agree that the region on either side of the Armeno-Byzantine frontier was Paulician territory. Even more specifically, though Mananali, the home of Constantine-Silvanus, is incorrectly placed by Peter of Sicily in the neighborhood of Samosata, it is always referred to as being in Armenian lands and a center of Paulicianism; Genesis-Timothy returned to it to found the second heretic church of Achaia. Mananali is also the home district of the heretical Prince Vrvr of Širi accused of Paulicianism in the early eleventh century by Aristakēs of Lastivert.¹⁵⁶ Furthermore, the name of a district in Mananali given by Aristakēs of Lastivert, "the mountain which is called the fortress of Smbat", may well commemorate the name of the founder of the T'ondrakeçi.¹⁵⁷ Similarly, Pontus and the theme of Armeniakon, the home of Byzantine Paulicianism, is also the region in which the "sons of sinfulness" were to be found, according to Lewond.¹⁵⁸

In the sphere of politics also, the two series of texts can be brought into agreement. The usual alliance of the Paulicians with the Muslims is noted by writers on both sides of the frontier, as is the change in this policy occasioned by the favor shown to the heretics by the Iconoclastic emperors. The shift of Armenians away from Theodosiopolis by Constantine V is noted by Lewond, who adds that the local population was only too happy to follow the Byzantine emperor.¹⁵⁹ The development of the T'ondrakeçi during the ninth century coincides with the apogee of

¹⁵⁵ See pp. 117-118, nn. 16 and 27.

¹⁵⁶ See n. 141.

¹⁵⁷ Aristakēs of Lastivert, *History*, 61, "ի գաւառն Մանանաղայն ի լեւոնն որ կոչի Սմբատայ բերդ".

¹⁵⁸ See nn. 103, 106.

¹⁵⁹ Lewond, *History*, 129; cf. Theophanes, *Chronographia*, I, 429; see n. 38.

Paulician power on the Euphrates. The success of the Paulician movement in Armenia during the tenth century is probably due to the influx of refugees after the fall of Tephrikē in 872.¹⁶⁰ Finally, we must note that both the Greek and the Armenian sources agree as to the presence of Paulicians in Syria in the period following the fall of Tephrikē. The Greek chroniclers report the deportation of Paulicians from Syria by John I Tsimiskēs in the late tenth century, and Gregory Magistros, in his *Letter* to the Syrian kat'olikos almost one century later, notes that they were still present in the region.¹⁶¹

It is tempting to go farther and attempt to reconcile the two lists of heresiarchs provided by the Greek sources and Gregory Magistros. Here, however, no conclusive relation can as yet be established. Conybeare attempted to relate the Paulician Heresiarch Sergius-Tychicus to the fourth leader mentioned by Gregory Magistros, Sargis, since they bear the same name.¹⁶² It is not, however, possible to make the dates coincide. Tychicus lived in 801-835, which is the period of Smbat who was a contemporary of John V of Ovak' but by no calculations can Sargis be brought into this period. Some memory of a Sargis did linger in Armenia, nevertheless. King Gagik II, in the latter part of the eleventh century, includes the following anathema in the *Confession of Faith* he makes to the Emperor Constantine X Dukas:

We also anathematize ... Sargis who has an Armenian name, and who went accompanied by a dog and an ass, may he share on the last day the lot of dogs and asses.¹⁶³

One century later, Nersēs Šnorhali in his *Confession of Faith* in turn protests concerning:

... certain apostates of our faith preserved fables about various things for you ... of a certain soothsayer Sargis who had a dog and an ass. But the memory of this Sargis survives among us even less than the Chimera, for the latter, even if it did not exist, at least had a name, while this Sargis has among our people neither name nor existence; and if he should have existed any place, albeit unknown to us, the Catholic Church anathematizes him, his ass, his dog and whoever acknowledged or received him, for no one of our people heard his name, except the Greeks, who tell this to calumniate us.¹⁶⁴

¹⁶⁰ Iuzbashian, "T'ondrakian Movement", 41, considers the inhabitants of Շնափանք mentioned by Gregory Magistros to be refugees from Κοινοχώριον; see n. 144.

¹⁶¹ This observation is also supported by the chroniclers of the Crusades.

¹⁶² *KT-I*, lxviii-lxix.

¹⁶³ Gagik II in Matthew of Edessa, *Chronicle*, 200, "նզովեմք, և զՀայ անուն Սարգիս Հանդերձ շանն և իշովն իւրով. և բաժանակից նոցա եղիցի յաւուրն յետնունն. շանց և իշոց գրեմք".

¹⁶⁴ Nersēs Šnorhali, "Confession of Faith", *Letters*, 105, "Ասացուք փոքր ինչ և

The protestations of Nersēs are more violent than coherent. It is evident that the story of Sargis was still current. Nersēs, living as he did in Cilicia rather than in Armenia proper, may have ignored the basis of the story, which was becoming vaguer with time. Matthew of Edessa, even though he preserved for us the credo of Gagik II, includes in it a completely garbled version of the story in which Sergius, a mule-driver, compels men to worship his dog.¹⁶⁵ A still more fantastic version of the story can be found in the *Panoplia* of Euthymius Zigabenus.¹⁶⁶

It has often been suggested by Armenian scholars that Sergius-Tychicus is none other than Smbat the T'ondrakeci.¹⁶⁷ The hypothesis is very tempting; the dates of the two heresiarchs coincide; Tychicus and Smbat were both active leaders and missionaries. Conybeare, however, objects that the spheres of their activities were not identical and that the places of origin of the two heresiarchs do not coincide; Sergius, according to source *S*, came from the region of Tabia in the imperial theme of Armeniakon, whereas Smbat's home, the village of Zarehawan, lay much further east in the Armenian district of Calkotn, that is to say in the neighborhood of T'ondrak at the foot of Aladağ.¹⁶⁸ Far more probable is the hypothesis that Smbat was influenced by the ideas of his contemporary, Sergius, who as we know had been driven eastward by persecution. And it was the legendary memory of this missionary Sergius which survived in Byzantium and Armenia as late as the twelfth century.¹⁶⁹

Վասն Առաջաւորացն 'ի մէջ անուանեալ պաշտօն' զոր Հայկոյէք տգիտաբար, Սարգսի ուրումն ասելով կախարդի էջ և սկունդ ունողի. 'ի յազատամբելոցն 'ի Հաւատոյս մերոյ առասպելաբանելով 'ի զանազան իրս վասն սորին, և պատմելով ստայօղ բանիւ առաջի ձեր: Բայց առ մեզ յիշատակ այսպիսուն Սարգսի անգոյ է առաւել բան զեղջերուաբազն անուանեալ զի նա թէև զոյութիւն ոչ ունի, անուան պատահեալ, իսկ Սարգիսս այս ոչ զոյութիւն ունի յազգս մեր և ոչ անուն. զոր թէ է որ ուրեք. թէպէտ և մեզ անյայտ է, նզովէ զնա կաթողիկէ եկեղեցի և գէշ նորա և զսկունդ և զիտող նորա և զընդունող, զի զանուն նորա չէ որ լուեալ յազգս մեր, բայց ի Հոռոմոց՝ զի ասեն զրպարտելով զմեզ":

¹⁶⁵ Matthew of Edessa, *Chronicle*, 213-214.

¹⁶⁶ Euthymius Zigabenus, "Adversus Armenios", *PG*, CXXX, 1189/90BC.

¹⁶⁷ *KT-I*, lxviii n. i.

¹⁶⁸ Petrus Siculus, *Historia*, XXXII, 1287/8; Stephen of Taron, *History*, II, 12, and n. 7; Gregory Magistros, *Syrian Kat'olikos*, 153-154; see also *KT*, 144, n. 5.

¹⁶⁹ The one difficulty here is that Gregory Magistros, *Syrian Kat'olikos*, 153, says that Smbat had learned his heresy from a Persian physician named Mjusik (*Մջուսիկ*). In the present state of our knowledge of Armenian Paulicianism in the ninth century it is not possible to solve the problem of the origin of Smbat's ideas. It is possible that he may have been influenced by the messianic concept of a *mahdi* which recurs periodically in Shi'ite Persia, though Ioannisyan, "Smbat Zarehawançi", 24, denies this and rejects the thesis that Smbat's ideas had come from Persia. On the other hand, in view of the doctrinal similarity and the possibility of geographical and historical contact between them, there seems to be no reason for doubting that the development

In conclusion, the broad lines of Paulician history are now tolerably clear as are the moves of the heretics back and forth across the imperial frontier. The first recognized manifestation of Paulicianism comes from Armenia. In the mid-sixth century the Council of Dvin associated it with Nestorianism and condemned it. As a result, the activity of Armenian Paulicians seems to have been temporarily checked, though not destroyed. Almost exactly a century after the Council of Dvin, Paulicianism made its first appearance in imperial lands. The reason for this move toward the West is not known to us, but the humble beginnings of Constantine-Silvanus suggest a minor, almost personal undertaking rather than a mass movement of population.

The seventh century was a period of obscurity for the sect. Persecuted by the Emperors Constantine IV and Justinian II, Byzantine Paulicians struggled to survive and may even have fled back to Armenia during the reign of Philippicus in the first years of the next century. In Armenia, the sect was steadily gaining strength through its union with Alovanian Iconoclasts but was yet to present a serious problem to the ecclesiastical authorities.

With the beginning of the eighth century major changes took place. In the first decades of the century the Paulicians began to present a political as well as a religious problem. Alienated from the Empire by persecution, they sought alliance with the Arabs. Alarmed by the growing power of the sect in Armenia, the *Kat'olikos* John of Ojun had it condemned anew by the Council of Dvin of 719. Meanwhile the new policy of the Isaurian emperors altered the allegiance of the Paulicians. Turning against their Muslim allies, the sectarians now supported the revolt of the Armenian nobility, and, on its failure, crossed back over the frontier to seek haven on Byzantine territory where they prospered until the re-establishment of Orthodoxy. Some were even settled in Thrace by Constantine V as bulwarks of the precarious Bulgarian frontier.

Persecution by the Armenian ecclesiastical authorities, as well as Muslim reprisals for the rebellion of 748, seem to have broken the power of the Paulicians in Armenia, at least for a time. In the late eighth and early ninth centuries the sect sinks out of sight. Very different was the reaction of Byzantine Paulicianism to the renewal of persecution inaugurated with the return of Orthodoxy to the Empire. Far from submitting, the heretics were driven into open rebellion and the renewal of

of the T'ondrakeçi in Armenia during the tenth century, after the partial eclipse of Armenian Paulicianism in the preceding period, was the result, at least in part, of the influence of heretical refugees from the Empire.

their Muslim alliance. The ninth century marks the zenith of Paulician political power and of its threat to Byzantium. The full strength of the Empire had to be marshalled by Basil I to conquer Tephrikē and remove the perpetual danger to his realm constituted by the Paulician state on the Euphrates.

With the destruction of their capital, the history of the Paulicians in the eastern provinces of the Empire comes to an end. Some made their submission,¹⁷⁰ others survived in the Balkans to create trouble in the future, most fled toward the Arabs and their original home of Armenia. The presence of the refugees from Tephrikē reinforced the Paulicianism of Armenia recreated by Smbat of Zarehawan. By the tenth century the sect had become sufficiently powerful to embrace an important segment of the population, mostly in the western provinces of Armenia, and to spread southward into Syria. The growth of the new Paulicianism—the T'ondrakeçi—brought about the expected reaction. The religious and secular authorities turned to the repression of the sect. The Byzantine and Armenian powers collaborated in this work. The deportation of Paulicians from Syria by John Tsimisces in 970 strengthened the sect in the Balkans. The armies of Basil II helped the Armenian clergy against the heretics in Mananali in the first years of the eleventh century. In the middle of the century the persecutions of the imperial viceroy of Vaspurakan and Mesopotamia, Gregory Magistros, drove the heretics still farther to the east.

The repressive measures of the eleventh century brought about the final weakening of Paulicianism—no further revival was to give it power—yet the authorities did not succeed in extirpating it. Long after the Paulicians had died out in Asia Minor proper, they persisted in the East where, still allied to the Muslims in stubborn opposition to the Empire, they were met by the Crusaders. In the Balkans the descendants of the Paulicians were to provide both military power and numerous difficulties for Alexis I Comnenus and his successors.¹⁷¹ In Armenia they may have lingered in obscurity to a period close to our time.

¹⁷⁰ We hear of a certain Diakonitzes who had been a lieutenant of Chrysocheir and had tried to save his leader at the final battle. After the destruction of Tephrikē, we find him as an officer in the army taken by Nicephorus Phocas, the elder, to Italy in 885; see Theophanes Continuatus, *Chronographia*, 275, 313, and my Introduction, n. 3.

¹⁷¹ Anna Comnena, *Alexiade*, II, 44, III, 179-180.

IV

THE PAULICIAN DOCTRINE

All attempts to reconstruct the doctrine of the Paulician heresy have been faced with two basic difficulties: 1) Most of our knowledge on the subject must be derived from hostile Orthodox sources, which may be misinformed or which may deliberately distort the dogma of the sect. 2) The apparently irreconcilable disagreement between the Armenian and Greek sources permits no conclusive synthesis of Paulician doctrine.

The first difficulty, common to most studies of heretical dogma, can be obviated by the study of the one Paulician document surviving in Armenia, the *Key of Truth*, and the comparison of its doctrine with the one described by Orthodox writers. The second problem, though far more complicated, can also be solved. The fundamental difficulty in this case has been created by the assumption that Paulician doctrine remained static throughout the sect's existence and showed no variation with time or place. It is the purpose of this chapter to demonstrate the fallacy of this assumption on the basis of the analysis of the Greek sources already presented in Chapter I. Once the alteration of Paulician doctrine in Byzantium has been shown, a possibility of reconciling the seemingly contradictory evidence of the Greek and Armenian material can be found. Some conclusions as to the character of Paulician dogma may then be formulated.

Before any such conclusions are attempted, the following aspects of the problem must be considered:

- 1) The information of the *Key of Truth* and its relation to the Orthodox Armenian material;
- 2) The nature of the doctrine presented in the tenth-century Greek sources—in Peter of Sicily and the Pseudo-Photius; in the ninth-century source *P*; and finally in sources *S* and *A* as well as other sources on early Byzantine Paulicianism;
- 3) The evidence of a modification of Paulician doctrine within the

Empire and the dogmatic relation of Armenian and Byzantine Paulicianism.

From the *Key of Truth* a comprehensive picture of Paulician doctrine in Armenia can be obtained. The confession of faith found in this document begins as follows:

We confess and believe that there is one true God, of whom our Lord Christ speaketh. ... Again we confess and believe in Jesus Christ (a new creature and not) creator.¹

This "one true God" is the creator of both the heavens and the earth.² Jesus does not seem to have been born the Son of God, but rather to have been recognized by the Father as a reward for the virtuousness of his life and the quality of his faith:

Forasmuch as the (created) man Jesus became very faithful to his Father, for this reason, the Father bestowed upon him a name of praise which is above every name.³

Jesus was, therefore, "created" and not "begotten":

... out of thy divine compassion thou didst create the new man Jesus.⁴

The recognition of Jesus as Son of God came only at his baptism, which was the most important sacrament for the Paulicians:

But the (created) man Jesus knew his Father, and by the inspiration of the Holy Spirit came to St. John in all gentleness and humility to be baptized by him. And at the same time he was crowned by the almighty Father, who said: "Yonder is my well-loved son in whom I am well pleased."⁵

Such significance is given throughout the *Key* to the question of baptism that it seems worth while to reproduce an extensive section of the text listing the attributes and virtues acquired by Jesus with this sacrament:

¹ *KT*, 28-29 (93-94), "Խոստովանիմք և Հաւատամք զաստուած մի ճշմարիտ զոյ, զոր տէրն մեր քրիստոս ասէ ... Դարձեալ խոստովանիմք և Հաւատամք զյիսուս քրիստոս [նոր արարած և ոչ] արարիչ". *Ibid.*, 94, n. 2, the words in parentheses in the translation were erased in the MS. and restored by Conybeare. Alexander Eretzean, working independently, confirmed the reconstruction. Unless otherwise noted, I shall quote from the translation of Conybeare.

² *Ibid.*, 29 (94), also 52 (114).

³ *Ibid.*, 12 (80), "Վասնորոյ յոյժ Հաւատարիմ եղեալ ... մարդն Յիսուս Հօրն իւրոյ: Վասն այսորիկ չնորՀեաց նմա անուն զովԷլի որ ի վեր է քան զամենայն անունս".

⁴ *Ibid.*, 45 (108), "Արդ զԹալովդ քոյ աստուածութեանդ արարեք զնոր մարդն յիսուս".

⁵ *Ibid.*, 11 (79), "Իսկ ... մարդն Յիսուս ծանեալ զՀայրն իւր և եկեալ աստմամբ սուրբ Հոգւոյն առ սուրբն Յովնանսէս. Հեղութեամբ և խոնարհութեամբ մկրտիլ ի նմանէ: Եւ նոյն ժամայն պսակեցաւ ի Հօրէ ամենակալէ թէ Դայ է որդի իմ սիրելի ընդ որ Հանգայ, որպէս ի վերն գրեցաւ".

First was our Lord Jesus Christ baptized by the command of the heavenly Father, when thirty years old, as St. Luke has declared his years, iii, 23: 'And Jesus himself was of years about thirty, beginning with which as he was supposed son of Joseph'. So then it was in the season of his maturity that he received baptism; then it was that he received authority, received the high-priesthood, received the kingdom and the office of chief shepherd. Moreover, he was then chosen, then won lordship ... Nay more. It was then he became chief of beings heavenly and earthly, then he became light of the world, then he became the way, the truth, and the life; ... Then he became the foundation of our faith; then he became Saviour of us sinners; then he was filled with the Godhead; then he was sealed, then anointed; then he was called by the voice, then he became the loved one, then he came to be guarded by angels, then to be the lamb without blemish. Furthermore he then put on that primal raiment of light which Adam lost in the garden. Then accordingly it was that he was invited by the Spirit of God to converse with the heavenly Father; yea, then also he was ordained king of beings in heaven and on earth and under the earth; and all else (besides) all this in due order the Father gave to his only born Son.⁶

Since Jesus had received baptism only at the age of thirty as a reward for his past life, the Paulicians of the *Key* were firmly opposed to infant baptism. On the eighth day after birth the child was named,⁷ but baptism was granted only to adults after long entreaty on the part of the catechumen, and after instruction, confession, and repentance:

Thus also the Lord, having learned from the Father, proceeded to teach us to perform holy baptism and all his other commands at an age of full growth (*or lit.* in a complete or mature season) and at no other time... So must we also perform baptism when they are of full age like our Lord; so that they may seek it in faith from us, and that we may give them baptism and perfect blessing... He who does not believe and repent cannot be baptized and be justified, be purified of sin and be freed from the fetters of Satan... Therefore according to the word of the Lord, we must first bring them into the faith, induce them to repent, and then give it unto them.⁸

⁶ *KT*, 5-6 (74-75), "Նախ տէր մեր Յիսուս Քրիստոս մկրտեցաւ Հրամանաւ Հօրն երկնաւորի երեսուն ամեայ (յ), որպէս սուրբն զուկաս յայտնեալ զանս նորա. Գլ. 3, Լմր. 23. Եւ ինքն Յիսուս էր ամսաց իբրեւ երեսնից, սկսեալ որոց որպէս կարծիր որդի Թօսեփայ:

Արդ ՚ի ժամանակի կատարելութեան խառ զմկրտութիւն, խառ անդ զիշխանութիւն, խառ զքաւանսյապետութիւն, խառ զթագաւորութիւն և զհովապետութիւն: Դարձեալ անդ ընտրեցաւ, անդ պերճացաւ, ...: Իսկ արդ անդ եղև զուկս երկնաւորաց և երկրաւորաց. անդ եղև լոյս աշխարհի. անդ եղև ճանապարհ և ճշմարտութիւն և կեանք. ... անդ եղև Հիմն մերոյս Հաւատոյ, անդ եղև փրկիչ մեզ մեղաւորացս, անդ լցաւ աստուածութեամբ, անդ կնքեցաւ, անդ օծեցաւ, անդ ձայնեցաւ, անդ եղև սիրելի, անդ եղև պարտեալ ի Հրեշտակաց, անդ եղև զառն անարատ: Նաեւ անդ զգեցաւ զլուսեղէն պատմունան զստաջին զոր կորոյս Աղաճն ի զրախտին: Արդ անդ Հրախրեցաւ Հոգոյն աստուծոյ խօսիլ ընդ Հօրն երկնաւորին: Նաեւ անդ կարգեցաւ թագաւոր երկնաւորաց և երկրաւորաց և սանդարամետականաց; և զայլ ըսաւ կարգի զայս ամենայն եւս Հայրն իւր միածնին":

⁷ *Ibid.*, 20-21 (87-88).

⁸ *Ibid.*, 6 (75), "Այսպէս և տէրն ուսեալ ի Հօրէ և ազա մեզ ուսոյց անել զսուրբ մկրտութիւն և զայլ ամենայն պատուէրս իւր ի կատարեալ ժամանակի և ոչ այլ ժամու": 21-22 (88), "Այսպէս

The consequence of the importance attributed to the baptism of Jesus was the belief that every man who made himself worthy of this sacrament could be filled with the Holy Spirit as Jesus had been. In the ritual contained in the *Key* we find the following prayer:

Bestow thy holy grace on this one, who now is come and asks of thee the grace of thy holy authority, and that he may be ranked along with thy holy Son, according to that which is said that 'wherever I shall be, there also shall be my worshipper'.⁹

and likewise:

... make them a temple and dwelling-place of the Father increate, of the Son our intercessor, now and ever and unto eternity of eternities. Amen.¹⁰

Thus the elect could indeed reach the same plane as Christ as a result of his baptism:

Now therefore it is necessary for the baptizer to be elect according to the words of the heavenly Father to his beloved Son, Luke ix, 35: He is my Son Elect.¹¹

As we can see from the preceding quotations, Christ is considered to be the intercessor for mankind, and indeed is referred to throughout as the Savior, the Lamb of God; there appears to be no denial of the Passion and the Redemption.¹² Because of the doctrine of Jesus' reception of the Holy Spirit at his baptism, the Virgin Mary plays only a small part in the *Key*: She is not considered to have remained a virgin after the birth of Jesus.¹³ Finally, in imitation of the passion of Christ, the catechumen took upon himself all sorrows, temptations and suffering.¹⁴

The Paulicians of the *Key* definitely claimed to be the heirs of the apostolic tradition, which in their opinion had been perverted by the Christian Churches.¹⁵ Consequently, they rejected the Orthodox sacra-

և մեզ Հարկ է առնել զմկրտութիւն. ըստ տեառն մերոյ կատարել. զի նոքա Հաւատով խնարեսցեն ի մէջ և ապա մեք տամք նոցա զմկրտութիւն և զկատարեալ օրհնութիւն": 22 (89), "եթէ որք ոչ Հաւատասցէ, ապաշխարեսցէ, ոչ կարէ մկրտիլ և արդարանալ. մաքրիլ ի մեղաց և ազատիլ ի կապանաց սատանայի": 8 (77), "Արդ՝ ըստ բանին տեառն Հարկ է մեզ զնոսա նախ ի Հաւատս բերել, յապաշխարանս մուծանել և ապա նոցա տալ":

⁹ KT 46 (108), "առնիք սմա զչնորՀա քոյ սուրբ, զոր այժմ եկեալ է և խնդրէ 'ի քէն զչնորՀա քո սուրբ իշխանութեան և ընդ սիրելի որդւոյդ քում զասիլ զոր ասէ. զի ուր էսն իցեն՝(անդ) և պաշտօնեան իմ եղիցի":

¹⁰ Ibid., 36 (100), "Արբէն զՆոգիս զմիտս սոցա և արմ տանար և բնակարան Հօրն անեղին, որդւոյն բարեխօսին յայժմ և միշտ և յաւիտեանս յաւիտենից. Ամէն". Also (109, 111, etc.).

¹¹ Ibid., 30 (95), "Այլ արդ՝ Հարկ է մկրտողին լինի ընտրեալ ըստ ասից Հօրն երկնաւորի թո որդին իւր սիրելի. Ղուկ. գլ. 9 Հմր. 35. 'Դա է որդի իմ ընտրեալ':

¹² Ibid., 2-3 (72), 44 (106-107), also (101, 103, 112, 122, 124, etc.).

¹³ Ibid., 51-52 (113-114).

¹⁴ Ibid., 44 (106-107).

¹⁵ Ibid., (73-74, 76, 80, 86-87, 91.).

ments as polluted and inoperative and likewise did not recognize the Orthodox clergy.¹⁶ Within the sect two grades of members seem to have existed, the elect who had received the Holy Spirit at baptism, and the simple faithful. A hierarchy of sorts was present, since there are references to elect, priests, bishops, rulers, archrulers, and a president. However, it is stated that:

... all these are one and the same thing; nor are they one greater or lesser than another ... authority is one, and is not greater or less.¹⁷

Hence these offices do not seem to have carried any special authority or privileges. Asceticism was not favored, and monks are specifically mentioned as one of the disguises of Satan.¹⁸ There is also a condemnation of auricular confession and absolution, fasts, and the intercession of saints, since the remission of sins belongs to God alone.¹⁹

In contradiction to a statement found in Peter of Sicily, we do not find any particular disrespect paid to the Apostle Peter. It is true that the *Key of Truth* points out that the Church is founded on the twelve apostles and not Peter alone, but in another passage we find the reference, "St. Peter, a member of the universal and apostolic holy Church, saith in his catholic Epistle..."²⁰ which can scarcely be interpreted as a rejection of the Apostle. Similarly, there is no rejection of the Old Testament in the *Key of Truth*. The story of Adam and Eve is told in its traditional form, and Enoch, Elias, Abraham, and Moses are treated with respect, so that we must conclude that the Old Testament was acceptable to the Paulicians, who used the *Key* as part of the Scriptures.²¹

One more point is of great interest and importance to us—namely, the

¹⁶ *KT* (84-86, 118-119).

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 42-43 (105), also (103, 106), "որ սոքա ամենեքեան մի և նոյն զործ են և ոչ են սոքայ մեծ կամ փոքր ի վերայ միմեանց, այլ են Հարթ Հաւասար, ... զմի լինելն իշխանութեան և ոչ մեծ կամ փոքր".

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, chapter ix, 17 (84-85), also 62(122).

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, (86, 120).

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 50 (112), "զոր ծասն ընդհանրական և առաքելական սուրբ եկեղեցւոյն՝ սուրբն պետրոս ասէ"; also (82-83, 92-93, 110, 115, 124).

²¹ *Ibid.*, (78-81, 104-105, 118 etc.). Scheidweiler, "Paulikianerprobleme", 378, objects to the account of the fall of Adam and Eve and considers non-Orthodox the words; "... and they beheld each other's nakedness and were not ashamed, և տեսին յայնժամ զմերկութիւնս միմեանց և ոչ ամաչէին", *KT*, 10 (79). The important point, however, is that both here and on page 81, the fall of man is attributed to the deceit of Satan in the Orthodox manner, whereas the Gnostic interpretation would make the serpent the messenger of God sent to reveal to Adam and Eve the evil intentions of the Demiurge who is the creator of this world. There is no trace of such an interpretation anywhere in the *Key* so that the questionable passage may well be due to an accidental error in copying.

specific rejection of images and of the reverence of them as idolatry:

Ye [the unbelievers]... are followers of your father, the evil one, who gave you his law, namely, to baptize unbelievers, to worship images, to make silver and gold in the form of an image ... and to adore the same.²²

Another passage speaks of:

(testimonies) Concerning the mediation of our Lord Jesus Christ, and not any other holy ones, either of the dead, or of stones, or of crosses and images. In this matter some have denied the precious mediation and intercession of the beloved Son of God, and have followed after dead (things) and in especial after images, stones, crosses, waters, trees, fountains, and all other vain things; as they admit, and worship them, so they offer incense and candles, and present victims, all of which are contrary to the Godhead.²³

Such, then, is the doctrine of the *Key of Truth*. Its main points are the unity of God; the humanity and adoption of Jesus; the overwhelming importance of baptism whereby Jesus was adopted as the Son of God and whereby the believer could become the equal of Christ; the apostolic claim, with the rejection of all sacraments and of the hierarchy of the other churches; and a rejection of both asceticism and image worship.

We must now see whether the Armenian sources which we possess from Orthodox authors give a similar account of the Paulician-T'ondra-keçi doctrine. In the earliest period, our information is not decisive. The doctrine of the heretics condemned at Šahapivan is not given, and Lazar of P'arpi, writing ca. 480, is none too helpful in his characterization of the contemporary heresy:

But the heresy of the land of the Armenians is not named according to a teacher [vardapet] and is not written down in words. They are ignorant in faith and learning, and in their deeds lazy and incontinent and thus flourish into heresy [become blooming as heretics]; of them according to the words of the fable [proverb] may be said 'for the bridal of the swine a bath of manure.'²⁴

²² KT 19 (86), "... և էք Հետեօղ Հօրն ձերոյ շարին, զոր ևս ձեզ զօրէն իւր, այսինքն զանՀաւատս միրտել, զպատկերս պաշտել, զարծաթ և զոսկի ի ձեւ պատկերի ... անել և երկիրպազանել".

²³ *Ibid.*, 53-54 (115), "Յաղագս բարեխօսութեան տեան մերոյ յիսուսի քրիստոսի և ոչ այլ սրբոց կամ մեռելոց և կամ քարից և փայտից և պատկերաց, զոր ոմանք ուրացեալ են զպատուական միջնորդութիւն և բարեխօսութիւն սիրելի որդոյն աստուծոյ, և Հետեալ են մեռելոց և մանաւանդ պատկերաց, քարից, փայտից, ջրոց, ծառոց, աղբերաց և այլ ամենայն յունայն իրաց, որպէս ասեն և երկիր պազանեն, զխունկս և զմոմս բնծային և զո՛հս մատուցանեն, որք սոքա ամենեքեան են Հակառակ աստուածութեան".

²⁴ Lazar of P'arpi, *Letter*, 49, "Իսկ Հայոց աշխարհի աղանդ, զոր ասեն՝ անանուն է ըստ վարդապետի և անգիր ըստ բանի: Ի Հաւատոյ և յուսմանէ տղէտք երևին, և ի գործս ծոյլք և անժոյժք, յորոց՝ ըստ անգիտութեանն որ է՝ ի նոսա և անկարգ ըստ վարուց, այդպիսի իսկ արդարեւ աղանդոց վայելէր բուսանել՝ ըստ յօդուածոյ առասպելաբանութեանն, թէ 'Ըստ խոզի Հարսնացելոյ' կոյաջուր բազանիք": Runciman, *Medieval Manichee*, 31.

Conybeare sees the hint of a baptismal tenet in the quoted proverb, though this seems to strain the evidence unduly.²⁵ We can, however, deduce from this passage that the heresy described had already existed for some time. It is specifically distinguished from the great traditional heresies to which Lazar referred in a passage immediately preceding the above quotation.²⁶ What is more important is the moral criterion which Lazar employs to differentiate between the Armenian heretics, who are "in their deeds lazy and incontinent", and the other heretics who, although they are to be censured and pitied for their doctrinal errors:

... yet nonetheless they [limp] in words not in deeds because they have accomplished one by one the mortifications according to chastity of the flesh and especially food, drink and the abstention from vice.²⁷

This characterization of the Armenian heretics as "incontinent" may well be a distortion of the rejection of excessive asceticism and fasts which we have already met in the *Key of Truth*,²⁸ so that these unnamed heretics of Lazar of P'arpi may perhaps be early Paulicians. In any case we see that the opposition to extreme asceticism found in the *Key of Truth* was already a characteristic of Armenian heretics as early as the end of the fifth century.

In the *Oath of Union* of the Council of Dvin, the similarity between the Nestorians and the Paulicians is stressed. The separation of the two natures of Christ and the consequent refusal of the name Mother of God (Theotokos) to Mary in the Nestorian doctrine does indeed show a similarity to the belief found in the *Key* that Jesus was born a man from Mary, that she did not remain a virgin, and that only at his baptism was he adopted as Son of God.²⁹

From the end of the sixth century onward, we have such a plenitude of information that it will be necessary for the sake of clarity to discuss it

²⁵ *KT-I*, cviii.

²⁶ Lazar of P'arpi, *Letter*, 48.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 49, "Եւ արդ թէպէտեզ զթեալ սոքա անբժշկութեամբ կազան 'ի Հաւատն, այլ սակայն բանիւ և ոչ զործով. զի ըստ մարմնոյ պարկեշտութեան յամենայն հոգնութիւնս զմի միով ելեկա առնեն, և մանաւանդ 'ի կերակուրս և ըմպելիս և 'ի զիջութեան ժուծկալութիւնս".

²⁸ See n. 18.

²⁹ The description of Nestorian doctrine found in the official Armenian ecclesiastical documents bears the closest resemblance to the dogma of the *Key*. Jesus was born a mere man of mortal nature; he was the son of God only in name and not truly the Son of God. Through the help of the Holy Spirit he became worthy of grace and the temple of the Divine Logos, *BL*, 145. The baptism in the Jordan did not provide for the baptism of a divine nature but of a human, weak, and corruptible nature, *ibid.*, 47. These Nestorian beliefs are repeated again and again in the *Book of Letters*; see Poladian, *Thesis*, 31 ff.

topically rather than chronologically. We will, therefore, take in order the dogmas and practices found in the *Key of Truth* and compare them with the remainder of the existing evidence.

The first question to be considered is the belief in the unity of God. Unfortunately, on this particular point we possess nothing but negative information. The Orthodox sources in general are more apt to concern themselves with heretical practices which are readily observable than with abstruse points of doctrine which the heretics guarded jealously and which could be ferreted out only by detailed investigation. Nevertheless the absence, with a single exception, of any mention of dualism ascribed to the heretics in any period, early or late, is significant. Ecclesiastical authorities would certainly have noted a tenet so completely contradictory to the basic premise of the Orthodox creed, had it come to their attention. It does not seem unwarranted to deduce from this silence that no dualism existed among the Paulicians.

The one exception mentioned above is to be found in a *Letter* of Gregory Magistros, who accused the T'ondrakeçi at one point of saying that Moses saw not God, but the devil, and that Satan was the creator of the world.³⁰ It must be remembered in this connection that Gregory Magistros is not always an entirely reliable source. He is the only one of the Armenian writers who is not a churchman, and while his observations on the practices as well as the history of the sectarians appear reliable, his theology may perhaps be open to question. Moreover, as has already been observed in the discussion of the sources, Gregory was also the only Armenian who had lived a long time in Constantinople. His allegiance to the Byzantine government is proclaimed by him throughout, and his outlook on the T'ondrakeçi is definitely in accord with imperial policy. He is well aware of the legislation promulgated by the Byzantine emperors to counteract heresy in imperial lands.³¹ We know him to have been a cultivated man, and it is possible that he was acquainted with the Greek writers' accounts of the Paulicians and reproduced one of their accusations in his *Letter*. We shall return later in this chapter to a discussion of the relation between the Paulician doctrine found in the *Letters* of Gregory Magistros and that of the Byzantine authorities; let it suffice to note here that the accusation of dualism made by Gregory is not found in his contemporaries and, for that matter, is not supported by any other

³⁰ Gregory Magistros, *Syrian Kat'olikos*, 161.

³¹ *Ibid.*, 157-158, 162. The reference on 162 seems to be to the laws promulgated by the Byzantine emperors against the "Manichaeans". See my Chapter V. These laws are also familiar to Peter of Sicily, see my Chapter I, n., 121.

Armenian source. This should lessen the importance of his assertion. In the absence of a positive statement on the subject, however, we must consider the evidence on this first point of dogma as inconclusive.

On the second point of the creed, namely the belief that Jesus was born a man and subsequently was adopted as the Son of God at baptism, the sources are far from numerous. On the other hand, we never find the belief quoted by Peter of Sicily that Christ only seemed to be incarnated. When John of Ojun lists in his *Sermons against the Phantasiasts*, the heretics who held this belief he does not include the Paulicians.³² Gregory of Narek accuses the T'ondrakeçi of "anthropolatrous apostasy",³³ which may be a reference to their refusal to recognize divinity as a part of Christ's nature rather than as a manifestation of God's grace. More specifically, King Gagik II anathematizes those who believe that first man was created and that then God entered into him, who deny the divinity of Christ's birth and the Incarnation, and who therefore admit two sons, one born of God and the other of a mother.³⁴ This specific anathema shows that the belief so characteristic of the *Key of Truth* existed in Gagik's time. Even closer to the *Key* is the following statement of dogma:

If anyone pretend that only after baptism or his resurrection from the dead, he (Jesus) became worthy of adoption as the Son of God, may he be anathematized.³⁵

We know of no sect in this period and region other than the T'ondrakeçi which would have supported such a doctrine. We must, therefore, assume that the anathemas of Gagik are directed against them. Conybeare also sees a definite reference to the same point of dogma in the accusation of Isaac Kat'olikos that the Armenians deny the perfection of Christ's Incarnation, but the text seems too ambiguous for any conclusion.³⁶ Finally, Paul of Taron in the twelfth century condemned the T'ondrakeçi who "say that Christ was a mere man".³⁷

The sacrament of baptism, which played such an important part in

³² John of Ojun, *Contra Phantasiasticos*, 134/5.

³³ Gregory of Narek, *Letter*, 499, "զծարդապաշտ ուրաջութիւնն".

³⁴ Gagik II in Matthew of Edessa, *Chronicle*, 204. See my Chapter V, n. 140, for text.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, 205, "Եթէ որ յետ ծիրանութեան՝ կած յետ մեռելոց յարութեանն որդեգրութեան արժանաւոր լեալ առիցէ (զգրիստոս), եղովեալ եղիցի".

³⁶ Isaac Kat'olikos, *Oratio I*, 1181/2CD, "Οὐδὲν γὰρ ἕτερον οἱ ἀσεβεῖς, ἢ τὸ τέλειον τῆς Χριστοῦ ἐνανθρωπήσεως ἀρνεῖσθαι βουλόμενοι, ταῦτα πάντα φλυαροῦσι καὶ προφασίζονται, ἀλλοτρίους καὶ ξένους τοῦ Χριστοῦ, καὶ τῶν ἁγίων αὐτοῦς δεικνύοντες". See Conybeare, *KT*, 172, n. 4, *KT-I*, lxxvii.

³⁷ Paul of Taron, *Matenadaran* #5787, fol. 294b, as quoted in Ioannisyan, "Smbat Zarchawanci", 15, n. 3, "սակն "թէ լոկ ծարդ էր քրիստոս".

the *Key*, and which stems directly from the doctrine of Christ's adoption, is amply referred to in the sources. In the *Letter* of John Mayragomeçi we learn that the Ałovanian heretics who were in contact with the Paulicians in Armenia rejected the Orthodox sacrament of baptism.³⁸ John of Ojun in his *Oratio Synodalis* discusses the baptismal practices of the heretics—their grant of baptism without the usual preliminary questions of the Orthodox ritual and the formal renunciation of the devil, as well as without the required profession of belief in the Trinity.³⁹ Moreover, he relates the belief current among them in his day, that "It is fitting to baptize at the age of thirty and to circumcise on the eighth day",⁴⁰ according to the example of Christ. Conybeare believes that the mention of circumcision on the eighth day is a reference to the Paulician ceremony of name-giving usually performed on that day, as we are told in the *Key*.⁴¹ The belief in the delay of baptism to the age of thirty in imitation of Christ is specifically insisted upon in many passages of the *Key*. Gregory of Narek complains that "We know the font is denied by them, in which Christ himself was baptized".⁴² Aristakēs of Lastivert, though he has stated that he would not discuss the doctrine of the heretics, remarks that the followers of Vrvor of Širi rejected baptism.⁴³ Gregory Magistros refers to the heretics' "graceless baptism"⁴⁴ and, more importantly, relates the following statement made by the heretics:

... when we [the Orthodox] ask: 'Why do you not allow yourselves to be baptized as Christ and the Apostles enjoined?' they answer: 'You do not know the mystery of baptism; we are in no hurry to be baptized, for baptism is death'.⁴⁵

This passage emphasized both the importance of baptism and its delay, as does the *Key*. Finally, Gregory Magistros admonishes the heretics to allow their children to receive baptism, a practice which they consequently could not have been following.⁴⁶ Nersēs Šnorhali, in his *Pastoral Epistle* to "the country folk and the poor people", warns them not to reject baptism. It is clear from his condemnation of those who "scorn baptism

³⁸ John Mayragomeçi, *Letter*, xlv, 213; Der Nersessian, "Apologie", 71.

³⁹ John of Ojun, *Oratio Synodalis*, 24/5.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 16/7. "Հարկ է և երեսնամեայ մկրտել. և թլփատել ութօրեայ."

⁴¹ *KT-I*. lxxxiii.

⁴² Gregory of Narek, *Letter*, 499.

⁴³ Aristakēs of Lastivert, *History*, 125.

⁴⁴ Gregory Magistros, *Syrian Kat'olikos*, 153. "անշնորհ մկրտութեան."

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 161, "ասեն, Ոչ գիտէք դուք զխորհուրդ մկրտութեան. մեզ ոչ է փոյթ մկրտել-քանզի մկրտելն մահն է".

⁴⁶ Gregory Magistros, *T'ulaili*, 166.

and the baptizing priest",⁴⁷ that it was not baptism in general, but rather the Orthodox sacrament which was spurned, together with the authority of the Orthodox clergy. In the same century, Isaac Kat'olikos corroborates the earlier evidence of John of Ojun:

Christ was thirty years old when he was baptized. Therefore, let them not baptize anyone until he be thirty years of age.⁴⁸

Such is the heretical admonition. Isaac also tells us that the catechumen neither rejected the devil nor made a pact with God before baptism.⁴⁹

Thus the Orthodox Armenian sources show that the heretics, whether Paulicians or T'ondrakeci, regarded baptism as an all-important sacrament, which in imitation of Jesus was to be given only to adults and not to children, and that they rejected the Orthodox sacrament as worthless. One more point can be observed from the sources. The heretics, probably again in memory of Jesus' baptism in the Jordan, rejected the use of the baptismal font. John of Ojun notes this practice:

... they do not build altars and baptistries according to the precepts and traditions of our blessed fathers ... and they are accustomed to perform the rite of baptism according to the need and time and place in whatever vessel comes to hand.⁵⁰

This point is corroborated by Gregory of Narek and Isaac Kat'olikos.⁵¹ The emphasis laid by Gregory Magistros on the font which he built in T'ondrak implies that such an action ran counter to local practices.⁵²

The claim that each man could be accepted as the Son of God, the equal of Christ, created much scandal among Orthodox Armenian eccle-

⁴⁷ Nersēs Šnorhali, *Epistola Pastoralis* (Venice, 1829), 170, "Եւ որ զծիրառիս և զծիրառի քահանայն անարդէ. առ Հոգին սուրբ է անարգութիւնն այն".

⁴⁸ Isaac Kat'olikos, *Oratio I*, 1179/80B, "Ὁ Χριστὸς τριακονταετῆς ἐβαπτίσθη. οὐκοῦν αὐτοὶ ἕως τριάκοντα ἐτῶν μηδένα βαπτίσωσιν".

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 1179/80C.

⁵⁰ John of Ojun, *Oratio Synodalis*, 16/7, 20/1, "... զի ի տեղիս տեղիս զսեղանս և զաւազանս ոչ անեն ըստ Հրաճանի և աւանդութեան Երանելեացն մերոց Հարանց՝ քարեղէն և անշարժարար զերկրոյնն Հիմնացուցանելով. այլ զսեղանն փայտեղէն և շարժուն աննելով. իսկ զաւազանն ըստ պիտոյիցն՝ ըստ ժամուն և ըստ տեղեացն, որ ինչ անօթով և ի ձեռն գայլէ, կատարեն զկարգն".

The injunction of the thirteenth canon of the Council of Dvin that a baptistry is not to be built with any material or in any place bears out this point; John of Ojun, *Canons*, 62/3, "Ոչ է պարտ զաւազանն յայլ իմեքէ նիւթոյ պատրաստել, և կամ ուրանօր և կամ ւսջի. այլ աւազան քարեղէն Հաստատել ի նմին իսկ յեկեղեցւոյն, և կամ անդէն մերձ յեկեղեցին ի մկրտատունսն".

⁵¹ Gregory of Narek, *Letter*, 499. Isaac Kat'olikos, *Oratio I*, 1179/80B, "Ὁ Χριστὸς ἐν κολυμβήθρα οὐκ ἐβαπτίσθη, ἀλλ' ἐν ποταμῷ· μηδ' αὐτοὶ ἐν κολυμβήθρα βαπτίσωσιν".

⁵² Gregory Magistros, *Syrian Kat'olikos*, 158.

siastics. Apparently the belief dated from the earliest period, for Vrt'anēs K'ert'ol accuses the Iconoclasts of his period of this pretension: "For you, made proud by the devil, call yourselves holy, and you resemble whitened sepulchres".⁵³ In the tenth century Xosrov Anjevaçi condemns contemporary South Armenian heretics for the undue reverence which they gave to their leaders:

They pray wherever they find it convenient, and, what is worse, they worship not God but a man created in his image, since for prayer they gather in the houses of the elders of the village in order to pray not to God but to them [the elders] as though they were putting them above God; and scorning the houses of God, they prefer to pray in their houses.⁵⁴

Xosrov's son, Gregory of Narek, likewise says that "... they dared to call the head of their abominable sect a Christ".⁵⁵ He tells us further that Smbat was killed because of his claim to be a Christ, for his murderer challenged him to rise again, and that Smbat had allowed himself to be worshipped by his followers.⁵⁶ In the twelfth century, Paul of Taron compared a certain Proteron, who had said that he was in his own person the Church, to the T'ondrakeçi.⁵⁷ This belief is also noted by Nersēs Šnorhali, according to whom the heretics were accustomed to say: "The church is not the one which is built by men, but we ourselves".⁵⁸ The consequent rejection of church buildings is remarked by Paul of Taron and Isaac Kat'olikos.⁵⁹ Gregory of Narek's *Discourse on the Church against the Manichaeans who are Paulicians*⁶⁰ enumerates the function of each part of the church building, possibly in opposition to the T'ondrakeçi doctrine that the church was merely the gathering of the faithful, though the *Discourse* may also be a refutation of Paulician Iconoclasm.⁶¹

A number of other beliefs and practices contained in the *Key* are likewise recorded by the Orthodox sources. The practice whereby the catechumen at baptism takes upon himself suffering and sorrow in memory

⁵³ Vrt'anēs K'ert'ol, *Treatise*, 69, "Mais vous enorgueillis par le démon, vous appelez saintes vos propres personnes, et vous ressemblez aux sépulcres blanchis".

⁵⁴ Xosrov Anjevaçi, *Matenadaran #8075*, fol. 159, as quoted in Ioannisyan, "T'ondrakian Movement", 105, n. 42; Aristakēs of Lastivert, *History*, 119-120, also noted the abandonment of church buildings in the region overrun by the heretics.

⁵⁵ Gregory of Narek, *Letter*, 500, "Թէ որ զգլխաւոր աղանդին իւրեանց զարշութեանն յանդգնեալ Քրիստոս անուանեն".

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, "... եւ պիղծն Սմբատ կրկին Սիմոն, իւրոցն ... աշակերտացն զինքն ետ երկրպագել".

⁵⁷ Paul of Taron, in *KT*, 175.

⁵⁸ Nersēs Šnorhali, *Letters*, 269. "... եկեղեցի ոչ շինեալն է 'ի մարդկանէ' այլ մեք միայն."

⁵⁹ Paul of Taron, in *KT*, 174-175; Isaac Kat'olikos, *Oratio I*, 1179/80C, 1181/2A. See also Xosrov Anjevaçi, n. 54.

⁶⁰ Gregory of Narek, *Discourse*, 477-492.

⁶¹ See my Chapter V.

of the passion of Christ, seen in the *Key*, seems to be echoed in the reference of Gregory Magistros to "... their strange and horrible and loathsome bearing of suffering".⁶² Concerning the position attributed to the Virgin Mary by the heretics, we also have a passing mention in Gregory Magistros,⁶³ but since the belief in her identification with the Heavenly Jerusalem was considered Orthodox by Aristakēs of Lastivert,⁶⁴ this question may well have failed to attract the attention of the Armenian ecclesiastical authorities.

The claim of the T'ondrakeçi to be the true Christians is observed and rejected by their contemporaries. Gregory of Narek says that the heretics called themselves "... the people who have not swerved in faith".⁶⁵ We also learn from him that the T'ondrakeçi had satisfied the Abbot of Kēaw that they were not alien to the apostolic tradition, though Gregory himself considered them to have abandoned it completely.⁶⁶ Gregory Magistros also takes exception to the heretics' calling themselves Christians.⁶⁷

The rejection of the Orthodox sacraments and practices, which resulted from the heretics' claim that they alone possessed the true faith, is mentioned by various sources. Our authorities show that the T'ondrakeçi entirely rejected the authority of the Armenian Orthodox clergy and had themselves no recognizable hierarchy, though the identification within the sect of a caste of elect seems to be referred to by Aristakēs of Lastivert.⁶⁸ We also learn that they rejected the Orthodox forms of baptism, marriage,⁶⁹ and the eucharist.⁷⁰ Likewise they did not admit such Orthodox practices as fasts,⁷¹ the offering of sacrifices for the dead (a characteristic ritual of the Armenian Apostolic Church in this period, known as *matał*),⁷² and auricular confession.⁷³ The liturgy and special

⁶² Gregory Magistros, *Syrian Kat'olikos*, 153. "... և նոր զազարլի և քսաննելի արտա-կրութեան ...".

⁶³ *Ibid.*, 157.

⁶⁴ Aristakēs of Lastivert, *History*, xxiii, 123.

⁶⁵ *KT-I*, cxix.

⁶⁶ Gregory of Narek, *Letter*, 498-500.

⁶⁷ Gregory Magistros, *Syrian Kat'olikos*, 161.

⁶⁸ Aristakēs of Lastivert, *History*, 114.

⁶⁹ Moses of Kalankatuk, *History*, 213; Der Nersessian, "Apologie", 71. To the rejection of this sacrament are probably due all the accusations of immorality: John of Ojun, *Oratio Synodalis*, 26/7; Gregory of Narek, *Letter*, 499-500.

⁷⁰ Gregory of Narek, *Letter*, 499; Paul of Taron, in *KT*, 176; Aristakēs of Lastivert, *History*, 125; see also Appendix II.

⁷¹ Aristakēs of Lastivert, *History*, 125; Gregory Magistros, *Syrian Kat'olikos*, 160.

⁷² Paul of Taron, in *KT*, 175-176. See Nersēs Šnorhali, *Letters*, 252 ff., for a defense of this practice in Armenia.

⁷³ Aristakēs of Lastivert, *History*, 114.

prayers,⁷⁴ the Church canons,⁷⁵ religious vestments,⁷⁶ the use of the chrism,⁷⁷ and the celebration of holy days⁷⁸ were also rejected by them.

Concerning the attitude of the heretics toward the Apostle Peter, we have in Gregory Magistros a purported quotation from the heretics in which they are said to "execrate Peter",⁷⁹ but this assertion is unsupported by any other reference, as was the accusation of dualism made by Gregory against the T'ondrakeçi. On the subject of the Old Testament, there is likewise no information, unless Gregory Magistros' remark that the heretics rejected the old law as well as the new is to be taken in this sense.⁸⁰ There is no indication from any source whatsoever that the Paulicians objected to the Gospels, so that this interpretation seems unlikely.

One more practice of the Paulicians-T'ondrakeçi must be discussed in some detail since it is of great importance to the further development of our study. This is the question of Paulician Iconoclasm. We have seen that the rejection of images is definitely stated in the *Key of Truth*. The entire treatise of Vrt'anēs K'ert'ol was directed against Iconoclasts who "say there must be no pictures or images in the churches and bring testimony from the Old Testament..."⁸¹ We further know from John Mayragomeçi that the Ałovanian heretics, as well as Thaddeus, Hesu, and

⁷⁴ Isaac Kat'olikos, *Oratio I*, 1181/2A. In the additions to heresy #62 in the "Book of Heretics", *Matenadaran* #687, fol. 385b, we find the following passages which do not occur in the parallel heresy #65 of the *Compendium* of St. John Damascene, *PG*, XCIV, 716/7, "Եւ սոքա վասն մեռելոց պատարագս ոչ բնդունին և ոչ կատարեն, զի ապականացու և Հոգեղին բնութիւնս նորոգութիւն ոչ խոստովանին", and "Սոքա զբարեխօսութիւն սրբոցն ոչ բնկալան". See Melik-Bashian, *Paulician Movement*, 244, 251, and my Chapter II, n. 81.

We have no evidence outside the first of these two passages that the Paulicians denied the resurrection of the dead, but the rejection of special prayers for the dead is attested by the other sources. The rejection of the intercession of the saints in the second passage seems an echo from the *Key of Truth*, 53-54; see n. 23.

⁷⁵ Nersēs Šnorhali, *Letter*, 269; Isaac Kat'olikos, *Oratio I*, 1181/2A.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 1179/80D. Gregory Magistros, *Syrian Kat'olikos*, 157.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 154

⁷⁸ Gregory of Narek, *Letter*, 499; Nersēs Šnorhali, *Letters*, 269; Isaac Kat'olikos, *Oratio I*, 1181/2. The rejection of church practices is also noted by Gregory Magistros, *Syrian Kat'olikos*, 157; see n. 92.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, 161 "զՊեկորոս անիծեմք."

⁸⁰ *Idem*.

⁸¹ Vrt'anēs K'ert'ol, *Treatise*, 59, "Il ne faut pas, disent-ils, avoir des peintures et des images dans les églises; et ils apportent en témoignage des paroles de l'Ancien Testament". The quotation of the Old Testament injunction against the making of graven images is of course one of the standard arguments of all Iconoclasts, but it is additional proof that the heretics here attacked were not Gnostics, whose total rejection of the Old Testament would hardly allow them to use it as a basis for their doctrine.

Grigor, also mentioned by Vrt'anēs, were Iconoclasts.⁸² The statements are corroborated by John of Ojun. In connection with Vrt'anēs' remark that the Iconoclasts of his time still honored the cross,⁸³ it is interesting to note the statement of John of Ojun that the Paulicians had

progressed from bad to worse, from the rejection of images to the rejection of the cross and the abhorrence of Christ.⁸⁴

This very development seems to have taken place. The importance of the Iconoclasts in the time of John of Ojun is attested by the amount of care which he devotes to the refutation of their doctrine. Indeed, his attention seems to be focused mainly on this point in his *Sermon against the Paulicians*, and he indignantly accuses the Paulicians of calling the Orthodox Armenians "idolators".⁸⁵ A brief story about the theft of a village cross from a church, in the *History* of Thomas Arcruni, may contain a reference to Iconoclasm.⁸⁶ The inference that this is not a mere case of robbery seems to be indicated, for the thief is accused by Thomas of being a heretic and a follower of Nestorius. The identification of the Paulicians with the Nestorians is common from the days of the *Oath of Union*, though the term Nestorian may perhaps have no more significance than mere abuse, since it is often used in this sense by Armenian Orthodox writers.

Gregory of Narek also mentions the heretical rejection of the cross.⁸⁷ Aristakēs of Lastivert, in his account of the heretical manifestations led by Prince Vrvēr of Širi, relates that:

... in the villages whenever the opportunity presented itself, they shamelessly tore down the symbol of our salvation and the armour of our Lord's victory...⁸⁸

and as the principal episode of these manifestations he describes the overturning of a village cross by the heretics on the day of Pentecost.⁸⁹ Aristakēs further states positively that the rejection of the cross was one

⁸² John Mayragomeci, *Letter*, 213-216; Der Nersessian, "Apologie", 71-72.

⁸³ Vrt'anēs K'ert'ol, *Treatise*, 61, "... vous honorez la croix ...".

⁸⁴ John of Ojun, *Contra Paulicianos*, 78/9, "որք շարեաց 'ի շարիս վերացեալ էլին. 'ի պատկերամարտութենէ 'ի խաչամարտութի և 'ի քրիստոսառեցութիւն".

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, 80/1, 90/1, et passim. The official attitude toward the worship of the cross in this period is given by Canons XXVII and XXVIII of the Council of Dvin of 719, John of Ojun, *Canones*, 72/3-74/5.

⁸⁶ Thomas Arcruni, *History*, 198.

⁸⁷ Gregory of Narek, *Letter*, 499.

⁸⁸ Aristakēs of Lastivert, *History*, 120, "Եւ յանդատանացն՝ ուր և զիպօղ ժամ Հանդիպէր նոցա, զփրկութեան մերոյ զնշանն և զտէրունական յաղթութեան զգէնն՝ որով ընկլաւ մաշու յաղթութիւնն և բարձան առ ի մէջ առածք կամակոր թշնամույն ...".

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, 120-121.

of the tenets of the sectarians.⁹⁰ Gregory Magistros likewise asserts that the T'ondrakeçi

represent our [Armenian] worship of God as the worship of idols. As if we, who honor the sign of the cross and the holy pictures, were still engaged in worshipping devils.⁹¹

He quotes them as saying:

'We are not worshippers of matter but of God; we reckon the cross and the church and the priestly robes and the sacrifice of the Mass all for nothing'.⁹²

This rejection of the cross continued in the following centuries and was observed by Nersēs Šnorhali, Isaac Kat'olikos, and Paul of Taron.⁹³ Iconoclasm has been imputed to the Armenian Apostolic Church itself, as was done by Isaac Kat'olikos, but the indignant denials of Nersēs Šnorhali and Daniel de Thaurizio, confirmed by the Council of Sis, show that it was the heretics and not the Church who adhered to Iconoclastic practices.⁹⁴

From this discussion we can see that in almost all its particulars, the doctrine of the *Key of Truth* is corroborated by the other Armenian sources which we possess. With the exception of the statements on the creation of the world by Satan and on the rejection of Peter, which occur only in Gregory Magistros, as well as by the silence of the remaining Armenian authorities on one or two other points of dogma, the doctrine of the *Key* is substantiated. The major points of the doctrine, namely the humanity of Jesus before his baptism, the overwhelming importance of that sacrament and the refusal of it to children, the belief that every man is a potential Christ, the claim of apostolic tradition and the consequent rejection of the Orthodox sacraments, rituals, and clergy, as well as the categorical

⁹⁰ Aristakēs of Lastivert, *History*, 125.

⁹¹ Gregory Magistros, "Concerning the Representation of the Holy Church against the Manichaeans", *Letter*, 168, "... կոպակաւորութիւն զմերս պաշտօն չամարելով իբր եթէ պատուողացն զնշան խաչին և զպատկերս սրբոցն: Տակաւին դիւպակաւորութեամբ չաւանեալ զմեզ ասեն և զայսոսիկ".

⁹² Gregory Magistros, *Syrian Kat'olikos*, 157, "Որք ասէին, եթէ մէք ոչ ենք նիւթապաշտք ալլ աստուածապաշտք. և զխաչ և զեկեղեցի և զզգեստ քանանայի և զպատարագազործութիւն՝ զայսոսիկ ոչինչ չամարինք".

⁹³ Nersēs Šnorhali, *Letters*, 269-270; Isaac Kat'olikos, *Oratio* I, 1179/80D, *KT-I*, lxxx; Paul of Taron, in *KT*, 175.

⁹⁴ Nersēs Šnorhali, "Confession of Faith", *Letters*, 98, also 139-140; Daniel de Thaurizio, *Responsio*, 616. See my Chapter II, nn. 86, 93, for the text of these denials.

Some Iconoclastic tendencies did exist in Armenia; see George Bishop of the Arabs, "Letter to the Presbyter Isho", trans. V. Ryssel, *Theologische Studien und Kritiken*, LVI (1883), 345 ff., and Alexander, *The Patriarch Nicephorus*, 42-43. These tendencies were, however, opposed and reproved by ecclesiastical authorities such as Nersēs Šnorhali or the Council of Sis. See also my Chapter V, n. 241.

opposition to all form of reverence for images, are amply supported. We cannot doubt that the *Key of Truth* was the manual of the heretics described by the Armenian ecclesiastical sources. The agreement of the sources both early and late on the doctrine and practices of the heretics also provides proof that the Paulicians of Nersēs II, Vrt'anēs K'ert'ol, and John of Ojun were indeed one and the same as the T'ondradeçi found in the tenth, eleventh and twelfth centuries. Furthermore, it is evident that Armenian Paulician doctrine showed no apparent modification throughout the Middle Ages, and that no Manichaean dualism or docetism was imputed to it.⁹⁵

One more source of corroboration may be cited for the sake of curiosity, though its date precludes its proper use in this study. The investigation carried out in 1837-1845 among the heretics who had appeared in the village of Ark'weli and who used the *Key of Truth* revealed the following doctrine: Christ is not God; Orthodox baptism is of no avail and rebaptism is necessary; the mother of Jesus was not a virgin; the members of the sect alone are true Christians; the followers of other churches are mere idolators; holy oil, the eucharist, canons, fasts, confession, the intercession of saints as well as images are absolutely to be rejected.⁹⁶ Finally, we hear of a statement made by a certain Gregory of Katzwān, who apparently was an elder of the sect:

Behold I am the Cross; light your tapers on my two hands, and give worship. I am able to give you salvation, just as much as the cross and the saints.⁹⁷

The similarity of these confessions to the doctrine of the T'ondradeçi such as we know it for the Middle Ages needs no commentary. However, no demonstration of the survival of the sect in the intervening centuries can be given at the present moment.

⁹⁵ The rejection of the eucharist mentioned in the Orthodox sources is not found in the *Key*; however, communion is distinctly secondary to baptism as a sacrament. It is probable that it was the Orthodox form of the sacrament, and not the sacrament itself, which was rejected by the heretics. The "Oath" of Dvin seems to indicate that communion "... as in the gatherings ... of the Paulicians", did not follow the Orthodox ritual; see my Appendix II.

A suggestion of Manichaeism and docetism can be found in the Armenian legend, heresy #154 (see my Appendix III), "Christ, the Sun, did not die nor was He resurrected, therefore, they fast on Sundays". However, the legend, with its story of blood sacrifice, child slaughter, and depravity, is far too garbled to provide reliable information. The stories are closer to the medieval stock-in-trade description of any heresy than to a historical account. Conceivably we have here a touch of Persian influence or of contact with the Arewordik' such as were observed by John of Ojun and Daniel de Thaurizio; see my Chapter II, nn. 46 and 95.

⁹⁶ *KT-I*, xxiii-xxix.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, xxvii.

In contrast to the general agreement of the Armenian sources, the Byzantine authorities show a number of divergencies which must be considered in detail. Heretofore scholars have treated the entire body of Greek evidence as a single coherent whole, but the analysis of the sources which we have attempted no longer permits such a procedure. Therefore, here again an attempt must be made to distinguish the various aspects of Greek evidence. There is very little information concerning Paulician doctrine in the Chronicles. It will, therefore, be necessary to turn first to an analysis of the polemical sources.

The particular contribution of the tenth-century Byzantine texts on the Paulicians, such as Peter of Sicily, the Pseudo-Photius, and even the *Manichaeae Formula*, is their insistence upon the Manichaeae character of the heresy which they present. The identification of the Paulicians with the Manichaeae is already found in source *P*, though not in the *Paulician Formula*,⁹⁸ but this point is not stressed. In contrast, by the tenth century, the identification of the two heresies becomes the main theme of polemical writers. Both the works of Peter of Sicily and the Pseudo-Photius are entitled *Against the Manichaeae*.⁹⁹ In the dedicatory paragraph Peter of Sicily states emphatically that the heresy of the Paulicians is pure Manichaeism,¹⁰⁰ and he reiterates this opinion later in his work with reference to the Heresiarch Sergius: "Let no one think that Sergius' heresy was different from Mani's, for it is one and the same".¹⁰¹ He treats the anathema readily pronounced by the Paulicians against Mani as mere deceitfulness.¹⁰² Finally, all the late sources contain

⁹⁸ Petrus Higumenus, I, 60, "Παυλικιανοὶ οἱ καὶ Μανιχαῖοι", *The Paulician Formula* does not contain a single reference to Manichaeae, as was observed by the editor, Ficker, "Abschwörungsformeln", 458. The last tenth-century source which we possess, the *Letter* of the Patriarch Theophylactus, differs very interestingly from the opinion of its contemporaries in describing the heresy of the Paulicians as, "Μανιχαϊσμός γὰρ ἐστὶ Παυλιανισμὸς συμμιγής", 363. I shall return to this characterization.

⁹⁹ Petrus Siculus, *Historia*, 1239/40A, "... Ἱστορία χρειώδης ἐλεγχός τε καὶ ἀνατροπὴ ... αἱρέσεως τῶν Μανιχαίων τῶν καὶ Παυλικιάνων λεγομένων". Pseudo-Photius, *Narratio*, 15/6, "Διήγησις περὶ δὲ Μανιχαίων ἀναβλαστήσεως".

¹⁰⁰ Petrus Siculus, *Historia*, I, 1239/40B, "συνείδον καθεξῆς γράψαι ὑμῖν περὶ τῆς τῶν Μανιχαίων τῶν καὶ Παυλικιάνων λεγομένων μυσαρᾶς αἱρέσεως ... οὐ γὰρ ἄλλοι οὗτοι καὶ ἄλλοι ἐκεῖνοι, ἀλλ' καὶ οἱ αὐτοὶ Παυλικιανοὶ καὶ Μανιχαῖοι ὑπάρχουσιν, ταῖς τῶν προηγησαμένων αἱρέσεσι τὰς ἐξευρεθείσας αὐτοῖς μυσαρᾶς αἱρέσεις ἐπισυνάψαντες, καὶ ἐν ἀπωλείας βάραθρον ἐπορεύσαντες. εἰ γὰρ καὶ τῶν αἰσχρουργῶν αὐτῶν εἰσὶν, ὥς αὐτοὶ φασιν, ἀμέτοχοι, ἀλλὰ τῶν αἱρέσεων αὐτῶν ἀκριβεῖς εἰσὶ φύλακες".

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*, XL, 1299/1300B, "'Αλλὰ μηδεὶς οἰέσθω ἑτέραν αἵρεσιν εἶναι ἣν ἐδίδαξεν Σέργιος, καὶ ἑτέραν τοῦ Μάνετος· μία γὰρ ἐστὶ καὶ ἡ αὐτή". This commentary may be the work of the author of *S*, but there is no doubt that the opening statement of the *History* is the work of Peter himself.

¹⁰² *Ibid.*, IV, 1245/6B.

long sections on the ancient Manichaeans, derived from very early sources. These sections bear no relation to existing conditions in either the ninth or the tenth century, so that their only function seems to be to support the fundamental thesis that Paulicianism is nothing more than a revival of true Manichaeism.¹⁰³ The actual Paulician doctrine described by the late sources is based on that found in source *P*,¹⁰⁴ to which we must turn for the most satisfactory account of the character of Byzantine Paulicianism in the mid-ninth century.

First and foremost, according to *P*, the Paulicians denied the unity of God as maintained in the Orthodox confession. They distinguished between the Heavenly Father (ὁ ἐπουράνιος), who has no power in this world but will be Lord of the Future (τῷ μέλλοντι), and the other God, the Creator of the World (ὁ κοσμοποιητής), who holds all the power in the visible world.¹⁰⁵ The *Paulician Formula*, carrying it one step further, makes Satan the creator of this world.¹⁰⁶ This doctrine is evidently dualistic, as is observed by the Greek authorities, who insist that all recanting Paulicians be forced to recite the Creed, thus confessing the Trinity and the one true God, creator of the heavens and the earth, and that they be closely questioned to make certain that they interpret these beliefs in completely Orthodox fashion.¹⁰⁷ However, the dualism here expressed is not absolute. If the Heavenly Father is to be Lord of the Future, that is to say eternity, he is superior to the Creator of the World, whose reign is transitory and limited both in time and space. Instead of the intransigent dualism of two co-eternal and equal principles, we have here a mitigated dualism, which eventually recognizes the superiority of the Heavenly Father.¹⁰⁸

Secondly, the Paulicians denied the perpetual virginity of Mary, to whom they refused the title of Mother of God (θεοτόκος), since Christ had not been born of her, but had brought his body from heaven. The

¹⁰³ See my Chapter I for a discussion of the "Manichaean" sections in Peter of Sicily and the Pseudo-Photius. The *Manichaean Formula* also contains an earlier Manichaean Formula which probably dates from the fifth century; see my Chapter I, n. 10.

¹⁰⁴ See my Chapter I.

¹⁰⁵ Petrus Higumenus, VI, 63; Petrus Siculus, *Historia*, X, 1253/4D; Petrus Siculus, *Sermo I*, *passim*; Pseudo-Photius, *Narratio*, VI, 23/4BC; Photius, *Verba*, I, II, III *passim*; Theophylactus, *Letter*, 364; *Manichaean Formula*, 1463/4AB. For the texts of the Paulician doctrine as found in *P*, see my Chapter I.

¹⁰⁶ *Paulician Formula*, Anathemas I, VI, VIII, 453-454.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, 455; Petrus Higumenus, VI, 63-64.

¹⁰⁸ Ficker, "Abschwörungsformeln", 457, goes so far as to say that the doctrine of the two principles is not mentioned in the *Paulician Formula* even though God is not the creator of the visible world.

Theotokos, to them, was the Heavenly Jerusalem.¹⁰⁹ The heretics' concept of the Incarnation of Christ was "docetic". That is to say, since matter was not the creation of the Heavenly Father, it was to be rejected as evil;¹¹⁰ Christ could not in reality have assumed an evil body; consequently, the Incarnation was merely illusory, and furthermore Jesus only seemed to die.¹¹¹

In addition to these basic dogmas, the Paulicians denied the sacrament of the eucharist, understanding the bread and wine symbolically as the teachings of Christ.¹¹² They rejected the cross, thereby arousing the violent indignation of Peter of Sicily:

¹⁰⁹ Petrus Higumenus, VII, 64; Petrus Siculus, *Historia*, X, 1255/6A, also VI, 1247/8C-1249/50A, etc. Petrus Siculus, *Sermo* II, *passim*; *Codex Scorialensis*, XXI, 78 ff.; Theophylactus, *Letter*, 365; *Paulician Formula*, Anathemas III, IV, 453; *Manichaean Formula*, 1463/4CD, 1465/6A, 1467/8D.

¹¹⁰ *Paulician Formula*, Anathema VIII, 455, "Ἀνάθεμα τοῖς Σατανᾶν ὀνομάζουσι τὸν τῶν ὁλων δημιουργὸν θεὸν ἡμῶν καὶ πλασθῆναι [τὸ σῶμα] παρὰ τοῦ Σατανᾶ δογματίζουσι καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν παρ' αὐτοῦ λαβεῖν...". *Manichaean Formula*, 1463/4B, "Ἀναθεματίζω τοὺς λέγοντας ὅτι τὸ σῶμα ἐκ τῆς πονηρᾶς ἀρχῆς ὑπέστη, καὶ ὅτι φύσει ἔστι τὰ κακά", though this may be a reference to Manichaean rather than Paulician doctrine.

¹¹¹ Petrus Higumenus, VII, 64; Petrus Siculus, *Historia*, VI, 1247/8, "οἱ γὰρ τῆς ἀληθείας ἔχθροί τὸν θεὸν αὐτῆς τόκον ἐν δοκῇσι καὶ οὐκ ἐν ἀληθείᾳ γεγενῆσθαι δογματίζουσιν". See also Theophylactus, *Letter*, 365.

It is interesting to note that the docetic conception of the Incarnation is not as strongly stressed by P. The passage of Peter of Sicily quoted above comes from a section which is not directly based on the Higumen and is probably Peter of Sicily's own work. The docetic interpretation is much clearer in the Abjuration formulae, *Paulician Formula*, Anathema II, 453: "Ἀνάθεμα τοῖς ὁμολογοῦσι μὲν παθεῖν τὸν κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν, μὴ ἀληθείᾳ δὲ γεννηθῆναι ἐκ τῆς ἀγίας καὶ ἀειπαρθένου καὶ πανάγου Θεοτόκου, ἀλλὰ δοκῇσι δογματίζουσιν". *Manichaean Formula*, 1463/4C: "Ἀναθεματίζω τοὺς λέγοντας τὸν Κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν, δοκῇσι πεφανερῶσθαι τῷ κόσμῳ, καὶ μὴ ὁμολογοῦντας αὐτὸν σεσαρκῶσθαι ἀληθῶς ἐκ τῆς ἀγίας παρθένου Μαρίας τῆς ἐκ Δαβὶδ καταγομένης, σάρκα τὴν ἀνθρωπίνην καὶ ἡμῖν ὁμοούσιον, καὶ τελείως ἐνανθρωπήσαι". *Ibid.*, 1463/4D: "Ἀναθεματίζω τοὺς λέγοντας δοκῇσι παθεῖν τὸν Κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν...". This doctrine is also echoed in the *Martyrs of Amorium*, 29, "καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς ἀρνούμενοις, τὴν ἐκ παρθένου αὐτοῦ, κατὰ ἀλήθειαν καὶ οὐ κατὰ φαντασίαν γενομένην διὰ πνεύματος ἁγίου σάρκωσιν ἐπὶ σωτηρίᾳ καὶ ἀνακλήσει τοῦ γένους τῶν ἀνθρώπων". The result of such a belief would indeed be the rejection of the Virgin Mary as Theotokos. It would also lead to a denial of the reality of the passion and resurrection and consequently of the redemption of mankind.

¹¹² Petrus Higumenus, VIII, 64; Petrus Siculus, *Historia*, X, 1255/6A; Petrus Siculus, *Sermo* III, *passim*; Pseudo-Photius, *Narratio*, VII, 25/6BC; Theophylactus, *Letter*, 365; *Manichaean Formula*, 1469/70A. This point is not to be found in the *Paulician Formula*.

Iuzbashian, "Paulician Movement", 272, is of the opinion that the passage from the "Oath" of Dvin, referring to the Paulician communion, is to be understood in the same sense. We have no indication that the Paulicians mentioned at Dvin in 554 believed in symbolic and spiritual communion. Iuzbashian seems to be transferring

Let them be shamed and driven to flight and perish, who deny the glory of the cross and who do not worship it with undoubting faith as a God-given and invincible trophy.¹¹³

The true cross, according to the heretics, was not a material object, but Christ himself with his arms outstretched.¹¹⁴ The authority of the prophets and the Old Testament was denied,¹¹⁵ and St. Peter, the cornerstone of the Orthodox Church, may also have been rejected by the heretics.¹¹⁶

the beliefs of ninth-century Byzantium to sixth-century Armenia. As we shall see, these doctrines were by no means the same.

¹¹³ Petrus Siculus, *Historia*, VII, 1249/50D-1251/2A, "Ἀισχυνθήτωσαν οὖν καὶ ἐντραπήτωσαν καὶ ἀπολέσθωσαν οἱ τὴν δόξαν αὐτοῦ διαρνούμενοι καὶ μὴ προσκυνοῦντες αὐτὸν ἀδιστάκτῳ πίστει ὡς θεοδώρητον καὶ ἀκαταμάχητον τρόπαιον". Here again we have a commentary of Peter himself, since the passage occurs at the very beginning of the *History*; it is, however, repeated in Chapter X, *ibid.*, 1255/6.

¹¹⁴ Petrus Siculus, *Historia*, 1255/6AB, 1283/4C; Petrus Higumenus, IX, 64; Pseudo-Photius, *Narratio*, VII, 25/6C; *Manichaean Formula*, 1467/8D; *Paulician Formula*, Anathema IV, 453, which at this point adds the rejection of all images: "Ἀνάθεμα τοῖς ὕβριζουσι . . . τὸν τίμιον σταυρὸν καὶ τὰς ἱεράς τῶν ἁγίων πάντων εἰκόνας καὶ αὐτὴν τὴν σεπτὴν καὶ ἁγίαν εἰκόνα τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ τῆς αὐτοῦ ἁγίας μητρὸς καὶ Θεοτόκου καὶ τῶν θεοειδῶν ἀγγέλων . . .". The cross itself is rejected because it is mere wood, therefore evil matter and an accursed instrument. The Slavonic translation of George the Monk makes the rejection of the cross because it is matter particularly clear. Following the parallel passage in the *Codex Coislinianus* 310 verbatim to the end, it then adds the words, "рѣкже тварь", *The Chronicle of Georgius Hamartolus*, II, 461. There is no mention of the cross in the *Letter* of Theophylactus. The favoritism shown to the Paulicians by the Iconoclastic emperors, particularly in the first period of Iconoclasm, testifies to the heretics' views on that subject.

¹¹⁵ There is some variation at this point. Petrus Siculus, *Historia*, X, 1255/6B, Pseudo-Photius, *Narratio*, VIII, 25/6C-27/8A,C, Photius, *Verba*, I, II, III, *passim*, and The *Manichaean Formula*, 1463/4A say that the Paulicians rejected not only the prophets and saints, but the entire Old Testament as Scriptures. Peter of Sicily actually cites those writings which the Paulicians accepted as Scriptures, namely: the Gospels, the Epistles of Paul, James, John and Jude, the Acts, and some of the epistles of the Heresiarch Sergius, *Historia*, X, 1255/6. The *Paulician Formula*, Anathemas VI, IX, 453-454, and Theophylactus, *Letter*, 364, accuse the heretics of perverting the Gospels and rejecting the apostles, but do not mention the Old Testament. Petrus Higumenus, II, X, XV, 61, 64, 66, accuses the heretics of rejecting the prophets and the saints but specifies that the heretics use correct Orthodox Scriptures which they pervert in interpretation. See my Chapter I, n. 94.

¹¹⁶ Petrus Higumenus, X, 64-65; Petrus Siculus, *Historia*, X, 1255/6C; Pseudo-Photius, *Narratio*, 27/8A, C, 29/30A. However, it is quite possible that on this rejection of Peter by the heretics, P was either misinformed, or that this practice characterized only a particular group of heretics. Both the *Abjuration Formulae* and the *Letter* of Theophylactus do not mention any particular disrespect to St. Peter. Furthermore, both the *Codex Scorialensis* and Pseudo-Photius are forced into elaborate explanations to justify this curious rejection of the chief of the apostles. Pseudo-Photius, *Narratio*, 29/30A, observed that Peter could not be rejected by the Paulicians for his denial of Christ, since they themselves had been authorized by Mani, their leader, to deny him and their

Denying further the authority of the ecclesiastical hierarchy, the Paulicians considered themselves the true Church and referred contemptuously to the Orthodox as "the Romans".¹¹⁷ Nor would they accept the Orthodox baptism of water, quoting in this connection the words of Christ, "I am the living water".¹¹⁸ Finally, source *P* asserts that the members of the sect were permitted to dissemble their beliefs in order to escape persecution,¹¹⁹ and he repeats the traditional accusation aimed at most heretics by Orthodox writers, namely that Paulician morals were abominable, that they indulged in a number of obscene practices and unnatural sins.¹²⁰

Leaving aside for the moment the question of whether the Paulicians are to be considered Manichaeans, as was asserted by most Byzantine sources, we are forced to acknowledge, on the basis of the doctrinal exposition of source *P*, that they undoubtedly accepted both dualism and a docetic christology. Such doctrines can hardly be reconciled with the *Key of Truth* and the Armenian sources.

It is true that most of the secondary points of the dogma and practice of the Byzantine Paulicians are similar to those of the Armenian ones. The claim of the Paulicians on both sides of the frontier that they were the true Church, a natural claim for any sect, would automatically entail the rejection of the existing ecclesiastical authorities as erring and the Orthodox sacraments as perverted and polluted. In particular, we have seen that both Greek and Armenian Paulicians refused Orthodox baptism as inadequate.¹²¹ There is also a suggestion that the Greek Paulicians

faith in times of stress (cf. Petrus Higumenus, XIII, 65-66). Therefore Pseudo-Photius is forced into the unlikely explanation that the Paulicians abhorred St. Peter because he had foretold their apostasy. The *Codex Scorialensis*, 72-73, in a still more fanciful episode, attributes the rejection of Peter to his witnessing of Christ's reverence of the devil; see my Chapter I, n. 71. The suggestion of Iuzbashian, "Paulician Movement", 274, that the Paulician rejection of St. Peter is symbolic of their rejection of the official Church, seems rather far-fetched.

¹¹⁷ Petrus Higumenus, VI, X, XIV, 63, 65, 66; Petrus Siculus, *Historia*, X, 1253/4C; Pseudo-Photius, *Narratio*, VI, 23/4B; *Manichaean Formula*, 1469/70B; *Paulician Formula*, Anathema XIII, 454.

¹¹⁸ Petrus Higumenus, XII, 65, "βάπτισμα δὲ τὰ ῥήματα τοῦ Εὐαγγελίου, καθὼς φησὶν ὁ Κύριος: 'ἐγὼ εἰμι τὸ ὕδωρ τὸ ζῶν'". Petrus Siculus, *Historia*, XXIX, 1283/4D; Pseudo-Photius, *Narratio*, IX, 29/30A; *Manichaean Formula*, 1469/70B; *Paulician Formula*, Anathemas IV, XVII, 453, 455. This point is singled out by a triple anathema.

¹¹⁹ Petrus Higumenus, XIII, 65; Petrus Siculus, *Historia*, IV, 1245/6AB, and XXIX, 1283/4; Pseudo-Photius, *Narratio*, VIII, 29/30A. The whole account of Genesis' disputation is presented as a long deception.

¹²⁰ Petrus Higumenus, XVII, 67; Pseudo-Photius, *Narratio*, X, 31/2AB; *Manichaean Formula*, 1465/6C, 1469/70; *Paulician Formula*, Anathema VII, 453-454; Theophylactus, *Letter*, 354-365. Peter of Sicily unaccountably misses this point.

¹²¹ We have seen the insistence put on baptism by the *Key of Truth*. Similarly, the *Paulician Formula* twice stresses the fact that the heretics will not accept the Orthodox

rejected child baptism, as did the Armenian sectarians. This is particularly clear in the accusation of source *P* that some of the sectarians, hypocritically and as a deceit, permitted their children to be baptized by Orthodox priests, and in the injunction of both *Abjuration Formulae* to receive the heretics returning to the Orthodox Church as "unbaptized children".¹²² In both the Greek and the Armenian sect we find the denial that the Virgin Mary was the Mother of God¹²³ and the rejection of extreme asceticism and fasts.¹²⁴ Finally, the Iconoclasm so characteristic of the Armenian Paulicians and particularly their opposition to the cross is also noted by the Greek authorities, and was sufficiently serious to draw the particular wrath of Peter of Sicily.

The similarities of these subordinate points of dogma cannot, however, disguise the basic difference between Greek and Armenian Paulicianism. The unity of God is not challenged at any time by the Paulicians of the *Key of Truth*. He is the creator of both the heavens and the earth, and there is no suggestion that the Armenian Paulicians interpreted the creed in any but Orthodox fashion on this point. In source *P* the Heavenly Father, though ultimately the Lord of Eternity and the superior power, is not the creator or ruler of this world. In the christology there is also a discrepancy. The Armenian belief in Jesus as a man adopted at his baptism as Son of God, through grace rather than by nature, and their belief in the reality of the Passion and the Resurrection, appear to be contradicted by the docetism of Byzantine Paulicianism in the ninth and tenth centuries, in which the Incarnation, Passion, and Resurrection are purely illusory.

Though the fundamental tenets of Greek and Armenian Paulicianism cannot be reconciled on the basis of the doctrine set forth in source *P*,

sacrament and singles out this point with a triple anathema. The denial of ecclesiastical authority and the claim of the heretics to be the only true preservers of the apostolic tradition would entail the rejection of the sacraments in their Orthodox form, though not necessarily in principle. Similarly Orthodox festivals, regulations, and practices would not be recognized by the heretics.

¹²² Petrus Higumenus, XVII, 66-67; *Paulician Formula*, 455; *Manichaean Formula*, 1469/70-1471/2A.

¹²³ We have seen that the identification of Mary with the Heavenly Jerusalem was considered orthodox by Aristakēs of Lastivert in the early eleventh century. It may, therefore, have been a fairly general doctrine in Armenia.

¹²⁴ The accusation of immorality on the part of the heretics is probably no more than the usual ecclesiastical propaganda and would result from the sectarians' refusal to recognize the sacramental value of a marriage performed by an Orthodox priest. However, the *Abjuration Formulae* specifically condemn Paulicians for not observing the Christian fasts and for eating cheese and milk during Quadragesima: *Paulician Formula*, Anathema V, 453; *Manichaean Formula*, 1469/70B.

other evidence remains to be considered. There are indications that Byzantine Paulician doctrine was not uniform throughout its existence. The Patriarch Theophylactus in the tenth century characterized Paulicianism as a combination of the old with the new, of Manichaeism intermingled with Paulianism (sic).¹²⁵ In the preceding century the Patriarch Photius had also observed variations in the doctrine of contemporary Paulicians.¹²⁶ A study of the additional sources which we possess on Byzantine Paulicianism reveals the existence within the Empire of a Paulician tradition which does not coincide with the one described in source *P*.

The main historical source on Byzantine Paulicianism, source *S*, does not concern itself overmuch with dogma; nevertheless, several indications may be noted in it. One is that the first heresiarch, Constantine-Silvanus, had received the Gospels and the Acts of the Apostles from a Syrian deacon who taught him, and that these were the only books he used. The Paulician scriptures are, therefore, presented as perfectly Orthodox, whatever may be their interpretation.¹²⁷ The *Letters* of Sergius-Tychicus, preserved by *S*, are also singularly unassailable. It is true that Sergius is shown by his correspondence to have been in contact with another heretic, Leo the Montanist, but he condemns the latter.¹²⁸ He also assures his disciples that through him they had been given light,¹²⁹ and he goes on to assert:

We are the body of Christ and he who departs from the tradition of the body of Christ departs from us; he sins, for he goes to those who teach different things and does not believe in the true doctrine.¹³⁰

¹²⁵ See n. 98 and Chapter V.

¹²⁶ Photius, *Verbum* I, 89/90.

¹²⁷ Petrus Siculus, *Historia*, XXIII, 1277/8A. Source *P* confirms this by stressing that there is nothing unorthodox about the actual Scriptures used by the Paulicians, only the interpretation of these texts was heretical; Petrus Higumenus, II, XV, 61, 66.

Peter of Sicily tries to tie Constantine-Silvanus to his legendary predecessors, the Manichaeans Paul and John, and says that Constantine burned all his Manichaean books from fear of persecution, *Historia*, 1277/8AB. There does not seem to be any reason for accepting this version which is not supported by *P*, but even here the absence of heretical scriptures among the Paulicians is admitted.

¹²⁸ Petrus Siculus, *Historia*, 1297/8CD.

¹²⁹ *Ibid.*, 1295/6AB, D.

¹³⁰ *Ibid.*, 1299/1300A, "Ἡμεῖς ἐσμεν σῶμα Χριστοῦ· εἰ τις δὲ ἀφίσταται τῶν παραδόσεων τοῦ σώματος τοῦ Χριστοῦ, τουτέστι τῶν ἐμῶν, ἀμαρτάνει, ὅτι προστρέχει τοῖς ἑτεροδιδασκαλοῦσι, καὶ ἀπειθεῖ τοῖς ὑγιαίνουσι λόγοις". It is interesting that this particular passage, whose wording seems so unsuited to a docetic heresy which denied the existence of "the body of Christ", is paraphrased but not quoted in the parallel section of the Pseudo-Photius, *Narratio*, 69/70-71/2.

Neither of these statements could be acceptable to the Orthodox. However, the remainder of his messages of peace and good will to distant disciples, and his assurances that he remains with them in spirit, would be suitable in the writings of any Church Father.¹³¹ Concerning Sergius himself, the narrator of source *S* adds that he went so far as to call himself the Paraclete and to be adored by his disciples.¹³² In short, there is no indication in source *S* that the doctrine of Sergius or of his predecessors, heretical though it might be, was in the least dualistic or docetic. It must furthermore be noted that the adoration accorded to Sergius by his followers resembles the treatment of Smbat by his disciples, as observed by the Armenian authorities. It is in fact similar to the worship demanded by Gregory of Katzwan in the nineteenth century.

In the light of this evidence we must also reconsider the account found in source *S* of the disputation between the Heresiarch Genesius-Timothy and the Patriarch of Constantinople in the reign of Leo III. The disputation covered six points—namely, the Orthodox faith, the cross, the Virgin Mary, the eucharist, the Church, and baptism. In each case Genesius agreed with the Patriarch, but the interpretation which we are told he gave to his answers was heretical. In the opinion of the narrator, Genesius already held all the beliefs characteristic of the Paulicians in the ninth century—that the faith and the Church were nothing but his own heresy; that the cross was Christ himself with his arms outstretched; that the Virgin Mary was to be understood as the Heavenly Jerusalem; and similarly; that the eucharist was Christ's teaching, not bread and wine; and that the baptism accepted by the heretics was not the Orthodox sacrament.¹³³ Such an interpretation may be partially correct, yet we must remember that it is always interpolated by the narrator into the actual words of Genesius, and that the narrator's intention throughout this section is to demonstrate the deceitfulness of the Paulicians by imputing a double meaning to Genesius' answers. Indeed, in view of the successful outcome of the disputation, it may well be that *S*'s account is a distortion of the original form of the story as it was given by source *A*. In the first version, Genesius, summoned to Constantinople, would have satisfied the Patriarch as to his own Orthodoxy and been honorably sent home again. The ninth-century narrator, unwilling to accept this favor-

¹³¹ Petrus Siculus, *Historia*, 1295/6D; Pseudo-Photius, *Narratio*, 69/70-71/2.

¹³² Petrus Siculus, *Historia*, 1287/8C, "Σέργιον τὸν ἑαυτὸν Παράκλητον λέγοντα, Τυχικὸν τε ἑαυτὸν καλέσαντα, καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν ἰδίων μαθητῶν ὡς Πνεῦμα ἅγιον προσκυνούμενον"; Pseudo-Photius, *Narratio*, 69/70.

¹³³ Petrus Siculus, *Historia*, XXIX, 1283/4B-1285/6A.

able account, reinterpreted the Heresiarch's words to adapt them to the Paulician doctrine prevailing in his own time.¹³⁴

If we consider the actual words of Genesis, without taking into account the interpolated commentary of the narrator, we find in them the same inoffensive quality which characterized the *Letters* of Sergius. Even if we accept the interpretation that Genesis was disguising the true sense of his answers, there is nothing which would automatically identify them with the ninth-century Paulician doctrine of source *P*. Genesis' claim of possessing the true faith and the genuine apostolic succession, his acceptance of some form, not necessarily Orthodox, of the eucharist and baptism, are hardly surprising.¹³⁵ His identification of the Virgin Mary as the Heavenly Jerusalem is in line with the interpretation given by source *P*, but in this connection it must be remembered that Genesis was associated with the Armenian district of Mananali, where such a belief was still considered Orthodox by Aristakēs of Lastivert as late as the year 1000. One more point of Paulician doctrine mentioned in the disputation is of interest. The question of Paulician Iconoclasm had naturally not been raised, since this was the official doctrine at Constantinople in the reign of Leo III. However, the narrator says that Genesis only pretended to revere the cross, while actually substituting for it the figure of Christ with his arms outstretched.¹³⁶ We have no evidence that this was the case. If, however, Genesis' words are accepted at face value, we find in them a contradiction of later practice, since the Paulician rejection of the cross was specifically noted by the Byzantine authorities of the ninth and tenth centuries. Here too the evidence of the Armenian sources must be considered. In the very period of the disputation, that is to say the early

¹³⁴ See my Chapter I, n. 153, for another example of *S*'s technique of interpolating an offensive commentary into a fundamentally harmless text.

¹³⁵ There is no evidence besides the narrator's commentary to indicate that Genesis interpreted the eucharist as Christ's words in the manner of the ninth-century Paulicians of source *P*; Petrus Siculus, *Historia*, XXIX, 1283/4C, "Καὶ πάλιν πρὸς αὐτὸν φησι ὁ πατριάρχης· 'Διὰ τί οὐ μεταλαμβάνεις τοῦ ἀχράντου σώματος καὶ τοῦ τιμίου αἵματος τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, ἀλλὰ ἀτιμάζεις αὐτό; 'Ο δὲ θυμώθεος λέγει· 'Ανάθεμα τὸν μὴ μεταλαμβάνοντα ἢ ἀτιμάζοντα τὸ σῶμα καὶ αἷμα τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ· ἔλεγε δὲ τὰ ῥήματα αὐτοῦ'. The evidence is rather that he accepted the eucharist in its traditional form. If he rejected the authority of the existing ecclesiastical authorities, he would at most have refused to accept as valid the Orthodox sacrament. The claim of true doctrine is natural to any sect, and the rejection of the existing sacrament automatically results from it.

¹³⁶ Petrus Siculus, *Historia*, XXIX, p. 1283/4BC, "Καὶ ὁ πατριάρχης λέγει· πάλιν 'Διὰ τί οὐ πιστεύεις καὶ προσκυνεῖς τὸν τίμιον σταυρὸν; 'Ο δὲ λέγει· 'Ανάθεμα τὸν μὴ προσκυνῶντα καὶ μὴ σεβόμενον τὸν τίμιον καὶ ζωοποιὸν σταυρὸν· ἔλεγε δὲ σταυρὸν τὸν Χριστὸν τῇ ἐκτάσει τῶν χειρῶν σταυρὸν ἀποτελοῦντα".

eight century, the Armenian Paulicians, according to John of Ojun, were progressing from the rejection of images in general to that of the cross itself.¹³⁷ This development might not have reached Genesis' district of Mananali, so that his belief would represent the earlier Armenian tradition.

The vindication of Genesis' Orthodoxy is not our concern at this point. He may have rejected the Orthodox hierarchy and sacraments. In common with the Isaurian Patriarch, he must have been an Iconoclast. He appears to have shared some of the common beliefs of the Byzantine and Armenian Paulicians. Nevertheless, as shown in the disputation with the Patriarch, the fundamental aspects of ninth-century Byzantine Paulicianism are not present in his doctrine. Nowhere is there any intimation of either dualism or docetism. In this, Genesis is in agreement with the doctrine of Constantine-Silvanus, his predecessor, and Sergius-Tychicus, his successor, as this is given by *S*. We cannot overlook the significant fact that the narrator of *S*, who shows himself quite willing to distort the history and dogma of the Paulicians in order to blacken their reputation, never accuses them of the two most fundamental breaches of the Christian doctrine—the denial of the unity of God, and the denial of Christ's Incarnation. Had these beliefs been characteristic of the Paulicians in the early ninth century, it is inconceivable that *S* should have overlooked them. We are therefore brought to the conclusion that a dualistic-docetic doctrine was not an integral part of the Paulician tradition as it was known to *S*.

A number of the Greek sources support the hypothesis that, in part at least, the earlier Paulician tradition within the Empire, as well as in Armenia, was of a different nature from the one described by *P* and his tenth-century followers. St. John Damascene, a contemporary of the Heresiarch Genesis in the first half of the eighth century, describing the heresy of the Aposchistae (makers of schism), or Doxarii (gloriers) among whom Paulicians may perhaps be found, accuses these sectarians of many familiar sins:

These seek after their own glory and submit neither to the law of God nor to his priests. They are thoroughly acquainted with the heresy of the Autoproscopae. Like them, they require the observance of canonical ordinances and, although they are neither bishops nor presidents of the people, but only members of the common herd, they separate themselves from the Catholic Church. Rivaling the Euchites, that is to say, the Messalians, they tell the ascetics not to frequent church services, but to be satisfied with the prayers in their own monasteries,

¹³⁷ John of Ojun, *Contra Paulicianos*, 78/9.

they differ among themselves and are in a state of utter confusion, because their falsehood is split into many factions. They have separated from the communion of the Church and pretend to a greater severity of discipline, with each one vying to prove himself better than the next. Some of them do not admit holy baptism and do not receive Holy Communion, whereas others will kiss neither a newly made figure of the venerable cross nor a holy image. What is worst of all, since they consider themselves to be superior to all men, they will accept absolutely no priest ... May we be delivered both from the frenzy of the Iconoclasts and from the madness of the Aposchistae, which although they are diametrically opposed evils are equal in their impiety.¹³⁸

The accusation of extreme asceticism against the Paulicians is unusual though even here the suggestion is rather that the heretics recognize only their own communities as holy. However, the remainder of the catalogue of sins reads exactly like an indictment of Paulicianism such as we have found it in Armenia: Rejection of the Orthodox community, its hierarchy, churches and sacraments, particularly baptism and the eucharist, and most particularly a violent iconoclasm embracing both the cross and holy images.¹³⁹ It is therefore especially interesting that St. John Damascene speaks of these nameless contemporary heretics as observing the "canonical ordinances" though "they separate themselves from the Catholic

¹³⁸ Johannes Damascenus, *Compendium*, 775/6A-777/8AB, "Τρίτη καὶ ἑκατοστὴ αἵρεσις, Ἀποσχίσται οἱ καὶ Δοξάριοι· οἱ τὴν ἰδίαν δόξαν ζητοῦντες, τῇ δικαιοσύνῃ τοῦ Θεοῦ οὐκ ὑποτάσσονται, οὔτε τοῖς ἱερεῦσιν αὐτοῦ. καὶ τὴν αἵρεσιν τῶν Αὐτοπροσκοπῶν ἐπιστάμενοι, κανονικοὺς θεσμοὺς ἐπιζητοῦσιν· μὴ δυντες μῆτε ἐπίσκοποι μῆτε λαοὺ προεστῶτες. ἀλλ' ἀγελαῖοί τινες, χωρίζονται τῆς καθολικῆς Ἐκκλησίας. Τοὺς δὲ Εὐχίτας, ἡγουν Μασσαλιανούς, ζηλώσαντες, τοῖς ἀσκηταῖς λέγουσι μὴ παραμένειν ἐκκλησιαστικαῖς συνάξεσιν, ἀρκεῖσθαι δὲ ταῖς ἐν ἀσκητηρίοις αὐτῶν εὐχαῖς. Φύρδην δὲ καὶ εἰς ἀλλήλους διαφερόμενοι· πολυσχιδὲς γάρ τὸ ψεῦδος· τῆς ἐκκλησιαστικῆς κοινωνίας ἀποστάντες τὴν ἀκρίβειαν ὑποκρίνονται, ἄλλος ἄλλου κρείττων δεικνύσθαι σπεύδων· οἱ μὲν θεῖον βάπτισμα οὐ δέχονται, οὔτε τῆς θείας κοινωνίας μετέχουσιν· ἕτεροι δὲ οὐδὲ τύπον τοῦ τιμίου σταυροῦ νεωστὶ κατασκευασθέντα, ἢ σεπτὴν εἰκόνα ἀσπάζονται, καὶ ὑπερανέχειν πάντων ἀνθρώπων οἰόμενοι, τὸ ἔσχατον τῶν κακῶν, καθόλου ἱερέα οὐ δέχονται, ... Καὶ ἀπέστω ἐξ Ἰσοῦ καὶ ἡ τῶν εἰκονοκλαστῶν παροιμία καὶ ἡ τῶν Ἀποσχιστῶν παραφροσύνη, τὰ ἐκ διαμέτρου κακὰ καὶ ὁμότιμα τὴν ἀσέβειαν".

¹³⁹ See above nn. 38-94, for the Armenian sources on these points. The custom of praying in the houses of the community rather than in the churches is particularly noted by Xosrov Anjevaçi (see n. 54). These accusations are also consonant with some of the evidence of source P (see nn. 113, 117-118). See also Petrus Higumenus XIV, 66, for the absence of a regular hierarchy among the heretics.

The observation of K. Ter Mkrttschian, *Die Paulikianer*, 37, that heresies #153-154 of the Armenian "Book of Heretics" occur in the place where this heresy is found in the *Compendium* of St. John suggests a connection between them. It is also interesting that the Armenian compiler has put Paulicians at the point at which St. John discusses Iconoclastic heresies, *Compendium*, 773/4-777/8, particularly the "Χριστιανοκατήγοροι", 773/4, who are identified as Iconoclasts.

Church", and admits that the Autoproscopae, to whom the Aposchistae are compared, are "orthodox in every respect", though likewise cut off from the Orthodox community.¹⁴⁰ Here again, whatever the sins of the heretics, the issue of dualism and docetism is never raised.

More specific evidence can be found in the second half of the century. The Emperor Constantine V was accused by a number of chroniclers of being a Paulician. The accusation is probably no more than a piece of malevolent propaganda directed against the memory of the great Iconoclastic emperor, but the doctrine by which George the Monk justifies the charge is extremely interesting. According to him the Emperor had claimed that the Virgin Mary was not the Theotokos.¹⁴¹ The explanation given by Constantine for his belief was that "Christ is not God, therefore I will not consider Mary as the Mother of God".¹⁴² According to Theophanes Confessor, the beliefs of the Emperor were even more blasphemous and heretical. He quotes Constantine as having said:

Do not think that he whom Mary bore, the so-called Christ, was the Son of God, but rather that he was a mere [naked] man. He was born of Mary in the same way as my mother Mary bore me.¹⁴³

In the eighth century, therefore, the belief that Christ was a mere creature and not the Son of God could be described at Constantinople as Paulician doctrine. In the following century a similar dogma can be found. The "Manichaeian" sect of the followers of Lizix or Selix returned to Orthodoxy early in the reign of the Empress Theodora. Their leader had believed that:

¹⁴⁰ Johannes Damascenus, "Heresy 100", *Compendium*, 761/2B-763/4A, on the Autoproscopae, "Αὐτοπροσκοπταὶ πάντα μὲν ὀρθόδοξοι ὑπάρχοντες, ἀδελφὲς δὲ τῆς καθολικῆς Ἐκκλησίας καὶ κοινωνίας σφῶς αὐτοῦς προφάσεως εὐτελοῦς ἕνεκα ἀποκόπτοντες". The accusation here, that the heretics have no hierarchy and lead lives of doubtful morality, again echoes the Armenian sources. Heresies 100-103 are of particular historical interest, since only in this section of the *Compendium* is St. John speaking as a contemporary. See Chase "Introduction", *The Fathers of the Christian Church*, XXXVII, xxi.

¹⁴¹ Georgius Monachus, *Chronicon*, 750-752, 756.

¹⁴² *Ibid.*, 756 "οὐκ ἔστι θεὸς ὁ Χριστός, διὰ τοῦτο οὐδὲ τὴν Μαρίαν ἔχω θεοτόκον". This statement is echoed by Cedrenus, *Compendium*, II, 3-4, "ἀλλὰ μηδὲ θεοτόκον αὐτὴν ὀνομάζεσθαι".

¹⁴³ Theophanes, *Chronographia*, I, 415, "εἶπε Κωνσταντῖνος ὁ βασιλεὺς, ὅτι μὴ λογίσῃ υἱὸν θεοῦ εἶναι ὃν ἔτεκε Μαρία, τὸν λεγόμενον Χριστόν, εἰ μὴ ψιλὸν ἄνθρωπον. ἡ γὰρ Μαρία αὐτὸν ἔτεκεν. ὡς ἔτεκεν ἐμὲ ἡ μήτηρ (μοῦ ἢ) Μαρία". The same story occurs in several other chronicles: Leo Grammaticus, *Chronographia*, 182-183; Zonaras, "Annales", PG, CXXXV, 1328, who adds that the Patriarch accused Constantine V of being a Nestorian for speaking of the Virgin Mary as "χριστοτόκος" rather than as "θεοτόκος", *ibid.*, 1333.

... to revere the cross was foolishness, and he called our Lord and God, Jesus Christ, a creature and said that His most holy Mother was not the Mother of God. Likewise he derided the awful and divine mystery of communion.¹⁴⁴

The doctrine of Christ as a mere creature, which we find here attributed to the Paulicians in Byzantium, is quite in accord with the Armenian Paulician beliefs expressed in the *Key of Truth*, but it is scarcely the docetic Christology observed by the author of source *P* and the subsequent Byzantine sources.

Two Paulician groups seem, therefore, to have existed in Byzantium. These shared a number of beliefs and practices, but one of them held a dualistic and docetic doctrine while the other apparently accepted the unity of God, but denied the divinity of Christ. A number of additional sources attest to the simultaneous presence of the two traditions in the Empire.

In the *Codex Scorialensis* of the *Chronicle* of George the Monk, a long polemical passage is added to the doctrinal exposition of source *P*. In this section the author accuses the Paulicians of confusion or contradiction in their beliefs. On the one hand, he says, the heretics believe that Christ was an angel, chosen (ἐντελλόμενος) to carry out the things appointed by God—to come down and be born of Mary, suffer, die, be buried, resurrected and be raised up into Heaven.¹⁴⁵ Furthermore, they believe that Christ was the youngest of the angels¹⁴⁶ and that he bowed down before the Creator of the World, who recognized him as his son.¹⁴⁷ They do not believe that Christ was the Son of God¹⁴⁸ nor that he existed at the beginning,¹⁴⁹ but rather that he took the name of Christ and Son of God as the result of grace:¹⁵⁰

... he became Christ the Son of God through grace in recompense of passing over and to carry out the injunctions, and you not only call him a creature as did the feeble-minded Arius, but also say that he is the youngest of the angels and of men.¹⁵¹

¹⁴⁴ Nicetas Choniates, *Thesaurus*, 283/4A, "Λίξις, ὃς τὰ Μανιχαίων φρονήσας, τὸν προσκυνητὸν σταυρὸν μωρίαν ἡγεῖτο, καὶ τὸν Κύριον καὶ Θεὸν ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν ὀνομάζων κτίσμα, τὴν πάναγνον αὐτὸν μητέρα Θεοτόκον οὐκ ἔλεγε· ἐγγὺς δὲ πρὸς τοῦτοις καὶ τὴν τῶν φρικτῶν καὶ θείων μυστηρίων μετάληψιν".

¹⁴⁵ *Codex Scorialensis*, XIX, 1, 2, pp. 74-75.

¹⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, XX, 6, 9, pp. 76-77.

¹⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, X, 73.

¹⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, XX, 4, p. 76.

¹⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, XX, 7, 8, pp. 76-77.

¹⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, XX, 5, p. 76, "κατὰ χάριν τὴν τοῦ υἱοῦ κλησιν καὶ τὴν τοῦ Χριστοῦ εἴληφε". *Ibid.*, XIX, 2, p. 75, "καὶ ὀνομάσαι ἑαυτὸν υἱὸν τοῦ θεοῦ κατὰ τὴν δοθεῖσαν αὐτῷ".

¹⁵¹ *Ibid.*, XX, 6, p. 76, "γενέσθαι χάριτι ἢ ἀμοιβῇ τῶν πόρων καὶ τοῦ τελέσαι τὴν

On the other hand, the heretics also said that Christ had appeared only in the days of Octavius Caesar—a belief which the author of the *Codex Scorialensis* considered to be contradictory to the remainder of Paulician christology.¹⁵² From this account it is evident that two traditions as to the nature of Christ existed among the Paulicians in this period. One asserted that Christ had only seemed to be incarnate, that he took no flesh from the Virgin Mary, and that he manifested himself only in the days of Augustus. The other, denying that Jesus was of divine origin, considered him a mere creature of God, whether man or angel, created, not begotten, neither consubstantial nor co-eternal with God, who raised him through grace to the title of Christ, the Son of God. As a result of this belief, the mere creature Jesus could well be considered a subordinate of the Demiurge, the Creator of the visible world.

The two traditions can also be observed in the *Abjuration Formulae*. Side by side with the docetic tradition mentioned in source *P*, there is in anathema eleven of the *Paulician Formula*, the following condemnation:

Anathema to those who confess that our Eternal God sits upon the Heavens and who blaspheme that His Son who rules with Him our Lord Jesus Christ down below was carried up to Heaven upon the clouds, and who teach their agreement.¹⁵³

The doctrine condemned here again implies that the Son down below was inferior to the Father sitting upon the Heavens and that the son was raised from an inferior position to be equal and in agreement (ὁμόφρονος) with the Father. Therefore, the Son attained his position of equality through an act of grace and did not hold it of all eternity by nature.¹⁵⁴ Similarly in the *Manichaean Formula*, the second tradition can be observed in a strange and confused condemnation:

I anathematize then those who ... say that one was born of Mary and baptized, or rather as they blaspheme, completely submerged, and another rose from the water and received the testimony, and this [latter] one they call the only begotten Jesus, and the Light, who appeared in the shape of a man. And they fabricate

ἐντολὴν τὸν Χριστὸν υἱὸν τοῦ θεοῦ; καὶ οὐ μόνον κτίσμα τοῦτον ἐπικαλεῖς κατὰ τὸν ματαιόφρονα Ἀρειον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἀγγέλων καὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων αὐτῶν μεταγενέστερον λέγεις εἶναι ...".

¹⁵² *Codex Scorialensis*, XX, 6, 7, p. 76.

¹⁵³ *Paulician Formula*, Anathema XI, 454, "Ἀνάθεμα τοῖς τὸν μὲν προαιώνιον θεὸν ἡμῶν ἐπὶ τῶν οὐρανῶν καθῆσθαι ὁμολογοῦσι, τὸν δὲ συνάρχον τοῦτου υἱὸν καὶ κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν ὑποκάτω τῶν οὐρανῶν ἐπὶ νεφέλης φέρεσθαι ληροῦσί τε καὶ τοὺς ὁμόφρονάς τούτων διδάσκουσιν". The following Anathema XII interestingly anathematizes Paul of Samosata and his followers.

¹⁵⁴ Ficker, "Abschwörungsformeln", 454, 458-459.

[the story] that the former came of the evil principle and the latter, however, from the good ... I anathematize those who say that the passion of our Lord Jesus Christ was imaginary, and that there was one who hung on the cross and another who stood afar and laughed that someone else was suffering in his place.¹⁸⁵

In spite of the curiously perverted doctrine described here, the concept of the two sons, the human son of Mary and the divine Son of God, can still be identified.

It is evident from the preceding discussion that Byzantine Paulicianism was not homogeneous in nature, a fact observed by both St. John Damascene and the Patriarch Photius. Though the two traditions within the Empire were in agreement on a number of points, they were apparently opposed on the fundamental points of dogma. One branch of the sect belonged to the tradition described by source *P* and the tenth-century polemicists. It was characterized by a dualistic theology and a docetic christology. The other tradition, seen mainly in source *S*, the accounts of the chroniclers, and the *Abjuration Formulae*, was in agreement with the doctrine held by the Paulicians in Armenia. It apparently admitted the unity of God, but denied the divinity of Jesus, whom it held to have been an ordinary man elevated by an act of divine grace to the rank of Son of God.

The presence of both traditions in the *Paulician Formula* and the *Codex Scorialensis* indicates that the two traditions were co-existent at Constantinople by the mid-ninth century. But the problem remains whether two Paulician traditions were always present in the Empire or whether a modification of Paulician doctrine took place in Constantinople at some point during the existence of the sect.

It will be recalled that the Patriarch Theophylactus had believed that the Paulicianism of his period was a mixture of the old and the new. The weight of evidence seems to indicate a development and alteration in the beliefs of the Paulicians, rather than the existence of two distinct but parallel traditions within the Empire. As we have seen, the majority of the sources after the middle of the ninth century speak almost exclusively

¹⁸⁵ *Manichaean Formula*, II, 1463/4D, "Ἀναθεματίζω οὖν . . . καὶ ἄλλον μὲν λέγοντας εἶναι τὸν γεννηθέντα ἐκ Μαρίας, καὶ βαπτισθέντα, μᾶλλον δὲ ὡς αὐτοὶ ληροῦσι βυθισθέντα, ἄλλον δὲ τὸν ἐκ τοῦ ὕδατος ἀνελθόντα καὶ μαρτυρηθέντα, ὃν καὶ ἀγέννητον Ἰησοῦν καὶ Φέγγος ὀνομάζουσι, ἐν σχήματι ἀνθρώπου φανέντα, καὶ τὸν μὲν εἶναι τῆς κακῆς ἀρχῆς, τὸν δὲ τῆς ἀγαθῆς μυθολογοῦσιν. Ἀναθεματίζω τοὺς λέγοντας δοκῆσαι παθεῖν τὸν Κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν, καὶ ἄλλον μὲν εἶναι τὸν ἐν σταυρῷ ἕτερον δὲ τὸν πορρόθεν ἐστῶτα καὶ γελῶντα, ὡς ἄλλου ἀντ' αὐτοῦ παθόντος".

of a dualistic doctrine. It is true that the Patriarch Theophylactus, whose chancery would contain the records of earlier times, and the *Manichaean Formula*, which is heavily indebted to the previous *Paulician Formula*,¹⁵⁶ both preserve the memory of the other Paulician tradition. However, in the *Manichaean Formula*, this tradition already shows a great deal of distortion. In the mid-ninth century both traditions are present in the texts which have survived. On the other hand, in the earlier period of Paulicianism, generally coincident with the Iconoclastic period, the dualistic tradition is not mentioned and the doctrine which denies the divinity of Christ seems dominant. This is the picture which we obtain from sources *S* and *A* and the observations of the chroniclers. The earlier tradition seems to die out in Constantinople around the middle of the ninth century. We know that the followers of Lizix, one of the Paulician groups attached to the earlier tradition, returned to Orthodoxy soon after 843. Therefore the inference seems to be that Paulician doctrine in Constantinople underwent a distinct evolution from the seventh to the tenth centuries. The earlier doctrine appears to have been fundamentally the same as that of the Armenian Paulicians, but around the middle of the ninth century a new dualistic and docetic tradition appeared and was soon to dominate the western or Byzantine branch of Paulicianism.

Some suggestions may be hazarded as to the circumstances of this transformation in tradition. No mention of dualism is found in source *S* up to the rule of Sergius.¹⁵⁷ With Sergius, however, a break occurred in the Paulician succession. He was not the son or disciple of his predecessor, Joseph-Epaphroditus, and, except for the brief period of the chance-leader Symeon, Sergius was the first Paulician heresiarch to be a Greek rather than an Armenian.¹⁵⁸ *S* stresses the fact that Sergius was taught his heresy by a Manichaean woman,¹⁵⁹ and there are definite indications

¹⁵⁶ See my Chapter I, pp. 28-29.

¹⁵⁷ Unless the passage telling of Symeon's and Justus' quarrel over *Colossians*, I, 16, is to be interpreted in this fashion, Petrus Siculus, *Historia*, XXVII, 1281/2BC.

¹⁵⁸ Constantine-Silvanus, Paul the Armenian, and his sons, Genesis and Theodore, were all Armenians. Joseph was a foundling, but Genesis had presumably adopted him in the Armenian district of Mananali. Peter of Sicily, *Historia*, XXXI, 1287/8A, identifies Baanes as the bastard of an Armenian woman and one of Joseph's Jewish disciples. The name Baanes is clearly Armenian, as was observed by Ter Mkrttschian (see my Chapter III, n. 152). Sergius, however, came from the Byzantine theme of Armeniakon, and the last leaders, Karbeas and Chrysocheir were imperial officers from the capital. The suggestion of Bart'ikyan, "The Organization", 186, n. 4, that Karbeas is a diminutive for the Armenian name Karapet (Կարապետ), seems singularly far-fetched. No source, not even the popular epic tradition of the *Digenes Akrites*, suggests an Armenian background for Karbeas.

¹⁵⁹ Petrus Siculus, *Historia*, XXXII-XXXVI, 1287/8C-1293/4A.

that under Sergius modifications were brought into the Paulician doctrine. His colleague, the Armenian Baanes, reproached him for his innovations:

... you [Sergius] are newly come and you never saw any of our teachers nor were you ever present with them, but I began as a disciple of the lord Epaphroditus and what he transmitted to me from the beginning this do I teach.¹⁶⁰

Sergius, however, would not listen to Baanes' reproaches and "split the heresy in two".¹⁶¹ The memory of the common origin of the two branches survived the breach for a while. After Sergius' death, his disciple Theodotus succeeded in preventing the Sergiotes from massacring the Baaniotes by reminding them that "before our master [Sergius] came, we all held one faith".¹⁶² Nevertheless the Baaniotes were almost annihilated, and the Sergiotes became the dominant element among the Paulicians. It would seem, therefore, that Baanes represented the older, Armenian Paulician tradition, while Sergius introduced a new doctrine into the sect.

It has been observed that the beliefs of Sergius show as yet no dualism, and that the adoration of the leader by the disciples practiced in his time is in keeping with the Armenian tradition. His disciples, however, carried his innovations much further, and the narrator of *S* accuses them of "corrupting his [Sergius'] doctrine and that of his predecessors".¹⁶³ The shift toward dualism after Sergius' death may explain a comment found in the *Histories*, namely that Karbeas, though continuing to cooperate with the Muslims and pretending to embrace Islam, felt unsafe at Argaios and therefore moved away to Tephrikē for greater safety.¹⁶⁴ No historical explanation can be given for Karbeas' fear of the allies who had welcomed him and his predecessor, Sergius. Only on a dogmatic basis may one be suggested. The earlier Paulician doctrine of Jesus' humanity would be quite acceptable to the Muslims, but with the alteration of doctrine their attitude would change. Dualists could hardly expect to be *personae gratae* in Islam. The hypothesis that the great Paulician leader, Sergius, and his followers were responsible for the modification of the Paulician tradition which occurs in their time is most tempting; however, it is not yet capable of definite proof.

¹⁶⁰ Petrus Siculus, *Historia*, XL, 1299/1300C, "Σὺ νεωστὶ κατεφάνης, καὶ οὐδένα τῶν διδασκάλων ἡμῶν ἐώρακας ἢ συμπαρέμεινας· ἐγὼ δὲ τοῦ κυρίου Ἐπαφροδίτου μαθητὴς ὑπάρχω, καὶ καθὼς παρέδωκέν μοι ἀπ' ἀρχῆς, οὕτως καὶ διδάσκω".

¹⁶¹ *Ibid.*, XL, 1299/1300C, "ἔσχισε τὴν αἵρεσιν εἰς δύο".

¹⁶² *Ibid.*, XL, 1299/1300D, "... πάντες γὰρ μέχρις ἀναδείξεως τοῦ διδασκάλου ἡμῶν μίαν πίστιν εἶχομεν".

¹⁶³ *Ibid.*, XLI, 1301/2C, "ταῖς διδασκαλίαις αὐτοῦ τε καὶ τῶν προηγησαμένων λυμαινόμενοι...".

¹⁶⁴ Pseudo-Photius, *Narratio*, XXVI, XXVII, 81/2B-83/4A.

The main conclusions which may be deduced from the preceding analysis are these: Paulicianism by the tenth century consisted of at least two traditions. Armenian Paulicianism was characterized by the belief in the humanity of Jesus and his eventual adoption as Son of God upon baptism. This fundamental dogma was attended by the belief that ordinary men could also become the equals of Christ and worthy of adoration. This Armenian Paulicianism was characterized by a violent Iconoclasm and showed no apparent modification throughout the Middle Ages.¹⁶⁵ In Byzantium, on the other hand, a change in dogma took place in the mid-ninth century, possibly under the influence of the great Heresiarch Sergius and his successors. The original doctrine of the sect which had been similar to the one existing in Armenia and which had preserved its Iconoclastic character, was gradually transformed into a docetic and dualistic tradition. The failure of scholars to observe the change and development of Byzantine Paulicianism has led them to ignore the significant relationship between it and the Armenian tradition.

¹⁶⁵ The only indication of dualism in the Armenian tradition is the accusation of Manichaeism in the late sources, particularly Gregory Magistros. It is probable that some dualistic Paulicians made their way into Armenia after the fall of Tephriké. It is also possible that some of the Paulician groups were influenced by Persian practices and by their contact with the Arewordik', just as they had accepted the beliefs of the Ałovanian Iconoclasts. But Armenian Paulicianism is characterized by its remarkable homogeneity and continuity far more than by any eccentric variations.

THE ORIGIN AND NATURE OF PAULICIANISM

Certain important problems still remain to be solved before we may hazard any conclusions about the origin and nature of the Paulicians. One problem concerns the accusation of Manichaeism levelled at the Paulicians by most of the Greek sources and by some of the Armenian texts. Before the justice of this accusation can be discussed, it will be necessary to give a brief outline of the more fundamental aspects of Manichaeism. Only then will it be possible to consider its relation to those aspects of Paulician doctrine which we know to have been characteristic both of the original Armenian Paulicianism and of the secondary Byzantine tradition found in source *P* and the related texts.

The basic tenet of Manichaeism runs counter to the fundamental premise of the Christian creed. According to the Manicheans, not one God, but two principles, one good and the other evil, have coexisted of all eternity, and matter pertains to the realm of evil.¹ As a consequence of their belief in the evil nature of matter, the Manichaeans were further compelled to deny the incarnation of Jesus Christ. Their christology was purely docetic.² The actual position of Jesus in the dogma of the Manichaeans cannot be ascertained with precision. All religious leaders preceding Mani were considered by him to be messengers of the Good God, the Lord of Light, and Jesus seems to have been acknowledged by Mani as his immediate predecessor.³ On the other hand, we also find Jesus

¹ *Acta Archelai*, 9, 26, 31; Theodore bar Khoni, "On Mani's Teaching Concerning the Beginning of the World" in A. V. W. Jackson, *Researches in Manichaeism with Special References to the Turfan Fragments* (New York, 1932), appendix viii, 222; H. C. Puech, *Le Manichéisme* (Paris, 1949), 74 ff., and nn. 285-287; P. Alfarc, *Les Ecritures manichéennes, I* (Paris, 1918-1919), 20, 32, 84, *et passim*.

² *Acta Archelai*, 12, "Et veniens filius transformavit se in speciem hominis ... cum non esset homo, et homines putabant eum natum esse..."; Jackson, *Researches*, 12; Alfarc, *Les Ecritures, II*, 26, 64, 116, 172-174, *et passim*.

³ Puech, *Le Manichéisme*, 71-72, and n. 277; Jackson, *Researches*, 12; Runciman, *Medieval Manichee*, 14.

coming to Adam in the Garden of Eden to reveal to him the existence of the realm of light and free him from the power of evil.⁴ Mani himself was believed to be the Paraclete promised by Jesus, the last and the greatest of the messengers of light.⁵ Salvation was to be attained by the final release of the soul, consubstantial with God, from all the bonds of matter,⁶ but the doctrine of metempsychosis was accepted for such souls as had not yet achieved their ultimate liberation.⁷ In practice the Manichaean sect was divided into two groups—the elect who were the true members of the sect and complied with all its regulations, and the mere auditors, who had not yet attained the higher grade and were required to support and attend to the wants of the elect.⁸ A hierarchy seems to have existed, since we find mention of the following categories—auditors, elect, elders, bishops, and masters or teachers.⁹ The actual positions and duties are not, however, known. The elect were expected to lead lives of extreme asceticism, owning no property, observing strict fasts and never remaining in any locality for a long period of time.¹⁰ The only activity permitted to them was that of missionary and teacher, and the taking of life in any form was strictly forbidden. Since the Manichaeans believed that life resides in all things, any action would involve the destruction of some living creature; therefore, each one of the elect was attended by an auditor, who performed every service for his master.¹¹ The Old Testament was rejected by the Manichaeans in its entirety as incompatible with the teachings of Christ and as inspired by the Lord of Evil.¹² Finally, baptism, together with the other sacraments, was held to be useless.¹³

⁴ Theodore bar Khoni, *loc. cit.*, 249, 251-253; Puech, *Le Manichéisme*, 81-82.

⁵ *Acta Archelai*, 24, 61-62, "Sum quidem ego [Mani] paracletus qui ab Jesu mitti praedictus sum ... et si vultis mea verba suscipere invenietis salutem; nolentes autem vos aeternum ignis absumere habet". See also Mas'ūdī, *Le Livre de l'avertissement*, 188; Al Biruni, *The Chronology of Ancient Nations*, ed. E. Sachau (London, 1879), 190; and Alfarić, *Les Ecritures*, I, 21, II, 37, 104, *et al.*

⁶ Puech, *Le Manichéisme*, 71, n. 275.

⁷ Jackson, *Researches*, 14.

⁸ Puech, *Le Manichéisme*, 88-91; Runciman, *Medieval Manichee*, 15-16, *et al.*

⁹ Burkitt, *The Religion of the Manichees* (Cambridge, 1925), appendix i, 105-107; Jackson, *Researches*, 15; Puech, *Le Manichéisme*, 86-87.

¹⁰ Burkitt, *The Religion of the Manichees*, 57, *et passim*; Jackson, *Researches*, 11-12. Puech, *Le Manichéisme*, 63-66, for missionary character and activity; 87, fasts; 89-90, asceticism. See E. de Stoop, *Essai sur la diffusion du Manichéisme dans l'empire romain* (Ghent, 1909), 20.

¹¹ Puech, *Le Manichéisme*, 87-90; de Stoop, *La Diffusion du Manichéisme*, 10; *et al.*

¹² *Acta Archelai*, 65; Alfarić, *Les Ecritures*, II, 140.

¹³ Puech, *Le Manichéisme*, 87, and n. 364. The discussion of Manichaean cosmology will be omitted as confusing and irrelevant. Its only relation to the question of Paulicianism is its presence in the early part of the *Histories* of Peter of Sicily and Pseudo-Photius, and the "Manichaean section" of the *Manichaean Formula*. We have

The similarity of the foregoing doctrine to that described in the Manichaean sections of the *Histories* of Peter of Sicily and the Pseudo-Photius serves to emphasize the fact that they are indeed following the accounts of the very early sources mentioned in their works (Epiphanius, St. Cyril, Socrates, and the *Acta Archelai*); they present the classic Manichaean doctrine and nothing more.¹⁴ The identification of Paulicianism with Manichaeism on the basis of doctrine can no longer be sustained as soon as we turn to the heretical doctrine described in source *P*. It is true that a certain amount of dualism and docetism is attributed to the Paulicians, but the dualism is, as we have observed, relative and mitigated.¹⁵ The Paulicians are shown to have given great importance to the sacrament of baptism, albeit not in its Orthodox form, whereas the Manichaeans disregarded the sacraments altogether. The characteristic asceticism of the Manichaeans, dependent on total withdrawal from the material world, is absent in source *P*, as is the belief in metempsychosis.

The information extant on Paulician practices also differentiates them from the true Manichaeans. The military prowess of the Paulicians was justly renowned; the raids of Karbeas and Chrysocheir seriously endangered the Empire in the second half of the ninth century, and the valor of the Paulicians was still praised by Anna Comnena more than two centuries later.¹⁶ The only activity permitted to the true Manichaean, on the hand, was teaching, and he was strictly forbidden to take any life whatsoever.

The Paulicians were always recognized as Iconoclasts, and their rejection of the cross drew the particular ire of Peter of Sicily himself. By the uniform admission of the Greek chroniclers, the Paulicians were favored by the Iconoclastic emperors and persecuted by their Iconodule successors; their favorable situation under the Iconoclastic Isaurian dynasty is corroborated by *S*'s account of Genesius' trip to Constantinople in the days of Leo III.¹⁷ It would appear logical that the Manichaeans, with their abhorrence of matter, should have been Iconoclasts;

already seen in Chapter I that these portions of the Greek sources are anachronistic and not related to the medieval Paulicians.

¹⁴ Petrus Siculus, *Historia*, XI-XX, 1257/8-1271/2; Pseudo-Photius, *Narratio*, XI-XVI, 31/2-47/8. See my Chapter I.

¹⁵ See my Chapter IV.

¹⁶ Anna Comnena, *Alexiade*, II, 44, III, 179-180. The name of K'alert'akan or Bloodthirsty given to the heretics in heresy #153 of the Armenian *Book of Heretics* is hardly suited to a Manichaean sect.

¹⁷ See my Chapter III. The persecution of the Paulicians in the second period of Iconoclasm, if it did take place, is explicable in terms of their civil disobedience, particularly their involvement in the revolt of Thomas the Slav.

indeed, this accusation is often made against them. But it cannot be substantiated. A persistent tradition tells that Mani himself was a painter of talent.¹⁸ Manichean manuscripts are known for the beauty of their decoration and illustration, which were meant to amplify and explain the text.¹⁹ A series of admirable Manichaean religious miniatures from the Turfan in Chinese Turkestan have survived to our time.²⁰ A Chinese law in the year 1166 decreed that any person painting images or copying Manichaean manuscripts was to be punished by exile for one year.²¹ Thus the evidence of both doctrine and practice demonstrates the fundamental incompatibility of even the secondary, late Byzantine tradition with Manichaeism.

If we turn to the earlier Paulician tradition, particularly in Armenia, the doctrinal discrepancy becomes still more evident. Nothing can reconcile the dogma of sources *S* and *A* or the *Key of Truth* with the Manichaean or for that matter with any Gnostic dualistic tradition. All the beliefs found in the *Key* and corroborated by the Armenian and earlier Greek sources—the unity of God, the humanity of Jesus, the importance of baptism, the rejection of images and asceticism, the acceptance of the Old Testament as Scriptures—are diametrically opposed to the tenets of Manichaeism.²² In addition, it is interesting to observe that Gregory Magistros notes, concerning the T'ondrakeci;

... for a long time have they waited in their hopeless hope that the son of perdition will appear as their leader—he whom Jesus Christ will subdue with the breath of his mouth.²³

Such a remark could not apply to Manichaeans, who believed that the Paraclete had already appeared in the person of Mani and that no further revelation would be made to the world.²⁴

¹⁸ Mirchond, "Histoire universelle", in Alfarc, *Les Ecritures*, I, 128, II, 41-42.

¹⁹ Alfarc, *Les Ecritures*, I, 23, 27, 53, etc.; also *Les Ecritures manichéennes—leur constitution—leur histoire*, thèse complémentaire pour le doctorat-ès-lettres (Paris, 1918), 23-28, (hereafter, *Thèse*).

²⁰ A. von le Coq, *Die buddhistische Spätantike im Mittelasien*, II—*Die manichäischen Miniaturen* (Berlin, 1923), Pl. 1, 2, 3, 5, 6, 7, 8a, b; Burkitt, *The Religion of the Manichees*, 1, 35, 69.

²¹ Alfarc, *Thèse*, 107, "A toute personne qui aura pour le compte d'autrui peint des images démoniaques ou qui aura soit copié un manuscrit, soit gravé pour l'impression des textes de la Religion de la Lumière (manichéisme) ou d'autres (hérésies) on appliquera dans tous ces cas, la peine du bannissement pour un an ...".

²² See my Chapter IV.

²³ Gregory Magistros, *Syrian Kat'olikos*, 156, "... ի վաղնջուց Հետէ մասն կասկածելով կարացեալ լինել ինքեանց որդւոյն կորստեան, զոր խափանեցէ Յիսուս Քրիստոս իւրով բերանով Հոգւով".

²⁴ Puech, *Le Manichéisme*, 62, "Mani est le Révélateur suprême. Suprême, parce qu'il est le Messager ultime, mais aussi le plus parfait de tous les Illuminateurs. L'Esprit

It cannot be argued that the identification of Paulicianism with Manichaeism is due to a gradual evolution of the Manichaean doctrine during the Middle Ages. Not only are the two beliefs completely irreconcilable, but also, wherever true Manichaeism is found at a later date, as in Central Asia, it is clearly recognizable as such and generally unchanged. Puech characterizes Manichaeism as the religion of a book:

... the measure taken by its promulgator has on the whole assured to Manichaeism a remarkable dogmatic stability; the Church of the Holy Spirit [Manichaeism] has not been torn by heresies, and the few schisms which, for a brief time, threatened its unity have been provoked by questions of discipline alone.²⁵

Thus on the basis of dogma the *Key of Truth*, and, therefore, the fundamental Paulician tradition, can under no circumstances be reconciled with Manichaeism.

Historically, also, the influence of Manichaeism on Paulicianism or the identification of the two sects cannot be substantiated. There is no good evidence of the presence of Manichaeism in Armenia to any appreciable degree.²⁶ It is true that the existence of an *Epistle of Mani* to the Armenians is mentioned by the Arabic writer, an-Nadīm.²⁷ Also Samuel of Ani, Mxit'ar of Ayrivank', and Kirakos of Ganjak mention the coming to Armenia of certain "Syrian Nestorians" who brought with them the *Gospel of Mani*, in the year 591.²⁸ These sources, however, are late ones, particularly the Armenian documents, which date from the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, and are notoriously unreliable. Therefore, in the absence of any contemporary corroboration, they can hardly be considered definitive for a much earlier period, particularly in view of the fact that the *Oath of Union*, specifically concerned with "Nestorian missionaries" in Armenia during the sixth century, makes no reference whatsoever to Manichaeism.

That a certain number of Manichaeans reached Armenia from Persia in an early epoch is probable. The famous disputation between Archelaus

Saint ou le Paraclet, dont l'envoi avait été promis par Jésus, s'étant incorporé en lui et identifié à lui. Dès lors, la révélation qu'il apporte ne peut être elle-même que parfaite".

²⁵ Puech, *Le Manichéisme* 66-67, "... la mesure prise par son promoteur a, dans l'ensemble assuré au Manichéisme une fixité dogmatique remarquable: l'église de l'Esprit Saint n'a pas été déchirée par les hérésies, et les rares schismes qui ont, pour peu de temps d'ailleurs, menacé son unité n'ont été provoqués que par des questions disciplinaires".

²⁶ Söderberg, *La Religion des Cathares*, 26.

²⁷ Alfarić, *Les Ecritures*, I, 70-71.

²⁸ Samuel of Ani, *Collections*, 395-397; Mxit'ar of Ayrivank', *History*, 75; Kirakos of Ganjak, *History*, 29.

and Mani, recorded by the *Acts of Archelaus*, presumably took place on the Armenian border.²⁹ Lazar of P'arpi was acquainted with Manichaeism, which he ascribes with precision to:

... the slave Kumbrikios, who later had his name changed to Mani, whence also his disciples are called Manichaeans.

Lazar of P'arpi specifically distinguishes Manichaeism from the "heresy of the land of the Armenians [which] is not named according to any teacher".³⁰ Yet by the fifth century the Manichaeans were not sufficiently important to rate a separate refutation in the work of Eznik of Kolb, *Against the Sects*; they are barely mentioned in the correspondence of the *Book of Letters*; and in the seventh century Vrt'anēs K'ert'ol, in a *Letter* to Kyron, Kat'olikos of Georgia, lists a number of heresies in a single anathema, but omits the Manichaeans. No attention is paid to the Manichaeans as such, that is to say as a group recognizable by a characteristic doctrine and separate from the Paulicians or T'ondrakeçi, until the treatise of Gregory of Tat'ew in the fourteenth century.³¹ This persistent silence of the Armenian sources does not argue for the strength of Manichaean development in Armenia.

It is very important to note in this connection that Gregory Magistros, as well as Nersēs Šnorhali and Paul of Taron, separate the heresy of the T'ondrakeçi from that of the Arewordik' (Sons of the Sun).³² These Arewordik' appear to have been dualists, adoring the sun and abhorring darkness, rejecting the possibility of the resurrection of the dead, as well as the Holy Scriptures, and apparently believing in the ultimate destruction of matter.³³ These may indeed be Armenian Manichaeans, and they are never confused with the T'ondrakeçi with whom they disagreed on

²⁹ *KT-I*, ci-civ.

³⁰ Lazar of P'arpi, *Letter*, 48, "... զԿումբրիկայ սարկի. որ և յետոյ Մանի զինքն անուանափոխեաց. ուստի և Մանիքեցիք կոչեցան աշակերտեալքն նմա". This was noted by Conybeare, *KT-I*, cix.

³¹ See my Chapter II, n. 96.

³² *KT-I*, cxxxii; Gregory Magistros, *Syrian Kat'olikos*, 161; Nersēs Šnorhali, "Epistola XX, ad Urbem Samosatam", *Letters*, 223-229; Paul of Taron, in *KT*, 176; Daniel de Thaurizio, *Responsio*, Article CX, 643, confuses the two sects, but this is a late source, and his knowledge of the sectarians is admittedly not of the best. He may well have been misled by the Persian customs which some of the Paulicians seem to have adopted; see my Chapter II, n. 46. This is probably also the case in the Armenian legend related in heresy #154; see my Chapter IV, n. 95.

³³ Paul of Taron, in *KT*, 176, "... they who now are called worshippers of the Sun. These do not admit the resurrection of the dead, and are true worshippers of Satan. They believe not in the Holy Scriptures, nor accept them; and they say that He who died underwent corruption and perished.

They liken this life to herbs and to trees, and say that (it is) as the herb, which when destroyed does not come to life again, whereas its root does so come to life".

several points of doctrine, such as the rôle of God as the creator of the world, the Incarnation, and the baptism of Jesus.³⁴ Their beliefs may, however, represent a survival of Persian customs in Armenia. John of Ojun mentions that the Paulician heretics of his time, in addition to associating with sun-worshippers and practicing "Persian sins", exposed the bodies of their dead, an ancient Zoroastrian and not in the least a Manichaean custom.³⁵ Confusion may have arisen from the inability of Armenian writers to distinguish between the dualism of the Manichaeans and that of the Persian state religion, Zoroastrianism. Eznik of Kolb, writing his refutation of the Zoroastrians, states that their religion was identical with that of the Manichaeans in point of doctrine.³⁶ This is not a correct analysis, and we further know that Mani and his followers were severely persecuted by the Sasanid authorities.³⁷ Thus, while it is true that the Manichaeans as well as the Arewordik³⁸ were accused of being sun-worshippers,³⁸ a much closer and more obvious case of sun-worship is to be found on the very border of Armenia among the Zoroastrians. The imposition of the Persian religion on Armenia during the latter part of the fifth century is known to all the chroniclers and provoked a major revolt of the Armenian nobility.³⁹ It may well have left in Armenia, particularly among the heterodox elements, some traces of sun-worship as well as other practices which may subsequently have been attributed erroneously to a survival of Manichaeism.⁴⁰

There is no more historical support in Byzantium for the identification of the Paulicians with Manichaeans than we found in Armenia. We have instead evidence of a very different situation. The favor shown to the Paulicians by the Iconoclastic emperors of the Isaurian dynasty has already been mentioned a number of times. This was shown particularly in the case of the second emperor of the Isaurian house, Constantine V, who

³⁴ Nersēs Šnorhali, *Letters*, 226.

³⁵ John of Ojun, *Contra Paulicianos*, 84/5-86/7; see also my Chapter II.

³⁶ Eznik of Kolb, *Against the Sects*, 129, "Այլ ի քէշին մի են երկոքեան. նոքա երկար-մատեանք. և սոքա նոյնպիսիք. նոքա արեւապաշտք. և սոքա ծառայք արեգական, նոքա ամենայն անշնչոց չունչ կարծեն, և սոքա նոյն օրինակ զնոյն իմոնան".

³⁷ Theophanes, *Chronographia*, 169-170.

³⁸ De Stoop, *La Diffusion du Manichéisme*, 4.

³⁹ Etiše, *History*; Ormanian, *The Church of Armenia*, 28.

⁴⁰ The presence of various Gnostic sects in Armenia can be shown. There is no reason, however, for connecting them with the Paulicians. It has already been demonstrated repeatedly that Gnostic dualism is not characteristic of Armenian Paulicianism in the fifth century or at any other time. The first appearance of dualism in the Paulician tradition comes only in the ninth century in Byzantium and can hardly be attributed to the influence of obscure sects which had flourished some four or five centuries earlier on the other side of the Euphrates.

was himself accused of being a Paulician. Yet, we find in Article Seventeen of the new Isaurian code, the *Ecloga*, promulgated in the joint names of Leo III and Constantine V, the following clause: "Manichaeans and Montanists shall be punished by the sword".⁴¹ This particularly harsh law (other heresies were not punishable by death) becomes incomprehensible if we believe that the Paulicians, whom the same emperors so conspicuously favored, were Manichaeans.

The same situation prevailed in Muslim territory. We know from all the accounts that the Paulicians were the allies of the Muslims on many occasions. They fled from imperial persecution to the lands of the Emir of Melitene after the re-establishment of Orthodoxy, were well received and granted lands; and they raided the Empire in conjunction with the Muslim armies. Again, after the final destruction of Tephrikē, the Paulicians took refuge in the East under Muslim protection and were still the allies of the Arabs against the Christians at the time of the Crusades.⁴² The status of the Manichaeans in the Abbasid realm, however, was far from enviable. At first tolerated by the caliphs, the Manichaeans were soon persecuted here, too. Al-Mahdi instituted an inquisition against them and had a number crucified. The persecution was continued and intensified by the succeeding caliphs, al-Hādī and ar-Rashīd.⁴³ Here again, therefore, had the Paulicians really been Manichaeans, far from finding refuge and assistance from persecution among the Muslims, they would have met conditions no better than the ones from which they had fled in the Empire.

Thus, on the basis of the Greek as well as the Armenian and Oriental material, we are forced to the conclusion that the Paulicians could under no circumstances have been Manichaeans either on dogmatic or historical grounds, despite the existing statements to the contrary. It is, therefore, of particular interest to consider why this identification should have been made by their contemporaries, and to see what was the true meaning of the term "Manichaean" in this period.

It must be recognized that "Manichaean" was an epithet widely current throughout the Middle Ages in the East as well as in the West, as a general term of opprobrium which did not necessarily characterize the sect at

⁴¹ Spulber, *L'Eclogue*, titulus XVII, 75. "Οἱ Μανιχαῖοι καὶ οἱ Μοντανοὶ ξίφει τιμωρεῖσθωσαν." The disputed date of the *Ecloga*, 726 or 740, does not affect the importance of this article for our subject. See Crontz, *La Lutte contre l'hérésie en Orient jusqu'au IX^e siècle, pères, conciles, empereurs* (Paris, 1933), 58-59, 185, 189.

⁴² See my Introduction.

⁴³ Tabari, *Annals*, IV, 448-449, 452-453.

which it was flung.⁴⁴ Several flagrant examples of the misuse of this term exist in the East. Thus we have:

Macedonius succeeded him for fourteen years, and the Emperor Anastasius sent him into exile, for Macedonius had blamed the emperor and said: 'Thou art a Manichaean and thou sharest the ideas of the Manichaeans'.⁴⁵

There is not the slightest reason for believing the accuracy of this accusation. Under the patriarchate of Nestorius, those who called the Virgin Mary the Theotokos were likewise called Manichaeans,⁴⁶ even though respect for Mary as the Mother of God is hardly a Manichaean tenet. The Monophysite Churches were particularly accused of Manichaeism.⁴⁷ The accusation hurled at the Emperor Anastasius, quoted above, was probably due to his favoring the Monophysite doctrine.⁴⁸ Anastasius Sinaiticus is most definite in his identification of the two heresies: "Eutyches had studied the books of the Manichaeans, the Valentinians, the Marcionites and the Arians".⁴⁹ Furthermore, in his opinion, Eutyches was a direct descendant of Mani, as indeed were all the followers of the Monophysite doctrine.⁵⁰ This accusation is repeated in an anonymous work attributed to the seventh or early eighth century, *The Doctrine of the Fathers on the Incarnation of the Word*, of which the first thirty-one chapters are perhaps again the work of Anastasius Sinaiticus.⁵¹ In the early ninth century, the Patriarch Nicephorus accused the Iconoclasts of "emulating the ravings and fantastic tales of the Euthychians or rather the Manichaeans",⁵² thus once again linking the Monophysites with the

⁴⁴ Runciman, *Medieval Manichee*, 4, 17-18.

⁴⁵ Agapius of Membidj, "Histoire universelle", ed. and trans. A. A. Vasil'ev, *PO VIII*, 3, 423, "Macédonius lui succéda pendant quatorze ans et l'empereur Anastase l'envoya en exil, parce qu'il l'avait blâmé et lui avait dit: 'Tu es un Manichéen et tu partages les idées des Manichéens'".

⁴⁶ Bardy, *Paul de Samosate* (Louvain, 1923), 451.

⁴⁷ Alfàric, *Thèse*, 100, "Au cours des controverses monophysites, les Catholiques reprochaient constamment aux disciples d'Eutyches d'emprunter leur doctrine aux écrits de Mani, surtout à ses lettres dont ils citaient des passages curieux. Et pour se disculper, le parti adverse ne mettait que plus de soin à polémiquer contre ces mêmes textes".

⁴⁸ A. A. Vasil'ev, *Histoire de l'empire byzantin*, trans. P. Brodin and A. Bourguina (Paris, 1932), I, 143; Ch. Diehl and G. Marçais, *Le Monde oriental de 395 à 1081*, 2e ed. (Paris, 1944), 35-36.

⁴⁹ Anastasius Sinaiticus, "Viae dux adversus acephalos ['Οδηγος]", *PG*, LXXXIX (1860), 101/2CD, "Ταῖς γάρ Μανιχαίων, καὶ Οὐαλεντινῶν, καὶ Μαρκιωνιστῶν, καὶ Ἀρειανῶν βιβλίαις ἐγκύψας ὁ Εὐτυχὴς".

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 191/2A, 253/4AB, etc., "Εἰ οὖν μία φύσις ὁ Χριστὸς πάντως ἡμιγενὴς ὁ ἄνθρωπος, καθὼς οἱ τῶν Μανιχαίων μῦθοι διδάσκουσιν".

⁵¹ Alfàric, *Les Ecritures*, I, 118; Bardy, *Paul de Samosate*, 5.

⁵² Nicephorus Patriarcha, *Refutatio*, I, 317/8A, "τὴν τῶν βδελυρῶν Εὐτυχιτῶν, ἢ οἰκειότερον εἰπεῖν, Μανιχαίων ληρώδη καὶ φασματώδη μυθοπλαστίαν ζηλώσας".

Manichaeans. The Armenian Apostolic Church, which was considered to be Monophysite by the Orthodox authorities, would be included in these accusations of Manichaeism. Armenian heresies might also have been included in the mistaken identification. A still less accurate use of the epithet "Manichaean" was its application to the believers in the procession of the Holy Ghost from both the Father and the Son because of the implied dualism of the divided Godhead.⁵³

As a result of the misuses of the term, scholars have believed that the word "Manichaean" was devoid of specific content and was a mere term of abuse. This may often be the case, as we have just seen, although some logic, no matter how tenuous, always seems to underlie the accusation. But in reference to the Paulicians, this interpretation appears as an oversimplification.

Before examining the exact meaning attached to the term, however, let us first consider what might be the implications and results of an accusation of Manichaeism in the Byzantine Empire. Runciman has suggested that in the eyes of the imperial authorities, dualism was a heresy on a par with any other, so that a gratuitous accusation of Manichaeism need have no specific purpose.⁵⁴ Such does not seem to have been the case. In all periods, Manichaeans were singled out from other heresies for particularly severe punishment.⁵⁵ Even before the Christianization of the Empire, and in every subsequent legal codification, Manichaeism was invariably and uniformly punishable by death. Diocletian, in an edict dating probably from the year 296, had decreed that the Manichaean elect were to be burned together with their books, and mere auditors were to be decapitated and all their property was to revert to the fisc, "so that this evil might be removed from our blessed epoch".⁵⁶ Gratian specifically excepted the Manichaeans, together with the Eunomians and Photinians, from his edict of toleration of all sects.⁵⁷ In the *Theodosian Code* the Manichaeans were treated as criminals.⁵⁸ Death was

⁵³ Friedrich, "Der ursprüngliche Bericht", 91-92.

⁵⁴ Runciman, *Medieval Manichee*, 48.

⁵⁵ Crontz, *La Lutte contre l'hérésie*, 64, 73, 117, 133, 150, "Et pour la seule profession de l'hérésie, il n'y a eu que les manichéens à être frappé de la peine capitale. Cette secte fut toujours pour les empereurs chrétiens l'objet de dispositions très sévères". De Stoop, *La Diffusion*, 40-44; J. Kidd, *The Churches of Eastern Christendom from A.D. 451 to the Present Time* (London, 1927), 57. Manichaeans were among the heretics for whom rebaptism was required before admission to the Orthodox Church.

⁵⁶ De Stoop, *La Diffusion*, 34-43, "Ut igitur stirpitibus amputari mala haec nequitia de saeculo beatissimo nostro possit" (38); Crontz, *La Lutte contre l'hérésie*, 57-58.

⁵⁷ Agapius of Membedj, *Histoire*, VII, 4, 591; *Codex Theodosianus*, XVI, 5, 4; Crontz, *La Lutte contre l'hérésie*, 110.

⁵⁸ *Codex Theodosianus*, XVI, 5, 65.

decreed against them and such sects as were considered derived from them.⁵⁹ The severity of this measure is emphasized by the fact that heretics in general were not punishable by death in this *Code*.⁶⁰ The persecution was continued by the successors of Theodosius. Interestingly enough, Anastasius, whom we have just seen accused of Manichaeism himself, apparently promulgated the death penalty for Manichaeans no less than the other emperors: "Whenever they may appear or be found, let them suffer capital punishment".⁶¹ Under Justinian I the legislation became still more severe. Justin I maintained the death penalty decreed against the heretics,⁶² but Justinian's *Code* went further than the earlier legislation; separating the Manichaeans from other heresies, it decreed not only that they were punishable by death, but that anyone harboring a Manichaean and failing to denounce him to the imperial authorities would likewise be liable to capital punishment.⁶³ The legislation of Justinian remained in effect under his successors.⁶⁴ We have already seen that the Isaurian emperors, the patrons of the Paulicians, renewed the death penalty against the Manichaeans in their new *Code*.

Throughout the imperial legislation preceding the ninth century, the Manichaeans were punishable by death. Other heretics suffered the loss of the right of assembly and the curtailment of civil rights. Occasionally a single heresy would carry the death penalty in a particular act of legislation, but the Manichaeans were the only ones for whom the sole punishment was unalterably death. Therefore we must conclude that the accusation of Manichaeism in the Byzantine realm was not merely an expression of opprobrium interchangeable with any other term of abuse, but a useful and extremely dangerous political weapon. "Manichaean" could be used as a legal term involving the death penalty, designed to bring down on the heretic's head the full force of imperial legislation. An accusation of Manichaeism could bring about the extirpation of the party against which it was directed.

⁵⁹ *Codex Theodosianus*, XVI, 5, 9.

⁶⁰ *Idem*, Crontz, *La Lutte*, 117, "... il n'y a dans le Code Théodosien aucune loi qui prescrive la peine capitale contre les hérétiques en général".

⁶¹ Crontz, *La Lutte*, 133, "si quando apparuerint vel inveniuti fuerint capitali poena plectantur". *Codex Justinianus*, I, v, 11.

⁶² *Ibid.*, 156-157. The Manichaeans were none the less out of favor, Theophanes, *Chronographia*, I, 165, 171. A contemporary persecution was inaugurated by Khavadh in Persia, *ibid.*, 169-170.

⁶³ *Codex Justinianus*, I, v, 2-3, 15, 16, 18; Michael the Syrian, *Chronique*, II, ii, 190-192; Crontz, *La Lutte*, 58, 163, 167; de Stoop, *La Diffusion*, 85.

⁶⁴ Crontz, *La Lutte*, 182-183.

The legal aspect of Manichaeism may well be the cause for the incorrect and tendentious insistence upon the identification of Paulicians with Manichaeans that we find in the works of Peter of Sicily and the Pseudo-Photius. But this motive is insufficient to explain the use of the term "Manichaean" in relation to the Paulicians in source *P* as well as in a number of Armenian texts. To clarify this relationship, we must determine still more precisely the connotation of the word "Manichaean" in the eighth and ninth centuries. We must, therefore, turn to some of the documents relating to the Iconoclastic controversy raging at Constantinople during this period.

In the year 754, the Emperor Constantine V convoked in the imperial palace of Hieria a church council which condemned the veneration of images. The canons of this council, reversed at the seventh oecumenical council held at Nicaea in 787 under the auspices of the Orthodox Empress Irene and the Patriarch Tarasius, were ordered destroyed by the Orthodox council together with all Iconoclastic writings.⁶⁵ They have been reconstructed by M. Anastos from the acts of the second Council of Nicaea.⁶⁶

Among these canons we find the rejection of images on the ground that images either circumscribe the Godhead and therefore confuse the two natures of Christ, which is the heresy of the Monophysites, or, on the contrary, separate the human and divine natures, which is the heresy of the Nestorians. Further, the fathers of Hieria held that only the Eucharist could be considered the true image of Christ, while the only permissible images of the saints were the reproductions of their virtues, which all Christians would do well to imitate.⁶⁷ Even more categorical, the decision of Hieria was that:

[The] creator of evil . . . in order to subvert to himself the human race, introduced secretly idolatry under the guise of Christianity persuading through his artifices those looking to him not to reject created objects but to worship and reverence them and regard manufactured objects as God [divine] being named with the appellation of Christ.⁶⁸

⁶⁵ Hefele, *Histoire des Conciles*, III, ii, 783.

⁶⁶ M. Anastos, "The Argument for Iconoclasm as Presented to the Iconoclastic Council of 754," *Late Classical and Medieval Studies in Honor of Albert Mathias Friend Jr.* (Princeton, 1955), 177-188.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 188. For the canons of Hieria, see 185-187.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 179; *Mansi*, XIII, 221/2, "... τῆς κακίας δημιουργός, ... ὥστε ὑπὸ χεῖρα δι' ἀπάτης ἑαυτῷ ποιῆσαι τὸ ἀνθρώπινον· ἀλλ' ἐν προσχήματι Χριστιανισμοῦ τὴν εἰδωλολατρείαν κατὰ τὸ λεληθὸς ἐπανήγαγε, πείσας τοῖς ἰδίους σοφίσμασι τοὺς πρὸς αὐτὸν ὀρῶντας μὴ ἀποστῆναι τῆς κτίσεως ἀλλὰ ταύτην προσκυνεῖν, καὶ ταύτην σέβεσθαι, καὶ θεὸν τὸ ποίημα οἶεσθαι τῇ τοῦ Χριστοῦ κλήσει ἐπονομαζόμενον".

This point of view is not startlingly novel, as is observed by P. J. Alexander in his study of Armenian Iconoclasm in the seventh century:

True sanctity, so they taught, following such fathers as Clement and Origen, lay not in sacred objects at all, but in Christian ascetics who cultivated the Christian virtues, who themselves became the true image of Christ and could 'give themselves the name saint'.⁶⁹

Nevertheless, the views of the Council of Hieria and therefore of the Iconoclastic party could be construed as being a denial of the Incarnation and a rejection of matter as evil. It is along these lines that the intellectual opposition to Iconoclasm was to develop.

At the very time of the Council of Hieria, St. John Damascene in his *Apologetic Orations in Defense of Images* attacked directly both aspects of the Iconoclastic statement. He admitted that it was indeed an error and a sin to depict the invisible God, but denied that this was true in the case of His incarnate Son.⁷⁰ To deny the worship of images was to deny the worship of Christ, who was Himself the image of His Father, and to deny that any image of God could be made was to deny the Incarnation:

If you do not worship the image neither do you cherish the Son of God, who is the living image of the invisible God... I worship the image of Christ as God incarnate.⁷¹

Similarly he answers the Iconoclastic accusation that the worship of images was the worship of matter:

It is not matter which I adore, it is the Creator of matter, becoming matter for my sake willing to dwell in matter and working out my salvation through matter. Therefore, I will not cease to venerate the matter through which my salvation has been achieved.⁷²

Far from rejecting matter as evil, St. John Damascene points out again and again that all the objects of the Christian faith—the altar, the Gospels, the cross and even the bread and wine of the eucharist—are indeed matter.⁷³ Going still further, he makes clear the fundamental aspect of the rejection of matter:

⁶⁹ Alexander, "An Ascetic Sect", 158-159.

⁷⁰ Johannes Damascenus, *Orationes*, II, 1287/8, III, 1319/20, etc.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, I, 1251/2, II, 1301/2B, "Εἰ οὐ προσκυνεῖς εἰκόني, μηδὲ τῷ Υἱῷ τοῦ Θεοῦ προσκύνει, ὅς ἐστιν εἰκὼν τοῦ ἀοράτου Θεοῦ ζῶσα ...", "Προσκυνῶ Χριστοῦ εἰκόني, ὡς σεσαρκωμένου Θεοῦ".

⁷² *Ibid.*, I, 1245/6AB, "Οὐ προσκυνῶ τῇ ὕλῃ, προσκυνῶ δὲ τὸν τῆς ὕλης δημιουργόν, τὸν ὕλην δι' ἐμὲ γενόμενον καὶ ἐν ὕλῃ κατοικῆσαι καταδεξάμενον, καὶ δι' ὕλης τὴν σωτηρίαν μου ἐργασάμενον, καὶ σέβων οὐ παύσομαι τὴν ὕλην, δι' ἧς ἡ σωτηρία μου εἰργασται".

⁷³ *Ibid.*, I, 1255/6, II, 1299/1300, etc.

You curse matter and call it evil ... because matter was created by God, I confess it to be good, You, indeed, if you call it evil, either consider it not created by God or else make God the creator of evil.⁷⁴

Thus Iconoclasm is condemned on the double grounds that the rejection of matter is an insult either to God's power or to His mercy, and that the rejection of images is a denial of Christ, Himself the image of God, and of His Incarnation. Had He not been circumscribed and incarnate, then truly He neither could nor should be represented.

These opinions of St. John Damascene were shared by the major Orthodox writers upon Iconoclasm. At the opening session of the Second Council of Nicaea, the representative of the Oriental Patriarchs demanded the condemnation of Iconoclasm as the denial of the Incarnation.⁷⁵ At the beginning of the following century the Patriarch Nicephorus, in his *Antirrhesis*, insisted that the Orthodox should paint representations of Christ because He was God incarnate, a statement which was corroborated by Nicephorus' biographer, Ignatius the Deacon.⁷⁶ The opposition to Iconoclasm as the denial of the Incarnation is clearly stated in the very title of the *Antirrhesis*:

Refutation and opposition to the vain words of the impious Mammon [Constantine V] against the incarnation of the redeeming Divine Logos.⁷⁷

In the second period of Iconoclasm, which followed the temporary restoration of images in the reign of the Empress Irene, the leading champion of image worship was the Abbot Theodore of the Monastery of Studius. From him comes the same accusation as to the denial of the Incarnation by his opponents, for in his opinion, if Christ had assumed a body, this body could be represented; if not, his body was but a phantasm.⁷⁸ Finally, in the second half of the ninth century, in a period following the final condemnation of Iconoclasm at the Orthodox Council of 843, the Pa-

⁷⁴ Johannes Damascenus, *Orationes*, II, 1297/8BC, "Κακίζεις τὴν ὕλην, καὶ ἄτιμον ἀποκαλεῖς; ... Ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν καὶ Θεοῦ ποῖημα τὴν ὕλην, καὶ καλὴν ταύτην ὁμολογῶ· σὺ δὲ, εἰ κακὴν ταύτην λέγεις, ἢ οὐκ ἐκ Θεοῦ ταύτην ὁμολογεῖς, ἢ τῶν κακῶν αἰτίον ποιεῖς τὸν Θεόν". Also Johannes Damascenus, "Dialogus", *PG*, XCIV, 1507/8, 1519/20, 1527/8, *et passim*. All of these arguments are repeated again and again in almost identical form.

⁷⁵ Hefele, *Histoire des Conciles*, III, ii, 762.

⁷⁶ Nicephorus Patriarcha, *Refutatio*, 211/2; Ignatius Diaconus, *Vita*, 105/6.

⁷⁷ Nicephorus Patriarcha, *Refutatio*, 205/6, "Ἀντίρρησις καὶ Ἀνατροπὴ τῶν παρὰ τοῦ δυσσεβοῦς Μαμῶνα κατὰ τῆς Σωτηρίου τοῦ Θεοῦ Λόγου Σαρκώσεως ἀμαθῶς καὶ ἀθεῶς κενολογηθέντων ληρημάτων".

⁷⁸ Theodorus Studita, *Epistolae II*, lxxii, lxxxi, lxxxiv, clvii, 1305/6, 1321/2, 1327/8, 1495/6D, "Οὐ γάρ τοι Χριστὸς ὁ Χριστὸς, εἰ μὴ περιγράφειτο οὐδὲ προσκυνεῖται, εἰ μὴ πιστεύεται ἐν τῇ εἰκόνι αὐτοῦ προσκυνούμενος". *Refutatio*, 451/2C, and *Quaestiones*, VII, 479/80D-481/2A, etc.

triarch Photius could still write that Christ is not Christ unless He be circumscribed in our nature, for if He was incarnate, He was circumscribed:

Therefore he who denies that Christ can be painted, denies Him to have been born a man, and he who does not adore His image, clearly does not adore Him either.⁷⁹

Thus, throughout the two periods of Iconoclasm, in both the eighth and ninth centuries, Orthodox writers accused the Iconoclasts of rejecting matter as the creation of God, and of denying the Incarnation of Christ. Nor did they fail to note that these two beliefs had once been held by the Manichaeans or to identify the Iconoclasts with the Manichaeans. Both the great Iconoclastic emperors, Leo III and his son, Constantine V, were accused of Manichaeism by George the Monk,⁸⁰ and Nicephorus singles out Constantine V, his particular *bête noire*, with the same epithet:

... [he] who followed the impiety of the Manichaeans whose doctrine and teachings he emulated, into such irreligiosity had he fallen.⁸¹

St. John Damascene, in admonishing the Iconoclasts in his *Apologetic Orations*, enjoins:

Do not despise matter for it is not despicable. For nothing is despicable which God has made. This [belief] is the heresy of the Manicheans.⁸²

The identification of the Iconoclasts with the Manichaeans was specifically made in 787 at the Second Council of Nicaea. At the fifth session of the council, held on October fourth, the Patriarch Tarasius opened the proceedings by saying:

... that the Iconoclasts had imitated Jews and Saracens, pagans and Samaritans, and above all Manicheans and Phantasiasts.⁸³

Xenaias of Mabbug, Bishop of Hierapolis in 488, who had forbidden all

⁷⁹ Photius Patriarcha, *Epistolae*, "CII ad Theophilum", 925/6CD, "Ὡστε ὁ ἀπαινούμενος ἐγγράφεσθαι Χριστὸν ἡρνηται ἀνθρώπον γεγενῆναι. Καὶ ὁ μὴ προσκυνῶν, αὐτοῦ τὴν εἰκόνα, οὐ τύπον προσκυνεῖ αὐτὸν τὸ καθόλου..."; *Amphilochia*, 951/2.

⁸⁰ Georgius Monachus, *Chronicon*, 798; see my Chapter III.

⁸¹ Nicephorus Patriarcha, *Refutatio*, 347/8D - 349/50A, "μετὰ τῆς Μανιχαίων ἀνοσιότητος ὧν τὴν δόξαν καὶ τὴν διδασκαλίαν ἐζηλωκῶς, ἐπὶ τοσούτων μανίας καὶ ἀθείας ἐξώλισθεν".

⁸² Johannes Damascenus, *Orationes*, I, 1245/6C, II, 1297/8B, III, 1331/2B, "Μὴ κάκιζε τὴν ὕλην· οὐ γὰρ ἄτιμος. Οὐδὲν γὰρ ἄτιμον, ὁ παρὰ Θεοῦ γεγέννηται. Τῶν Μανιχαίων τοῦτο τὸ φρόνημα".

⁸³ Hefele, *Histoire des Conciles*, III, ii, 769, "Tarasius remarqua que, dans leur destruction des images, les iconoclastes s'étaient inspirés des Juifs, des sarrasins, des manichéens, des phantasiastes..."; Martin, *Iconoclastic Controversy*, 100; Alfarić, *Les Ecritures*, II, 188.

pictures of the Virgin, saints, and angels in his diocese, was condemned as a Manichaean at the same session.⁸⁴

In the following century, Nicephorus again identified the Iconoclasts with the Manichaeans, because the Iconoclasts had denied the Incarnation and, therefore, considered Christ to be no more than an hallucination,⁸⁵ an opinion which is found in the writings of Theodore the Studite also.⁸⁶ Nicephorus actually went so far as to claim that he had seen Manichaean books in which images were condemned,⁸⁷ though this was an impossibility, as has been pointed out by Alfarić and proved by the remains of Manichaean religious art in Chinese Turkestan.⁸⁸ The true Manichaeans did not reject images, so that the works seen by Nicephorus, if they existed, must have been merely Iconoclastic, thus illustrating once more that the two terms were synonymous to Orthodox writers. Finally, in the second period of return to Orthodoxy, the reforming council, called in 843 by Michael III and Theodora, was directed against the Iconoclasts who were nothing but "Manichaeans".⁸⁹ Again and again, then, the Orthodox writers in the eighth and ninth centuries equated Iconoclasm with Manichaeism on the basis of the Iconoclastic rejection of matter and the Incarnation. In this period, therefore, the term "Manichaean" had considerably narrowed from a general term of abuse. It carried a legal connotation, and in the hands of ecclesiastical writers it could become a synonym for Iconoclasm.

The identification of Manichaeism with Iconoclasm may explain the characterization of the Paulicians as Manichaeans, since they, too, could be shown to be Iconoclasts. On doctrinal grounds, as we know, the identification of the Paulicians with the Iconoclasts was all too easy and clear. One of the leading characteristics of the Paulicians from the seventh century on was their opposition to images of all sorts. The Iconoclastic practices of the Paulicians, which were readily observable,

⁸⁴ Hefele, *Histoire des Conciles*, III, ii, 769; Martin, *Iconoclastic Controversy*, 22, 101, L. Bréhier, *La Querelle des images* (Paris, 1904), 12; Der Nersessian, "Apologie"; 69-70.

⁸⁵ Nicephorus Patriarcha, *Refutatio*, I, 209/10BC, II, 337/8A, III, 395/6A, 443/4C, 533/4, "Apologeticus pro inculpabili, pura et immaculata nostra christianorum fide et contra eos qui putant nos idolis cultum exhibere", *PG*, C, 561/2, 605/6.

⁸⁶ Theodorus Studita, "Antirrheticas III", *PG*, XCIX, 397/8A; "Epistola LXXII, Nicholao filio", from "Epistolae", II, 1305/6A, "Τὸ δὲ τοιοῦτον ἀνειληφέναι τὸν Χριστὸν σῶμα λέγειν, Μανιχαίων, δοκῆσαι καὶ φαντασίᾳ τὴν σωτήριον Χριστοῦ οἰκονομίαν φληναφούντων, γεγενῆσθαι", *Refutatio*, 451/2C, *Quaestiones*, 479/80D.

⁸⁷ Nicephorus Patriarcha, *Refutatio*, 463/4.

⁸⁸ Alfarić, *Thèse*, 119.

⁸⁹ Georgius Monachus, *Chronicon*, 802.

soon identified them, in the eyes of the Byzantine authorities and of ecclesiastical writers, with the Iconoclastic party at Constantinople. The differences in doctrine between the Paulicians and the Greek Iconoclasts, which are noted by E. J. Martin, do not seem to have disturbed their contemporaries;⁹⁰ the practices were sufficiently similar for the identification to be acceptable. We have already seen how, as a result of this identification, the Paulicians were favored by all Iconoclastic emperors and flourished during their reigns. There seems to be little doubt, in view of the radical change of policy coincident with the rise to power of the Iconoclasts, that the Paulicians were successively favored and persecuted by the imperial authorities as Iconoclasts.

The identification of the Paulicians with the Iconoclasts was explicitly made by Byzantine writers.⁹¹ In the *Chronicle* of George the Monk, Constantine V was called "not a Christian, God forbid, but a Paulician".⁹² About the same Constantine a curious legend is related by Theophanes Confessor.⁹³ At the time of the attack on Constantinople by the Bulgar Khan Krum in 813, the panic-stricken population of the capital rushed to the sepulchre of Constantine V in the Church of the Holy Apostles, accusing the monks and the image-worshippers of having brought a curse upon the city, and imploring the help of the great Iconoclastic Emperor. According to the legend, Constantine heard this prayer and rose to the assistance of the beleaguered city. It seems fairly evident that this story of miraculous intervention was the work of Iconoclastic sympathizers. But we are told by Theophanes that this was the fabrication of men who "... only pretended to be Christians, but in truth were Paulicians".⁹⁴ The equation of Paulicians with Iconoclasts is perfectly clear from his commentary; the true Paulicians would have had no interest in propagating the story of Constantine V's supernatural assistance. Through such identification in the eighth and ninth centuries, the term "Manichaean" could also have been applied to the Paulicians by the Greek writers in the same sense in which it had been used for the Iconoclasts themselves, and without necessarily implying Manichaean dogma. The pattern of identification can best be rendered by the following syllogism:

⁹⁰ Martin, *Iconoclastic Controversy*, Appendix, 275-278.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, 277, "Orthodox partisans found the name [Paulicians] a useful term of abuse to apply to the Iconoclasts".

⁹² Georgius Monachus, *Chronicon*, 751, "οὐ γὰρ ἦν Χριστιανός [ὁ Κωνσταντῖνος], μὴ γένοιτο, ἀλλὰ Παυλικιάνος".

⁹³ Theophanes, *Chronographia*, I, 501.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, "σχῆματι μόνον ἦσαν Χριστιανοί τῇ δὲ ἀληθείᾳ Παυλικιανοί". See also Martin, *Iconoclastic Controversy*, 157, and Diehl and Marçais, *Le Monde Oriental*, 250.

Paulicians = Iconoclasts
 Iconoclasts = Manichaeans
 ∴ Paulicians = Manichaeans

The Byzantine equation of Paulicians with Manichaeans on the basis of their Iconoclasm is supported by the evidence of the Armenian authorities. In the earliest period before the union of the Armenian Paulicians with the Ałovanian Iconoclasts, Lazar of P'arpi still distinguishes between the disciples of Mani and the "heresy of the land of the Armenians".⁹⁵ Already in the seventh century, however, at the very time of the union between the two groups in Armenia, Vrt'anēs K'ert'oł presents the argument later used by St. John Damascene and the other Orthodox writers, namely the opinion that Iconoclasm is a denial of the Incarnation and is therefore nothing more than Manichaean docetism.⁹⁶ John of Ojun, whose *Sermon against the Paulicians* is primarily concerned with the problem of the heretics' Iconoclasm, may be accusing the Paulicians of Manichaeanism.⁹⁷ Gregory of Narek's painstaking description of the various features of the church building in his *Discourse upon the Church against the Manichaeans who are Paulicians*, becomes far more comprehensible if it is taken as addressed to an Iconoclastic audience. Similarly, Gregory Magistros addressed to the T'ondrakeci a *Letter* of vituperations entitled, reminiscently of Gregory of Narek's *Discourse*, "Concerning the representation [picturing or painting] of the church, written to these [the T'ondrakeci] and for the sake of Manichaeans". In this letter he accuses the T'ondrakeci of considering the worship of images as mere idolatry, a belief which Gregory brands as Manichaean.⁹⁸

The evidence of the Armenian sources appears then to interpret Manichaeanism in the sense of Iconoclasm and to support the parallel interpretation in the Greek documents. To be sure, by the mid-ninth century in Byzantium the dualist development of the "new Paulicianism" would give more immediate grounds for an accusation of Manichaeanism, and this in turn could be the accusation picked up by the late Armenian sources. This is probably often the case. However, this explanation cannot account for the earlier accusations in Armenia, such as that of Vrt'anēs K'ert'oł and the problematic reference in John of Ojun. Finally, we have a curious passage in the *Chronography* of Theophanes, written

⁹⁵ See p. 191

⁹⁶ Vrt'anēs K'ert'oł, *Treatise*, 61-62.

⁹⁷ John of Ojun, *Contra Paulicianos*, 86/7. However, see my Chapter II, n. 61.

⁹⁸ Gregory Magistros, *Letter LXIX*, 168.

in a period in which Paulician doctrine showed as yet no dualism. According to him in 734:

[The Caliph] Walid ordered to slit the tongue of Peter the most holy metropolitan of Damascus, because he spoke out openly against the impiety of the Arabs and of the Manichaeans.⁹⁹

Now al-Walid II would have had no objection to the condemnation of real Manichaeans by Peter since the Muslim authorities opposed them.¹⁰⁰ Theophanes could have been using the term Manichaean to mean Iconoclast, as had been done by St. John of Damascus and the Patriarch Nicephorus, but we now know that Muslim Iconoclasm was an Abbasid development not characteristic of the Umayyad period and particularly not of the notoriously unorthodox and dissipated court of al-Walid II.¹⁰¹ In view of the close contact between the Arabs and the Paulicians in the early eighth century, might it be possible that Theophanes is referring to the latter? Thus while it is most likely that the later sources speak of Paulicians as Manichaeans because of their dualism, it is likewise possible that on many occasions the accusation of Manichaeism stems from the Paulicians' Iconoclasm.

Many scholars have acknowledged that the Paulicians were not Manichaeans in any period.¹⁰² Nevertheless the concentration of most studies

⁹⁹ Theophanes, *Chronographia* I, 416, "Ὁ δὲ Πέτρον, τὸν ἀγιώτατον μητροπολίτην Δαμασκοῦ, γλωττοτομηθῆναι ἐκέλευσε, ὡς ἀναφανδὸν ἐλέγχοντα τὴν τῶν Ἀράβων καὶ Μανιχαίων δυσσέβειαν. ἐξώρισε τε αὐτὸν κατὰ τὴν εὐδαιμόνια Ἀραβίαν, ἐνθα καὶ τελειοῦται μαρτυρήσας ὑπὲρ Χριστοῦ". Theophanes wrote before 814/5 (see my Chapter I, n. 21), that is to say in the early part of Sergius' rule, at a time when we have no evidence for the development of the new Paulician dualism even within the Empire.

¹⁰⁰ The Manichaeans were admitted to the accepted status of *dhimmi* only in the early Abbasid period, and then only for a brief period before the renewal of persecutions. See Ph. Hitti, *History of the Arabs*, 4th ed. (London, 1949), 353, 359; also above p. 193.

¹⁰¹ K. Creswell, *A Short Account of Early Muslim Architecture* (Harmondsworth, 1958), 98-99, notes that St. John Damascene, though "well acquainted with the doctrines of Islam ... and a violent opponent of the Iconoclastic movement ... never accuses the Muslims of being hostile to pictures, although it would have been the first thing he would have seized upon to reproach them with, had they held such opinions". Creswell therefore concludes that "the prohibition against painting *did not exist in early Islam* [italics in text], but that it grew up gradually, for the reasons given above, towards the end of the eighth century". For the court of al-Walid II, see Hitti, *History of the Arabs*, 227 ff.

¹⁰² Nersoyan, "The Paulicians", *The Eastern Churches Quarterly*, V, 12 (1944), 410; Grégoire, "Eglises", 509, "Le Paulicianisme a beau être accusé d'être du manichéisme; en fait, rien ne permet d'établir la moindre filiation entre les deux doctrines". Söderberg, *La Religion des Cathares*, 24-27, 33, "Il est cependant évident que l'épithète de Manichéens leur [Pauliciens] fut donnée en raison de leur conception dualiste et d'autres

on the later Greek phase of Paulicianism has led to the identification of Paulicianism with some Gnostic sect, usually the Marcionites. This explanation, which originated with Gieseler and Ter Mkrttschian, has been accepted by Grégoire and most modern scholars.¹⁰³ The hypothesis, however, presents serious difficulties. Harnack, the leading authority on the Marcionites, opposed the identification of the two sects.¹⁰⁴ Friedrich pointed out that the late Paulician dualism, which distinguishes between the Heavenly Father and the Creator of the World, is not the same as the Marcionite opposition of the Kind Stranger to the Just God. He further noted that a number of ritual and dogmatic practices separated the Paulicians and the Marcionites.¹⁰⁵

Just as the identification of the Paulicians and Marcionites is difficult on doctrinal grounds, so the hypothesis of historical contact between the two sects is unsatisfactory. It is true that Armenia in the fifth century seemed to be threatened by a Marcionite irruption from Syria,¹⁰⁶ and Eznik of Kolb devoted one section of his work *Against the Sects* to them.¹⁰⁷ Nevertheless, the Marcionites whom he describes may not have been Armenian heretics. Harnack has noted the inaccuracy of the beliefs described by Eznik.¹⁰⁸ Mariès remarks on the similarity of the Marcionite dogma given by Eznik to the one described by Ephraem Syrus; he concludes that Eznik's refutation may well be addressed to Syrian and not Armenian Marcionites and that his work is not an indication of a Marcionite development in Armenia.¹⁰⁹

The presence of other Gnostic sects in Early Christian Armenia has also

idées gnostiques qu'ils avaient adoptées. Mais aucune donnée historique ne nous indique qu'ils ont été en relation avec le manichéisme". See also Runciman, *Medieval Manichee*, 49, et al.

¹⁰³ See my Introduction, nn. 44, 156; Ter Mkrttschian, *Die Paulikianer*, 106-110; Grégoire, "Eglises", 513; Runciman, *Medieval Manichee*, 60-61.

It is interesting that Soviet scholars generally accept the dualistic interpretation of Paulician doctrine despite their familiarity with the Armenian sources which contradict this thesis. The avowed lack of interest in theology of these scholars has probably led them to accept the traditional interpretation of Paulicianism without any attempt at a re-evaluation. The discussions of Paulician doctrine in all the Soviet studies are perfunctory and superficial. See my Introduction, n. 58.

¹⁰⁴ Harnack, *Marcion*, 303, 382-383.

¹⁰⁵ Friedrich, "Der ursprüngliche Bericht", 91, 94-95, 98.

¹⁰⁶ Mariès, *Le De Deo*, 9.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, 19; Eznik of Kolb, *Against the Sects*, 243-298.

¹⁰⁸ Harnack, *Marcion*, 140, n. 2, 180, n. 2.

¹⁰⁹ Mariès, *Le De Deo*, 79-80; F. Burkitt, ed., *St. Ephraim's Prose Refutation of Mani, Marcion, and Bardaisan* (Oxford, 1921), II, cxvii; Söderberg, *La Religion des Cathares*, 118. Eznik of Kolb, *Against the Sects*, 312, distinguishes among the Marcionites, the Manichaeans, and the "mchēayk'".

been noted and their influence suggested for the origin of Paulician dualism. The Gnostic leader, Bardaisan, was reputed to have come to Armenia to proselytize among the pagans, though his activity is said to have met with little success.¹¹⁰ Numerous references to the expulsion of the Borborites are found in the early Armenian sources.¹¹¹ The survival of pagan customs in Armenia is noted by Faustus of Byzantium.¹¹² We have already seen that the presence of Manichaeans in Armenia is also attested, though the cursory attention given to them by Eznik does not argue for their importance.

There can be no question as to the presence in Armenia during the fourth and fifth centuries of various heretical sects, some of which were undoubtedly Gnostic and dualistic. Nevertheless their existence cannot be used as an explanation for the dualism of late Byzantine Paulicianism. Whatever contact Paulicianism may have had with Gnosticism in Armenia during the early Middle Ages, and such contact cannot be proved, no similarity of doctrine resulted from it. Early Paulicianism, both in Armenia and Byzantium, was characterized by neither dualism nor docetism, as we have already seen. Both of these elements appear only in the ninth century and in Byzantium alone, and are characteristic of the secondary Paulician tradition of source *P*. The secret survival of a Gnostic sect up to the later period of Paulicianism, though not outside the realm of possibility, has not yet been demonstrated.

In the absence of any evidence for external influence on late Paulicianism, the sect's doctrinal shift toward dualism in Constantinople cannot as yet be explained satisfactorily. However, a tentative hypothesis of an internal evolution responsible for this dogmatic transformation may perhaps be suggested.

It has been shown that Paulicianism, both in Armenia and in Byzantium, was Iconoclastic in nature. In Armenia this Iconoclasm has pushed the Paulicians outside the Orthodox community. In Byzantium during the eighth and ninth centuries the Paulician Iconoclasts temporarily found themselves in a more congenial milieu. By the middle of the ninth century the re-establishment of Orthodoxy finally drove them back to their accustomed opposition to the established authorities. It is not im-

¹¹⁰ Moses of Xoren, *History*, II, lxvi, vol. I, 307.

¹¹¹ Koriun, *Mesrop*, 29; Atticus, "Letter to St. Sahak", in Moses of Xoren, *History*, III, 156/7; Michael the Syrian, *Chronique*, II, ii, 248. See Melik-Bashian, *Paulician Movement*, 62-73, who finally rejects the suggested identification of the Borborites with the Messalians. For the latter, see below.

¹¹² Faustus of Byzantium, *History*, III, xiii, 43-46; also Moses of Xoren, *History*, III, ix, vol. II, 162/3.

possible that some of the Paulicians acquired and intensified the beliefs of the more radical Iconoclastic circles. Iconoclasm did not necessarily imply dualism or docetism, but these two doctrines were not incompatible with Iconoclastic beliefs, as had been observed by their opponents. The Paulicians known to source *P* seem to have carried this implicit dualism and docetism much further than any purely Iconoclastic group. Such a development might even be brought into agreement with the earlier Paulician tradition. The reconciliation of a docetic christology with the Armenian Paulician belief that Jesus was an ordinary man adopted by God, though at first sight contradictory, is not completely beyond the realm of possibility. A sharp division between the two natures of Christ is inherent in an Adoptionist christology—the *forma servi* is ever distinct from the *Filius Dei*. If, then, the son of Mary, normally born and a common mortal, is only adopted at his baptism, it might be possible to say that the Son of God was never truly incarnate, which is the docetic position.¹¹³ Similarly, through the rejection of matter as evil, which is implicit in Iconoclasm, the Paulicians might have arrived at the dualistic belief that such an evil cannot be the creation of God, but comes rather from another principle, whether Demiurge or Devil. No proof can be given of such an internal evolution beyond the change along these lines observed in Byzantine Paulicianism. The isolation of the two Paulician centers from each other, and the absence of an intellectual Iconoclastic milieu in Armenia, would, however, explain the double tradition—the unchanging character of the eastern Paulician branch with its persistently Adoptionist tradition, and, as opposed to it, the evolution shown by Byzantine Paulicianism.

One more sect must now be considered as the possible ancestor of Paulicianism, namely the Messalians, also known as Euchitae or Enthusiasts. K. Ter Mkrttschian was of the opinion that these Messalians are the heretics condemned under the name of Mcīnē (*Մծղնէ*) at the Council of Šahapivan in 447.¹¹⁴ He went on to argue that the leaderless, rootless heresy described by Epiphanius as Messalianism is very similar to the “heresy of the land of Armenia [which] is not named for any teacher”,

¹¹³ It is interesting to note in this connection that the Armenian Nestorians, who held a doctrine very similar to that of the Paulicians (see my Chapter IV, n. 29), seem to have reconciled the adoptionist and docetic traditions. They believed in two natures, one human and the other divine, and that Jesus was born a corruptible mortal man who became Son of God through grace. On the other hand they also said that Christ had received no flesh from the Virgin Mary, *BL*, 56, and that the coming of Christ was not real but imaginary, *ibid.*, 12 etc. Hence the existence of an analogous double tradition among the Paulicians is not outside the realm of possibility.

¹¹⁴ Ter Mkrttschian, *Die Paulikianer*, 41–42 ff.

found in the *Letter* of Lazar of P'arpi.¹¹⁵ The identification is tempting, especially since both Hübschmann and Ačaryan trace *McInē* back to the Syriac *mašallāyānē*, whence the name of the Messalians is derived.¹¹⁶ Further investigation, however, seems to indicate that it is not warranted.

McInē and its derivative, *mcInēut'iun*, have a definite meaning in Armenian, being usually rendered as "filthiness".¹¹⁷ The Armenian suffix *ut'iun* (*ս֊թխիւն*) is the characteristic ending of an abstract derivative substantive and not a proper name.¹¹⁸ We seem, therefore, to be faced with a nameless heresy. But whatever may have been their early form observed by Epiphanius, the Messalians in fifth-century Asia Minor were known and condemned as Lampetians from their leader, Lampetius. Hence they can hardly be the heretics of Lazar of P'arpi.¹¹⁹

In connection with the Council of Šahapivan, it is curious that none of the outstanding manifestations of Messalianism are condemned in the canons of the council. We hear nothing of the perpetual prayers so characteristic of the Messalians that it gave them their name both in Syrian and in Greek, nothing of the doctrine of the two souls, or of the presence of Satan in the human soul, nothing of the state imperturbability (*ἀπάθεια*) finally reached through prayer and often accompanied by wild gesticulations, a sort of delirium, whence the sectarians were also known as Enthusiasts.¹²⁰ It is curious that the fathers of Šahapivan

¹¹⁵ Ter Mkrttschian, *Die Paulikianer*, 45, 48-49; Epiphanius, "Adversus octoginta haereses", *PG*, XLII, Haeresis lxxx, 756/7; Lazar of P'arpi, *Letter*, 49.

¹¹⁶ H. Hübschmann, *Armenische Grammatik* (Leipzig, 1897), #76, 311; H. Ačaryan, *Armenisches etymologisches Wurzelwörterbuch*, IV (Erivan, 1933), 1064-1065. The interpretation of Ter Mkrttschian was accepted by Conybeare, *KT-I*, lvii, cvii-cviii and by Runciman, *Medieval Manichee*, 28.

¹¹⁷ *Dictionary of the Armenian Language* (Classical), (Venice, 1837), II, 284, cols. 2-3. See also Runciman, *Medieval Manichee*, 28, n. 1. The interpretation of *mcInē* as a substantive rather than as a proper name seems to be accepted by the editor of Eznik, *Against the Sects*, who renders the passage of the author, p. 312, as "Մարկիոնիս և Մանի և ծնայից". Note the use of a lower case letter in the last instance, and the separation of the *mcInayk'* from Marcion and Mani.

¹¹⁸ A. Meillet, *Altarmenisches Elementarbuch* (Heidelberg, 1913), 28-29. The suffix *-ս֊թխիւն*, for example, is never added to the name Պաւղիկեանք [Paulikeank'] to obtain the form "Paulicianism", which is not found in Armenian. "Paylikenut'iun" is another matter, as we shall see.

¹¹⁹ G. Bareille, "Euchites", *DTC*, V, 1459. Bareille notes, 1454, that Epiphanius seems to be describing an early stage of the sect. Similarly the story of the condemnation of the Messalian leader Adelphius by Flavian of Antioch, repeated from Theodoret of Cyr by St. John Damascene, *Compendium*, 735/6-737/8, shows that the Messalians had leaders and were named according to them.

¹²⁰ For what is known of Messalian dogma, see Bareille, "Euchites", 1454-1465; E. Amann, "Messaliens", *DTC*, X, 792-795; and St. John Damascene, *Compendium*, 729/30-731/2.

should have overlooked such glaringly heretical manifestations had they been present, especially since the Messalians had already been condemned by the Council of Sidé in 390 and by Flavian of Antioch.¹²¹ Melik-Bashian quite rightly observed that the one *McInē tenet* condemned in Canon XIV of Šahapivan, the maintenance of a "housekeeper" by members of the clergy, cannot be reconciled with what we know of Messalian asceticism and their abandonment of all settled existence and private property in favor of a life of wandering beggary.¹²² Finally, it is curious that the Patriarch Atticus of Constantinople, writing to Kat'olikos St. Sahak I in the decade before the Council of Šahapivan, speaks of Borborites in Armenia but not of Messalians. Yet Atticus, whose anti-heretical activity was directed particularly against the Messalians, would hardly have overlooked them in his advice to the Armenian Kat'olikos had they been present in that country.¹²³ Hence we are brought to the conclusion of Melik-Bashian, that the *McInē* were not Messalians but another sect.¹²⁴

It is very probable that the nameless "Filthy ones" condemned at Šahapivan and mentioned a little later by Lazar of P'arpi are to be identified with the Paulicians. The word *mcInēut'ian* is used by John of Ojun to characterize the Paulicians and subsequently by Aristakēs of Lastivert on two occasions as well as by Nersēs Šnorhali to characterize the dogma of the T'ondrakeçi. Conybeare goes so far as to say that it had been used by every author since John of Ojun.¹²⁵ We have already seen that the punishment decreed for the *McInē* heresy in the nineteenth canon of the Council of Šahapivan, namely the branding of the heretic on the face with the mark of a fox, is the punishment used for the T'ondrakeçi; it is mentioned as such by the later Armenian sources.¹²⁶ Particularly inter-

¹²¹ Bareille, "Euchites", 1457; Hefele, *Histoire des Conciles*, II, ii, 75.

¹²² Melik-Bashian, *Paulician Movement*, 80-81. See Bareille, "Euchites", 1464, for the characterization of the Messalians as a "sorte de frères mendiants", and Amann, "Messaliens", 794-795, for the rejection of the accusation of immorality brought against the Messalians by Orthodox authors. Cf. Appendix I for the text of Canon XIV of the Council of Šahapivan.

¹²³ Atticus, "Letter to St. Sahak", in Moses of Xoren, *History*, vol. II, 154/5-156/7. Moses invariably gives the name of the sect mentioned by Atticus as "բորբորիանաց" and not "մզկիւնաց", which might have been the Armenian translation. For Atticus' anti-Messalian activity, see G. Bardy, "Atticus de Constantinople et Cyrille d'Alexandrie", in A. Fliche et V. Martin, *Histoire de l'Eglise*, IV, 159-160. It is also interesting that Theophanes, *Chronographia*, I, 63, speaking of the origin of the Messalians, makes no reference to the Paulicians.

¹²⁴ Melik-Bashian, *Paulician Movement*, 76-77.

¹²⁵ John of Ojun, *Contra Paulicianos*, 88/9; Aristakēs of Lastivert, *History*, 116; Nersēs Šnorhali, *Letters*, 240-289; *KT-I*, cviii.

¹²⁶ See my Chapter III, n. 121.

esting in this connection is the distortion of the name Paulicians which we find in a number of sources. John of Ojun occasionally calls the heresy "Paylakenut'iun" (Պալլակենութիւն).¹²⁷ The Ałovanian compact of 639 speaks of "Payli keank", and finally some manuscripts of the Council of Dvin in 719 speak in Canon XXXII of "Payli keank" (Պալլիկեանք).¹²⁸ Now *payl* has the same meaning in Armenian as *mclnē*, namely filth, and the translation of *Payl i keank* is: those who are "filthy in life". The two forms are specifically joined in manuscript #795 of the Canons of Dvin, "Concerning the evil heresy of the *mclnē* who are *payl i keank*".¹²⁹

In conclusion it seems fairly certain that the heretics condemned at Šahapivan were not Messalians but Paylicians or Paulicians. Such an explanation would push our knowledge of Paulicianism in Armenia a century earlier than even the Council of Dvin of 555 and make it quite possible that the Kat'olikos John I Mandakuni had indeed spoken of Paulicians at the end of the fifth century despite Bart'ikyan's objection.¹³⁰ Furthermore the elaborate provisions for cases of heresy in all classes of both ecclesiastic and secular society in Canon XX of Šahapivan indicate the extent of the movement at this early date.

We must now return to the problem of determining the nature of early Armenian Paulician tradition and its origin. Since we have no doctrinal basis for the derivation of Paulicianism from any dualistic Gnostic doctrine, it will be necessary to consider Conybeare's theory that the Paulicians were originally an Adoptionist sect descended from the heresy of Paul of Samosata. To do so, we must first note the principal aspects of Adoptionism.

The heresy attributed to Paul of Samosata was almost exactly contemporary with the rise of Manichaeism in the second half of the third century. Until his deposition by the Councils of Antioch in 268 and 270 and his ultimate ouster at the order of the Emperor Aurelian in 273, Paul of Samosata was Bishop of Antioch on the Orontes, one of the major sees of early Christendom. Bardy, whose thesis remains the basic work on the subject of Paul of Samosata, believes that the Bishop of Antioch was

¹²⁷ John of Ojun, *Contra Paulicianos*, 88/9.

¹²⁸ See my Chapter II, n. 36.

¹²⁹ *Dictionary of the Armenian Language*, "Պալլիկեանք" II, 592, col. 3; Bart'ikyan, "Sources", 96, n. 2; *Matenadaran* #795, fol. 129a, "Վասն չարական քննելից որ են պալլիկեանք".

¹³⁰ See my Chapter II, n. 23, and Appendix I. The terms in which Canon XX provides at the end for the judgement of the Ostikan by the Patriarch and the Council of Princes, are very reminiscent of the provisions in the Ałovanian Compact of 639; see my Chapter II, n. 35.

an isolated figure without true predecessors.¹³¹ Nevertheless, the ancient writers placed him in a definite group of heretics of which he was the most important. His predecessors were Simon Magus, Ebion, and Artemon.¹³² The basic principle of Paul's doctrine was Monarchianism, that is to say the absolute unity of God, which could not be modified or impaired by any other doctrine.¹³³ This uncompromising belief in the unity of God led Paul to deny the divinity of Jesus as an infringement on that of the Father. Jesus was a mere man born Mary who did not remain a virgin, and he was adopted as the Son of God as a reward for the progressive virtue of his life.¹³⁴ Every man who equaled the sinlessness of Jesus' life could likewise be adopted as the Son of God and thus become the equal of Jesus. Paul apparently claimed that a potential similarity to Christ was part of his own nature,¹³⁵ and complaints reached the Council of Antioch that the Bishop had been worshipped by the congregation in a completely unfitting manner and psalms sung in his honor.¹³⁶ One more accusation is interesting in connection with the heresy of Paul of Samosata, namely the Judaizing aspect of his Monarchian doctrine. While this aspect may have been exaggerated by his opponents, the accusation is persistent.¹³⁷

The most fundamental support for the theory identifying Paulicianism

¹³¹ Bardy, *Paul de Samosate*, 302, 411, n. 1, "Le Samosatéen est un isolé presque sans ancêtres et sans disciples"; cf., however, 364. The similarity of Paul's doctrine to that of the Armenian Paulicians was noted by Conybeare, *KT-I*, cvi.

¹³² Simeon of Beth Arsam, "Epistola Simeonis Beth Arsamensis de Barsauma episcopo Nisibeno deque haeresi Nestorianorum", in Assemani, *Bibliotheca Orientalis*, I (Rome, 1719), 347-348; Samuel of Ani, *Collections*, 361-362; Michael the Syrian, *Chronique*, II, ii, 195-196.

¹³³ Bardy, *Paul de Samosate*, 115, 362, 370, 372, 380.

¹³⁴ Simeon of Beth Arsam, *Epistola de Barsauma*, 347: "Nudum hominem genuit Maria, nec post partum Virgo permanserit; Christum autem appellavit creatum, factum, mortalem et filius ex gratia". "Consilium Antiochenum I in Causa Pauli Samosatani", *Mansi I*, 1033/4, "ὅς δὲ ἂν ἀντιμάχεται τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ θεοῦ. Θεὸν μὴ εἶναι πρὸς καταβολῆς κόσμου"; 1037/8: "Filius vero qui est apud Patrem, Deum quidem et dominum omnium creaturam dicit"; 1101: "Sententia Pauli Somaesetani [sic] haec erat, dominum Christum hominem fuisse a deitate creatum ejusdem cum nostro aliquo substantiae humanae, comitante ipsum gratia divina et in ipso habitante per amorem et voluntatem, ideoque vocatum esse Filium Dei". Also *ibid.*, 1039/40; Agapius of Membidj, *Histoire*, VII, 4, 530; Michael the Syrian, *Chronique*, II, i, 169; Bardy, *Paul de Samosate*, 311, 341, 372, 375-377, et *passim*.

¹³⁵ Simeon of Beth Arsam, *Epistola de Barsauma*, 347, "De seipso vero dicebat: Ego quoque si voluero Christus ero, quum ego et Christus unius ejusdemque simus naturae".

¹³⁶ "Epistola Synodica ad Dionysium Romanorum Pontificem", *Mansi I*, 1093D: "... et in media ecclesia solenni paschatis die, mulieres, quae inanes cantilenas (quas si quispiam audiret, plane exhorresceret) in ipsius laudem funderent, pararit"; also *ibid.*, 1097/8; Michael the Syrian, *Chronique*, I, i, 196; Bardy, *Paul de Samosate*, 343.

¹³⁷ *Ibid.*, 382-384.

and Adoptionism is the undoubted similarity between the doctrine of the *Key of Truth* and the condemned dogma of Paul of Samosata. It is true that a change of emphasis appears to have taken place. Albeit admitting the undivided unity of God, the *Key* did not stress Monarchianism to the same extent as did Paul of Samosata, and he in turn did not seem to have concerned himself with baptism, the dominant point of the *Key*.¹³⁸ In both doctrines, however, we find emphasized the basic belief that Jesus was a man adopted as the Son of God only as a reward for his virtue and through the grace of the Father, and the consequent belief that every man is born a potential Christ. The adoration accorded to Smbat and, for that matter, to Sergius-Tychicus by their respective disciples seems to be the same as the worship of Paul of Samosata which so scandalized the Council of Antioch.

In addition to the similarity of the two doctrines there are several specific identifications of the Paulicians with Paul of Samosata among both "Eastern" and Byzantine writers. Gregory Magistros, writing to the Kat'olikos of Syria, characterized the T'ondrakeçi in the following manner: "Here then you see the Paulicians who get their poison from Paul of Samosata".¹³⁹ In the same period King Gagik II, anathematizing those who say that Jesus was a man adopted by God, attributes the origin of this heresy to Paul of Samosata.¹⁴⁰ Finally, we have an interesting passage of Mas'ûdi describing the Paulicians:

... these follow the heresy of Paul of Samosata, one of the first Patriarchs of Antioch; he professed doctrines midway between the Christians and the dualists, for they included the veneration and cult of all the luminaries in order.¹⁴¹

The identification of Mas'ûdi has been challenged on the ground that he attributed to the Paulicians Magian-Manichaean and not Adoptionist doctrines. However, it must be noted that the questionable portion is the second half of the sentence, which refers to Paul of Samosata and not to

¹³⁸ Bardy, Paul de Samosate, 372.

¹³⁹ See my Chapter III, n. 117. *KT-I*, cv-cvii.

¹⁴⁰ Gagik II in Matthew of Edessa, *Chronique*, 204: "Եթէ որ աստղէ յառջ ստեղծեալ զմարդն, և ապա աւել մտեալ բնակիլ զԱստուած, դատապարտի, որ ոչ ծնունդ Աստուծոյ աւել, այլ փախչի 'ի ծնանելոյն: Եթէ որ 'ի ներքս ածիցէ երկուս որդիս, զմինն յԱստուծոյ 'ի Հօրէ և զերկրորդն 'ի մօրէ. այլ ոչ զմինն և զնոյն, յորդեգրութենէն արտաքոյ անկանի, զոր խոստացաւ ուղիղ Հաւատացելոցն: Բնութիւնք երկուք. քանզի Աստուած և մարդ. Հոգի և մարմին. բայց որդիք ոչ երկուք և Աստուած ոչ երկուք, այլ՝ մի. զի և ոչ աստ երկու մարդ, թէպէտ և Պօղոս այսպէս ասաց, զերկու՝ զներքին մարդոյն և զարտաքինն անուանեաց":

¹⁴¹ Mas'ûdi, *Les livres de l'avertissement*, 208, "... d'autres sectes... comme celle des... pauliciens, ces derniers suivent l'hérésie de Paul de Samosate, l'un des premiers patriarches d'Antioche; il professa des doctrines qui tiennent le milieu entre celles des Chrétiens et celles des Mages et des dualistes, car elles comportaient la vénération et le culte de toutes les lumières selon leur ordre".

the Paulicians; the subject is singular. Mas'ūdī seems to have been confused as to the doctrine of Paul himself, but his identification is unquestionable. Indeed, it may be, in view of some of the Persian practices of the Paulicians noted by John of Ojun, that Mas'ūdī attributed the same practices to Paul of Samosata, knowing him to have been the precursor of the Paulician sect. One more statement found in the Armenian sources is of interest. We have seen the accusation of Judaism commonly brought against Paul of Samosata by his opponents. Gregory Magistros, speaking of the T'ondrakeçi, says:

I find that you resemble not only the sectaries, but that you add Judaism and circumcision and are much worse than they.¹⁴²

Similarly the *Codex Scorialensis* accuses the Paulicians of being "Monarchian Jews".¹⁴³

From the evidence of the varied Greek sources, support can also be found for the theory that the Paulicians were Adoptionists. The tradition that the Paulicians were descendants of Paul of Samosata is not exclusively Oriental. The very attribution in the legend found in source *P* of the origin of the Paulician heresy to a Paul of Samosata, the son of Kallinike, is significant, and so is the name of the sect. The Paulicians both in Armenia and Byzantium called themselves the true believers, and the name "Paulicians" was given to them pejoratively by their Orthodox opponents. It has long been noted that this form, containing the Armenian derogatory suffix *-ik*, cannot be Greek in origin; the name of the Paulicians must have come from Armenia.¹⁴⁴ Despite the opposition of Ter Mkrttschian it is evident that the name of the sect must be derived from a Paul,¹⁴⁵ and the insulting diminutive, "Paulik", cannot refer to St. Paul himself as Gieseler had suggested.¹⁴⁶ The name "Paulicians" gained early currency in Armenia. In the period of the Council of Šahapivan and of Lazar of P'arpi, "the heresy of the land of Armenia [was still] not named according to any

¹⁴² Gregory Magistros, *T'ulaili*, 166, "ոչ միայն Հերձուածադացն Հանճմատ զտանեն զձեզ լինել. այլ Հրեութիւն և Թլփառութիւն ընդունել և եթէ այնոքիկ քան զայսոսիկ չարագոյն".

¹⁴³ *Codex Scorialensis*, XX, 76-77.

¹⁴⁴ See my Chapter III, n. 153.

¹⁴⁵ Ter Mkrttschian, *Die Paulikianer*, 62-64. Basing himself exclusively on John of Ojun, Ter Mkrttschian objects that neither Pollikeank' (Պոլլիկեանք) nor Paylakanut'iun (Պալկանուտիւն) can be derived from Paul. The forms of the name are variable. John of Ojun uses the ones found objectionable by Ter Mkrttschian and so does Gregory of Narek, *Discourse*, 477. But the correct Paulikeank' (Պալիկեանք) occurs in both the *Oath* of Dvin and Gregory Magistros, *Syrian Kat'olikos*, 161. We can now trace the origin of the pejorative Paylikeank'. There is, therefore, no longer any reason for rejecting the obvious derivation of Paulician from some sort of Paul.

¹⁴⁶ Gieseler, "Untersuchungen", 83, cf. *KI-I*, cv-cvi.

teacher", and was referred to as filth (*meñē*), but in the next century the term Paulicians was familiar to the ecclesiastics assembled at Dvin. The clergy, noting the evident doctrinal similarity between the Armenian heretics and Paul of Samosata, reasonably referred to the native sectarians as "the followers of that wretched Paul". But even here the memory of the traditional reference to the heretics as filthy, as well as the similarity of sound, tempted some of the writers to distort the name of the sect into the still more insulting Paylikeank'. In Greece the situation became more complicated. The name Paulicians was adopted from Armenia, but by the ninth century, when source P was composed, the doctrine of the Paulicians in Byzantium no longer resembled that of the Bishop of Antioch. Even the sectarians seem to have forgotten him.¹⁴⁷ Therefore a new legend developed to account for the name of the sect: the story of the sons of the Manichaean Kallinike. But even in this account, distant and confused though it became, lingered the memory of an imperfectly remembered Paul of Samosata as the ancestor of the Paulicians.¹⁴⁸

¹⁴⁷ We are told by source P that the Byzantine Paulicians would anathematize Mani and Paul of Samosata but not Constantine-Silvanus, whom they considered the founder of their sect, Petrus Higumenus, V, 63, Petrus Siculus, *Historia*, 1245/6B, etc. (see n. 149). The Paul of Samosata intended here, however, is probably the legendary Manichaean son of Kallinike.

¹⁴⁸ The importance of Paul in the legend of the sons of Kallinike is emphasized by the derivation of the sect's name from him alone in source P (Petrus Higumenus, I, 60). Only the Pseudo-Photius, *Narratio*, II, 17/8B, remembers the other heresiarch, John, in his pedantic etymology, Pauloioannai. The more careful Greek sources avoid the Armenian form, Paulicians (Παυλικιανοί) and refer to the sectarians as Paulianists, e.g., Theophylactus, *Letter*, 363, and Genesius, *Regum*, 125, 21-2, "ἐκ τῆς μυσταρᾶς θρησκείας τῶν Παυλιανιστῶν".

Loos, "Contributions II", *passim*, offers an alternate explanation. According to him, Paul the Armenian, the father of Genesius, was born in Samosata and refounded the sect, which took its name from him. This is an ingenious argument based on Peter of Sicily, *Historia* XXVIII, and Pseudo-Photius, *Narratio*, XIX (see Chapter III, n. 6), but it is insufficiently supported by the facts. We have no evidence that Paul, the son of Kallinike, was a historical figure, as postulated by Loos, "Contributions II", 209. The consensus seems to run the other way, that he was a purely legendary figure. Nor is there any reason for supposing that Paul the Armenian was born in Samosata and that Kallinike was his mother and consequently the grandmother of Genesius. No such relationship is ever suggested by the sources, which place Kallinike in a distant and mythical past rather than in the late seventh century as Loos's hypothesis would necessitate. Her name is not Armenian but clearly Greek. It is true that many women are found in the Armenian legend of the *Book of Heretics*, but the one associated with Pōl of Ayrarat is Šet'i (see my Chapter III, nn. 76-77). Despite Loos's objection, *ibid.*, 208, we have seen that the adoptionism of the Paulicians can logically be associated with that of the historical Paul of Samosata. The confusion on this point in Peter of Sicily and Pseudo-Photius arises most probably from the appearance of yet another Paul in the Paulician tradition. It is quite possible that a number of legends were

Throughout the Greek texts we find the linking of Paul of Samosata with the Paulicians. Peter of Sicily points out that the Paulicians of Tephrikē hypocritically anathematized Mani and other heretics and Paul of Samosata as well.¹⁴⁹ If Paul of Samosata had nothing to do with these heretics, why should Peter of Sicily bring him in at all? The account of the worship of Sergius by his disciples closely resembles the practice of Paul of Samosata.¹⁵⁰ Genesisius in his *Basileia* attributes the ancestry of the Paulicians to Paul of Samosata and only secondarily to Mani and Montanus.¹⁵¹ Theodore of Studius remarks that the Iconoclasts fall either into the error of Paul of Samosata, who believed that Christ was a mere man, or else into that of Mani, who considered Christ to be God and not man.¹⁵² He seems to be commenting on both the Paulician traditions as we know them. A scholiast of Dionysius Thrax in the ninth century also mentions Paul of Samosata as the originator of Paulicianism.¹⁵³

The most interesting document in this connection is the *Letter* of the Patriarch Theophylactus Lecapenus to Tsar Peter of Bulgaria. Part of

current in the ninth and tenth centuries to account for the name and the forgotten origin of the Paulician movement. We have seen that such legends were in existence in Armenia and Bulgaria as well; see my Chapter III, n. 3.

¹⁴⁹ Petrus Siculus, *Historia*, 1245/6, "Μάνεντα καὶ τοὺς σὺν αὐτῷ μιαινοὺς αἰρετικούς, ἔτι δὲ καὶ Παῦλον τὸν Σαμοσατέα, ἀναθεματίζουσι προθύμως". However, see n. 147.

¹⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 1287/8C, cf. 1293/4D. The implied relation between Sergius and Leo the Montanist, *ibid.*, 1297/8CD, is more suited to an Adoptionist than a Manichaean, since the Montanists were religious reactionaries and not dualists, and furthermore, with some similarity to the Adoptionists, the Montanist prophets claimed to be God himself. See Epiphanius, *Haereses*, 871/2D, "Ἐτι δὲ προστίθησιν ὁ αὐτὸς Μοντανὸς οὕτω λέγων· 'Ἐγὼ Κύριος ὁ θεὸς ὁ παντοκράτωρ καταγινόμενος ἐν ἀνθρώπῳ.' ... οὕτε ἀγγελὸς, οὕτε πρέσβυς, ἀλλὰ ἐγὼ κύριος ὁ θεὸς Πατὴρ ἦλθον". Obolensky, *Bogomils*, 20-21, noted that Montanism cannot be proved to have had any direct doctrinal or historical connections with Manichaeism; also Runciman, *Medieval Manichee*, 18, et al.

¹⁵¹ Genesisius, *Regum*, 120.

¹⁵² Theodorus Studita, *Quaestiones*, 479/80D-481/2A: "Εἰ τὸ περιγραφτὸν μόνον λέγειν τὸν Χριστὸν, ψιλοῦν ἐστὶν αὐτὸν θεότητος, ἧς τὸ μὴ περιγράφεσθαι· δῆλον ὅτι καὶ τὸ ἀπερίγραφτον μόνον λέγειν, ἀπαμφινύειν αὐτὸν ἐστὶν ἀνθρωπότητος, ἧς τὸ περιγράφεσθαι· καὶ τὰ ἅτοπα ἰσόδροπα· τὸ μὲν Παῦλῳ τῷ Σαμοσατέϊ ληρωδῆθῆναι, ψιλὸν ἀνθρώπον, ἀλλ' οὐχὶ καὶ Θεὸν τὸν Χριστὸν λέγοντι· τὸ δὲ Μάνη τῷ Πέρσῃ φληναφηθῆναι, γυμνὸν θεόν, ἀλλ' οὐχὶ καὶ ἀνθρώπον τὸν Χριστὸν φάσκοντι. 'Ὁρᾶτε, ὦ οὔτοι τὸ ἀμφίκρινον. Ὅποτέραν οὖν τῶν ἀσεβειῶν οἴεσθε πεφευγῆναι, μεθ' ἑτέρας ἐξ ἀνάγκης ἐν ἡμίσει ἔσεσθε, ὥς ἐκ μερῶν συγκείμενοι. Εἰ γὰρ εἴποιτε μὴ Παυλιανίζειν, τί Μανιχαΐζετε, τὸν Χριστὸν ὡς ἀσώματον Λόγον οὐ περιγράφοντες; ὅπερ φεύγει Παῦλος. Εἰ λέγοιτε μὴ Μανιχαΐζειν, τί Παυλιανίζετε, τὸν Χριστὸν ὡς ἐνσώματον ἀνθρώπον δογματίζοντες; ὅπερ φεύγει Μάνης· ὥστε Μανιχαΐζοντες Παυλιανίζετε, ὥς καὶ ἔμπαλιν".

¹⁵³ Bardy, *Paul de Samosate*, 7, n. 1, "... ἑτέρου [Παύλου] αἰρετικοῦ τοῦ Σαμοσατέως ὅθεν οἱ Παυλικιανοὶ κατάγονται".

the *Letter* seems to have been copied from the *Manichaean Formula*, but his first characterization of the heresy which appeared in Bulgaria and which is generally recognized to have had Paulician elements, was that it was a mixture of Manichaeism and Paulianism [sic]. His remedy for the heresy is very illuminating:

... when they shall have cursed and anathematized their heresy they must be rebaptized according to the nineteenth canon of the Council of Nicaea, with performance of all baptismal rites, for their heresy is Manichaeism mixed with Paulianism.¹⁵⁴

Now, Paulianism was the name given to the heresy of the followers of Paul of Samosata, and the nineteenth canon of Nicaea was directed against them:

Concerning the Paulinians who have flown for refuge to the Catholic Church, it has been directed that they must be altogether rebaptized, and if there are any who in former times were numbered among the clergy, and they are found guiltless and without reproach, when they have been baptized let them be reordained by the bishop of the Catholic Church. If on examination they are shown to be unfit, let them be deposed.¹⁵⁵

Theodore Balsamon, commenting upon this canon, explains that "the Paulinians are called Paulicians",¹⁵⁶ thus equating the two names. We can see, therefore, that far from being a passing error, the identification of the Paulicians with Paul of Samosata is a continuous occurrence in this period.

The historical contact between Adoptionism and Paulicianism can also be shown satisfactorily. The presence of Adoptionism in Armenia contemporary with the appearance of Christianity in the country is generally admitted,¹⁵⁷ though there does not seem to be much reason to believe

¹⁵⁴ Theophylactus, *Letter*, 362-363, "(ἀπο)στρέφοντες καὶ ἀναθεματίζοντες τὴν οἰκείαν δυσσέβειαν, κατὰ τὸν 19^{ον} τῶν ἐν Νικαίᾳ κανόνα, ἐξαναβαπτίζεσθαι πάντων εἰς αὐτοὺς γιγνομένων κατὰ τὸν τύπον τῶν βαπτιζομένων. Μανιχαϊσμός γάρ ἐστι, Παυλιανισμὸς συμμιγής, ἢ τούτων δυσσέβεια". This is to be rendered Paulianism and not Paulicianism as is done by Obolensky, *Bogomils*, 115.

¹⁵⁵ *Mansi*, II, 676/7; Theodore Balsamon, "Canones SS. apostolorum Conciliorum ... Commentaria", *PG*, CXXXVII, 301/2C, "Περὶ τῶν Παυλιανισάντων, εἴτα προσφυγόντων τῇ καθολικῇ Ἐκκλησίᾳ. ὁρὸς ἐκτέθειται ἀναβαπτίζεσθαι αὐτοὺς ἐξάπαντος. Εἰ δέ τινες τῷ παρεληλυθόντι χρόνῳ ἐν τῷ κλήρῳ ἐξητάσθησαν, εἰ μὲν ἄμεμπτοι καὶ ἀνεπίληπτοι φανεῖν, ἀναβαπτισθέντες χειροτονείσθωσαν ὑπὸ τοῦ τῆς καθολικῆς Ἐκκλησίας ἐπισκόπου. Εἰ δὲ ἡ ἀνάκρισις ἀνεπιτηδείους αὐτοὺς εὕρισκοι, καθαιρεῖσθαι αὐτοὺς προσήκει".

¹⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 301/2D, "Παυλιανισταὶ λέγονται οἱ Παυλικιανοί", The objection of Bart'ikyan, "Sources", 85 ff and 92, to the reference to Paulicians in John Mandakuni and the *Oath* of Dvin is based on his rejection of the identification of Paulianists with Paulicians, but we see that the identification was common in the Middle Ages, and that it is defensible on logical grounds.

¹⁵⁷ Runciman, *Medieval Manichee*, 27.

Conybeare's hypothesis that St. Gregory the Illuminator was himself an Adoptionist.¹⁵⁸ More interesting is the doctrine of Archelaus of Kaškar, the famous opponent of Mani, who is known to have been a bishop of Persarmenia.¹⁵⁹ The doctrine of Archelaus as given in the *Acta Archelai* has been considered nothing more than an unskillful statement of early Christian doctrine.¹⁶⁰ However, the opinion of Conybeare that the "Orthodox" doctrine of Archelaus shows a strong tinge of Adoptionism is well supported.¹⁶¹ It is true that there is one possible contradiction to this hypothesis. Christ is once referred to as "... he who is born of Mary the Mother of God",¹⁶² a statement unsuited to the Adoptionist point of view. Nevertheless, numerous statements have a definitely Adoptionist ring. Jesus is said to be inferior to John the Baptist on earth, though he will be greater in heaven, and we are told that Jesus could not have been the perfect Son of God at the time of his baptism, for then the Holy Spirit could not have entered into him.¹⁶³ Moreover, the christology of Archelaus is summarized as follows by his interlocutor:

If you [Archelaus] say that He was merely a man born of Mary and that he received the spirit at baptism, then he seemed to be the Son of God by progression and not by nature.¹⁶⁴

Further, the statement appears that, "This is the Christ of God, Who descended upon him who was born of Mary". The Divine Logos descended upon the son of Mary at his baptism, entered into him and remained with him.¹⁶⁵ Hence, we see that the Christianity attributed to an Armenian bishop of the fourth century was a doctrine showing strong signs of Adoptionism. Furthermore, we learn from Michael the Syrian that a Maximus, who preached that men are not inferior to Christ and could be gods, was exiled to Armenia.¹⁶⁶ Among the *spuria* of St. Anasthasius we have a *Letter* addressed to a Persian bishop concerning

¹⁵⁸ *KT-I*, xiv, cx-cxi.

¹⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, xcvi-xcviii, ci-ciii.

¹⁶⁰ Bardy, *Paul de Samosate*, 391 (1929 ed., 503).

¹⁶¹ *KT-I*, xcvi-c, cf. p. 60 n. 129.

¹⁶² *Acta Archelai*, 55-56, "eum qui de Maria Dei genitrice natus est". Cf. Bardy, *Paul de Samosate* (1929 ed.), 502.

¹⁶³ *Ibid.*, 85, "Sine dubio minor erat Iohanne Iesus inter natos mulierum; in regno autem caelorum maior illo erat ... Quis est etiam qui baptizatur a Iohanne? Si perfectus erat, si filius erat, si virtus erat, non poterat spiritus ingredi, sicut nec regnum potest ingredi intra regnum".

¹⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 86, "Si enim hominem tantummodo ex Maria esse dictis et in baptismo spiritum percepisse, ergo per profectum filius videbitur et non per naturam".

¹⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 87-88, "Hic est Christus dei, qui descendit super eum qui de Maria est".

¹⁶⁶ Michael the Syrian, *Chronique*, II, iii, 434, III, i, 32-34.

and Artemon were considered to be the predecessors of Paul. Many successors were likewise attributed to him, and Bardy himself admits that Paul's preoccupations reflect the problems which attracted his contemporaries.¹⁷⁴ Marcellus of Ancyra and particularly Photinius of Sirmium, his disciple who was a native of Galatia, were accused of perpetuating the heresy of Paul of Samosata, and of considering Christ a mere man.¹⁷⁵ The same charge was brought against Diodorus of Tarsus, as well as Ibas of Edessa and Theodore of Mopsuestia. These theologians were subsequently condemned at the Second Council of Constantinople (Council of the Three Chapters) in 553, and were also accused of saying that they, too, by nature were the equals of Christ.¹⁷⁶ Finally, Nestorius himself was specifically accused of being a spiritual descendant of Paul of Samosata at the Council of Ephesus.¹⁷⁷ The doctrine attributed to the Armenian Nestorians in the official correspondence which has survived from the fifth and sixth centuries bears the closest resemblance to that of Paul of Samosata and the *Key of Truth*: The Son of God and the son of man are totally separate; Jesus was born a mortal man who became worthy of

¹⁷⁴ Bardy, *Paul de Samosate*, ix, 21, 117; Runciman, *Medieval Manichee*, 20; *KT-I* xcvi. The necessity of a canon directed against the Paulinians at the Council of Nicaea (Canon XIX) is evidence of some survival of the sect in this period.

¹⁷⁵ On Marcellus of Ancyra—Michael the Syrian, *Chronique*, I, i, 263. On Photinus of Sirmium—*ibid.*, 272; see also Bardy, *Paul de Samosate*, 427-428. Both heresies were still known in 381, since they were anathematized at the first Council of Constantinople, Crontz, *La Lutte*, 88. The Photinians were still known at the Council of Sirmium as late as 409, Bardy, *op. cit.*, 431.

¹⁷⁶ Simeon of Beth Arsam, *Epistola de Barsauma*, 348, "A Paulo accepit Diodorus Tarsi. A Diodoro accepit Theodorus Mopsuestiae in Cilicia... Quae vero a Simone Mago a Paulo et a Diodoro afferebantur, haec ille amplificavit confirmatque, afferens Christum hominem esse creatum, factum, mortalem, consubstantialem nobis, filium adoptivum et Templum Filii aeterni non Filius naturalem Dei esse, sed per gratiam et adoptionem". See Michael the Syrian, *Chronique*, I, i, 298, and Bardy, *Paul de Samosate*, 342.

Ibas of Edessa was accused at the Council of Tyre in 449 of the following statement: "οὐ φθονῶ τῷ Χριστῷ γενομένῳ θεῷ. ἐφ' ὅσον γὰρ αὐτὸς ἐγένετο, καὶ ἐγένετο", of which he was acquitted at Chalcedon in 451. The same accusation was brought against Theodore of Mopsuestia, *ibid.*, 76, 437-439, etc. See also Marius Mercator, "Excerpta Theodori Mopsuestiae", *PL*, XLVIII, V, li, 1063/4; cf. *PG*, LXVI, 759/60D, "Non invideo inquit Christo cum factus est Deus, quod enim ipse factus est, ego factus sum quia meae naturae est".

¹⁷⁷ Council of Ephesus, Chapter XIII, *Mansi*, IV, 1009/10, "ἐλεγχον τοῦ αἵρετικοῦ Νεστορίου, ὅτι ὁμόφρων ἐστὶ τοῦ ἀναθεματισθέντος Παύλου τοῦ Σαμοσατέως... Παῦλος εἶπε. Μαρία τὸν λόγον οὐκ ἔτεκε, Νεστόριος συμφώνως εἶπεν... Παῦλος. Μαρία ἔτεκεν ἄνθρωπον ἡμῖν ἴσον· Νεστόριος· ἄνθρωπος ὁ τεχθεὶς ἐκ παρθένου. κ.τ.λ...".

Johannes Damascenus, "Adversus Nestorianorum Haeresim", *PG*, XCV, 191/2A, "Εἰ μὴ κατὰ φύσιν Υἱὸς Θεοῦ ὁ ἐκ Παρθένου καὶ φύσει Θεός, πῶς ἐκάθισεν ἐν δεξιᾷ τοῦ Πατρὸς"; also Bardy, *Paul de Samosate*, 39.

grace with the help of the Holy Spirit; he was the Son of God in name only and through grace rather than by nature.¹⁷⁸ The doctrine of the humanity of Jesus and his adoption as the son of God seems to have been widespread in all the eastern provinces, and its center was apparently Antioch.

To understand the origin of Adoptionism in Armenia, we must consider the early development of the Armenian Apostolic Church and its relations with Syriac Christianity. In the days of Paul of Samosata the authority of the Church of Antioch was unquestioned in the East; it was the leading center in matters of doctrine. The sphere of influence of this see spread northward as far as the Black Sea:

Until the days of Maximinus Daia and even to the council of Nicaea, Pontus remained under the influence of Antioch. It is only after the council of Nicaea that Pontus became a metropolitan bishopric.¹⁷⁹

It is evident that the influence of Antioch must likewise have been felt in Armenia by way of Samosata, which controlled the main military and commercial route up the Euphrates Valley, the means of communication throughout antiquity.¹⁸⁰ Indeed, there is a persistent tradition that Christianity was brought to Armenia from Syria.¹⁸¹ The southern section of

¹⁷⁸ "Letter to the Persians on Orthodoxy", *BL*, 45-46, "Նեստորիանոսը՝ զայս խաւսին. երկուս Որդիս ասեն լեալ Աստուծոյ. զմին Աստուածն բանն Հաւասար Հաւոր՝ որ էջն յերկնից. և այլն Յիսուս՝ մարդ մակկանացու նման մեր, որ ծնան ի Մարիամայ, և վասն զի արդարացաւ անելի բան զամենայն մարդ՝ պատուեցաւ և շնորհաւք կոչեցաւ Որդի Աստուծոյ. անուամբ միայն և ոչ Որդի Աստուծոյ. և ոչ Հաւասար Հաւոր. այլ մարդ էր արարեալ մակկանացու որպէս զմեզս: Եւ վասն զի ազնեաց նմա Հոգին սուրբ. կարաց յաղթող լինել սատանայի և ցանկութեանց: և վասն արդարութեան նորա և վասն բարի գործոց արժանի եղև շնորհի. լինել տաճար Աստուծոյ Բանին: Եւ ասեն. թէ արժանի է. բաժանել և ասել յայտնապէս՝ Աստուած կատարեալ և մարդ կատարեալ: այսինքն է, Աստուած կատարեալ էա մարդ կատարեալ զՅիսուս Քրիստոս. և վասն զի սիրեաց զնա. արժանի արար զնա պատուել ընդ իւր յերկրպագութիւն, և պատուեցաւ մարդն որ էա շնորհա յինքն: և նշանս և սքանչելիսն զոր անէր բանին Աստուծոյ՝ որ էջն յերկնից և բնակեաց ի նմա այսինքն է ի Յիսուս, և զարեացան ի նմա սքանչելիքն զոր անէր, և զամենայն ցաւս և զխոնարհութիւն ունէր յինքեան, և զտաւ մակկանացու որպէս զմեզ, լեալ՝ ի մարդկան ազգէս Հաւասար իւր, բանին Աստուծոյ, որդի Աստուծոյ". These beliefs are repeated again and again, *BL*, 14, 20, 48, 49, 67, 69, 104, 121, 185-186, 192, 213, 333, 383, 385, 404, 424, 459, 489. Cf. Poladian, *Thesis*, 31-35.

¹⁷⁹ Bardy, *Paul de Samosate*, 140-144 and 205 n. 1, "Jusqu'au temps de Maximin Daza et même jusqu'au concile de Nicée, le Pont resta soumis à l'influence d'Antioche. Ce fut seulement après le concile de Nicée que le Pont devint un diocèse avec une métropole". The influence of Antioch's rival, Alexandria, seems to have been negligible in Armenia.

¹⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 169; V. Chapot, *La Frontière de l'Euphrate* (Paris, 1907), map at end of book. See also D. L. O'Leary, *How Greek Science Passed to the Arabs* (London, 1948), 47-52; see also *KT-I*, cix.

¹⁸¹ E. Ter Minassiantz, "Die Armenische Kirche in ihren Beziehungen zu den syrischen Kirchen bis zum Ende des 13. Jahrhunderts", *TU XXVI* (Leipzig, 1904), 1;

Armenia, Taron and Vaspurakan, was always in the sphere of Syriac Christianity based on Antioch, rather than dependent on the see of Caesarea of Cappadocia to which northern Armenia belonged.¹⁸² One of the liturgical languages of southern Armenia before the establishment of the Armenian alphabet was Syriac,¹⁸³ and both Hübschmann and Meillet have observed how much the Armenian ecclesiastical vocabulary is derived from Syriac.¹⁸⁴

In the period of St. Gregory the Illuminator, we hear of his Syrian disciple, Daniel, who was Bishop of Taron.¹⁸⁵ In this district was founded the first center of Armenian Christianity, the Church of Aštišat, and Daniel was subsequently chosen Kat'olikos of Armenia, though he did not live to occupy the position.¹⁸⁶ Ter Minassiantz believes that this Daniel was an independent missionary in Taron, found there by St. Gregory. By officially appointing him suffragan bishop of Taron, Gregory recognized the authority of Daniel over the province which he had Christianized. Ter Minassiantz is further of the opinion that Daniel was not the only Syrian missionary in southern Armenia, which was a completely Syrianized

"Alle älteren Nachrichten und alle Legenden deuten darauf hin, dass zuerst Syrien und Mesopotamien christianisiert worden sind, ehe das Christentum in Armenien eingedrungen ist, und dass Armenien wahrscheinlich durch syrische Missionare zuerst dem Glauben an den Heiland näher gebracht worden ist. Schon die geographische Lage beider Länder lässt eine solche Vermutung als sehr wahrscheinlich erscheinen". See also Petit, "Arménie", 1900, and *KT-I*, viii-ix, ciii, cxvi.

The Armenian legend of heresy #154 in the *Book of Heretics*, in linking the heretic Pōi of Ayrarat with St. Ephrem Syrus, the head of the school of Nisibis and the founder of the school of Edessa, whence radiated adoptionist "Nestorian" doctrine, may be reflecting a distant memory of the Syriac ties of Paulicianism. See O'Leary, *How Greek Science Passed to the Arabs*, 47-52.

¹⁸² Ter Minassiantz, "Die Armenische Kirche", 1-15; also Peeters, "L'Alphabet", 207.

¹⁸³ Ter Minassiantz, "Die Armenische Kirche", 1-4; Langlois, "Discours préliminaire", *CHAMA*, I, xxj; Petit, "L'Arménie", 1892-1893; Runciman, *Medieval Manichee*, 26, et al.

Peeters, "L'Alphabet", 207, is of the opinion that the art of writing began in the Persian provinces of Armenia where Syrian influence was stronger, and only later penetrated into "Roman" Armenia where Greek culture predominated.

¹⁸⁴ Hübschmann, *Armenische Grammatik I*, 281 ff., 299 ff.; A. Meillet, "Le mot ekeleçi", *REA*, IX, 1, 131-136.

¹⁸⁵ Faustus of Byzantium, *History*, 46-47; Moses of Xoren, *Histoire*, vol. II, 30/1.

¹⁸⁶ Faustus of Byzantium, *History*, 47; եւ իր սա ազգաւ ասորի, և ունիւր սա զաստիճան աթոռոյն զլիաւորութեան Տարօնոյ, ի մեծն և նախ զառաջին եկեղեցին ի մայր եկեղեցեացն ամենայն Հայաստանեայց: Այս ինքն նախ և զառաջին և զլիաւոր տեղին պատուական. զի յառաջ նախ անդ չինեալ էր սուրբ եկեղեցին, և ուղղեալ սեղան յանուն տեառն". The Armenian chronicles always insist on the primacy of the Church of Aštišat. See also Ter Minassiantz, "Die Armenische Kirche", 5, 8, and Petit, "L'Arménie", 1892-3.

district.¹⁸⁷ In this same district lay the see of Archelaus whose Adoptionist doctrine we have already seen.

The influence of Syriac Christianity remained powerful in Armenia. Michael the Syrian notes that in certain periods the kat'olikos of Armenia was ordained by the patriarch of Antioch, though the bishop of Caesarea is commonly considered to have performed this office.¹⁸⁸ The Armenian chroniclers state that St. Mesrop, in his search for the Armenian alphabet, went to Edessa and Samosata rather than to the Greek cities, an action which earned him the reproof of the Emperor Theodosius II.¹⁸⁹ Peeters thinks that Mesrop may well have met Theodore of Mopsuestia himself, and that the entire development of Armenian literature took place under Syrian-Nestorian influence.¹⁹⁰ In the great monastery of St. John the Precursor, one of the great centers of Early Armenian Christianity, the rule required that the abbot be a Syrian.¹⁹¹

The Persian authorities favored the Syriac element in their portion of Armenia, in opposition to Byzantium, and permitted no Greek liturgy on their territory.¹⁹² After the defeat of the rebellious Armenian nobility and the consequent exile of the Kat'olikos St. Sahak I, whose support of the rebels made him *persona non grata*, the Persian authorities twice

¹⁸⁷ The importance of Daniel as supervisor of all the churches of Armenia is stressed by Faustus of Byzantium, *History*, 46-47, Դանիէլ, այր սքանչելի: ... վերականգնու և գլխաւոր եկեղեաց նաշանդին Տարօնոյ, Գրիգորի ձեռակալն՝ իշխանութեանն կողման ծախին զործակալութեանն մեծի զատաւորութեանն, ունէր զիշխանութիւնն զայն առանձինն. այլ վերականգնու և Հրամանատար տեսուչ և Հոգաբարձու ամենայն եկեղեցեացն Հայոց մեծաց ընդ ամենայն տեղիս". Daniel was obviously no minor rural dignity of Taron.

Ter Minassiantz, "Die Armenische Kirche", 5, 8, "Ich vermute, dass im südlichen Reichsgebiet syrische Missionare sich so zahlreich aufhielten, dass der Erleuchter es nicht mehr nötig fand, Missionare dorthin zu schicken".

¹⁸⁸ Michael the Syrian, *Chronicle*, II, iii, 414, "C'est pourquoi le patriarche d'Antioche ordonnait le catholicos des Arméniens ... jusqu'à l'époque où Babai [Babouni] fut tué par le Persan Bar Çauma. Alors cette règle cessa d'être en usage jusqu'au temps du roi des Perses Ardasir".

¹⁸⁹ Lazar of P'arpi, *History*, 43-47; Kirakos of Ganjak, *History*, 15; Moses of Xoren, *Histoire*, III, 136/7-140/1; "Letter of Theodosius II to Sahak", in *Ibid.*, 152/3-154/5.

¹⁹⁰ Peeters, "L'Alphabet", 210. Theodore, according to Photius, "Bibliotheca", PG, CIII, 281/2, wrote a work, "πρὸς Μαστούβιος ἐξ Ἀρμενίας ὁρμώμενον, χωρεπίσκοπον δὲ τυγχάνοντα". Peeters and Adontz are of the opinion that this Μαστούβιος is none other than St. Mesrop, commonly known as Maštoç. Peeters also believes, *op. cit.*, 211, that the disciples of Diodorus of Tarsus and perhaps Theodore were in the entourage of the King of Armenia, Pap, during his exile at Tarsus, and concludes that "force ... sera de reconnaître que la littérature arménienne est éclosée sous le signe de Théodore de Mopsueste et qu'elle a commencé de s'épanouir dans un terroir saturé d'influences nestoriennes". *Ibid.*, 217; see also 218, 226.

¹⁹¹ John Mamikonean, "Histoire de Daron", CHAMA, I, "Introduction", 359 and 382.

¹⁹² Koriun, *Mesrop*, 25; Moses of Xoren, *Histoire*, III, xxxiv, liv, 82-85, 138-141.

appointed Syrians to the kat'olikosate.¹⁹³ In 726, the Council of Manazkert reaffirmed the union of the Armenian and Syrian Churches, which had drifted apart.¹⁹⁴ It is interesting to note that it was to the Syrian kat'olikos that the Paulicians, persecuted by Gregory Magistros, turned for help.¹⁹⁵ The contact between the Armenians and the Syrian Church was therefore deep and permanent, and Syriac Christianity, with its Adoptionist character, was the first faith of Armenia.¹⁹⁶ As late as the middle of the fifth century, Eznik was to use such Adoptionist authors as Diodorus of Tarsus and Theodore of Mopsuestia as *bona fide* authorities, though, as we shall see, they were no longer acceptable to the Armenian Apostolic Church.¹⁹⁷

In the fourth century, however, a definite shift toward the hellenizing school of Caesarea of Cappadocia took place under the influence of the continuous political division which split the Greek and Persian parties contending for the control of Armenia. The family of St. Gregory the Illuminator, in which the early Armenian kat'olikosate was hereditary, always belonged to the pro-Greek party oriented toward Byzantium. St. Gregory himself had been educated and consecrated at Caesarea of Cappadocia instead of Syria. His son, Aristakēs, had attended the Council of Nicaea in 325.¹⁹⁸ Vrt'anēs, his brother and successor, was sent as the representative of the Armenian nobility to request the Emperor's permission and assistance in the accession of King Tigran VII.¹⁹⁹ Nersēs I the Great (353-373) continued the liaison work with Constantinople which seems to have been incumbent upon the kat'olikoi of the house of St. Gregory. We hear of him at the imperial court, establishing an alliance between Armenia and Byzantium, perhaps negotiating the marriage of king Aršak II with Olympias, the daughter of the praetorian prefect,

¹⁹³ Moses of Xoren, *Histoire*, III, lxiv-lxvi, 178-187; Lazar of P'arpi, *History*, 78-81; John the Historian, *History*, 74. The Armenian writers give unedifying accounts of the morals of the two Syrian kat'olikoi, Brk'išo and Šmovel. This is probably due to prejudice, anti-Persian opposition aroused by injured national pride, and an anti-Syrian attitude on the part of ecclesiastics who had accepted the hellenizing reform of which I will speak later.

¹⁹⁴ Michael the Syrian, *Chronique*, II, iii, 491-500; Mxit'ar of Ayrivank', *History*, 79; Kirakos of Ganjak, *History*, 38.

¹⁹⁵ Gregory Magistros, *Syrian Kat'olikos*, 148 ff.

¹⁹⁶ It is interesting to observe in the correspondence of the *Book of Letters* that Nestorian influence also came to Armenia via Syria. See *BL*, 14-22, for correspondence with Acacius of Melitene; *ibid.*, 41-52, for correspondence with the Persians; *ibid.*, 52-70, for correspondence with the Syrians; also 466-467, etc.; see also *KT-I*, viii-ix, ciii.

¹⁹⁷ Mariès, *Le De Deo*, 85-92.

¹⁹⁸ Ormanian, *The Church of Armenia*, 21.

¹⁹⁹ Moses of Xoren, *Histoire*, III, v-vi, 10-11, 22/3.

Ablabius.²⁰⁰ Again, after the deportation of Aršak II to Persia, we find Nersēs in Constantinople to request support for Aršak's son and successor, Pap.²⁰¹ The position of the kat'olikoi throughout this period depended on the political situation. The Armenian court alternated its allegiance between Byzantium and Persia, but all members of St. Gregory's family remained unshakably loyal to Byzantium. Hence, whenever the Greek party was in eclipse at the Armenian court, we find St. Nersēs in exile, and his biographer explains that the reason for the Emperor's final decision to have King Pap killed was to avenge the murder of St. Nersēs at the instigation of the King.²⁰² Similarly the last kat'olikos descended from St. Gregory, St. Sahak I, seems to have continued the hellenizing policy of his family. As we have seen, he was driven from his see and deported upon the advance of the Persians into Armenia and was replaced by a series of Syrian anti-patriarchs.

As a result of his pro-Greek policy, Nersēs I began a reform of the Armenian Church to bring it into closer harmony with the practices he had observed at Byzantium.²⁰³ He was consecrated kat'olikos at Caesarea, as had been his ancestor, St. Gregory, but the awkward explanation of this action given by Nersēs' biographer suggests that such procedure had ceased to be customary, and we do not hear of it in the case of the preceding kat'olikoi, Aristakēs and Vrt'anēs.²⁰⁴ Immediately upon Nersēs' accession, a council of Armenian bishops called at Aštišat carried through a major reform of the faith.²⁰⁵ Xad of Marak, near Erzurum, the region of Armenia in direct contact with Cappadocia, was consecrated Bishop of Bagrevand and Aršarunik' by Nersēs I and entrusted with the vicariate over all Armenia during the absence of the Kat'olikos in Byzantium.²⁰⁶ The Syrian monks of the Monastery of St. John the Precursor were driven out by the reforms of the new Abbot, Thaddeus (T'otik), the protégé of the Mamikonean family, the traditional supporters of St. Nersēs and of the imperial policy in Armenia.²⁰⁷

²⁰⁰ Nersēs, 29; Moses of Xoren, *Histoire*, III, xxi, 46/7.

²⁰¹ *Ibid.*, III, 84/5. Nersēs, 33.

²⁰² *Ibid.*, 42.

²⁰³ Moses of Xoren, *Histoire*, III, xx, 42/3-44/5.

²⁰⁴ Nersēs, 24-25.

²⁰⁵ Faustus of Byzantium, *History*, IV, iv, 84 ff.

²⁰⁶ Faustus of Byzantium, *History*, IV, xii, 114-118, also xiii, 119. Runciman, *Medieval Manichee*, 26-27, thinks that the seat of the Armenian Church was moved from Aštišat to Valaršapat in the north. We have no evidence for the date of such a move.

²⁰⁷ John Mamikonean, *History*, 382; Nersēs, 40.

The reform of Nersēs I provoked a violent reaction. Nersēs himself was murdered at the instigation of King Pap. Greek books were burned in Armenia, and the use of the Greek language was forbidden.²⁰⁸ The murder of Nersēs is attributed by the early Armenian historians to his censure of the King's morals, but it is usually considered by modern scholars to have resulted from his attempt to over-hellenize the Church, a policy repugnant to Armenian national feeling.²⁰⁹ It is to be noticed that St. Basil of Caesarea expressed disapproval of Pap's appointment of Yusik to succeed Nersēs without first consulting Caesarea.²¹⁰

In the fifth century, after the Council of Ephesus in 431, the Greek element began to triumph over the Syriac. Alarmed by the warning of Rabbula of Edessa and Acacius of Melitene, the Council of Aṣṭiṣat, summoned by St. Sahak in 435, condemned the works of Diodorus of Tarsus and Theodore of Mopsuestia for their Adoptionist tone. Embodied in a dogmatic letter to the Patriarch of Constantinople, Proclus, their opinion was to serve as a basis for the final condemnation of these works at the Council of Constantinople in 553.²¹¹ We are told that St. Sahak brought peace and order back into the Armenian Church.²¹² By this we are to understand that he firmly established the hellenizing faith. It must be remembered, however, that in the very patriarchate of St. Sahak the Persians appointed the Syrian anti-patriarchs, so that the victory of hellenism can hardly have been definitive. The whole of the fourth and fifth centuries are to be considered as a period of continuous struggle between the Greek and Syriac parties, ending in apparent victory for the partisans of the hellenizing doctrine.²¹³ With the break of the Armenian

²⁰⁸ Moses of Xoren, *Histoire*, III, xxxvi, liv, 82/3-84/5, 140/1.

²⁰⁹ Petit, "L'Arménie", 1894, "Le sentiment antireligieux n'était point le seul à dicter ces mesures réactionnaires; aux yeux de Pap, Nersēs avait eu tort de trop helléniser l'Arménie en la dotant d'institutions initiées des Grecs. Cette rivalité de race, qui créera plus tard le schisme [de Chalcédoine] entraînait pour beaucoup dans la nouvelle orientation de la politique royale". Cf. Faustus of Byzantium, *History*, 218-220, 232-235. See above, n. 190, for a possible pro-Syrian penchant of King Pap.

²¹⁰ Faustus of Byzantium, *History*, V, xxix, 230-231.

²¹¹ Moses of Xoren, *Histoire*, III, lxi, 166/7; Peeters, "L'Alphabet", 214-215, thinks that the Armenian council came to no decision and awaited the advice of Proclus. See Ormanian, *The Church of Armenia*, 28.

²¹² Langlois, "Discours préliminaire", *CHAMA*, I, xxij; John the Historian, *History*, 70, "որ յաշխարհի գոլով և իբրեւ զանապատարս ամենայն Հեղանաց Հանդիսիւ ընդ կարգս աշխարհիս անցանէր, մշտնջենամոռունչ ազօթիւք Հանդերձ իւրովք աշակերտօքն կատարեալ զգալաւօն բարեկարգութեանն".

²¹³ *KT-I*, cix-cxvi; Ter Minassiantz, "Die Armenische Kirche", 3-4, "Die armenische Kirchengeschichte der genannten beiden Jahrhunderte (IV-V) ist eine ununterbrochene Kette von Kämpfen zwischen der griechischen und der syrischen Partei, welche letztere

Church as a whole from the main current of Christianity after the Council of Chalcedon, the situation becomes obscure. Conybeare is of the opinion that the Armenian Church was still in a state of transition from Syriac to Greek Christianity as late as the period of John of Ojun, that is to say, the early eighth century, but that the Syriac element had definitely been relegated to an obscure position.²¹⁴

There seems to be good reason for believing the hypothesis that Paulicianism is an outgrowth of the earlier Syriac Christianity of Armenia, which had been Adoptionist in its doctrine, and which had become heretical as a result of the shift of the Armenian Apostolic Church to the leadership of Caesarea and its acceptance of the anti-Nestorian creed of the Council of Ephesus. This theory was formulated by Conybeare and has much to recommend it. We know from many sources that the Paulician heresy had an old tradition in Armenia. The tone of the writer of the *Key of Truth* is that of one relating ancient doctrine.²¹⁵ The account of Lazar of P'arpi speaks of a nameless heresy lingering among the more ignorant elements of the population. The presence of heresy among the higher ranks of the clergy and of the nobility, acknowledged by the provisions of the twentieth canon of Šahapivan, argues for a long established tradition rather than a newly arisen heresy. The signers of the *Oath of Union* at Dvin were thoroughly familiar with Paulicianism. John Mayragomeci described the heresy of Ałovania as having existed from apostolic times.²¹⁶ John of Ojun, speaking of the Paulicians, says that:

... they thought that they followed something new and great, when it was but old and obsolete.²¹⁷

He himself admits the antiquity of the usages which he has condemned.²¹⁸

mit der national-armenischen Partei, die die Unabhängigkeit der armenischen Kirchenverfassung von Cäsarea forderte und durchsetzte, eng verbunden zu denken ist". See Moses of Xoren, *History*, III, lxviii, "Lamentations on the death of St. Sahak", 194 ff.

It is interesting in this connection that the preface to the canons of the Council of Šahapivan complains of disorders in the Armenian Church ordinances after the death of Mesrop and the destruction of the ordinances of St. Sahak I, Melik-Bashian, *op. cit.* 79: "Ի փոխիլ նորա յերկրէս լինէր եղծումն և քայքայումն կարգաց և օրինաց և եկեղեցւոյ, որպէս և տեսանէր ի տեսլեան յառաջագոյն սուրբ քաջանայապետն աստուծոյ Սաշակ կամ նա յառաջ սուրբն Գրիգորիս".

²¹⁴ *KT-I*, lxxxii.

²¹⁵ *Ibid.*, cxx-cxxi.

²¹⁶ John Mayragomeci, *Letter*, 213.

²¹⁷ John of Ojun, *Contra Paulicianos*, 88/9, "Իսկ յորժան այսմիկ որպէս մեծագունի ինչ և նորոյ՝ Հնացելոյս և աղօտացելոյ՝ Հասանել կարծեցին".

²¹⁸ John of Ojun, *Oratio Synodalis*, 16/7. *KT-I*, lxxxii.

Similarly, we hear from Aristakēs of Lastivert that the heretics of his time were of one nation with the Armenians and apparently had been of one faith before they separated one from the other.²¹⁹ Gregory Magistros also writes: "You are not of us; yet one sees no other to whom you could have attached yourselves".²²⁰ In this connection we have a curious statement also made by Gregory who, speaking of his own devastation of the heretical district of T'ondrak, adds, "I demolished it, as my ancestors did Aštišat".²²¹ We have seen that Aštišat was the center of the earliest Armeno-Syriac Christianity.

It would, then, appear that the Paulicians are to be taken as the survival of the earlier form of Christianity in Armenia. That such a survival was possible in the political and geographical division of Armenia is attested by a passage of Thomas Arcruni concerning an isolated community of mountaineers in his own period:

Half of them have lost the use of their mother tongue through the remoteness of their homes... These people who dwell in the mountains which separate Taron from Alcnik' are called adventurers and Xout', because of their fantastic and unintelligible language; from this their mountain is called Xoyt' [Khoith] They know and are forever repeating the Psalms translated by the ancient Armenian translators. They are Assyrian peasants who came with Adrametek and Sanasar... therefore, they call themselves Sanasna'i.²²²

The last part of this account is dubious. The legend of Adrametek and Sanasar, supposedly the sons of Sennecherib, occurs periodically in Armenian literature. But the presence of an isolated community of presumed Oriental antecedents, using the old Armenian Scriptures in the ninth century in a district of south western Armenia known to have contained Paulicians, is extremely interesting.²²³

²¹⁹ Aristakēs of Lastivert, *History*, 132; see my Chapter III, n. 104, for the text. Ēvond also insisted that the "Sons of Sinfulness" were native to Armenia; see my Chapter III, n. 103.

²²⁰ Gregory Magistros, *T'ulaili*, 166, "Չայդ քաջ գիտեմք, որ ոչ զնա ընդունիք և ոչ զայլ ոք. վասն զի ի մենջ ոչ էք. և այլ ոք ոչ երեւի, եթէ յայնոսիկ Հպեալ յանգեցայք".

²²¹ *Ibid.*, 167, "Եւ իսկալ զնոսա, տապալեցի, զորորինակ Հաւն իմ զԱշիշատն".

²²² Thomas Arcruni, *History*, II, vii, 106, "La moitié ont perdu l'usage de leur langue maternelle par la suite de l'éloignement de leur habitations respectives... Ces gens qui habitent la montagne formant la séparation entre le Taron et l'Aghtznik, sont appelés coureurs d'aventures de Khouth, à cause de leur langage baroque et intelligible; de là leur montagne a pris le nom de Khoith. Ils connaissent et ont sans cesse à la bouche le Psautier traduit par les anciens interprètes arméniens. Ce sont des paysans d'Assyrie d'où ils sont venus à la suite d'Adrametek et de Sanasar... aussi se nomment-ils eux-mêmes Sanasna'i".

²²³ Xoyt' lies directly west of Lake Van, southeast of Taron, at the source of the Šit'it'ma (Batmansuyu).

In the realm of dogma, there are similarities between the creed of the Paulicians and the doctrine of early Orthodox Christianity which contained many Adoptionist beliefs. One of the most Adoptionist passages of St. Paul is significantly quoted in the *Key of Truth*:

For you are all Sons of God through faith... For as many of you as were baptized into Christ did put on Christ.²²⁴

We have already seen that the Adoptionist faith was widespread in the East both before and after Paul of Samosata. An extant variant of Luke iii, 21-22, gives us the Adoptionist version of the baptism of Jesus:

'Thou art my son, the Beloved,
today have I become thy father'.²²⁵

The Paulician veneration of the sacrament of baptism as the most important, if not the only sacrament, is characteristic of early Christianity. In an apology to the Emperor Marcus Aurelius, Melito, bishop of Sardis, presented an Adoptionist point of view, and particularly considered baptism as the turning point in the life of Christ.²²⁶ Similarly, we find in *The Shepherd of Hermas* the firm belief that the one and only remission for sins is baptism.²²⁷ This veneration for baptism is also found somewhat later in the work of Tertullian *On Baptism*, in which we also find the objection to granting this sacrament to children.²²⁸

The Paulician system of an initiated body of elect need not stem from Gnosticism. The idea of spiritual leadership entrusted to a group of elect is to be found in Clement of Alexandria and Origen.²²⁹ The struggle between the clerical hierarchy and a prophetic caste is visible in *The Shepherd of Hermas*,²³⁰ and the early importance of the inspired class can be seen from the rise of such heresies as the Montanists, with their prophet-leaders. Finally, in connection with Paulician Iconoclasm, we must note that archaeological research in the Hauran has shown that

²²⁴ *Galatians*, III, 26-27. *KT* 35 (99).

²²⁵ W. Manson, *The Gospel of Luke* (London, n.d.), 29, n. 1, and 31, "ἐγὼ σήμερον γεγέννηκά σε"; see also *KT-I*, xcvi.

²²⁶ *KT-I*, xciv; Anastasius Sinaiticus, "Hodego", *PG*, LXXXIX, xiii, 227/8.

²²⁷ Lelong, "Introduction", to *Le Pasteur d'Hermas*, ed. A. Lelong (Paris, n.d.), iv, lxi, lxii, lxv, "D'après les *rigoristes* contemporains d'Hermas, il n'existait pas d'autre remède au péché, que le baptême par conséquent, les péchés commis après le baptême étaient irrémissibles". "Un siècle encore après Hermas le rigorisme un peu atténué il est vrai avait toujours la prétention de représenter l'église", *Le Pasteur d'Hermas*, Precept IV, 1-6, 86.

²²⁸ Tertullian, "De Baptismo contra Quintillam", *PL*, I, 1329/30-1331/2. Lelong, "Introduction", lxxi; Michael the Syrian, *Chronique*, III, ii, 315.

²²⁹ Runciman, *Medieval Manichee*, 8.

²³⁰ Lelong, "Introduction", lxxiv.

Syrian basilicas and houses of the fourth century are characterized by the absence of images,²³¹ and that the Iconoclastic tradition is deeply rooted in early Christianity.²³² Originally, therefore, the Paulicians were quite in accord with the main stream of Orthodox Christianity in the Orient.

The similarity which we can observe between the Paulician dogma and what little is known of the doctrine of the early Armenian Church is even more striking. We have already seen that the Antiochene school of Theodore of Mopsuestia, with its Adoptionist tradition, was considered acceptable by the Armenian clergy until its heterodoxy was called to the attention of St. Sahak I in 435.²³³ It is true that certain Paulician customs appear in direct contradiction to those traditional in Armenia—for instance, the rejection of the sacrifice of *matał* and of the consecration of crosses.²³⁴ These are probably deliberate opposition to Orthodox practices, or possibly the rejection of unsuitable innovations. The similarities of the two dogmas, however, are striking. The belief that the baptism of Christ was also his real birth was extremely strong in Armenia. The Annunciation was not celebrated as a feast. According to Isaak Kat'olikos the Armenians apparently fasted on that day.²³⁵ This practice would be in keeping with the belief that only a man was born of Mary. On the other hand, the birth of St. John the Baptist was commemorated.²³⁶ Long after the rise of Paulicianism, and indeed to this day, the Armenian Apostolic Church continues to reject the festival of December 25 and celebrates jointly the birth and baptism of Christ on January 6.²³⁷ A

²³¹ Bréhier, *La Querelle des images*, 8, "... une riche décoration en sculpture et même des symboles chrétiens, comme le monogramme constantinien, mais jamais de représentation de la forme humaine".

²³² E. Kitzinger, "The Cult of Images in the Age Before Iconoclasm", *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, VIII (1954), 83-150, *passim*.

²³³ Peeters, "L'Alphabet", 210, thinks that Mesrop may well have known Theodore of Mopsuestia and that "Le fait qu'on ne saurait contester de bonne foi, c'est que Maštoç, d'accord évidemment avec les chefs de sa nation, est allé tout d'abord et d'instinct, chercher lumière et chaleur à des foyers qui, en ce moment, étaient de simple réflecteurs de la théologie de Mopsueste: Amida, Edesse, Samosate", *ibid.*, 218. Peeters also notes that it is significant that the Armenian clergy had not objected to the spread of Theodore's ideas in their country until the warning of Rabbula and Acacius called their attention to the heterodoxy of these ideas, *ibid.*, 214. Indeed we have seen that Eznik still uses Theodore as an authority in the mid-fifth century; see nn. 190, 197.

²³⁴ *KT-I*, cxxviii-cxxix; see Nersēs Šnorhali, *Letters*, 252 ff., 270 ff., etc.

²³⁵ Isaak Kat'olikos, *Oratio I*, ii-iii, 1165/6-1169/70. See also *KT-I*, clx-clxi, for the festivals of the early Armenian Church according to the Canons of St. Sahak I.

²³⁶ *KT-I*, clx.

²³⁷ *Idem*, Brosset, "Introduction", to Kirakos of Ganjak, *Histoire d'Arménie* (St. Petersburg, 1870), vi.

large literature arose in Armenia in defence of this practice, which is supported by such ecclesiastics as Moses of Kalankatuk, Matthew of Edessa, and Paul of Taron.²³⁸ The Gospel used on January 6 is the one for baptism, not nativity,²³⁹ and the announcement made by the priest to the congregation at the celebration of the evening of January 5 is of "the blessed birth and baptism".²⁴⁰ The tradition that St. Gregory the Illuminator himself had forbidden the making of images in the churches indicates the antiquity of the Iconoclastic tradition in Armenia.²⁴¹ A Letter of Macarius, Patriarch of Jerusalem, to the Armenians reveals that the Armenian Apostolic Church in the fourth century had the following traits, characteristic of the Paulicians at a later date: Baptism was delayed and not given to infants, as was done subsequently. No font was used, but rather any vessel that came to hand.²⁴² Finally, "... in virtue of the laying on of hands, the clergy are regarded as all of one rank and do not subordinate themselves to superiors".²⁴³

In conclusion, therefore, it does not seem necessary to look outside Armenia for the influence of some ill-defined Gnostic sect to explain the development of Paulicianism in that country. Nor does it seem necessary to trace a definite filiation to Paul of Samosata. Early Christianity in general and more particularly in Armenia leaned toward Adoptionism and showed many practices similar to those of the Paulicians in a later period. Thus it would seem likely that the Paulicians were most probably followers of the early Syriac form of Armenian Christianity, originally Orthodox, then driven underground into heresy by the hellenization of the Armenian Apostolic Church in the fourth and fifth centuries. Far from being foreigners and innovators, the original Paulicians were in truth the Armenian Old Believers.

²³⁸ *KT-I*, cliv-clviii. See Moses of Kalankatuk, *op. cit.*, III, xiv, 256-257, 273; Matthew of Edessa, *op. cit.*, 209; Paul of Taron, "Letters", *loc. cit.*, 177.

²³⁹ *KT-I*, cliii.

²⁴⁰ "Շնորհաւոր ծնունդ և մկրտութիւն".

²⁴¹ George the Arab, *Letter to Isho*, 345, "Ferner aber hat ihnen Gregor gar nicht befohlen ... dass sie nicht Bilder in ihren Kirchen machen sollten...".

²⁴² Macarius, "Letter", *BL*, 408, "զի ի տեղին աւագան կարգաւոր ոչ ունին, և յորպէս ամանի մկրտեն և է որ սարկաւազունք մկրտութիւն անեն". Cf. John of Ojun, *Oratio Synodalis*, 16/7, 20/1.

²⁴³ Macarius, "Letter", *BL*, 408.

CONCLUSION

As a result of the foregoing study, certain conclusions about the Paulician heresy seem permissible:

1) The Greek sources do not form a homogeneous unit, but consist of a complicated triple pattern of texts, which must be carefully distinguished on the basis of chronology. The earliest group—the lost source *A* and the *Letters* of Sergius—were authentic heretical documents and preserved the Adoptionist doctrine of the Armenian tradition. The second group, polemical in character, consisted of sources *S* and *P*, the *Paulician Formula*, the *Codex Scorialensis*, and the *Sermons* of the Patriarch Photius. In this group is found the evidence for the evolution of Paulician dogma in Byzantium, from the Adoptionism still reflected in source *S*, through the double tradition of the *Paulician Formula* and the *Codex Scorialensis*, to the docetic-dualism of source *P*. Finally, the third group is composed of the *Histories* of Peter of Sicily (the *locus classicus* for the study of Paulicianism) and of the Pseudo-Photius as well as the *Manichaean Formula*. These are not contemporary documents, but late compilations, probably designed to combat the revival of Paulicianism in the Balkans. They cannot be discarded, since they have preserved earlier lost documents and thus unconsciously reflect some of the characteristics of the heresy, such as the filiation of the Paulicians with the Adoptionist tradition of Paul of Samosata and their Iconoclastic rejection of the cross. Nevertheless, the fundamental purpose of these documents is a tendentious presentation of Paulician doctrine, designed to demonstrate that it was a form of Manichaeism and punishable as such. Hence they are not primary evidence on the Paulicians and have no claim to the pre-eminent position which has been assigned to them.

On the other hand, the importance of the Armenian sources is paramount in determining the Paulicians' history and doctrine. These documents are, generally speaking, trustworthy, and they present a coherent

picture of the sect through the essential agreement of the polemical sources with the *Key of Truth*. The neglect of this material by most scholars is one of the basic causes for the distorted presentation of the Paulician heresy prevalent heretofore.

II) The outline of Paulician history can now be reconstructed. The sect first developed in Armenia whence it passed to the eastern provinces of the Byzantine Empire and was probably imported into the Balkans. Both in Armenia and in the Empire the sect showed considerable development and a number of leaders, but its organization still remains obscure.

The Paulicians shifted their geographic center and political allegiance back and forth between Byzantium and Islam according to external circumstances, but with the exception of the Iconoclastic periods in Constantinople their alliance was with the Muslims. In the Empire the period of greatest power of the heretics was the creation of the Paulician state on the Euphrates in the ninth century. In Armenia two periods of development can be observed—one early, at the end of the seventh and the beginning of the eighth centuries, after the junction of Paulicianism with Ałovanian Iconoclasm; the other later, in the tenth and early eleventh centuries, probably aided at least in part by the influx of refugees into Armenia after the capture of Tephrikē. After this second phase of the Paulicians or T'ondrakeçi had been crippled in the mid-eleventh century, the heretics survived principally on the periphery of their former territory—far to the west in Bulgaria, equally far east in Syria, and finally in small communities hidden in the highlands of Armenia.

III) The doctrine of the Paulicians did not develop as a single unit. There were two traditions. The older form of Paulicianism exhibited an Adoptionist doctrine with an emphasis on the importance of baptism and a rejection of extreme asceticism, to which was joined an inflexible Iconoclasm. This was the main current of the doctrine, and it remained substantially unchanged in Armenia throughout the history of the sect. In Byzantium, however, a variant form appeared, probably in the middle of the ninth century. This secondary branch of Paulicianism was characterized by a docetic Christology and a mitigated dualism. Though it is not impossible that later Paulicianism reflects the influence of some Gnostic sect, Marcionite or other, such an hypothesis presents serious difficulties. The hidden survival of such a Gnostic sect from antiquity to the ninth century has not yet been conclusively demonstrated. On the other hand, it is possible that the shift in Paulician doctrine is due to contact with extreme Iconoclastic groups in Constantinople. The appearance

of the "new" Paulicianism may be an internal development of the early doctrine, which led it far from its original form.

IV) In any case, the origin of the Paulician doctrine is not to be sought in Byzantine lands. Its Adoptionist tendencies are all too evident, and these were characteristic of early Oriental and particularly Armenian Christianity. The identification of the sect with Paul of Samosata is illuminating, but need not be emphasized. It seems evident that in Armenia, Paulicianism, far from being a foreign importation, was simply the original Christianity received from Syria. It remained in the main stream of the Armenian Church until the hellenizing reforms of the fourth and fifth centuries relegated it to the level of heresy. Thereafter, benefiting from the divided political status of Armenia in the early Middle Ages, and reinforced by such heretical groups as Alovanian Iconoclasts and Syro-Persian Nestorians, Paulicianism survived in the East, probably with the support of Persian and eventually Muslim authorities. The spread of Paulicianism westward into the Empire occurred in the mid-seventh century. In their new home the Paulicians were to benefit from the favor of the Iconoclastic powers for a short while. The return of Orthodoxy to Byzantium, however, was to drive the Greek Paulicians deeper into heresy. It was also to provoke the ephemeral political power and ultimate destruction of the sect in Anatolia.

Interesting though the docetic-dualistic form of Paulicianism may be, particularly as a possible explanation of the double doctrinal tradition long observed in the Bogomil Church of the Balkans, it is both a late development and a profound mutation of the original Paulician dogma. The basic doctrine was clearly Adoptionist and exhibited no docetism or dualism. For this reason, true Paulicianism cannot in any real sense be considered as the purveyor of Manichean beliefs to the medieval world. Nor does it seem to be the link between the dualist heresies of late antiquity and those of western Europe in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

APPENDIX I

CANONS OF THE COUNCIL OF ŠAHAPIVAN CONCERNING THE MCŁNE

Canon XIV:

«Եպիսկոպոս ոք կամ երէց կամ սարկաւագ կամ ով և իցէ ոք ի պաշտօնէից կամ յուխտէ, տանտիկին զոք մի իշխեսցէ ունել, որպէս սովորութիւն է մծղնէից, ապա թէ ոք ունիցի և վկայութեամբ յայտնեսցին, ի կարգէն յորում և իցէ մերժեսցի ի բաց և Համարեալ եղիցի որպէս ամբարիշտ և որպէս մաքսաւոր:»

Canon XIX:

«Եթէ ոք ի մծղնէութեան գտցի կամ երէց կամ սարկաւագ կամ արեղայ, քաւանայութիւնն լըծցի, աղուէսադրոշմ ի ճակատն դիցի և ի տեղիս ճգնաւորաց յապաշխարութիւն տացեն: Ապա եթէ դարձեալ ի նմին գտցի, զՅիղսն երկոսին կտրեսցեն և ի գողենոց տացեն, զի մարդ ի պատուի էր և ոչ իմացաւ. դոյն պատուՀաս և արեղային: Ապա եթէ արք կանամբք և որդւովք գտցին յաղանդին, զարանց և զկանանց և զիրագէտ մանկանց զՅիղսն կտրեսցեն, աղուէսադրոշմ ի ճակատն դիցեն և ի գողենոց տարցին յապաշխարութիւն. և մանկունք, որք չիցեն զիտացեալ զպղծութիւնն, կալցին և տացին ի ձեռս ս. պաշտօնէից աստուծոյ, որ սնուցեն և ուսուցեն զնոսա ի Հաւատս ճշմարիտս և յերկիւղ տեառն:»

Canon XX:

«Եթէ ուրովք չարագործ գտցի ի Ժողովրդեան և երիցունք զիտիցեն և ոչ յայտնեսցեն եպիսկոպոսին, և յորժամ քնին լինին, ի վերայ Հասանիցեն և ճշմարիտ իցէ, և զիտէր երէցն աւուրբք և ամսովք Ժամանակօք զգործն նոցա և ոչ բողոքեաց եպիսկոպոսին, զմծղնէիցն զպատուՀաս, զոր եղին կանոնք, կրեսցեն և երիցունք զերիցութիւն մի իշխեսցեն պաշտել ի կեանս իւրեանց ... Ապա եթէ երէցն ասիցէ ցեպիսկոպոսն, և վկայութեամբ ի յայտ առնիցի, և եպիսկոպոսն կամ կարասի առնուցու և ծածկիցէ կամ աշառիցէ և վկայութեամբ ի յայտ եկեսցէ, թէ արդարեւ եՀաս յականջս նորա բողոք յերիցանց և նա

արհամարհեաց զպատուիրանս աստուծոյ և կորուսելոյն խնդիր չարար և չեղև նախանձախնդիր և վրէժխնդիր օրինացն աստուծոյ, անկեալ յաթոռոյն կործանեսցի, որ ծածկէ զչնացողս. և երէցն անպարտ եղիցի: Ապա եթէ եպիսկոպոսն ջանացաւ և վրէժխնդիր եղև և երիցունք և այլ մարդիկ վկայեսցեն զաշխատութենէ եպիսկոպոսին, և նա զչարագործն յայտ արար իշխանութեան ուրուք, և իշխան որ էր աշխարհին, և զեղջ ուրուք աւագ նախարար՝ տէր գաւառին կամի պղծութեանն թիկունք լինել և զչնացողն ղողել և թագուցանել, կամ վասն կորուսիչ արծաթոյ կամ վասն ականառութեան և ծառայութեան, և ոչ ընտրեսցէ զՔրիստոս սիրել և զպատուիրանս նորա, և վրէժխնդիր օրինացն տեսն և Հոգւոյ և մարմնոյ լինել, եղիցի նզովեալ այնպիսին և յեկեղեցւոյ սրբոյ ի բաց կացցէ, մինչև տացէ զպղծագործն ի ձեռս եպիսկոպոսին: Եթէ ի նախարարի տան գտցին պղծութիւնքն կամ կին նորա, կամ դուստր, կամ որդի, կամ ինքն զլխովին, և ոչ զընտանիսս ի ձեռս տացէ եպիսկոպոսին և ոչ ինքն ի սրբութիւն դարձցի, բռնապատան կամիցի լինել, ամենայն տամբ իւրով և ծննդովք և կենօք նզովեալ լիցի, ի Հրապարակ մի իշխեսցէ գալ, ընկերք և աշխարհ ամենայն մի Հաղորդեսցին ընդ նմա, մինչև, թէ ինքն իցէ ի պղծութեան ի սրբութիւն եկեսցէ: Ապա թէ ինքն ոչ իցէ ի պղծութեան, զընտանիս և զծառայս տացէ ի ձեռս եպիսկոպոսին զլխաւորի ի կշտամբութիւն: ...

Ապա եթէ ինքն ևս ընդ ընտանիսն ի մծղնէութեան գտցի, կալցեն միաբան պղծագործ ընտանեօքն Հանդերձ և ի Հրապարակ ածցեն առաջի զլխաւոր եպիսկոպոսին, և առաջի մեծամեծաց իշխանաց և աւագ դատաւորաց և միաբան վրէժխնդիր լինիցին օրինացն աստուծոյ, զի տեսեալ այլոց սրբութեամբ և երկիւղիւ պաշտեսցեն զարարիչն ամենեցուն:»

Canons, ed. A. Łińcean (Tiflis, 1913), 73, 80-82. This text is reproduced by Melik-Bashian, *Paulician Movement*, 80-87, who also gives a Russian translation. The German translation of these canons made on a MS. in the Berlin Royal Library is given by K. Ter Mkrttschian, *Die Paulikianer*, 42-45. No English translation exists to my knowledge.

APPENDIX II

OATH OF THE COUNCIL OF DVIN

«ՈՒՆՏ ՄԻԱԲԱՆՈՒԹԵԱՆ ՀԱՅՈՑ ԱՇԽԱՐՀԻՍ Ի ՋԵՌՆ ՆԵՐՍԷՍԻ
ՀԱՅՈՑ ԿԱԹՈՒՂԻԿՈՍԻ, ԵՒ ՄԵՐՇԱՊԶՈՑ ՄՍՄԻԿՈՆԻՑ ԵՊԻՍ-
ԿՈՊՈՍԻ: ԵՒ ՊԵՏՐՈՍԻ ՍԻՒՆԵԱՑ ԵՊԻՍԿՈՊՈՍԻ: ԵՒ ԱՅԼՈՑ
ԱԹՈՌԱԿՑԱՑ, ԵՒ ՏԱՆՈՒՏԵՐԱՆՑ: ԵՒ ԱԶԱՏԱՑ: ԵՒ ՀԱՄԱՐԻՆ
ԺՈՂՈՎՐԴԱԿԱՆԱՑ:

Վասն զի ԷՀաս մեզ վտանգ Հոգեւոր դիպուածի, որ եղև Հանապազորդեան
Հիւանդութիւն. եկաք ի խորհուրդ միաբանական, զի բարձցուք զՀառաչագին
Հեծութիւն ցաւոյս այսորիկ Հոգւոց մերոց և զխիղճ ի խորհրդոց փախչել ի
մեղաց աւտարտեաց, որում լինել երբէք չէր ակնկալութիւն: Եւ վասն զի եղև,
վասն այնորիկ Հարկեցաք առնել զմիաբանութիւնս զայն Համաշխարհական, մեք
ամենայն Հայք, ի քսան եւ չորրորդ ամի Խոսրովու արքայից արքայի, ի սուրբ ի
քառասներորդսն, ի կիրակէի իւղոզոմենին [ողոզոմենին], վասն չար աղանդին
խուժկաց նեստորականաց, զորս նզովեաց սուրբ Հոգին ի ձեռն սրբոց ուղղափառ
եպիսկոպոսաց ՅԺԸ. իցն ժողովելոց ի Նիկիայ: և ՃՄ. իցն ի Կոստանդիա-
նուպաղիս: և Մ. իցն յԵփեսոս, որոց անիծեալ զՆեստոր խզեցին ի բաց
ընկեցին, արարեալ զնա Հալածական յաւտար աշխարհ ի կողմանս Մծբնացւոց,
զորս երթեալ խմորեաց, չարագիւտ արուեստիւ իւրով զոգիս նոցա, արարեալ
զնոսա փշաբերս և խաւարաբնակս, յոր ըմբռնեցան և կողմանքն Խուժաստանի,
յորոց ոմանք Հասեալ յառաջագոյն յաշխարհ մեր, վաճառաշահութեամբ կեցին
ընդ Հարսն մեր և ընդ մեզ, միաբանութեամբ ի մեր եկեղեցւոյ խոստովանելով զին-
քեանս միաՀաւատ ընդ մեզ: Եւ ի տասն և յեթներորդ ամի Խոսրովու արքայից
արքայի, ի մարզպանութեանն Նիհորականայ, արարին իմն շինաց յանուն Մանա-
ճրՀի Ռաժիի որ Հաւատացեալ ի Քրիստոս և մկրտեալ անուանեցաւ Գրիգոր, և
սպանաւ վասն նորին Հաւատոյ, և ապա անուանեցին զնա տեղի ժողովոյ պղծու-
թեան իւրեանց: Ածին և վարդապետս առաջնորդ կորստեան ինքեանց, որք
եկեալ ձեռնարկեցին՝ զապականութիւն իւրեանց բերելով ի սուրբ և ի ճշմարիտ
Հաւատ մեր, և պատրեցին ի ժողովրդականաց տգիտաց զարս և զկանայս,
Հաղորդել Հաւատոյ յաղտեղութեան աղաւթից նոցա, տանել Հաց ընծայի ի տեղի

անարձնութեան նոցա. ընդունել ի ձեռաց նոցա Հաղորդութիւն՝ իրրե յուխտէ նուիրաց պաշտօնեաց, յանդգնեցան տալ զիւրեանց ջնջագիր կնիք անկնիք մանկանց ժողովրդեան մերոյ առ ի մեռանել նոցա առանց մկրտութեան զմաՀն յաւիտենական, և զզոզս և զպոռնիկս և զայդ վնասակարս զոր մեք արտաքոյ եկեղեցւոյ և արՀնութեան առնեաք և չՀամարեաք արժանի սրբոյ Հաղորդութեանն, երթային առ նոսա և նորա ընդունէին յիւրեանց ի պիղծ և յանարձն արՀնութիւնն և Հաղորդութիւն ժողովարանին՝ Հակառակ մեզ: Զայս աղէտ Հոգեւոր տեսանելով ի նոցանէն, Հասակ՝ թէպէտ և անազան, ի վերայ պատճառող ստութեան նոցա, զի կեղծաւորութեամբ ունելով զանուն քրիստոնէութեան և ուրանան զծջմարտութիւնն: Իսկ մեր ոչ կարացեալ Համբերել այսպիսի չար զործոց նոցա, Համարէն ամենեքեան արարաք զգիրս զայս ուխտի և Հաստատութեան ամենեցուն կամաց յաւժարութեամբ, առաջի տեառն մերոյ Յիսուսի Քրիստոսի Աստուծոյ մերոյ: Քանզեալ աւերեցաք զտեղի ապաւինի անարձնութեան նոցա՝ և բարձաք ի մէնջ գիշերայինն զայն խաւար:

Եւ Ներսէս Հայոց կաթողիկոս: Եւ ՄերչապուՀ Տարաւնու եւ Մամիկոնեից եպիսկոպոս. ... Պետրոս Սիւնեաց եպիսկոպոս: ...»

The holding of the council at Dvin under the presidency of Kat'olikos Nersēs II is confirmed by a number of sources: "The Separation of the Nestorians from the Holy Church", *BL*, 77; John II, Gabelean, *Siunik*, 78-79, a *Letter* which is also preserved in Stephen Orbelean, *History of Siunik*, I, 134-138; John of Ojun, "Order of the Councils Held among the Armenians", *BL*, 21; Stephen of Taron (Asolik), in Garitte, *La Narratio*, 139; Samuel of Ani, *Collections*, 93, etc. Garitte, *La Narratio*, 13-142, gives additional sources confirming the holding of the Council of Dvin, but ignores the *Letter* of John Gabelean and its preservation in the history of Stephen Orbelean.

The date given for the council is variable. The internal evidence of the text and the list of John of Ojun place it in 555 or the twenty-fourth year of Xosrov I Anuširvan, who came to the throne in 531 (A. Christensen, *L'Iran sous les Sassanides*, 2e ed., Copenhagen, 1944, 361). The dating of the council in the fourth year of the pontificate of Nersēs II places it rather closer to the date given by Asolik (553), since Nersēs II is usually considered to have been kat'olikos from 548 to 557 (de Morgan, *Histoire*, 364). On the other hand, "The Separation of the Nestorians from the Holy Church", *BL*, 77 and note, gives the date of the council as the twenty-fifth year of Xosrov's reign.

Absolute precision is evidently difficult, since the dates themselves are contradictory. Asolik. *op. cit.*, 50, dates the council in the fourth year of Nersēs II, the twenty-fourth year of Xosrov I, and the fourteenth year of the Emperor Justinian I. But the twenty-fourth year of Xosrov I (531-579) can under no circumstance be the same as the fourteenth year of Justinian I (527-565). Samuel of Ani, *Collections*, 73, gives as even more impossible dating. He places the council in the period of Nersēs II, to whom he assigns the dates 526-535, in the eighth year of the second reign of Khavadh I (488-496, 498/9-531), which gives the still more unsatisfactory date, 506. Samuel's chronology need not disturb us unduly, however, since it is notoriously inaccurate. He gives the

date 396 for the Council of Constantinople of 381, 438 for the Council of Ephesus I of 431, and 462 for the Latrocinium of 449! (*Ibid.*, 67, 69, 70.)

While it is generally true that the chronology of the early Fifties of the sixth century, the period of the establishment of the Armenian era, is confused (*see* E. Dulaurier, *Recherches sur la chronologie arménienne technique et historique*, I, Paris, 1859), the evidence of the document itself is very clear and indeed extremely detailed and accurate. The second date found in the text, the seventeenth year of Xosrov I (548), coincides with the *marzpanate* of Nihorak or Nihorakan which is given as 548-552[?] by de Morgan, *Histoire*, 359. In view of the confirmation of the date given by the text in the contemporary sources, and the inaccuracy of the later works, there seems to be no reason for rejecting the precise date for the council given by the "Oath" itself, "in the twenty-fourth year of Xosrov, king of kings, in the holy forty [days] on Palm Sunday". According to the tables calculated by Grumel, *Traité d'études byzantines I*, *La Chronologie* (Paris, 1958), 245, 313, this date would be March 21, 555.

APPENDIX III

“PAULICIAN” HERESIES FROM THE *BOOK OF HERETICS*

Heresy #153:

«ՃԾԳ. Քաղերթական, որ է արինարբուաց: Թագաւոր ոմն Յունաց աշխարհէն պատաճեաց պիղծ աղանդին պոլիկենաց և ոչ կարաց դարձուցանել զնոսա յաղանդէն իւրեանց. Հալածեաց զնոսա անդր քան զլեառն Կովկաս: Եւ կին մի առաջնորդ նոցա Մարէ անուն, կախարդ և կունդ: Չարագործացն բարի առնէր և բարեգործացն պատուհաս, և զկանայսն Հասարակաց ուսուցանէր, և աւուրս ե որոշեալ — զոր մենք Հասարակաց կոչեմք — զայն սատանայական անուանէր, և ի նոսա Հեղուլ արին մարդոյ բարի ասէր, և որ ուտէ և ըմպէ զարին մարդոյ այն արդարութիւն: Եւ յազդմանէ սատանայի տեսիլ տեսանէր և մանկունս փողոտէր և ասէր, թէ նոցա Հոգիքն զան ի տեսիլ կախարդաց:»

Heresy #154:

«ՃԾԴ. Ապա կին մի Շէթի անուն, այնր աղանդոյն, ելեալ զկնի թուրքացն եկն ի Հայս, և Պօղ ոմն յԱյրարատեայ գաւառէն, որ աշակերտեալ էր սրբոյն Եփրեմի, առեանկեաց զկինն, և խառնակեցաւ աղանդն ընդ քրիստոնէութեան: Չարեզակն Քրիստոս ասէին, ոչ մեռեալ և ոչ յարուցեալ, և վասն այնորիկ ծոմանան ի կիրակէի: Եւ եկեալ սուրբն Եփրեմ ոչ կարաց քակել զնա յաղանդոյն և անէծ զնա և զնաց:»

The text given above is taken from the *MS. Matenadaran #687*. The following variations taken from the earlier *MS. Matenadaran #3681* are given by Bart'ikyan, “Sources”, 94, nn. 2-4, 95, nn. 1, 3, 4.

Heresy #153:

line 1:

«Թագաւոր ոմն Յունաց աշխարհէն բարեպաշտութեամբ զօրացեալ:»

line 3:

«անդր քան զլեառն Կովկաս արգելական արար զի մի տեսնեն զնոսա ազգք քրիստոնէից:»

line 5:

«և զկանայս Հասարակաց ամենեցուն նստուցանէր և ընդ աւտարի ամուսնանալ պոռնկութիւն անուանէր և ընդ արեան բարեպաշտութիւն:»

line 6:

«և աւուրս է որոշեալ, զոր մենք արարչական կոչեմք սա սատանայականս անուանէր և ի նոսա անՀնար Հրամայէր Հեղուլ զարիւն մարդոյ և որ ուտէ և ըմպէ ասէ զմարմին և արիւն մարդոյ Հաւատով անարդարութիւն:»

Heresy #154:

line 2:

«Պաւլին:»

line 3:

«առընգեաց զկինն զայն նորին խրատովն և ներջաւ նորին աղանդոյն և խառնեաց զանաւրէն աղանդն ընդ քրիստոնէութեան:»

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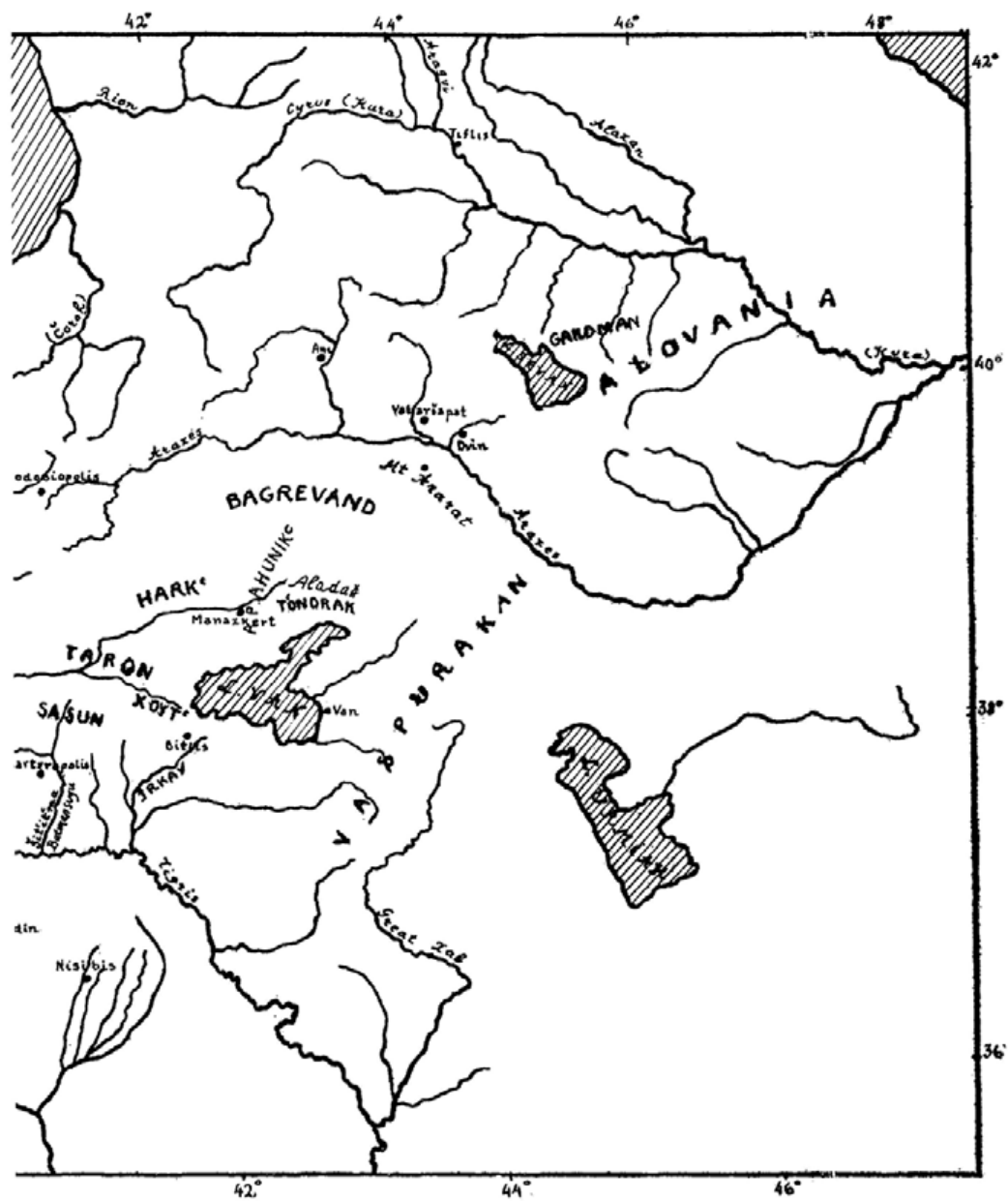
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