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THE «FATHERLAND» OF THE SERBIAN KINGS MILUTIN AND DEČANSKI OR SOME ADDITIONAL THOUGHTS ON THE «MEDIEVAL SERBIAN OECUMENE»*

INTRODUCTION

Five years ago an article «The “Medieval Serbian Oecumene” — Fiction or Reality?» was published¹. The author analyzed part of the medieval Serbian written sources in order to address the research question, whether a «Medieval Serbian Oecumene» existed during the reigns of the Serbian Kings Stefan Uroš II Milutin (1282–1321) and Stefan Uroš III Dečanski (1321–1331) as well as the Serbian Emperor Stefan Uroš IV Dušan (1331–1355). Amongst others, the author came to the following conclusion: «Having in mind the reign of Stefan Uroš IV Dušan, both of his predecessors, Stefan Uroš II Milutin and Stefan Uroš III Dečanski, were establishing their own ‘small Serbian Oecumene’ besides the ‘huge Byzantine Oecumene’, in which I [scil. M. St. Popović] a parallel local concept and not an attempt to substitute the universal Byzantine concept. A new quality to the described Serbian approach was given by king Dušan, because he used the then recently formed ‘Medieval Serbian

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¹ Popović M. St. The «Medieval Serbian Oecumene» — Fiction or Reality? // *Byzantine Heritage and Serbian Art I. Process of Byzantinisation and Serbian Archaeology*. Belgrade, 2016. P. 37–43.

Oecumene' in the power politics of his time with the clear aim to take over the 'Byzantine Oecumene' and replace the emperor in Constantinople as emperor of Serbs and of Greeks)².

Our joint article seizes this very aspect once again and aims at addressing new ideas and thoughts by analysing additional Serbian written sources from the period of the reigns of both Serbian Kings as well as other selected sources, which were written after their deaths until the 15th century. Before we go into detail regarding our topic of inquiry, we should be aware of the fact that the perception of «land» and «landscape» was quite different in the Middle Ages and Early Modern Period than it is today. This is emphasised, for example, by the British historian Ian Mortimer in his book *The Time Traveler's Guide to Elizabethan England*: «Indeed, it is only at the very end of the Elizabethan period, in the late 1590s, that people start to use the term 'landscape' to describe a view. Before this, they do not need such a word, for they do not see a 'landscape' as such — only the constituent elements that mean something to them: the woods, fields, rivers, orchards, gardens, bridges, roads, and, above all else, the towns. Shakespeare does not use the word 'landscape' at all; he uses the word 'country' — a concept in which people and physical things are intimately bound together»³.

The manifold meanings of «land» and related terms as well as their constituent elements in medieval Serbian sources were excellently analysed by Viktor Savić⁴. Even in the lyrics of Yugoslav pop music of the 20th century we may find constituent elements, here of landscape, for example in the song «Živela Jugoslavija!» from 1985, which mentions the fatherland's sea, rivers and mountains⁵.

These preliminary thoughts are of the utmost importance, when it comes to trying to address the potential existence of a «Medieval Serbian Oecumene» in the times of the Kings Milutin and Stefan Dečanski. Recently, we have undertaken a significant step into this very direction in our project «Byzantino-Serbian Border Zones in Transition: Migration and Elite Change in pre-Ottoman Macedonia (1282–1355)» by publishing an article on the essential question of the relation between the titles of the Serbian Emperor Stefan Dušan and the territoriality of his realm in the 14th century⁶. Starting from this point, it might prove useful to move back in time and focus on the last quarter of the 13th and the first third of the 14th centuries, without which a holistic picture may not be achieved. Therefore, we aim at continuing our initial approach by focusing on the reigns of the Kings Milutin and Stefan Dečanski, which is the third step after the aforesaid two publications in 2016 and 2020 respectively.

It goes without saying that our results, outlined below, are based on a meticulous re-evaluation and analysis of published Serbian written sources with an exclusion of

² Popović M. St. The «Medieval Serbian Oecumene»... P. 43.

³ Mortimer I. *The Time Traveler's Guide to Elizabethan England*. New York, 2014. P. 2.

⁴ Savić B. (Псеудо)класични и стари називи српских земаља у старим српским изворима // Српско језичко и књижевно наслеђе на простору данашње Црне Горе. Српски језик и књижевност данас. Зборник радова са Другог међународног научног скупа одржаног у Подгорици 26–28. маја 2017. Подгорица; Нови Сад; Бања Лука, 2019. С. 95–125.

⁵ Vocals Miroslav Ilić and Lepa Brena (real name: Fahreta Jahić-Živojinović), Lyrics Milutin Popović Zahar, Producer Jugodisk: «Kad pogledam našemore, našereke, našegore, svulepotugdesamrođena, [...]».

⁶ Popović M. St., Zervan V., Filiposki T. Über das Verhältnis von Herrschertiteln und Räumen: Eine Fallstudie zu Makedonien unter dem König und Zaren Stefan Dušan (1331–1355) // Зборник радова Византолошког института. 2020. Књ. 57. С. 61–102.

post-modern approaches to the topic. Inspiring is in this respect a book review by Warren Treadgold, an American historian and specialist in Byzantine Studies, who commented as follows: «All Byzantine histories that recorded events before living memory must have depended almost entirely on written sources, even if those sources are lost today. Modern scholars have traditionally approached such histories by trying to identify and analyze their sources, a process commonly known by the German term *Quellenforschung*. This approach, without denying that the later authors modified their sources (especially by abridging them), attributes most of the information and opinions in the later texts to their sources, then tries to determine how faithfully the sources recorded historical events. Postmodern scholars dislike this approach because they are uninterested in historical events (if indeed they believe in historical reality at all) and care only about the later historians' «construction of a narrative» by rewriting the sources (if indeed they believe in the existence of sources). Dismissing clear statements by many Byzantine historians that they were merely trying to provide an accurate record of the past, postmodernists insist that what the Byzantines really wanted to do was to comment on their own times by means of oblique allusions in their narrative. Defenders of the traditional approach (including me) admit that the later historians sometimes did allude to contemporary events in recording earlier times, but believe that such allusions were usually explicit and relatively rare. [...] Postmodernist distractions are particularly unfortunate in the field of Byzantine historiography, where so much real work remains to be done in identifying sources and stages of composition, understanding prose styles and narrative techniques, editing and translating texts, and explaining the historical events that postmodernists find so tedious»⁷.

Keeping these explicit words in mind, we would like to introduce as our first source the so-called charter of the Serbian King Milutin for the settlement site of Ulijare from ca. 1318, which is in fact a falsification from the 15th century⁸. Nevertheless, our approach shall be retrospective at first in order to understand, what kind of image King Milutin had in the eyes of a compiler of the 15th century, whose compilation is based on sources from the 14th century. After that we will proceed to the Lives of the Serbian Kings and Archbishops by Archbishop Danilo II as well as medieval Serbian charters, inscriptions and notes from the period of our study.

In the aforesaid charter, King Milutin is addressed as «by the Grace of God King and Autocrat of the Serbian and Coastal Lands» (*«po milosty Božiei kralj i samodržць vsěhь Srьbskыihь i Pomorskыihь Zemľ»*)⁹, while the Byzantine Emperor Andronikos II Palaiologos

⁷ *Treadgold W.* Marjanović, Dragoljub. Creating Memories in Late 8th-century Byzantium. The Short History of Nikephoros of Constantinople. *Central European Medieval Studies // The Medieval Review*. Amsterdam, 2018. P. 250. URL: <https://scholarworks.iu.edu/journals/index.php/tmr/article/view/25450/31266> (last visited — 11.08.2021).

⁸ Cf. on the question of the falsification and the sources used for the falsification: *Суботин-Голубовић Т.* Још о «Житију у свитку» краља Милутина // *Зборник радова Византолошког института*. 1994. Књ. 33. С. 115–125; *Убинарин М.* Зборник са кратким житијем краља Милутина // *Прилози за књижевност, језик, историју и фолклор*. 2005. Књ. 71/1–4. С. 53–72. And also: *Ђирковић С.* Биографија краља Милутина у Уљарској повељи // *Архиепископ Данило и његово доба*. Београд, 1991. С. 53–68; *Мошин В.* Житије краља Милутина према архиепископу Данилу II и Милутиновој повељи — аутобиографији // *Зборник историје књижевности. Одељење језика и књижевности*. Књ. 10. Стара српска књижевност. Београд, 1976. С. 109–136.

⁹ Edited in: *Зборник средњовековних ћириличких повеља и писама Србије, Босне и Дубровника*. Књ. I: 1186–1321. Београд, 2011. Бр. 147. 18–19 (С. 533). Also cf.: С. 543 (signature).

(1282–1328) is referred to as «Emperor of the Greeks» or «Emperor of the Oecumene» («cara Grькомъ курь Andronika, vьseljensky carь курь Andronikъ»)¹⁰.

We discern a distinct antithesis between the «Fatherland» or «Serbian Land» of the Serbian King on the one hand (*i zemli oьčьstvĭa moego*¹¹, *vь oьčьstvĭi mojemь, i oьčьstvĭa moego, oь Zemlje Srьbskыje, na oьčьstvĭe naše*¹², *Zemli Srьbskoj*¹³, *Srьbskыje Zemlje, zemlja oьčьstvĭa našego kraljevstva*¹⁴, *oьčьstvĭ i našemь, Zemli Srьbscĕi*¹⁵) and the «Great Romania» or «Greek Empire» of the Byzantine Emperor on the other (*vь Veliku Romanĭu, vь Velikoj Romanĭi*¹⁶, *toi Velikoj Romanĭi*¹⁷, *vь drьžavu Carьstva Grьčьskaago*¹⁸).

The narration in this source reveals that the Byzantine Emperor invaded the Serbian lands at the very beginning of King Milutin's reign and that the Byzantine troops reached the Serbian town of Lipljan¹⁹ in today's Kosovo with the aim to subdue the Serbian King and his fatherland²⁰. But King Milutin launched a counteroffensive and succeeded to conquer the region of Polog, the town of Skopje and the regions of Ovče Polje, Zletovo and Pijanec in Byzantine Macedonia (Fig. 1), which he incorporated into his fatherland (*priložihь kь oьčьstvĭu moemu*). Moreover, a change of elites took place, because King Milutin ousted the Byzantine structures of power (*prognavь vse vlasti grьčьskыje*). After that, he returned to his fatherland (*paky vьzvraštaet se kraljevstvo mi vь drьžavu oьčьstvĭa svojego*)²¹. What becomes evident based on the narration in this source, is that we cannot discern a political concept of universality in the politics of King Milutin. At first, he defended his fatherland against the Byzantine intrusion, and then he himself intruded Byzantine Macedonia and conquered certain territories, but he returned to his fatherland after the respective military campaign. Therefore, the narration highlights two distinct entities — the Serbian Kingdom and the Byzantine Empire — and their struggle in a joint border zone.

Several years ago Paul Nick Kardulias published a paper on Archaeology and World-Systems Analysis (WSA). He introduced three categories of territoriality to the audience: the extraction zone, the fully incorporated periphery and the contested periphery²². Paul Nick Kardulias and Thomas D. Hallemphasise in their research that: «First, the 'world'

¹⁰ Зборник средњовековних ћириличких повеља... Бр. 147. 284–285 (С. 540), 308–309 (С. 541). Also cf.: 269–270 (С. 540).

¹¹ Зборник средњовековних ћириличких повеља... Бр. 147. 53 (С. 534).

¹² Зборник средњовековних ћириличких повеља... Бр. 147. 250–252, 255–256 (С. 539).

¹³ Зборник средњовековних ћириличких повеља... Бр. 147. 264 (С. 540).

¹⁴ Зборник средњовековних ћириличких повеља... Бр. 147. 313, 318–319 (С. 541).

¹⁵ Зборник средњовековних ћириличких повеља... Бр. 147. 367 (С. 542–543).

¹⁶ Зборник средњовековних ћириличких повеља... Бр. 147. 243–244, 246 (С. 539).

¹⁷ Зборник средњовековних ћириличких повеља... Бр. 147. 261–262 (С. 540).

¹⁸ Зборник средњовековних ћириличких повеља... Бр. 147. 295 (С. 541).

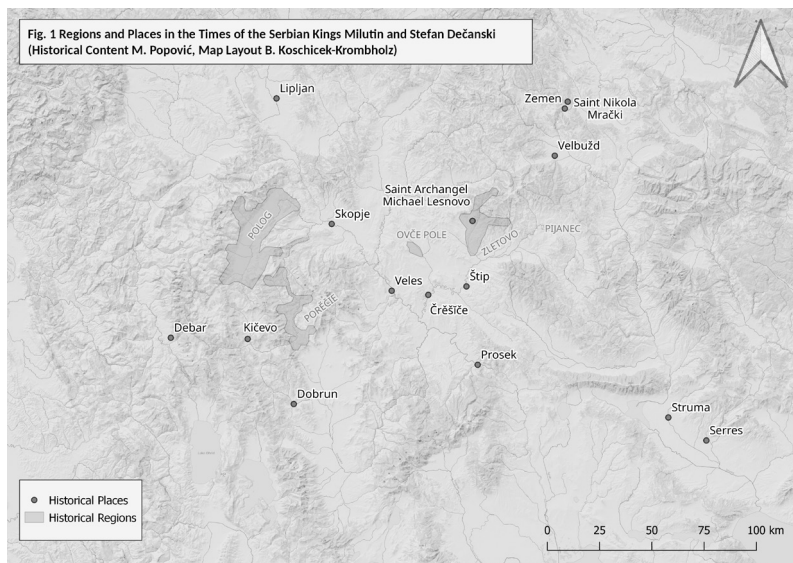
¹⁹ Cf. on Lipljan and its history: Лексикон градова и тргова средњовековних српских земаља: Према писаним изворима. Београд, 2010. С. 167–169.

²⁰ Зборник средњовековних ћириличких повеља... Бр. 147. 53–57 (С. 534) («Do mĕsta glagoljemaго do Lipĭjanja... hoteštu sь oьčьstvĭemь moimь i mene vь poslušlĭva raba i imĕti»).

²¹ Зборник средњовековних ћириличких повеља... Бр. 147. 85–92 (С. 535).

²² Cf. the following of his publications in detail: *Kardulias P. N., Hall T. D. Archaeology and World-Systems Analysis // World Archaeology. 2008. Vol. 40/4. P. 572–583; Hall T. D., Kardulias P. N., Chase-Dunn C. World-Systems Analysis and Archaeology: Continuing the Dialogue // Journal of Archaeological Research. 2011. Vol. 19/3. P. 233–279.*

in world-systems does not mean global or planetary, but rather a self-contained world. Obviously, no place is entirely isolated. But there can be steep gradients of density of interactions, and this defines a boundary»²³. They stress that systems cycle or pulsate, expand and contract and have different durations, e. g. 600, 300, 100, 50 years etc.²⁴ Therefore, the question arises: «when do two separate systems merge to become one larger system?»²⁵ They explain on the relation of the three categories of territoriality: «[...], core areas tend to exploit peripheral areas, with semi-peripheral areas being exploited by core areas, yet exploiting peripheral areas in turn»²⁶. But «The boundaries between core areas, peripheral areas, and semiperipheral areas are similarly fuzzy and gradual»²⁷.



Hereby, a contested periphery refers to a region with certain key resources or in a strategic location between major states. They can be key areas for economic, political, social and religious competition and exchange²⁸. Semiperipheral areas are located on the fringe of a system and are not subject to contestation from many sides simultaneously like core areas²⁹. State formation is a process, which is closely linked to processes of incorporation of new areas and peoples into world-systems, from which follows that frontiers are zones of incorporation³⁰. Consequently, the fuzziness of world-system edges facilitates negotiation of the terms of incorporation³¹.

²³ Kardulias P. N., Hall T. D. *Archaeology...* P. 574. Also cf.: Hall T. D., Kardulias P. N., Chase-Dunn C. *World-Systems Analysis...* P. 236.

²⁴ Kardulias P. N., Hall T. D. *Archaeology...* P. 575.

²⁵ Kardulias P. N., Hall T. D. *Archaeology...* P. 575.

²⁶ Kardulias P. N., Hall T. D. *Archaeology...* P. 576.

²⁷ Hall T. D., Kardulias P. N., Chase-Dunn C. *World-Systems Analysis...* P. 242.

²⁸ Hall T. D., Kardulias P. N., Chase-Dunn C. *World-Systems Analysis...* P. 243.

²⁹ Hall T. D., Kardulias P. N., Chase-Dunn C. *World-Systems Analysis...* P. 255.

³⁰ Hall T. D., Kardulias P. N., Chase-Dunn C. *World-Systems Analysis...* P. 257.

³¹ Hall T. D., Kardulias P. N., Chase-Dunn C. *World-Systems Analysis...* P. 260.

A SELF-CONTAINED «MEDIEVAL SERBIAN OECUMENE»?

Several years ago I heard an inspiring paper by Paul Nick Kardulias, since then, I have been asking myself, if and how such a model would be applicable to the medieval Serbian realm. By taking the aforesaid publications by Paul Nick Kardulias and Thomas D. Hall as a premise, I would like to elaborate on the question, whether the Serbian realm during the reigns of the Kings Milutin and Stefan Dečanski may be perceived as a «self-contained space» in the written sources?

Ernst Edward Aurel Stein (1891–1945) stated that Byzantium was at the beginning a universal power, then a world power, then a great power and finally a regional power³². May we imply that the Serbian realm experienced a reciprocal development, being first a regional power under the Kings Milutin and Stefan Dečanski and then becoming a great power under King Dušan, without reaching the status of a world or universal power?

The Lives of the Serbian Kings and Archbishops by Archbishop Danilo II confirm the story, which is told in the aforesaid falsified charter from the 15th century, and seem to confirm the picture of a self-contained «Medieval Serbian Oecumene» during the reign of King Milutin. The Life of King Milutin reports that the Byzantine territory stretched indeed to the town of Lipljan. In 1282/83 Milutin attacked the Byzantine Empire successfully and conquered the regions of Polog, Ovče Polje, Zletovo and Pijanec as well as the town of Skopje. It is stated explicitly that he added all these conquered territories to his fatherland. Most probably at the end of 1283 and the beginning of 1284 Milutin pillaged the regions of Struma and Serres. Finally, he conquered the regions of Debar, Kičevo and Porečie in 1284 and added them to the territories of his fatherland as well³³.

At this point we deem it necessary to consult additional Serbian written sources from the period of the reign of King Milutin in order to address the potential perception of a «self-contained space»³⁴. In a charter for Dubrovnik from 1282 King Milutin undersigns as «King and with God Autocrat of the Serbian and Coastal Lands» (*kralj i sь Bogotь samodrьžьsь srьpskie zemli i potorbьskie*)³⁵. Most probably in the same year his signature on a charter

³² Stein E. 1) Geschichte des spätrömischen Reiches. Bd I: Vom römischen zum byzantinischen Staat (284–476 n. Chr.). Wien: Seidel, 1928; 2) Histoire du Bas-Empire. T. II. De la disparition de l'Empire d'Occident à la mort de Justinien (476–565). Paris: Desclée, De Brouwer et Cie, 1949. Cf. the analysis of his terminology in: Максимовић Љ. Значење речи Грк и Јелин у српским средњовековним изворима // Зборник радова Византолошког института. 1999/2000. Књ. 38. С. 226.

³³ Cf. the edition of the Life of King Milutin in: Даничић Ђ. Животи краљева и архиепископа српских. У Загребу: У Светозара Галца, 1866. С. 102–161 (here С. 107–114). In German translation: Serbisches Mittelalter. Altserbische Herrscherbiographien. Bd 2: Danilo II. und seine Schüler. Die Königsbiographien. Graz; Wien; Köln, 1976. S. 145–204 (here 150–157). On the dating of the respective events: Историја српског народа. Књ. 1: Од најстаријих времена до Марицке битке (1371). Београд, 1981. С. 439–441; Popović M. St. Historische Geographie und Digital Humanities. Eine Fallstudie zum spätbyzantinischen und osmanischen Makedonien. Mainz; Ruhpolding, 2014. S. 86f.

³⁴ I am very grateful to my scholarly co-worker David Schmid, BA, then working in my project «Digitising Patterns of Power (DPP): Peripheral Mountains in the Medieval World» at the Austrian Academy of Sciences, and to Dr Srdjan Pirivatrić (Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts, Belgrade, Serbia) as visiting scholar of the project DPP from 25 January 2018 to 26 February 2018, who both discussed my thoughts on various aspects of the aforesaid sources with me.

³⁵ Зборник средњовековних ћириличких повеља... Бр. 81. 10 (С. 276).

for the Serbian Monastery of Hilandar on Mount Athos emphasizes that he is «with the Grace of God King and with God Serbian Ruler» (*po milosti Božijei kralь i Bogomь drьžьcь srьpьskь*)³⁶. In a charter from the period 1282–1289 King Milutin signs as «Serbian King» (*kralь srьpьskii*)³⁷. The charter by King Milutin for the Chapel of Saint Petka in the village of T'morane from ca. 1299/1300 mentions the «Emperor of the Greeks» (*сарь Grькомь*)³⁸, whereas Milutin undersigns as «King and Autocrat of all Serbian and Coastal Lands» (*kralь isamodrьžьcь vsěhь srьpьskьhь zemьь i pomorьskihь*)³⁹. He explicitly highlights the «Serbian Lands» (*u Srьpьskoi zemli*) in his charter for Dubrovnik in 1302⁴⁰. In King Milutin's charter for Hilandar's Tower of Hrusija from the period 1300–1303 a clear distinction is made between «the Serbian and the Greek Lands» (*въ Srbьscěii въ Grьscěii Zemli*)⁴¹. In 1306 the King appears as «*Stefano Uros re di Servia*» and «*Stefano Uros, solo nominato re di Servia et Tramarina*» (i. e. in Old Serbian *Stefanь Urošь samodrьžavnьi kralь srьbьskii pomorsky*) in his charter for the Monastery of the Holy Mother of God Ratačka⁴². In King Milutin's charter for Hilandar's Tower of Hrusija from the period 1313(?)–1316 a clear differentiation is made between the «Imperial» (i. e. Byzantine) and the «Royal» (i. e. Serbian) chrysobulls (*въ carьskihь hrisovulěhь i въ kraljevstva mi hrisovulě*)⁴³. In 1317 the Serbian Archbishop Nikodim I (1317–1324) addresses Milutin «who is ruling all Serbian Lands» (*kraljevstvu jušttagovseju Srьbskoju Zemljeju*) in his charter for the Monastery of Saint Stephen in Banjska⁴⁴. Very instructive in our context is an expression, in which King Milutin states in his charter for the hermitage of Saint Sabbas in Karyes from 1317/18 that he ruled «autocratically in the land of my fatherland» (*samodrьžavnovь zemli oтьčьstva mojego*)⁴⁵. In his charter for the Monastery of Gračanica from 1315 (or 1321) King Milutin juxtaposes the «Greek Lands» (*oт oblasti grьčьskьje*) and «the Land of My Kingship» (*zemli kraljevstvami*)⁴⁶.

According to the charts of Žarko Vujošević in his unpublished PhD thesis «The Serbian Royal Chancery in the Middle Ages. A Study in Comparative Diplomacy»⁴⁷ in which he made an overview of the signatures of King Milutin in his charters, we can discern that, when Milutin signed with territorial attributes, he always used the expression «the Serbian and Coastal Lands»⁴⁸.

³⁶ Зборник средњовековних ћириличких повеља... Бр. 82. 53 (С. 280).

³⁷ Зборник средњовековних ћириличких повеља... Бр. 87. 9 (С. 290).

³⁸ Зборник средњовековних ћириличких повеља... Бр. 93. 9 (С. 332).

³⁹ Зборник средњовековних ћириличких повеља... Бр. 93. 62 (С. 333).

⁴⁰ Зборник средњовековних ћириличких повеља... Бр. 98. 3 (С. 344).

⁴¹ Зборник средњовековних ћириличких повеља... Бр. 101. 30 (С. 355).

⁴² Зборник средњовековних ћириличких повеља... Бр. 106. 8–9 (С. 395).

⁴³ Зборник средњовековних ћириличких повеља... Бр. 121. А32–33 (С. 440).

⁴⁴ Зборник средњовековних ћириличких повеља... Бр. 127. 88а (С. 474).

⁴⁵ Зборник средњовековних ћириличких повеља... Бр. 131. 47 (С. 487). — A similar expression can be found in a contract between King Milutin and the Monastery of Hilandar from the period 1317–1321: Зборник средњовековних ћириличких повеља... Бр. 143. 16 (С. 516).

⁴⁶ Зборник средњовековних ћириличких повеља... Бр. 137. 40 (С. 502), 48 (С. 503).

⁴⁷ *Вујошевић Ж. З.* Српска владарска канцеларија у средњем веку. Студија из упоредне дипломатике. Докторска дисертација. Београд, 2015.

⁴⁸ *Вујошевић Ж. З.* Српска владарска канцеларија... С. 221–225. — An excellent pioneer work in this respect is: *Марковић В.* Јесу ли средњовековни Срби сматрали Македонију бугарском? КРФ: Штампано у Државној Штампарији Краљевине Србије, 1918. С. 6–10.

Therefore, we do not find any hint in the aforesaid sources that King Milutin perceived his realm to be a great power, not to speak of a world or universal power. On the contrary, we get the impression that King Milutin's space is perceived by himself as a «self-contained space». In order to complete our picture, we have to take medieval Serbian inscriptions and notes from the reign of King Milutin into account as well.

In a note from 1286 it is stated that ecclesiastical items and books were placed in a church in the times of the «Autocrat and King of all Serbian and Coastal Lands, who is ruling over Greek Territories» (*samodržavnaago kraljavseh srpskyh zemli i pomorskih, grčckyimi stranami gospodstvujushata*)⁴⁹. An inscription in the Monastery of Hilandar from 1293 mentions King Milutin as son-in-law of the «Autocrat and Greek Emperor Andronikos» (*zetu prevysokago samoderzha imperatora grečeskago cara Andronika*)⁵⁰. In an inscription on the Church of Saint George in Staro Nagoričino from the year 1313 King Milutin is addressed as «King Uroš Milutin, with God Autocrat of all Serbian and Coastal Lands» (*...kralj Uroša Milutina, bogotъ samodrzhьtsu vsei srbьskoi zemli i pomorьskoi, ...*)⁵¹. The same is true for the inscription of the foundation of the Church of the Saints Joachim and Anne in Studenica from 1313/14 (*i kralь vsesh Srbskyh Zemli Pomorьskyh*)⁵². A note in a manuscript in the Monastery of Hilandar from 1316 mentions King Milutin again as «Autocrat of all Serbian and Coastal Lands» (*vsesh srbskiyh zemlь ipomorskiyh*)⁵³. Another note in a manuscript from 1319 makes a clear distinction between the «Autocrat and King» Milutin and the «Orthodox Emperor» Andronikos in the «New Rome, the Emperor's City»⁵⁴.

As an interim conclusion we may state that the medieval Serbian charters, inscriptions and notes emphasise a self-contained «Medieval Serbian Oecumene» during the reign of King Milutin. Does this impression also uphold during the reign of his successor King Stefan Dečanski?

In the Life of King Stefan Dečanski Archbishop Danilo II equalises the «Fatherland» of Dečanski with the «Serbian Land» (*na otčьstvije jeho, rekьše srbьskuju zemlju*)⁵⁵. The councils of his realm are always addressed as «Councils of the Serbian Land» (*svboru svbranu zemlje srbьskyje; i vsego svbora bogotъ svbranaago zemlje srbьskyje; kь vsemu svboru zemlje srbьskyje*)⁵⁶. After his victory against the Bulgarian Tsar Michael III Šišman (1323–1330) in the battle of Velbužd on 28 July 1330, Archbishop Danilo reports on a letter, which the Serbian King sent to him and to Queen Maria Palaiologina, in which a clear difference is made between the Serbian realm (*вь дрьжавь kraljevьstvami*) and the Bulgarian Tsardom (*вь дрьжаву царьства земlje блгарьskyje*)⁵⁷. Moreover, Stefan Dečanski seized

⁴⁹ Стари српски записи и натписи. Књ. I. Београд, 1982. (Фототипска издања 4). Бр. 27 (С. 14). Cf. on the manuscript: Описание русских и славянских пергаменных рукописей. Рукописи русские, болгарские, молдавлахийские, сербские. Л., 1953. С. 98.

⁵⁰ Стари српски записи и натписи. Књ. I. Бр. 29 (С. 15).

⁵¹ Стари српски записи и натписи. Књ. I. Бр. 41 (С. 19).

⁵² Сборник средњовековних ћириличких повеља... Бр. 119, 3 (С. 431). Also cf.: Стари српски записи и натписи. Књ. I. Бр. 46 (С. 20).

⁵³ Стари српски записи и натписи. Књ. I. Бр. 48 (С. 20).

⁵⁴ Стари српски записи и натписи. Књ. I. Бр. 52 (С. 22–23).

⁵⁵ Даничић Ђ. Животи краљева... С. 171.

⁵⁶ Даничић Ђ. Животи краљева... С. 176, 189.

⁵⁷ Даничић Ђ. Животи краљева... С. 190.

the strategic opportunity after the battle and advanced «to the East into the Bulgarian Land» (*къ вѣстокунѣ дрѣжаву земље блѣгарѣскыѣ*)⁵⁸. Finally, Stefan Dečanski concluded peace and returned «from the regions of the Bulgarian Land ... from East to West» (*отъ прѣдѣль земље блѣгарѣскыѣ, и иде отъ вѣстокакъ западу*)⁵⁹. In the evidence, which we have quoted above so far, a clear difference is made between the Serbian and the Bulgarian realms, and even after the Serbian victory in the battle of Velbužd Stefan Dečanski is not taking steps for an incorporation of Bulgarian territories. Thus, we may highlight at this point that King Stefan Dečanski continued in King Milutin's approach of a self-contained «Medieval Serbian Oecumene».

Nevertheless, it seems that the battle of Velbužd marked a turning point with regard to the self-contained «Medieval Serbian Oecumene», for which we find first subtle allusions in the Life of King Stefan Dečanski, on which we will comment below also on the basis of medieval Serbian inscriptions and notes. Since the Byzantine Emperor Andronikos III Palaiologos (1328–1341) had been Michael Šišman's ally, Stefan Dečanski turned as a consequence against the Byzantine Empire in Macedonia. He invaded the «Greek Land» (*и иде на cara того вѣ дрѣжаву земље грѣцьскыѣ*) and conquered the towns and fortresses of Veles, Prosek, Štip, Črčiče and Dobrun in 1330/31 (*земли отѣѣства моего*)⁶⁰. After the successful campaign against the Byzantine Emperor, the Serbian King returned to his «Fatherland» (*вѣ дрѣжаву отѣѣствїѣ своѣго*)⁶¹. Based on the aforesaid sources on the reigns of the Kings Milutin and Stefan Dečanski, our results confirm the interpretation published by Ljubomir Maksimović on the Lives of the Serbian Kings and Archbishops, who came to the conclusion that: «The three realms [i. e. the Byzantine, Serbian and Bulgarian] are perceived as different realms with their own traditions, while their 'ethnic' character is certainly not in the foreground»⁶².

In our next step — in analogy to the analysis of the signatures of King Milutin in his charters — we will undertake the same approach for the period of Stefan Dečanski. Dečanski's signatures indicate — with one exception — that he is like his predecessor «with the Grace of God King of all Serbian and Coastal Lands» or «King and with God Autocrat of all Serbian and Coastal Lands»⁶³. The exception is remarkable though. On 9 September 1330, only one month after his victory at Velbužd and one year before his deposition and death, Stefan Dečanski issued a charter for the Monastery of Saint Nikola Mrački, 4 km to the north-northeast of Zemen in today's Bulgaria, and signed it as «*вѣ Hrista Boga вѣрны и самодрѣжавну краљ всеи Срѣрьскои земли и Роторскои и Овѣрполъскои и Велѣбуждъскои*»⁶⁴.

⁵⁸ Даничић Ђ. Животи краљева... С. 191.

⁵⁹ Даничић Ђ. Животи краљева... С. 196.

⁶⁰ Даничић Ђ. Животи краљева... С. 197. Cf. on the dating of these conquests: Историја српског народа. Књ. I. С. 507–508; Поповић М. St. Historische Geographie... S. 87.

⁶¹ Даничић Ђ. Животи краљева... С. 199.

⁶² My translation; cf.: Максимовић Љ. Значење речи... С. 222 («Три државе се схватају као различите државе са сопственим традицијама, док њихово "етничко" биће свакако није у првом плану»).

⁶³ Cf. the overview in: Вујошевић Ж. 3. Српска владарска канцеларија... С. 225–227. – See also: Марковић В. Јесу ли средњевековни Срби... С. 10–11.

⁶⁴ Edited in: Мишић С. Повеља краља Стефана Уроша III манастиру Светог Николе Мрачког у Орехову // Стари српски архив. 2002. Књ. 1. С. 59. Also cf.: Вујошевић Ж. 3. Српска владарска канцеларија... С. 227.

The mentioning of the regions of Ovče Pole and Velbužd is most remarkable, because it signals the dawn of a new territorial perception.

Do we witness a leaving aside of the «self-contained space» and a novel approach towards the Byzantine neighbor? On the one hand, one may argue that Stefan Dečanski's victory at Velbužd in 1330 constituted a turning point in the development of the Serbian realm, as has already been emphasized by Gavro Škrivanić⁶⁵.

On the other hand, such an argumentation seems to be hampered by the fact that there is an ongoing discussion on the authenticity of the charter for the Monastery of Saint Nikola Mrački⁶⁶. An additional source could shed more light on this very issue. A note of the scribe Stanislav in a manuscript, which he finished in the Monastery of Saint Archangel Michael in Lesnovo in 1330, reports that the Serbian King Stefan Dečanski ruled over «all Serbian and Coastal and Danubian Lands and the Ovče Pole» (*vseję srǣpskuję zemlji potogǣsojji podunavǣskoi đvčepolǣskoj*) and that he «ravaged the Greek land, conquered towns and killed the powerful Bulgarian Tsar Michael» (*I grǣčǣskoj zeměđ pusti, i gradovǣ přěję, i silnaago carě blǣgarǣskaago Mihaila ubi*)⁶⁷.

The inclusion of new toponyms (i. e. regions) into the title of Stefan Dečanski could signify the beginning of a new political and military approach towards Byzantium in the last year of his rule. Was he on the verge of overcoming the «self-contained space» in order to evolve his realm into a great power according to the definition by Ernst Stein? This highly speculative thought cannot be proved, based on the hard facts and the little evidence we have, the more so as Stefan Dušan, Stefan Dečanski's son, seized power with force in 1331 and deposed his father, who, thus, did not have the opportunity to evolve his potential new approach.

It was Stefan Dušan, who aspired to transform his realm into a great power and to merge two separate systems — Serbia and Byzantium — into a world power. But it could have been his father, a ruler of a regional power, who could have discerned this potential in 1330/31 and who could have pathed the way, without having the chance to implement it. As this question has to and could finally remain unsolved, it would be certainly worthwhile to analyze and structure the history of medieval Serbia according to systems cycles advocated by World-Systems Analysis, which could lead to new insights and interpretations, but this is another story to be told in the near future.

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⁶⁵ Škrivanić G. A. Bitka kod Velbužda 28. VII 1330. godine // Vesnik Vojnog muzeja. 1970. Књ. 16. S. 76 («Bitka kod Velbužda udarila je temelj sprskoj prevlasti na Balkanu i rešila borbu oko Makedonije u korist Srbije»).

⁶⁶ Cf. the following publications on the question of authenticity: Иванов Ђ. Български старини из Македония. (Фототипно издание: София: Държавна печатница, 1931). София, 1970. С. 608–618; Иванова В. Орѣховскіятъ манастиръ и неговитѣ грамоти // Известия на историческото дружество въ София. 1931/1932. Књ. 11/12. С. 84–118; Марјановић-Душанић С. О питању аутентичности повеља Мрачког комплекса // Стари српски архив. 2004. Књ. 3. С. 153–168; Марковић В. Православно монаштво и манастири у средњевековној Србији. Сремски Карловци: Српска Манастирска Штампарија, 1920. С. 100; Мишић С. Повеља краља Стефана Уроша III... С. 55–68; Синдик Д. И. Српска средњовековна акта у манастиру Хиландару // Хиландарски зборник. 1998. Књ. 10. С. 25–26; Соловјев А. В. Повеље манастира Св. Николе Мрачког // Прилози за књижевност, језик, историју и фолклор. 1929. Књ. 9/1–2. С. 1–18.

⁶⁷ Стари српски записи и натписи. Књ. I. Бр. 56 (С. 26).

**ON THE SEMANTICS OF THE CONCEPTS
“ΟΙΚΟΥΜΕΝΗ”, “ОТЬЇСТВИЈЕ”, “ОТЬЇСТВО”»**

While Mihailo St. Popović focused in the previous part mainly on the question of the existence of the own local Oecumene concept during the reign of the Serbian ruler Stefan Uroš II Milutin and Stefan Uroš III Dečanski on the official level, which was evidenced mainly by charters and inscriptions, I intend to center my attention mainly on the semantic level of the use of Slavic equivalents of the Greek word *οἰκουμένη* and other own concepts of territoriality in various genres of Serbian medieval literature.

The term *οἰκουμένη* is present in both the Septuagint and the New Testament. However, translators of liturgical books into Old Slavonic and later into Church Slavonic did not include this Greek term in their vocabulary and the passages, where the word appears, were translated by various equivalents. The most common equivalent was the loan translation from the Greek *vseljenaja*, *vseljena*, *useljenaja* or *naseljenaja* (seemingly almost exclusively in the Codex Suprasliensis), which was used in almost the same meanings as the Greek original word, i. e. «inhabited land», «district», «world»⁶⁸. This long translation came into the Serbian and Russian language through Old Bulgarian. While it remained as *vselena* or *vselennaja* in Bulgarian, Macedonian, and Russian, it was changed to *vasiona* and *vesolje* under various circumstances in Serbian and Slovenian and the translation *svemir* finally prevailed in Croatian⁶⁹.

The use of the equivalent *vseljenaja* is closely related, above all, to its biblical context. The arengas, which were generally rhetorically and theologically the most advanced part of Serbian medieval charters, provide several examples of such uses. In the confirmation charter of the Serbian King Stefan Uroš II Milutin for the Eparchy of Hum, which can be dated between 1317 and 1321, the author of the arenga took over the motif from the Gospel of Matthew 19:28. It already appears in the charter of the Serbian ruler Stefan Uroš I (1243–1276) for the Saint Peter and Paul Monastery at the Lim River. He applied the word *vseljenaja* to a passage where it is missing in the original wording⁷⁰. The scribe of

⁶⁸ Slovník jazyka staroslověnského. Lexicon linguae Palaeoslovenicae. T. I. Praha, 1966. S. 321; T. II. Praha, 1973. S. 312; Речник на грчко-црковнословенски лексички паралели. Скопје, 2003. С. 329.

⁶⁹ Etymologický slovník jazyka staroslověnského. Sv. 13. Praha, 2006. S. 799; Български етимологичен речник. Т. I. София, 1971. С. 195; Schumann K. Die griechischen Lehnbildungen und Lehnbedeutungen im Altbulgarischen. Berlin; Wiesbaden, 1958. S. 40, 59, 61; Филкова П. Староболгаризми и церковнославянизми в лексике русского литературного языка. Учебный словарь. Т. I. София, 1986. С. 302; Речник на македонскиот јазик со српскохрватски толкувања. Т. I. Скопје, 1961. С. 87; Словарь древнерусского языка (XI–XIV вв.). Т. II. М., 1989. С. 218; Vasmer M. Russisches etymologisches Wörterbuch. Bd I: A–K. Heidelberg, 1953. S. 236; Цыганенко Г. П. Этимологический словарь русского языка: Более 5000 слов. Киев, 1989. С. 72; Вушовић Д. Речи: Васельена, Васиона и Васильена, њихова употреба, значење и порекло // Naš jezik. 1933. Књ. 11/1. С. 140–145; Skok P. Etimologijski rječnik hrvatskoga ili srpskoga jezika. Kn. III. Zagreb, 1973. S. 568; Grivec F. Vselenskij — sobornyj // Slavistična revija. 1957. No. 10. S. 14–15; Bezljaj F. Etimološki slovar slovenskega jezika. Kn. IV. Ljubljana, 2005. S. 304.

⁷⁰ Зборник средњовековних ћириличких повеља... Бр. 144, 18–20 (С. 520); Бр. 64, 12–13 (С. 227).

Stefan Uroš II Milutin's founding charter for the Tower of Hrusija and the Church of Christ the Savior evokes a prayer in the arenga similar to the ones in the psalter and — in my opinion — partially paraphrases the Gospel of Luke 4:37⁷¹. The scribe of Milutin's charter arenga for the Tower of Hrusija near the Hilandar Monastery from 1313 to 1316 added the word *вseljenaja* into the modified text of the Book of Acts 2:4⁷².

In the Byzantine Empire, the patriarch, emperor, or ecumenical councils were often presented as *οἰκουμενικός*, and therefore these words are often found in charters, inscriptions, and other manuscripts in combination with this adjective. The Greek adjective *οἰκουμενικός* in the sense of «universal» or «for the whole inhabited world» corresponded to the Slavic adjective derivative *вseljenьskyi*. If we want to know the process of thinking, through which the conceptions of the territoriality of the Serbian Kingdom were developed, it is important to find out how the patterns as *οἰκουμενικός* were reflected in the Serbian medieval sources.

During the reading of the source material, I did not come across a place, where the adjective derivative *вseljenьskyi* would be mentioned in connection with the Patriarch of Constantinople. It does not seem to be very popular, and after Domentijan, who named the Patriarch of Constantinople Germanos II (1223–1240), the adjective appeared rarely in Serbian medieval writings⁷³. The change of circumstances is reflected in the so-called Great Prilep charter of Stefan Uroš IV Dušan for the cell at Kareys on the Holy Mount Athos from 1348. After the establishment of the independent Serbian Patriarchate in 1346, the title, which was used in the chancery of the Patriarch in Constantinople, is not taken into account, and it is only referred to as *ѡтсет нашіть patriarchѡтъ svetago прѣстола великіе срѣкѣѣ patriarchіе*. This charter is also remarkable for the fact that it is one of the examples, which mentions the sevenecumenical councils as *вselenskyhъ* in the sanction form. This phrase was very popular not only in documents but also in law collections, which were mostly translations of the Byzantine originals⁷⁴.

The adjective *вseljenьskyi* is very rare in medieval Serbian literature when describing the Byzantine Emperor⁷⁵. It appears exclusively in connection with the Byzantine Emperor Andronikos II Palaiologos⁷⁶. The majority of its mentions is linked to a complex of writings

⁷¹ *Веселиновић А.* Оснивачка повеља краља Милутина за Хиландарски пирг на мору са Храмом Спасовим // Стари српски архив. 2010. Књ. 9. С. 21, 13–16 [16–19].

⁷² *Зборник средњовековних ћириличких повеља...* Бр. 121. А6–10 (С. 438).

⁷³ *Даничић Ђ.* Живот светога Симеуна и светога Саве. Написао Доментијан. У Биограду: У државној штампарији, 1865. С. 219.

⁷⁴ *Живојиновић Д.* Велика прилепска хрисовуља цара Стефана Душана Карејској келији светог Саве (Хил. 149) // Стари српски архив. 2008. Књ. 7. С. 77, 116–117, 133; *Grivec F.* Vselenskij... S. 15–32; *Новаковић С.* Матије Властара Синтагмат. Азбучн зборник византијских црквених и државних закона и правила. Словенски шревод времена Душанова. Београд: Српска краљевска академија, 1907. (Зборник за историју, језик и књижевност спрског народа. Прво одељење. Споменици на спрском језику. Књ. IV). С. 1, 2, 7, 8, 11, 16, 17, 18, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 48, 49, 56, 62, 67, 75, 199, 237, 251, 272, 298, 313, 332, 333, 334, 335, 540.

⁷⁵ *Serbisches Mittelalter...* S. 303. N. 153.

⁷⁶ *Prosopographisches Lexikon der Palaiologenzeit.* Fasz. 1–12. Add. 1–2. CD-ROM-Version und Gesamtregisterband. Wien, 2002. Nr 21436; *Laiou A. E.* Constantinople and the Latins. The Foreign Policy of Andronicus II. 1282–1328. Cambridge (MA), 1972; *Kaltsogianni E.* 1) Die Lobrede des Matthaïos von Ephesos auf Andronikos II. Palaiologos // *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik.* 2010. Bd 59. S. 107–127; 2) Nikephoros Xanthopoulos und die Kaiserpanegyrik:

mapping in particular the Life of the Serbian King Stefan Uroš II Milutin. Evidently, the oldest layer of the Milutin legend is a biography of his military achievements, emphasizing the Saint's protective function against external non-Christian enemies. It is found in Milutin's biography by Danilo and in the so-called charter of the Serbian King Stefan Uroš II Milutin for the Uljare settlement. Both sources report quite extensively and almost identically on the invasion of the Turks into the Byzantine Empire and the Kingdom of Serbia. Both sources describe how Milutin miraculously defeated their army, and word of this reached the Byzantine Emperor Andronikos II. While in Milutin's Life, Danilo titled the Byzantine Emperor as *carь samodržavьnyi velikyje Romanije*, the charter on the other hand prefers the title *vseljenskiyi veliky blagočьstivy hristoljubyvii carь, tьstь kralievstva mi*⁷⁷. During the subsequent Turkish invasion of the Byzantine Empire, both sources mention the request of the Byzantine Emperor Andronikos II for help addressed to Milutin. In describing these events, Danilo titles Andronikos II as *svetomu i vseljenskomu caru*, the charter adheres to the previous title but deletes the adjective *vseljenskiyi*⁷⁸. The news of the victory of the Byzantine army and the auxiliary Serbian contingent against the Turks reached the Byzantine Emperor Andronikos II, who is titled by both sources with the adjective *vseljenskiyi*⁷⁹.

Danilo, who apparently met with the Byzantine Emperor in person during diplomatic missions, is very positive about Andronikos II and uses the word *vseljenskiyi* several times. In the Life of Saint Jelena, Danilo mentions Simonis, the wife of Milutin and the daughter of Andronikos II, who is referred to as *vseljenskiyi*⁸⁰. Danilo's next message is shrouded in mystery. The hagiographer writes about Milutin's wish to meet Andronik II twice. In this case, the Byzantine Emperor — again titled as *vseljenskiyi* — would fulfill Milutin's unspecified wish⁸¹.

Danilo and his disciple, who wrote the Life of the Serbian King Stefan Uroš III Dečanski, mention the adjective *vseljenskiyi* in connection with Andronikos II three more times in the episode about the blinding of Dečanski by Milutin and his subsequent stay in Constantinople. It seems that the records of this episode could have been made only after Danilo's demise or Danilo's disciple took over and expanded upon Danilo's literary style⁸². Although the Lives

Das Bild Kaiser Andronikos II. in der Dedicatio der Historia ecclesiastica und seine literarischen Vorbilder // Ecclesiastical history and Nikephoros Kallistou Xanthopoulos: Proceedings of the International Symposium. Vienna, 15th–16th December 2011. Wien, 2015. S. 109–124; *Kyriakidis S.* Warfare and propaganda: The portrayal of Andronikos II Palaiologos (1282–1328) as an incompetent military leader in the Histories of John VI Kantakouzenos (1347–54) // Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies. 2013. Vol. 37. P. 176–189; *Gaul N.* All the Emperor's Men (and His Nephews): Paideia and Networking Strategies at the Court of Andronikos II Palaiologos, 1290–1320 // *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*. 2016. Vol. 70. P. 245–270; *Schneider J.* Le moine et l'empereur Andronic II dans les lettres de Maxime Planude // *Nihil veritas erubescit. Mélanges offerts à Paul Mattei par ses élèves, collègues et amis*. Turnhout, 2017. P. 655–669.

⁷⁷ *Даничић Ђ.* Животи краљева... С. 145; Зборник средњовековних ћириличких повеља... Бр. 147. 269 (С. 540).

⁷⁸ *Даничић Ђ.* Животи краљева... С. 146; Зборник средњовековних ћириличких повеља... Бр. 147. 273–274 (С. 540).

⁷⁹ *Даничић Ђ.* Животи краљева... С. 148; Зборник средњовековних ћириличких повеља... Бр. 147. 308 (С. 541).

⁸⁰ *Даничић Ђ.* Животи краљева... С. 96.

⁸¹ *Даничић Ђ.* Животи краљева... С. 141.

⁸² *Даничић Ђ.* Животи краљева... С. 126, 164, 168.

of the Serbian Kings also mention other Byzantine Emperors, they are never characterized as *vъseljenъskyi*, which may be related to the relatively favorable conditions on the Byzantine-Serbian border after the marriage of Milutin to Simonis and the later change of geopolitical-ideological ideas. The other Byzantine Emperors are either depicted in a very dim light, such as Michael VIII Palaiologos, or in most cases mentioned without a name and only with the title «Greek Emperor», such as in the case of Andronikos III Palaiologos, which probably testifies to the already developed concept of self-contained space of the Kingdom of Serbia in relation to other entities⁸³.

So far, I have not discovered any correlation between the adjective *vъseljenъskyi* and the Serbian rulers Milutin, Stefan Dečanski, or Stefan Dušan in the sources. Nevertheless, several documents indicate that the Serbian rulers and their court probably fed the idea of a Serbian ruler, who is also *vъseljenъskyi*. A charter forged just before 1744 — which was found in three variants in the archives of the Zographou Monastery on the Holy Mount Athos — mentions that Stefan Dušan controlled *blъgarskaeъ zemlju i grъčъskuju i vъsu vъselenuju* (Variant 1) or in the Greek translation Βουλγάρων γῆ καὶ Ρωμαίων καὶ ὄλην τὴν οἰκουμένην (Variant 3)⁸⁴.

Among the typical *topoi* of the Serbian royal panegyric was the mention of the renowned and recognized name of a Serbian ruler in other countries or around the world. This *topos* was probably based on the Old Testament faith in the power of God's name⁸⁵. A certain variation of such a rhetorical figure is a passage from Stefan Uroš IV Dušan's charter from 1333 on the donation of the Pelješac peninsula, the coastal region from Ston to Dubrovnik and the island of Posrednica to Dubrovnik in exchange for an annual tribute of 500 perpers. The charter has been preserved only in the later Latin and Serbian transcripts, and it is one of the first issued documents of Stefan Dušan with a more extensive arenga. The arenga was a great tool to legitimize the power of Stefan Dušan in the first years, since he had ascended the throne⁸⁶. The Serbian transcript of the document is particularly noteworthy. The author praises Jesus Christ for attributing royal rank and power over the Serbian land and coastal lands to the holy parents and ancestors of Stefan Dušan, making them more famous than other earthly emperors, and adorning them with the crown of holiness, which is to be commemorated in the whole *ecumene*⁸⁷. Although it is primarily a glorification of the *beata stirps* of the Serbian royal dynasty, the author of the arenga did not forget to mention the commemoration of parents and ancestors throughout the *Oecumene*. However, it is not possible to say with certainty, whether Stefan Dušan's foreign policy ambitions — which only became fully apparent in the following years — were manifested in the arenga.

The confirmation of the idea that the Serbian monarch acted more as *vъseljenъskyi*, could be manifested in the three syncrises with Alexander the Great in Milutin's biography by Danilo and Stefan Uroš III Dečanski's hagiography by Danilo's disciple. The first syncrasis is found in Milutin's biography, after Danilo compares the Serbian monarch to Saint Demetrius. Danilo

⁸³ Даничић Ђ. Животи краљева... С. 110–111, 196–198, 222, 224, 225.

⁸⁴ Pavlikianov С. The Mediaeval Greek and Bulgarian Documents of the Athonite Monastery of Zographou (980–1600). Critical Edition and Commentary of the Texts. Sofia, 2014 (Универзитска библиотека, 512). Appendix. Falsified Bulgarian Charter No. 3. Variant 1. 103–104 (P. 597); Variant 3. 44 (P. 605).

⁸⁵ Hafner S. Studien zur altserbischen dynastischen Historiographie. München, 1964. S. 109–113.

⁸⁶ Јечменица Д. Прва Стонска повеља краља Стефана Душана // Стари српски архив. 2010. Књ. 9. С. 38–39.

⁸⁷ Јечменица Д. Прва Стонска повеља... С. 31, линија 5–9.

claims that as Alexander the Great exalted himself on earth through power, Milutin achieved a similar position in the realm of government given to him by God, which could be seen in his venerable appearance, courage, nobility, and royal retinue⁸⁸. Danilo undoubtedly used this rhetorical figure to create the ideal image of Milutin as a holy warrior as perfectly as possible. Most likely, the comparison was based only on models of the Byzantine panegyrics. However, it seems that the choice of the famous ancient history character was also purposeful to some extent⁸⁹. Danilo's disciple describes the events preceding the battle of Velbužd in 1330 and compares the speech of Stefan Uroš III Dečanski to the words of Alexander the Great before the battle against King Darius of Persia⁹⁰. A few lines below, Danilo's disciple mentions two episodes from the Alexander Romance, when the Macedonian King mourned the dead body of Dareios and the Indian ruler Poros after a victorious battle, which he associates with the venerable behavior of the Serbian King towards the body of the deceased Bulgarian Tsar. Although I do not think that Danilo's disciple may have had access to the Serbian version of the Alexander Romance, I consider it indisputable that he used specific passages about the Macedonian King to highlight the moral qualities of the Serbian King and celebrate his holiness. In addition, I believe that comparing the victory over the Oriental monarchs with the success of Dečanski can also be seen as a desire to reach the farthest borders of the Byzantine Empire by the Serbian monarch Stefan Dušan, during the reign of which Danilo's disciple also produced Dečanski's hagiography⁹¹.

The Byzantine historian Nikephoros Gregoras captured apparently Milutin's willful strategy of influencing Byzantine behind-the-scenes politics and using them to his advantage in a negative description of Eirene, the wife of Andronikos II. In several lines of his work, Gregoras deals with the intrigues of Eirene, who — according to his interpretation — longed for the Serbian King to seize the Byzantine Empire, from which her children would also benefit. Around 1303 she spent considerable funds on donations and gifts to Milutin. She even sent him a crown that resembled the diadem of her husband Andronikos II. Gregoras considers Eirene in particular to be the driving force behind these actions, but in my view, Milutin certainly did not play an insignificant role in her conspiracy and may have been involved in its planning, if the conspiracy actually had happened, as it was presented by Gregoras⁹².

⁸⁸ *Даничић Ђ*. Животи краљева... С. 141.

⁸⁹ *Ређен Ј*. Александар Велики и краљ Милутин. Српска Александрида и Данилов зборник — паралела // Зборник Матице српске за књижевност и језик. 1999. Књ. 47. С. 28–34; *Павловић В*. Der serbische Alexanderroman zwischen Byzanz und dem Abendland: Die Frage der kulturellen Einflüsse // Byzanz und das Abendland II. *Studia Byzantino-Occidentalia*. Budapest, 2014. С. 110–111; *Узелац А*. Агламиш — кумански цар из српске Александриде // Споменица Др. Тибора Живковића. Београд, 2016. С. 227. Ф. 26; *Jouanno С*. Byzantine Views on Alexander the Great // Brill's Companion to the Reception of Alexander the Great. Leiden; Boston, 2018. P. 457–460; *Angelov D*. Imperial Ideology and Political Thought in Byzantium, 1204–1330. Cambridge, 2007. P. 86–90.

⁹⁰ *Даничић Ђ*. Животи краљева... С. 183.

⁹¹ *Даничић Ђ*. Животи краљева... С. 187; Die Serbische Alexandreis nach der Sofioter Handschrift. Nr 771. Text und Übersetzung mit wissenschaftlichem Apparat, Stellenkommentar, Glossar und einer Einführung. Mit einem Beitrag zu griechischen Texten von Erich Trapp. Köln; Weimar; Wien, 1991. С. 236–238, 342; *Павловић В*. Der serbische Alexanderroman... С. 113–114.

⁹² Nicephori Gregorae Byzantina historia / Ed. by Schopen L. Vol. I. Bonnae: Impensis Ed. Weberi, 1829. (Corpus scriptorum historiae Byzantinae. Vol. 19/1). P. 240, line 5–244, line 15;

The key term «fatherland» still lacks a comprehensive analysis of its use in the Serbian medieval texts, but we can follow up on the conclusions of Dimitŕ Angelov, who examined the works of Bulgarian medieval literature. This term is undergoing a very similar development in the Serbian environment⁹³. Two forms *otĉьstvije* and *otĉьstvo* have settled in Church Slavonic. In Old Serbian, both nouns are used in parallel, in the modern Serbian literary language only *oteĉestvo* appears, and even that very rarely⁹⁴. In translations of biblical texts, both forms expressed the equivalents of the two Greek words *πατριά* and *πατρίς*. The meaning of both forms in these texts basically corresponded to their Greek equivalents. It is clear that both forms come from the Slavic *otĉьь*, which reflected in fact that one of the meanings of the word *otĉьstvije* and *otĉьstvo* was «genus», «family» or «generation». The second meaning of both forms also initially occurs mainly in biblical texts and refers to the hometown or birthplace⁹⁵. Until the 19th century, the collective consciousness that *otĉьstvije* or *otĉьstvo* is a confined space was preserved. This space could be a village, a cluster of several villages, or sometimes a valley or an island. Often, the inhabitant of this space perceived everything outside as something foreign⁹⁶. Over time, the ambivalence of both forms merged into a concept that implied both meanings. At the same time, they were joined by the attributes «royal» or «rulers», which indeed emerged on the basis of the word *otĉьь* and worked with the meaning of the authority and power of the father⁹⁷. We then encounter this meaning in the hagiographic work of Danilo and his disciple, as already mentioned by Mihalo St. Popović. Particularly noteworthy are the combinations with other territorial-power expressions, like (*Srĉbska*) *zemlja*⁹⁸, *drĉžava*⁹⁹, *въ дъни samodrĉžavnaago jemu gospodьstva*¹⁰⁰, *sbbor*¹⁰¹, *sĉgo prĉvysokaago kralja / sĉgo blagoĉьstivaago kralja*¹⁰², *kraljevstvo*¹⁰³.

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All of these last aspects will have to be researched in detail in the near future, which represents a field of study flanking our research outlined above.

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⁹³ Angelov D. Българско средновековие — Идеологична мисъл и просвета. София, 1982. С. 77–98.

⁹⁴ Slovník jazyka staroslověnského. Т. II. S. 626; Daničić D. Rječnik iz književnih starina srpskih. Kn. II. Graz, 1962. S. 261; Речник српскохрватскога књижевног језика. Књ. IV. Нови Сад; Загреб, 1990. С. 243.

⁹⁵ Гильтебрандт П. А. Справочный и объяснительный словарь къ Новому Завету. Петроград: Печатна А. М. Котомина съ Товарищи, 1882. С. 1397–1398.

⁹⁶ Detrez R. Ethnic Consciousness in Rural and Urban Enviroments. The Case of Plovdiv and the Plovdiv Region // Село Балкана. Континуети и промене кроз историју / Уредници С. Рудић; С. Палдовић-Шијаковић. Београд, 2017. P. 14.

⁹⁷ Roux J. P. Král. Mýty a symboly. Z francouzského originálu Le roi. Mythes et symboles přeložila I. Kozelská. Praha, 2009. S. 23–24.

⁹⁸ Даничић Ђ. Животи краљева... С. 104, 171, 180, 198, 205; Стари српски родослови и летописи / Уред. Љ. Стојановић. Ср. Карловци: Српска краљевска академија, 1927. С. 82, 106.

⁹⁹ Даничић Ђ. Животи краљева... С. 105, 107, 108, 109, 112, 114, 117, 130, 138, 178, 179, 180, 198.

¹⁰⁰ Даничић Ђ. Животи краљева... С. 148.

¹⁰¹ Даничић Ђ. Животи краљева... С. 152.

¹⁰² Даничић Ђ. Животи краљева... С. 177, 179, 188, 189, 207.

¹⁰³ Стари српски родослови... С. 74, 102.

Информация о статье

Статья подготовлена по результатам проекта «Byzantino-Serbian Border Zones in Transition: Migration and Elite Change in pre-Ottoman Macedonia (1282–1355)», поддержанного Австрийским научным фондом (FWF Austrian Science Fund, project P 30384-G28)

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Заголовок: The «Fatherland» of the Serbian Kings Milutin and Dečanski or Some Additional Thoughts on the «Medieval Serbian Oecumene» [«Отечество» в период правления Стефана Уроша II Милутина и Стефана Уроша III Дечанского или некоторые дополнительные мысли о «средневековой сербской ойкумене»]

Резюме: В статье изложена новая концепция о «средневековой сербской ойкумене». В первой части исследователи анализируют сербские средневековые письменные источники и указывают на антитезу между «Отечеством» и Сербской землей сербского короля Стефана Уроша II Милутина, с одной стороны, и Великой Романией и Греческой империей византийского императора — с другой. Согласно, М. Поповичу, к политике Милутина не может быть применена концепция универсальности. Следуя концепции Пола Ника Кардулиаса, он рассуждает о Сербском королевстве как о самодостаточном пространстве. Опираясь на изученные документы и надписи времен правления Милутина, исследователь делает вывод, что такое пространство, по-видимому, было создано. Грамоты и надписи времен правления Стефана Уроша III Дечанского, с точки зрения World System Analysis, рисуют несколько иную картину. Вероятно, они иллюстрируют переход от самодостаточного пространства к великой империи. Вратислав Зерван в свою очередь сосредоточил внимание на семантическом уровне использования греческого слова *οἰκουμένη* и выражений *отъцьствѣ* и *отъцьство*. Наиболее распространенным эквивалентом *οἰκουμένη* была калька *vseljenaĵa*. Анализируя использование производного прилагательного *vseljenski* в связи с общепринятыми византийскими названиями, он обнаруживает, что идея универсальности продвигалась только при упоминании всеобщих соборов, а единственным византийским императором, в титуле которого присутствовало это слово, был Андроник II. И хотя автор не фиксирует широкого применения прилагательного *vseljenski* в отношении сербских правителей, он отмечает в сербских панегириках случаи использования термина *vseljenski*. Сложнее работать с понятием «отечество». В церковнославянском языке утвердилось две формы — *отъцьствѣ* и *отъцьство*. Амбивалентность этих двух форм со временем привела к образованию термина, объединяющего значения «род» и «место рождения». В то же время к ним присоединились атрибуты «королевский» или же «правящий», образованные от основы слова *отъсь* и несущие смысловое значение авторитета и власти отца. Позже этот термин также встречается в агиографическом произведении Данило и его ученика.

Ключевые слова: Сербия, Средневековье, ойкумена, отечество, Византия

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Title: The «Fatherland» of the Serbian Kings Milutin and Dečanski or Some Additional Thoughts on the «Medieval Serbian Oecumene»

Summary: Mihailo St. Popović, in his part of the Study, follows up on the premise that an own local concept of oecumene was emerging during the reigns of Stefan Uroš II Milutin and Stefan Uroš III Dečanski. In his analysis, he relies on Serbian medieval charters and inscription. Following the analysis of the charter of Serbian King Stefan Uroš II Milutin for the Ulijare settlement, he recognizes the clear antithesis between the fatherland and the Serbian Land of the Serbian King on one hand, and Great Romania and the Greek Empire

of the Byzantine Emperor, on the other. According to him, the narrative part of the manuscript clearly proves that it is not possible to notice the concept of universality in Milutin's politics. Inspired by the research of Paul Nick Kardulias, he considers the Kingdom of Serbia as a self-contained space. With an emphasis on the examination of the charters and inscriptions, he states that during the reign of Milutin, such a space was probably created. From the World System Analysis perspective, charters and inscriptions from the reign of Stefan Uroš III Dečanski paint a slightly different picture. They probably illustrate the transition from self-contained space to the great realm. In his part of the study, Vratislav Zevran focused mainly on the semantic level of the use of Slavic pendants of the Greek word *οἰκουμένη* and expressions *отѣѣstvije* and *отѣѣstvo*. The most common equivalent of the word *οἰκουμένη* was the loan translation *вseljenaja*. By analyzing the use of the adjective derivative *вseljenьskyi* in connection with the Byzantine common titles, he finds that the idea of universality prevailed only in the titles of general councils, and the only Byzantine Emperor thusly named was Andronikos II. Although he does not recognize the use of the adjective derivative *вseljenьskyi* anywhere near the Serbian monarch, he believes that based on several examples, Serbian panegyric probably promoted the idea of a Serbian ruler who was also *вseljenьskyi*. The key concept of a fatherland still lacks a comprehensive analysis of sources. Two forms *отѣѣstvije* and *отѣѣstvo* have settled in Church Slavonic. Over time, the ambivalence of both forms merged into a concept that implied the meaning of «family», «genus» and/or «generation». At the same time, they were joined by the attributes «royal» or «rulers», which indeed emerged on the basis of the word *отѣѣ* and worked with the meaning of the authority and power of the father. This concept then also appears in the hagiographic work of Danilo and his disciple.

Keywords: Serbia, Middle Ages, Oecumene, Fatherland, Byzantium

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