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THE SALONICA BROTHERS AND THEIR DISCIPLES AT  
MONARCHIC COURTS ACCORDING TO DIRECT PRIMARY  
LITERARY SOURCES

**Preface**

In the following article<sup>1</sup> I outline part of the topic concerning monarchic courts which seems to have been neglected in Slovak historical research and historical research of neighbouring countries concentrated on the Early Middle Ages. I intend to deepen knowledge of ceremonial aspects and audiences of Constantine, Methodius and their disciples with rulers of 9<sup>th</sup> and 10<sup>th</sup> century at their courts or outside them.<sup>2</sup>

A necessary and required step in this connection also remains an

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2 The topic of monarchic courts in the Early Middle Ages was discussed in Western European literature with emphasis on monarchic courts of Franks [e.g. Janet Nelson, *Courts, Elites, and Gendered Power in the Early Middle Ages. Charlemagne and Others* (Aldershot: Ashgate Variorum, 2007)], imperial courts of the Byzantine Emperors [e.g. Jeffrey M. Featherstone, “Der Große Palast von Konstantinopel: Tradition oder Erfindung?,” *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 106/1 (2013): 19–38], and (less) on the Papal Court [e.g. Thomas F. X. Noble, “Topography, celebration, and power: the making of a papal Rome in the eighth and ninth centuries,” in *Topographies of Power in the Early Middle Ages*, ed. Mayke de Jong, Frans Theuvs, and Carine van Rhijn (Leiden: Brill, 2001), 45–91]. The contribution of the author of this article to the topic is one study in print. The study deals directly with the Byzantine imperial court in the 9th century in connection with audiences with Constantine, Methodius and their disciples” (Martin Husár, “Konštantín, Metod a ich učení pred tvármi byzantských cisárov,” *Konštantínove listy* 6 (2013): 69–92.

analysis of direct primary literary sources related to the discussed events which I present in the following part of my article. The article will support further research in the frame of the aforementioned topic. In the subsequent lines I clarify meetings of the above-mentioned characters with rulers of the Frankish and Byzantine Empire, with the Popes, and also with Great Moravian, Czech, Bulgarian, Arab, and Khazar monarchs and nobility.

### Analysis of the direct primary literary sources

According to the *Life of Constantine the Philosopher*<sup>3</sup> already during the supposed diplomatic journey to the Arab Caliph (most likely in 855/856)<sup>4</sup> “...the whole fortune (of the Caliph) and palaces embellished with gold, silver, precious stones, and pearls...”<sup>5</sup> were shown to Constantine. From the beginning of Constantine and Methodius’ missionary activity there is an account in the so called *Roman legend* (the *Life of Constantine-Cyril with the Transfer of St. Clement*) of Constantine’s<sup>6</sup> audience with Byzantine Emperor Michael III (842–867) and his sending to Khazars by the Emperor.<sup>7</sup> “Having taken advice from the patriarch (Photios), the Emperor (Michael III)

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3 The *Life of Constantine the Philosopher* could have been written in the milieu of the Great Moravian literary school and its author was probably Methodius. Dagmar Bartoňková and Radoslav Večerka, ed., *Magnae Moraviae Fontes Historici II* (further abbreviated to *MMFH II*; Praha: KLP, 2010), 38.

4 Bartoňková and Večerka, *MMFH II*, 52, footnote 35, 36. Ivan Dujčev, “The Embassy of Constantine the Philosopher to the Arabs,” in *Горски вијенац: A Garland of Essays Offered to Professor Elizabeth Mary Hill*, ed. R. Auty, L. R. Lewitter, and A. P. Vlasto (Cambridge: The Modern Humanities Research Association, 1970), 103. The Caliph, whose fortune was exposed to Constantine, was most likely Caliph Jafar al-Mutawakkil (847–861). Bartoňková and Večerka, *MMFH II*, 56 (footnote 40).

5 “Žitije Konstantina Filosoфа VI,” in *Magnae Moraviae Fontes Historici II* (further abbreviated to *MMFH II*), ed. Dagmar Bartoňková and Radoslav Večerka (Praha: KLP, 2010), 56.

6 Maybe along with Methodius as it is mentioned in his biography. “Žitije Mefodija, archijepiskopa Moravьska, IV,” in *Magnae Moraviae Fontes Historici II* (further abbreviated to *MMFH II*), ed. Dagmar Bartoňková and Radoslav Večerka (Praha: KLP, 2010), 122. *The Life of Methodius, the Archbishop of Moravia*, originated in Great Moravia and it was likely made shortly after the death of Methodius himself, i.e. between 885 and the beginning of 886. Bartoňková and Večerka, *MMFH II*, 114.

7 The mission might have probably been undertaken in 860–861. František Dvorník, *Byzantské misie u Slovanů* (Praha: Vyšehrad, 1970), 84–87. Anthony-Emil N. Tachiaos, *Cyril and Methodius of Thessalonica. The Acculturation of the Slavs* (Thessaloniki: Rekos, 1989), 54.

suddenly sent for the so called Philosopher and sent him over there (to the Khazars) with honours, he was accompanied by their and own envoys, ...”<sup>8</sup> Next, Constantine persuaded a Khazar duke out of the siege of a Christian town during his stay in the Khazar territory.<sup>9</sup> Constantine was also captured by the Hungarians (оугри) between the River Dnieper and Don. “But when they (the Hungarians) saw (that), by order of God they calmed down and started to bow down to him, and when they heard words of the (Christian) creed from him, they released him alongside the whole retinue.”<sup>10</sup> Later on, Constantine appeared at the banquet for a Khazar Khagan and in meetings with him where he discussed faith matters with the Jews following the *Life of Constantine the Philosopher*.<sup>11</sup> “When the Khagan saw the Philosopher out, he wanted to give him many presents, but he (Constantine) refused to receive them, ...”<sup>12</sup> eventually. On Constantine’s arrival in Constantinople, he “... saw the Emperor (Michael III)...”<sup>13</sup> once again.

Constantine and Methodius were sent by Michael III to Great Moravia in 863<sup>14</sup> on the basis of Prince Rastislav’s (846–870) request.<sup>15</sup> Before that the Byzantine Emperor “...summoned an assembly, invited Constantine the Philosopher and let him to listen this speech...”<sup>16</sup> Michael III also talk to Constantine in the presence of Caesar Bardas (862–866).<sup>17</sup> The Byzantine Emperor provided Constantine and Methodius with presents<sup>18</sup> and sufficient funds from the imperial treasury<sup>19</sup> for their journey to Moravia

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8 “Vita Constantini-Cyrelli cum translatione s. Clementis 1,” in *Magnae Moraviae Fontes Historici II* (further abbreviated to *MMFH II*), ed. Dagmar Bartoňková and Radoslav Večerka (Praha: KLP, 2010), 104. The so called *Roman legend* was probably compiled by Bishop Gauderich (of Velletri) who was contemporary with the Salonica brothers. Bartoňková and Večerka, *MMFH II*, 102.

9 “Žitije Konstantina Filosofo VIII,” 60.

10 “Žitije Konstantina Filosofo VIII,” 60.

11 “Žitije Konstantina Filosofo IX–XI,” 61–75.

12 “Žitije Konstantina Filosofo XI,” 75.

13 “Žitije Konstantina Filosofo XIII,” 77.

14 Heinz Löwe, “Cyrill und Methodius zwischen Byzanz und Rom,” in *Gli Slavi occidentali e meridionali nell’alto Medioevo: 15-21 aprile 1982. Tomo Secondo* (Spoleto: Presso la Sede del Centro, 1983), 651.

15 “Žitije Konstantina Filosofo XIV,” 78–81. “Žitije Mefodija, archijepiskopa Moravьska V,” 124–125. “Vita Constantini-Cyrelli cum translatione s. Clementis 7,” 108, 109.

16 “Žitije Konstantina Filosofo XIV,” 79.

17 “Žitije Konstantina Filosofo XIV,” 79.

18 “Žitije Mefodija, archijepiskopa Moravьska V,” 124.

19 “Vita Constantini-Cyrelli cum translatione s. Clementis 7,” 108, 109.

then. Having come to Moravia in 863,<sup>20</sup> the Salonica brothers were received by Prince Rastislav “...with great honour, ...”<sup>21</sup>

When Constantine and Methodius left Moravia and came to Pannonia (probably in 866 or 867)<sup>22</sup>, the Prince of Lower Pannonia, Kocel’ (861–876), entrusted to Constantine “...fifty disciples in order to be taught, he showed him great respect and accompanied him further.”<sup>23</sup>

The *Roman legend* gives an account of Constantine and Methodius’ arrival in Rome (867/868)<sup>24</sup>. When Pope Adrian II (867–872) “...heard that the above-mentioned Philosopher was bringing the body of Saint Clement (92–101, the fourth Pope) with him..., he was happy about that and stepped out with clergymen and folk of the city to meet them, he received them with highest honours.”<sup>25</sup> This event is mentioned in other literary sources as well.<sup>26</sup> The next events were: the consecration of Slavonic liturgical books in

20 Maddalena Betti, *The Making of Christian Moravia (858-882). Papal Power and Political Reality* (Leiden–Boston: Brill, 2014), 14, 61.

21 “Žitije Konstantina Filozofa XV,” 81.

22 After approximately three-year activity in Great Moravia the Salonica brothers with their followers came to Kocel’s Mosaburg. Jan Libor, “Počátky moravské církevní organizace a charakter Metodějova arcibiskupství,” in *Cyrlometodějská misie a Evropa. 1150 let od příchodu soluňských bratří na Velkou Moravu*, ed. Pavel Kouřil et al. (Brno: Archeologický ústav AV ČR, Brno, v. v. i., 2014), 202.

23 “Žitije Konstantina Filozofa XV,” 85.

24 The Salonica brothers formerly did not likely planned to come to Rome on their own initiative and they might have considered a voyage from Venice to the Byzantine Empire. In Venice they received an invitation from Pope Nicolaus I (858–867) during the autumn of 867. The given invitation regarded their controversy with the Latin clergymen from Venice over the use of the Slavonic liturgy. Dvorník, *Byzantské misie*, 146, 147. Löwe, “Cyrill und Methodius,” 655, 656. The arrival of Constantine and Methodius in Rome should be dated in December 867 or beginning of 868 at latest because Pope Nicolaus I, who invited them to Rome, died on the 11th of November 867 and the new Pope, Adrian II, assumed office on the 14th of December 868. Dvorník, *Byzantské misie*, 145.

25 “Vita Constantini-Cyrilli cum translatione s. Clementis 9,” 110.

26 “Žitije Konstantina Filozofa XVII,” 90. “Pochvalnoje slovo Kirillu i Mefodiju,” in *Magnae Moraviae Fontes Historici II* (further abbreviated to *MMFH II*), ed. Dagmar Bartoňková and Radoslav Večerka (Praha: KLP, 2010), 148 (This primary literary source was made in the Great Moravian literary milieu shortly after Methodius’ death. Bartoňková and Večerka, *MMFH II*, 144). “Βίος Κλήμεντος III, 9,” in *Magnae Moraviae Fontes Historici II* (further abbreviated to *MMFH II*), ed. Dagmar Bartoňková and Radoslav Večerka (Praha: KLP, 2010), 182 [The so called *Bulgarian legend* or *Long life of St. Clement of Ohrid* was written by St. Theophylact of Ohrid, the Bishop of Ohrid, at the end of the 11th century or beginning of the 12th century. Andrej Škoviera, “O cyrlometodských prameňoch a ich prekladoch do slovenčiny,” in *Slová Slovanov* (Bratislava: Literárne informačné centrum, 2013), 144]. “Uspenije Kirilla,” in *Magnae Moraviae Fontes*

the Basilica of St. Mary Major<sup>27</sup> and ordination of Methodius and the disciples of the Salonica brothers in the Basilica of St. Peter<sup>28, 29</sup>. During the next two days<sup>30</sup> the liturgy was also sung at the Churches of St. Petronilla, St. Andrew, and St. Paul.<sup>31</sup> The liturgy in Slavonic was sung in the Basilicas

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*Historici II* (further abbreviated to *MMFH II*), ed. Dagmar Bartoňková and Radoslav Večerka (Praha: KLP, 2010), 224 (It is a literary source in Church Slavonic which originates in 11th–13th centuries Bulgaria. Bartoňková and Večerka, *MMFH II*, 220). “Legenda sanctorum Cyrilli et Metudii patronorum Moravie 6,” in *Magnae Moraviae Fontes Historici II* (further abbreviated to *MMFH II*), ed. Dagmar Bartoňková and Radoslav Večerka (Praha: KLP, 2010), 236 (This so called *Moravian legend* was created some time between the beginning of the 12th century and the middle of the 14th century. Bartoňková and Večerka, *MMFH II*, 230, 231). The welcomers even bore crosses, candles, torches, and incense burners. “Žitije Konstantina Filosofoa XVII,” 90. “Βίος Κλήμεντος III, 9,” 182. “Uspenije Kirilla,” 224.

27 “The Pope (Adrian II) then accepted the Slavonic books, consecrated them and put them in the Church of Saint Mary (the Basilica of St. Mary Major) which is called Fatné. Next, they sang the liturgy over them.” “Žitije Konstantina Filosofoa XVII,” 90. These books were brought to the altar, or were placed on it. It can be deduced from one account of the *Long life of St. Clement of Ohrid*. “Βίος Κλήμεντος III, 9,” 182, 183.

28 “And afterwards the Pope (Adrian II) ordered two bishops, Formosus and Gauderich, so as to ordain the Slavonic disciples. Once they ordained them, the liturgy was sung in Slavonic at the Church of Saint Peter.” “Žitije Konstantina Filosofoa XVII,” 90, 91. “He (the Pope) ordained beatific Methodius as a priest then.” “Žitije Mefodija, archijepiskopa Moravjska VI,” 126.

29 Betti, *The Making of Christian*, 67, 103, 104. Löwe, “Cyrill und Methodius,” 657.

30 As I have stated above, the Slavonic books were blessed in the Basilica of St. Mary Major the day before and the Slavonic liturgy was presented in the Basilica of St. Peter. “Žitije Konstantina Filosofoa XVII,” 90, 91.

31 “And on the second day they sang at the Church of Saint Petronilla and on the third day they sang at the Church of Saint Andrew and then they sang the saint liturgy in Slavonic even at the Church of the great teacher of nations, Saint Paul – the Apostle, at night, over the grave of the saint. Bishop Arsenius, one of the seven bishops, and Anastasius the Librarian assisted them.” “Žitije Konstantina Filosofoa XVII,” 91. These events should have happened before the 10th of March 868 because Eleutherius, the son of Bishop Arsenius, abducted the daughter and wife of Pope Adrian II this date and Bishop Arsenius was consequently accused that he had assisted his son with the crime. Finally, Arsenius took a decision to flee Rome and move to Southern Italy where he might have taken shelter at the court of Emperor Lothar II (855–869). Dvorník, *Byzantské misie*, 152. According to primary literary sources it is not clear what kind of a rite was performed during the ceremony at the Basilica of St. Paul. Also Bishop Arsenius could not speak Slavonic and therefore he would have had a problem with celebration of this mass. Andrej Škoviera claimed that the ordination of the Salonica brothers’ disciples might have been conducted in the Roman rite. Andrej Škoviera, “Liturgia cyrilometodskej misie na Veľkej Morave,” in *Duchovné, intelektuálne a politické pozadie cyrilometodskej misie pred jej prichodom na Veľkú Moravu*, ed. Jozef Michalov et al. (Nitra: Univerzita Konštantína Filozofa v Nitre, 2007), 118.

of St. Peter and St. Paul.<sup>32</sup> Later on, after the death of Constantine-Cyril (the 14<sup>th</sup> of February 869)<sup>33</sup> “...his (Cyril’s) aforementioned brother Methodius came up to the saint high priest (Adrian II) directly, he bowed down before him, to his (papal) legs, he (Methodius) uttered...(a request for Cyril’s body).”<sup>34</sup> Constantine-Cyril was laid into a marble coffin which was sealed by the personal seal of Adrian II, and he was buried in the Church of St. Clement.<sup>35</sup> The sepulchre of Constantine-Cyril was prepared on the right side of the church’s altar and due to his burial “...a large number of clergy and folk was assembled...giving thanks to the Lord to the accompaniment of hymns and chants,...”<sup>36</sup>

Methodius made for Pannonia after all<sup>37</sup> and according to his biography he was received by Kocel’ in 869 yet.<sup>38</sup> Kocel’ “...received (him) with great honour and send him to the Pontiff (Adrian II) again – also with twenty men, noblemen –, so as to consecrate him for the episcopal See in Pannonia...It happened too.”<sup>39</sup> After Methodius was probably arrested by Hermanrich, the Bishop of Passau, during the summer military campaign of Carloman against Great Moravia in 870, he appeared at the tribunal which was presided by East Frankish King Louis II (843–876) and the Bavarian bishops were attended here as well<sup>40,41</sup> During the tribunal the king raised his head and said in conciliatory tone: “Do not trouble my Methodius because he

32 Šimon Marinčák, “Slovanská liturgia – liturgické dedičstvo byzantskej misie z 9. storočia?” *Slavica Slovaca* 40/1 (2005): 40. However the liturgy in the unknown language was celebrated in the Basilica of St. Mary Major and Chapels of St. Petronilla and St. Andrew. “Žitije Konstantina Filosofoa XVII,” 90, 91.

33 Tachiaos, *Cyril and Methodius*, 118.

34 “Vita Constantini-Cyrilli cum translatione s. Clementis 11,” 111, 112.

35 “Vita Constantini-Cyrilli cum translatione s. Clementis 12,” 112, 113.

36 “Vita Constantini-Cyrilli cum translatione s. Clementis 12,” 112, 113.

37 “Βίος Κλήμεντος IV, 14,” 186.

38 Betti, *The Making of Christian*, 43 (footnote 3), 146. Dvorník, *Byzantské misie*, 161.

39 “Žitije Mefodija, archijepiskopa Moravьska VIII,” 130.

40 On the basis of the letters of Pontiff John VIII (872–882) I know that the following bishops were among them: Adalvin (859–873), the Archbishop of Salzburg; Hermanrich (866–874), the Bishop of Passau; and Anno (854–875), the Bishop of Freising. “Epistolae 48, 50, 51,” in *Magna Moraviae Fontes Historici III* (further abbreviated to *MMFH III*), ed. Dagmar Bartoňková and Radoslav Večerka (Praha: KLP, 2011), 128, 133–136.

41 Ján Steinhübel, “Metodov konflikt s bavorskými biskupmi,” in *Cyriometodějská misie a Evropa. 1150 let od příchodu soluňských bratří na Velkou Moravu*, ed. Pavel Kouřil et al. (Brno: Archeologický ústav AV ČR, Brno, v. v. i., 2014), 223.

has already sweated like to have been next to a furnace.”<sup>42</sup> When Methodius was released from detention in Swabia in 873<sup>43</sup>, Prince Svätopluk (871–894) received him “...with all Moravians..., he (Svätopluk) gave all churches and clergymen at every castle under his control.”<sup>44</sup>

Methodius appeared before the Pope once again, now Pope John VIII, some time between 879 and 880<sup>45</sup>, or exactly in 880<sup>46</sup>. He came to Rome in order to defend usage of the Slavonic liturgy and orthodoxy of his faith.<sup>47</sup> In spite of doubts of Svätopluk and Bavarian clergy, Pontiff John VIII finally confirmed Methodius’ orthodoxy and the Slavonic liturgy in June 880 by the bull *Industriae tuae*<sup>48</sup> which was directed to Svätopluk.<sup>49</sup> Throughout the year 881 or also the year 882<sup>50</sup> Methodius’ stay in Constantinople was most likely carried out at the invitation of Byzantine Emperor Basil I (867–886) that is mentioned in the biography of Methodius.<sup>51</sup> Upon Methodius’ arrival in Constantinople „...the Emperor

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42 “Žitije Mefodija, archijepiskopa Moravьska IX,” 131, 132.

43 Betti, *The Making of Christian*, 150. Dvorník, *Byzantské misie*, 166.

44 “Žitije Mefodija, archijepiskopa Moravьska X,” 133.

45 Betti, *The Making of Christian*, 87.

46 Löwe, “Cyrill und Methodius,” 680. Richard Marsina, *Metodov boj*. Third edition (Bratislava: Vydavateľstvo Spolku slovenských spisovateľov, 2012), 92, 98.

47 Marsina, *Metodov boj*, 80, 81, 92.

48 “Epistolae 90,” 161–173.

49 Betti, *The Making of Christian*, 87.

50 František Dvorník mentioned that Methodius possibly left Great Moravia already before the beginning of the winter of 881 and returned hither in the spring of 882. Dvorník, *Byzantské misie*, 184.

51 According to Richard Marsina Methodius might have travelled to Constantinople not only from Great Moravia, but also from Rome. He could have visited the Byzantine Empire as a papal legate who might have also asked the Emperor for Illyricum in order to be subordinated to papal administration. Marsina, *Metodov boj*, 80, 81, 92, 98. Therefore, in my opinion, Methodius’ journey to the Byzantine Emperor was undertaken also within the context of the Moravian Nomokanon which was the ecclesiastical-legal collection concerning the Byzantine milieu and translated to the Slavonic language by Methodius in the second half of the 9th century. Dagmar Bartoňková and Radoslav Večerka, ed., *Magnae Moraviae Fontes Historici IV* (further abbreviated to *MMFH IV*; Praha: KLP, 2013), 209, 210. Nomokanon’s article XIII provides that “...a bishop shall not request from the Emperor neither something inappropriate nor a visit to the Emperor without permission of his metropolitan, but he shall send necessary requests via his deacons. But when he must visit the Emperor necessarily, let he make for the journey fitted by letters of his metropolitan and the whole synod.” “Nomokanonъ XIII,” in *Magnae Moraviae Fontes Historici IV* (further abbreviated to *MMFH IV*), ed. Dagmar Bartoňková and Radoslav Večerka (Praha: KLP, 2013), 223. Methodius might have thus gone to Constantinople with the knowledge and permission of his master, Pontiff John VIII.

(Basil I) received him with great honour and pleasure, and he approved of his creed, he kept one priest and one deacon of his disciples with books. He fulfilled his (Methodius') every wish, ... He got to like him a lot and gave him presents, accompanied him to his See. And the patriarch (Photios did it) as well."<sup>52</sup>

As Prince Svätopluk met with Emperor Charles III (881–887)<sup>53</sup> in the Vienna Woods in the year 884<sup>54</sup>, Archbishop Methodius could also meet with the aforementioned Emperor. There is a passage in the *Life of Methodius, the Archbishop of Moravia*, which is probably related to this meeting: "However he (the king), as it falls into monarchic authority, received him (Methodius): with respect, pomp and cheerfulness. And he talked to him in the way such as men like them should have talked, he let him go, got to like him and kissed him, with great presents and he said to him: Remember me, the honourable father, in your prayers."<sup>55</sup>

Methodius' presence in the Great Moravian milieu is in some primary literary sources also connected with Czech Prince Bořivoj (ca 872–888). Following the information from the so called *Legend of Christian*.<sup>56</sup> "He (Bořivoj) was kindly received by him (Prince Svätopluk) and invited alongside others to a banquet. He was not allowed to sit among Christians, but he was challenged to sit in the way of pagans – in front of the table, on the floor. And suddenly Bishop Methodius told him, ..." <sup>57</sup> Methodius advised

52 "Žitije Mefodija, archijepiskopa Moravьska XIII," 137.

53 Methodius' meeting with a Hungarian king in the Danube lands ("Žitije Mefodija, archijepiskopa Moravьska XVI," 138) should be set in the framework of Charles III and Svätopluk's peace talks in the Comianus hill in the year 884. In the *Life of Constantine the Philosopher* as well as the *Life of Methodius, the Archbishop of Moravia*, the term "король" is rather applied to Christian Frankish rulers and the adjective "оугръьскыи" should be taken as a late insertion from the Russian milieu of the 11th century. Vladimír Vavřínek, *Cyril a Metoděj mezi Konstantinopolí a Římem* (Praha: Vyšehrad, 2013), 264–266.

54 Steinhübel, "Metodov konflikt," 224 (footnote 46). Vavřínek, *Cyril a Metoděj*, 265.

55 "Žitije Mefodija, archijepiskopa Moravьska XVI," 138, 139.

56 The legend was written by Monk Christian from Bohemia some time between 992 and 994. Bartoňková and Večerka, *MMFH II*, 162.

57 "Christiani monachi Vita et passio sancti Wenceslai et sancte Ludmile ave eius 2," in *Magnae Moraviae Fontes Historici II* (further abbreviated to *MMFH II*), ed. Dagmar Bartoňková and Radoslav Večerka (Praha: KLP, 2010), 170. See also "Legenda sanctorum Cyrilli et Metudii patronorum Moravie 14," 241. "Legenda diffundente sole, De sancto Quirillo et conversione Moravie et Bohemie 5," in *Magnae Moraviae Fontes Historici II* (further abbreviated to *MMFH II*), ed. Dagmar Bartoňková and Radoslav Večerka (Praha: KLP, 2010), 253 (The emergence of the legend can be dated to the second half of the 13th



Bořivoj and his thirty intimates on the second day “...on the basics of faith, and when they performed the ceremony of a fast in accordance with customs, he (Methodius) regenerated them by the holy spring of baptism.”<sup>58</sup> In the next part of the legend Bořivoj sought refuge from the uprising against his own person. And he fled “...to Moravia, to King Svätopluk and Bishop Methodius. And he was received by them with glory and as it was appropriate, and he stayed with them some time,...”<sup>59</sup>

After the death of Archbishop Methodius (the 6<sup>th</sup> of April 885)<sup>60</sup> Svätopluk sent for followers of Bishop Viching and Methodius “...and he says: What a split occurred between you and why do you argue with each other unfriendly each day?”<sup>61</sup> Methodius’ followers were later expelled or sold into slavery as soon as Viching gained the upper hand over the Moravian Church at the end of the winter or at the beginning of the spring of 886.<sup>62</sup> On the grounds of the *First Slavonic life of Naum*<sup>63</sup>, some of the mentioned followers were “...appointed to their posts and positions (in Byzantium) as priests and deacons again, as they had been formerly, they got a salary and nobody of them died at (slavish) work, but some of them

century or the first half of the 14th century. Bartoňková and Večerka, *MMFH II*, 250). Jozef Cibulka contended that the story mentioned above (along with subsequent baptism) was told within the framework of the three-stage conversion which was common to Christianisation practices of the 9th century Bavarian Church. This Church just adopted the older practice of the Church in the British Isles. Bartoňková and Večerka, *MMFH II*, 171 (footnote 34).

58 “Christiani monachi Vita et passio sancti Wenceslai et sancte Ludmile ave eius 2,” 171. See also “Legenda sanctorum Cyrilli et Metudii patronorum Moravie 14,” 241. “Legenda diffundente sole, De sancto Quirillo et conversione Moravie et Bohemie 5,” 254. Baptism was likely performed in Moravia in 883. Ján Steinhübel, *Kapitoly z najstarších českých dejín: 531 – 1004* (Kraków: Spolok Slovákov v Poľsku–Towarzystwo Słowaków w Polsce, 2012), 71.

59 “Christiani monachi Vita et passio sancti Wenceslai et sancte Ludmile ave eius 2,” 172. See also “Legenda diffundente sole, De sancto Quirillo et conversione Moravie et Bohemie 7,” 255. Moreover, it remains unclear for me whether Methodius just sent an embassy to the seat of the unknown pagan Prince somewhere in the Vistula region or even took part in the embassy to this troublesome Prince who harassed Christians. Methodius recommended him to undergo baptism, otherwise he would be baptised in captivity, as it finally happened later. “Žitije Mefodija, arhijepiskopa Moravьska XI,” 134.

60 Betti, *The Making of Christian*, 45. Dvorník, *Byzantské misie*, 198. Vavřínek, *Cyril a Metoděj*, 267.

61 “Βίος Κλήμεντος IX, 29,” 198.

62 Vavřínek, *Cyril a Metoděj*, 312.

63 According to Andrej Škoviera the biography was compiled in the 10th century by the disciple of St. Clement of Ohrid – Bishop Marko, most likely yet before the year 969. Škoviera, “O cyrilo-metodských,” 147.

found shelter in Constantinople, where they were provided with all necessary things by the Emperor (Basil I)<sup>64</sup>, some of them came to the Bulgarian land and they took shelter there with great honour.”<sup>65</sup> The so called *Bulgarian legend* gives evidence on how were three of them, namely Clement, Naum, and Angelar, received by the Bulgarian Prince Boris I-Michael: “...they were received with honour and as it was right for reverend and respected people...He gave them clothes, as befitted priests, he gave them full honours and ordered to give them homes appointed for the chosen ones of his friends. He grated them all the abundance necessary for life,...”<sup>66</sup> Clement (of Ohrid) was later summoned to Prince and later Tsar Simeon (893–927) with whom “...he started to talk...”<sup>67</sup> and before whom he tried unsuccessfully to resign from his office after some time.<sup>68</sup>

### Closing remarks

Following primary literary sources, which provide the information on the presence of Constantine, Methodius and their followers at monarchic courts and on their audiences with monarchs, I can claim the following.

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64 The Emperor from the account paragraph was Basil I who freed some of Methodius' disciples (mainly priests and deacons) by payment. They were bought from the Jews in Venice and brought to Constantinople by the unknown Emperor's agent. “I. Žitije Nauma,” in *Magnae Moraviae Fontes Historici II* (further abbreviated to *MMFH II*), ed. Dagmar Bartoňková and Radoslav Večerka (Praha: KLP, 2010), 154. That had to happen yet before the 26th of August 886 when the aforementioned Emperor died. Vavřínek, *Cyril a Metoděj*, 312.

65 “I. Žitije Nauma,” 154. Bulgarian Prince Boris I-Michael (852–888) gave to the disciples a great welcome with great honour. It is mentioned in the *Third Slavonic life of Naum of Ohrid* as well. “Tretí slovanský život Nauma Ochridského,” in “Tretí slovanský život Nauma Ochridského a dátum vyhnania Metodových učeníkov,” ed. Andrej Škoviera, *Slavica Slovaca* 42/2 (2007): 114. Andrej Škoviera, Andrej, *Svätí slovanskí sedmopočetníci* (Bratislava: Slovenský komitét slavistov–Slavistický ústav Jána Stanislava SAV, 2010), 143. The *Third Slavonic life of Naum of Ohrid* is probably the translation of the former Greek original and it was completed in the 17th or 18th century. However, the author of the original must have used primary literary sources from the time before the 13th century. Andrej Škoviera, “Tretí slovanský život Nauma Ochridského a dátum vyhnania Metodových učeníkov,” *Slavica Slovaca* 42/2 (2007): 123.

66 “Βίος Κλήμεντος XVI, 48,” in *Osudy Cyrila a Metoda a ich učeníkov v Živote Klimentovom. Preklad Bulharskej a Ochridskej legendy s úvodom*, ed. Ján Stanislav (Bratislava: Tatran, 1950), 102.

67 “Βίος Κλήμεντος XX, 61,” 111.

68 “Βίος Κλήμεντος XXV, 71, 72,” 119–121.

Constantine himself could set out on journey to Arab Caliph al-Mutawakkil (847–861). Both Constantine and Methodius paid a visit to the imperial court of Byzantine Emperor Michael III (842–867), Great Moravian Prince Rastislav (846–870), Lower Pannonian Prince Kocel' (861–876), Pope Adrian II (867–872), and most likely they might have attended a meeting with a Khazar Khagan as well as Khazar nobleman. Archbishop Methodius was received by Great Moravian Prince Svätopluk (871–894), Eastern Frankish King Louis II (843–876), Pope John VIII (872–882), Byzantine Emperor Basil I (867–886), and maybe also with Emperor Charles III (881–888) and Czech Prince Bořivoj (ca 872–888). Bulgarian Prince Boris I-Michael (852–888) gave to some of Methodius' disciples, i.e. Clement, Naum and Angelar, an audience and Bulgarian Prince and later Tsar Simeon (893–927) received Clement. The unknown group of Methodius' followers, who had been driven out of Great Moravia or sold into slavery and then freed from slavery in Venice, could have met with the above-mentioned Bulgarian Prince Boris I-Michael and Byzantine Emperor Basil I.

In addition to a few charters and primary literary sources dated beyond the Early Middle Ages, the majority of the data related to the discussed topic stem from these direct primary literary sources: *Žitije Konstantina Filosofova*, *Žitije Mefodija, arhijepiskopa Moravska*, *Pochvalnoje slovo Kirillu i Mefodiju*, *Uspenije Kirilla*, *Žitije Nauma (I)*, *Βίος Κλήμεντος*, *Vita Constantini-Cyrilli cum translatione s. Clementis*, *Christiani monachi Vita et passio sancti Wenceslai et sancte Ludmille ave eius*, and *Legenda sanctorum Cyrilli et Metudii patronorum Moravie*. The first five literary works were compiled in Old Church Slavonic and Church Slavonic, the *Βίος Κλήμεντος* was written in Greek and the last three literary works belongs to the Latin literary sources.

In future I would like to compare the studied direct primary literary sources with important indirect primary literary sources and research results of history, art history and related particular scientific disciplines. This research method should be used for the later complex synthesis concerning the aforementioned topic.

Martin HUSAR

THE SALONICA BROTHERS AND THEIR DISCIPLES AT  
MONARCHIC COURTS ACCORDING TO DIRECT PRIMARY  
LITERARY SOURCES

**-S U M M A R Y-**

Martin Husár provides the information on the presence of Constantine-Cyril, Methodius and their disciples at princely, royal, or imperial courts and their meetings with rulers (mostly) in the second half of the 9<sup>th</sup> century on the ground of direct primary literary sources. In the article the audiences and meetings with the Popes (Pope Adrian II and John VIII), then with Byzantine (Emperor Michael III and Basil I), Arab (Caliph al-Mutawakkil), Khazar (a Khazar Khagan and Khazar nobleman), Great Moravian (Prince Rastislav and Svätopluk), Czech (Prince Bořivoj), Frankish (Prince Kocel, King Louis II and Emperor Charles III), and Bulgarian (Prince Boris I-Michael and Prince and later Tsar Simeon) rulers and noblemen are concerned. Besides some charters and literary sources dated beyond the Early Middle Ages, the majority of facts regarding the studied topic come from the primary literary sources written in the Old Church Slavonic, Church Slavonic, Greek, and Latin language. The future research based on the above-mentioned analysis will produce the compact synthesis which will be enhanced by the data from indirect primary literary sources and research results of particular scientific disciplines.