

difficult to reconstruct the original robes and arms used by the Byzantine army. The book demonstrates that the images of warrior saints can be useful in learning what they might have looked like. The creators of the images, despite the traditional form, usually followed the arms and armour known to themselves, which can be proven by depicting such novelties as stirrups or almond-shaped shields. The process of adjusting the images of warrior saints to the military details of the era could be observed much more often outside Constantinople, particularly in Nubia and Egypt, but also in Georgia. Substantial changes can be seen during the Crusades, thanks to the contact with Latin knights. Grotowski points out the adjustment of warrior saints to the standards of the knightly culture. He also makes the reader aware that the clothes and arms were also used to convey some political ideas, both by the newcomers from the West and by the Greeks themselves (p. 450–451). He also emphasizes that the model of the warrior saint formed in the middle Byzantine era survived and went on being used also later on, in the era of the Paleologues.

The fact that the warrior saints were depicted mostly with a spear and sword can be read as a continuation of the antique composition or an image modelled on that of the imperial guards. Both these hypotheses may well be true, as the uniform of the latter clearly referred to the ancient patterns.

The illustrative material is certainly

essential to this kind of work. The book contains more than one hundred illustrations of warrior saints on frescos, icons, coins, talismans, dishes and other daily use artifacts. The illustrative material certainly makes the book easier to use. Similarly, the indices at the end facilitate the work with it. In this case, however, the reader may have some doubts about their accuracy. To give an example, Demetrios of Thessalonica appears in the book more frequently than you can expect from the index only (the occurrences of his name on page 163, 165, 166–169, 193, 238, 254, 271 are omitted). The well developed footnotes provide information to individuals exploring a particular field of study, this however makes the book difficult to recommend to those who are not specialists.

In a work with a wealth of information like this, some errors appear inevitable. Also some opinions of the author may have gone too far, like the statement that a double-headed eagle was accepted as the official coat of arms of the Empire (p. 301).

Grotowski's book is without doubt a great reference book for historians, art historians and archaeologists. It would be of interest to the researchers of warrior saints' biographies and individuals interested in the Byzantine army in the early and middle Byzantine era. An extensive bibliography represents a great tool for further individual research on the subject.

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**RAFAŁ KOSIŃSKI, *The Emperor Zeno Religion and Politics*, Towarzystwo Wydawnicze „Historia Iagellonica”, Cracow 2010, pp. 289 [= Byzantina et Slavica Cracoviensia, 6]**

The reign of the emperor Zeno, although it has drawn the attention of scholars, has not yet been a subject of monographic works, with the exceptions of the written in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century, difficult to get and rather general work by Wilhelm Barth<sup>1</sup> and the unpublished doctoral dissertation of Benno Schwark<sup>2</sup>. This gap is superbly filled by Rafał Kosiński, a young Polish byzantist who can already boast significant scholarly achievements<sup>3</sup>. While the work is primarily an attempt to show the religious policy of the ruler, it also sheds light on a number of other aspects of his reign.

The work is divided into eight main parts.

<sup>1</sup> *Kaiser Zeno*, Basel 1894.

<sup>2</sup> *Die kirchenpolitik Kaiser Zenos*, Würzburg 1950.

<sup>3</sup> He is the author e.g.: *ΑΓΙΩΣΥΝΗ ΚΑΙ ΕΞΟΥΣΙΑ. Konstantynoplikańscy święci mężowie i władza w V wieku po Chr.* [*Constantinopolitan Holy Men and Authority in 5th Century*], Warszawa 2006 [= *ArF*, 56]; *The Life of Nestorius as seen in Greek and Oriental Sources*, [in:] *Continuity and Change. Studies in Late Antique Historiography*, ed. D. BRODKA, M. STACHURA, Cracow 2007, p. 155–170 [= *Ele*, 13]; *Początki kariery Tarasikodissy-Zenona* [*The Beginnings of Tarasikodissa-Zeno's Career*], [in:] *Byzantina Europea. Księga jubileuszowa ofiarowana Profesorowi Waldemarowi Ceranowi*, ed. M. KOKOSZKO, M.J. LESZKA, Łódź 2007, p. 289–304 [= *BL*, 11]; *Izauria w orbicie wpływów rzymskich do połowy V wieku* [*Isauria in the Orbit of Roman Influence until the mid V Century*], *BTH* 8, 2010, p. 11–26; *Peter the Fuller, Patriarch of Antioch*, *Bsl* 68, 2010, p. 49–73; *Struktura społeczna* [*Social Structure*] and *Religie cesarstwa rzymskiego w V stuleciu* [*Religions of Roman Empire in the V Century*], [in:] *Świat rzymski w V wieku* [*Roman World in the V Century*], ed. IDEM, K. TWARDOWSKA, Kraków 2010, p. 278–297; 365–416.

In the first (*Introduction*, p. 13–29), the author presented the significance of Zeno's religious policy and characterized sources that formed the basis of his inquiry. In the second (*Decisions of the Council of Chalcedon: Acceptance and Opposition (451–471)*, p. 31–55) he showed the situation of the Byzantine Church during the two decades after the Council of Chalcedon. Part three (*Zeno*, p. 57–59) was devoted to the –hailing from Isauria – Tarasikodissa-Zeno's way to the imperial throne. Particular emphasis was placed on determining his religious views. The next part of the book (*Basiliskos' Usurpation*, p. 79–97) covers the usurpation of Basiliskos, brother of Verina, the widow of emperor Leo I. This event was an exceptionally important moment in the history of Zeno's reign. During the brief rule of the usurper, the debate over the provisions of Council of Chalcedon came back to life with great intensity. What is particularly significant, the groups hostile to this assembly of bishops gained strength thanks to the support of Basiliskos. After regaining power, Zeno was forced to work out the rules of conduct towards those of the clergy who associated themselves with the usurper and represented anti-Chalcedonian views. Part V (*The Chalcedonian Reaction*, p. 99–124) was devoted to this issue. Removal of the anti-Chalcedonian clergy from the most important positions within the Church and replacing them with supporters of the council and men loyal to both the emperor and Acacius, patriarch of Constantinople and Zeno's chief religious advisor, exacerbated the situation. This became apparent especially in Egypt. The development of *Henotikon*, the document that was to become a middle ground for an agreement with the Egyptian anti-Chalcedonians, was supposedly intended to calm down

the emotions. Many works have been devoted to discussing this document, and it has become the basis for portraying emperor Zeno as an opponent of the provisions made in Chalcedon. According to the author, this view is not correct. Evidence for this is, i.a., the fact that the *Henotikon* was considered by the contemporaries to be crypto-Chalcedonian. This subject is discussed in part VI (*Henotikon*, p. 125–145). The next part, *Revolt of Illos* (p. 147–176), is devoted to the usurpation of Illos and Leontios. Here, the scholar focused his discourse not so much on the fate of the undertaking itself, but on the attitudes expressed towards it by the various groups within the Church and by religious communities (starting with Kalandion, the patriarch of Antioch, through Pagan circles, and finally the Jewish ones). The last chapter *Acacian Schism* (p. 177–201) presents the final years of Zeno's reign, during which, i.a., the titular schism, that is the division between the patriarch of Constantinople and the bishop of Rome, occurred. The work is complemented by: an appendix *The Emperor Zeno's Church Foundations* (p. 203–220; it contains an im-

portant and original conclusion that Zeno's building policy was aimed at appeasing and enlisting aid of his Isaurian, and what needs to be remembered, native, base), *Conclusions* (p. 221–223), *Bibliography* (225–269), *Index People* (p. 271–281), *Index Places* (p. 283–289).

Rafał Kosiński's book is an important voice in the debate on the reign of emperor Zeno. The author, thanks to a thorough and comprehensive analysis of the sources, presented in a new light the ruler's religious policy. Contrary to the present in the scholarship and fairly commonly accepted opinion, the researcher showed that Zeno was a supporter of the provisions of the Council of Chalcedon, and that the certain concessions that he was making for the anti-Chalcedonian groups were caused by the hope for establishment of peace in the Church, particularly needed in the face of various political problems with which the ruler had to struggle.

*Translated by Michał Zytka*

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**АННА-МАРИЯ ТОТОМАНОВА, *Из историята на българския език [Из истории болгарского языка]*, Издателство ПАН Пъблишинг Къмпани ООД, София 2009, с. 334.**

Историю и историческую грамматику болгарского языка вне всяких сомнений можно считать одной из наиболее интересных областей диахронической славистической лингвистики. Причиной тому является нетипичный путь развития этого языка, отличающий его (наряду с македонским) от общеславянских моделей в области морфологических и синтаксических преобразований. Помимо

традиционного описания развития языковых форм (происходивших в силу фонетических и морфологических процессов) и определения относительной и абсолютной хронологии, историк болгарского языка постоянно встает перед задачами и вопросами более широкого характера, пытаясь указать на причины изменений структуры предмета своих исследований (от синтетизма к аналитизму) – причины

как чисто лингвистического, так и внеязыкового характера.

Именно такую перспективу содержит вышедший в 2009 году сборник научных статей известной болгарской исследовательницы Анны-Марии Тотомановой, озаглавленный *Из историята на българския език [Из истории болгарского языка]*. Как пишет во введении к книге Татьяна Славова, «всяка една от представените в сборника статии е малка стъпка към отговора на въпроса защо българският език изпада от общославянския развой и променя своя морфо-синтаксис» (стр. 5). В книге собрано 39 статей, публиковавшихся на протяжении почти двадцати пяти лет (начиная с 1985 года) в научных сборниках и периодических изданиях (прежде всего – хотя и с небольшими исключениями – болгарских). Отметим также, что те статьи, которые первоначально были опубликованы на английском, итальянском или русском языках, в настоящем сборнике переведены на болгарский.

Исследования распределены не по хронологическому принципу, как часто бывает в подобного рода публикациях, а в зависимости от затрагиваемой в статьях проблематики. Таким образом читатель сосредотачивается не на эволюции научных взглядов автора, а непосредственно на предмете исследования. А. Тотоманова группирует свои работы вокруг трех основных тем, которым соответствуют три части книги: *Историческая фонетика и диалектология, Историческая морфология и лексикология. Книжная норма*, а также *Исследование средневековых памятников*.

Материалы первой части книги (8 статей, стр. 9–54) затрагивают как проблемы развития системы гласных звуков болгарского языка (прежде всего – еров и связанных с ними процессов), так и некоторые вопросы изменений консонантной системы, а именно – т.н. палатализаций и последовавшей за ними депалатализации, давшей различные результаты в болгарских диалектах<sup>1</sup>. Свообразным обобщающим центром этой части сборника можно считать статью *Среднеболгарский вокализм* (стр. 36–42), в которой исследовательница предлагает пересмотреть устоявшиеся в науке представления о принципиальном значении т.н. среднеболгарского периода (XII–XIV вв.) для развития болгарского языка, считая его всего лишь продолжением предшествующего периода: «...езикът, който се говори през среднобългарския период, може еднозначно да бъде определен като една късна разновидност на старобългарския език» (стр. 37). Стоит также обратить внимание, что А. Тотоманова старается в своих работах искать объяснение для фонетических изменений в процессах, происходящих на уровне морфологии, воспринимая таким образом язык как целостную систему.

Именно морфологии главным образом посвящена вторая и основная часть книги (18 статей, стр. 55–202), причем большинство текстов в ней касается наиболее важных с точки зрения аналитизма процессов – перегруппировки и распада системы именных склонений. В этой связи нельзя не упомянуть о «программной» статье *Оратория болгарскому аналитизму. Часть первая: начало* (стр. 108–114), где А. Тотоманова развивает свой тезис о более позднем, нежели принято считать, переходе болгарского языка к аналитизму (в начале XV века, главным образом в валахско-болгарских грамотах) и предлагает не ограничиваться в объяснениях этих

процессов. В этой связи нельзя не упомянуть о «программной» статье *Оратория болгарскому аналитизму. Часть первая: начало* (стр. 108–114), где А. Тотоманова развивает свой тезис о более позднем, нежели принято считать, переходе болгарского языка к аналитизму (в начале XV века, главным образом в валахско-болгарских грамотах) и предлагает не ограничиваться в объяснениях этих

<sup>1</sup> Тематика этой части сборника естественным образом перекликается с первой авторской книгой А. Тотомановой, *Из българската историческа фонетика*, София 1992 (второе издание – 2001).