CONSTANTINE PORPHYROGENITUS’ KASTRA OIKOUMENA IN THE SOUTHERN SLAVS PRINCIPALITIES∗

Abstract: The term kastra oikoumena, by which Constantine Porphyrogenitus designated the cities in Southern Slavs principalities, was usually understood as the inhabited cities. Since this term is going alongside the term baptized Serbia/Croatia, it appears that this term is related to the ecclesiastical terminology, and therefore, most probably has another meaning.

Key words: kastra oikoumena, Croats, Serbs, Constantine Porphyrogenitus, Anastasius the Librarian.

The names of the cities in the Early Medieval Croatia, Serbia, Zachlumi, Terbounia, Pagania, and Diocleia were first mentioned by the Byzantine emperor Constantine Porphyrogenitus, in Chapters 31 – 36, of his work De administrando imperio (further in text DAI).1 Only a few of these cities are known to us from other Latin sources, however, the majority of them never appeared in history, again.2 The list of these cities, recently investigated by S. Ćirković, is an undoubted trace of the administrative division and

∗ Рад настао као резултат истраживања на пројекту Министарства за науку и технолошки развој Српске земље у раном средњем веку (Ев. бр. 147025).
2 Codex diplomaticus regni Croatica, Dalmatiae et Slavoniae, ed. M. Kostrenčić, Zagreb 1967, N° 12 (Nin, 879); 17 (Nin, 886/887); 20 (Nin, 892); 25 (Nin, 925); 26 (Stagnon, Skordona, 928); 27 (Skordona, 928/929); 28 (Belegradon, ca. 950); 125 (Klaboka?, 1078); 169 (Stolpon, Stibliza?, ca. 1097). Mokron/Mucules (887): Giovanni Diacono Istoria Venetorum, ed. L. A. Berto, Bologna 1999, 146.
teritorial organization of these Slav principalities. However, Ćirković has accepted as an empirical truth the usual translation of the term Κάστρα Οικουμενα (kastra oikoumena) as inhabited cities. We have also recently tried to provide an answer on the primary question: What kind of cities did Constantine mention? – proposing that the cities were economic, administrative, military or ecclesiastical centres – however, without a definite conclusion. Both attempts - Ćirković’s and ours, neglected the essential fact that we did not consider the possibility that the term kastra oikoumena was not translated, and has not been understood well in historiography. It would certainly be better, before any hypothesis advancement, especially the one based on empirical truth, if we try to clarify the exact meaning of Constantine’s phrase kastra oikoumena. The sections of the DAI, which contain kastra oikoumena are:

1.1 ‘Ὅτι ἡ βασιλική Χροβατία ἔστε τὰ κάστρα οικουμένα, ἡ Νόνα, τὸ Βελέγραδον, τὸ Βελιτζίν, τὸ Σκόρδονα, τὸ Χλέβενα, τὸ Στόλπον, τὸ Τενήν, τὸ Κάρη, τὸ Κλαβοκα.’

In the baptized Croatia there are kastra oikoumena of Nona, Belegradon, Belitzin, Skordona, Hlebena, Stolpon, Tenin, Kori, Klaboka.


4 For this kind of methodology, based on empirical truth, see, S. K. Bajaj, Research Methodology in History, New Delhi 2002, 121. We should note that the empirical truth is very often nothing more than a hidden hypothesis.


6 According to Codex Parisinus gr. 2009, f. 92r; cf. DAI I, c. 29.67: ‘Ὅτι [ἐν] τῇ βασιλική’

7 DAI I, c. 31.68 – 70.

8 The seat of the Croat archontes during the Early Middle Ages, the modern town of Nin, Croatia. Here it is recorded in romanized form Nona; cf. A. Loma, Serbisches und Kroatisches sprachgut bei Konstantin Porphyrogenetos, ZRVI 38 (2000) 114 (=Loma, Sprachgut).

9 Belegradon is the modern town of Biograd, Croatia. It was originally built by the Croats. See, Fontes Byzantini Historiam populorum Jugoslaviae spectantes II, ed. B. Ferjančić, Belgrade 1959, 44, n. 129 (= FB II); see also, Loma, Sprachgut, 106.

10 The city is of unknown location; cf. Loma, Sprachgut, 107; FB II, 44, n. 130; DAI II, 129.
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1.2 "Ὅτι ἐν τῇ βαπτισμένῃ Σερβίᾳ εἰσίν κάστρα οἰκούμενα, τὸ Δεστινικόν, τὸ Τζερναβουσκέν, τὸ Μεγυρέτους, τὸ Δρεσνήκ, τὸ Λεσνήκ, τὸ Σαληνῆς, καὶ εἰς τὸ χωρίον Βόσονα, τὸ Κάστρα καὶ τὸ Λεσνήκ."17

In baptized Serbia there are kastra oikoumena of Destinikon, Tzernabouskei, Megyretous, Dresneik, Lesnik, Salines, and in the horizon of Bosona, Katera and Desnik.18

1.3 "Ὅτι ἐν τῷ χωρίῳ τῶν Ζαχλούμων, εἰσίν κάστρα οἰκούμενα, τὸ Σταγνόν, τὸ Μοκρισκίκ, τὸ Ἰσολί, τὸ Γαλούμαηνικ, τὸ Δοβρίσκικ."19

In the horizon of the Zachlumi there are kastra oikoumena of Stagnon, Mokriskik, Iosli, Galoumainik, Dobriskik.20

1.4 "Ὅτι ἐν τῷ χωρίῳ Τερβουνίας καὶ τοῦ Καναλῆ εἰσὶ κάστρα οἰκούμενα, ἡ Τερβουνία, τὸ Ὄρμος, τὰ Ἁρανά, τὸ Λουκάβεται, τὸ Ζετλήβη."25

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11 The modern town of Skradin, Croatia; cf. FB II, 44, n. 131; Loma, Sprachgut, 115.
12 The modern town of Livno, Bosnia and Herzegovina; cf. FB II, 44, n. 132; Loma, Sprachgut, 117.
13 This could be town Stupin near Rogoznica, Croatia; cf. Loma, Sprachgut, 116; FB I, 44, n. 133; DAI II, 129.
14 The modern town of Knin, Croatia; cf. FB II, 44, n. 134.
15 The modern town of Karin, Croatia; cf. FB II, 44, n. 135; Loma, Sprachgut, 112.
16 Klaboka is a town of unknown location; see, FB II, 44, n. 136; Loma, Sprachgut, 111; DAI II, 129.
17 DAI I, c. 32.149 – 151.
18 Not one of the cities mentioned in Serbia and Bosnia were located with certainty, only for Salines was said that it is probably modern town of Tuzla, Bosnia and Herzegovina; cf. FB II, 58 – 59, notes 196 – 204; DAI II, 137; Loma, Sprachgut, 109 – 113, 115 – 116.
19 DAI I, c. 33.20 – 21.
20 The modern town of Ston, Croatia; cf. FB II, 61, n. 212; DAI II, 140.
21 This city is of unknown location; cf. FB II, 61, n. 213; Loma, Sprachgut, 114; DAI II, 140. The most probable location of this city is near Mokro, west of Mostar, on the right bank of the Neretva River, Bosnia and Herzegovina.
22 The modern village of Ošlje to the north-east of Ston, Croatia; cf. FB II, 61, n. 214; DAI II, 140; Loma, Sprachgut, 110 – 111.
23 The most probable location of this town is the modern village of Glumine, to the north of Ošlje; cf. FB II, 61, n. 215; DAI II, 140. Loma, Sprachgut, 105 – 106, argued that it is the modern village of Golubinači, to the south of Popovo Polje.
24 Most probably the Medieval Dabar, south-east from Ljubinje, Herzegovina; cf. FB II, 61, n. 216; DAI II, 140. Loma, Sprachgut, 110; Ćirković, “Naseljeni gradovi”, 19.
25 DAI I, c. 34.19 – 20.
In the horizon of Terbounia and Kanali there are kastra oikoumena of Terbounia,\textsuperscript{26} Ormos,\textsuperscript{27} Rhisena,\textsuperscript{28} Loukabetai,\textsuperscript{29} Zetlibi.\textsuperscript{30}

1.5 “Оти ѐн т̀и χώρα Διοκλής εἰσὶ μέγαλα κάστρα ὀικούμενα τὸ Γράδεται τὸ Νουγράδε τὸ Λοντοδόκλα.”

In the country of Diocleia there are megala kastra oikoumena of Gradetai,\textsuperscript{32} Nougrede,\textsuperscript{33} Lontodokla.\textsuperscript{34}

1.6 “Оти ѐн Πασανίς εἰσίν κάστρα ὀικούμενα, τὸ Μύκρον, τὸ Βεροῦλλα, τὸ Ὀστρώκ, καὶ εἰς ... Λαβίνετζα.” Κρατοῦσιν δὲ καὶ ταύτας

\textsuperscript{26} It is the modern town of Trebinje, Herzegovina; cf. FB II, 63, n. 223; DAI II, 140.

\textsuperscript{27} The Medieval city of Vrm, between Trebinje and Bileća; cf. FB II, 63, n. 224; DAI II, 140; Loma, Sprachgut, 114; Ćirković, “Naseljeni gradovi”, 15.

\textsuperscript{28} It must be the modern town of Risan in the Bay of Kotor, Montenegro; cf. FB II, 63, n. 225; DAI II, 140; Ćirković, “Naseljeni gradovi”, 15; Loma, Sprachgut, 115.

\textsuperscript{29} Some authors believed that it is Luka a place nearby Trebinje; cf. FB II, 63, n. 226; DAI II, 140; Loma, Sprachgut, 113, the place should be read as Lukavac, with location between Bileća and Nevesinje. There is also a hill Lukovac 5 km south-west from Trebinje.

\textsuperscript{30} Unknown location – the village of Necvijeće, Herzegovina, or Stolivo, on the west bank of the Bay of Kotor; cf. FB II, 63, n. 227; DAI II, 140. However, Loma, Sprachgut, 110, thinks that it is the modern village of Četoljubi in the East-Herzegovina.

\textsuperscript{31} DAI I, c. 35.12 – 13.

\textsuperscript{32} The place is of unknown location, but most likely existed in the region of Grbalj, Montenegro; cf. Loma, Sprachgut, 108; Ćirković, “Naseljeni gradovi”, 22. For other location see, FB II, 64, n. 231; DAI II, 141.

\textsuperscript{33} In the olden historiography it was located near by Gradac, or identified with the modern village of Pervlaka; cf. FB II, 64, n. 232; DAI II, 141. More recently, Ćirković. “Naseljeni gradovi”, 22, proposed the solution that it could have been in the vicinity of Butua, the modern town of Budva, Montenegro, where are the toponyms as Velj Grad (lit. Great city) and Zagrade (lit. Behind the city) found; see, also, Loma, Sprachgut, 114.

\textsuperscript{34} The place is of unknown location; cf. FB II, 64, n. 233; DAI II, 141. Ćirković, “Naseljeni gradovi”, 23, thinks that this town should have been located somewhere in the central part of Diocleia, in the vicinity of ancient Diocleia. There is a possibility that this name actually contains the names of two cities, τὸ Δόγγα καὶ τὸ Δόκλα; cf. Loma, Sprachgut, 113.

\textsuperscript{35} According to Codex Parisinus gr. 2009, f. 104v, lin. 12. DAI I, c. 36.15: καὶ Σλαβινέτζα. It appears that the scribe omitted the name of the region in which Lavineta was situated. We know, according to the DAI, that Pagania consisted of three zoupanias: Rhastotza and Mokros on the sea, and Dalen in the interior of Pagania; cf.
In Pagania there are kastra oikoumena of Mokron, Beroullia, Ostrok and Lavinetza. Also, they possess these islands: the large island of Kourkra, or Kiker, on which there is a city; another large island, Meleta, or Malozeatai, which St. Luke mentions in the Acts of the Apostles by the name of Melite, in which a viper fastened upon St. Paul by his finger, and St. Paul burnt it up in the fire; another large island, Phara; another large island, Bratzis. There are other islands not in the possession of these same Pagani: the island of Choara, the island of Ies, and the island of Lastobon.

The most difficult question to answer is on the origin of the source(s) Constantine Porphyrogenitus used when describing these provinces. Even the provenience of his source(s) could be a key to better understand the term kastra oikoumena. These questions appear to be neglected in historiography.

DAI I, c. 29.104 – 109. Therefore, since Mokro, Beroullia, and Ostrok were at the sea, it is possible that the last listed city, Lavinetza, was in zoupania of Dalen.

36 DAI I, c. 36.14 – 23.


38 It is usually located in the modern place of Vrulja, Croatia; FB II, 65, n. 237; DAI II, 142. It is much more probable that it could be the modern place of Brela; cf. Ćirković, “Naseljeni gradovi”, 16; Loma, Sprachgut, 107.

39 It is, most probably, the modern place of Zaostrog, to the south of the town of Makarska, Croatia; cf. FB II, 65, n. 238; Ćirković, “Naseljeni gradovi”, 16; Loma, Sprachgut, 114. For the different indentification, see, DAI II, 142.

40 The identification of this city, either Slavinetza or Lavinetza, is of uncertain location; cf. FB II, 65, n. 239. Gradac, at the seashore near by the estuary of the Neretva river. The other possibility is Labčane, Labčan; cf. Loma, Sprachgut, 116; Ćirković, “Naseljeni gradovi”, 16, n. 23.

41 For the identification of these islands, see, FB II, 65, notes 240 – 245; DAI II, 142.

42 In regards to the chapters about the Slavs, and the Constantine’s source/sources (cc. 29 – 36), it is usually stated that he gathered the material from his informant/informants, most probably Byzantine official/officials, from Dalmatia, as well as from the Archives.
thorough research on the *kastra oikoumena* could reveal at least, the origin, and possible provenience of Constantine’s source(s) on the cities in the Slav principalities.

It is the fact that the list of the cities comes at the very end of all chapters that are dedicated to the Slavs, except in chapter 31, *Of the Croats and of the country they now dwell in*, where it is placed nearly at the end of the chapter. But each time it is opened with the particular word *oti*, which usually tells us that Constantine switched to another source, or has returned to the one he used previously.\(^{43}\) Anyway, these conjunctors open sections of the text either literally used from Constantine’s primary source on the specific matter, or most often, the sections based on a specific source retold by Constantine.\(^{44}\) The conjuncture *oti* could be a trace pointing out that the names of *kastra oikoumena* belonged to the same source, but were displaced by Constantine in the chapters related to a specific Slav principality. Furthermore, only in chapters 31, and 32, *Of the Croats and of the country they now dwell in* and *Of the Serbs and of the country they now dwell in*, there is a frequently used term ‘in baptized Croatia/Serbia’ followed by the term *kastra oikoumena*. In regards to the other Slav principalities, there is no clarification on the term *baptized country*. This could mean that Constantine had two major sources, undoubtedly of the similar provenience, ‘Of the Croats’ and ‘Of the Serbs’ chapters, which contained the term *in baptized (Serbia/Croatia)*. Consequently, it means that the lists of the cities in other Slav principalities were contained in one of the two sources. Therefore, there was no need for the repetition *in baptized country* Zachlumi, Terbounia, Diocleia, and Pagania. The identical terminology reveals, in fact, that both sources were of similar, if not completely of the same provenience, and with the same narrative structure. This interpretation is congruent with Constantine’s statement that the Pagans, Terbounians, and Zachlumians were descendants of the unbaptized Serbs, and that is why the list of *kastra oikoumena* in those principalities, could be listed in the source related to the Serbs. This is the reason why there was no need for the author of the Constantine’s source to repeat the term *in baptized country*. The lack of this

\(^{43}\) J. B. Bury, *The treatise De administrando imperio*, BZ 15 (1906) 525, 538.

particular information in relation to the principalities of Zachlumi, Terbounia, Poganya, and Diocleia, just confirms that these principalities were not treated equally by the author who wrote *Of the Serbs* and *Of the Croats* chapters. If this anonymous author intended to write separate works on these principalities, then we should expect that he would have at least, once repeated the phrase in *baptized country* of Zachlumi, or Trebounia, or Poganya, or Diocleia. For the Diocletians in chapter 35, Constantine did not provide ethnic clarification. Based on our previous interpretation, we can assume that the list of the cities in Diocleia was not the part of the source related to the Serbs. Furthermore, Constantine *ex silentio* said that Diocletians, in fact, were not the part of the Serbian tribe, since he said that the Serbs settled in the regions of Zachlumi, Terbounia, and Poganya, but he did not mention Diocleia. It is important to note that Zachlumi and Terbounia are classified as *horion*, a small land, but Diocleia is called *hora*, a country.

It is also important to notice that only the list of Diocletians’ cities had the adjective *megal:a*. It primarily means *big*, but also, *old*, in this case, cities. It would be very odd that Constantine, who mentioned so many cities in the *DAI*, used this adjective *megalos* only in the case of the Diocletians’ cities to underline how large they were. We cannot expect that this small principality was distinguished from the other Slav principalities because of its large cities. Constantine used this adjective *megalos* on several occasions in the *DAI*, and its true meaning is the matter of dispute. He said that White Croatia, the one from which Croats descended in to Dalmatia, is also called *Megala Chrovatia*, and in chapters 13, 38, and 40, he spoke about the *Megala Moravia*. In both cases it

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45 It was argued that Constantine forgot to mention the Serb origin of the Diocletians; cf. *FB II*, 63, n. 229. In the Croat historiography, this is understood as an *ex silentio* evidence that Diocletians were, in fact, the part of the Croat tribe; cf. V. Koščak, *Dolazak Hrvata*, HZ 40 (1987) 380; I. Goldstein, *Hrvatski rani srednji vijek*, Zagreb 1995, 32, 91.
46 *DAI I*, c. 32.21 – 23.
47 Poganya was also mentioned as *hora*, but only in the beginning of chapter 36; cf. *DAI I*, c. 36.3. The same pattern can be noticed in the case of Terbounia, mentioned together with the land of Kanale, since it is called *hora* at the beginning of chapter 34; cf. *DAI I*, c. 34.3. Also, in the case of the country of Zachlumi, which is called *hora* at the beginning of chapter 33; cf. *DAI I*, c. 33.3.
48 *DAI I*, cc. 31.83; 32.5 – 6. However, in the chapter regarding the Pagans, Constantine used the adjective *megala* in the sense of *the large* for the islands of Korkyra and Meleta; cf. *DAI I*, c. 36.16 – 17.
was usually understood and translated using the adjective – Great. Constatine also used this adjective to designate the former Francia, i. e. before it was divided in 843. Therefore, other meanings of the adjective megalos (great) could be old, ancient, or former.

If we apply this denomination to the megala kastra of Diocleia, then we propose the most probable meaning – old cities. If we also bear in mind that megala kastra classification is used only in chapter 35, then the whole phrase megala kastra oikoumena had different and a very specific meaning. This meaning could have come from a Latin text, i. e. Constantine’s primary source ‘Of the Serbs/Croats’, since in the Latin language, there was another meaning for major patria, major metropolis, major civitas – former, olden. For instance, the place Staro Město (lit. Old city) near Prague, was actually called during the Middle Ages (1282), major civitas, which Continuator of Cosma Pragensis called antiqua civitas.

It would be fair to say that the translation of the phrase kastra oikoumena as inhabited cities sounds too literal. It seems unlikely that Constantine would endeavour to mention uninhabited cities, as well. If one was to mention a place – village, city, or a town – it is expected that one would mention inhabited places. Interestingly, Constantine repeated kastra oikoumena six times and in six different chapters of the DAI, those that were related only to the Southern Slav principalities. In chapter 28, for instance, he also supplied a list of the cities using the term kastron as a prefix for the city’s names.49

49 DAI I, cc. 13.5; 38.58; 40.33. Each time Constantine spoke about the former Moravia. For other opinions, see, DAI II, 62; S. Pirivatrić, Vizantijska tema Morava i “Moravije” Konstantina VII Porfirogenita, ZRVI 36 (1997) 173 – 201.

50 DAI I, cc. 26.6; 29.134. In the translation in these passages, it is always understood as the Great Francia; cf. DAI I, 109, 131.


Throughout the DAI, he never used this term again, even though he continued to mention many cities (kastra) in other chapters. In chapter 42, Constantine mentioned Belgrade: κάστρον ἑστὶν τῷ Βελέβραδα, as well as Sarkel and Tamatarcha, each classified as kastron. The same chapter contains the names of other cities, mostly without any classification, not even kastron – i.e. Thessalonica, Distra (Dristra). In chapter 44, there are cities (kastra): Kars, Perkri, Chliat, Arzes, Tibi, Chert, Salamas, and Manzikert. One could note that Constantine was summarizing his account in chapter 44, underlining that these cities have never been under the dominion of the Persians or Arabs. As an accurate representation of the term kastron (city), it is worth mentioning Constantine’s description of the city of Ardanoutzin, for which he said that it was very strongly defended, and has moreover a considerable suburban area like a provincial city. In the chapter where he speaks of the Russians, Constantine provided a list of their cities, kastra (four cities), without any specific classification, which is the same as in the case of the Venetian cities by classifying them only as – kastron.

Another important question we face, is whether the phrase kastra oikoumena, is truly in opposition to the term ἐριμοκαστρα (erimokastra) as it appears to be widely accepted in historiography. It is important to note that only in the Slav chapters of the DAI that Constantine had used the phrase kastra oikoumena, as well as the term ἐριμοκαστρα, (chapters 29, 30, and 35, as well as in 27, and 37). The term erimokastra, with its primary meaning deserted or uninhabited cities, also appears to be literally translated and understood. The context in which these phrases appear is of essential significance for their true meaning. In chapter 27, of the DAI, Constantine told the story about Capua. He said that it was a very large city (πόλις ύπερμεγέθης) indeed, and was captured by the Vandals, i.e. Africans, who demolished it. When it was lying as deserted city (Ἐριμοκαστρον δὲ οὐσία), the Lombards settled in it (ὥσπου ἐν αὐτῇ). Then, when the Africans came against them once more, bishop Landulf built a

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55 DAI I, c. 42.16, 22, 92 – 93.
56 DAI I, c. 42.15, 21.
57 DAI I, c. 44.13 – 16, 40.
58 DAI I, c. 44.116 – 118. It is to say that these cities were never under the rule of non-Christian ruler.
59 DAI I, c. 46.42 – 43.
60 DAI I, c. 9.5 – 7.
62 DAI I, c. 27.61 – 63.
city at the bridge over the river and called it New Capua, and it still survives.\textsuperscript{63} It means that the city of Capua was deserted for a while before Longobards settled in, and then obviously it was not erimokastron anymore. The appearance of the bishop is significant, since it could mean that the city was recovered by the ecclesiastical organization, and therefore, was probably not considered erimokastron anymore, and not only because the Longobards repopulated it.

The similar context can be found in chapter 37, of the \textit{DAI}. Constantine wrote that on the Dniestar River, the deserted cities (erimokstra) were: Aspron, Toungatai, Kraknakatai, Salmakatai, Sakakatai, Giaioukatai.\textsuperscript{64} If these cities were deserted, it would be very strange that one would know their names, even the meaning of a particular name. For instance, Constantine said that Pechenegs called the city of Aspron because its stones look very white.\textsuperscript{65} The following text probably explains the true meaning of erimokstra. Namely, Constantine added that among the buildings of these old cities (not among the ruins at all) are found some distinctive traces of churches and crosses, whence some preserve a tradition that once on a time Romaioi had settlements there.\textsuperscript{66} The presence of the churches, or generally speaking Christianity, reveals that erimokstra could define the cities as those that once belonged to oikoumene, or the Christian world, i.e. the civilized world, and that the absence of the ecclesiastical organization made them deserted, i.e. out of the oikoumene, or out of the Christian world’s jurisdiction. This peculiar interest into ecclesiastical matters could be a trace that Constantine’s informant was a Churchman. Constantine certainly did not undertake archaeological excavations, nor such kind of works was performed by anyone at that time, rather the churches, and the crosses described in the \textit{DAI}, certainly were the testimony of an eyewitness. This eyewitness did not wonder through the ghostly cities, but on the contrary, he visited inhabited cities of the Pechenegs, which he considered ‘deserted’ since the ecclesiastical organization did not exist in them. In line with this statement is Constantine’s outlining of a truly uninhabited place (in this particular case an island) - άουκητος.\textsuperscript{67} In this case, the island was in fact

\textsuperscript{63} \textit{DAI I}, c. 27.63 – 66.
\textsuperscript{65} \textit{DAI I}, c. 37.60 – 61.
\textsuperscript{66} \textit{DAI I}, c. 37.64 – 67.
\textsuperscript{67} \textit{DAI I}, c. 47.4.
depopulated of its inhabitants.\textsuperscript{68} The same term he used to describe a deserted ancient place where once Venice should have been built.\textsuperscript{69}

Therefore, we have to conclude that Constantine Porphyrogenitus, throughout the \textit{DAI}, was never repeated, except in the Slav chapters, an adjective that a city was \textit{inhabited}. Perhaps the word \textit{oikoumena} had another meaning, most probably due to the origin of Constantine’s primary source for the Slav chapters. All these examples from the \textit{DAI} that we presented, on the usage of the terms \textit{kastra oikoumena} and \textit{eirimokastra}, lead us to form an opinion that in the Slav chapters, the meanings were specific, but still have not been clearly defined in the historiography.

As we already have mentioned, the repetition of the phrase \textit{kastra oikoumena} in the lists of the cities in the Slav chapters, has revealed that this list was unique. In that list, it was said at the beginning of the section that \textit{kastra oikoumena} were, in baptized Croatia, as well as in baptized Serbia, Terbounia, Zachlumi, Pagania, and Diocleia. Since Constantine had created separate chapters on the smaller principalities (Zachlumi, Terbounia, Pagania, Diocleia), probably induced in the same order in his primary source, he had to extract the names of the cities each time by placing it under the proper title, and contents of the specific chapter(s). Therefore, in accordance to this, he had to repeat \textit{kastra oikoumena} each time. That is why Constantine’s persistent repetition of this phrase reveals to us that he had two sources, \textit{Of the Croats} and \textit{Of the Serbs} that had contained the list of the cities as the part of two coherent sections.

In chapter 33, \textit{Of the Zachloumians}, Constantine left an interesting hint by saying that there were two cities (δύο κόστρα) in the country of the Zachlumians, situated on the top of a mountain – Bona and Chlum.\textsuperscript{70} However, below this section in the manuscript, where he placed the list of the \textit{kastra oikoumena}, he did not list these two cities. Bona was the later medieval city of Blagaj, which is the Slav denomination from Lat. \textit{bona}, too.\textsuperscript{71} The persistence of this city’s name throughout the Early and Later Medieval times suggests that the city was inhabited throughout all of that time.\textsuperscript{72} Furthermore, Constantine had to translate the name of the city into the Greek language – καλόν.\textsuperscript{73}

\begin{thebibliography}{99}
\bibitem{DAI I, c. 47.15 – 25.} DAI I, c. 47.15 – 25.
\bibitem{DAI I, c. 28.10 – όοικτίπους νήσους.} DAI I, c. 28.10 – όοικτίπους νήσους.
\bibitem{DAI I, c. 33.12 – 14.} DAI I, c. 33.12 – 14.
\bibitem{DAI II, 137; FB I, 60, n. 207.} see, DAI II, 137; FB I, 60, n. 207.
\bibitem{DAI I, c. 33.15.} DAI I, c. 33.15.
\end{thebibliography}
In chapter 35 of the *DAI Of the Diocletians...*, Constantine said that there was a city Dioclea founded by Diocletian, *but now it is deserted city* (ἐρμηκόστροφον), *though still called Dioclea.*

In the following text, in the section that contains the list of *kastra oikoumena*, Constantine did not list Dioclea, but only the *kastra megala*: Gradetai, Nougrade, and Lontodokla.

The classification of Dioclea, as an *uninhabited city*, did not mean that this city was abandoned. It seems that Constantine understood that, since he had to repeat that this city, even though deserted, was still called Dioclea. In chapter 29, of the *DAI*, Constantine mentioned the city of Dioclea with the remark that the city is *now occupied by the Diocletians.*

We can notice the same pattern as in the case of the deserted cities on the right bank of the Dniester River. Allegedly the cities were deserted, but still they had names and houses. In the case of Dioclea however, it is especially peculiar, since we know that the Bulgarian emperor Samuel (ca. 1009), burnt that same city, which already had been, according to Constantine, *deserted*. In the *Notitia 10* of the Constantinople Patriarchate, dated from 971 to 976, there was also the Bishopric of Dioclea (Δωκλέιας) under the Archbishopric of Dyrrachium.

The so-called *Charter of Andreaci*, on the foundation of the Church of St. Tryphon, in Cattaro (809), mentioned the Slav iudex whose seat was in Dioclea (*Duchia*). These sources unanimously confirm that Dioclea was an *inhabited* city, at least until the beginning of the 11th century. It means at least another 50 years after Constantine Porphyrogenitus.

At the end of chapter 29, of the *DAI*, Constantine made an entry about the *inhabited and uninhabited* places in Dalmatia. That entry starts with *oti*, and is placed after the descriptions of the five major Byzantine cities in Dalmatia: Ragusa, Spalato, Tetrangurion, Diadora, and Decatera.

It is considered that Constantine gathered information on these cities either through an informant.

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74 *DAI I*, c. 35.9 – 11.
75 *DAI I*, c. 35.12 – 13.
76 *DAI I*, c. 29.11 – 12.
80 *DAI I*, c. 29.217 – 284.
from Dalmatia, or based it on the information from the Archives of Constantinople.\textsuperscript{81} Since the following section is opened by \textit{oti}, we cannot be so sure whether this section is also extracted from the same source which he used to get the information about the major Dalmatian cities. It could also be from another source. Constantine could have abbreviated his primary source by using \textit{oti}.

In the last section of chapter 29, Constantine wrote that under Dalmatian control (i.e. under the rule of a Byzantine \textit{strategos}), there were numerous archipelago, extending as far as Beneventum. One of these islands is the city of Vekla, and on another island Arbe, and on another island Opsara, and on another island Lumbricaton, and these are still inhabited (\textit{ατινα κατοικοὺνται μέχρι τοῦ νῦν}).\textsuperscript{82} We have to take note of the term \textit{κατοικούνται}, meaning \textit{inhabited}, as it leads us towards a conclusion that Constantine had intended to clarify which cities were still under Byzantine’s rule (as it was the case with the five major Dalmatian cities he mentioned above), and to make a distinction between them and some other ‘uninhabited’ cities that were out of the Byzantine’ jurisdiction. Namely, after the opening sentence, he said that the rest (of the islands) were uninhabited (\textit{ἀοίκητα}), and had deserted cities (\textit{ἐχοντα ἐρημώκοστρα}), of known names: Katautrebeno, Pizouch, Selber, Aloep, Skirdakissa, Pyrotima, Meleta, Estiounez,\textsuperscript{83} and many others of which the names are not known (\textit{ἕν τά ὅνωματά ὁμούνται}).\textsuperscript{84} The recorded names were of the islands, not the cities, and in this case, it was expected that somebody knew them, even though there were deserted places on the islands. Therefore, the term \textit{κατοικούνται} stands in opposition to the term \textit{ἀοίκητα}, \textit{inhabited vs. uninhabited}, and the term \textit{ἐρημώκοστρα} could have been translated as a \textit{deserted city}. Finally, in the last sentence in this chapter, Constantine clarified that the rest of the cities on the mainland of the \textit{theme} (Dalmatia), where ruled (\textit{κρατηθέντα}) by the Slavs, stand uninhabited and deserted, and no one lives (\textit{κατοικούντος}) in them.\textsuperscript{85} We have to note that the term \textit{κρατηθέντα} cannot be translated as \textit{captured}, as it is was done by the Moravcsik – Jenkins’ edition of the \textit{DAI}.\textsuperscript{86} It means that even though these cities were allegedly uninhabited and deserted, the Slavs \textit{ruled} over them. The usage of the terms \textit{ἀοίκητα καὶ ἐρημα} (\textit{ίστανται}) is odd, since in this case

\textsuperscript{81} Ferjančić, \textit{Vrela}, 20.
\textsuperscript{82} \textit{DAI I}, c. 29.285 – 289.
\textsuperscript{83} \textit{DAI I}, c. 29.289-293. For the location of these islands, see \textit{FB II}, 24-26, n. 57-69.
\textsuperscript{84} \textit{DAI I}, 139, translated this as the names are \textit{not intelligible}; \textit{FB II}, 26, as the names of these islands are \textit{not known}.
\textsuperscript{86} \textit{DAI I}, 139.
they were synonyms, *uninhabited/deserted*. The following classification in the same sentence – ίσωςκεια, to stand, to exist, is of particular importance, since these cities were not in ruins and even after 300 years they appeared to be well-preserved. It appears that the deserted cities were in fact inhabited, not by the Romans/Romaioi, but by the Slavs. For instance, all toponyms on the islands of Premuda (Περότιμος) and Olib (Αλωή) described by Constantine as *uninhabited* were of Slavic origin.87

It was a common practice for authors of the Early Middle Ages to describe and list towns or cities that were well-known and inhabited. This practice would only change in the context of military destruction of a particular town by labeling it destroyed or deserted. Even though these authors had mentioned numerous towns or cities, some of them were not part of the Christian world, *oikoumena*. *Oikoumena* means inhabited world, civilized world, but in the language of the Christian theological doctrine, it means above all, the Christian world, and the only one which was recognized and praised during the Middle Ages. The opposite of kastra oikoumena must be *civitas deserta/civitas destituta*, or as Constantine’s translator from Latin into Greek perhaps literally translated: ἐρημόκαστρα. There are some evidence in the Old Testament, which actually perfectly explained the true meaning of deserted or symmetrically opposite, populated place. And the inhabited cities shall be laid waste, and the land shall become a desolation; and you shall know that I am the Lord (Και οἱ πόλεις ἀι κατοικούμεναι ἔξερησιμόθεσαν καὶ ἡ γῆ εἰς ἀφαίνησιν ἔστε καὶ ἑπιγνώσεσθε διότι ἐγώ κύριος).88 The inhabited places for the Bible are those in which the spirit of the God dwells, as it is clearly stated in another verse: Until the Spirit is poured upon us from on high, and the wilderness becomes a fruitful field, and the fruitful field is deemed a forest (ἐως ἂν ἐπέλθῃ ἐφ’ ὑμᾶς πνεύμα ἁρ’ ψηλοῦ καὶ ἔσται ἐρήμος ὁ Χερμέλ καὶ ὁ Χερμέλ εἰς δρυμὸν λογισθήσεται).89 In the Book of Ezekiah, there are several examples, which also clarify the meaning of inhabited vs. uninhabited place (*civitates quae habitabatur and civitates desertaetae*): And they will say: this land that was desolate has become like the garden of Eden, and the waste and desolate and ruined cities are now fortified and inhabited (καὶ ἐροῦσιν ἡ γῆ ἐκεῖνη ἡ

87 FB II, 26, n. 70.
88 Ezekiel, XII, 20. The same verse in Latin: *Et civitates quae nunc habitantur desolatae erunt terraque deserta et scietis quia ego Dominus.*
89 Isaiah, XXXII, 15. The same verse in Latin: *Donec effundatur super nos spiritus de excelso et erit desertum in Chermel et Chermel in saltum reputabitur.*
The New Testament also contains similar examples of those we have already mentioned from the Old Testament. In the sentence: *Their voice has gone out to all the earth (γῆ), and their words to the ends of the world (τῆς οἰκουμένης τὰ όρια αὐτών), is the comprehension of the word *oikoumena* as the world inhabited by the word of God.*

We point out that the verb *oikeo*, to dwell, is not used in the New Testament only for humans, but also for the word of God. The following citation from the New Testament clearly shows it: Ὁ λόγος τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐνοικεῖτο ἐν ὑμνί πλουσίος.

Our main goal is to prove beyond any doubt that *kastra oikoumena* were the cities with the ecclesiastical organization, in which the Spirit of God dwelled, and *erimokastra* were those in which ecclesiastical organization did not exist anymore, and therefore, the Spirit of God did not dwell in them.

Pope John VIII wrote a letter in November 876 to Charles, the Frankish emperor, urging for help against the Arabs from southern Italy having previously described the magnitude of the destruction: *En civitates, castra et villae destitute habitatoribus perierunt et episcopi hac illacque dispersi, sola illis apostolorum principum limina derelicta sunt in refugium, cum episcopia eorum in ferarum sint redacta cubilia et, ipsi vagi et sine tectis inventi, non iam eis liceat praedicare, sed mendicare.*

The statement that all inhabitants left their cities must be considered as an exaggeration, but the fleeing of bishops was probably true. For the Pope, the desolated city was above all the city abandoned by its ecclesiastical authorities. The following example seems to confirm this thesis.

In November 1000, Bishop Ekkehard from Schleswig (996 – 1026) wrote: *Termini episcopatus mei barbarica sunt feritate depopulati, civitas deserta, ecclesia desolata, sedem non habeo.*

His sorrow was definitely directed towards the destroyed ecclesiastical organization.

William of Tyre gave an excellent example worth considering: *civitas quae habitatur* and *civitas deserta.* He said: *Jacuit autem multis temporibus*

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90 Ezekiah, XXXVI, 35. The same verse in Latin: *Dicent terra illa inculta facta est ut hortus voluptatis et civitates desertae et destitutae atque suffossae munitae sederunt.*


92 Col. 3:16.


94 Vita Bernwardi episcopi Hildesheimensis auctore Thancmaro, ed. G. H. Pertz, MGH SS IV, Hannoverae 1841, 768.3 – 5.
deserta, ita ut nec uno incoleretur habibatore, quousque dominus Balduinus, illustris memoriae Hierosolymorum rex quartus, ante captam Ascalonam, collectis regni viribus et publicis sumptibus, castrum in quadam parte civitatis munitum satis, aedificavit, constructu mque statim fratribus militiae Templi donavit, jure perpetuo possidendum. Castrum ergo totum collem, supra quem civitas fundata fuerat, ut praediximus, non potuit occupare; sed convenientes quidam ad loci illius habitacionem, ut totius ibi morarentur, reliquam partem collis, portis et muro, sed humili et infirmo, tentaverunt munire. It means that this desolated city was considered as being inhabited again [repopulated] only after the ruler rebuilt it and installed the monks of Temple in it.

In Gesta regis Ricardi there is an interesting description: ...et in opposita parte super littus maris in Romania est civitas deserta quae dicitur Sancta Karentet. Et ibi est bonus portus, latus et profundus. The city was allegedly deserted, but it still had a very nice port. The city was in fact, not deserted, but rather without an ecclesiastical organization.

The author of Constantine’s source was aware of the correct meaning of the term kastra oikoumena, as it was Constantine’s informant on the Pechenegs. Indeed it was Constantine who did not understand the exact meaning of the term. That is why he had to clarify for Diocletia (a deserted city) that was occupied, at the time by Diocletians. Such misunderstandings could have only occurred if his source was from earlier times, not from Constantine’s contemporary. Since he had some information on Dalmatia from his own time, Constantine probably tried to clarify some narrative parts that seemed strange to him. It is also important to stress that Constantine’s approach to Dalmatia was a political one, however his primary source Of the Croats and Of the Serbs, as it appears, was ecclesiastical. That is why even the same terminology could have a different meaning. For a Churchman, civitas deserta could primarily mean the city out of the ecclesiastical organization and for an emperor dominated by political thinking, this same term could have meant literally – deserted place.

Anastasius the Librarian, who played a major role as an administrative officer in Rome during the pontificates of three subsequent Popes: Nicholas I

95 Historia rerum in partibus transmarinis gestarum liber vigesimus, Lib. XX, Cap. XXI.
97 In fact, the basilica of the Forty Martyrs was deserted, and therefore the city itself was considered as the deserted; cf. Recent Research on the Late Antique Countryside, ed. W. Bowden – L. Lavan – C. Machado, Leyden 2004, 181.
CONSTANTINE PORPHYROGENITUS’ KASTRA OIKOUMENA

(858 – 867), Hadrian II (867 – 872), and John VIII (872 – 882), left an interesting clue about the meaning of oikoumena for the Romans and the Greeks. In his epistle to Pope Hadrian II in 871 he says: Verum cum apud Constantinopolim positus frequenter Grecos super hoc vocabulo reprehenderem et fastus vel arrogantiae redarguerem, asserbant, quod non ideo oecomenicon, quem multi universalem interpretati sunt, diocerent patriarcham, quod universi orbis teneat praesulatum, sed quod cuidam parti praesit orbis, quae a christianis inhabitatur. Nam quod Grece oecumeni vocatur, Latine non solum orbis, a cuius universitate universalis appellatur, verum etiam habitatio vel locus habitabilis nuncupatur.99 The English translation is as follows: When I was on my duty in Constantinople, I was often reprimanding the Greeks because of this term, having reproached them, their arrogance, and conceit, they claimed that they do not call their Patriarch ecumenical, being translated wrongly by many as universal, because he rules the whole world, but because he rules only the world which is inhabited by the Christians. Namely, what is called in Greek ekoumena in Latin should not be translated only as the world, by which universality the Patriarch should be called universal, but ekoumena also menas inhabited, and inhabitable place.

This example clearly shows that oikoumena meant not only the world inhabited by the Christians, but also every place the Christians lived in.100

The sections in the Slav chapters of the DAI that contain the term kastra oikoumena, would mean that the author of Constantine’s source listed the cities that were in his time, a part of the ecclesiastical organization. In the chapters Of the Croats, Zachlumians, Terbouniotes, and Pagani, the list of the kastra oikoumena is opened with the name of the city for which we are positive that it was the seat of bishop in the Early Middle Ages. In Croatia, it is Nin, in Zachlumi, Ston, in Terbounia, Trebinje, and in Pagania, Mokro. All these places are known as the bishoprics and each of them is placed at the head of the specific list of the kastra oikoumena.101 This cannot be by accident. For Dioclea and Serbia, we do not have other sources by which we could confirm that Gradetai and Destinik have been the seats of bishop or not. But the positive

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100 This example is also important for our understanding about the authorship of the Constantine’s major source on the Serbs and Croats; cf. T. Živković, De Conversione Chrtoatorum et Serborum – A Lost Source, Belgrade 2009, in print.
101 See, Živković, Crkvena organizacija, 111, 159, 169.
result in the cases of Croatia, Zachlumi, Terbounia, and Pagania allows us to assume that these two cities were actually the major centres of the ecclesiastical organization in those principalities too.

As previously mentioned, only few of these cities listed in the Slav chapters can be located without any doubt. It is interesting to note that in all of those that were located with certainty, there are archaeological evidence of the Early Medieval churches from the 9th century and on (see examples below).\textsuperscript{102} This coincidence of the Constantine list of these towns with the archaeological data is the strong evidence that \textit{kastra oikoumena} in fact meant the cities incorporated into ecclesiastical organization, to say: \textit{the cities inhabited by the Christians}.

If the first city, which opens the list of the \textit{kastra oikoumena} in particular principality, was the head of the ecclesiastical organization, then we must understand that other cities were in fact their parishes. In the case of Ošlje, there are the remnants of the large preromanic church.\textsuperscript{103} Risan was the seat of bishop; Ostrog (Zaostrog), had large Franciscan monastery in the Middle Ages, and this could be because of the antiquity of the ecclesiastical organization dated back in the Early Middle Ages; Brela, i. e. Constantine’s Beroulla was developed (Upper Brela) near the 13th century church of St. Nicholas,\textsuperscript{104} and Lower Brela was situated near the Church of St Stephen.\textsuperscript{105} The archeological site of Martiničić, Montenegro, revealed the Early Medieval town with the remnants of the very large basilica dated to the 9th or 10th centuries.\textsuperscript{106} It was proposed that this site was most probably the Constantine’s city of Lontodokla.\textsuperscript{107} Only for several of these supposed parishes we have confirmation of the existence of the churches from the Early Medieval times, and all of these places are called \textit{kastra oikoumena} by Constantine Porphyrogenitus. That connection could be additional evidence that the exact


\textsuperscript{103} T. Marasović, \textit{Ranosrednjevokovna crkva u Ošlju kod Stona}, Peristil 2 (1957) 85 – 89.

\textsuperscript{104} Ćirković, “\textit{Naseljeni gradovi}”,16.

\textsuperscript{105} There have never been archaeological excavations on those two sites.


\textsuperscript{107} \textit{Ibid.} 170. However, since there was a large basilica and a representative building (Court?) nearby, we would be more inclined towards the solution that this was rather Constantine’s city of Gradetai – the centre of the ecclesiastical organization of Diocleia in the 9th or 10th centuries.
meaning of the term *kastra oikoumena* was not *inhabited cities*, but the cities which belonged to the ecclesiastical organization.

Therefore, the *kastra oikoumena* does not represent the trace of the earliest territorial organization of the Slav principalities, but rather, the scheme of the earliest ecclesiastical organization in them. Furthermore, because of the Latin provenience of Constantine’s source, that organization reflected the Latin cult and development of the Roman Church in those regions. However, these cities can also be observed in the context of the territorial organization too, but primarily they were the cities incorporated into the ecclesiastical organization. According to this conclusion, we can propose that Constantine’s major source on the Serbs and Croats was actually of ecclesiastical provenience, originally written in Latin, and that this trace should be followed in further research in regard to other information preserved in the Slav chapters of the *DAI*. Furthermore, since the author used sophisticated terms for *inhabited* and *uninhabited* cites, which was based on his profound knowledge of the Latin and Greek terminology, we would say that the author was not an ordinary priest or monk, but rather a higher dignitary of the Roman Church, with the knowledge of the doctrine and theology.
Тибор ЖИВКОВИЋ

**KASTRA OIKOUMENA КОНСТАНТИНА ПОРФИРОГЕНИТА У ЈУЖНОСЛОВЕНСКИМ КЊЕЖЕВИНАМА**

Резиме

У поглављима о словенским кнежевинама у залеђу Далмације у делу *De administrando imperio* византијског цара Константина Порфирогенита (945 – 959), поменути су *kastra oikoumena* – израз који је у историографији без изузетка превођен као *насељени градови*. Необично би било да византијски цар, који у своме спису наводи десетине градова од Италије до Кавказа, само у словенским поглављима користи израз *насељени градови*. Анализа Константинове терминологије за градове показала је да *kastra oikoumena* не значи *насељени градови*, већ означава оне градове који припадају хришћанском свету, тј. Екumeni. Са овим закључком је у сагласности и чињеница да се у случају Хрватске, Захумље, Травуније и Паганије, на првом месту међу градовима поменутим у тим поглављима, налазе они за које се може поуздано утврдити било да су епископска средишта, или најважнија црквена средишта у тим кнежевинама – Хрватска – Нин, Захумље – Стоњица, Травунија – Требиње, Паганија – Макарска. У том случају Градете у Дукљи и Дестиник у Србији имала би једнако значење – били би средишта црквене организације у ове две кнежевине.

Такође, израз *megalà kastra oikoumena* у случају Дукље, не значи велики *насељени градови*, већ стари градови са црквеној организацијом. Супротан поjam *kastra oikoumena*, требало би да је Порфирогенитов израз *erimòkastra*, напуштени градови, који у овом контексту може да означава само оне градове који су изван црквене организације. У латинској терминологији ово се може превести као *civitas desertà/civitas destituta*, док се *kastra oikoumena* може превести као *civitas oecumenica*.

Ново тумачење поменутих Порфирогенитових израза упућује на важан закључак да је његов главни извор за најстарију историју Србија и Хрвате, а најпре за приповест о покрштавању и досељавању, био спис писан латинским језиком и црквеној проценицији. Аутор овог еписа, будући да показује добро познање црквене доктрине и терминологије, није био обичан свештенник или монах, већ припадник највише хијерархије римске цркве.