Bojana Vasiljević

"FEAR OF THE TURKS": MONASTIC DISCOURSE ON THE OTTOMAN THREAT IN 14TH- AND 15TH-CENTURY SERBIAN TERRITORIES

MA Thesis in Comparative History, with a specialization
in Interdisciplinary Medieval Studies.

Central European University

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December 2017

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(Serbia)

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Accepted in conformance with the standards of the CEU.

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Chair, Examination Committee

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Thesis Supervisor

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Examiner

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I, the undersigned, **Bojana Vasiljević**, candidate for the MA degree in Comparative History, with a specialization in Interdisciplinary Medieval Studies declare herewith that the present thesis is exclusively my own work, based on my research and only such external information as properly credited in notes and bibliography. I declare that no unidentified and illegitimate use was made of the work of others, and no part of the thesis infringes on any person's or institution's copyright. I also declare that no part of the thesis has been submitted in this form to any other institution of higher education for an academic degree.

Budapest, 15th of November 2017

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Signature

Abstract

The thesis analyzes late medieval Serbian texts, primarily produced by the members of monastic communities, regarding the fear of the Ottoman presence in the Serbian lands. These popular historical sources have traditionally been used to demonstrate the many hardships the Serbian population had to endure during the beginning of the era of Ottoman domination in the Balkans. In that way, late fourteenth- and early fifteenth-century writings of Serbian monks were conceptualized as important arguments in support of the nineteenth-century historiographical construct of "five centuries of Turkish yoke" in Serbia. The thesis analyzes these texts through the theoretical and methodological paradigm of the history of emotions as outlined by Barbara H. Rosenwein. Specifically, it conceptualizes the monastic sources as products of an *emotional community* and focuses on the discursive analysis of *emotives*—speech acts capable of social/emotional transformation through their very utterance. The thesis demonstrates that the "fear of the Turks" was an aspect of the broader apocalyptic discourse shared by the learned Byzantine theologians of the era. Moreover, the Athonite monks, primarily the members of the Byzantine Orthodox community, were also concerned with the recent schism between the Serbian Church and the patriarchate of Constantinople and the widely shared belief of the impending end of the world. The main cause behind the storied "fear of the Turks" thus does not lie in the Ottoman actions in the Balkans alone, but in the monks' appropriation of a Byzantine apocalyptic narrative in order to promote the unity and the interests of the Orthodox Commonwealth.

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Introduction

Times were bleak in Serbian lands[1] when Old Man Isaiah, a monk from the monastery

of Hilandar on Mount Athos, begun writing his famous lines:

> And thus I tell that I commenced with [the work on] this book of Saint Dionysius
> in good times, when the churches graced by God and Mount Athos, favored by
> the Heavens, flourished as if they were a garden, eternally watered by a spring,
> but I ended it in the worst of all vile times, when God struck with ire the
> Christians of the West. And Despot Uglješa gathered all Serbian and Greek
> armies under his banner, and with them his brother Vukašin and many other
> lords, some sixty thousands of the chosen soldiers, and went to Macedonia to cast
> out the Turks, not wise [enough] to know that there is no one who can oppose the
> wrath of God… After the slaying of this brave man, Uglješa, the Ishmaelites
> spread across the land like the birds unto the sky... Alas, sad was that sight to
> behold! The earth was stripped of all its riches – the men, the animals, and all
> other fruits. There was not a prince, nor a leader, nor a heir among men, nor a
> rescuer, nor a savior, and everyone was filled with fear of the Ishmaelites, and the
> brave hearts of courageous men turned into the weakest hearts of women [...] And
> verily, the living envied the dead.[2] [translation to English mine]

Isaiah penned this gloomy testimony right after a decisive battle in which the Serbian forces,

gathered under the banners of the aforementioned Uglješa and Vukašin, suffered a terrible

defeat against the Ottoman forces in the famed battle of Marica in 1371.[3] Isaiah himself had

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[1] Throughout the thesis I use the terms "Serbian lands" and "Serbian territories" to denote the geopolitical area governed by the Serbian king Stefan Uroš V or Uroš the Weak (1355–1371). See map 1 in appendix 1. I do not presuppose the existence of a Serbian ethnic state or anything similar by employing the term "Serbian lands" to roughly denote the area in which the authors of the sources analyzed in this thesis lived and worked.

[2] The original manuscript, written by Isaiah in Old Church Slavonic, containing this passage is presumed lost. There are several fifteenth-century copies of the original on the basis of which Đorđe Trifunović prepared his critical edition that I use in this thesis. There is also a more recent critical edition prepared by Hermann Goltz and Gelian Michajlovič Prochorov that I was, unfortunately, not able to procure. There are several translations of this text into modern Serbian and I have consulted the one translated by Đorđe Sp. Radojičić. Unless otherwise noted, from this point on all the translations into English are my own. I shall cite this source as Old Man Isaiah, "Записи" [Writings] in [Đorđe Trifunović] Ђорђе Трифуновић, *Писац и преводилац инок Исаија* [Writer and translator monk Isaiah] (Kruševac: Bagdala, 1980), 157–161. See also Hermann Goltz and Gelian Michajlovič Prochorov, eds., *Das Corpus des Dionysios Areiopagites in der slavischen Übersetzung von Starec Isaija (14. Jahrhundert)*, 5 vols., Monumenta linguae Slavicae dialecti veteris (Freiburg im Breisgau: Weiher, 2010), n.v.; Old Man Isaiah, "U dobra vremena poheč, a svrših u najgore od svih zlih vremena" [In good times I commenced, and in the worst of all times I finished] in *Antologija stare srpske književnosti (XI–XVIII veka)* [Anthology of old Serbian literature (XI–XVIII centuries)], trans. Đorđe Sp. Radojičić (Belgrade: Nolit, 1960), 99–101.

[3] I will discuss the importance of this battle in greater detail in the following chapters. For a brief overview of the battle see e.g. [Pavle Ivić] Павле Ивић et al., *Историја српског народа* [The history of Serbian people],

all the more reason to lament as the Ottoman forces even attacked the Orthodox monasteries of Mount Athos, including the monastery of Hilandar where the Old Man Isaiah served as a prior (*hegoumenos*).[4] This monk's gloomy description of the "fear of the Turks" is in no way exceptional in the context of Serbian monastic circles of the era; several of Isaiah's contemporaries committed to paper similar stressful testimonies. In these texts, primary sources which will be subject of analysis in the upcoming chapters, the motif of the "fear of the Turks" was a common feature.[5] The legacy of these texts, specifically of the narrative of the "fear of the Turks" that supposedly afflicted late medieval Serbian people, continues to have an influence to the present day.

The Battle of Marica and the subsequent Battle of Kosovo (1389) are still present in the collective memory of the modern day Serbian people.[6] At the present, mentions of these battles often transform into political slogans used by the Serbian nationalists as a tool for national identity building and the collective perpetuation of identity. For example, in 1989, on the solemn date marking the six hundredth anniversary of the famed Battle of Kosovo, the then president of Serbia, Slobodan Milošević, announced the time of the "spiritual

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vol. 2, Доба борби за очување и обнову државе (1371-1537) [The Age of Preservation and Restoration of the State (1371–1537) (hereafter: ИСН 2) (Belgrade: Srpska književna zadruga, 1982), 7–36.

[4] [Aleksandar Fotić] Александар Фотић, *Света Гора и Хиландар у Османском царству: XV-XVII век* [Mount Athos and the monastery of Hilandar in the Ottoman Empire: XV–XVII centuries] (Belgrade: Balkanološki institut SANU, 2000), 21. See more on the monastery of Hilandar in [Dimitrije Bogdanović] Димитрије Богдановић, [Vojislav J. Đurić] Војислав J. Ђурић, and [Dejan Medaković] Дејан Медаковић, *Хиландар* [Hilandar] (Belgrade: BIGZ, 1978). On the life of Old Man Isaiah [Trifunović], *Писац и преводилац*, 7–13.

[5] I use the term "fear of the Turks" in quotation marks to stress that I am dealing with a specific literary trope and not with just the emotion *per se*. Furthermore, I use the term Ottoman and not Turk to stress the multiethnic component of this particular late medieval empire. A collection of late fourteenth- and early fifteenth-century texts produced in Serbian lands is published in e.g. [Milica Grković] Милица Грковић, ed., *Списи о Косову: Монахиња Јефимија, Кнез Лазар, Књегиња Милица,Вук Бранковић, Непознати раванички монаси, Давид, Јелена Балшић, Андоније Рафаил Епактит, Деспот Стефан Лазаревић, Најстарији српски записи о Косову* [Writings on Kosovo: Euphemia the Nun, Prince Lazar, Princess Milica, Vuk Branković, Anonymous monks from Ravanica, David, Jelena Balšić, Andonije Rafail Epaktit, Despot Stefan Lazarević, the oldest Serbian notes on Kosovo], trans. Ђорђе Сп. Радојичић et al., Стара српска књижевност у 24 књиге 13 (Belgrade: Srpska književna zadruga, 1993).

[6] The best study on these "uses and abuses" of late medieval Serbian history is Marko Šuica, "The Image of the Battle of Kosovo (1389) Today: A Historic Event, a Moral Pattern, or the Tool of Political Manipulation," in *The Uses of the Middle Ages in Modern European States: History, Nationhood and the Search for Origins*, ed. R. J. W. Evans and Guy P. Marchal (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), 152–74.

mobilization" of Serbian people. During this striking speech in Gazimestan, a historical site where the famous Battle of Kosovo allegedly took place, Milošević dubbed Kosovo "the heart of Serbia" and deliberately evoked the historic conflict between Serbian and Ottoman armies of 1389 to animate hostilities between the Serbs and Bosnians—the flame that would ignite the Bosnian War of the 1990s.[7] At the same time, the Serbian Church begun displaying the earthly remains of Prince Lazar, a famed Serbian noble knight who died at the battle of Kosovo, throughout Serbia and Bosnia and Herzegovina. The metaphor was clear: a brave Serbian sainted hero who courageously defended the homeland against the infidels was used as a symbol to invoke feelings of national pride and rally the Serbian people in face of a new threat.[8]

This sort of construction of Serbian national identity in opposition to the "Turkish Other" stems from nineteenth-century romantic nationalism. Since the "Turks" played the role of the "other" in the construction of modern Serbian national identity, the "fear of the Turks" as portrayed by Old Man Isaiah and his contemporaries was conceptualized through nationalist nineteenth- and twentieth-century optics and perpetuated to this day through the popular phrase of "five centuries of Turkish yoke."[9]

The concept of "five centuries of Turkish yoke" was for a long time cultivated in the minds of present-day Serbian people. Generations grew up with prejudices about the "Turks" based on the corpora of Serbian folk epics like the *Kosovo* and *Post-Kosovo cycle*, or the film *The Battle of Kosovo* (orig. Serb. Бој на Косову) released in 1989 – all in various degrees

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[7] Ibid, 170. The video of this speech can be found on *YouTube* under the title "Celi govor Slobodana Miloševića na Gazimestanu 1989" [The entire speech of Slobodan Milošević in Gazimestan 1989], accessed October 1, 2017, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=vdU6ngDhrAA.

[8] See the video of this procession also on *YouTube* under the title "Отац Тадеј и Кнез Лазар 1989. година" [Father Tadej and Prince Lazar year 1989], accessed October 1, 2017, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=EYYZHU1zWBQ.

[9] [Marko Šuica] Марко Шуица, "Перцепција османског царства у Србији" [The perception of the Ottoman Empire in Serbia], in *Имагинарни Турчин* [The imaginary Turk], ed. Божидар Језерник (Belgrade: Biblioteka XX vek, 2010), 285–98. See also Dariusz Kołodziejczyk, "The 'Turkish Yoke' Revisited: The Ottoman Non-Muslim Subjects between Loyalty, Alienation, and Riot," *Acta Poloniae Historica* 93 (2004): 177–95.

inspired by late medieval sources.[10] These stereotypes were included in the narratives of history textbooks and manuals, and the image of an evil, *imaginary Turk* was for a time omnipresent.[11] Even though the situation is changing and historical literature is written with more criticism and objectivity, for some generations of Serbian people the idea of the "Turks" as poetic anti-heroes remains relevant.

This form of collective memory left a mark on the dominant conceptualization of the late medieval "fear of the Turks". These modern day preconceptions impede a more objective approach to the study of the motif of the "fear of the Turks" in fourteenth- and fifteenth-century Serbian sources. However, an objective analysis of this popular source material, free of nationalist sentiments and propaganda, coupled with a contemporary methodological approach will indubitably lead to a clearer, more nuanced understanding of this specific phenomenon.

Primary Sources

The main historical sources upon which generations of historians based their conceptualizations of the supposedly widespread "fear of the Turks" in late medieval Serbian territories are in fact a corpus of texts produced in the late fourteenth and early fifteenth century by the learned Orthodox men of letters, most of them monks. In the following I briefly describe the main sources I will analyze in this thesis: monastic writings that deal with the phenomenon of "fearing" the "Turks".

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[10] [Vojislav J. Đurić] Војислав Ј. Ђурић, ed., *Антологија српских народних јуначких песама* [The anthology of Serbian national epic poems] (Belgrade: Srpska književna zadruga, 2012). The entire film *Boj na Kosovu* is available online: "Boj na Kosovu - domaci film" [Battle of Kosovo - domestic production], accessed October 1, 2017, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=QXRuvlVHAKE.

[11] Dubravka Stojanović, "Stereotypes in Contemporary History Textbooks in Serbia as a Mirror of the Times," in *Oil on Fire? Textbooks, Ethnic Stereotypes and Violence in South-Eastern Europe*, ed. Wolfgang Hopken, Studies on International Textbook Research 89 (Hannover: Georg Eckert Institute, 1996), 125–37.

Much of my analysis is based on the writings of the aforementioned Old Man Isaiah, specifically his famed colophon at the end of his translations of the *Corpus Areopagitum*.[12] Both the translation and the accompanying colophon were made shortly after the battle of Marica (1371). This date marks the beginning of the chronological scope of the thesis. Isaiah was a monk of the Athonite monastery of Hilandar and possibly a witness to the Ottoman attacks who wrote his story after the Ottoman forces attacked monasteries of Mount Athos. As such, his colophon is an oft-cited source of seminal significance for the topic of the "fear of the Turks" in late medieval Serbian territories. I have added to the thesis the original Old Church Slavonic version of the text as well as its translation into modern English.[13]

On the Appointment of the Second Serbian Patriarch Master Sava is an entry in the famed codex known as *The Lives of Rulers and Archbishops of Serbia* [Serb. *Животи краљева и архиепископа српских*].[14] The collection was begun in 1317 by Archbishop Danilo II (†1337), a learned monk of the Athonite monastery of Hilandar and a high-ranking ecclesiastic, and contains biographies of famous archbishops and rulers from the Nemanjic dynasty. Danilo's work was continued by his disciples. Even though the Old Serbian *vitae* incorporated characteristics of several established literary discourses—namely hagiographic, historiographic and panegyric—the work of Danilo II and his continuators constitute a

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[12] See footnote 1 for the critical editions. A colophon is "a formulaic inscription which is usually located at the end of the principal text and provides information about the production of a manuscript." Kristina Nikolovska, "'When the Living Envied the Dead': Church Slavonic Paratexts and the Apocalyptic Framework of Monk Isaija's Colophon (1371)," in *Tracing Manuscripts in Time and Space through Paratexts*, ed. Giovanni Ciotti and Lin Hang, Studies in Manuscript Cultures 7 (Berlin: Walter De Gruyter, 2016), 189.

[13] See excerpt 1 in appendix 4.

[14] The best critical edition of the Old Church Slavonic text is still the nineteenth-century edition by Đuro Daničič. I shall cite it as Danilo's Continuator, "Ѡ поставлѥннн вьторааго патрнιарха срьблѥдь кнрь Савы" [On the appointment of the second Serbian patriarch master Sava], in *Животи краљева и архиепископа српских* [The lives of kings and archbishops of Serbia], ed. Ђуро Даничић (Zagreb: Svetozara Galca, 1866), 380–83. The best translation of the text into modern Serbian is [Gordon McDaniel] Гордон Мак Данијел, ed., *Данилови настављачи: Данилов Ученик, други настављачи Даниловог зборника* [Danilo's continuators: Danilo's disciple, other continuators of Danilo's miscellanea], trans. Лазар Мирковић (Belgrade: Srpska književna zadruga, 1989), 129–31. See also the edition with Radojčić's introduction, [Lazar Mirković] Лазар Мирковић, trans., *Животи краљева и архиепископа српских* [The lives of kings and archbishops of Serbia] (Belgrade: Srpska književna zadruga, 1935), 289–91.

category unto itself dubbed "Old Serbian *vita*" by Henrik Birnbaum.[15] The entry on the appointment of Master Sava (IV) as the Serbian patriarch (1354) was composed and inserted in the codex shortly after 1375, the year of Sava's death. Although the entry forms a part of the famed codex containing Old Serbian *vitae*, the text on patriarch Sava IV deals mainly with the Serbian Tsar Dušan, his political program and the schism between the Serbian and Byzantine Orthodox Churches. It is also the only entry in the entire codex that explicitly mentions the Ottoman Turks and their conquests in the region.

The Menaion of Michael the Sinner (Serb. Грешни Михајло), a monk of the Monastery of the Holy Virgin Mary of Hvostno (present day Kosovo in the region of Metohija).[16] Michael the Sinner copied the *Menaion* for January and left an interesting, albeit very short, commentary in which he vividly described his personal fears regarding the Ottoman presence and their growing power in the region following the Battle of Kosovo.

The Praise to the Holy Prince Lazar is an embroidery on a funeral shroud in the form of a poem written by Euphemia the Nun, before the battle of Angora in 1402.[17] Euphemia was born Jelena (c. 1349 – c. 1405), daughter of a Serbian landlord Vojihna, an associate of

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[15] Henrik Birnbaum, "Byzantine Tradition Transformed: The Old Serbian Vita," in *Aspects of the Balkans: Continuity and Change: Contributions to the International Balkan Conference Held at UCLA, October 23-28, 1969*, ed. Henrik Birnbaum and Speros Vryonis (The Hague: Mouton, 1972), 252. Birnbaum uses the term "genre" when describing the Old Serbian *vitae*, but advances in modern critical literary theory have rendered the category of "literary genre" obsolete. Although I agree with Birnbaum's observations and conclusions, I did substitute the term "genre" with a more modern and analytically more useful concept of "discourse." On the pre-modern conceptualizations of "genre" see e.g. Thomas G. Rosenmeyer, "Ancient Literary Genres: A Mirage?," in *Oxford Readings in Ancient Literary Criticism*, ed. Andrew Laird (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 421–39.

[16] Michel the Sinner, "Patih od straha turskog" [I suffered from the fear of the Turks], in *Antologija stare srpske književnosti (XI- XVIII veka)* [The anthology of old Serbian literature], trans. Đorđe Sp. Radojičić (Belgrade: Nolit, 1960), 115. Another edition is in [Grković], *Списи о Косову*, 178. A *menaion* is a liturgical book detailing the services on the immoveable feast days of the Orthodox Church in twelve volumes – one for each month. Adam Fortescue, "Menaion," *The Catholic Encyclopedia* (New York: Robert Appleton Company, 1911), accessed October 1, 2017, http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/10177b.htm.

[17] The shroud is kept in the museum of Serbian Orthodox Church in Belgrade. See image 1 in appendix 3 for the picture of Euphemia's shroud. The original Old Church Slavonic edition of the text is published as Nun Euphemia, "Похвала светом кнезу Лазару" [The praise to holy Prince Lazar] in *Примери из старе српске књижевности: Од Григорија до Гаврила Стефановића Венцловића* [Examples from the old Serbian literature: From Grigorije to Gavrilo Stefanović Venclović], ed. Ђорђе Трифуновић (Belgrade: Slovo ljubve, 1975), 85–86. See also the translations to modern Serbian in [Grković], *Списи о Косову*, 94–96 and [Radojičič], *Antologija*, 97–98.

Tsar Dušan. She married Uglješa Mrnjavčević, also a Serbian landlord, who died in the Battle of Marica fighting the Ottomans. After becoming a widow she lived in the household of prince Lazar in Kruševac and even negotiated with the sultan Bajazid during a diplomatic mission in 1398.[18] A presumed eyewitness of the Battle of Kosovo, she entered a monastic community and took the name of Euphemia. She authored three texts: *Lament for Young Uglješa* (a prayer engraved in diptych gifted to the monastery of Hilandar), *Inscription on the Hilandar Curtain* (a penitential text in the form of an embroidery), and *The Praise to Prince Lazar*, the only one dealing with the conflict between Serbian and Ottoman armies.[19]

Texts detailing the events of the Ottoman-Serbian conflicts can be found in the writings of the anonymous scribes from Ravanica, a monastery in the Kučaj mountains in present-day Central Serbia. Prince Lazar endowed the monastery in the second half of the fourteenth century and the monks produced several texts in support of the emerging cult of the holy Prince Lazar (†1389 in the Battle of Kosovo, sainted in 1390). Prince Lazar's body was transferred to the Ravanica monastery in 1392 and the texts were produced at the same time.[20] The first text, written by the so-called Anonymous I, is customarily given the title *The Life of the Holy Prince Lazar* (Serb. Житије светог кнеза Лазара). The text is written to support the nascent cult of a newly sainted prince and deals with the life of Prince Lazar in a panegyric manner.[21] This *vita* was meant to be read during the feast day of Saint Lazar (15/28 June, the date of the Battle of Kosovo and Lazar's death). A similar is the text written in the

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[18] Zaga Gavrilović, "Women in Serbian Politics, Diplomacy and Art at the Beginning of Ottoman Rule," in *Byzantine Style, Religion and Civilization: In Honour of Sir Steven Runciman*, ed. Elizabeth M. Jeffreys (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 72–90.

[19] [Đorđe Trifunović] Ђорђе Трифуновић, *Монахиња Јефимија: Књижевни радови* [Eufemia the Nun: literary works] (Kruševac: Bagdala, 1983), 47–51.

[20] [Radomir Nikolić] Радомир Николић, "Када је подигнута и живописана Раваница?" [When was Ravanica erected and ornamented], *Саопштења* 15 (1983): 45–64; [Vladimir R. Petković] Владимир Р. Петковић, *Манастир Раваница* [Ravanica monastery] (Belgrade: Napredak, 1922).

[21] The original Old Church Slavonic text was published by Stojan Novaković under the title "Something on Prince Lazar" (Нешто о кнезу Лазару). I shall cite this source edition as Anonymous I, "Житије светог кнеза Лазара" [The life of holy Prince Lazar], in [Stojan Novaković] Стојан Новаковић, "Нешто о кнезу Лазару" [Something on Prince Lazar], *Гласник српског ученог друштва* 21 (1867): 157–64. The translation to modern Serbian is in [Grković], *Списи о Косову*, 121–26.

1390s is the conventionally titled *The Praise to Prince Lazar* or *The Prologue Life of Prince Lazar* (Serb. Похвала кнезу Лазару, Пролошко житије кнеза Лазара) attributed to the Anonymous of Ravanica II.[22] The final text is attributed to Anonymous III and dates from the end of the fourteenth and the beginning of the fifteenth century.[23] The text describes the heroic death of Prince Lazar, written in a panegyric style similar to the other anonymous monks from Ravanica, and it contains the most extensive description of the Ottomans out of all the sources outlined here.

Finally, *The Life of Stefan Lazarević, Despot of Serbia* is a unique biography not written by a Serbian monk, which, according to Birnbaum, is the highest literary achievement of Old Serbian *vitae* writing.[24] This biography of a famed Serbian ruler, laden with detailed historical information, was written by Constantine the Philosopher (Constantine of Kostenets), a Bulgarian man of letters who migrated to Serbia in 1393 after the fall of Trnovo and Plovdiv to the Ottoman forces, and became a member of Stefan Lazarević's court. He served as the despot's diplomat and courtly scholar, authoring works such as *The Story of*

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[22] The text were discovered in the 1950s by Ђорђе Радојичић who prepared the critical editions of the source. I shall cite this source edition as Anonymous II, "Похвала кнезу Лазару" [The praise to Prince Lazar], in [Ђорђе Сп. Радојичић] Ђорђе Сп. Радоичић, "Похвала кнезу Лазару са стиховима" [The praise to Prince Lazar with verses], *Историјски часопис* 5 (1955): 241–54. The translation into modern Serbian in [Grković], *Списи о Косову*, 127–29.

[23] Алекса Vuković published the original Old Church Slavonic in 1859. I shall cite this source edition as Anonymous III, "О кнезу Лазару" [On Prince Lazar], in [Aleksa Vukomanović] Алекса Вукомановић, "О кнезу Лазару" [On Prince Lazar], *Гласник друштва српске словесности* 11 (1859): 108–18. Parts of the text in modern Serbian translation in [Grković], *Списи о Косову*, 133–35. There is no standardized title of this text yet as modern translations only publish parts of the texts with provisional titles. Since the editor of the Old Church Slavonic text originally dubbed it simply *On Prince Lazar* (Serb. О кнезу Лазару), this is the title I will use as well when referring to this text.

[24] The best critical edition of the original Old Church Slavonic version remains the one edited by Vatroslav Jagić and published in 1875 under the title *Константин Филозоф и његов Живот Стефана Лазаревића деспота српског* [Constantine the Philosopher and his Life of Stefan Lazarević, Despot of Serbia]. I shall cite this edition as Constantine the Philosopher, "Живот Стефана Лазаревића деспота српског" [The Life of Stefan Lazarević, Despot of Serbia], ed. Ватрослав Јагић, *Гласник српског ученог друштва* 42 (1875): 223–327. There are several translations of this text into modern Serbian. I have mainly consulted "Живот деспота Стефана Лазаревића" [The life of Despot Stefan Lazarević], in *Старе српске биографије XV и XVII века: Цамблак, Константин, Пајсије* [Old Serbian biographies between the fifteenth and seventeenth centuries: Tsamblak, Constantine, Pajsije], trans. Лазар Мирковић (Belgrade: Srpska književna zadruga, 1936), 42–123.

Letters [orig. *Skazanije o pismeneh*], a manual on Old Church Slavonic style and grammar.[25]

Constantine was also put in charge of the so-called School of Resava, a cultural centre operating within the monastery of Manasija (endowed by the same Stefan Lazarević) and gathering men of letters in the production of manuscripts (translating, copying, illuminating).[26] Although not a monk himself, Constantine was closely linked to monastic communities through the monastery of Manasija. The *Life of Stefan Lazarević* was commissioned by the patriarch Nicon after Stefan Lazarević's death in 1427 and the work was finished in 1433. This date marks the end of the chronological scope of the present thesis.

All of these sources were produced in the late fourteenth and early fifteenth century, at the very height of the Ottoman threat in the region and during several seminal conflicts between the Christian and Ottoman forces in the Balkans. Moreover, all of the sources, except the *vita* authored by Constantine the Philosopher, are products of the learned members of Orthodox monasteries, religious communities that could easily conceptualize the Ottomans as the dangerous "other" in opposition to the Orthodox Church. Therefore, it is possible that the descriptions of the "fear of the Turks" follow similar patterns and share the same topoi. However, even though these texts make up an organic corpus of sources describing the "fear of the Turks" in late medieval Serbian territories, so far no scholar studied them together, analyzing the shared patterns behind the narrative construction of this particular literary trope.

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[25] [Jelka Ređep] Јелка Ређеп, *Старе Српске биографије (поетика жанра)* [Old Serbian biographies (poetics of genre)] (Novi Sad: Prometej, 2008), 103–22; Birnbaum, "Byzantine Tradition Transformed," 277–81.

[26] Hence the Serbian saying "Resavska škola" [School of Resava] to refer to truant students cheating during written exams. See more on Stefan Lazarević and his connections to the School of Resava in [Gordana Jovanović] Гордана Јовановић, "Деспот Стефан Лазаревић и Ресавска школа" [Despot Stefan Lazarević and the School of Resava], in *Ресавска школа и деспот Стефан Лазаревић: округли сто, Манастир Манасија 28.08. 1993* [The School of Resava and Despot Stefan Lazarević: A round table, monastery of Manasija 28.08.1993], ed. Мирослав Пантић (Despotovac: Narodna biblioteka "Resavska škola," 1994), 73–6.

Literature Overview

In Serbian historiography, studies dealing with the phenomenon of the "fear of the Turks" do not base their analyses on the corpus of the aforementioned sources. When discussing these texts in connection with the Ottoman presence in the region the analyses mainly deal with the potential causes of the "fear of the Turks" and not with the narrative construction of the fear itself. In other words, monastic accounts are taken at face value as reliable descriptions of genuine sentiments shared across the entire social spectrum of the Serbian territories during the era.

The first scholarly publication to tackle the issues of the "fear of the Turks" in late medieval Serbian territories, specifically after the battle of Kosovo, is the oft-cited article authored by Jovanka Kalić, titled "'The Fear of the Turks' after Kosovo."[27] The study begins with the quote from Michael the Sinner regarding his fears, specifically his fear of the Turks, to create a general setting for the entire article. Michael the Sinner's account is taken for granted as a description of a generally shared sentiment among the Serbian population of the era. The author claims that the "fear of the Turks in Serbia was realistic" even though the historical sources are extremely scarce.[28] Kalić then proceeds to ignore all other written sources detailing the "fear of the Turks" and instead focuses on material sources and archeology to illuminate the causes and effects of this "widespread fear."

The author presents the results of archaeological research conducted on the territory of medieval city of Deževo, today a part of the town of Novi Pazar in the Raška district. In the Middle Ages, Deževo was in the possession of the Nemanjić dynasty and it is of great

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[27] [Jovanka Kalić] Јованка Калић, "'Страх турски' после Косова'" ["The fear of the Turks" after Kosovo] in *Свети кнез Лазар, Споменица о шестој стогодишњици Косовскога боја 1389-1989* [Saint Prince Lazar, memorial on the six hundredth anniversary of the Battle of Kosovo] (Belgrade: Sveti Arhijerejski sinod SPC, 1989), 185–91. All the studies presented in this literature overview refer to this Kalić's publication.
[28] "Страх од Турака је у Србији био реалан." Ibid., 186.

importance that the town served, especially during the thirteenth century, as a residence of the Serbian rulers. Kalić focuses on the old cemetery in the settlement's vicinity that dates to the Nemanjić era and concludes that the burials in that specific locality stopped abruptly sometime between the late fourteenth and the beginning of the fifteenth century. Moreover, an old Orthodox church in the vicinity of the cemetery was destroyed during the same time. Notwithstanding the fact that a new cemetery was built in the close vicinity of the old one in the course of the fifteenth century, Kalić cursorily concludes that these facts exemplify the effects of the same fear described by Michael the Sinner.[29]

Even more troubling is Kalić's analysis of written documents. The author compares two sets of toponyms from two documents detailing roughly the same geographical area— one from a charter from 1314 and the other from an Ottoman register from 1455. Since some toponyms cannot be found in the Ottoman source, Kalić asserts that the reason behind this fact lies in the destructive effects of the Ottoman threat, the "fear of the Turks" that drove away the Serbian population.[30]

In sum, Kalić produced a short paper that was primarily meant to demonstrate the effects of the "fear of the Turks"—a phenomenon that was taken for granted. The study was written for a specific publication—a volume marking the six-hundred-year anniversary of the Battle of Kosovo published by the Serbian Orthodox Church. Bearing in mind the publication, the publisher and the overall political climate in Serbia in 1989, Kalić's article seems specifically tailored to an ideological point of view; it was important to clearly depict the Battle of Kosovo from a nationalist viewpoint and present the Ottomans as the dangerous and destructive "other" in comparison to the Serbs. Moreover, the motive of "fear" is not the

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[29] [Kalić], "Страх турски," 189–91.
[30] Ibid., 188–89.

subject of analysis in the study, but is rather used as a tool to make the story more dramatic and personal. As such, Kalić's often cited publication has little academic value.

A completely different approach to the study of the phenomenon of fear, including the "fear of the Turks," is found in the landmark publication of Radivoj Radić. His two-volume monograph on fear in the Late Byzantium deals with various causes of fear (ranging from the fear of the West, through the fear of death, prophets, God, the sea and natural catastrophes, to the fear of the Turks), their representations and effects on the Byzantine society throughout the High and late Middle Ages.[31] The publication is primarily of a descriptive nature as the author neither undertakes comprehensive discourse analysis, nor investigates reoccurring literary tropes and motifs. The entire volume is conceptualized as a broad survey of the issues regarding the phenomenon of fear in Byzantium; the author's intention is to "outline a view of the phenomenon of fear in late Byzantium" and to "open certain questions which have not received due attention in Byzantine studies."[32]

The chapter that specifically deals with the "fear of the Turks" is a descriptive compilation of sources, woven into a beautiful narrative about the demise of the Byzantine empire. The author quotes a variety of sources including the writings of Old Man Isaiah, the Bulgarian Short Chronicle, Constantine the Philosopher, but also Byzantine writers such as Demetrios Cydones, Nicephorus Gregoras, and many more. Radić's chapter does not present a comprehensive analysis of the phenomenon of the "fear of the Turks" in the Byzantine world and it does not deal with all the sources presented in this thesis.[33] However, the author does succeed in what he intended: "to encourage future scholars to undertake research on this

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[31] [Radivoj Radić] Радивој Радић, *Страх у позној Византији 1180- 1453* [Fear in the Late Byzantium 1180-1453], 2 vols. (Belgrade: Stubovi Kulture, 2000).
[32] [Radić], *Страх у позној Византији*, 2: 296.
[33] Ibid., 2: 201–41.

interesting field in Byzantine studies."[34] Due to the pleasant writing style and the number of sources it describes, the work indeed moves the reader to empathize with medieval Byzantines and inspires future scholars to reinvestigate this topic and to examine the presented sources in greater detail. To some extent, I am personally indebted to the author for this wonderful book that sparked my interest in the topic, entangled me in the issues of the production of fear, and inspired me to work on this thesis.

Finally, in 2006 Marko Šuica dedicated an article to the "fear of the Turks" in Serbian territories.[35] The article primarily deals with military and political history. Šuica does not deal with the narrative construction of the "fear of the Turks" and instead, similarly to Kalić, focuses on the causes and effects of this putatively widespread phenomenon. Although the study analyzes in great detail the written sources regarding the military conflicts between the armies led by Serbian landlords and the Ottomans, the main engines of the "fear of the Turks" are found to be the Ottoman *akinji*s and their sudden, destructive raids that "sow the 'Fear of the Ishmaelites'."[36] Throughout the paper, the phrase "the fear of the Turks" is simply used as a synonym for the Ottoman presence in the region.[37] Although the author cites the Old Man Isaiah's famous colophon, he conceptualizes the monastic narratives of the age as credible sources attesting to the genuinely widespread fear across the entire Serbian population, specifically after the decisive Battle of Kosovo. As such, Šuica's study is a valuable contribution to the historiography on Serbian military campaigns in the late

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[34] [Radić], *Страх у позној Византији*, 2: 297.

[35] [Marko Šuica] Марко Шуица, "Приповести о српско турским окршајима и 'страх од Турака' 1386. године" [Stories of Serbian-Turkish Conflicts and the 'Fear of the Turks' in year 1386], *Историјски часопис* 53 (2006): 93–122.

[36] It seems equally likely that the Ottomans purposefully trespassed the borders of, at the time still unconquered, territories in order to scout the terrain, disturb the populace close to the borders and to test the porousness of the borders with the next state that was a part of their plans of conquest. In other words, in order to sow the 'Fear of the Ishmaelites'. ("Чини се подједнако вероватним и да су Османлије намерно прешле границу, до тада још непокорене територије, да би извршили извиђање терена, узнемирили погранично становништво и испробали порозност граница следеће државе која им је улазила у освајачке планове. Једноставно речено, да би посејале «страх измаиљићански».") [Šuica], "Приповести о српско турским окршајима," 98.

[37] Ibid., 114, 116.

fourteenth century, but it does not specifically deal with the phenomena of the "fear of the Turks" based on the sources presented in this thesis.

As was demonstrated in this brief overview, despite the popularity of the source material and of the "fear of the Turks" motif in Serbian historiography, no one has so far undertaken a detailed analysis of the entire corpus of relevant written sources and approached the phenomenon of fear as a discursive trope, employed by the members of monastic communities within a specific framework and, potentially, with a particular purpose. Such an analysis must be rooted in a contemporary research paradigm specifically developed for the study of emotions in the past. Luckily, the past decade has seen a noticeable increase in historiographical output dealing with emotions. The landmark publications in this budding field of the history of emotions are of vital importance in crafting a viable theoretical and methodological framework for this thesis.

Emotional Communities and Emotives: Theoretical Paradigms and Analytical Concepts

Even though the subject of emotions—the reasons behind their manifestations, and their influence on the human behavior—has been tackled by numerous prominent authors from classical antiquity (most notably Aristotle), the Middle Ages (e.g. Thomas Aquinas) and the Enlightenment all the way to the present day, the history of emotions as a distinct branch of contemporary historiography is a relatively young discipline.[38] One of the main reasons behind historians' long neglect of emotions as a worthwhile historical subject lies in the fact that emotions were for a long time considered from an essentialist-universalistic point of view. Emotions were seen as deeply engrained in human biology as a result of thousands of years of human evolution and as universal responses to outside stimuli in all human

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[38] A great introduction to the field is Jan Plamper, *The History of Emotions: An Introduction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 12–25.

societies.[39] According to this view, to use an example relevant to this thesis, fear is an emotion that is essentially the same for a Roman soldier facing an overwhelmingly larger army, a medieval knight about to fall from his horse into a river, or a Yugoslav partisan apprehended by the Nazis. All three protagonists would exhibit the same biological responses that constitute the emotion we label as "fear": "raised pulse, dilated pupils, thumping heart, cold sweat."[40] If emotions are truly a constant throughout human history, then they are transhistorical and as such cannot constitute a viable object of historical analyses.

This essentialist-universalistic view has been successfully challenged by a number of studies both in the fields of life sciences and social sciences alike.[41] Even though some tenets of the universalistic view of emotions are beyond discussion, namely the phylogenetic aspects, emotions cannot be understood without considering the social aspect. This social constructionist paradigm conceptualizes emotions as primarily "socially shaped responses to events that are socially defined as significant."[42] This means that even though emotions inarguably have a biological dimension, it is precisely the social setting in which they manifest themselves that both shapes their expression and influences their interpretation.[43] American anthropologist David L. Scruton, who edited a monograph on the social aspects of the production of fear, gave a keen summary of the social sciences approach to the topic of emotions back in 1986. According to this scholar,

> The question which ought to guide us is not where do they [emotions] lie, waiting
> to be aroused by some events that jolt them into consciousness so they percolate
> up from the depths of our psyches to the level of awareness, and cause our

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[39] A famous example of this view is Paul Ekman, *Emotions Revealed: Recognizing Faces and Feelings to Improve Communication and Emotional Life* (New York: Times Books, 2003).

[40] Plamper, *The History of Emotions*, 32.

[41] Life sciences is a term employed by Plamper, among others, that "first emerged in the 1980s as an extension of the more restricted sense of 'biology', introducing areas such as cognitive psychology, brain research, or computer-based neurological research that dealt with living organisms." Plamper, *The History of Emotions*, 8.

[42] Barbara H. Rosenwein, *Emotional Communities in the Early Middle Ages* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2006), 14.

[43] The classic study is still Claire Armon-Jones, "The Social Functions of Emotion," in *The Social Construction of Emotions*, ed. Rom Harré (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1986), 57–82.

capillaries to dilate or constrict, our hearts to accelerate, our hands to tremble, and our stomachs to knot. The important, if infrequently asked, question is: what is their role in our lives?[44]

Moreover, emotions are also differently experienced and expressed in various societies throughout different historical periods. For example, Gerd Althoff's famous study on the expression of royal anger and its social role in the high medieval Holy Roman Empire demonstrated that anger, both its expression and interpretation, are socially determined; emotions are therefore susceptible to change both over time and in different social settings.[45] One can thus wholly agree with the keen observation by Clifford Geertz that "[n]ot only ideas, but emotions too, are cultural artifacts in man."[46] Hence, the social constructionist conceptualization of emotions as not only biological but also social phenomena makes emotions a viable subject of historiographical analysis.

The first historian who called for the systemic study of emotions as a distinctive historiographical topic was Lucien Febvre. This "father of emotion history" was the first to warn that historians often times deal with emotions unknowingly and anachronistically, imposing their own present-day standards of expression and interpretations of emotions on societies centuries removed from the historians' contemporary world.[47] Febvre's essay was ahead of its time; it would take over thirty years for the history of emotions to establish itself as a specific branch of historiography.

Before Febvre's plea for the history of emotions, the main publications dealing with emotions through history were Norbert Elias's *Civilizing Process* and Johan Huizinga's *The Waning of the Middle Ages*, both studies relying heavily on the so-called hydraulic

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[44] David L. Scruton, "The Anthropology of an Emotion," in *Sociophobics: The Anthropology of Fear*, ed. David L. Scruton (Boulder: Westview Press, 1986), 27.

[45] Gerd Althoff, "*Ira Regis*: Prolegomena to a History of Royal Anger," in *Angers Past: The Social Uses of an Emotion*, ed. Barbara H. Rosenwein (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1998), 59–74.

[46] Clifford Geertz, "The Growth of Culture and the Evolution of Mind," in *The Interpretations of Cultures: Selected Essays* (New York: Basic Books Inc., 1973), 81.

[47] Lucien Febvre, "Sensibility and History: How to Reconstitute the Emotional Life of the Past," in *A New Kind of History: From the Writings of Febvre*, ed. Peter Burke (London: Routledge, 1973), 12–26.

conceptualization of emotions.[48] According to this antiquated paradigm, emotions are fluid-like, spilling over during arousing episodes in which the provoked individual simply cannot contain them anymore. For Elias, this control over the "spilling out" of one's emotion is what constitutes the "civilizing process." Subsequently, in the era before the "civilizing process" gained ground, i.e. the Middle Ages, emotions were "spilling out" more spontaneously, in a child-like manner.[49] Due to the massive popularity of both of these publications, this hydraulic model of emotions remained a dominant narrative in historiography for many decades. It took a bold historian, Barbara H. Rosenwein, in my opinion one of the leading scholars of contemporary medieval studies, to finally put Huizinga's conceptualization of medieval emotions to rest and singlehandedly usher in a new era in the history of emotions.

Rosenwein first begun studying emotions in history in the 1990s when she edited a now classic volume on the history of anger.[50] The essays published in this volume demonstrated that anger—an emotion—indeed had its past, one that completely defied Elias's and Huizinga's conceptualizations. The success of the volume motivated Rosenwein to undertake a systematic study of emotions in history, focusing on the medieval era. The result was the book *Emotional Communities*, a seminal publication in the nascent field of the history of emotions that also profoundly influenced the theoretical paradigm I adopted in this thesis. Rosenwein builds upon the social constructionists' view of emotions and connects it with the cognitivists' approach that views emotions as "innate responses to evolutionary significant events."[51] Thus, she defines emotions as assessments or appraisals, "judgments about whether something is good or bad for us. These assessments depend, in turn, upon our

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[48] Elias Norbert, *The Civilizing Process: Sociogenetic and Psychogenetic Investigations*, trans. Edmund Jephcott (Oxford: Blackwell, 2000); Johan Huizinga, *The Waning of the Middle Ages: A Study of the Forms of Life, Thought and Art in France and the Netherlands in the XIVth and XVth Centuries*, trans. Frederik J. Hopman (New York: Doubleday, 1924).

[49] On the hydraulic model of emotions see especially Robert C. Solomon, *The Passions* (New York: Anchor Press, 1976), 138–50.

[50] Barbara H. Rosenwein, ed., *Angers Past: The Social Uses of an Emotion* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1998).

[51] Rosenwein, *Emotional Communities*, 14–15.

values, goals, and presuppositions—products of our society, community, and individual experience."[52]

Rosenwein needed to create a theoretical paradigm and a methodological framework in which she could position her approach in the history of emotions. It must be emphasized here that Rosenwein's approach, and mine as well, does not intend to uncover how person X or society Y "really felt" in a given situation. No historian can achieve these results regardless of the employed methodology. Instead our approach aims at illuminating the cultural matrix in which the representations, articulations and interpretations of various emotions were operating.[53] For that purpose, Rosenwein puts forward her concept of *emotional community*: "groups in which people adhere to the same norms of emotional expression and value—or devalue—the same or related emotions."[54] The concept is influenced mainly by Brian Stock's notion of textual communities; both conceptualize social groups that share common features based upon the texts they (re)produce.[55] The concept of emotional community also draws from Bourdieu's notion of *habitus*—a socially acquired system of dispositions—and Foucault's common *discourse*: "shared vocabularies and ways of thinking that have a controlling function, a disciplining function."[56] Lastly, emotional community is a social community,

> [b]ut the researcher looking at them seeks above all to uncover systems of feeling, to establish what these communities (and the individuals within them) define and assess as valuable or harmful to them (for it is about such things that people express emotions); the emotions that they value, devalue, or ignore; the nature

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[52] Ibid., 191.

[53] As was stressed in Barbara H. Rosenwein, "Problems and Methods in the History of Emotions," *Passions in Context* 1, no. 1 (2010): 11, "I do not claim that the study of emotional communities will teach us how "a certain individual feels in a certain situation." I claim only that it will help us understand how people articulated, understood, and represented how they felt. This, in fact, is about all we can know about anyone's feelings apart from our own."

[54] Rosenwein, *Emotional Communities*, 2.

[55] Brian Stock, *The Implications of Literacy: Written Language and Models of Interpretation in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1983).

[56] Rosenwein, *Emotional Communities*, 25. Bourdieu's best treatment of his concept of *habitus* is Pierre Bourdieu, *The Logic of Practice*, trans. Richard Nice (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1980), 52–65.

of the affective bonds between people that they recognize; and the modes of emotional expression that they expect, encourage, tolerate, and deplore.[57]

Another seminal concept is *emotive*, which Rosenwein borrowed from William M. Reddy.[58] This analytical tool is in turn influenced by John L. Austin's *performative* speech act: an utterance that does not simply describe, but changes the speaker's reality.[59] The most famous example of a performative is "I do" uttered by a groom at the wedding ceremony; the utterance transforms the speaker into a married man. Similarly, emotives also bring about change with their very utterances, but do so by invoking feelings; the phrase "the nation mourns" constitutes a nation as a social group capable of sharing emotions and, consequently, having a shared system of values.[60] In the context of this study, the utterance "fear the Turk" is an emotive which constitutes the "Turk" as a distinct group, different from "us", i.e. the ones who are afraid. To utter the emotive of fear is also to produce fear and, consequently, the production of this emotion changes the speaker's reality. This observation regarding the socially transformative potential of the production of fear requires some further clarification.

Conceptualized as a primary emotion by Aristotle and elaborated by Thomas Aquinas, fear has drawn the attention of scholars across various disciplines.[61] The most extensive treatment of fear from an anthropological standpoint, although rarely cited, is the above-mentioned volume edited by Scruton.[62] Scruton defines sociophobics "as the study of human fears as these occur and are experienced in the context of the sociocultural systems humans have created, lived in, been shaped by, and reacted to for numberless millennia."[63] From a

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[57] Rosenwein, "Problems and Methods," 11.

[58] William M. Reddy, "Against Constructionism: The Historical Ethnography of Emotions," *Current Anthropology* 38, no. 3 (1997): 327–51; William M. Reddy, *The Navigation of Feeling: A Framework for the History of Emotions* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), especially 143–4. See also Plamper, *The History of Emotions*, 251–65.

[59] The classic study remains John L. Austin, *How to Do Things with Words* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1962).

[60] Plamper, *The History of Emotions*, 257.

[61] Barbara H. Rosenwein, "Emotions Words," in *Le Sujet des émotions au Moyen Âge*, ed. Piroska Nagy and Damien Boquet (Paris: Beauchesne, 2008), 93–106, especially 104–5.

[62] See footnote 46.

[63] Scruton, "The Anthropology of an Emotion," 9.

clear social constructionist viewpoint the author goes on to define fear as "a social act which

occurs within a cultural matrix" and invites scholars to position their research on fear within a

wide social framework.[64] According to Scruton,

> [i]t is impossible to understand fully what human fearing is, how fears happen in
> the individual, how they are expressed both to self and to others, how they are
> received and reacted to by others in the community, and what their function in
> our lives is unless we treat fearing as a feature of cultural experience, which
> people participate in because they are members of specific societies at particular
> times. Fearing is thus dimension of human social life.[65]

David Parkin, who also contributed an article to the Scruton's volume, went a step

further and classified fear as either "raw" or "respectful." According to Parkin, raw fear is

"untamed" and "uncontrolled", happening "spontaneously" and "unpredictably." Respectful

fear, on the other hand, is "tamed" and "institutionalized", "commodified" and thus

"instrumentalized."[66] For example, a sudden outbreak of the plague in a medieval village

creates an abrupt wave of fear of contracting the deadly disease—this is raw fear. The society

can then "tame" this fear by transforming it into respectful. The mortal plague can, for

example, be interpreted by the local clergy as God's punishment due to the villagers'

excessive consumption of alcohol or carnal indulgence. If the majority of the villagers come

to regard the outbreak of the plague as God's punishment for their sinful deeds, the local

priests would successfully "tame" the fear and institutionalize it within the Church, allowing

them in turn to use it as an instrument for strengthening their own authority in the

community. "[R]espectful fear is a commodity: that is to say, you can increase the amounts of

fear you might inject into your authority system. To do this you capture, so to speak,

elemental fear and incorporate it within your right to rule."[67]

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[64] Ibid., 10.
[65] Ibid., 8.
[66] David Parkin, "Toward an Apprehension of Fear," in *Sociophobics: The Anthropology of Fear*, ed. David L. Scruton (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1986), 158–72.
[67] Parkin, "Toward an Apprehension of Fear," 169.

Although not building directly upon Parkin's classification of fear, many authors stress the differences between various types of fear. Corey Robin, for example, differentiates between private fear (one's fear of spiders for example) and political fear (that "arising from conflicts within and between societies").[68] This political fear lends itself to the social elites who can adopt its production for "enlivening, unifying, and controlling otherwise divided and demoralized peoples and political systems."[69] Both Parkin and Robin, among others, agree that the production of fear can be embraced and instrumentalized by the social elites in order to strengthen their own authority, legitimize their rule and/or assert their dominance. One way of instrumentalizing fear is "othering" through the use of fear emotives.[70] The utterance "Fear the Turk!" for example, constitutes a specific ethnic/religious group as the "other" and, consequently, produces the cohesive force for the members of ingroup who for some reason should be fearful of the outgroup "other." The transformation of one fear, whether raw or private, into the other, respectful or political, and the modes of its instrumentalization are therefore of seminal importance to the historian studying the production of fear.

There are many other concepts and analytical tools historians of emotions have resorted to in the budding field of history of emotions, such as "emotional regime" (in a way similar to Rosenwein's emotional community), emotional navigation, emotional habitus, and so on.[71] Even though various concepts could be employed for the sources analyzed in this thesis, I will employ Rosenwein's methodology and her concept of emotional communities, Reddy's emotives and Parkin's distinction between "raw" and "respectful" fear as the main analytical engines for my thesis. There are several reasons for the adoption of Rosenwein's

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[68] Corey Robin, *Fear: The History of a Political Idea* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 2.
[69] Margot A. Henriksen, "Review of Corey Robin, Fear: The History of a Political Idea. New York: Oxford University Press. 2004," *The American Historical Review*, 110, no. 4, (2005): 1139.
[70] On "othering" as process of creating the "others" through which the "We" identity is defined see e.g. Nikolas Coupland, "'Other' Representation," in *Society and Language Use*, ed. Jürgen Jaspers, Jef Verschueren, and Jan-Ola Östman (Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 2010), 241–60; Nina Rowe, "Other," *Studies in Iconography* 33 (2012): 131–44.
[71] Cf. the glossary of terms in Plamper, *The History of Emotions*, 303–4.

approach: first, Rosenwein has clearly demonstrated her methodology in a series of publications specifically tailored to the medieval historian and as such her approach lends itself particularly well to the analysis of sources this thesis deals with; second, the texts I deal with are primarily produced by the members of a monastic community—a group that can easily be conceptualized as both textual and emotional community. Finally, even though several historians approached the topic of the "fear of the Turks" in late medieval Serbian territories, none of them analyzed the sources with Rosenwein's methodological approach. By employing this specific methodology I will also test the epistemological potential of Rosenwein's research paradigm.

Aims of the Thesis and Methodology

The aim of this thesis is to analyze the "fear of the Turks" as a specific literary trope and a discourse, produced by the members of particular communities, mainly monastic, during an era of political instability. I follow Foucault's conceptualization of discourse as a culturally specific form of knowledge production, "systems of thoughts composed of ideas, attitudes, courses of action, beliefs and practices that systematically construct the subjects and the worlds of which they speak."[72] Since I deal with narratives created during the time of war between the Ottomans and the Serbian rulers, the production of fear might be explained as a perfectly natural occurrence, a consequence of life-threatening warfare. As noted in the overview of the literature above, this is still the prevalent reading of these monastic texts. However, to conceptualize these sources as genuine reflections of the entire Serbian population's fear is a fallacious overgeneralization. It is impossible to ascertain emotional

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[72] As was noted by several scholars dealing with Foucalt's writings, there is no set definition of "discourse" offered by Foucault himself. The quoted passage is a definition by Iara Lessa that I believe is a great summary of Foucalt's concept of discourse. Iara Lessa, "Discursive Struggles Within Social Welfare: Restaging Teen Motherhood," *The British Journal of Social Work* 36, no. 2 (2006): 285. See also Thomas A. Schmitz, *Modern Literary Theory and Ancient Texts: An Introduction* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2002), 140–58 (chapter 9, "Michel Foucault and Discourse Analysis"); Michel Foucalt, "The Order of Discourse," in *Untying the Text: A Post-Structuralist Reader*, ed. Robert Young (Boston: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1981), 51–78.

responses of the majority to the Ottomans, let alone of the entirety of Serbian population in the late Middle Ages based on this specific source material. These texts can, however, shed light on the production of emotives in a specific stratum of the population. In other words, the sources allow for the study of a specific discourse of fear within particular communities.

Is the "fear of the Turks" embedded in a specific narrative shared by all, or at least by the majority of the authors analyzed in this thesis? How did the ideological stance of the authors influence the production of these specific narratives? Can these texts be conceptualized as productions of a larger textual/emotional community of the period? Who was the intended audience of these texts? Did this production of the "fear of the Turks" play a role in the political program of the communities that produced these texts? Did the authors have a specific goal that was to be achieved, at least in part, through the inspiration of this particular fear?

I will thus analyze the Serbian source material, as listed in the Primary Sources section above, by looking for emotion words linked to fear and the "Turks." These emotives will then be compared to the general, present-day cognitive models of fear as described by Zoltán Kövecses in order to investigate the main metaphors and metonyms by which Serbian authors conceptualized the "fear of the Turks."[73] Once the main models of perception and expression of fear, and especially the "fear of the Turks" have been established, I will analyze the wider context in which these emotives appear inside the text. As was astutely noted by Joanna Bourke, "[h]umanity could only fear within the context of the discourse of fear" and "individuals communicating their fears need to conform to certain narrative structures,

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[73] Since there is no late medieval Serbian disertation on emotions, or on fear, I had to modify Rosenwein's approach in this respect. Even though Kövecses does not build his arguments on medieval sources, but on present-day utterences, his models explain the way in which speakers perceive and express emotions. Therefore, I find his methodological approach useful for my thesis as well. Zoltán Kövecses, *Emotion Concepts* (New York: Springer, 1990).

including genre, syntax, form, order, and vocabulary."[74] Hence, the analysis of the broader discourse in which fear emotives appear is a crucial aspect of my investigation as it helps define the putative existence of a specific emotional community. I will also investigate whether specific productions of fear in the sources under analysis were aimed at "taming" raw fear, or politicizing/commodifying fear and, if that is the case, to what end the production of the "fear of the Turks" was utilized by the writers of these texts.

Chapter 1 gives a brief overview of the political situation in the Serbian lands in the late fourteenth and early fifteenth century. It shows that the Ottoman presence in the region was not a novelty at the time of Isaiah's famous colophone and that the "Turks" were not the only threat in the region. The second part of the same chapter also positions the monastic communities, both the Athonite monastery of Hilandar and that of Ravanica, within the complex network of relations between the secular Serbian ruling elite and the Byzantine Church. This peculiar position of these Orthodox monasteries, tied to both ends of the political spectrum, should be borne in mind when analyzing the texts that these communities produced. Chapter 2 narrows the scope of investigation and focuses on the analysis of motifs linked to "fear" and "Turks" in the primary sources under consideration. Analytical concepts such as "emotional community" and "emotives", borrowed largely from the methodological framework designed by Barbara H. Rosenwein, will be used in the analysis. The first part of the second chapter deals with the conceptualizations of fear and the employment of the fear emotives in the discourse regarding the Turks. The second part analyzes the narrative processes of "othering" the Ottomans and demonstrates how such "othering" was employed as a means of fear production. The final part of the second chapter traces the origins of several key tropes upon which the entire discourse of the "fear of the Turks" was built. Specifically, it analyzes the reasons behind the appropriations of several literary tropes and

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[74] Joanna Bourke, "Fear and Anxiety: Writing about Emotion in Modern History," *History Workshop Journal* 55 (2003): 120.

the modalities of their inclusion within the production of the "fear of the Turks" in late medieval Serbian territories. In conclusion, the study will demonstrate that the "fear of the Turks" cannot be taken at face value and, hopefully, it will usher in a new era in the scholarship on the topic.

I. "When the Living Envied the Dead"

In order to position the research topic in its correct historical setting it is necessary to briefly sketch the main political and demographic features of the period and territory in question. The end of the fourteenth and the beginning of the fifteenth century, more precisely the period between 1355 and 1427 (henceforth: the late Middle Ages) can be divided into three phases in the Serbian territories:

- The period following the death of Tsar Dušan and the Battle of Marica (1355–1371) marked by the break-up of Dušan's empire into several smaller principalities governed by the so-called regional rulers.[75]

- The era of Prince Lazar (1371–1389) and his quest for political power as the direct heir of the extinguished Nemanjić dynasty. This is also the beginning of open conflict between Serbian and Ottoman forces, the one that culminated in the Battle of Kosovo in 1389.[76]

- The age of Despot Lazarević (1389–1427), the son and heir of Prince Lazar, characterized by his political maneuvering between the Ottoman, Byzantine and Hungarian vassalage. His political program resulted in the Serbian-Ottoman peace and a political alliance with Sigismund of Luxemburg.[77]

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[75] An excellent short overview of Tsar Dušan's era is found in Sima Ćirković, "Betwen Kingdom and Empire: Dušan's State 1346-1355 Reconsidered," in *The Expansion of Orthodox Europe: Byzantium, the Balkans and Russia*, ed. Jonathan Shepard (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007), 365–75. For the period between Dušan's death and the Battle of Marica see e.g. [Marko Šuica] Марко Шуица, *Немирно доба српског средњег века: Властела српских обласних господара* [The turbulent era of the Serbian Middle Ages: The magnates of Serbian regional rulers] (Belgrade: Službeni list SRJ, 2000); [Rade Mihaljčić] Раде Михаљчић, *Крај Српског царства* [The end of the Serbian Empire] (Belgrade: Srpska književna zadruga, 1975).

[76] A good monographic treatment of Prince Lazar's era is [Rade Mihaljčić] Раде Михаљчић, *Лазар Хребељановић: Историја, култ, предање* [Lazar Hrebeljanović: History, cult, tradition] (Belgrade: Srpska školska knjiga, 2001).

[77] See e.g. [Miodrag Purković] Миодраг Пурковић, *Кнез и Деспот Стефан Лазаревић* [Prince and Despot Stefan Lazarević] (Belgrade: Sveti arhijerejski sinod Srpske pravoslavne crkve, 1978).

Since the detailed reconstruction of political and military events lies outside the scope of this thesis, what follows is a brief overview of destabilizing factors, including the putative role of the Ottomans, which negatively influenced demographic trends throughout the period of the late Middle Ages.

The "Spirals of Death": Serbian Territories and the Ottoman Threat in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries

The second half of the fourteenth century was a turbulent era in the Serbian territories. Although traditional scholarship primarily stresses the impact of the Ottoman incursions in the region as the most salient factor in the overall depopulation and political destabilization, more recent studies depict a rather different causal relationship: political destabilization and demographic processes are mainly viewed as inherited from the pre-Ottoman period.[78] Moreover, the "catastrophist paradigm"—the view privileging discontinuities, according to which the Ottoman conquest brought about numerous violence-induced changes—has been largely substituted with the "continuist paradigm" focusing on continuities and conceptualizing the Ottomans as preservers of pre-existing governmental and social structures.[79] Indeed, the latest studies undertaken by a new generation of Serbian scholars support the view that, despite the human cost of warfare, demographic and administrative structures remained largely inherited and unaltered in the fifteenth-century Serbian territories that were under the Ottomans.[80]

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[78] Oliver Jens Schmitt, "Introduction: The Ottoman Conquest of the Balkans; Research Questions and Interpretations," in *The Ottoman Conquest of the Balkans. Research Questions and Interpretations*, ed. Oliver Jens Schmitt (Vienna: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2016), 7–45.

[79] Grigor Boykov, "The Human Cost of Warfare: Population Loss During the Ottoman Conquest and the Demographic History of Bulgaria in the Late Middle Ages and Early Modern Era," in *The Ottoman Conquest of the Balkans: Research Questions and Interpretations*, ed. Oliver Jens Schmitt (Vienna: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2016), 106–10.

[80] [Aleksandar Krstić and Ema Miljković] Александар Крстић and Ема Миљковић, "На раскршћу две епохе: континуитет и промене друштвене структуре у Браничеву у 15. веку" [On the crossroads of two epochs:

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The main problem with the employment of these research paradigms in the study of the Serbian territories in the late fourteenth century lies in the scarcity of contemporary documentary sources; there are no sources that would allow for a reliable estimation of population numbers before and after the Battle of Kosovo.[81] Consequently, the direct impact of the Ottoman conquests on the depopulation in Serbian territories is impossible to determine. However, there are sources attesting to migratory currents from the Serbian territories to neighboring Christian lands, mainly Dubrovnik on the eastern coast of the Adriatic and the Kingdom of Hungary. [82] Can these migratory waves be conceptualized solely as the result of "the fear of the Turks", or were there other destabilizing factors that influenced the depopulation?

Even before the Battle of Marica and the Ottoman take-over of Sofia (1385)—the event that marked the beginning of open Serbian-Ottoman warfare—Serbian territories were marked by political destabilization following the death of Tsar Dušan and the break-up of his empire. A direct consequence of this division into several smaller principalities was the beginning of open hostilities between the regional rulers, each vying for dominance, for the increase of their own territories and political power. For example, in 1369 the lords of Raška, Nikola Altomanović and Lazar Hrebeljanović, along with the help of Uroš the Weak, waged wars against the brothers Mrnjavčević, the lords of territories in present day Macedonia

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Continuity and change of social structures in Braničevo in the 15th century] *Историјски часопис* 56 (2008): 279–304.

[81] Boykov, "The Human Cost of Warfare," 118. The oldest suriviving survey register (*tahrir defterleri*) in the entire Rumeli (the European part of the Ottoman Empire) dates from 1431 and concerns Albania. Mariya Kiprovska, "Ferocious Invasion or Smooth Incorporation? Integrating the Established Balkan Military System into the Ottoman Army," in *The Ottoman Conquest of the Balkans: Research Questions and Interpretations*, ed. Oliver Jens Schmitt (Vienna: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2016), 81, fn. 5.

[82] [Šuica], "Приповести о српско турским окршајима и 'страх од Турака' 1386. године," 118; Dragoljub Dragojlović, "Migrations of the Serbs in the Middle Ages," in *Migrations in Balkan History*, ed. Ivan Ninić (Belgrade: Srpska akademija znanosti i umetnosti, 1989), 61–66; [Sima Ćirković] Сима Ћирковић, "Сеобе српског народа у краљевину Угарску у XIV и XV веку" [Migrations of the Serbian people in the Kingdom of Hungary in the 14th and 15th centuries], in *Сеобе српског народа од XIV до XX века: Зборник радова посвећен тристагодишњици велике сеобе Срба* [Migrations of the Serbian people from the fourteenth to the twentieth century: Conference proceedings dedicated to the 300th anniversary of the great Serbian migration] (Belgrade: Zavod za udžbenike i nastavna sredstva, 1990), 37–46.

(centered in Prilep).[83] Only two years later, just before the Battle of Marica, the Mrnjavčević brothers together with the Balšić brothers, the lords of Zeta and northern Albania, attacked Nikola Altomanović.[84] This factional warfare continued even after the Battle of Kosovo. For example, in 1398 the lords of present-day central Serbia (around Rudnik mountain) Nikola Zoić and Novak Belocrkvić conspired against Stefan Lazarević. Their plot was discovered by Lazarević who proceeded to execute Belocrkvić and bullied Zoić into entering monastic life.[85] As was described by a contemporary of these events, the Byzantine John VI Kantakuzenos, after the death of Tsar Dušan "[t]he mightiest of the lords overpowered the weaker ones, subjugating towns... and all of them, divided into thousand factions, stirred riots."[86]

This regional warfare between Dušan's heirs was without a doubt a serious element of destabilization and an important factor that contributed to negative demographic trends. The Ottoman presence in the region acted as a sort of a catalyst in this aspect; the warring regional rulers could seek help and temporary alliance with the Ottoman troops in order to gain military advantage over their rivals. Ottoman forces were present in the region ever since the Byzantine civil war between John V Paleologos and John VI Kantakouzenos (1341–1347); both sides enlisted Ottoman troops for their cause and the war was fought in Macedonia and Thrace.[87] Moreover, the first Ottoman raids in Serbian territories were in fact supported by John VI Kantakouzenos who was trying to regain the territories the Byzantine

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[83] ИСН, 1: 592; [Šuica], *Немирно доба српског средњег века*, 20–1.
[84] Ibid.
[85] ИСН, 2: 62; [Šuica], *Немирно доба српског средњег века*, 107–8, 160, 168; [Marko Šuica] Марко Шуица, "Завера властеле против кнеза Стефана Лазаревића 1398. године" [Magnate conspiracy against Prince Stefan Lazarević in the year 1398], *Историјски гласник* 1–2 (1997): 7–25.
[86] "Porro potentissimi apud ipsos nobilium unusquisque infirmioribus subactis oppidis... et omnino in mille factiones distracti, seditionibus agitabantur." John VI Kantakouzenos, *Historiae libri IV*, ed. Ludwig Schopen, vol. 3, Corpus scriptorum historiae byzantinae 20 (Bonn: Eduard Weber, 1832), 314–15 (includes the Greek original as well).
[87] Michiel Kiel, "The Incorporation of the Balkans into the Ottoman Empire: 1353–1453," in *The Cambridge History of Turkey*, vol. 1, *Byzantium to Turkey 1071-1453,* ed. Kate Fleet, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 144.

Empire lost to Tsar Dušan's expansionism.[88] Following the Battle of Marica, both the Ottomans and the regional lords benefited from alliances. As was noted by Filipovski,

> [i]n the Balkan-Christian perspective, the acceptance of vassal dependence on the Ottoman Turks had positive effects in the constant battles for domination and survival among the small and weak Balkan feudal rulers. Thus, they were spared the Ottoman looting, they maintained certain dynamics in their political activity, and certainly they believed that it was an imposed and temporary solution.[89]

For example, in 1386 Đurađ II Stracimirović, related to the Mrnjavčević dynasty, made an alliance with the Ottomans against the Bosnian king Tvrtko Kotromanić.[90] Furthermore, Marko Mrnjavčević accepted the Ottoman vassalage right after the Battle of Marica and faithfully served the Ottoman forces until his death in 1395; he died fighting for the Ottomans in the Battle of Rovine in 1395.[91] As was rightly argued by Mariya Kiprovska, "[t]his process of successful incorporation of the Balkan lesser nobility was undoubtedly a twofold one and both the Ottomans' pragmatic approach and needs-driven policy, as well as the prospect they offered local noblemen of preserving their property and social position, should be taken into consideration."[92]

In can be concluded that the Ottoman presence in the Serbian territories during the late Middle Ages is not the only culprit behind the destructive warfare that ravaged the region. The Ottoman incursions and battles between the Serbian lords and Ottoman forces without a doubt contributed to the negative demographic trends, but the "Turks" were not the only warmongers in the region. Moreover, numerous conflicts between the regional lords that inherited Dušan's empire started before the open hostilities with the Ottomans and continued

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[88] Toni Filipovski, "Before and After the Battle of Maritsa (1371): The Significance of the Non-Ottoman Factors in the Ottoman Conquest of the Balkans," in *The Ottoman Conquest of the Balkans: Research Questions and Interpretations*, ed. Oliver Jens Schmitt (Vienna: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2016), 67, 70; ИСН, 1: 511–23.
[89] Filipovski, "Before and After the Battle of Maritsa (1371)," 74.
[90] ИСН, 2: 51; [Sima Ćirković] Сима Ћирковић, *Историја средњовековне босанске државе* [The history of medieval Bosnian state] (Belgrade: Srpska književna zadruga, 1964), 158–59.
[91] [Šuica], *Немирно доба српског средњег века*, 32; ИСН, 2: 54.
[92] Kiprovska, "Ferocious Invasion or Smooth Incorporation?," 88.

after the Battle of Kosovo. Since it cannot be determined, based on the surviving source material, whether the local population suffered more from the wars waged between the Serbian regional lords or from the Ottoman incursions, it can only be concluded that these numerous armed conflicts brought about considerable political destabilization and negatively influenced demographic trends in late medieval Serbian territories.

The second important factor of depopulation is often overlooked in scholarship dealing with this era: the effects of the plague. The main problem behind any research on the effects of the Black Death in Serbian territories lies in the scarcity of preserved source material. Indeed, as was keenly observed by Grigor Boykov, "[t]he exact impact of the Black Death on the Balkans still remains undefined, but an increasing number of publications demonstrate that the peninsula was not spared by the pandemic, which ravaged most of Europe only a few years before the Ottomans set foot on European soil."[93] Even though the sources do not allow for estimations regarding the death toll of the fourteenth-century plague epidemic, it can be assumed with relative confidence that the infectious diseases, especially when coupled with the destructive effects of prolonged warfare, negatively influenced demographic trends in late medieval Serbian territories.[94]

Finally, there are several fourteenth-century sources that mention the third depopulation factor: famine. For example, around 1346 the documents of the monastery of the Virgin Mary in Tetovo mention the "times of famine" and Serbian chronicles note the year 1358 as the time of unprecedented shortage of food.[95]

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[93] Boykov, "The Human Cost of Warfare," 112; Alexander P. Kazhdan, "Plague," ed. Alexander P. Kazhdan, *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991).

[94] [Dušanka Dinić-Knežević] Душанка Динић-Кнежевић, "Куга" [Plague], in *Лексикон српског средњег века* [The lexicon of Serbian Middle Ages] (Belgrade: Knowledge, 1999).

[95] [Radivoj Radić], Радивој Радић, "Глад" [Famine], in *Лексикон српског средњег века* [The lexicon of Serbian Middle Ages] (Belgrade: Knowledge, 1999).

All the three causes of negative demographic trends—warfare, plague and famine—are interconnected. Igor Jurković, writing about the history of Croatian lands during the time of the Ottoman threat, noticed similar patterns of depopulation and dubbed them the "spirals of death."[96] The same concept can be applied to late medieval Serbian territories.

The causes behind the migrations to the eastern coast of Adriatic and the Kingdom of Hungary can therefore be ascribed not only to the dangers and destruction brought on by the Ottomans, to the "fear of the Turks." Conversely, the Ottoman incursions and the battles between Serbian lords and the Ottoman forces are just one part of a larger structure that was negatively impacting the demographic trends in the Serbian territories since the middle of the fourteenth century. This structure, the "spirals of death", was composed of three mutually conditioned factors: warfare, epidemics of infectious diseases and periods of famine.

These gloomy conditions were the background in which the texts producing "the fear of the Turks" were authored. However, the majority of the authors were members of Serbian monasteries and all of them (except Michael the Sinner) had connections to the highest strata of Serbian ruling elites. It is therefore crucial to elucidate in more detail the socio-political atmosphere in which these authors produced their works, as well as to discover the putative cultural "glue" that could have influenced their shared political stances and the selection of common literary topoi.

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[96] Ivan Jurković, "Model uzročno-posljedičnih veza osmanske ugroze, klimatskih nepogoda, gladi i kuge na privredu hrvatskih i slavonskih vlastelinstava u zadnjim desetljećima 15. i tijekom 16. stoljeća" [The model of causal relationships of the Ottoman threats, climate disasters, famine, and plague on the economy of Croatian and Slavonian noble estates in the last decades of the fifteenth and through the sixteenth century], *Tabula* 12 (2014): 139–50.

Communities in Suspense: Serbian Monasteries between the Regional Rulers, Byzantine Empire and the Ottoman Threat

The monastery of Hilandar on Mount Athos had nurtured close friendly relations with the ruling Serbian Nemanjić dynasty for centuries. As early as in 1191 the Serbian Prince Rastko Nemanjić—the son of Stefan Nemanja and the brother of the first Serbian king Stefan Nemanjić the "First Crowned" (king from 1217–1228)—arrived at the Holy Mountain and took the cowl and the monastic name Sava, as he was, according to the story, more interested in the spiritual than the worldly life.[97] Soon after, Rastko/Sava's father abdicated, leaving the throne to his son and joining the monastic community in Studenica under the name of Simeon. In 1197, after being summoned to Mount Athos by his younger son, Simeon and Sava met in the Athonite monastery of Vatopedi. The duo, powerful and rich aristocrats of their time, sought to establish their own monastery on the Holy Mountain and in 1198 the Byzantine emperor Alexios III issued a chrysobull bestowing upon the Vatopedi monastery the jurisdiction of Hilandar, a desolate monastery that was in need of repairs and restoration.[98] After generously sponsoring the monastery's restoration, Sava and Simeon petitioned the emperor to recognize Hilandar as an independent monastery. Their request was granted in the same year as Emperor Alexios III issued another charter by which he officially bequeathed the monastery of Hilandar to Simeon and Sava, with all its dependencies, as "a gift to the Serbs in perpetuity."[99]

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[97] The literature on the topic is huge. A short overview in English citing the major Serbian publications and source editions is Vladeta Janković, "The Serbian Tradition on Mount Athos," in *Mount Athos: Microcosm of the Christian East*, ed. Graham Speake and Metropolitan Kallistos Ware (Oxford: Peter Lang, 2012), 81.

[98] Mirjana Živojinović, Vassiliki Kravari, and Christophe Giros, *Actes de Chilandar*, vol. 1, *Des origines à 1319*, Archives de l'Athos 20 (Paris: CNRS, 1998), doc. n. 4, 24–25.

[99] Janković, "The Serbian Tradition on Mount Athos," 82; Cyril Pavlikianov, *The Medieval Aristocracy on Mount Athos: The Philological and Documentary Evidence for the Activity of Byzantine, Georgian, and Slav Aristocrats and Eminent Churchmen in the Monasteries of Mount Athos from the 10th to the 15th Century* (Sofia: University Press, 2001), 15–16.

From this point onwards the Athonite monastery of Hilandar became the focal point of Serbian ruling elite who generously endowed the monastic community for a variety of reasons: it was an elegant way of showing support to the ruling Serbian dynasty of the time, a sign of devotion to the Orthodox Christian community and, of equal importance, it was a sort of "cosmological authentication" of the privileged status of Serbian noblemen.[100] In other words, donations to Hilandar monastery functioned as the "social glue" that linked the highest strata of Serbian society together.[101]

These connections between Hilandar and the Serbian ruling elite continued even after the dying out of the Nemanjić dynasty. As a matter of fact, several regional rulers that took control over parts of Dušan's divided empire sought to receive religious sanction as the rightful heirs of the Nemanjić's by endowing the Athonite monastic community. For example, Radonja Branković, after retiring from worldly life, moved to Hilandar and the entire family clan financially supported both him and his renowned monastic community; John Kastriot donated villages and church properties in Albania; Toma Preljubović donated valuable religious icons.[102] Hilandar was also the final resting place of several Serbian rulers: besides the members of the Nemanjić dynasty these included Kesar Vojihna, John Uglješa, the husband of Jelena Mrnjavčević (the future Nun Euphemia), and his only son Uglješa, Vuk

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[100] Annette B. Weiner, *Inalienable Possessions: The Paradox of Keeping-While-Giving* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992), 9. For a comparable example in Roman-Catholic Northern Adriatic see Josip Banić, "Donationes pro remedio animae as Total Social Facts: A Case Study from the Twelfth Century Margraviate of Istria," in *7. istarski povijesni biennale: Religio, fides, superstitiones...: O vjerovanju i pobožnosti na jadranskom prostoru* [7th Istrian history biennale: Religio, fides, superstitiones...: Faith and piety in the Adriatic area], ed. Elena Uljančić-Vekić and Marija Mogorović Crljenko (Poreč: Zavičajni muzej Poreštine - Museo del territorio parentino, 2017), 45–67. For the donations to Hilandar in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries see [Radolav Grujić] Радослав Груjић, "Топографија Хиландарских метохија у Солунској и Струмској области од XII до XIV века" [Topography of the metochions of Hilandar in the County of Solun and Struma from the twelfth to the fourteenth century], *Зборник радова посвећен Јовану Цвијићу* [Miscellanea in honour of Jovan Cvijić] (Belgrade: Државна штампарија Краљевинце Срба, Хрвата и Словенаца, 1924), 517–34. See also Janković, "The Serbian Tradition on Mount Athos," 84–85; [Dimitrije Bogdanović, Vojislav J. Đurić and Dejan Medaković] Димитрије Богдановић, Војислав Ј. Ђурић, and Дејан Медаковић, *Хиландар* [Hilandar] (Belgrade: BIGZ, 1978) (henceforth: *Хиландар*), 104.
[101] For the concept of pious donations as "social glue" see Barbara H. Rosenwein, *To Be the Neighbor of Saint Peter: The Social Meaning of Cluny's Property, 909-1049* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1989), 13ff.
[102] *Хиландар*, 46–47, 116–21.

Branković, George Branković etc. Moreover, Nun Euphemia, although as a female forbidden to enter Mount Athos, also donated several items to Hilandar, including the diptych engraved with her famous *Lament for Young Uglješa* and her own embroidered and ornamented curtain.[103] Finally, Lazar Hrebeljanović generously endowed the prominent monastery by donating both immovable property (e.g. village Jelašnica in Hvostno) and sponsoring the renovation of Hilandar monastery (the famous Lazar's narthex).[104] Furthermore, Lazar's son and heir Stefan Lazarević also donated property to Hilandar in 1411.[105] The fact that Lazar Hrebeljanović, who fashioned himself as the heir of the Nemanjićes, as well as his son, made ample donations to the monastery clearly demonstrates that the monastic community of Hilandar acted as a social hub gathering the Serbian social elite throughout the medieval period.

The monastery of Ravanica, the place in which the three anonymous monks authored texts containing the "fear of the Turks" motif, was also linked to the Serbian ruling elite, albeit in a much more local dimension. This monastery was an official endowment of Prince Lazar Hrebeljanović, built between 1375 and 1377 in style of Mount Athos monasteries.[106] The monastery is also the final resting place of Prince Lazar, the monastery's main aristocratic patron. As such, it comes as no surprise that all the texts produced by the monastic community of Ravanica celebrate the life and deeds of the Hrebeljanović dynasty, especially the martyrdom of Prince Lazar and his heroic battle against the Ottoman army in

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[103] Ibid., 118–19.
[104] Ibid., 46.
[105] Pavlikianov, *The Medieval Aristocracy on Mount Athos*, 28–29.
[106] On Lazar's endowment of Ravanica monastery see [Sima Ćirković] Сима Ћирковић, "Раваничка хрисовуља" [Lazar's chrysobull], in *Манастир Раваница: Споменица о шестој стогодишњици* [The monastery of Ravanica: Six hundredth anniversary memorial], ed. Димитрије Богдановић, Војислав Ј. Ђурић, and Душан Кашић (Belgrade: Manastir Ravanica, 1981) (hereafter: *Манастир Раваница*), 69–82. On Ravanica's architecture see [Branislav Vulović] Бранислав Вуловић, "Архитектура Раванице" [Ravanica's architecture], in *Манастир Раваница*, 19–32.

the Battle of Kosovo.[107] This link between the Hrebeljanovićes, the main patrons of the monastery, and the Ravanica monastic community should be borne in mind when analyzing the texts of the three anonymous monks.

Finally, the only author not of monastic background, Constantine the Philosopher, is also closely tied to the Serbian ruling elite, namely the Hrebeljanović dynasty. As a migrant from Bulgaria, this eminent intellectual of the era found refuge at the court of Despot Stefan Lazarević, the son and heir of Prince Lazar. As a learned men of letters Constantine's way of repaying his patron's generosity was by way of authoring a text celebrating his life and deeds. *The Life of Despot Stefan Lazarević* is thus also steeped in the culture of social milieus similar to that of both Ravanica and Hilandar monasteries.

So far only the links between the authors of the texts mentioning the "fear of the Turks" and the Serbian ruling elite were demonstrated. However, there is another important connection that remains to be illuminated, one that bound all these authors to a specific cultural current—with religious, social and political connotations—that was especially prominent in the Orthodox world of the fourteenth century: *hesychasm*.

As was systematically explained by one of the most prominent scholars of hesychasm, John Meyendorff, the term is used in historiography in four distinctive, but mutually connected, meanings:

- In its most narrow sense, it refers to a special religious practice in Orthodox Christianity characterized by a specific type of "psychosomatic methods of prayer". According to the supporters of this practice, one could actually see God in the form of light if persistent with the hesychast method of prayer.

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[107] [Đorđe Trifunović] Ђорђе Трифуновић, "Смрт и лепота у српским средњовековним списима о кнезу Лазару и Косовском боју" [Death and beauty in medieval Serbian texts on Prince Lazar and the Battle of Kosovo] in *Манастир Раваница*, 135–42.

- It is also used to simply designate "palamism": the teachings of Gregory Palamas, the leading supporter of the hesychast practice of praying, who furthered the theological background behind the hesychast method of prayer and defended it in fierce debates with his adversaries, namely Barlaam of Calabria, Gregory Akindynos and Nikephoros Gregoras.

- More broadly, it may be used as a term to describe a specific way of monastic Christian life, characterized by pronounced "heremitism, contemplation and 'pure prayer'."

- The last meaning of the term, and the most important one for this thesis, is the so-called "political hesychasm," i.e. hesychasm as a specific "social, cultural, and political ideology, which originated in Byzantium and had a decisive impact on social and artistic development among the Southern Slavs and Russians."[108]

In order to understand how a specific method of prayer became a strong political movement that marked the fourteenth-century Byzantine Commonwealth, it is necessary to stress the growing influence of the Byzantine monks on the Patriarchate in Constantinople, "the center of the Orthodox world" and "the most stable element in the Byzantine Empire" in the fourteenth century.[109] The list of the patriarchs of Constantinople demonstrates the monastic supremacy during the period: Isidore (1347–1349), Callistos I (1350–1354 and 1355–1363), Philoteos (1354–1355 and 1364–1376), Makarios (1376–1379) and Neilos (1380–1388) were

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[108] John Meyendorff, "Introduction," in *Byzantine Hesychasm: Historical, Theological and Social Problems* (London: Variorum, 1974), iii–iv. See also Dirk Krausmüller, "The Rise of Hesychasm," in *The Cambridge History of Christianity*, ed. Michael Angold, vol. 5: Eastern Christianity (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 101–26.

[109] John Meyendorff, "Society and Culture in the Fourteenth Century: Religious Problems," in *Byzantine Hesychasm: Historical, Theological and Social Problems* (London: Variorum, 1974), 51–52 quoting Georgije Ostrogorski, *History of the Byzantine State*, trans. Joan Hussey (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1969), 487.Ostrogorski, History of the Byzantine State, 487.

all previously monks and followers of the teachings of Gregory Palamas.[110] Obviously, the alliance between the hesychasts and John VI Kantakouzenos during the Byzantine civil war of 1341–1347 (also known as the Second Palaiologan Civil War) is definitely one of the factors responsible for this monastic "takeover" of the Patriarchate of Constantinople, but the main program of "political hesychasm" also contributed to the popularity of the movement. Namely, the hesychasts were staunch supporters of the idea of one, universal and united Orthodox Christendom with a single undisputed center in Constantinople.[111]

The focal point of fourteenth-century hesychasm was none other than Mount Athos. The leading figures of fourteenth-century hesychasm—Gregory of Sinai, Gregory Palamas, Kallistos and Philotheos Kokkinos—were all monks on Mount Athos during the first half of the century.[112] Steeped in the same religious climate of the time, the monastery of Hilandar was also receptive to the hesychast movement. For example, the friendship between Old Man Isaiah, the prior of Hilandar, with Philotheos Kokkinos—the future patriarch of Constantinople—is documented by Isaiah's pupil.[113] Moreover, a pupil of Gregory of Sinai, St. Romil of Vidin, moved from Mount Athos to Ravanica. As such, St. Romil of Vidin is characterized as "a key figure in the transmission of hesychasm to medieval Serbia."[114] Consequently, hesychast literature, such as the writings of Gregory Palamas, was translated

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[110] Meyendorff, "Society and Culture," 51.

[111] John Meyendorff, "Mount Athos in the Fourteenth Century: Spiritual and Intellectual Legacy," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 42 (1988): 160–61.

[112] Dimitri Obolensky, "Late Byzantine Culture and the Slavs: A Study in Acculturation," in *The Expansion of Orthodox Europe: Byzantium, the Balkans and Russia*, ed. Jonathan Shepard (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007), 478.

[113] [Trifunović], *Писац и преводилац инок Исаија*, 26. The friendship between the two Athonites is confirmed by the writer of Isaiah's *vita*. Isaiah's Pupil, "Житије Старца Исаије" [The life of Isaiah] in *Писац и преводилац инок Исаија* [Writer and translator monk Isaiah], ed. Ђорђе Трифуновић (Крушевац: Bagdala, 1980), 77. On Philotheos Kokkinos see Alice Mary Talbot, "Philotheos Kokkinos," ed. Alexander P. Kazhdan, *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991).

[114] Obolensky, "Late Byzantine Culture and the Slavs," 480.

into Old Church Slavonic in Serbia and the Serbian Church began venerating Gregory Palamas as a saint even before his official canonization in 1368.[115]

The reception of hesychast ideology had a marked effect on the members of both Hilandar and Ravanica monasteries. Namely, as a part of Tsar Dušan's imperial program, the Serbian Church seceded from the Patriarchate of Constantinople and at the Council of Skopje in 1346 the Serbian monarch and the Serbian archbishop, Joanikije II, officially proclaimed the Serbian Patriarchate.[116] This proclamation of independence could only be met with fierce disapproval by the hesychasts. Indeed, the patriarch of Constantinople of the time, Callistos I, a staunch hesychast, excommunicated and anathemized the Serbian Tsar and his subjects in 1350.[117] Notwithstanding the excommunication, Tsar Dušan—the most powerful ruler in the region—enjoyed good relations with Mount Athos; in the manner of his ancestors he richly endowed the monastery of Hilandar and acted as the protector of Mount Athos.[118] Following Dušan's death, however, the hesychast element both on Mount Athos and in Serbia wanted the divided Churches to reunite. Since the main political tenet of hesychasm revolved around a united Orthodox Christendom, actions had to be taken to unite the Serbian Church with the Patriarchate of Constantinople. It is in this project of unification of the divided Churches that the hesychast ideology of the authors discussed in this thesis comes to light.

The negotiations with the Patriarchate of Constantinople were channeled through the Athonite monastery of Hilandar—the main hub connecting the Serbian and Byzantine ruling

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[115] Ibid., 481–82.

[116] The scholarship on Dušan's schism with the Byzantine Church is substantial. The most authoritative treatment on the topic of reconciliation, the one that is of interest to this thesis, remains [Dimitrije Bogdanović] Димитрије Богдановић, "Измирење Српске и Византијске цркве" [Reconciliation of the Serbian and Byzantine Churches] in *О кнезу Лазару: Научни скуп у Крушевцу 1971* [On Prince Lazar: Conference in Kruševac 1971], ed. Иван Божић and Војислав Ј. Ђурић (Belgrade: Filozofski fakultet u Beogradu, Institut za istoriju umetnosti, 1975), 82.

[117] Ibid., 84–85.

[118] The most extensive treatment of the topic remains [Dušan Korać] Душан Кораћ, "Света гора под српском влашћу, 1345-1371" [The Holy Mountain under Serbian authority, 1345-1371], *Зборник радова византолошког института* 31 (1992): 9–199.

elites. It was Old Man Isaiah who acted as the chief mediator in the conciliation process while Prince Lazar, acting as the official heir of Tsar Dušan, represented the Serbian party. Finally, in 1375 Patriarch Philotheos Kokkinos and Prince Lazar reached an agreement; the Serbian Church was united with the Patriarchate of Constantinople and the excommunication was retracted. All the parties involved benefited from such a resolution: Patriarch Philotheos appointed a trustful hesychast as the Serbian patriarch while Prince Lazar gained the support of Constantinople and influential monastic communities.[119]

Since it was Prince Lazar who accomplished the hesychast quest of uniting the Serbian Church with the Patriarchate of Constantinople, it comes as no surprise that the hesychast authors depict this ruler as the ideal prince, the protector of Orthodox Christianity and a martyr who gave his life for the well-being of his Christian flock. Moreover, typical hesychast motif of "emanating light" is found in the descriptions of Prince Lazar in the writings of anonymous monks of Ravanica and in the descriptions of Despot Stefan in Constantine the Philosopher's work.[120] For example, Anonymous III tells the story of Lazar's burial and quotes the lamenting words of Lazar's wife Milica: "Woe to me, oh my Light" while Constantine likens Stefan Lazarević to "a ray that oversees, designates and shines."[121]

In conclusion, both monastic communities whose authors produced texts mentioning the "fear of the Turks", Ravanica and Hilandar, were primarily linked to the Serbian ruling elite and both institutions were heavily influenced by the hesychast movement. Therefore, it

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[119] [Bogdanović], "Измирење Српске и Византијске цркве," 90.
[120] [Trifunović], "Смрт и лепота," 139. See also Andrew Louth, "Light, Vision and Religious Experience in Byzantium," in *The Presence of Light: Divine Radiance and Religious Experience*, ed. Mathew T. Kapstein (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004), 85–103, esp. 99.
[121] "оувы мнѣ свѣте мои." Anonymous III, "О кнезу Лазару." 116. "отъ оною заре назираюцин ноуставляюцин и основаюцин." Constantine the Philosopher, "Живот Стефана Лазаревића деспота српског," 283. The motif of emanating light is also found in the icons painted by Andrei Rublev, a disciple of another famous hesychast, St. Sergius of Radonezh. See Anita Strezova, *Hesychasm and Art: The Appearance of New Iconographic Trends in Byzantine and Slavic Lands in the 14th and 15th Centuries* (Canberra: Australian National University Press, 2014), 173–232, esp. 184; Ismo Pellikka, "Monasteries as Bridges between Athos, Russia, and Karelia," in *The Monastic Magnet: Roads to and from Mount Athos*, ed. René Gothóni and Graham Speake (Oxford: Peter Lang, 2008), 85.

is important to stress that both of these circumstances could have influenced the writings of these monks. Moreover, this observation regarding the social, political and cultural climate in which these texts were produced also sheds light on the intended functions of these texts: they were to celebrate the lives and deeds of the authors' aristocratic patrons while at the same time promoting hesychast ideals of Church unity. It is not difficult to imagine that the Ottomans—not only the religious "other", but also the slayers of the beloved unifier, Prince Lazar—would feature as the prototypical villains. It is to the place of the "Turks" and "fear" in these texts that I turn to now.

II. Spreading Fear: Emotives in Late Medieval Serbian Monastic Texts

In comparison to the introduced historiographical discourse concerning the "fear of the Turks" in late medieval Serbian territories, the emotive of "fear" is explicitly mentioned surprisingly scarcely in the historical sources. However, as the following chapter demonstrates, the "fear of the Turks" is primarily produced through the narrative "othering" of the Ottomans and descriptions of the general mournful fate, gloom and doom that befell the Serbian territories following their arrival.

The Two Faces of Fear

Historians dealing with fear in the Middle Ages, most notably Jean Delumeau, conceptualized two types of this potent emotion: the good fear (salutary fear, one that leads to salvation, the fear of righteous God) and the bad fear (destructive or damning fear, one that inhibits salvation).[122] As was keenly noted by Anne Scott and Cynthia Kosso, in the medieval era

> fear was an emotion to be cultivated, harnessed, probed, explored, and exploited, not overcome or avoided. It was an emotion valued – not devalued or pathologized – for its potency, for the spiritual lessons it could teach, for the faith it could inspire, and for its role in defining moments of personal awareness or motivating cultural and political change.[123]

These two faces of fear are also noticeable in the sources analyzed in this thesis. The clearest depictions of the "good fear" are found in the text of Constantine the Philosopher. In his many descriptive passages detailing the numerous good deeds of Stefan Lazarević, Constantine explicitly mentions that everyone who arrived at the despot's court "gazed [at the

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[122] Jean Delumeau, *Sin and Fear: The Emergence of a Western Guilt Culture; 13th–18th Centuries*, trans. Eric Nicholson (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1991), 555.

[123] Anne Scott and Cynthia Kosso, "Introduction," in *Fear and Its Representations in the Middle Ages and Renaissance*, ed. Anne Scott and Cynthia Kosso (Turnhout: Brepols, 2002), xii.

court members] in fear like unto angels" and all who looked at them were "in awe of their piety."[124] Furthermore, the same author states the despot Stefan also instilled fear among his followers. This emotive as employed by Constantine blurs the lines between fear and respect; it is a type of fear that inspires admiration and respect, thus it may be conceptualized as good fear. Such fear emotives were employed by the religious authors throughout the Middle Ages in connection to divine justice and providence. As was thickly described by Delumeau, clerics produced this specific type of fear to bolster the authority of the Church, instill piety and, consequently, increase the amount of Church's social control in society.[125] Constantine's use of this specific emotive of fear is clearly employed in order to strengthen the authority wielded by his patron; fear was used to depict a virtue, an angelic feature of the pious ruler who is compared to biblical characters throughout the narrative. This specific type of discourse, characteristic of Byzantine writers of *vitae* and panegyrics, is shared by many authors of the era.[126]

The other type of fear, the destructive one that sows desolation, is also found in Constantine the Philosopher's writings and precisely in the passage dealing with the actions of the Ottomans in the region. The author writes that "those who remained [following the death of Lazar and the Battle of Kosovo] were poor and terrified of their [the Ottomans'] pillaging."[127] Unlike the good fear evoked to describe Stefan Lazarević—the God-pleasing disposition that inspires awe—the bad fear is linked to destruction through the association with pillaging. The emotion word used to evoke fear is different in this passage; instead of "fear", Constantine uses the emotive "terrified" (orig. оужасаюште). The distinction between

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[124] "вьси же сь страхомь ꙗко аггели бѣхоу зрѧщи очима приходештнихь и оудивлкни благоговѣнньствомь." Constantine the Philosopher, "Живот Стефана Лазаревића," 283.

[125] Delumeau, *Sin and Fear*, 332–42.

[126] [Ређер], *Старе Српске биографије*, 104; Peter Guran, "Slavonic Historical Writing in South-Eastern Europe, 1200-1600," in *The Oxford History of Historical Writing*, ed. Sarah Foot and Chase F. Robinson, vol. 2: *400-1400* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 332.

[127] "а ниже оставьшеи сири и оть сихь расхыштеннꙗ оужасаюште сє." Constantine the Philosopher, "Живот Стефана Лазаревића," 283.

the emotion words "fear" and "terror" was noted by Kövecses who compared the semantic valences of these two utterances as used by modern day speakers of English. Kövecses concluded that "terror, as we commonly think of it, seems to be characterized by more intense physiological and behavioral reactions than our stereotype of fear."[128] Due to the limited emotional vocabulary of the texts under analysis here, it cannot be concluded with certainty that such a distinction between "fear" and "terror" was conceptualized by the late medieval authors studied in this thesis. Moreover, both emotives—"fear" and "terror"—could be used to describe good and bad fear; Stefan is described as a righteous ruler "who instills terror," in turn making every "dishonesty" "crushed and frightened" as "justice flourished and bore fruits" under his reign.[129] Constantine's writings may lead to a conclusion that emotion words "fear" and "terror" were actually used as synonyms as there neither seem to be any specific metonymic or metaphoric expression tied to them, nor is one exclusively employed in a positive or negative setting. The production of bad fear here is not achieved by the use of a specific, "bad" emotive, but rather, through the employed collocations and the accompanying descriptions.

Another example of the use of the emotive of fear in a unique form can also be found in Constantine's work and it too deals with the Ottomans. In a passage describing the diplomatic mission of Milica and Euphemia to the court of sultan Bayezid I, Constantine narrates that Milica was "terrified to see the sultan."[130] By itself, this clause could be understood as producing positive fear, very similar to the fear that the Serbian despot instills in his court and his subjects. However, Constantine makes sure that such a reading is rendered impossible with his very next sentence: "Cast aside every fear', says [Euphemia] to

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[128] Kövecses, *Emotion Concepts*, 80.
[129] "и вьсако нечьстиӗ попрано бысть и оустраши сє... правьдѣ же процвьтьши и плодь носивьши." Constantine the Philosopher, "Живот Стефана Лазаревића," 282–83.
[130] "призваномь бо бывьшиимь ими кь царю и вь оужасѣ бьти ӗи." Philosopher, "Живот Стефана Лазаревића," 267.

her [Milica], 'as we are deserving of his audience'."[131] Two things are to be noted in this use of the emotive of fear. First, fear is conceptualized as something that is to be "cast aside." This conceptualization conforms to the "fear as burden" metaphor in Kövecses' study. According to this author "[w]hen the BURDEN metaphor is used in connection with a target domain, it indicates that the domain in question is considered unpleasant, or bad."[132] The fear invoked by the Ottomans is thus not a good one, the God-pleasing one that is to be cultivated (the case of despot Stefan), but a bad one, one that should be cast out, one unworthy of cultivation. Second, the Ottoman leader is portrayed in a stark contrast to the Serbian leader through the emotive of fear; Stefan Lazarević is instilling good fear as a righteous ruler whereas Sultan Bayezid is not. The entire passage relies on the use of fear emotives to depict the Ottomans in opposition to the Serbian ruling elite; the one commands good fear, the other bad.

There are further examples of emotives employed to produce the bad fear, a desolate one that stems from various life-threatening situations that the population of the region had to deal with in the late fourteenth century. These are the famous passages by the Old Man Isaiah and Michael the Sinner, the regularly invoked sources in historiography when discussing the "fear of the Turks."

The most straightforward is the production of fear in the passage by Michael the Sinner: "And may it be known to God that I suffered from the fear of the Turks here, due to gout I could not even get up and celebrate God, I could neither run nor do anything else. I said: 'o Hvostno's Mother of God, shield me from this present misery.' Oh, how my soul suffers from the Turkish beys."[133] First, fear is produced here as something that afflicts a

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[131] "отврьѣн страхь вьсиак, кь ннен рече, югда оѹзрѣти насьтого сьподобнше." Ibid., 267.
[132] Kövecses, *Emotion Concepts*, 77.
[133] "И бог да извести што патих од страха турчскога овамо. От улог не устах ни с места, и прославих бога, ни могох бегати ни ино што рекох: о, мати божија хвостанска, покри от настојеште сије беди. О

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person: one "suffers from fear." As such, Michael's concept of fear corresponds to Kövecses's "fear as an illness" metaphor.[134] Furthermore, Michael explicitly mentions his "fear of the Turks" in relation to his inability to run away from danger due to his gout. Consequently, through this emotive of fear the Ottoman presence is portrayed as an affliction from which one is to run away from. Most importantly, the emotive of fear is tied to "this present misery," the gloomy state that the "Turks" are to be blamed for.

A similar use of this emotive is found in the famous colophon authored by Old Man Isaiah. After the description of the gloom brought forth by the outcome of the Battle of Marica the author produces fear in the following sentence: "[t]here was neither a prince, nor a leader, nor an heir among men, nor a rescuer, nor a savior, and everyone was filled with the fear of the Ishmaelites, and the brave hearts of courageous men turned into the weakest hearts of women."[135] First, Isaiah employs the metaphor of fear filling everything. Thus, the conceptualization of fear corresponds to Kövecses' "fear as container" metaphor which "suggests that fear exists as an independent mass entity inside the self".[136] Second, Isaiah positions the emotion of fear in contrast to courageousness and bravery. This specific binary conceptualization of fear as an emotional state opposite courage is also found in the writings of Thomas Aquinas.[137] As such, Isaiah's emotive produced the bad fear, one that inhibits courageousness, one resulting from the overall hopelessness of the situation similarly to Michael the Sinner. In both examples, the Ottomans are constructed as the principal culprits for all the misfortunes that befell the region.

што пати душа от бегов турчских, мати божја покри ме раба си." [Radojčić], Антологија, 115. Unfortunately, I was unable to find an original Old Church Slavonic version of this text.
[134] Kövecses, *Emotion Concepts*, 75–76.
[135] "не бѣ бо кнѕѧ, нн вожда, нн наставннка в людех, нн нзбавлѧюща, нн спсающаго, но всѧ нсполнншасѧ страха нзмаанлтскаго, н сѫдца храбраа доблественьх моужен бъ женъ слабѣншаа сѫдца прнложншасѧ." Old Man Isaiah, "Записи," 160.
[136] Kövecses, *Emotion Concepts*, 75.
[137] Rosenwein, "Emotions Words," 104.

As advocated by Rosenwein, a historian of emotions should also read the silences; the absence of a specific emotive could also be indicative of conceptualizations of emotions within certain emotional communities.[138] Neither the anonymous authors from Ravanica nor Euphemia ever explicitly employ the emotive "fear." Instead, these authors rely on the opposite emotions—courage and bravery—to describe the character and actions of prince Lazar.[139] Even though fear is not explicitly mentioned, it can be inferred that these authors also conceptualized fear in opposition to courage and bravery, much like Isaiah or Thomas Aquinas.

Interestingly enough, there are no more mentions of the "fear of the Turks" by these late medieval authors. It is noticeable that the emotive of fear was invoked quite rarely in the texts under consideration and that two different types of fear coexisted at the same time. The good fear was employed as a narrative device only by Constantine the Philosopher who used it to strengthen the authoritative image of his late patron. Moreover, Constantine's text was constructed within a specific discourse, a rather popular scheme in which the protagonist was supposed to be depicted in a specific, saintly way. Monastic texts dedicated to the praising of Serbian rulers, those by Euphemia and the anonymous authors from Ravanica, completely substitute good fear with courageousness. Good fear is not to be found either in Isaiah's colophon or Michael the Sinner. Hence, these monastic texts only produce bad fear when employing fear emotives. The reasons behind such a distinction in the production of fear may be seen to lie in the emotional vocabulary of two distinct emotional communities. Monastic authors, even when celebrating the deeds of secular rulers, reserve good fear as a specific domain of the divine. Secular rulers may be brave and courageous, but not fear-inspiring in a positive way. This is not the case with Constantine the Philosopher who freely attributes the

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[138] Rosenwein, "Problems and Methods," 17.

[139] E.g. "и ради кротости и блага обичаіа и добродѣтѣли юго и храбрьства саноиь почитаютъ се отъ цара и прьвын въ полатѣ юго поставлиаютъ се" Anonymous I, "Житије светог кнеза Лазара," 159. See also fn. 167.

divine features to his patron. Bad fear on the other hand is evoked by both Constantine and the two monks. Moreover, the hardships from which this fear arises are connected to the Ottomans both in Constantine's texts and twice by monastic authors Isaiah and Michael the Sinner.

There are, however, many more descriptions of the Ottomans and narrative accounts of their actions in the region during the period in the texts under consideration. Even though the emotive of "fear" itself is not explicitly mentioned, these accounts contain various metaphors that produce the feeling of fear/dread/terror connected with the Ottoman presence. Such narratives, crucial in understanding the production of the "fear of the Turks" were used to depict the Ottomans as the dangerous "other" in opposition to "us" and it is to these passages that I turn in the following chapter.

Constructing the Ottoman "other"

Scholars dealing with the narrative representations of "others" and the processes of "othering," most notably Coupland, came up with a scheme of four main "discursive strategies in representations of the other."[140] These are homogenization (the reduction of individuals into members of a stereotyped group); suppression and silencing (similar to homogenization, but referring to the reductions of groups into a larger stereotyped collective); pejoration (similar to both homogenization and suppression, but the group is further defined by "adding explicitly negative attributes or by invoking generally tabooed group labels"); and, finally, displaying liberalism and subverting tolerance (products of contemporary liberal democracies and political correctness; as such they are irrelevant in this study).[141] The sources under consideration show that the "Turks" as "others" were primarily constructed through pejoration; a variety of negative attributes and features were ascribed to

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[140] Coupland, "'Other' Representation," 248.
[141] Ibid., 248–54.

the Ottomans in order to both constitute them as the dangerous "other" and (re)affirm the "self" in opposition at the same time.

As will be demonstrated in this chapter, the main vehicles of this pejoration can be divided into three groups: "Turks" as the enemies of the Church and Christianity; "Turks" as desolators and bringers of doom; and "Turks" as wild animals. Functioning as a common denominator to a majority of these metaphors through which the Ottomans were "othered" are various biblical motives, especially in the case of the "Turks as wild animals" discourse. Even though the three groups are not clear cut and they are closely intertwined, the proposed classification will make the presentation of the discursive processes of "othering" clearer, and provide the necessary background to the next step of the analysis: the definition of a "shared discursive field" in which the representations of the "Turks" were rooted; this will in turn define the broader textual (and possibly emotional) community of the analyzed authors.[142]

The most expected vehicle of "othering" the Ottomans used by the members of Orthodox Christian communities is to represent the "Turks" as the enemies of the Church and Christendom. Not only does such a form of "othering" produce a dangerous enemy, but it also reinforces the collective self-identification with the Christian Church; a strengthening of collective identities that would be instrumental to monastic communities. Old Man Isaiah narrates that "one [part] of the Christians with swords they [the Ottomans] slew, the other they enslaved."[143] The motif of slavery aside, it is clear that the Ottomans were depicted as the enemies of the Christians, the violent murderers of the members of the Church. The endonym "Christians" in this case constitutes the Ottomans as the enemies of the Church. Nun Euphemia also represents the "Turks" as the enemies of the Church; the brave prince Lazar "stood against the dragon [or serpent] and the nemesis of the divine Churches, resolved

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[142] On the concept of shared discursive fields see Nancy Bisaha, *Creating East and West: Renaissance Humanists and the Ottoman Turks* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004), 9.

[143] "и ѡвѣх оубо ѿ христіанѣ мечем закалаху ѡвѣх же въ заплѣненіе ѿвождаху." Old Man Isaiah, "Записи," 159.

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that your heart cannot bare to look upon the Christians of your fatherland overborne by the Ishmaelites."[144] Euphemia goes a step further than Isaiah and explicitly constructs the Ottomans as foes of all Christians. Furthermore, the Anonymous II of Ravanica describes the Ottomans as "unbelievers" who "defiled Your holy Churches, seeking to gorge upon them."[145] Anonymous III of Ravanica is even more explicit when portraying the Ottomans as the enemies of Christendom: the "Turks" are "God-detesting" people that "not only desecrated the holy Churches, but turned them to flames." [146] Finally, Constantine the Philosopher narrates how Prince Lazar saw the cities, counties and the Churches throughout his lands "burned down with fire, the others ruined, numerous killings and the flowing rivers of blood".[147]

The listed examples show that one of the common discursive strategies of "othering" the Ottomans by the late medieval Serbian authors was to portray them as the enemies of Christendom, as the destroyers and defilers of Churches. The motives of the "Turks" as slayers and enslavers of Christians, desecrators and demolishers of the churches are dominant in this specific form of pejoration. Moreover, this type of "othering" that generates the Ottomans as the dangerous enemy consequently produces fear among the Christians. This fear of the Ottoman "other" in turn produces socially cohesive force for those that are to fear – in this case the entire Christendom.

Closely linked to the motif of "Turks as the enemies of the Church" is the representation of the Ottomans as desolators and the bringers of doom. Old Man Isaiah, for

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[144] "ндьшьль ксі на злїа н сьпостат б(о)ж(ь)ственнх ц̈р(ь)кьвь расѹднвь нестрьпнмо бнтн ср(ь)д(ь)цѹ твоксѹ зрѣтн хрнст(н)анн ѿт(ь)ѣьствна тн ѿбл(а)даксмнмь бнтн нзманлтенн." Nun Euphemia, "Похвала светом кнезу Лазару," 85.
[145] "Б[о]же, прїндоше ѥ̈зьцн вь дос[то]ӓнїе твоє ѡ̈скврьннше ц̈р[ь]к[ь]вн светыне твое. тьщет се сьтвѡрнтї нх[ь] ꙗ̈ко ѡ̈воцꙿное хранⷩлнще." Anonymous II, "Похвала кнезу Лазару," 252.
[146] "богомрь̈сцїн же ѡны нзманлтн... ...н нетьчню оскврь̈ннше светые ц̈ръвы, нь̈ н ѡгню сѣло твораⷧ̈ъ нхь." Anonymous III, "О кнезу Лазару," 112.
[147] "ц̈рькⷠвн благочьстнвынхь овы огнемь пожнгаксмы овы же поннраксмы н мнѡжьство ѹбнксннꙗ н крьвн тскоѵштею рѣкы." Constantine the Philosopher, "Живот Стефана Лазаревића," 259.

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example, blamed the Ottomans for ushering in "the worst of all evil times."[148] Similarly, Michael the Sinner explicitly blames the "Turkish beys" for causing undefined "suffering" that afflicts his soul.[149] Nun Euphemia blames the Ottoman domination, following the death of Prince Lazar, for "numerous hardships and sufferings."[150] Danilo's anonymous continuator mentions the "Turks" only once, depicting them as the killers of Vukašin and Uglješa, the noble Serbian landlords.[151] Anonymous I of Ravanica narrates how the Ottomans seized Prince Lazar and his soldiers and took them "like sheep unto the slaughter."[152] Constantine the Philosopher also describes the viciousness of Ottoman actions: "some they took away, the others they enslaved, some they pillaged, the others they slaughtered, like a fire breaking and annihilating everything wherever they were, and always they were present, striving to devour everything remaining and to mercilessly execute [everyone]."[153]

Anonymous III of Ravanica is much more expressive and offers a thicker description of the Ottomans' horrible actions: "there was no evil that they [the Ottomans] did not beget"; "for these they slew and those that remained they dragged to their lands".[154] The author then references Psalm 137:1–3 as he states that they did not sit by the river of Babylon "like they did at the time", but by the ocean.[155] The biblical allusion is clear: just like the Jews who were enslaved by the Babylonians, the Serbs are now enslaved by the Ottomans. The motif of enslavement is then invested with especially strong emotional descriptions:

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[148] "ʒлѣнніе всѣх ʒлыⸯ временъ." Old Man Isaiah, "Записи," 160.

[149] See fn. 133.

[150] "многн скрьбн н болѣʒнн." Nun Euphemia, "Похвала светом кнезу Лазару," 85.

[151] "Грьчьскьне же страны н грады прнѥть Оуглнеша н по семь сьвькоупльше се нʒндоше вь Македонню , н оть тоурькь оубнѥнн быше." Danilo's Continuator, "О поставлюнин," 381.

[152] "ꙗко овьце на ʒаколюнне." Anonymous I, "Житије светог кнеза Лазара," 163.

[153] "овѣхь обьводеште, овѣхь же порабоштаюште, овѣхь же плѣноуюште н овѣхь ʒакалаюште, огнь ꙗкоже нʒмьждаѥ н вьсѣхь сьтнраюште, ндѣже обрѣштаахоу се н прнсьно вьмѣштаюште се н гредоуште нюже оставьша поꙗстн н погоубнтн немнлостнвьно." Constantine the Philosopher, "Живот Стефана Лазаревића," 258.

[154] "не бѣ ʒлоба юже не сьтворнше…. ѣхь обьводеште, овѣхь бо ʒакалаꙋ. остⷶвшнхь же жнвехь штвождаахоу на свою ʒемлю." Anonymous III, "О кнезу Лазару," 112.

[155] "н не на рѣцѣ вавⷡлоⷩсцѣн ꙗко же онѣн тогⷣⷶ сѣдохомь. нѣ на въ ннⷢгоже въсѐ рѣкы мⷶлыне же н велнкыне вътⷯꙋⷮть." Ibid., 112.

we were being divided and sold across all the lands of these [the Ottomans]... and a mother cried for her youngling, and a father wept bitterly, and a brother embracing a brother spilled angry tears, sisters [gazed at] brothers and brothers [gazed at] sisters and watching as another is taken away they cross their arms around each other's necks shrieking sorrowfully. Oh Earth, open your mouth and swallow us alive![156]

Unlike the descriptions of enslavement in the first category (Turks as the enemies of the Church), the slavery motif is presented much more personally in this passage. The anonymous monk invokes family ties in the construction of this emotionally laden representation of the "Turk as enslaver." A crying mother, a weeping father, shrieking brothers and sisters are all narrative devices that amplify the emotional impact of the passage—primarily that of unbearable sorrow—and, consequently, produce a specific type of a dangerous "other."

These examples of narrative "othering" through specific type of pejoration—blaming the Ottomans for numerous wrongdoings or depicting them as vicious destroyers/enslavers—allow for several observations to be made. First, the effects of this "othering" are more immediate and more personal as opposed to the "Turks as the enemies of the Church" motif. The endangered entity is not the entire Christendom, but more specifically the subjects of Prince Lazar and their families (strongly accentuated in Anonymous III), the land of the Serbian landlords, the authors themselves (especially with Michael the Sinner). The effect of immediacy is achieved through more detailed descriptions of both the subjects suffering and the many ways in which these sufferings are expressed. Second, the main emotion produced through these discursive strategies of "othering" is not fear, but sorrow and misery. It is exactly through the evocation of unbearable sorrow which afflicts the people of the land, the sorrow brought by the "Turks," that the authors produce fear. Thus, fear is a by-product of

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[156] "разлучаемыи быхшмь н распродаемыи въвсоу тѣхь землю... н мати о чедѣхь плакааше.н отьць горцѣ рѣдааше. н брать брата обьемь слъзы любьнѥ пролнвааше. н сестры братню, н братіа сестры. зреще се нного ннадо штводнла, рсүцѣ ѡ выиахь дроугь дроугоу оплѣтше, жалостнѣ крычаахоу. ѡ землѥ растоупнвшн се жнвы прїнмы въсѣхь нсь." Anonymous III, "О кнезу Лазару," 112–13.

sorrow, hardships and misery (and vice versa). This connection between fear and sorrow was beautifully illuminated by Robert Burton in 1621: "[c]ousin-german to sorrow is fear, or rather a sister, a faithful squire, and continual companion, an assistant and a principal agent in procuring of this mischief, a cause and symptom as the other."[157]

The third category of "othering" through pejoration concerns motifs of comparison with various animals. Specifically, there are three groups of animals that the Ottomans are compared to: birds/bees/locusts; wild beasts/lions; and serpents (snakes)/dragons. These examples are strongly tied to the already mentioned biblical allusions, as all of the animals to which the Ottomans are compared to bear some biblical symbolism.

Old Man Isaiah narrates how "the Turks spread and flew across all the land as birds in the sky."[158] Similar is the metaphor employed by Anonymous III: "like bees they spread, and overran all our land."[159] Finally, Constantine the Philosopher compares the Ottomans to locusts, evoking the Old Testament in the line "the sons of Ishmael, that poured unto us like a plague of locusts."[160] This group of animal metaphors constructs the Ottomans as a unified enemy that has the advantage of great numbers; birds, bees and locusts are all numerous and harmonious in their work.

In the second group of animal metaphors the Ottomans are constructed as an enemy possessing great strength and power. The metaphor of a roaring beast, specifically lion, is evoked to achieve the effect of strength. For example, Constantine the Philosopher compares Sultan Bayezid to a lion.[161] Anonymous I describes the Ottomans as "a beast," "a roaring lion

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[157] Robert Burton, *The Anatomy of Melancholy*, ed. Floyd Dell and Paul Jordan-Smith (New York: Tudor, 1927), 227.
[158] "просыпашиася изманлтане и полетѣша по всеи земли ꙗкоже птица по въздоухоу." Old Man Isaiah, "Записи," 160.
[159] "пакы ꙗко же пчёлы просыпаше се нвъсоу землню нашоу протекоше." Anonymous III, "О кнезу Лазару," 112.
[160] "второе же изманльтьскыихь родь, иже ꙗкоже нѣкоторни проугзи на нась излиꙗше се." Constantine the Philosopher, "Живот Стефана Лазаревића," 258.
[161] "львь же онь иже и громь нареченыи." Ibid., 262.

seeking to devour the flock of Christ and deprive our fatherland of any memory." [162]

Similarly, Anonymous II also likens the Ottomans to "a wicked, prideful, cruel beast" set to

destroy Lazar's "flock." [163] Furthermore, the same author designates the Ottomans as "a

deceiver" who "with its cruelty, like a roaring lion, subdues under its authority." [164] This type

of "othering" is clearly rooted in the Bible, specifically in the First Epistle of Peter where the

devil himself is compared to a roaring lion: "be sober, be vigilant; because your adversary the

devil, as a roaring lion, walketh about, seeking whom he may devour." [165] Moreover, the

explicit mentions of "us"—"our fatherland" in Anonymous I and "Lazar's flock" in

Anonymous II—produce a clear cohesive force for the ingroup, those that should be wary

and afraid of the "Turkish" roaring lion.

The last group of animal metaphors deal with the images of serpent and/or dragons;

both are used in the Bible as representations of the devil himself. [166] Nun Euphemia makes use

of the biblical analogy of Archangel Michael's fight against the dragon that took place in

heaven to describe Lazar's battle against the Ottomans: "with a courageous heart and a will

for fortune you stood against the dragon [or serpent] and the nemesis of the divine

Churches." [167] A similar analogy is employed by Anonymous II who likens the Ottomans to a

"deaf serpent that shuts its ears." This is another case of a clear allusion to a biblical text,

namely, Psalm 58:4. [168] These narratives of "othering" are closely linked to all the categories

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[162] "ндѣаше бо звѣрь ꙗко львь рыкаѥ, нскы погльтнтн стадо Христово н отьчьство наше безь вѣсти сьтворнтн." Anonymous I, "Житије светог кнеза Лазара," 162.

[163] "нечьстнвбмоу и грьдомоу и сверѣпоцю звѣрꙋ ѥже растлнтн словесноѐ тн стадо ѥже ѐсн ѐмоу прѣдаль слове б[о]жіи." Anonymous II, "Похвала кнезу Лазару," 251.

[164] "ихже льстнвьі онь сверѣпьствоцдь своиць, ꙗкоѥ львь рыкаѥ, подь свою области, сь выѥцн сиин оустрьцинв се." Ibid., 251.

[165] 1 Pe. 5:8. All the quotations from the Bible will be taken from the King James Version.

[166] Revelation 12:9 "And the great dragon was cast out, that old serpent, called the Devil, and Satan, which deceiveth the whole world: he was cast out into the earth, and his angels were cast out with him."

[167] "нзьшьль ѥсі на зціа н сьпостат б(о)ж(ь)ствннх цр(ь)кьвь расꙋднвь нестрьпнцю бнтн ср(ь)д(ь)цꙋ твоѥцꙋ зретн хрнст(н)ани от(ь)чьствна тн ѡбл(а)даѥцнць бнтн нзцаилтенн... н зціа ꙋбіль ѥсн." Nun Euphemia, "Похвала светом кнезу Лазару," 85. Cf. Revelation 12:7 "And there was war in heaven: Michael and his angels fought against the dragon; and the dragon fought and his angels".

[168] "Their poison is like the poison of a serpent: they are like the deaf adder that stoppeth her ear." Cf. "и ꙗко аспндь глоухьі затнкаѐ оушн свои." Anonymous II, "Похвала кнезу Лазару," 252.

of pejoration; through biblical allusion the Ottomans are represented as the enemies of Christendom (serpents/dragon), through select animal metaphors they are constructed as a specifically numerous (bees, birds, locusts) and strong (beast, roaring lion) hostile army, and the feeling of immediacy is achieved through the evocation of Lazar's battle.

Finally, the "othering" of the Ottomans is achieved through the employment of a specific exonym that is used synonymously with the ethnic marker "Turks"—the already oft-encountered terms "Ishmaelites" / "Sons of Ishmael" and "Hagars"/ "Hagarenes." For example, Nun Euphemia writes about the "many hardships" endured by Lazar's subjects due to them being "ruled over by the Ishmaelites."[169] Old Man Isaiah mentions how "the Ishmaelites spread across the land like the birds unto the sky" and "everyone was filled with fear of the Ishmaelites."[170] All three of the anonymous monks of Ravanica employ the exonyms "Ishmalites" as well as the "Hagarenes" to refer to the Ottoman forces: "and he [Prince Lazar] was surrounded by the multitude of Hagarenes, then he was taken along with the multitude of his magnates like sheep unto the slaughter," writes Anonymous I; "the vicious bloodsucker Hagar" and "God-detesting Emir of the Ishmaelites" is likened to the Ottoman commander by Anonymous II; and the same metaphor of "God-detesting Ishmaelites" "who spread like bees and overran our land" is employed by Anonymous III.[171] Finally, Constantine the Philosopher uses the exonym "Ishmaelites" very often throughout his

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[169] "мноѓи скрьби и болѣзни ѡбьше вьзлюбленнаю ти чеда и вь мноѕѣх скр[ь]бех житие проважѕают ѡблад[а]еми бо сѫт иꙁмаилтени." Nun Euphemia, "Похвала светом кнезу Лазару," 85.

[170] "и полетѣша по всеи ꙁемли ꙗкоже птица по вьꙁдꙋхꙋ...но вса исполнишаса страха иꙁмаилтскаго." Old Man Isaiah, "Записи," 160.

[171] "ѡбстоупльше ѥго множьство Агарень и ѥмьше ѥго, приведен бьсть сь множьствомь властель ѥго. ꙗко ѡвьце на ꙁаколѥние." Anonymous I, "Житије светог кнеза Лазара," 163; "нечѣстивомоу и скврьномоу крьвопiйци Агароу...богомрьскомꙋ амирѣ исмаильтьскомоу." Anonymous II, "Похвала кнезу Лазару," 251; "богомрѣсцїи же ѡны иꙁмаилти... пакы ꙗко же пчелы просыпаше се нвьсоу ꙁемлю нашꙋ протекоше." Anonymous III, "О кнезу Лазару," 112.

narrative when referring to the Ottomans: e.g. "he [Prince Lazar] arose and marched against the Ishmaelites and the battle took place in a place called Kosovo."[172]

These exonyms stem from the Old Testament, specifically Genesis 16, in which the birth of Ishmael is described in the following words:

> And the angel of the Lord said unto her [Hagar, Abraham's mistress], Behold, thou art with child, and shalt bear a son, and shalt call his name Ishmael; because the Lord hath heard thy affliction. / And he will be a wild man; his hand will be against every man, and every man's hand against him; and he shall dwell in the presence of all his brethren.[173]

This Ishmael, the son of Abraham and Hagar, is then again mentioned in Genesis 25 in form of a *pater eponymous* of the Bedouin tribes inhabiting the southern and eastern regions of Palestine—the region that the Assyrian sources from the eighth century B.C. associate with "Arabs."[174] As was noted by Eph'al, this is "[t]he only biblical evidence linking Ishmael and the tribes known in Assyrian sources as "Arabs."[175] This biblical association was used by several classical and late antique authors to link Arabic tribes to the exonym "Ishmaelites;" the most famous and influential examples being Josephus's *Antiquities of the Jews*, the Palestinian Talmud and, most importantly, Eusebius's *Chronicon*.[176] As noted by Anthony Hilhorst, after Eusebius identified the Ishmaelites and Hagarenes with the Saracens, this specific association became a widely accessible topos.[177]

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[172] "ведеть се на Изманлнты н сьраженню бывѣшоу на мѣстѣ Косовѣ бысть снце." Constantine the Philosopher, "Живот Стефана Лазаревића," 261.
[173] Gen. 16:11–12.
[174] "Now these are the generations of Ishmael, Abraham's son, whom Hagar the Egyptian, Sarah's handmaid, bare unto Abraham: 13 And these are the names of the sons of Ishmael, by their names, according to their generations: the firstborn of Ishmael, Nebajoth; and Kedar, and Adbeel, and Mibsam, 14 And Mishma, and Dumah, and Massa, 15 Hadar, and Tema, Jetur, Naphish, and Kedemah: 16 These are the sons of Ishmael, and these are their names, by their towns, and by their castles; twelve* princes according to their nations." Gen. 25:12–16. See also Israel Eph'al, "'Ishmael' and 'Arab(s)': A Transformation of Ethnological Terms," *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 35, no. 4 (1976): 227–28.
[175] Ibid., 228.
[176] Ibid., 232–33; Anthony Hilhorst, "Ishmaelites, Hagarenes, Saracenes," in *Abraham, the Nations, and the Hagarites: Jewish, Christian, and Islamic Perspectives on Kinship with Abraham*, ed. Martin Goodman, George H. van Kooten, and Jacques T.A.G.M. van Ruiten (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 421–34.
[177] Hilhorst, "Ishmaelites," 426.

However, it was in the seventh and eighth centuries, the era of rapid Arab conquests of the Christian lands, that the exonym "Ishmaelites" gained widespread popularity among the Christian writers.[178] One of the main engines behind the popularization of this association was the apocalyptical literature: mainly the *Apocalypse of Pseudo-Methodius* (also known as the *Revelation of Pseudo-Methodius* and hereafter referred to as simply *Apocalypse*) and the apocryphal *Visions of Daniel* (a work that adopted many motifs from the aforementioned *Apocalypse*).[179] These apocalyptic writings were the products of Christian men of letters who tried to make sense of the rise of Islam and Muslims' military dominance over a part of the Christian world.[180] Thus, Pseudo-Methodius positions the Arab conquests of his time (late seventh century) within "the framework of a 'political' history of the succession of the kingdoms from the beginning of mankind to the end of the world."[181] According to this seventh-century author, the domination of the "Sons of Ishmael" (also referred to as "Ishmaelites" and "Hagarenes") was foretold and it would come to end; the Christian Oecumene would be saved by the "Last Emperor," the personified bulwark of Christianity, who would arise in the moment of greatest despair and defeat the heathen invaders.[182]

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[178] See e.g. John Tolan, "A Wild Man, Whose Hand Will Be against All: Saracens and Ishmaelites in Latin Ethnographical Traditions, from Jerome to Bede," in *Visions of Community in the Post-Roman World: The West, Byzantium and the Islamic World, 300-1100*, ed. Walter Pohl, Clemens Gantner, and Richard Payne (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2012), 513–30. For the appropriation of these terms in Byzantium see Alexis G. C. Savvides, "Some Notes on the Terms Agarenoῑ, Ismaelῑtai and Sarakenoῑ in Byzantine Sources," *Byzantion* 67, no. 1 (1997): 89–96.

[179] A concise overview of both sources can be found in Paul J. Alexander, *The Byzantine Apocalyptic Tradition*, ed. Dorothy de F. Abrahamse (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985), 13–33, 61–64.

[180] Paul J. Alexander, "Medieval Apocalypses as Historical Sources," *The American Historical Review* 73, no. 4 (1968): 1000–6; Bernard McGinn, *Visions of the End: Apocalyptic Traditions in the Middle Ages* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1979), 1–36; Paul Magdalino, "The History of the Future and Its Uses: Prophecy, Policy and Propaganda (with Postscript)," in *The Expansion of Orthodox Europe: Byzantium, the Balkans and Russia*, ed. Jonathan Shepard (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007), 19–21.

[181] Gerrit J. Reinink, "A Concept of History in Response to the Rise of Islam," in *The Byzantine and Early Islamic Near East*, vol. 1, *Problems in the Literary Source Material,* ed. Averil Cameron and Lawrence I. Conrad, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992), 154.

[182] On the motif of the Last Emperor see an excellent M.A. thesis András Kraft, "The Last Roman Emperor Topos in the Byzantine Apocalyptic Tradition" (Central European University, 2011).

This text, originally written in Syriac, soon became immensely popular as demonstrated by its almost immediate translations into Greek and Latin.[183] On the basis of Greek translation the *Apocalypse* was translated into Old Church Slavonic in Bulgaria already in the tenth century at the latest.[184] These earliest translations of Pseudo-Methodius's *Apocalypse* into Old Church Slavonic exist in a late thirteenth- or early fourteenth-century codex from Hilandar monastery.[185] Therefore, the Old Church Slavonic version of *Apocalypse* was most probably read by the Athonite monks of Hilandar during the era of Old Man Isaiah. As such, this text could have influenced the selection of topoi and the treatment of literary motifs in the writings of both Old Man Isaiah and other Serbian monks of the period. This observation is also made by Nikolovska who writes that

> [t]he Ishmaelites, mentioned in the *Book of Genesis*, play an important role in extra-biblical literature since their advent was a portent of the imminent End of Days. Ishmaelite invasions are associated with the End of Days in Byzantine apocalyptic writings such as the 'Visions of Daniel', which borrows largely from the 'Apocalypse of Pseudo Methodius', both of which were in circulation among the South Slavs long before Isaija's colophon was written.[186]

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[183] Benjamin Garstad, "Introduction," in *Apocalypse: An Alexandrian World Chronicle*, ed. Benjamin Garstad, Dumbarton Oaks Medieval Library (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2012), vii–xiv. English translation of the original Syriac: Alexander, *Byzantine Apocalyptic*, 36–51. The Greek and Latin redactions of Pseudo-Methodius's *Apocalypse* are edited and translated into modern English in Pseudo-Methodius, "The Apocalypse," in *Apocalypse: An Alexandrian World Chronicle*, ed. Benjamin Garstad, Dumbarton Oaks Medieval Library (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2012), 1–71 (Greek redaction and English translation), 72–139 (Latin redaction with English translation).

[184] Francis J. Thomson, "The Slavonic Translations of Pseudo-Methodius of Olympu Apocalypsis," in *Културно развитие на Българската държава: Краят на XII-XIV век* [The cultural development of the Bulgarian state: the end of the twelfth-fourteenth centuries], ed. Ангел Давидов (Sofia: Bŭlgarska akademiī̐a na naukite, 1985), 144; Samuel H. Cross, "The Earliest Allusion in Slavic Literature to the Revelations of Pseudo-Methodius," *Speculum* 4, no. 3 (1929): 332.

[185] The Old Church Slavonic version of the *Apocalypse* on the basis of this specific manuscript from Hilandar monastery was edited and published as Pseudo-Methodius, "Откровение" [Revelation] in *Откровение Мефодия Патарского и апокрифические видения Даниила в византийской и славяно-русской литературах,* vol. 2, *Тексты,* [The revelation of Methodius of Patara and the apocryphal visions of Daniel in Byzantine and Slavic-Russian literature, vol. 2, Texts], ed. Василиј М. Истрин (Moscow: Universitetskaja tipografija, 1897), 84–101. All the translations of Pseudo-Methodius's *Apocalypse* will from here on be quoted from Garstad's translation of the Greek redaction unless otherwise noted. All the quotation from the Old Church Slavonic redaction will be taken from Istrin's edition as this manuscript was consulted, in all probability, by the monks of Hilandar monastery. I quote English translation of the Greek redaction simply because the Old Church Slavonic redaction is a translation of the Greek redaction. Moreover, there is no English translation of the Old Church Slavonic redaction of Pseudo-Methodius's Apocalypse.

[186] Nikolovska, "When the Living Envied the Dead," 210.

Indeed, the use of the terms "Ishmaelites," "sons of Ishmael," and "Hagarenes" in reference to the Ottomans supports the argument that it was the Pseudo-Methodius's *Apocalypse* that served as a reservoir of motifs for the late medieval Serbian authors producing the "fear of the Turks." The following sub-chapter examines in detail the relations between this popular apocalyptic narrative and the analyzed Serbian texts as well as the putative role of Pseudo-Methodious's writings in the modality of the production of the "fear of the Turks" in the late medieval Serbian territories.

Visions of Apocalypse

As was demonstrated by several prominent scholars of medieval apocalyptic literature, Pseudo-Methodius wrote his *Apocalypse* as a response to the rise of Islam in his own day.[187] As noted by McGinn, one of the leading figures in the studies of medieval apocalypticism, "[a]pocalypticism was a way in which contemporary political and social events were given religious validation by incorporation into a transcendent scheme of meaning."[188] Thus,

> Pseudo-Methodius offered hope in this dark hour. His vision of a coming
> Emperor who would defeat the Ishmaelites, the enemies of Christ, and restore
> Roman glory incorporated the rise of Islam, the most important historical event
> since the conversion of the empire, into the Christian apocalyptic scheme of
> history.[189]

Due to the massive popularity of Pseudo-Methodius's text, the narrative framework of the *Apocalypse* was adopted by numerous authors at times of foreign invasions, especially of non-Christian enemy forces. For example, Dalmatian archdeacon Thomas of Split (Ital. Spalato) invokes "the words of the martyr Methodius" when describing the Mongol invasion of Dalmatia in the thirteenth century, and the passages from the famous *Apocalypse* were even printed on flyers disseminated among the Christian forces defending Vienna against the

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[187] Reinink, "A Concept of History," 180–87.
[188] McGinn, *Visions of the End*, 31.
[189] Ibid., 71.

Ottomans in 1683.[190] Similarly, the culture of late medieval Serbian Orthodox communities would also be fertile soil for the reception of Pseudo-Methodious's apocalyptic narrative. However, in order to strengthen the argument that it was the *Apocalypse* that served as the main reservoir of topoi and literary motifs in the production of the "fear of the Turks" in late medieval Serbia, several connections between the Pseudo-Methodious' and Serbian narratives remain to be illuminated.

First, there is the case of shared chronology. Pseudo-Methodius builds his *Apocalypse* upon the existing notions of the inevitable end of the world and the second coming of Christ. Many writers tried to calculate the exact date of the end of the world basing their calculation on the Bible and the belief that the world cannot last longer than the act of its creation.[191] Since it took God six days to create the world and "one day is with the Lord as a thousand years, and a thousand years as one day," Hippolytus of Rome concluded that the End would take place in A.D. 500, six thousand years after its creation.[192] Pseudo-Methodius and Anastasios of Sinai, writing well after the date calculated by Hippolytus, believed that the world would end not in the sixth, but in the seventh millennium; consequently, several dates were calculated by various authors as likely candidates for the End: A.D. 742, 758, 876, 880, 992 and 1000 were all at some point believed to be the exact dates of the Second Coming.[193] When all of these dates proved to be wrong, the seventh millennium mentioned by Pseudo-Methodius as the "last millennium" was finally conceptualized as denoting the year A.M.

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[190] Mirko Sardelić, "Europski klerici i misionari o Mongolima: Percepcija stepskih barbara u Europi sredinom 13. stoljeća" [European clerics and missionaries on Mongols: The perception of the steppe barbarians in mid-thirteenth-century Europe] *Zbornik Odsjeka za povijesne znanosti Zavoda za povijesne i društvene znanosti Hrvatske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti* 29 (2011): 12; McGinn, *Visions of the End*, 72.
[191] Vasilka Tapkova-Zaimova and Anissava Miltenova, *Historical and Apocalyptic Literature in Byzantium and Medieval Bulgaria*, trans. Maria Paneva and Milena Lilova (Sofia: East-West, 2011), 21.
[192] 2 Peter 3:8. See also Psalm 90:4. Paul Magdalino, "The End of Time in Byzantium," in *Endzeiten: Eschatologie in Den Monotheistischen Weltreligionen*, ed. Wolfram Brendes and Felicitas Schmieder (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2008), 120.
[193] Ibid., 128–29.

7000. Hence, the world's unavoidable End was believed to come at the end of the seventh millennium, i.e. in the year A.D. 1492.[194]

After having designated the seventh millennium as the last one, Pseudo-Methodius proceeds to elaborate—borrowing some motifs from the Bible—in great detail the types of disasters that will befall the Christian world and the many hardships the Christians will have to endure right before the Second Coming. This apocalyptic imagery, along with the belief that the world would end in A.M. 7000, was taken over by the late medieval Serbian authors analyzed in this thesis. For example, Old Man Isaiah states that he began his translations in the "closing of the seventh age," "on the eve of a sunny day," and proceeds to invoke apocalyptic imagery when describing his present day: "one [part] of the Christians with swords they slew, the other they enslaved;" "early death met those who remained, and those who eluded it died of hunger, for there was such a hunger on all sides, a hunger unlike any since the beginning of the world;" "and those who were not struck down by hunger were, as God permitted, being devoured by wolves night and day;" "the earth was stripped of all its riches—the men, the animals, and all other fruits;" "and verily, the living envied the dead."[195] The motifs of hunger, slavery, the slaying of Christians and the desolation of land are all featured in the eleventh chapter of the *Apocalypse* as descriptions of hardships that befell the Christian world upon the invasion of the Ishmaelites.[196] Moreover, these motifs of death brought by sword, hunger and beasts are also featured in Revelation 6:8.[197] Finally, the motif of "living envying the dead" is explicitly mentioned in Pseudo-Methodius chap. 11:16: "rich

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[194] Ibid., 129.

[195] "Н к вечерѹ слнчнаго дне захода седморчьленаго рекѹ вѣка н моеа нжнн скончаніа... н овѣх оѵбо ѿ хрнстіанѣ мечем закалахѹ, овѣх же въ заплѣненіе ѿвождахѹ, а ѡставшнх смрть безгодна пожже. ѿ смертн же ѡставшаа, гладом погоѵбленн бывше. Таковын бо глад бысть по всѣх странах, іаковын же не бысть ю всѣх странах ѿ сложеніа мнрѹ... ѡста земла всѣх добры поѵста: н люден, н скотъ н нных плодѡв. ... н вънстннѹ тогда оѵблажахѹ жнвіи прежде оѵмршнх." Old Man Isaiah, "Записи," 158–59.

[196] Pseudo-Methodius, "The Apocalypse," 37–49; Pseudo-Methodius, "Откровение," 92–95.

[197] "And I looked, and behold a pale horse: and his name that sat on him was Death, and Hell followed with him. And power was given unto them over the fourth part of the earth, to kill with sword, and with hunger, and with death, and with the beasts of the earth."

and poor, hungry and thirsty, bound captives" "will think the dead happy."[198] In the Old Church Slavonic version from Hilandar the verb used in this phrase is блажнти (as in "блажнти вьчноуть мрьтвыкє") while Old Man Isaiah uses the variant of the same verb: оувлажаахѫ (as in "оувлажаахѫ оумрешнх").[199] The most literal translation of both of these passages would therefore be "they pronounced blessed/deemed blessed the dead" and this is the translation offered by Paul Alexander.[200]

Nun Euphemia simply states that the people of Prince Lazar "spend their lives in many hardships because they are ruled over by the Ishmaelites."[201] The same motif is featured extensively in the *Apocalypse* as the hardships suffered by the Christians under the Ishmaelite yoke are described in detail.[202] More evocative of *Apocalypse* are the anonymous monks of Ravanica. Namely, Anonymous III references Pseudo-Methodius directly as he writes of "the fulfillment of the prophecy for a second time." In *Apocalypse*, chap. 5, the Ishmaelites rose against "the kings of the nations," but were defeated and sent back to the desert by Gideon who freed Israel from their yoke (reference to Judges 8:22).[203] After having described their defeat, Pseudo-Methodious prophesizes their return:

> [b]ut they will surely come out once again and lay waste to the land and prevail over the inhabited world and the regions ... and doubly will their yoke be upon the neck of all the nations. And there will not be a nation or kingdom under the heaven that will be able to fight them until the completion of seven weeks of years.[204]

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[198] Pseudo-Methodius, "The Apocalypse," 47.

[199] Pseudo-Methodius, "Откровение," 95. See also Thomson's edition, based on the Copenhagen manuscript, in which the same verb is used as in the Hilandar manuscript. Thomson, "The Slavonic Translations," 165.

[200] Alexander, *Byzantine Apocalyptic*, 46., 46.

[201] "многн скрьбн н болѣзнн ѡбьше вьзлюбленнаıа тн чеда н вь многѣх скр[ь]бех жнтне проважлают ѡблад[а]емн бо сѫт нзмандтенн." Nun Euphemia, "Похвала светом кнезу Лазару," 85.

[202] Pseudo-Methodius, "The Apocalypse," 45–49; Pseudo-Methodius, "Откровение," 94–95.

[203] "Then the men of Israel said unto Gideon, Rule thou over us, both thou, and thy son, and thy son's son also: for thou hast delivered us from the hand of Midian." For the term "Midianites" as interchangeable for the "Ishmaelites" see Genesis 37:25–28; Alexander, *Byzantine Apocalyptic*, 24.

[204] Pseudo-Methodius, "The Apocalypse," 17. Cf. the Old Church Slavonic redaction that has "есть же ндь прннтн кднною н плѣннтн земдню н прѣетн... н боудеть сьгоубь ıармь на вын всѣмь странамь. н нѣ ıезнка нлн црртвл поль нбесемь нже могоуть протнвоустатн ндь до чнсла лѣ седьмн сѣдмнць." Pseudo-Methodius, "Откровение," 88.

The first fulfillment of the prophecy would thus refer to the first Ishmaelite invasion and their subsequent defeat by the armies of Gideon. Consequently, the second fulfillment refers to the second invasion of the Ishmaelites, the one described by Pseudo-Methodius that precedes the very end of times and the Second Coming. After having referenced this Pseudo-Methodius's prophecy, Anonymous III proceeds to invoke several apocalyptic topoi: desolation, destruction of Churches and enslavement. He even uses a phrase similar to Old Man Isaiah: "for these they slew and those that remained they dragged to their lands."[205] A similar motif is featured in *Apocalypse* when Pseudo-Methodius describes the fates of Greece and Romania following the Ishmaelite invasion:

> The land of Syria will be a desert and ruined, and those who dwell in it will die by the sword. Cilicia will be desolated, and those who dwell in it will die at sword edge and will go into captivity. Greece will go to destruction, and those who dwell in it to captivity and to sword. Romania [will go] to perdition [and to slaughter] and [those who dwell in it] will be turned to flight, and the islands of the sea will become a desolation and those who dwell on them will be destroyed by sword and captivity.[206]

Moreover, in the same chapter Pseudo-Methodius writes that "man and sheep and animals and birds will be harnessed under the yoke of their [Ishamelites'] slavery."[207]

Finally, Constantine the Philosopher employs several apocalyptic motifs. First, he clearly alludes to the end of the world coming in A.D. 1492 or A.M. 7000 as he states that in the nineteenth year of Despot Lazarević's reign, the thirteenth Paschal cycle, ended leaving only eighty-four years remaining for this world, "the years of fret" (orig. скрьбн лѣтє).[208] The

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[205] "ѡвѣхъ бо ꙁакалааху. ѡстàвшнхъ же жнвехъ ѡтвòждааху на своⷽ ꙁемлю." Anonymous III, "О кнезу Лазару," 112.

[206] Pseudo-Methodius, "The Apocalypse," 43. Cf. the Old Church Slavonic version that has "Helada" (Ѥлада) for Greece and "Greeks" (Грьцн) for "Romania". "н прѣдана боудеть ꙁемле Ферьска вь тлю н пагоубоун жнвоущн н на нен плѣненнюⷨ н мьⷱⷨ погыбьноуть. Снкнлна ѡпꙋщена боудеть н жнвоущн на нен нсѣченн боудоуть. такоⷤⷣе н Ѥлада. Грьцн вь плененꙗ н бѣгананнꙗ боудоуть н ѡстровн морьсцн вь ꙁапоустѣнїє боудоуть, жнвоущн вь сѣченнꙗ боудоуть." Pseudo-Methodius, "Откровение," 94.

[207] The quoted passage is Alexander's translation. See Alexander, *Byzantine Apocalyptic*, 45. Garstad translated the passage as "and all will come under their yoke, men and beasts and birds." Pseudo-Methodius, "The Apocalypse," 43. Cf. the Old Church Slavonic version "н боудоуть всн подь властню нхь чльвѣцн н скотн н птнце небесныꙗ." Pseudo-Methodius, "Откровение," 94.

[208] "Дрьꙗвьныⷯ же н сь, нже вь наше родꙑ вьснꙗвьныⷯ, не просто четырндесетелѣтьномоу воꙁденню попоуштень бысть прнблнжнтн се, нь ꙗко велнкь сꙑ, нь ꙗко печать бывшннмь хрнстонменнтыⷨ. ꙗмоужь н вѣ прьставлюнннⷯ кроугꙑ вѣ

end of the thirteenth Paschal cycle corresponds to the year A.D. 1408, i.e. A.M. 6916 (one Paschal cycle being 532 years long); another eighty-four years added to 1408 would result in the world ending in A.D. 1492, i.e. in A.M. 7000.[209] Having made this introductory observation, Constantine then proceeds to deploy typical apocalyptic motifs in the following description: "because there were famine and frequent earthquakes and plagues, incursions of peoples on sea and land and sudden wars."[210] Moreover, Constantine's description of the Ottoman actions in the region also follows the standard apocalyptic topoi:

> the sons of Ishmael, that poured unto us like a plague of locusts, some they took away, the others they enslaved, some they pillaged, the others they slaughtered, like a fire breaking and annihilating everything wherever they were, and always they were present, striving to devour everything remaining and to mercilessly execute [everyone].[211]

It is conspicuously the same motif that was found in both Old Man Isaiah and Anonymous III before: the slaying and enslaving of the population. Furthermore, the likening of Ottomans to annihilating fire is a motif found in the *Apocalypse*: Pseudo-Methodius writes that Ishmael "will come like a fire devouring everyone."[212] Likewise, the metaphors of locusts, famine and plague, although featured in the Bible, are also found in the writings of Pseudo-Methodius, namely in chapter 11, which describes the actions of the conquering Ishmaelites:

течение прикрыли иже вьса окрьмляюеи иже паче сего прѣставлюеннe вь таково врѣме приведе, ндѣже рече се зде страхь н тоуга велиа по вьселюньнѣи. скончаше се и огндоше вьса. таже н азь начела чнслеште се. гі обьхождении кроуговь кромѣ остаюштнхь .п.д. iаже скрьби лѣте и сьврши се триндесетьною обьхождениe по .флв. лѣтѣ, вь .ѳі. лѣто владычьства юго." [Even he who is mighty, who shone in our days, was not allowed to approach his fortieth year of leadership. Although he was powerful, the seal of Christians, his circles were, even in death, directed by the One who directs everything and who brought his death in a time similar to the one when he had said, 'Behold, here be fear and great sorrow in the world.' It ended and all things passed. Thence, measuring from the beginning thirteen circles—notwithstanding the remaining eight-four years which are the years of fret—after 532 years the thirteenth revolution ended in the nineteenth year of his rule.] Constantine the Philosopher, "Живот Стефана Лазаревића," 245–46.

[209] [Sima Ćirković] Сима Ћирковић, "Последње године у последњем столећу српско-византијских односа" [The last years in the last century of the Serbo-Byzantine relations], *Зборник радова византолошког института* 43 (2006): 26.

[210] "тогда бо гладн н троусн честни н сьмрьтоносниa, юзыкомь же по морю и соушн нашьствиa и бранн вь незаапоу," Constantine the Philosopher, "Живот Стефана Лазаревића," 246.

[211] "второю же измаильтьскынхь родь, иже iакоже нѣкоторни проузн на нась излиаше се, овѣхь обьводеште, овѣхь же порабоштаюште, овѣхь же плѣноуюште и овѣхь закалаюште, огнь iакоже издмьждаe и вьсѣхь сьтираюште, ндѣже обрѣштаахоу се и присьно вьмѣштаюште се и гредоуште нюже оставьша поiасти и погоубнти немилостивьно." Constantine the Philosopher, "Живот Стефана Лазаревића," 258.

[212] Pseudo-Methodius, "The Apocalypse," 57. Both the Hilandar and Copenhagen manuscript have a lacuna in this specific part.

and the Promised Land will be filled with men from the four winds under heaven and they will be 'like grasshoppers for multitude,' and it will be gathered by a wind, and there will be famine and pestilence in their midst and the heart of the destroyers will be exalted and raised to arrogance.[213]

In this description Pseudo-Methodius quotes passages from the Book of Judges, namely 6:5 and 7:12.[214] The reasons behind using this specific quotation are very important for understanding both Pseudo-Methodius's *Apocalypse* and the framework within which late medieval Serbian authors positioned their production of the "fear of the Turks."

One of the key motifs in the Book of Judges concerns the wrath of God befalling the Isrealites due to their sinful ways, mainly their worshiping of other Gods. Due to their sins, Yahweh punishes his flock by releasing enemies upon them that enslave them. After the Israelites repent and return to worshiping Yahweh, God delivers them from their yoke by sending a champion that defeats their enslavers.[215] In other words, the invading army of enslavers is a direct consequence of apostasy; the invaders are God's punishment personified.[216]

Pseudo-Methodius adopted a similar scheme in his own narrative concerning the Ishmaelite invasion; "[n]ot because the Lord God loves them does he give them [the Ishmaelites] power to conquer the land of the Christians," writes Pseudo-Methodius in chapter 11, "but because of the sin and the lawlessness which have been brought into being by them [the Christians]."[217] This "lawlessness" refers to the sins committed by Christians

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[213] Pseudo-Methodius, "The Apocalypse," 43. Cf. the translation in Alexander, *Byzantine Apocalyptic*, 45. The Old Church Slavonic redaction has "напльннтьсе землѣ ѡбѣтованаа ѿ четырехь вѣтрь небесныхь и боудеть пругь множьство. и сьбероутьсе ѿ вѣтрь и боудеть на нен гладь и смрть. и вѣзнесетьсе царство убнвающнхь и вь прѣзорьство вьлѣзоуть и бесѣдовати вьтноуть высете до врѣмене оуставленаго нмь. и владати оутноуть до вьхода нсхода." Pseudo-Methodius, "Откровение," 94.
[214] "For they came up with their cattle and their tents, and they came as grasshoppers for multitude; for both they and their camels were without number: and they entered into the land to destroy it." Judges 6:5. "And the Midianites and the Amalekites and all the children of the east lay along in the valley like grasshoppers for multitude; and their camels were without number, as the sand by the sea side for multitude." Judges 7:12.
[215] Alberto Soggin, *Judges* (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1981), 4.
[216] Arnold Fruchtenbaum, *The Book of Judges and Ruth* (San Antonio: Ariel Ministries, 2007), 41–42.
[217] Pseudo-Methodius, "The Apocalypse," 39. Cf. the Old Church Slavonic redaction "рече бо бь... не любе тѣ вьвождоу на землю ѡбѣщанна нь грѣхь дѣла жнвоущнхь на нен. такожде и сномь Нзманлевомь не любе даеть нмь снлоу

that angered God so much that he sent the Ishmaelites to reprimand them. Pseudo-Methodius describes two particular sins that brought forth God's anger: the sin of sexual deviancy and apostasy.[218] The sin of sexual deviancy was the original source of God's enragement that resulted in the Ishmaelite invasion as divine vengeance. "And now for this reason God delivers them [the sinful Christians] into the hands of barbarians, by which they will fall into impurity and foul stench, and their women will be stained by their defilements. And the sons of Ishmael will cast lots [over them]," writes Pseudo-Methodius.[219]

This Ishmaelite yoke then separates the "real" Christians from the apostates, those who would renounce God in time of suffering. "And many will deny the true faith and the life-giving cross and the holy mysteries, and without violence or punishment or ill-treatment they will deny the Christ and follow the apostates," writes Pseudo-Methodius.[220] However, a champion appears after seventy years ("ten weeks of years") of Ishmaelite yoke and delivers the Christians to freedom. Shortly after the Antichrist appears and the champion hands over the keys of his kingdom to God in Jerusalem thus commencing the final battle with the Antichrist who is in the end defeated by God's army; following the final defeat of the Antichrist, the Second Coming commences and all the "impious" are "driven out and turned away to hell."[221] The *Apocalypse* thus has a happy ending, but only for those who remain faithful to Christian God. As noted by Reinink, one of the leading authorities on Pseudo-

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да прѣнмоуть ѕемлю хр̃тнаньскоу,нь грѣхь дѣла беѕаконнїа нхь тако ндь творнть." Pseudo-Methodius, "Откровение," 93.

[218] Reinink, "A Concept of History," 158–59.

[219] Pseudo-Methodius, "The Apocalypse," 41. Cf. the Old Church Slavonic redaction "сего радн оубо бь прѣдасть ю вь роукы беѕаконньıхь поганнй, нбо вь грѣсѣхь н смрадѣхь ѡскврьнены боудоуть жены нхь ѿ скврьньныхь сыновь Нѕманлевь." Pseudo-Methodius, "Откровение," 93–94. The sins of sexual deviancy include: men putting on "the apparel of adulterous and wanton women" and "changing the natural use into that which is against nature", women doing the same thing, "father along with his son and brother and every near member of his kin having intercourse with a single woman," and "men, leaving the natural use of the woman, burning in their lust one toward another; men with men working that which is unseemly, and receiving in themselves that recompense of their error." Pseudo-Methodius, "The Apocalypse," 39–41.

[220] Pseudo-Methodius, "The Apocalypse," 49. Cf. the Old Church Slavonic redaction "мноѕн тьгда ѿврьгоутсе нстнюже вѣрьıнн да бы н ѡбрѣль снь члвчь вѣроу на ѕемлн югда прндеть на соудь...н ньıн моучнмнн ннкынмже нн вьнемы н прнстаноуть кѣ невѣрньıнмь." Pseudo-Methodius, "Откровение," 96.

[221] Pseudo-Methodius, "The Apocalypse," 69. Cf. the Old Church Slavonic redaction "а грѣшннцн ѡблненкн ѡбратетсе вь тмоу н юже да бнхомь гонеѕноулнн блню." Pseudo-Methodius, "Откровение," 100.

Methodius's *Apocalypse*, "[t]he real problem for ps.-Methodius was thus the fear that rapidly changing political and social circumstances would encourage many of his co-religionists to convert to Islam."[222] Thus, writes Reinink, "[t]he role of the 'Sons of Ishmael' is confined to that of a temporary 'chastisement', a scourge in the hand of God to destroy the 'fatlings of the Greeks', to punish the Christians because of their sins (especially sexual ones), and to separate the true believers from the unbelievers, viz. apostates."[223]

The Ottoman advance in late medieval Serbian territories was also conceptualized within the framework of God's vengeance by the authors analyzed in this thesis. Old Man Isaiah likens the Ottoman forces fighting in the Battle of Marica to "God's wrath" that "none can stand against."[224] Anonymous I directly references the "Ottomans as God's vengeance" motif with the words: "after some time has passed, we too have been reached, due to our sins, by a God-fired arrow, the Ishmaelites."[225] Anonymous II dedicates several lines to the motif of apostasy and how it should be unequivocally rejected: "even if my blood is to be spilled, or I to join or bow to the wicked one and the gruesome bloodsucker Hagar, only to You, the only emperor, my lord, Jesus Christ, to whom and for whom I give my soul."[226] Finally, Constantine the Philosopher writes how "hopeless was any prospect that this could change [Ottoman victories over Serbian rulers] for us who sin and who do not turn to the One who changes everything," referencing that the previously described Ishmaelite desolation is in fact God's punishment.[227]

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[222] Reinink, "A Concept of History," 186.

[223] Ibid., 158-9.

[224] "не съдивше ꙗко гнѣвꙋ бж҃ню никтоже мощенъ противꙋ стати." Old Man Isaiah, "Записи," 159.

[225] "врѣменн же малꙋ прѣшьдьшꙋ постиже и нась грѣхь ради нашнхь богопꙋстьнаꙗ стрѣла, нзмаилльтени." Anonymous I, "Житије светог кнеза Лазара," 162.

[226] "аще и крьвь моа да пролѣⷮ се. или а́зь прѡ҄бⷰшꙋ се или поклѡ́ню се нечьстивомꙋ́ ꙗсквьйномꙋ крьвопїйци Ага́рꙋ. тьтїю тебѣ еднномꙋ цароу гꙋ мо́ёмꙋ І҃сꙋ Х҃ꙋ " Anonymous II, "Похвала кнезу Лазару," 251.

[227] "и нзмѣнюнна сего видь безнадеждьнь сьгрѣшаюштнимь намь и не обраштаюштнимь се кь еднномꙋ нзменѣюштомꙋ вьсачьскаа." Constantine the Philosopher, "Живот Стефана Лазаревића," 258. The previously described Ishmaelite desolation refers to text quoted in fn. 211.

Several important conclusions can be drawn from the demonstrated connections between the *Apocalypse* and late medieval Serbian texts producing the "fear of the Turks." First, the Ottomans alone are not solely responsible for the prevailing atmosphere of doom and gloom depicted by the late medieval Serbian authors. The "Ishmaelites" were just an element, albeit a very prominent one, within the larger apocalyptic picture; a link in the chain of events that would ultimately result with the End and the Second Coming. The widespread belief that the world would end in A.M. 7000 should not be overlooked when analyzing the selection of motifs and topoi employed by Serbian authors in the late Middle Ages.

Second, and more important for the main research questions of the thesis, by adopting the Pseudo-Methodius's scheme and conceptualizing the Ottomans as God's punishment, the Serbian authors achieved the same effect as Pseudo-Methodius had done in late seventh century: the "fear of the Ishmaelites" was tamed and institutionalized. In Parkin's terms, by conceiving the Ottoman conquests as God's vengeance the raw fear of potential dangers brought forth by the Ottoman conquests was turned into respectful fear—a salutary fear, to use Delumeau's term—the beneficial fear of God. Consequently, all the authors (with the exception of Michael the Sinner) employ the emotive of fear to ultimately produce "fear of God" and not only the "fear of the Turks" since the "Turks" are a part of God's plan. This observation allows for the conclusion that late medieval Serbian authors producing the "fear of the Turks" conceptualized the basic emotion of fear primarily as a positive emotion, one leading to salvation. Consequently, the persons and events worthy of one's fear must also be positive: God, Prince Lazar and Stefan Lazarević are all positive characters that inspire fear. Within such an emotional framework—or, to use Rosenwein's concept, emotional community —one can only fear the Ottomans if the Ottomans are in fact personifications of God's anger.

The conclusion that the appropriation of apocalyptic narrative—mainly Pseudo-Methodius's work—was an engine of taming raw fear of the Ottomans' actions into respectful fear of God's wrath in late medieval Serbia opens the field of discussion to the modalities of this appropriation. First, the main character in Pseudo-Methodius's narrative—the Last Emperor, the champion who finally defeats the Ishmealites—is never invoked in the analyzed Serbian narratives. One of the possible explanations to this purposeful omission may lie in the fact that the Byzantine Empire, however weak and fragile, was still alive at the time. Since the prophecy has the "king of the Greeks" as the Last Emperor, and since hesychast ideology favors Constantinople as the undisputed center of the Orthodox world, the Serbian authors may have intentionally refused to depict any Serbian character as the prophesized victor over the Ishmaelites. Interestingly enough, it was only after the fall of Constantinople that later Serbian authors began appropriating the apocalyptic figure of the Last Emperor for their own historical rulers. For example, a prophecy of Saint Sava resurrecting from the dead and conquering the Ottomans dates to the end of the sixteenth century, while the likening of Prince Marko—the historical Marko Mrnjavčević who died in the Battle of Rovine (1395)—to the Last Emperor is also a product of Ottoman-era Serbian literary culture.[228]

Likewise, it is crucial to note that the reasons behind God's anger are never explicitly mentioned to be the same as those described by Pseudo-Methodius; no Serbian author discussed here ever mentions sins of sexual deviancy. There is one event, specific to late medieval Serbia, that seems to pervade the entire apocalyptic narrative in order to act as the cause of God's wrath and, consequently, Ottoman conquests in the region.

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[228] Paweł Dziadul, "Between Destiny and Reality: Prophetic and Messianic Ideological Constructions in Serbian Literature during the Ottoman Period," *Зборник Радова Византолошког Института* 53 (2016): 348–49. See also Tapkova-Zaimova and Miltenova, *Historical and Apocalyptic Literature*, 560–61.

The majority of the Serbian authors do not describe in any detail the exact sins which they—whether the Christendom in general or the subjects of Serbian rulers—committed and thus invoked God's anger. However, Danilo's anonymous continuator does reference a specific sinful action undertaken by a Serbian ruler that brought forth the "curse of Saint Sava." Specifically, the anonymous monk of Hilandar wrote how Tsar Stefan, after having pronounced himself the emperor, "elected a Serbian patriarch as he deemed fit, unlawfully and without the blessings of the patriarch of Constantinople, as is becoming." After having committed this God-displeasing act, Stefan and his unlawfully elect patriarch "proceeded to banish the Constantinopolitan metropolitans across the cities under his reign, causing a considerable misery," writes Danilo's continuator. Stefan died before he was able to reunite the divided Churches and he thus left "this evil [the schism of Churches] unburied." One of Dušan's successors, Vukašin, "did not care about the curse of Saint Sava," while the other, Lazar Hrebeljanović, "God-loving and virtuous, having heard about this aforementioned evil, sank into great sadness." Danilo's continuator ends the narrative of the reunification of the Churches by mentioning the successful negotiations led by Old Man Isaiah in Constantinople and concluding that "limbs were united with the head, and the Church regained its harmony."[229]

This "curse of Saint Sava" that Danilo's continuator mentions is a direct reference to the typikon of Hilandar, authored by Saint Sava himself in the very beginning of the thirteenth century. The text of the typikon explicitly forbids any worldly ruler to interfere with the governing of the monastery under the threat of anathema, the curse of 318 Church

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[229] "царь Стефань веньча се на царьство и патриарьха себѣ избра срьбленмь не по законоу ни сь благословенниемь цариградскааго патриарха, ꙗкоже подобаеть... таже сь сьвѣтомь сего отрьгонить цариградьскые митрополиты иже подь областию того градѣхь. и бываеть бѣда и ꙁьлоба не мала... и по семь раꙁрѣшаеть се от житниа сего и гробоу прѣдаеть се, ꙁьлобоу же сию не погребеноую оставль... Царство же юго приеть едноу честь кнеꙁь Лаꙁарь, дроугоую же честь Влькашинь, иже на кралювьство дрьꙁноувь, ничесоже не брѣгь о проклетни светаго Савьи... кнеꙁь Лаꙁарь, боголюбивь сы и многыинма добродѣтѣльми оукрашень, сиа оуслышавь иже о прѣдьреченѣн ꙁьлобѣ, вь мноꙁѣ печали бысть... сьединише бо се оуди кь главь, и приеть пакы цркьви своє благолѣпию." Danilo's Continuator, "О поставлюнни," 380–83.

fathers, and a triple curse befalling the usurper and his children.[230] It is very likely that Danilo's continuator, appalled by Dušan's schism, evoked the rule written by Dušan's forefather that strictly forbade any worldly ruler to meddle with the affairs of religious institutions. However, Danilo's continuator does not make a clear connection between the "Turks," their victory in the Battle of Marica that he references, and the curse of Saint Sava.

The only author that implies the connection between Dušan's schism and the "Ishmaelite invasion" is Constantine the Philosopher. This writer first describes the days of Tsar Dušan when "the Serbian Church separated from the Cathedral Church and sank into evil like unto a great fire that spreads from a small spark."[231] Immediately afterwards, Constantine proceeds with the famous lines describing the actions of the "Ishmaelites," likening them to locusts and, interestingly enough, a destructive fire.[232] Since Dušan's schism resulted in evil compared to a great fire, and the Ottomans were at the same time described as both God's punishment and a destructive fire, it could be argued that one of the sins that brought forth God's vengeance in the form of Ishmaelites was indeed Dušan's separation from the Patriarchate of Constantinople, the mother Church of the entire Orthodox world. This is further strengthened by the fact that both the monks of Hilandar and Constantine the Philosopher supported the dominant hesychast ideology of their time, the belief in the united Orthodox Christendom with an undisputed center in Constantinople. It thus comes to no surprise that Tsar Dušan, the ruler whose policies directly clashed with hesychast ideology, never received a *vita* in the famous collection of *Lives of the Kings and Archbishops of Serbia* (composed by the monks of Hilandar), and that his actions were interpreted as a great sin that

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[230] Saint Sava, *Хиландарски типик* [Typikon of Hilandar], ed. Димитрије Богдановић (Belgrade: Narodna biblioteka, 1995), chap. 12.

[231] "ꙗко отъ дьни царꙗ Стефана, Доушаноу рекомааго, и сьборньные цркве срьбьскаꙗ отьцѣпи се и къ хоуждьшомоу погроужаꙗше се, ꙗкоⷨ млогашти отъ мальінхъ искрь великъ огнь възгорѣваетъ се." Constantine the Philosopher, "Живот Стефана Лазаревића," 258.

[232] See fn. 211.

angered God so much that he sent the Ottomans as a reprimand.[233] In this way the late medieval Serbian authors did not only tame raw fear into respectful, but also managed to politicize it and wield it as a disciplinary instrument.

This type of appropriation of apocalyptic narrative, the one "making use of the already established apocalyptic scenario to interpret current events and thus to move men to decision and action to," is the approach McGinn dubs *a priori*.[234] Unlike the *a posteriori* appropriation, marked by simply "reacting to political and social change by expanding the scenario to include transcendentalized versions of recent events, thus giving final validation to the present by making a place for it at the End," the *a priori* approach is "designed to move men to take sides in a struggle rather than to abstain from conflict," and it employs the apocalyptic narrative in order to "support one position, program, or individual against another."[235] In conclusion to the questions of models of appropriation of *Apocalypse* by the late medieval Serbian authors discussed here, it can be argued that both *a priori* and *a posteriori* approaches are discernable. On the one hand, the authors simply interpreted the Ottoman conquests in terms of the approaching the End, thus conceptualizing the "Turks" as God's punishment whose period of yoke had to be endured before the Second Coming (*a posteriori*); this is the dominant mode of appropriation. On the other hand, Dušan's schism was interpreted by two authors as a great evil; in Danilo's continuator's text it is the evil hexing the population with the "curse of Saint Sava," whereas in Constantine's work it is the evil invoking God's wrath in the form of a destructive fire—the Ishmaelites.

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[233] The argument that Dušan did not receive his own place in the famous collection of vitae due to his Church policy that clashed with hesychast ideology is made in Guran, "Slavonic Historical Writing," 331.
[234] McGinn, *Visions of the End*, 33.
[235] Ibid., 34–35.

Conclusion

Death and destruction, plagues and famine, the horrid effects of decades of warfare—times were indeed bleak when Isaiah and Nun Euphemia, the monks of Ravanica and Constantine the Philosopher penned their accounts of the "fear of the Turks". Tempting as it may be to simply interpret the Ottomans as the chief culprits of all the hardships described by these late medieval Serbian authors—to simplify the "fear of the Turks" as a dominant emotional response to the Ottoman conquests shared across all the strata of the Serbian society of the epoch—analysis undertaken in this thesis has led to a much different, more complex conclusion.

By analyzing the broader discourse in which the production of the "fear of the Turks" was placed it was demonstrated that the Ottoman advances in the region were not simply depicted as a dangerous fear-instilling menace. Instead, the Ottoman conquests were interpreted within the framework of God's punishment, a chastisement that would ultimately lead to the end of the world and the Second Coming. This apocalyptic narrative acted as the "shared discursive field" for late medieval Serbian authors and it allowed them to interpret the many hardships of their era in a more soothing manner: as parts of a divine prophesy. In turn, the appropriation of this apocalyptic discourse affected the conceptualization of fear and the use of fear emotives. The only exception to this model of interpretation is Michael the Sinner. His text is the briefest and the only one not employing apocalyptic topoi. Also, next to nothing is known about his background.

Unlike the dominant present-day notions of fear as a negative emotion that one wants to avoid, the late medieval Serbian authors envisaged fear as a positive emotion, "valued – not devalued or pathologized – for its potency, for the spiritual lessons it could teach, for the

faith it could inspire."[236] As such, characters and events that are fear-instilling/inspiring, are all positive: God and Stefan Lazarević command fear among their subjects. By interpreting the Ottomans as the apocalyptic "Ishmaelites" sent by God to prepare the Christendom for the Second Coming the authors constructed the Ottomans as divine devices, a weapon wielded by the Almighty. Consequently, all the emotives of fear that produce the "fear of the Turks" within this specific apocalyptic discourse—inspired primarily by Pseudo-Methodius's writings—amount to "good," salutary fear. As a result of this appropriation of apocalyptic discourse the "fear of the Turks" was tamed and turned from raw into respectful: an "institutionalized" fear.

Thus, when Old Man Isaiah writes about everyone filling with the "fear of the Ishmaelites," he is in fact referring to the fear of "God's wrath" that "none can stand against."[237] This conceptualization of the Ottomans as instruments of divine punishment is furthered by the various employments of biblical and apocalyptic motifs: "Turks as a plague of locusts," "Turks as slayers and enslavers," "Turks as destructive flame," "Turks as the bringers of desolation and famine," etc. Fearing the "Turks" was thus a beneficial fear, a positive, God-pleasing emotion. Interestingly enough, when the Ottomans are not "othered" through apocalyptic discourse, they become individual entities that are not worthy of Christian fear. This is the case with Sultan Bayezid who is described by Constantine the Philosopher as a figure that should not inspire fear among the Serbian aristocracy.

This conclusion is corroborated by the comparisons of the metaphorical concepts of fear with Kövecses' cognitive models. The "fear as container" metaphor that was utilized by Old Man Isaiah does not suggest a specifically negative emotion, but simply an emotion that

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[236] Scott and Kosso, "Introduction," xii.
[237] See excerpt 1 in appendix 4.

"exists as an independent mass entity inside the self."[238] The "bad" fear commanded by Sulatan Bayezid, the one that Euphemia advised should be "cast out," is instead based on "fear as burden" metaphor; it is an emotion "considered unpleasant or bad."[239] Finally, the fear conjured up by Michael the Sinner—the only author who did not "tame" his raw fear—is based on "fear as illness" metaphor, thus making it a negative emotion.[240]

Notwithstanding the sinful monk of Hvostno, all the authors that embedded the Ottomans within the apocalyptic narrative and interpreted the "Turks" as fear-instilling God's vengeance were linked by hesychast ideology and had connections to the highest stratum of Serbian ruling elite. As such, it is possible to interpret these late medieval Serbian authors as members of a specific emotional community; a social community that valued fear as a positive, God-pleasing disciplinary emotion. This emotional community also expressed fear by connecting it to divine providence; the "fear of the Turks" is in fact the fear of righteous Christian God.

Furthermore, this emotional community was also a textual community reinforced by shared hesychast ideology, inspired by Pseudo-Methodius's *Apocalypse*, and linked by common presupposition of an impending End of the world in the year A.M. 7000.[241] As such, the texts this community produced were intended for a very narrow audience: other monks and members of the higher social strata who would visit the monasteries—the undisputed cultural centers—for education and spiritual guidance. Consequently, it is possible to infer the role these texts had in reinforcing the shared ideological stances and promoting the joint political program.

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[238] Kövecses, *Emotion Concepts*, 75.
[239] Ibid., 77.
[240] Ibid., 75–76.
[241] Rosenwein, *Emotional Communities*, 24–25.

First, through the appropriation of Pseudo-Methodius's narrative the Ottomans were constructed as apocalyptic "Ishmaelites" whose role is that of a temporary chastisement of the Christians. Since the "Turks" are simply a part of the prophecy and their defeat is imminent, any conversions to the side of the "God-detesting," "bloodsucking" "Hagarenes" will be judged by the Almighty as an act of apostasy. Consequently, these apostates would be denied eternal salvation in the approaching Second Coming. Hence, the "fear of the Turks" had a role, just as the "fear of the Ishmaelites" had in the times of Pseudo-Methodius, to discourage conversions to Islam and any military and/or political partnerships with the Ottomans.[242] It should come as no surprise that the members of monastic communities would not want their primary sponsors—the Serbian secular elite—to turn to Islam and end the centuries-long tradition of endowing Orthodox monasteries.

Second, by portraying Dušan's schism as a "considerable" and "unburied" evil that plagued the Serbian people while at the same time celebrating the life and deeds of Prince Lazar—the Serbian ruler responsible for the reunification of the Serbian and Byzantine Churches—the authors clearly promoted hesychast ideals of a united Orthodox Christendom with an undisputed center in Constantinople. This insistence on the Byzantine supremacy in the Orthodox Commonwealth can also explain why no author bothered to depict the key figure of the Last Emperor—the ultimate victor over the "Ishmaelites"—as a Serbian historical figure; the conqueror of the Ottomans must hail from a Constantinopolitan throne.

It would be fruitful to investigate what led to the construction of Serbian historical figures such as Saint Sava, Marko Mrnjavčević (the legendary King Marko) and Prince Lazar (who eventually turns into the Holy Emperor Lazar in Serbian folklore) as the apocalyptic Last Emperor in the subsequent centuries. In addition, the modalities of subsequent appropriations of these monastic texts by the members of the secular learned elites is also a

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[242] Reinink, "A Concept of History," 186–87.

promising research topic. Finally, there are numerous options for various comparative approaches that would investigate the differences and similarities between the production of the "fear of the Turks" in both other Orthodox (namely Bulgaria and Russia) and Catholic polities (e.g. the Kingdom of Hungary and the Venetian Republic) during the same historical period by employing similar methodology to the one I used in this thesis.

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Appendices

1. Maps

Map 1. Serbian territories during the reign of Stefan Uroš V the Weak

Source: WikiMedia Commons, accessed October 1, 2017. https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Serbia_1360_en.png The map was modeled

according to the one published in Mark Almond, *The "Times" History of Europe* (London: Times Books, 2002) 98-99.

Map 2. The Balkans in 1400.

Source: Oliver Jens Schmitt, "Introduction: The Ottoman Conquest of the Balkans. Research Questions and Interpretations," in *The Ottoman Conquest of the Balkans. Research Questions and Interpretations*, edited by Oliver Jens Schmitt (Vienna: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften) 2016, 45.

2. Pictures

Picture 1. The Athonite monastery of Hilandar.

Source: Hilandar.info, accessed 1 October 2017. http://www.hilandar.info/uploads/images/tb_Hilandar.jpg

Picture 2. The monastery of Ravanica.

Source: [Dimitrije Bogdanović, Vojislav J. Đurić and Dušan Kašić] Димитрије Богдановић, Војислав J. Ђурић, and Душан Кашић, eds., *Манастир Раваница: Споменица о шестој стогодишњици* [The monastery of Ravanica: Six hundredth anniversary memorial] (Belgrade: Manastir Ravanica, 1981), 8.
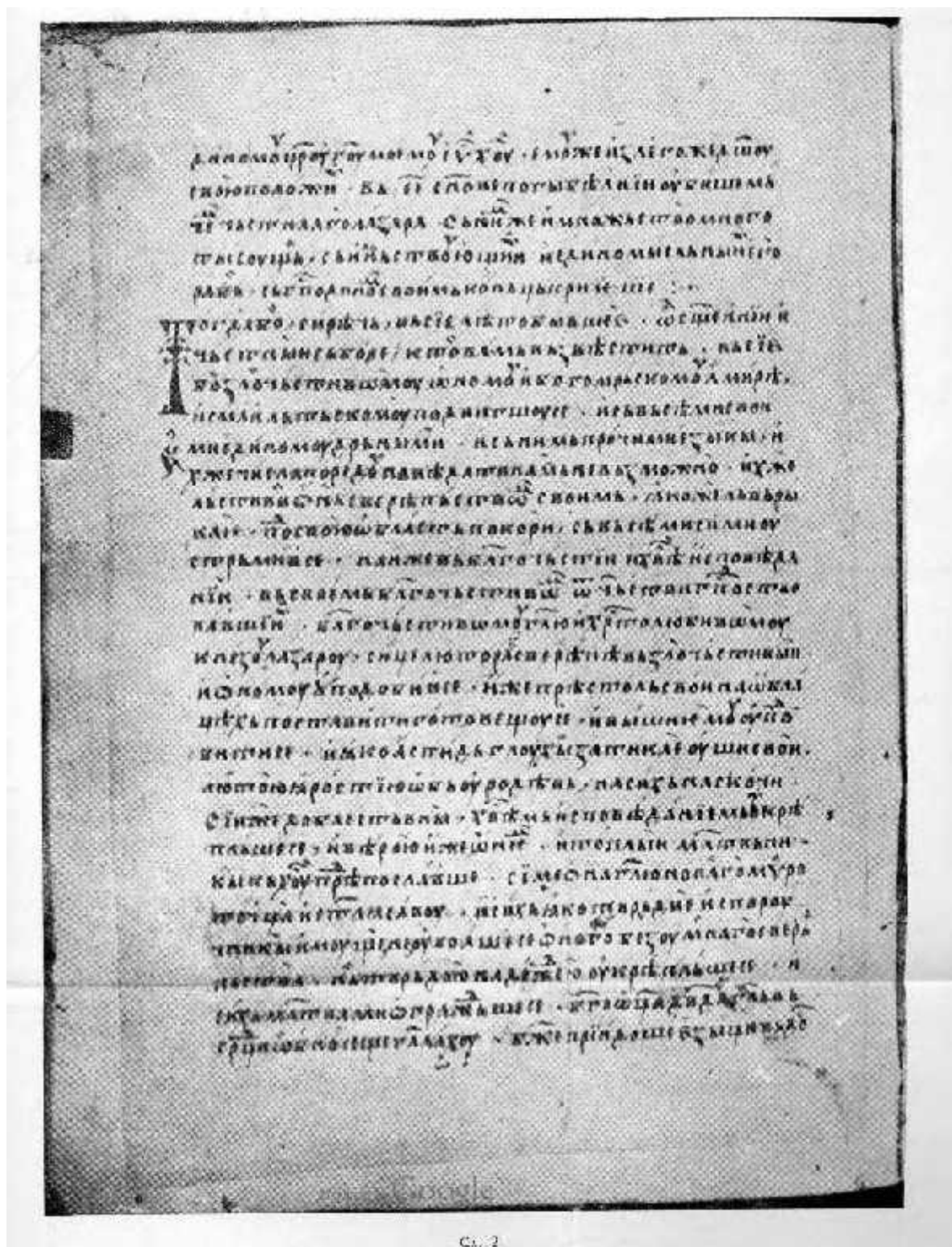
3. Images of the sources

Image 1. Euphemia's shroud.

Source: WikiMedia   Commons,   accessed   1   October,   2017.

https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Praise_to_Prince_Lazar.jpg

Image 2. The writings of Anoynomus II.

Source: [Đorđe Sp. Radojičić] Ђорђе Сп. Радојичић, "Похвала кнезу Лазару са стиховима" [The praise to Prince Lazar with verses], *Историјски часопис* 5 (1955): 251.

4. Excerpts from sources and their translations into modern English

Excerpt 1. Isaiah's colophone.

Original

Книгоу же оубо сїю стго дїѡнисїа глаголю, в добра оубо времена почах, егда бж҃ственыꙗ оубо цр҃кви и стаа гора расви подобнѣ цвѣтахоу, ꙗкоже нѣкыи садъ, при источницѣхъ присно напаꙗемь. Сверших же тоу въ злѣнние всѣх злыꙗ времень, когда егда ѡгнѣви бѣ христiане западньих странъ. И подвиже деспд Оуглеша вса сербьскиꙗ и гречєскьи воиска, и брата своего Волкашина крала, и иныꙗ велможа многиꙗ, нѣгдѣ до шестидесат тьсѫщь избранньиꙗ воиска. и поидоша в Македонiю на изгнанiе торькъ, не сѫдивше ꙗко гнѣвоубж҃iю никтоже мѡщенъ противоустати. Тѣх оубо не изгнаша, но сами ѿ них оубїени быша, и тамо кости их падоша и непогребени пребыша, и много многое множествоⷨ. ѡво оубо бъ ѡстрїемь меча оумроша, ѡвоже в̾ заплѣненїе ведено бысть, нѣцїи же их и гонезноувше, приидоша. и толика нѫжда и злолютьꙗ ѡблиꙗ вса грады и страны западньиꙗ, елико ни же оуши слышаста, ни же ѡчи видѣста.

По оубїенїи бо мѫжа сего храбраго деспота оуглеша просыпашиасꙗ изманлтане и полетѣша по всеи земли ꙗкоже птица по въздоухоу. и ѡвѣх оубо ѿ христїанѣ мечем закалахоу, ѡвѣх же въ заплѣненїе ѿвождахоу, а ѡставших смрть безгодна пожже. ѿ смерти же ѡставшаꙗ, гладѡм погоублени бывше. Таковыи бо глад бысть по всѣхъ странах, ꙗковыи же не бысть ю всѣх странах ѿ сложенїа мироу, ни же потом таковыи, х҃е милостивыи, да бѫдеть. понѫщенїемь бж҃iимь, волци нощiю и дн҃їю нападающи, снѣдахоу. оувьи, оумилень позоръ бѣ видѣти. ѡста землꙗ всѣх добры поуста: и людеи, и скотъ и нных плодѡв. не бѣ бо кн҃ѕа, ни вожда, ни наставника в людех, ни избавлꙗюща, ни сп҃сающаго, но вса исполнишасꙗ страха изманлтскаго, и срдца храбраꙗ доблественьх мѫжеи въ женъ слабѣншаꙗ срдца приложишасꙗ. В то бѫ времꙗ и племꙗ сербьскiх госпд седми,мьню, рѡд конець прїатъ, и въистиноу тогда оублаажахѫ живiи прежде оумрших.

And thus I tell that I commenced with [the work on] this book of Saint Dionysius in good times, when the churches graced by God and Mount Athos, favored by the Heavens, flourished as if they were a garden, eternally watered by a spring, but I ended it in the worst of all vile times, when God struck with ire the Christians of the West. And Despot Uglješa gathered all Serbian and Greek armies under his banner, and with them his brother Vukašin and many other lords, some sixty thousands of the chosen soldiers, and went to Macedonia to cast out the Turks, not wise [enough] to know that there is no one who can oppose the wrath of God. They did not cast them [the Ottoman forces] out, and they were all slaughtered by them [the Ottoman forces], and there their [the Serbian forces] bones left unburied and a great multitude of them [the Serbian forces] died of the sword, and the rest were enslaved. Some, however, escaped and went back. Such trouble and malice that seeped into all cities and western realms was unheard of and unseen [before]. After the slaying of this brave man, Uglješa, the Ishmaelites spread across the land like the birds unto the sky. One [part] of the Christians with swords they slew, the other they enslaved. Early death met those who remained, and those who eluded it died of hunger, for there was such a hunger on all sides, a hunger unlike any since the beginning of the world, may You never allow it again, oh merciful Christ. And those who were not struck down by hunger were, as God permitted, being devoured by wolves night and day. Alas, sad was that sight to behold! The earth was stripped of all its riches – the men, the animals, and all other fruits. There was neither a prince, nor a leader, nor a heir among men, nor a rescuer, nor a savior, and everyone was filled with fear of the Ishmaelites, and the brave hearts of courageous men turned into the weakest hearts of women. In that time, the seventh kinfolk of the Serbian lords, I believe, met their end. And verily, the living envied the dead.