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**THE “HAGIOGEOGRAPHY” OF SAINT ARCHANGEL
MICHAEL IN BYZANTINE MACEDONIA AND THE
KINGDOM OF THE SCOTS (4TH-15TH CENTURIES): A
SUCCINCT COMPARATIVE APPROACH FOR FUTURE
RESEARCH**

In memoriam Goce Angeličin Žura (1951-2019)

Abstract: Saint Archangel Michael was and is perceived in the Orthodox Church as a very mighty, living, visible and invisible Saint and needs more scholarly attention than received so far. From the very beginning, the Archangel’s veneration has been connected to specific landscapes and their features. A remarkable example in this respect is the miracle in the Phrygian places of Chonai and Kolossai in Asia Minor, which alludes to a spring (water) and a hole (funnel) in the miracle’s narration. While some scholars argue that the Archangel’s cult spread from Phrygia to Rhodes, Constantinople and Egypt, others contradict the notion of origin and diffusion from a single geographical point and emphasise that the veneration emerged out of multiple sites.

The present article compares seemingly “incomparable” parts of medieval Europe, which have never been interconnected by such specific, joint research questions so far. We have identified two distinct areas of research, Byzantine Macedonia and the Kingdom of the Scots, from the 4th to the 15th centuries. The main research questions, which arise for the future, are, whether Michaeline religious sites have been built by local communities based on a common and transnational human perception of natural features in the landscape (e.g. the spring and the funnel)? Were these features, through which the Archangel was venerated, locally and independently connected to him by the local population? And if so, how may we explain, if at all, similarities in the perception of natural features in the landscape and sanctity between different medieval European societies? Crucial for our research questions are the underlying theoretical concepts of Hagiogeography, Sacred Geography and Hierotopy.

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Fig. 1 The Monastery of Saint Naum (Republic of North Macedonia; Mihailo St. Popović, *TIB* 16, 2017)

Сл. 1: Манастир Светог Наума (Република Северна Македонија; Михаило Ст. Поповић, *TIB* 16, 2017)

Different academic disciplines have addressed the importance of the Archangel and his sanctuaries from their own perspective. What scholarship lacks in general in this very respect, is research on the connection between the Saint, his sanctuaries and the landscape based on written sources, archaeological data, toponymy, ethnography, maps, GIS based analyses and spatial concepts.

Keywords: Byzantine Studies; Historical Geography; Saint Archangel Michael; Hagiogeography; Hierotopy; Byzantine Macedonia; Kingdom of the Scots

1. Introduction

It is the aim of this article to outline first thoughts and ideas on future research on Saint Archangel Michael and his contextualisation in Europe's "Hagiogeography", which the author would like to pursue in the very near future. Therefore, the subsequent overview, research questions and hypothesis, international status of research and outlook should be understood as a first approach to the multifaceted topic and read accordingly.

Saint Archangel Michael was and is perceived in the Orthodox Church as a very mighty, living, visible and invisible Saint.² His "veneration did not origi-

² Cf. in general: *Culte et pèlerinage à Saint Michel en Occident. Les trois montes dédiés à l'archange*, Collection de l'École française de Rome 316, ed. P. Bouet, G. Otranto, A. Vauchez, (Roma 2003); *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche* 7, (Freiburg 1962), 393-395; *Lexikon des Mittelalters* 6, (München-Zürich 1993), 593-595; *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium* 2, (New York-Oxford 1991), 1360-1361; M. G. Mara, *Michele*, *Bibliotheca Sanctorum* 9, (Roma 1961-1970), 410-446; *Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie. Allgemeine*

nate and disseminate from the single sacred center of the tomb, as with human saints. It instead emerged simultaneously in multiple sites that pilgrims believed likely to host an angelic visitation.”³

Although the archangel is only mentioned five times in the Scriptures (i.e. in the Old and New Testament), these references came to define his principal functions: to battle Satan, to be the advocate of God’s chosen people, to rescue the souls of the faithful from the devil, and to lead the souls of the faithful to heaven.⁴ He appears three times in the Old Testament (Daniel 10:13, 21 and 12:1) and twice in the New Testament (Revelation 12:7-9 and the Epistle of Jude 1:9).⁵ Thus, the Archangel’s roles are summarised as being a healer, guardian, intercessor, psychopomp and warrior angel.⁶

John Charles Arnold has argued convincingly in his monograph on the Archangel that he has received little serious scholarly attention in modern times.⁷ Rare exceptions are the monographs published by Wilhelm Lueken from 1898⁸, by Olga Antonovna Dobiaš-Roždestvenskaja from 1917⁹ and by Anna Maria Renner from 1927¹⁰. Lueken focused on the *origin* and the *diffusion* of the cult of Saint Archangel Michael and argued that the cult spread from Phrygia in Asia Minor, to Rhodes, Constantinople and Egypt.¹¹ However, Arnold contradicts the notion of *origin* and *diffusion* from a single geographical point by stating:

Ikonographie 3 (Laban-Ruth), (Rom et al. 1971), 255-265.

³ J. C. Arnold, *The Footprints of Michael the Archangel. The Formation and Diffusion of a Sainly Cult, c. 300-c. 800*, The New Middle Ages, New York, NY 2013, 38.

⁴ R. F. Johnson, *Saint Michael the Archangel in Medieval English Legend*, Woodbridge 2005, 4.

⁵ *ibidem* (quoted n. 4), 9. Cf. also: D. D. Hannah, *Michael and Christ: Michael Traditions and Angel Christology in Early Christianity*, Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament 2, Reihe 109, Tübingen 1999, 127-136.

⁶ Johnson, *Saint Michael* (quoted n. 4), 9. Cf. also: L. Kretzenbacher, *Die Seelenwaage: Zur religiösen Idee vom Jenseitsgericht auf der Schicksalswaage in Hochreligion, Bildkunst und Volksglaube*, Klagenfurt 1958, 82-83; O. F. A. Meinardus, *Der Erzengel Michael als Psychopompos*, Oriens christianus 62, Wiesbaden 1978, 166-168.

⁷ Arnold, *Footprints* (quoted n. 3), 4. Cf. also: A. Schaller, *Der Erzengel Michael im frühen Mittelalter: Ikonographie und Verehrung eines Heiligen ohne Vita*, Vestigia Biblicae 26, Bern 2006.

⁸ W. Lueken, *Michael: eine Darstellung und Vergleichung der jüdischen und der morgenländisch-christlichen Tradition vom Erzengel Michael*, Göttingen 1898.

⁹ O. A. Dobiaš-Roždestvenskaja, *Kulit sv. Mihaila v latinskom srednevekovje V–XIII v.*, Petrograd 1917.

¹⁰ A. M. Renner, *Der Erzengel Michael in der Geistes- und Kunstgeschichte*, Saarbrücken 1927.

¹¹ Lueken, *Michael* (quoted n. 8), 62ff.; cf. also: Arnold, *Footprints* (quoted n. 3), 4-5; O. N. Afinogenova, *Kul’ archangela Michaila v Vizantijskoj imperii*, Dissertacija, Institut vseobščej istorii Rossijskoj akademii nauk, Moskva 2008.

“Most importantly, veneration for Michael did not originate and move outward from one place. Rather, it emerged out of multiple sites of thaumaturgical wonder that flourished through a combination of popular devotion on the one hand and imperial and ecclesiastical patronage on the other.”¹²

From the very beginning, the Archangel’s veneration has been connected to specific landscapes and their features, which should form a cornerstone of future research, especially from the viewpoint of Historical Geography. A remarkable example in this respect is the miracle in the Phrygian places of Chōnai and Kolossai in Asia Minor, which is dated to the end of the 2nd century or the 4th century AD.¹³ An earth fissure – in Greek *chasma* – had already been attested in the region in the 6th century BC. There, the apostles John and Philipp witnessed a miracle by Saint Archangel Michael, who let a water spring rise. At this very place, a small church was erected in order to house the miraculous spring. But, the local pagans disapproved of this Christian place of veneration and tried to destroy the church, the spring as well as its servant named Archippos by damming up two rivers in order to flood all three of them. This was prevented by Saint Archangel Michael, who appeared upon Archippos’ prayers and deflected the water stream into a funnel – in Greek *chōnē*.¹⁴ Apparently, we may discern a play of words in the written source, which becomes manifest in the Greek expression *chōnē* (“funnel”) and the toponym Chōnai. Both aspects mentioned in this source, namely the spring (i.e. water) and the hole (i.e. funnel), are crucial for the following outline.

2. Saint Archangel Michael in the Byzantine Space

Regarding Saint Archangel Michael in the Byzantine Empire John Cotsonis has shown that the veneration of the Archangel is strongly mirrored in the iconography of Byzantine lead seals. He analysed seals from the 6th to the 12th centuries and came to the conclusion that this Saint appears on 484 seals in

¹² Arnold, *Footprints* (quoted n. 3), 6.

¹³ Cf. on Saint Archangel Michael and Chonae: Narratio de miraculo a Michaele Archangelo Chonis patrato, ed. M. Bonnet, Analecta Bollandiana 8, Bruxelles 1889, 289-307. And the following bibliography: P. Niewöhner, *Healing Springs of Anatolia: St. Michael and the Problem of the Pagan Legacy*, Life is Short, Art Long. The Art of Healing in Byzantium. New Perspectives, (Istanbul 2018), 97-124; G. Peers, *Apprehending the Archangel Michael: Hagiographic Methods*, Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies 20, (Cambridge 1996), 100-121; idem, *Holy Man, Suppliant, and Donor: On Representations of the Miracle of Michael the Archangel at Chonae*, Mediaeval Studies 59, (Toronto 1997), 173-182.

¹⁴ On the two sites: K. Belke, N. Mersich, *Phrygien und Pisidien*, Tabula Imperii Byzantini 7, Wien 1990, reprinted Wien 2004, 222-225 (headword Chōnai), 309-311 (headword Kolossai), here 310. Cf. also: Arnold, *Footprints* (quoted n. 3), 43-45, 61-62; A. L. Bennett, *Archaeology from Art. Investigating Colossae and the Miracle of the Archangel Michael at Kona*, Near East Archaeological Society Bulletin 50, Virginia Beach, VA 2005, 15-26; Hannah, *Michael Traditions* (quoted n. 5), 104-114; O. F. A. Meinardus, *St. Michael’s Miracle of Khonae and its Geographical Setting*, Εκκλησία και θεολογία 1, (Αθήνα 1980), 459-469; J. P. Rohland, *Der Erzengel Michael, Arzt und Feldherr: Zwei Aspekte des vor- und frühbyzantinischen Michaelskultes*, Beihefte der Zeitschrift für Religions- und Geistesgeschichte 19, Leiden 1977, 80-86.

total. A group of seals is dated to the 11th century and shows the Archangel in military garb with the epithet *Chōniatēs*. Of the 170 seals bearing an image of the Archangel, that also include a geographic region in their inscriptions, 118 represent areas scattered over all the regions of Asia Minor, without any particular concentration in a specific area.¹⁵

Based on the secondary literature on Saint Archangel Michael in Byzantium and especially on the scholarly result published by John Cotsonis, the following *desiderata* for future research in Byzantine Studies arise:

a) What is the connection between the places of veneration of Saint Archangel Michael – i. e. Michaeline religious sites – and natural features in the landscape?

b) May we discern particular natural features and interdependencies in landscape and do they “attract” and shape Michaeline religious sites (or *vice versa*)?

c) Is there a difference of features and interdependencies to be observed in the Byzantine East (i.e. Byzantine Macedonia) and the Latin West (i.e. the Kingdom of the Scots)?

These complex research questions have not been addressed in-depth in Byzantine Studies for the Balkan Peninsula so far. In the case of Byzantium scholarly research has either focused on hagiography itself, the tradition of texts and their transmission.¹⁶ Or it has approached Saints and religious sites ex-



Fig. 2 The Shore of Lake Ohrid in the Immediate Vicinity of the Monastery of Saint Naum (Republic of North Macedonia; Mihailo St. Popović, *TIB* 16, 2017)

Сл. 2: Обала Охридског Језера у близини Манастира Светог Наума (Република Северна Македонија; Михаило Ст. Поповић, *TIB* 16, 2017)

¹⁵ J. Cotsonis, *The Contribution of Byzantine Lead Seals to the Study of the Cult of the Saints*, Byzantium 75, (Bruxelles 2005), 383-498, here 437-447 (with a rich bibliography). See on this aspect also: J.-C. Cheynet, *Par Saint Georges, par Saint Michel*, Travaux et Mémoires 14, Mélanges Gilbert Dagron, (Paris 2002), 115-134. On the numismatic evidence: M. E. Pomeroy, *L'iconografia dell'imperatore alato nel contesto della teologia politica bizantina*, Dottorato di Ricerca in Bisanzio ed Eurasia, Università di Bologna, Bologna 2012. Cf. on Saint Archangel Michael in the Byzantine Empire the following, selected bibliography: F. Halkin, *Saint Michel de Chalcédoine*, Revue des Études Byzantines 19, Mélanges Raymond Janin, (Paris 1961), 157-164; B. Martin-Hisard, *Le culte de l'archange Michel dans l'empire byzantin (VIIIe-XIe siècles)*, Culto e insediamenti micaelici nell'Italia meridionale fra tarda antichità e medioevo. Atti del convegno internazionale, Monte Sant'Angelo, 18-21 novembre 1992, (Bari 1994), 351-375; G. Peers, *Subtle Bodies: Representing Angels in Byzantium*, Berkeley 2001; Rohland, *Der Erzengel Michael* (quoted n. 14).

¹⁶ Cf. the hagiographic evidence on Saint Archangel Michael in: F. Halkin, *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Graeca, Tome II*, Subsidia Hagiographica 8a, Bruxelles 3rd edi-

clusively from the perspective of Historical Geography and Art History, thus documenting monuments and collecting as well as publishing (isolated) data on their history, architecture and art (especially iconography). A spatial contextualisation and comparison of a defined group of religious sites of one specific Saint – here Saint Archangel Michael – in a certain area of Byzantium regarding natural features in the landscape in the period from the 4th to the 15th centuries has not been undertaken so far. Moreover, such a scholarly approach and its envisaged results in the Byzantine East have never been compared systematically, based on an identical scholarly approach, to the Latin West.

Seminal in this respect, from the viewpoint of Byzantine Studies, is an article entitled “Aspekte der politischen Heiligenverehrung in Byzanz”, which was published by Peter Schreiner in 1994.¹⁷ Schreiner states that Byzantine coins and seals have not proven to contain the statistical potential in order to illustrate the political importance of Saints, for example of Saint Archangel Michael.¹⁸ What is more, visual reconstructions of the movement of the veneration of Saints in Byzantium in the form of maps, which could illustrate the importance of “Hagiogeography”, have not been undertaken systematically. A first, isolated attempt entitled “Hagiogeography of the Byzantine World” was published in the edited volume “The Byzantine Saint”.¹⁹

From this point of view, additional questions for future research – to the ones already stated above – are, whether Michaeline religious sites have been built by local communities based on a common and transnational human perception of natural features in the landscape (like e.g. the spring and the funnel)? Were these features, through which Saint Archangel Michael was venerated, locally and independently connected to him by the local population? And if this is the case, how may we then explain – if at all – similarities in the perception of natural features in the landscape and sanctity between different medieval European societies and local communities?

As two possible case studies for comparison we would like to highlight Byzantine Macedonia in the Byzantine East on the one hand and the Kingdom of the Scots in the Latin West on the other, the reasons for which will be explained in detail below.

3. Saint Archangel Michael in Byzantine Macedonia

Peter Schreiner emphasised that the importance of Saints for the personal names and place names has been mainly neglected in Byzantine Studies, because pioneer studies are still missing in this field and may be achieved based

tion 1957, 118-123; idem, *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Graeca, Novum Auctarium*, Subsidia Hagiographica 65, Bruxelles 1984, 149-151.

¹⁷ P. Schreiner, *Aspekte der politischen Heiligenverehrung in Byzanz*, Politik und Heiligenverehrung im Hochmittelalter, Vorträge und Forschungen 42, (Sigmaringen 1994), 365-383.

¹⁸ *ibidem*, 377: “[...] doch zeigt sich statistisch nirgends ein klares Bild. Münzen und Siegel können schwerlich dazu dienen, die politische Bedeutung eines Heiligen zu erweisen, und lassen kaum noch ein möglicherweise damit verbundenes politisches Ziel erkennen [...]”.

¹⁹ *The Byzantine Saint*, ed. S. Hackel, (Crestwood, NY 2001), 228.

on the scholarly results of the Project *Tabula Imperii Byzantini* (TIB) of the Austrian Academy of Sciences.²⁰ Schreiner's assessment is certainly confirmed, when it comes to Saint Archangel Michael and the Balkans (and here especially Byzantine Macedonia). It was the Serbian medievalist Miodrag A. Purković (1907-1976), who undertook the endeavour to collect evidence on churches and monasteries as well as their dedications in general in the medieval Serbian Kingdom based on written sources.²¹ In a second step he tried to identify tentatively patterns of distribution, without taking natural features in the landscape into account.²² Moreover, Purković stressed the importance of migration in these processes, without having the time to elaborate further on this scholarly topic, because his work was interrupted by the Second World War.²³ Hence, we still lack a continuation of his research and a fundamental synthesis based on his pioneer work and the application of new methods.²⁴

Apart from Miodrag A. Purković, Konstantin Petrov has addressed the location of some Michaeline religious sites in Europe in a very short article, which is serving as an inspiration for us.²⁵ Additional light is shed on the topic by



Fig. 3 The Source of the River Black Drim in the Immediate Vicinity of the Monastery of Saint Naum (Republic of North Macedonia; Mihailo St. Popović, *TIB* 16, 2017)

Сл. 3: Извор Црног Дрима у близини Манастира Светог Наума (Република Северна Македонија; Михаило Ст. Поповић, *TIB* 16, 2017)

²⁰ Schreiner, *Aspekte* (quoted n. 17), 381 and footnote 81 (“Brauchbare Studien zur Ortsnamengebung sind nur auf der Basis der an der Österr. Akademie der Wissenschaften erscheinenden *Tabula Imperii Byzantini* möglich.”). Cf. on the history, current state and digital methods of the TIB: M. St. Popović, *Historische Geographie und Digital Humanities. Eine Fallstudie zum spätbyzantinischen und osmanischen Makedonien*, Peleus, Studien zur Archäologie und Geschichte Griechenlands und Zyperns 61, Mainz-Ruhpolding 2014, 10-17; idem, *Das Langzeitprojekt TIB im 21. Jahrhundert: Bestandsaufnahme, Adaptierung und Methodenerweiterung in der Historischen Geographie des byzantinischen Raumes*, Raum und Geschichte: der historische Atlas „*Tabula Imperii Byzantini*“ an der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Studies in Historical Geography and Cultural Heritage 3, Vienna-Novi Sad 2020, 157-180, 231-238.

²¹ M. Al. Purković, *Popis crkava u staroj srpskoj državi*, Biblioteka hrišćanskog dela, Knjiga 8, Skoplje 1938, 7-8, 29-30, 32-33 (these pages list evidence on Saint Archangel Michael).

²² idem, *Svetiteljski kultovi u staroj srpskoj državi prema hramovnom posvećivanju*, Bogoslovlje 14/2, (Beograd 1939), 151-174.

²³ *ibidem*, 174.

²⁴ His approach has to a certain extent been addressed, but not systematically continued by: E. Lučeska, *Kultot na svetite vo Makedonija. Istorisko-religiski aspekti, Obraz svetiości – świętość w obrazie*, (Poznań 2014), 278-290.

²⁵ K. Petrov, *Lociranjeto na crkvite posveteni na Arhangel Mihail*, *Istorija* 5/1,

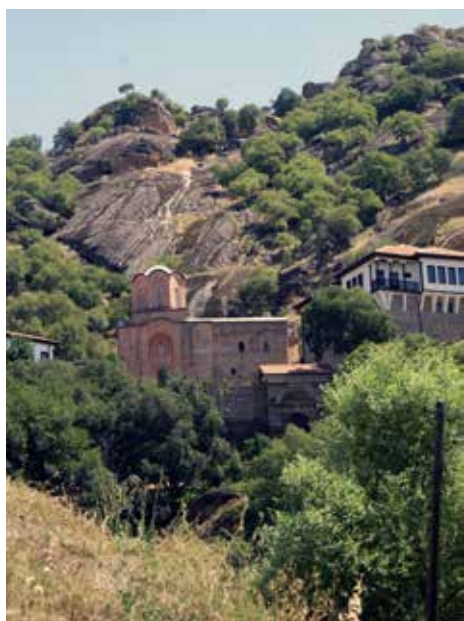


Fig. 4 The Monastery of Saint Archangel Michael in Prilep (Republic of North Macedonia; Mihailo St. Popović, *TIB* 16, 2016)

Сл. 4: Манастир Светог Арханђела Михаила у Прилепу (Република Северна Македонија; Михаило Ст. Поповић, *TIB* 16, 2016)

the aforesaid edited volume of Sergei Hackel entitled “The Byzantine Saint”²⁶, in which the “Hagiogeography” of the Byzantine World is addressed and in which Speros Vryonis Jr. published his research on Byzantine fares and their respective patron Saints.²⁷ Confined research on the Monastery of Treskavec and its sacred space in Byzantine Macedonia was conducted by the Art Historian Svetlana Smolčić Makuljević, but not in the sense of “Hagiogeography”²⁸, while an edited volume entitled “Saints of the Balkans”, which contains in general interesting articles on Saints based on written sources and ethnography, should have been published in Serbia, but has remained an unpublished pdf-manuscript.²⁹ Moreover, a monograph by Marija Vasiljević entitled “Kultovi svetih na centralnom Balkanu u vreme osmanskih osvajanja [Saints’ Cults in the Central Balkans at the Time of the Ottoman Conquests]”³⁰ is focusing on the Serbian Saints in Late Medieval times, but not on an universal Saint like Saint Archangel Michael through space and time. The same is true for the publications of Stefan Rohdewald³¹ and Konrad Petrovsky³², who address either local Saints and their later political usage or Orthodox historiography in general.

(Skopje 1969), 140-142.

²⁶ See above, footnote 19.

²⁷ Sp. Vryonis Jr., *The Panëgyris of the Byzantine Saint: a Study in the Nature of a Medieval Institution, its Origins and Fate*, The Byzantine Saint, ed. S. Hackel, (Crestwood, NY 2001), 196-228.

²⁸ S. Smolčić Makuljević, *Sakralna topografija manastira Treskavca*, *Balcanica* 35, (Beograd 2004), 285-323; eadem, *Two Models of Sacred Space in the Byzantine and Medieval Visual Culture of the Balkans. The Monasteries of St Prohor of Pčinja and Treskavac*, *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik* 59, (Wien 2009), 191-202.

²⁹ Saints of the Balkans, unpublished manuscript, <http://www.mirjanadetelic.com/docs/CULT%20OF%20SAINTS%20IN%20THE%20BALKANS.pdf>, accessed 24 November 2021.

³⁰ Marija M. Vasiljević, *Kultovi svetih na centralnom Balkanu u vreme osmanskih osvajanja*, Srpska Akademija Nauka i Umetnosti, Balkanološki Institut, Posebna izdanja 148, Beograd 2021.

³¹ For example: S. Rohdewald, *Sava, Ivan von Rila und Kliment von Ohrid. Heilige in nationalen Diensten Serbiens, Bulgariens und Makedoniens*, *Die Renaissance der Nationalpatrone in Ostmitteleuropa im 20./21. Jahrhundert*, (Köln-Weimar-Wien 2007), 182-217.

³² K. Petrovsky, *Geschichte schreiben im osmanischen Südosteuropa. Eine Kulturgeschichte orthodoxer Historiographie des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts*, Wiesbaden 2014.

The article's author is the project leader of the Long-Term Project *Tabula Imperii Byzantini (TIB) Balkans* at the Austrian Academy of Sciences (Institute for Medieval Research, Division of Byzantine Research) and is writing volume 16 of the *TIB* entitled "Macedonia, Northern Part".³³ *TIB* 16 comprises, apart from South-Western Bulgaria, the entire territory of the Republic of North Macedonia, the latter being the scope of one of our case studies for the future comparison. Therefore, we would like to highlight at this point three churches, which are located in Byzantine



Fig. 5 The Landscape surrounding the Monastery of Saint Archangel Michael in Prilep (Republic of North Macedonia; Mihailo St. Popović, *TIB* 16, 2016)

Сл. 5: Природа око Манастира Светог Арханђела Михаила у Прилепу (Република Северна Македонија; Михаило Ст. Поповић, *TIB* 16, 2016)

Macedonia (i.e. in the area of research of *TIB* 16) in the Balkan Peninsula, in order to illustrate our research questions through examples:

The first example is the Monastery of Saint Archangel Michael on the Southern shore of Lake Ohrid in the Republic of North Macedonia, which is also called the Monastery of Saint Naum (*Sveti Naum*) (fig. 1). The monastery and its church were initially erected by Saint Naum at the beginning of the 10th century and altered several times in the course of history, also in the Ottoman period. According to liturgical texts Saint Naum was healing different illnesses, especially mental illnesses.³⁴ Until today his miracle-working relics are kept in the monastery. It is by no means out of accident that Saint Archangel Michael is connected to this sacred place, since he is the spearhead in the fight against all forces of evil, including illnesses of the soul and mental illnesses. He and Saint Naum form a unity in their joint endeavour of healing. Regarding natural features in the landscape, we may emphasise the element of water, on the one hand Lake Ohrid (fig. 2) and on the other hand the river Black Drim (fig. 3), which has its source in the monastery's vicinity and flows near the monastery into the Lake.³⁵

The second example lies in the town of Prilep in the Republic of North Macedonia, which consists of a medieval part called *Varoš* (the medieval Lower Town) with a fortress named *Markovi Kuli* (the medieval Upper Town) and an

³³ Cf. in detail: <https://tib.oeaw.ac.at/index.php?seite=status&submenu=tib16> and <https://tib.oeaw.ac.at/index.php?seite=team> (accessed 24 November 2021).

³⁴ His *Life* was edited by: Bălgarski starini iz Makedonija, ed. J. Ivanov, Sofija 2nd edition 1931, reprinted Sofija 1970, 305-313.

³⁵ An excellent study on this monastery by: C. Grozdanov, *Sveti Naum Ohridski*, Skopje 2nd edition 2004.

Early Modern as well as contemporary part of the town to the South-East of *Varoš*. The fortress was erected on an extinct volcano, thus having numerous caves. On the South-Western slopes of *Markovi Kuli*, half way between the medieval Upper and Lower Town, the Monastery of Saint Archangel Michael is to be found (fig. 4). It was erected in the 11th to 12th centuries and refurbished in the second half of the 13th century. A further renovation was accomplished in 1861.³⁶ The connection between the natural features in the landscape in Chōnai and those in Prilep are obvious, when it comes to caves and cave like structures (fig. 5).

Our third example is the Monastery of Saint Archangel Michael in Lesnovo in the North-Eastern part of the Republic of North Macedonia (fig. 6). The monastery was founded by Saint Gavriilo Lesnovski in the 10th century.³⁷ Its church was erected anew by the Serbian nobleman Jovan Oliver³⁸, one of the most important courtiers of the Serbian Emperor Stefan Uroš IV Dušan (reigned 1331-1355), in the first half of the 14th century. In 1347 it became the see of the Bishopric of Zletovo and was finally donated by the Serbian nobleman Konstantin Dragaš as a metochion to the Monastery of Chilandar on Mount Athos in 1381. According to an Old Slavonic inscription the monastery's church was built in 1341 and according to a Greek inscription the narthex in 1349. An exonarthex was added in 1558. Among the frescoes in the church the representation of Saint Archangel Michael in red color riding a white horse is most remarkable.³⁹ As in the aforesaid case of Prilep, the Monastery of Lesnovo is surrounded by caves of various shapes and sizes (fig. 7).

Summarising the natural features in the landscape, in which the places of veneration of Saint Archangel Michael are to be found in Byzantine Macedonia according to the aforesaid examples, we may indicate water and caves. John Charles Arnold has come to the same conclusion by stating: "[...] local or regional pilgrimage centers where the bodiless Michael manifested himself to those who sought him at caverns, mountains, and water sources, places thought conducive to angelic encounters."⁴⁰ The association with water may already be found in Early Christian Egypt, where Saint Archangel Michael was invoked to ensure the regular occurrence of natural phenomena. There are prayers to him for guaranteeing rainfall and the flooding of the Nile.⁴¹ This again connects to

³⁶ B. Babikj, *Kratok pregled na spomenicite na kulturata na Prilep i prilepskiot kraj*, Prilep 1971, 9-10; S. Korunovski, *A Contribution to the Study of Architecture of the Monastery Church of St. Archangel Michael in Prilep*, Zograf 35, (Beograd 2011), 111-118.

³⁷ Cf. the edition of his *Life* in: Ivanov, *Bălgarski starini* (quoted n. 34), 394-400.

³⁸ S. Pirivatrić, *Vizantijske titule Jovana Olivera. Prilog istraživanju problema njihovog porekla i hronologije*, Zbornik radova Vizantološkog instituta 50, (Beograd 2013), 713-724.

³⁹ An outstanding study on the monastery and its history was published by: S. Gabelić, *Manastir Lesnovo. Istorija i slikarstvo*, Beograd 1998.

⁴⁰ Arnold, *Footprints* (quoted n. 3), 38. And also: "The interaction of rocks, trees, shade, and water designated these sites as places of divine encounter." [*ibidem*, 45].

⁴¹ Johnson, *Saint Michael* (quoted n. 4), 13, footnote 16.

Fig. 6 The Monastery of Saint Archangel Michael in Lesnovo (Republic of North Macedonia; Mihailo St. Popović, *TIB* 16, 2007)

Сл. 6: Манастир Светог Арханђела Михаила у Леснову (Република Северна Македонија; Михаило Ст. Поповић, *TIB* 16, 2007)



the notion of the “invisible” and the “visible church”. While the first includes a system of belief and values found in the Scriptures, the second comprises the social institutions of the Church, its physical structures and properties.⁴²

Following these aspects, we would like to underline that our ideas for future research are strongly based on a multidisciplinary approach in combining Medieval Studies, Byzantine Studies, Historical Geography, Archaeology, Art History, Geography and Digital Humanities and in comparing seemingly “incomparable” parts of medieval Europe, which have never been interconnected by specific, joint research questions so far. Therefore, we have chosen as second case study the Kingdom of the Scots (called *Alba*), preceded by the *Scotti* from Ireland and the Picts to the North of the Firth of Forth, from the 4th to the 15th centuries.

4. Saint Archangel Michael in the Kingdom of the Scots

When doing research on the “Hagiogeography” in early medieval Scotland, it has to be emphasised that Scotland was an area inhabited by three separate groups of people: the Picts in the North and North-East, the *Scotti* (Scots), who started to move into the Western Highlands from Ireland in the 4th century AD and the Britons, who inhabited the Lowlands and had been part of the Romano-British world. In 843 the Pictish and Scottish kingdoms were united under a Scottish King. Having in mind the complex processes leading to the formation of the Kingdom of the Scots, we decided to highlight the Kingdom in the title of our article, but of course the crucial previous historical period will have to be included in future research endeavours. The spread of Celtic Christianity started in ca. 400 AD in the South-West of Scotland. In 563 Columba came from Ireland and converted the *Scotti* and the Picts to Christianity.⁴³

In comparison to the aforesaid research on Saint Archangel Michael in the Byzantine Empire, valuable research on the written sources on the Archangel

⁴² R. D. Sack, *Human Territoriality. Its Theory and History*, Cambridge Studies in Historical Geography 7, Cambridge 1986, 93.

⁴³ Cf. for example: *After Rome. Short Oxford History of The British Isles*, ed. T. Charles-Edwards, (Oxford 2010); G. W. S. Barrow, *The Kingdom of the Scots: Government, Church and Society from the Eleventh to the Fourteenth Century*, Edinburgh 2nd edition 2003; J. D. Mackie, *A History of Scotland*, Harmondsworth 2nd edition 1991.

and Scotland was undertaken by David McRoberts.⁴⁴ He reached, amongst others, the following conclusion: “It is possible to establish that the cult of St. Michael was introduced into the north of Britain during the Dark Ages and also that the source whence it derived was the veneration of St. Michael, which flourished in the north of France in the eighth century.”⁴⁵ Newer research on the Saints’ cults in the Celtic World in general was published in 2009.⁴⁶ In addition, it has to be stressed that further research unveiled also strong ties between the veneration of Saint Archangel Michael in Ireland and in Scotland. For example, the Archangel features in two very popular early Irish texts⁴⁷, marking his prominence in the Irish world, further highlighted by important landmarks, sacred places or dates in Ireland, like Skellig Michael or the widely known feast of Michaelmas (29 September).⁴⁸ Therefore, analysing the roots of any connection between the Archangel, sacred places and symbols of Irish mythology and likewise his role in the early Irish church, is a necessary step. Starting with the 11th century, the Celtic church in Scotland was gradually transformed into a church in accordance with the pattern of the Papal Western Church and with a predominance of church dedications to Saint Archangel Michael. This again shows clearly, how widespread and deeply rooted his cult had become.⁴⁹ Of all the fairs in the towns and villages of medieval Scotland a very large proportion was held in honour of the Archangel.⁵⁰

Regarding Great Britain in its entirety we would like to highlight, amongst others⁵¹, the publications by Graham Jones. Jones elaborates on natural features in the landscape connected to the veneration of Saint Archangel Michael in Great Britain. Based on written sources, existing churches and their changing dedications (*patrocinia*) through time – depending on the Pre- or Post-Reformation period, he points out that the Archangel is connected to watery contexts, elevated sites, pastoralism, places along Roman roads and cemeteries.

⁴⁴ D. McRoberts, *The Cult of St. Michael in Scotland*, Millénaire monastique du Mont Saint-Michel III. Culte de Saint Michel et pèlerinages au Mont, ed. M. Baudot, (Paris 1993), 471-479. Cf. also: D. Ditchburn, *The ‘McRoberts Thesis’ and Patterns of Sanctity in Late Medieval Scotland*, *The Cult of Saints and the Virgin Mary in Medieval Scotland*, (Woodbridge 2010), 177-194.

⁴⁵ McRoberts, *Cult* (quoted n. 44), 471.

⁴⁶ *Saints’ Cults in the Celtic World*, ed. S. Boardman, J. Reuben Davies, E. Williamson, (Woodbridge 2009).

⁴⁷ D. R. Howlett, *Muirchú Moccu Maethéni’s ‘Vita Sancti Patricii’: Life of Saint Patrick*, Dublin 2006; F. Kelly, D. Greene, *The Irish Adam and Eve Story from ‘Saltair na rann’*, Dublin 1976.

⁴⁸ D. Callahan, *The Cult of St Michael the Archangel and the “Terrors of the Year 1000”*, *The Apocalyptic Year 1000: Religious Expectation and Social Change, 950-1050*, (Oxford 2003), 181-204.

⁴⁹ McRoberts, *Cult* (quoted n. 44), 472. Cf. also: K. Hughes, *Early Christianity in Pictland. Jarrow Lecture*, Jarrow on Tyne 1970, 16 pages.

⁵⁰ McRoberts, *Cult* (quoted n. 44), 475.

⁵¹ Cf. for example also: K. Altenberg, *Experiencing Landscapes. A Study of Space and Identity in Three Marginal Areas of Medieval Britain and Scandinavia*, Dissertation, The University of Reading, 2001, 116-117; M. Aston, *Interpreting the Landscape. Landscape Archaeology and Local History*, London-New York 1985, 50.

According to him one-fifth to one-quarter of all medieval Archangel Michael churches in Scotland stand beside rivers or at their mouths. In comparison to the cave of the Monte Sant' Angelo sul Gargano in Italy, Great Britain has very few such caves, but many springs, which are traditionally an interface with the underworld. Since Saint Archangel Michael is psychopomp and weigher of souls (see above), several medieval cemetery chapels are dedicated to him on the British Isles.⁵²

Whereas Jones has identified only four dedications to Saint Archangel Michael in Great Britain before the year 800, namely in Hexham, Malmesbury, South Malling and Bishop's Cleeve, we witness a remarkable increase in respective dedications after that. According to Jones the number of churches of Saint Archangel Michael makes them the largest group after those of the Virgin Mary, All Saints and the Apostles Peter and Paul.⁵³ Based on his meticulous research he succeeded in creating two maps. The first shows the churches in honour of Saint Archangel Michael built in English and Welsh counties before 1600. The second map indicates the density of Michael's dedications in the same counties as a proportion of all dedications.⁵⁴ What we may discern, based on the latter map, is that there is a concentration of churches of Saint Archangel Michael in the West and North-West of English and Welsh counties.

Our case study on the Kingdom of the Scots will include medieval (i.e. Pre-Reformation) churches, abbeys and cathedrals with the *patrocinium* of Saint Archangel Michael in Scotland. The selection of this area of research is spurred by the fact that neither Graham Jones nor any other scholar has undertaken a systematic analysis on the medieval Michaeline sites in Scotland as outlined above for England and Wales. So, we lack a comprehensive study, like the ones published by Frances Arnold-Forster⁵⁵ and Francis Bond⁵⁶ on the church dedications in England. As starting point for our future research will serve the monograph by Mike Salter, who documented medieval Scottish monuments in general⁵⁷, the database "A Corpus of Scottish Medieval Parish Churches"⁵⁸, which highlights 61 churches of Saint Archangel Michael, and the database "Database of Dedications to Saints in Medieval Scotland"⁵⁹, which lists 245 different data sets on the Archangel (not only churches and monasteries).

⁵² G. Jones, *The Cult of Michael the Archangel in Britain. A Survey, with Some Thoughts on the Significance of Michael's May Feast and Angelic Roles in Healing and Baptism*, *Culto e santuari di san Michele nell'Europa medievale. Culte et sanctuaires de saint Michel dans l'Europe médiévale. Atti del Congresso Internazionale di studi (Bari – Monte Sant'Angelo, 5-8 aprile 2006)*, Bibliotheca Michaelica 1, (Bari 2007), 147-182, here 165, 167-168, 170, 180-181. Cf. also his monograph: idem, *Saints in the Landscape*, Stroud 2007.

⁵³ idem, *The Cult of Michael the Archangel in Britain* (quoted n. 51), 149-150, 152.

⁵⁴ ibidem, 153-154.

⁵⁵ F. Arnold-Forster, *Studies in Church Dedications or England's Patron Saints: Volume 1-3*, London 1899.

⁵⁶ F. Bond, *Dedications and Patron Saints of English Churches*, Oxford 1914.

⁵⁷ M. Salter, *Medieval Churches of Scotland*, Malvern 2011; idem, *Medieval Abbeys and Cathedrals of Scotland*, Malvern 2011.

⁵⁸ <https://arts.st-andrews.ac.uk/corpusofscottishchurches/> (accessed 24 November 2021).

⁵⁹ <http://saints.shca.ed.ac.uk/index.cfm?fuseaction=home.search> (accessed 24 No-

Moreover, there has not been made up until now any synoptic and systematic cartographic or Geographic Information System (GIS)-based overview of the pattern of distribution of Michaeline religious sites in the Balkan Peninsula and their interpretation with regard to the natural features in the landscape. Completely lacking is, therefore, the basis for a comparison between the two entities, Byzantine Macedonia in the East and the Kingdom of the Scots in the West. In this respect, we have achieved a first result for Byzantine Macedonia by using the online alphabetical gazetteer of our project “Digital Tabula Imperii Byzantini (Dig-TIB)”, which is an integral part of the “Maps of Power”⁶⁰ initiative by the author, comprises all toponyms of the published *TIB* volumes and is developed by various sub-projects of the author together with former and current young scholarly co-workers.

We searched our gazetteer for catchwords on the Archangel like Taxiarchai, Taxiarchoi, Taxiarchēs, Taxiarchēs Michaēl, Archistratēgos, Michaēl Archangelos, Archangeloi, Archangelos and Hagios Michaēl.⁶¹ After querying this rich set of data, it became obvious that we may discern a clustering of places of veneration of Saint Archangel Michael on the islands of Thasos, Imbros, Chios and Lesbos in the Aegean Sea, in Thrace and partially in Epirus. Of course, this is only a first approximation and forms the foundation for working on an interactive cartographic representation of the distribution of relevant places within our “Maps of Power” initiative.

An additional aspect, which is connected to another Christian Saint, namely Saint George, has to be highlighted very briefly at this point. According to the Serbian ethnologist and historian Veselin Čajkanović (1881–1946) there are strong indications that Saint George has replaced Old Slavonic pagan deities at specific places of pagan worship in the Balkan Peninsula, especially the highest Serbian pagan deity called Dabog or Trojan in South-Western Serbia.⁶² As in the case of the Irish influence on the Archangel’s veneration in Scotland (see above), we will address potential parallels of the presence of Saint Archangel Michael from the viewpoint of ethnography and toponymy in today’s Republic of North Macedonia.

On the British Isles the Archangel’s associations were with horses and cattle pastured on summer uplands and returning to the folds after Michaelmas on 29 September Gregorian calendar.⁶³ We encounter toponyms in Scotland related to the Archangel, like Kirkmichael, Carmichael, Crossmichael and

vember 2021)

⁶⁰ Cf. <https://tib.oeaw.ac.at/index.php?seite=digtib> and <https://oeaw.academia.edu/MapsofPower> (accessed 24 November 2021).

⁶¹ The query was conducted via: <https://tib.oeaw.ac.at/index.php?seite=digtib&submenu=digtib-all> (accessed 24 November 2021).

⁶² V. Čajkanović, *Mit i religija u Srba. Izabrane studije*, Srpska Književna Zadruga LXVI/443, Beograd 1973, 365-368. Cf. also: idem, *O vrhovnom bogu u staroj srpskoj religiji*, Beograd 1994; A. Terzić, Ž. Bjeljac, V. Karadžoski, R. Jovanović, *Saint George’s Day in the Balkans – Customs and Rituals in Bulgaria, Serbia and Macedonia*, Journal of the Geographical Institute “Jovan Cvijić”, SASA 68/3, (Beograd 2018), 383-397.

⁶³ Jones, *The Cult of Michael the Archangel in Britain* (quoted n. 51), 166, 179.

Michaelkirk.⁶⁴ What we cannot answer for the time being, is if specific Christian Saints have replaced specific pagan deities in the Balkan Peninsula as well as in today's Scotland also on the grounds of specific natural features in the landscape. The Irish example shows that unique landmarks (e.g. mountain tops, groves, springs, etc.) have always played a vital role in Irish pre-Christian religion and mythology. The analysis how Saint Archangel Michael was connected to Irish pre-Christian sacred places or mythological symbols would create the basis for being able to fruitfully interpret and categorise data from early medieval Scotland regarding sacred places in connection with the Archangel.⁶⁵



Fig. 7 The Landscape surrounding the Monastery of Saint Archangel Michael in Lesnovo (Republic of North Macedonia; Mihailo St. Popović, *TIB* 16, 2007)

Сл. 7: Природа око Манастира Светог Арханђела Михаила у Леснову (Република Северна Македонија; Михаило Ст. Поповић, *TIB* 16, 2007)

5. Research Hypothesis, International Status of Research and Outlook

At this point, we would like to summarise our research hypothesis and draw, first of all, a very inspiring analogy to Classical and Ancient Studies. The French scholar Jean Richer (1915–1992), who was living in Greece in the 1950s, was studying literature and mythology. He was also interested in the holy character of landscapes, especially in terms of ancient architecture. According to him, a sacred geometry had been reflected in temples and monuments built on significant sites. His studies led him to suspect that there may have been some underlying plan that determined the form and positioning of temple architecture in relation to the topography of the land, and for this idea, he defined the term Sacred Geography. That is why Jean Richer addressed several questions like: Why are certain temples situated on top of inaccessible mounts or in isolated plains? Is their location a matter of coincidence or well-planned positioning? What kind of factors were decisive for their site?⁶⁶

⁶⁴ McRoberts, *Cult* (quoted n. 44), 472. Cf. also: J. Murray Mackinlay, *Influence of the Pre-Reformation Church on Scottish Place Names*, Edinburgh-London 1904; D. Ross, *Scottish Place Names*, Edinburgh 2001.

⁶⁵ S. Bergh, *Turlough Hill – Place-Making and Mountains in Prehistoric Ireland*, Multi-, Inter- and Transdisciplinary Research in Landscape Archaeology (2014) (DOI: <http://dx.doi.org/10.5463/lac.2014.26>); M. Williams, *Ireland's Immortals: A History of the Gods of Irish Myth*, Princeton 2016, 3-274.

⁶⁶ J. Richer, *Sacred Geography of the Ancient Greeks. Astrological Symbolism in Art, Architecture, and Landscape*. Translated by Christine Rhone, New York 1994, 1-10. Cf.

Very inspiring in this respect are also the works of Mircea Eliade and Chris C. Park.⁶⁷ Similar questions were raised by Konstantin Petrov in the 1960s (see above). He wrote a succinct two page article, in which he argued that one part of the medieval churches in Byzantine Macedonia was erected on the foundations of Early Christian *basilicae*. Yet another part was built on places without any earlier (older) Christian tradition. Consequently, Petrov asked, what the criteria were in the Middle Ages for choosing such places without former Christian tradition. Finally, he emphasised that Michaeline religious sites in Byzantine Macedonia are to be found on hill-tops, which are embedding them in the overall Michaeline European tradition.⁶⁸

Our future research regarding the Archangel will build upon the aforesaid and focus, amongst others, on two main aspects – the geographic distribution pattern and the natural features in the landscape – in our two areas of research (i.e. Byzantine Macedonia and the Kingdom of the Scots in the period from the 4th to the 15th centuries).

The main reasons for identifying Byzantine Macedonia and the Kingdom of the Scots as our areas of research are: that both areas share similar natural features in the landscape (i.e. mountainous and remote regions, cf. the Highlands), which will enable us to test our research hypothesis and our research questions accordingly; that they have enduring features in the landscape, like hills, caves, river valleys etc. (or in the Scottish context: Bens, Glens, Lochs etc.), which will allow us to survey and document its relation to the monument (i.e. churches and monasteries of the Archangel) itself; that large parts of today's Scotland were not under direct Roman rule, which will allow us to address two different lines of development in the veneration of the Archangel in an area as part of the Roman/Byzantine Empire and another area outside of the *Roman/Byzantine Commonwealth*.

From this, it follows that the Scottish case study does not share the same historic development and Christian tradition like Byzantine Macedonia. The essence of this choice is the huge difference between both areas of research, which is crucial for our future research and has strong implications for our research questions (see above). In this respect we shall examine properly the proposition made by Geoffrey W. S. Barrow, who stated that: "... we have a distinctive group of universal saints: Martin (x2), Peter and John; as well as Ciric (but no Andrew, Michael or Mary, some of the most prolific universal saints)"⁶⁹.

also G. F. Hill, *Apollo and St. Michael: Some Analogies*, *The Journal of Hellenic Studies* 36, (London-Cambridge 1916), 134-162.

⁶⁷ M. Eliade, *The Sacred and The Profane. The Nature of Religion. The Significance of Religious Myth, Symbolism and Ritual within Life and Culture*, San Diego 1987, 20-66; C. C. Park, *Sacred Worlds. An Introduction to Geography and Religion*, London-New York 1994, 245-285.

⁶⁸ Petrov, *Lociranjeto* (quoted n. 25), 140-142.

⁶⁹ G. W. S. Barrow, *The Childhood of Scottish Christianity: A Note on Some Place-Name Evidence*, *Scottish Studies* 27, Edinburgh 1983, 1-15. Cf. also: J. Murray Mackinlay, *Ancient Church Dedications in Scotland. Non-Scriptural Dedications*, Edinburgh 1914; T. O. Clancy, *Saints in the Scottish Landscape*, *Proceedings of the Harvard Celtic Colloquium* 33, Cambridge, MA 2013, 1-34.



Fig. 8 The Entry on the Monastery of Kučevište in the Frontend “Maps of Power: Historical Atlas of Places, Borderzones and Migration Dynamics in Byzantium (TIB Balkans)” (Mihailo St. Popović, 2021)

Сл. 8: Податак о Манастиру у Кучевишту из портала „Maps of Power: Historical Atlas of Places, Borderzones and Migration Dynamics in Byzantium (TIB Balkans)“ (Михаило Ст. Поповић, 2021)

Equally important is the aforesaid careful selection of the two case studies, which have the remarkable potential to bring light into the topographic features of Michaeline religious sites and to enable a meaningful comparison on various levels of research and interpretation. A strong criterion for the selection of our two case studies (i.e. Byzantine Macedonia and the Kingdom of the Scots) is that – according to the Scriptures, hagiography and oral history (ethnography) – the Archangel is battling evil forces in the wilderness. Therefore, Michaeline religious sites are often located in remote, deserted areas, which again would facilitate an analysis of the surrounding natural features in the landscape, mainly untouched by human intervention and modern infrastructure, and its relation to the monument itself. The holy place “was not restricted only to the church buildings, which were soon to be consecrated, but applied to places in which miracles occurred [...]”.⁷⁰ Such sites (also the remnants of churches) have a remarkable persistence in general.⁷¹

Regarding the Latin West pioneer work concerning our aforesaid research questions has been undertaken by Graham Jones with his “Trans-National Database and Atlas of Saints’ Cults, c.1000-c.2000 (TASC)”.⁷² The TASC aims to establish a parish-by-parish, commune-by-commune inventory of religious

⁷⁰ Sack, *Human Territoriality* (quoted n. 42), 108, 114.

⁷¹ J. Biljarski, *Identification de certains noms de la charte de Rila d’Ivan Šišman*, *Studia Balcanica* 1, (Sofija 1970), 117-122, here 118. Similar examples in: W. A. Christian Jr., *Local Religion in Sixteenth-Century Spain*, Princeton 1989; B. E. Crawford, *The Churches dedicated to St Clement in Medieval England: a Hagio-Geography of the Seafarer’s Saint in 11th Century North Europe*, *Scripta Ecclesiastica* 1, St. Petersburg 2008.

⁷² <http://www.icac.cat/en/difusio/activitats-dels-investigadors/activitat/tasc-transnational-atlas-and-database-of-saints-cults-religious-dedications-in-the-diocese-of-norwich/> (accessed 30 November 2021).

devotion in Europe and beyond. Evidence of cults saintly, angelic and divine is built up from documentation and other sources, and focuses on the dedications of churches and chapels. Jones' data sets include England and Wales (but not Scotland). They are, for the time being, neither accessible nor searchable via a Frontend in the WWW.⁷³

A comprehensive approach has been achieved by the "Cult of Saints in Late Antiquity (CSLA) Database", which comprises evidence on the Cult of Saints from its origins to circa 700 AD across the entire Christian world (Armenia and Georgia, Egypt, the Greek East, the Latin West and the Syriac World).⁷⁴ Nevertheless, a query of the data reveals that there are no records on Saint Archangel Michael in Britain and Ireland as well as in the Balkans including Greece. A query on the Archangel in general without the selection of a region highlights 196 entries, which refer solely to Asia Minor, the Holy Land, Egypt, a few Aegean islands, to Rome and Gargano as well as to Gaul. Regarding our case study on medieval Scotland the databases "A Corpus of Scottish Medieval Parish Churches" and "Database of Dedications to Saints in Medieval Scotland" are seminal.⁷⁵

As stated above, Purković's approach has been interrupted by the Second World War and has not been continued, while an edited volume entitled "Saints of the Balkans", which should have been published in Serbia, has remained an unpublished manuscript.⁷⁶ Although these and other publications on the Archangel in the Balkan Peninsula⁷⁷ contain interesting thoughts and aspects, they still represent overviews, which do not address his veneration in a spatial context and do not follow a comparative approach with the Latin West.

Crucial for the aforesaid research questions are the underlying theoretical concepts, namely: the aforesaid "Hagiogeography" (Sergei Hackel) and "Sacred Geography" (Jean Richer, Konstantin Petrov). In addition, the concept of "Hierotopy", which was defined and outlined by the Russian Art Historian

⁷³ Jones' data is safeguarded by the UK Data Service without a Frontend: <https://beta.ukdataservice.ac.uk/datacatalogue/studies/study?id=4975#!/details> (accessed 30 November 2021)

⁷⁴ <http://cultofsaints.history.ox.ac.uk/> and <http://csla.history.ox.ac.uk/> (accessed 30 November 2021).

⁷⁵ <https://arts.st-andrews.ac.uk/corpusofscottishchurches/> and <http://saints.shca.ed.ac.uk/index.cfm?fuseaction=home.search> (accessed 30 November 2021).

⁷⁶ See above, footnote 29.

⁷⁷ On the cult of Saint Archangel Michael in the Balkans in general: D. Češmedžiev, *Kām vāprosa za kulta na arhangel Mihail v srednovekovna Bālgarija*, *Palaeobulgarica* 20/1, (Sofija 1996), 52-61; Tsv. Stepanov, *Venerating St. Michael the Archangel in the Holy Roman Empire and in Bulgaria, 10th–11th Centuries: Similarities, Differences, Transformations*, *medieval worlds* 3, (Vienna 2016), 41-64; T. Subotin-Golubović, *The Cult of Michael the Archangel in Medieval Serbia*, *Saints of the Balkans* (unpublished manuscript; <http://www.mirjanadetelic.com/docs/CULT%20OF%20SAINTS%20IN%20THE%20BALKANS.pdf>, accessed 30 November 2021), 24-31; Lj. S. Risteski, *The Concept and the Role of Saints in Macedonian Popular Religion*, *Saints of the Balkans* (unpublished manuscript; <http://www.mirjanadetelic.com/docs/CULT%20OF%20SAINTS%20IN%20THE%20BALKANS.pdf>, accessed 30 November 2021), 109-127; M. Skowronek, „Świat cały ma Cię za obrońcę“. *Michał Archanioł w kulturze Słowian prawosławnych na Bałkanach*, Łódź 2008.

and Byzantinist Alexei Lidov, could also prove to be useful in this very context. According to Lidov “Hierotopy is creation of sacred spaces regarded as a special form of creativity, and a field of historical research which reveals and analyses the particular examples of that creativity.”⁷⁸ “Hierotopical creativity established a sophisticated system of interaction between the static place-matrix and the flying space, which at any moment could be materialized at a new place.”⁷⁹ This concept is intertwined with “Sacred Geography”, which may be broadly understood as the regional or global geographic locating of sacred places according to various factors. Considering these concepts, viable methods for future research should be based on Historical Geography, Digital Humanities and GIS, here especially on the documentation and analyses of written sources, monuments and archaeological sites, toponymy and natural features in the landscape, by applying Cartography and GeoCommunication.

Selected examples of Michaeline religious sites from Byzantine Macedonia have already been highlighted (see above). As an example for the technical capability of the author’s TIB OpenAtlas Database and his Frontend “Maps of Power: Historical Atlas of Places, Borderzones and Migration Dynamics in Byzantium (TIB Balkans)” we would like to draw the attention to the entry on the Monastery of Kučevište (in Greek Klustobista) in the mountain range of the Skopska Crna Gora (fig. 8).⁸⁰ In such a way the author would aim to document his data with additional Custom Types in his database referring to the aforesaid research questions.

In order to be able to approach the natural landscape and respective Michaeline religious sites situated in it, we will also need a comprehensive catalogue of source-based catchwords, toponomastic evidence (also related to archaeological sites) and ethnographic descriptions, which will form our basis and be our guidance for our surveying and documentation *in situ* in the Republic of North Macedonia and in Scotland as well as for GIS based analyses.

Consequently, this article reveals that the envisaged future research on Saint Archangel Michael has a remarkable potential, given the fact that relevant research has focused up until now on the Archangel either as a Saint in the Scriptures and textual tradition, or in Art History, or in Historical Geography (here monuments), but not from the viewpoint of the meaning of Michaeline religious sites in a spatial context regarding their location in the landscape (“Sacred Landscape”) and in a comparison between the Orthodox East and Latin West.

⁷⁸ A. Lidov, *Hierotopy. The Creation of Sacred Spaces as a Form of Creativity and Subject of Cultural History*, Hierotopy. Creation of Sacred Spaces in Byzantium and Medieval Russia, ed. A. Lidov, (Moscow 2006), 32-58, here 32. In other words: “As it seems, the permanent relation and intensive interaction between hierophany (the mystical appearance) and hierotopy (actually created space) determined the specificity of creation of sacred spaces as a form of creativity.” (*ibidem*, 33).

⁷⁹ *ibidem*, 38.

⁸⁰ <https://data1.geo.univie.ac.at/projects/tibapp/#activetypes=283¢er=42.07478160216737%2C21.684951782226566&selection=119457&selectioncategory=PLACE&story=&storystep=&time=0%2C1603&zoom=11> (accessed 30 November 2021).

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„ХАГИОГЕОГРАФИЈА“ СВЕТОГ АРХАНЂЕЛА МИХАИЛА У ВИЗАНТИЈСКОЈ
МАКЕДОНИЈИ И У КРАЉЕВСТВУ ШКОТА (IV ДО XV ВЕК): САЖЕТИ
КОМПАРАТИВНИ ПРИСТУП ЗА БУДУЋА ИСТРАЖИВАЊА

Свети Арханђел Михаило је веома моћан, живи, видљиви и невидљиви светац Праволсавне цркве, коме до сада није посвећена довољна пажња у науци. Поштовање Арханђела је од самог почетка везано за специфичне пределе у природи и њихове карактеристике. Изванредан пример у том погледу је чудо у местима Хони и Колоси у Фригији у Малој Азији, које је повезано са извором (водом) и рупом у предању о чуду. Док неки научници тврде да се култ Арханђела проширио од Фригије до Родоса, Цариграда и Египта, други противрече како пореклу тако и ширењу култа са једне географске тачке и наглашавају да је поштовање Арханђела настало на више места.

Овај чланак упоређује на први поглед „неупоредиве“ делове средњовековне Европе, који до сада још никада нису били повезивани тако специфичним, заједничким истраживачким питањима. Изабрали смо две различите области истраживања, са једне стране Византијску Македонију, а са друге стране Краљевство Шкота, од IV до XV века. Главна питања која се постављају у будуће су: да ли су локалне заједнице изградиле места поштовања и слављења светог Арханђела Михаила на основу заједничког и наднационалног људског схватања карактеристика у природи? Да ли је ове карактеристике, преко којих се поштовао Арханђел, локално становништво локално и независно повезивало са њим? И ако јесте, како можемо онда да објаснимо, ако уопште, сличности у схватању карактеристика у природи и светости Арханђела између различитих средњовековних европских друштава? Од кључног значаја за наша истраживачка питања су основни теоријски концепти као на пример Хагиогеографије, географија светости и Хиеротопије. Различите научне струке су се бавиле значајем Арханђела и његових светих места из своје перспективе. Што недостаје, међутим, су истраживања о повезаности свеца, његових светих места и природе на основу писаних извора, археолошких података, топонимије, етнографије, карата, анализа заснованих на ГИС-у и просторних концепата.