

Some observations on Komētopouloi's genealogy in Bulgaria

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*In the days of Tsar Basil there were three Tsars
brothers born to a widow prophetess: Moses, Aaron and Samuil*

The Bulgarian Apocryphal Chronicle (11th c.)

Abstract. The paper has made use of notices given by the Byzantine scholars Ioannes Scylitzes, Ioannes Zonaras, Michael Psellos, Anna Comnena etc., as well as by the Armenian chronographer Stepanos of Taron. There have been shown examples to demonstrate the genealogical kinship of the Bulgarians in comparison with characters taken from the Old-Testament history. For the first time has been supported the position that Samuil had been the oldest of the four brothers - the Komētopouloi David, Moses, Aaron and Samuil. Convincing evidence has been proposed that the Komētopouloi were related by blood with the Bulgarian dynasty founded by the Bulgarian Khan Krum (796-814).

Keywords: genealogy, Khan Krum's dynasty, Komētopouloi, Tsar Samuil, The Old Testament

The genealogy of the Bulgarian Tsar Samuil (997-1014) and his relatives has been a theme of investigation in publications by both Bulgarian and foreign authors (Sabotinov 2005). Sporadic notices in some Armenian sources gave some scholars grounds for defending the position about Komētopouloi's Armenian (or semi-Armenian) ancestry (see e.g. Ivanov 1925; Adontz 1965; Seibt 1985). Attempts to misinterpret records contained in the historical sources by ascribing Tsar Samuil and the Bulgarian Tsardom of the late 10th - early 11th centuries a putative "Macedonian" ancestry are antiscientific and should be referred to the "matrix of Modern nationalism" (Pirivatrić 1997, 195). For that reason they must be ignored. Herein it will be paid attention to several barely mentioned historical sources and new possibilities for their historical interpretation.

There are few unquestionable facts, attested in historical sources. Firstly, it deserves mentioning the names of the four sons of comes Nicholas, which all derive from the Old Testament: David, Moses, Aaron and Samuil, called *komētopouloi* (< Gr. *κομητόπουλοι, κομητόπωλοι*, i.e., ‘sons of a comes’ (< Gr. *κόμης, -ητος*) (Pirivatrić 2015, 588). Emphasizing the Old-Testament origin of the Bulgars was deeply rooted. In the earliest historical source (a short Latin chronicle from 334 AD), wherein Bulgars are mentioned by their own name, *Ziezi* is presented as the progenitor of the Bulgarian tribe: *Ziezi ex quo Vulgares* (*Chronica minora* 1892, 86.26.). Giving Old-Testament names was a common practice for newly converted (proto-)Bulgarians since the 860s. It is indicative that the sons of the Bulgarian Knyaz Boris I (852-889, † 2 May 907 AD), born after the Chirstianization of the country, bore Old-Testament names (Gabriel, Simeon, Jacob). This can be seen e.g. in some Latin marginalia on a gospel from Cividale: *Hic sunt nomina de Bulgaria in prima rex illorum Mihahel [...] et filius eius Rasate. et alius Gabriel. et tercius filius Simeon. et quartus filius Iacob* (Moravcsik 1958, 356). This name-giving practice is noticeable as a permanent trend in the circles of the ruling Bulgarian dynasty in the 10th-11th centuries. It is no coincidence that some of the Old-Testament books were translated from Greek into Old Bulgarian as early as the end of the 9th - beginning of the 10th c. and originated from scriptoria in the Bulgarian capital Veliki Preslav (Slavova 2022).

Another fact is neither accidental. Both before and after conversion into Christianity, the (proto-)Bulgars emphasized their ancestry (Nikolov 1999). For this reason the Bulgarian Tsar John-Vladislav (1015-1018) called himself *βουλγαρική γέννησις* ‘Bulgarian by birth’ (ΒΛΒΓΑΡΙΝΗΣ ΡΟΔΘΜΒ) (Zaimov, Zaimova 1970, 33).

The earliest historical source giving information about the *Komētopouloi* in Bulgaria in the 10th c. was the Byzantine chronographer Ioannes Scylitzes (second half of the 11th c.). In his work *Σύνοψις Ἱστοριῶν* ‘a synopsis of Byzantine history’ he wrote the following on the situation in the Bulgarian Tsardom during 969-971 AD:

Πέτρος δὲ ὁ τῶν Βουλγάρων βασιλεὺς τῆς γυναικὸς αὐτοῦ θανάτου τὴν εἰρήνην τάχα ἀνανεούμενος, σπονδὰς πρὸς τοὺς βασιλεῖς ἔθετο, ὁμήρουσ δούσ καὶ τοὺς οἰκειοὺς δύο υἱοὺς Βορίσην καὶ Ῥωμανόν. καὶ μετὰ μικρὸν ἀπεβίω. οἱ δὲ υἱοὶ αὐτοῦ ἐν Βουλγαρίᾳ ἐπέμφθησαν μετὰ ταῦτα, ἐφ’ ᾧ τῆς πατρῶας ἀντισχέσθαι βασιλείας, καὶ τοὺς κομητοπόλους ἀπείρξωσι τῆς πρόσω φορᾶς. Δαβὶδ γὰρ καὶ Μωσῆς καὶ Ἀαρὼν καὶ Σαμουήλ, ἐνὸς ὄντες παῖδες τῶν μέγα δυναθέντων ἐν Βουλγαρίᾳ κομήτων, πρὸς ἀποστασίαν ἀπειῖδον καὶ τὰ Βουλγάρων ἀνέσειον (Ioannes Scylitzes 1973, 255.73-256.81) [When the wife of Petār, the emperor of the Bulgars, died, he made a treaty with the emperors ostensibly to renew the peace, surrendering his own sons, Boris and Romanos as hostages. He himself died shortly afterwards, whereupon the sons were sent to Bulgaria to secure the ancestral throne and to restrain the ‘children of the counts’ from further encroachments. David, Moses, Aaron and Samuil, children of one of the powerful counts in Bulgaria, were contemplating an uprising and were unsettling the Bulgars’ land] (John Scylitzes 2010, 246). Once again on the same line Ioannes Scylitzes mentioned the four *Komētopouloi* brothers after the death

of the Byzantine emperor John I Tzimiskes (969-976, † 10 January): τῶν δὲ Βουλγάρων ἅμα τῇ τελευτῇ τοῦ βασιλέως Ἰωάννου ἀποστατησάντων, ἄρχειν αὐτῶν προχειρίζονται τέσσαρες ἀδελφοί, Δαβὶδ γὰρ καὶ Μωϋσῆς καὶ Ἀαρὼν καὶ Σαμουήλ, ἐνὸς τῶν παρὰ Βουλγάρους μέγα δυνηθέντων κόμητος ὄντες παῖδες καὶ διὰ τοῦτο κομητόπωλοι κατονομαζόμενοι (Ioannes Scylitzes 1973, 328.57-63) [After the death of emperor John the Bulgars rebelled appointing four brothers to rule them: David, Moses, Aaron and Samuil, sons of count who was one of powerful man among the Bulgars, that is why they were known as Komētopoloi] (John Scylitzes 2010, 312). There is a supplement to the text contained in one of the copies of Scylitzes' chronicle, made by the bishop of Devol, Mikhail in 1118 AD: Νικολάου ὀνομαζομένου, μητρὸς Ῥιψίμης (Ioannes Scylitzes 1973, 328.62) [Nicholas by name, their mother was Ripsimē], i.e., the parents of the Komētopouloi bore the names of Nicholas and Ripsimē.

Notices provided by Ioannes Scylitzes can be found almost literally repeated by another Byzantine chronographer - Ioannes Zonaras (second half of the 11th - first half of the 12th c.): ἐνὸς γὰρ τῶν κομητῶν ἐν Βουλγάρους τέσσαρες παῖδες, Δαβίδ, Μωσῆς, Ἀαρὼν, Σαμουήλ, ἀποστατήσαντες τοὺς Βουλγάρους ἀνέσειον; Τὰ δὲ Βουλγάρων αὐθις κεκίνητο ὡς γὰρ ἢ τοῦ Τζιμισκῆ κατήγγελο τελευτῆ, τέσσαρσιν ἀδελφοῖς ἀνατιθέασι τὴν σφετέραν ἀρχήν, Δαβίδ, Μωυσῆ, Ἀαρὼν τε καὶ Σαμουήλ, οἱ κομητόπωλοι ὀνομάζοντο, ὅτι υἱοὶ γεγονάσιν ἐνὸς τῶν παρ' αὐοῖς ἐπίσημων καὶ λεγομένων κομητῶν (Ioannes Zonaras 1897, 495. 11-13; 547.5-9). Hence, the second notice also passed into the Old Bulgarian translation of the Chronicle of Ioannes Zonaras, made in the 14th c.: Българе же подвигоше се пакы. Пониеже оубѣдѣше яко оубрѣтъ цимискыи. Прѣдаше господѣство българ'ское четьромь братѣмь дави́доу монсею аароноу и самуѣлоу. Нарѣцахоу же се си и комитопоули. Занѣ вѣхоу сынове единого кнеза българ'скаго нарицаемаго комить (Jacobs 1970, 254).

This order in the enumeration of the four Komētopouloi is adopted in historiography as evidence of their birth and age, i.e. David was the eldest and Samuil the youngest of them (see the last publication on this matter: Pavlov 2019, 260-313).

From the standpoint of Old-Testament history, however, the arrangement was almost exactly the opposite. Chronologically the oldest in the Old Testament is Aaron, three years older than his brother Moses: “Then the Lord said to Moses, ‘See, I have made you like God to Pharaoh, and your brother Aaron will be your prophet’” (Exodus 7:1); “[...] Moses was eighty years old and Aaron eighty-three” (Exodus 7:7). In the biblical account, Aaron was followed by Moses, who leded the Jews out of Egypt. Next in time was the prophet Samuel: “So in the course of time Hannah became pregnant and gave birth to a son. She named him Samuel, saying, ‘Because I asked the Lord for him’” (1 Samuel 1:20); “And all Israel from Dan to Beersheba recognized that Samuel was attested as a prophet of the Lord” (1 Samuel 3:20). In the Old Testament King David appeared the latest. Nevertheless, it is extremely intriguing to note that it was the last Israelite judge, the prophet Samuel who anointed David as King of Judaea: “Then the Lord said, ‘Rise and anoint him; this is the one’. So Samuel took the horn of oil and anointed him in the presence of his brothers, and from that day on the Spirit of the Lord came powerfully upon David” (1 Samuel 16:12-13) (Fig. 1).

What naming order of their children chose Nicholas and Ripsimia, the parents of the Kometopouloi in the 10th century? If they followed biblical



Fig. 1. The prophet Samuel (in the middle). A fresco from the St. Nicholas of Myra's church in the village of Tarnovo, district of Kriva Palanka, Republic of North Macedonia (1605 AD)

chronology, the children were born and named in the following order: Aaron, Moses, Samuil and David. This assumption, however, remains only in the realm of conjecture and cannot be categorically defended.

The further account of Ioannes Scylitzes suggests another solution. The arrangement of the four brothers in his chronicle is not presented according to their age, but according to the time of their death - David was the first to die (killed by wandering Vlachs in the locality *The Beautiful oaks* (Καλὰς δρῦς) between Kostur (now Kastoria, Greece) and Prespa in 976), after him died Moses (killed at the siege of Sjar, c. 976), then Aaron (killed by order of Samuil at Razmetanitsa on 14 June 987) and finally Samuil himself, died of natural causes in Prespa on 6 October 1014 (Ioannes Scylitzes 1973, 329.77-89, 349.35-45).

The Armenian historian Stepanos of Taron, Asoghik (second half of the 10th c. - beginnings of the 11th c.), who was contemporary of the described events, mentioned inter alia: “*the Bulgarian Emperors [...] two brothers called komsadszagi. The older of whom, an Armenian, was born in the Derdzhan province [now Erzincan in northeastern Turkey] and was called Samuel*” (Tapkova-Zaimova 2017, 165). The German translation reads: “*Die Könige der Bulgaren [...] Diese aber waren zwei Brüder, welche Komsadzagen (Grafensöhne) genannt wurden; der Name des älteren war Samayël. Sie waren von Nation Armenier (und stammten) aus der Provinz Derdzhan [...]*” (Stephanos von Taron 1907, 186).

It seems likely that two “*komsadtsagi*” are the Komētopouloi Aaron and Samuil. That notice has been analysed from the view of the age differences, but if it would be accepted as trustworthy, it shows that Samuil was older than Aaron.

The fact that among his brothers, the Komētopouloi, Samuil was the most active military leader suggests that he was also the oldest among them. The basis for this assumption makes up also the proper meaning of the name Samuil ‘begged from God’ (Hebr. Sham’uel, שמא׳ל) - a characteristic that usually childless parents used to name their long-awaited, first-born child.

On the other hand, the writing of Stepanos of Taron is considered an important testimony regarding the Armenian origin of the Komētopouloi. His notice further reads: “*Emperor Basil [II] had taken them both along with his guardsmen to Macedonia [i.e., Thrace], where he was waging war against the Bulgarians. Using that as a convenient opportunity, they deserted the Byzantine Emperor and took the side of the Bulgarian Emperor Kurt [i.e., ‘castrated man’ in Armenian language - The Bulgarian Tsar Roman-Symeon (978-997)], and as man of valor, received high honors in his yard*” (Tapkova-Zaimova 2017, 165; Stephanos von Taron 1907, 186). According to one of the additions to the chronicle of John Scylitzes, made in the copy of the bishop of Devol, Mikhail, the Komētopouloi’s mother bore the name of an Armenian national female saint of the 4th century Hripsime (Հրիփսիմէ), which was Bulgarianized in the form *Ripsimia* (Րիփիմ). This name is found in an Old-Bulgarian manuscript from the 11th century (the Enina Apostle) from the “St. Cyril and St. Methodius” National Library in Sofia (No. 1144, fol. 38r) under the date 30th September, when the memory of Gregory, bishop of Armenia (4th c.) is commemorated.

As a matter of fact, the evidence given by Stepanos of Taron is among the principal arguments for the Armenian origin of the Komētopouloi.

Samuil’s parents are also mentioned in the memorial inscription of 993, placed by him and discovered in 1888 during the construction works of the new church in the village of German (now in Greece). The name of Ripsimia is not readable in it. Its contents are well known from previous publications of the inscription:

† в [ъ] има втѣца и съ
 ина и стѣго доуха а
 зъ самоилъ рабъ бж[и]
 полагаѣ памать [втѣц]
 ѡ и матѣри и брат[ѡ н]
 а крѣстѣхъ си[хъ се]
 имена оусъпѣш[ихъ ни]
 кола рабъ бжи []
 ѣ дав[и]дъ написа [са въ]
 лѣто отъ сътво[рениѣ миро]
 ү ꙗ̄с̄. ꙗ̄д̄. инъди[кта]

(Uspensky 1899, 1-4; Ivanov 1931, 23-25; Dujčev 1943, 141, 231-232; Malingoudis 1979, 39-42; Popkonstantinov, Kronsteiner, 1994, 35-37).

Here is a translation thereof:

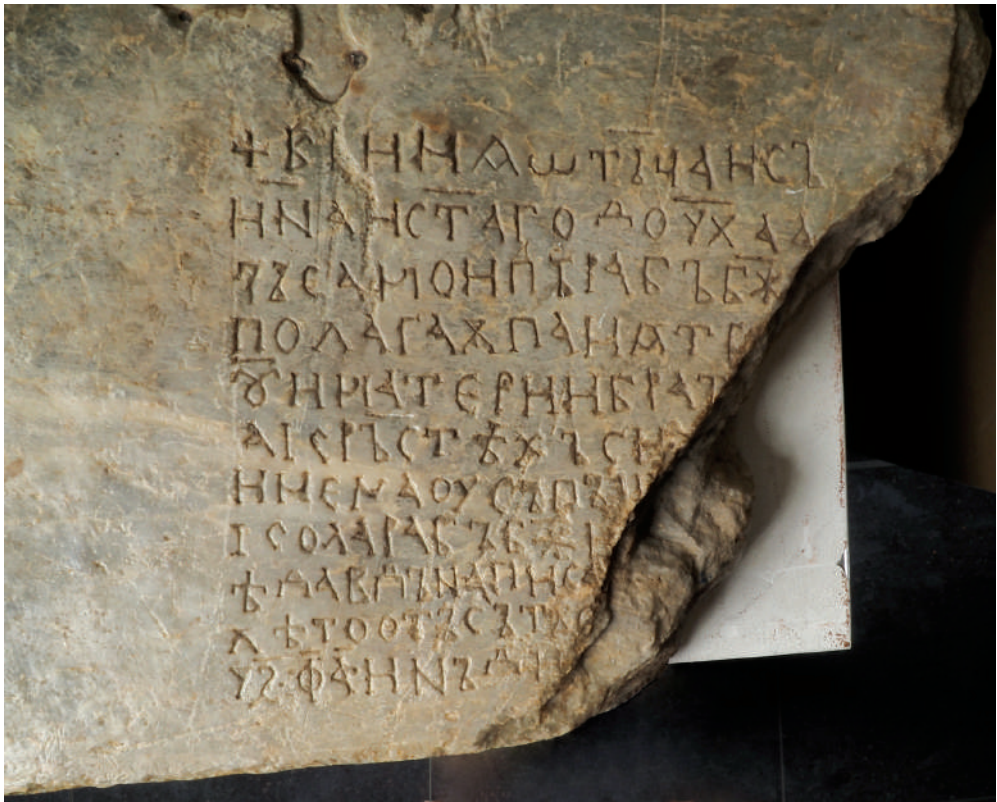


Fig. 2. Memorial inscription from the village of German (992-993)

“† *In the name of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit. I, Samuil, servant of God, commemorate [my] father and [my] mother and [my] brother on this cross. These are the names of the deceased: Servant of God Nicholas, [Ripsimia and] David. It was written in the year from the Creation of the world 6501 [= 1 September 992 - 31 August 993 from the Nativity of Christ] indict [6]*” (Fig. 2).

The inscription was probably placed immediately after the death of the mother Ripsimia (c. 993 AD).

Considering the old (proto-)Bulgarian settlements in Armenia, it can be assumed that it was through the maternal line that the Komētopouloi were related by blood to the ruling Bulgarian royal dynasty, which was founded by Khan Krum (796-814) and which ended in direct line with the Tsars Boris II (969-971, † 978) and Roman-Simeon (978-991, † 997). Other arguments can be cited to support this claim. On the occasion of the words of Petăr Delyan, who in 1040 was proclaimed Bulgarian Tsar, that he was the son of tsar Gavril-Roman Radomir (1014-1015), the famous Byzantine intellectual and writer Michael Psellos (1018 - after 1081) noted in his Chronology that the Bulgars had a custom of putting only royals at the head of the people: *ἐν ἔτει γὰρ Βουλγάροις τοὺς ἐκ βασιλείου γένους εἰς ἐπιστάσιαν τοῦ ἔθνους παραλαμβάνειν* (Michele Psello

1984, 164.14-15). The Italian translation reads: *è infatti uso bulgaro ammettere alla testa della nazione esclusivamente chi sia di stirpe regale* (Michele Psello 1984, 165).

Exceptions to this rule were not made throughout the history of early medieval Bulgaria (7th - 11th centuries). Therefore, the ascension of Tsar Samuil to the Bulgarian throne (most likely in 997) was not the result of chance. It was due to his ancestral affiliation to the Bulgarian royal dynasty, although not as a direct descendant.

Key to clarifying Samuil's genealogy is an expression from the historical work "Alexias" by the Byzantine authoress Anna Comnena (1083 - after 1150), dedicated to the reign of her father and the first emperor of the Comnenian dynasty - Alexius I Comnenus (1081-1118). In connection with the name of the old Bulgarian capital, Veliki Preslav, she noted the following: "*This glorious city, located next to Istros [i.e., Danube] (πόλις δὲ αὕτη περιφανῆς περὶ τὸν Ἴστρον διακειμένη), once did not bear this barbarous name, but having a Greek name, was and is called a great city (μεγάλη πόλις). But since Mokros, the Tsar of the Bulgars, and his descendants, and even more Samuil, the last of the Bulgarian dynasty (ἄφ' οὗ δὲ Μόκρος ὁ τῶν Βουλγάρων βασιλεὺς καὶ οἱ ἐξ ἐκείνου γενόμενοι καὶ προσέτι γε Σαμουὴλ ὁ τελευταῖος τῆς βουλγαρικῆς δυναστείας), like Zedekiah [King] of the Jews (καθάπερ ὁ Σεδεκίας τῶν Ἰουδαίων), invade the West [i.e., the European possessions of Byzantium], [this city] received a compound name, named after the Greek word for 'great', with an added word from [the language of] those of Slavonic origin (τῶν Σθλαβογενῶν ἐπισυρομένη λέξιτιν), so it began to be called by them Veliki Preslav (Μεγάλη Πρισιτλάβα)*" (Anna Comnena 2001a, 210.18-27).

Once again, Anna Comnena mentions the names of the two Bulgarian Tsars (Mokros and Samuil), when describing the Ohrid Lake: "*This river Drimon [...] flows up through Lake Lychnida, which the now barbarized language calls Achrida [still] from [the time of] Mokros, the first tsar of the Bulgars (ἀπὸ Μόκρου τοῦ Βουλγάρων βασιλέως τὰ πρῶτα), and finally [reigning] Samuil, who lived during the time of the purple-born emperors Constantine and Basil [II Boulgaroktonos, i.e., 'the Bulgar-Slayer'] (καὶ τὰ ἔσχατα Σαμουὴλ, τοῦ ἐπὶ τοῖν βασιλείων Κωνσταντίνου καὶ Βασιλείου τῶν πορφυρογεννήτων γεγονότος)*" (Anna Comnena 2001a, 383.13-18). Translation made by Ivan Dujčev (Dujčev 1933a, 29 = Dujčev 1972, 176) and Mihail Voynov (1905-1985) (Anna Comnena 1971, 121) need some corrections.

The German Byzantologist Karl Hopf (1832-1873) was the first to express the opinion that the ruler named Mokros was the Bulgarian Khan Krumos, but without confirming it with any evidence (Hopf 1867, 124, n. 12). Subsequently the Bulgarian medievalist Ivan Dujčev (1907-1986) addressed this question at length, making convincing arguments that the name *Μόκρος* is a metathesis of *Κροῦμος*. The Bulgarian historian, however, misinterpreted the second mention of Mokros as a local name (Mokra planina), which an unknown interpolator of Alexias turned into a personal name (Dujčev 1933a, 28-36; Dujčev 1933b, 1-9; Dujčev 1935, 107-115; Dujčev 1972, 175-191). The German scholar Diether R. Reinsch in a dedicated publication clearly showed that the phrase *τοῦ Βουλγάρων βασιλέως τὰ πρῶτα* and so on was not an interpolation (of which there are too few in the work of Anna Comnena), but are *ipsis-sima verba* of the authoress herself (Reinsch 1989, 69-72). By both mentions of the name Mokros, she explains the forms of toponyms that were "barbarized"

(or Bulgarianized) during the dynasty that ruled Bulgaria from Khan Krum to Tsar Samuil.

Anna Comnena not only carried Bulgarian blood in her veins, but through her mother's line she could also know a number of details about the history of the Bulgars. Anna Comnena's grandmother, Maria, was the granddaughter of the Bulgarian Tsar John-Vladislav (Bozhilov 1995, 250-251). In practice, her historical writing is the only direct source that unequivocally states that the rulers from Khan Krum (the first Tsar of the Bulgars) to the last reigning Samuil (the last Tsar) are from one and the same dynasty, from the same genealogy, rulers of one and the same Tsardom. The highly educated Byzantine historian used the term *δυναστεία* only three times in her *Alexiad*: 1. the already cited *βουλγαρική δυναστεία*; 2. *ῥωμαϊκή δυναστεία* 3. *διὰ τὴν τοῦ καιροῦ δυναστείαν*. In the first two cases the word carries the meaning of *imperium*, and in the third it means '*necessitas rerum*' (Anna Comnena 2001b, 120).

Anna Comnena makes an interesting comparison of the Bulgarian Tsar Samuil with the Judean ruler Zedekiah (617-587 BC). In her entire rather voluminous work, the learned Byzantine writer mentions Zedekiah only in this place. Indeed, Zedekiah is the twentieth and last king of Judea (the Southern Kingdom) from the same family - the family of David (his reign and fate are described in the Fourth Book of Kings). However, the similarities do not end there. King Zedekiah broke away from the Babylonian Kingdom and for this reason its ruler Nebuchadnezzar II (630-562) attacked Jerusalem and conquered it. Zedekiah himself was captured. "*They killed the sons of Zedekiah before his eyes. Then they put out his eyes, bound him with bronze shackles and took him to Babylon*" (2 Kings 25:7). Jerusalem was devastated, and the Jews fell into prolonged Babylonian captivity. The allusion to the blinding of Samuil's army by Basil II and the enslavement of the Bulgarians by the Byzantine Empire is obvious. However, in Anna Comnena's work, the emphasis falls on the similarity between Tsar Samuil and Tsar Zedekiah who were the last rulers in their respective Kingdoms - the Bulgarian and the Judean one.

The Bulgarian self-awareness of the Komētopouloi and their descendants is also witnessed in a number of domestic (Old Bulgarian) sources. In the construction-chronological inscription from Bitola (1016), Tsar John-Vladislav categorically defines himself as a 'Bulgarian autokrator' and adds that he is "grandson of the pious Nikola and Ripsimia, son of Aaron, who is the brother of Samuil" (Zaimov, Zaimova 1970, 33) (Fig. 3).

In the Bulgarian Apocryphal Chronicle from the 11th century, the Komētopouloi and their descendants are presented as the rulers of the Bulgarian Tsardom (Tapkova-Zaimova, Miltenova 1996, 197-198).

In the Synodicon of the Bulgarian Church from the 13th-14th centuries is placed a commemorative name-list of the Bulgarian rulers. It begins with Boris I - the first Christian princeps of the Bulgars. A worthy place among them is occupied by the Komētopoulos Tsar Samuil and his successors: "*Here the Bulgarian Tsars begin. To the first Bulgarian tsar Boris, called by the holy baptism Mihael [...] eternal memory! To his son Symeon and to his grandson Saint Tsar Petar, to Plenimir, Boris [II], Roman[-Symeon], Samuil, [Roman-]Radomir Gabriel, [John-]Vladimir, [John-]Vladislav, the old Bulgarian Tsars, who together with the*

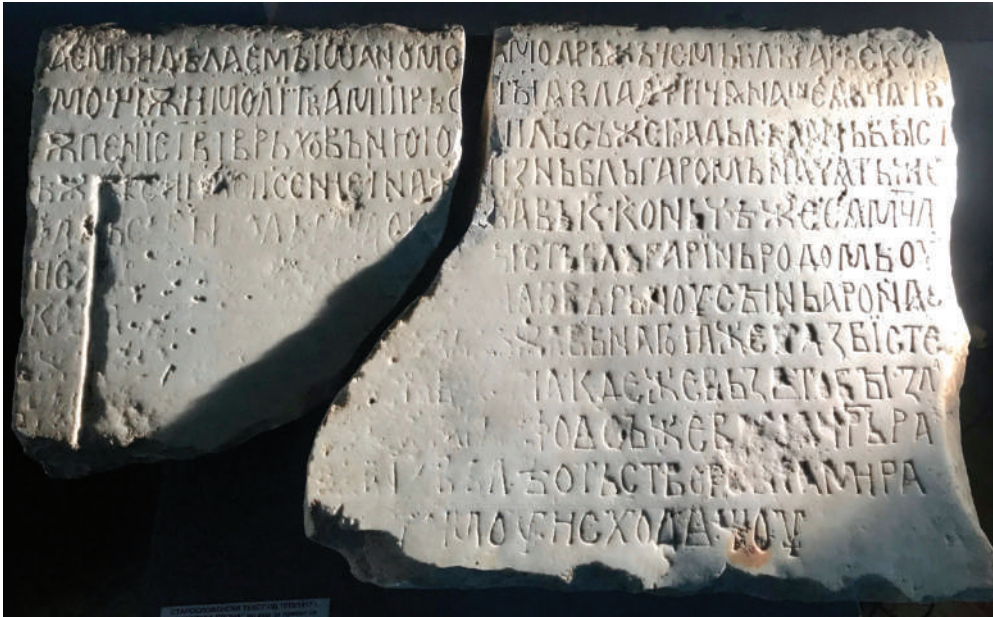


Fig. 3. A construction-chronological inscription of the Bulgarian Tsar John-Vladislav from the medieval fortress of Bitola (1016)

earthly inherited the heavenly Kingdom, eternal memory!" (Borilov synodic 2012, 151-152).

The cited historical sources testify clearly to the Bulgarian genealogy of the Komētopouloi. Back in the Middle Ages, the Bulgarians paid their dues to Tsar Samuil and his descendants. Therefore, even in the second half of the 13th century, the Byzantine author Ioannes Stavrakios characterized his rule in the following way: *"In the past and not so long ago, that famous Samuil ruled over the Bulgars, who is still in the mouth of the Bulgars. He had conquered, along with other lands, all the Bulgarian and Roman lands to the west of the city of the Thessalonians and firmly ruled as a military leader"* (Ἐκράτει Βουλγάρων πρόην καὶ οὐ πάνυ τοι πρόην Σαμουήλ ἐκεῖνος ὁ μέχρι τοῦ δεῦρο τοῖς τῶν Βουλγάρων περιλαλούμενος στόμασιν. Οὗτος σὺν τοῖς ἄλλοις καὶ τὸ πρὸς ἑσπέραν τῆς τῶν Θεσσαλονικέων ἅπαν βουλγαρικὸν ὁμοῦ καὶ ρωμαϊκὸν χειρωσάμενος, ἰσχυρῶς ἐτυράννει στρατηγετῶν) (Iviritis 1940, 360.11-15).

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