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**Kostyrya Inna**

Doctor of Political Sciences, Associate Professor,  
Department of International Relations,  
Kyiv National University of Culture and Arts  
ORCID 0000-0003-2654-8472  
[prorectorknukim@gmail.com](mailto:prorectorknukim@gmail.com)

## ORIGINS OF MODERN DIPLOMACY: AKSUM, SYRIA AND BIZANTIUM BETWEEN THE WEST AND THE EAST

**Purpose of the article.** This article conceptualizes diplomacy in diachronic as a political practice of negotiating peace, trade, and war through standardized communications with other foreign policy actors. It is assumed that although the forms and conditions for the implementation of diplomacy changed over time, the foundations of such interaction were developed in ancient times in numerous and diverse networks of contacts and exchanges not only of large and small proto-states of the world, but also between fractions, parties, aristocratic unions, trading companies. **Methodology.** Historical-logical and systematic methods of analysis are used to clarify the origins of the phenomenon of diplomacy as a mechanism of "international relations", "external relations", trade of the elite of Axum. **The scientific novelty** consists in positioning the diplomacy of the Aksumite kingdom as a mechanism for resonating the social dimensions of human existence (spirituality, culture, economic and political interests) of ancient Rome, Byzantium in the synergistic effect of the further development of communications of the East and the West. **Conclusions.** During its heyday, the kingdom of Aksum was the most prominent and important example of the African proto-power. During this period Aksum kingdom made the greatest contribution to the history of mankind. Facts from the eventful history of Axum, his political and commercial influence, active participation in world politics of that time allow us to speak of the outstanding role of Aksum in world history. Aksum kingdoms' elite had strong ties with the peoples of Tropical Africa, the high civilizations of the Mediterranean, the population of the Nile Valley, South Arabia, the Persian Kingdom (including Mesopotamia), India, Ceylon and other distant countries. The multi-vector policy of the Aksumite elite was a product of a long historical development in conditions that are significantly different from the conditions in which civilizations of Europe and Asia developed.

**Key words:** religion diplomacy; principle of continuity of diplomacy; Byzantium and Aksum.

*Костиря Інна Олександрівна, доктор політичних наук, професор, завідувач кафедри міжнародних відносин Київського національного університету культури і мистецтва*

**Походження сучасної дипломатії: Аксум, Сирія та Візантія між Заходом і Сходом**

**Мета дослідження.** У статті концептуалізовано дипломатію в діячоронії як політичну практику переговорів щодо питань миру, торгівлі та війни через стандартизовані комунікації з іншими акторами зовнішньої політики.

Передбачається, що хоча форми та умови здійснення дипломатії змінювалися з часом, проте основи такої взаємодії були закладені у давні часи в чисельних та різноманітних мережах контактів та обмінів не тільки великих та малих протодержав світу, але і між фракціями, партіями, аристократичними союзами, торговельними компаніями. **Методологія.** Історико-логічний і системний методи аналізу використовуються для уточнення витоків феномену дипломатії як механізму "міжнародних відносин", "зовнішніх відносин", торгівлі еліти Аксуму. **Наукова новизна** полягає в позиціонуванні дипломатії Аксумітського королівства як механізму резонансу соціальних вимірів людського буття (духовність, культура, економічні та політичні інтереси) давнього Риму, Візантії в синергетичному ефекті подальшого розвитку комунікацій Сходу і Заходу. **Висновки.** В період свого розквіту аксумітське королівство було найбільш яскравим і важливим прикладом африканської протодержавності. У цей період Аксумітське королівство зробило найбільший внесок в історію людства. Факти з насиченої подіями історії Аксума, його політичний та комерційний вплив, активна участь у світовій політиці того часу дозволяють нам говорити про вагомий вплив Аксуму у світовій історії. Еліта Аксумітського королівства мала стійкі зв'язки з народами Тропічної Африки, високими цивілізаціями Середземномор'я, населенням долини Нілу, Південної Аравії, Перським королівством (включаючи Месопотамію), Індією, Цейлоном та іншими далекими країнами. Багатовекторність політики аксумітської еліти була результатом тривалого історичного розвитку в умовах, які значною мірою відрізняються від умов, в яких розвивалися цивілізації Європи та Азії.

**Ключові слова:** релігійна дипломатія; принцип безперервності дипломатії; Рим; Візантія; Аксум.

*Костыря Инна Александровна, доктор политических наук, профессор, заведующий кафедрой международных отношений Киевского национального университета культуры и искусств*

**Происхождения современной дипломатии: Аксум, Сирия и Византия между Западом и Востоком**

**Цель исследования.** В статье концептуализировано дипломатию в диахронии как политическую практику переговоров по вопросам мира, торговли и войны через стандартизованные коммуникации с другими актерами внешней политики. Предполагается, что хотя формы и условия осуществления дипломатии менялись со временем, однако основы такого взаимодействия были заложены в древние времена в многочисленных и разнообразных сетях контактов и обменов не только больших и малых протодержав мира, но и между фракциями, партиями, аристократическими союзами, торговыми компаниями. **Методология.** Историко-логический и системный методы анализа используются для уточнения истоков феномена дипломатии как механизма "международных отношений", "внешних отношений", торговли элиты Аксума. **Научная новизна** заключается в позиционировании дипломатии Аксумитского королевства как механизма резонанса социальных измерений человеческого бытия (духовность, культура, экономические и политические интересы) древнего Рима, Византии в синергетическом эффекте дальнейшего развития коммуникаций Востока и Запада. **Выводы.** В период своего расцвета Аксумитское королевство было наиболее ярким и важным примером африканской протодержавности. В этот период Аксумитское королевство сделало наибольший вклад в историю человечества. Факты из насыщенной событиями истории Аксума, его политическое и коммерческое влияние, активное участие в мировой политике того времени позволяют нам говорить о выдающейся роли Аксума в мировой истории. Элита Аксумитского королевства имела устойчивые связи с народами Тропической Африки, высокими цивилизациями Средиземноморья, населением долины Нила, Южной Аравии, Персидским царством (включая Месопотамію), Индией, Цейлоном и другими дальними странами. Многовекторность политики аксумитской элиты была результатом длительного исторического развития в условиях, которые в значительной степени отличаются от условий, в которых развивались цивилизации Европы и Азии.

**Ключевые слова:** религиозная дипломатия; принцип непрерывности дипломатии; Рим; Византия; Аксум.

The intelligence and observation ambassadors' information was based to a large extent on the entire far-sighted policy of any actor. In the proposed period, we consider the paradigm of methodological and conceptual approaches to international research in the context of the synthetic combination of theory and diplomatic practice, the dynamics of international communication in various temporal and spatial dimensions of society in the proposed researcher John Watkins [46, 1-14]. We also share the desire of Karen Gram-Skoldager [13] to explore the diplomacy of the twentieth century. in comparison with the principles of the diplomacy of the Renaissance. That's how Mattainly G., through the study of the dynamics of the diplomacy of the Renaissance [20], was able to trace the origins of modern diplomacy. Although in the last decade its findings were considered questionable, further research by Ricardo Fubini [10, 25-48; 11, 291-334; 12, 33-59] and Anderson M. [1] confirmed the appropriateness of Matbling's chronological framework, "The New Diplomacy." Ricardo Fubini used an innovative approach to the study of diplomacy. Analyzing the evolution of diplomatic practice in Florence X-th century, he considered the process of institutionalization of representation as a political practice. This is evidenced by a number of historical facts: an increase in the number of resident ambassadors in Italy after the nineteenth century; the emergence of a new "system of states" with the "Westphalia system of international relations, the confidence of Daniel Frigo [9, 147-176] that in the states of Italy, early modern diplomatic activity coexisted with a variety of other political responsibilities, and that the diplomats had at that time a lot in conjunction with medieval prosecutors. The views of Daniel Frigo are based on Burckhardt Jacob's conception that the growing role of diplomatic representation and foreign policy control points to political maturity and institutional stability of the province (between the fourteenth and sixteenth centuries, displacing medieval political forms and securing the transition from the medieval diplomatic missions (nuncii, procuratores, legati) to the ambassador, however, according to Margaroli Paolo [19], has long existed for a long time various in terms of the legitimacy of the force and the representativeness of the actors who conducted international (or "super-state") relations. These actors were numerous and had di-

verse networks of contacts and exchanges not only among the large and small potential countries of Europe, but among factions, parties, aristocratic groups, large trading companies and so is the phenomenon of "international relations" or "external relations" only relate to the practice of diplomacy and its features. Researchers C. Ossola [31], C. Raffestin, M. Ricciardi argues that the rules of benevolence, protection were intertwined with the interests of clientele networks, which made the borders indeterminate geographically. The state acted rather as an autonomous criterion of recognition, membership and union. This concept was then broad and blurred and included in the political, dynastic or territorial interests of the elites. And the expression "external relations" can be used to refer to numerous political, diplomatic and military contacts between individual centres of government. Such communication took place not only between sovereigns, princes and republics, as well as between local lords, feudal lords, city magistrates. The researcher Cerion Lydia [4] investigated the diplomacy of Milan, gave, in addition to describing the functions of recruiting ambassadors of Sforza, even proposed additional methodological criteria for the study of the diplomatic apparatus as a history of people who ensure the development of institutions.

Researcher Osborne Toby [30] (2007) used the following criteria in the analysis of the Savoy elite: the dynastic ambitions of the ruling grouping of Savoy, the family interests of the elite clan in the Duchy service. Particular attention is paid to the unique role of one prominent member of this clan, Abet Alessandro Scaglia, the famous diplomat of Europe. T. Osborne's focus is not only the political process in Savoy, but the diplomatic culture of Europe at that time. A.V. Pikin as a result of the research of embassy missions of the "long V century" subject to the embassies of church leaders, it came to the conclusion that the purpose of the mission of the embassy determines the composition of the embassy's members and the level of its powers.

Namely, distinguishes the following missions: 1). Inland politics. Among them are: (1.1) those who were headed for negotiations on obtaining preferences (often tax) from the central government and the addressee of these embassies was the highest civilian official of the province; (1.2) missions such as the Embassy of the Bishops of Herman, Viviania, Epiphany on Relations with the Barbarians 2). Foreign policy. Among them are peace talks and current interstate communication. The aim of the embassy in the peace talks is to negotiate the suspension of the confrontation and the creation of conditions for peace. At the same time, the embassy may be local when the ambassador is sent from the losing or losing side to the military commander-winner (the mission of the bishop of Orience to Aecia, contacts of Ardavour with the Saracens), which receives the right to negotiate with the central authorities, which must ratify the agreement. Interstate, when the embassy is sent to the ruler for the purpose of making peace. There are also embassies of the period of formal anarchy or weak control by the central government of local governments. Such negotiations may be attributed to local internal political embassies. The purpose of the negotiations is to establish peace or an armistice, and the initiator of the sending of the ambassador is the civil community (the Romanian Senate embassy during the siege of Alaric, the Favian community in Norica) [35]. Current interstate communications are established between the rulers of the states in periods when peace has already been concluded between rulers and there is a need to discuss the various situations that arise in the relations of the elites: the reminder of the necessity to observe the agreements plans for the matrimonial unions. There are cases of secret diplomacy, including the practice of secret deals, bribery. The sources mention the example of current intergovernmental communication negotiations 449–450 years with Attila and Theodosius II, described by Prisk [34, 29-32]. 3. Legislative Legislative Immigrant embassies include missions to inform other actors about the change of power in the empire or the kingdom of barbarians. In addition, the embassies of usurpers to the legitimate ruler may also be classified as legitimate.

We conceptualize the idea of the emergence of diplomatic and contractual practices in the realm of Aksum. The Sabaeans and Greek inscriptions testify to the rapid and elevation of Axum. Expansionist policy of the Axumite kings led to the formation of an extensive power and entry into the arena of the political process between Bizantia, Iran, India. We suggest that Aksum was not only one of the four key international diplomatic players right at the start of the CE. Aksum diplomacy during those days was dependent dignified, effective. Monotheistic religion was widespread among the educated Aksumites and Aksum kings got the political benefits of it. Christian diplomacy was deployed to support the economic interests of the country among allies abroad and among Byzantium elite. Another theory is also framed; it claims that the fact that Aksum made its mark as a great eastern power in the Red sea is closely associated with the promotion of the Greco-roman interests in this particular area.

In Old Persian sources is mentioned that the kingdom of Persia, Babylon, the kingdom of Rome, the kingdom of Aksum and the kingdom of China were the largest. About Aksum informs The Periplus Maris Erythraei (or 'Voyage around the Erythraean Sea') written by a Greek speaking Egyptian merchant. It describes the maritime trade-routes following the north-south axis from Egypt down the coast of East Africa. The remainder describes the routes of the East-West axis running from Egypt, around the Arabian Peninsula and past the Persian Gulf on to the west coast of India.

In the 70's and 80's of the XX century there were generalizing works, which covered the Byzantine and Aksum dimension of international relations [42; 45, 85-111]. Udaltsova's work is one of the first works on embassy missions. The growing interest of scholars in the diplomatic practice of the late Antiquity and the early Middle Ages was observed in the XXI century in the writings of Ephraim Isaak [7], Audrey Becker [3, 51-78], as well as the supporter of the Sienna school, E.N. Nechaeva [23], A.V. Pikin's works [35] covered

religious missions. Now has grown interest in Byzantine diplomacy and its principles. French researcher Charles Diehl [6], one of the first attempts to formulate this problem, and a number of authors have raised this topic: N. Kalomenopoulos (in his monograph he considered the basics of the embassy and contract law of the early period the history of Byzantium) [8, 76-89], D. Obolensky (relations with the northern neighbours of Byzantium (from the Carpathians to the Caucasus) [26, 45-61; 27, 123-132; 28, 330-338]; A. Denysenko, O. Kyikov [5] give overview of world diplomats, who emerged from the clergy. A. Gillett in his studies of diplomatic communications in the V–VI centuries reconstructs the system of ambassadorial missions and the protocol of 411–533, based on various sources and conceptualizes the principle of continuity of forms of political life. O. Becker proposed the first typology of Roman-barbarian embassies by the sender and addressee of the mission, which contributed to the understanding: the role of new political associations in the territory of the Western Roman Empire; typology of contracts; responsibility of the heads of mission; the role of translators in the negotiations; the role of Romanian advisers in the courts of barbarian kings. E.N. Nechaev) examining the classification of Embassies of Menander Protector, divides missions, depending on the purpose of the embassy: (1) large with the right to conclude interim arrangements; (2) "average" embassies, which, in the absence of a large representation, performed significant missions, since they had the right to negotiate and sign certain agreements); (3) small; (4) "information" embassies for the change of power (their aim was "not just to inform, but also to confirm or break the agreement" with the new authorities) ; (5) ceremonial demonstrations of intentions to expand negotiation practices [23].

Rufinus' (c. 345-410) account of the introduction of Christianity to the Aksumite court is important given that it is virtually contemporary with the events it describes, been written in around 410, some sixty years after the events it describes. The Christianisation of the Aksumite court was thus accomplished through the agency of the twin powers of eastern Christendom: Syria and Alexandria, and subsequently the regions within which the great Christological controversy 'monophysitism' and which would come to a head at the Council of Chalcedon in 451, found most support. There were other politico-ideological ramifications too; according to Athanasius' *Apologia ad Constantium Imperatorem*, Constantius II wrote a letter to the Aksumite co-rulers 'Ezana and Shaizana' demanding that they side with him in his support for the doctrine of Arianism. He urged that they promote his candidate for the Alexandrian Patriarchate, the Arian George of Capadocia against Athanasius himself. This letter indicates that even within a short time, the Christian Ethiopian court was perceived as being a useful ally to the Eastern Roman emperors.

Ephraim Isaac a founder and the first professor of the Harvard University Department of African & Afro-American Studies, created in 1969 in his work [7] sketches the history of the Ethiopian Orthodox Tawahido Church and also that of Christianity as a whole in Ethiopia. He found that not only are there strong Biblical Hebraic elements in the theology, political theory, and liturgical calendar of the Ethiopian Church but also a strong influence from Beta Israel and Ethiopian Jews. Besides these Ethiopian Jews and of course, the Orthodox Ethiopians and a few Protestant and Roman Catholic Ethiopian Christians, there are in Ethiopia also very large numbers of Moslems and various native beliefs. Ethiopia is unique, not only in the antiquity of her continuous religious and political history, but also in the ever accelerating involvement of the nation in the problems and the promises of continent where religious belief is nevertheless more radically diversified. The sanctions of peace, hospitality, and wisdom in the line of biblical King Solomon is a symbol of continuity, order, and resoluteness alike for the community of nations, for the continent of Africa, and for the church and citizenry of Ethiopia itself.

In fact, a good deal of our information about Ethiopia during the rule of the House of Constantine comes from Roman ecclesiastical historians writing in the fourth and fifth centuries. First among these historians is Eusebius of Caesarea. From his *Life of Constantine*, it becomes clear that relations between Ethiopia and Rome were, by the time of Constantine, already a work in progress [29, 73-88; 32, 14; 34, 29-32; 36, 147-157].

We know that between Aksum and Byzantine diplomacy were a lot of common tasks and experience. As far as science has more evidences about Byzantium we suggest to look through information's reflection about Byzantium diplomacy. The Society for the Promotion of Byzantine Studies has begun its publication series auspiciously with Shepard and Franklin edited materials of Ihor Sevcenko, Robin Cormack, John Haldon, Judith Herrin, Alexander Kazhdan, Hugh Kennedy, Ruth Macrides, and Nicolas Oikonomides [29, 73-88] in book [41, 5], M. Arbaci [2, 1272-1274] thinks that it is concerned with the techniques of Byzantine diplomacy rather than the narrative history of individual missions or of Byzantine foreign relations as a whole. We think that Arbaci is not right that how one can treat international diplomacy as a separate category when Byzantium did not clearly differentiate between foreign and domestic affairs. International affairs is more phenomena and diplomacy is more communicative instrument of elite. As Wight said „The three major tasks of diplomacy remain information gathering, negotiation and communication of one's position [47, 115-117]. This three-fold analysis, presented in different political contexts – human nature, international society, relations with 'barbarians', power and interest, foreign policy, diplomacy, war, international law, obligation and ethics brought almost everything that went on in politics, and particularly international politics, into sharp focus, so that one began to see the philosophical springs to nearly all political outlook and behaviour. These three traditions, Wight believed, were best expressed in the thought and influence of three philosophical archetypes: Machiavelli, Grotius and Kant [16]. To the degree that contemporary diplomacy is

new, it is not because of diplomacy's internal dynamics. Neither is it due to the emergence of new core tasks. Newness stems from change in the general political and social fields that surround diplomacy. Sites are, as it were, one place to capture and specify that newness. Neumann Iver B. [24, 79-92] thinks that Byzantium is an early example and, when viewed in light of subsequent developments, an extreme example. That does not mean that practices akin to, even descending from, these do not survive, however. After an introduction by Alexander Kazhdan, "The Byzantine Notion of Diplomacy" [17, 3-21], "Byzantine Diplomacy is divided into five further sections: "Phases of Byzantine Diplomacy," "Byzantium and Others," "Sources on Diplomacy," "Art in Diplomacy," "Social Aspects," and an afterword, "The Less Obvious Ends of Byzantine Diplomacy." Evangelos Chrysos, Jonathan Shepard, and Nicolas Oikonomides delineate the problem of periodization. One possibility (especially appealing to western medievalists) is to do so in terms of Byzantine relations with the Latin West. Until 800 the old empire's dealings with the Latins were those of a patron with a client. Between 800 and ca. 1200 the two were on an approximately equal footing. After 1204 Byzantium increasingly "appeared in the role of an impoverished and feeble supplicant" [2, 1272-1274; 41, 5]. But such a periodization is at times inappropriate for Byzantine diplomacy with the Muslim world or with the peoples of the north. A professional diplomatic corps was in all periods frequently supplemented by courtiers or civil servants who, though experienced, were without specialized training or knowledge. Especially in the late period, one even comes across outright amateurs, such as members of the nobility, medical doctors, clergy, or scholars, as diplomats. "Byzantium and Others" deals with diplomacy with Rome, the Franks, Khazars, Arabs, the Russian church, and the Ottomans. Hugh Kennedy makes the surprising observation that Byzantine diplomacy with the Arabs was largely restricted to negotiations for exchanges of prisoners of war, truces, and other short-term issues. There was little attempt at "creating the conditions for longer term security" [41, 5].

Roger Scott's in "Diplomacy in the Sixth Century: The Evidence of John Malalas" alludes to the question of whether or not premodern states could adequately distinguish between internal and foreign policy, venturing the opinion that they were indeed able to do so [41, 163]. P. T. Antonopoulos in his "The Less Obvious Ends of Byzantine Diplomacy" described how a skilled negotiator Peter the Patrician in the sixth century could frequently wring at least partial success from what was apparently a failed mission. E. Chrysos [41] showed how the Byzantines incorporated the Roman principle of a universal empire with Christian. He wrote that after the fall of Rome, the key challenge to Constantinople was to maintain a set of relations between itself and sundry neighbours that embodied and so maintained its imperial status. These neighbours included Aksum, Arabs. The road was open for Byzantine diplomacy to draw them into a network of international and interstate relations that was controlled by the Empire. This process revolved around treaty-making, and the treaties often had a formative character for the new states. E. Chrysos postulates a three-layered process at work: 1. The new ruler was welcomed into the family of kings, other rulers could be titled *basileus*, even *archibasileus*, ranked on a par with the emperor as his brother (as was the Persian shah, but the usual thing was for them to be represented as sons of the emperor and the Ethiopian *negus* and the Abbasid sultan demonstrated that it was possible to go from being a 'son' to being a 'brother'; this also happened in times of crisis between Persia and Byzantium). Telea Marius [44, 81-105] thinks that Persia was occupied an honourable place, with which the Byzantine Empire had multiple connections, sometimes good, other times bad, since the beginning of its existence, when Constantine the Great was obliged to bear in mind the existence of the Sassanid state. The sovereigns of the dynasty established in Partia in the third century sought to re-establish the former power of Persia, in the time of the dynasty of the Aquemenides (559-330) and changed the name of the state to the kingdom of New Persia. Here they adopted the customs and the procedure specific to Oriental states, taken over not only by Byzantium, but also by the empire later, in general. The two states – Byzantine and Persian – considered themselves the only civilized ones against the barbarian peoples, and their solidarity was materialized in common measures taken in order to protect the passes in the Caucasus. Dimitri Obolensky [26; 27; 28], the British historian of Russian origin, believes that there is no doubt that Russ was granted, after 989, a high rank in the community of the states in Eastern Europe. Kazhdan wrote about example from the West is the 12 presentation of the royal crown of Hungary (the crown of St Stephen) to the Hungarian King Geza overseen by Emperor Michael VII Ducas in the 1070s, making him part of the family of kings [17, 20]. 2. Way in which Byzantine diplomacy attempted to draw new polities into their network was to try to get them to assimilate Byzantine social attitudes and values; 3. As a formalization of the second layer of the process, there were laws. In order to drive this process, the Byzantines availed themselves of a range of practices, mostly diplomatic. For example, embassies to Constantinople would often stay on for years. A member of another royal house would routinely be requested to stay on in Constantinople, not only as a potential hostage, but also as a useful pawn in case of changes in the political conditions where he came from. A key practice, however, was to overwhelm visitors by sumptuous displays. Thus, Liutprand of Cremona was pretty knocked out after his first visit to Constantinople in 949 [25, 171].

Ruffini Giovanni [37, 65-75] designated Byzantium as a cultural conqueror, exporting its particular brand of Christianity, and using that bond of shared orthodoxy as leverage to secure its own long-term power and stability. The story of a Christianized Roman imperial court begins with Constantine, in the first half of the fourth century. It is in this period too that late Aksum comes into focus.

Phillipson David W. [34, 29-32] thinks that Aksum's prosperity increased rapidly, matched by political expansion as it gained authority over the surrounding territory of formerly distinct kingdoms. By the mid-1st

century, Aksum was already known as a trading metropolis trading with the outside world through the port of Adulis on the Red Sea coast of what is now Eritrea, although this coastal region itself was probably still independent of Aksumite rule.

Scientist Niall Finneran [8, 76-89] thinks that the Aksumite polity dominated what is now the northern Ethiopian/southern Eritrean highland region and the African Red Sea littoral between (approximately) the first-eighth centuries. Scholars now recognise its strong African antecedents, a complex social-cultural phenomenon which was rooted in the eastern Sudanese Nilotic worlds, rather than a continuum of the earlier, late-first millennium BC developments which owed much to cultural input from across the Red Sea in Southern Arabia. It is important that the 'African' roots of the Aksumite polity are stressed; historically the Ethiopian past has been created and viewed very much from an Asian-centric perspective. By stressing the African roots of Aksum, however, necessary to be careful that we do not lose sight of the important socio-cultural and ideological relationship between the Ethiopian/Eritrean highlands and the eastern Mediterranean. Although the Aksumite achievement must be 'Africanised', it is also equally important that it also be placed very squarely within an eastern Mediterranean, Byzantine context, yet one which does not stress the traditional dichotomy of centre and periphery.

Scientist Haas Christopher [15, 101-126] thinks that Aksum was the only kingdom in ancient sub-Saharan Africa to mint coins, and one of four contemporary kingdoms in the world to issue gold coins, a testimony of Aksum's wealth, power, and role in international trade. In approximately the same year as Chryseopolis, the Aksumite king Ezana I made a significant change in the iconography of his coins. Previously, Aksumite kings were a crescent moon, representing the Aksumite gods for the sun and moon, or Mahrem, the warrior-god whom the kings took as their special patron. Ezana abruptly replaced this traditional religious iconography with a new symbol, the Cross, which remained prominent on Aksumite coinage until its end in the seventh century. One of Ezana's near successors in the mid-fourth century went further and depicted a large cross that nearly filled up the reverse of his coins. This prominence given to the Cross predates any analogous depiction on Roman coinage.

The kingdom Aksum was centered just south of the border of modern Eritrea in the old times and the Middle Ages' trade oecumene which is known since the Old Egyptian Kingdom and Ptolemaic Egypt. It used the Red Sea corridor between Egypt and the Land of Punt for the trading relationship.

Aksum kingdom knew and used the Syrians the "path of incense" to Yemen. The Syrians knew about the affairs of the Himyarite kings, had accurate information about Aksum. On the waves of the Persian Gulf and the Indian Ocean, the Syrians and Persians, who adopted Christianity from the Syrians in its Nestorian form, reached the western coast of Hindustan. In the VII and VIII centuries. The Nestorians had factories in the cities of China, with whom they carried on a lively trade. This is evidenced by the famous inscription in Xi'an Phu from 781, indicating the presence of a Nestorian mission in China since 636. Based on the Syrian monuments, it is known that in the 13th century, Syrian colonies existed in Khan Balyk (Beijing), the capital of the Mongolian khans. Thanks to the Syrians, a medical school was founded in Gundi Shapur, which later became the centre of Arab scholarship. As translators from the Greek language, the Syrians made the Persians first, and then the Arabs, the writings of Aristotle, Galen, Hippocrates. For several centuries the Syrians were teachers of the Arabs. In their schools, yesterday's nomads, spreading their powerful power on three continents, absorbed Hellenic culture: philosophy, medicine, alchemy, geography. The Arabs soon surpassed their teachers, they developed and improved their knowledge, in turn, to pass them on to the Latin West. The same can be said about the ways that alchemy penetrated to the Arabs. They received it from the same Syrians. The development of chemical knowledge by the Syrians dates back to the Hellenistic period. In Harran, Sabii for a number of centuries kept secret knowledge about herbs, stones, metals. They knew how to recognize plants, make poisons, and knew the properties of ores. The production in Syria and Mesopotamia of colouring substances, medicines, potions, poisons, fragrances, on the one hand, and the skilful manufacture of metal objects, on the other, are attested by Latin sources of the epoch of world dominion of Rome and early Byzantine authors. Trade interests linked the Syrians and Aksum to the western shores of Hindustan and Sri Lanka, where the existence of their colonies preserved documentary information. Among the Nestorians the merchants were undoubtedly Persians, but they perceived from the Syrians their language and writing. If ethnically they could be called Persians, then according to their culture they were already Syrians. In the III century the Syrians lost their political independence. The small principality of Osroena with the centre in Edessa, situated between Iran and the Asian provinces of Rome. The Syrians found themselves on the territory of the Roman Empire, and later Byzantium, on the one hand, and in the provinces belonging to Sassanid Iran, on the other. Aksum as fused entity and trade information underwent an important stage of cultural development, making the gradual transition. It was forced when the Roman Empire maintained the traditions of navigation and control over trade routes in the Red Sea and the Indian Ocean. When Christianity became the dominant religion in Pax Romana, the Empire sought to ideologically strengthen trade and political ties with the states of the Red Sea basin, primarily with Yemen-Himyar and Aksum. Rome diplomacy applied the principle of "divide and conquer". This concept used Augustus Constantius II (337-361) when sent embassy led by a native of the island of Socotra, Theophilus Indus with ecclesiastical relationship task to provoke religious competition between Himyar and Aksum. It was forged jealousy for the primacy of the Alexandrian (Coptic) Episcopate over the Ethiopian Orthodox Church. Aksum's

access to trade routes, rich sources of ivory, greatly valued in the Roman Empire, probably contributed to its rapidly growing prosperity.

In the 2nd and 3rd centuries number of kingdoms and their rulers were incorporated under Aksumite hegemony. Aksum's trade was based on good information about prizes, the Roman and later Byzantine demands. Aksum's power based on strategic position, a source for luxury goods, the need to acquire war elephants for the wars against the Seleucids for all Mediterranean oecumene.

Religious and commercial interests were intertwined and both determined the foreign policy of Hatse (Emperor) Ezana in the fourth century CE and Emperor Caleb in the sixth century CE. Of course, many aspects of that inseparability continued until modern times. The model of religious diplomacy can be seen at work to varying degrees of success in Byzantine relations with Bulgaria in the ninth, Russ in the tenth and Serbia in the eleventh and twelfth centuries.

Diplomacy was conducted directly by the royal or sultanate courts. The emperors or sultans would pick their delegates or emissaries to handle their international affairs. Merchants were by far the most preferred ambassadors of the royal courts. Even in the time of the legendary Queen of Sheba, the fertile and popularly romanticized relationship with the King of Israel was facilitated by a merchant named Tamrin, according to Kebra Negest, the book that no emperor could live or govern without. Munro-Hay [22] said "the Aksumite state bordered one of the ancient world's great arteries of commerce, the Red Sea, and through its port of Adulis, Aksum participated actively in the then contemporary events. Its links with other countries, whether through military campaigns, trading enterprise, or cultural and ideological exchange, made Aksum part and parcel of the international community of the time." In other words, Ancient Aksum was actively involved in international diplomacy in congruence with its cultural and trade interests. The vast international trade the Aksumite Empire used to command necessitated the establishment of embassies and diplomatic venues. Aksum had diplomatic relations with the Roman-Byzantine Empires, the Meroitic Kingdom and other states in the region. She had also maintained contacts with the Persian Empire. Munro-Hay also notes that, in the context of the history of civilization in Africa, the position of Aksum in international terms followed directly on that of Pharaonic and Ptolemaic Egypt and Meroe – internationally recognized independent African monarchies of important power status in their age. The main commercial port of the country, Adulis, was the merging point for trade routes of the Red Sea, India, and Parthian. This port was located on the waterway from Egypt to India. In the 6th century, Aksum reached the climax of its political power and Adulis acquired an enormous importance on sea-based trade with India. According to Kobishanov, the Straits of Bab-el-Mandab, which, like the Straits of Malacca and Gibraltar, constituted one of the three main sea highways of the ancient world, also came under Aksumite control. Aksum was economically and culturally strong. And it was not without good reason that the Byzantine emperors talked to the "Negus" as their equals in power and splendour." Emperor Constantine writes in 357 CE to the Negus (King) of Aksum about the clerical troubles caused by Bishop Athenasius of Alexandria, Egypt; and he calls Ethiopians his Christian brothers." The independent diplomatic stance Ethiopia took, when she refused to comply with Emperor Constantine and formed ecumenical solidarity with Bishop Athanasius, who consecrated Frumentius as the first Bishop of the Ethiopian.

Aksum monarch could claim suzerainty, no matter how distant, over cities that had once been within Roman territory. It soon became clear to Rome that its southern interests would only be safe through obtaining closer relations with Ethiopia. Although Rome would never have any reason to worry about a direct military threat from Axum, it did have certain interests that led it to pay increasing attention to the sudden growth of this Ethiopian power. The main impact that Aksumite expansion had on Rome was in the realm of trade. An overland journey from the outskirts of Roman territory to Aksum itself was roughly thirty days, a short period in antique travel terms. Aksumite influence over that business might already have been reality, as it certainly became during the following century. Aksum certainly paid attention to crucial trade routes along its coastline. Ivory, incense, and gold all ended up within Roman territory via the merchants at Adulis. As the Aksumite power grew and came to exert a more strict military control over access to the Red Sea, perhaps vital economic interests forced Rome to assure peaceful relations with its southern neighbour. Finally, successive Roman emperors would have found Ethiopian diplomacy to be worthy of attention simply for reasons of prestige. The very fact of receiving embassies from Ethiopia, such as those clearly attested under Constantine and quite possibly under Honorius, would be a matter of public acclaim for each emperor in question. A successful court propagandist could transform the arrival of a routine diplomatic gift into the delivery of tribute by a vanquished enemy. This sort of international prestige obtained through standard diplomatic means is an element common to Roman relations with all of its lesser. The point that this titular claim must have by logical implication included former Roman territory is one that has not been made before. What makes late Roman relations with Aksum so different is the realization at the two courts that they shared a common and universal faith. This realization was at the heart of a new Byzantine diplomatic approach structured around the vocabulary of Christian orthodoxy. This diplomatic approach would have a long history [15; 18; 22; 32; 33; 36; 43].

The Byzantine emperor offered Ella Asbeh a joint invasion of Khimyar. As a result of the campaign of 525 gg in Southern Arabia, a peculiar "double management" was established. Along with Khimyaritskim king and princes-Kyle there was an administration of Aksum military settlements, or colonies, which were subor-

dinated only to their military commanders. Procopius Caesar's wrote about Julian's embassy, "Brother Strategy Sum". The Emperor (the famous Justinian) gave him two separate orders: 1) to ensure that the Aksumites and dependent Khymyaritas and Arabs began military operations against the Persian State; 2) to urge the Ethiopians to seize their own trade in Chinese silk, which was carried through the ports of Ceylon and South India by the Persians, who delivered silk on the brink of the Roman Empire. The Emperor, according to Procopius, did not want to enrich his enemies-Persians. The first assignment was due to the difficult military situation, which was then the Byzantine Empire. From 529 to 531 the Persians inflicted a number of defeats on the Byzantine Empire. Under the influence of the Persians, the Arabs appear in the suburbs of Antioch and near the borders of Egypt. The Roman Empire, partially restored by Justinian, now needed the help of Axum, his vassals and vassals of his vassals. However, she did not receive any effective help. The economic part of the mission also failed. The silk trade was a new business for the Aksumites, and the supply roots were monopolized. Most likely, the Aksumites did not try to trade this product. It should be noted perseverance and infertility attempts of the Byzantine diplomacy to draw the kingdom of Aksum and his vassals in the war with Persia. Ethiopians did not interrupt normal ties with Iran, and in turn the Persian State did not show hostility to them. But the Byzantine-Aksumian relations left much to be desired, despite the officially demonstrated friendship of these two Christian states. The Byzantine diplomacy was clearly ready to exert pressure on Aksum, blackmailing the king of Aksum to converge with his unreliable vassal of Abraham of Himyar. It was repeated the old Rome strategy. Byzantium is seeking rapprochement with him and indeed establishes a close political and ideological connection. Abrecha gets Byzantine help in building churches. Abrecha supports Orthodoxy - the official ideology of Byzantium. Aksum diplomacy was not delighted with the insidiousness of Byzantine diplomacy. Aksum became a Christian, but not Orthodox, like Byzantium. She developed friendly ties with Byzantium, but not to the detriment of normal relations with Iran, which remained the main enemy of Byzantium in the East. Ethiopia's long-standing ties with India continued to develop; apparently intensified penetration of Aksumites in the interior of the Ethiopian Highlands. Despite certain political failures, the rule of Ella Asbehi was one of the brilliant epochs in the history of the kingdom of Aksum. Under the cross-influence of Byzantine Egypt and Ethiopia, Christianity accepts Nubia.

Changes come from the middle of the VII - the beginning of the VIII century. Now in the Middle East, to the system of two great empires, rivaling among themselves, is joined by the Arab world power, which absorbed entire Persia, most of Byzantium and a number of other great powers. For the first time, not only peripheral possessions, but also the main centres of a great state (Mecca and Medina to the transfer of the capital to Damascus) are in such proximity to Ethiopia.

However, Al-Khashimi (quoted by al-Biruni) also speaks of the participation of "Abyssinians" in traditional fairs. Al-Ya'qubi writes about Ethiopia in the IX century, to which cities the Arabs always come to trade. They (the Ethiopians) have big cities and the people adhere to the Christian faith. However, in medieval Ethiopia, the ruler did not lose the title "King Aksum" had and was called "Hadani". In place of the kings of Aksum came the dynasty Zagve. It rules in northern and central Ethiopia until 1268 or 1270. The kings of the Shawan Solomon dynasty overthrew the Zanguy dynasty at the end of the 13th century. These events of 1268-1270 were called "the restoration of the Solomon Dynasty". Yet it is undoubtedly that in Shawa and in other areas of Central Ethiopia, the Northfiopian Christian culture, created by Axumites, has spread. Probably, such a diffusion of culture is associated with some movement of the population, in this case - the resettlement of Axumites in Central Ethiopia.

In "Kebra Nagast" ("Book of the Glory of the Kings") - there is a legendary story about how the king Rome Justin I and Caleb met in Jerusalem and proclaimed the division of the world. It is possible that it is precisely such a refraction of the events of the distant past in XIV century was determined by the foreign policy relevance and the intention of the Ethiopian court to break through isolation and find allies in Europe in endless wars with Muslim states that did not want to put up with the position of the Ethiopian king's tributaries. Already the grandson of the founder of the dynasty Amd Sion (1314-1344) had to deal with the united Muslims, which included such states as Khadia, Fatagar, Davaro and Bali. In this situation Ethiopia from the first decade of the XIV century began sending to distant Europe of diplomatic missions. According to the Italian Afrikanist Salvatore M. T., [39, 593-627], these monks and dignitaries became heroes of the Ethiopian era of great geographical discoveries. The main contact zone in the Middle East during the 12th-14th centuries, where African Christians are Nubians and the Ethiopians - and the Europeans could communicate, was Jerusalem, as well as other pilgrimage centres in Palestine. Nubian monarch, who reached Constantinople, came from Egypt to Jerusalem, from there - to Byzantium. But towards the turn of the 15th century, as M. Salvador notes, Italy is gradually monopolizing Jerusalem's role as a place of communication for Europe and Ethiopia. Political interest in the Catholic world and the Negus were common. Europeans also received information about Ethiopians indirectly - in Muslim countries. Marco Polo said that in Abyssinia the strongest king is a Christian; all others are subordinate to him; their six, three Christians and three Saracens.

In 1306 the Ethiopian embassy of the second emperor of the "Solomonic dynasty" reached Italy, apparently visiting Rome and the Genoa Republic. The first recorded diplomatic contact between the Republic of Venice and Ethiopia dates back to the summer of 1402. Italian scientist Salvatore M. said that Nagus David (1384-1413) visit to Venice marked the beginning of a series of Ethiopian embassies in various European countries. The head of the embassy and the mediator between the Negus and the Senate was the Flor-



entine traveller Antonio Bartoli, who had reached Ethiopia a few years earlier. The parties exchanged gifts. Ethiopians presented the doge of leopards, incense. Signoria allocated 1,000 ducats for reception and reciprocal gifts to African guests - sacred relics and also allowed to Italian artisans to go to Ethiopia.

An important foreign policy imperative of Ethiopia in the 14th-15th centuries there was access to quality weapons and fortification technologies that helped Negus to force Muslim vassals to submission and gain a foothold in the Red Sea. Obviously, bringing to Ethiopia European artists, as in the case of the Florentine Vito, and later - the Venetian Niccolo Brancalone, was to ensure the creation of a more luxurious atmosphere in the "king of kings", and, consequently, indirectly contribute to the unity of the Ethiopian state. Relations with Venice after 1402 were not the main sphere of application of the diplomatic efforts of the Negus on the western direction. Most intensively developed contacts with Rome and Aragon, especially during the reign of Zara Jakob, a zealous Christian periphery, and in the beginning of the XVI century. - with Portugal. During the Ethiopian Embassy in 1427, King Aragon Alfonso V (1416-1458) even offered the Negus Isaac (1414-1429) to conclude dynastic marriages between the Negus himself and the Aragonese infant of Huana, as well as between the infant of Don Pedro and the Ethiopian princess.

The history of the Christian Roman imperial court begins with Constantine, in the first half of the fourth century. It was during this period that ancient Aksum became increasingly influential in its relations with Rome. Aksum, south of the border of modern Eritrea, has undergone important stages of cultural development and the gradual transition of biblical elements to economic, political theory. In the context of the history of African civilization, Aksum's diplomatic experience was borrowed directly from Pharaohs and Ptolemaic Egyptians. The traditions of hospitality, peace and wisdom of the Biblical King Solomon have become a symbol of continuity. Aksum had diplomatic relations with the Roman-Byzantine Empire, with Persia and other states of the region. Ethiopian diplomacy was aimed at advancing economic interests and protecting allies and fellow believers. This theory and practice of the political process, trade relations, religious solidarity was used by the Byzantine elite

In ancient Rome Aksum. Syria was given the role of protector of the southern trade routes and access to the Red Sea. The Syrians and Aksum played an outstanding role in Iran, at the court of the Sassanid lords. Perfectly proficient in Greek and Middle Persian languages, they were interpreters of the embassies, who sent the shahanshahs to the emperors of Constantinople. Here they performed diplomatic duties and at the same time were often trade people. The land route from the outskirts of the Roman territory to the most Aksum could have been thirty days, which in the ancient conditions meant a small distance. Saddle, gold got the Roman through the merchants of Aksum. In addition, for the emperors of Rome was an important factor of prestige to receive diplomats from Aksum. It was evidenced by the fact of receiving embassies and gifts from Aksum as a symbol of recognition of imperial power in the form of tribute. This strategy was used by Aksum in a relationship with vassals. Socio-cultural dynamics of Aksum caused the formation of a system of ideas about the relationship between church and state through the observation of mechanisms for their implementation in Rome, and then in Byzantium. The practice of deification (first after life, and then lifetime) of the emperors was initiated as a logical stage in the development of the idea of the sacred power. There was process of institutionalization of diplomacy in the political triad of influence "(1) trade - (2) war - (3) religious mission". The principle of continuity of forms of political life is preserved: the system of provincial embassies retains the role of social instrument of communication in the conditions of sharp changes in the political landscape. The basis of the innovative principles of diplomacy was the combination of Justinian, which included a diplomatic game, military strikes and spiritual missions, which contributed to expanding the boundaries of his empire far to the west and Aksum - to the East. In Aksum, as in Byzantium, the political concept of the "oikumenical community" functioned in the form of an orderly hierarchy of dependent states, forming an obedient harmony around the throne of a universal autocrat, provided with an informed diplomatic mechanism. The lands that at the moment were not part of the empire were considered as material vincendi - the object of conquest. Among the subjects of conquest were traditional enemies, that is, those with whom the Byzantines were in a constant historical confrontation. Therefore, the Aksum and Romans paid a lot of attention to diplomats' intelligence activities.

The process of mutual influence can be detected in the field of economy, in connection with the currency, the weights and measures in commercial use, the economical set up and commissariat as well in taxation. Further to this we establish various similarities in the way institutions are formed and function. Influence on the military set-up and commissariat is thought likely, as well. Finally, the part of the Byzantine effect is visible in the organization of the Church, which also works as vehicle of a wide range of effects on Aksum. Such influence can be found in the state's political set-up, in both central and provincial government. In addition, through the study of legislative sources, we can ascertain an effect on legislation and dispensation of justice. The judicial powers, at the head of which is the king himself, along with some of his officials, appears to have received the influence stemming from the Byzantine equivalent. Moreover, the legislation, as far as both its principals and procedural system are concerned, has been greatly influenced by Christian ethics as well as by the contemporary Byzantine legislative codes. Moving further in this chapter, we detect the effects on the ideology, political and social. At this point, it becomes clear that many of the fundamental ideas of the Byzantine ideology can be found into the Aksumite's beliefs. Such ideas refer to the sacredness of the king, the state's origins and role, which is believed to be universal. Aksum's self-awareness and particularly the

perception of their position among other nations has likewise been affected by Byzantium. At this point we refer to the way the Byzantines saw Aksum. Due to serious lack of historical evidence regarding the society of Axum, we can spot very little influence in their social ideology. This chapter concludes with a pinpointing of the influence on the way Aksum organized its diplomatic protocol and performed foreign policy. The essay closes with the last part, the conclusion where the main deductions are concisely recapitulated; the deductions to which we were led during our study on the character and role of this state in the international scenery of that time.

The foregoing testifies to the temporality of the process of the formation of the diplomatic mechanism of spheres of life of the society: spiritual, ethno-historical, cultural, economic, political. This process is multifaceted and all-encompassing. But at all times he had one purpose - to ensure the communication and survival of civilizations. The scientific reflection of the formation of diplomacy is also multifaceted and expresses the ideological tasks of the time of investigation. Sometimes these memoirs, sources serve the role of a curved mirror. But this can not hide the humanistic face of diplomacy. It is always a young, energetic person of society. And we see the task of further research in an ever wider coverage of information about different times and ethnos and their worldly aspirations.

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