ACADÉMIE ROUMAINE

SOCIÉTÉ ROUMAINE
D'ÉTUDES BYZANTINES

ÉTUDES BYZANTINES ET POST-BYZANTINES VII

EDITURA ACADEMIEI ROMÂNE - EDITURA ISTROS

ÉTUDES BYZANTINES
ET
POST-BYZANTINES

ACADÉMIE ROUMAINE
SOCIÉTÉ ROUMAINE D'ÉTUDES BYZANTINES

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VII

recueillies et publiées par le soins de
Nicolae-Şerban Tanaşoca et Alexandru Madgearu

EDITURA ACADEMIEI ROMÂNE

Bucureşti

MUZEUL BRĂILEI „CAROL I"
EDITURA ISTROS

Brăila

2016

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Descrierea CIP a Bibliotecii Naţionale a României
Études byzantines et post-byzantines / Emilian Popescu, Tudor Teoteoi, Mihai Ovidiu Căţoi (recuillies et publiées par), ... - Bucureşti : Editura Academiei Române, 1979-
vol.
ISBN 973-27-0271-0
Vol. 7 / ed.: Nicolae-Şerban Tanaşoca, Alexandru Madgearu. - Bucureşti : Editura Academiei Române ; Brăila : Editura Istros a Muzeului Brăilei "Carol I", 2016. - ISBN 978-973-27-2694-5 ; ISBN 978-606-654-206-7

I. Tanaşoca, Nicolae-Şerban (ed.)
II. Madgearu, Alexandru (ed.)

94(495.02)(063)

Rédacteurs: Monica STANCIU, Dominic NEGRICI
Informatique éditoriale: Mariana MOCANU
Daniela FLORESCU
Graphique: Mariana ŞERBĂNESCU

Classification décimale: Grandes bibliothèques: 9(495.02)
Petites bibliothèques: 9

Tipărit la S.C. PAPER PRINT INVEST S.A. Braila

ACADÉMIE ROUMAINE

SOCIÉTÉ ROUMAINE D'ÉTUDES BYZANTINES

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VII

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Études Byzantines et Post-Byzantines, **VII**, p. 1–320, 2016

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A LESS USUAL SIN CONFESSION PRESENTED IN THE "PASSION OF ST. SABA THE GOTH" (4th CENTURY C.E.)

IONUȚ HOLUBEANU

In his *Letter* addressed *to the twelve tribes in the Dispersion*[1], James the Just recommended to the Christians: *confess your sins to one another, and pray for one another, so that you may be healed*[2].

The present investigation focuses on an unusual public confession of sin, presented in the *Passion of St. Saba the Goth*, a subject which, as far as we know, has been overlooked by scholars.

St. Saba the Goth lived in the second half of the 4th century C.E. in Thervingian Gothia, a territory lied to the north of the lower section of the Danube River dominated by the Thervingian Goths. He was martyred in the persecution of Athanaric (d. 381), being drowned in the river Mousaios (today's Buzău, in Romania), on 12 April 372. Shortly after his martyrdom, about 373–374[3], the saint's relics were transported to Caesarea in Cappadocia. His *Passion*[4] was composed on that occasion, pursuant to the testimony of an eyewitness[5].

The martyr text has a great historical value since it has been entirely preserved in the original form and it has provided much information about Thervingian Gothia and the Christianity there at the beginning of the 370's. As a matter of fact, the scholars[6] saw it as a valuable historical source not only in the

[1] Jas. 1.1. All English translations of quotations from the Bible will be taken from *Bible. New Revised Standard Version*, oremus B B, 10 Feb. 2011. { http://www.devotions.net/bible/00bible.htm } (05.05.2015). I wish to thank Alina Popescu and Coralia Chudley for their improvements of the English used in this paper as well as Barbara Kösters for her support in attaining some of the bibliography.

[2] Jas. 5.16.

[3] Năsturel 1969, 176; Păcurariu 1972, 196; Ionescu 1972, 180; Olteanu 1984, 328; Schäferdiek 1993, 330, 339; Kulikowski 2007, 118.

[4] First edition by Delehaye 1912, 216–221; repr. in Krüger-Ruhbach 1965, 119–124, and Girardi 2009, 70–109 (Italian translation included). In what follows references to *Passio Sabae* (between round brackets in the main text and all the quotations in the footnotes) are to the Delehaye-edition. An English translation, whence this article draws its quotations, is included in Heather-Matthews 2004, 104–110. I have offered another reading where it seemed better suited to the Greek text.

[5] See, below, note 61.

[6] See Delehaye 1912, 288–291; Thompson 1955, 331–338 (=Thompson 1966, 64–77); Năsturel 1969, 175–185; Wolfram 1988, esp. 83–85; Strzelczyk 1980, 229–250; Alexe 2009, 49–59; Olteanu 1984, 326–345; Heather 1991, 103–107; Heather-Matthews 2004, 102–103; Schäferdiek 1993, 330–339; Girardi 2009, 53–67; Leemans 2012, 201–224; Holubeanu 2015, 66–69.

organization of the Gothic confederation and of their subjects' in north of the Danube, but also in Athanaric's persecutions against the Christians in his area and the martyrs' conduct.

Naturally, the protagonist in the *Passion* was St. Saba. The author of the document displayed Saba's generic profile – his ethnic origin, social and religious status, Christian virtues, etc. –, relevant events concerning his conduct in persecution and, of course, his arrest, torture, execution and transfer of his body to Caesarea.

There were also other minor participants in the *Passion*, as Saba's Christian or heathen fellow-villagers, the persecutors, a Christian presbyter named Sansalas, etc.

It is noteworthy that the author often opposed Saba to others in his attempt to emphasize the saint's virtues as well as his conduct worthy of imitation[7]. Actually, from his point of view Saba was a peerless Christian of the Gothic Church, above all his fellow-believers. His natural place was in the group of saints and, eventually, he his life this way, finished.

In these frequent juxtapositions Saba – others, a peculiar case is represented by Sansalas. Since the public confession of sin that we investigate was placed at the end of the parallel Saba – Sansalas, hereafter we are going to focus our attention on it.

According to the *Passion*, Sansalas was a presbyter, i.e., a Christian priest. It seems that he was in the service of the Christian community wherein Saba himself lived[8] and was, in all likelihood, a *lector* or a *cantor*[9]. Thus, by their ecclesiastical ranks, Sansalas was a superior of Saba.

When the persecution was initiated in trans-Danubian Gothia, Sansalas left the territory taking refuge on the other bank of the Danube, in *Romania*, i.e., Roman Empire[10]. Yet the *Passion* did not blame him for leaving his community at such difficult time[11]. However, eventually Sansalas returned to it because of the approach of Easter 372.

[7] The author himself made known this manner of narration in the first lines of the *Passion* by the words: *For this man [i.e. Saba],..., shone out like a light in the firmament, 'in the midst of a crooked and perverse generation' [Phil 2.15]* ..., Heather-Matthews 2004, 104; *Passio Sabae* 1 (216.29–31, Delehaye 1912): Οὗτος γὰρ ... ἐν μέσῳ γενεᾶς σκολιᾶς καὶ διεστραμμένης ἐφάνη ὡς φωστὴρ ἐν κόσμῳ, ... On this author's method in narration, see also Girardi 2009, 59.

[8] By contrast, Girardi 2009, 91, n. 77, supposed that Saba and Sansalas lived in two different villages situated not far from each other. The reason for this assumption is due to the fact that Saba did not know about Sansalas' return in trans-Danubian Gothia, see *Passio Sabae* 4 (218.22–25, Delehaye 1912).

[9] *He [i.e., Saba] sang God's praise in church and this was his special concern*, Heather-Matthews 2004, 105; *Passio Sabae* 2 (217.17–18, Delehaye 1912): ... ψάλλων ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ καὶ τοῦτο πάνυ ἐπιμελόμενος ... . On Saba's ecclesiastical rank, see also Ionescu 1970, 488; Ionescu 1972, 183–184, 186, 189; Păcurariu 1972, 199; Coman 1979, 269; Coman 2009, 41–43; Alexe 2009, 58; Heather-Matthews 2004, 105, n. 21; Schäferdiek 1993, 333, 359; Lenski 1995, 77; Kulikowski 2007, 119; Girardi 2009, 61 (n. 42), 79; Leemans 2012, 205; Parvis 2014, 70.

[10] *Passio Sabae* 4 (218.23–25, Delehaye 1912).

[11] Actually, Sansalas followed the gospel commandment *When they persecute you in one town, flee to the next* (Matt. 10.23). On a similar case, see *The Martyrdom of Saints Agapê, Irenê, and Chionê at Saloniki*, 1, in Musurillo 1979, 281, and n. 4. In respect of this gospel commandment, see also *The Martyrdom of St. Polycarp*, 4, (that the author of the *Passion of Saba* had at his hand) in

After having celebrated the festival, Saba and Sansalas were seized by the Gothic persecutors, an event which occurred in the third wave of persecution. It is noteworthy that others Christians in the village[12] were not noticed by the agents of persecution. This must be explained by the fact that both of them were reckoned by the village elders as obstinate Christians and the only two who had refused to hide their religious identity through any kind of cheat[13].

The *Passion* relates that Sansalas was tied up and held captive on a wagon while Saba walked. Narrating the torture they suffered, the author focused upon Saba who was the main target of the warriors. However, there is a sentence pointing out that Sansalas was put to the rack too[14].

Further, an important difference between the two characters emerged. In spite of the fact that Saba had received most of the torments, the following day, he showed his torturers that his wounds were marvelously healed[15]. By contrast, such a healing was not mentioned in Sansalas' instance by the martyr text, although, as we have just seen, he had also been tortured.

There is another important author's remark that distinguishes Saba in the scene as *the just man* (ὁ δίκαιος) whose *patience and faith* was *confirmed by the harshness of his enemies*[16]. By this, the author related Saba's marvelous healing to his virtues. Once again, by contrast, he never conferred Sansalas the attribute of *just man*. This suggests that the priest failed rising above the status of mere servant of God, as Saba did[17].

Musurillo 1979, 4–5, *The Acts of St. Cyprian*, 1.5, in Musurillo 1979, 168–171, and, also, Peter of Alexandria, *The Canonical Epistle*, 13, in Roberts, Donaldson 1996, 560–561.

[12] Their fellow-believers are clearly attested by martyr text, see *Passio Sabae* 3, 4 (217.25–36; 218.34–35, Delehaye 1912).

[13] This inference is based upon the evidence that the persecution had a general character, by the fact that the persecutors took action against all Christians in Saba's village – see *Passio Sabae* 3 (217.25–218.15, Delehaye 1912) –, and not only against the members of clergy, as Sansalas and Saba were. Then again, Saba had been singled out by his refusal to any compromise rather than by his religious status, i.e., a member of the lower clergy. Indeed, the village elders had tried twice to hide Saba together with other Christians of the village before his arrest but they had come up against Saba's obstinacy. As for Sansalas, although the martyr text does not say anything about his public refusal to hide his religious identity, his flight to Roman Empire can also be seen as evidence for his disagreement with any kind of compromise. For this argument, see also Thompson 1955, 337 (=Thompson 1966, 73); Olteanu 1984, 336; Heather 1991, 103. By contrast, Heather-Matthews 2004, 105, n. 21; Leemans 2012, 205, asserted that Saba and, implicitly, Sansalas had drawn their persecutors' attention as members of the clergy.

[14] *[the persecutors] carried away by pitiless cruelty against the servants of God [i.e., Saba and Sansalas]*, Heather-Matthews 2004, 107; *Passio Sabae* 4 (219.10, Delehaye 1912): καὶ ἀνηλεῶς φερόμενοι κατὰ τῶν δούλων τοῦ Θεοῦ. See also Mansion 1914, 18; Schmidt 1933, 234; Thompson 1955, 334 (=Thompson 1966, 65–66, 70); Sibiescu 1972, 371; Coman 1979, 269.

[15] *Passio Sabae* 5 (219.13–18, Delehaye 1912).

[16] Heather-Matthews 2004, 107; *Passio Sabae* 5 (219.11–12, Delehaye 1912): Ἀλλὰ τὸ ἀπηνὲς τῶν ἐχθρῶν τὴν ὑπομονὴν καὶ πίστιν συνέστησε τοῦ δικαίου.

[17] Saba is the one who was chosen by Lord *from among his own servants*, Heather-Matthews 2004, 110; *Passio Sabae* 8 (221.23–24, Delehaye 1912): δοξάζοντες τὸν κύριον τὸν ἐκλογὰς ποιούμενον τῶν ἰδίων δούλων αὐτοῦ, receiving thus *the crown of righteousness*, Heather-Matthews 2004, 110;

However, when the persecutors bade them to eat sacrificial meat, Sansalas was the one who refused on behalf of both. Moreover, he made a new step by asking persecutors a death sentence upon them[18]. Saba himself immediately approved of the priest's attitude by asserting the almightiness of God and offending Atharidus in the presence of his attendants[19].

Finally, hearing all these, Atharidus passed the sentence, by ordering to kill Saba, but not Sansalas. The latter remained in bonds, and, in all likelihood, not long after he was released[20].

There are three paragraphs opening the seventh chapter of the *Passion* that can be regarded as very important on the matter. In them, the author relates Atharidus' sentence and the following events:

VII.1. *Finally Atharidus, learning all this [i.e., Saba's refusal to eat sacrificial meat and subsequent events], ordered him [i.e., Saba] to be put to death. Therefore, the servants of lawlessness left the presbyter Sansalas in bonds, and took hold of Saba and led him away to drown him in the river called the Mousaios.* ***2.*** *But the blessed Saba, remembering the injunction of the Lord and loving his neighbour as himself*[21]*, said, 'What has the presbyter done wrong, that he does not die with me?' They replied to him, 'This is no concern of yours'.* ***3.*** *When they said this, Saba burst out in exultation of the Holy Spirit and said, 'Blessed are you, Lord, and glorified is your name, Jesus, for ever and ever, amen: for Atharidus has*

Basile the Great, *Ep. 165* (50.5–6, Girardi 2009): τὸν τῆς δικαιοσύνης ... στέφανον. See, also, below, note 23.

[18] *Passio Sabae* 6 (219.34–220.1, Delehaye 1912).

[19] *There is one Lord, God in heaven; but Atharidus is a man, impious and accursed. And this food of perdition is impure and profane, like Atharidus who sent it*, Heather-Matthews 2004, 108; *Passio Sabae* 6 (220.2–5, Delehaye 1912): Εἷς δεσπότης Θεὸς ἐν οὐρανοῖς ἐστιν· Ἀθάριδος δὲ ἄνθρωπος ἀσεβὴς καὶ ἐπικατάρατος· καὶ ταῦτα ἀκάθαρτά ἐστι καὶ βέβηλα τῆς ἀπωλείας τὰ βρώματα, ὡς καὶ ὁ ἀποστείλας αὐτὰ Ἀθάριδος.

[20] See also Bessel 1862, 144; Boehmer-Romundt 1903, 287; Delehaye 1912, 291; Mansion 1914, 12, 17–18; Zeiller 1918, 430–431; Leclercq 1925, 1439; Giesecke 1939, 66; Thompson 1955, 334, 338 (=Thompson 1966, 70, 77); Alexe 1972, 561; Moisescu, Lupşa, Filipaşcu 1957, 64; Năsturel 1969, 179; Ionescu 1970, 486, 488; Ionescu 1972, 185, 190; Alexe 2009, 57; Sibiescu 1972, 361–362, 371–372; Sibiescu 2009, 22; Păcurariu 1972, 197–198; Păcurariu 1991, 111; Păcurariu 1994, 47; Coman 1979, 269; Coman 1983, 252; Coman 2009, 44; Wolfram 1988, 83, 106, 412 (n. 319); Rubin 1981, 37; Rămureanu 1997, 311; Olteanu 1984, 336; Reichert 2012, 133; Schäferdiek 1993, 336–337; Kulikowski 2007, 120; Popescu 2009, 68, 75; Girardi 2009, 57, 99 (n. 120); Căţoi 2009, 432. By contrast, Schmidt 1933, 642, and especially Leemans 2012, 214, 219, asserted that Sansalas died as a martyr too. But, there is no ground for such an assertion. In considering this issue, one must take into account that the author of the *Passion of Saba* had at his hand the *Martyrdom of St. Polycarp* which had made mention not only Polycarp's martyrdom, but also Germanicus', see *The Martyrdom of St. Polycarp*, 3, in Musurillo 1979, 4–5. Therefore, it is rather unlikely that our author would have overlooked such an event that could have further stimulated his readers' Christian feelings. On the other hand, it is noteworthy that Sansalas was completely overlooked into all synaxaria displaying Saba's martyrdom, see Follieri 1962, 257. This would be regarded as evidence that traditionally Sansalas was never considered neither a martyr nor a confessor of the faith (ὁμολογητής).

[21] Mk. 12.33.

pierced himself through with eternal death and destruction, and sends me to the life that remains forever; so well pleased are you in your servants, O Lord our God'[22].

Our investigation mainly concerns Saba's question regarding Sansalas' fate. However, for a faultless interpretation one must carefully consider the first and third paragraphs immediately preceding and following it, respectively. It is also important the link between the second and third paragraphs.

First of all, one can infer that there is an obvious antagonism between the meanings of the first and the third paragraphs. Both disclose a distinct point of view concerning the part played by every character in the story. The former presents Atharidus as a judge, the two Christians as being judged, Saba further as a convict and Sansalas as one remained under investigation. The latter paragraph changes the sight. According to it, God is the real judge[23], and Atharidus is merely an instrument[24] by which the will of God is put into action[25]. Atharidus again is the main convict since *he was pierced through with eternal death and destruction*. At the same time, Saba is not a convict by being sentenced to death, but the main gainer of the events by getting *the life that remains forever*. Actually, these two paragraphs expose a worldly (or secular) and a spiritual (or theological), respectively, view on the trial.

The author also tried to emphasize the value of spiritual interpretation as the correct one. At the beginning of the third paragraph he stated that Saba uttered his

[22] Heather-Matthews 2004, 108–109; *Passio Sabae* 7 (220.16–28, Delehaye 1912): Τότε γνοὺς πάντα ταῦτα Ἀθάριδος κελεύει ἀναιρεθῆναι αὐτόν. Οἱ γοῦν ὑπηρέται τῆς ἀνομίας ἐάσαντες τὸν πρεσβύτερον Σανσαλᾶν δέσμιον, παρέλαβον τὸν Σάβαν καὶ ἀπήγαγον πνῖξαι παρὰ τὸν ποταμὸν τὸν καλούμενον Μουσαῖον. Ὁ δὲ μακάριος μεμνημένος τῆς ἐντολῆς τοῦ κυρίου καὶ ἀγαπῶν τὸν πλησίον ὡς ἑαυτόν, εἶπεν· "Τί ἥμαρτεν ὁ πρεσβύτερος, ὅτι σὺν ἐμοὶ οὐκ ἀποθνῄσκει;" Ἀπεκρίθησαν δὲ αὐτῷ: "Οὐ σόν ἐστι περὶ τούτου διατάσσεσθαι." Τοῦτο εἰπόντων αὐτῶν, ἀνέκραξεν ἐν ἀγαλλιάσει πνεύματος ἁγίου καὶ εἶπεν· "Εὐλογητὸς εἶ, κύριε, καὶ δεδοξασμένον τὸ ὄνομά σου, Ἰησοῦ, εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας, ἀμήν, ὅτι Ἀθάριδος μὲν ἑαυτὸν θανάτῳ αἰωνίῳ καὶ ἀπωλείᾳ περιέπειρεν, ἐμὲ δὲ εἰς ζωὴν τὴν ἀεὶ μένουσαν παραπέμπει, ὅτι οὕτως εὐδόκησας ἐν τοῖς δούλοις σοῦ, κύριε ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν."

[23] The same view point, namely, God as the real judge, is expressed at the end of the martyr text: *praising the Lord who chooses the elect from among his own servants*, Heather-Matthews 2004, 110; *Passio Sabae* 8 (221.23–24, Delehaye 1912): δοξάζοντες τὸν κύριον τὸν ἐκλογὰς ποιούμενον τῶν ἰδίων δούλων αὐτοῦ. This sentence, that was borrowed by the author from *The Martyrdom of St. Polycarp*, 20, in Musurillo 1979, 16–17, reflects the view of early Christians regarding martyrdom. Referring to Saba's spiritual trainer, St. Basil the Great similarly stated: *he [i.e., Saba's spiritual trainer] too will receive from the righteous judge [i.e., God] the crown of righteousness*, Heather-Matthews 2004, 115; Basil the Great, *Ep. 164* (38.6–8, Girardi 2009): ὃς παρὰ τῷ δικαίῳ Κριτῇ τὸν τῆς δικαιοσύνης στέφανον καὶ αὐτὸς ἀπολήψεται.

[24] But an instrument with a real free will. From this point of view, Atharidus' case bears resemblance with Judas Iscariot's. By betraying Jesus, the latter contributed to the salvation of mankind. Nevertheless, Judas received eternal punishment for his act. On this issue, see St. John Cassian 1978, 885 f. (*Conferences*, 6.9).

[25] This also explains why Saba, being arrested, refused to flee and remained on the spot when a woman had untied him, and why later he also asked to be executed by his hangmen who were planning to release him. In the first case, he was waiting for divine verdict, while in the second, he asked his hangmen to carry out the divine judgment, i.e., to put into operation the will of God concerning him.

statement being *in exultation of the Holy Spirit.* This is a Biblical manner giving notice of an undeniable truth[26]. Thus, in author's view, Saba was then illuminated by the Holy Spirit, i.e., by God himself, giving audible expression to an absolute and divine truth and no one should doubt the validity of his words.

It is on the basis of this evidence that the spiritual ground of Saba's martyrdom represents neither his provocative attitude[27], nor his low social status[28], nor his Gothic origin[29], but his pure heart.

In fact, from the theological point of view, the crown of martyrdom is a divine prize and God gives it solely to his pure servants, i.e., *the just men.* It should be noted that Saba himself received it only when he attained his highest spiritual level. In two other previous somehow similar circumstances he had failed in attaining martyrdom, by having only been banished, first time by the village elders[30], and then by a persecutor[31]. Very important on the matter, it may be seen that, in both circumstances, Saba had humbly agreed to the sentence as to the will of God[32] and had not used every means to be martyrized.

As to the link between the second and third paragraphs, this suggests when the spiritual interpretation must be put into operation and when the worldly one should be used for a correct interpretation of the martyr text. The author stated precisely that martyr's exultation was called forth just by warriors' scornful answer: *When they said this [i.e., persecutors' answer], Saba burst out in exultation of the Holy Spirit and said ...*[33]. At the same time, there is obvious that the persecutors' answer[34] reflects the worldly view, namely, the one according to which they are in power, while Saba's retort, by amending their wrong thought, reflects the spiritual view, namely, God as being in power. Actually, there is a dialog between an

[26] See, for example, Lk. 1.41–55, 67–79 and, esp., Lk. 10.21.

[27] See Boehmer-Romundt 1903, 287; Giesecke 1939, 66; Moisescu, Lupşa, Filipaşcu 1957, 64; Năsturel 1969, 178; Schäferdiek 1993, 338–339; Heather-Matthews 2004, 103; Alexe 2009, 57; Reichert 2012, 124.

[28] Schäferdiek 1993, 338–339, 359.

[29] Zeiller 1918, 431; Thompson 1955, 334 (=Thompson 1966, 70); Strzelczyk 1980, 238; Wolfram 1988, 83, 106; Wolfram 2014, 138.

[30] *Passio Sabae* 3 (217.36–218.2, Delehaye 1912).

[31] *Passio Sabae* 3 (218.15, Delehaye 1912).

[32] Fulfilling the will of God is Saba's main aspiration. This is clearly attested by the martyr text in the event of his travel to presbyter Gouththikas: *Then Saba realized that it was the will of God that prevented him from proceeding further and told him to return to the presbyter Sansalas; and praising the Lord he turned and went back*, Heather-Matthews 2004, 107; *Passio Sabae* 4 (218.31–34, Delehaye 1912): Τότε συνῆκε θέλημα Θεοῦ εἶναι τὸ κωλύον αὐτὸν περαιτέρω διαβῆναι, κελεῦον ἀλλὰ ἀναλῦσαι πρὸς τὸν πρεσβύτερον Σανσαλᾶν· καὶ εὐλογήσας τὸν κύριον ὑπέστρεψεν. In other words, he gladly fulfilled the will of God. See, also, note 25, above.

[33] Heather-Matthews 2004, 109; *Passio Sabae* 7 (220.23–24, Delehaye 1912): Τοῦτο εἰπόντων αὐτῶν, ἀνέκραξεν [Σάβας] ἐν ἀγαλλιάσει πνεύματος ἁγίου καὶ εἶπεν.

[34] "*This is no concern of yours*", Heather-Matthews 2004, 109; *Passio Sabae* 7 (220.22–23, Delehaye 1912): "Οὐ σόν ἐστι περὶ τούτου διατάσσεσθαι."

illuminated man, i.e., Saba, and some spiritually blind men, i.e., the persecutors[35]. Consequently, to a correct understanding of the *Passion*, the reader always must put into operation the spiritual interpretation for Saba's deeds, thoughts and statements, and the worldly one for his opponents.

With regard to Sansalas, he is certainly a peculiar case. As one can see, his fate is displayed into the first paragraph reflecting the worldly view – *the servants ... left the presbyter Sansalas in bonds*[36] –, but it is overlooked into the third paragraph. This rather suggests that unlike Saba and Atharidus, Sansalas did not receive at the time the final divine sentence, by further remaining under God's investigation as well as under persecutors'[37]. However, since he lost the crown of martyrdom and could not gain the eternal life, then one would have to assume that he was rather a convict and a loser of the moment.

On the other hand, whatever the worldly motive of his release may have been – his unprovocative attitude[38], his great social reputation[39], his non-Gothic origin[40], his providential part in drawing up the *Passion*[41], the persecutors' lack of enthusiasm[42], or his old age and imposing appearance[43] –, once again another ground has to be assumed on the spiritual level. Actually, the only piece of evidence that the *Passion* provides us with is exactly Saba's interrogation – "*What has the presbyter done wrong [ἥμαρτεν, i.e., sinned], that he does not die with me?*"[44]. Besides, given that Saba's thought always expresses the spiritual view[45], as we have just seen, it is not unreasonable to assume that Sansalas' spiritual fate overlooked into the third paragraph got its solving just with Saba's question.

[35] The spiritual blindness of the persecutors is clearly stated by Saba's words to his hangmen just before the martyrdom: '... *I see what you cannot see: over there on the other side, standing in glory, the saints who have come to receive me*', Heather-Matthews 2004, 109; *Passio Sabae* 7 (220.35–221.1, Delehaye 1912): "... ἐγὼ ὁρῶ ὅπερ ὑμεῖς οὐ δύνασθε ἰδεῖν· ἰδοὺ ἄντικρυς ἑστᾶσιν ἐν δόξῃ οἱ ἐλθόντες ὑποδέξασθαί με."

[36] Heather-Matthews 2004, 108; *Pass. Sabae* 7 (220.17–18, Delehaye 1912): Οἱ ... ὑπηρέται ... ἐάσαντες τὸν πρεσβύτερον Σανσαλᾶν δέσμιον, ...

[37] See n. 52, below.

[38] Contrasting Saba's provocative attitude, see above, n. 27.

[39] Schäferdiek 1993, 338–339, 359.

[40] See note 29, above. Such explanation for Sansalas' release has been refuted as inadequate by Rubin 1981, 37, and Reichert 2012, 124, 133.

[41] Căţoi 2009, 432, n. 9.

[42] Rubin 1981, 37.

[43] Suggested by Alexe 1972, 566; Alexe 2009, 57.

[44] Heather-Matthews 2004, 108; *Passio Sabae* 7 (220.21–22, Delehaye 1912).

[45] We may add here Saba's thought reflected in the scene of sacrificial meat preceding his sentenced to death. When the persecutors labeled their leader with the words the '*Lord Atharidus*', Heather-Matthews 2004, 108; *Passio Sabae* 6 (220.2, Delehaye 1912): "Ὁ δεσπότης Ἀθάριδος", Saba immediately retorted: "*There is one Lord, God in heaven; but Atharidus is a man, impious and accursed*", Heather-Matthews 2004, 108; *Passio Sabae* 6 (220.2–4, Delehaye 1912): "Εἷς δεσπότης Θεὸς ἐν οὐρανοῖς ἐστιν· Ἀθάριδος δὲ ἄνθρωπος ἀσεβὴς καὶ ἐπικατάρατος· ...". Obviously, there is the same thought as in the scene of his exultation.

Even so, the meaning of the interrogation is somehow obscure. At a first glance, it seems that Saba interceded with persecutors for Sansalas' martyrdom[46]. There are at least two points that could support such an interpretation: first, Atharidus' warriors would appear to be the addressees of the question by being the only ones who answered Saba; second, the author's remark that Saba's question originated in his love for his neighbor. It would follow that, loving his neighbor as himself, Saba tried to gain the same fate for Sansalas, i.e. the martyrdom, by asking the persecutors to martyrize him too[47].

However, such an interpretation it is rather in keeping with the worldly view and, therefore, it has to be wrong. Following it, one might have thought that Saba did not agree with the will of God stated by Atharidus' sentence, and used every means to change it by getting Sansalas' martyrdom. Yet, putting the will of Saba in opposition to the divine is unacceptable. As a matter of fact, Saba had always tried to follow the divine will as the main goal of his life[48].

On the other hand, such an interpretation does not clear up Sansalas' case on spiritual level, an important point that could not certainly have been overlooked by the author.

Carefully examining Saba's question, one can see that it consists mainly of two sections. The second one – *that he does not die with me* – merely reflects a reality, namely, that Sansalas was not sentenced to death. As far as its first section is concerned – *What has the presbyter done wrong/sinned* –, it simply pointed out just the spiritual ground of Sansalas' release. There is an evident relationship of cause and effect between these sections wherein the cause is a *sinning* and the consequence is a *releasing*. It can be also seen that Saba neither asked *why the presbyter does not die with me* nor *why do you not kill the presbyter with me,* nor *what about him*[49], but *what has the presbyter done wrong/sinned that he does not die with me.*

Therefore, the key term in solving the matter[50] appears to be the verb ἁμαρτάνω (= *to sin*[51]). It reveals that Sansalas was defiled by a sin[52] and it was this

[46] For such an interpretation, see Rubin 1981, p. 37, n. 22.

[47] The difficulty in interpreting Saba's words is increased by somehow confused sequence of events narrated into the seventh chapter. See below – note 57 – a brief treatment of this issue.

[48] See notes 25 and 32, above.

[49] As St. Peter's inquiry to Jesus, in Jn. 21.21.

[50] Similar opinions have Sibiescu 1972, 372, and Coman 2009, 44, but they did not discuss the issue at length.

[51] Lampe 1961, 80.

[52] In this case, one would assume that the *bonds* in which Sansalas was left by persecutors – Οἱ ... ὑπηρέται ... ἐάσαντες τὸν πρεσβύτερον Σανσαλᾶν δέσμιον, *Pass. Sabae* 7 (220.17–18, Delehaye 1912) – also have a spiritual significance. For the spiritual significance of the *bonds* and of their part in the spiritual healing, see also Theodoretus of Cyr, *Historia ecclesiastica*, V. 17–18, and especially the words addressed by St. Ambrose of Milan to Theodosius I in the famous scene of the excommunication of the emperor: "...*Begone. Attempt not to add another crime to that which you have committed. Submit to the restriction (=*δεσμόν*) to which the God the Lord of all agrees that you be sentenced. He will be your physician, He will give you health*". (English translation by Jackson M. A. Blomfield, in *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers*, series II, vol. 3, Grand Rapids, 328–329).

why God did not accept him then as a martyr and did not confer him the crown of righteousness.

It is also to be noted that the author is fully aware of the moral implications of this verb. He had previously used it once, designating the persecutors in the third wave as *those who make sin* (οἱ ἁμαρτάνοντες)[53].

All these mean that Saba's question also comprises the answer. Through it, the author revealed the spiritual reason for presbyter's release to the readers.

As a matter of fact, the Christian has to be a spiritual athlete who runs in the race to receive the incorruptible crown, and the one who breaks the rules of the race by sin no longer wins[54]. A sinner also resembles the offering with defect and, as a result, (s)he is abhorrent to God[55]. (S)he is contaminated by a spiritual disease, and since (s)he is not sincerely preoccupied in attaining the forgiveness and his/her healing (s)he is unworthy of the crown of martyrdom.

To put it briefly, God himself, the real judge or the president of the games, removed Sansalas from martyrdom due to a sin[56].

Following this interpretation, the real addressee of Saba's question was Sansalas himself, no matter if he was or not on the spot at that time[57]. By expressing his grief

(309.16–19, L. Parmentier ed. *Theodoret, Kirchengeschichte*, V.18, Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1911): "... ἄπιθι τοίνυν, καὶ μὴ πειρῶ τοῖς δευτέροις τὴν προτέραν αὔξειν παρανομίαν καὶ δέχου τὸν δεσμόν, ᾧ ὁ θεὸς ὁ τῶν ὅλων δεσπότης ἄνωθεν γίγνεται σύμψηφος· ἰατρικὸς δὲ οὗτος καὶ πρόξενος ὑγείας."

[53] *Passio Sabae* 4 (Delehaye 1912, 218.16–17). St. Basil the Great also used the noun ἁμαρτία in his correspondence concerning Saba's martyrdom displaying the spiritual decay of his days: *we have by our excess of sin (τῇ ὑπερβολῇ τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν ἡμῶν) even made wild those [i.e., barbarians] who were gentle. It is to ourselves and our sins (ταῖς ἡμετέραις ἁμαρτίαις) that we must assign the blame that the power of the heretics has spread so widely, Ep.* 164, in Heather-Matthews 2004, 116 (40.5–6, 42.1, Girardi 2009).

[54] 2 Tim. 2.5: *And in the case of an athlete, no one is crowned without competing according to the rules.* See, also, 1 Cor. 9.24–26. On the agonistic metaphors in martyr homilies of the fourth and fifth centuries in the Eastern Church, see Leemans 2003, 29.

[55] See Lev. 22.20; Deut. 15.21; 17.1; Mal. 1.8, 13.

[56] Schäferdiek 1993, 339, considered that the author suggested by Saba's inquiry and persecutors' answer the providential intercession in Sansalas' release. However, this is a worldly view, while both the author and Saba had a more complex conception about life.

[57] Certain scholars placed Saba's inquiry on the way to the river – Sibiescu 1972, 372; Giraradi 2009, 101 (n. 127); Căţoi 2009, 432 (n. 9) – or at the place of execution – Coman 2009, 44. In this case, Sansalas did not hear the question from Saba's mouth. However, a closer examination of the martyr text could suggest placing the dialog just before the departure to the river, in Sansalas' face. Actually, in the first paragraph of the seventh chapter, the author displayed Atharidus' sentence and also, briefly, its different consequences on Sansalas and Saba: the former was left in bonds, while the latter was led away to be drown in the river, Delehaye 1912, 220.16–19. Then the author obviously moves his narration back in time, by minutely depicting the events following Atharidus' sentence: 1) Saba and the hangmen dialoging about Sansalas' fate, Delehaye 1912, 220.19–28; 2) Saba uttering thanks to God along the entire road to the river, Delehaye 1912, 220.28–29: Καὶ δι'ὅλης τῆς ὁδοῦ ἀπαγόμενος ηὐχαριστει τῷ Θεῷ, ...; 3) Saba and the hangmen dialoging on the river bank at the end of the walk; 4) Saba being drowned. It seems likely that the first event (1), so long as it had preceded *the entire road*, occurred just before the departure to the place of execution, in front of Sansalas. On the other hand, by the fact that Saba merely put into word by the question his utter astonishment and grief that Sansalas lost the martyrdom, it is a fair inference that such reaction must have occurred as

that the presbyter lost the martyrdom, Saba also revealed to Sansalas why this happened and called him to mend his ways by penance. Thus, the martyr did not try to change the will of God, but to put Sansalas' conduct in accordance with the divine will. In fact, as everyone violates the will of God by sin, so (s)he then fulfils it by penance.

At the same time, by doing so, Saba really expressed his love of neighbor, as the author of the text asserted. The same love of neighbor was the ground of Saba's attempt to mend the wrong conduct of his Christian fellow-villagers in the two first waves of persecution. The first time he openly prevented them all from committing the sin, while the second time he indirectly showed them the true Christian conduct by his own deeds[58]. Elsewhere in the martyr text, the author also stated that Saba always tried to subject *all men to his good example*[59].

Such an interpretation is also in accordance with St. Cyprian of Carthage's (+258) considerations concerning martyrs intercession for sinners. In his *De Lapsis (The Lapsed)*, the African bishop stated that a real martyr was never in opposition to God. Cyprian also advised the lapsed Christians not to rescind the Lord's precepts by the agency of the martyrs, but to return to God with their whole heart[60]. And it seems to be this last advice just the essence of Saba's words.

Also it is to be noted that the existence of Saba's question in the martyr text reveals that Sansalas understood its meaning. As it appears from the *Passion*, Sansalas was the only Christian eyewitness of most events after their arrest. That is why he was justly considered the informant of the author[61]. In such a position, he

soon as Saba heard the sentence, not later. Placing his interrogation on the way to the river it becomes rather illogical both on spiritual and even on worldly level. For a similar temporal turning in narration, see Lk. 15.20.

[58] *Passio Sabae* 3 (217.25–218.8, Delehaye 1912). On these two events, see also Holubeanu 2015, 67–68.

[59] Heather-Matthews 2004, 105; *Pass. Sabae* 2 (217.21–22, Delehaye 1912): καὶ τῇ ἀγαθῇ προθέσει πάντας ὑποτάσσων.

[60] "Is any one greater than God, or more merciful than God's goodness, that he should either wish that undone which God has suffered to be done, or, as if God had too little power to protect His Church, should think that we could be preserved by his help? ... I entreat you, beloved brethren, that each one should confess his own sin, while he who has sinned is still in this world, while his confession may be received, while the satisfaction and remission made by the priests are pleasing to the Lord. ... Let us return to the Lord with our whole heart. Let us appease His wrath and indignation with fastings, with weeping, with mourning, as He Himself admonishes us.", Roberts, Donaldson 1996, 1033, 1037–1038; Cyprianus Carthaginensis 1853, *De Lapsis*, XVII, XXIV (=20, 29) (91.11–14, 105.1–4, 105.11–106.1): An quisquam maior deo aut divina bonitate clementior, qui aut infectum velit quod passus est deus fieri, aut quasi illi minus potestatis ad protegendam ecclesiam suam fuerit, auxilio nos suo putet posse servari? ... Confiteantur singuli, quaeso vos, fratres, delictum suum, dum adhuc qui deliquit in saeculo est, dum admitti confessio eius potest, dum satisfactio et remissio facta per sacerdotes apud dominum grata est. ... Ad dominum toto corde redeamus: iram et offensam eius ieiuniis, fletibus, planctibus, sicut admonet ipse, placemus.

[61] Bessel 1862, 144; Boehmer-Romundt 1903, 287; Delehaye 1912, 291; Mansion 1914, 12; Zeiller 1918, 430–431; Leclercq 1925, 1439; Thompson 1955, 338 (=Thompson 1966, 77); Alexe 1972, 560–562; Sibiescu 1972, 361–362, 371–372; Sibiescu 2009, 22; Păcurariu 1972, 198; Păcurariu 1991, 112; Coman 1983, 252; Heather-Matthews 2004, 106, n. 27; Popescu 2009, 68, 75; Căţoi 2009, 432.

did not hide the divine reprimand reflected in Saba's words. One must take into account that, as the only eyewitness of the scene, he could have concealed the truth for the benefit of his public reputation. Actually, up to that time Sansalas had always followed this way by having hidden his sin in front of everyone. Saba, as his bosom and inferior in rank, had not suspected anything. He had not been aware of Sansalas' sin until Atharidus' sentence. Besides, Sansalas' deceptive spiritual profile must have been widespread among his fellow-villagers, either Christian or heathen. A piece of evidence is just his reputation in the village as an obstinate Christian.

The only one whom Sansalas failed to deceive was God[62]. Moreover, reading the martyr text one may infer that God had tried to mend Sansalas' ways by having healed only Saba's wounds. But Sansalas did not take the divine warning into account or was too blind to understand it. He needed a harsher reprimand. And it was only after Atharidus' sentence that Sansalas was really preoccupied in attaining his healing and attempted changing God's verdict.

Therefore, by telling the historical event, Sansalas made a public confession. It is also he who, by Saba's words – *What has the presbyter done wrong/sinned* –, gave up his deceptive reputation and confessed in front of all, either in Cappadocia, or in Gothia, or in all Christian communities of the world that he had been unworthy of the crown of martyrdom due to a sin[63].

There is another issue concerning Sansalas' case. Carefully reading the *Passio*, it can be seen that the author strewed the story with additional remarks, even sometimes paying attention to other characters' misdeeds[64]. Furthermore, possessing a thorough theological knowledge, he tactfully hinted at the theological significance of events in the story by not simply depicting Saba's martyrdom.

For instance, in the paragraphs of the seventh chapter referred to above, the author twice attributed motive and sentiment to the martyr. First time, displaying his inquiry, he also specified that Saba had been then driven on by Lord's injunction to love his neighbor as himself[65]. Second time, exposing martyr's retort to persecutors' answer, the author again stated that Saba was then illuminated by the Holy Spirit[66].

Very important on the issue, elsewhere in the text, depicting the dialog between Saba and an angel that appeared to him, the author, in his attempt to make clear the martyr's attitude, provided detailed information on Sansalas' deeds:

Certain scholars – Năsturel 1969, 179; Ionescu 1970, 486, 488; Ionescu 1972, 190; Rămureanu 1997, 309; Kulikowski 2007, 120 – did not rule out the possibility that Sansalas was the real author of the *Passion*.

[62] In this respect, Saba's question in the martyr text also becomes a warning to the readers and hearers of the *Passion*, namely, no one can deceive God. On this issue, see also Heb. 3.12, 4.12–13.

[63] On the ground of this evidence, it should be concluded – as Coman 2009, 44 already did – that Sansalas was not Saba's virtuous trainer who was praised by St. Basil the Great, *Ep. 164*, (38.5–9, Girardi 2009), as Năsturel 1969, 179–180, Ionescu 1970, 487–488, Ionescu 1972, 183, 188–190, 193, Sibiescu 1972, 365, 375, and Olteanu 1984, 328, supposed.

[64] See esp. *Passio Sabae* 3.

[65] *Passio Sabae* 7 (220.19–21, Delehaye 1912).

[66] *Passio Sabae* 7 (220.23–24, Delehaye 1912).

Saba replied to the figure [i.e., angel], 'Sansalas is away from home'. In fact – the author explains – *Sansalas was in flight because of the persecution and was spending time in Romania [i.e., Roman Empire], but at that time had just come back to his home on account of the holy day of Easter*[67].

By contrast, approaching Sansalas' fate in the seventh chapter, the author did not provide any additional information about the sin. He limited himself to simply suggesting why Sansalas had not died as a martyr together with Saba, namely, due to a sin.

This different approach may raise the question: why did the author overlook pointing out the sin as long as he had often exposed clarifying remarks in the martyr text?

The most appropriate answer it would appear to be that, for him, exposing the sin was not to the benefit of the readers. This is in keeping with a statement in the beginning of the *Passion*. Disclosing what his motivation was for writing the martyr text, the author put forward both Saba's memory and the moral improvement of the believers[68]. This means that he was fully aware of the public impact of the text and, therefore, he always took into account every possible consequence on its readers. That is why, considering that it was likely that divulging the sin could have scandalized or even done harm to other Christians, he preferred to keep silent on this matter.

On the other hand, it is remarkable that the author did not alter the accuracy of the scene, by simply removing Saba's question from narration. The framework of the text allows such adjustment. The author could have simply removed the second paragraph of the seventh chapter entirely, starting the third paragraph by the words *Then Saba burst out in exultation of the Holy Spirit and said...* or something like that. As a matter of fact, eliminating a sentence that could confuse the readers appears to be preferable to preserving it.

But, such alteration would have significant theological consequences. By it the author would have officially conferred Sansalas the status as a confessor of the faith (ὁμολογητής). Thus, he would have perpetuated the presbyter's deceptive reputation, would have even made it official in the church, and would have granted Sansalas undeserved public veneration. Besides, on the spiritual level, the author himself would have disregarded the divine will and the public penance that God himself inflicted on Sansalas[69].

[67] Heather-Matthews 2004, 106; *Passio Sabae* 4 (220.22–25, Delehaye 1912): Ὁ δὲ Σάβας ἀπεκρίθη λέγων αὐτῷ· «Σανσαλᾶς ἀποδημεῖ.» Ἦν δὲ ὁ Σανσαλᾶς διὰ τὸν διωγμὸν φυγὼν καὶ χρονίσας ἐν τῇ Ῥωμανίᾳ· τότε οὖν διὰ τὴν ἁγίαν ἡμέραν τοῦ Πάσχα ἐληλύθει προσφάτως εἰς τὰ ἴδια·

[68] ... *for the sake of his [i.e., Saba's] memory and the edification of the worshippers of God after his liberation in the Lord, he bade us [i.e., the author] not be idle but write of his triumph*, HEATHER-MATTHEWS 2004², p. 104; *Passio Sabae* 1 (217.9–11, Delehaye 1912): ... μνήμης καὶ οἰκοδομῆς τῶν θεοσεβῶν χάριν μετὰ τὴν ἐν κυρίῳ ἀνάλυσιν αὐτοῦ οὐκ ἠρεμεῖν ἡμῖν ἐπέτρεψεν ἀλλὰ γράψαι τὰς ἀριστείας αὐτοῦ.

[69] This may also be the place to mention the opposition between Sansalas and the believer who was martyred by chance in the episode of the mass martyrdom of Gothic Christians by fire in their church, see Delehaye 1902, col. 560, 9–12 (26 mart). Sansalas was arrested and released, while the latter arrived to the church and suffered martyrdom at the last minute. These opposite cases reveal the

That is why the author, making allowance for every possible consequence, preferred to preserve the sentence into the martyr text, without any other remarks, considering all these implications. Such, Saba's inquiry becomes also the mark by which the author labeled Sansalas' spiritual status. It makes the difference between Sansalas as a sinner or an unworthy of martyrdom, and Sansalas as a confessor of the faith. And, given that the presbyter was overlooked in all synaxaria displaying Saba's martyrdom[70], we can say that author's solution reached its target.

This explanation suggests that the author, or at least the one who examined Sansalas' case, was not a simple narrator, but a real ecclesiastical judge. Hearing and then writing the *Passion* – or, at least, supervising it –, he interpreted every character's deeds and words, and, very important on the issue, refrained from any kind of additional remarks that might have scandalized or troubled other Christians.

However, such undertaking is rather specific to a bishop because church traditionally assigned such discretionary powers to bishops[71]. Indeed, their ecclesiastical position entitled them to decide upon what is to be said or done and what is not. And even if our bishop was not the same with the author of the *Passion*, we can safely concluded that, in drafting up the document, a bishop – more likely St. Betranion of Tomis[72] – was personally involved. He was the one who supervised the narration and solved the sensitive matters of the story, such as Sansalas' case.

It seems also a fair inference that before drafting the martyr text there had been a very earnest conversation between the bishop and Sansalas, a conversation in which the former had been informed in detail about presbyter's misdeeds. On the ground of this conversation he acted so as to solve the case[73].

It is also possible – hypothetically speaking – that the presbyter acknowledged his guilt to the bishop in a form of sacramental confession[74]. In fact, resorting to a cleric as a stage of sacramental penance is clearly attested in the Eastern Church as early as the last years of the third century[75], and, in the fourth century, the

holiness of the martyrs in trans-Danubian Gothia and the justness of their public veneration in the Roman Empire.

[70] See note 20, above.

[71] As in applying the canons, see Amann 1933, 756, 784, 807; Ligier 1967, 942–943. See also in Mayer 2010, 159–171, an analysis of St. John Chrysosotom's strategy in relation to a specific set of crises.

[72] Determining the author of *Passion* is the subject of debate. It would be redundant to discuss this issue at length here. See the survey of scholarship on it in Girardi 2009, 53–54.

[73] The passages of direct speech in the *Passion of St. Saba* have been judged as being invented or fictive by Heather-Matthews 2004², p. 102, and Leemans 2012, p. 215. Whatever the case, their value on the matter is of no less of importance as long as they shape the thought of the author.

[74] This hypothesis also advocates the statement that the author was a bishop. At that time, the authoritative minister for penance was still the bishop. The presbyter's and even deacon's ministry was also accepted, but in cases of necessity – as in the case of a dying person and/or in bishop's long absence –, but only with bishop's acceptance, see Vacandard 1908, 840–848; Amann 1933, 770, 777, 803–804; Rondet 1958, 577–578; Ligier 1967, 943; Gy 1988, 104–105; Santantoni 2000, 99. However, given that this was not a case of necessity and, besides, Sanasalas himself was a presbyter, the possibility that he confessed his sin to another priest is rather wrong.

[75] Amann 1933, 770, 777, 809. See also – note 60, above – St. Cyprian's advice to the lapsed.

confession was already a duty for everyone who had performed a serious sin[76]. Moreover, both St. Basil the Great and St. Gregory of Nyssa enlarged the category of sins which ought to have been confessed, beyond traditional interpretation of *ad mortem* sins – *idolatry, murder,* and *adultery*[77].

That is why, considering that Sansalas was very affected by the divine punishment received and he even publicly recognized his sinfulness by the agency of Saba's inquiry, it is possible that, in his endeavor to attain the divine forgiveness, the presbyter resorted to the sacramental confession, too. This could also explain why the author was forced to keep the secret on the sin[78].

Going a step further, if Sansalas had really addressed to the bishop of Tomis in his endeavor to attain the forgiveness of God, then he wouldn't have had his own bishop, i.e., a Nicene[79], in trans-Danubian Gothia at that time[80].

In the end, a last question remains: *What had the presbyter Sansalas sinned*? Although the martyr text did not point it out clearly, certain clues can be identified. However, the matter is perplexing and any attempt in solving it cannot go beyond hypotheses. We shall further briefly display some of the clues in the martyr text.

First, Sansalas' incomplete confession is certainly one of those. Therefore, one should consider the harmful consequences by disclosing the sin, not for Sansalas, but for others. Here also it might have been thought that Sansalas' sin was concerned with clerics' state and not with ordinary Christians'. As such, mentioning the sin to ordinary believers would not have any sense[81].

Second, it seems that the sin could have been easily justified or even considered harmless for the spiritual life. In other words it was a deliberate sin, but of such seriousness that Sansalas was not aware of. That is why he considered himself to be entitled to the same extent as Saba to receive martyrdom by asking Atharidus to pass a death sentence upon both of them. Certainly, his sin may not be considered to have been a deadly one – such as idolatry, murder, or adultery.

[76] It should be noted that the clerics' state in the Church was incompatible with that of the penitents. Both in the Eastern and Western Church, a cleric who performed a mortal sin was removed from priesthood, see Amann 1933, 792, 803; Gy 1988, 103. But, Sansalas' clerical fate is another issue.

[77] Vacandard 1908, 840, 848–849.

[78] On the secret of confession in the ancient Church, see Vacandard 1908, 842, 852, 855–859; Amann 1933, 792, 796–798.

[79] On the Catholic faith of Saba and, implicitly, Sansalas' community, see *Passio Sabae* 2 (217.12, Delehaye 1912), and Thompson 1966, 95; Wolfram 1988, 82; Wolfram 2014, 137; Rubin 1981, 44 (note 56); Alexe 2009, 56; Heather 1986, 293 (n. 13); Lenski 1995, 77–78; Kulikowski 2007, 119. By contrast, Parvis 2014, 67–83, asserted that Saba was an Arian. However, we find that Parvis produced no convincing evidence for his assertion. It is an issue to which we hope soon to return.

[80] The bishopric vacancy in trans-Danubian Gothia at that time was also surmised by Ionescu 1972, 190; Rămureanu 1997, 310–311; Coman 1983, 256; Schäferdiek 1993, 331; Popescu 2009, 75; Căţoi 2009, 445, Mathisen 2014, 151. On his turn, Wolfram 2014, 138, considered that there was a Catholic *chorepiscopus* among the Goths at that time – i.e., Goddas –, but which did not stay with the main tribe at all times.

[81] See, on the issue, Amann 1933, 807.

Third, Sansalas' flawless reputation in trans-Danubian Gothia could suggest that the priest had not performed the sin there, but rather in the Roman Empire, where he had travelled before.

Fourth, emphasizing Saba's *love of neighbor* in that parallel Saba-Sansalas, one might think that Sansalas did not rise to such a *love of neighbor*[82]. This might imply that his sin particularly violated this gospel commandment.

Finally, in solving the matter one must bear into mind the persecution against Christians in trans-Danubian Gothia that closely followed the peace Roman-Goth treaty of Noviodunum (369). Then, the Gothic leaders tried reinforcing their ancestral religion[83] to support the unity of Gothic confederation. This would also involve that the Christians there were considered Roman sympathizers and the persecution was designed to rid Gothia of any religious and political influence of the Empire[84].

Indeed, there were close links between Gothic Christians and Roman Empire. As already noted[85], Sansalas himself was their subject by taking refuge south to the Danube to avoid the persecution. St. Basil the Great also referred briefly to the *relief* that Junius Soranus, as contemporary *dux Scythiae*, provided *for those suffering persecution* [i.e., Christians in trans-Danubian Gothia] *for the name of the Lord*[86].

However, it seems that sometimes such contacts went beyond the religious limits and the events in mid-summer 365 could be a test. Then, the Roman commanders received advance warning of a possible Gothic aggression on the Danube[87] and the agents who had provided such information could have been some Christians in Gothia too[88]. Even the *Passion of Saba* suggests that Junius Soranus, as the military commander of forces in the Roman province of Scythia, had at hand a kind of network in trans-Danubian Gothia which could more than simply to assist his men slinked there[89]. And it is also very likely that Sansalas himself met Soranus in Scythia.

[82] For a similar assumption, see also Coman 2009², p. 44.

[83] Socrates 1995, 269.20–22 (4.33.7); Sozomenos 2004, 820.13–19 (6.37.12). However, Epiphanius 1985, 248.18–25 (*Pan.* 70.15.4), still explains the persecution of Gothic Christians as revenge against Roman emperors.

[84] The political-religious function of anti-Christian persecution in trans-Danubian Gothia in 369–372 is still suggested by *Passio Sabae* 3 (218.12–15, Delehaye 1912). See also Zeiller 1918, 423; Thompson 1966, 98, 101; Sibiescu 1972, 357, 360; Păcurariu 1972, 195; Păcurariu 1991, 109–110; Păcurariu 1994, 44; Wolfram 1988, 63, 68–69, 84; Rubin 1981, 43–45, 53; Alexe 2009, 55; Popescu 1983, 268–269; Heather 1986, 316–317; Heather 1991, 104–105; Reichert 2012, 124, 138; Heather-Matthews 2004, 18, 96; Schäferdiek 1993, 354–355; Lenski 1995, 81–83; Kulikowski 2007, 117–122; Madgearu 2008, 102; Girardi 2009, 15.

[85] See note 68, above

[86] Heather-Matthews 2004, 114; St. Basile the Great, *Ep. 155*. (30.12–13, Girardi 2009): ... καὶ ἣν παρέχῃ ἀνάπαυσιν τοῖς διὰ τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ Κυρίου διωκομένοις, ...

[87] Ammien Marcellin 1984, 76 (26.6.11).

[88] See, also, Heather 1986, 317; Lenski 1995, 85; Kulikowski 2007, 117–118. Besides, Madgearu 2008, 99, also supposed that a treasure discovered at Gura Ialomiței, on the Gothic bank of the Danube, was a Roman reward for an inhabitant in trans-Danubian Gothia which had given military notice to Roman army in summer 368.

[89] *These [i.e., Saba's remains] Junius Soranus ... sending trustworthy men transported from barbarian land to Romania [i.e., Roman Empire]*, Heather-Matthews 2004, 104; *Passio Sabae* 8

Therefore, taking into account all the above data, we would have to surmise, with all due caution, that Sansalas' sin was that he had been involved in such secular matters. In fact, such a sin could be easily justified by his conscience. He was a Christian priest in the middle of a heathen people and, by such an undertaking he could think of helping his Christian brothers against their pagan enemy. Besides, if he was not a Goth by race, as his name could suggest[90], then such a temptation must have been strong enough.

On the other hand, doing so, he violated just the evangelical command to love his neighbor as himself. Actually, as a priest, Sansalas would have to limit himself to preaching the Gospel, rising himself above all – ethnic, religious, political etc. – distinctions[91]. He ought to have seen the pagans as his neighbors and also as his (possible) spiritual sons, and not as his enemies. Besides, as result from the martyr text[92], his heathen fellow-villagers and even some of the persecutors did not fanatically harbor anti-Christian feelings. Such, at least some of them could have received the Gospel message.

This kind of sin can also explain why the author avoided pointing it out. Indeed, by revealing this fact he could have done much harm to Gothic Christianity because it would have meant to arouse undeserved suspicion upon all Christians and especially clerics in trans-Danubian Gothia, and to compromise the preaching of the Gospel in the pagan *barbaricum*.

Whatever Sansalas' sin may be, from theological point of view we may safely infer from this real story that God gives the prize of martyrdom only to the Christians who sincerely love him and their neighbors. He makes no exception in this regard.

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(221.13–15, Delehaye 1912): ὅπερ Οὔνιος Σωρανός, ..., ἀποστείλας ἀξιοπίστους ἀνθρώπους, ἐκ τοῦ βαρβαρικοῦ εἰς τὴν Ῥωμανίαν μετήνεγκεν'

[90] On the non-Gothic origin of the name *Sansalas*, see Zeiller 1918, 431; Loewe 1922, 277–278; Schmidt 1933, 234; Giesecke 1939, 66, 68; Năsturel 1969, 179; Zgusta 1970, 87; Ionescu 1970, 489–490; Ionescu 1972, 183, 187; Alexe 1972, 567 (but, 561, n. 24: *barbarian name*, without any other explanation); Sibiescu 1972, 371, 374; Strzelczyk 1980, 238; Wolfram 1988, 83; Wolfram 2014, 138; Coman 2009, 45; Reichert 2012, 133, 139; Schäferdiek 1993, 337; Girardi 2009, 99 (n. 120). On *Sansalas* as Gothic name, see Waitz 1840, 43; Mansion 1914, 12; Leclercq 1925, 1439; Moisescu, Lupşa, Filipaşcu 1957, 64.

[91] See Lk. 6.27–28; 10.25–37.

[92] *Passio. Sabae* 3, 7 (217.28–32; 218.3–6; 220.32–33, Delehaye 1912).

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THE PORTRAIT OF A 'BAD GUY'. ALEXIOS DOUKAS MURTZUPHLOS IN THE VENETIAN CHRONICLES

ŞERBAN V. MARIN

Among the Byzantine characters directly involved in the events of the Fourth Crusade, the Venetian chronicles reserve a particular place to Emperor Alexios V 'Murtzuphlos'. Actually, this character is the negative one in the entire story, the enemy *par excellence*. This position is explainable, since Alexios V had been the one that, as a result of his act to assassinate the Crusaders' favorite on the throne, that is Alexios IV Angelos, provoked the reactions that led to the second capture of Constantinople, to the fall of the Byzantine Empire in 1204 and consequently to the establishment of the Latin Empire.

The present study relies upon a number of 109 Venetian chronicles[1], dispersed on the centuries when they were written as follows: two chronicles dated in the 13th century[2], seven from the 14th century[3], 22 from the 15th century[4], three from the transitional period from the 15th to the 16th century[5], 41 dated in the 16th century[6], seven from the transition from the 16th to the 17th century[7], 21 from the 17th century[8], and six chronicles from the 18th century[9]. To a certain extent, this distribution also reflects the dispersion by periods of the whole Venetian chronicles.

[1] Certainly, we left aside those chronicles that do not include the events at the beginning of the 13th century. As a note, the 16th century chronicle preserved in F 6239 lost its first pages, so that its use for the present study is only partial.

[2] HDV; Canal = 1,83 % of the chronicles.

[3] Dandolo Brevis; Dandolo Extensa; A latina; VH; pseudo-Enrico Dandolo; Morosini A.; M 2545 = 6,42%.

[4] M 2548; M 2549; M 89; Monaci; M 2556; M 2564; M 2569; Cigotto; M 322; M 2034; M 104; M 2563; M 78; M 38; M 2560; Biondo; M 796; M 559; M 2559; Sabellico; pseudo-Sanudo 1; pseudo-Sanudo 2 = 20,18%.

[5] M 541; M 550; Antonio = 2,75%.

[6] M 2544; M 798; Delfino P.; Cavalli; M 51; M 2555; Marco; Zancaruolo; Gussoni; F 6234; M 46; M 2571; M 2576; M 2573; pseudo-Caroldo; F 6239 (partially, since the first pages referring to the Fourth Crusade are lost); Rosso; M 2543; M 555; pseudo-Barbaro; pseudo-Abbiosi; M 45; M 2567; M 47; pseudo-Zancaruolo; M 628a; M 53; pseudo-Erizzo; pseudo-Navagero; F 6211; Donato T.; M 68; M 2580; M 39; M 2581; Agostini-Tiepolo; Sansovino; pseudo-Veniera; pseudo-Savina; M 793; Doglioni = 37,61%.

[7] M 1586; M 327; M 2550; M 71; F 6821; M 67; M 91 = 6,42%.

[8] F 6235; Lio; Morosini P.; M 2541; F 6241; M 43; M 44; M 2572; pseudo-Donato; M 54; F 6167; M 80; F 6166; M 70; pseudo-Enrico Dandolo 102; Vianoli; M 2592; M 61; M 66; M 66 bis; M 1999 = 19.27%.

[9] M 1577; M 2028; M 64; F 6566; Diedo; M 1833 = 5,50%.

Among them, there are few chronicles that, although including the period of the Fourth Crusade in their narration, surprisingly leave aside either Murtzuphlos as character[10] or generally the details of this crusade[11].

Maybe preferring to make a long story short, even some of the chronicles that deal with the Fourth Crusade ignore completely the presence of Murtzuphlos, so that it is Alexios IV himself the one who refuses to pay the debt towards the Crusader creditors. Consequently, in these cases, the second siege of Constantinople is nothing but a punitive action against the one who was not able to keep his promises, that is the young Alexios. These chronicles leave beyond any doubt the fact that it is about the young Alexios, some of them by saying clearly that he would have been dethroned "for the second time", "again"[12]. A particular case is represented by chronicle **pseudo-Sanudo 1**, according to which, after referring to Alexios the Younger's promises towards the crusaders, it is the first siege to be followed directly by the election of Baldwin of Flanders[13], as if Alexios is left aside by the chronicler.

By subtracting all these 25 cases – those seven that leave entirely aside the Fourth Crusade and those 18 that regard Alexios IV as being one more time deposed by the Crusaders themselves –, and also the one of chronicle **M 2572** – that mentions Murtzuphlos nowhere in the text, just invoking the "various incidents / *diuersi accidenti*"[14] as a general occurences during the events and passing directly to the election of a Latin emperor –, it results that Alexios V is present in a number of 83 Venetian chronicles, meaning a significant percent of 77.06% of the chronicles taken into account. These chronicles are dispersed by centuries as follows:

13th century: two chronicles of two (meaning 100% of the chronicles)

14th century: five chronicles of seven (meaning 71.43%)

15th century: 15 chronicles of 22 (meaning 68.18%)

Transition from the 15th to the 16th century: two chronicles of three (meaning 66.67%)

16th century: 33 chronicles of 41 (meaning 80.49%)

Transition from the 16th to the 17th century: five chronicles of seven (meaning 71.43%)

17th century: 15 chronicles of 21 (meaning 71.43%)

18th century: six chronicles of six (meaning 100%)

The episodes that refer to Murtzuphlos, according to the Venetian chronicles, are the following:

[10] Agostini-Tiepolo; M 67; M 2541; F 6166; M 66.

[11] M 2555; M 793.

[12] Dandolo Brevis, 367; A latina, 116; M 2548, 16a, col. 1 ("*vn altra volta*"); M 2549, 22a, col. 1; M 2556, 52; M 104, 77a; M 38, 22b, col. 2; M 2559, 22, col. 1 [=21b, col. 1] ("*vn altra uolta*"); M 162, 18a; M 2576, 26b ("*vn altra volta*"); Rosso, 29b; M 555, 33b, col. 2–34a, col. 1; M 39, 28b–29a ("*da nouo*"); M 2550, 78a ("*un'altra uolta*"); M 44, 32a–32b ("*anchora*"); F 6167, 30a ("*anchora dà nouo*"); M 66 bis, 90a ("*ancora da nuouo*").

[13] pseudo-Sanudo 1, 529.

[14] M 2572, 14b.

1. His liberation by Alexios IV immediately after the latter's coronation as emperor[15]

The episode seems to have its particular importance, since it is regarded as the first initiative taken by Alexios the Younger once crowned as emperor. Thus, the new emperor releases "his relative/*parente*" Murtzuphlos[16] (even cousin or uncle, according to some cases) from prison and immediately appoints him in high dignities[17]. The Venetian version of the title received by Murtzuphlos varies: a part of the chronicles regards him as "chamberlain and marshal" (or similar forms)[18], while the remainder of them refers to him in the more general terms of master and/or baron ("the greatest master and baron that he [emphasis mine: Alexios IV] had around himself", or similar expressions)[19].

[15] Present in 51.40% of the chronicles: pseudo-Enrico Dandolo, 74; Morosini A., 7; M 2545, 47b, col. 2; M 89, 24a, col. 1; Monaci, 137; M 2564, 79a; M 2569, 49b; Cigotto, 169b; M 322, 49b; M 2034, 396; M 2563, 11b; M 78, 10b, col. 1; M 2560, 68b [73b]; M 559, 45a; pseudo-Sanudo 2, 530; M 541, 34b; M 550, 72b; M 2544, 42b, col. 2; M 798, xxij b; Cavalli, 58b; M 51, 70a, col. 2; Zancaruolo, 22b; Gussoni, 222; F 6234, 61b; M 46, 31b; M 2573, 111a; M 2543, 49a; pseudo-Barbaro, 222a, 231a; pseudo-Abbiosi, 20b; M 45, 41b; M 2567, 39a, col. 2; M 47, 32b, col. 2; pseudo-Zancaruolo, cl xxxxiij a; M 628a, 90a; M 53, 137b–138a; pseudo-Erizzo, 108b; Donato T., 76a; M 68, 72b; M 2580, 130a; pseudo-Veniera, 68b; pseudo-Savina, 55b, 57a; M 1586, 36b; M 327, 70b; F 6821, 82a; M 91, 366a; Lio, 67a; F 6241, 24a; M 43, 36b; M 54, 155a; M 80, 103a; pseudo-Enrico Dandolo 102, 40b; M 1577, 272; M 2028, 79b–80a; M 64, 194b; F 6566, 33b. As for the primary sources, the episode is comparably described in Clari, 77–78, the release of Murtzuphlos being also the first initiative taken by Alexios IV after his crowning. No other source does refer to any release of Murtzuphlos from prison by Alexios.

[16] pseudo-Enrico Dandolo; Morosini A.; M 2545; M 89; M 2564; M 2569; Cigotto; M 322; M 2034; M 2563; M 78; M 2560; M 559; pseudo-Sanudo 2; M 541; M 550; M 2544; M 798; Cavalli; M 51; Zancaruolo; Gussoni; F 6234; M 46; M 2573; M 2543; pseudo-Barbaro; pseudo-Abbiosi; M 45; M 2567; M 47; pseudo-Zancaruolo; M 628a; M 53; pseudo-Erizzo; Donato T.; M 68; M 2580; pseudo-Veniera; pseudo-Savina; M 1586; M 327; M 71; F 6821; M 91; F 6235; Lio; F 6241; M 43; M 54; M 80; pseudo-Enrico Dandolo 102; M 61; M 1577; M 2028; M 64; F 6566. In some of these cases, "*parente*" is replaced by clearer family connections, such as "*un suo cuxino* / one of his cousins" (M 78; M 43) or "*vno suo barba* / one of his uncles (or similar)" (M 2573; pseudo-Barbaro; M 53; pseudo-Savina; F 6821) or other expressions ("*un suo cortigiano di sangue*", cf. M 71; "*famigliar dell'Imperatore*", cf. F 6235; "*un suo consanguineo*", cf. F 6241; "*congionto di sangue delli due Imperatori*", cf. M 61). As for F 6566, the relation is emphasized by the adjective "*stretto*".

[17] Clari narrates that there were the Greek high barons that informed the new emperor about "a high man" that was in prison. Subsequently, there are two cases in which Clari, 82 and 85, when referring to Murtzuphlos, uses the expression "whom he/the emperor had freed from prison".

[18] pseudo-Enrico Dandolo ("*suo magior camerlengo et mariscalco*"); Morosini A. ("*so mazior chamerlengo, mareschalcho*"); M 2545 ("*ssuo mazior chamerlengo ett mareschalcho*"); M 89 ("*so mazor chamerlengo e maraschalcho*"); M 322 ("*ministro e chamerlengo de tuto el so Inperio*"); M 559 ("*suo mazor chamerlego & mereschalcho* [sic!]"); M 2543 ("*ministro camerlengo de tutto lo suo Imperio*"); M 2567 ("*suo camerlengo*"); M 68 ("*suo maggior camerlengo*"); pseudo-Veniera ("*suo Maggior Camerlengo*"); Lio ("*suo maggior camerlengo*"); M 54 ("*suo maggior camarlengo*"); pseudo-Enrico Dandolo 102 ("*sò mazor Camarlengo et Maroslalco*"); M 64 ("*suo maggior camerlengo*"); F 6566 ("*suo maggior camerlengo*"). According to Clari, p. 78, the title is that of "chief steward".

[19] M 2564 ("*el maor maistro e baron che lavea apreso de luj*"); M 2569 ("*lo mazor baron che lui hauesse*"); M 2034 ("*el mazior baron che liui avese*"); Cigotto ("*suo baron et gran maestro piuj mazor che luj auesse apreso dela sua persona*"); M 2563 ("*mazzor maistro che l'hauesse appresso di lui*"); M 78 ("*suo primo barone*"); M 2560 ("*suo baron e gran maistro mazor che luy hauesse apresso*

The title of "*protosevasto*" is also present, but only in a small number of chronicles and usually contaminated with the other titles[20].

As for chronicle **M 322**, Murtzuphlos is mentioned only as "*çentilhomo de quela tera*", while in **M 71**, where Alexios Doukas enters the stage only when referring to the assassination of Alexios IV, he is called with the strange formula of "*un suo cortigiano del sangue*".

Later, when referring to his ingratitude against Alexios IV or to his reluctance against the payment of the crusaders, some of the above chronicles regard Murtzuphlos as "*maistro del suo hostello*"[21], while others insist upon the dignity of chamberlain[22] and **M 51** upon the one of "*protosevasto*"[23].

The other chronicles, which do not refer to the liberation of Murtzuphlos by the young emperor, introduce him in the story only later, meaning directly when referring to his bad pieces of advice or to the revolt against his lord. On that occasion, some of them make references to the benefits received from Isaac II[24].

de si"); pseudo-Sanudo 2 ("*il maggior barone ch'egli avesse*"); M 541 ("*mazor maistro lauese apreso de luj*"); M 550 ("*suo baron et gran mastro appresso di se*"); M 2544 ("*el mazore barone che fosse che lui hauesse*"); M 798 ("*el mazor baron che lauese apreso de lui*"); Cavalli ("*mazor baron che luy hauesse*"); Zancaruolo ("*el mazor baron che luj auesse*"); Gussoni ("*suo baron et gran maistro mazor che lui havese apresso de si*"); F 6234 ("*suo baron, et gran maistro mazor*"); M 46 ("*mazor maistro chel hauesse apresso de sj*"); pseudo-Abbiosi ("*el mazor baron, che l'hauesse*"); M 45 ("*el maor maistro e baron che lhauesse apresso de luj*"); M 47 ("*el mazor barono che lui hauese*"); pseudo-Zancaruolo ("*el mazor baron che lauesse apresso luj*"); M 628a ("*il mazor maistro, e baron che l'hauesse appresso de si*"); pseudo-Erizzo ("*el maor maistro, e baron, che l'hauesse appresso de lui*"); Donato T. ("*so baron e gram maistro mazor che lui hauesse apresso de si*"); M 2580 ("*el maggior maestro haueua appresso dellui*"); M 1586 ("*lo maggiore barone lui hauesse*"); M 327 ("*so mazor baron de corte che l'hauesse*"); F 6821 ("*grande maistro apreso la sua persona*"); M 91 ("*il mazor maistro et baron chel hauesse appresso de si*"); F 6241 ("*il suo primo barone*"); M 43 ("*gran maestro tenendolo senpre appreso di lui*"); M 80 ("*il più gran maestro che hauesse appresso di se*"); M 1577 ("*el maor baron, chel l'avesse appresso de lui*"); M 2028 ("*maggior barone, che lui hauesse*").

[20] M 51 ("*suo prothoseuasto che vuol dir lo primo e llo prinzipal suo homo che lo auesse jn la suo corte*"); M 2573 ("*suo protoseuastos & gran maraschalco*"); pseudo-Barbaro (saying that Murtzuphlos gained *el primo luogo appresso di se, el fece prothoseuasto Imperial, et col consiglio et col parer di quello se rezeua, et gouernaua in tutte le sue cose*"); M 53 ("*suo protoseuastos et suo gran maraschalcho*"); pseudo-Savina ("*suo primo baron e prothoseuaste del suo Imperio*").

[21] M 2034 ("*maistro de hostello*"); M 2560 ("*maistro del suo hostelo*"); M 541 ("*maistro del so hostello*"); Gussoni ("*maistro del suo hostelle*"); F 6234 ("*gran maistro del suo castello*"); M 45 ("*maistro del suo hostello*"); M 628a ("*gran maistro de tutto el suo ostello*"); pseudo-Erizzo ("*maistro del tutto del suo hostello*"); Donato T. ("*so baron et maistro de tuto el suo ostello*"); M 1586 ("*maestro d'hostello*"); M 91 ("*gran maestro di tutto il suo ostello*"); M 80 ("*gran maestro di tutto il suo ostello*"). In the case of pseudo-barbaro, it says in the context of his attitude against the payment of the Latins that "*Mauritio suo Barba appresso il qual era quasi tutta l'auttorità dell'Imperio*".

[22] pseudo-Enrico Dandolo ("*camarlengo del dicto Imperador novello*"); Morosini A. ("*chamerlengo de lo dito Inperador novelo*"); M 2545 ("*chamerlengo del ditto Inperador nouelo*"); M 89 ("*chamerlengo e parente del dito Imperador nouelo*"); M 559 ("*camerlego delo Imperador nouello*"); pseudo-Enrico Dandolo 102 ("*lo preditto Mortifex camarlengo*").

[23] M 51 ("*prothoseuasto jdest lo primo homo dello Inperio*").

[24] Monaci ("*ipse Alexios nomine cognominatus Murtilus, provectus per Isachum ad nobilem statum, & factus Prothovestarius, nuper autem ab Alexio puero Ducha creatus,* [...]"); Biondo ("*Alexios cognomine Murtilus, quem Isaac Imperator ex infima plebe in Patricium Protonotariumque,*

It is also worth to be mentioned the case of chronicle **pseudo-Barbaro,** which inserts a strange fact, according to which Alexios III (named *Basilio* in the chronicle), besides the blinding of Isaac and the attempt to kill Alexios the Younger, would have been assassinated a third brother, who would have been even "*Morille (Moritio dicono alcuni)*"[25]! Nevertheless, this latter appears again in the narration lately, when speaking about the coronation of Alexios IV, the new emperor liberating "*Mauritio suo barba, za impresonado da Basilio in una torre nel Mar Mazor*". As for chronicle **pseudo-Savina,** it follows the pattern of **pseudo-Barbaro,** except that it changes the evolution of the events and makes them plausible: "*e messe anche in preso Mauritio un altro suo frattello*"[26]; after a while it narrates: "*Mauritio suo barba, el qual era sta per Basilio impresonado*".

According to a part of the chronicles[27], the supposed action of the crusaders in the Holy Land is inserted immediately after the liberation of Murtzuphlos and only

primariam aulicorum dignitatem, [...]"); Sabellico ("*Alexios, cognomento Myrtilus, vel, ut alii habent, Murcyphus, quem Isachus ex infima plebe multis & magnis honoribus ad summam dignitatem provexerat.*"); pseudo-Caroldo ("*Era Murcipho stato d'Isaakio antico servitore et da lui haveva ricevuti molti beneficij et per ciò apresso il figliuolo Alessio teneva il primo luogo nel consiglio, anzi era solo governatore di quell'Imperio*"); Morosini P. ("*Alessio Murzuflo, in cui teneua particolar confidenza, e che dal padre Isaacio, da humile fortuna al carico, & honore di Protouestiario era stato solleuato, & inalzato*"); Vianoli ("*Quest'huomo solleuato alla fortuna dei primi posti in corte, & all'honore di Protovestiario dal fauore dell'Imperatore Isaacio*"); M 61 ("*Questo benche congionto di sangue delli due Imperatori, e delle stessi unico confidente come protouestiario, ò sia cameriero maggiore* [...]"); M 1999 ("*Duca Mirtillo huomo di uilissima conditione portato da beneficij dell'Imperator Isaccio à si alto posto*"); Diedo ("*Murciffo, uomo di sangue plebeo, ma sollevato dall'Imperadore Isaccio a' primi onori dell'Imperio*"). Among the primary sources, which usually (except for Clari) start referring to Murtzuphlos only lately, when referring to the preparations for the Greek revolt against Alexios, there are two cases where he is depicted as being somehow related to the Angeli: "*sanguine sibi propinquum, de quo pro beneficiis impensis super omnes alios confidebat*" (according to Baldwin, 503); "a certain relative" (in Gunther, 82, respectively "*autem cujusdam cognati sui, nobilis quidem viri, sed perfidi, qui Murtiphlo, id est flos cordis in gente illa vocabatur*", in Gunther Migne, 233). According to Gunther, it was Murtzuphlos who had advised Alexios III to remove Isaac II and take the power! (see also Gunther, 95, respectively Gunther Migne, 239: "Morciflo, whom we mentioned above, through whose advice his father had been blinded and he himself put away in jail, [...] / *Murciflo ille, cujus superius fecimus mentionem, cujus consilio pater ejus caecatus, et ipse in carcerem retrusus fuerat,* [...]"; see also Gunther, 115, respectively Gunther Migne, 248): "He had induced Alexios to blind his own brother, incarcerate his nephew, and steal the kingdom from both; [...] / *qui sibi fratrem caecare, et nepotem carcerarem, et utrumque regno spoliare persuasisset,* [..]". Then, the same chronicler (Gunther, 95, respectively Gunther Migne, 239) continues: "Once Alexios had been put out of the way, Morciflo crowned himself with the diadem, as though he were a man of royal lineage and even related by blood. / *Quo sublato de medio ipse tanquam homo regii generis, et ipse quoque sanguine propinquus, diadema sibi imposuit,* [..]." However, generally speaking, the sources do not follow this path, since his activity prior to anti-Alexios revolt is not referred to: Choniates, 307 (who only notes his imperial family name of Doukas, see also Choniates Van Dieten, 561); Villehardouin, 20/21 (who regards him only as "*un Gré / un Grec*"); Clari, 77; *Devastatio*, 91; Novgorod, 95; *Corpus Flandriae*, 297; *Chron. Gall.*, 352; later, Morea, 88 is completely original by regarding him as being "a certain rich man, an archon of the City, they called him Mourtzouhlos" (in Morea Bouchon, 62/63: "*Μούρτζουφλον τὸν ἐλέγαςιν, οὕτως εἶχε τὸ ἐπίκλην / un certain seigneur fort riche de cette ville, appelée Mourtzouphle*").

[25] pseudo-Barbaro, 222a.

[26] pseudo-Savina, 55b.

[27] pseudo-Enrico Dandolo; Morosini A.; M 2545; M 89; M 559; M 2567; M 68; M 2580; pseudo-Veniera; Lio; M 43; pseudo-Donato; M 54; pseudo-Enrico Dandolo 102; M 64; F 6566.

their return to Constantinople would put them in confrontation with a new situation: that is, in the meantime, Murtzuphlos with the consent of the Greeks ("*con consentimento di Greci*" or similar expressions)[28] had killed Alexios IV and, more than this, along with the Greeks denied the entrance of the Crusaders in the city. Actually, this is the moment that convinced the Crusaders to take the city for themselves.

Among the chronicles above, it is strange the case of **pseudo-Donato**, which had not previously mentioned the liberation of Murtzuphlos, so that the assassination of Alexios IV would be due to the Greeks. Afterwards, when the Crusaders returned to Constantinople, their entrance would have been denied by "*li detti Mertafixi, et Greghi*", so that Murtzuphlos would represent not a person, but a community along with the Greeks!

According to another scenario[29], the appointment of Murtzuphlos is immediately followed by the embarrassing financial situation, when the Westerners ask for their proper amount of money.

As compilations, **M 2580** and **M 43** refer to the negotiations over the debts, and only afterwards they insert the supposed expedition in the Holy Land.

It is a singular case (**M 322**) when the episode referring to the liberation of Murtzuphlos is immediately followed by the assassination of Alexios IV.

2. His reluctance in paying the debts to the crusaders (previous to the assassination of Alexios IV)[30]

It is mentioned for the short period when Alexios IV was still on the throne and Murtzuphlos, in his position as main counsellor, comes into contradiction with the young emperor: "Alexios wanted to pay the debt willingly, but that Murtzuphlos did not" (or similar expressions)[31]. In the other cases, the reason for which Alexios adopted the strategy of postponing was due to Murtzuphlos' pieces of advice[32]. By

[28] Among these chronicles, the expression is missing in M 2567 and pseudo-Donato.

[29] It is about those chronicles that to do not insert the Crusaders' action in the Holy Land: M 2564; M 2569; M 2034; M 2563; M 78; M 2560; pseudo-Sanudo 2; M 541; M 550; M 2544; M 798; Cavalli; M 51; Zancaruolo; Gussoni; F 6234; M 46; M 2573; M 2543; pseudo-Barbaro; M 45; M 47; pseudo-Zancaruolo; M 628a; M 53; pseudo-Erizzo; Donato T.; M 2580; pseudo-Savina; M 1586; M 327; F 6821; M 91; F 6241; M 43; M 80; M 1577; M 2028.

[30] Present in 38.32% of the chronicles: Canal. 23 (that just tells the crusaders that it is not possible to pay them); VH, 138; M 2564, 79a; M 2569, 49b; Cigotto, 170a; M 2034, 396; M 2563, 11b; M 78, 10b, col. 1; M 2560, 69a [74a]; pseudo-Sanudo 2, 530; M 541, 34b; M 550, 72b; M 798, xxij b; Cavalli, 58b; M 51, 70a, col. 2; Zancaruolo, 22b; Gussoni, 222; F 6234, 61b; M 46, 32a; M 2573, 111a; pseudo-Caroldo, 170 (just that he hated the Latins); M 2543, 49a; pseudo-Barbaro, 231b–232a; pseudo-Abbiosi, 20b; M 45, 41b; M 47, 33a, col. 1; pseudo-Zancaruolo, cl xxxxiij a; M 628a, 90b; M 53, 138a; pseudo-Erizzo, 108b–109a; Donato T., 76a; M 2580, 130a; pseudo-Savina, 57a; M 1586, 37a; F 6821, 82a; M 91, 366a; F 6241, 24a; M 43, 36b; M 80, 103a; Vianoli, 257 (just generally, that he gave bad advices to Alexios IV); M 1577, 272–273.

[31] M 2569; pseudo-Sanudo 2; M 2544; Cavalli; M 51; Zancaruolo; M 2543; pseudo-Barbaro; M 47; M 43; M 2028.

[32] VH; M 2564; Cigotto; M 2034; M 2563; M 78; M 2560; M 541; M 550; M 798; M 51; Gussoni; F 6234; M 46; M 2573; pseudo-Barbaro; pseudo-Abbiosi; M 45; pseudo-Zancaruolo; M 628a; M 53; pseudo-Erizzo; Donato T.; M 2580; pseudo-Savina; M 1586; F 6821; M 91; F 6241; M 43; M 80; Vianoli; M 1577.

confronting these two lists of chronicles, it results that both sceneries occur for **M 51**, **pseudo-Barbaro** and **M 43**.

Strange enough, none of the two above notes is mentioned in **M 327**, so that the conclusion should be that Alexios IV was himself reluctant to the payment, in accordance with those chronicles that ignore completely Murtzuphlos[33].

This reluctance is somehow diminished in those few cases[34] where Murtzuphlos is, on the contrary, depicted as having the initiative to give the remained debt to the Crusaders. They are to be added to those that would mention this atitude of Murtzuphlos later, when negotiating with Doge Dandolo[35]. These cases mean to imply clearly that it was not the money to determine the crusaders to remove the usurper, but the fact that he had assassinated his own and legitimate lord.

As for chronicle **pseudo-Caroldo**, it only says that: "*Questo sopra modo portava odio a Latini et, accortosi che Alessio alle fiate si ristringeva col'Marchese Bonifacio di Monferrato suo congiunto di sangue, hebbe di ciò tanto dispiacere che gli machinava la morte*". Murtzuphlos' anti-Latin hatred is also mentioned directly by chronicles **pseudo-Navagero** and **F 6211**[36].

3. His involvement in the assassination of Alexios IV[37]

Present on a large scale in the Venetian chronicles, this episode is suggested as the main reason for the second siege of Constantinople in those cases that place it immediately previous to the preparations for the second siege[38] or to the agreement

[33] See above this note 12.

[34] HDV; Canal; VH.

[35] See below, p. 26 and p. 35 and notes 66 and 67.

[36] With one and the same expression: "*uolto l'animo auanti ogni altra cosa scaciar li Latini da quel paese*".

[37] Present in 76.64% of the chronicles: HDV, 94; Canal, 23; Dandolo Extensa, 279; VH, 138; pseudo-Enrico Dandolo, 74–75; Morosini A., 7; M 2545, 47b, col. 2; M 89, 24a, col. 1–24a, col. 2; Monaci, 137; M 2564, 79a; M 2569, 49b; Cigotto, 170a; M 322, 49b; M 2034, 396; M 2563, 11b–12a; M 78, 10b, col. 1; M 2560, 69a [74a]; Biondo, 11–12; M 796, 73a; M 559, 45a–45b; Sabellico, 179–180; pseudo-Sanudo 2, 530; M 541, 35a; M 550, 72b; M 2544, 42b, col. 2; M 798, xxij b; Delfino P., 326b; Cavalli, 59a; M 51, 70a, col. 2; Marco, 41b; Zancaruolo, 22b; Gussoni, 222; F 6234, 61b; M 46, 32a; M 2571, 103a; M 2573, 111b; pseudo-Caroldo, 170–171; M 2543, 49a–49b; pseudo-Barbaro, 232a–232b; pseudo-Abbiosi, 20b; M 45, 41b; M 2567, 39a, col. 2; M 47, 33a, col. 1; pseudo-Zancaruolo, cl xxxxiij a; M 628a, 90b; M 53, 138a; pseudo-Erizzo, 109a; pseudo-Navagero, 983; F 6211, 33a; Donato T., 76a; M 68, 73a; M 2580, 130a; M 2581, 90b; Sansovino, 560; pseudo-Veniera, 68b; pseudo-Savina, 57a–57b; Doglioni, 127; M 1586, 37a; M 327, 70b; M 71, 128b; F 6821, 82a; M 91, 366a; F 6235, 131a–131b; Lio, 67a; Morosini P., 147–148; F 6241, 24a; M 43, 36b–37a; M 2572, 14b; pseudo-Donato, 30b; M 54, 155b; M 80, 103a; M 70, 41b; pseudo-Enrico Dandolo 102, 41a; Vianoli, 257, 259; M 2592, 29b; M 61, libro 6, 45–49; M 1999, 29a; M 1577, 273; M 2028, 80a; M 64, 194b–195a; F 6566, 34a; Diedo, 77–78; M 1833, 25a. Certainly, the episode is mentioned in all primary sources: Baldwin, 506 (placed after the dialogue with Dandolo); Choniates, 309 [564]; Villehardouin, 22/23; Clari, 85; *Devastatio*, 91–92; Novgorod, 95; Gunther, 95–96; *Corpus Flandriae*, 297, 301; *Chron. Gall.*, 352; Morea, 88–89.

[38] Canal; pseudo-Enrico Dandolo; Morosini A.; M 2545; M 89; Monaci; M 2564; M 2569; Cigotto; M 322; M 2034; M 2563; M 78; M 2560; Sabellico; M 541; M 550; M 2544; M 798; M 48; M 51; Zancaruolo; Gussoni; F 6234; M 46; M 45; M 2567; M 47; pseudo-Zancaruolo; M 628a; pseudo-Erizzo; Donato T.; M 68; M 2580; pseudo-Veniera; M 1586; M 327; M 71; F 6821; M 91; Lio; F 6241; M 43; pseudo-Donato; M 54; M 80; pseudo-Enrico Dandolo 102; Vianoli; M 2592; M 1577.

in March related to *Partitio Romaniae*[39]. As for chronicle **M 61**, it inserts a developed presentation of the events related to Dalmatia[40].

Previously, chronicles **M 796** and **Delfino P.** had spoken no less than about a war between Murtzuphlos and Alexios IV, concluded with the latter's death!

There are few chronicles that get into details about the manner in which the assassination of Alexios took place and the tendency to poison him[41], and even fewer that refer to the involvement of Nicholas Canabos in the events[42], or to the funeral organized by Murtzuphlos himself[43].

As for Murtzuphlos' coronation as emperor, it is sometimes avoided by the Venetian chroniclers[44]. However, Murtzuphlos as being in this supreme position is inserted, sometimes directly[45], and sometimes when reading between the lines[46].

[39] Dandolo Extensa; VH; Biondo; M 796; Delfino P.; pseudo-Caroldo; Doglioni; F 6235; Morosini P.; Vianoli; M 2028; M 1833.

[40] M 61, libro 6, 49–51.

[41] Monaci; Biondo; Sabellico; M 2573; pseudo-Barbaro; M 53; pseudo-Savina; F 6235; Morosini P.; Vianoli. See also Choniates, 309 [564]; Villehardouin, 22/23. However, the detail is absent in Baldwin, Clari, *Devastatio*, Novgorod, Gunther, *Corpus Flandriae*; *Chron. Gall.*; Morea.

[42] Morosini P.; Vianoli; M 61. See also Baldwin, 503; Choniates, 308, 309 [562, 564]; *Devastatio*, 91; Novgorod, 95. The detail is absent in Clari, Gunther, *Corpus Flandriae*; *Chron. Gall.*; Morea.

[43] pseudo-Barbaro; F 6235; Morosini P.; Vianoli; M 61. The funerals are also mentioned in some of the primary sources: Baldwin, 506; Villehardouin, 22/23; *Chron. Gall.*, 352. It is absent in Choniates, Clari, *Devastatio*, Novgorod, Gunther, *Corpus Flandriae*; Morea.

[44] As for the primary sources, it is only Baldwin that ignores the detail, which is present in Choniates, 308 [564]; Villehardouin, 20/21–22/23; Clari, 85; *Devastatio*, 91 (just that "*solum regnare cepit.*"); Novgorod, 95; Gunther, 95; *Corpus Flandriae*, 298, 301; *Chron. Gall.*, 352; Morea, 89.

[45] HDV ("*imperii tenuit principatum*"); Dandolo Extensa ("*imperium sibimet violenter assumpsit*"); VH ("*qui post puerum tenuit principatum*"); M 796 ("*el dito Murchiffo viollentementer se fexe Jmperador si medeximo*"; then, in the end of the events, when narrating his fate after the fall of Constantinople, the chronicle says: "*Murtiphio del qual per auantj auemmo fato menzion el qual se fexe indebitamente Jmperador de Constantinopoli*"); Marco (saying that he took the Imperial diadem); M 2571 ("*optene lo principado delo Imperio*"); M 2573 ("*& il dito Morizio come el piu streto parente suo barba si feze Imperador de Constantinopoli*"); pseudo-Barbaro ("*hauendo Mauritio tutta l'auttorità dell'Imperio, ghe fù anche facil d'hauer medesimamente titolo d'Imperator*, immediately after the assassination of Alexios IV); M 53 ("*el qual Moricio como piu propinquo parente luj se fece Imperador de Costantinopolj*", immediately after the assassination of Alexios IV); pseudo-Erizzo ("*quel Marsilifo, che se haueua fatto Imperator*", during the siege); M 2581 ("*optene lo principado delo Imperio*"); pseudo-Savina ("*e se fese crear Imperator*"); M 1833 ("*dopo esser proclamato Imperator*", when speaking about the assassination of Alexios IV).

[46] Canal, 22 (previous to the assassination of young Alexios), and 24 (saying in both cases that he entitled himself as emperor); VH ("*nunc false imperator*"); pseudo-Enrico Dandolo ("*el dicto Mortifex, capo et imperador indrieto elevado*", when initiating the encounter with Dandolo); Morosini A. ("*lo dito Mortifes chavo e inperador in duto elevado*", when initiating the encounter with Dandolo); M 2545 ("*el ditto Morttifex chapo ett Imperador indiretto eleuado*", when initiating the encounter with Dandolo); M 89 ("*el dito Mortafixi cauo e Imperador in dreto leuado*", when initiating the encounter with Dandolo); M 2034 ("*Marsiflo, che se feva chiamar imperador*", during the siege); Biondo ("*pars Gubernatorem, pars Ducem, pars Imperatorem acclamaverit*"); M 559 ("*el dicto Mortifex chauo lo Imperador indredo leuado*", when initiating the encounter with Dandolo); pseudo-Caroldo ("*usurpò quell'Imperio*"); M 2543 ("*Marsilio che Imperador se faceua chiamar*", during the siege); pseudo-Navagero ("*fu chiamato da alcuni Governadore, da alcuni Capitano, e da molti Imperadore* [...] *e s'impadronì dell'Impero*"); F 6211 ("*fu chiamato da alchuni gouernator da altri capitano et da molti Imperator* [...] *et se impatroni dell'Imp.*"); Doglioni ("*nominandosi egli in*

This tendency to leave aside the episode of his coronation is explainable, since the usurper hid the violent death of Alexios IV. There are chronicles that mention the fact that Murtzuphlos kept the things in secret and/or spread the rumours that Alexios would have been only extremely sick[47], while some other few of them refer to the rumours saying that the emperor had died either accidentally[48], or naturally[49]. That is why some chronicles clearly say that it would be only after the failure of the negotiations with the doge of Venice when Murtzuphlos would begin to assume the imperial position[50].

Regarding this event, **Monaci** offers some rhetorical explanations: "*Statu Imperiali in crudelem tyrannidem scelerata proditione mutato Latinorum animi rerum indignatibus accenduntur, cogunturque contra perjuros, & perfidos Graeculos iterum induere arma justissima.*"

4. His dialogue with Doge Enrico Dandolo[51]

This episode is usually placed after the decision of the Crusaders to remove Murtzuphlos and the beginnings of preparation for the new siege of

quel cambio per Imperatore de Greci"); M 1586 ("*Marsiflo che si faceua chiamar Imperatore*", during the siege); M 71 ("*qual poi dal popolo si fece chiamar'Imperatore*"); Paolo Morosini ("*diede occasione a' suoi partegiani di chiamarlo Imperatore*"); pseudo-Enrico Dandolo 102 ("*el ditto Mortifex cao et Imperador indiretto leuado*", when initiating the encounter with Dandolo); Vianoli ("*e venne salutato da' suoi seguaci Imperatore*"); M 61 ("*onde si uedeua Murzuflo in sicuro possesso dell'Imperio*"); M 1577 ("*quel Marsilifo chel se aveva fato Imperator*", during the siege); Diedo ("*acclamato da una parte Murciffo Prefetto della Città, da altri Capitano delle milizie, mentre un terzo partito con sfacciata ribellione lo dichiarò Imperadore*").

[47] M 2564; M 2569; Cigotto; M 2034; M 2563; M 78; M 2560; pseudo-Sanudo 2; M 541; M 550; M 2544; M 798; Cavalli; M 51; Zancaruolo; Gussoni; F 6234; M 46; M 2543; pseudo-Abbiosi; M 45; M 47; pseudo-Zancaruolo; M 628a; pseudo-Erizzo; M 323; M 1586; M 327; F 6821; M 91; F 6241; M 80; M 1577; M 2028.

[48] M 2571; pseudo-Barbaro; M 53; M 2581; pseudo-Savina; Doglioni.

[49] HDV; F 6235; Morosini P.; Vianoli; M 61. See also in *Chron. Gall.*, 352.

[50] See below, p. 36 and note 80.

[51] Present in 49.53% of the chronicles: HDV, 94 (just a short reference, in which Murtzuphlos does not have a particular dialogue with the Doge, but let Dandolo and the counts know his disposal to pay them and that Alexios had been died due to natural causes); Canal, 22, 23 (he appears as negotiator previous to the assassination of Alexios IV, and, like HDV, there is no specific dialogue with Dandolo exclusively, but with the latter and the Frankish barons); pseudo-Enrico Dandolo, 75; Morosini A., 7–8; M 2545, 48a, col. 1-col. 2; M 89, 24a, col. 2; M 2564, 79a; M 2569, 49b; Cigotto, 170a; M 322, 49b–50a; M 2034, 397; M 2563, 12a; M 78, 10b, col. 1-col. 2; M 2560, 69a [74a]; M 559, 45b–46a; M 541, 35a; M 550, 72b; M 798, xxij b; M 51, 70a, col. 2–70b, col. 1; Gussoni, 223; F 6234, 61b–62a; M 46, 32a; M 2571, 103a (short reference); pseudo-Caroldo, 172–173 (short reference); M 2543, 49b–50a; pseudo-Barbaro, 232b–233a; M 45, 41b; pseudo-Zancaruolo, cl xxxxiij a-cl xxxxiij b; M 628a, 90b; pseudo-Erizzo, 109a; Donato T., 76a; M 2581, 90b (short small reference); M 68, 73a; M 2580, 130b; pseudo-Veniera, 68b; pseudo-Savina, 57b; M 1586, 37a; M 327, 71a; F 6821, 82a–82b; M 91, 366a; F 6235, 134b–135a; Lio, 67a–67b; F 6241, 24b; M 43, 37a; pseudo-Donato, 30b–31a; M 54, 155b; M 80, 103b; pseudo-Enrico Dandolo 102, 41a–41b; M 61, libro 7, 7–8; M 1577, 273–276; M 64, 195a; F 6566, 34a. The event is also present in some of the primary sources: Baldwin, 503 and 505; Choniates, 312 (567–568 in Choniates Van Dieten): Clari, 86; Gunther, 96–97 (239–240 in Gunther Migne), but absent in Villehardouin; *Devastatio*; Novgorod, *Corpus Flandriae*; *Chron. Gall.*; Morea.

Constantinople[52]. The exceptions are **pseudo-Barbaro** and **pseudo-Savina**, which both place these negotiations (that have the possibility of paying the debts as singular topic) when the death of Alexios IV was still a secret.

In all these cases, the initiative belongs to Murtzuphlos[53], some of the chronicles mentioning the cause, that is his and Greeks' fear ("*paura*") in front of the Crusaders' preparations to take the city[54].

There are Venetian chronicles that consider that Murtzuphlos would have invited to negotiations not only Enrico Dandolo, but also the leaders of the non-Venetian Crusaders[55], but the greatest majority regards that the request for dialogue would have been addressed exclusively to the Doge.

The location of the meeting between the two characters remains ambiguous, since it is only chronicle **M 61** that mentions "*Cosmidio*" and makes reference to the authority of Nicetas Choniates ("*Kosmidion*")[56]. All the other cases refer to "*uno certo luogo* / a certain place" (or similar)[57] or at most to "*uno luogo fuora della cittade* / a place outside the city" (or similar)[58]. This latter expression is sometimes distorted, so that it becomes "*un locco uicino*"[59], "*un loco poco lontano*"[60], "*un luogo lutan*"[61], or, on the contrary, "*dentro*" (meaning inside of the city)[62].

However, the negotiations would have been a simple dialogue between exclusively Murtzuphlos and Enrico Dandolo, marked by a simple confrontation of viewpoints.

[52] pseudo-Enrico Dandolo; Morosini A.; M 2545; M 89; M 2564; M 2569; M 322; M 2034; M 2563; M 78; M 2560; M 559; M 541; M 550; M 2544; M 798; M 51; Gussoni; F 6234; M 46; M 2543; M 45; pseudo-Zancaruolo; M 628a; pseudo-Erizzo; Donato T.; M 68; M 2580; pseudo-Veniera; M 1586; M 327; M 91; F 6235; Lio; F 6241; M 43; pseudo-Donato; M 54; M 80; pseudo-Enrico Dandolo 102; M 61; M 1577; M 64; F 6566.

[53] This version is contradicted by Choniates, according to whom it was the Doge to have the initiative of discussing the peace terms. On the contrary, Baldwin (in both attempts), Clari, Gunther and Novgorod refer to Murtzuphlos as the one who sent word to the crusaders, as the Venetian chronicles do.

[54] pseudo-Enrico Dandolo; Morosini A.; M 2545; M 89; M 559; M 68; M 2580; pseudo-Veniera; pseudo-Enrico Dandolo 102. The similar expression of "*comincior<o>no à temere*") is used in Lio; M 54; M 64; F 6566.

[55] Cigotto; M 51; F 6234; pseudo-Barbaro; M 327. This version is to a certain extent in correlation with Baldwin, 503 and 505, Clari and Gunther, which mention "*ad exercitum nostrum*" (Baldwin, 503) and "*ad nos*" (Baldwin, 505), "to the count of Flanders, to Count Louis, to the marquis, and to all the other high barons" (Clari), respectively "the leaders of our army / *principes exercitus nostri*" (Gunther), just that they do not mention the Doge himself! Moreover, according to Gunther, it was the Doge who considered Murtzuphlos' initiative as a trap and advised the other crusaders to refuse the negotiations. However, Baldwin, 505 notes that in the end the meeting was hold only between Murtzuphlos and the Doge, in the same manner as Choniates does.

[56] Except for Choniates, the other primary sources do not locate the meeting.

[57] pseudo-Enrico Dandolo; Morosini A.; M 2545; M 89; M 559; M 68; M 2580; pseudo-Veniera; Lio; M 54; pseudo-Enrico Dandolo 102; M 64.

[58] M 2564; M 2034; M 541; M 798; M 2543; M 45; pseudo-Zancaruolo; M 628a; pseudo-Erizzo; M 1586; M 91; M 80; M 1577.

[59] M 43.

[60] F 6566.

[61] M 2563.

[62] pseudo-Donato.

What does this dialogue consist in? According to some chronicles, the Doge was the first to speak[63], by asking immediately Murtzuphlos about the fate of the legitimate emperor, Alexios IV. In others, Murtzuphlos was the one to begin the dialogue, by inviting the Crusaders to go to the Holy Land[64], or at least asking them what do they have to do with his empire[65]. Then, Murtzuphlos offered to pay the debt[66], and even more[67], while in other cases, on the contrary, he would have said that, with Alexios being sick, nothing could be done in paying the debt[68]; in these latter cases, Murtzuphlos seems to indirectly invoke the authority of the one that he had just murdered[69]. Since Murtzuphlos' facts were nothing than a kind of 'public secret', Dandolo would have afforded himself to make subtle references to the assassination of Alexios[70], and some chroniclers say about the Doge "*che tuto haveva sapudo el tradimento*" (or similar expressions)[71]. However, the Byzantine

[63] pseudo-Enrico Dandolo; Morosini A.; M 2545; M 89; M 559; M 68; M 2580; pseudo-Veniera; Lio; M 43; pseudo-Donato; M 54; pseudo-Enrico Dandolo 102; M 64; F 6566.

[64] M 322 ("*misser perche ue intramete uu* [sic!] *de questo Imperio uuj doue andar altra* [sic!] *el mar sora i Pagani e uui uegni sora de nuj che semo Christiani*"; M 2034 ("*Che ve inpazè vui de questo inperio; andè al vostro viazio oltra el mar, sora la tera di vostri infedelli*"); M 78 (short version: "*che andassero al suo viagio*"); M 2543 ("*Meser perche ue intrametete uui de questo Imperio. Doue andar oltra mar soura pagani e uui uegni soura de nui che semo Christiani*"; pseudo-Zancaruolo ("*che aueuj a impazar questo Jmperio andeuene al vostro viazo oltra el mar contra Infidelj, e aquistare le Terre Sancte*"; pseudo-Erizzo ("*che haueu* [sic!] *à impazzarne in questo Imperio, andeuene al uostro uiazo oltra el mar contra Infideli, e acquistarè le Terre Sante*"); M 1586 ("*perche u'impacciate di questo Imperio, andate al uostro uiaggio oltra el Mare sopra le terre delli uostri Infedeli*"); F 6821 ("*che loro fariano meglio andar al suo uiazo contra Infideli et non se impazar de queste cose*"); F 6235 ("*che non si doueuano impaciar nelle cosse di quell'Imperio, e persuadendoli seguir l'impresa contra Infedelli*"); F 6241 ("*che andassero al suo uiaggio*"); M 1577 ("*che aveva egli ad impazzarsi in quel Impero, e che se ne andasse al suo viaggio oltra il Mar contra Infedeli, e acquisterebbe le Terre Sante*").

[65] M 2564; M 2563; M 541; M 798; M 46; M 45; M 628a; M 91; M 80. This version is close to the one expressed by Clari, according to whom Murtzuphlos would have urged the crusaders "to go away and vacate his land".

[66] HDV; Canal; pseudo-Enrico Dandolo; Morosini A.; M 2545; M 89; M 322; M 2563; M 78; M 559; M 46; M 2571; pseudo-Barbaro; pseudo-Zancaruolo; M 68; M 2580; M 2581; pseudo-Veniera; pseudo-Savina; M 43; pseudo-Donato; M 54; pseudo-Enrico Dandolo 102; M 64; F 6566. See also Baldwin, 503, when speaking about the first attempt of Murtzuphlos to negotiate.

[67] Canal; pseudo-Enrico Dandolo; Morosini A.; M 2545; M 89; M 559; M 46; M 68; M 2580; pseudo-Veniera; Lio; M 43; pseudo-Donato; M 54; pseudo-Enrico Dandolo 102; M 64; F 6566. This expression is close to the one used by Gunther ("under the pretext that they would receive the promised money and even greater tokens of royal generosity. / *quasi promissam pecuniam et insuper ampliora munera reliae liberalitatis accepturos.*")

[68] M 322; M 2034; M 78; M 541; M 46; M 2543; pseudo-Zancaruolo; pseudo-Erizzo; M 323; M 1586; M 327; M 1577.

[69] Actually, this is also the explanation offered by Gunther, when saying that Murtzuphlos sent messengers "in the name of Alexios the Younger / *sub nomine junioris Alexii*".

[70] pseudo-Enrico Dandolo; Morosini A.; M 2545; M 89; M 2564; M 322; M 2034; M 2563; M 78; M 559; M 541; M 798; M 46; M 2543; M 45; pseudo-Zancaruolo; M 628a; pseudo-Erizzo; M 68; M 2580; pseudo-Veniera; M 1586; F 6821; M 91; Lio; F 6241; M 43; pseudo-Donato; M 54; M 80; pseudo-Enrico Dandolo 102; M 1577; M 64; F 6566.

[71] pseudo-Enrico Dandolo; Morosini A.; M 2545; M 89; M 559; M 68; M 2580; pseudo-Veniera; Lio; M 43; M 54; pseudo-Enrico Dandolo 102; M 64; F 6566.

would have continued his diplomatic manoeuvres, by persisting in his lie, according to which Alexios was still under the physicians' care, but alive[72]. Besides, he invoked the fact that the empire does not belong to him and suggested that the Greeks (sometimes called as "*Griffoni*"[73]) were those that do not allow the Crusaders to enter the city[74]. This dialogue has nothing in common with what **Choniates** noted, the Byzantine chronicler referring exclusively to Dandolo's requests for the payment.

A summarized version of the dialogue mentions only that "*et seguite insieme molte parole* (or similar formula)[75]. There is also a short version, without mentioning the details of the negotiations with Dandolo in person, according to which Murtzuphlos only communicates to the crusaders that Alexios was only sick and speechless[76], although this detail is also present in some of the chronicles that had inferred the rumours spread by Murtzuphlos regarding the malady of Alexios[77].

Somehow surprisingly, chronicle **M 550** refers to the conclusion of an agreement between the parts, while other chronicles affirm the opposite[78].

According to some chronicles, towards the end of this negotiation, it occurred that some non-Venetian Crusaders made an attempt to kill Murtzuphlos, while Dandolo intervened so that the usurper could retire[79].

The failure of the dialogue determined Murtzuphlos to assume directly the government of the empire[80], as if – from his point of view – it was not necessary anymore for him to hide the truth about Alexios' death.

[72] HDV; pseudo-Enrico Dandolo; Morosini A.; M 2545; M 89; M 322; M 2034; M 78; M 559; M 2543; pseudo-Zancaruolo; pseudo-Erizzo; M 68; M 2580; pseudo-Veniera; M 1586; F 6821; F 6235; Lio; F 6241; M 43; pseudo-Donato; M 54; pseudo-Enrico Dandolo 102; M 1577; M 64; F 6566.

[73] pseudo-Enrico Dandolo; M 2545.

[74] pseudo-Enrico Dandolo; Morosini A.; M 2545; M 89; M 559; M 68; M 2580; pseudo-Veniera; Lio; M 43; pseudo-Donato; M 54; pseudo-Enrico Dandolo 102; M 64; F 6566.

[75] Cigotto; M 2560; Gussoni; F 6234; Donato T.

[76] M 2569; pseudo-Sanudo 2; M 2544; Cavalli; Zancaruolo; pseudo-Abbiosi; M 47.

[77] See above, p. 33 and note 47.

[78] M 51 ("*non possando romagnir dacordo*"); M 327 ("*ma i menaua la cosa in zanzi finche i se parti desacordo insembre*"); M 61 ("*e che non uolesse effettiuamente Murzuflo, che ritardare le risolutioni nemiche nulla fu concluso opposto troppo i fini de die Principi, e troppo discordansi le intentioni. Così niente può operandosi nell'accordo* [...]").

[79] M 2034; M 78; M 2543; pseudo-Zancaruolo; pseudo-Erizzo; M 1586; F 6821; F 6235; F 6241; M 1577. This detail is also present in Choniates, but without the Doge's final intervention that stopped the knights to attack Murtzuphlos.

[80] M 2564 ("*e da poj partido Morfileo luj conmenza a tegnir linperjo avertamente*"); Cigotto ("*tegnando lo Imperrjo apertamente*"); M 2034 ("*E da puo partido, Morsiflo de là, lo conmenzà a tegnir lo inperio per liui averta mente e <se> fexe inchoronar*"); M 78 ("*Dapoi questo Marsiflo apertamente conmincio tenire lo Imperio*"); M 2560 ("*e partido da luy ritorno in Constantinopoli tignando limperio apertamente*"); M 541 ("*E dapoj parttido Marsiflo luj conmenzo a ttegnir lo Inperrio aperttamentte*"); M 798 ("*E da poi partido Marfiflo lui comenzo a tegnir limperio publicamente*"); Gussoni ("*et partido da lui ritornò a Constantinopoli regnando in lo imperio apertamente*); F 6234 ("*et partido trouò in Costantinopoli tegnando l'Imperio apertamente*"); M 2543 ("*Partito Marsilio lui comenzo a tegnir lo Imperio apertamente e fesesse coronar*"); M 45 ("*e dapoi partido Morfileo luj conmenzar tegnir limperio auertamente*"); pseudo-Zancaruolo ("*E deli se parti e intro in nela cita. Et de subito se fexe Jmperador*"); M 628a ("*et dapoi partido Marsilio lui comenzo a*

There are few chronicles referring also to a second attempt of negotiation proposed by Murtzuphlos in the middle of the second siege after the first French failing assault[81]. This new attempt would have been rejected by the Crusaders who considered the initiative as being not serious and expressing Murtzuphlos' intention to play a trick[82]. Chronicle **pseudo-Caroldo** does refer only to Murtzuphlos' initiative during the siege, therefore consequent to the attempt to set fire up to the Venetian fleet, and it does it originally: "*All'hora Murcipho, vedendo non poter resistere, fece intender al Duce, che gli haverebbe prestato ubidienza, quando volesse lasciarlo Imperatore. Gli fu risposto che non volevano con lui altro accordo* [...]".

5. The fire set by him up to the Venetian fleet[83]

Not only that some of the Venetian chronicles place this episode as a part of the second siege of Constantinople, but even after the first unsuccessful Frankish

tegnir lo Imperio apertamente"); pseudo-Erizzo ("*el se parti de lì Marsilifo, et intrò nella città, e fexesse Imperator auertamente*"); Donato T. ("*Partido retorno in Constantinopoli tegnando lo Imperio apertamente*"); M 2580 ("*et dappoi partito ditto Marsiflo scomenzò à tenir l'Imperio apertamente*"); M 1586 ("*Et dapuò partito Marsiflo da là, lui cominciò à tenire l'Imperio per lui apertamente, et si fece incoronare*"); F 6821 ("*et dapo a zerti zorni con el fauor lauea el se fece far Imperador*"); M 91 ("*et dapoi partido Marfisio scomensò a tener l'Jmperio appertamente*"); F 6241 ("*Doppo questo Marsiflo apertamente cominciò tenere l'Imperio*"); M 43 ("*partito il doge, Marsulfo principiò à piu liberamente essercitare l'autorita Imperiale*"); M 80 ("*et dapoi partido Marfisio comenzo à tegnir l'Imperio appertamente*"); M 1577 ("*El se partì de lì Marsilifo, e intrò nella citta, e feccese Imperator*").

[81] It is in accordance with what Baldwin, 505 considered as the second attempt of negotiation between the sides.

[82] M 78 ("*con molto humilitade ma per jnganare*"); M 2543 ("*de gran humilitade per uolerli inganar*"); pseudo-Zancaruolo ("*fraudolentemente, per far sorasedere essa batagia*"); pseudo-Erizzo ("*fraudolemente uoiando tradir*"); F 6241 ("*con molta humiltà mà per ingannare*"); M 1577 ("*fraudolentemente, volendo tradir*"). Baldwin also notes the failure of it ("*quod nulla cum eo pacis posset esse securitas*").

[83] Present in 51.40% of the chronicles: HDV, 94; Canal, 24; VH, 138; pseudo-Enrico Dandolo, 75–76; Morosini A., 8; M 2545, 48a, col. 2; M 89, 24b, col. 1; M 2564, 79a–79b; Cigotto, 170a–170b; M 322, 50a; M 2034, 397; M 2563, 12a; M 78, 10b, col. 2–11a, col. 1, 11a, col. 1; M 2560, 69a [74a]; M 559, 46a; M 541, 35a; M 550, 72b; M 798, xxij b; M 51, 70b, col. 1; Gussoni, 223; F 6234, 62a; M 46, 32a; M 2571, 103a; M 2573, 111b; pseudo-Caroldo, 172; M 2543, 50a; pseudo-Barbaro, 233a–234a; M 45, 41b–42a; M 2567, 39b, col. 1; pseudo-Zancaruolo, cl xxxxiij b; M 628a, 90b; M 53, 138a; pseudo-Erizzo, 109a–109b; pseudo-Navagero, 983; F 6211, 33a–33b; Donato T., 76a; M 68, 73a; M 2580, 130b; M 2581, 90b; pseudo-Veniera, 68b; pseudo-Savina, 57b; M 1586, 37a–37b; M 327, 71a; F 6821, 82b; M 91, 366a; Lio, 67b; F 6241, 24b; M 43, 37a; pseudo-Donato, 31a; M 54, 156a; M 80, 103b; pseudo-Enrico Dandolo 102, 41b; M 1577, 276–277; M 64, 195b; F 6566, 34a. This percentage does not include those few chronicles that place the episode under Alexios IV: Morosini P., 146; Vianoli, 257–258; M 61, libro 6, 43–44; Diedo, 77, so that do not regard Murtzuphlos as having this initiative. Among the primary sources, the episode is present in Baldwin, 503 and 505; Villehardouin, 16/17–18/19; Clari, 84; *Devastatio*, 91; Novgorod, 96; *Corpus Flandriae*, 298; *Chron. Gall.*, 352, and absent in Nicetas and Gunther.

attempt to assault the cities' walls[84], while some others immediately after the dialogue with the Doge and previous to the failed Frankish assault[85], as if this episode would have determine the non-Venetians to react tempestuously and carelessly. In two particular cases[86], the initiative of Murtzuphlos to set fire would have taken place in the middle of negotiations for the payment of the debt.

This placement of the episode is unlike the primary sources, which regard the episode as occurring when Alexios IV was still on the throne[87]. The exceptions are **Baldwin**'s letter, **Novgorod** and ***Corpus Flandriae***, all these three sources inserting it in the middle of the siege of Constantinople.

In some cases, it is not Murtzuphlos in person to be mentioned as taking this endeavour, but the Greeks generally[88]. It is explainable since, according to the majority of the sources, this episode is usually placed before Murtzuphlos' accession to the throne and therefore those sources refer to the Greeks in general[89].

The number of the Byzantine ships sent to accomplish this mission varies, the most chronicles oscillating in an almost balanced percentage between 18[90] and 16[91]. There are also cases that speak about six ships[92], 14[93], or 15[94], while other chronicles do not offer any number[95]. As a singular well documented case, chronicle **M 61** makes an incursion in the history of the famous "Greek fire"[96]. While the figure of

[84] Canal; pseudo-Enrico Dandolo; Morosini A.; M 2545; M 89; M 559; M 541; M 2567; M 68; pseudo-Veniera; Lio; pseudo-Donato; M 54; pseudo-Enrico Dandolo 102; M 64; F 6566.

[85] M 2564; Cigotto; M 322; M 2034; M 2563; M 78; M 541; M 798; M 46; pseudo-Caroldo; M 2543; M 45; pseudo-Zancaruolo; M 628a; pseudo-Erizzo; M 2580; M 1586; M 327; M 91; F 6241; M 43; M 80; M 1577.

[86] pseudo-Barbaro; pseudo-Savina.

[87] Villehardouin; Clari; *Devastatio*; *Chron. Gall.*; Villehardouin, 18/19 even credits Alexios IV with this initiative when, as a conclusion of the episode, concludes ironically that "*Ice guerredon lor volt rendre l'empereres Alexis du service qu'il li avoient fait. / C'est la récompense que voulut leur donner l'empereur Alexis pour le service qu'ils lui avaient rendu.*")

[88] Canal; pseudo-Enrico Dandolo; Morosini A.; M 2545; M 2567; pseudo-Donato; pseudo-Enrico Dandolo 102; Vianoli; M 61.

[89] Villehardouin; Clari; *Devastatio*; Novgorod (although this chronicle places the episode under the reign of Murtzuphlos); *Chron. Gall.*. As for Baldwin, 505, it does not make a clear difference, still speaking of "suas [sic!] *naves incensas*", but *Corpus Flandriae* clearly refers to Murtzuphlos.

[90] pseudo-Enrico Dandolo; Morosini A.; M 2545; M 89; M 322; M 2034; M 78; M 559; M 2543; M 2567; M 68; pseudo-Veniera; M 1586; M 327; Lio; F 6241; pseudo-Donato; M 54; pseudo-Enrico Dandolo 102 ("circa [sic!] *18*"); M 64; F 6566.

[91] M 2564; Cigotto; M 2560; M 550; M 51; Gussoni; F 6234; M 2573; pseudo-Barbaro; M 45; M 628a; M 53; pseudo-Erizzo; Donato T.; pseudo-Savina; M 91; M 80; one could add Vianoli.

[92] M 2563; M 541; M 46; M 2580; M 43.

[93] pseudo-Zancaruolo; F 6821.

[94] pseudo-Caroldo.

[95] "*naves suas*" in HDV and similar expressions in Canal; VH; M 2571; pseudo-Navagero; F 6211; M 2581; M 1577; M 61, to which one could add Morosini P. ("*più naui*").

[96] M 61, libro 6, 43.

16 ships is to be detected in Baldwin, and the one of 15 in Devastatio the other versions offered by the Venetian chronicles have nothing to do with the primary sources[97].

However, this Greek initiative was not accomplished; some of the chronicles note the Divine intervention[98], and almost all of them mention the Venetians' ability in removing the Greek firing ships[99]. Some few of them offer the detail that it was only one Pisan commercial vessel to be fired on this occasion[100].

[97] The figures in the primary sources are as follows: four (*Corpus Flandriae*); ten (Novgorod); 17 (Villehardouin and *Chron. Gall.*). As for Baldwin and Clari, they do not present any figure, both referring instead to a double Greek initiative in this sense (for Baldwin, the first would have taken place according to the other primary sources, that is prior to the fall of Alexios, and only the second being the result of Murtzuphlos' initiative).

[98] HDV ("*Domino pro curante*"); VH ("*ex quo Altisimo procurante*"); M 2034 ("*per la grazia de Dio*"); M 2571 ("*per la gratia de Dio*"); pseudo-Barbaro ("*Ma la Maestà de Dio, che de continuo ama le cose giuste, et abhorisce l'iniquità, drezzò il corso di quelle naue*"); pseudo-Navagero ("*per opera divina*"); F 6211 ("*per diuina opera*"); M 2581 ("*per la gracia de Dio*"); pseudo-Savina ("*per uoler diuino*"); M 1586 ("*per la Iddio gratia*"). One could add Vianoli ("*Ilche sarebbe successo, se l'assistenza Diuina, e la presenza visibile (come vien riferito) del Protettore nostro S. Marco non hauesse facilitata alle sorprese, e confuse genti la liberatione miracolosa, con l'allontanare i legni, e con lo spingerli in altra parte, doue forza più che di vento, perch'era dello Spirito di Dio, gl'inoltraua, [...]*"). The Divine intervention is complete in pseudo-Barbaro, when inserts the following description (233b–234a): "*Se troua scrito, lo credo anche per fermo, che all'hora furono uisti dredo, et intorno le naue, che ardeuano uisibilmente li Santissimi Protettori della Città de Venetia San Theodo[ro]* [sic!], *et San Marco, che le andauano spenzando, et allontanando uia dall'armada Venetiana, tanto, che non ghe fesse quel fuogo grandissimo, et uiolentissimo in alcuna parte nocumento alcun, ne se puol ueramente attribuir ad altro, che a miracolo, che un si gran incendio, diuiso in tanti legni, tutti spenti da gagliardo uento addosso all'armada, senza farghe pur un minimo danno, da si medesimo si piegasse in altra parte. Mai non abbandona Dio quei che ueramente sperano in lui, onde essendo all'hora la fede di quei nostri Padri, ferma, et sinciera, et constantissima, et confidandose molto nella diffesa de suoi Santissimi Protettori, se die creder rasoneuolmente, che per Diuina uolontà fossero liberadi da quel grauissimo pericolo, che ingiustamente ghe era stà preparà da Mauritio. Vedendo li Venetiani d'esser preseruadi da tanta, et cosi certa desauentura, subito tutti inzeno[n]chiadi* [sic!] *con le lagrime su i occhi, detteno gratie a Dio de tanto beneficio receuudo, [...]*". Among the primary sources, the Divine presence is regarded by Baldwin, 505 ("*sed Domino faciente, [...] et ab imminenti(s) mortis periculo a Domino liberamur.*"; Villehardouin ("*par l'ie de Dieu*"); Clari ("by God's mercy", in both cases of the Greeks' attacks).

[99] Some primary sources do not mention the Venetian skills in preventing this attack, see *Devastatio*; Novgorod; but it is vaguely present in Baldwin, 505 ("*cum molto nostrorum labore*") and *Corpus Flandriae* (who even speaks about Baldwin of Flanders as intervening!), while Villehardouin, *Chron. Gall.* and Clari commend the Venetians.

[100] HDV; VH; M 322; M 2571; pseudo-Caroldo; M 2543; pseudo-Barbaro; M 2581; pseudo-Savina; M 61. As for M 2573 and M 53, they speak about a vessel charged with merchandises, while pseudo-Barbaro and pseudo-Savina combine this detail, referring to "*una naue Pisana carga de mercantie*", respectively "*una naue de Pisanj che giera sorta in porto carga de mercantia*". As for the primary sources regarding this episode, Villehardouin speaks about "*une nef de Pisans qui ere plaine de marchaandise: icele si fu arse del feu.*"; Clari about "one merchant ship [...]. This was burned"; *Devastatio* refers to "*una tantum navis arsit.*"; Novgorod to "*ita ut naviculae illae Francis neutiquam nocerent.*", and *Chron. Gall.* to "*une nef de marchandise*". As for Baldwin and *Corpus Flandriae*, they are completely silent in this sense.

6. His resistance during the siege of Constantinople in 1204[101]

However, in many cases Murtzuphlos is not mentioned by name during the second siege of Constantinople, that is in the chronicles that offer a shorter reference to this siege[102], but not only[103], except for referring to his flight or to his death.

The prelude of the siege, meaning the ambush prepared by Murtzuphlos against the troops of Baldwin of Flanders in the region of Philea is also present in a few chronicles[104], and the same is for its result, that is the capture of the icon of Holy Virgin by the Crusaders, although in only few chronicles[105].

All in all, the largest descriptions of the siege are those in chronicles **M 2034, M 2542, pseudo-Erizzo, M 1586, M 327, F 6241, M 61**, and **M 1577**, including

[101] Present in 75.00% of the chronicles: HDV, 94; Canal, 24; Dandolo Extensa, 279; VH, 141; pseudo-Enrico Dandolo, 76; Morosini A., 8; M 2545, 48a, col. 2; M 89, 24b, col. 1; Monaci, 139; M 2564, 79b; M 2569, 50a; Cigotto, 170b; M 322, 50a–50b; M 2034, 398–400; M 2563, 12a; M 78, 11a, col. 1–11a, col. 2; M 2560, 69a [74a]; Biondo, 12; M 796, 73a–73b; M 559, 46a; Sabellico, 181; pseudo-Sanudo 2, 531; M 541, 35a–35b; M 550, 72b–73a; M 2544, 42b, col. 2; M 798, xxij b-xxiij a; Delfino P., 327a–327b; Cavalli, 59a; M 51, 70b, col. 1; Marco, 41b; Zancaruolo, 22b; Gussoni, 223; F 6234, 62a; M 46, 32a–32b; M 2571, 103b; M 2573, 111b–112a; pseudo-Caroldo, 172–174; F 6239, 2b–4b; M 2543, 50a–51b; pseudo-Barbaro, 234a–234b; pseudo-Abbiosi, 20b; M 45, 42a; M 2567, 39b, col. 1; M 47, 33a, col. 1; pseudo-Zancaruolo, clxxxxiij b-clxxxxiiij a; M 628a, 90b–91a; M 53, 138a; pseudo-Erizzo, 109b–110a; pseudo-Navagero, 984; F 6211, 34a; Donato T., 76a; M 68, 73a; M 2580, 130b; M 2581, 92b; Sansovino, 560; pseudo-Veniera, 68b; pseudo-Savina, 57b; Doglioni, 127–128; M 1586, 37b–38a; M 327, 71a–71b; M 71, 129a; F 6821, 82b–83a; M 91, 366a–366b; F 6235, 135a; Lio, 67b; Morosini P., 149–150; F 6241, 24b–25b; M 43, 37a–37b; pseudo-Donato, 31a; M 54, 156a; M 80, 103b; pseudo-Enrico Dandolo 102, 41b–42a; Vianoli, 261–263; M 2592, 29b–30a; M 61, libro 7, 3–16; M 1999, 29b; M 1577, 277–282; M 2028, 80a; M 64, 195b; F 6566, 34a; Diedo, 78, 79; M 1833, 25a. It is about the same chronicles that also present the assassination of Alexios IV, excepting M 70, where the episode of the siege is strangely absent, and adding F 6239, which pages referring to the events previous to the second siege of Constantinople are lost. Since it is about the central episode of the Fourth Crusade, the second siege of Constantinople is present in all the primary sources: Baldwin, 504–505, 506–507; Choniates, 312–313 (568–571 in Choniates Van Dieten); Villehardouin, 24/25–28/29, 32/33–34/35, 36/37–48/49; Clari, 88–91, 92–100; *Devastatio*, 92; Novgorod, 96–97; Gunther, 102–107 (243–245 in Gunther Migne); *Corpus Flandriae*, 298–299; *Chron. Gall.*, 353, 354–355.

[102] HDV; Canal; Dandolo Extensa; VH; pseudo-Enrico Dandolo; Morosini A.; M 2545; M 89; M 2569; Biondo; M 796; M 559; pseudo-Sanudo 2; M 2544; Delfino P.; Cavalli; Zancaruolo; F 6234; M 47; pseudo-Navagero; F 6211; M 68; F 6821; Lio; pseudo-Donato; M 54; pseudo-Enrico Dandolo 102; M 2592; M 2028; M 64.

[103] M 2564; Cigotto; M 322; M 2563; M 78 (in this case, excepting his second embassy towards the Doge); M 2560; M 541; M 550; M 798; M 51; Gussoni; M 46; M 2573; M 45; M 628a; M 53; Donato T.; M 2580; pseudo-Savina; Doglioni; M 91; F 6235; F 6241; M 43; M 80; Vianoli.

[104] Monaci, 137; Biondo, 12; Sabellico, 180; Morosini P., 148; Vianoli, 261; M 61, libro 7, 3–4; Diedo, 78. Among the primary sources, this episode is described by Baldwin, 504 (without mentioning Philea); Choniates, 312 (567 in Choniates Van Dieten) (even previous to the negotiation between Murtzuphlos and Dandolo); Villehardouin, 24/25–28/29 (Henry of Hainault instead of Baldwin); Clari, 88–90 (Henry instead of Baldwin); *Chron. Gall.*, 353 (Henry instead of Baldwin).

[105] Monaci; Biondo; Sabellico; M 61. For the icon of Holy Virgin, but in a somehow different context, see also pseudo-Navagero, 983 and F 6211, 33a. The detail is also mentioned in Baldwin, 504; Choniates, 312 (567 in Choniates Van Dieten); Villehardouin, 28/29; Clari, 89; as for *Chron. Gall.*, 353, it speaks only about the capture of some imperial badges.

the references to the presence of Latin and English troops in the army of Murtzuphlos, along with the Greeks[106].

Most of the chronicles refer also to Murtzuphlos' flight from Constantinople[107], as the moment when the city is finally taken. However, only a small part of them notes that he was accompanied either by some other Greeks[108], or by members of his family[109]. It is only the case of chronicle **M 61** that follows word by word the information delivered by **Choniates**, according to which Murtzuphlos took Alexios III's wife and daughters with him[110].

7. His blinding by Alexios III[111]

Among the few Venetian chronicles that mention this episode, some only note Alexios III's enmity towards Murtzuphlos[112], while **F 6239**, on the contrary,

[106] M 2034 ("*e non tanto sola mente di Griexi ma eziandio da soldadi latini, li qual liui aveva tolto a so soldo et altra zente che se chiamava Inglexi*"); M 2543 ("*et non solamente da Grieghi, ma de soldati Latini che lui hauea tolto a soldo et altra zente che si chiamaua Varanghi che sono Englesi*); pseudo-Erizzo ("*si de Griexi, come de Latini, et anchor Englexi*"); M 1586 ("*non tanto de Greci, quanto degli Latini lui haueua tolti à suo soldo de molti Inglesi*"); M 327 ("*non tanto de Griesi ma de zenti forestieri de Englesi buoni arcieri*"); F 6241 ("*la gran moltitudine de Greci con Turchi* [sic!], *et d'Inglesi*"); M 1577 ("*se messe mareveiosamente in ordene sì de Greci, come de Latini anchor Englesi*"). The Englishmen are also present in M 78; pseudo-Caroldo; pseudo-Zancaruolo. For these mercenaries, see also Clari, 95 ("the English, the Danes, and Greeks there"), 100 ("the English, Danes, and people of other countries"); Novgorod, 96 ("*Graecos qui in urbe erant et Varangos* [...]"), 97 ("*Graecosque et Varangos*").

[107] HDV, 94; Dandolo Extensa, 279; VH, 141; Monaci, 139; M 2034, 400; M 78, 11a, col. 2; Biondo, 12; M 796, 73a; Sabellico, 181; Delfino P., 327a; Marco, 41b; M 2571, 103b; pseudo-Caroldo, 174; F 6239, 3b–4a; M 2543, 51b; M 2567, 39b, col. 1; pseudo-Zancaruolo, clxxxxiiij a; pseudo-Erizzo, 110a; pseudo-Navagero, 984; F 6211, 34a; M 2581, 92b; pseudo-Savina, 57b; Doglioni, 128; M 1586, 38a; M 327, 71b; M 71, 129a; F 6821, 82b–83a; Morosini P., 150; F 6241, 25b; Vianoli, 263; M 2592, 30a; M 61, libro 7, 14 and 16; M 1999, 29b; M 1577, 282; Diedo, 79; M 1833, 25a. Among the primary sources, Murtzuphlos' flight is mentioned in Baldwin, 507; Choniates, 313–314 (571 in Choniates Van Dieten); Villehardouin, 48/49; Clari, 100; *Devastatio*, 92; Gunther, 114; *Chron. Gall.*, 355.

[108] M 2034 ("*et molti altri Greci*"); M 78 ("*con molti Greci*"); pseudo-Caroldo ("*con gran moltitudine de Greci*"); M 2543 ("*et molti altri Griegi*"); pseudo-Zancaruolo ("*cum assai Grezi*"); pseudo-Erizzo ("*con assai Griexi*"); Doglioni ("*co' suoi seguaci*"); M 1586 ("*e molti altri Greci*"); M 327 ("*con molti Griesi*"); F 6241 ("*con molti Greci*"); M 1577 ("*con assai Greci*").

[109] Monaci ("*cum conjuge, & filiis*"); Biondo ("*cum pellicibus, uxore & thesauro*"); F 6239 ("*cun pelicibus uxore, et thesauro*") (quoting Biondo); M 2592 ("*con la moglie et le meretize portando uia gran peczo di oro*"); Diedo ("*colla moglie, e co' suoi familiari*").

[110] M 61 ("*con l'Imperatrice Eufrosina moglie dell'Imperatore Alessio il uecchio, e con la Principessa Eudosia figlia delli medesimi*"). Cf. Choniates, 314 (571 in Choniates Van Dieten).

[111] Present in 16.67% of the chronicles: HDV, 94; Dandolo Extensa, 281; VH, 143–144; M 2034, 400; M 796, 74a; Delfino P., 330b; M 2571, 104b; pseudo-Caroldo, 176; F 6239, 9b; M 2543, 51b; pseudo-Zancaruolo, clxxxxiiij a; M 2581, 95b; Doglioni, 128; M 1586, 38a; Morosini P., 154–155; Vianoli, 267; M 61, libro 7, 30–31; M 1577, 282. This episode is mentioned in only three of the primary sources, that is Choniates, 334 (608 in Choniates Van Dieten); Villehardouin, 78/79–80/81; Gunther, 115 (248 in Gunther Migne).

[112] M 2034; M 2543; pseudo-Zancaruolo; M 1586.

mentions only the fact that Murtzuphlos was already blinded when being captured by the Latins, without referring to Alexios III.

Some of the chronicles also deliver as reason for Murtzuphlos' blinding by the former Alexios III the fact that he had been the one who assassinated his nephew Alexios IV[113], leaving thus aside the fact that Alexios III had had the same intentions previously.

Beside these few exceptions – that place the event correctly, according to the contemporary sources, meaning subsequent to the coronation of Baldwin as emperor – the Venetian chronicles seem to avoid this relation between Murtzuphlos and Alexios III and pass directly to the execution of the 'false' emperor by the Latins, as if this latter would have been the direct and immediate result of the conquest of Constantinople.

8. His death[114]

In some chronicles[115], it is only Murtzuphlos' flight during the second fall of the city to be noted, so that his death is absent, as if it was only his removal to be taken into consideration, while some others[116] do not even mention his flight.

There are also situations when, contrary to an execution, one could infer that Murtzuphlos was killed even during the siege[117], so that he would have not escaped

[113] HDV; VH; M 2571; M 2543; M 2581.

[114] Present in 65.74% of the chronicles: HDV, 94; Canal, 24; Dandolo Extensa, 281; VH, 144; pseudo-Enrico Dandolo, 76; Morosini A., 8; M 2545, 48a, col. 2; M 89, 24b, col. 1; Monaci, 139–140; M 2564, 79b; M 2569, 50a; Cigotto, 170b; M 322, 50b; M 2034, 400; M 2563, 12a; M 78, 11a, col. 1; M 2560, 69a [74a]; M 796, 74a; M 559, 46a; pseudo-Sanudo 2, 531; M 541, 35b; M 550, 73a; M 2544, 43a, col. 1; M 798, xxiij a; Delfino P., 330b; Cavalli, 59a; M 51, 70b, col. 1; Zancaruolo, 22b; Gussoni, 223; F 6234, 62a; M 46, 32b; M 2571,104b–105a; M 2573, 112a; pseudo-Caroldo, 176; F 6239, 9b; M 2543, 51b–52a; pseudo-Barbaro, 234b–235a; M 45, 42a; M 2567, 39b, col. 1; M 47, 33a, col. 1–33a, col. 2; pseudo-Zancaruolo, clxxxxiiij a; M 628a, 91a; M 53, 138a; pseudo-Erizzo, 110a; Donato T., 76a; M 68, 73a; M 2580, 130b; M 2581, 95b; pseudo-Veniera, 68b; pseudo-Savina, 57b; Doglioni, 128; M 1586, 38a–38b; M 327, 71b; M 91, 366b; Lio, 67b; Morosini P., 155; F 6241, 25b; M 43, 37b; pseudo-Donato, 31a; M 54, 156a; M 80, 103b; M 70, 41b; pseudo-Enrico Dandolo 102, 42a; Vianoli, 267; M 61, libro 7, 34–35; M 1999, 29b; M 1577, 282–283; M 2028, 80a; M 64, 195b; F 6566, 34a; M 1833, 25a.

[115] Biondo, 12; Sabellico, 181; Marco, 41b; pseudo-Navagero, 984; F 6211, 34a; M 71, 129a; F 6821, 82b–83a; M 2592, 30a; Diedo, 79.

[116] pseudo-Abbiosi; Sansovino; F 6235.

[117] M 2564 ("*e fo morto per Italiani quel Morflio Imperrador traditor che amazo Alesio Imperador zouene*"); Cigotto ("*et fo prexo et morto per lj Taljanj quel Marsilio Imperrador et traditor*"); M 2563 ("*Et fo morto quel tristo de Marsillo Imperador traditor, che amazo Alesio zouane*"); M 2560 ("*e fo prexo e morto per Taliani quel Morfleo Imperador traditor*"); pseudo-Sanudo 2 ("*E andando i Latini scorrendo la Terra, s'incontrarono nel detto Marzuflio, e l'ammazzarono, per aver fatto morire il suo Signore così empiamente*"); M 541 ("*E fo mortto per Ttalianj quel Marsiflo Inperador che amazo Alesio Inperrador zouene*"); M 550 ("*& cosi fu morto Marsilio*"); M 798 ("*e fo morto quel Marfiflo Jnperador*"); Gussoni ("*et fu prexo et morto per 'Taliani quel Marsilio Inperador traditor*"); F 6234 ("*et quello Marsilio Imperador è morto*"); M 46 ("*e fo morto quel tristo de Marsilio Inperador traditor che amazo Alesjo zouene*"); M 45 ("*e fo morto per Italianj quel Morfleo Inperador traditor che amazo Alessio Inperador zouene*"); M 2567 ("*ma pur*

from the city; the expression used by the chronicles is that "*e fu morto quel Murzuflo*" (or similar), but without offering more details and, therefore, neither speaking about a punitive execution.

However, the most of the cases note that Murtzuphlos found his death by being executed by the Crusaders[118]. With some exceptions that just mention it without offering details[119], the Venetian chronicles generally give various information about the manner of execution.

The classical version, according to which the 'usurper' was thrown from the top of a column[120], is followed indeed in some chronicles that expell it in one phrase[121]. A more developed description is offered by chronicle **M 61**: "*fu condutto nella Piazza detta del Tauro nel mezzo alla quale sorgeua la gran colonna di Teodosio nella somità della quale sopra scallini nel dimorano* [?] *intagliata saliuasi* [sic!]. *Iui strascinato fu esposto all'occhio di tutto il popolo per argomento dei precipitij della fortuna, e d'improuiso precipitato al basso, e punita con mortale caduta l'ambition temeraria del traditore.*"

However, having this description as starting point, the other Venetian chronicles develop it and advance many elements of originality, maintaining the fact that the convict was thrown down, but adding some other details.

For instance, chronicles **HDV** and **VH** use at a certain moment the summarized version (like **Dandolo Extensa**), when saying that "*et sic miserabiliter*

a la fine capito nele mani di Italiani el qual fu da esser morto"); M 628a ("*et fo morto per li Italiani quello Marsilio Imperador traditor, che amazzo Alessio Imperador zouine*"); Donato T. ("*et intradi tutj dentro fo morto quel Marsileo Imperador traditor*"); M 2580 ("*et fu morto per lli Italiani quell'Marsiflo Imperator, che amazò Alexio Imperator*"); M 91 ("*e fu morto per li Jtaliani quello Marfisio*"); M 43 ("*et fu morto Marsuffo, ch'haueua usurpato l'Imperio con hauer fatto amazzar il giouine Imperatore Alesio*"); M 80 ("*et fù morto da gli Italiani il maluagio Imperator Marfisio, che ammazò Alessio Imperator giouine*").

[118] HDV; Canal; Dandolo Extensa; VH; pseudo-Enrico Dandolo; Morosini A.; M 2545; M 89; Monaci; M 2569; M 322; M 2034; M 78; M 796; M 559; M 2544; Delfino P.; Cavalli; M 51; Zancaruolo; M 2573; pseudo-Caroldo; F 6239; M 2543; pseudo-Barbaro; M 47; pseudo-Zancaruolo; M 53; pseudo-Erizzo; M 68; pseudo-Veniera; pseudo-Savina; Doglioni; M 1586; M 327; Lio; Morosini P.; F 6241; pseudo-Donato; M 54; pseudo-Enrico Dandolo 102; Vianoli; M 61; M 1999; M 1577; M 2028; M 64; F 6566. This is also the version in the primary sources: Choniates, 334 (609 in Choniates Van Dieten); Villehardouin, 114/115–116/117; Clari, 124; Gunther, 115–116 (248–249 in Gunther Migne); *Corpus Flandriae*, 301–302; Morea, 93.

[119] Dandolo Extensa ("*turpiter vitam finivit*"); M 796 ("*finj la suo vita* [...] *villissimamente*"); Delfino P. ("*cum uergogna fini la uita sua*"); pseudo-Caroldo ("*fu fatto morire* [...] *vituperosamente*").

[120] Choniates; Villehardouin; Clari; Gunther (although preferring the term of "pyramid" instead of column, but then explaining: "about the pyramid [...] which many call a column. / *De pyramide autem illa,* [...], *quam et plerique columnam vocant*); Morea (according to Morea Bouchon, the term of "κιονιος / *obelisque*" is used). An original version is offered by *Corpus Flandriae*, 301, which regard Murtzuphlos as being beheaded along with 22 of his followers.

[121] Canal ("and then Murtzuphlos was captured and thrown to the ground from atop a pillar, so that his body was shattered"); Monaci ("*de altissima praecipitatus columna exitum parem factis invenit*"); Morosini P. ("*condotto à Costantinopoli fu come meritaua la sua perfidia da vn'alta colonna precipitato*"); M 1999 ("*fu per ordine di Baldouino gittato 1204 da una colonna nel Tauro*").

vitam finivit", respectively "*et sic turpiter vitam finivit extremam*", but offer much more details[122]. First, the column becomes statue[123] and, according to **M 322**, even balcony[124]. A successful combination between column and statue is provided by **Vianoli**, when saying "*fù da vn'alta colonna d'eminente luogo detto Tauro da vna statua, che vi era sopra, spinto col precipitio alla ben meritata morte*".

There are many cases where "*colonna*" becomes toponym, when it is clearly said that "*et la doue fo zitado lo suo corpo se chiama Colona*" (or similar)[125]. However, **F 6239** makes distinction between the common and the proper nouns, saying once that "*et de luogo eminentissimo precipita, et per la città detrato esser stà preso da Balduin dun* [sic!] *fusse Imperator, et quello fe butar zoso de una colona*", and then "*fò trouà Mortulfo, et morto fo butà el corpo in un luogo dito Colone*". A successful combination between the two is also provided by **F 6241**, when saying simply that "*il loco doue fù gettato il suo corpo si chiama Colona, nel qual era una colona*".

According to a number of chronicles, it seems that "*Colonna*" was not the place where Murtzuphlos' execution took place, but the one where his body was left afterwards[126].

At the same time, there are cases where *colonna / statua* is named as *Tauro*[127], while "*Collan*" is the name of the place – therefore, a toponym again – where the body of the convict is thrown in the mouth of the dogs[128].

[122] A similar conclusive expression is in Choniates and Gunther.

[123] HDV ("*et super statuam magnam, que Thaurus vocabatur, coram omni populo posuerunt et in ipsum precipitari fecerunt*"); VH ("*et postea super statuam magnam tauri aurati coram populo posuerunt et precipitari fecerunt*"); see also M 2571 ("*et soura una gia statua che vien clamada lo Thoro dauanti tutto lo puouolo el fo messo et della el fose trabuchar*"); pseudo-Barbaro ("*il qual condutolo in un luogo emine^te, doue era una statua nominada il Tauro, el fece da quel luogo buttar in terra*"); M 2581 ("*et soura vna gran statua che vien clamada lo Thoro dauantj tutto lo puouolo el fo messo, et della el fese trabuchar*"); pseudo-Savina ("*fu conduto sora una gran statua, la qual Tauro era chiamada in presentia de tutto el puouolo e la fu zettado zo de alto à terra*").

[124] M 322 ("*e si fo gitado çoxo delli balchoni del palaço in tera*", and adding another manner of execution, saying immediately afterwards that "*e fo puo tuto taiado a peçi*").

[125] M 2569; M 2034; M 78; M 2544; Cavalli; Zancaruolo; M 2573; F 6239; M 2543; M 47; M 53; M 2543; M 1586; M 327; M 2028.

[126] M 51 ("*e gitado lo corpo suo jn Chollone jn vno zerto luogo chuxi chiamato*"); Zancaruolo: "*E la doue fo gittado lo suo corpo che se chiama Cholonna*"; M 2573: "*& il suo corpo fo butato a un luogo dito alle Collone*"; F 6239: "*fò trouà Mortulfo, et morto fo butà el corpo in un luogo dito Colone*"; M 2543: "*E la doue fu gitado el suo corpo si chiama Colona*"; M 47: "*Et la doue fu gitato el suo corpo si chiama Cholona*"; M 53: "*et il suo corpo fo butado in uno luogo dito le Colone*"; M 2543: "*E la doue fu gitado el suo corpo si chiama Colona*"; pseudo-Erizzo: "*et fo gittado el suo corpo appresso una colonna*"; M 1586: "*et in quello luogo che fù gettato lo suo corpo si chiama Colonna*"; M 327: "*et in quel luogo doue romase el so corpo se appella Colonna*"; F 6241: "*il loco doue fù gettato il suo corpo si chiama Colona, nel qual era una colona*"; M 2028: "*E là dove fù gittado il suo corpo si chiamava Collona*".

[127] HDV; M 2571; pseudo-Barbaro; M 2581; pseudo-Savina; Vianoli; M 1999. The name of *Taurus* is in accordance with Choniates.

[128] pseudo-Barbaro ("*et perche non macasse cosa alcuna al compimento della sua miseria, fu ultimamente il suo corpo dado a manzar a cani in un luogo detto il Collan,* [...].");; pseudo-Savina

There are also some cases that, for more or less explainable reasons, either continue the description of the execution, or even modify it.

For example, according to some chronicles[129], in a first instance Murtzuphlos escaped in a palace ("*scampado sovra un palazo*"), he is captured ("*incalçado*") on a column ("*sovra una colona*")[130], where he is stoned ("*fu lapidado*"[131]). It would be only after this manner of execution when these chronicles complete by saying that "*a le fine vene trabucando zoxo fin in tera e lì morì cum dolorose stente*". The verb "*incalzado*" could be easily a distorsion of *inalzado*, which indeed corresponds to the classical meaning, but this modification completely changes the initial sense. Besides, the manner of description of the events seems to imply that the event took place directly connected to the siege, during Murtzuphlos' retirement and flight.

On their turn, chronicles **HDV** and **VH** also add that Murtzuphlos had previously been worn through the city on a camel ("*et postmodum ad caudam cameli ligatum turpiter per totam terram trahi iusserunt*", respectively "*quem ad caudam cameli ligatum extrahi per terram iubserunt*")[132]. According to **pseudo-Barbaro**, **pseudo-Savina**, and **Vianoli**, it is about a horse[133], and the same three chronicles, as we mentioned above[134], along with **F 6239**[135], relate how Murtzuphlos' corpse was thrown to the dogs, a practice that is similar to the horrible description of the execution of Emperor Andronicus I (1183–1185)[136].

("*e dopo morto il corpo suo fu datto a i cani in un luogo ditto Collan*"); Vianoli ("*e perche fosse compita la sue infelice memoria, nè gli mancasse alcuna sorte d'obbrobrio, fù il suo auanzo di cadauere dato per pasto ai cani in vn luogo detto il Collano.*")

[129] pseudo-Enrico Dandolo; Morosini A.; M 2545; M 89; M 559; M 68; pseudo-Veniera; Lio; pseudo-Donato; M 54; pseudo-Enrico Dandolo 102; M 64; F 6566.

[130] In pseudo-Enrico Dandolo 102, "*colonna*" becomes "*colinna*".

[131] In M 2545, "*lapidado*" is replaced by the non-existent term of "*peridado*".

[132] See also M 2571 and M 2581, with one and the same description, saying: "*et puo fu ligado alla choda de vno gambelo et comanda chel fusse strassinado per tutta la terra*".

[133] pseudo-Barbaro: "*et poi mezo morto, et tutto posto, el fece ligar alla coda d'un cauallo, et uituperosamente strassinarlo per tutto Constantinopoli*"; pseudo-Savina: "*dopo a coda de un cauallo ligado uituperosamente per tutta la citta ello fu strassinado, e cusi miserabilmente fini la uita sua*"; Vianoli: "*fatto legare il suo cadauere ad vna coda di cauallo, e strascinare con ignominia per tutta la città*".

[134] See above, p. 44 and note 128.

[135] F 6239: "*et morto fo butà el corpo in un luogo dito Colone a i cani*".

[136] See Choniates, 192–193 (348 ff. in Choniates Van Dieten) (but without speaking of his corpse as being thrown to the dogs), but also in a large number of the Venetian chronicles: Dandolo Extensa, 271; VH, 136; Giustinian, 93; M 2545, 46b, col. 2; Monaci, 126; M 2564, 78a; Cigotto, 167a; M 2034, 392; M 2563, 11a; M 78, 9a, col. 2; M 2560, 67b [72b]; M 541, 33a; M 550, 72a; M 798, xxi b; Delfino P., 314a; M 51, 68b, col. 2–69a, col. 1; Gussoni, 220; F 6234, 59b–60a; M 46, 31a; M 2571, 100b; pseudo-Caroldo, 158; M 2543, 46a; pseudo-Barbaro, 221b; M 45, 40a–40b; M 2567, 37b, col. 1; pseudo-Zancaruolo, clxxxx b; M 628a, 89a; pseudo-Erizzo, 105b; M 323, 74b; M 2580, 129b; M 2581, 89a; pseudo-Savina, 55a–55b; M 1586, 35a; M 327, 69b–70a; M 91, 365b; F 6241, 21b; M 43, 35b; M 80, 102a; M 1577, 255–256. In the episode referring to Andronicus' cruel death, the majority of these chronicles (M 2564; Cigotto; M 2034; M 2563; M 78; M 2560; M 541; M 550; M 798; M 51; Gussoni; F 6234; M 46; M 2543; pseudo-Barbaro; M 45; pseudo-Zancaruolo; M 628a; pseudo-Erizzo; M 323; M 2580; pseudo-Savina; M 1586; M 327; M 91; F 6241; M 43 (where the dogs are substituted in the text by the ravens!); M 80; M 1577) also refer to the detail about his corpse as leaving aside in the dogs' mouth.

Some other chronicles introduce the detail that Murtzuphlos was cut into pieces, either completing the execution by throwing[137], or not[138].

All in all, as **pseudo-Zancaruolo** asserts, "*li fo morto de crudel morte*". As for **M 61**, it seems that a real trial had taken place in advance[139].

Few cases also mention the name of the one who had previously captured Murtzuphlos, some following the information offered by two of the primary sources (that is, Villehardouin and Clari) and mentioning Lothair of Loz[140], and some others introducing a Venetian in the story, that is Giovanni Basegio[141], or considering even Baldwin as the one who captured the usurper[142]. It is also the case of **Vianoli**, who mention both Lothair and Basegio. According to **HDV**, **M 2571** and **M 2581**, both Baldwin and the Doge had sent their "*exquisitores / executori*" in order to look for and capture Murtzuphlos (already blinded by Alexios III), while **M 1999** notes that Baldwin gave the order of execution. Maybe due to copy inattentions, it results from the chronicles **M 2543** and **pseudo-Zancaruolo** that it was Alexios III who organized the execution of Murtzuphlos.

It is a singular interpretation that could suggest that it was Murtzuphlos first and foremost executed and only afterwards the city would have been taken[143].

Among the chronicles, some refer in addition to the prophecies related to Murtzuphlos' death[144], connecting them with St. Daniel[145]. Since none of the

[137] M 322; M 2573. It is in accordance with Villehardouin; Clari; Gunther.

[138] M 53; M 70.

[139] The trial is also mentioned in Choniates.

[140] Morosini P.; M 61. Actually, the name of this character is Thierry of Los, see Villehardouin, 114–115; Clari, 123 (but referrence is not to this count, but to his brother as the one that captured Murtzuphlos).

[141] pseudo-Barbaro. Although it usually follows pseudo-Barbaro, this time pseudo-Savina does not mention Basegio. As for M 327, it also mentions the fact that the Venetians were the ones that captured Murtzuphlos.

[142] VH (speaking about both Baldwin and the Doge); Monaci; F 6239; Doglioni.

[143] M 70, 41b ("*& discoperto tal trattado ditto Mirtillo fo tagliato à pezzi da traditor, insieme con suoi seguazzi*").

[144] M 2569 ("*Et la xe jntaiado molte profizie de San Daniel, & jnfina quello tempo nisun non le jntendeua, se non da puo che le xe aduenide*"); M 2034 ("*e su quela cholona xè intaiade molte chosse de profezia che deveva adevegnir e algun non le intemdeva, se non che da puo che le iera adevegnude. E dixese che miser san Daniel profeta le profetizià che le deveva adevegnir. E subito chomo il Marsiliflo fo gitado là, chomo io ho dito, el fo trovado chosì in quela cholona inttaiado*"); M 78 ("*nel qualle luocho era vna collona nela qualle erano scolpite molte prophetie che non se jntendeuano senon quando erano adimpite: le qualle se diceuano essere de Sancto Daniel propheta[.] Et quando Marsiflo fu getato li, fu cussi jntrouato jntagliato jn quella collona*"); M 2544 ("*et la e intagliato molte profecie de San Daniel et infina a quel tempo nissuno le intendeua se non da po che sono aduegnute*"); Cavalli ("*e lj se intaiado molte profetie de quello Danielle. E fina a quello tempo nissuno non le jntenderia se non dapuo che lexe uegnude*"); M 51 ("*jn chollone jn vno zerto luogo chuxi chiamato doue ne son jntalgliate molte profizie le qualle non sono intexe sinon dapoj le sono ochorsse*"); Zancaruolo ("*Cholonna la xe inttagiado moltte profecie de San Daniel et infin a quelo tenpo ninsun non lintendeua se non dapuo chele xe auegnude*"); M 2573 ("*alle Collone, nelle qual era intalgiato molte profezie che doueuano uignir del Imperio de Constantinopoli ma non se intendeuano nome quando le sono vinute, & se dize che dite colone furno fate per man de San Daniel profetta, nele qual colone fu trouato el dito Imperator con il suo nome cusi como el fu butado*");

primary sources make reference to this saint[146], this detail should be regarded as a Venetian innovation.

Chronicles **M 2580** and **M 43**[147] even insert some drawings representing columns, having various inscriptions, the passage being entitled by **M 2580** as "*Comme fu trouato in ditto locho de Constantinopoli vna colona grande con certe letere umile et grande Grece à torno dicono esser fatto da' San Leon Sophon, le*

F 6239 ("*un luogo dito colone* [...] *doue sono intagiade molte profecie che non sono intese ma poi sono stade. Altri scriue, che 'l fò trouado che l'fuziua, et quello amazzò, et fò sepelido à una colona doue sono molte profecie de San Daniel*"); M 2543 ("*e la e intagiade molte prophetie de San Daniel che doueano uenir che alguno non le intendeua saluo dapoi che li erano uegnude: e si se disse che San Daniel le diuisi a farle in quella forma: E si tosto come el Marsilio fu cusi gitado come ho ditto el fu troua cusi in quella colona intagia in marmoro*"); M 47 ("*Et la se intagliato molti prophetie de San Daniel. In fina a quel tenpo nisuno le intendeua se non dapo che fono vegnute*"); pseudo-Zancaruolo ("*apresso vna collona in nela qual iera in taiada molte profecie che douea vignir. Se diceno Daniel profeta la fece far quella. E in essa collona fuo trouada in taiada dela morte del dito*"); M 53 ("*in le qual colone erano intagiato molte profecie che doueuano uegnir del Imperio de Costantinopolj le qual profecie non erano intese se non quando le sono poi uenute et se dice che dite colone fono fate da San Daniel propheta in le qual colone fu trouato el dito Imperador intagiato con el suo nome Moricio et cusi como el fo butado al dito luogo*"); pseudo-Erizzo ("*appresso una colonna, in la qual sono intaiado molte profetie, e cose douessa uegnir, e nessun non intendeua, se non quando erano auegnude, e si se dixe, che meser San Daniel propheta fexe quelle, e cusì come fonno gittado el corpo de Marsilifo, in quella colonna fonno intaiado*"); Doglioni ("*& si vidde in essa colonna, che vi staua scolpito vno di habito Imperiale, che pareua che giù à punto fosse dirrupato da quella*"); M 1586 ("*et suso quella colonna v'è intagliato molte cose che doueuano auuenire, et alcuni non l'intendeuano, se non doppò che gl'erano auuenute, et dissesi che meser San Daniel Profeta le profetteggiò, che le haueuano ad auenire. Et subito come Marsiflo fò gittado là, come hò io detto, el fo trouato cosi in quella colonna intagliato*"); M 327 ("*et su quella colonna i era nota algune profettie che doueua uegnir manon s'intendeua saluo doppo, chel era uenuta le se intendeua, et diseuasse, che San Daniel proffetta profettizo quel doueua uegnir, et cosi doppo morto Marsiglio fu trouado tutta l'historia*"); F 6241 ("*nel qual era una colona, nella quale erano scolpite molte profettie, che non s'intendeuano, senon quando erano adempite, si diceua esser di San Daniele profetta; et quando Marsiflo fù la gettato, fù trouato cosi in quella colona intagliato*"); M 1577 ("*una colonna, in la qual sono intajade molte profezie, e cose i doveva avegnir, e nessuno non se intendeva se non quando erano avegnude, a si se dise, che meser San Daniel profeta fecce quelle così come sono zitade. El corpo de Marsilifo in quella colonna fono trovà intajado*"); M 2028 ("*Collona, et là sono intagliate molte profezie de San Daniel, e fino a quel tempo niuno la intendeva, se non da poi che son advenute*"). Due to errors of transcription, it results that, according to M 2573 and M 53, it was Saint Daniel to build the columns themselves! As for the primary sources, they also refer to various prophecies: Villehardouin, 116/117 (speaking about images sculptured in the marble, representing an emperor thrown down); Clari, 110–111 (not referring to the execution of Murtzuphlos, which is narrated only later, but to the conquest of Constantinople from the part of those in the West; however, Clari uses the expression of "but no one could understand the event until it had happened, [...]", so largely spread among the Venetian chronicles); Gunther, 116–117 (also referring to the fall of Constantinople, and not to the execution of Murtzuphlos, although it connects it to the column on which the latter found his death); Morea, 92–93 (speaking about the prophecies of Leo the Philosopher related to the obelisk on which Murtzuphlos would be executed).

[145] However, among these chronicles, there are two (M 51 and Doglioni) in which St. Daniel is not mentioned.

[146] From the side of Gunther, it refers to "*Sibyllae vaticinia* / the prophecies of a Sybil", while Morea speaks about the prophecies of Emperor Leo VI the Philosopher.

[147] M 2580, p. 131a–132b; M 43, p. 39a–40b.

qual saran notade, et dechiarite quello dicono et significano, come in driedo, cussi in Greco comme in Latino sermone". In both chronicles, the inscriptions in Greek are in facts simple acronyms, which are calligraphic, but difficult to be deciphered. Under them, the Italian version makes an effort to clarify their meaning. However, the result of their examination is that they do not refer at all to the events in 1204, but to those in 1453.

As a result of the manner in which the events are disposed and in which the cause-effect relation evolves, there are situations when not only the assassination of Alexios the Younger be the one that leads to the second siege of Constantinople against Murtzuphlos, and neither Murtzuphlos' refusal to accomplish the financial obligations towards the Crusaders, but also his attempt to set fire up to the Venetian fleet[148].

It is also the hatred accumulated against him that in some cases induces the non-Venetian Crusaders to lose their temper and thus to hurry up the tempestuous closure of the dialogue between the 'usurper' and Doge Dandolo.

Needless to say that on the whole Alexios Murzuphlos is represented as the enemy *par excellence*, the traitor and the usurper, due to his treason against the legitimate emperor. Nevertheless, there are cases in the Venetian chronicles when his qualities are clearly mentioned. It is especially in the context when Alexios IV release him from prison, when Murtzuphlos is descrbied as a wise man[149]. Beside this case, Alexios Murtzuphlos is regarded by chronicle **M 550** as "*huomo astutissimo*" when he proposes the dialogue with Dandolo, while **F 6821** refers to "*qualche astutia del Imperador*" when referring to the fire set up on the Venetian fleet, and **Doglioni** regards him as having "*grandissima autorità*" over the Greeks when conspiring against Alexios IV. When the non-Venetian Crusaders intend to kill him during the negotiations with the Doge, the latter stop them by saying that Murtzuphlos is respected by the Greeks (and by the Latins too, in some cases)[150].

[148] The most relevant cases are in chronicles VH; M 78; M 2571; M 2573; pseudo-Barbaro; M 2581.

[149] M 2564 ("*vno grande e sauio homo*"); M 2569 ("*uno sauio homo*"); Cigotto ("*molto sapientissimo homo*"); M 2034 ("*uno grande he savio homo*"); M 2563 ("*molto sauio*"); M 2560 ("*molto sapientissimo homo*"); pseudo-Sanudo 2 ("*molto savio*"); M 541 ("*molto sauio*"); M 2544 ("*uno sauio homo*"); M 798 ("*uno sauio homo*"); Cavalli ("*uno sauio homo*"); Zancaruolo ("*uno sauio homo*"); Gussoni ("*molto sapientissimo homo*"); F 6234 ("*molto sapientissimo homo*"); M 46 ("*molto saujo*"); M 2543 ("*uno sauio homo*"); pseudo-Abbiosi ("*sauio homo*"); M 45 ("*vno grande e sauio homo*"); M 47 ("*uno sauio homo*"); pseudo-Zancaruolo ("*saputo homo*"); M 628a ("*uno grando, et sauio homo*"); pseudo-Erizzo ("*uno grande, e saputo homo*"); Donato T. ("*molto sapientisimo homo*"); M 2580 ("*molto sauio*"); M 1586 ("*uno grande sauio huomo*"); M 91 ("*un gran sauio homo*"); M 43 ("*huomo molto sauio*"); M 80 ("*un gran sauio huomo*"); M 1577 ("*saputo homo*"); M 2028 ("*uno savio homo*"). In comparison, in the same context, Clari, p. 77 refers to "a high man".

[150] M 78 ("*hauendo lui fama apresso Greci come Latini de homo sauio et bono*"); pseudo-Zancaruolo ("*El qual per Grezi era reputato sapientissimo homo*"); pseudo-Erizzo ("*quel Marsilifo, el qual iera tegnu per quei Griexi sauio homo*"); M 1586 ("*i Greci, egli Latini teneuano el ditto Doxe per uno sauijssimo huomo*"); F 6241 ("*hauendo lui fama appreso Greci, come Latini di homo sapientissimo*"); M 1577 ("*quel Marsilifo, el qual vegnia tegnù per quei Greci savio homo*"). A version that makes a confusion is in M 2034, which transfers the positive epithets upon the Doge

On its turn, **M 61** speaks about "*prestezza di Murzuflo che in una piazza uicina si ritrouaua accaduto con suoi intimando cuore à deboli, risolutione à timidi, sicurezza à gl'arditi, et animando ciascuno o colla speranza del proprio ò col timor del castigo soliti stimuli de che mercenario combatte per il solo interesse*" during the siege of Constantinople and to the "*temeraria risposta*" of Murtzuphlos to the Latins, after being captured by them.

Combinations of favourable and depreciatory epithets are offered in the following two contexts:

– when, during the dialogue, Dandolo would have addressed to Murtzuphlos in such a terms[151];

– during the siege, when the 'usurper' is described both favourably and unfavourably[152].

Nevertheless, all these examples do not absolve him from the position of 'traitor'. First and foremost, the facts are eloquent by themselves: his reluctance in paying the financial debt towards the Crusaders; the assassination of his natural lord – sometimes with the ironic mention "for the service done to him" by Alexios the Younger[153] –; his duplicity during the dialogue with Enrico Dandolo and lies uttered by him referring to the fate of Alexios IV; the atempt of firing the Venetian fleet.

("*i Latini et Griexi tegnia el dito doxie per uno sanisimo homo*"). On the other side, there are interesting the cases of M 61 that refers to the fact that the Greeks were against him because of the taxes imposed by him, and pseudo-Barbaro that says that "*et essendo Mauritio odiado dal populo*" and respectively, even that "*al fin dal suo popolo medesimo fù preso Mauritio, et apresentado al sopradito Zuanne Basegio*".

[151] M 322 ("*sire Mutifie, uui se deuentado gran homo ma eçiam dio la uostra grandeça con nobelitade de sangue*[.] *Ma uui fe che asa uilana mente la uostra nobelita sapiando che cholui lo qual uui a uetegnudo* [sic!] *in prixom la qual uui aue lasato fuora el qual uui aue metudo in chussi gran stado si che lui che die esser uostro signor natural e uostro propinquo parente*."); M 2034 ("*Morsiflo, voi sè uno grande homo e de gramde ligniazo ma vilana mente voi avè uxato la vostra zemtileza*"); M 2543 ("*Marsilio, uui seti grando homo et de gran lignazo ma uillanamente haue usado la uostra zentileza de hauer facto quel che facto haue zoe in hauer morto lo uostro signor natural che ui trasse fuora de preson: e che ui ha fatto se gran maistro*"); pseudo-Zancaruolo ("*Marsilifo, vuj se grande homo e de gran lignazo, ma vilanamente aue vxado vostra zentileza*"); pseudo-Erizzo ("*Marsilifo, uui se grand'homo, e de gran lignazo, ma uillanamente hauè uxado uostra zentilezza*"); M 1586 ("*Marsiflo, voi sete vn grande huomo, et dicendoli mà villanemente voi hauete usato la uostra gentilezza*"); M 1577 ("*Marsilifo, vui se grande homo, e de gran lignazo, ma vilanamente avè usado vostra zentilezza*").

[152] M 2034 ("*e non hostante che liui era falso et deslial, lo iera molto aprexiado per li Griexi, et liui se pensò de defender la tera molto ben*"); pseudo-Caroldo ("*il quale, essendo valoroso nell'armi, fu causa che fu fatta gran stragge da ambi le parti*"); pseudo-Erizzo ("*benche 'l fosse deslial, quei Griexi pur l'apprexiaua*"); M 1586 ("*E non ostante lui era falso et disleale, lui era molto appreciado per li Greci*"); M 327 ("*et non ostante, che 'l era desleal al suo signor iera apresiado da Griesi, et credeuase deffender la terra molto ben*"); M 61 ("*Il corraggio però di Murzuflo nato trà l'ombre mancò con l'ombre*"); M 1577 ("*se messe mareveiosamente in ordene sì de Greci, come de Latini anchor Englesi*" and "*e benchè el fosse deslial, quei Greci pur l'apprezzava, pensando quello defender la Terra*").

[153] M 89 ("*e questo fo el bon merito che laue chauandolo de prexon*"); pseudo-Sanudo 2 ("*per merito d'averlo cavato di prigione*"); M 68 ("*et questo fu per il bon merito per hauerlo cauato de preson*"); M 2580 ("*et questo fu per il merito, gli haueua fatto hauerlo cauato de preson*"); pseudo-Veniera ("*et questo fu per il bon merito per hauerlo cauato de preson*"); M 43 ("*in ricompensa*

These incriminating facts – which are enough to place Alexios Doukas in the category of the negative characters from the Venetian viewpoint – are joined by the rich terminology used by the Venetian chronicles, which is connected to each episode, as follows:

– when he set intrigues against Alexios IV, inclusively by advising the emperor to do not pay the debt towards the Latins[154];

– when he assassinated Alexios IV[155];

– when the decision of conquering Constantinople was taken by the Crusaders[156];

– when he requested the encounter with Dandolo and during the negotiations[157];

– when he prepared the firing of the Venetian fleet[158];

d'hauerllo cacciato di priggione, et d'hauerllo inalzato à gli onori"); pseudo-Donato ("*et questo fù il buon merito per hauerlo cauato di preson*"); M 54 ("*per il bene merito d'hauerlo cauato di prigione*"); M 64 ("*per il buon merito di hauerlo cauato di prigione*"); F 6566 ("*per benemerito di hauerlo cauato di prigione*").

[154] "*quidam, Murciphus nomine, pravis consiliis*" (Dandolo Extensa); "*vno zerto homo chiamado Murchiffo homo de mal conseglio*" (M 796); "*operante iniquamente cum praui consigli*" (Delfino P.); "*lo traditor Marsilio jngrato*" (M 51); "*lo infedelissimo consegio*" (M 2571); "*con mala intention*" (pseudo-Barbaro; in the same context, chronicle pseudo-Barbaro philosophises as follows: "*li animi delli huomini, essendo occupadi da qualche cattiuo pensier, precipitosi, et uiolenti* sau despre *come son li huomini quasi sempre presaghi di quel mal che deue intrauegnir*"); "*quel maluasio Marsilio*" (M 628a); "*uomo di mal' ingegno, aspirante alla tirannide*" (pseudo-Navagero); "*homo de mal'ingegno aspirante alla tiranide*" (F 6211); "*lo infedelissimo consiglio*" (M 2581); "*quel maluagio Marficio*" (M 91); "*quel maluagio Marfisio*" (M 80); "*i graui consigli di Murzuffo*" (Vianoli); "*el dito traditor*" (M 2592); "*un tal Alessio dito Murzuflo per l'orrida congiuntione delle ciglia solito contrasegno d'una malitiosa natura*" and talking about "*sceleraggine*" and "*l'empio ministro*" (M 61); "*i Consiglj artifiziosi*" (M 1833).

[155] "*questo traditor et jniquo*" (M 51); "*perfido Murcipho*" and that he "*usurpò quell'Imperio*" (pseudo-Caroldo); "*inspirado da spirito diabolico*" (pseudo-Savina); "*il tiranno*" and "*la perfidia del tiranno*" (F 6235); "*l'impietade di Marsiflo*" and "*ingratitudine, et crudeltà*" (F 6241); "*haueua usurpato il comando*" (M 43); "*sceleratamente*" (M 80); "*mà tolto dalle brutture della plebe, e però accompagnato da basso istinto, e da genio vile*" and, metaphorically, "*tentò prima di leuare la vita ad Alessio col maleficio del veleno, che fù meno crudele di lui, perche non valse à dar la morte à quel vigore di giouentù*" (Vianoli); "*il barbaro tradimento di Murzuflo*" (M 61); "*huomo di uilissima conditione*" and "*con detestabile perfidia* [...], *usurpandosi cosi l'iniquissimo Greco il trono*" (M 1999).

[156] "*scelestissimus Alexios*" (Sabellico); "*il perfido tiranno, il quale sì ingratamente contro loro, e sì orridamente contro il giovane Imperadore avea operato*" (pseudo-Navagero); "*il perfido tirano, il qual si ingratamente contra loro, et si horidamente contra il giouane Imperator hauea operato*" (F 6211); "*la crudelta de Mauritio usada uerso el neuodo e l'astutia de tradimento de fogar l'armada*" (pseudo-Savina); "*il tiranno*" (F 6235); "*Marsulfo l'usurpatore*" (M 43); "*un tanto ribaldo et traditore*" (M 2592); "*il tiranno*", "*egualmente abborrito il tradimento, et il traditore*", "*la perfidia del tiranno Murzuflo*", and "*iniquo genio e superbo dell'usurpatore*" (M 61); "*tiranno*" (M 1999).

[157] "*il tiranno*" (F 6235); "*li suoi inganni*" (F 6241). One should add here the terms of "*dissimulaua*", "*duplizittade*", "*malizia*" (and their dialectal forms) used when presenting the dialogue in pseudo-Enrico Dandolo; Morosini A.: M 2545; M 89; M 559: M 68; M 2580; pseudo-Veniera; Lio; M 43; pseudo-Donato; M 54; pseudo-Enrico Dandolo 102; M 64; F 6566.

[158] "*tanta jndegna perfidia*" (M 78); "*inspirato dal spirito diabolico*" (M 2573); "*ghe cascò nell'animo un crudel, et scelerado pensier*", "*questa diabolica imagination*", and "*la maluagità, et la crudeltà de Mauritio, et il tradimento grande, che li haueua ordido*" (pseudo-Barbaro); "*inspirado dal spirito diabolicho*" (M 53); "*Mauritio hauendo sempre mal anemo*" and "*la sua pessima & iniqua uolontà*" (pseudo-Savina); "*tanta indignità*" (F 6241); "*questa insolenza di Marrsulfo*" (M 43);

– during the second siege of Constantinople[159];
– when considering him as being in bad relations with the Greeks themselves[160];
– when he escaped from Constantinople after the siege[161];
– when he encountered Alexios III[162];
– when he was captured by the Latins[163];
– when he found his death[164].

One could add here the expression saying that "the Greeks are worse than the Infidels"[165], since it, being in the context of the assassination of Alexios IV, refers indirectly to the same Murtzuphlos, but also the considerations of **Monaci** in the same context: "*Statu Imperiali in crudelem tyrannidem scelerata proditione mutato Latinorum animi rerum indignatibus accenduntur, cogunturque contra perjuros, &*

"*accese, e stuzzicò nel petto di quei Greci vn talento di perfidia tale*" (Vianoli, although the event took place previous to Murtzuphlos' accession to the throne, according to this chronicle).

[159] "*tyrannus*" (Monaci); " *lo tiran*" and "*tiranus*" (F 6239); "*Mirtilo traditor*" (M 2592).

[160] "*un usurpatore dell'Imperio*" (M 61).

[161] "*misero*" (HDV); "*tyrapnus*" (Dandolo Extensa); "*tyrannus*" (Monaci); "*Marsiflo falsso Imperatore*" (M 78); "*tyrannus*" (Biondo); "*el dito teranno* [sic!=tiranno] *chiamado Murteffo*" (M 796); "*Murcipho quel Tiranno*" (Delfino P.); "*lo misero a Mezipho*" (M 2571); "*il tiranno*" (pseudo-Navagero); "*il tyranno*" (F 6211); "*quel Marsileo Imperador traditor*" (Donato T.); "*el ditto Marafixi traditor del puto Imperator*" (M 68); "*lo misero AMIZIPHO*" (M 2581); "*el ditto Marafixi traditor del puto Imperator*" (pseudo-Veniera); "*il tiranno*" (M 71); "*il detto Marafini traditor del giouane Imperator*" (Lio); "*Marsiflo falso Imperatore*" (F 6241); "*detto Marafisi traditore del giouene Imperatore*" (M 54); "*Murzuflo, che non seppe illustrare gl'ultimi momenti della sua tirannide con una morte da Prencipe*" (M 61).

[162] "*invasor imperii*" (Dandolo Extensa); "*Murcifo inuasor dell'Imperio*" (Delfino P.); "*la sua aroganza*" (pseudo-Caroldo); "*traditore*" (M 61).

[163] "*traditor*" (M 89); " *sua perfidia*", "*barbara crudeltà*", and "*il perfido*" (M 61).

[164] "*quel Morflio Imperrador traditor che amazo Alesio Imperador zouene*" (M 2564); "*quel Marsiljo Imperrador et traditor*" (Cigotto); "*quel tristo de Marsillo imperador traditor, che amazo Alesio zouane*" (M 2563); "*Imperador traditor*" (M 2560); "*lo traditorescho Marrsillio*" (M 51); "*Inperador traditor*" (Gussoni); "*quel tristo de Marsilio Inperador traditor che amazo Alesjo zouene*" (M 46); "*sua miseria*" (pseudo-Barbaro); "*quel Morfleo Imperador traditor che amazo Alessio Imperador zouene*" (M 45); "*Quel Marsilifo Imperator traditor, che ammazzò Alesso zouene*" (pseudo-Erizzo); "*perche l'era sta traditor del suo signor et hauendo fatto morir a torto à tradimento*") (M 327); "*la sua perfidia*" (Morosini P.); "*Marsuffo, ch'haueua usurpato l'Imperio con hauer fatto amazzar il giouine Imperatore Alesio*" (M 43); "*Matafixi traditor del puto Imperator*" (pseudo-Donato); "*il maluagio Imperator Marfisio, che ammazò Alessio Imperator giouine*" and "*traditor*" (M 80); "*la sue infelice memoria*" (Vianoli); "*l'ambition temeraria del traditore*" (M 61); "*detto Marafisi traditore del giouine Imperatore*" (M 64); "*Mirtillo traditor del giouane Imperatore*" (F 6566).

[165] M 2564; M 2569; M 2034; pseudo-Sanudo 2; M 541; M 2544; M 798; Cavalli; Zancaruolo; M 2543; M 45; M 47; M 628a; M 327 (in this case, the element of comparison is represented by "*Zudij* / the Jews", maybe due to an error in transcription); M 91; M 80; M 2028. Slightly modified versions for this expression, in M 2563 ("*giudicono che i fussi tristi hominj, et infideli*") and in M 46 ("*judichono chel fosseno tristi homenj et infidellj*"); another version in M 78 and F 6241 (speaking about "*la pessima natura de Greci gli qualli cusi tratasseno j suoi signori*[,] *et fussero ribelli ala Sancta Chiesia Romania et oltra di cio, mancatori di fede et di le promesse*"; shorter expressions in pseudo-Zancaruolo ("*chatiua zente*"); pseudo-Erizzo ("*cattiua zente*"); M 1586 ("*gente infedele*"); M 1577 ("*cattiva zente*"); a more developed version in Morosini P. ("*l'ingratitudine vsata, l'odio mostrato, l'offese fatte da' Greci*").

perfidos Graeculos iterum induere arma justissima."[166], continuing with details referring to Byzantium regarded as heretic.

Obviously, the Venetian chroniclers were not aware of the fact that Alexios V had been a member of the famous family of Doukas, so that his claims to the Byzantine throne were legitimate to a significant extent[167]. Only few chronicles mention him under his first name of Alexios[168], fewer even than those that do not refer to him by any name, using only depreciatory nouns[169], titles and families connections[170] or adjectives[171], sometimes exclusively[172]. That is why our character is represented most of the times under his nickname of Murtzuphlos[173]. This nickname was explained by **Choniates** ("Δούκας Ἀλέξιος, ὃς ἐκ τοῦ συνεσπάσθαι τὰς ὀφρῦς καὶ οἷον τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς ἐπικρέμασθαι πρὸς τῶν συνεφήβων ἐπωνόμαστο Μούρτζουφλος, [...] / Alexios Doukas (who, because his eyebrows were joined together and hung over his eyes, was called Mourtzouphlos as an adolescent by his companions), [...]"[174]). Among the Venetian chronicles, there are only two that gives this explanation for it: **F 6235** ("*vn'Alessio Duca detto per sopranome Murcufle, perche haueua le ciglie gionte*") and **M 61** ("[...] *un tal Alessio dito Murzuflo per l'orrida congiuntione delle ciglia solito contrasegno d'una malitiosa natura.*")

The versions offered by the Venetian chronicles written in Latin are almost the same and the versions in which Murtzuphlos' name appears are quite similar: "*Murciccus*"[175]; "*Murciffus*" / "*Murcifus*" / "*Murciphus*" / "*Murcyphus*"[176];

[166] See also Biondo ("*malo vir ingenio ad tyrannidem anhelabat*").

[167] The only exceptions are Monaci (but saying that Alexios was created "*duce* / duke", so that Doukas becomes title, and not family name); F 6235 ("*vn'Alessio Duca detto per sopranome Murcufle, perche haueua le ciglie gionte*"); M 1999 ("*Duca Mirtillo*", but adding immediately afterwards: "*huomo di uilissima conditione*").

[168] Monaci; Biondo; Sabellico (three times); pseudo-Navagero (twice); F 6211 (twice); F 6235; Morosini P.; M 61.

[169] Monaci ("*tyrannus*", used twice); Biondo ("*tyrannus*", twice); F 6239 ("*lo tiran*", twice; "*tiranus*"); pseudo-Navagero ("*il perfido tiranno*", "*il tiranno*"); F 6211 ("*il perfido tirano*", "*il tyranno*"); M 71 ("*il tiranno*"); F 6235 ("*il tiranno*"); M 2592 ("*el dito traditor*", "*el traditor*"); M 61 ("*il tiranno*", "*traditore*" – used three times); M 1999 ("*tiranno*").

[170] Monaci ("*Ducha*"); pseudo-Savina ("*barba*"); M 71 ("*un suo cortigiano*"); F 6821 ("*quel suo parente*", "*ditto suo parente*", "*il parente del Imperator*", "*Imperador*"); M 61 ("*l'empio ministro*", "*l'Imperatore*").

[171] M 61 ("*l'empio ministro*", "*il perfido*"); M 1999 ("*l'iniquissimo Greco*").

[172] M 71; F 6821.

[173] "Murtzuphlos" as nickname is mentioned only by Monaci ("*Alexios nomine cognominatus Murtilus*"); M 796 ("*el dito teranno* [sic!=*tiranno*] *chiamado Murteffo*"); Biondo ("*Alexios cognomine Murtilus*"); Sabellico ("*Alexios, cognomento Myrtilus, vel, ut alii habent, Murcyphus*"); Navagero ("*uno Alessio Greco chiamato Mortelio*"); F 6211 ("*uno certo Alessio Greco chiamato Mortilo*"); F 6235 ("*vn'Alessio Duca detto per sopranome Murcufle*"); M 61 ("*Alessio dito Murzuflo*").

[174] Choniates, 307 (561 in Choniates Van Dieten).

[175] HDV (twice).

[176] HDV (three times); Dandolo Extensa (three times); VH (five times); Sabellico.

"*Murtilus*"[177]; "*Myrtilus*"[178]; "*Murticus*"[179]. The same is the case for the only Venetian chronicle written in medieval French (Canal), which uses constantly the name of "*li Murfice*"[180].

On the contrary, the situation is completely different for the many chronicles written in vulgar Venetian, since the nickname of Murtzuphlos generated a huge number of versions. Moreover, various versions could be detected in one and the same chronicle, although the number of chronicles that use constantly a single version from the beginning to the end is not small at all[181]. Certainly, this diversity would be rather generated by the precarity of the general culture of the copiers that worked with the chronicles.

Nevertheless, some explanations could be concluded in some particular cases. Thus, when making an attempt to group them, it results that an important number of cases referring to Murtzuphlos (103)[182], re-names the character is as "*Marsilio*" (and all its versions, like "*Marsiljo*", "*Marssiljo*", "*Marssillo*", "*Marsillo*", "*Marsilo*", "*Marsileo*", "*Marsillio*", "*Marssilio*", "*Marssillio*", "*Marsiglio*"). One could make a connection with the negative character in the "Song of Roland", that is Marsilius, the captain of the Saracens, so offering to the conquest of Constantinople a more crusading feature.

There are also many cases when the character is presented under names beginning with "*Mort-*" (especially "*Mortifex*" / "*Morttifex*" / "*Mortifes*"[183], but

[177] Monaci.

[178] Sabellico (twice).

[179] Marco.

[180] See Canal Limentani, *passim*.

[181] pseudo-Enrico Dandolo ("*Mortifex*", ten times); Morosini A. ("*Mortifes*", ten times); M 78 ("*Marsiflo*", 13 times); M 541 ("*Marsiflo*", six times); M 550 ("*Marsilio*", six times); M 2544 ("*Marsilio*", three times); Gussoni ("*Marsilio*", six times); F 6234 ("*Marsilio*", six times); M 2573 ("*Morizio*", seven times); pseudo-Caroldo ("*Murcipho*", eight times); F 6239 ("*Mortulfo*"); M 2543 ("*Marsilio*", 17 times); pseudo-Abbiosi ("*Marsilifo*", once); M 47 ("*Marsilio*", three times); M 628a ("*Marsilio*", seven times); M 53 ("*Moricio*", eight times); pseudo-Erizzo ("*Marsilifo*", 22 times); pseudo-Navagero ("*Mortelio*", once); F 6211 ("*Mortilo*", once); M 2580 ("*Marsiflo*", ten times); Sansovino ("*Marzuflo*", once); pseudo-Savina ("*Mauritio*", seven times); M 1586 ("*Marsiflo*", 18 times); Lio ("*Marafini*", 11 times); F 6241 ("*Marsiflo*, 15 times); M 54 ("*Marafisi*", ten times); M 80 ("*Marfisio*", seven times); M 70 ("*Mirtillo*", three times); pseudo-Enrico Dandolo 102 ("*Mortifex*", ten times); M 2592 ("*Mirtilo*", five times); M 61 ("*Murzuflo*", 24 times); M 1999 ("*Mirtillo*", three times); M 1577 ("*Marsilifo*", 21 times); M 2028 ("*Marsilio*", three times); M 64 ("*Marafisi*", 11 times): F 6566 ("*Mirtillo*", eight times); Diedo ("*Murciffo*", six times); M 1833 ("*Murtsuple*", twice). On the other side, the most versions inside of one and the same chronicle is noted in the following chronicles: six forms in M 2034; five in M 45; four in M 2564; M 2560; M 51; pseudo-Veniera; M 43; three in VH; M 2545; M 322; M 796; M 2571; pseudo-Barbaro; M 2567; pseudo-Zancaruolo; M 2581; M 327; M 91.

[182] Cigotto (eight times); M 2563 (nine times); M 2560 (twice); M 550 (six times); M 2544 (three times); M 51 (nine times); Gussoni (six times); F 6234 (six times); M 46 (nine times); M 2543 (13 times); M 45 (three times); M 47 (three times); M 628a (seven times); Donato T. (six times); M 327 (eight times); M 2028 (three times).

[183] pseudo-Enrico Dandolo (ten times); Morosini A. (ten times); M 2545 (eight times); M 559 (nine times); pseudo-Enrico Dandolo 102 (ten times).

also "*Mortafex*" / "*Mortafexi*" / "*Mortafixi*"[184], and "*Mortelio*"[185], "*Mortilo*"[186], "*Mortitio*"[187], "*Mortulfo*"[188]). One could also include here the forms of "*Montifex*"[189], "*Menttifex*"[190], "*Mertafixi*"[191], "*Matafixi*"[192], "*Marafexi*" / "*Marrafexi*"[193], "*Marafixi*" / "*Marrafixi*"[194], "*Marafisi*"[195], or even "*Forttifex*"[196], probably copier errors originating in the same *Mortifex*. It could induce the idea of "*morte* / death", in the sense of the most negative connotation[197]. Perhaps originating in these forms, one could also note the derivates like "*Murteffo*" and "*Murtiphio*", both used in chronicle **M 796**, and also "*Morsiliflo*"[198] or "*Morsileo*"[199].

Maybe it is not quite exaggerated to make another connection, the one between the form of "*Mutifer*"[200] and the name of the fallen angel Lucifer.

It could also be considered the influence of the Italian more familiar name of *Maurizio* taken into account by the chroniclers, with its derivates of "*Mauritio*"[201], "*Morizio*"[202], "*Moricio*"[203]. To a smaller extent, the same could be explained the use of "*Marcuflo*" / "*Marcufle*"[204], which could be approached to the name of *Marco*, so dear to the Venetians[205].

Perhaps the closest versions to the original Greek form of Murtzuphlos seem to be the following: "*Murzuflo*"[206], "*Murzuflio*"[207], "*Murzuffo*"[208], "*Murcufle*"[209],

[184] M 89 (11 times); M 2567 (four times).
[185] pseudo-Navagero.
[186] F 6211.
[187] pseudo-Barbaro.
[188] F 6239 (twice).
[189] M 559.
[190] M 2545.
[191] pseudo-Donato (three times).
[192] pseudo-Donato (twice).
[193] pseudo-Veniera (three times).
[194] M 68 (nine times); pseudo-Veniera (six times).
[195] M 54 (ten times); M 64 (11 times).
[196] M 2545.
[197] The root of "*mort-*" is also used by the chronicle of Gunther of Pairis: "*Mortiflo*" (Gunther Migne, 248), and close forms of it (either in Latin, or in Medieval French) could be: "*Morchuflex*", "*Morchufles*", "*Morchufle*" (Villehardouin), "*Morchofles*" (Clari), "*Morsoflus*" (*Devastatio*), "*Murtiphlo*" and "*Murciflo*" (Gunther), "*Murtiflez*" (*Corpus Flandriae*), "*Morcufles*", "*Morcuflez*", "*Morcufle*" (*Chron. Gall.*)
[198] M 2034 (twice).
[199] M 2560.
[200] M 322 (six times).
[201] pseudo-Barbaro (12 times); pseudo-Savina (seven times); Vianoli.
[202] M 2573 (seven times).
[203] M 53 (eight times).
[204] Doglioni (five times). By metathesis, it becomes once "*Murcafle*" in F 6235.
[205] On the other hand, it could be connected to Baldwin, which also uses the root *marc-* ("*Marculfus*").
[206] Morosini P. (ten times); M 61 (24 times).
[207] pseudo-Sanudo 2 (twice).
[208] Vianoli (nine times).
[209] F 6235.

"*Murtsuple*"[210], "*Murchiplo*" / "*Mvrchiplo*"[211], "*Murchiffo*" / "*Murciffo*" / "*Murcifo*" / "*Murcipho*"[212], "*Morsiflo*" / "*Morsiflio*"[213], "*Marsuflo*"[214], "*Marzuflo*" / "*Marzuflio*"[215], while the name's distorsions led to some very different forms, such as "*Amizipho*"[216], "*Mezipho*"[217], "*Morille*"[218], "*Marafini*"[219], "*Mirtillo*" / "*Mirtilo*"[220], "*Masiflao*"[221], "*Mutifie*" / "*Mutrife*"[222], "*Marficio*" / "*Marfisio*"[223], "*Morfileo*" / "*Morflio*" / "*Morfleo*" / "*Marfileo*"[224].

Among all the versions, it seems that very much in use were the forms of "*Marsiflo*" / "*Marsifleo*" / "*Marsiflio*" (82)[225] and "*Marsilifo*" / "*Marsilipho*" / "*Marselifo*" (66)[226], to which one could add the almost similar forms of "*Marsifliflo*"[227], "*Marsulfo*" / "*Marrsulfo*" / "*Marsuffo*"[228], "*Marsifo*" / "*Marsifozo*"[229], "*Marfiflo*"[230], and even "*Mosiflo*"[231].

The impressive variety of these versions could be helpful for the linguists dealing with the Venetian dialect, in order to establish the filiation of the manuscripts and how did the codices connected to each other.

Anyway, the manner of representation according to which the nickname is in use much more than his real first name (Alexios) and last name (Doukas) is not exclusive for the Venetians. The name of Murtzuphlos is exclusively present also in the Western primary sources (**Baldwin**[232], **Villehardouin**[233], **Clari**[234],

[210] M 1833 (twice).
[211] M 2571; M 2581.
[212] M 796 (twice); Delfino P. (four times); M 2571; pseudo-Caroldo (eight times); M 2581; Diedo (six times).
[213] M 2034 (seven times).
[214] M 43.
[215] pseudo-Sanudo 2; Sansovino.
[216] M 2581.
[217] M 2571.
[218] pseudo-Barbaro.
[219] Lio (11 times).
[220] M 70 (three times); M 2592 (five times); M 1999 (three times); F 6566 (eight times).
[221] Cavalli.
[222] M 322 (three times).
[223] M 91 (sixe times); M 80 (seven times).
[224] M 2564 (four times); M 2560 (twice); M 45 (twice).
[225] M 2564 (three times); M 2569 (twice); M 2034 (ten times); M 78 (13 times); M 541 (six times); M 798; Zancaruolo (three times); M 45; M 2580 (ten times); M 1586 (18 times); F 6241 (15 times).
[226] M 2569; Cavalli (twice); pseudo-Abbiosi; pseudo-Zancaruolo (19 times); pseudo-Erizzo (22 times); M 1577 (21 times).
[227] M 2034.
[228] M 43 (ten times).
[229] M 327; M 91.
[230] M 798 (five times); M 45.
[231] M 2034.
[232] *Marculfus*.
[233] *Morchuflex*, *Morchufles*, *Morchufle*.
[234] *Morchofles*.

Devastatio[235], **Novgorod**[236], **Gunther**[237], ***Corpus Flandriae***[238], ***Chron. Gall.***[239]), as in **Morea**[240], while **Choniates** remains explainably the only case where the family name of Doukas is the preferred form, while Murtzuphlos is clearly mentioned as nickname in the three situations where it appears[241].

An explanation for this exclusivity both for these primary sources and for the Venetian chronicles could be the fact that the character should have been represented as an usurper by himself.

Venetian chronicles not included in the general list of abbreviations:

A latina = *Cronaca «A latina». Cronaca veneziana del 1343*, ed. C. Negri di Montenegri, Spoleto 2004.

Agostini-Tiepolo = *Cronica di Venezia di Giovanni Tiepolo fù de Agostin patrizio veneto*, ed. E. Aleo, I, Bologna 2012.

Antonio = Antonio di Matteo di Curato, *Cronaca Veneta*, BNM, ms. It. VII. 162 [= 8037].

Biondo = Blondi Flavii Forliviensis, *De Origine et Gestis Venetorum Liber*, in *Thesaurus antiquitatum et historiarum Italiae*, V, 1, ed. J. G. Graevius, Leyden, 1722, 1–26.

Canal = Martin da Canal, *Les Estoires de Venise*, ed. L. K. Morreale, Padova, 2009.

Canal Limentani = Martin da Canal, *Les Estoires de Venise. Cronaca veneziana in lingua francese dalle origini al 1275*, ed. A. Limentani, Firenze, 1972.

Cavalli = Anon., *Cronaca Veneta dall'origine della Città fino al 1446*, BNM, ms. It. VII. 48 [= 7143].

Cigotto = Anon., *Cronaca di Venezia fino al 1438*, BNM, ms. It. VII. 2561 [= 12453].

Dandolo Brevis = *Andreae Danduli Chronica brevis*, in RIS, 12, I, ed. E. Pastorello, Bologna, 1938, 351–373.

Dandolo Extensa = *Andreae Danduli Duci Veneticorum Chronica per extensium descripta aa. 46–1280 d. C.*, in RIS, 12, ed. E. Pastorello, Bologna, 1923, 5–327.

Delfino P. = Pietro Dolfin, *Cronaca di Venezia fino al 1422*, BNM, ms. It. VII. 2557 [= 12449].

Diedo = Giacomo Diedo, *Storia della Repubblica di Venezia dalla sua fondazione sino l'anno 1747*, I, Venezia, 1751.

Doglioni = G. N. Doglioni, *Historia Venetiana scritta brevemente da (...) delle cose successe dalla prima foundation di Venetia sino al'anni di Christo MDXCVII*, Venezia, 1598.

Donato T. = Tommaso Donato, *Cronaca Veneta dall'origine della Città sin all'anno 1528*, BNM, ms. 323 [= 8646].

F 6166 = Anon., *Cronica di Venetia mista, ovvero historia antica veneta, con le famiglie nobili et loro origine, dal principio della città sino all'anno 1545. Parte I*, ÖNB, ms. CCXXI [= 6166].

F 6167 = Anon., *Cronica di Venetia mista, Parte II*, ÖNB, ms. Foscarini CCXXII [= 6167].

F 6211 = Anon., *Cronaca veneta dal principio al 1498*, ÖNB, ms. Foscarini XXXVI [= 6211].

F 6234 = Anon., *Cronaca veneta dal principio sino al 1523*, ÖNB, ms. Foscarini LVIII [= 6234].

[235] *Morsoflus*.
[236] *Murzuphlus*.
[237] *Murtiphlo, Murciflo, Mortiflo*.
[238] *Murtiflez*.
[239] *Morcufles, Morcuflez, Morcufle*.
[240] *Μούρτζουφλος*.
[241] Choniates Van Dieten, 561 and 608 (307 and 333 in Choniates).

F 6235 = Anon., *Cronaca della Città et Repubblica di Venetia dal principio al 1339*, ÖNB, ms. Foscarini LIX [= 6235].

F 6239 = Anon., *Annali veneti dal 1204 al 1246, Vol. 1*, ÖNB, ms. Foscarini LXIII [= 6239].

F 6241 = Anon., *Istoria veneta dal 1148 al 1374*, ÖNB, ms. Foscarini LX [= 6241].

F 6566 = Anon., *Cronaca veneta dei Dogi e delle famiglie patrizie, dall'origine della città al 1627*, ÖNB, ms. Foscarini LXXXVII [= 6566].

F 6821 = Anon., *Casade di Venetia, et Cronica veneta dal principio sino al 1427*, ÖNB, ms. Foscarini CCX [= 6821].

Giustinian = *Historia Ducum Veneticorum*, ed. H. Simonsfeld, in MGH-S, XIV, Hannovra, 1883, 89–94.

Gussoni = Giorgio Dolfin, *Cronicha dela nobil città de Venetia et dela sua provintia et destretto. Origini-1458*, ed. A. Caracciolo Aricò, I, Venezia, 2007.

HDV = *Historia Ducum Veneticorum* (ed. H. Simonsfeld), in MGH-S, XIV, Hannovra, 1883, 72–89, 94–97.

Lio = Anon., *Cronaca Veneziana dalla fondazione della Città fino all'anno 1558*, BNM, ms. It. VII. 69 [= 7727–7730].

M 38 = Anon., *Cronaca Veneziana dal principio della Città fino al 1388*, BNM, ms. It. VII. 38 [= 8748].

M 39 = Anon., *Cronaca Veneziana dal principio della Città fino all'anno 1405*, BNM, ms. It. VII. 39 [= 8609].

M 43 = Anon., *Cronaca Veneziana dal principio della Città fino al 1432*, BNM, ms. It. VII. 43 [= 7602].

M 44 = Anon., *Cronaca Veneziana dal principio della Città fino al 1433*, BNM, ms. It. VII. 44 [= 7865].

M 45 = Anon., *Cronaca Veneziana dalla fondazione della Città fino al 1443*, BNM, ms. It. VII. 45 [= 7302].

M 46 = Anon., *Cronaca Veneziana dalla fondazione della Città fino al 1444*, BNM, ms. It. VII. 46 [= 7603].

M 47 = Anon., *Cronaca Veneziana dall'origine della Città fino all'anno 1446*, BNM, ms. It. VII. 47 [= 8139].

M 51 = Anon., *Cronaca Veneta*, BNM, ms. It. VII. 51 [= 8528].

M 53 = Anon., *Cronaca Veneziana dalla fondazione della Città fino al 1479*, BNM, ms. It. VII. 53 [= 7419].

M 54 = Anon., *Cronaca Veneziana dal principio della Città fino al 1486*, BNM, ms. It. VII. 54 [= 8140].

M 61 = Anon., *Cronaca Veneta dal principio della Città fino al 1515. Volumi III*, BNM, ms. It. VII. 61 [= 7763].

M 64 = Anon., *Cronaca Veneta dall'origine della Città fino alla morte del Doge Gritti. Volumi II*, BNM, ms. It. VII. 64 [= 8321].

M 66 = Anon., *Cronaca Veneta detta Barba dal principio della Città fino al 1545*, BNM, ms. It. VII. 66 [= 7766], p. 1a–69b.

M 66 bis = Anon., *Cronaca Veneta detta Barba dal principio della Città fino al 1545*, BNM, ms. It. VII. 66 [= 7766], p. 74a–390a.

M 67 = Anon., *Cronaca Veneta dal principio della Città fino all'anno 1549*, BNM, ms. It. VII. 67 [= 9132].

M 68 = Anon., *Cronaca Veneziana dalla fondazione della Città fino al 1555*, BNM, ms. It. VII. 68 [= 8317].

M 70 = Anon., *Cronaca Veneta dall'origine della Città fino al 1599*, BNM, ms. It. VII. 70 [= 9133].

M 71 = Anon., *Cronaca Veneta dal principio della Città fino al 1600*, BNM, ms. It. VII. 71 [= 7866].

M 78 = Anon., *Cronaca Veneziana dall'anno 1190 all'anno 1332*, BNM, ms. It. VII. 78 [= 9135].

M 80 = Anon., *Cronaca Veneta dall'anno 1400 fino al 1684*, BNM, ms. It. VII. 80 [= 8026].

M 89 = Anon., *Cronaca Veneta dal principio della Città fino al 1410*, BNM, ms. It. VII. 89 [= 8391].

M 91 = Anon., *Cronaca Ariana della Famiglie Nobili di Venezia, coi loro Alberi, che cominciano dalle lettere A, e B*, BNM, ms. It. VII. 91 [= 7441], 350a–379b.

M 104 = Anon., *Cronaca Veneziana dal principio della Città fino al 1443*, BNM, ms. It. VII. 104 [= 8611].

M 322 = Anon., *Cronaca Veneta dal principio della Città sino all'anno 1433*, BNM, ms. It. VII. 322 [= 8621].

M 327 = Anon., *Cronaca Veneta dal principio della Città sino al 1527*, BNM, ms. It. VII. 327 [= 7776].

M 541 = Anon., *Cronaca di Venezia della fondazione della Città sino all'anno 1435*, BNM, ms. It. VII. 541 [= 7314].

M 550 = Anon., *Cronaca dall'origine di Venezia sino all'anno 1442*, BNM, ms. It. VII. 550 [= 8496].

M 555 = Anon., *Cronaca dall'origine della Città di Venezia sino all'anno 1410*, BNM, ms. It. VII. 555 [= 7790].

M 559 = Anon., *Cronaca di Venezia, detta di Pietro Dolfino, dall'origine della Città sino all'anno 1418*, BNM, ms. It. VII. 559 [= 7888].

M 628a = Anon., *Cronaca breve Veneziana dalla origine di Venezia sino all'anno 1465*, BNM, ms. It. VII. 628a [= 8049].

M 793 = Anon., *Cronaca di Venezia dall'origine della città al 1478*, BNM, ms. It. VII. 793 [= 8477].

M 796 = Anon., *Cronaca Veneta da S. Marco Evangelista fino al 1457*, BNM, ms. It. VII. 796 [= 7613].

M 798 = Anon., *Cronaca Veneta dall'origine della città sino all'anno 1478*, BNM, ms. It. VII. 798 [= 7486].

M 1577 = Anon., *Cronaca della Città di Venezia dalla sua fondazione fino all'anno 1400*, BNM, ms. It. VII. 1577 [= 7973].

M 1586 = Anon., *Cronaca Veneta dal principio della città fino al 1450*, BNM, ms. It. VII. 1586 [= 9611].

M 1833 = Anon., *Storia Veneta dalla fondazione della Repubblica sino all'anno 1750*, BNM, ms. It. VII. 1833 [= 8376].

M 1999 = Anon., *Epitome della Storia della Repubblica di Venezia*, BNM, ms. It. VII. 1999 [= 7918].

M 2028 = Anon., *Cronica Veneta, dal 703 al 1420*, BNM, ms. It. VII. 2028 [= 8559].

M 2034 = Famiglia C, recensione II, 2, 2, in A. Carile, *La cronachistica veneziana (secoli XIII–XVI) di fronte alla spartizione della Romania nel 1204*, Firenze, 1969, 387–407.

M 2541 = Anon., *Cronaca di Venezia fino al 1310*, BNM, ms. It. VII. 2541 [= 12433].

M 2543 = Anon., *Cronaca di Venezia fino al 1356*, BNM, ms. It. VII. 2543 [= 12435].

M 2544 = Anon., *Cronaca di Venezia fino al 1382*, BNM, ms. It. VII. 2544 [= 12436].

M 2545 = Anon., *Cronaca di Venezia fino al 1386*, BNM, ms. It. VII. 2545 [= 12437].

M 2548 = Anon., *Cronaca di Venezia fino al 1405*, BNM, ms. It. VII. 2548 [= 12440] (a 15th century codex).

M 2549 = Anon., *Cronaca di Venezia fino al 1410*, BNM, ms. It. VII. 2549 [= 12441].

M 2550 = Anon., *Cronaca di Venezia fino al 1410*, BNM, ms. It. VII. 2550 [= 12442].

M 2555 = Anon., *Cronaca di Venezia fino al 1414*, BNM, ms. It. VII. 2555 [= 12447].

M 2556 = Anon., *Cronaca di Venezia fino al 1422*, BNM, ms. It. VII. 2556 [= 12448].

M 2559 = Anon., *Cronaca di Venezia fino al 1427*, BNM, ms. It. VII. 2559 [= 12451].

M 2560 = Anon., *Cronaca di Venezia fino al 1432*, BNM, ms. It. VII. 2560 [= 12452].

M 2563 = Anon., *Cronaca di Venezia fino al 1441*, BNM, ms. It. VII. 2563 [= 12455].

M 2564 = Anon, *Cronaca di Venezia fino al 1443, preceduta da una storia di Attila ed imperatori fino ad Enrico IV*, BNM, ms. It. VII. 2564 [= 12456].

M 2567 = Anon., *Cronaca di Venezia fino al 1444*, BNM, ms. It. VII. 2567 [= 12459].

M 2569 = Anon., *Cronaca di Venezia fino al 1446*, BNM, ms. It. VII. 2569 [= 12461].

M 2571 = Anon., *Cronaca di Venezia fino al 1457*, BNM, ms. It. VII. 2571 [= 12463].

M 2572 = Anon., *Cronaca di Venezia fino al 1471*, BNM, ms. It. VII. 2572 [= 12464].

M 2573 = Anon., *Cronaca di Venezia fino al 1478*, BNM, ms. It. VII. 2573 [= 12465].

M 2576 = Anon., *Cronaca di Venezia fino al 1501*, BNM, ms. It. VII. 2576 [= 12468].

M 2580 = Anon., *Cronaca di Venezia fino al 1556*, BNM, ms. It. VII. 2580 [= 12472].

M 2581 = Anon., *Cronaca di Venezia fino al 1570*, BNM, ms. It. VII. 2581 [= 12473].

M 2592 = Anon., *Cronaca di Venezia fino al 1247*, BNM, ms. It. VII. 2592 [= 12484].

Marco = *Marci Chronica universalis*, BNM, ms. It. XI. 124 [= 6802].

Monaci = *Laurentii de Monacis Cretae Cancellari Chronica de rebus venetis Ab U. C. ad Annum MCCCLIV, sive ad conjurationem ducis Faledro*, ed. F. Corner, Venezia, 1758.

Morosini A. = *Il Codice Morosini. Il mondo visto da Venezia (1094–1433)*, ed. A. Nanetti, I, Spoleto, 2010.

Morosini P. = Paolo Morosini, *Historia della Citta', e Republica di Venetia*, Venezia, 1637.

pseudo-Abbiosi = Anon., *Cronaca di Venezia dall'origine della Città fino all'anno 1443*, BNM, ms. It. VII. 2052 [= 8981].

pseudo-Barbaro = Anon., *Cronaca di Venezia fino al 1275*, BNM, ms. It. VII. 2554 [= 12446].

pseudo-Caroldo = Giovanni Giacomo Caroldo, *Istorii veneţiene*, I: *De la originile Cetăţii la moartea dogelui Giacopo Tiepolo (1249)*, ed. Ş. V. Marin, Bucureşti, 2008.

pseudo-Donato = Antonio Donà, *Cronaca Veneta dall'anno 687 al 1479*, BNM, ms. It. VII. 10 [= 8607].

pseudo-Enrico Dandolo = *Cronica di Venexia detta di Enrico Dandolo. Origini–1362*, ed. R. Pesce, Venezia, 2010.

pseudo-Enrico Dandolo 102 = Anon., *Cronaca Veneta dall'origine della Città fino al 1373*, BNM, ms. It. VII. 102 [= 8142].

pseudo-Erizzo = *Cronaca Veneta attribuita a Marcantonio Erizzo, fino all'anno 1495*, BNM, ms. It. VII. 56 [= 8636].

pseudo-Navagero = *Storia della Repubblica Veneziana scritta da Andrea Navagero patrizio veneto*, in RIS, 23, ed. L. A. Muratori, Milano, 1733, 923–1216.

pseudo-Sanudo 1 = *Marini Sanuti Leonardi filii Patricii Veneti De Origine Urbis Venetae et vita omnium Ducum feliciter incipit*, in RIS, 22, ed. L. A. Muratori, Milano, 1733: *Vitae Ducum Venetorum Italicè Scriptae ab origine Urbis, sive ab anno CCCC XXI usque ad annum MCCCCXCIII*, 399–1252 (528–530).

pseudo-Sanudo 2 = *Marini Sanuti Leonardi filii Patricii Veneti De Origine Urbis Venetae et vita omnium Ducum feliciter incipit*, in RIS, 22, ed. L. A. Muratori, Milano, 1733: *Vitae Ducum Venetorum Italicè Scriptae ab origine Urbis, sive ab anno CCCC XXI usque ad annum MCCCCXCIII*, 399–1252 (530–531).

pseudo-Savina = Anon., *Cronaca Veneta dal principio della Città sino al 1616*, BNM, ms. It. VII. 134 [= 8035].

pseudo-Veniera = Anon., *Cronaca di tutte le Casade della Nobil Città di Venetia*, BNM, ms. It. VII. 791 [= 7589].

pseudo-Zancaruolo = *Cronaca Veneta supposta di Gasparo Zancaruolo, dall'origine della Città fino al 1446*, BNM, ms. It. VII. 1274 [= 9274].

Rosso = Anon., *Cronica Veneta del Rosso dal principio al 1355*, ÖNB, ms. Foscarini CCLVI [= 6467].

Sabellico = *M. Antonii Sabellici, rerum Venetarum ab urbe condita, ad Marcum Barbadicum, Sereniss. Venetiarum Principem & Senatum, Decadis Primae*, in *Degl'Istorici delle Cose Veneziane, i quali hanno scritto per Pubblico Decreto*, Venezia, 1718.

Sansovino = Francesco Sansovino, *Venetia Città nobilissima et singolare*, 2, ed. G. Martinioni, Venezia, 1968 [1663].

VH = *Historia vulgo Petro Iustiniano Iustiniani filio adiudicata*, ed. R. Cessi, F. Bennato, Venezia, 1964.

Vianoli = Alessandro Maria Vianoli, *Historia Veneta*, **I**, Venezia, 1680.

Zancaruolo = Gasparo Zancaruol, *Cronaca di Venezia fino al 1446*, BNM, ms. It. VII. 2570 [= 12462].

Primary sources related to the Fourth Crusade not included in the general list of abbreviations:

Baldwin = *Literae Balduini Imperatoris ad Papam*, in Tafel, Thomas, *Urkunden*, I, 501–511.

Choniates = *O City of Byzantium, Annals of Niketas Choniates*, ed. H. J. Magoulias, Detroit, 1984.

Choniates Van Dieten = *Nicetae Choniatae Historia*, ed. I. A. Van Dieten, Berlin, New York, 1975.

Chron. Gall. = *Chronicum Gallicum ineditum*, in *Tafel, Thomas, Urkunden*, **I**, 328–358.

Clari = Robert of Clari, *The Conquest of Constantinople*, ed. E. Holmes McNeal, New York, 1969.

Clari Lauer = Clari, *La conquête de Constantinople*, ed. Ph. Lauer, Paris, 1956.

Corpus Flandriae = *Corpus Chronicorum Flandriae*, in Tafel, Thomas, *Urkunden*, I, 293–304.

Devastatio = "*Devastatio Constantinopolitana*", in CGR, 86–92.

Gunther = *The Capture of Constantinople. The* Hystoria Constantinopolitana *of Gunther of Pairis*, ed. A. J. Andrea, Philadelphia, 1997.

Gunther Migne = Guntherus Cistercensis Monachus, *Historia Captae a Latinis Constantinopoleos sub Balduino, circa annum 1204*, in PL, 212, Paris, 1855, 222–256 **Morea** = *Crusaders as conquerors. The Chronicle of Morea, translated from the Greek, with notes and introduction by H. E. Lurier*. New York, London, 1964.

Morea Bouchon = *Chronique de la conquête de Constantinople et de l'établissement des Français en Morée*, ed. J. A. Buchon, Paris, 1825.

Novgorod = "*Chronista Novgorodensis*", in CGR, 93–98.

Villehardouin = Villehardouin, *La conquête de Constantinople*, ed. E. Faral, II, Paris, 1939.

THE LOCATION OF VICINA REVISITED. IS THERE ANY FINAL SOLUTION?

ALEXANDRU MADGEARU

Two recent contributions of Virgil Ciocîltan and Denis Căprăroiu revived in the Romanian historiography the long and tortuous controversy on the location of a medieval Danubian harbor and trading center: Vicina. Historians, archaeologists and geographers debated this subject decade after decade, but there is no general accepted final solution for the whereabouts of that city which flourished between the mid 13th century and the early 15th century. In a communication presented at the "Nicolae Iorga" Institute of History, followed by a study published in "Revista istorică"[1], V. Ciocîltan gave new arguments for the location at Măcin (Tulcea County). The first author who made this proposal, on the basis of a vague name similarity, was Wilhelm Tomaschek. It was supported by historians like Alexandru T. Dumitrescu, Nicolae Dobrescu, Vasili Zlatarski, Jacob Bromberg, Mathias Gyóni, Boris Nedkov, Constantin Rezachevici[2]. The most recent opinion, expressed by D. Căprăroiu, is completely new: Axiopolis-Cernavodă[3]. Other authors favored places like Mahmudia[4], Isaccea[5], Hârşova[6], Nufăru[7], Somova[8], or Ismail[9], but the most popular identification was put forward by Petre Diaconu: the Păcuiul lui Soare[10] island.

The undisputable history of Vicina begins after the reestablishment of a kind of Byzantine domination in the region of the Danube mouths, following the victory of Michael VIII Palaeologos against Bulgaria (1263). Praising the victory, the

[1] Ciocîltan 2011, 411–430.

[2] Tomaschek 1886, 302–303; Dumitrescu 1904, 15–33; Dobrescu 1906, 45–46; Zlatarski 1934, 183; Bromberg 1938, 20–29; Gyóni 1943–1944, 20, 36; Nedkov 1960, 135; Rezachevici 1999, 63–72.

[3] Căprăroiu 2014, 115–125.

[4] Brătianu 1935, 90–91; Brătianu 1942, 133–175.

[5] Iorga 1900, 47–48; Grămadă 1924, 437–459; Năsturel 1957, 298–300; Bolşacov-Ghimpu 1967, 547; Cihodaru 1968, 229; Giurescu 1977 a, 143–152; Balard 1981, 36; Cihodaru 1978–1979, 294–295; Cihodaru 1982, 10; Barnea 1987, 117; Vergatti 2003, 90; Mănucu-Adameşteanu 2009, 621–651; Mănucu-Adameşteanu 2012, 640–642; Mănucu-Adameşteanu 2013, 515–516; Vergatti 2013, 429.

[6] Todorova 1978, 124–138.

[7] Atanasov 1994, 109–128.

[8] Lerian 1973, 472–473.

[9] Kuzev 1977, 117–121.

[10] Diaconu 1970 b, 275–295; Diaconu 1980, 353–361; Diaconu 1981, 2311–2316.

rhetor Michael Holobolos wrote that "many Paristrian islands rejoiced because you are their emperor; they gave up on their planned rebellion and realized that they had been subjected and oppressed by rulers without legitimate rights". These words were seen as an allusion to the return of Byzantine control in northern Dobrudja, a region where the study of monetary circulation indicates a preponderance of Byzantine coin issues from Michael VIII's time, in contrast to the Bulgarian coins of Constantine Asan and Mičo, which are frequent only south of Silistra and also at Păcuiul lui Soare (they are, however, not absent from the north, for example in Isaccea). Since the harbors on the western Black Sea shore, up to Mesembria, had been occupied by the Byzantine Empire in 1263, its fleet was able to reach the Danube[11].

The first exactly dated record of Vicina comes from several Genoese acts of 1281 (the name was spelled *Vicina* or *Vecina*)[12]. In 1296, the portolano entitled *Il compasso da navigare* (based on an original from 1250–1265) called the Danube *flume de Vicina*. The same name *Vicina / Vecina / Vicena* appears in the documents issued by the Franciscan friars (1314, 1334), and on several portolans and maps dated to the 14th–15th centuries, beginning with 1318 (Pietro Visconti).[13] The increasing importance of this city at the end of the 13th century is shown by the existence of a Genoese consul in 1361[14], and by the establishment of a mitropoly, first attested in 1285 (Βιτζίνα, in the Greek spelling)[15]. The mitropoly was not founded after the new conquest made by Michael VIII as some historians were thinking.[16] In fact, this happened earlier, during the rule of the Nicean Patriarch Germanos II (1222–1240). The establishment of the mitropoly subordinated to Nicaea was the result of the agreement between John III Vatatzes and John Asan II occurred in 1234[17]. On its side, the Roman Church has manifested his expansionist policy by founding a Franciscan convent at Vicina, sometimes before 1287. A Tatar chief commanding over 1000 warriors called Argun was baptized by these friars in that year at Vicum, a mistaken form of the name Vicina (the information comes from a report of the *custos* of the Gazaria region of the Franciscan order, concerning the activities among the Tatars)[18]. This establishment of a Franciscan convent at Vicina reveals the competition between the two Churches for the control of this borderland city, situated between three civilizations: the Golden Horde, Byzantium and the Westerners.

[11] Laurent 1945; Brătianu 1945, 199; Oberländer-Târnoveanu 1989, 147–148; Căprăroiu 2014, 124.

[12] Brătianu 1923, 147–148; Brătianu 1935, 47–48; Baraschi 1981, 321.

[13] Brătianu 1923, 146–147, 158; Andreescu 1932–1933, 155; Brătianu 1935, 13, 46, 61–63; Năsturel 1957, 297–300; Kuzev 1977, 113–114; Cihodaru 1978–1979, 294; Dumitriu-Snagov 1979, 1941–1947; Vagnon 2006, 6–8.

[14] Kuzev 1977, 115; Balard 1978, 144.

[15] Brătianu 1923, 114–115, 155; Brătianu 1935, 36–37; Năsturel 1971, 37–38; Baraschi 1981, 322.

[16] For instance: Brătianu 1923, 139–140; Căprăroiu 2014, 117.

[17] Mărculeţ 2004, 264–267; Mureşan 2010, 335; Căţoi 2010, 185–186.

[18] Andreescu 1932–1933, 152–157; Brătianu 1935, 58–59; Vergatti 2003, 91–92; Căprăroiu 2014, 122.

The first source recording a place which was supposed to be identical to this 13th century Vicina is Anna Comnena's *Alexiad*. Two local chiefs called Sesthlav and Satza, mentioned in relation to a certain event dated around 1086, were the masters of Βιτζίνα and other fortresses. It is not clear if Vitzina was ruled by them in common or by only one of them. The source gives no clue on the position of this Vitzina, but it has to be noted that this was the single place quoted besides the capital of the province, Dristra, in the relation about the secession of Paradunavon[19]. There is instead another name mentioned in the *Alexiad*, the river Βιτζίνα "which flows down from the neighboring hills", somewhere north of the Sidera (Riš) gorge, that is south of Pliska. The river was identified with Kamčija, also called Tiča, recorded by Constantine Porphyrogenitus as Διτζίνα (the Bulgarian form was most probable Dičina)[20]. In this case, it is more suitable to think that the fortress Vicina was too somewhere near that river. A later Turkish source, the chronicle of Mehmed Nešri, has recorded a city called *Venzina*, between Kamčija and Varna (destroyed by the Ottomans in 1388)[21]. These data were known since a long time, but the preconceived idea that the fortress Vitzina must be searched only in the present-day Romanian Dobrudja has prevented the historians to realize that Anna Comnena was speaking only about the same area, near Kamčija, affected too by the secession.

Even more unclear is the connection between the early history of Vicina and some data recorded by the Geography of Al-Idrisi, written in 1154. Disina was a city located four days east from Barisklafa. The new French translation is wrong translating Disina by Măcin, following that obsolete attempt to identify Vicina. Considering that *Barisklafa* was the same with Preslav put by them at Victoria (that is, Nufăru), the two translators did not realized that Măcin is not located at for days east from that point Al-Idrisi[22]. No data about this northern part of Dobrudja were transmitted by Al-Idrisi[23]. Many historians believed that al-Idrisi provided an early testimony for Vicina[24]. Actually, the Disina of al-Idrisi is that one from Kamčija. This fact results from the location of Barisklafa (four days distance toward east from Dristra, going through deserted areas). Barisklafa was near a river and a swamp. The editor of Al-Idrisi, Konrad Miller, proposed the itinerary Daristar-

[19] Anna Comnena 2003, 212 (VI, 14.1); Brătianu 1923, 120; Brătianu 1935, 16; Gyóni 1943–1944, 87–100; Diaconu 1970 a, 112–115; Barnea, Ştefănescu 1971, 137–146; Cihodaru 1978–1979, 285.

[20] Constantine Porphyrogenitus 1967, 62/63 (IX, 101); Anna Comnena, 222 (VII, 3.1); Tomaschek 1886, 311–312; Brătianu 1923, 118–123; Brătianu 1935, 12–18; Brătianu 1942, 146–147; Cihodaru 1978–1979, 283; Beševliev 1985, 21–22.

[21] Brătianu 1935, 83–84; Cihodaru 1978–1979, 284–285.

[22] Al-Idrisi (ed. Jaubert, 386, 397; ed. Miller, 123, 129, 132; trad. Bresc. Nef, 446).

[23] The identifications of some names recorded by Al-Idrisi with places from northern Dobrudja like Halmyris and Argamum (Brătescu 1920, 23–31; Cihodaru 1968, 223; Barnea, Ştefănescu 1971, 163–166; Cihodaru 1978–1979, 289) are erroneous. Halmyris (Murighiol) and Argamum (Jurilovca) were no more inhabited in the 12th century.

[24] For instance: Brătianu 1935, 27–28; Bromberg 1937, 177; Brătianu 1942, 147; Cihodaru 1968, 228–230; Stănescu 1970, 124; Barnea 1971, 362; Barnea, Ştefănescu 1971, 164; Kuzev 1981, 272; Cihodaru 1978–1979, 284–289; Todorova 1984, 431; Atanasov 1994, 112–113.

Barisklafa-Disina-Akli, which followed the Danube up to the Delta. He considered that Akli was Chilia, but it is known that this harbor did not exist then. The most probable identification of Akli is Anchialos (Petre Diaconu has demonstrated that the road direction after Dristra did not follow the Danube, being an internal way, toward south-east). *Barisklafa* was an unknown place near Preslav, called Migali Barisklafa by Al-Idrisi, the same with the Little Preslav[25].

Another uncertain testimony is the epigram celebrating the deeds of general Ioannes Dukas in the war of 1167 against Hungary. The manuscript *Marcianus Graecus* 524 mentions that he crossed the Danube by Vidin, in contradiction with the detailed relation provided by Ioannes Kinnamos, according to whom the army corps entered Hungary by present-day Moldavia. By this reason some historians proposed that *Vidin* was a mistaken form of *Vicin* (Vicina)[26]. These are mere speculations. The comprehensive account of Kinnamos could not be contradicted by a poetical writing, and, on the other hand, there is no proof that the name was indeed misspelled.

Therefore, no certain information about Vicina exists before 1281. Of course, the city emerged some time before that year, most probable as a new foundation made after 1263. The commercial relations attested since 1281 suggest an evolution of at least several decades (the presence of the coins issued by Michael VIII in the area is related to this revival of city life). The name *Vicina* or *Vecina* comes from the Romanian or Italian word *vecin / vicino*. This means that the city has developed near and older one. Any attempt to locate it must take this into account. An older city was near Vicina.

Before the discussion about the two recent opinions expressed about the location of Vicina, it should be emphasized the impossibility of the most popular solution given to the problem. Apparently convincing, the idea of placing Vicina at Păcuiul lui Soare does not match with the prosperity attested by the Genoese and Byzantine sources during the 14th century. The archaeological findings and especially the coin circulation are too few for such an important trading center as it was Vicina. During the period when Vicina was flourishing, this settlement was alive, but deprived of the earlier defence system[27]. On the other hand, the presence of another mitropoly at a small distance, at Dristra, is another fact which contradicts the theory[28]. It was believed that the distance of 200 Genoese miles (346 km) between Vicina and the Aspera channel, mentioned in *Il compasso da navigare*, would support the location at Păcuiul lui Soare[29], or at Axiopolis[30]. The

[25] Al-Idrisi (ed. Jaubert, 386; ed. Miller, 129; trad. Bresc, Nef, 443, 446); Tomaschek 1886, 301–302, 311; Grămadă 1930, 242; Brătianu 1942, 147–148; Diaconu 1965, 50; Năsturel 1965, 27; Diaconu 1976, 430–431; Baraschi 1981, 317–318.

[26] Diaconu 1978, 103; Baraschi 1981, 317; Cândea 1999, 154 (identified with Măcin).

[27] Baraschi 1987, 126–128.

[28] Kuzev 1977, 123–124; Cihodaru 1978–1979, 292.

[29] Diaconu 1981, 2316. The interpretation was endorsed by Iosipescu 2008, 705.

[30] Căprăroiu 2014, 124.

discussion on the distance recorded in that portolano was continued by Octavian Iliescu, who first took into account the Genoese miles of 1734 meters (the result being 346 km). Later, he accepted the use of the Venetian miles of 1400 meters, because other distances from this portolano are right if it is applied this measure unit. In consequence, he placed Vicina somewhere between Hârşova and Topalu[31]. The uncertainty of other distance mentioned by *Il compasso da navigare* was however emphasized by other researchers; most of them are round figures, and there are still big differences in comparison with the real distances[32]. Moreover, it is not sure what was Aspera, a channel or a place, and where exactly was in the present Danube Delta. Therefore the portolano of 1296 is by no means an undisputable source on the location of Vicina.

There is instead one such source, which could fix the point where Vicina was on the Danube stream, to a lesser distance from the sea. It is a document published by Michel Balard in 1979. An act issued at Chilia on 18 October 1360 has recorded that a ship was prepared to go after some days from Chilia to Vicina for a wheat load, and then to return into the Black Sea to sail to Pera. This means that Vicina was somewhere close to Chilia, on the maritime section of the Danube. This document remained unknown to Brătianu (it was discovered by Balard in the same Genoese archives in 1975)[33]. The sailing timing upstream and downstream of Danube in the autumn contradicts any far location. Following the study of Valeriu Bulgaru[34], P.Ş. Năsturel has demonstrated that a sailing ship needed six weeks to navigate on the Danube up to Galaţi. That ship would have been surprised by the winter on the Danube if Vicina was upstream of this bend of the river. The significance of this climatic argument was also emphasized by Ştefan Andreescu in a note about the study of P. Ş. Năsturel[35]. It is known that the Genoese regulations forbid the navigation between 1st December and 15th March[36]. Therefore, Păcuiul lui Soare, Cernavoda and Hârşova are excluded, and Măcin could be admitted only to a certain extent. The same collection of documents provides other significant information: Vicina was also the name of a channel of the Danube. An act issued on 13 August 1360 mentioned that a boat (*lignum*) was stationed in *sumaria Vicine* (another *sumaria* was Chili or Licostomo)[37]. This means that one of the channels of the Danube Delta, the present-day Sfântu Gheorghe, was preferred for navigation toward Vicina. That was the return way of the boat mentioned in the document dated 18 October.

Continuing the discussion over the proposed location of Vicina at Măcin, I am not able to decide the validity of the linguistic side of the problem (the derivation

[31] Iliescu 1994, 232–236.
[32] Todorova 1978, 132–137; Cihodaru 1979, 8; Năsturel 1987, 155–156; Ciocîltan 2011, 412–413.
[33] Balard 1980, 158–159 (Nr. 97); Năsturel 1987, 159–167; Botzan 1992, 65.
[34] Bulgaru 1977, 97.
[35] Andreescu 1988, 586–587.
[36] Atanasiu 2008, 206–207.
[37] Balard 1980, 53; Eskenazy 1983 a, 89, 92.

of Măcin or Mecin, from Vecina), but I will insist on what the sources about Vicina could tell us. The obvious conclusion drawn from the study of the Genoese testimonies is that Vicina was an outstanding trading center. The amplitude of the commercial exchanges required field connections with markets and with regions that supplied the city with the stuff exported by it. Many data about the transit through Vicina and Chilia, gathered from the Genoese archives by Gheorghe I. Brătianu and then by Michel Balard, are showing on the one hand the great value of the transactions, and on the other hand, what kind of exports and imports were transited. The exports consisted mainly in luxury textiles, namely silk and Italian tissues. The imports were especially: corn, ox leather, salt, bee wax. A document mentioned the higher quality of the corn from *Vezina* in comparison with that imported from the Bulgarian harbors Varna and Sozopolis.[38] Even V. Ciocîltan recognized the "exceptional condition of the city as economic and spiritual center" evidenced by its position in the portolanos, while Michel Balard was writing "d'un commerce céréalier de grande ampleur, auquel participe un nombre élevé de bâtiments moyens"[39].

The transportation to and from Vicina required roads connecting the harbor to the territories where the luxury products could be sold, and with those which could provide a great amount of good corn and other products. Genoa exported luxury goods in Hungary, Poland, and in the Golden Horde. As for the imports, the corn and the wax could came especially from Moldavia, but also from Transylvania and the regions of Wallachia which were then cultivated. One of the roads connecting the Black and the Baltic seas reached the maritime sector of the Danube[40]. The Hungarian King Louis of Anjou granted a privilege for the traders of Braşov on 28 June 1358. The act specified that they have the right to go free from the mouth of Ialomiţa (*Iloncha*) up to the mouth of Siret (*Zereth*)[41]. In another document from 22 June 1368 it was specified that the destination of the traders was the land ruled by *Demetrius princeps Tartarorum*, whose residence was at Enisala[42]. This means that the connections between the Danubian trading centers and Transylvania were made on the valleys of these rivers (and on the intermediary valley of Buzău). If Ialomiţa is considered, the connection was to the city of Hârşova, but it is not possible that Vicina was there, in a fortress which, according to the archaeological researchers, was not a great economic center (it was strictly military). If the valleys of Buzău and Siret are considered, then the connection concerned the fortresses between Dinogetia and Măcin. From that north-western part of Dobrudja, the Roman road to Enisala passed through Isaccea.

Taking into account the necessary condition of the field connection, Căprăroiu's supposition[43] could be categorically excluded, because it is unthinkable the

[38] Brătianu 1923, 147–150; Brătianu 1935, 49–50; Giurescu 1977 b, 49–57; Josanu 2010–2012, 26–27.

[39] Balard 1983, 42.

[40] Giurescu 1977 b, 52; Josanu 2010–2012, 19–20.

[41] DRH D I, 71–72 (doc. 39).

[42] DRH D I, 89–90 (doc. 49); Iliescu 1997, 169.

[43] Căprăroiu 2014, 124–125.

existence of a trading road across the wilderness of the Bărăgan and next through Balta Borcea (that would be the way to Cernavoda, but also to Păcuiul lui Soare). Likewise Păcuiul lui Soare, Cernavodă was not too far from Dristra, and it would be improbable the existence of another mitropoly in that place. Considering the same condition, the idea advanced by V. Ciocîltan – the pair of harbors Măcin-Brăila – seems suitable. After the decline and the vanishing of Vicina, its function was taken by Brăila, a city which remained until the 20th century the most important transit center for cereals. On the other hand, the position of Măcin is quite close to the mouth of Siret mentioned in the document issued in 1368. Yet, there is a problem indicated by me since the presentation made by the author at the "Nicolae Iorga" Institute of History: it is impossible that no significant number of coins dated during the 13th–14th centuries would be collected as stray finds or by excavations, on the spot of a former well-developed city like it was Vicina, even after a full destruction and long time abandonment. This is not the case for Măcin, where the Byzantine occupation of the site is attested by few ceramic finds dated in the 10th–11th centuries and by only 25 bronze coins issued between the end of the 10th century and 1081, with the exception of one silver piece issued by Alexios I Comnenos in 1092–1118[44]. This is in strong contrast with the situation of Isaccea, where the 13th–14th coins are thousands, not to speak about the rest of the findings. This is the reason why one of the excavators of that site, Gheorghe Mănucu-Adameşteanu, is convinced that Vicina was there[45].

The second objection against Măcin (and also against Cernavoda), but favorable to Isaccea, is the position of Vicina as contact place between the Byzantine Empire or Bulgaria, and the Golden Horde, an usual crossing point between the banks of the Danube. It is known that 16.000 Alans (half of them warriors) begged to be received in the Byzantine Empire in 1302, after the death of the emir Nogai. They asked the metropolite Lucas of Vicina (Βιτζίνα) to intercede to the emperor Andronikos II. From the history of Georgios Pachymeres it could be deduced that these Alans crossed the Danube by Vicina.[46] The customs regulations of Pera (1333 and 1343) mentioned *flumen Vicine* as the border of the Golden Horde during the reign of the Khan Özbek (1313–1341), while the map of Angelino Dulcert (dated to 1339) displays the *tamga* as symbol of the Tatar rule over Vicina[47]. Much more clear are the data provided by the map of the Venetian brothers Domenico and Francesco Pizzigano, dated to 1367, and copied by other maps: *Item in ista provincia manet imperator Usbeck, scilicet in civitate de Seray. Imperium suum est valde magnum et incipit in provincia de Burgaria sed in civitate de Vecina et finit*

[44] Mănucu-Adameşteanu 2010, 237–250.

[45] Mănucu-Adameşteanu 2009, 621–651; Mănucu-Adameşteanu 2012, 640–642; Mănucu-Adameşteanu 2013, 515–516.

[46] Georges Pachymeres 1999, 338/339 (X. 16); Brătianu 1923, 141; Brătianu 1935, 38; Năsturel 1971, 35–36.

[47] Belgrano 1877, 304, 696; Brătianu 1935, 61, 63, 66, 73; Vagnon 2006, 8. The Tatar occupation was clearly dated to 1337 by Laurent 1946, 229–231.

in civitate de Cerchangi versus levante.[48] This text was reproduced with a small but decisive error by Nicolae Grămadă[49]: *et in civitate* instead of *sed in civitate*. This mistake which changed the meaning of the text was perpetuated in the subsequent contributions. An almost identical information was transmitted by the later Genoese manuscript *Itinerarium Antonii Ususmaris* (1455), probably copied from that map: *In ista provincia manet imperator Usbech, scilicet in civitate Serai. Imperium suum incipit in provincia de Burgaria scilicet in civitate de Vecina et finit in civitate de Cerchangi versus levantem*.[50] This *provincia Burgaria,* included in the Golden Horde, was the tributary Bulgarian state.[51] The map puts Vicina on the border of this province. Michel Balard has remarked that the Genoese established again the residence at Vicina only after the offensive against the Tartars led in 1345 by the comes of the Transylvanian Szeklers Andrew Láckfi, which means that Vicina was inside the borders of the Golden Horde between 1337 and 1345. In 1349 Louis of Anjou granted a privilege to Genoa, which could have had an impact over the trade with Vicina[52].

There is even another fact suggesting the location of Vicina in the maritime sector of the Danube (downstream of Galaţi). In 1318, the mitropolite of Vicina was asked by the Patriarch of Constantinople to resolve a conflict appeared between two bishops from Crimea, together with his colleagues from Zichia, Alania and Matracha, because all four of them were most close to that place.[53]

Taking all these into account, the most probable location of Vicina was near Isaccea. That ford was one of the most used during history, and the abundance of the coin findings dated to the 13th and 14th centuries is a solid proof. The aerial photos studied by Mihai Rada in 1988 evidenced at Isaccea an urban site with street network at circa 1 km south of the ancient Noviodunum, and 2.5 km east from the present city. It is supposed that Vicina was in that place (see fig. 1 and 2)[54]. In this case, the name would be easy to explain, the vicinity concerning the older city, the Roman Noviodunum, whose ruins were partial visible. It might be even admitted that Vicina was just Isaccea, because, as C. C. Giurescu has observed, the existence of two names for the same city was not impossible (later one appeared the name of Slavic origin, Obluciţa, from *oblutak*, "round stone")[55]. The coexistence of the names Isaccea and Vicina in the 14th century sources is a clear hindrance for this identification[56]. The name Isaccea has no relation with the

[48] Fischer 1886, 217; Brătianu 1923, 157; Brătianu 1935, 64–65; Kuzev 1977, 114. The map is available at http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File%3APizigani_1367_Chart_10MB.jpg.

[49] Grămadă 1924, 447.

[50] Brătianu 1923, 157; Brătianu 1935, 65; Ciocîltan 2012, 265.

[51] Iosipescu 2013, 112.

[52] Balard 1978, 144.

[53] Brătianu 1923, 155–156; Brătianu 1935, 57; Rămureanu 1979, 157.

[54] Rada, Cochină, Corcodel, luga 1988, 203–204.

[55] Giurescu 1977 a, 152.

[56] Atanasov 1994, 110.

chief Satza mentioned by Anna Comnena. It evolved from the Tartar name *Sakdji*, attested in the *History* of Baybars al-Mansuri (*Zubdat al-fikra)* and in the *Geography* of Abulfida from 1325[57]. The contemporary form *Isaccea* appeared by a confusion with the name *Isac*.

There is another location proposal suitable to the conditions of road access and contact place with the Golden Horde: the hydrologist Marcu Botzan has demonstrated the existence of a drowned island near the mouth of Prut, in the zone called Cotul Pisicii. The mudding and sinking occurred during a certain period after the middle of the 14th century (see fig. 3).[58]

Some sources are locating Vicina near an island: a map from 1318, another map from the 13th century copied in the next century, another one from the 14th century kept in Biblioteca Marciana, and, finally, several 15th century maps. *El Libro del Conoscimento*, the work of a Spanish Franciscan (around 1350), has transmitted the contents of some disappeared maps. The Danube is presented flowing in the Black Sea at the city called *Vecina*, where a great island is placed. The text is full of errors (the author believed that in the same place are flowing eight more rivers, some of them being in fact in Hungary). Therefore, this work could not be trusted. N. Grămadă has considered that the island was that one existing near the present town Isaccea[59]. If we agree with the supposition of M. Botzan, then Vicina should be placed just into an island. In conclusion, Vicina was either a city developed near Isaccea, either a drowned island placed in the bend of the Danube at Galaţi-Garvăn. Nicolae Iorga suggested too that Vicina was "at the bending corner to the east of the Danube"[60]. If this was true, the decline of Vicina had mainly a natural reason. Brăila, Chilia and Cetatea Albă benefitted from this decline, becoming the new trading centers on the Danube. Like the transfer of the mitropoly from Vicina to Curtea de Argeş (1359), the problem of the replacement of Vicina as the main trading center surpass the matter dealt here.

The best end for this study is the brilliant conclusion of Petre Ş. Năsturel: "By this reason we believe that this strategic point – the crossroad of Danube, Dobrudja and Bugeac, in relation to the Black Sea – was the most suitable place for the rich Vicina, which was so able to achieve in the easiest way its mission of merciless and greedy intermediary for the merchandise exchanges between the Western and the Asiatic worlds"[61]. He was speaking about Isaccea, but the same would be true for the supposed drowned island.

[57] Brătianu 1935, 39, 45, 70; Baraschi 1981, 336.

[58] Botzan 1992, 68–73.

[59] Marinescu 1926, 1–8; Grămadă 1924, 441, 452–453, 458; Brătianu 1935, 62–68; Kuzev 1977, 125; Eskenasy 1983 b, 420; Vagnon 2006, 9.

[60] Iorga 1929, 29.

[61] Năsturel 1957, 298–299.

Fig. 1

Fig. 2

Figs. 1–2 – Hypothetical location of Vicina near Noviodunum-Isaccea.
Google Earth image.

Fig. 3 – Hypothetical location of Vicina near Cotul Pisicii. Military map, 1997

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LE PARISTRION/PARADUNAVON/PODUNAVIA DEPUIS LE XIIIe SIÈCLE JUSQU'AU XVIe SIÈCLE

SERGIU IOSIPESCU

Dans son remarquable effort de raccorder l'historiographie roumaine à celle européenne, Bogdan Petriceicu Hasdeu (1838–1907) aborda le premier la question de l'évolution territoriale de la principauté de Valachie (Ţara Românească – Le Pays des Roumains) au XIVe siècle.

Concernant l'étendue de la principauté vers l'Orient, sur le Bas-Danube, en s'appuyant sur le titre du prince Mircea l'Ancien (1386–1418), Hasdeu supposait que «les deux rives du fleuve, le Bulgare et le Moldave, Silistrie et aussi Galatzi, la Dobroudja et aussi l'angle de la Bessarabie, entre le Prut et le Pont [Euxin], étaient dans la même situation, sous le sceptre du voïévode»[1]. Sur les traces de ses prédécesseurs – Dimitrie Cantemir, Johann Christian Engel et Gheorghe Şincai, Hasdeu invoqua l'exposé de Laonic Chalcocondyle au sujet des frontières de la Valachie vers la mer Noire. En se référant aux temps de Mircea l'Ancien, l'historien athénien écrivait que le Pays des Roumains «s'étend depuis l'Ardeal [la Transylvanie] – la Dacie des Peons [Hongrois] – jusqu'à la mer Noire; vers la mer il a sur sa droite le fleuve Istros [le Danube] et à gauche le pays nome Bogdania [la Moldavie]; la longue montagne de Braşov le sépare de la Peonodacia; et ce pays a aussi comme voisins sur une étendue assez importante les Scythes [les Tatares] nomades, gent nombreuse et riche, sujette du roi Casimir»[2]. Il est tout à fait possible de trouver aussi dans ce passage de l'historien byzantin un écho de la défense roumaine de Kilia, sur la rive gauche du Danube, lors de l'invasion en 1462 de la Valachie par les armées du Grand Turc Mehmet II, événement contemporain aux temps de la rédaction de ses histoires[3].

Le premier qui, avant Hasdeu, avait compris et bien traduit le texte de Chalcocondyle fut Gheorghe Şincai (1754–1816); pour ce Muratori Roumain la partie orientale de la principauté était «la Bessarabie, qui, auparavant, appartenait à la Valachie», et cette «Bessarabie était le Boudjac d'aujourd'hui»[4]. Au témoignage

[1] Hasdeu 1984, 16.

[2] Laonic Chalcocondil 1958, 63.

[3] Laonic Chalcocondil 1958, 286, 290.

[4] Şincai 1967, 560, 558. Şincai utilisa la traduction latine de Laonicus Chalcocondyl, *De origine et rebus gestis Turcorum libri decem*, ed. Conrad Clauser, Ioannes Oporinus, Basileae, 1556, 24.

de Chalcocondyle, Hasdeu ajoute ceux des chrysobulles du prince Mircea de 1387, 1393, 1399, 1400, 1406, pour conclure que entre le Nistru (Dniester) et le Danube, le territoire des Principautés Roumains était partagé de façon suivante: «la Moldavie possédait le pays un peu en bas de Cetatea Albă; la Valachie plus haut que Kilia»[5]. Avec les chrysobulles du prince Mircea, l'illustre philologue et historien relevait l'importance des recherches sur le titre princier pour dévoiler l'évolution territoriale du pays.

Ces recherches ont été poursuivies par Dimitre Onciul (1858–1923) dans son étude sur le titre du prince Mircea l'Ancien et ses possessions, restée malheureusement inachevée et justement en ce qui concernait les chapitres *Les marches tatares; Les deux rivages du Danube jusqu'à la mer Majeure; Seigneur de Dristra*[6]. D'après Onciul, chaque partie du titre princier correspondait à une réalité territoriale, conformément aux usages médiévaux, au vocabulaire politique et diplomatique de l'époque. L'historien roumain passe en revue les documents connus à la fin du XIXe siècle et constate que pour la première fois le titre princier le plus complet s'étale dans le chrysobulle de Mircea l'Ancien pour le monastère de Cozia de l'année 1387, dont la traduction se trouve dans le chartrier du même établissement. Sa tenue est la suivante: «Par le Christ Dieu, le bien-croyant et le bien-vénérant et aimant le Christ, nous, Jehan Mircea, par la grâce de Dieu et avec la faveur de Dieu, l'autocrate, grand voïévode et seigneur, maître et régnant sur tout le Pays de Hongrovlachie et des parties d'au delà de la montagne, aussi vers les marches Tatares et Herzog de l'Amlaş et de Făgăraş et seigneur du banat de Severin et partout sur les deux rives du Danube et jusqu'à la mer Majeure, et maître de la cite de Dristra»[7].

Malheureusement, le très scrupuleux médiéviste n'eut pas l'original du document, égaré qu'il était dans la maison de Câmpina de feu Hasdeu parmi les dossiers de l'ancien directeur des archives roumaines[8]. Onciul remarqua l'absence de la date – 1387 – sur une photocopie du même document et concluait qu'il s'agit peut-être de deux documents dont un seul était daté.

Les réserves étaient bien fondées parce que l'original retrouvé ne portait aucune date et fut placé par l'éminent slaviste Petre P. Panaitescu (1900–1967) entre 1404 et 1407[9], ce qui modifie l'entière reconstitution proposée par Onciul. La dernière datation, acceptée depuis, s'appuyait sur le contenu de l'acte, comme postérieur à une donation pour le monastère de Cozia du 8 janvier <1392[10]>, sur le nom de l'higoumène et le *titre princier*, dernier critère, sans doute, vicieux.

[5] Hasdeu 1984, 15.

[6] Onciul 1968, II, 19–142.

[7] Onciul 1968, II, 20.

[8] Apres la mort de Hasdeu, les dossiers ainsi qu'une partie de sa bibliotheque retournaient aux Archives, à Bucarest.

[9] DRH B I, 63–65.

[10] DRH B I, 42–45, datation nouvelle due à P. P. Panaitescu.

On insinua que la date 1387 pourrait être une création de Hasdeu pour soutenir ses propres théories. Heureusement, le chrysobulle était publié depuis 1867 par Timotei Cipariu (1805–1887) dans «Archivul pentru filologie şi istorie» et portait la date 1387[11]. Le savant chanoine de Blaj, Timotei Cipariu, utilisa une copie dont le texte portait l'année 6895 (ϛѡчє), copie prise par l'archimandrite Théodose, higoumène de Cozia en 1826, d'après la transcription de l'acte dans le chartrier du monastère[12].

La provenance de cette copie a été dévoilée par Cipariu dans son «Archivul»: après le début en 1821 de la guerre pour l'indépendance hellénique et la révolution de Tudor Vladimirescu, profitant de l'exil a Braşov de nombreux boyards de la Valachie, Vasile Pop („Basiliu Popu"), un des médecins de la ville, réussit a prendre des copies d'après leurs documents, de ceux de la Métropolie de la Valachie, pour composer un «diplomatarium roumain», deux volumes *in folio*. Le *diplomatarium* fut complété par les recherches du docteur Vasile Pop dans les monastères de Valachie en 1826. Dans la possession de Cipariu, sauvé par miracle de la dévastation de sa bibliothèque pendant la révolution de 1848–1849, le «diplomatarium roumain» commençait justement avec l'acte de Mircea l'Ancien de l'année 6895, c'est-à-dire 1387[13].

L'intérêt spécial du chrysobulle consiste dans la donation faite par le prince au monastère de Cozia: «afin qu'il a dans sa propriété et comme alleu tous les lacs du Danube en partant de Săpatul jusqu'à la bouche de Ialovniţa [Ialomiţa]», avec l'observation qu'il y a «là bas, un homme qui fit hommage à Sofronie l'higoumène, pour être l'homme lige du monastère, et son nom est Tâmpa, et il a fait don aussi d'une rivière, Săpatul». Mircea l'Ancien laissait à Tâmpa le droit de taxer cette rivière pour le compte du monastère en octroyant a l'higoumène et aux caloyers le droit de nommer des douaniers pour les autres lacs, exempts des taxes dus aux officiers du prince ou de son représentant, le «kefalea de Drâstor» [14].

Pour surprendre l'entière signification de la donation du grand voïévode et prince Mircea, une incursion aux origines du monastère de Cozia, sur ses premiers higoumènes, sur l'évolution de son domaine s'impose. En dépit d'une littérature hagiographique intéressée, les monastères de Cozia et Cotmeana «ont été fondés par le grand-père de ma seigneurie et par le père de ma seigneurie», déclarait Mihail voïévode, le fils et l'héritier de Mircea l'Ancien[15]. Afin de « désambiguïser » le texte, Mircea lui-même se rapportant à la donation pour Cozia d'un vignoble de Râmnic, par le jupan Budu, déclarait quelle s'était produite «par la volonté du père de ma seigneurie Radul voïvode»[16]. Autrement dit, Cozia fut une fondation du prince Radu Ier (c. 1374 – c. 1384)[17], à laquelle s'associa, après la mort de celui-ci,

[11] Cipariu 1867, 77–78, doc. 5.
[12] Cipariu 1867.
[13] Cipariu 1867, 34–35.
[14] DRH B I, 63, 64.
[15] DRH B I, 86, 87.
[16] DRH B I, 26, 27; Simedrea 1961, 1018–1032.
[17] Onciul 1903–1904, 385, 638–639.

son fils, le prince Mircea. La découverte d'un premier chrysobulle du règne de Radu Ier, justement une confirmation du don, par un certain Tâmpa, de la rivière Săpatul a Cozia, jette la lumière sur les temps de la fondation du monastère et de son fondateur, le prince Radu[18].

Le 8 Janvier 1392 le prince Mircea confirmait plusieurs dons pour Cozia, parmi lesquels Săpatul[19], et par un autre chrysobulle, déjà mentionné, le même prince et seigneur affirmait a propos de la même donation « et il y a la bas un homme qui a fait son hommage à Sofronie l'higoumène, pour être l'homme lige du monastère, et son nom est Tâmpa, et il a fait don aussi une rivière, Săpatul »[20]. La conclusion est que l'higoumène du temps de Radu Ier et de 1392 était le même Sofronie.

Cependant, d'après un chrysobulle de Mircea voïvode du 20 Mai 1388, le pope Gavriil paraissait être l'higoumène de Cozia[21]. On doit remarquer que ce Gavriil était mentionné dans la partie de l'acte ou le prince assujettit le monastère de Cotmeana, fondation de son père, Radu, au monastère de Cozia. A une analyse plus poussée, on comprend que le pope Gavriil était l'higoumène de Cotmeana, qui gardait certaines attributions, issues de son rôle dans la fondation du monastère. D'ailleurs, d'après l'inscription de la cloche du monastère de Cotmeana de l'année 6893, indiction 8 (1385), don du jupan Dragomir, fils du premier higoumène Dragomir, Cotmeana avait un statut spécial[22]. Sans contredit, à la fondation des monastères ont participe des boyards du prince Radu Ier, et l'un d'eux, Dragomir, fut le premier higoumène de Cotmeana.

Parce que le chrysobulle de Mircea l'Ancien était classé dans le chartrier de Cozia avec les documents concernant la possession par le monastère du lac Căbălul, situé dans les marais de la Ialomița, confirmée par le même prince, j'ai pensé autrefois placer la rivière de Săpatul dans les mêmes parages. Par hasard, les recherches sur l'histoire du manoir Ypsilanti – Roma de Viziru[23] ont relevé, dans le bornage du Grand Terroir („Moşia Mare") – le domaine appartenant à la même famille –, la survivance des toponymes Movila Tâmpului («la bute de Tâmpul») et Săpatul[24] dans l'interfleuve Călmățui-Danube, au Nord de la confluence de la Ialomița avec le Danube, près du marais de Brăila.

Les conséquences sont remarquables. Le domaine du monastère de Cozia s'étendait donc également dans l'interfleuve Călmățui-Danube, dans le marais de Brăila. Et parce que le prince interdisait au kephalea de Silistrie d'empiéter sur les revenus de ce domaine, il faut admettre que, autrement, l'autorité de cet officier s'appliquait aussi sur le marais de Brăila. Pour la première fois, les documents

[18] Iosipescu 2010, 25–30.
[19] DRH B I. 43, 44.
[20] DRH B I. 63, 64.
[21] DRH B I. 26, 27.
[22] Năsturel 1911, 283; Greceanu, Greceanu 1967, 52–89.
[23] Je dois à Mme Raluca Iosipescu, mon epouse, de m'avoir associé à ses recherches sur la famille des comtes de Roma et de leur manoir de Viziru (département de Braila).
[24] Tâmpa/Tâmpul et Săpatul (la Sape, le Ravin).

apportent des renseignements sur l'ancien Paristrion/Paradunavon byzantin, dont la kephalea de Dristra/Silistrie était une survivance.

Les possessions du monastère de Cozia étaient contigües au Danube de Dobroudja prés du village de Topalu. Dans la Podunavia, le delta intérieur du Danube, de Silistrie à Hârşova, avait une grande importance économique pour la communauté monastique de Cozia et, donc, l'investigation du chartrier du cette monastère présentait un intérêt historique majeur. Ainsi je pus trouver un bornage du temps du grand voïévode Mircea: «Les signes qu'on a trouvé dans l'ancien bornage de Mircea voïévode, en slavon, des terres de Cărărenii et Luminenii appartenant au monastère. D'en haut, de Cioroniea, de la boucle de la Ialomiţa, il [le bornage] passe l'eau et suit la rive et donne dans Ialomicioara l'ancienne dans la vallée, jusqu'au chêne, et au remous de l'eau, et d'ici jusqu'au bord de la Ialomiţa, au peuplier; il traverse Ialomiţa dans la vallée du Bey et arrive au chemin sapé, et d'ici jusqu'à la frontière, à la borne en pierre, et de la pierre en ligne droite va à Ciungul le Petit, et d'ici en ligne droite jusqu'au Ciungul le Grand, et d'ici par le chemin de Stelnica à la pierre en marbre où il y a un carrefour des chemins; il prend le chemin vers le Ponant et arrive dans le domaine de Cegani juste à la butte qui est à hauteur de Orza, tout prés du tertre avec le pilier en pierre, et de la à Jegălia, à trois monticules, et descend dans la vallée directement au noisetier, et d'ici va en ligne droite à la boucle de la Ialomiţa. Hilarion l'higoumène de Cozia»[25].

On a ici le premier bornage d'un village de la Valachie qui reconstitue le paysage historique en Podunavia à la confluence de la Ialomiţa avec le Danube. Il y a là la «vallée du Bey», sûrement un bey tatare et une frontière, peut-être autrefois de la principauté, marquée par une borne en pierre. Image tout à fait nouvelle, avec «la pierre en marbre», probablement romaine au «carrefour des chemins» vers Cegani et Stelnica, «avec le pilier en pierre», signe princier sur le tertre près d'Orza. Il y a une entière toponymie, les chemins vont vers les domaines ou les villages de Cegani, Stelnica, Jegălia, dont l'ancienneté descend au moins jusqu'au temps du prince Mircea. Cet ancien bornage du domaine de Cărărenii et Luminenii explique heureusement un court document des années 1404–1406, par lequel le prince Mircea accorde le statut de franchise au «village du monastère de Cozia qui est à l'embouchure de la Ialomiţa»[26]. Par des structures monastiques, la monarchie roumaine organisait le pays en Podunavia, à la confluence de la Ialomiţa avec le Danube, une zone de grande et ancienne importance économique[27].

Pour comprendre et expliquer l'évolution de la Podunavia dans le titre princier roumain, il faut examiner les actes de la Valachie en liaison avec la formation territoriale de la principauté roumaine méridionale. Il va de soi qu'on

[25] ANIC, fond Mănăstirea Cozia, 23/7. Voir Iosipescu 1987, 439–441.

[26] DRH B I, 65–66.

[27] Voir par exemple le privilège de Louis Ier d'Anjou pour les habitants de Braşov en 1358 avec la mention de la confluence de la Ialomiţa avec le Danube (Hurmuzaki/Iorga, XV-1, 1; DRH D I, 72).

doit s'assurer de la véritable chronologie des documents et de l'exactitude des reproductions.

L'examen de la titulature entière des diplômes roumains des années 1386–1418 montre les tâtonnements de la Chancellerie princière – située dans une zone d'interférences byzantino-slaves et franco-allemandes – pour exprimer une réalité politique et territoriale au carrefour des civilisations. Au delà des omissions, plus ou moins volontaires, on peut étaler un titre princier complet: «Par le Christ Dieu, le bon-croyant et le bon-vénérant et aimant le Christ, nous, Jehan Mircea, par la grâce de Dieu et avec la faveur de Dieu, l'autocrate, grand voïévode et seigneur, maître et régnant sur tout le Pays de Hongrovlachie et des parties d'au delà de la montagne, aussi vers les marches Tatares et Herzog de l'Amlaş et de Făgăraş et seigneur du Banat de Severin et sur les deux rives sur toute la Podunavie et encore jusqu'à la mer Majeure et maître de la cité de Dristra»[28]. Le titre présente une remarquable hiérarchie politique des possessions: Mircea est grand voïévode et seigneur sur toute la Hongrovlachie, des marches d'au delà de la montagne et vers les Tatares, des rives de toute la Podunavie jusqu'à la mer Majeure; dans le même temps il est duc (Herzog) dans l'Amlaş et Făgăraş, seigneur du Banat de Severin et maître de la cité de Dristra. On a ici l'évolution, les moyens et le stade du processus de constitution de l'Etat, de son unité et l'habituelle survivance des particularités, l'édifice politique du moyen âge étant généralement constitué par la juxtaposition de ses particularités.

Quoique la série des documents provenant de la chancellerie de Valachie dans la deuxième moitié du XIVe siècle est en grande partie perdu à jamais et l'évolution chronologique du titre du prince ne peut être établie avec toute l'exactitude requise, on doit, quand même, observer dans le titre du prince la stratification historique et les parties composantes du formulaire. Pour la présente recherche l'expression «... grand voïévode et seigneur, maître et régnant sur tout le Pays de Hongrovlachie et des parties d'au delà de la montagne, aussi vers les marches tatares...» évoque probablement l'ancienne formule de la chancellerie concernant la première unité de l'Etat de tout le pays de Hongrovlachie y compris les parties d'au delà de la montagne, c'est-à-dire le Făgăraş et l'Amlaş.

De l'autre côté, on a des indices sur les directions d'évolution étatique. «Vers les marches tatares» suggère le recul de la Horde d'Or par la Reconquista roumaine, amorcée vers le milieu du XIVe siècle dans le cadre de la Croisade des royaumes polonais et hongrois[29]. Aux environs des années '40 du XIVe siècle, la tamgha du Grand Khan de Saray flottait encore au-dessus de la cité de Vicina – à 200 milles en amont des bouches du Danube[30], donc tout près de la cité de Dristra. Peu avant, le métropolite de Vicina soumis à une grande pression, sûrement de la

[28] DRH D I, 63–64 (document de 1386/1387 daté par P.P. Panaitescu et Damaschin Mioc dans l'intervalle 1404–1408).

[29] Une rapide mise en équation par Onciul 1968, 245, n. 5; Papacostea 1980, 165–194.

[30] Motzo 1947.

part des nouveaux maîtres des lieux[31], promettait au Patriarche de Constantinople de ne pas abandonner ses ouailles[32]. La carte des frères Pizzigani plaçait au dessus du trône de Saray d'Usbeq (1312–1342) l'inscription *Item in civitate de Saray manet imperator Usbech; imperium suum est valde magnum et incipit in provincia de Burgaria et in civitate de Vecina et finit in civitate de Organçi versus Levante et comprehendit in illo directe totam tramontanam*[33]. Justement à la fin de son règne le grand khan Ouzbeq prépara la conquête de Constantinople et des Détroits, prenant Vecina comme base pour les vagues offensives de ses armées[34].

Il convient donc d'écarter une localisation de Vicina à Isaccea ou aux alentours, hypothèse en évidente contradictions avec pas mal des sources. D'ailleurs Isaccea était depuis la deuxième moitie du XIIIe siècle le siège du pouvoir local de la Horde d'Or, du célèbre Noqay, et, depuis sa mort, d'un représentant du grand khan de Saray[35].

Après 1345, avec le début des actions de Croisade la situation changea. En 1359 la ville de Vicina était «tout près» (πλησιάζοντα) du territoire de la Valachie du prince Nicolas Alexandre (1351/1352 – 1364), au moment de la consécration constantinopolitaine de l'ancien métropolite Hyacinthe de Vicina au siège de Curtea de Argeş[36]. Il n'est pas sans raison de penser que par la même consécration[37], l'empereur Jean V Paléologue renonçait à ses droits sur ce lambeau de son Etat, l'ancien duché de Paristrion, couvert par la Métropole de Vicina, depuis des années dans le pouvoir des Tatars. Donc la frontière de la principauté était sur le Danube près de Vicina, en 1359, un moment décisif pour l'émancipation politique, la reconnaissance par l'empereur de Constantinople, Jean V Paléologue, du titre souverain, d'*autenthis* du prince roumain.

L'étape suivante s'était consommée pendant le règne de Vladislav Ier Vlaicou. Le roi de Hongrie, Louis Ier d'Anjou, détourna sa Croisade contre les Turcs et attaqua premièrement le tsarat de Vidin et puis, la Valachie. La défaite du royaume hongrois dans la guerre qui s'ensuivit (1368–1369) avait permis aux Basarabas de Curtea de Argeş de commencer l'extension de leur principauté vers le Nord-Est, comprenant dans la construction étatique de la principauté le «couloir angevin» entre Ialomiţa et Buzău, une grande partie de l'Evêché de Milcovia et les anciennes territoires d'obédience tatare du basin inferieur de la rivière de Prut – la seigneurie des Iaşii/Asses (Auria /Iavaria) et le domaine de la colonie génoise de Chilia[38]. Ce magnifique exploit sur le Danube maritime des Basarabas rendait à néant une des principales directions du projet politique du grand roi de Hongrie

[31] Laurent 1946, 225–232.
[32] FHDR IV, 1982, 192, 193; Brătianu 1922, 54.
[33] Grămadă 1925, 447.
[34] Laurent 1960, 145–162.
[35] Ciocîltan 1998, 236, 240–246.
[36] FHDR IV, 196, 197.
[37] FHDR IV, 196–203.
[38] Iosipescu 2003, 217–220, 224.

Louis Ier d'Anjou – la connexion territoriale et du commerce du son royaume avec la mer Noire. Loin d'être «né d'une confusion cartographique», le nom de Bessarabie est une prégnante attestation d'une tradition historique, une exceptionnelle preuve pour l'extension en 1369–1373 de la Principauté roumaine sur le Danube maritime dans l'interfleuve Siret-Prut-Nistru[39].

Le corollaire des actes de Cozia pour les marais de Brăila et de Ialomiţa remis a leur date était la progression territoriale de la Valachie sur le bas Danube: le «couloir» angevin de l'interfleuve Ialomiţa-Buzău était englobé dans la principauté roumaine de Radu Ier. On peut donc dater le document octroyant à sa fondation de Cozia des terres dans la Podunavia vers la fin de son règne, après la mort du roi Louis Ier d'Anjou (10 Septembre 1382), époque d'affaiblissement de la Hongrie et de la récupération par la Valachie de ses positions sur le bas Danube.

A ce point, il faut expliquer si la seigneurie de Dristra (Silistrie) du titre princier roumain correspond à la Podunavia et si cette formule couvre l'ancien duché byzantin de Paristrion /Paradunavon, et quelle correspondance géographique actuelle peut-on trouver pour ces termes. Car, pour comprendre la formation territoriale de la principauté de «tout le Pays Roumain», par la mise des pays ou des principicules sous la mouvance des princes roumains résidant à Câmpulung (département de Muscel), Curtea de Argeş et puis Târgovişte, – évidement avec des analogies dans la création, l'agrégation des territoires dans le domaine de la Couronne sous d'autres horizons européens – l'analyse des textes doit être couplée avec l'expression géographique des termes.

La *Chronique des Cantacuzène,* les anciennes annales de la Valachie, donne une première esquisse de la création étatique. Apres le *descensus* (en roumain *descălecat*) transcarpathique de Negru voïévode («le Prince Noir») et de ses compagnons, venus du pays de Făgăraş et de Amlaş, «quelques uns ont étendu le pays sous la montagne jusqu'aux eaux du Siret et jusqu'à Brăila, et les autres partout à la campagne, en fondant les villes et les villages jusqu'au marche du Danube et jusqu'à l'Olt». Auparavant «ceux qui ont descendu à Turnul Severinului se sont étendus par-dessous de la montagne jusqu'à l'eau de l'Olt, et les autres ont descendu en bas sur le Danube, et la population remplit les terres jusqu'à la marche de Nicopolis»[40].

La tradition historique conçoit la constitution des deux grandes composantes de l'Etat roumain méridional, à l'Est de la rivière d'Olt, *Muntenia* (le Pays de la Montagne), et à l'Ouest, le Pays de Severin, avec des marches sur le Danube en aval de Turnu Severin et jusqu'à Brăila. Il ne peut-être question d'une étendue de l'Etat en amont vers la lointaine Serbie.

Concernant les frontières du pays, il faut mettre en cause également les actes internationaux. Le 20 janvier 1390, par un chrysobulle émis à Lublin, Mircea l'Ancien, prince de Valachie, annonçait son alliance avec le roi de Pologne,

[39] Iosipescu 1985, 127–130; Iosipescu 2007, 86–90.
[40] *Istoria Ţării Româneşti* 1960, 1–2.

Wladyslaw Jagellon, alliance dirigée contre Sigismond de Luxembourg, souverain de Hongrie[41]. L'acte latin porte le titre suivant du prince roumain: *Mircius, Dei gratia woywoda Transalpinus, Fogoras et Omlas dux, Severini comes, terrarum Dobrodicii despotus et Tristri dominus* («Mircius, par la grâce de Dieu, voïévode Transalpin, duc de Făgăraş et de Amlaş, comte de Severin, despote des Pays de Dobrotiţă et seigneur de Dristra»). La confirmation du traité d'alliance, à Lemberg (Lwów), le 6 juillet 1391, contient les mêmes éléments du titre princier, seulement les provinces transdanubiennes et maritimes de la principauté sont inversées – *Trestri dominus ac terrarum Dobrodicii despotus* – suivies par un «etc.»[42].

On peut conclure premièrement qu'il y a dans le titre une dichotomie des territoires entre le Danube et la mer Majeure (la mer Noire): il y avait deux composants, la seigneurie de Dristra et l'autre, polymorphe, les Pays du despote Dobrotiţă. De la première apparition de ce titre en janvier 1390, on a la sensation d'une situation bien établie, le prince roumain étalant, dans un traité d'alliance avec des conséquences internationales, ses possessions et sa puissance réelle, suffisamment connue par les princes lithuaniens.

Aprés une demi-décennie, le 7 mars 1395, face à la menace des invasions ottomanes, le même prince Mircea «voïévode Transalpin, duc de Făgăraş et ban de Severin» confirmait à Braşov son traité d'alliance avec le roi de Hongrie, Sigismond de Luxembourg. Le titre princier, assez bref, est essentiel par rapport aux relations de la principauté roumaine avec le royaume de Hongrie, car le Făgăraş et le Severin ont été une partie de l'ancien contentieux entre les deux couronnes. Les terres transdanubiennes et maritimes de la principauté, absentes dans le titre, sont abondamment évoquées dans le corps du document à propos des directions d'action prévues dans le plan de Croisade, inclus dans le traité: *ultra et prope Danubium, per loca eidem nostro dominio et Danubium convicina* («les lieux sujets à notre puissance et dans notre mouvance c'est à dire d'au delà et près du Danube») et également *contra illos ad partes [Dobro]dicii vel quascumque alias, per terras, castra, districtus, passus, portus et quevis alia loca, dominii nostri et ditioni nostre subiecta*, «les terres de Dobrotiţă, ou les autres semblables, districts, forteresses, territoires, pas, ports et tous les autres, sujets à notre puissance et obédience»[43]. On peut, sans doute, réduire l'expression «ultra et prope Danubium» à la Podunavia du formulaire des actes slavon-roumains de la Chancellerie de Valachie.

La marche danubienne du Pays de la Montagne – *Muntenia* roumaine – correspondait à une ancienne province impériale byzantine, le thème de Paristrion/Paradunavon, tandis que la marche de Nicopolis était contigüe à l'ancien thème de Bulgarie[44]. Il n'est pas sans intérêt de remarquer que pour

[41] Hurmuzaki-Densuşianu, I-2, 322; DRH D I, 122–123.
[42] Hurmuzaki-Densuşianu, I-2, 304–305; DRH D I, 125–127.
[43] Hurmuzaki-Densuşianu, I-2, 361; DRH B I, 138–142.
[44] Bănescu 1946, 32–36.

l'historien byzantin Skylitzes si les forces militaires de ce dernier thème étaient recrutées parmi les Bulgares, les défenseurs du Paristrion/ Paradunavon étaient des *Romaioi*[45].

Créations pendant la reconquête byzantine du temps de l'empereur Jean Tzimiskes, peu touchés – *et pour cause*[46] – par la révolte de Samuel, les thèmes du bas Danube ont subsisté avec le duché byzantin de Paristrion (Paradunavon), jusqu'au début du XIIIe siècle. La monographie du grand byzantiniste roumain Nicolae Bănescu, *Les duchés byzantins de Paristrion (Paradunavon) et de Bulgarie,* parue par miracle en 1946, parmi les publications d'un éphémère Institut d'Etudes byzantines de Bucarest, créa les assises solides pour l'étude de la question. Nicolae Bănescu remarqua, sans insister, le passage de la relation de l'historien byzantin Kedrenos concernant les attaques des Petchenègues sur le Bas-Danube, survenus au printemps de 1050, pendant lesquels s'illustra le brave gouverneur du Paristrion, Katakalon Kekaumenos[47], «commandant les forteresses du Danube, là ou les gentes se mélangent» (έξ ότου περ ήρχε τών παρά τω Ίστρω φρουρίων και άνεμίγνυτο άλλήλοις τα γένη), office dont l'autorité s'étendait également sur les territoires maritimes (τά άγχίαλα)[48].

Pour designer le thème byzantin de Paristrion ou Paradunavon, en liaison avec les événements de temps du Basile II le Bulgaroctone (976–1025), la traduction slavone de la *Chronique* de Constantin Manases réalisée à la cour du tsar Ivan Alexandre (1331–1371) utilise le terme Podunavia[49]. La circulation de cette traduction et les relations entre les deux cours princières indiquent une autre piste pour les recherches concernant l'origine du terme de Podunavia dans le titre roumain.

On considéra également l'intitulation du prince Mircea calquée d'après celle du knez serbe Lazare (1371–1389), et la *Podunavia* du titre roumain un «terme générique» pour le pays de Dobrotič (La Dobroudja) et Silistrie (*Dristra*, *Drâstor* en roumain)[50]. Il faut immédiatement observer que la *Podunavia* se trouve également dans le titre du despote Georges Branković (1427–1456), par exemple dans l'inscription d'une bulle sigillaire pendante d'un sien acte à Vatopedi[51]. Il s'agit sans aucun doute de la possession par les princes serbes *de la rive Sud du Danube*; de l'autre côté s'étendaient les terres du royaume de Hongrie. *Podunavia* dans le titre des despotes serbes signifie seulement une frontière *sur le Danube*, par ailleurs la traduction du mot slave.

Parmi les pierre tombales avec inscriptions conservées dans l'église du monastère de Snagov (département de Ilfov), publiées par Alexandru Odobescu

[45] Bănescu 1946, 34.

[46] La révolte avait été fomentée et s'était développée en Macédoine, loin des contrées du Bas-Danube.

[47] Voir Madgearu 2013, 64, 68–69, pour Katakalon Kekaumenos et pour le nom Paradunavon.

[48] Bănescu 1946, 76–77.

[49] Bogdan 1922, 199.

[50] Panaitescu 1944, 31, 188, 189; Panaitescu 1967, 1–4.

[51] Lascaris 1935, 19.

(1834–1895), ce Prosper Mérimée de la Roumanie, il y a aussi celle du grand dvornic (comte palatin) Pârvul: «Il est mort le serf du Dieu, Pârvul, le grand dvornic de tout le Pays de Hongrovlachie et devers le Danube en ..... 7020 [1512].....5, le mois de juin...., samedi à 4 heures de la journée ! Que sa mémoire soit éternelle !»[52]. Plusieurs fois déplacée de sa place, la pierre se trouve maintenant immédiatement à gauche de l'entrée dans l'église. Nicolae Iorga pensa à juste raison qu'elle appartenait au grand dvornic Pârvul Craiovescu, frère du ban Barbu et le père du prince Neagoe Basarab[53], restaurateur du monastère.

«Devers le Danube» dans la traduction d'Alexandru Odobescu était la traduction de Подунавя («Podunavia») de l'original slavon-roumain. L'apparition de la Podunavia dans le titre du grand dvornic Pârvul Craiovescu et du prince Neagoe Basarab (1512–1520) n'est pas sans liaison avec la présence dans le pays du groupe d'exilés serbes de l'entourage de l'ancien despote Georges Branković. Imposé par le roi Mathias Corvin en 1486 comme seigneur de la Raška – dans la région de Srem –, prenant l'habit de moine en 1496 sous le nom de Maxime, il fut métropolite de Belgrade et fondateur du monastère de Krušedol. Georges et le despote Jovan, son frère et successeur, ont espéré, de leur refuge à la frontière danubienne du royaume de Hongrie, restaurer le despotat serbe de leur famille. Réfugié en Valachie, l'ancien despote Maxime eut une grande influence à la Cour du prince Radu le Grand (1496–1508). Il fut le héros d'une spectaculaire pacification sur le champ de bataille (octobre 1507) entre le prince de Valachie et celui de Moldavie, Bogdan l'Aveugle, un de ses arguments étant l'origine commune roumaine des deux dynastes[54]. D'ailleurs, d'après la *Chronique de Macaire*, la promotion de Maxime à la dignité métropolitaine à Belgrade fut due à l'intervention des hiérarques de Moldavie[55]. Sa fille, Militza Despina, avait épousé Neagoe avant 1505 parce que leur fils Théodose avait à son intronisation, en 1521, seize ans[56]. Déjà dans le *Liturghierul slavonesc* (*Le Missel slavon*), imprimé par Macaire à Târgovişte en 7016, avec un épilogue daté du 10 Novembre, sûrement de l'année 1508, le titre du prince contenait la Podunavia[57]. Il faut donc admettre que Podunavia n'était pas une invention de la Chancellerie de Neagoe Basarab.

L'évangéliaire slavon-roumain imprimé a Târgovişte en 1512 dont l'épilogue porte la date de 25 juin 7020 a le même titre du prince regnant écrit avec du cinabre[58]. Un exemplaire sur parchemin avec le même titre fut découvert par Alexandru Odobescu au monastère de Bistriţa: il avait les frontispices et des lettrines coloriées à la main, avec encre d'or, carmin, bleu et vert; les lettres typographiques et les entrelacs doublées; les mots en rouge retouchées[59]. Presque

[52] Odobescu 1967, 210.
[53] Iorga 1905, 158. Pour d'autres références, voir Şerbănescu 1944, 172.
[54] *Letopiseţul anonim al Moldovei* 1959, 13, 22.
[55] *Cronica lui Macarie* 1959, 78, 91.
[56] Rezachevici 2001, 147–150.
[57] BRV I, 18–20.
[58] BRV I, 18.
[59] BRV I, 20.

contemporaine avec l'inscription de Snagov, la Podunavia se retrouve dans le titre du prince Neagoe Basarab dans son document du 2 août 1512, une donation au Tour de l'Albanais de la Sainte Montagne d'Athos: «Io Basarab voïévode de tout le Pays de Hongrovalachie et de la Podunavia»[60].

Quelle peut être la signification de cette titulature ? Dans un chrysobulle de l'année 6988 (1er septembre 1479 – 31 aout 1480)[61], du prince Basarab le Jeune, dit «Ţepeluş» (le petit Empaleur) pour le monastère de Bolintin, l'ancienne fondation est exempte des taxes douanières à Brăila, Dârstor (Silistrie), Giurgiu, Sviştov, Nicopolis et Ţimbru[62]. La Principauté roumaine conservait donc vers la fin du XVe siècle ses anciens droits douaniers aux principaux gués du Danube, survivance de l'époque d'un contrôle et des possession roumaines sur les deux rives du Danube.

On trouve une révélation dans un defter ottoman contenant les has, zeamets et timars du sandjaq de Nicopolis, conservé à la section orientale de la Bibliothèque Cyril et Méthode de Sofia, daté par son éditeur au milieu du XVeme siècle[63]. Parmi le timars il y a le suivant:

«Timiar-i voyvoda-i Eflak
Manastir Basaraba – hane 14
Hasel 1556
Ispenğe 350
el-vaki 1206
Mezra'a Koziyak ve Krncar ve
Lāva voda [...]»[64]

(«Le timar du voïévode de la Valachie: Le monastère de Basaraba – 14 maisons
Revenue 1556 [akce] Ispenğe 350 Reste 1206. Villages: Coziac, Grănicear, Lava vodă [...]»).

Donc, dans le sandjaq de Nicopolis il y avait encore, dans la seconde moitié du XVème siècle, une possession des princes roumains, le monastère de Basaraba et son domaine. Sa situation topographique sur le cours inferieur de la rivière de Lom, où existe encore le village de Basarabovo[65], est soutenue encore par la hagiographie moderne, car c'est d'ici que furent transporté à Bucarest pendant la guerre russe-ottomane de 1768–1774 les reliques de Saint Démetre de Basarabovo. Le nom de saint protecteur du monastère indique Mircea l'Ancien comme fondateur de l'établissement, le seul prince roumain dont le nom de baptême dérivait de celui de Saint Démettre[66]. La fondation d'un monastère de la dynastie

[60] DRH B II, 223–225.
[61] L'intervalle peut être restreint jusqu'en juin 1480 quand Mircea II devient prince du pays (Rezachevici 2001, 122).
[62] DRH B I, 268 (doc. 162).
[63] Fontes Historiae Bulgaricae 1966, 160–297.
[64] Fontes Historiae Bulgaricae 1966, 192.
[65] Iosipescu 1987, 438.
[66] Des nouvelles preuves sur l'origine du nom dans Andreescu 1982, 855–856.

roumaine sur la rive droite du Danube, assez proche du gué de Giurgiu, est sans doute en liaison avec le patronage du prince Mircea l'Ancien à Dristra (Silistrie)[67].

Les 14 maisons (hane) chrétiennes dépendants du monastère de Basaraba étaient groupées en trois villages – Coziac, Grănicear, Lava Vodă. Le premier peut éventuellement suggérer l'appartenance du village au monastère de Cozia; le second, avec la frontière (en roumain *graniță*). La présence des possessions roumaines dans ce fragment de la rive droite du Danube au temps de Mircea l'Ancien est confirmée d'ailleurs par l'historien ottoman Nešri[68]. On peut penser que le monastère de Basaraba se trouvait sur la marche du Sud-Ouest de la Podunavia, la rivière de Lom constituant la frontière Sud-Ouest de la Valachie, dans le Deliorman.

La situation empira par la suite car pendant l'été de 1504 – quand le Grand Etienne de Moldavie rendait son âme à Suceava –, le prince de Valachie, Radu, fut mandé à la Porte ottomane et contraint par le sultan Bayezid II de lui céder non seulement les revenus des gués, mais également quatre ou cinq mille des hommes conscrits dans les defters ottomanes et réfugiés en Valachie sous la protection du prince roumain[69]. On n'a pas réalisé dans l'historiographie la signification de ce moment de 1504: le dernier acte de la mainmise ottomane sur le Bas Danube, en liquidant les possessions roumaines transdanubiennes[70]. *Depuis 1504, dans les defterleri ottomans apparaissaient également Hârşova et la partie centrale de l'isthme ponto-danubien*[71], *la dernière possession roumaine de la rive droite danubienne.*

L'apparition à cette époque de la Podunavia dans le titre princier roumain pourrait être l'affirmation d'un droit, après le nouvel «accident» dans la relation asymétrique ottomano-roumaine. Mais pour le groupe des exilés serbes en Valachie – impliqués dans la vie religieuse, voire intellectuelle et artistique, dans l'activité de la jeune imprimerie du pays – même la très étendue possession roumaine de la rive gauche du Danube, pouvait suggérer l'utilisation de la Podunavia dans le titre princier roumain. Parce que la Podunavia du titre des despotes serbes, maîtres seulement d'une rive, Sud, du Danube, était conforme à la situation de la Valachie après 1504. Le prestige et l'influence de l'ancien despote serbe, maintenant le moine Maxime, sur l'église et la Chancellerie roumaine peuvent expliquer l'apparition de la Podunavia dans le titre princier.[72]

[67] Pour le patronage roumain sur l'église de Silistrie jusqu'au XVIIIeme siècle, voir un document de 1741 dans Veliman 1984, 258–260.

[68] Iosipescu 1980, 155–157.

[69] Bogdan 1905, 350–351; Hurmuzaki-Iorga, XV-1, 166–167, 168; Iorga 1996, 190.

[70] Iosipescu 1980.

[71] Popescu 2015, 85–112.

[72] Malgré les insignes résultats obtenus dans l'analyse du titre princier roumain par la critique des textes et la géographie historique, on privilégia les investigations sur les mentalités, les idéologies politiques, ou, même, la "politologie". Un retour aux sources s'impose.

La Podunavia du titre princier qui apparaît à la charnière des XIVe –XVe siècles cache la restauration du duché byzantin de Paristrion, des deux côtés du Bas-Danube et jusqu'à la mer Noire, dans la principauté de Valachie, le grand exploit de la monarchie des Basarabas est une preuve de l'exceptionnelle vitalité du peuple roumain au temps de la Croisade tardive.

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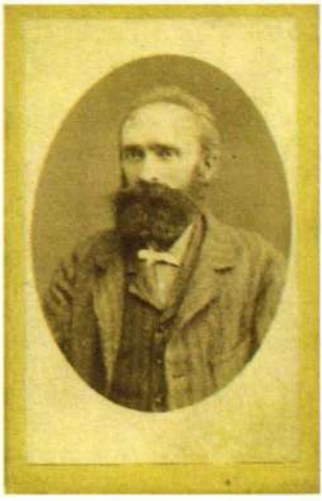

Fig. 1. Bogdan Petriceicu Hasdeu, d'après une photo au Mémorial Hasdeu à Câmpina (1838–1907).

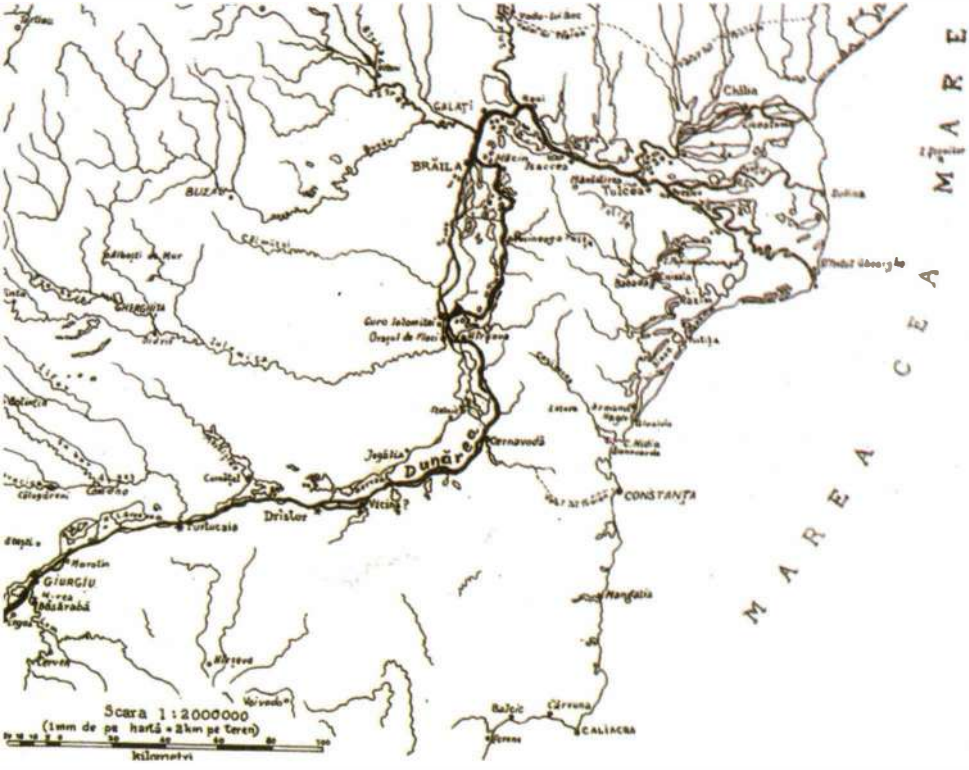

Fig. 2. La carte de Podunavia et de ses environs au temps du prince de la Valachie Mircea l'Ancien (1386–1418).

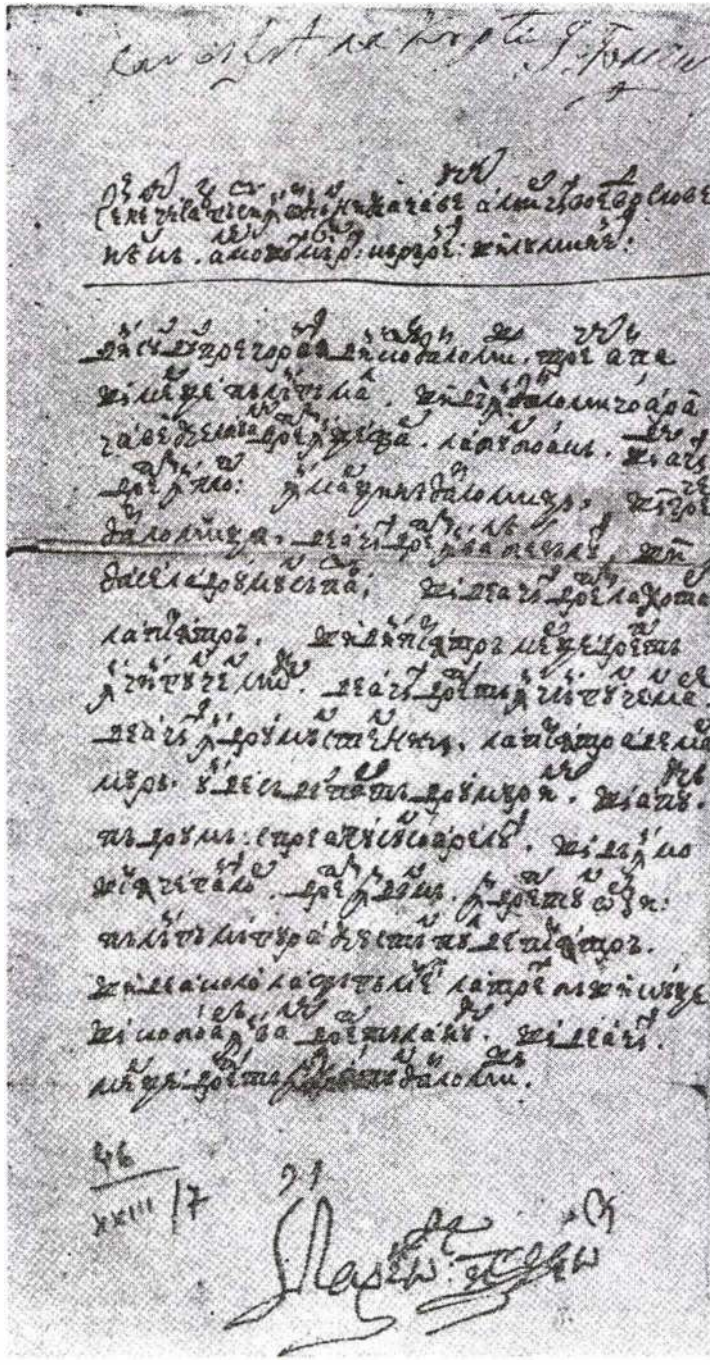

Fig. 3. Le bornage des possessions du monastère de Cozia a l'embouchure de la rivière de Ialomitza au temps du prince de la Valachie Mircea l'Ancien (1386–1418); traduction du XVIIIe siècle.

Fig. 4. Le plan du domaine de Moşia Mare (Viziru, département de Braila) en 1869 – détail avec la borne de «Săpata».

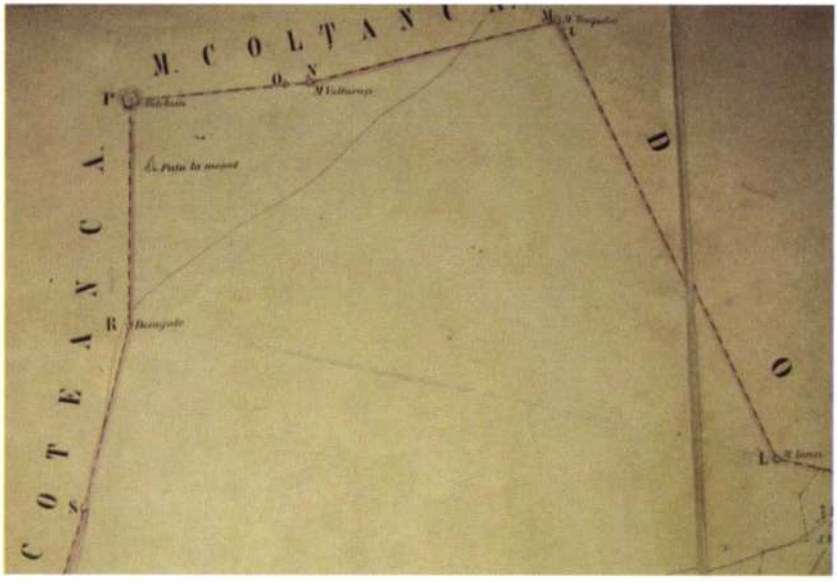

Fig. 5. Le plan du domaine de Moşia Mare (Viziru, département de Braila) en 1869 – détail avec la borne «Movila Tâmpului» en haut.

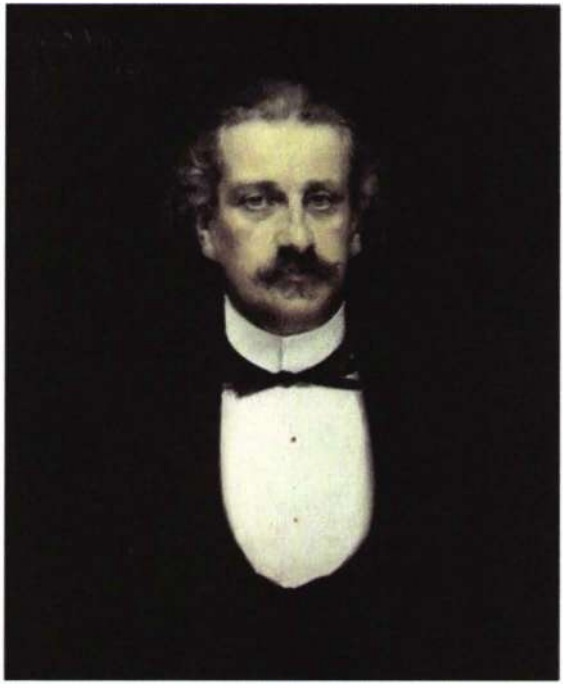

Fig. 6. Alexandru Odobescu (1834–1895), d'après le tableau de George Demetrescu Mirea.

Fig. 7. Le monastère de Snagov (photo Sergiu Iosipescu).

Fig. 8. Le monastère de Snagov – la tombe de grand dvornic Pârvu Craiovescu, 1512 (photo Sergiu Iosipescu).

Fig. 9. La tombe de grand dvornic Pârvu Craiovescu, détail de l'inscription avec la Podunavia (photo Sergiu Iosipescu).

Fig. 10. Les fondateurs de l'église et de la peinture de Snagov – l'aigle bicéphale caché sur la chlamyde du prince Neagoe Basarab (photo Sergiu Iosipescu).

THE DOUBLE-SIDED ICON IN DINTR-UN LEMN MONASTERY*

ELISABETA NEGRĂU

The silver clothing that covered almost entirely the icon of Mother of God in the Dintr-un Lemn Monastery in Vâlcea starting from 1812[1] and until the early 2000's, when began a thorough restoration process, had limited for a long period the access to the panel's painting. However, the attempts of dating and attributing the icon have a long history, beginning early on. A local legend, recorded by Paul of Aleppo in 1656, located this wonderworking icon not far from Râmnicu Vâlcea at the end of the 16th century, when a hermit built a hermitage for it in an oak forest[2], which later developed into the monastery known as "Dintr-un Lemn" (made of a single wood). Metropolitan Neophytos of Wallachia, visiting the Dintr-un Lemn Monastery in July 28th–29th 1746, read an inscription on the icon of Theotokos as "the hand of Damaskinos"/Damaskin[3], concluding, although reserved, that the icon is a 16th-century work of the Cretan school. He also noted an inscription on a cross (later disappeared) on the roof of the old wooden church of the hermitage, mentioning a shepherd by his name Radu, who built the wooden chapel for the icon during the rule of voivode Alexandru II[4]. Alexandru Obobescu, who studied the monument in 1860, mentioned a somewhat different story: the icon, which originated in Vâlcea, was moved for some time to Gura Motrului to a boyar Radu, being brought again in Vâlcea in the mid-16th century by a daughter of Lady Chiajna, who built the small hermitage for it[5].

* I am grateful to Dr. Ruxandra Lambru from the University of Bucharest, Department of Slavic Philology, and to Dr. Christo Andreev, specialist in Old Bulgarian paleography at the Institute of Art Studies of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences in Sofia, for generously sharing me their philological observations on the inscriptions of the icon.

[1] Bălan 2005, 423, cat. 575.

[2] *Călători* 6, 188–189. The hermitage is mentioned in documents starting with 1578–1579; Donat 1936, 315–316 (source not cited).

[3] Neofit, 91–92. The journal was written in Greek, so "Damaskinos" could be a Graecized form of an originally Slavic name, i.e. Damaskin.

[4] Neophytos read also a year at the end of the inscription, "7008" (1499–1500), which however does not coincide with the rule of Alexandru II (1568–1577); Neofit, 86, 89.

[5] The story appears in Odobescu's novella *Doamna Chiajna* (1860). It was credited also by Drăghiceanu 1931, 125–126, and Donat 1936, 316. Odobescu recorded several other times when the

The icon was an object of interest for many art historians, who proposed various hypotheses regarding its dating and provenience. André Grabar considered it to be an early Byzantine acheiropoietos[6]. Ion D. Ştefănescu chose to give credit to Metropolitan Neophytos and considered it a work of the Cretan school executed on Mount Athos in the second half of the 16th century[7], but he soon re-dated it to the end of the 15th century and the beginning of the next[8]. Other art historians claimed it to be a 15th century Byzantine artwork[9]. Alexandru Efremov, the first who studied the icon without the silverwork, identified it type as the Virgin of the Passion[10] (fig. 1). According to its stylistic features, he considered it a Palaeologan work dating to the end of the first half of the 15th century and assigned it to a master affiliated to a Byzantine workshop, assuming as a source of inspiration "a 13th century model, originating from an artistic atmosphere of Italian influence"[11].

The novelty brought by the removing of the icon's silver cloth consists not only in the identification of its iconographic type, but especially in discovering that it is a double-sided icon, bearing paintings on both its faces. Alexandru Odobescu had mentioned the existence of a Last Judgment scene on the reverse side of the Virgin's icon[12], but the later authors made but slight reference to it[13]. Neither I.D. Ştefănescu nor Alexandru Efremov studied the Judgment icon.

The icon of the Last Judgment has its field sculpted below the level, with narrow, taller frames let on the four sides (fig. 2). The carving of the panel's surface could not be made without putting the eventual painting of the reverse side to danger. Therefore, it seems most probable that the Judgment side was, chronologically, the first painted. Of all the bilateral icons known[14], this is the only case to contain a Last Judgment scene[15], which leads us to the assumption that the icon was initially designed as a sole-faced. The Theotokos side, which was treated lately for a long time as the main face of the icon – and consequently the sole, after putting the silver revetment –, was in fact painted later, the icon becoming thus

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icon was moved from its place: in 1797–1802, it was brought in the Bistriţa cave to be saved from the plunders of Osman Pasvantoglu's soldiers and, during the Liberation Revolution of 1821, was transfered at Pătrunsa hermitage; Odobescu 1981, 77.

[6] Unpublished observations; *apud* Efremov 2002, 28.

[7] Ştefănescu 1931, 601–602 and fig. 45–46. This hypothesis was accepted also by Creţeanu 1966, 25.

[8] Ştefănescu 1932, 172, note 3.

[9] Maria-Ana Musicescu (unpublished research), Dumitru Năstase, *apud* Efremov 2002, 28 and n. 24.

[10] Efremov 2002, 28–29 and notes 22–32.

[11] Efremov 2002, 28–29, cat. 3, fig. 8–9.

[12] On July 30th 1860, Odobescu inspected the icon and noted, although incorrect, that the Last Judgment was painted on canvas glued on wood and that the names in the inscriptions were written in Serbian. He also noticed the damages of the depiction of Mother of God; Odobescu 1981, 77.

[13] Ştefănescu 1931, 602; Ştefănescu 1932, 172 n. 3; Efremov 2002, 28–29.

[14] A catalogue of 80 double-sided icons was published by Vocotopoulos 1998, 304–307.

[15] The well-known 11th century Sinai icon of the Last Judgment which was part of a hexaptych meant for private worship is not double-sided; Weitzmann 1984, 108.

bilateral. The initial Last Judgment icon had probably a processional function, considering its large size, of 150 cm/ 110 cm. Such icons were used for processions in the Meatfare Sunday (the Sunday of the Last Judgment), which precedes the beginning of the Great Lent. The Russian Last Judgment panels dating from the 14th–16th centuries have about the same large dimensions[16].

The icon of the Last Judgment has an abbreviated composition, reduced to the representation of Christ on a throne surrounded by Virgin Mary, St. John the Baptist and the seven archangels, with five of them having their names inscribed: Michael, Gabriel, Raphael, Uriel and *Athalsail*, which appears to be a corrupt form of the name of the apocryphal Archangel Salathiel, who is honoured the fifth in hierarchical order after Raphael and Uriel[17] (see the *Addendum*, no. 1). The names of the angels coming from apocryphal sources had been generally rejected by the Church early on, because of the magical rituals of the Gnostic sects in which angels were invoked[18]. Representations of the seven archangels with their names mentioned in inscriptions are completely absent in the Byzantine painting; only the names of the three canonical archangels and those of the nine angelic orders were virtually accepted[19].

The inscriptions on the Last Judgment icon are poorly written, containing wrong letters, incorrect hyphenations, and also elements of phonetic hypercorrection, such as the numerous ь. The name forms – the West-Bulgarian **Иован** for John the Baptist, or **Михь<и>ль, Гаврилъ**, which were common in Bulgaria and Macedonia[20] – seem to indicate that the painter originated in a Balkan area where apocryphal

[16] The icon from Novgorod (late 15th – early 16th cent.), today in the Tretiakov Gallery, has sides of 164cm/ 116 cm; Hunt 2007, 275, note 1.

[17] Uriel and Salathiel appear together in the 4 Ezdras, an apocryphal Old Testament book tolerated by the Byzantine Church and included later as canonical in the Russian Orthodox Slavonic Bible (Ostrog Bible – 1581, Empress Elizabeth Bible – 1751, and later Russian Synodal Bible). The latter two archangels' names lately accepted by the Orthodox Church, Jegoudiel and Barachiel, are mentioned in apocryphal 1 Enoch and 3 Enoch.

[18] Such practices were denounced by the 4th local council of Laodicaea (ca. 363–365), canon 35; Hefele 1907, 1017. See, for example, a reference to a text intitled "The Names of the Angels" in an index of prohibited books translated in Romanian from a Slavonic source in 1667–1669 (Ms. Rom. 1570 BAR); Cartojan 1974, I, 332.

[19] The theory of the nine celestial orders, described by Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite in the 5th century ("On the Celestial Hierarchy", 6.7), had a major influence on the Byzantine theology and iconography. However, while the angelic categories were largely accepted, cults by individual names were not encouraged, with the notable exception of Archangel Michael. In the Byzantine holy services dedicated to the archangels were named only Michael and Gabriel. Also Raphael was considered canonical, due to his apparition in the Book of Tobias. Uriel, found in the apocryphal Book of Enoch, was tolerated, but never mentioned within offices. Archangels Michael, Gabriel, Raphael and Uriel were depicted with their names inscribed in the mid-12th-century dome mosaics (between 1146 and 1151) in Santa Maria dell'Ammiraglio (Martorana) and in the dome of the Palatine Chapel in Palermo (1160–1170); Demus 1950, fig. 13, 46. Uriel appears later in the Virgin Nativity cathedral of the St. Ferapont Belozero in Russia (1502), painted by master Dionisy and his sons.

[20] They are also found, for instance, in the monastery of our Lady in the Matka Canyon near Skopje, painted in 1496–1497; Dimitrova *et alii* 2011, 183–200 and the illustrations on the pages 194 and 197.

writings about angels circulated at the popular level, as evidenced by the vulgarized or corrupted forms of the names of the archangels. It cannot be excluded also a Bogomil reminiscence, being known the veneration of the Bogomils for archangels[21]. During the rule of Tsar Ivan Alexander, the Bogomilism had a vigorous return in the northern and central parts of the Bulgarian empire, however reshaped by the diverse provincial specificities[22], the many contacts, compromises and finally by a formal, external conformity to the Orthodox Church[23]. Also monks from Tarnovo, Thessalonike and Mount Athos became influenced by the Bogomilic ideas and literature, as denounced the orations of Saint Theodosius of Tarnovo at the First anti-heretical Council of Tsar Ivan Alexander (c. 1350) and the Life of Saint Theodosius written by Patriach Callistus I[24]. Bogomilism was condemned again at the Second Bulgarian Council in Tarnovo (c. 1360)[25]. The still alive influence of the Bogomilic angelology by the end of the 14th century and the beginning of the next can be glimpsed in the suggestive answers on the controversy of the veneration of angels given in a letter by Patriarch Euthymius of Tarnovo to Nicodemus the abbot of Tismana in Wallachia[26]. Saint Symeon of Thessalonica still fought the Bogomilic deviations in the first decades of the 15th century (before 1429)[27].

The image of heaven is missing from the composition in the Dintr-un Lemn icon, probably as a consequence of the icon's specific function within the office of the Meatfare Sunday, which has as central motif the repentance and remembrance of the future judgment. In the hell area, only groups of churchmen were represented – hierarchs and monks. The inscriptions mention "Arius" and "priests", characters traditionally present in Last Judgment scenes. "The Antichrist" appears held by Hades in his arms, although the latter was usually displayed holding Judas[28]. The two heads of the Leviathan devour two human souls, represented as little children.

The representation of Christ on throne has as distant prototype the composition of the Last Judgment at Dečani Monastery (fig. 3), and not the usual Byzantine formulas in which Christ appeared in a mandorla, sitting on the rainbow. The hand of God weighing the souls – and not the archangel, as in the Byzantine depictions of the 11th–14th centuries – appeared at Bogorodica Ljeviška in Prizren (1307–1313) and became widespread throughout the 15th century[29]. The faces of

[21] In the Life of St. Gerardus of Sagredo (980–1046), the Bishop of Morisena/Csanád (present-day Cenad in Timiş), was recorded that the Bogomils in the kingdom of Achtum, called in text "Bulgarians", venerated Archangel Uriel and worn amulets with his name, whom they invoked in magic rituals (Ivánka 1955).

[22] Lavrin 1929, 278; Obolensky 1948, 250–262; Theodorescu 1974, 243–248.

[23] Lavrin 1929, 279–280.

[24] Petkov 2008, 287–314.

[25] See the Bulgarian Canon Law miscellanies of the 14th cent.; Tsibranska-Kostova 2014.

[26] Kałużniacki 1901, 209–214 [first Romanian edition: Sfântul Eftimie, 13–44]. For the influences of the Bogomilism in the Romanian culture, see Cartojan 1974, I, 39–87; Panaitescu 2000, 321–323.

[27] Hamilton, Hamilton 1998, 282–287.

[28] Garidis 1985, 63.

[29] The hand of God is found also in the Russian mural paintings (Vladimir, 1408) and icons in the 15th century; Himka 2009, 46–47.

demons are yet anthropomorphic, following the Byzantine tradition, and not zoomorphic as in the later trend emerged in the first decades of the 16th century[30].

The Archangel Michael supports his feet on a cushion – an aulic detail extracted from the Palaeologan repertoire, not usually found in his representations in the Last Judgment. The horizon of the upper half of the composition is much lowered to obtain the effect of monumentality, solution that is a characteristic of the artistic traditions prior to the 15th century. Contrariwise, in the 16th century Cretan painting, the horizon began to be much lifted, to serve developing rich narrative compositions. The faces' skin is not sallow like in the 16th-century paintings, but pink and bright, although the figures are rather stereotype and the flesh has a harsh modelling. The eyebrow arches pronouncedly contoured, the angled nose root and the sharp shadows under the eyes, together with the rigid folds of the garments denote the provincial decadence of the Palaiologan traditions whose features are found in the 15th century Epirus and Macedonia. However, while the faces in the upper composition look clumsy and stereotype, those in the lower part are finely drawn, reminding the Palaeologan miniature (fig. 4). It is possible that two different hands worked on the panel, but the general impression regarding the author(s) is of a poor skilfulness, or more likely of a lack of proper training. The red cinnabar background and the nimbi of different colours also recall the Macedonian painting features of the 14th–15th centuries.

The icon was painted on the reverse with a Passion-type representation of the Virgin and Child, apparently by a different hand from that of the Judgment. At the top, two half-length angels, named Archangels Michael and Gabriel in inscriptions (see the *Addendum*, no. 2), flank the Mother of God, with Gabriel at the right holding a bowl with the instruments of Passion – the Cross and a spear. On both the lateral sides are represented apostles[31]: at left, Peter, Luke, Mark, and Andrew, and at right, Paul, Matthew, John, Thomas, and Simon. The processional icons of Theotokos for the period of the Great Lent – the Sunday of Orthodoxy and the Akathist Saturday – are very common in the 14th and 15th centuries (the pictorial representations of the last stanza of the Akathist Hymn usually displayed such icons in processions). Sometimes, they bear on the reverse Crucifixion or Jesus in the Tomb scenes[32]. Here, the other side being already painted, a Passion-type variant of Hodegetria framed by apostles was selected to combine the two subjects which were usually depicted on each side. In the rest of the year, the icon was probably put on display in the iconostasis, with the Judgment side visible in the altar[33].

[30] One of the first such representations is found at St. Nicholas Anapafsas, Meteora (1527), painted by Theophanes the Cretan; Garidis 1985, 38–39.

[31] Not prophets, as were mistakenly identified by Metropolitan Neophytos and I. D. Ştefănescu.

[32] Vocotopoulos 1998, 304–306. See a resume and bibliography of the subject at Tomić-Djurić 2012, 304–307; Another suggestion on the possible liturgical source and use of this kind of bilateral icons is given by Fr. Maximos Constas, *Painting and Poetry in the Middle Byzantine Period: A Bilateral Icon from Kastoria and the Stavrotheotokia of Joseph the Hymnographer*, forthcoming in Gerstel 2016.

[33] For the tendency of moralising the altar iconography destined for the priests, in the Late Byzantine period, see Gerstel 2006, 155.

The iconographer chose a type of Hodegetria in which the Virgin turns her head and gaze to the Child, who responds by turning and blessing her. It characterizes some old icons of the Athonite monasteries such as the Portaitissa at Iveron, dated to late 10th – early 11th century[34] (fig. 5), the Bematarissa (10th century, heavily repainted; the subsequent copies display its original iconography)[35] and a series of 13th century icons of the Virgin Mary at Vatopaidi[36], especially one with a posture similar to the icon in Dintr-un Lemn, and with large dimensions, of 128 cm/ 91 cm[37] (fig. 6). The Peribleptos type, developed in the Ohrid area during the 13th and 14th centuries, is also characterized by a slight turn of the head of Mother of God towards her Infant Christ, but her gaze remains pointed forwards, while the Child is blessing the viewer[38]. The Virgin's gaze focused on her Child's eyes as in initiating a conversation characterizes also the Dexiokratousa[39], a Hodegetria who holds Jesus on her right hand, variant most popular in the 13th century[40] and in the first decades of the next (Virgin ἡ χώρα των ἀχώρητον at Chora).

The first preserved examples of Hodegetria with apostles are a double-sided Cypriot icon with Virgin and Crucifixion dated to the late 14th to early 15th century, found today at the Patriarchate of Jerusalem[41], and a Hodegetria of the early 15th century, preserved in the Pantocrator Monastery on Mount Athos (fig. 7)[42]. Also the Portaitissa icon received in the early 16th century from Ambrosi, a Georgian nobleman of royal descent, a silver cloth with busts of apostles on the lateral sides[43].

The earliest representation of the Virgin of the Passion iconographic type is found in the late 12th century murals at Lagoudera (Cyprus). Also several 13th-14th-centuries Serbian and North-Greek mural examples were preserved (Žiča, Latomou, Konče, Markov), but the first portable icons of this kind date from the 15th century at the earliest: an icon at Sinai (early 15th century)[44] and the icon of Mother of God φοβεράς προστασίας ("Dreaded Protection") at Koutloumousiou, likely of the mid-15th century[45]. A definitive type will be fixed in the second half of the 15th century by Andreas Ritzos[46], in which it is reiterated the iconography of the Φοβεράς προστασίας: the Child turns his gaze away from his Mother to the rear, towards a flying angel who shows him the Cross and the nails, while another angel at the right of the Virgin holds a jar (of sour wine?) containing the lance and the reed.

[34] Vocotopoulos 1996; Chryssochoidis 2005, 133–142.
[35] Tsigaridas, Papadimitriou 2007, 1–7, fig. 2–10.
[36] Tsigaridas 2000, 135–137, 143, fig. 16, 18, 30.
[37] Tsigaridas 2000, 135–136 and fig. 16.
[38] Tatić-Djurić 1969, 335–354. See also Tsigaridas 2000, 145 and fig. 30.
[39] For a general survey of this type, see Chatzidakis 2005, 338 (with bibliography).
[40] Tsigaridas 2000, fig. 15 (Chilandar), 38 (Thessaloniki); Chatzidakis 2005, 339 (Cyprus).
[41] Vocotopoulos 1998, 297–300, fig. 4.
[42] Papamastorakis 1998, 86, 88, fig. 39.
[43] Skhirtladze 2005, 148–219.
[44] Milliner 2011, 91–92 and fig. 27.
[45] Milliner 2011, 93 and fig. 31.
[46] Chatzidakis 1982, 311.

However, several variations continue to coexist throughout the 15th–16th centuries. Symptomatic are the icons preserved in Romania: a late 15th century Andreas Ritzos' type of Cretan school at Şcheii Braşovului[47]; an icon at Prislop which is a classical Hodegetria with two small-scaled angels holding the Passion instruments – a probable Wallachian work, dated largely in the 16th century[48]; and the Glykophilousa at Snagov, with an angel holding the Cross and the two spears, a work attributed to the painter Dobromir the Younger and dated between 1563–1565[49]. In a Hodegetria icon in Ostrov Hermitage, worked most probably after mid-16th century[50] but repainted heavily in 1701–1702 and 1795, the Infant Christ himself holds a small vessel with the Passion instruments.

Also particular in the Dintr-un Lemn icon is a vestment detail: the neckline of the Virgin's tunic is not single-pieced, as in the classical models, but ends in two bordered parts reunited. Similar necklines can be seen in the 13th century Hodegetria icon at Vatopaidi (fig. 6), at the Virgin Episkepsis icon at Anargyroi Saints Church in Ohrid (early 14th century)[51], in an icon of Theotokos attributed to either Eutychios or Michael Astrapas, at the Museum of Macedonia in Skopje (1312–1318)[52] and, subsequently, in two icons of Virgin Mary on throne painted by monk Longin for Lomnica (1577–1578) and Dečani (late 16th century) monasteries[53].

The fold of the garment that falls over the left palm of the Virgin was completed recently by the restorer, who opted for a debatable, radical visual reintegration of some of the damaged areas (fig. 8). This detail was characteristic for the 13th century icons, when the drawing style of the drapes was extremely fluid – see, for example, the mosaic icon of the Virgin Episkepsis in the Byzantine Museum of Athens[54] or the Hodegetria in full length in the Byzantine Museum of Kastoria[55]. However, before the restoration, the zone in question was severely damaged (fig. 1) and no detail seemed to indicate the existence of a garment fold originally in that location.

The Virgin bears on her right forearm an inscription which is poorly preserved. Traditionally, such letterings reproduced the verse of Psalm 44, 15 (45, 13): "her gown is interwoven with gold". This discreetly evocative iconographic element, inspired by hymnography and probably with Constantinopolitan origins, made a career in the 14th–15th-centuries Macedonian Pelagonitissa icons[56]. Thessaloniki

[47] Porumb 1981, 69–70, fig. 78, 81, 82.

[48] Porumb 1998, 230; Dumitran, Hegedüs, Rus 2011, 127–128, fig. 102. The 12 prophets on the lateral sides were added in 1751–1752.

[49] Efremov 2002, 44–46, fig. 39.

[50] Sabados 2013, 37, 41, fig. 2.

[51] Miljković-Pepek 1971; Georgievski 1999, 57–58, cat. 21.

[52] Miljković-Pepek 1967.

[53] Babić, Chatzidakis 1982, 348, 350.

[54] Evans 2004, 210, fig. 7.2.

[55] Tsigaridas 2000, fig. 7.

[56] Babić 1991.

had an important role in spreading this element in the Balkans[57] and incidentally on Mount Athos, as proves the 15th century icon in Pantocrator Monastery, where the inscription was treated as a pseudo-Kufic script (fig. 7).

Stylistically, the Theotokos icon is characterized by loyalty to the Palaeologan canon, discernable in the graceful posture and drawing of the Virgin's head. However, the style has particular manneristic features which are difficult to attribute to a certain artistic circle. The linear and fluid manner of working and the suggestion of realism and profound emotion, which previously had been considered as evoking 13th century Italian influences[58], might be due to using as models Athonite icons of the late Comnenian to early Palaeologan period.

Some deformities can be seen at the nimbi, which were drawn without a compass, and also an hesitation is evident in designing the composition, which resulted in the central scene overlapping partially the lateral registers of the apostles – the left containing four busts, and the right five. It seems that the author was not possessing a superior studio discipline and did not establish his composition from the beginning, being forced to adapt it unskilfully along the way.

Mixed Greek and Slavic name forms were used for the apostles on the Virgin's icon, as Лꙋкаѕ, Маркоѕ, but also Маѳеи and Андреи, which demonstrate the Balkan Slavic ethnicity of the painter. The Balkan Slavs were not spread in the Middle Ages only in Bulgaria, Serbia, Western and Eastern Macedonia, but also in Southern Macedonia (the Greek Macedonia), where "Bulgarians" were at times attested[59]. However, the poor Greek knowledge of the author of the icon makes his localization in the Greek Macedonia doubtful.

Another particularity of language consists in the use of Bulgarian form рѣêà (hand) in the Last Judgment icon. The word evolved during the late Middle Ages from Old Church Slavonic ржка[60], like also the Serbian form рꙋка, and Macedonian рака. Accordingly, the paleographer Christo Andreev considers the inscriptions as Bulgarian or West-Bulgarian (as the presence of the name form Иован seems to indicate), dating from the 15th century at the earliest.

The inscriptions and the iconographic particularities of both the Last Judgment and the Virgin of the Passion point to Western Bulgaria or its Macedonian borders as the origin of both the painters of the double-sided icon. According to inscriptions, iconography and style, the Last Judgment scene is most likely a late 14th or an early 15th century work, and for the icon of the Virgin a period of up to the mid-15th century can be considered[61].

[57] A. Tourta, in Evans 2004, 162–163.

[58] Efremov 2002, 29.

[59] *Documenta Veneta*, 150, 188.

[60] Miklosich 1866, 815, *s.v.* "ржка".

[61] The arguments of style invoked by Efremov 2002, 28–29 cannot be easily refuted in favour of a later dating (like the one proposed by I. D. Ştefănescu), as long as the icon does not have any „post-Byzantine" features, admitting that the provinces were usually subjected to inertia in what concerns innovation and style.

Regarding the use of Athonite models and the processional use of the icon, it can be assumed that both the painters worked a command for a monastic establishment, since in the Balkans, after the Ottoman conquest, the public processions in towns and villages became drastically restricted[62] and such icons could not be carried anymore in corteges. Moreover, the iconography of both the icons suggests that the painters were probably monks. As far as the use of Athonite iconographic models is concerned, although Mount Athos at that time was not yet a common destination for pilgrimage, it was largely frequented by Balkan monks[63]. During the 14th century, the Athonite wonderworking icons started to become an attraction for pilgrims and replicas of them began to appear by the same time[64]. Also the heterodox particularities of the Last Judgment composition plead for a monastic destination of the icon, considering that most of the accusations of "Bogomilism" in the 14th century usually referred to "monastic heresies", excesses and deviations practiced by monks[65].

The icon must have been produced in a rural milieu, which would explain the writing mistakes and the corrupt or idiomatic name forms in the Last Judgment composition. It possibly belonged to a Bulgarian monastic community which migrated during the late 15th to the mid 16th century to Oltenia, around Râmnicu Vâlcea, bringing with it the icon[66].

Addendum

1. The Last Judgment:
<Archangel> Michael: **Михъль**
Mother of God: [**МИР**] **Ѳꙋ**
<Archangel> Salathiel (?): **Ѧ҃ѳалан/ль**
Jesus Christ: **ІС ХС**
<Archangel> Gabriel: **Гаврилъ**
<Archangel> Raphael: **Рафилы**

[62] According to the Pact of Umar, used later by the Porte for regulating the status of non-Muslims in the Ottoman empire, Christians could retain their own customary practices according to their traditios, but no public religious processions, such as those traditionally held at Easter, were to be allowed; Masters 2001, 21–23. An exception made the religious fairs and the marriages; Giakoumis 2006, 76–112.

[63] Brouskari, Skoulas 2008, 101–103.

[64] Weyl-Carr 2002, 87, 89–90; see also Brouskari, Skoulas 2008, cat. 3, p. 205.

[65] Wolski 2014, 233–241.

[66] For this Bulgarian migration phenomenon in Wallachia in the 14th–15th centuries, see; Sacerdoţeanu 1961, 322 (Râmnicu Vâlcea); Rădvan 2004, 151–152, 220, 270 (Câmpulung). Such migrations of Bulgarians, carriers of Bogomilic reminiscences, to the northern bank of Danube began as early as the 11th century and were prolonged up to the 16th (Balotă 1964; Cantacuzino 1979) and even the early 18th century (Sacerdoţeanu 1961, 324).

St. John the Baptist: сты Иован[67]

<Archangel> Uriel: Ѹриль

"The Hand of God weighs the justice and the injustice": ръка/ господьнѣ /къпнѣть правдѧ и крнв[ь]дѧ

"The archangel stabs < the devil> so the injustice shall not weigh": арьхангель /пробадає / дане влѣче / неправьда

"The just are taken <away from> the devils": праве / дниѧ вь / ꙁемѧть / д[ѣ] воли

"<Archangel> Gabriel blows the trump [...]": Гавриль трьби/ ньмреинданиꙁи /колєда[68]

"The rising of the dead": вьсъкьрьсени / мьрь / твъ /мь

"The injustice of the sinners <is> carried by the devils": неправьда и грѣшнихь носѧ /дьѣволи

"Priests"[69]: попове

"Arius": Арїѣ

The Leviathan: [к]ить

"Antichrist": [ан]диχристь

"....":п[...]ѧть/ сѧ[...]и вьꙁаньсь / сл[...]врѧнчьвцѣ/ [...]имѹ[...][70]

2. Virgin of the Passion with Child:

Archangel Michael: [...]ар[...]М[...]; [ὁ] ἀρ[χ]<άγγελος> Μ[ιχαήλ]

Mother of God: МИ[Р] Θ[ѹ]; Μή<τη>[ρ] Θ<εο>[ῦ]

Archangel Gabriel: о арχ [...]Г[...]; ὁ ἀρχ<άγγελος> Γ[αβριήλ]

Jesus Christ; the Being: IC XC, О ѠN; Ἰ<ησοῦ>ς Χ<ριστό>ς, ὁ ὢν

Apostles, right raw: Peter, [...]; Luke, Лѹ/кас; Mark, Мракос[71]; Andrew, А[н]/ дреи; left raw: Paul, [...]; Matthew, Ма/ѳеи; John, Іωан>; Thomas (?), Θο[72][...]; Simon, С[...]/мо[...]

Upon the Mother of God's right forearm: [...]вар[...]дар[73]

[67] West-Bulgarian form for John / Іωан.

[68] Unintelligible text. The last word may be колєда, meaning Christmas carol and, originally, beginning.

[69] The inscription is above a group of hierarchs wearing phelonia and mitres.

[70] Unintelligible text (rewritten?).

[71] Sic; letter inversion.

[72] Rewritten: uî.

[73] The letter â was transformed during the 2003–2008 restoration into a cross. Constantin Bălan read: "†ар[...]адтр"; Bălan 2005, 424, no. 575. He considered it to be the painter's signature to which referred Metropolitan Neophytos. However, the latter mentioned that the inscription was found "below the right hand of Theotokos (...) written with large letters" (Neofit, 91). Unfortunately, that area today is a large lacuna (see fig. 1 and 8).

Fig. 1. Virgin of the Passion with Child, Dintr-un Lemn Monastery (during restoration).

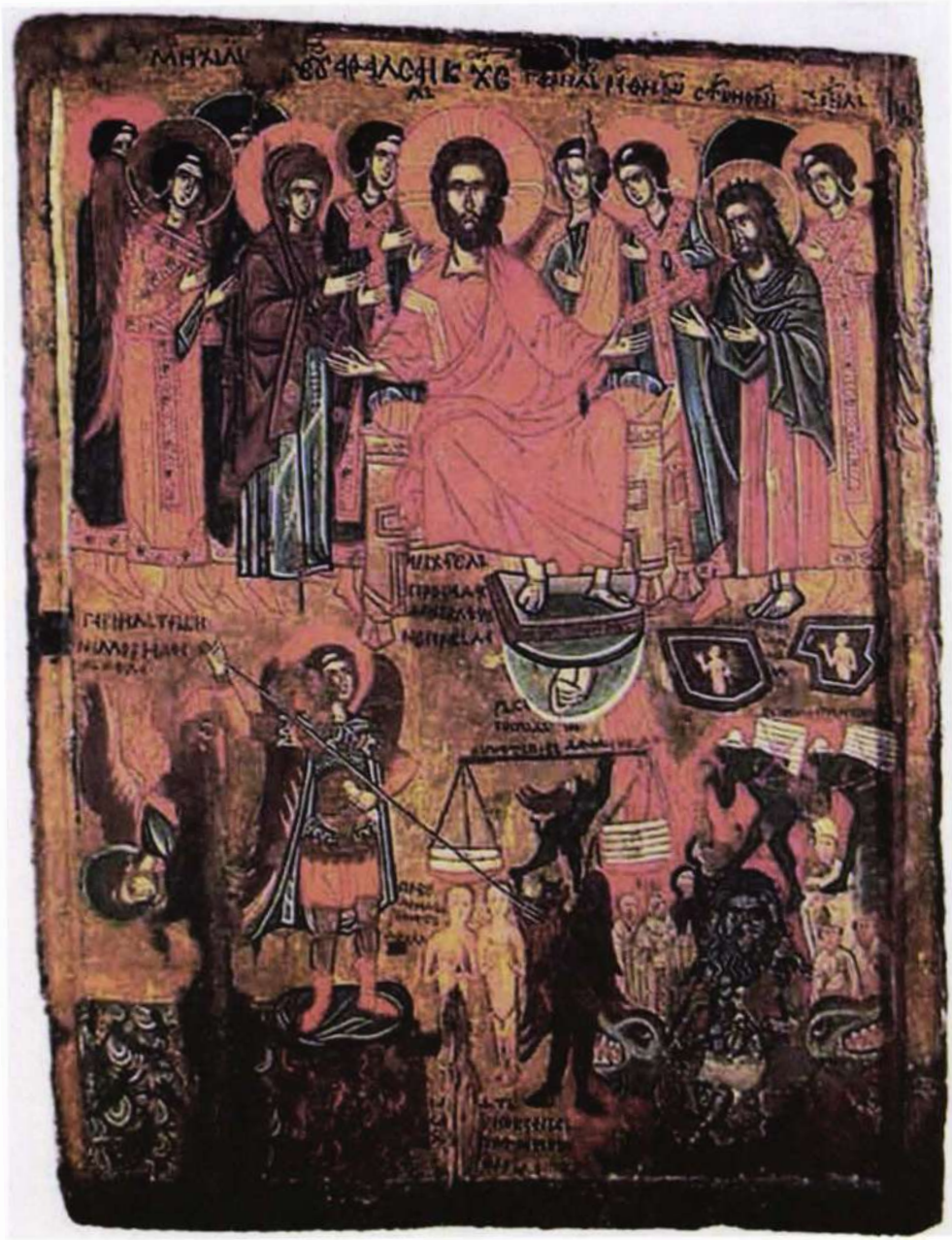

Fig. 2. Last Judgment, Dintr-un Lemn Monastery

Fig. 3. Last Judgment (detail), Dečani Monastery (1335–1350).

Fig. 4. Last Judgment (detail), Dintr-un Lemn Monastery.

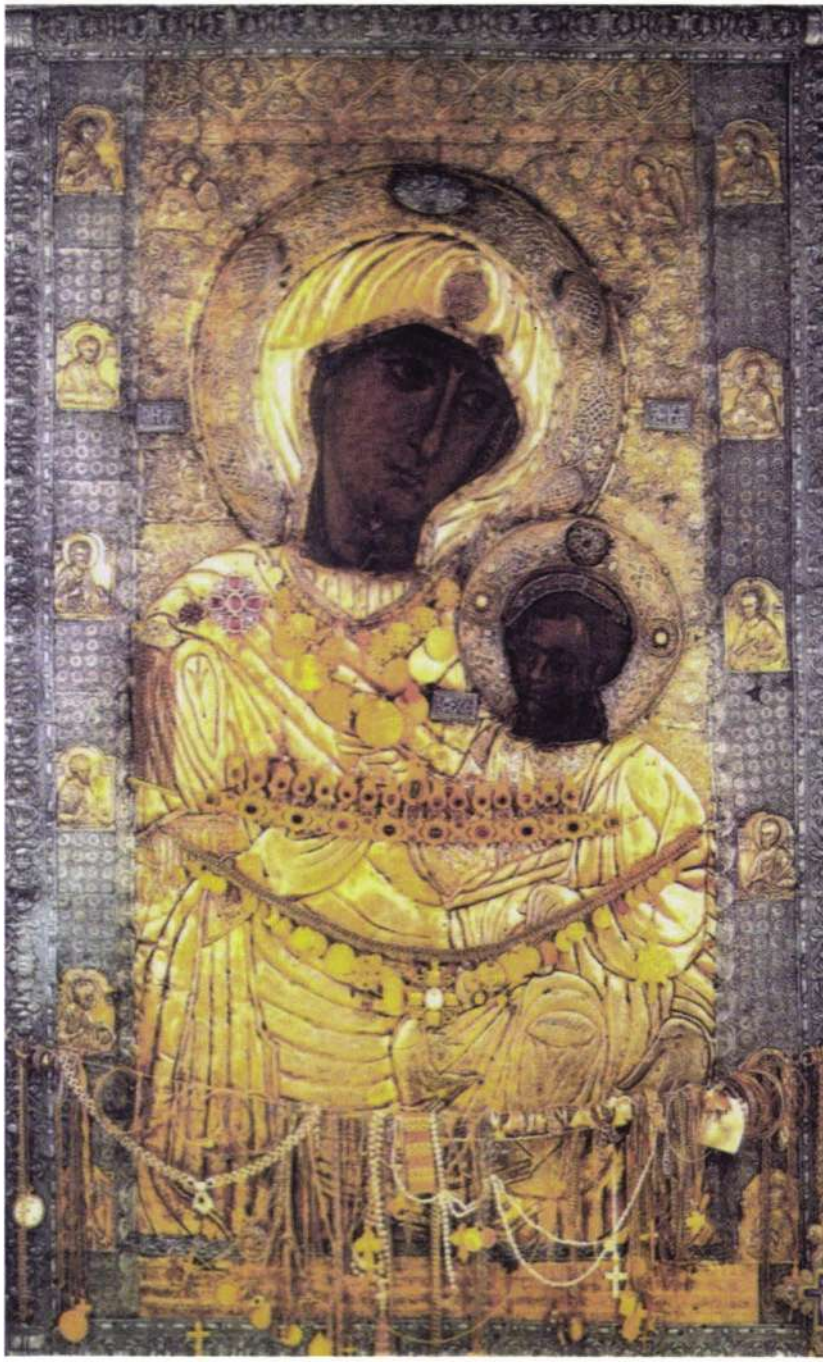

Fig. 5. Virgin Portaitissa, Iveron Monastery (late 10th – early 11th century).

Fig. 6. Virgin Hodegetria with Child, Vatopedi Monastery (second half of the 13th century).

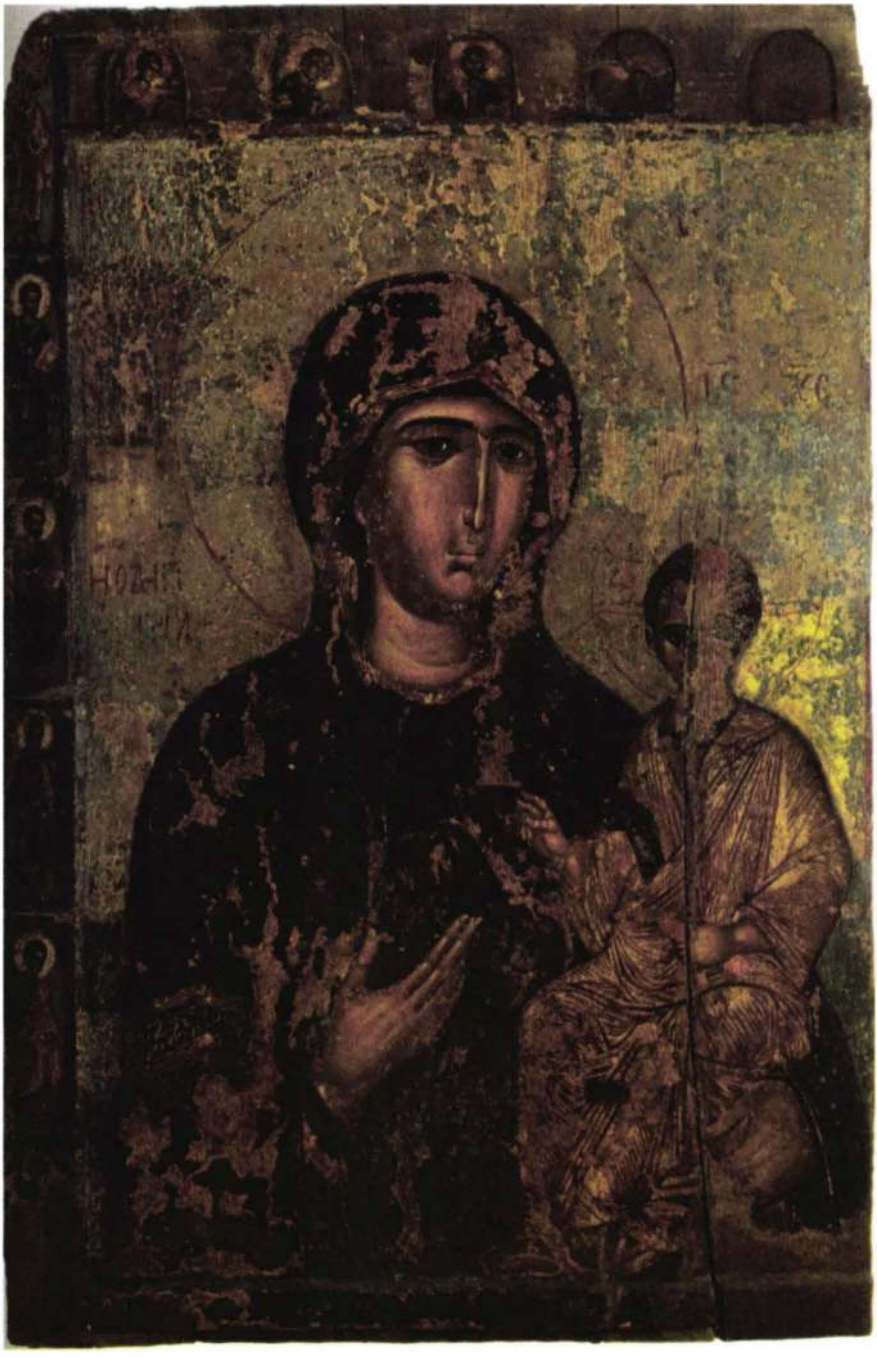

Fig. 7. Virgin Hodegetria with Child, Pantocrator Monastery, Mount Athos (early 15th century).

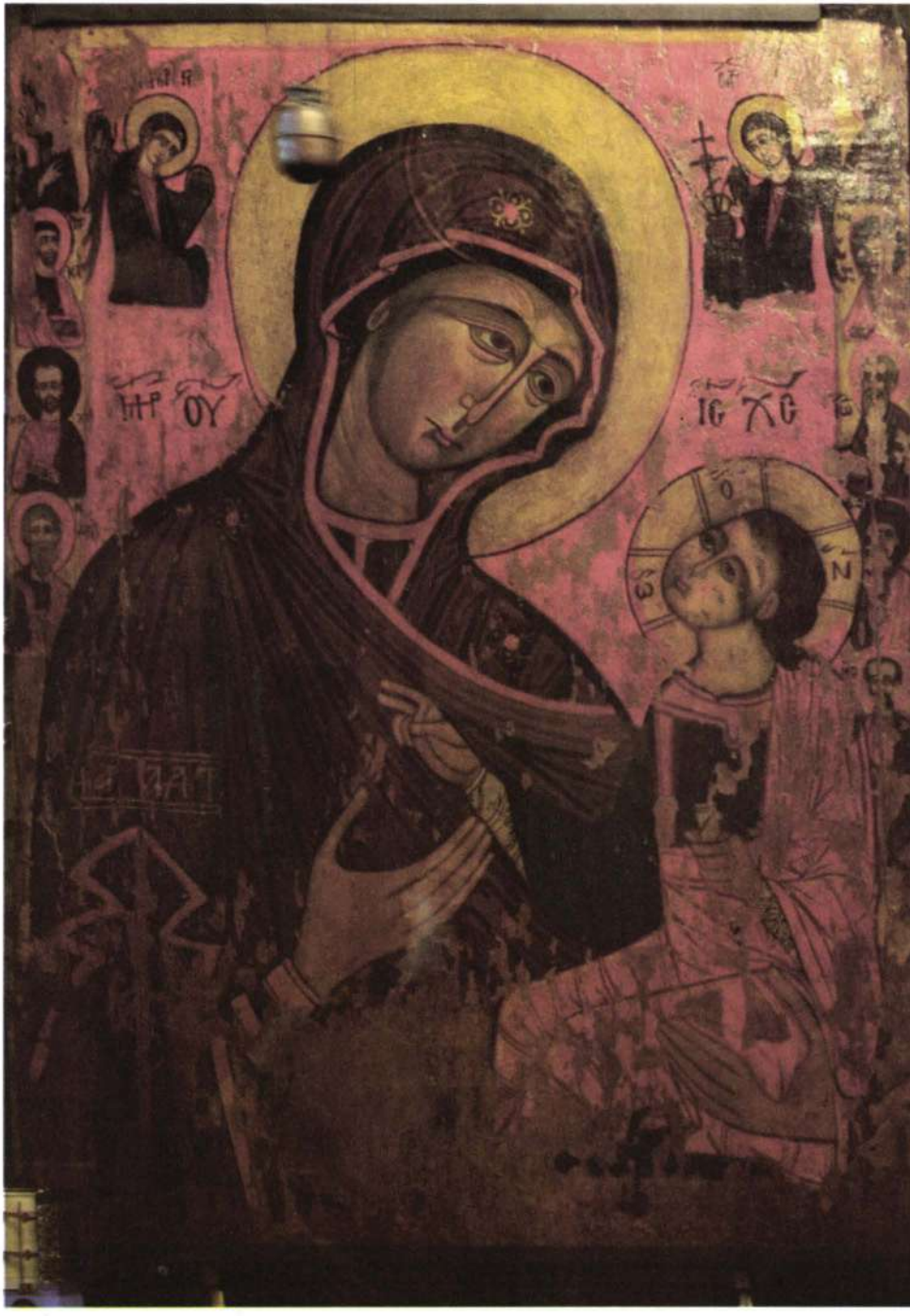

Fig. 8. Virgin of the Passion with Child, Dintr-un Lemn Monastery (after restoration).

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INFORMATIONS INÉDITES ET NOUVELLES INTERPRÉTATIONS AU SUJET DES ÉGLISES MARINA ET VALEA DE CÂMPULUNG MUSCEL*

ŞTEFAN IONESCU-BERECHET

Tel que Fl. Mîrţu remarquait en 1984[2], "parmi les nombreux monuments de Câmpulung Muscel, peu d'entre eux ont fait l'objet de tant de controverses historiographiques visant une datation judicieuse comme l'a fait l'église Marina, du Nord de la ville"[3]. A son avis, pour aborder cette question d'une manière juste, il faut nécessairement tenir compte d'un détail significatif et assez surprenant: "l'existence d'un autre monument de culte, Valea, situé vis à vis de Marina (à 100m environ), les entrées dans les enceintes respectives n'étant séparées que par l'actuelle rue Negru Vodă, l'axe longitudinal EO du monument Marina se trouvant dans l'axe longitudinal de l'église disparue Valea"[4] (fig. 1).

La susdite controverse historiographique fut nourrie également par l'absence des sources historiques de confiance qui mentionnent les débuts de l'église Marina. Tandis que l'inscription votive de 1696 nous dit seulement que l'église était "depuis longtemps abandonnée"[5], en échange, le recensement ecclésiastique du département Muscel, de 1840[6], et un inventaire des biens de l'église, de 1902[7], précisent clairement que l'on ne connaît pas l'année de fondation du monument. Un sondage archéologique effectué dans le jardin de l'église en 1963 vient suppléer à l'absence des données fournies par les sources écrites. L'enregistrement lapidaire des fouilles nous renseigne qu'on y découvrit des tombeaux des XVIe–XVIIe siècles et d'amples vestiges d'habitation datant du XVe siècle[8].

* Cette étude représente le texte de la communication présentée par le soussigné le 29 mars 2016 à l'Institut d'Etudes Sud-Est Européennes.

[2] Directeur du Musée Câmpulung entre 1959–1970.

[3] Mîrţu, Fl. 1984, p. 19.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 20.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 20.

[5] *Inscr. Muscel*, no. V 241, f. 617 (je veux remercier ici M. Gh. Lazăr pour la permission généreusement accordée de pouvoir consulter le manuscrit). Du syntagme utilisé ici, on peut déduire un intervalle de quelques décennies pendant lesquelles l'église s'est trouvée en ruines, ce qui signifie que, selon l'inscription votive, elle existait à coup sûr au XVIe siècle.

[6] Răuţescu, I. 1965, p. 878.

[7] MCIP DC 1902, f. 2v.

[8] Mîrţu, Fl. 1984, p. 19.

L'absence des témoignages documentaires allait être toutefois suppléée par la cristallisation d'une tradition[9], antérieure au XIXe siècle, qui situe les origines de cette église en 1215. Le premier auteur qui note cette tradition et l'introduit dans le circuit de l'historiographie roumaine est le renommé combattant de 1848 et directeur des Archives de l'Etat, C. D. Aricescu, originaire de Câmpulung. Dans son *Histoire de Câmpulung*, la première monographie de la ville, parue en 1855–1856, il mentionne "la grande ancienneté de l'église Marina, du quartier Schei de Câmpulung (1215)"[10]. En se prévalant de l'ancienneté supposée de ce quartier, Aricescu formule même une hypothèse personnelle selon laquelle Marina serait antérieure à la date traditionnelle, ayant été "bâtie entre 1100–1200 et réparée en 1215, 1677, 1707"[11].

Trois décennies plus tard, en 1885, le bien connu écrivain et folkloriste Petre Ispirescu reproduit le témoignage oral du prêtre Nicolae Diaconescu de Marina, qui, à partir du témoignage de prêtres des générations antérieures, soutenait que, dans le sanctuaire, au-dessous de la fenêtre, se trouve "une pierre crépie par ceux qui ont réparé l'église", sur laquelle était gravée "sa date ancienne 6723, c'est-à-dire 1215"[12]. C'est à ce vestige lapidaire que se réfère probablement C. Esarcu aussi, qui, dans une lettre adressée la même année au ministre des Cultes D. Sturza, affirme: "Aujourd'hui même, un prêtre âgé nous a assurés, tant moi que D. Densuşianu, qu'à l'église de Ste. Marina il y avait une inscription votive portant la date de 1215"[13]. Le témoignage est confirmé par Gr. Tocilescu aussi, qui dans son valeureux rapport de 1889 adressé au Ministère de l'Instruction Publique et des Cultes, portant sur les monuments de Câmpulung, précise que l'inscription votive "avec l'a. 1215 (!), dont parle D. Esarcu, n'existe plus aujourd'hui", disparaissant "comme tant d'autres, ces derniers temps"[14]. Les informations du rapport de Tocilescu sont reprises dans l'inventaire de la CMI de 1893, qui, en s'appuyant probablement sur l'adresse du P. N. Diaconescu au Ministère des Cultes, du mois de Mai de la même année, considère 1215 comme année de fondation de Marina, notant en même temps l'hypothèse d'Aricescu aussi (l'an 1100), mais l'attribuant à la tradition locale[15].

[9] Un facteur déterminant dans la cristallisation de cette tradition l'a constitué sans doute la renommée de cette petite église dans le paysage du Câmpulung médiéval. En faveur de cet argument plaide un intéressant récit du missionnaire franciscain Blasius Kleiner, qui, visitant la ville vers 1764, mentionne la présence dans ce lieu de culte d'une icône miraculeuse de Sainte Marina, qui guérissait l'épilepsie et jouissait d'une grande vénération parmi les habitants de la ville. Il mentionne également une étrange tradition locale, selon laquelle sur l'emplacement où allait être bâtie l'église aurait prêché l'Apôtre Paul (Georgescu, G. 2000, p. 256).

[10] Aricescu, C.D. 2007, p. 65.

[11] *Ibid.*, p. 279.

[12] Ispirescu, P. 1988. p. 719–720.

[13] Dans Tatomir, V. 1970, p. 73.

[14] Dans Dumitrescu, M. 1972. p. 61–62.

[15] CMI 1893, f. 6v–7.

La même adresse de P. Diaconescu est mentionnée dans un historique de l'église rédigé en 1939 par le curé d'alors, le P.N. Bănățeanu, qui ajoute le témoignage du chantre Nae Spătăreanu : celui-ci soutenait "avoir vu, lors d'une réparation du toit, une poutre dans le grenier de l'église qui avait gravée la date de 1215". De même, le P. Bănățeanu note une intéressante découverte faite lors des amples travaux de restauration entrepris en 1898, quand "seulement les têtes des saints furent trouvées au-dessus du sol, le reste des saints peints étant au-dessous du plancher", ce qui, à son avis, pourrait attester l'ancienneté de l'église[16]. Cette découverte venait confirmer l'observation faite auparavant par Aricescu, qui mentionnait "l'enfouissement de l'église de presque deux toises dans le sol", comme une preuve destinée à soutenir son ancienneté[17].

Cependant, une datation de l'église Marina si éloignée dans le temps est réfutée par plusieurs chercheurs modernes, qui se sont intéressés à cette question. Tocilescu lui-même, dans son rapport de 1889, se montre sceptique quant à l'hypothèse que l'église Marina serait plus ancienne que le monastère Negru Vodă, invoquant le fait qu'il n'y a aucune preuve à ce sens[18]. Cette prétendue antériorité chronologique est rejetée avec encore plus de fermeté par Olga Greceanu, qui la met au compte d'une tradition locale qui ne saurait être acceptée[19].

Dans sa volumineuse monographie consacrée à la ville de Câmpulung et parue en 1943, le P.I. Răuțescu rejette fermement la datation proposée par Aricescu, considérant que la ville n'existait pas au XIIe siècle, mais admettant qu'après le monastère de Negru Vodă daté au XIVe siècle, c'est l'église Marina qui doit être la plus ancienne, en la datant hypothétiquement au XVe siècle. Il met en relation les deux lieux de culte, considérant qu'ils représentent les deux pôles (Nord-Sud), autour desquels s'était coagulée la vie urbaine du Câmpulung médiéval[20]. La

[16] La découverte de 1898 est mentionnée par le P. Răuțescu aussi, dans sa monographie (Răuțescu I. 2009, p. 285).

[17] Aricescu, C. D. 1854, f. 1v. L'observation fut faite par Ispirescu aussi, qui ajoute que "ceux qui l'ont réparée ont rempli l'église de terre jusqu'à l'amener devant le lieu du dehors" (Ispirescu, P. 1988, p. 719–720). Fl. Mârțu rejette la déduction de l'ancienneté de l'église à partir de la différence de niveau intérieur-extérieur, déduction assumée par le P. Răuțescu aussi, et offre une explication fournie par l'arch. Al. Mulțescu: "le terrain étant en pente descendante près de la partie ouest de l'église, cela a favorisé un écoulement des eaux pluviales entraînant d'importants dépôts de terre tout autour" (Mîrțu, Fl. 1984, p. 19). Mais il n'est pas précisé quel aurait pu être l'intervalle de temps pendant lequel le phénomène puisse acquérir l'ampleur notée par les sources.

[18] Dans Dumitrescu, M. 1972, p. 62.

[19] Greceanu, O. 2012, p. 236.

[20] Răuțescu I. 2009, p. 284–5. Dans *Istoria Câmpulungului*, Aricescu se réfère lui aussi à deux pôles de la ville, mais soutient une configuration différente de ceux-ci: "les quartiers les plus peuplés furent Românii et Schei, Sânt Georgiu et Marina, Valea et Fundenii, autour desquels se groupaient les maisons des habitants comme les enfants autour d'un aieul" (Aricescu, C.D. 2007, p. 123). La corrélation des églises Sf. Gheorghe-Marina opérée par Aricescu est très intéressante, vu quelques aspects: du point de vue symbolique-religieux, on peut voir en Sainte Marina le pendant féminin de Saint Georges, car selon les sources hagiographiques, les deux martyrs triomphent d'un dragon; Ste. Marina est représentée en fresque sur la façade Nord de l'église Sf. Gheorghe, à côté d'autres scènes

datation proposée par Răuţescu est adoptée initialement par Fl. Mîrţu aussi, mais, après le sondage archéologique qu'il fit en 1963 dans l'enceinte du saint lieu, il se reprend et revient sur la date, étant convaincu que la fondation de l'église doit être placée au XVIe siècle[21]. Une datation tardive et évidemment confuse se trouve dans le valeureux répertoire bibliographique de N. Stoicescu, selon lequel Marina aurait été érigée au XVIIe siècle et rénovée par Barbu Giurgiuveanu en 1796 (sic!)[22].

Les contributions les plus valeureuses et les plus consistantes au sujet de l'histoire de l'église Marina, mais représentant des approches différentes et aboutissant à des conclusions divergentes, se retrouvent dans deux études publiées au début des années 1980 dans *Revista de istorie a Muzeului Câmpulung*. En 1982, Eugenia Greceanu et les époux Alexandru et Maria Mulţescu démarrent une tentative de dater le monument à partir d'une analyse typologique détaillée de son architecture ; ils montrent que tant la forme du plan (église salle et abside demi-circulaire), que le système de construction (pierre brute alternant avec la pierre polie aux angles de la nef et aux cadres des creux) dénotent une influence transylvaine incontestable (Zarand et Ţara Haţegului), qui ne contredit pas la datation proposée par le P. Răuţescu, au XVe siècle, mais justifie aussi la datation au XIIIe siècle, selon la tradition locale[23].

Une telle tentative d'accréditer la datation traditionnelle de Marina par une analyse typologique architecturale a déterminé une réplique ferme de la part de Fl. Mîrţu, qui, dans une étude de 1984, lui oppose une perspective archéologique. Après avoir repoussé tant la datation d'Aricescu (au XIIe siècle), en la considérant "fantaisiste et animée par son patriotisme local", que la datation proposée par Răuţescu (au XVe siècle) comme étant arbitraire et dépourvue de preuves, Mîrţu refuse aussi l'hypothèse Greceanu-Mulţescu en vertu de l'argument que "les mêmes formes architectoniques appartenant à deux monuments peuvent être distancées dans le temps, sans une coexistence chronologique de leur réalisation". Déplorant le manque d'intérêt à l'égard des informations publiées au sujet du sondage archéologique de 1963, Mîrţu passe à l'analyse et à l'interprétation de ces données. En s'appuyant sur la datation des tombeaux les plus anciens découverts à l'aide des témoins numismatiques, au XVIe siècle, et en montrant que les riches

peintes au début du XIXe siècle; il est possible que l'un des saints patrons de l'église Valea eût été justement S. Georges. De plus, du point de vue de la topographie urbaine, du type de plan, de leur proximité et de leur alignement par rapport à l'axe EO, on peut souligner la relation existante entre les deux doublets Ste. Marina-Valea et S. Gheorghe-Fundeni, trouvés en même temps en corrélation avec un troisième saint lieu, Schei, respectivement Şubeşti. De même, on peut observer d'intéressants liens généalogiques entre les *moşneni* et les clercs de la partie nord de la ville et ceux de l'extrémité sud.

[21] Cf. Pârnuţă Gh. 1974, p. 111.

[22] Stoicescu, N. 1970, p. 166. Le sommaire aperçu bibliographique offert par Stoicescu rappelle, outre le rapport de Tocilescu et la monographie de la ville rédigée par Rădulescu Codin, quelques mentions faites par N. Iorga et V. Drăghiceanu, qui viennent s'ajouter à la monographie du P. Răuţescu et à l'étude de H. Teodoru, mentionnées à la section des travaux à caractère général concernant la ville de Câmpulung.

[23] Greceanu, E., Mulţescu. Al. şi M. 1982, p. 26–39.

traces d'habitation du XVe siècle excluent l'idée de l'existence d'un lieu de culte à cette date-là, il conclut sans hésitation que les débuts de l'église Marina doivent être placés au XVIe siècle[24].

Une position nuancée adopte l'archéologue Gh. I. Cantacuzino dans une étude de synthèse relativement récente, où il présente de manière systématique l'état actuel des recherches, ajoutant également d'intéressantes observations et conclusions personnelles. Rejetant à son tour la datation d'Aricescu (XIIe–XIIIe siècles), Gh. Cantacuzino l'attribue non seulement au "patriotisme local" de l'auteur, mais aussi à une tradition conservée au long des générations. Il souligne également avec justesse que "les fouilles insuffisamment étendues et publiées de manière incomplète ne permettent toutefois pas des conclusions tranchantes, les données fournies attestant que l'église existait dans la première moitié du XVIe siècle, mais elle pourrait être bien plus ancienne, d'autant plus que l'inscription votive de 1698 la constate depuis longtemps abandonnée "[25].

Après avoir passé brièvement en revue les sources de la tradition locale et des recherches modernes et contemporaines au sujet des origines de l'église Marina, une remarque importante s'impose. Dans les études de spécialité, on fait fréquemment confusion entre la datation transmise par la tradition locale, qui indique constamment et précisément l'année 6723 (1214/1215) et la datation proposée par Aricescu, qui révèle son caractère d'hypothèse personnelle justement par l'intervalle très large et imprécis suggéré, le XIIe siècle. Si Aricescu ne peut apporter aucune preuve concrète à l'appui de son hypothèse, en échange il précise clairement la source sur laquelle il se fonde lorsqu'il mentionne l'année retenue par la tradition. Il s'agit d'une source demeurée inconnue à ceux qui ont étudié, depuis la fin du XIXe siècle, les origines de l'église Marina.

Dans un recueil inédit d'inscriptions qu'il avait recueillies en 1854 dans les églises de Câmpulung, lors de la documentation qui se trouve à la base de la monographie de la ville, Aricescu indique la source d'où provient l'année traditionnelle de Marina. C'est "un obituaire du lieu, très ancien", où, à côté de l'an 6723 (1214/5), figurent également les noms des fondateurs anciens – Stanciu et Rada, obituaire qui représentait la version renouvelée d'un obituaire antérieur, "très abîmé" et détérioré par le temps[26].

La collection d'obituaires de la région d'Arges, publiée à la fin de 2014 par l'historien Sp. Cristocea, met au jour, mais sous un titre erroné, une version de 1831 de l'ancien obituaire consulté par Aricescu. Même plus, il est possible que cet ancien exemplaire lui-même existe de nos jours encore, pouvant être identifié à l'obituaire de l'église Marina de 1815, que le P. Dudu Velicu a consulté en 1973 aux archives du Doyenné de Muscel[27].

[24] Mîrţu, Fl. 1984, p. 20.

[25] Cantacuzino, Gh. I. 2002, p. 70. Les informations contenues dans cette étude sont résumées aussi dans Cantacuzino, Gh. I. 2011, p. 26–27.

[26] Aricescu, C. D. 1854, f. 1v.

[27] Dudu Velicu, f. 161.

L'obituaire publié avec de petites omissions par Sp. Cristocea est un manuscrit entré en 1909 dans le fond des manuscrits de l'Académie Roumaine (cote 3462), par une donation faite par la Direction du Musée National d'Antiquités. La mention sur la première page – *Obituaire de l'église de Băjeşti, dép. Muscel* – apparemment hors de doute, a déterminé l'académicien G. Ştrempel à ne pas mettre en question cette attribution ; l'éditeur, à son tour, a repris sans hésiter l'identification[28]. Mais une simple analyse du manuscrit invite à la prudence. Le titre est écrit en caractères latins, de la même main qui a consigné également la donation de 1909, sur une page ajoutée ultérieurement par collage. Une analyse attentive du contenu nous révèle sans équivoque que l'obituaire a appartenu en fait à l'église Marina de Câmpulung-Muscel[29]. Absolument tous les clercs qui figurent dans l'obituaire ont servi dans les églises de la ville[30], et plus de 60% des noms des titulaires d'obituaires peuvent être identifiés dans le recensement civil de la ville, de 1838[31], bien d'entre eux se retrouvant aussi parmi les familles de *moşneni* (alleutiers) du quartier Schei-Marina de Câmpulung[32].

L'argument le plus fort qui plaide pour l'attribution correcte de l'obituaire est justement l'obituaire des fondateurs (anciens) de l'église, à la page 17. L'église de Băjeşti, chapelle de la cour seigneuriale du boyard du lieu, fut édifiée en 1666 par le *Grand Ban* Mareş Băjescu (à l'époque *Grand Vornic*), avec son épouse, dame Maria. Mais ni l'an 1666, ni les noms des fondateurs de l'église de Băjeşti ne se retrouvent dans cet obituaire. En échange, sont mentionnées les deux dates et les noms des fondateurs de l'église de la Sainte Martyre Marina de Câmpulung: l'an 6723 (1214/1215), quand, selon la tradition, Stanciu et son épouse Rada ont fondé l'église, respectivement l'an 7205–7206 (1696/1697–1697/1698), quand, selon l'inscription votive, l'église fut refaite par *jupan* Barbu Giurgiuveanu[33].

Au cœur de la dispute historiographique portant sur les origines de l'église Marina se trouve sans doute la date de **6723**, si controversée, que la plupart des chercheurs modernes ont refusée comme inauthentique à cause de son caractère extrêmement précoce. Mais, en focalisant toute leur attention sur cet aspect, les

[28] Ştrempel, G. 1987, p. 134.

[29] L'attribution correcte du manuscrit analysé a été démontrée par l'auteur de la présente communication dans l'étude: Ionescu-Berechet, Şt. 2015, p. 271–290, démonstration brièvement reprise ici.

[30] Nous citons seulement les noms des prêtres Docsache (1800–1882) et Nicolae Diaconescu († 1900), tous les deux desservants de l'église Marina, Hristea *sin* popa Stoica, desservant de l'église Bradul entre 1832–1856, du diacre Gherghina, père des prêtres Savu de l'église Valea (1770–1845 ?) et Apostol de l'église Schei (1772–?) et du logothète Gheorghe *sin* diacre Gheorghe, frère de Iorga *judeţul*, fondateur de l'église Valea en 1803.

[31] Nous avons évidemment en vue les personnes qui figurent dans l'obituaire avec leur nom patronymique, pouvant être ainsi facilement identifiées dans le recensement, avec leurs proches parents (épouse, enfants, frères, sœurs etc), qui figurent dans les deux sources.

[32] Nous pouvons évoquer ici les lignées des Fundea (*moş* 21), Malea (*moş* 14), Moloiu (*moş* 9), Patraulea (*moş* 1), Tabacu (*moş* 30) et Taină (*moş* 5), cf. La liste des *moşneni* de Câmpulung de 1846 (Răuţescu I. 2009, p. 397–399).

[33] Răuţescu, I. 1965, p. 878.

chercheurs n'ont pas accordé l'attention nécessaire à ses possibles significations. La précision et la constance dont font preuve les sources connues en indiquant la date de Marina sont absolument surprenantes, compte tenu de l'intervalle de six siècles environ qui s'est écoulé entre le moment supposé de sa fondation et la date de rédaction de ces sources. Surprenantes mais non arbitraires, car on remarque que la date traditionnelle de Marina est identique à celui du monastère Negru Vodă, mentionné par les inscriptions votives posées par Matei Basarab en 1636. Cette identité de la date de fondation ne peut être fortuite, mais atteste, à notre avis, qu'au-delà de la véridicité de la date en soi, la mémoire des habitants de Câmpulung a retenu le fait que Marina et l'église du monastère, ancienne chapelle de la Cour Princière, ont la même date de fondation, ayant été bâties en même temps.

Au-delà des dates transmises par la tradition locale, il y a d'autres éléments encore qui semblent suggérer un lien plus profond et étonnant entre le monastère et le groupe Marina-Valea. Premièrement, Sainte Marina d'Antioche de Pisidie, la patronne de l'église, est connue en Occident sous le nom de Sainte Marguerite et vénérée dans le contexte catholique-romain le 20 juillet, c'est-à-dire justement le jour de la fête orthodoxe de Saint Elie, jour où se tenait le fameux *Sbor* ou Foire de S.Elie du Câmpulung médiéval. Or, sur le plan local, le nom de Marguerite – Margareta est attribué à l'épouse de l'un des premiers voivodes du Pays Roumain de la Valachie: Negru Vodă, dans la tradition citadine[34], Basarab I, dans la tradition monastique[35]. Deuxièmement, à côté de Ste Marina et d'autres patrons encore, l'église semble avoir eu comme fête patronale *La Dormition de la Mère de Dieu* aussi, donc la même que le monastère Negru Vodă[36]. Troisièmement, on peut remarquer un rapprochement évident entre la date du 20 août, jour de la consécration de l'église de Negru Vodă en 1636 et les dates de consécration de l'église Valea, dans ses trois étapes de restauration aux XVIe–XIXe siècles, à savoir le 30 août, le 24 août et le 2 septembre. Un témoignage du milieu du XIXe siècle semble approfondir davantage le mystère. Dans ses Notes de voyage de 1859, Al.Pelimon, en parlant des églises de Câmpulung, considère dignes à mentionner surtout deux d'entre elles: le monastère édifié par Radu voivode et transformé par Matei Basarab, le principal monument de la ville en vertu de ses dimensions colossales, et "la petite église de Negru-Vodă, monument sacre par son ancienneté, pareil à un joyau qui évoque la mémoire du grand homme" fondateur du Pays Roumain de la Valachie[37]. Compte tenu de la tradition locale qui n'attribue qu'à l'église Marina la même ancienneté qu'au monastère de Câmpulung, nous

[34] Cf. au document du 20 mai 1656 concernant la propriété du *Cloaşter* par les Frères (*baraţii*) catholiques (CDŢR VIII, nr. 931, p. 419).

[35] Cf. Cristocea, Sp. 1987, p. 48.

[36] L'hypothèse se fonde sur un argument d'ordre iconographique, à savoir la peinture *a fresco* de la scène de la *Dormition*, sur le pilastre NE près de l'iconostase. L'emplacement et le manque d'articulation des scènes représentées sur les deux pilastres NE et SE près de l'iconostase plaident en faveur de leur interprétation en tant qu'icônes des fêtes patronales.

[37] Săvoiu, 2008, p. 84.

considérons que "la petite église de Negru-Vodă" dont parle Pelimon ne peut être que l'église Marina, l'auteur retenant ainsi un segment de la tradition qui ne figure dans aucune autre source et qui situe à un niveau plus profond le lien existent entre le monastère et Marina.

Tout aussi intéressants que la date de fondation sont les noms des fondateurs anciens, **Stanciu** et **Rada**, mentionnés dans l'obituaire de 1831, qui déterminent cette fois-ci une corrélation entre les églises Marina et Valea. Mais, pour avoir une perspective juste sur ce problème, il faut connaître quelques données au sujet de l'église Valea, disparue en 1902.

Outre les trois inscriptions votives connues, qui seront analysées ci-après, les seules informations documentaires sont fournies par le recensement ecclésiastique de 1840 et par le même Aricescu. Dans son *Histoire de Câmpulung*, il précise que le nom de Valea, porté par "l'église avoisinant le protoprêtre Crasan", vient du "ruisseau (*vâlcel*) qui coule dans la ville"[38]. Puis, il avance l'hypothèse que l'église Valea aurait été édifiée entre 1300–1400 et, en approximant les données contenues dans les inscriptions votives, qu'elle aurait été réparée en 1592, 1700 et 1800"[39]. Les affirmations d'Aricescu sont mises en doute par P. Răuţescu, qui consacre à l'église Valea un chapitre dans la monographie de Câmpulung, où il reproduit les informations offertes par l'inscription votive du XVIe siècle, le recensement de 1840 et par d'autres documents du XIXe siècle[40]. Le seul qui rappelle la restauration faite au milieu du XVIIe siècle par les soins du *judeţ* (équivalent du maire de la ville) Gherghi (Gherghina) est N. Stoicescu dans son classique répertoire bibliographique, où il consacre une notice sommaire à l'église Valea[41].

Des informations intéressantes et valeureuses au sujet de cette église, partiellement inédites, sont fournies par les sondages archéologiques effectués par Fl. Mîrţu en 1968–69[42]. Les relevés dessinés par l'auteur des fouilles montrent clairement que l'édifice disparu avait un plan rectangulaire allongé par une abside demi-circulaire, et la nef sans absides[43], ainsi que des parois entre les différents compartiments (sanctuaire-nef-narthex-exonarthex) (fig. 2). Selon le rapport

[38] Aricescu, C.D. 2007, p. 132, n. 2.

[39] *Ibid.*, p. 279.

[40] Răuţescu I. 2009, p. 326–9.

[41] Stoicescu, N. 1970, p. 168.

[42] Selon le relèvement, en 1968 fut étudié un secteur de la partie SE de la micro-nécropole, et en 1969 furent entreprises des fouilles à l'intérieur de l'ancienne église (nef et narthex) et continuées celles à l'extérieur, sur le côté Sud.

[43] La reconstitution offerte par le relèvement ne concorde pas avec la photo de l'église publiée par Răuţescu d'où il résulte, tel que justement remarque Gh. I. Cantacuzino, que le plan était triconque (cf. Răuţescu I. 2009, p. 329). Cette bizarre divergence est facilement explicable si l'on se sert d'un troisième témoin, une photo de 1893 de l'église Valea, qui nous présente un tout autre édifice que celui que Răuţescu supposait être Valea, mais qui concorde parfaitement avec le plan dessiné par Fl. Mîrţu. Le mystère est tout à fait élucidé si on met en corrélation la photo de la soi-disant église Valea avec une autre publiée par Răuţescu dans la même monographie et justement identifiée comme étant l'église Schei. Il est évident que les deux photos publiées par Răuţescu représentent, sous des angles différents, l'église Schei, avant sa restauration de 1939.

archéologique préliminaire, en 1968 ont été investigués 18 tombeaux disposés sur 3–4 niveaux d'inhumation, datables entre les XVe–XIXe siècles. Outre divers objets spécifiques à l'inventaire funéraire (boucles d'oreille, bagues[44], colliers, vases funéraires de verre), on découvrit aussi une monnaie bulgare émise par le tzar Ioan Stratimir de Vidin (1356–65, 1369–96)[45]. Ce précieux témoin numismatique atteste que l'église Valea existait déjà aux environ de l'an 1350, ce qui confirme de manière surprenante la datation proposée par Aricescu (1300–1400).

Parmi les vestiges découverts par Fl. Mîrțu lors de ses fouilles compte aussi l'inscription votive de 1858, qui correspond à la dernière restauration importante de l'église, inscription trouvée aujourd'hui au Musée Câmpulung (fig. 3). Elle est un véritable "palimpseste en pierre", car, tel que l'auteur des fouilles le souligne, elle "représente l'inscription votive d'une autre restauration antérieure, de 1562, délibérément martelée pour écrire le nouveau texte, les fondateurs du XIXe siècle conservant intact le cartouche de l'angle inférieur droit, avec la date ancienne 7070 août 30, en relief dans les caractères du XVIe siècle"[46]. Le contenu de l'inscription martelée, la plus ancienne inscription connue de l'église Valea, peut être toutefois partiellement reconstitué à partir d'un recensement des croix et des inscriptions votives de la ville, datant de 1831. Sans indiquer la fête patronale, la transcription contient la date conservée jusqu'à nos jours, le nom du voivode Petru Vodă (le Jeune) au temps duquel fut bâtie l'église, ainsi que les noms des fondateurs : *jupan* **Stanislav**, **Radoslav** et Neaga[47].

On peut remarquer une intéressante corrélation entre le couple de *jupani* Stanislav-Radoslav et le couple des anciens fondateurs mentionnés par l'obituaire de Marina, Stanciu et Rada[48]. Puis, si on met en rapport la date de fondation de l'église Marina sur son actuel emplacement (milieu du XVIe siècle), indiquée par le sondage archéologique de 1963, avec la date de restauration de l'église Valea (1562), on peut avancer l'hypothèse suivante: c'est le même couple de fondateurs qui érigent l'église Marina et qui bientôt après restaurent l'église Valea. Ainsi, pourrait s'expliquer le voisinage des deux édifices et leur colinéarité sur l'axe EO, dans le contexte d'un projet commun.

[44] Dans une étude publiée peu de temps après les découvertes qu'il avait faites, Mîrțu présente une bague en vermeil datant du XVIIe siècle, découverte dans la micro-nécropole de Valea, qui représentait dans son écu l'arbre de vie (appartenant aux conifères aux feuilles aciculaires) symétriquement encadré par deux oiseaux affrontés, mettant en évidence son symbolisme religieux funéraire (Mîrțu, Fl. 1970a, p. 299–300).

[45] Fl. Mîrțu, après avoir pendant quelques années manifesté sa réserve vis-à-vis de ce témoin numismatique et placé les débuts de l'église au XVe siècle (cf. Pârnuță Gh. 1974, p. 111), reconsidéra ultérieurement sa position, datant le saint lieu dans la seconde moitié du XIVe siècle.

[46] Mîrțu, Fl. 1984, p. 21.

[47] Cf. Răuțescu I. 2009, p. 326.

[48] L'identification peut être parfaite si l'on suppose soit que le nom de *Radoslav* ait perdu sa terminaison féminine lors de la transcription de 1831, l'inscription étant érodée à cet endroit, soit que celui de *Rada* l'eût acquise par une transcription erronée de l'obituaire antérieur, ce qui paraît moins plausible, vu la multitude de sources qui nous transmettent le nom de *Rada*.

Selon le témoignage du chantre N. Spătăreanu, noté par le P. Bănățeanu et puis par le P. Răuțescu, l'église Marina aurait fait partie jadis d'un complexe monastique (couvent de moniales), étant entourée par une muraille d'enceinte[49]. L'existence d'une enceinte fortifiée fut soutenue ultérieurement par Fl. Mîrțu[50] et par E. Greceanu avec les époux Mulțescu[51] et rejoint l'analyse de H. Teodoru, de 1943, qui mettait en évidence le caractère fortifié du clocher bâti en 1696 au-dessus de l'exonarthex[52]. Y aurait-il eu autrefois un complexe monastique, antérieur à l'époque de Matei Basarab, qui aurait inclus les deux églises, Marina et Valea?

Par la suite, il est à retenir un détail présent dans la transcription de l'inscription votive de 1562, à savoir le mot **БОКАН**, intercalé entre le nom de *jupan* Stanislav et la conjonction **И** (et). Le sens de ce mot, tout à fait obscur dans le latin médiéval, devient clair si l'on admet une lecture erronée de l'inscription, erreur favorisée par le caractère à peine lisible de l'ancienne inscription, qui fit que la lettre F soit confondue avec la lettre B. On obtiendrait alors le nom de *Focan*[53], c'est-à-dire le nom d'une famille renommée appartenant au patriciat urbain de Câmpulung. Dans ce cas, la lecture rectifiée serait "Stanislav Focan" ou "Stanislav i Focan" et il en résulterait que le couple de fondateurs des églises Marina et Valea appartenait à la famille Focan.

Au milieu du XVIIe siècle a lieu une seconde restauration de l'église Valea, et l'inscription votive qui l'atteste est conservée aujourd'hui au Musée National de l'Art de Bucarest. Après la démolition du saint lieu, elle fut transférée dans l'enceinte de l'église Marina, où, au début du XXe siècle, la découvre N. Iorga, qui en reproduit sommairement le contenu (la fête patronale et le nom du fondateur)[54]. Induits probablement en erreur par la fête patronale mentionnée dans l'inscription votive (*Vovidenia – fête de la Présentation*), la même que celle de l'église Şubești, les éditeurs du corpus des *Inscripții medievale ale României (Les inscriptions médiévales de Roumanie) București,* l'attribuent de manière arbitraire à cette église-là. L'erreur est écartée si on lit la collection inédite d'inscriptions de Câmpulung cueillies par Aricescu, qui reproduit partiellement l'inscription votive, en la situant correctement à Valea, mais en se trompant dans la lecture de la date, qu'il considère être 1592[55].

[49] Cette tradition se trouve probablement à la base du projet d'une enceinte pour l'église Marina, projet signé par l'architecte Berechet en 1940, mais jamais exécuté (fig. 7).

[50] Ghid 1958, p. 18.

[51] Ils mettent en lumière le rôle de citadelle de la ville que jouaient au XVIIIe siècle l'église Marina et son mur d'enceinte (Greceanu, E., Mulțescu, Al. şi M. 1982, p. 31).

[52] Teodoru, H. 1943, p. 86–90.

[53] La famille Focan est une des plus anciennes et respectables de la ville, qui donna aux XVIIe–XVIIIe siècles de nombreux *județi*. La première attestation connue du nom de Focan à Câmpulung date de 1614 et se réfère à Focan *județul* qui, avec d'autres hobereaux, juge une plainte du *postelnic* Bratu de Bratia (cf. Şucu, I.I. 1984a, p. 94).

[54] Iorga, N. 1908, nr. 276, p. 102.

[55] L'erreur est en quelque sorte excusable, puisque, comme Aricescu avoue lui-même, "la date est effacée, seul le premier chiffre (3) est lisible, les autres sont cachés par le mur", dans Aricescu, C.D. 1854, f. 22.

Le texte de l'inscription, reproduit avec plusieurs lacunes dans le susdit corpus de Bucarest, est le suivant:

"† *Această sf(â)ntă și du(mnezeiască biserică cu hramul) Văvedenie B(ogorodi)ţe*[56] *zidit(ă) de (robul lui Dumnezeu) eu judeţul Gherghina, / s(i)nu Stanciulu.../ strică pomiana lor au întări(t) și .../ tru i procdi*[57]. *Iar cine s-ar ...*"[58] (Cette sainte et divine église ayant comme fête patronale la Présentation de la Vierge, bâtie par le servant de Dieu moi le *judet* Gherghina, fils de Stanciu....que celui qui ne respecte pas leur offrande...et les autres...et celui qui aurait....)

L'inscription votive constitue la première source connue qui présente la fête de *Vovidenia* comme fête patronale de l'église Valea, un autre saint patron, à peu près inconnu, étant S.Nicolas, mentionné ultérieurement par Blasius Kleiner, en 1764[59]. Un détail assez surprenant, que l'on peut remarquer en dépit du caractère lacunaire de l'inscription, c'est la présence dans la section finale d'une malédiction destinée probablement à préserver par-dessus le temps certaines donations faites par les fondateurs. Fréquemment présente dans les documents médiévaux, surtout dans les parchemins princiers, la malédiction finale dans une inscription votive est tout à fait singulière dans le contexte du Câmpulung médiéval. L'unique exemple similaire est offert par la seconde inscription votive du monastère Negru Vodă, posée en 1636 sur les ordres de Matei Basarab et qui, à la fin du passage contenant le privilège fiscal de la ville, contient une brève malédiction – une preuve de plus de l'étroite relation existante entre le monastère et le couple d'églises Marina-Valea.

Le même Aricescu nous aide à compléter une importante section du texte de Valea, en reproduisant le nom correct du fondateur: "(judeţul) Gherghina sin Stanciu iuzbaşa cu soaţa lui Stanca" (*le judeţ Gherghina fils de Stanciu iuzbaşa avec son épouse Stanca)* [60]. Celui-ci pourrait être identifié, à notre avis, au *judeţ* **Gherghina Alfocano**, qui, le 22 juillet 1650, certifiait, en y apposant le sceau de la ville, un acte des catholiques de Câmpulung concernant la vie et le comportement de leur curé, Francesco Maria Spera de Narni[61]. Ce doit être toujours lui Gherghina *judeţul* qui, le 20 mai 1656, atteste la propriété des catholiques de la ville sur le terrain du Cloaşter (le Cloître), en précisant que l'église avait été construite pour leur communauté par la princesse Marghita, épouse de Negru Vodă[62]. Ce Gherghina *judeţul* a occupé la fonction de maire de la ville à plusieurs reprises, pendant presque trois décennies, preuve du grand respect dont il bénéficiait aux yeux de ses concitadins. Attesté la dernière fois comme *judeţ* en 1684[63], il prit l'habit monacal avant 1695 au monastère de Vieroş, en prenant le nom de Ghedeon[64].

[56] *Intrarea în Biserică a Născătoarei de Dumnezeu.*

[57] "et les autres".

[58] *Inscr. Bucureşti*, nr. 582, p. 482.

[59] "La douzième (église) Saint Nicolas, populairement l'église de la Vallée", cf. Georgescu, G. 2000, p. 255.

[60] Aricescu, C. D. 1854, f. 2.

[61] Vârtosu, E. 1965, p. 491, n. 1.

[62] Şucu, I.I. 1984a, p. 97.

[63] *Ibid.*, p. 101.

[64] *Ibid.*, p. 103.

Si cette identification est correcte, cela signifie que la deuxième restauration de l'église Valea, au milieu du XVIIe siècle, est due elle aussi à un membre de la famille Focan. En ce cas, l'homonymie entre *jupan* Stanislav (F)ocan de 1562 et Stanciu *iuzbaşa* (Focan), père du *judeţ* Gherghina, qui ne saurait suggérer en aucune façon une identification des deux, vu leur contexte chronologique, pourrait constituer le signe d'une filiation. On pourrait donc conclure, hypothétiquement, que Gherghina *judeţul* refait le saint lieu en tant que descendent direct des fondateurs de 1562[65].

Malheureusement, le texte de la seconde inscription votive ne conserve plus la date à laquelle fut refaite l'église Valea. Mais, nous considérons qu'à ce sens aussi peut être formulée une hypothèse. En étudiant attentivement les 60 croix votives en pierre de Câmpulung, une croix dressée près de l'ancien Pont des Forgerons, du 5 juin 1662, nous attire l'attention. La croix est placée sous le saint patronage de *Vovidenia*, c'est-à-dire la fête patronale de l'église Valea[66], et les noms qui figurent dans le formulaire de l'inscription sont Stanciu, Dobra, Gherghina, Stanca..., c'est-à-dire les noms qui apparaissent dans la seconde inscription de cette église. Il est bien possible que cette croix ait été élevée par Gherghina *judeţul* et sa famille, sur l'emplacement proche du monastère, pour marquer l'achèvement des travaux de restauration à l'église Valea, ce qui nous permettrait de dater cette restauration autour de l'an 1662. A retenir que c'est justement la même année que fût élevée la croix votive dans la cour de l'église Marina (fig. 4), par Stanciu Poşu et sa famille, apparentée aux Focan[67]. La croix n'est pas vouée à Ste. Marina, comme on s'attendrait, mais à S. Nicolas, l'autre saint patron de l'église voisine, Valea. Etant élevée dans une période où l'église Marina était en ruines, dans le voisinage Sud-Est de l'édifice, la croix était destinée à souligner le caractère sacré du lieu et de marquer peut-être le moment de rétablissement de l'église « sœur » Valea. Coincidence ou non, c'est toujours la même année 1662, le 15 janvier, que le grand trésorier (le futur *Ban*) Mareş Băjescu, originaire de Câmpulung, avec son épouse Maria, refait l'enchâssure de la main de Ste. Marina du monastère Arnota, en vermeil, avec des pierres semi-précieuses[68].

[65] Cette supposition se fonde aussi sur le fait que la parenté entre les anciens et les récents fondateurs d'églises est un phénomène qui se constate à de nombreuses églises du Câmpulung médiéval.

[66] Une seule croix votive de Câmpulung a la même fête patronale, à savoir la croix élevée en 1664/1665 dans l'enceinte de l'église Schei, vouée elle aussi à la fête de *Vovidenia*.

[67] D'un document de donation du 20 septembre 1684, par lequel le domaine de Ţigăneşti, Muscel, était donné au monastère Cotroceni, nous apprenons que les fils de Stanciu Poşu étaient Lazăr le *judeţ* de Câmpulung et le diacre Baciu (Şucu, I.I. 1984b, p. 85). De deux documents de vente ultérieurs (1687, les 7 et 23 février), on apprend que le diacre Baciu, fils de Stanciu Poşu, époux de Cherana, était le cousin de Pană (Focan) *judeţul* et qu'à cette date-là son frère, Lazăr, était déjà décédé (Pârnuţă, Gh., Trâmbaciu, Şt. 1999, p. 338–340).

[68] *Inscr. Bucureşti*, nr. 820, p. p. 600. Six années auparavant, Paul d'Alep notait la présence de la main droite de Sainte Marina, enchâssée en or pur, au monastère Stelea de Târgovişte, lors de la fête de l'Epiphanie (Paul de Alep 2014, p. 251).

Plus de trois décennies après la restauration de l'église Valea, en 1696, l'église Marina, probablement gravement endommagée par le tremblement de terre de 1628[69], fut refaite elle aussi, sous le vocable de la Ste. Martyre Marina[70]. Cette fête patronale est extrêmement rare en Valachie, pour la période médiévale n'étant connues que deux autres exemples encore: l'église des Saints Apôtres et de Ste. Marina de Târgovişte, aujourd'hui disparue[71] et l'église de Ste Vénérable Parascève et Ste Martyre Marina du hameau Valea Bradului, com. Mihăeşti, dép. Argeş. La seconde église, érigée en 1767, est la fondation du protoprêtre de Câmpulung Ioan Crasan et de sa famille (l'épouse Maria, les fils Nica, futur protoprêtre, Preda et Voica) – ouaille, ministre et fondateur de l'église Marina de Câmpulung. Il est intéressant de constater que pour sa fondation de Valea Bradului, le protoprêtre Ioan adopte non seulement le patron, mais aussi l'ancien plan de l'église Marina, de sorte que le nouvel édifice peut être considéré une sorte de réplique de l'ancien lieu de culte de Câmpulung.

L'inscription votive du 20 septembre 1696, encore fonctionnelle (fig. 5), nous apprend que l'église Marina fut restaurée par un *jupan* Barbu, qui lui a fait don de deux lampes à huile en argent et d'un vignoble[72]. Dans la variante de l'inscription reproduite par le recensement ecclésiastique de 1840, après le nom de Barbu apparaît aussi l'adjonction Giurgiuveanu[73], et de l'obituaire ancien, mentionné par Aricescu, on apprend que l'épouse du fondateur se nommait Despa[74]. Dans la version de 1831 de l'obituaire de l'église, après les noms du couple de fondateurs, figurent Zamfira et Dimitrie, probablement les fils des précédents, accompagnés par leurs époux, Preda, respectivement Dobra, et possiblement de leurs enfants Stan, Radu et Dobra[75].

Selon la reconstitution proposée par l'étude E. Greceanu et les époux architectes Mulțescu, qui adaptent la proposition de H. Teodoru de 1943, en 1696, le fondateur a refait le système de recouvrement de l'ancienne église en pierre et a prolongé l'édifice vers l'Ouest par un narthex et par un exonarthex que surmontait un clocher fortifié, pourvu de deux rangées d'orifices pour les tireurs[76]. A la même époque, l'église reçut une nouvelle peinture, qui venait couvrir une couche plus ancienne dont les traces sont encore visibles dans le sanctuaire, au-dessous du

[69] Cf. Greceanu, E., Mulțescu, Al. şi M. 1982, p. 34.

[70] La sainte patronne est mentionnée pour la première fois dans l'inscription votive de 1696, qui s'est conservée jusqu'à nos jours au-dessus de la porte d'entrée dans le narthex.

[71] Voir Stoicescu, N. 1970, p. 645; Moisescu, Cr. 1979, p. 19, 21, 28.

[72] De deux documents, de 1760 et de 1798, on apprend que le vignoble se trouvait à Văleni Podgoria, sur les terres du monastère Radu Vodă et était administré par le protoprêtre Ioan Crasan, puis par son fils, le protoprêtre Nica (cf. Răuțescu I. 2009, p. 286–7).

[73] Răuțescu, I. 1965, p. 878.

[74] Aricescu, C. D. 1854, f. 1v.

[75] La lignée des fondateurs de Marina peut être reconstituée hypothétiquement par la corrélation des deux versions de l'obituaire de l'église (légèrement différentes), celle de 1831, publiée, et celle de 1815, inédite, à partir de laquelle le P. Dudu Velicu reproduit dans ses notes l'obituaire des fondateurs.

[76] Cf. Greceanu, E., Mulțescu, Al. şi M. 1982, p. 27–28.

niveau du plancher, couche qui pût être bien observée lors des travaux de 1898 et de 1989[77]. Gh. I. Cantacuzino décrit les fragments picturaux de 1696, ceux conservés comme tels et ceux découverts au-dessous de la peinture à l'huile de 1898, lors de la restauration de 1989–1990. Sont ainsi mentionnés l'icône de la fête patronale, de l'exonarthex, et le tableau votif (de la première catégorie), respectivement (de la seconde catégorie) le registre des saints debout, au-dessus des stalles, les fragments trouvés sur les colonnes qui soutiennent la coupole du narthex à l'Ouest, ceux des pilastres du côté NE et SO proches de l'iconostase, ainsi qu'une intéressante esquisse de l'église, dessinée sur la couche d'*intonacco* dans une niche du mur Sud du narthex[78].

L'icône de la sainte patronne, trouvée dans l'exonarthex actuel, au-dessus de la porte d'entrée dans l'ancien exonarthex, représente la Sainte Martyre Marina siégeant sur un trône auprès de la Mère de Dieu. Etant donnée la fonctionnalité de cette représentation, nous considérons que cette association suggère qu'outre Sainte Marina, l'église avait encore une fête patronale consacrée à la Mère de Dieu, à notre avis *La Dormition,* la scène respective étant peinte *à fresco* sur le pilastre de NE, tout près de l'iconostase. A ses côtés sont représentés S. Jean Baptiste (sur le même pilastre, dans une variante à l'huile, de la fin du XIXe siècle), *l'Exaltation de la Sainte Croix* et S. Jean l'Evangéliste. Vu l'emplacement de ces quatre représentations, près de l'iconostase, et le fait qu'elles n'appartiennent pas au registre iconographique usuel, on peut penser qu'il s'agisse des quatre fêtes patronales de l'église, illustrant probablement tout autant de restaurations du saint lieu antérieures à celles du XIXe siècle. A remarquer le rapprochement temporel entre la fête de l'Exaltation de la Sainte Croix (le 14 sept) et la date de consécration de l'église en 1696 (le 20 sept), ainsi que la suggestive corrélation entre les deux fils de Zébédée, S. Jean l'Evangéliste (saint patron de Marina) et le Saint Apôtre Jacques le Grand (saint patron de Bărăția)[79].

Une analyse attentive du tableau votif conduit également à une série d'intéressantes observations (fig. 6). Selon le P. Răuțescu, repris ultérieurement par Fl. Mîrțu et C. Bălan, dans le tableau votif de 1696, la maquette de l'église est soutenue à gauche par les *jupans* Barbu et son fils Stoica, secondés par les fils de ce dernier, et par une femme, et à droite par *jupan* Bratu, auprès duquel figurent ses fils et une dame âgée[80]. Nous verrons par la suite que tant la datation, qui ne fut

[77] Le témoignage du P. Bănățeanu me fut récemment confirmé par l'actuel curé de l'église Marina, le P. I. Grigorescu, qui affirme que, lors des travaux de restauration de la peinture entrepris en 1989–1990, il a pu constater personnellement la véridicité de ce fait. J'ai pu à mon tour observer que, dans le sanctuaire, sur les murs de l'abside, au-dessous du niveau du plancher, on peut voir des traces évidentes de couche picturale.

[78] Cantacuzino, Gh. I. 2002, p. 72.

[79] A retenir que parmi les icônes de l'iconostase mentionnées dans l'inventaire des biens de l'église Marina de 1902, situées à droite des portes royales, se trouve également l'icône du Saint Apôtre Jacques avec le Saint Martyr Mina (cf. MCIP DC 1902, f. 3).

[80] Pr. Răuțescu I. 2009, p. 285.

jamais mise en question jusqu'à présent, que l'identité des personnages comportent d'importants correctifs.

Citant le même obituaire ancien, Aricescu mentionne une troisième restauration de l'église Marina, due au couple Stoica-Petca, qu'il situe en 7245 (1736–37), et qui venait après la restauration faite par le couple Barbu-Despa en 1697, qui avait refait l'église incendiée par les Turcs[81]. Une restauration qui survint si peu de temps après la précédente dût être déterminée par un épisode violent de l'histoire du saint lieu et de la ville. Cet épisode est la terrifiante attaque des Turcs qui, en Juillet 1737, ont mis la ville à feu et à sang, épisode décrit par un témoin oculaire dans l'obituaire du monastère Câmpulung. Suite à l'effrayant incident, la ville fut désertée et demeura comme telle pendant 5 années[82], de sorte qu'il est peu probable que justement dans cet intervalle fût refaite l'église Marina. Une notice marginale faite sur un livre de culte de l'église par "le pope Teodor *sin* (fils) du pope Gheorghe Poşu ot *Sveata Muceniţa Marina*" précise que l'église fut peinte en 7254 (1745/46), notice qui nous fournit la date exacte de la restauration.

Les deux versions qui se sont conservées de l'obituaire des fondateurs de Marina nous transmettent la suivante séquence de noms, qui viennent après les noms des fondateurs de 1696: Bratu, Constantin, Maria, Stoica, Petca, Ghinea le hiérodiacre, Stanca la diaconesse[83]. Si on faisait la corrélation entre les données fournies par l'obituaire et par l'analyse attentive du tableau votif[84], on pourrait établir l'identité exacte des personnages. Selon les inscriptions aujourd'hui effacées, la maquette de l'église est soutenue du côté gauche par *jupan* Stoica *judeţul* et du côté droit par *jupan* Bratu. Chacun des deux personnages centraux est secondé symétriquement par deux personnages (et non par plusieurs, comme prétend Răuţescu). Les deux personnages près de *jupan* Bratu, indiqués par "sin ego", doivent être Constantin et Maria, ses enfants, l'absence de l'épouse, tant du tableau que de l'obituaire, indiquant le fait qu'à l'époque il était veuf. Le personnage figuré à droite du *judeţ* Stoica est, selon l'inscription, Petca, son épouse, et l'autre personnage, dont on n'observe pas l'inscription, doit être logiquement leur fils Ghinea, le futur hiérodiacre, et non *jupan* Barbu, tel que Răuţescu le déduit[85]. Comme il n'est pas logiquement possible que le tableau votif mentionne une restauration qui soit postérieure au moment de son exécution, on conclut alors que le tableau n'appartient pas à la restauration de 1696, dont le seul

[81] Aricescu, C. D. 1854, f. 1v.
[82] Răuţescu I. 2009, p. 29–30.
[83] Cristocea, Sp. 2014, p. 27.
[84] A partir des observations directes et des clichés de H. Teodoru et de Fl. Mîrţu.
[85] Sa déduction était d'ailleurs parfaitement logique tant que, en ignorant la restauration de 1746, il considérait le tableau votif peint en 1696. Des données intéressantes quant à la famille du *judeţ* Stoica, dirigeant de la ville à plusieurs reprises entre 1744–1749, nous sont fournies par deux obituaires du XVIIIe siècle: *Pomelnicul lui Ştefan monahul ce s-a numit Stoica judeţul*, sans date, inclus dans l'obituaire du monastère Câmpulung (Cristocea, Sp. 1987, p. 59) et *Pomelnicul diaconului Ghinea sin Ştefan monahul*, 1758, inclus dans l'obituaire de l'église Sf. Gheorghe (cf. Răuţescu I. 2009, p. 250).

fondateur est, selon l'inscription votive, *jupan* Barbu, mais à celle de 1745/46, lorsque le *judeţ* Stoica et un de ses proches parents, *jupan* Bratu, rétablissent l'édifice incendié par les Turcs, en 1737 et non en 1690, tel que le soutient Aricescu.

Une inscription trouvée sur le pilastre Sud-Ouest du narthex, mentionnée par Gh. I. Cantacuzino[86], parle d'une nouvelle intervention sur la peinture du saint lieu, faite en 1765, mais dont l'ampleur est difficile à estimer. Etant inédite, nous la reproduisons intégralement:

"*† Cu ajutoriul lui Dumnezeu zugrăvitu-s-au această eparfie d... ...le care se vede, prin toată userdia şi chieltuiala Sfinţiei Sale Părintele Ioan diacon Purcărea i diaconiţa ego Neacşa i snovi ego Bucur, Ioan, fiind îngropaţi şi părinţii Sfinţiei Sale Ion, Neacşa, 1765 nov 13*". (A l'aide de Dieu fut peinte cette église...que l'on voit, par les soins et aux frais du Révérend Père Ioan diacre Purcărea et la diaconesse *ego* Neacşa et ses fils Bucur, Ioan, là étant enterrés aussi les parents du Père Diacre, Ion, Neacşa, 1765 nov 13".

Un peu plus tard, le 30 juillet 1781, selon le rapport de Gr. Tocilescu, le renommé *zographe* (peintre d'églises) de Câmpulung Şerban le diacre[87] peint l'icône de la Sainte Martyre Marina, probablement une réfection ou une nouvelle variante de l'icône miraculeuse mentionnée en 1764 par Blasius Kleiner[88]. C'est le même qui peignit les 6 icônes de l'église Valea mentionnées par Tocilescu, qui les considère dignes à être exposées dans un futur musée de la ville[89].

La guerre russo-autrichienne-turque de 1788–1790 a mis son empreinte néfaste sur les deux églises Valea et Marina aussi, en y déterminant de nouvelles réfections. Bientôt après 1790, l'église Marina, "brûlée par les Turcs lors de la susdite guerre", fut "refaite avec tout le nécessaire" par ceux qui administraient l'église à l'époque, *hagi* Enciu şi Manole Consoloiu, aidés par d'autres chrétiens aussi[90]. L'église Valea ne le fut qu'en 1803, étape mentionnée par quelques sources de XIXe siècle. Tandis que le recensement des croix et des inscriptions votives de Câmpulung de 1831 mentionne brièvement que l'église fut "refaite par un Iorga *judeţ* de ces lieux" en 1803, en spécifiant qu'il "n'a pas fait une autre inscription votive"[91], en échange, le recensement ecclésiastique de 1840 reproduit le contenu d'une inscription datée avec précision le 24 août 1803. On y mentionne que l'église ayant comme fête patronale *La Présentation*, "abandonnée et abîmée par les Turcs pendant la guerre", fut refaite et rénovée "tant à l'extérieur qu'à l'intérieur et a été

[86] Cantacuzino, Gh. I. 2002, p. 72.

[87] Père des frères zographes Radu le diacre, Ion et le prêtre Constantin, voir Greceanu, O. 2012, p. 209–210.

[88] Cf. Dumitrescu, M. 1972, p. 62; Georgescu, G. 2000, p. 256.

[89] Cf. M Dumitrescu, M. 1972, p. 62.

[90] Cette réfection, très peu connue, est attestée par une pétition que les nouveaux fondateurs adressaient en 1798 à la Métropole de Bucarest et dont le contenu est reproduit dans Răuţescu I. 2009, p. 287. De manière surprenante, celui-ci non plus ne la mentionne lorsqu'il parle des réfections de l'église Marina.

[91] Cf. Răuţescu I. 2009, p. 326.

embellie" par Iorga *judeţul,* sin (fils du) diacre Gheorghe cel Mare[92]. Aricescu à son tour affirme que l'église fut rénovée et peinte par les soins de Iorga *judeţul* et de son épouse Maria[93], tandis que de l'inscription palimpseste de 1858, qui place bizarrement la réfection en 1829, il en résulte qu'à côté de Iorga *judeţul*, à la restauration de l'édifice ait contribué également Apostol le logothète[94]. Une pétition des habitants de ce quartier, de 1848/1850, adressée au Tribunal de Muscel, offre d'autres détails intéressants. Selon ce document, l'église fut bâtie par les soins de Iorga *judeţul*, qui lui fit don d'un pâturage à Stoeneşti, de quelques serfs au-delà de la rivière et de quelques lopins de terre à Racoviţa, le logothète Apostol donnant 700 lei pour le mur d'enceinte de l'église[95].

Le principal fondateur de l'église Valea, Iorga, *judeţ* et *mazil*, était, selon le recensement de 1840, le fils du diacre Gheorghe cel Mare (Bogatu) et de son épouse Ilinca, fondateurs de l'église de Vişoi, édifiée en 1774. Il a rempli la fonction de dirigeant de la ville à plusieurs reprises entre 1786–1807. Le sondage archéologique effectué par Fl. Mîrţu en 1969 sur les lieux de l'église disparue Valea, a découvert sa tombe dans la zone Sud du narthex ; il mourut, paraît-il, en 1830, tel que l'atteste la monnaie ottomane trouvée à la phalange de son annulaire droit.

Certes, la pièce d'inventaire la plus importante, découverte à la phalange du médius droit, est un sceau annulaire en argent, de fabrication probablement transylvaine, ayant 10,3 g, au chaton rond de 2 cm en diamètre faisant corps commun avec la bague, ayant été coulés ensemble. Selon la description de Fl. Mîrţu, le sceau fait partie de la catégorie des sceaux héraldiques, sur le champ duquel on peut observer les suivantes: un écu central, de type ovale, caractéristique au style rococo de la seconde moitié du XVIIIe siècle, meublé par la représentation d'un corbeau prêt à s'envoler, les armoiries du Câmpulung médiéval, et au-dessus, en chiffres arabes, l'an 1810; les supports de l'écu sont un lion rampant, à droite, la langue dehors et la queue dressée, et une palmette stylisée à gauche; dans la partie supérieure du champ, vers les extrémités et dans la partie inférieure de la zone centrale sont incisées en caractères roumano-cyrilliques, І Ѡ Р ѦС Г, qui, selon Mîrţu, dans une lecture complète pourraient être IORG(A) S(UDEŢ), c'est-à-dire le nom et la dignité du titulaire; le champ sigillaire est timbré, entre les lettres І Ѡ, par une couronne nobiliaire ouverte, qui surmonte l'écu[96]. Dans le Câmpulung médiéval, au temps du règne de Matei Basarab, on peut trouver deux antécédents typologiques de cet anneau sigillaire, à savoir les anneaux sigillaires du pope Sima (1645) et du marchand Manta Malama (1640), une différence importante qui s'observe dans ces deux cas étant déterminée par la présence symétrique de deux lions rampants au lieu d'un seul, dans le cas du sceau de Iorga *judeţul*.

[92] Cf. *ibid.*, p. 326.
[93] Aricescu, C. D. 1854, f. 2.
[94] *Inscr. Muscel*, Anexa VI, f. 2306.
[95] Pr. Răuţescu I. 2009, p. 327.
[96] Mîrţu, Fl. 1970b, p. 436–7.

Le second fondateur, Apostol le logothète, figure dans le recensement de la ville de 1838 en tant qu'habitant du quartier Schei, âgé de 70 ans[97]. *Mazil* et fils du *judeţ* Savu[98], il appartenait à l'ancienne famille des Fundeşti[99] et se situait dans la descendance d'importants *judeţi* de la ville, étant le petit-fils d'Ivan Fundea (*judeţ* entre 1728–1732) et l'arrière-petit-fils de Cârstea (*judeţ* entre 1694–1713)[100]. Il fut marié deux fois, la première avec la fille du *judeţ* Manta Gogu, qui lui donna deux fils, Ilie et Nicolae, et la deuxième fois avec la veuve du *postelnic* Gheorghe, devenant ainsi le beau-père du renommé marchand de Câmpulung Nicolae Gheorghiu[101]. Son fils Ilie Apostescu, habitant du quartier Valea, est fondateur de l'église Schei, à laquelle il fit ajouter l'exonarthex en 1854, et bienfaiteur de l'église Marina, à laquelle il fit don d'un pâturage à Hodor (Măţău)[102] et dans l'exonarthex de laquelle il fut enseveli, le 8 janvier 1856[103]. C'est au fils cadet du logothète Apostol, le logothète Nicolae, qu'on doit la dernière réfection de l'église Valea, en 1858, attestée par l'inscription votive palimpseste, qui décrit ces travaux, achevés le 2 septembre: l'église fut alors couverte de tôle, l'exonarthex construit à neuf et à cela s'ajoutèrent la grande cloche reçue comme donation ainsi que deux bergeries[104].

Moins de cinq décennies après la dernière réfection, l'existence de l'église Valea fut brutalement interrompue par la mode néfaste de démolition des saints lieux, qui sévissait vers la fin du XIXe siècle et le début du XXe et à laquelle sont tombées victimes à Câmpulung trois autres églises encore. Par l'action corroborée de l'architecte de la ville et du protoprêtre D. Ionescu-Mirea, avec l'accord de la Métropolie et de la Mairie, l'automne de 1902, la petite église "aux murs très solides" fut abattue. On enterrait ainsi, au propre et au figuré, presque six siècles d'histoire riche et ininterrompue. Les raisons invoquées sont éloquentes pour la mentalité de l'époque: restée sans curé, l'église était fermée depuis longtemps, les ouailles allant à d'autres églises voisines, de sorte que le Conseil d'administration la déclara exclue du budget de la Mairie[105]. Le P. Răuţescu, qui décrit les circonstances de la démolition de l'église, note qu'au mois de septembre de cette année-là, le P. N. Scărlătescu de Goleştii Badii sollicitait pour la nouvelle église que l'on construisait au village la grande cloche et les icônes de S. Georges et de S. Nicolas de l'église Valea de Câmpulung[106]. Il s'agissait probablement de deux

[97] Cristocea, Sp., Trâmbaciu, Şt. 2007, p. 70.

[98] Mitrice Sf. Ilie, nr. I, f. 1.

[99] Mentionné pour la première fois dans un document de 1568 (Pâmuţă, Gh., Trâmbaciu, Şt. 1999, p. 155–6), la famille Fundea figure en tant que *moş* no. 2 dans la Liste des *moşneni* de Câmpulung de 1846 (Răuţescu I. 2009, p. 398).

[100] Şucu, I.I. 1984b, p. 279.

[101] Prim. Cl., f. I.

[102] Cf. MCIP D C 1902, f. 6.

[103] L'enregistrement de son décès est fait à l'église Valea, cf. Mitrice Valea. f. 12v.

[104] *Inscr. Muscel*, Anexa VI, f. 2306.

[105] Răuţescu I. 2009, p. 328–9.

[106] *Ibid.*, p. 329.

valeureuses icônes royales de l'iconostase et, comme S. Nicolas était un des saints patrons de l'église, on peut supposer la même chose pour S. Georges, d'autant plus que deux des fondateurs de Valea l'avaient comme saint patron: les *judeţi* Gherghina et Iorga.

Quelques corrélations inattendues entre les églises Marina et Valea, respectivement entre les fondateurs et les desservants, peuvent être découvertes si l'on analyse du point de vue généalogique les informations fournies par les recensements ecclésiastiques de 1810, 1832, 1840. On apprend ainsi qu'à Marina fonctionnaient en 1810 deux représentants de la famille Fundea, parents du logothète Apostol, le fondateur de Valea, à savoir le pope Ghinea, fils du pope Ioan, 50 ans, et le Diacre Nicolae, fils du pope Ştefan, 32 ans[107]. Plus tard, en 1832, on y trouve les prêtres Docsache, fils de Dinu et Gheorghe Badea[108], au dernier étant attribuée par erreur la fondation de l'école de peinture "de la ruelle de la vallée", école où avait étudié dans son enfance le renommé peintre I. D. Negulici[109]. Le prêtre Docsache appartenait, selon la liste des *moşneni* de 1846, à la famille Fundea, étant, selon les documents de l'époque, le fils du tailleur Dinu Broz, détail très intéressant si l'on pense que le hypocoristique Broz, dérivé d'Ambrosius[110], est un nom caractéristique à la communauté catholique de Câmpulung, rencontré dans les documents dès le début du XVIIe siècle[111].

Selon le recensement de 1810, à l'église Valea fonctionnaient comme prêtres les frères Savu et Constantin, les fils du diacre Gherghina, de 40, respectivement 50 ans, cousins germains du logothète Apostol, le fondateur de l'église. A leurs côtés, et habitant tout près de l'église, officiait aussi le diacre Nicolae Scuturici, de 45 ans, fils du prêtre Teodor Poşu de l'église Marina, de 1746, et arrière-grand-père paternel de l'architecte Dimitrie Ionescu-Berechet. Il descendait de la famille de Stanciu Poşu – celui qui, en 1662, avait élevé la croix votive dans l'enceinte de

[107] Voinea, V. I. 1976, p. 878.

[108] Cristocea, Sp. 1974, p. 728.

[109] L'information est introduite dans le circuit scientifique par Lucia Dracopol-Ispir (Dracopol-Ispir, L. 1939, p. 25–26), signataire d'une monographie consacrée au peintre Negulici, information reprise ultérieurement par O. Greceanu aussi (Greceanu, O. 2012, p. 204). En invoquant le témoignage de N. B. Iorgulescu, habitant de Câmpulung, l'auteur de la monographie situe les débuts de l'école en 1822 et évoque les frères zographes Ioan et Radu, les fils du diacre Şerban le zographe, duquel aurait appris le petit Negulici l'art de l'icône. Premièrement, les documents de l'époque nous renseignent que le prêtre Gh. Badea, originaire de Câmpulung, s'était établi depuis son enfance à Bucarest, où il avait été ordonné prêtre, et n'était revenu à Câmpulung qu'en 1831, fuyant la peste qui sévissait dans la capitale (Răuţescu I. 2009, p. 290), date à laquelle le peintre Negulici, arrivé déjà à l'âge adulte, avait quitté la ville natale. Deuxièmement, tel que justement note V. Drăguţ (Drăguţ, V. 1976, p. 98), les deux fils du diacre Şerban ont travaillé à Câmpulung à la fin du XVIIIe siècle, et après 1800 ne sont plus mentionnés par aucune source connue.

[110] Cf. Ciocîltan, Al. 2007, p. 164.

[111] Dans un document émis en 1630 par des Sachs de Câmpulung à l'adresse des boyards Lereşti, pour un moulin, figure aussi Gheorghe, fils de Broz le Sachs, cousin de Petru Sasu, le fils de Dumitru Ţirvişul et *judeţ* de la ville (cf. Iorga, N. 1901, p. 274).

Marina –, était le filleul du protoprêtre Nica Crasan, proche parent du prêtre Savu susmentionné et, selon les documents de *Obştea moşnenilor*, faisait partie de la famille du diacre Gheorghe Bogatu, étant donc apparenté à Iorga *judeţul*, fondateur de l'église, en 1803. Le lien du diacre Nicolae Scuturici avec l'église Marina est souligné aussi par le fait que dans la dernière partie de sa vie il avait fonctionné à cette église, tel que nous le présente le recensement de 1832.

Le recensement de 1840 consigne aussi les noms des nouveaux fondateurs de Marina, étroitement liés par des liens de parenté, à savoir: le *pitar* Gheorghe Anghel (petit-fils du protoprêtre Ioan Crasan), Nicolae Nicolau (fils du diacre Nicolae Scuturici), Petrache Crasan (petit-fils du protoprêtre Nica et beau-frère de N. Nicolau) et Ioniţă Argeşeanu (membre de la famille Crasan)[112]. L'existence de l'église Marina a continué et continue de nos jours encore, connaissant plusieurs transformations, à la fin du XIXe siècle, en 1897–98, puis dans la période d'entre les deux guerres, en 1938–1939, auxquelles sont venues s'ajouter des réparations et restaurations ultérieures.

A la fin de notre communication, nous pouvons observer la manière dont la tradition locale concernant les débuts de l'église Marina de Câmpulung peut révéler bien d'aspects inconnus si nous l'analysons à la lumière des sources connues ou récemment découvertes. Les mêmes sources, considérées en corrélation, peuvent rendre témoignage du lien étroit qui unissait l'église Marina et l'église Valea, aujourd'hui disparue, lien manifesté par la proximité et l'alignement des deux édifices dans l'axe EO et déterminé tant par le fait que leurs desservants et leurs fondateurs appartenaient au même groupe de familles apparentées, que par leur fonctionnalité commune dans un ensemble disparu depuis longtemps. En reprenant en quelque sorte le desideratum formulé par les architectes Mulţescu et E. Greceanu en 1982, il s'impose qu'à l'avenir soient initiées des recherches systématiques – archéologiques, architecturales et iconographiques – visant l'église Marina et, dans la mesure du possible, dans le site de l'église disparue Valea, afin d'éclairer davantage le passé remarquable de ces deux églises "sœurs".

[112] Răuţescu I. 2009 p. 291.

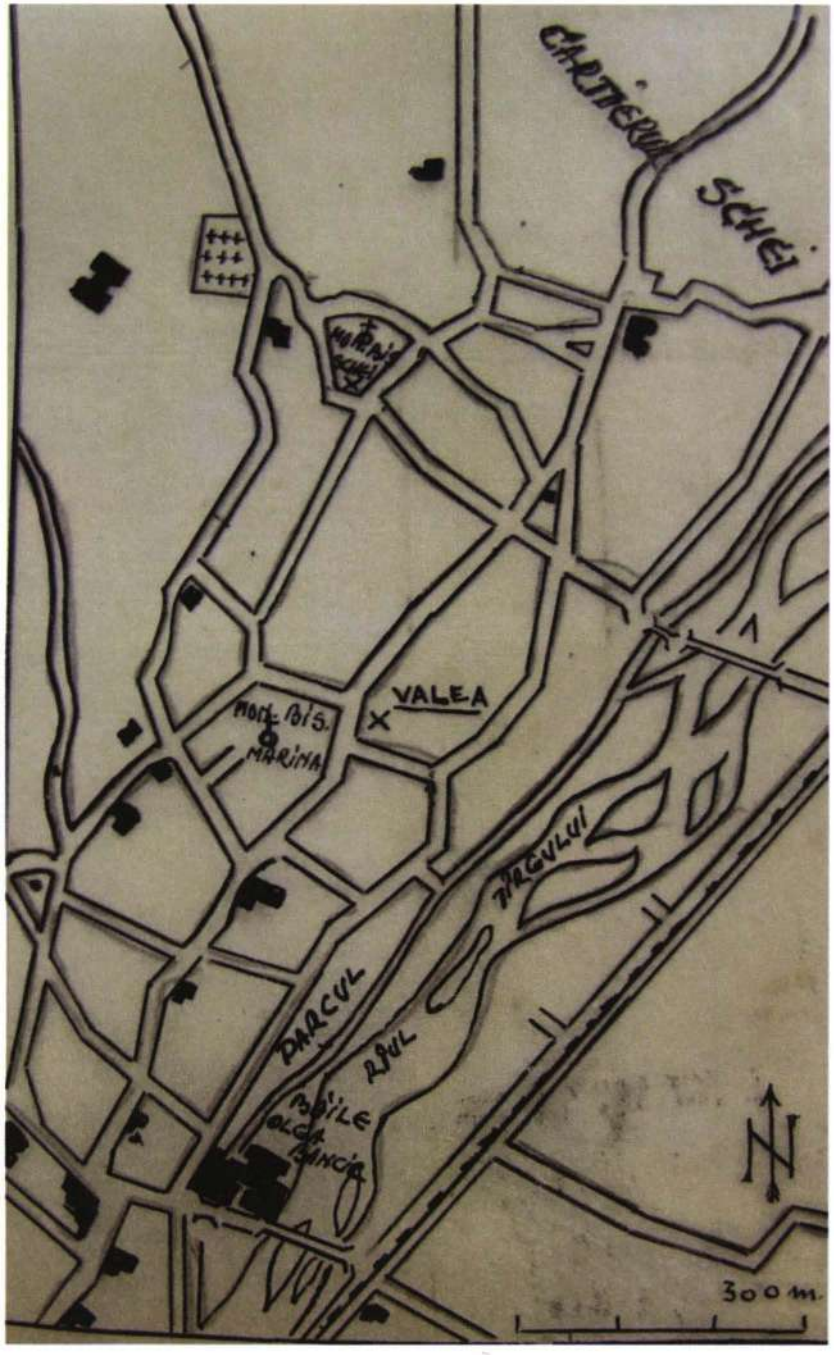

Fig. 1. Plan de situation avec localisation des deux églises Marina et Valea, 1968 (collection Fl. Mîrţu).

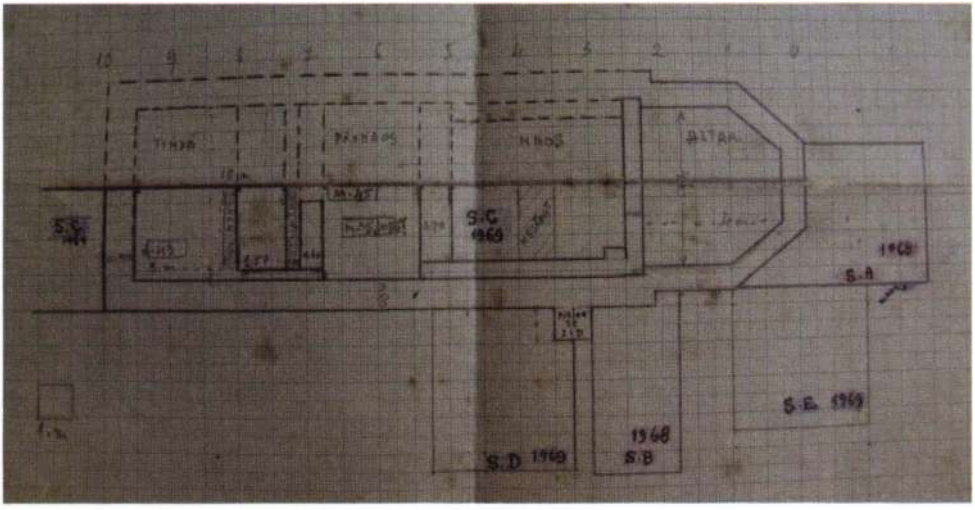

Fig. 2. Relèvement de l'ancienne église Valea et des fouilles archéologiques de 1968–1969 (collection Fl. Mîrţu).

Fig. 3. L'inscription votive *palimpseste* de l'église Valea, 1562/1858, Musée municipal de la ville de Câmpulung-Muscel (cliché de la collection Fl. Mîrţu).

Fig. 4. La croix votive de pierre de l'enceinte de l'église Marina, 1661–1662.

Fig. 5. L'inscription votive de l'église Marina, du 20 septembre 1696, au-dessus de la porte d'accès de l'exonarthex dans le narthex.

Fig. 6. Le tableau votif de l'église Marina, vers 1737–1746, fresque, mur ouest du narthex (cliché de la collection Fl. Mîrţu).

Fig. 7. L'église Marina: Enceinte, façade principale, plan 1:100 (projet non exécuté), architecte D. Ionescu-Berechet, vers 1939–1940 (collection Şt. Ionescu-Berechet).

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ABREVIATIONS

ANIC : Arhivele Naționale ale României, Direcția Centrală
BAR : Biblioteca Academiei Române
CRSC : Colecția Registre de Stare Civilă
DIR : *Documente privind istoria României*, București
MCIP : Ministerul Cultelor și Instrucțiunii Publice

IDENTITÉS RÉGIONALES ET COMMUNAUTÉS RELIGIEUSES DANS L'EMPIRE BYZANTIN AUX VIIIe–XIe SIÈCLES[1]

ANDREI TIMOTIN

Introduction

Le présent travail a pour objectif l'étude de la dimension religieuse des identités régionales dans l'Empire byzantin dans la période qui va de la fin du premier iconoclasme à la pénétration turque dans l'Empire (VIIIe–XIe siècles). Il est fondé sur des sources hagiographiques méso-byzantines dont l'analyse est susceptible de mettre en lumière la fonction de vecteur identitaire de l'hagiographie, son rôle dans la préservation et la promotion du sentiment d'appartenance régionale et religieuse dans une communauté donnée[2].

La variété ethnique et religieuse de l'Empire byzantin représente à la fois un héritage de l'Antiquité tardive et une conséquence de la reconfiguration des frontières de l'Empire à la suite des pertes et des reconquêtes successives de territoires (le nord de la Syrie, l'Anatolie d'ouest, la Crète, les Cyclades, etc.) dans la seconde moitié du premier millénaire, reconfiguration qui a modifié la carte démographique et religieuse de ces régions. Ces transformations ont mené, d'une part, à une remise en question de l'Orthodoxie et de ses rapports avec les particularités religieuses des régions reconquises (la Syrie, une partie de l'Arménie)[3], et d'autre part, à l'élaboration d'une stratégie de préservation des identités ethniques et religieuses des populations de ces territoires. Les reconfigurations des frontières sont doublées des déplacements de populations qui peuvent être, également, le résultat des choix familiaux ou individuels: études, carrière, pèlerinage. À une échelle réduite, ces déplacements peuvent favoriser aussi l'apparition des solidarités régionales et, le cas échéant, des particularités religieuses dans le nouveau cadre géographique et social.

En prenant l'hagiographie comme outil d'étude des identités ethniques et religieuses, nous essayons de mettre en lumière la manière dont ce genre littéraire contribue à l'organisation et à la consolidation d'une communauté locale à une période où il n'y a pas encore des canonisations officielles – celles-ci n'apparaissent

[1] Ce travail a été réalisé dans le cadre d'une bourse postdoctorale du programme POSDRU à l'Institut d'Histoire "Nicolae Iorga" dans la période 2010–2012.

[2] Pour une époque plus récente, voir, par exemple, Colin 2010.

[3] Voir Dagron 1976, 177–216.

pas à Byzance avant le XIVe siècle[4] –, à la définition et à la promotion des identités régionales et religieuses. Dans cette perspective, qui prend en compte le contexte et les raisons justifiant la rédaction d'une *vita*, le public auquel elle s'adresse et les objectifs immédiats de son auteur[5], l'hagiographie n'est plus comprise comme un réflexe littéraire d'une communauté déjà constituée, mais comme le catalyseur d'une identité locale, comme un moyen de préservation et de promotion de cette identité[6]. Les réactions de l'Église à ces formes non-officielles de religiosité locale, la manière dont elle parvient à contrôler ces communautés, leur vie religieuse et son expression littéraire sont également analysées dans cette recherche qui utilise les méthodes et les instruments de l'histoire sociale et politique et de l'histoire littéraire et religieuse.

Le cadre chronologique se situe entre la fin du premier iconoclasme (en 787, avec le second concile de Nicée), époque de renouveau pour le genre hagiographique qui connaît alors un essor remarquable en relation notamment avec la préoccupation officielle d'honorer les héros du combat anti-iconoclaste[7], et la bataille de Mantzikert (1071), à la suite de laquelle les Byzantins ont perdu leur autorité sur l'Arménie et sur une bonne partie de l'Anatolie au détriment des Turcs Seldjoukides, événement qui a marqué de manière décisive la carte politique et démographique de l'Empire.

Les plus importantes communautés ethniques et religieuses qui font l'objet de cette recherche sont les Arméniens et les Juifs. L'histoire des communautés arméniennes de l'Empire byzantin, à partir notamment de la fin du IXe siècle, date de leur implantation massive dans l'Empire, n'est pas inconnue. Moins connues sont pourtant les stratégies mises en place par ces communautés pour préserver leur identité ethnique et religieuse. La *Vie de Marie la Jeune* (Xe siècle) représente un bon exemple de promotion de l'identité arménienne en Thrace, avec le soutien des descendants d'une famille appartenant à l'aristocratie arménienne locale à moitié grécisée. La réponse de l'Orthodoxie constantinopolitaine à la recolonisation massive des Arméniens dans l'Empire, à la suite de la *reconquista* de Basile II (976–1025), transparaît, par exemple, dans la polémique théologique anti-arménienne engagée au XIe siècle par Nicétas Sthétatos, le disciple de Syméon le Nouveau Théologien[8].

L'histoire des communautés juives de l'Empire byzantin a fait l'objet également de nombreuses publications, mais les sources hagiographiques méso-byzantines

[4] Cf. Beck 1959, 274 et n. I, avec bibliographie; A. M. Talbot, *Canonization*, *ODB*, I, 372. L'Occident médiéval présente *de jure* une situation différente, mais *de facto* largement analogue: la plupart des centaines de saints qui font leur apparition entre le XIIe et le XVe siècle n'a pas été canonisée par l'Église catholique; voir Kleinberg 1989.

[5] Voir Timotin 2012. En général sur cette problématique dans la littérature byzantine, voir Odorico 2006.

[6] Cette analyse complète et utilise nos études antérieures sur l'hagiographie méso-byzantine; voir Timotin 2010.

[7] Sur l'hagiographie méso-byzantine, voir Loparev 1913–1915; Bréhier 1916, 358–367, 450–465; Patlagean 1981, 88–105; Rydén 1986, 537–554; Lackner 1986, 523–536; Pratsch 2005; Efthymiadis 2011; Efthymiadis 2012.

[8] Cf. Michel 1935. Voir aussi Grumel 1956.

sont susceptibles d'améliorer notre connaissance sur l'impact social et psychologique de la politique impériale sur ces communautés, en relation aussi avec la polémique anti-judaïque et avec les tensions eschatologiques de cette période.

Au niveau des solidarités régionales, le présent travail réserve une place importante aux Paphlagoniens. De cette région se recrutent de nombreuses figures importantes de cette période, et notamment les eunuques de la cour impériale. La Cappadoce représente également un réservoir important de solidarités régionales et religieuses, qui trouvent, par exemple, une expression littéraire dans la *Vie d'Irène de Chrysobalanton* (Xe siècle). Dans la seconde moitié du IXe siècle, l'élite cléricale des Cyclades se déplace vers Thessalonique, où on la retrouve regroupée, par exemple, autour du monastère de Saint-Étienne (*Vie de Théodora de Thessalonique*, IXe siècle).

La carte dessinée par cette analyse n'est pas une simple carte des déplacements démographiques, mais une carte des communautés régionales (et, le cas échéant, ethniques) et religieuses dont on conserve l'identité dans les sources hagiographiques de l'époque. Abordée dans cette perspective, l'hagiographie nous permet de comprendre comment ces communautés allogènes réagissent aux modifications politiques et démographiques, comment elles se recomposent dans des contextes sociaux et politiques nouveaux. Elle nous permet de proposer une définition dynamique des identités régionales et religieuses, définition dont le point de départ n'est pas la mobilité démographique, mais l'initiative locale de promotion d'une communauté, son expression littéraire et religieuse. En même temps, l'hagiographie méso-byzantine nous permet d'analyser la manière dont l'Orthodoxie constantinopolitaine se redéfinit constamment pendant cette période par rapport à la mobilité démographique et à ces initiatives locales.

I. Familles monastiques. De Galatie et des Cyclades vers Thessalonique[9]

Thessalonique, deuxième grande ville de l'Empire byzantin, représente, au IXe siècle, un pôle de stabilité vers lequel se dirigent des groupes de population, notamment des îles de la mer Égée, contraints à s'exiler à la suite des conflits militaires arabo-byzantins et byzantino-bulgares. Avant le sac de la ville, en 904, Thessalonique est une ville prospère, grâce en particulier au commerce avec les Bulgares, auquel s'ajoute le commerce fluvial[10]. Cette prospérité économique a donné lieu à un essor urbain sans précédent qui se reflète, entre autres, dans l'édification de nouveaux monastères et églises, comme ceux fondés par Grégoire Décapolite et par le moine géorgien Hilarion, et dans l'étendue des propriétés monastiques à l'extérieur des murs de la ville[11].

[9] Une première version de ce chapitre a été publiée sous le titre *Couvents privés et saints locaux à Thessalonique à la fin du IXe siècle*, dans É. Malamut, M. Ouerfelli (éd.), *Villes méditerranéennes au Moyen Âge*, Aix-en-Provence, 2014, 257–262.

[10] Cf. Odorico 2005 a, 63–64; Malamut 2005, 182–184.

[11] Malamut 2005, 166–170 et 184–188.

Le phénomène est doublé par la prolifération remarquable des fondations religieuses privées dans l'empire notamment pendant le règne de Léon VI (886–912) dont la législation – en particulier les *Novelles* 14 et 15 – témoigne de la dissémination à large échelle des couvents privés (monastères, églises et chapelles)[12]. Cette prolifération coïncide, et ce n'est pas un hasard, avec l'aristocratisation progressive du monachisme et, partant, de la sainteté au cours du IXe siècle, en particulier après le triomphe de l'Orthodoxie. Au IXe siècle, les saints appartiennent souvent par naissance à la haute aristocratie byzantine et les relations qu'ils entretiennent avec le pouvoir séculier s'expliquent par leur proximité de lignage, de niveau social et d'éducation[13]. À Thessalonique, ce nouveau modèle de sainteté est encore en compétition avec le modèle ancien, des grands ascètes de l'Antiquité, et la concurrence entre les modèles de sainteté est doublée par celle entre les modèles de monachisme, anachorétique et cénobitique. Cette concurrence est filtrée par l'attitude de l'autorité ecclésiastique, et il serait intéressant de suivre ses effets sur la tension qui s'installe entre la hiérarchie séculière et la hiérarchie ecclésiastique dans la distribution locale du pouvoir[14].

Euthyme le Jeune et Théodora de Thessalonique sont deux exemples de saints dont la promotion a lieu à Thessalonique à la fin du IXe siècle. Leurs monastères respectifs, Saint-Étienne le Diacre, à l'ouest de Sainte-Sophie, et Péristéra, à proximité de la ville (une vingtaine de km à l'est), accueillent les translations des reliques de Théodora, en 894, et d'Euthyme le Jeune, en 899, et sont à l'origine de leurs hagiographies.

À la différence d'autres vies contemporaines de saints, la *Vie d'Euthyme le Jeune* (*BHG* 655) donne beaucoup d'informations chronologiques et topographiques exactes sur la vie du saint[15]. Euthyme, ou Nicétas, d'après son nom séculier, est né en Galatie, dans le village Opsô, près d'Ancyre, en 823, et s'inscrit dans une série de saints méso-byzantins originaires de Galatie dont le rayonnement dépasse leur région de provenance. De Galatie proviennent également le célèbre Théodore de Sykéôn, au VIe siècle, Jean le Psichaïte, né vers 760, et le contemporain d'Euthyme, Évariste le Stoudite[16].

Euthyme se marie en 840 avec Euphrosyne et il a une fille, Anastasô. Peu de temps après, en 841 ou en 842, il part pour l'Olympe de Bithynie, où il prend l'habit monastique et où il reste jusqu'en 858 ou 859, quand il s'en va au mont Athos. Ici il passe trois ans au fond d'une grotte, période pendant laquelle les autres

[12] *Les Novelles de Léon VI le Sage*, 55–61 (§ 14–15). Sur la dévotion privée à cette époque, voir Patlagean 1985, 609–610.

[13] Voir Ringrose 1976, 98–131, 188–189; Patlagean 1981.

[14] Sur les rapports entre les évêques, en particulier, et le pouvoir central à cette époque, voir l'analyse de Moulet 2011, 182–210.

[15] Petit 1903, 155–205, et pour l'édition, 168–205; Papachryssanthou 1974, 225–245.

[16] *Vie de Théodore de Sykéôn* Festugière 1970, 3, § 3, lignes 1–3); *Vie de Jean le Psichaïte* (Van den Ven 1902, 104, § 2, ligne 28); *Vie d'Évariste Stoudite* (Van der Vorst 1923, 296, § 2, lignes 32–33). Cf. Malamut 1993, 61.

membres de la famille prennent aussi l'habit monastique. En 863, il retourne au mont Olympe pour chercher son ancien maître, Théodore, qui meurt peu après et est inhumé à Thessalonique. Euthyme se rend alors à Thessalonique, il passe peu de temps sur une colonne à proximité de la ville, il est ordonné prêtre, puis il retourne en 864 au mont Athos. En 867, à la suite d'une vision, il reconstruit l'ancienne église de Saint-André à Péristéra, à proximité de Thessalonique où il fonde un *koinobion* et s'y installe. En 875, il y tonsure son disciple et future biographe, Basile, et en 884 sa famille vient s'installer à Péristéra. Il construit un nouvel couvent pour les femmes. Vers 890, Euthyme confie la direction de Péristéra à son petit-fils, Méthode, et celle du couvent de femmes à sa petite-fille, Euphémie. Après un séjour à l'Athos, il se retire dans l'île de Hiéra, où il tombe malade et meurt en 898. Son corps est apporté solennellement à Thessalonique, et déposé dans le couvent de Péristéra, en janvier 899, où il fera l'objet d'un culte. La *Vie* d'Euthyme fut rédigée, au Xe siècle, par son disciple, Basile, évêque suffragant de la métropole de Thessalonique[17].

Nous voudrions nous arrêter ici sur trois aspects du parcours anthume et posthume d'Euthyme: d'abord, l'alternance entre le modèle érémitique et le modèle cénobitique dans sa vie monastique; puis, la dimension patronale et familiale du monachisme promu par Euthyme et son effet sur son culte et sur son hagiographie; enfin, le rapport de l'autorité ecclésiastique locale avec le culte naissant. On sait bien aujourd'hui que l'hagiographie byzantine témoigne aux IXe–Xe siècles d'une compétition entre la vie érémitique et le cénobitisme[18]. Le statut d'ermite, sans jamais disparaître, tend en effet à devenir une étape provisoire, une sorte d'épreuve à laquelle le jeune moine est soumis une fois passé son noviciat. L'entrelacement entre les deux modèles attesté par la *Vie d'Euthyme* se retrouve dans les vies de plusieurs saints de la même période: Étienne le Jeune, Paul de Latros, Athanase d'Athos, etc[19]. La vie communautaire prévaut dans tous ces cas sur l'idéal anachorétique.

Cette tendance vers le communautarisme dans le monachisme byzantin va de pair avec la propension vers l'insertion de la famille dans le *koinobion* et vers le patronage monastique. La présence de la famille du saint dans le monastère est un autre trait caractéristique du monachisme méso-byzantin[20]. Les membres des familles de Philarète le Miséricordieux et de Marie la Jeune prennent l'habit monastique et s'impliquent dans la promotion du culte de leurs parents et dans la composition de leurs hagiographies. Ils s'impliquent également dans la construction ou la réfection des monastères qui deviennent des couvents familiaux. Le cas d'Euthyme, fondateur du monastère de Péristéra qui recevra ses reliques et du

[17] Papachryssanthou 1974, 234, 245.

[18] Voir Papachryssanthou 1973, 158–180; Kazhdan 1985, 473–487; Flusin 1993. Pour la Sicile et l'Italie méridionale, voir Guillou 1963.

[19] Voir Kazhdan 1985, 476–477; Flusin 1993, 34–35, 41–45.

[20] Voir Patlagean 1981; Talbot 1996 a; Flusin 1993, 48–49. Pour Thessalonique, en particulier, voir Malamut 2005, 185–186.

couvent de femmes qui reçoit ses parentes s'inscrit très bien dans ce modèle. Son petit-fils est l'higoumène du monastère au moment de sa mort et s'implique activement dans la translation des reliques et dans la promotion de son culte. Enfin, son disciple est l'évêque suffragant de Thessalonique et, en cette qualité, un promoteur important du culte d'Euthyme dont il compose d'ailleurs la *Vie*.

Le cas de Théodora de Thessalonique (*BHG* 1737, 1739) présente un parallèle très suggestif de ce modèle, avec pourtant quelques différences notables[21]. Théodora est née en 812, dans l'île d'Égine, ravagée par les assauts des Arabes en 826. Sa mère étant décédée à sa naissance et sa sœur mourant prématurément, elle se réfugie, avec son époux – un notable du lieu – et son beau-père, à Thessalonique. En choisissant la ville de Thessalonique comme lieu de son exil, la famille de Théodora prend la même route que beaucoup d'autres insulaires qui se sont réfugiés pendant tout le IXe siècle à Thessalonique[22]. Le père de Théodora, un *prôtopresbyteros* de la cathédrale d'Égine[23], prend l'habit monastique et se réfugie dans un monastère. Perdant son mari et deux de ses trois enfants, Théodora devient, à vingt-cinq ans, moniale au couvent de Saint-Étienne à Thessalonique où elle emporta ses biens et dont l'abbesse, Anne, est sa parente[24]. Sa sœur, Catherine, est l'abbesse d'un autre couvent de Thessalonique, le monastère de Saint-Luc[25], où vit aussi la seule fille de Théodora restée en vie, Théopistè, qu'elle va s'arranger pour transférer dans son monastère après la mort de Catherine. Le frère de Théodora, Antoine, ex-évêque de Dyrrachium, en exil au moment de leur arrivée à Thessalonique, est archevêque de Thessalonique en 843[26]. Il jouit d'une réputation de sainteté et l'hagiographe de Théodora lui consacre huit chapitres de la *Vie* (§ 10–18). L'hagiographe, Grégoire, est lui aussi originaire de l'île d'Égine et, avec son père, fait partie du groupe de prêtres qui participent à la translation des reliques de Théodora dans une tombe individuelle en dehors de la tombe commune du couvent. La guérison de sa sœur par Théodora lui donnera, d'après son propre témoignage, seulement l'impulsion nécessaire pour mettre par écrit une histoire à laquelle il participait depuis longtemps déjà. Il rédige le récit de la *Vie de Théodora* et de ses *Miracles* pour les présenter à l'assemblée réunie au couvent de Saint-Étienne le jour de la célébration de la sainte, le 29 août 894.

[21] Pour la *Vie de Théodora de Thessalonique*, voir Paschalidès 1991, 66–235 pour l'édition du texte. Une traduction anglaise, accompagnée de notes et d'une introduction, est accessible dans Talbot 1996 b, 164–237.

[22] Voir Malamut 1988, 63, 82.

[23] Paschalidès 1991, 70, chap. 3.

[24] Paschalidès 1991, 104–106, chap. 20. Sur l'emplacement de l'ancien monastère de Saint-Étienne, plus tard le couvent de Sainte-Théodora dont les reliques sont conservées dans un sarcophage datant du XVIe siècle, voir Papageorgiu 1901, 149–150; Tafrali 1913, 195, 199–200. L'histoire du monastère est brièvement retracée par Paschalidès 1991, 283–296.

[25] Paschalidès 1991, 82, chap. 9.

[26] L'identité des noms entre cet Antoine et le père de Théodora peut faire penser, comme le suggère Patlagean 1984, 48, qu'ils étaient soit cousins, soit oncle et neveu. Sur cet Antoine, voir Paschalidès 1994.

Le cas de Théodora illustre parfaitement les traits évoqués à propos de la *Vie d'Euthyme:* hagiographie et monastères familiaux, promotion du culte par les parents du saint. Thessalonique est, au IXe siècle, en raison de sa prospérité, une destination privilégiée pour les «familles monastiques» venues d'Anatolie et des îles de la mer Égée. Le rôle de l'autorité ecclésiastique locale dans la promotion de ces «cultes familiaux» qui émergent à la fin du IXe siècle autour des monastères de Saint-Étienne et de Péristéra est pourtant différent dans les deux cas. Alors que le culte d'Euthyme semble jouir du soutien de l'évêque suffragant de la métropole, qui est le disciple et l'hagiographe même du saint, le culte de Théodora se heurte à l'opposition d'une partie du clergé et des moines locaux, et l'organisation de la translation des reliques de Théodora à un moment où l'archevêque de Thessalonique, Jean, était parti avec ses évêques à Constantinople pour assister à l'installation du nouveau patriarche, Antoine Kauléas, en 893, suggère que l'autorité ecclésiastique locale, au moins à ses débuts, ne lui faisait pas bon accueil[27]. Une des raisons en était qu'elle était femme et, de plus, qu'elle avait été mariée, circonstance qui entraînait des difficultés redoutables[28]. Son icône ne manquait pas, elle aussi, de soulever des questions[29]. Une autre raison en était que le nouveau culte rivalisait avec celui de saint Démétrios, le patron de la ville[30]. Célébrant Théodora comme μυροβλύτις, l'hagiographe assume implicitement la compétition engagée entre la sainte et son concitoyen, le plus célèbre μυροβλύτος de la tradition byzantine[31].

Soutenu par la famille, une famille avec de larges assises dans la ville, le culte s'est développé et, au fur et à mesure que sa dimension privée s'est estompée, il a fini par être accepté par la hiérarchie ecclésiastique locale. La *Vie de Théodora* met en évidence la résistance de cette dernière à une initiative de promotion d'une sainte allogène prise par les membres de sa famille, initiative comparable à celle de la famille d'Euthyme réunie autour du couvent de Péristéra. Différemment perçues par la hiérarchie ecclésiastique locale, les deux actions témoignent du souci d'illustration sociale et religieuse des familles venues s'installer à Thessalonique au IXe siècle comme effet de l'essor urbain et commercial de la ville.

[27] Paschalidès 1991, 198, chap. 4, 13–16. Cf. Talbot 1996 a, 59.

[28] Paschalidès 1991, 184, chap. 59, lignes 9–11: καὶ δὴ θαυμαζόντων ἁπάντων, ὅτι πῶς ἐν πόλει καὶ γάμῳ ποτέ γυνὴ προσομιλήσασα εἰς τοσοῦτον ἐπῆρεται δόξης ὕψος παρὰ Θεοῦ. Sur la sainteté féminine à Byzance et, en particulier, sur les femmes mariées devenues saintes, voir Patlagean 1976, 620–622, pour Théodora; Kazhdan 1985, 474–475.

[29] Voir Timotin 2007, 118–121; Timotin 2010, 236–237.

[30] Cf. Patlagean 1984, 47–50; Malamut 2005, 187. Au début du VIIIe siècle, une concurrence similaire transparaît dans la *Vie de David de Thessalonique*: voir Odorico 2005 b.

[31] Paschalidès 1991, 162, chap. 48, lignes 1–5. La première mention littéraire du Saint Démétrios μυροβλύτος date de 904, étant pourtant fort possible que la réputation soit antérieure à cette date; voir Patlagean 1984, 47. Pour l'époque ultérieure, voir les documents réunis par Walter 1973.

II. *Une famille cappadocienne à Constantinople. Illustration religieuse et vocation politique*[32]

Constituée en thème en 830, la Cappadoce byzantine recouvre, à côté du thème de Charsianon, créé entre 863 et 873[33], une partie de l'ancienne province romaine qui a perdu au VIIe siècle, lors des guerres arabo-byzantines, ses territoires orientaux. Touchés par les razzias arabes dès les années 640, les grands domaines de Cappadoce, zone de frontière soumise à la fin du VIIe siècle à des raids réguliers et dévastateurs, disparaissent rapidement et, avec eux, les grandes fortunes d'une aristocratie prospère à l'époque de Justinien[34]. L'État byzantin ne reprend le contrôle sur la région qu'au début du IXe siècle, quand la nouvelle organisation des thèmes montre sa capacité d'imposer une administration et d'y recruter une armée. C'est l'époque où se produit la formation lente d'une nouvelle élite économique formée surtout des militaires, des gardiens des frontières, qui s'installent dans cette région qui recommençait timidement à séduire les aventuriers.

En absence des documents d'archive, l'hagiographie reste, pour une période de deux siècles, une des sources principales qui, par des touches biaisées, nous permettent de reconstruire les contours du phénomène. Les premiers témoignages datent du début du IXe siècle, à une époque où la lutte contre les Arabes est encore loin d'être finie, quand des parents lointains des Maléïnoi, la puissante famille cappadocienne qui s'illustrera au siècle suivant[35], sont attestés à Charsianon. Il s'agit de saint Eudokimos, parent de Michel Maléïnos selon l'hagiographe de ce dernier[36], qui naît en Cappadoce vers 800 de parents riches et puissants et qui, nommé *kandidatos* en 829, combattit autour de Charsianon où il meurt en 840[37]. Une génération plus tard vécut le patrice et stratège Eustathe, le grand-père de Michel Maléïnos[38], contemporain d'un autre membre de la famille, le stratélate Nicéphore Maléïnos, peut-être un grand-oncle de Michel, qui combattit en 867 en Cappadoce, envoyé par à Basile Ier contre Symbat, le gendre révolté du césar Bardas[39].

Au Xe siècle, le nombre des grandes familles cappadociennes se multiplie et surtout leur importance à la fois économique et politique s'accroît de manière significative. Les premiers sont les Phocas qui s'illustrent déjà sous Basile Ier par

[32] Une première version de ce chapitre a été publiée sous le titre *Vocaţie religioasă şi opoziţie politică în Constantinopol (sec. IX–X). Cazul familiei Guber*, SMIM, 30, 2012, 169–180.

[33] Oikonomidès 1972, 348.

[34] Ahrweiler 1962, 8–13; Kaplan 2006, 120–121.

[35] Sur les Maléïnos, voir Kaplan 2006, 112–117; Cheynet 1990, 214, 268, 492 (index prosopographique, s.u. *Maléïnos*). La famille s'est à nouveau illustrée après la reconquête byzantine de l'Italie du Sud, puisqu'un Léon Maléïnos, "stratège de Hiérax, Stilo et autres cités" est attesté dans un document de 1144, et deux protospathaires du même nom sont attestés par des documents de 1088/1089 et 1093; voir Mercati, Giannelli, Guillou 1980, no. 17, 2, 3, 19, 22.

[36] Petit 1902, 551, chap. 3.

[37] Loparev 1908, 2–3.

[38] Petit 1902, 551, chap. 3.

[39] Leon Grammaticus, 247–248; Kaplan 2006, 112–113.

un stratège de Charsianon, Nicéphore Phocas l'Ancien, qui combattit en 878 contre les Arabes[40], mais la famille connaîtra sa gloire au siècle suivant quand un Phocas accédera au trône (963–969), et sous le règne de Constantin Porphyrogénète (945–959) qui fera la fortune de ses membres[41]. Les Argyroi sont un autre exemple de grande famille cappadocienne, qui s'illustre dès le IXe siècle et connaît la gloire au siècle suivant et, dans son cas, aussi au XIe siècle, avec l'empereur Romain Argyros (1028–1034)[42].

Cet essor économique, social et politique de l'aristocratie cappadocienne à partir du IXe siècle nous intéresse en relation avec deux phénomènes qui relèvent de l'objet de notre enquête: l'installation de certaines branches de ces familles à Constantinople, en raison des dignités acquises par leurs membres et des alliances qu'ils y lient, et leur illustration religieuse par l'attachement de leurs membres à certains saints et fondations religieuses et, le cas échéant, par leur accesion à la sainteté, avec les connotations identitaires et politiques que ces phénomènes impliquent.

La *Vie d'Irène de Chrysobalanton* (*BHG* 952) nous permet de corréler ces deux aspects[43]. Le texte a été rédigé par un hagiographe anonyme dans le dernier quart du Xe siècle ou au début du siècle suivant[44]. L'héroïne, Irène du monastère Chrysobalanton, appartient à une famille aristocratique cappadocienne, les Gouber, ayant une importante branche à Constantinople où se passent les événements qui forment la matière du récit. Le récit commence en effet par la description du concours de beauté organisé par l'impératrice Théodora (842–856) pour marier son fils, le futur empereur Michel III (856–867). Parmi les belles femmes rassemblées à Constantinople à cette fin, il y avait deux sœurs venant de Cappadoce, Irène, l'héroïne du récit, et Théodosia, la future épouse du césar Bardas. Arrivée à Constantinople, Irène fut reçue par ses parents, la famille de patrices Gouber (Γούβερ)[45]. Le concours n'ayant pas le résultat attendu, Irène refusa d'autres propositions de mariage et se retira dans le couvent constantinopolitain de Chrysobalanton, un monastère familial, en toute apparence, où elle apporta sa fortune. Le renom de ses charismes attire au monastère un nombre important de femmes de l'aristocratie en quête de direction spirituelle.

La famille des Gouber n'est pas autrement attestée au Xe siècle, quand le texte a été rédigé, mais elle n'est pas inconnue au IXe siècle. Un membre en avait été chargé par l'empereur Michel II (820–829), après la défaite de la révolte de

[40] Vasiliev 1968, 82–84.

[41] Sur les Phocas, voir Cheynet 1986, avec tableau généalogique.

[42] Voir Vannier 1975.

[43] Rosenqvist 1986.

[44] Pour la datation, voir Rosenqvist 1986, XXVII–XXVIII. Les données chronologiques internes suggèrent comme *terminus post quem* l'année 980 mais une allusion indirecte au règne de Basile II (Rosenqvist 1986, 52, chap. 12, 3–4) semble montrer que le récit a été rédigé pendant ce règne-là, i.e. 976–1025.

[45] Rosenqvist 1986, 8–12, chap. 3.

Thomas le Slave, de la mission de reprendre la forteresse de Saniana, au Pont Polémoniaque[46]. Un autre Gouber est attesté comme logothète du drome sous Basile Ier, et puis comme patrice sous Léon VI[47], quand il fait partie du groupe de notables chargés par l'empereur d'amener Photius et Santabarènos au palais pour être jugés[48]. Nous avons montré ailleurs qu'une partie de ce groupe, en l'occurrence le magistre Étienne et les patrices Kratéros et Gouber, fait partie des personnages de l'entourage de l'empereur Michel III et du césar Bardas qui se sont attachés par la suite à Léon VI[49]. Les Gouber semblent donc être parvenus, comme d'autres familles aristocratiques de cette période, à survivre aux changements brutaux de règne de la seconde moitié du IXe siècle, en s'attachant successivement à Michel III et au césar Bardas – qui a épousé bien une Gouber –, au Basile Ier et au Léon VI.

Au moins une branche de la famille cappadocienne des Gouber réside dans la capitale où certains de ses membres détiennent de hautes dignités. Cette branche avait son propre couvent, Chrysobalanton, monastère constantinopolitain qui n'est connu que par une mention équivoque dans le recueil des *Patria*[50]. Le nom est pourtant attesté au Xe siècle comme nom de famille, Théophane Nonnos, médecin à la cour de Constantin Porphyrogénète, étant appelé «Chrysobalantès», et ne disparaît pas aux siècles suivants[51]. On ne connaît pas la relation de ces personnages avec les patrices mentionnés dans la *Vie d'Irène*, mais le couvent de Chrsobalanton est sûrement une fondation cappadocienne, un couvent de famille. Son abbesse est une parente d'Irène et parmi les nonnes du couvent il y avait sûrement plus d'une de la même origine. On sait certainement qu'une jeune nonne de Cappadoce y résida et avait essayé, semble-t-il, s'en échapper pour rejoindre son bien-aimé qu'elle avait quitté dans son pays (§ 13). Le désespoir de la nonne malheureuse est interprété comme une œuvre de sorcellerie, une machination diabolique de son bien-aimé resté en Cappadoce, et Irène reproche alors à saint Basile d'avoir toléré les sorciers et leurs actions dans son pays en le suppliant d'intervenir pour régler cette affaire. Le saint se montra en effet en vision à Irène en lui disant d'amener la jeune fille à l'église de Blachernes pour être guérie par la Vierge[52]. Ensuite, à la demande de la Vierge, saint Basile s'en alla avec sainte Anastasie en Cappadoce pour ramener les instruments de sorcellerie afin d'être brûlés[53].

[46] *PmbZ* 2528, 2532 (= *PBE*: Gouberios 1). Cf. Theophanes Continuatus, 1838, 72–73; Winkelmann 1987, 168. L'origine du nom est probablement bulgare, i.e. turque, un Κούβερ, général avare, étant attesté au VIIe siècle dans les *Miracles de saint Dèmètrios* (*PmbZ* 4165 = *PBE*: Kouber 1). Cf. Charanis 1970.

[47] *PmbZ* 2527 (= *PBE*: Goumer 1). Cf. Guilland 1970, 309; Guilland 1971, 51; *PmbZ* 7792.

[48] Skylitzès, ed. Thurn, 173, 17 (trad. Flusin, 145 et n. 18).

[49] Timotin 2010, 199–202. Sur les "connexions amoriennes" à la cour de Léon VI, voir aussi Tougher 1997 a, 67, qui ne retient pourtant que Photius, le magistre Étienne et Léon Katakoilas.

[50] Preger 1907, 243, 1–12. Cf. Rosenqvist 1986, XXIX–XXX.

[51] Rosenqvist 1986, p. XXX. Cf. Sonderkamp 1984, 38–39.

[52] Rosenqvist 1986, 56, chap. 13, 9–22.

[53] Rosenqvist 1986, 62, 14–64, 3.

On sait que les prières attribuées à saint Basile sont considérées comme capables de protéger contre les démons et de guérir les possédés du démon[54], mais l'appel qu'Irène lui avait adressé a sûrement aussi d'autres significations. Saint Basile, comme Irène et sa protégée, est originaire de Cappadoce et c'est surtout en cette qualité qu'Irène s'adresse à lui. En tant que saint tutélaire de la Cappadoce, il est le protecteur de ses compatriotes même ou peut-être surtout lorsqu'ils se trouvent loin de leur pays. De la dévotion à cette époque de l'aristocratie cappadocienne pour saint Basile témoigne, par exemple, la grande église de Tokali Kilise (Xe siècle), mise sous son vocable et décorée avec des scènes de sa biographie[55]. L'édifice est dû à la générosité d'un certain Constantin, stratège de Séleucie, et a été achevé par Nicéphore Phocas avant qu'il ne soit nommé empereur en 963[56]. La place faite à saint Basile, comme d'ailleurs à d'autres saints cappadociens, comme, par exemple, l'apôtre Pierre, dont une tradition locale faisait le premier évêque de Césarée[57], illustre l'attachement des Phocas à la province à laquelle ils étaient liés par leur origine.

Comme les Phocas, les Gouber se dirigent vers saint Basile comme vers leur protecteur naturel. Il est très probable d'ailleurs que le couvent de Chrysobalanton ait été mis sous le vocable de saint Basile, comme semble le suggérer les reproches qu'Irène lui adresse ouvertement et qui peuvent difficilement s'expliquer uniquement par leur origine commune. Il n'est peut-être pas un hasard si la seule messe officiée dans le couvent de Chrysobalanton à laquelle l'hagiographe fait référence est précisément une messe en honneur de saint Basile[58].

La mention de l'église des Blachernes à côté du Chrysobalanton peut s'expliquer par l'attachement des Gouber pour ces deux couvents. L'église des Blachernes est une fondation impériale et, en particulier, au IXe siècle, un lieu privilégié de dévotion de la dynastie amorienne et notamment de Michel III, empereur auquel, on s'en souvient-on, les Gouber étaient particulièrement attachés. Théodosia Gouber avait épousé le césar Bardas et la présence d'Irène au concours organisé par l'impératrice Théodora montre assez la position exceptionnelle de sa famille sous les Amoriens.

D'autre part, on peut noter l'existence d'une certaine concurrence entre l'église des Blachernes et l'église constantinopolitaine de Sainte-Anastasie, la fameuse Anastasie Φαρμακολύτρια, située au quartier Maurianos, au nord-ouest du Forum de Constantin, qui servait au Xe siècle d'hôpital pour les malades mentaux[59]. On peut s'interroger en effet pourquoi la nonne censée être possédée

[54] Cf. Goar 1647, p. 275–276; voir aussi H. Leclerq, *Exorcisme, exorciste*, DACL, V/1, Paris, 1922, col. 970.

[55] Voir Wharton Epstein 1986, 36–39, pl. 26, 77, 78. On peut mentionner également le grand monastère dédié à saint Basile par le régent du jeune empereur Basile II entre 976 et 985, le parakoimomène Basile (Psellos, *Chronographie*, I, 20).

[56] L'identification de Nicéphore Phocas, sur la base de l'étude des prénoms des grandes familles de Cappadoce, est due à Thierry 1989, 217–245.

[57] Voir Thierry 2002, 171.

[58] Rosenqvist 1986, 80, chap. 17, 5.

[59] Janin 1969, 22–25; Rydén 1974 a. Pour la continuation du culte de la sainte à l'époque post-byzantine, voir Vojdović 1990.

n'ait pas été envoyée directement à l'église de Sainte-Anastasie, réputée précisément pour ce type de guérisons[60], mais à Blachernes. À une autre occasion, c'est Irène qui va guérir un possédé, un jeune homme chargé du vignoble de Chrysobalanton que sainte Anastasie avait refusé de guérir (§ 15), ce qui peut refléter également l'intention de l'auteur de la *Vie d'Irène* de marquer la présence de l'église de Chrysobalanton sur la carte des couvents constantinopolitains à réputation thérapeutique, au détriment de l'église, beaucoup plus célèbre, de Sainte-Anastasie, et par l'attachement explicite à l'église impériale des Blachernes.

La dévotion pour un saint de son pays et la réputation thérapeutique en pleine affirmation d'une fondation familiale sont deux éléments qui peuvent refléter, surtout lorsqu'il s'agit d'une famille aussi puissante que celle des Gouber, la formation d'un pôle de pouvoir. Un épisode de la *Vie d'Irène*, concernant la libération miraculeuse d'un parent d'Irène mis en prison par l'empereur, montre où se plaçait ce pôle de pouvoir sous le règne de Basile II quand la *Vie* a été rédigée.

Voici le résumé de l'histoire. Un des parents proches d'Irène (φιλουμένων αὐτῇ συγγενῶν), qui avait la dignité d'*illoûstrios*[61], avait été accusé de complot contre l'empereur. L'empereur l'avait mis en prison dans le palais impérial et machinait de le mettre à mort en secret en le jetant dans la mer pendant la nuit (§ 21). Les rumeurs arrivent jusqu'à sa famille dont les membres, en proie au désespoir, se dirigent vers Irène, en lui demandant de prier Dieu pour sa libération. La sainte ne décevra pas sa famille et, la nuit suivante, se montra en rêve à l'empereur pour le persuader de revenir sur sa décision[62].

Troublé par cette vision, l'empereur consulte son chambellan pour savoir si la conversation qu'il avait eue s'est passée réellement ou non. Dans un premier temps, l'empereur est persuadé qu'elle ne peut être que l'effet d'une opération magique. Par conséquent, le lendemain il appela chez lui le prisonnier et lui posa cette question: «Quel sorte de magie utilises-tu pour nous menacer et nous embrouiller par des rêves, essayant par ces sorcelleries d'échapper aux conséquences de ton complot contre notre Majesté Impériale ?»[63]. L'accusé répondit, bien sûr, qu'il n'a jamais eu recours à un sorcier et qu'il n'a jamais comploté contre l'empereur. Ensuite, à la question de savoir s'il connaissait une certaine Irène d'un couvent appelé Chrysobalanton, il répondit par l'affirmative en lui donnant également des détails sur sa localisation. À la suite de cet interrogatoire, l'empereur envoya au couvent un groupe de dignitaires accompagnés d'un peintre pour que celui-ci fasse le portrait d'Irène, de manière qu'il puisse vérifier par la suite s'il correspond à la personne qu'il avait vue dans son rêve. De retour au couvent, les

[60] Voir, par exemple, *Vie d'André Salos* (Rydén 1974 b, 18–20).

[61] La dignité d'*illoûstrios* était le plus haut parmi les titres qui permettaient l'accès au Senat; voir Guilland 1967, I, 67.

[62] Rosenqvist 1986, 90, chap. 21, 10–23.

[63] Rosenqvist 1986, 92, chap. 21, 10–12: Τίσι μαγείαις χρησάμενος ἀπειλὰς ἡμῖν ἐν ὀνείροις καὶ θορύβους ἔπεμψας ὡς, ἄν σοι διὰ τῶν τοιούτων γοητειῶν διαδρᾶναι γενήσεται τὰς κατὰ τῆς ἡμετέρας ἐπιβουλάς σου βασιλείας;

dignitaires sont terrifiés à l'apparition d'Irène dont ils étaient incapables de regarder la face qui rayonnait plus que le soleil. Elle leur demanda de communiquer à l'empereur que ce qu'il avait vu en rêve est bien vrai et que s'il ne délivre pas le prisonnier, toutes les menaces qu'il avait entendues s'accompliront sans faute. Après que le peintre réalisa en grande hâte le portrait dont il avait été chargé, les dignitaires rentrent au Palais où un nouveau miracle se produisit. Le portrait brilla lui aussi à tel point que l'empereur, tout en reconnaissant les traits de la sainte, fut à peine capable de le regarder. À la suite de cet événement, l'empereur délivra le prisonnier et remercia Dieu pour lui avoir épargné un meurtre injuste. Il écrivit aussi une lettre à Irène pour lui demander humblement pardon et la solliciter de recevoir sa visite. À cette lettre Irène répondit en accordant le pardon, mais en refusant la visite sous le prétexte de l'humilité, tout en recommandant à l'empereur de ne jamais oublier de consulter le patriarche, les évêques et les moines.

L'épisode est calqué sur un épisode similaire de la *Vie de saint Nicolas*, l'évêque de Myre, le saint byzantin le plus réputé comme faiseur de justice et protecteur de ceux injustement accusés[64]. De même qu'Irène, saint Nicolas obtient, au moyen d'une vision, la libération d'un groupe de généraux emprisonnés et sur le point d'être exécutés par l'empereur Constantin le Grand à la suite d'une fausse accusation de haute trahison. Supplié par les trois généraux, saint Nicolas apparut en rêve à l'empereur, en demandant la mise en liberté des prisonniers innocents et en le menaçant par le déclenchement de la guerre. Le lendemain, l'empereur, comme son successeur de la *Vie d'Irène*, accusa les prisonniers d'avoir fait usage de la magie pour échapper à la condamnation. À ce moment-là, saint Nicolas se révéla aux généraux et l'empereur, entendant son nom, demande qu'on lui dévoile son identité. La réponse fut persuasive et l'empereur délivra les prisonniers.

La similitude indéniable entre les deux scénarios n'est pourtant pas due nécessairement à une simple opération de *mimesis* littéraire. L'éditeur moderne du texte, Jan Olof Rosenqvist, en omettant pourtant de noter la parenté entre les deux histoires, de la *Vie d'Irène* et de la *Vie de saint Nicolas*, a avancé l'hypothèse selon laquelle l'episode de la *Vie d'Irène* serait une allusion au conflit qui opposait à la fin du Xe siècle l'empereur Basile II à l'aristocratie anatolienne[65]. Comme les plus puissantes familles de cette aristocratie, les Phocas et les Skleroi[66], les Gouber étaient originaires d'Asie mineure et l'accusation de trahison portée contre un d'entre eux serait donc à mettre en relation avec l'hostilité qui régnait dans les rapports de l'empereur avec les membres de ces puissantes familles. Si l'on admet cette hypothèse, l'épisode relaté dans la *Vie d'Irène* traduirait un engagement

[64] Cf. Anrich 1913, 254–262. Le rapprochement entre les deux scénarios a été opéré par Maguire 1994, 226–229.

[65] Rosenqvist 1986, XXXVII. Sur le règne de Basile II, voir en dernier lieu Holmes 2005, surtout chap. 5, "The Revolts of Skleros and Phocas: Historiography and the Skleros Manifesto" (240–298).

[66] Sur les Skleroi, voir Seibt 1987.

personnel de l'auteur, par la mise en scène d'un plaidoyer littéraire *pro domo*, dans un conflit où sa famille était directement impliquée.

De toute manière, dans la représentation littéraire du conflit, imaginaire ou réel, qui oppose les deux partis, aristocratique et impérial, dans la *Vie d'Irène*, l'hagiographe donne raison sans équivoque au premier. Il est certain également que le couvent de Chrysobalanton représente un relais cappadocien à Constantinople, un pôle de pouvoir, politique et spirituel à la fois, qui réunit les membres du clan des Gouber et leurs proches autour de la figure charismatique de leur parente, personnification religieuse d'une identité familiale, régionale et politique.

Ce n'est pas à cette époque un cas exceptionnel. Nicéphore Phocas, lorsqu'il n'était encore que stratège des Anatoliques (avant 963), rendait visite régulièrement au mont Kyminas à son père spirituel, Michel Maléïnos, qui était aussi son oncle[67]. D'autre part, le saint, à l'époque où il était higoumène du couvent de Kyminas, allait souvent à Constantinople où il rencontrait ses parents dont les membres de la famille Phocas[68]. Comme Irène de Chrysobalanton, Michel Maléïnos représente le blason religieux d'un réseau parental et politique. Né en 894 dans le thème de Charsianon, en Cappadoce, le futur saint est issu d'une des plus importantes et des plus riches familles byzantines, les Maléïnoi. Son grand-père paternel, Eustathe, avait été patrice et stratège[69], et son grand-père maternel, un Adralestos, avait également la dignité de patrice et avait été promu *stratèlatès* de l'Anatolie. Sa grand-mère aussi était, semble-t-il, une parente de l'empereur Romain Ier Lécapène (920–944), tandis que d'autres parents étaient liés à l'empereur Léon VI[70]. Son frère, Constantin, membre du Sénat et patrice, fut stratège de Cappadoce[71]. Enfin sa sœur épousa Bardas Phocas et fut la mère du futur empereur Nicéphore Phocas[72].

Encore adolescent, Michel Maléïnos reçut la dignité de *spatharokandidatos* et fut destiné par sa famille à un mariage avec une jeune femme de la famille impériale. Démentant le projet de cette alliance matrimoniale, le jeune Maléïnos, se trouvant à Constantinople parmi se proches, quitta la ville en secret et partit à la recherche d'un vieil ermite avec l'intention de se faire tonsurer moine. Il trouva en effet au mont Kyminas un saint vieillard entouré de nombreux disciples qui lui donna la tonsure. La tristesse des parents fut à la mesure de leurs attentes. Persuadé finalement de l'inutilité de ses efforts de faire son fils changer d'opinion, son père, résigné, console sa femme d'une manière significative pour la représentation sociale de la sainteté à cette époque: «Donc, ne nous affligeons pas, mais plus

[67] *Vie d'Athanase l'Athonite (A)* (Noret 1982, 12, chap. 22, 1–7). Cf. Laiou 1998.

[68] *Vie d'Athanase l'Athonite (A)* (Noret 1982, 11, chap. 19–20); cf. Petit 1902, 567, 14, sur les voyages de Maléïnos à Constantinople sans mentionner les rencontres avec Nicéphore.

[69] Cheynet 1990, 28, 31, 214 et 253.

[70] Petit 1902, 551, chap. 3; cf. Cheynet 1990, 271.

[71] Cheynet 1990, 214, 266; Laiou 1998, 400 n. 9.

[72] Sur les liens unissant les Maléïnoi et les Phocas, voir Cheynet 1990, 268 (table généalogique). Sur la relation entre Nicéphore Phocas et Michel Maléïnos en particulier, voir Laiou 1998, *passim*.

fortement encore rendons gloire à la Théotokos puisque notre fils sera notre gloire (καύχημα) et secours et l'ornement de toute notre famille (παντὸς τοῦ γένους καλλώπισμα)»[73].

Ornement de la famille, mais aussi caution des alliances politiques conclues entre ses membres. Liés par des relations de parenté naturelle et spirituelle, Michel Maléïnos et son neveu, Nicéphore Phocas, se légitiment mutuellement: en fréquentant son oncle, Nicéphore renforce son autorité spirituelle, alors que Michel consolide, par sa réputation de saint, le prestige séculier de son neveu et fils spirituel. Le même type de relation lie Irène de Chrysobalanton au clan des Gouber. Quand elle est sollicitée, elle fait usage de son autorité spirituelle pour défendre son clan et pour soutenir une opposition politique. Quand le grand-père du Michel Maléïnos, Eustathe, accueille l'usurpateur Bardas Phocas et le proclame empereur en Cappadoce, il s'agit également de l'alliance naturelle entre deux cousins[74], mais, qui plus est, celui qui l'évoque est l'hagiographe d'un Maléïnos, qui projette ainsi sur cet événement toute la légitimité que lui peut conférer l'appartenence de ses acteurs à la famille d'un saint. Ici, comme dans l'épisode de la *Vie d'Irène*, la parenté, le pouvoir et la sainteté s'associent et se complètent mutuellement. Dans la *Vie de Michel Maléïnos*, comme dans la *Vie d'Irène*, un clan cappadocien fait usage de l'autorité spirituelle d'un de ses membres, vénéré comme saint, pour appuyer ses partis-pris politiques et pour contester le pouvoir impérial.

III. *Élite administrative, élite spirituelle. Les eunuques paphlagoniens à Constantinople*[75]

La Paphlagonie, la région située sur le côté sud de la Mer Noire, entre la Bithynie et le Pont, a acquis dans l'Empire byzantin une importance politique considérable à partir du IXe siècle, lorsqu'elle devient un thème autonome, détaché du thème de Bukellarion. À partir de cette époque, la présence des Paphlagoniens dans l'élite de la société byzantine n'est plus une exception[76]. L'impératrice Théodora (842–855), l'un des acteurs principaux du triomphe de l'Orthodoxie en 843, était originaire de cette région[77]. Parmi les membres du clan Doukas, famille d'origine paphlagonienne qui s'illustre par plusieurs figures célèbres dès la fin du IXe siècle (Andronikos et Constantin), se rangent deux empereurs, Constantin X (1059–1067) et Michel VII (1071–1078). Au XIe siècle règne également un autre empereur d'origine paphlagonienne, Michel IV (1034–1041). De cette région sont originaires quelques lettrés renommés dont Nicétas David le Paphlagonien (fin IXe – première moitié du Xe siècle), disciple du célèbre Aréthas de Césarée. Au moins

[73] Petit 1902, 557, chap. 10, 15–18.

[74] Comme le fait remarquer Kaplan 2006, 118.

[75] Une première version de ce chapitre a été publiée sous le titre *Eunuci paflagonieni în Constantinopol (sec. X–XI). Realităţi şi ideologie*, SMIM, 29, 2011, 57–69.

[76] Voir Magdalino 1998.

[77] Theophanes Continuatus, 89.

deux saints de cette période, Nikon le Métanoeïte et Syméon le Nouveau Théologien, sont d'origine paphlagonienne[78].

La présence des Paphlagoniens dans l'élite de la société byzantine est pourtant associée surtout au corps des eunuques de l'administration impériale, recrutés de cette région à partir du IXe siècle, une influence importante dans cette stratégie ayant, probablement, l'impératrice Théodora, elle-même d'origine paphlagonienne[79].

Figures familières dans l'Empire assyrien et à la cour des pharaons égyptiens, les eunuques (οἱ εὐνοῦχοι) ne sont des présences insolites ni en Grèce ancienne et dans l'Empire romain, mais l'organisation dans l'administration impériale d'un ordre spécial des eunuques représente une innovation byzantine. Leur présence à la cour impériale est en général associée au règne de Dioclétien (284–305), marqué par une tendance marquée d'« orientalisation » de la cour[80]. Leur présence est bien documentée pendant le règne du fils de Constantin le Grand, Constantius II (337–361). Le corps des eunuques et notamment le chambellan Eusèbe exerçaient, à en croire Ammien Marcellin (XVIII, 4; XXII, 3–4), une influence considérable sur l'empereur Constantius. Au Ve siècle, Léon le Grand (457–474) a interdit la vente des eunuques de nationalité romaine sur le territoire de l'empire, mais il a autorisé le commerce des eunuques d'autres nationalités[81]. La présence des eunuques à la cour s'est accentuée dans les siècles suivants, malgré une législation qui leur était défavorable (la novelle 142 de Justinien et la novelle 60 de Léon VI). Au IXe siècle, le corps des eunuques formait, à la cour impériale, une hiérarchie séparée chargée de fonctions domestiques et administratives, et l'archieunuque était un des plus importants fonctionnaires de Constantinople.

Les raisons du recours aux eunuques étaient essentiellement deux[82]: d'abord, ils ne pouvaient aspirer au trône impérial, le statut d'eunuque étant légalement incompatible avec celui d'empereur, ensuite, leur relations avec le genre féminin n'étaient pas susceptibles de créer des problèmes de succession. En réalité, ces deux explications ne sont vraies qu'à moitié car, d'une part, si les eunuques ne pouvaient devenir empereurs eux-mêmes, rien ne les empêchait de conspirer en faveur d'autres prétendants au trône. Le cas le plus connu est celui de l'eunuque paphlagonien Jean Orphanotrophos dont les intrigues eurent comme résultat l'accession au trône de son frère, Michel IV le Paphlagonien (1034–1041) et l'assassinat de l'empereur Romain Argyros (1028–1034). D'autre part, l'incapacité des eunuques de procréer ne les empêchait pas d'entretenir des relations dangereuses du point de vue politique avec les femmes. Un exemple en est la relation entre l'eunuque Constantin le Paphlagonien et l'impératrice Zoe Karbonopsina, la

[78] Sullivan 1987, 32, 38 et 184; Hausherr 1928, 3, 78.
[79] Cf. Magdalino 1998, 148–149.
[80] Voir Tougher 1997 b, 169.
[81] Guilland 1967, I, 166.
[82] Voir Tougher 1997 b, 170.

quatrième épouse de l'empereur Léon VI (886–912), relation qui a valu à l'eunuque une disgrâce temporaire[83].

Malgré ces situations qui n'étaient pourtant pas exceptionnelles, les empereurs se sentaient en général en sécurité dans la présence des eunuques, surtout qand ceux-ci étaient de basse extraction, ce qui arrivait souvent, et leur ascension était due exclusivement aux privilèges impériaux; dans les conditions où les empereurs étaient entourés d'une aristocratie puissante dont les membres se sentaient en général autorisés, si l'occasion se présentait, d'accéder au trône, ce qui transformait tout dignitaire en un prétendant potentiel au trône.

De cerimoniis montre clairement la place importante que les eunuques détenaient, au Xe siècle, dans le palais impérial et dans les nombreuses cérémonies auliques. Ils avaient accès, en principe, à presque tous les offices et les dignités auliques: selon le *Kletorologion* de Philothée, à la fin du IXe siècle, des soixante fonctions, à peu près cinquante étaient ouvertes aux eunuques[84]. Parmi ces dernières, certaines leur étaient spécialement réservées: la fonction de παρακοιμώμενος était, par exemple, leur apanage exclusif; le παρακοιμώμενος, comme le nom l'indique, se couchait à côté d'empereur et veillait sur lui; il était en même son conseiller et son homme de confiance. Il était le chef de la garde domestique de l'empereur, formée des κουβικουλίριοι. Ils détenaient fréquemment les fonctions de πρωτοβεστιάριος, de ὁ ἐπί τῆς τραπέζης, le maître d'hôtel de l'empereur, de παπίας, le concierge du Grand Palais, ou πιγκέρνης, l'échanson de l'empereur ou de l'impératrice.

En raison de la confiance qu'ils inspiraient, les eunuques détenaient également de hautes fonctions militaires[85]. Les empereurs trouvaient bon ainsi de confier à un eunuque la direction d'une armée pour limiter de la sorte, au cas d'une campagne victorieuse, les ambitions au trône des généraux puissants. À la fin du VIIIe siècle, pendant le règne d'Irène (797–802), le puissant eunuque Stavrakios a été chargé de diriger la campagne victorieuse contre les tribus slaves de la Grèce continentale[86]. À la fin du IXe siècle, pendant le règne de Léon VI, l'eunuque Constantin, patrice et ὁ ἐπί τῆς τραπέζης, stratège des thèmes occidentaux, a reçu la commande d'une expédition en Sicile contre les Arabes[87]. Pendant le règne de Constantin Porphyrogénéte (920/945–959), l'eunuque Constantin Gongylios a reçu la commande de la flotte (en 944/945)[88]. Un général expérimenté comme Nicéphore Phocas, une fois devenu empereur (963–969), a confié la commande de la flotte byzantine dans l'expédition en Sicile de 964 á l'eunuque et patrice Nicétas[89]. Six ans plus tard, un autre général arrivé au trône, Jean Tzimiskès (969–976), a envoyé un contingent d'armée à l'appui des troupes qui luttaient contre les

[83] Theophanes Continuatus, 869.
[84] Voir Guilland 1967, I, 198–199.
[85] Guilland 1967, I, 170–176.
[86] Theophanes, 456–457.
[87] Theophanes Continuatus, 356.
[88] Theophanes Continuatus, 436.
[89] Leon Diaconus, 65–67.

Arabes à Alep et à Antioche, sous la commande d'un de ses eunuques favoris, Nicolas[90].

Au Xe et dans la première moitié du XIe siècle, une série de figures importantes d'eunuques qui ont joué un rôle décisif dans la vie politique de l'empire sont d'origine paphlagonienne (sous les Comnènes leur présence à la cour se raréfie)[91]. Le premier, en ordre chronologique, est Constantin le Paphlagonien, magistre devenu παρακοιμώμενος dans les dernières années du règne de Léon VI, intime de la quatrième épouse de l'empereur. Écarté du pouvoir par l'empereur Alexandre (912–913) et le patriarche Nicolas Mystikos (901–907, 912–925), il reste attaché à sa protectrice, Zoé Karbonopsina, qui, au moment de son retour éphémère au pouvoir en 914, comme régente du jeune Constantin VII, le désigne comme chef du corps des eunuques. Il est l'un des responsables de la réouverture du conflit avec le tsar bulgare Syméon, initiative désastreuse pour les Byzantins[92].

Deux autres eunuques paphlagoniens, qui entretiennent des relations étroites avec l'eunuque Constantin, les frères Anastase et Constantin Gongylios, apparaissent pendant cette période à proximité du trône impérial. Attachés, à l'instar de Constantin, à Zoé Karbonopsina et à Constantin VII, ils disparaissent de la scène politique pendant le règne de Romain Lécapène, mais au moins Constantin Gongylios réapparaît en 944, pendant le règne de Constantin VII, qui le désigne drongaire de la flotte. C'est lui qui va conduire l'expédition malheureuse en Crète en 949[93].

L'administration de Constantin VII fut basée sur un véritable réseau d'eunuques paphlagoniens. Un autre exemple est Joseph Bringas, patrice et πραιπόσιτος, puis drongaire de la flotte. Il a commencé son ascension sous Constantin VII, est devenu παρακοιμώμενος sous son fils, Romain II (959–963), pour tomber en disgrâce sous Nicéphore Phocas, qui l'a envoyé en exil en Paphlagonie, son pays d'origine. Le disciple de Bringas est un autre eunuque de Paphlagonie, Georges, le futur Syméon le Nouveau Théologien, envoyé à Constantinople par ses parents pour faire carrière et qui, en raison de l'influence de son oncle (Bringas lui-même ou, plus probablement, un de ses proches) est nommé σπαθαροκουβικουλάριος[94].

Enfin, un autre exemple et peut-être le plus instructif, est Jean Orphanotrophos, eunuque paphlagonien très influent sous Romain Argyros, qui contribue de manière décisive à l'accession au trône de son frère, Michel IV. Si l'on en croit Skylitzès, l'eunuque Jean est le véritable détenteur du pouvoir pendant le règne de son frère, entre 1034 et 1042, période d'apogée de l'influence des eunuques paphlagoniens dans l'empire[95].

La Paphlagonie est à l'évidence un lieu privilégié de recrutement des eunuques envoyés à Constantinople pour faire carrière au palais et cette relation étroite entre

[90] Leon Diaconus, 103.
[91] Voir Magdalino 1998, 143–145.
[92] Theophanes Continuatus, 275–276.
[93] Theophanes Continuatus, 386, 390, 436; Skylitzes, ed. Thurn, 201, 245–246.
[94] Voir Hausherr 1928, LXXXVIII–LXXXIX; McGuckin 1996, 19.
[95] Skylitzès, ed. Thurn, 385–421.

la région du nord de l'Asie mineure et le corps d'eunuques est, très probablement, à l'origine de la mauvaise presse des Paphlagoniens à Byzance[96]. Les allusions peu flatteuses à l'adresse des Paphlagoniens recoupent les appréciations tout aussi peu flatteuses à l'adresse des eunuques, alimentées en général par un fond idéologique ancien qui associe naturellement la virilité aux qualités morales (courage, fidélité, justice, altruisme, etc.). Toutefois, en réalité, malgré cette mauvaise réputation, l'image des eunuques dans la société byzantine a été toujours plutôt ambivalente[97].

Il faut préciser d'abord que dans l'Église il y avait, dès l'Antiquité, un nombre important de clercs eunuques[98]. Le premier canon du concile de Nicée (325) et les Canons apostoliques 21 et 22 interdisent formellement la présence dans le clergé seulement pour ceux qui sont devenus eunuques à la suite d'une automutilation volontaire (ἐκτομίαι, en opposition avec σπαδόνες ou θλαδίαι, qui souffraient d'une malformation congénitale ou d'une maladie). Sur le fond de cette non-interdiction, deux versets bibliques ont pu favoriser la formation d'une représentation positive des eunuques dans l'Église: *Matthieu* XIX, 12: «Car il est des eunuques qui sont nés tels du ventre de leur mère, il est des eunuques qui ont été fait eunuques par les hommes, et il est des eunuques qui se sont eux-mêmes fait eunuques à cause du règne des dieux. Comprenne qui peut comprendre»; *Isaïe* LVI, 3–5: «Que l'eunuque ne dise pas: Voici, je suis un arbre sec! Car ainsi parle l'Éternel: aux eunuques qui garderont mes sabbats, qui choisiront ce qui m'est agréable, et qui persévéreront dans mon alliance, Je donnerai dans ma maison et dans mes murs une place et un nom préférables à des fils et à des filles; Je leur donnerai un nom éternel, qui ne périra pas». Les eunuques de la cour se rangent parmi les martyrs de l'Église lors de la grande persécution de 303 et du premier iconoclasme, en 780[99].

Beaucoup de patriarches byzantins sont des eunuques, et ce phénomène a sans doute influencé la formation d'une image positive des eunuques dans la société byzantine. Au Xe siècle, pendant presque un demi-siècle, entre 925 et 970, presque tous les patriarches furent des eunuques: Étienne II (925–927), Théophylacte (933–956) et Polyéucte (956–970)[100]. Mais le phénomène n'est pas isolé car, dans le siècle précédent, deux parmi les patriarches les plus remarquables, Ignace (847–858 şi 867–877), le fils de l'empereur Michel Rangabé (811–813), et Méthode (843–847) l'ont été également[101]. Il n'est pas anodin que tous les deux furent vénérés comme saints. Le premier iconoclasme a connu lui aussi deux patriarches eunuques, l'un iconophile, Germain (715–730), honoré lui aussi comme saint, et l'autre iconoclaste, Nicétas Ier (766–780)[102].

[96] Voir Magdalino 1998, 142.

[97] Sur l'image des eunuques à Byzance, voir notamment Sidéris 2002; Ringrose 2003; Messis 2012; Messis 2014.

[98] Voir Guilland 1967, I. 168–170.

[99] Voir Sidéris 2002, 163–165.

[100] Guilland 1967, I. 169.

[101] Nicétas le Paphlagonien, col. 492 C; Theophanes Continuatus, 159.

[102] Guilland 1967, I, 168.

La représentation positive des eunuques est structurée par une idéologie qui établit une analogie entre la hiérarchie séculaire et la hiérarchie céleste et, en particulier, entre les eunuques situés à proximité de l'empereur et les anges qui entourent le trône céleste[103]. L'analogie entre l'ordre des anges et le corps des eunuques est fondée sur une série de traits communs relatifs à leur nature et fonctions: asexualité, transmission des messages, médiation, protection, fidélité. L'assimilation entre anges et eunuques est devenue, à partir notamment du IXe siècle, un *topos* dans l'hagiographie byzantine[104], comme un cas particulier de l'analogie, d'ordre plus général, établie par l'idéologie impériale entre Constantinople et la Jérusalem céleste[105].

Il n'est peut-être pas un hasard si cette représentation idéalisée de l'ordre des eunuques qui se fixe au Xe siècle par l'intermédiaire de l'hagiographie (*Vie d'André Salos*, *Vie de Niphon de Constantiana*, *Vision du moine Cosmas*[106], etc.), et de l' «eunucisation» du patriarcat correspond, du point de vue chronologique, à la formation et à la consolidation à la cour impériale, pendant la dynastie macédonienne, et notamment sous les règnes de Léon VI, de Constantin VII et de Romain II, d'un réseau fort influent d'eunuques paphlagoniens. Au contraire, il est très plausible que ce groupe ait contribué à la cristallisation et au renforcement de cette représentation[107]. Nous allons essayer de plaider en faveur de cette hypothèse en examinant deux vies de saint rédigées respectivement au Xe et au XIe siècle, la *Vie de Basile le Jeune* et la *Vie de Syméon le Nouveau Théologien*, deux textes représentatifs pour l'idéalisation et la spiritualisation de la figure de l'eunuque dans la culture byzantine de cette période.

Georges, le futur Syméon le Nouveau Théologien, est né en Paphlagonie, en 949, dans une famille de l'aristocratie provinciale qui avait de nombreux liens dans la capitale. Beaucoup de ses parents y résident, y occupant de hautes dignités, et son oncle est *koitônitès* de l'empereur Romain II[108]. Selon un parcours courant à cette époque[109], Syméon, encore enfant, est confié à des parents et envoyé à Constantinople pour achever son éducation et occuper par la suite un poste dans l'administration impériale. Après avoir fini le premier degré du cursus scolaire, le

[103] Voir Sidéris 2002, 166–168; Ringrose 2003, 142–163.

[104] Voir Timotin 2010, 297–300.

[105] Voir Maguire 1997; Congourdeau 2001, 125–136; Timotin 2011 a, 389–402.

[106] *Vie d'André Salos* (Rydén 1974 b, 145, ligne 973; 291, ligne 4211 *sq.*); *Vie de Niphon de Constantiana* (Rystenko 1928, 44, ligne 24; 53, ligne 33); Angelidi 1983, 85, lignes 147–154.

[107] À cette image idéalisée des eunuques a pu contribuer également l'hagiographie eunucophile du IXe siècle (*Vie du patriarche Méthode*, *Vie du patriarche Ignace*), dont les héros ne sont pas des Paphlagoniens – bien que l'impératrice Théodora, la protectrice du patriarche Méthode, le soit –, comme ne l'est peut-être ni le moine Cosmas (Angelidi 1983, *passim*), l'un des eunuques favoris de l'empereur Alexandre III (912–913) (voir Timotin 2010, 298–301). Toujours est-il que la densité des eunuques paphlagoniens aux Xe–XIe siècles et surtout leur place dans l'hagiographie n'ont pas de précedent dans la période antérieure.

[108] Hausherr 1928, 2, 4 (§ 2–3).

[109] Cf. Patlagean 1981, 178–179; Malamut 1993, 82–84; Kazhdan, McCormick 1997, 193–194.

jeune Syméon est introduit par son oncle au palais. Grâce à cette intervention, il reçoit bientôt la dignité de σπαθαροκουβικουλάριος et est admis dans le Sénat. La fonction de σπαθαροκουβικουλάριος, traditionnellement réservée aux eunuques, plaide en faveur de la qualité d'eunuque de Georges-Syméon, confirmée également par l'apparition de Syméon en vision à un moine du monastère Anaplous de Propontide, sous la forme d'un «eunuque à l'aspect distingué et grave»[110].

Après la mort de son oncle, Syméon eut une première tentative pour se faire tonsurer moine, mais il en fut empêché par son père spirituel, le célèbre Syméon le Stoudite, dit Eulabès. Résigné, il reste à Constantinople, dans la maison d'un patrice qui est un parent de sa famille, où il mène une vie quasi-monacale sous l'observation de son père spirituel.

Pendant cette période, Syméon a plusieurs expériences mystiques. Avec l'accord de Syméon le Stoudite, il est finalement tonsuré moine à Stoudios[111]. Sa conduite religieuse excentrique mena à son expulsion du Stoudios et à son transfert dans un monastère proche, à Saint-Mamas, martyre paphlagonien († 275), qui avait été fondé pendant le règne de Justinien par l'eunuque favori de l'empereur, Pharasmanès[112]. Ordonné higoumène du monastère, Syméon entra bientôt en conflit avec les patriarches Nicolas Chrysoberges (980–992) et Sissinnios (996–998), mais il parvint à préserver sa fonction qu'il confia, avant sa mort, à un de ses disciples, Arsène, un autre eunuque originaire de Paphlagonie[113]. À Stoudios, comme à Saint-Mamas, Syméon jouit d'une position privilégiée due à sa position sociale. Après seulement trois ans de vie monacale, il est ordonné prêtre et bientôt après higoumène du couvent de Saint-Mamas où il exerce une autorité de type patronal qui n'est pas bien accueillie par les moines du couvent[114]. On a pu montrer que l'enjeu du différend qui oppose Syméon et les patriarches Nicolas et Sissinnios est un conflit de pouvoir entre le parti aristocratique réuni autour de Syméon et du couvent de Saint-Mamas et l'empereur Basile II, qui a mené à la fin du Xe siècle une lutte durable contre les grandes familles anatoliennes[115]. Parmi les proches de Syméon se rangent le patrice Génésios, qui était son fils spirituel, Christophore Phagoura, également un haut dignitaire, le protonotaire du drome Jean et un autre Jean, un parent de Syméon, ὁ ἐπὶ τῶν δεήσεων «préposé aux suppliques»[116].

Le noyau de cette faction est formé des eunuques de l'empereur Romain II. L'oncle de Syméon est un proche du puissant eunuque Joseph Bringas, et la chute de ce dernier après l'accession au trône de Nicéphore Phocas, en 963, coïncide, en

[110] Hausherr 1928, 218, § 147: εὐνοῦχον εὐσχήμονά τε καὶ σεμνοπρεπῆ. Sur la qualité d'eunuque de Syméon, voir Magdalino 1998, 145 et, en dernier lieu, Messis 2012, 70.

[111] Hausherr 1928, 8, § 10–11.

[112] Janin 1969, 314.

[113] Hausherr 1928, 79, § 59. Pour la qualité d'eunuque d'Arsène et son origine paphlagonienne, cf. *ibidem*, 58, § 45, lignes 4–5: ἀνήρ τις αὐτὸς ἐκ Παφλαγόνων ὁρμώμενος, το σῶμα εὐνοῦχος.

[114] Voir sur ce point McGuckin 1996, 32–35.

[115] McGuckin 1996, 28–32. Cf. Timotin 2011 b, 127–134.

[116] Hausherr 1928, 138, 140, 158 (§ 100, 102, 113). Ὁ δεήσεων ou ὁ ἐπὶ τῶν δεήσεων était fonctionnaire chargé des requêtes adressées à l'empereur; cf. Guilland 1965; Morris 2004.

fait, avec la première tentative de Syméon d'entrer au monastère[117]. Joseph Bringas, le *parakoimômenos* de Romain II, est la figure centrale d'un pouvoir impérial qui, après la mort de Constantin VII, est divisé entre Bringas et l'impératrice Théophano, l'épouse de Romain II. En 963, Théophano, en alliance avec le puissant général Nicéphore Phocas, écarte du pouvoir la faction de Bringas, qui sera remplacé par l'eunuque Basile, le tuteur des futurs empereurs Basile II et Constantin VIII. Grâce à ses relations au palais, Syméon a pu néanmoins conserver son titre de sénateur et rester en sécurité à Constantinople aussi longtemps que le parti aristocratique est resté au pouvoir sous Nicéphore Phocas et Jean Tsimiskès. La situation fut toute autre après la mort de Tsimiskès et l'accession au trône de Basile II, en 976. C'est la fin de la carrière politique du jeune eunuque. Réfugié au monastère, Syméon devient le centre d'une opposition aristocratique qui se légitime par l'autorité spirituelle de Syméon le Stoudite et de son fils spirituel.

L'aura mystique et la notoriété dont Syméon jouit à Constantinople dans le dernier quart du Xe siècle et le premier quart du siècle suivant ont contribué à la spiritualisation et à l'idéalisation de l'image de l'eunuque au sein de l'élite sociale byzantine. Cette représentation se consolide dans le cadre d'un réseau d'eunuques paphlagoniens réunis autour de Joseph Bringas. La chute de ce dernier n'a pourtant pas entraîné la fin de son clan, car, au siècle suivant, un Michel Bringas (1056–1057) accède au trône et réunit autour de lui une partie des eunuques qui avaient servi Michel IV le Paphlagonien et sa protectrice, Théodora III (1055–1056), dont l'influent Jean Orphanotrophos[118]. Il n'est peut-être pas un hasard si pendant la même période, entre 1054 et 1055, est rédigée la *Vie de Syméon le Nouveau Théologien* par son disciple Nicétas Stéthatos[119], récit qui va stabiliser et renforcer la réputation de saint dont jouissait le plus célèbre eunuque de l'entourage de Joseph Bringas.

La figure de Basile le Jeune a plus d'un trait en commun avec Syméon. Les deux ont de nombreuses relations dans le groupe d'eunuques paphlagoniens du palais impérial, passent la plupart de leur vie à Constantinople et sont vénérés comme saints par leurs disciples. Leur sainteté hors normes est, elle aussi, similaire. Basile, comme Syméon, est un mystique qui jouit d'une autorité spirituelle considérable et qui est crédité de plusieurs visions qui, comme dans le cas de Syméon, ont contribué de manière non négligeable à sa popularité (notamment sa vision du Jugement Dernier, la plus ample de toute la littérature byzantine).

La *Vie de Basile le Jeune* a joui d'une large popularité à Byzance[120]. Le texte contient un nombre important d'éléments historiques qui couvrent une période s'étendant du règne de Léon VI jusqu'au règne de Constantin VII (945–959), qui

[117] Cf. Hausherr 1928, LXXXVIII–LXXXI; McGuckin 1996, 19. Sur Joseph Bringas, voir Markopoulos 1981.

[118] Voir Magdalino 1998, 146.

[119] Cf. Hausherr 1928, lxxx–xci.

[120] Voir Sullivan, Talbot, McGrath 2014. Angelidi 1980, 3–12 a répertorié 22 manuscrits rédigés entre le IXe et le XIXe siècle. Sur la *Vie de Basile le Jeune*, voir aussi Kazhdan 2006, 185–193; Timotin 2010, 320–342.

permettent de placer sa rédaction dans un contexte historique déterminé, à Constantinople, au milieu du Xe siècle.

Basile le Jeune, que la première partie de sa biographie nous permet d'associer à la faction favorable à l'usurpateur Constantin Doukas à la cour de l'empereur Alexandre III (912–913)[121], se trouve impliqué dans les conflits pour l'accession au trône en tant qu'ami proche du magistre Romain Sarônitès, gendre de l'empereur Romain Lécapène (920–944), qu'il essaie de dissuader de comploter contre l'empereur[122].

Après un trou de deux décennies dans la biographie de Basile, on le retrouve, vers le milieu du Xe siècle, dans le quartier Arkadianai, près du palais impérial, dans la maison du *primmikêrios* Constantin Barbaros, un eunuque paphlagonien[123], où il reçoit la visite de nombreux dignitaires et où il passe le restant de sa vie[124]. Basile passe également un certain temps dans la maison des frères Constantin et Anasatase Gongylios, *praipositoi* à la cour et parents de Constantin Barbaros, eux aussi des eunuques originaires de Paphlagonie[125].

Les bonnes relations de Basile à la cour ont favorisé son accès au palais. Il devient le père spirituel de la patricienne Anastasie et de l'impératrice Hélène, l'épouse de Constantin VII, à laquelle il rend visite régulièrement. À la demande de l'impératrice, Basile reste au palais même pendant une semaine[126]. L'image de Basile est celle d'un favori de l'impératrice Hélène et de ses proches, qui sans être ni prêtre, ni moine, jouit parmi ses amis, en raison de ses charismes – il a, par exemple, le don de la «seconde vue» –, d'une réputation de sainteté, situation qui, tout en restant exceptionnelle, n'est pas isolée à l'époque[127].

Dans ses grandes lignes, son profil n'est pas très différent de celui de Syméon le Nouveau Théologien. Les deux sont, par l'autorité dont leur réputation les investit, au centre d'une famille spirituelle qui coïncide avec un puissant groupe aristocratique de Constantinople. Syméon est certainement un eunuque d'origine paphlagonienne, alors que Basile, s'il n'en est pas un, a du moins des connexions nombreuses et étroites dans le milieu des eunuques paphlagoniens du palais.

Si la *Vie de Syméon* fut rédigée dans une période heureuse pour les eunuques d'origine paphlagonienne et, en particulier, pour le clan de son protecteur, pendant le règne de Théodora et de son protégé, Michel Bringas, la *Vie de Basile*, rédigée le

[121] Voir Magdalino 1998, 147 n. 28; Timotin 2010, 321–322.

[122] Sullivan, Talbot, McGrath 2014, 105–113. Sur le magistre Romain Sarônitès, voir Cheynet 1990, 271.

[123] Sullivan, Talbot, McGrath 2014, 117–119. Cf. Rydén 1983, 574–575, 583.

[124] Sullivan, Talbot, McGrath 2014, 735–737. Sur la localisation du quartier, voir Müller-Wiener 1977, 21.

[125] Sullivan, Talbot, McGrath 2014, 293–309. Sur les frères Gongylioi, voir Rydén 1983, 573–574; Magdalino 1998, 144.

[126] Sullivan, Talbot, McGrath 2014, 121–127.

[127] Cf. par exemple, la *Vie de Philarète le Miséricordieux*, la *Vie d'André Salos* ou la *Vie de Marie la Jeune*. Pour les similitudes entre les figures d'André Salos et de Basile le Jeune, voir Magdalino 1999.

plus probablement vers le milieu du Xe siècle, eut peut-être comme auteur un paphlagonien, qu'il soit Nicétas David[128], ou l'un des frères Gongylioi[129].

La conclusion qui se dégage de l'examen de ces deux cas est que le groupe des eunuques paphlagoniens de la cour, très influents sous Constantin VII et Romain II, mais aussi au XIe siècle, notamment dans l'administration de l'empereur Michel IV le Paphlagonien, promeuvent et entretiennent, à travers des figures charismatiques comme Basile le Jeune et Syméon le Nouveau Théologien, une représentation idéalisée de leur ordre. Cette représentation, qui spiritualise et ennoblit la figure de l'eunuque, représente à la fois une forme d'identité régionale et un emblème social.

IV. *L'Orthodoxie aux confins de l'Empire. Les Arméniens en Thrace*[130]

Au IXe siècle, les Arméniens représentent la plus importante minorité ethnique de l'Empire byzantin par les fonctions qu'ils exercent: des commandants militaires, notamment dans les régions de frontière, des agents de l'administration et même des empereurs, avec Léon V l'Arménien (813–820) et Basile Ier (867–886)[131]. Leur insertion dans l'élite de la société byzantine est attestée dès le VIe siècle, pendant le règne de Justinien (483–565), mais elle va s'amplifiant au cours des siècles suivants, notamment à partir du IXe siècle, avec la reconquête byzantine de l'Est anatolien et l'incorporation de l'Arménie[132]. L'annexion des territoires entraîne des transferts de population dans l'empire et, corrélativement, l'assimilation progressive de l'élément arménien dans l'aristocratie byzantine, notamment comme effet de l'exercice de hauts offices militaires lié au besoin stratégique de la défense des frontières. Selon Al. Kazhdan, les Arméniens représentent au IXe siècle 25 % ou même plus de l'aristocratie militaire byzantine, poids qui décroît progressivement à partir du XIe siècle[133].

Ces calculs n'ont bien sûr qu'une valeur indicative, car l'origine arménienne des archontes n'est pas toujours facile à établir. Elle n'est que rarement explicite, mais l'onomastique permet d'établir les racines arméniennes des familles telles que Môsèlé, Taronites, Kourkouas ou Lékapenos, ou des figures célèbres comme le césar Bardas, régent sous Michel III (842–867), ou Stylianos Zaoutzès, *basileopatôr* sous Léon VI (886–912)[134]. Les noms de familles sont parfois associés de manière alternative à une origine arménienne ou géorgienne (Tornikios, Pakourianos, Vichkatzi, Apuchap), et dans ce cas on parle plutôt d'origines « caucasiennes »[135].

[128] Voir Timotin 2010, 329–330.

[129] Voir Sullivan, Talbot, McGrath 2014, 11.

[130] Une première version de ce chapitre a été publiée sous le titre *Redéfinitions arméniennes de la sainteté byzantine (IXe–XIe siècles)*, Transylvanian Review, 19, Supplement 5, 2010, 73–82.

[131] Sur les Arméniens dans l'Empire byzantin, voir Charanis 1961; Kazhdan 1983; Brousselle 1996; Garsoïan 1998; Malamut 2006.

[132] Cf. Charanis 1961, 205–211; Brousselle 1996, 47–51.

[133] Kazhdan 1983, 444, 447–448.

[134] Cf. Kazhdan 1983, 443–444; Brousselle 1996, 44–47.

[135] Cf. Kazhdan 1983, 443; Brousselle 1996, 45.

Les profils sociaux de ces personnages sont de plus divers, allant de grands seigneurs à de simples aventuriers comme le futur empereur Basile Ier[136].

Leur identité ethnique, linguistique et culturelle a pu se perpétuer malgré leur « byzantinisation » et l'adoption du crédo chalcédonien quoique les sources ne soient pas généreuses sur ces aspects[137]. Les solidarités ethniques transparaissent néanmoins dans les mariages et les alliances politiques conclus entre les familles dont l'origine arménienne est incontestable[138]. Beaucoup de leurs membres sont bilingues, et les plus cultivés ne résistent pas à l'attraction de la culture grecque, comme ce Grégoire Pahlavuni Magistros qui se consacre à la traduction en arménien de la littérature grecque[139]. L'orthodoxie n'est elle non plus uniforme et incontestée: l'histoire d'un certain Gagik, noble arménien qui quitte Ani en 1045 pour s'établir en Cappadoce sur un domaine attribué par l'empereur, qui tue le métropolite de Césarée et est ensuite capturé par les magnats locaux et pendu[140], est représentative pour les tensions entre l'Église locale et les nouveaux venus. Il est encore significatif que les Arméniens déportés en Thrace (premier transfert sous Constantin V, en 754–755) sont associés à partir du VIIIe siècle à l'hérésie paulicienne et plus tard aux Bogomiles[141].

L'attachement aux valeurs religieuses byzantines ne manque pas lui non plus de soulever des difficultés, et cette étude se propose précisément de mettre en évidence les particularités et les divergences par rapport à la norme byzantine de l'idéal religieux des Arméniens grécisés de l'empire, tel qu'il se reflète dans l'hagiographie de deux figures exemplaires, Marie la Jeune et Philarète le Miséricordieux.

Avant de passer à l'analyse de ces deux personnages, quelques précisions sont nécessaires sur la définition de la sainteté à Byzance à une époque qui ne connaît pas encore des procès officiels de canonisation[142]. La reconnaissance publique de la sainteté n'obéit pas à des règles précises et présente un caractère décentralisé, fluctuant et relativement spontané[143]. «Pour autant, n'importe qui ne devient pas saint (*hagios* ou *hosios* en grec) sans répondre à certaines normes, sans avoir effectué une sorte de parcours obligatoire, sans être ressenti dans la conscience populaire, à travers un type d'action bien défini, comme un homme (ou une femme) participant de la gloire divine, ce qui est la définition même de la

[136] L'ascension de Basile Ier a été étudiée par Beck 1965.

[137] Cf. Brousselle 1996, 51–52; Garsoïan 1998, 100–102. Sur les divergences dogmatiques entre les Arméniens et les Byzantins, voir Dorfmann-Lazarev 2004.

[138] Voir les exemples réunis et analysés par Charanis 1961, 207–211, et par Brousselle 1996, 51–52.

[139] Cf. Kazhdan 1983, 444.

[140] Cf. Charanis 1961, 199.

[141] Theophanes, 429, commenté par Malamut 2006, 105–106.

[142] Voir *supra*, note 4.

[143] Le meilleur aperçu général est Kaplan 1990. Voir aussi Delehaye 1927, 162–207; Hackel 1981; Kaplan 1999; Pratsch 2005.

sainteté»[144]. Ce parcours obligatoire est jalonné en général par quelques éléments récurrents: enfance exceptionnelle (vie spirituelle précoce), prise de l'habit monastique – plus de trois quarts des saints attestés entre le début du VIIe siècle et la fin de l'empire sont des moines[145] –, chasteté, ascèse et obéissance, combat avec les démons, accomplissement de miracles (notamment des guérissons), la seconde vue (*diorasis*), et, après la mort, l'incorruptibilité et la bonne odeur des reliques. Le dosage de ces éléments peut varier et d'autres traits s'y ajoutent pour achever une pluralité de profils difficiles à réduire à un portrait standardisé.

Par rapport à ce contour général, les *Vies* de Marie la Jeune (*BHG* 1164), rédigée le plus probablement au XIe siècle[146], et de Philarète le Miséricordieux (*BHG* 1511z–1512b), rédigée par son petit-fils Nicétas aux alentours de 820[147], se présentent plutôt comme des parcours atypiques.

Marie la Jeune – nommée ainsi pour la distinguer de Marie l'Égyptienne – est la fille d'un noble arménien émigré à Constantinople sous Basile Ier (867–886)[148]. Elle s'est mariée avec le drongaire Nicéphore qui, en récompense de ses mérites dans la guerre contre les Bulgares en 894–896, avait reçu le commandement militaire d'une petite ville dans l'est de la Thrace, Vizyè (l'actuelle Viza) où il s'établit avec sa famille[149]. Ils eurent quatre enfants dont deux moururent à bas âge alors que les deux autres, Vaanès et Étienne, embrassèrent respectivement la carrière militaire et la vie monacale. Étienne prit le nom de Syméon, et devint moine au mont Kyminas, où il fut peut-être le disciple du célèbre Michel Maléïnos[150]. Marie est une femme pieuse, qui va régulièrement à l'église et qui fait preuve d'une charité peu commune qui lui vaudra le reproche de gaspiller la fortune de la maison. Elle est accusée par son mari d'adultère avec un esclave et placée sous observation dans sa chambre. Un jour, son mari, courroucé par les médisances d'un ami, la frappe brutalement. Essayant de s'échapper, elle se blesse gravement à la tête. Après quelques jours, elle mourut et fut enterrée dans l'église épiscopale de Vizyè[151].

[144] Kaplan 1990, 16.

[145] Charanis 1971.

[146] AS, *Novembris*, IV, Bruxelles, 1925, col. 692–705 (traduction anglaise, accompagnée de notes et d'une introduction, par A. E. Laiou, dans Talbot 1996 b, 254–289). La datation de la *Vie*, conservée seulement dans deux manuscrits tardifs, des XIVe–XVe siècles, n'est pas facile. Certains savants ont argumenté pour la seconde moitié du Xe siècle (Balasčev 1899, 205), alors que d'autres ont soutenu une date postérieure à 1025 (P. Peeters, dans AS, *Novembris*, IV, Bruxelles, 1925, col. 691). Le plus fort argument en faveur du XIe siècle est l'allusion à l'empereur Basile II (chap. 2), à moins qu'il ne s'agisse pas d'une interpolation. A. E. Laiou (*Introduction*, dans Talbot 1996 b, 242–245) a avancé comme argument supplémentaire contre le Xe siècle la confusion au sujet de la localisation du mont Kyminas, difficilement concevable à un auteur écrivant à cette époque.

[147] Rydén 2002; Fourmy, Leroy 1934.

[148] Sur l'origine arménienne de Marie, voir Peeters 1951, 129–135. P. Peeters suppose, sur la base de la chronologie interne de la *Vie*, que Marie est née en Arménie, avant l'arrivée de son père à Constantinople, mais Angeliki E. Laiou a montré la faiblesse de ses arguments (dans Talbot 1996 b, 241).

[149] Sur Vizyè, voir Ahrweiler 1988, 230–231, avec bibliographie.

[150] Voir A. E. Laiou, *Introduction*, dans Talbot 1996 b, 244. Sur Michel Maleïnos, voir *supra*.

[151] Maintenant la mosquée Süleyman Paşa Camii; voir Mango 1968.

Quatre mois après sa mort, intervenue, semble-t-il, en 902[152], une guérison miraculeuse se produit à sa tombe. Exhumé, son corps intact guérit les malades. C'est le point de départ d'un culte auquel les autorités ecclésiastiques locales s'opposent fermement. L'évêque de Vizyè et quelques moines expriment ouvertement leurs doutes à ce qu'une femme qui a vécu et est morte mariée puisse produire des miracles réservés aux seuls moines et martyrs[153]. Néanmoins, le culte continue à se développer. Marie apparaît en rêve à son mari et lui demande de bâtir une chapelle où son corps soit transféré. Le mari exauce cette demande malgré l'opposition du clergé local. Les miracles se poursuivent dans la nouvelle chapelle.

Nicéphore mourut pendant l'occupation bulgare de Vizyè et fut enterré dans la même chapelle à côté de sa femme. La ville fut incendiée par les Bulgares, mais peu de temps après la mort du tsar Syméon (893–927), elle fut réoccupée par les Byzantins sous le tsar Pierre, le fils de Syméon, qui fit paix avec Romain Lécapène (920–944) en 927. Vaanès, l'un des deux fils de Marie, qui était commandant dans l'armée byzantine et avait combattu contre les Bulgares, rentra alors à Vizyè et décida, de concert avec son frère, le moine Syméon, lui aussi de passage par la ville, d'utiliser leur part de l'héritage paternel pour transformer la chapelle en un monastère. Ils transférèrent le corps de son père dans une autre tombe en dehors de l'église et déplacèrent les reliques de leur mère dans le tombeau de marbre où avait été mis Nicéphore. Le monastère devient un lieu fréquenté par de nombreux pèlerins. Le culte de Marie gagne en notoriété, mais son absence du Synaxaire de Constantinople suggère qu'il est resté limité aux environs de Vizyè où la commémoration de Marie a continué jusqu'à la fin de l'empire, comme en témoigne les deux manuscrits connus de sa *Vie*, datant respectivement du XIVe et du XVe siècle[154]. Dans la forme où elle nous est parvenue, la *Vie de Marie la Jeune* semble avoir été rédigée quelques générations après les événements relatés, le plus probablement au XIe siècle, sinon même plus tard[155].

Son culte est, au moins à son origine, un culte ethnique. Promu par une famille arménienne établie en Thrace déjà depuis trois générations, le culte organisé autour du monastère familial de Vizyè se heurte à la résistance de la hiérarchie ecclésiastique locale, méfiante à l'égard de la dévotion croissante pour cette étrangère dont la sainteté soulève des réserves justifiées. Soutenu au début par son mari, un notable local, le culte est par la suite édifié méthodiquement – monastère, transfert des reliques, tombeau de marbre, hagiographie et icône *acheiropoïètes*[156] – par ses deux fils, Vaanès, commandant d'armée dont le nom trahit l'identité arménienne, et le moine Syméon. L'un des deux autres enfants de Marie, morts à bas âge, s'appelle Vardanès, nom arménien également, et la proportion des noms des quatre enfants – deux d'origine arménienne, deux d'origine grecque – trahit l'intention de

[152] Voir Pratsch 2004.

[153] AS, *Novembris*, IV, chap. 12, 19, col. 697, 699.

[154] Voir A. E. Laiou, *Introduction*, dans Talbot 1996 b, 240–241.

[155] *Ibidem*, 242–245, avec la bibliographie antérieure.

[156] Sur le rôle de l'icône dans le culte de Marie la Jeune, voir Timotin 2007, 124–129; Timotin 2010, 242–243.

préserver la double identité ethnique de ses fils[157]. Le beau-frère de Marie est lui aussi un Arménien – il s'appelle Vardas Vratzès[158] –, et le père de Marie est l'un des officiers arméniens auxquels l'avènement au pouvoir de Basile Ier a permis l'installation, pour la plupart d'entre eux définitive, à l'intérieur de l'empire. Son établissement à Vizyè est intervenu, fort probablement, comme effet de la politique de Léon VI (886–912) qui confia la région de frontière du futur thème de Lykandos à des commandants d'origine arménienne et procéda de la même façon après les campagnes contre les Bulgares des années 894–896[159]. La politique de transplantation de la population arménienne en Thrace remonte au règne de Maurice (582–602)[160], et elle fut réitérée au VIIIe siècle par Constantin V (741–775), quand des milliers d'Arméniens et de Syriens monophysites furent amenés des régions de l'est et établis en Thrace[161]. Au Xe siècle, pendant le règne de Jean Tzimiskès (969–976), un nombre considérable de Pauliciens, en grande partie des Arméniens, seront également transplantés en Thrace, autour de Philippoupolis[162]. Il est donc fort possible que parmi les adhérents au nouveau culte de Vizyè se rangent aussi des membres de la communauté d'Arméniens grécisés de Thrace formée à la suite de ces transferts successifs de population.

Le culte a dû cependant affronter l'opposition résolue du clergé et des moines locaux et cette réaction a une raison précise. La biographie de Marie ne correspond pas aux canons de l'hagiographie byzantine. Elle est une femme mariée, mère de quatre enfants et sans relations avec les milieux monastique et clérical, portrait qui n'a pas de précédent dans l'hagiographie byzantine[163]. Elle ne pratique pas l'ascèse et n'est pas éprouvée par les démons, n'accomplit pas de miracles et n'a pas le don de la seconde vue. Bref, elle ne fait rien de ce que l'on attendrait d'un saint de cette époque, sauf l'incorruptibilité des reliques et les guérissons posthumes. Son hagiographe en est bien conscient: il ne cache pas les réserves du clergé et des moines à l'égard de la sainteté de Marie et, d'autre part, il fait un ample et hardi éloge des vertus de la vie séculière où il ne manque pas d'ailleurs de glisser quelques allusions irrévérencieuses sur les moines[164]. Cet éloge est une caution et un programme à la fois. Il légitime la sainteté de Marie et en même temps propose

[157] Voir Peeters 1951, 133.

[158] Vratzès signifie "Géorgien", ce qui peut indiquer un Arménien chalcédonien; voir sur ce point A. E. Laiou, *Introduction*, dans Talbot 1996 b, 255 n. 50.

[159] Constantine Porphyrogenitus, 228; Theophanes Continuatus, 358, 360. Les deux textes sont analysés par Brousselle 1996, 48.

[160] Sébéos 1904, 30–31; cf. Charanis 1961, 199.

[161] Theophanes, 427, 429; Michel le Syrien, 518, 521, 523; cf. Charanis 1961, 199; Malamut 2006, 105–106.

[162] Skylitzès, éd. Thurn, 286; Zonaras, 522; cf. Charanis 1961, 199; Malamut 2006, 107.

[163] Il y a un seul cas analogue, Thomaïs de Lesbos, mais il est postérieur à Marie. Sur la place de ces deux *Vies* dans l'évolution de l'hagiographie féminine à Byzance, voir Patlagean 1976, 620–622. Cf. Rydén 1986, 545–546; P. Halsall, *Life of St. Thomaïs de Lesbos. Introduction*, dans Talbot 1996 b, 292–293. La date de la rédaction de la *Vie de Thomaïs*, généralement assignée au Xe siècle, a été mise en question par Al. Kazhdan (*ODB*, III, 2076) qui a avancé l'hypothèse d'une révision plus tardive.

[164] AS, *Novembris*, IV, chap. 19, col. 699. Voir aussi les reproches adressés aux moines errants par l'hagiographe de Cyrille le Philéote (XIIe siècle); cf. Sargologos 1964, 112–117, chap. 24.

pour imitation un modèle de vie qui a trop peu en commun avec les biographies traditionnelles des saints byzantins. Les saints provenant du milieu séculier se multiplient au Xe siècle, avec des figures comme celles d'André *Salos* et de Basile le Jeune, mais, d'une part, il s'agit de saints et non de saintes, et, d'autre part, André *Salos* et Basile le Jeune, malgré leur caractère marginal par rapport à l'Église et à la société, transmettent à leurs disciples, Épiphane et Grégoire, un enseignement religieux qui ne diffère pas essentiellement du discours traditionnel de l'Église dont ils promeuvent les valeurs[165].

Le cas de Marie la Jeune est différent. Marie est une femme commune, dépourvue d'éducation théologique, à laquelle aucun discours édifiant n'est attribué. Sa sainteté se réduit à la limite à la charité, mais celle-ci, aux yeux de son hagiographe, « élève l'homme mieux que toute autre vertu »[166]. D'autre part, les représentants de l'Église et leur conception sur la nature de la sainteté sont clairement discrédités par l'hagiographe en raison de leur incapacité à reconnaître la perfection de Marie. Il est impossible de ne pas détecter ici une visée polémique. À travers la biographie de Marie, l'hagiographe exalte la vie séculière au détriment des modèles traditionnels de la sainteté: «la bienheureuse Marie, la merveille de notre génération, que notre discours a prise pour sujet, tout femme qu'elle fût, et unie à un homme, et mère d'enfants, rien absolument ne l'a empêchée d'atteindre la gloire en Dieu: ni la faiblesse de la nature, ni les tourments du mariage, ni la nécessité et les soucis de la nourriture des enfants. Au contraire, tout cela a servi de base à sa gloire, et elle a fait preuve que ceux qui disent et pensent que ces circonstances et le reste font obstacle à la valeur se livrent à des vains discours et inventent des prétextes dans leur péché »[167]. Parmi les vertus de la vie séculière, la charité vient au premier plan, mais elle n'est pas la seule.

En introduisant dans le récit les figures des deux fils de Marie arrivés à la maturité, l'hagiographe dresse un portrait contrasté de leurs carrières, monastique et militaire. Ici encore son parti pris est bien net. Alors que la vocation monastique de Syméon est évoquée en quelques phrases conventionnelles[168], il n'épargne pas ses mots pour célébrer les vertus du brave commandant d'armée[169]. Son portrait est bien celui d'un saint: brave et courageux, il est « au dessus des honneurs de ce

[165] Voir Grosdidier de Matons 1970, 304–311; Magdalino 1999, 88.

[166] AS, *Novembris*, IV, Paris, 1925, col. 699: αὕτη μὲν γὰρ ἡ μακαρία Μαρία, τὸ θαῦμα τῆς καθ᾽ ἡμᾶς γενεᾶς, ὅσον ἐν τῷ ἁγίῳ βαπτίσματι ἐπηγγείλατο, διετήρησε μέχρι τέλους ἀνόθευτον, ὅπερ ἐστὶ πάντως τῆς τῶν κοσμικῶν τελειότητος· ἡ δὴ προσέθετο τούτῳ σὺν ἄλλαις οὐκ ὀλίγαις ἀρετῶν μάλιστα τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἀνυφοῖ, ὡς καρπὸς ὑπάρχουσα τῆς ἀγάπης ᾗ καὶ Θεὸς πευφραίνεται μᾶλλον, καὶ αὐτὸς αὐτὸ τοῦτο ἀγάπη ὀνομάζεσθαι βούλεται („Marie, la bienheureuse, la merveille de notre génération, a jusqu'à la fin préservé inaltérée la promesse qu'elle avait faite au moment du saint baptême, ce qui est la perfection pour les laïcs, ce à quoi elle a ajouté beaucoup d'autres vertus, parmi lesquelles la charité qui élève l'homme mieux que toute autre vertu, étant le fruit de l'amour à tel point agréable à Dieu qu'Il veut que Lui-même soit appelé par le nom de l'amour (*1 Jn* 4, 16)").

[167] *Ibidem*, col. 692 (trad. Patlagean 1976, 622).

[168] *Ibidem*, chap. 27 et 31, col. 702 et 704.

[169] *Ibidem*, chap. 30, col. 703–704.

monde », « téméraire dans le corps, mais beaucoup plus téméraire dans son âme », émulant sa mère dans la charité et dans les autres vertus. Sa piété – participation régulière aux offices, récitation constante des psaumes et des canons – n'a rien à envier au moine le plus zélé. Que ce panégyrique soit consacré au soldat et non au moine, comme on aurait pu bien paraître légitime, cela n'est sûrement pas anodin. En faisant l'éloge de Marie et de son fils ayant embrassé la carrière militaire, l'hagiographe modifie, en effet, et redéfinit le canon hagiographique byzantin.

Que ce fils de Marie soit précisément celui qui porte un nom qui évoque ses racines arméniennes n'est peut-être pas un pur hasard. L'un de très rares exemples de saints byzantins sans relations avec l'univers monastique et clérical, Philarète le Miséricordieux, qui vécut au VIIIe siècle, mais dont la *Vie* fut rédigé par un de ses petits-fils au siècle suivant[170], fait partie, très probablement, de la communauté arménienne de Paphlagonie[171]. Limitée à l'est par le thème des Arméniaques, la Paphlagonie était un lieu traditionnel de refuge pour les Arméniens pendant les guerres byzantino-arabes du VIIe siècle. Le nom de l'aîné des petits-fils de Philarète est Bardas et un autre petit-fils s'appelle Pétronas, couple qui évoque le césar Bardas et son frère cadet, Pétronas, deux figures célèbres de l'histoire byzantine du IXe siècle dont l'origine arménienne est bien établie. Qui plus est, l'un des soldats qui bénéficient de la charité de Philarète s'appelle Mousèlios ou Mousoulios, nom qui trahit également une origine arménienne[172].

Comme Marie la Jeune, Philarète est un saint atypique par rapport aux modèles hagiographiques traditionnels[173]: il est marié et père de plusieurs enfants – un fils et deux filles – et n'a aucune des qualités qui, en règle générale, qualifient pour ce statut; il n'est ni prêtre, ni moine et semble d'ailleurs dépourvu d'une éducation religieuse solide, il ne pratique pas l'ascèse et n'accomplit pas de miracles. Comme Marie, il fait pourtant preuve d'une charité hors du commun et il est évident que son hagiographe promeut à travers sa biographie un modèle de sainteté différent par rapport au canon byzantin. La composition de sa biographie, elle aussi, est hors norme, en ressemblant plutôt à un conte qu'à une vie de saint. Elle donne très peu de détails sur la vie de Philarète dont elle ne raconte d'ailleurs que les dernières années et, quoiqu'elle soit rédigée par un moine, les événements racontés se passent dans un milieu exclusivement séculier[174].

La première partie de la *Vie* présente Philarète et sa famille dans le village d'Amnia, en Paphlagonie. Philarète, dépeint en nouveau Job, est un seigneur riche

[170] Sur Nicétas, l'hagiographe de Philarète, voir Rydén 2002, 45–50.

[171] Voir Treadgold 1988, 432, n. 375. Voir aussi les commentaires plus réservés de Rydén 2002, 25.

[172] Rydén 2002, 24.

[173] Voir Kazhdan, Sherry 1996; Ludwig 1997, 74–166; Rydén 2002, 33–36.

[174] Cet aspect, ainsi que l'absence de toute référence à la crise iconoclaste et l'analyse des noms des enfants et des petits-enfants de Philarète ont permis d'avancer l'hypothèse du caractère iconoclaste de la *Vie*: voir Ševčenko 1977, 126; Auzépy 1993, 121. Cet argument *ex silentio* n'est pourtant pas décisif et des réserves légitimes ont été exprimées sur ce point par Rydén 2002, 24–25, et par Kazhdan 1999, 289–290.

que Dieu met à l'épreuve à l'instigation du diable, et l'amène à la ruine par sa charité déraisonnable. Une de ses petites-filles devient, après avoir gagné un concours de beauté à Constantinople, l'épouse de l'empereur Constantin VI (780–797) et la dernière partie de la *Vie* décrit la vie de Philarète à la cour de Constantin VI où il continue à faire preuve de sa prodigieuse philanthropie. Au lit de mort, le saint prêche la charité à ses fils et petit-fils en les conseillant de donner leur fortune aux pauvres. Après sa mort, son petit-fils et hagiographe Nicétas a un rêve où il voit son grand-père au paradis en nouvel Abraham[175].

Figure singulière dans le paysage de l'hagiographie byzantine, Philarète rejoint néanmoins la figure de Marie la Jeune avec laquelle il partage plusieurs traits: le mariage et la descendance relativement nombreuse, l'absence d'affiliation monastique ou ecclésiastique, la charité hors du commun. Éloges des vertus de la vie séculière, leurs biographies s'accordent pour dresser la synthèse d'un type de religiosité différent par rapport au modèle byzantin traditionnel. Les hagiographes de Marie et de Philarète opèrent, avec toute la vigueur du genre, une rectification des valeurs religieuses traditionnelles, et il est légitime de penser que l'identité ethnique de leurs héros et/ou de leurs descendants n'est pas indifférente dans cette entreprise. Redéfinition de la sainteté dans le cadre de l'orthodoxie, les aspirations religieuses de ces Arméniens grécisés se frayent un chemin dans ces récits édifiants qui condensent un système de valeurs et dissimulent son désaccord avec la norme byzantine.

V. *Eschatologie et politique de la foi. Les conversions forcées des Juifs sous Basile Ier et Romain Lécapène*[176]

La présence des Juifs dans l'Empire byzantin, difficile à quantifier surtout pour l'Antiquité tardive, est néanmoins attestée sans solution de continuité jusqu'au XVe siècle[177]. Elle a connu une large distribution géographique et un flux migratoire relativement constant, notamment de l'Égypte et des autres pays de l'Islam vers l'Empire. Les communautés juives étaient majoritairement des communautés urbaines, engagées dans des activités économiques comme l'artisanat, notamment dans l'industrie textile, et le commerce[178]. Selon Benjamin de Tudèle, voyageur dans l'Empire vers 1160, les plus importantes communautés juives se trouvaient à Constantinople (*ca* 2500 de Juifs, probablement 1% de la population), à Thèbes (*ca* 2000) et à Thessalonique (*ca* 500)[179]. À Constantinople, au début du XIe siècle, les

[175] Sur cet épisode, voir Timotin 2010, 292–294.

[176] Une première version de ce chapitre a été publiée sous le titre *Les conversions des Juifs dans l'Empire byzantin et leur image dans l'hagiographie (IXe–XIe siècles)*, RIst, s.n., 23, 2012, 3–4, 207–217.

[177] Sur les Juifs de l'Empire byzantin, voir notamment Starr 1939; Ankori 1959; Sharf 1971; Bonfil et alii 2012.

[178] Sur les activités économiques des Juifs à Byzance, voir en dernier lieu David Jacoby, *The Jews in the Byzantine Economy (Seventh to Mid-Fifteenth Century)*, dans Bonfil et alii 2012, 219–255.

[179] Voir Starr 1939, 228–230. Cf. De Lange 2000, 106.

Juifs résidaient surtout le long de la Corne d'Or, dans la région réservée aux marchands étrangers, pour être transférés en 1044, par édit impérial, dans le quartier de Péra, de l'autre côté de la Corne d'Or, où ils vivaient dans un état de relatif cloisonnement jusqu'à l'incendie du quartier en 1203[180]. Ce sont les seuls sujets de l'Empire à être soumis à cette ségrégation collective destinée à les rendre plus facile à contrôler du point de vue économique, politique et religieux; une ségrégation qui peut se convertir en stigmatisation, comme il arrive en 1044, quand l'empereur Constantin IX expulse tous les Juifs de Constantinople, à côté des Arméniens et des Arabes, supposés être à l'origine des troubles qui agitaient la ville à cette époque[181].

Cette politique se reflète dans la législation impériale, qui les marginalise progressivement. Après la proclamation du christianisme comme religion d'État en 380, l'identité religieuse devient le repère en fonction duquel se définit le statut de l'individu dans la société. L'unité religieuse de l'empire, corollaire de son unité politique, engendre et justifie l'intolérance vis-à-vis des minorités religieuses. Dès le Ve siècle, les Juifs sont exclus de l'armée, de l'administration et des charges publiques, et à partir de 531 ils sont disqualifiés en tant que témoins contre les chrétiens[182]. L'Église achève et consacre cette marginalisation sociale, en dépossédant les Juifs de leur identité religieuse. En assumant l'héritage religieux juif, elle se définit dès lors comme le vrai Israël et comme le seul exegète autorisé de l'Écriture. Distillées, les invectives adressées au Juifs se convertissent en genre littéraire, les textes polémiques anti-judaïques étant une constante de la littérature ecclésiastique byzantine[183]. Discrédités par l'accusation de déicide, les Juifs personnifient l'incroyance et la négation du christianisme et se voient progressivement déshumanisés et démonisés par une série de stéréotypes renforcés par la querelle iconoclaste qui engendra un nouveau type d'accusation contre les Juifs: ils auraient profané et détruit les icônes – par exemple l'icône du Christ conservée au Saint Puits de Sainte-Sophie qu'un Juif aurait poignardée[184] –, ce qui n'est au fond qu'une réitération du déicide.

Ces clichés, assumés, totalement ou partiellement, par la société, recoupent les craintes et les soupçons naturellement engendrés par l'altérité des Juifs, par leur différence religieuse et leur mode de vie. Benjamin de Tudèle, qui visite le quartier juif de Constantinople, témoigne de la haine dont la population juive est l'objet. Une lettre de Thessalonique, écrite en 1096, confirme et généralise cet état d'esprit, en faisant état également des espoirs messianiques de la communauté juive de la ville[185].

[180] Voir Jacoby 1967; Jacoby 1995.

[181] Voir Jacoby 1993, 132.

[182] Sur le statut juridique des Juifs dans l'Empire byzantin, voir en dernier lieu, A. Linder, *The Legal Status of Jews in the Byzantine Empire*, dans Bonfil et alii 2012, 149–217. Cf. aussi S. N. Troianos, *Christians and Jews in Byzantium: A Love-Hate Relationship*, *ibidem*, 133–148.

[183] Külzer 1999; Dagron, Déroche 2010; V. Déroche, *Forms and Functions of Anti-Jewish Polemics: Polymorphy, Polysemy*, dans Bonfil et alii 2012, 535–548.

[184] Ciggaar 1976, 248–249.

[185] Starr 1939, 203–208. Sur les attentes apocalyptiques dans les communautés juives, cf. Alexander 1990; Bonfil 2003.

La politique de ségrégation et la marginalisation pratique et idéologique des Juifs ont pu déboucher, à partir du VIIe siècle, sur des tentatives régulières et systématiques de conversion forcée de la population juive de l'Empire[186]. La première est survenue sous le règne de l'empereur Héraclius (610–641), dans les années 630–632, lors de l'occupation passagère de Jérusalem par les Perses. La deuxième fut l'initiative de Léon III (717–741), en 721–722, et fit partie d'un programme plus vaste voué à assurer l'unité religieuse de l'Empire ébranlée par les sectes dualistes et judaïsantes de l'Asie Mineure. Les empereurs macédoniens ont continué cette politique, entre le dernier quart du IXe siècle et le milieu du siècle suivant étant attestées deux autres tentatives de baptême forcé des Juifs. La première, connue notamment grâce à un traité de l'évêque de Syracuse, Grégoire Asbestas[187], fut l'œuvre de Basile Ier, dans les années 873–874, et visa surtout la capitale et les grandes villes. Son fils, Léon VI (886–912), continua la politique de son père et promulgua une loi interdisant aux Juifs baptisés sous Basile Ier la pratique du judaïsme[188], que la plupart d'entre eux, convertis uniquement pour des raisons matérielles et sociales, observaient clandestinement[189]. Une nouvelle politique de conversion en masse des Juifs est attestée vers 930, sous le règne de Romain Ier Lécapène (920–944)[190], mais ses résultats concrets furent toujours très limités.

Les témoignages sur l'impact social et psychologique de ces mesures, qui semblent un élément de continuité de la politique impériale, ne sont pas nombreux. Les textes anti-judaïques de l'époque méso-byzantine montrent à la fois l'arrière-plan idéologique de ces mesures et leur reflet dans le discours ecclésiastique[191], mais ils nous apprennent peu sur leur effet dans la société. À ce titre, l'hagiographie est, une fois de plus, une source privilégiée[192]. Les biographies de quelques saints rédigées au Xe siècle, majoritairement à Constantinople, en donnent en effet une image biaisée, mais très instructive pour les conséquences et la perception sociale de la politique anti-judaïque des empereurs macédoniens.

Une de ces biographies est la *Vie de Constantin le Juif* (*BHG* 370), rédigée fort probablement sous le règne de Léon VI (886–912) par un moine de Nicée[193].

[186] Cf. Starr 1939, 133–147; Sharf 1971, 82–93; Jacoby 1993, 124–125; Dagron, Déroche 2010, 347–353.

[187] Dagron, Déroche 2010, 313–357. Cf. *Vie de Basile Ier*, dans Theophanes Continuatus, 341–342; Starr 1939, 127–148.

[188] *Les Novelles de Léon VI le Sage*, 209–211 (*Novelle* 55).

[189] Cf. Dagron, Déroche 2010, 353; Jacoby 1993, 125–126; Oikonomidès 1990, 147.

[190] Cf. Starr 1939, 151–154; Sharf 1971, 94–102.

[191] Cf. Hostens 1986; *Ἀντίθεσις ἑβραίων πρὸς χριστιανούς, μετὰ Ἀθανασίου καὶ Κυρίλλου* (seconde moitié du Xe siècle), sur lequel voir Külzer 1999, 179–184; Nicétas Stéthathos, *Traité contre les Juifs*, dans Nicétas Stéthatos, 412–443.

[192] Sur l'image des Juifs dans la littérature byzantine, voir l'aperçu général de V. von Falkenhausen, *In Search of the Jews in Byzantine Literature*, dans Bonfil et alii 2012, 871–891. Pour l'hagiographie, en particulier, cf. Külzer 2004.

[193] AS, *Novembris*, IV, 628–656. Sur la *Vie de Constantin le Juif*, voir Starr 1939, 119–122; Efthymiadis 1993. Sur le culte de saint Constantin à Constantinople à la fin du IXe siècle, cf. Majeska 1977.

Né vers 820 en Phrygie, dans la communauté juive de Synada, Constantin fuit le mariage auquel il était destiné par sa famille pour se convertir au christianisme. Il est baptisé par l'higoumène du monastère de Phlouboutinoi près de Nicée, où vivait à cette époque-là une importante communauté juive[194]. Il y fut ordonné prêtre et y resta douze ans, période pendant laquelle il s'investit dans la conversion de la population juive de la localité. En raison des troubles que cette activité engendra, il quitta la région et se rendit au mont Olympe, en Bithynie, pour vivre en ermite. Entre 883 et 886, il voyagea à Constantinople où il rencontra Basile Ier qu'il réconcilia avec son fils, Léon VI, en prison au moment du passage de Constantin par la capitale. Les chroniques de cette période attribuent la réconciliation à la pression exercée par le Sénat sur l'empereur[195], mais l'intention de l'hagiographe de rattacher son héros à la dynastie macédonienne et, en particulier, à l'empereur Léon VI, qui régna au moment de la rédaction de la *Vie*, n'est sûrement pas anodine. Écho biaisé de l'édit de 873–874, la *Vie de Constantin* donne très peu d'informations sur la vie des communautés juives de Synada et de Nicée, mais confirme et légitime, en revanche, la politique anti-judaïque de Basile Ier. L'hagiographe de Constantin fournit en effet le seul témoignage que nous ayons sur la réussite de cette politique, en scellant les mesures prises par Basile Ier par l'autorité de l'Église et l'auréole de la sainteté.

Un autre écho de cette politique transparaît dans la *Vie de Basile le Jeune*, déjà évoquée à propos des relations de son héros avec le milieu des eunuques paphlagoniens à la cour de l'empereur Romain II. Le texte est très instructif en ce qui concerne l'image et l'attitude à l'égard des Juifs dans la culture ecclésiastique constantinopolitaine au Xe siècle, ainsi que pour la relation à cette époque entre le discours anti-judaïque et l'eschatologie.

La raison principale de la grande popularité dont ce texte a joui à Byzance et dans le monde orthodoxe, en général, est l'ample section consacrée à la vision sur le Jugement Dernier de Grégoire, le disciple et l'hagiographe de Basile le Jeune, le plus étendu récit de ce type de toute la littérature byzantine. Or, la raison de la présence de ce récit dans le texte est le désir du disciple de Basile de connaître le sort *post mortem* des Juifs[196]. En train de méditer sur ses fautes dans sa cellule après avoir relu de manière continue l'Ancien Testament, Grégoire est accaparé par un λογισμός tentateur dont il ne peut pas se détourner: les Juifs ne se sont pas trompés, ils sont pieux, ils ont toujours honoré Dieu comme il convient – à preuve les patriarches et Moïse –, comme ils le font encore aujourd'hui, aussi est-il impossible qu'ils soient voués à la damnation. Angoissé par cette pensée, Grégoire se dirige vers Basile, son père spirituel. Prévenu des soucis de son disciple grâce à

[194] Cf. Starr 1939, 122.

[195] *Vie de Basile Ier*, dans Theophanes Continuatus, 350–351; Ps-Syméon le Logothète, *ibidem*, 698–699; Georges le Moine Continué, *ibidem*, 847. La *Vie de Constantin le Juif* n'est pourtant pas la seule source qui attribue la reconciliation de Basile Ier avec son fils à un saint. L'hagiographe du patriarche Euthyme procède de la même façon en l'assignant à son héros; cf. Karlin-Hayter 1970, 7, 11–17, chap. 2.

[196] Sullivan, Talbot, McGrath 2014, 344–353.

son don dïoratique, Basile l'accueille avec un discours édifiant, fondé sur des allusions aux Évangiles, mais aussi à l'Ancien Testament, sur les erreurs et l'incroyance des Juifs et sur leur damnation éternelle[197]. Néanmoins, le discours de Basile ne semble pas mettre un terme à ses doutes et, pour être persuadé, Grégoire demande à bénéficier d'une vision[198].

Grâce à la prière de Basile, il reçoit en rêve une vision sur le Jugement Dernier où il contemple le sort réservé aux Juifs à la fin du monde[199]. Guidé par un ange, Grégoire se voit arriver devant le trône céleste entouré d'anges, dans la cité que Dieu a préparée aux justes. Un autre ange descendant d'en haut annonce le Jugement Dernier. Une large section est consacrée à l'apparition du Christ et à l'entrée des saints dans le Jérusalem céleste. La vision prend fin par l'intercession de la Vierge pour les pécheurs. Les Juifs ayant vécu avant l'Incarnation, et notamment les patriarches et les prophètes sont comptés parmi les justes, alors que ceux qui ont vécu depuis l'Incarnation jusqu'à cette époque-là sont condamnés sans appel[200]. C'est d'abord Moïse, vers lequel les Juifs se dirigent en proie au désespoir, qui les blâme pour avoir ignoré ses prophéties et pour avoir tué le Christ, et puis Dieu Lui-même, que les Juifs invoquent à leur défense, et qui leur reproche d'avoir ignoré que Dieu et le Fils sont un[201]. Éclairé par cette catéchèse visuelle, Grégoire, reprenant ses esprits, est délivré des doutes.

Le récit de la vision de Grégoire n'est pas le seul texte byzantin à traiter du sort des Juifs dans l'au-delà. L'*Apocalypse de la Vierge*, un texte difficile à dater mais fort probablement antérieur à la *Vie de Basile le Jeune*, place également les Juifs en enfer parmi les damnés. Ils sont également exclus de l'intercession commune de la Vierge pour les pécheurs[202]. Une perspective un peu différente, mais analogue pour l'essentiel, apparaît dans un récit anonyme, conservé dans un codex du XIe siècle, intitulé *L'histoire d'un Juif qui refuse de ressusciter pour être baptisé*[203]. Un moine s'inquiète pour le sort *post mortem* d'un Juif vertueux et a en songe une vision qui l'édifiera sur ce point. Le Juif en question se trouve, comme attendu, en enfer mais, de plus, il refuse la chance d'en sortir au prix du baptême que le moine se montre prêt à lui accorder. L'histoire est à la limite de la caricature mais son sens est bien clair: ce n'est pas parce que l'enfer est en fin de compte

[197] *Ibidem*, 352–363.

[198] *Ibidem*, 362. Demander une vision afin d'éclairer une question relative au destin d'une personne ou d'un groupe dans l'au-delà est aussi le motif d'une histoire édifiante dont le plus ancien manuscrit date du XIe siècle; voir Halkin 1945; Halkin 1972; Kyrris 1971, 461–477. L'histoire porte sur un riche condamné à rester éternellement suspendu entre l'enfer et le paradis parce qu'il avait été autant charitable que pécheur et n'avait jamais renoncé à un des traits de son caractère. Son statut post-mortem a été révélé dans une vision à abba Kaïoumas.

[199] Sullivan, Talbot, McGrath 2014, 364–699, notamment 400–415 et 604–633, pour les Juifs au Jugement Dernier). Sur cette vision, voir Timotin 2010, 330–333.

[200] Sullivan, Talbot, McGrath 2014, 412–415.

[201] *Ibidem*, 622–629.

[202] Pernot 1900, 255. Sur la damnation des Juifs dans les différentes versions de l'*Apocalypse*, voir Baun 2007, 54–57.

[203] Canart 1966, pour le texte 22–23.

supportable que le Juif refuse le baptême mais pour rassurer le moine dans sa foi et le persuader que si le Juif se trouve en enfer ce n'est pas à cause de l'inclémence divine mais parce que par sa dureté de cœur celui-ci a bien mérité le châtiment eternel.

La *Vie de saint Grègentios* (*BHG* 705–706i)[204] est un autre texte controversé qui, daté recemment au Xe siècle[205], semble également évoquer la politique anti-judaïque des empereurs macédoniens. La *Vie* a circulé fréquemment insérée dans un « dossier » formé de trois pièces qui contient également les lois du royaume d'Himyar (ancien État arabe dans le Yémen d'aujourd'hui) (Νόμοι τῶν Ὁμηριτῶν) (*BHG* 706h) et la dispute (Διάλεξις) de Grègentios avec le Juif Herban (Τοῦ ἐν ἁγίοις πατρὸς ἡμῶν Γρηγεντίου, ἀρχιεπισκόπου γενομένου πόλεως Τεφάρ, διάλεξις μετὰ Ἰουδαίου Ἑρβᾶν).

Selon son hagiographe, Grègentios serait né au VIe siècle à Lyplianes (l'actuelle Ljubljana), dans le pays des Avars, comme fils d'un certain Agapios. Après la mort de sa mère, il est confié à l'un des prêtres qui l'avaient baptisé, qui était marié mais n'avait pas d'enfants. Faisant preuve d'aptitudes intellectuelles et spirituelles hors commun, il devient rapidement diacre et prêche dans l'église. Puis, conduit par un guide invisible, que l'on doit, semble-t-il, identifier avec saint Nicolas[206], Grègentios voyage à Milan, en passant par Frioul et Venise, à Carthage et à Rome, où il visite de nombreuses églises et où il rencontre le pape Félix IV (526–530), et ensuite en Égypte, à Alexandrie. Désigné archevêque du pays d'Himyar, après la reconquête de la région sous l'empereur Justin Ier (518–527), par le roi aksoumite Elesboam (i.e. 'Ella 'Asbeha), qui avait vaincu le roi juif local Dounaas (i.e. Dhū Nuwās), Grègentios se rend à Taphar (Zaphār), la capitale du pays, où il consacre plusieurs églises élevés par le roi Elesboam, ordonne des prêtres et christianise la région, en convertissant la population juive locale.

L'itinéraire est scandé par de nombreuses visions et prophéties qui annoncent, en général, le destin de Grègentios, et en particulier son ordination comme évêque et la conversion des habitants du pays d'Himyar (les Homérites). Comme Grégoire, dans la *Vie de Basile le Jeune*, Grègentios est crédité d'une vision sur le sort des âmes dans l'au-delà censée régler une question théologique relative à la prédestination, qui fait l'objet d'une savante discussion que le saint engage avec un moine et un prêtre dans la cathédrale de Milan.

Comme la *Vie de Basile le Jeune*, la *Vie de Grègentios* est marquée par de nombreux anachronismes et contradictions[207]. Grègentios est, par exemple, censé venir du pays des Avares qui envahissent les Balkans vers 580, ce qui contredit sa mission en Yémen sous l'empereur Justin Ier (518–527). Le saint est censé avoir vénéré à Rome l'icône du Christ de la basilique Saint-Jean-de-Latran, mais cette icône n'est pourtant pas attestée avant 752. L'absence de la *Vie* du *Menologion* de

[204] Berger 2006.
[205] *Ibidem*, 107.
[206] *Ibidem*, 11–13.
[207] Berger 2006, 6–11, avec la bibliographie antérieure.

Basile II (976–1025) et du *Synaxarion* de Constantinople jusqu'au XIe siècle semblent plaider en faveur de l'idée que la *Vie* n'est pas beaucoup antérieure à cette date. Albrecht Berger a avancé en effet, récemment, des arguments qui ne sont pas négligeables en faveur de la thèse selon laquelle le « dossier » de Grègentios, la *Vie de Basile le Jeune* et la *Vie d'André Salos* proviennent d'un milieu commun, les trois œuvres ayant été rédigées à Constantinople vers le milieu du Xe siècle[208]. La polémique anti-judaïque semble être une des questions fondamentales qui préoccupent les auteurs de la *Vie de Grègentios* et de la *Vie de Basile le Jeune*, et l'auteur de la *Vie de Grègentios* établit un lien direct entre la conversion des Juifs du pays d'Himyar et l'édit de Léon VI sur le baptême forcé des Juifs[209].

L'autre pièce du « dossier », la *Dialexis* entre Grègentios et le Juif Herban, représente en effet un débat théologique et christologique typique pour la littérature polémique anti-judaïque[210], qui finit par la conversion des Juifs au christianisme et qui évoque les discussions théologiques similaires qui, à en croire l'auteur de la *Vita Basilii*, auraient précédé le baptême des Juifs sous Basile Ier[211]. Même si d'autres sources, juives et occidentales, donnent une image beaucoup moins sereine sur l'application de l'édit de Basile Ier, de tels débats sont évoqués également dans une chronique juive de l'Italie de Sud du XIe siècle[212], et dans un texte anti-judaïque, *Anonymus Hostens*, rédigé en 907/ 908, qui renferme un dialogue polémique en vers entre Basile Ier et un Juif[213].

Anachroniquement placée par son auteur au VIe siècle, la *Dialexis* a dû en réalité être rédigée à une époque très proche de celle de la *Vie de Grègentios* qu'elle prolonge et dont elle reproduit le contexte historique[214]. La *Dialexis* contient en effet une discussion sur la vénération des icônes qui ne peut pas être antérieure au VIIIe siècle, une allusion à la question du *filioque*, qui n'est pas attestée à Byzance avant 860, et des interprétations allégoriques de l'Ancien Testament qui ne sont pas attestées avant le IXe siècle[215]. Selon A. Berger, le texte a, fort probablement, le même auteur que la *Vie de Grègentios*, comme le montre une série de passages théologiques qui se retrouvent dans les deux textes, les citations communes de Basile le Grand, le système similaire de citations de l'Ancien Testament et une série de particularités linguistiques[216].

Les Juifs occupent un rôle de premier plan également dans une autre pièce hagiographique contemporaine, la *Vie d'André Salos* (*BHG* 115)[217], cette fois-ci,

[208] *Ibidem*, 40–45 et 138.

[209] *Vie de Grègentios* (Berger 2006, 404, chap. 10, lignes 3–5); cf. *Dialexis* (Berger 2006, 796–797, lignes 682–708).

[210] Pour la *Dialexis* dans le contexte de la littérature anti-judaïque, voir Berger 2006, 118–124.

[211] *Vie de Basile Ier*, dans Theophanes Continuatus, 341–342.

[212] Cf. Starr 1939, 128–131; Sharf 1971, 87–90.

[213] Hostens 1986. Cf. Berger 2006, 106.

[214] Berger 2006, 43–45, 105.

[215] Sur les anachronismes et la datation de la *Dialexis*, Berger 2006, 91–97, 100–109.

[216] Berger 2006, 107.

[217] Rydén 1995.

comme dans la *Vie de Basile le Jeune*, en étroite relation avec l'intérêt pour la l'eschatologie[218]. La dernière section du texte, situé par son auteur au Ve siècle, mais qui date, le plus probablement, du milieu du Xe siècle, représente un récit apocalyptique qui a circulé également de manière indépendante sous le nom de l'*Apocalypse d'André Salos* et qui a assuré le succès remarquable de l'ensemble[219]. Au début de cette section, l'auteur décrit, dans le cadre d'un dialogue entre André *Salos* et son disciple, Épiphane, le sort réservé aux Juifs à la fin des temps[220]. Dans ces jours-là, l'Antéchrist, issu de la tribu de Dan, rassemblera les Juifs à Jérusalem et trompera le monde. Rentrés dans la possession des terres de leurs ancêtres, ces derniers n'auraient pas ainsi d'excuse pour leur incroyance. Avant la parousie, l'Antéchrist règnera, il tuera Elie et Enoch, qui vivaient encore sur la terre et annonçaient la parousie, et persécutera les Chrétiens et tous ceux qui ne croyaient en lui[221].

Une autre hagiographie constantinopolitaine contemporaine, la *Vie de Niphon de Constantiana* (*BHG* 1371z)[222], réitère cette alliance entre l'intérêt pour l'eschatologie et l'anti-judaïsme[223], un trait caractéristique pour l'élite ecclésiastique de la capitale à la fin du premier millénaire. Niphon est censé avoir vécu dans l'Antiquité tardive, au IVe siècle, mais un certain nombre d'éléments linguistiques et topographiques indiquent une date plus récente, le plus probablement entre 965 et 1037[224]. À l'instar de la *Vie de Basile le Jeune*, avec laquelle partage plusieurs éléments, la *Vie de Niphon* contient une vision sur le Jugement Dernier, qui réserve aux Juifs une place peu enviable[225]. Jugés par le Christ à la seconde parousie pour L'avoir crucifié, pour avoir renié Sa divinité et pour avoir refusé à se repentir, les Juifs sont punis sévèrement par un Juge inflexible qui annonce que l'heure de la vengeance est venue.

La *Vie de Niphon* achève cette série d'hagiographies constantinopolitaines de la fin du premier millénaire marquées par une touche anti-judaïque ferme. En mettant en scène la condamnation des Juifs au Jugement Dernier et leur refus obstiné d'accepter le dogme chrétien, leurs auteurs semblent projeter dans une perspective eschatologique l'opposition des communautés juives de l'Empire byzantin aux tentatives de conversions en masse sous Basile Ier et Romain

[218] Le lien entre l'eschatologie et la polémique anti-judaïque n'est d'ailleurs absent ni du "dossier" de Grègentios. Voir sur ce point Berger 2006, 130–131.

[219] Le texte a été publié par Rydén 1974 b et dans Rydén 1995, vol. II, 259–285. Pour l'interprétation, à part les contributions de L. Rydén, voir Wortley 1974, plaidant pour une date de rédaction située à la fin du VIIe siècle et une relation étroite avec une apocalypse de Daniel du VIIIe siècle.

[220] *Vie d'André Salos* (Rydén 1974 b, 258–284, lignes 3805–4131).

[221] *Ibidem*, 278–280, lignes 4069–4080.

[222] Édition par Rystenko 1928, p. 3–186 (recension longue), p. 187–238 (recension brève).

[223] Alliance qui n'est d'ailleurs pas absente de la littérature anti-judaïque byzantine, en général, sans être pour autant un trait caractéristique de celle-ci; cf. Dagron, Déroche 2010, 27–28, 38–43; Külzer 1999, 279–283.

[224] Cf. Ivanov 1999; cf. Rydén 1990.

[225] *Vie de Niphon* (Rystenko 1928, 35, 68–83, ch. 33).

Lécapène. La *Vie de Grègentios* établit un lien formel entre l'édit de Basile Ier et la conversion des Juifs du pays d'Himyar, et la *Dialexis*, pièce importante de la littérature polémique anti-judaïque, évoque les débats théologiques censés avoir précédé le baptême forcé des Juifs au temps de Basile Ier.

Cette série de pièces hagiographiques contemporaines complète et légitime la politique anti-judaïque des empereurs macédoniens et permet d'approximer, de manière biaisée, ses effets dans la société. À une période où les attentes apocalyptiques ne sont pas une exception à Byzance[226], ces dernières nourrissent l'hostilité à l'égard des communautés juives, tandis que cette hostilité, renforcée par les édits impériaux dirigés contre les Juifs, alimente, à son tour, les espoirs apocalyptiques. La politique de l'État byzantin se prolonge et tend ainsi à se confondre progressivement avec le Jugement Dernier.

Conclusions

Les cinq études réunies dans ce travail nous permettent d'en tirer quelques conclusions. L'analyse d'une dizaine d'hagiographies rédigées entre le début du IXe et la première moitié du XIe siècle a montré d'abord comment certaines communautés religieuses allogènes, à Constantinople, à Thessalonique ou en Thrace, construisent leur identité régionale et, le cas échéant, familiale par rapport au pouvoir local, politique et ecclésiastique, la manière dont elles parviennent, dans certaines conditions, à obtenir la reconnaissance de la sainteté pour un de leurs membres et les enjeux politiques que ce phénomène peut revêtir. Enfin, notre analyse a montré comment ces initiatives locales ont pu conduire à une certaine redéfinition des valeurs traditionnelles de l'Orthodoxie.

Le recrutement par réseau familial et par région est souvent déterminant pour la formation d'une communauté monastique et il l'est d'autant plus quand la communauté s'organise loin de la région d'origine de ses membres. C'est le cas, par exemple, de la famille de Théodora, issue de l'élite ecclésiastique des Cyclades, qui, poussée vers le nord par les conquêtes arabes dans la mer Egée, se rassemble au IXe siècle autour du monastère de Saint-Étienne à Thessalonique, et qui ne ménage pas ses efforts pour acquérir la sanctification de Théodora malgré l'opposition d'une partie du clergé local et du patriarche Antoine Kauléas. Thessalonique, en plein essor à cette époque, attire les nouveaux venus, et nous retrouvons une autre famille, celle de saint Euthyme, réunie autour du monastère Péristera aux alentours de la ville. À la différence de Théodora, la famille d'Euthyme jouit du large soutien du clergé local, car son disciple est l'évêque suffragant de la métropole de Thessalonique.

Une famille d'Arméniens grécisés établis en Thrace vers la fin du IXe siècle est à l'origine du culte de Marie la Jeune, développé également en opposition avec l'autorité ecclésiastique locale qui exprime fermement ses doutes sur les miracles attribués à cette femme mariée dont le culte contredit et, en même temps, corrige tacitement les normes byzantines de la sainteté. Philarète le Miséricordieux, qui

[226] Voir Magdalino 2003.

vécut au VIIIe siècle, et dont la famille, d'origine paphlagonienne, compte au moins deux noms arméniens traditionnels, est un autre saint atypique par rapport aux modèles byzantins traditionnels.

Un siècle plus tard, Irène, l'abbesse du monastère de Chrysobalanton, un foyer cappadocien à Constantinople, est une sainte issue d'une famille aisée, avec une importante branche dans la capitale, qui, comme Marie la Jeune, représente pour ses descendants un blason familial. Ce n'est pas autrement qu'est apprecié Michel Maléïnos par son illustre famille. Basile le Jeune et Syméon le Nouveau Théologien sont au centre de deux réseaux aristocratiques, les eunuques d'origine paphlagonienne à la cour de Constantin Porphyrogennète et de Romain II, qui sont à la base de leur prestige séculier et religieux, et qui peuvent se convertir en factions politiques. Les opposants de Basile II réunis autour du monastère de Saint-Mamas bénéficient, en effet, de l'autorité spirituelle de Syméon le Nouveau Théologien, tout comme le clan des Gouber, membres de cette aristocratie anatolienne en conflit avec Basile II, exploite à des fins politiques les charismes de leur parente, Irène de Chrysobalanton. Il s'agit des communautés religieuses à base régionale qui sont, en même temps, des foyers virtuels d'opposition politique. Les figures charismatiques dont elles se revendiquent fonctionnent dans ces cas comme des vecteurs identitaires.

Instrument de préservation et de promotion d'une identité locale, la démarche hagiographique a pu être utilisée également pour stigmatiser une communauté, pour la déposséder, en usant de l'autorité du genre, de son identité ethnique et religieuse. Cette stratégie se présente sous une double forme, de l'éloge et de la diatribe. Dans la première catégorie se range l'éloge d'un converti comme Constantin le Juif et de la politique anti-judaïque de Basile Ier, ou l'éloge d'un acteur, réel ou imaginaire, de cette politique, comme Grègentios, qui l'impose à la communauté juive du pays d'Himyar. Dans la seconde catégorie on peut placer les récits des visions du Jugement Dernier attribuées à Basile le Jeune, à André *Salos* et à Niphon de Constantiana, où la condamnation définitive des Juifs décalque et légitime les conversions forcées imposées par les mesures de Basile Ier et de Romain Lécapène.

Ces derniers exemples ne montrent que trop clairement la dimension et les enjeux identitaires de l'hagiographie méso-byzantine. Les récits hagiographiques analysés mettent en évidence son rôle dans la formation, le maintien et la promotion – ou, le cas échéant, la dissolution – des communautés religieuses de l'Empire byzantin et de leur caractère ethnique ou régional.

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THE CHAOSKAMPF MOTIF IN THE LIVES OF THE MILITARY SAINTS

MIHAIL-GEORGE HÂNCU

While hagiography credits saints with many ways of showing their faith, one motif tends to stand out – that of the dragon-slayer. Although the readers themselves would be unable to imitate such a feat (in stark contrast with the denial of earthly desires), the story is popular enough to be repeatedly represented in hagiography, iconography or even in folklore. That being said, one can't help but wonder *where* the dragon came from and *what* his role was. The answer to this question is, of course, very complex, and there is little hope of giving a satisfying answer in a few pages: as such, I will be discussing one interpretative model that, given some terminological improvements, might help clarify whether the saints' battle against the dragon is a battle against Chaos, as pointed out by Mircea Eliade[1] and, originally, by Hermann Gunkel[2].

Chaoskampf, as a term, was introduced by Hermann Gunkel in *Chaos und Schöpfung*, a book he published in 1895, a few years after the decipherment of the cuneiform script and, thus, of the various Assyro-Babylonian myths. His work was definitely not the first to discuss the links between the Old Testament and the Babylonian: Eberhard Schrader had mentioned them in *Keilinschriften* (1872) and George Smith had published the so-called *Chaldean Account of the Genesis* in 1875[3]. The unity of the Old Testament had been debated ever since 1753, when biblical scholars theorized that there were two versions of the Old Testament, which differed through the way God was called, namely Yahweh or Elohim[4]. Nevertheless, Gunkel's influence in Biblical exegesis has been repeatedly emphasized, one of the latest such statements coming as recently as 2013, which shows that the subject is still of great interest in modern scholarship[5]. According to Gunkel, the beginning of the Genesis is neither "the author's free construction", nor "the literary reception of the Babylonian material"[6], but rather that it reflects the same oral tradition which provided the fundament for other Near Eastern

[1] Eliade, 464.
[2] Gunkel, 1895.
[3] Lundström, 2013, 148.
[4] Eliade, 1995 a, 75.
[5] Eliade, 1995 a, 151–152.
[6] Gunkel, 379–398.

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cosmogonic myths, such as the famed *Enuma eliš*, which Gunkel saw as the most similar of them. One impediment may have been that the creation of the universe in the *Enuma eliš* was immediately preceded by a battle between Marduk, the supreme deity, and Tiamat, a sea monster[7], whereas the Old Testament only implied the existence of such a battle, as seen in Job, 7:12: "A sea-monster am I, or a dragon, that thou settest over me a guard?". Gunkel points out that the dragon is never actually killed, but only imprisoned by God, so that it may not return[8]. Indeed, as shall be seen from the definition we will be giving to the concept of "Chaos", timelessness is a common trait of Chaos and his descendants.

One of the most revolutionary elements of *Chaos und Schöpfung* was the idea that divine revelation had reached more cultures, most notably in the Near East, and that these older religions had nevertheless paved the way towards the true faith. Although one may think that Gunkel was at odds with the more conservative biblical scholars, his position was, in fact, more moderate than that of another contemporary, Friedrich Delitzsch. In 1902, Delitzsch had organized a series of conferences titled *Babel und Bibel*, in which he claimed that Babylon was the main source for the Israelite cosmogony and for the Ten Commandments, which were in fact based on the Code of Hammurabi[9]. Delitzsch had chosen to adapt the recent discoveries of Assyriologists in order to provide a more sensational content to his conferences, which were meant to persuade the German emperor, who was part of the audience, to give more funds to still recent science of Assyriology. Delitzsch attracted criticism from both sides of the argument, and Gunkel writes an answer in 1903, in which he rejects Delitzsch's extreme position, while he himself claims that he only intended to serve the Church by researching the Near Eastern texts and uncovering the truth behind certain biblical images[10].

Gunkel's relatively polemical position did not fail to bear fruit. In 1924, some three decades after Gunkel's book, researchers had reached the conclusion that the first six books of the Bible were based on six different documents, some of which were ulterior to the Babylonian captivity, which made Oriental influences all the more possible[11]. Although the matter of the unity of the biblical text is quite complex, we will mention one other possible confirmation of Gunkel's theory: Mowinckel's study from 1922 showed that the story of Yahweh's victory against the monstrous Rahab (who is mentioned in the Bible as well) was the basis of the Israelite New Year's tradition, according to which the king played the role of those forces of light that had defeated the aquatic forces[12]. The discovery of similar myths in other cultures led Eliade to conclude the following:

[7] Eliade, 1993, 231.
[8] Gunkel, 1985, 88.
[9] Lundström, 2013, 155.
[10] Lundström, 2013, 158.
[11] Eliade, 1993, 19–20.
[12] Watson, 2005, 12.

> Since "our world" is a cosmos, any attack from without threatens to turn it into chaos. And as "our world" was founded by imitating the paradigmatic work of the gods, the cosmogony, so the enemies who attack it are assimilated to the enemies of the gods, the demons, conquered by the gods at the beginning of time. An attack on "our world" is equivalent to an act of revenge by the mythical dragon, who rebels against the work of the gods, the cosmos, and struggles to annihilate it. "Our" enemies belong to the powers of chaos. Any destruction of a city is equivalent to a retrogression to chaos. Any victory over the attackers reiterates the paradigmatic victory of the gods over the dragon (that is, over chaos) [...]
>
> As we shall see later, the dragon is the paradigmatic figure of the marine monster, of the primordial snake, symbol of the cosmic waters, of darkness, night, and death – in short, of the amorphous and virtual, of everything that has not yet acquired a "form". The dragon must be conquered and cut to pieces by the gods so that the cosmos may come to birth. It was from the body of the marine monster Tiamat that Marduk fashioned the world. Yahweh created the universe after his victory over the primordial monster Rahab. But, as we shall see, this victory of the gods over the dragon must be symbolically repeated each year, for each year the world must be created anew. Similarly the victory of the gods over the forces of darkness, death, and chaos is repeated with every victory of the city over its invaders[13].

In other words, the image of a battle against a representative of the Chaos that preceded cosmogony is conserved both in written stories *and* in folk traditions.

As can be seen, the matter of the *Chaoskampf* is quite complex and lends itself to many discussions. Since one of the more notable criticisms to Gunkel's theory[14] was that the word "Chaos" was constantly redefined according to the interpreter's needs, we will attempt to strengthen this part of our argumentation by referring to a single definition of the concept. Quite fortunately, Chaos was a cosmogonic concept from its very first attestation, in Hesiod's *Theogony* (7th century B.C.), where it is said to be the first element. Unfortunately for later readers, Hesiod doesn't provide more details: the only thing he states about Chaos (who is not characterized with any epithet, as would have been customary in the literature of its time) is that it came first and that, at some later point, it was "dark". Based on the limited data provided by Hesiod and on its later meanings, modern translators compared it to (or outright called it) a chasm or an abyss.

Robert Mondi[15] opposed this interpretative tradition on account of its lack of logic: how could a chasm exist before whatever it separated? He then quotes one argument, namely that *Chaos* and *chasma* are used in the same position in two nearly identical descriptions of the Underworld. According to Mondi, however, the only reason why Chaos was defined thus was that it was *like* a chasm surrounded by the newer elements of the universe, since both descriptions occur during Zeus' battle against the Titans.

The key element of Mondi's demonstration was that he defined Chaos based on the parallelism between the two genealogies depicted in the *Theogony*: thus,

[13] Eliade, 1959, 47–49.
[14] Watson, 2005, 113–119.
[15] Mondi, 1989, 8.

Chaos is the boundless, formless and substanceless counterpart of Gaia. This becomes particularly apparent when comparing their offspring: the Sun and the Moon are ultimately born from Gaia, while Night and Day (which are, admittedly, more abstract) are descendants of Chaos. Hesiod's intention to distinguish the two families is also confirmed by the fact that Gaia's descendants are all born from traditional couples, while Chaos' are consistently born from single entities. The only apparent exception to this rule is that Night and Erebus give birth to Day and Aether, although that might be due to each of the children being one parent's direct opposite. This same dichotomy applies to the evils included in the two genealogies: Chaos is the ancestor of Death, Plague, Old Age and other abstract evils, while Gaia is the ancestor of concrete monsters, which, unlike their counterparts, only existed in a limited space and a limited timeframe and are – or have been – killed by the time of Hesiod's writing.

If we use this particular definition of Chaos, then we can recognize his timelessness both in the New Year's traditions and in the biblical image from Job 7:31, where the dragon is merely chained and guarded by God. Even though Gunkel most definitely hadn't considered this interpretation of Hesiod's Chaos, we can still quite legitimately apply it to the *Chaoskampf* theory, especially since, as shall be seen in the following, it allows for a contrast between normal monsters and timeless evils. At first glance, one might argue that *Chaoskampf* was a theory that was created in order to account for the influx of Near Eastern myths in the Bible, and that it might not have much to do with the later hagiographical motif. That being said, Eliade rightfully notes that it was through Christianization of pagan religious traditions that countless dragon-slaying heroes and gods from all over Europe were recovered into the figure of one saint, namely Saint George[16].

Seeing how Eliade distinctly connects the dragon motif to Saint George – not to the military saints in general – I will first focus on the most canonical versions of his story. As such, I started by consulting Lascarov-Moldovanu's *Lives of the Saints*, first published between 1934 and 1942 and then republished in 1992. In his preface to the new edition, Gheorghe Mihăilă explains how this version was based on "the first complete Romanian collection of the *Lives of the Saints*", which had first been published at the Metropolitan Church of Iaşi and the Monastery of Neamţ between 1807 and 1815. This version was then rewritten in a simpler style by Lascarov-Moldovanu, who took care to remove repetitions[17]. In other words, one may legitimately claim that this version of the *Lives of the Saints* is quite close to being the most popular and the most official.

In this version, the dragon, who torments the locals who live near a lake in Libya, can't be killed by ordinary people, which prompts them to pray to their own gods for help. The pagan gods demand that they send children to the dragon for a month, so as to appease him. However, when the local leader's daughter is the only one left, God sends Saint George, who defeats the dragon, then drags him into the

[16] Eliade, 2000, 464.
[17] *Vieţile Sfinţilor*, 1992, 6–8.

city, where he burns his remains. As a result, the locals show their gratitude by converting to Christianity, since their old gods had not helped them in any way[18].

Due to motifs such as the sacrifice of local youths, the story of Saint George has been compared to that of Perseus. The *Catholic Encyclopedia* from 1909 mentions this theory, but dismisses the possibility that Saint George could be a "converted Perseus" on account of the relatively recent date of the dragon motif in Christian hagiography. According to the author of the article on Saint George, this foreign image of the dragon-slayer will have been brought by 12th-century crusaders to the West[19]. While this theory would fit in with the date of the first Latin text on Saint George's battle against the dragon, it must be noted that the motif was not a late pagan import, but had in fact been present in Christian art for quite a few centuries.

Georgi Atanasov, the Bulgarian author of a very detailed monograph on Saint George, notes that the first representations of the Saint striking a dragon with his lance date from the 6th century. Most extraordinarily, they hail not only from the Near East, where he was born and where his cult was first attested, but also from Vinitsa, in modern day Macedonia[20]. Other researchers – most notably Christopher Walter – have pointed out that this graphical motif might have its origins in certain Israelite amulets from around 325 A.D which show Solomon fighting a female demon known for killing newborn children[21]. According to Walter, the rider becomes anonymous around the 5th century, while the female demon is replaced by a serpent. The hero is eventually identified with the military saints, whose function is now identical to that of Solomon – defeating evil with the power they received from God[22].

The first Latin text containing this wonder is the *Legenda Aurea*[23], written by Iacobus de Voragine in the latter half of the 13th century. Since the point that interests us the most is whether this dragon shares any characteristics with the children of the Hesiodic Chaos, we will be focusing on the moment of its defeat. Iacobus de Voragine provides not one, but two versions for this final moment: in the "main" one, Saint George brings the dragon to the city, which terrifies its inhabitants. He promises that he would "free them from the dragon's punishment" (*poenis vos liberare draconis*) if they convert. After convincing them, he slays the dragon with his sword and drags him out of the city (*beatus Georgius evaginato gladio draconem occidit et ipsum extra civitatem efferri praecepit*). According to de Voragine, "in other books, he kills the dragon when he attempts to swallow the girl" (*In aliquibus tamen libris legitur quod dum draco ad devorandum puellam pergeret, Georgius se cruce muniuit et draconem aggrediens interfecit*). Even though we have two versions of the same story, this does not change the fact that the dragon is killed.

[18] *Vieţile Sfinţilor*, 1992, 191–192.
[19] Herbert, Huston, 1909.
[20] Atanasov, 2001, 100.
[21] Walter, 1991, 36
[22] Walter, 1991, 42.
[23] Jacobus de Voragine, 2014.

Whoever attempts to study the evolution of this motif in older Romanian texts is faced with a different problem. Metropolitan Varlaam's *Romanian Book of Teaching*, a 17th-century religious work dedicated to the great holidays and the Sundays in the Orthodox calendar, features Saint George as well[24]. The dragon, however, is in no way mentioned in his story. Could one claim that Varlaam tried to remove this foreign episode from his work? Hardly; another military saint, Saint Theodore Tiro, celebrated in the first Saturday of Lent, born a Christian, is depicted as its slayer. According to Varlaam's story, Saint Theodore prayed to God for a sign that should strengthen his faith. He finds a Christian woman, who tells him about a "great and terrifying serpent". He promises that he will slay the serpent, since he has Jesus Christ on his side, and goes to its lair in the forest. Before taking on the beast, he makes the sign of the Cross and "raises his lance and hits him right in the head, so that the lance went through it". After watching the serpent die, Saint Theodore realizes the meaning of this fight: by killing the serpent, he kills Satan[25]. Varlaam's text on Saint Theodore Tiro is quite remarkable since it is, in fact, the longest in his *Book of Teaching* (the editor, Dan Zamfirescu, points out that it is two pages longer than the one for Palm Sunday, the second longest)[26]. The source Varlaam used for both Saint George and Saint Theodore Tiro is the same: Damaskinos Stouditis' *Treasure*. As pointed out by Pandele Olteanu, the dragon episode is absent from Saint George's text and present in Saint Theodore's as early as Damaskinos' work[27]. Varlaam's version is the Romanian translation of the Greek text (by means of a Slavonic intermediary), and the *Treasure* itself was a spoken Greek version of the old Byzantine hagiographical texts (to which Damaskinos testifies when he writes about the life of Pasicrates)[28].

It is quite notable that this series of sources fails to mention the dragon episode in the life of Saint George. Seeing how Gunkel had argued that the dragon motif had entered the Old Testament on account of its great popularity amongst the common people (even though the original myths would have been at odds with the Judaic dogma), one would expect the same principle to apply if Saint George was *the* dragon-slayer. Varlaam, who may very well have been loyal to his Greek sources, would not have written an explicitly *Romanian* religious book while omitting an episode that would have been vital to its Romanian public. From this, we should conclude that Mircea Eliade's generalization requires a small extension: the dragon-slaying heroes and deities of the pagan past were identified not with Saint George, but with the military saints as a whole.

Since the text of the *Apocryphal Miracle of Saint Theodore Tiro* (to quote the title given by Arizanova[29] to this fragment of the *Germanov Sbornik*, a manuscript

[24] Varlaam Mitropolitul, 2011, 372–380.
[25] Varlaam Mitropolitul, 2011, 359–360.
[26] Varlaam Mitropolitul, 2012, p. 164.
[27] Varlaam Mitropolitul, 2012, 173.
[28] Varlaam Mitropolitul, 2012, 176–177.
[29] Arizanova, 2013, 407–412.

from 1358–1359 which was edited by Elka Mircheva[30]) is considerably longer than the versions we find in Varlaam's and Lascarov-Moldovanu's writings, we will be focusing on two episodes in particular.

The story is placed during the reign of an emperor called Saul (whose nationality is unknown), while Theodore Tiro is a soldier in his army. Their land was being tormented by a dragon who did not allow the locals to take any water from the spring that he guarded unless they gave him 8 young oxen, 40 sheep, 12 goats and 25 lambs. At the same time, Saul dreams about a bald man armed with a spear who appears before him and slices him in half, but doesn't conquer his empire. While the other nobles are unable to explain this dream, Saint Theodore points out that it is the soldiers' duty to die for Saul to prevent his death and, thus, that they should go fight the Saracens. The army takes the Saracens by surprise and captures their emperor, who looks exactly like the man from Saul's dream. Saul then decides to stop making any sacrifices to the dragon, since he was now safe.

The dragon is furious and stops any human beings from reaching the spring. Even so, the Saint's mother notices that her son's horse was thirsty and decides to go get water for him. After finding out that the dragon had captured her, Saint Theodore asks Saul to let him go slay the dragon, but the emperor answers that the dragon is unseen and too strong for the Saint, no matter how good a soldier he might be. Saint Theodore replies that he will defeat him with the help of God and that, if he does lose, then that will have been the emperor's and God's will (*То [да бъде] твоя воля и Божия*). Saul praises him for his words, but warns him that the enemy only asks for peace when he is defeated, but not otherwise (*Врагът винаги види ли, че ще бъде победен, то проси мир. А види ли, че ще победи, той не проси мир*). Saint Theodore replies that the emperor should take his properties and give them to the poor and only asks that his name be commemorated in the first Saturday of Lent (*на първата събота от поста направи ми памет*). The emperor then asks God to help Theodore and then allows his soldier to go fight the dragon.

One truly interesting moment is when Saint Theodore finds his mother surrounded by 12 serpents. Before killing them, he says the following prayer: "Oh, Lord Almighty, You have no beginning, who cannot be seen, who cannot be spoken, who cannot be expressed in words, single maker of all, my Creator, You who have limited sea and sand by Your will, listen to my prayer [...]" (*Господи Боже, Вседържителю, безначален, невидим, неизречен, неизразим, неизтисан, единствен създател на всички, Творец мой, ограждащ морето с пясък по Твоя воля, заслушай се в моята молитва*). Although Saul himself had invoked God as the "Creator" (among other epithets) in his own prayer, it is quite notable that Saint Theodore talks about God's role in limiting of the sea just before fighting the dragon. This very association would allow us to believe that the *Chaoskampf* theory is more than just a modern construct, seeing how the author of this apocryphal text makes the same connection between the Genesis, the waters and Saint Theodore's opponent.

[30] Mircheva, 2006.

After fighting the 12 serpents, Saint Theodore finds his mother, who asks him to run away before the dragon returns. While we are told of the dragon's return and anger, the *Sbornik* does not depict the actual battle between the two. This is one case in which the reader would not be helped by Silvia Arizanova's translation, since she herself had struggled with this very passage (as pointed out in a footnote): according to her modern Bulgarian version, the raging dragon starts breathing smoke and fire, grows another head and, rather perplexingly, decides to kiss the Saint on the forehead while praising God (*а змеят целуна го по челото, славейки Бога*). This bizarre moment is followed by the Saint's joy at having defeated the dragon and his army (*като видя, че погуби змея и неговото войнство*) and his return to Saul, who rewards him for his deeds. Arizanova's translation of the Slavonic words is correct and appears to be confirmed by pages 295b – 296a of Elka Mircheva's edition of the original Slavonic text. That being said, the editor's notes concerning the manuscript shed some much-needed light on the dragon's actions: there is a blank between pages 295b (which ends with zúiè-, *dragon*) and 296a (which begins with è wáëoá|rza eão, *and kisses him*), which explains why the dragon had become the grammatical subject of a verb that would have suited Theodore's mother[31]. While the blank still leaves us without any explanations as to how the battle unfolded, we can at least suppose that he shared his army's fate. We can, however, be sure that he did not switch to the true faith and that he did not start praising God while kissing his foe on the forehead, as Christian as that image may be.

Let us summarize what we have discovered after examining some of the oldest and most important Orthodox and Catholic sources concerning the battle against the dragon. First of all, even though Mircea Eliade had only extended the *Chaoskampf* motif to Saint George, who was supposed to be the hagiographical character who inherited this particular trait from his pagan counterparts, it must be noted that Saint George's connection to the dragon is not as strong as one might have expected. Even if we don't simply attribute this inconsistency to the artificial character of Christianization as a whole, it is quite striking that, following the Byzantine sources and Damaskinos Stouditis in particular, Metropolitan Varlaam did not include this episode in his *Romanian Book of Teaching* (which would have been the ideal medium to portray an episode that was popular enough to be featured on Stephen the Great's flag[32]). We can be certain that this motif had not lost any of its actual fame by his time, since the chapter that *does* conserve it is, in fact, the longest in the entire book. Though one may attribute this choice to Varlaam's Greek and Slavonic sources, it is quite likely that the Romanian public appreciated this image enough to warrant its extended space in the book, even though it was attributed to a different military saint, namely Saint Theodore Tiro.

Secondly, it must be pointed out that every one of the variants that we consulted has the dragon be defeated and destroyed by the Saint. The only

[31] Mircheva. 2006, 238.
[32] Marinescu, Mertzimekis 2004, 185–186.

exception appears to be the *Germanov Sbornik*, where the Saint appears to subdue the dragon by having him become a Christian and praise God. As tantalizing as such a prospect may be, all we have here is an unfortunate translation that ignored the editor's notes on the manuscript. Although we do not know *how* Saint Theodore defeats the dragon, it is quite safe to assume *that* he defeats him for good.

Indeed, if we apply the Hesiodic classification of the various evils (namely that spatially and temporally limited monsters stem from Gaea, while abstract concepts like Death, Plague and Sleep are from Chaos' line), then we would be forced to admit that battle against the dragon – as depicted in Christian tradition – is not a *Chaoskampf*, since the dragon consistently and definitively dies. On the other hand, hagiographical texts tend to add a further nuance to this otherwise simple image by stating that the dragon is a symbol of the devil, of evil or paganism. This interpretation is generally external to the story itself, but Varlaam goes further by turning it into Saint Theodore Tiro's personal epiphany: be it as it may, the dragon ultimately stands for a more timeless evil.

The *Germanov Sbornik* does not include any such interpretation (although it could very well have been mentioned in the missing pages), but provides a different, but equally interesting element: Saint Theodore repeatedly invokes the Creator before going to battle the dragon, even mentioning His triumph against the seas. Although this particular detail is probably an innovation, just like the fictional king Saul (or Samuel, as per the Greek variant in *BHG 1766*). This particular story prompted Hippolyte Delehaye to state that "the study of this isolated story with many absurd details might tempt those who love folklore"[33], but not the specialists who, like him, attempt to find the origins of the *hagiographical* motif.

Since this paper's purpose is to verify whether the dragon motif can legitimately be classified as a *Chaoskampf*, we will be turning our attention towards the folkloric aspects of Saint George's cult both in Romania and in the Balkans. In Albania, Saint George is equally celebrated by the Orthodox and the Muslims, since it marks the beginning of the first half of the year, which lasts until Saint Demetrius' Day. In fact, the calendric role played by Saint George's Day in this area is so great, that some places give more importance to this holiday than to the Muslim Bairam or to the Christian Easter. Saint George is celebrated for three consecutive days, during which the locals sacrifice a lamb and don't work in any way[34]. Saint George's Day occasionally signified the beginning of the civil year, but was consistently said to mark the beginning of the pastoral year, which is when the new shepherds are chosen. One notable aspect of Saint George's traditions is that the remains of the lambs that are sacrificed for the ritual meal are thrown down the river[35]. Bulgarians and other South Slavs equally focus on the pastoral aspect, and the first lamb of the flock is sacrificed for the Saint, who is perceived as the protector of shepherds and sheep[36].

[33] Delehaye, 1909, 38.
[34] Olteanu, 2013, 71.
[35] Olteanu, 2013, 72.
[36] Olteanu, 2013, 75.

Russian linguist and folklorist Alexander Hilferding gives an account of a habit from Raška, a region from Southwest Serbia, where Christians and Muslims gather for Saint George's Day on the shore of a lake which, according to tradition, had been inhabited by a dragon who fed on the local virgins and was ultimately defeated by Saint George. Veselin Čajkanović, a Serbian historian of religions and classical philologist, who wrote a monograph on the remains of pagan religions in Serbia, attempts to explain this tradition not as the result of popular imagination, but rather as a direct adaptation of the legend of Saint George. That aside, Čajkanović argues that the local version of the Saint George story was, in fact, the *interpretatio Christiana* of the pagan myth of the three-headed god, Trojan, who was also the namesake of a place known to people as *Trojangrad*, "Trojan's city"[37]. This adaptation may have been facilitated by the general tendency to identify Saint George's opponent with paganism or, more generally, with the devil.

This tradition might have some parallels in Romanian folklore, since there is the tradition of the "Freeing of the Waters". This ritual, which takes place on Saint George's Day, is the duty of a family who has endured the recent death of a family member, seeing how they have to remove all demonic influences from the river. One alternate tradition claims that there are actual devils in the river, and that women can conquer them by making the sign of the Cross with their laundry mallet[38]. While these traditions ultimately point to a battle against an aquatic – possibly timeless – evil, I find that the Serbian tradition is probably one of the most fascinating adaptation of Saint George's legend in folklore.

Similarly, Macedonians emphasize Saint George's role in raising animals and in the calendar itself, as shown by the following proverb: Дојде ли Ѓурѓовден, чекај си Митровден, "if Saint George's Day comes, then expect Saint Demetrius' Day"[39]. Saint George (Sângiorz) is identified in Ion Ghinoiu's *Dictionary of Romanian Mythology* with a "god of vegetation"[40], which is equally attested in the tradition of the *Zelenij Juraj* or the *Grüner Georg*, where a man covered in branches is splashed with water on Saint George's Day[41].

Is it then possible to argue that Saint George takes part in a battle against Chaos, as first defined by the Ancient Greeks? The most difficult impediment is that the dragon is emphatically killed in such a way that he may not return, which would contradict the Hesiodic dichotomy between Chaos and Gaea. Saint Theodore Tiro's story is more compatible with the concept of *Chaoskampf* by identifying the dragon/serpent with the devil, who is clearly seen as man's timeless enemy.

If we manage to go past the very concrete and clearly delimited shape of the dragon, it is nevertheless possible to confirm the *Chaoskampf* theory with the help

[37] Čajkanović, 1973, 177–179.
[38] Olteanu, 2009, 196–197.
[39] Kitevski, 2001, 142.
[40] Ghinoiu, 2013, 144.
[41] Verebélyi, 2013, 118.

of folklore. Indeed, Saint George marks the beginning of the year, which is sometimes celebrated by suspending all activities for three days (in a manner that is not dissimilar to the Saturnalia, when all order was briefly reversed before the New Year). One might also argue that Saint George was associated with order and imposing limits, since it is on this same day that lambs are separated from sheep, which is – to a certain extent – a triumph against disorder. One strong counter to this interpretation is that the dragon motif enters Saint George's tradition relatively late, which makes the connection between the military saint and his most famous foe be less solid than one might have expected. That being said, Lascarov-Moldovanu, who otherwise claimed to have removed repetitions, attributes the dragon episode to both Saint George and Saint Theodore Tiro, although the absence of this same motif in Varlaam's work is relatively puzzling.

On the other hand, recent research on Judaic and early Christian art has provided proof that the tradition of the rider who strikes an anthropomorphic or serpent-shaped demon was actually quite ancient. Christopher Walter claims that Saint Theodore Tiro may have been the first military saint to have been associated with dragon-slaying, even if only because Saint-George's traditional opponent was, at first, Diocletian[42]. That being said, it is equally true that various Metaphrastic manuscripts depict Christian persecutors as being accompanied by serpent: one notable case is that of Trajan, who is likely to be the namesake of Trojan, the pagan deity from South Serbia, which is all the more interesting, if one considers that the Christian population conserved his myth by turning him into a local dragon and Saint George's opponent[43].

As such, we may accept the military saints' inclusion among the *Chaoskampf* protagonists, even though "Chaos" became a somewhat ambiguous term even during Antiquity. While the dragon himself would qualify as a descendant of Gaea, his meaning points to his actual timelessness. One may also extend research of the Christian *Chaoskampf* by referring to the traditional story Saint Charalambos, who is represented in several icons as keeping the Plague in chains. According to folklore, Saint Charalambos can't kill her and only sets her free whenever God asks him to. In a certain sense, this kind of aetiological myth accounts for the oldest meaning of "Chaos", seeing how Plague can't be eradicated and can only be *limited* by the forces of Order, here represented by the Saint. As such, even though the word "Chaos" did eventually lose much of its original meaning throughout Antiquity, it is possible to argue that the general idea of a *Chaoskampf* was conserved from the earliest Near Eastern myths to the more recent Christian folk tales of dragon-slaying military saints, who, just like other holy men, aimed to imitate God Himself.

[42] Walter, 1999, 173.
[43] Walter, 1999, 178.

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THE SOCIAL STATUS OF ROMANIAN ORTHODOX NOBLEMEN IN LATE-MEDIEVAL TRANSYLVANIA ACCORDING TO DONOR PORTRAITS AND CHURCH INSCRIPTIONS[1]

DRAGOŞ GH. NĂSTĂSOIU

The *Voivodat* of Transylvania and its neighboring counties belonging to the Hungarian Kingdom represented throughout the Middle Ages a border area, where several ethnic groups (Hungarians, *Vlachs*/Romanians, Saxons, and Szeklers) coexisted and where two cultures (Latin and Byzantine-Slavic) and confessions (Catholic and Orthodox) met.[2] Even though they were formally integrated to the administrative structure of the *Voivodat* of Transylvania and Hungarian Kingdom, the territories where a compact *Vlach*/Romanian[3] population lived enjoyed a certain administrative, juridical, religious, and cultural autonomy, which gave individuality to these *districta Valachorum*. In the 14th and 15th centuries, Romanian Orthodox noblemen (*voievozi* and *cnezi*) were owners or rulers of several villages, where a variant of the customary law (*lex Olachorum* or *ius Valachicum*) was applied in addition to Hungarian laws.[4] The prevalence of these settlements' agricultural economic life lead to the establishing of a special regime

[1] A shorter version of this paper was read at the International Medieval Conference "Town and Country in the Byzantine World: Social and Economic Perspectives", American Research Center in Sofia (ARCS), 7–8 May 2015, Sofia, Bulgaria. This study would not have been possible without: the nine-month ARCS Pre-doctoral Fellowship (September 2014 – May 2015), which allowed me to carry on a significant part of my research; Anna Adashinskaya, whose competent advice and great knowledge of Old Church Slavonic and Byzantine Art offered me permanent guidance; and Pavel Murdzhev, who invited me to present a part of my results at the conference he organized. I am extremely grateful to all of them.

[2] For the region's multi-ethnical and bi-confessional character in the Middle Ages, see Pop 2003 and Pop 2013.

[3] The exonym "Vlach" was used during the Middle Ages for designating different Romance-speaking peoples, including the inhabitants of Transylvania. As there are no self-referential medieval sources produced by this people, but one can find various external testimonies stressing the Latin character of its language and the speakers' awareness of it (Papacostea 1988, 222–230; Balard 1980), I shall refer to this Romance-speaking people in Transylvania as "Romanians", a conventional term having nothing to do with present-day Romanian national identity.

[4] Pascu 1989, 134–148; Magina 2013.

of taxation, the *quinquagesima ovium*.[5] Their organization into *cnezate* and *voievodate* had as basis the possession of land, the former being hereditary and the latter, in fact an office granted either by a magnate or the king, coming with administrative, juridical, and military prerogatives.[6] Following a period of persecution by the Angevin rulers and their Catholic proselytism in the 14th century, when being a schismatic meant an inferior social standing and decay from former rights as *iniusti possessores*,[7] Romanian Orthodox noblemen registered a more fruitful period in the 15th century. It was now that Kings Sigismund of Luxemburg (1387–1437) and Matthias Corvinus (1458–1490) were faced with the Ottomans' advance and, subsequently, needed to resort also to the military help Romanians could provide them with. Starting with the end of 14th and throughout the following century, Romanian Orthodox noblemen received royal charters confirming their land possessions, their services to the king were rewarded with privileges and offices, and their military help was highly valued and praised.[8] King Sigismund's religious tolerance and zeal for the Church Union created a favorable context not only for the development of Romanian Orthodox noblemen's spiritual life, but also for the improvement of their social, economic, and political standing.[9]

In this historical context, Romanian Orthodox noblemen founded churches on their estates, building, decorating, and endowing them according to their modest means. They served either as court chapels, parish churches, monasteries, or

[5] This tax in kind which Romanians owed directly to the king counted one sheep with lamb for every fifty sheep Romanians owned: Pâclişanu 1920; Doboşi 1937; Pop 1982–1983.

[6] Drăgan 2000, 119–123; Pop 1997 a. For the distinctiveness of Romanian institutions of *cnezat* and *voievodat* from other East-Central and Eastern European cases, see Bogdan 1901–1902; Bogdan 1903–1904. It is this distinctiveness which determined the keeping here of Romanian names and spelling, as not to be confused with medieval institutions elsewhere in the Byzantine-Slavic world, which are called similarly but are in fact different realities. For *cnezat* in Transylvania, see also Pop 1988; for *voievodat* in Haţeg, see Pop 1983.

[7] For measures against Romanians and their noble status' conditioning by the belonging to Catholic confession, see especially: Pop 1997 b; Magina 2008. It is the merit of Holban 1981, 245–254 and Papacostea 1988, 85–89, for having put King Louis the Great's anti-Romanian measures against the background of the general political context in Hungary created by Wallachia's and Moldavia's emergence as states on the South and East of the Carpathians.

[8] Romanians' social-economic status under King Sigismund has been studied especially in connection to Banat, an area in the South-West of Transylvania which was inhabited in majority by Romanians and was greatly exposed to the Ottoman threat: Boldea 1995; Boldea 2008 a; Boldea 2008 b; Popa-Gorjanu 2000. For the same matter under Matthias Corvinus, when one can see the greatest number of royal land donations addressed to Romanians, see: Pop 1991; Costea 1997; Popa-Gorjanu 2002; Boldea 2010. One should not fail to mention the pioneering work on Romanian Orthodox nobility in Transylvania of Radu Popa; for his studies, see infra.

[9] For Sigismund's involvement as German Emperor and Hungarian King in the preparations leading to the Ferrara-Florence Council (1438–1439), see Kondor 2009. For the council's consequences in Transylvania and Romanians' flourishing during this period, see the studies in Rusu 1999, 77–123.

sometimes even fulfilled all three functions simultaneously.[10] These churches are preserved today only in the *terrae* of Haţeg and Zarand (South-Western Transylvania)[11] and were built generally in the 13th to 15th century. Their construction and decoration spanned sometimes on long periods of time, attesting both the precarious means of their founders, as well as the low availability of craftsmen and painters in the area. These churches' typology and level of craftsmanship qualifies them as pastiches of Western ecclesiastical architecture and, despite their unusual appearance for Orthodox churches,[12] they are indicators of their founders' inconspicuous Byzantine-Slavic culture.[13] In what follows, by using the evidence of donor portraits and church inscriptions in Old Slavonic found in these Orthodox churches, that is, the only type of source coming directly from Romanian Orthodox noblemen, I shall examine the economic and social aspects behind church patronage in late-medieval Transylvania.[14] On one hand, I shall seek into the reasons that made patrons (either members of one or several noble families, or simply members of a certain community) to join their efforts in church building and decorating, a difficult undertaking which spanned sometimes over several generations. On the other hand, religious patronage illustrated often complex social relationships between actors, as well as the particular position of Romanian Orthodox noblemen within the social and political hierarchy of the Catholic Kingdom of Hungary, revealing both these noblemen's real and aspired social status.

The preserved examples indicate that it was usually the nobleman and main landowner of a village, who undertook the building and decorating of a church. A series of exceptions reflecting the patrimonial relationships inside a family or

[10] As shown by Rusu 1997 a, 144–146, the term "court chapel", which was used first by Popa 1972 a, but was taken over by other scholars, cannot be separated in fact, both functionally and typologically, from the parish churches existing in the medieval *Terra* of Haţeg. For some of these parish churches' monastic function, see Rusu 1997 a, 94–100.

[11] Religious foundations assignable to Orthodox Romanians are encountered elsewhere in Transylvania, but they are preserved only as archaeological evidence and were not included here for obvious reasons. For such examples in Maramureş and Banat, see Popa 1970, *passim*, and Ţeicu 2007, *passim*.

[12] For these churches' architectural features, see Năstăsoiu forthcoming. The architectural description there is based on the materal published in: Rusu 1997 a, *passim*; Rusu, Pascu Hurezan, 2001, *passim* and especially 36–53; Vătăşianu 1929; Greceanu 1971; Popa 1988, 225–247.

[13] For Romanians' cultural specificity, see: Panaitescu 1994, 13–29; Pop 2004; Pop 2008. For Byzantine-Slavic cultural synthesis, see: Obolensky 1971, *passim*; Obolensky 2007; Picchio 2003, *passim*.

[14] For using donor portraits and church inscriptions as evidence for historical sciences, see especially the studies by Kalopissi-Verti 1996; Kalopissi-Verti 2003 a; Kalopissi-Verti 2003 b; Kalopissi-Verti 2004; for the author's other studies, see infra. For other authors relying on the same type of evidence in their studies, see: Stylianou 1960; Tomeković-Reggiani 1981; Etzeoglu 1982; Stylianou 1982: Paskaleva-Kabadaieva 1982; Bernardini 1992; Semoglou 2001. Throughout this article, I shall refer also to various studies published in two collections: Spieser, Yota 2012, and Theis *et alii* 2014.

village can be added to this model, however. In the case of the Church of the Dormition of the Holy Virgin in Crişcior, built and decorated in the beginning of the 15th century,[15] it is *jupan* Bălea who is depicted holding the model of the church together with his wife, *jupaniţa* Vişe (Fig. 1). On the neighboring, southern wall, their children[16] witness the act of the religious foundation by the head of the family, the only one called *ktetor* (founder) by the accompanying inscriptions.[17] The main dedicatory inscription is no longer preserved and one cannot be sure when was the church built and decorated. However, the nobleman *Bolya*, the son of *Boar de Keresztur*, is attested by written sources on 25 August 1404, when he received as *nova donatio* from King Sigismund of Luxemburg several properties in the district of White Criş, the donation coming as a reward for his loyalty and services brought to the kingdom and crown.[18] The church was probably decorated soon after this moment, as a confirmation of Bălea's newly-acquired status, but before 1414–1415, when his death is attested.[19] A man holding alone the model of the church while being assisted by his wife is depicted also in the votive composition in the church in Leşnic (Fig. 2). The scene's fragmentary state and poorly-preserved inscriptions, however, do not allow one to ascertain the identity of the founder.[20] His depiction as unique *ktetor* indicates that he was probably the main (but not the only, as we shall see) landowner in the village at the time the

[15] A 1773 description of the frescoes and accompanying inscriptions, made by some descendants of the noble family in Crişcior, mentions the year 1411, a detail which is no longer preserved. Dragomir 1929, 238–243, rejects this dating on the basis of invalid arguments, which I cannot address here. The 1411 dating is accepted in Tugearu 1985 a and Porumb 1998, 91–93. For a detailed account of the frescoes' iconography and a dating to the end of the 14th century (given as such), see Cincheza-Buculei 1978. Regarding the churches in Crişcior and Ribiţa, I shall not refer further to Trifescu 2010, as this scholarly work augments only the corpus of previous literature on the topic, bringing in fact nothing significant or new.

[16] The votive composition is incompletely preserved: except for the little boy *Stephanus* (depicted below the church's model) and the two older sons *Ladislaus* and *Csuka* (!) (depicted on the nave's southern wall), the 1773 Latin description mentions also two daughters, *Szor* and *Filka*, but their representations are no longer extant, Dragomir 1929, 239–240. For the daughters' position within the fragmentarily-preserved votive composition, following their brothers on the southern wall, see Cincheza-Buculei 1978, 35–38; for a different opinion, see Dragomir 1929, 240.

[17] See Catalogue I.1.A–E.

[18] For this and other documents preserved only as 19th-century copies, see Dragomir 1929, 240–246, who considers them fakes made by Count József Kemény, well-known for his forgeries of documents connected to medieval Transylvania (Mályusz 1988). The 1404 charter, however, might contain authentic information, King Sigismund having made the same day several other donations addressed to Romanian Orthodox noblemen in the area (Mályusz 1988, 212, n. 58). For the document's text, see Hurmuzaki, Densuşianu 1890, 433–434 (doc. no. CCCLVII). The information offered by these Crişcior-related copies should be reexamined critically and not dismissed *in corpore* as forgeries, because the information they offer is often confirmed by the evidence coming from the votive composition itself and archaeological research. For this last aspect, see Lazăr *et alii* 1988–1991. See also Gündisch 1977, 237.

[19] Kemény 1854, 128–129; see also Dragomir 1929, 242–245.

[20] See Catalogue IV.1.A. The surviving letters in the *ktetor*'s name rule out the identity of Dobre the Romanian, as previously suggested, Drăguţ 1963; Cincheza-Buculei 1974.

frescoes were painted, namely, sometime during the period between late 14th and first half of the 15th century.[21] Although both husband and wife are depicted in the votive compositions in Crişcior and Leşnic, there are reasons to believe that only the men played an active role in the religious foundation, their wives being depicted as a consequence of their matrimonial association. Although both spouses are holding the model of the church in Crişcior, it is only *jupan* Bălea who is called *ktetor* in the inscriptions, while in Leşnic, only the man touches the model of the church, his wife following him piously.

Other examples reflect also the division of patrimony between the members of a noble family. In these cases, donor portraits and church inscriptions indicate clearly the hierarchical relationship between male heirs which is established by age and social status. They imply also the common source of the inherited property, which determined heirs to combine their efforts and participate together in a religious foundation. This form of joint *ktetorship* is illustrated, on one hand, by the fragmentary inscription of Saint Nicholas Church in Hălmagiu (Fig. 3). It credits *jupan* Moga and his brother with the renewal of some works,[22] probably the painting of the sanctuary and triumphal arch, because the edifice was built in a unitary stage.[23] The frescoes' provincial Gothic style ascribes the mural decoration of the sanctuary to the late-14th or early-15th century,[24] while the partially-preserved inscription attests the presence in Hălmagiu during this period of Moga noble family, which is otherwise not associated in the written sources with the settlement before 1420s.[25]

On the other hand, the votive composition in Saint Nicholas Church in Ribiţa, painted probably in the beginning of the 15th century,[26] depicts the brothers

[21] Presently, the medieval frescoes in the church's nave are hardly visible under a thick layer of smoke and, until their cleaning and restoration will be undertaken, their dating remains hypothetical. For the church's murals, see the studies in the previous note and Mocanu 1985. The frescoes' dating after 1395 proposed by Cincheza-Buculei 1974, and revolving around the donation of Leşnic in 1394 and the battle of Ghindăoani in 1395 should certainly be revisited.

[22] See Catalogue III.1.A.

[23] Căpăţînă 1976, 80, and Rusu, Pascu Hurezan 2001, 98.

[24] The sanctuary's mural decoration is the work of a painter/workshop trained in a Central-European artistic milieu, as indicated by his/its provincial, late-Gothic style deriving from the Friul School and encountered in a series of Catholic churches in medieval Hungary at the turn of the 14th and 15th centuries. For stylistic analogies, see Prioteasa 2011, 149 and figs. 7.56–61; see also Năstăsoiu forthcoming, n. 29–30. For a dating to the second half of the 14th century, see Mardare 1980, 109; for a dating to the 15th century's first half, see Cincheza-Buculei 1984, 21–22.

[25] Rusu 1993, 91, 96–7; Eskenasy 1975, 25–26.

[26] The partially-preserved dedicatory inscription in Ribiţa no longer contains the year, its absence generating a series of hypotheses for the frescoes' date: 1404 – Nemes 1868, 63–64; 1417 – Dragomir 1929, 249–256; and 1414 – Rusu 1991. The frescoes' uncovering and restoration initiated in 1995, Cincheza-Buculei 1995, but not completed yet, revealed another partially-preserved inscription in the sanctuary, which contained initially a year (now lost), misread as 1407 in Popa 1995, 24 and fig. 6. Adashinskaya, Năstăsoiu 2014 corrected its reading, reconstructed the inscription, and proposed hypothetically the year 1393 for the frescoes in the sanctuary. Only the restoration's much-awaited completion can now shed light on the matter. See also Tugearu 1985 b.

Vladislavu and Miclăuşu offering their religious foundation to the church's patron saint (Fig. 4). They are assisted passively in this act by their wives and children.[27] The hierarchical perspective showing the kneeling founders,[28] as well as the fact that only the older brother touches the church's model and is called *ktetor* by the inscription next to his head,[29] indicate not only the person who had the main role in the religious foundation, but clarifies also the hierarchical relationship between the two brothers. They were probably equal heirs of their father's property, but it was Vladislavu as older son who enjoyed the status of new family head after 1404, when the brothers managed to recover their family's properties, which were previously lost by their father for his *nota infidelitatis* toward the king.[30] The hierarchical relationship between two brothers is made manifest in Hălmagiu by the order of names in the inscription, while in Ribiţa, it is expressed both visually and textually by the hierarchical perspective and accompanying inscriptions, respectively. One cannot determine whether the brothers had or not different degrees of financial involvement in the religious foundation, but the evidence in Hălmagiu and Ribiţa, which reflects clearly the hierarchy effective within a family, might be indicative also of this kind of relationship.

Another interesting example which reveals a complex patrimonial relationship, as well as the phenomenon of religious foundation as a type of family enterprise, is that of the dedicatory inscription of the Church of the Holy Apostles Peter and Paul ("Serfs' Church") in Sălaşu de Sus. The inscription, which was carved in stone sometime during the 1519–1536 period,[31] not only offers information on the church's building stages – an initial wooden church replaced by a stone one –,[32] but sheds light also on the relationships between the members of a family's various generations,[33] which acted as *ktetors* for one religious foundation in a sort of collective, but nonetheless family undertaking. Nine persons belonging to three

[27] See Catalogue VI.1.A–H. The representation of Miclăuşu's wife was greatly destroyed by one of the pillars built after 1868 for supporting the new vault *a vela* (all six pillars were removed during the 1994–6 period, Adashinskaya, Năstăsoiu 2014). The creation of new windows on the nave's southern wall destroyed a portion of the lower register's decoration, between the votive composition and the representation of Abraham's Bosom. It is not excluded that the *ktetors*' scene continued here with other figures, probably some of the founders' children, an 1868 description of the inscriptions and church *ktetors* mentioning other names, too; these are now missing from the votive composition and dedicatory inscription, Nemes 1868, 63–64. Today, only little Ana, Vladislavu's daughter, is visible below the model of the church.

[28] Their importance is revealed visually by the characters' order and decreasing size, Tugearu 1985 b, 133.

[29] See Catalogue VI.1.C and F.

[30] Members of the noble family in Ribiţa appear in written sources only around mid-15th century, Rusu 1991, 7, but the 1868 description (that is, before the building's interior alterations), made by a native of Ribiţa and descendant of the noble family itself, who used possibly documents from his family's archive, offers this information, Nemes 1868, 64. For a critical examination of this information, see Rusu 1991, 7–8, and Adashinskaya, Năstăsoiu 2014.

[31] Rusu et alii 1987–1988; Rusu 1997 a, 292–297; for the inscription, see Catalogue VII.1A.

[32] *Ibidem*, lines 2–3, cf. Rusu 1997 a, 293, 295.

[33] For the family's genealogy during the 14th and 16th centuries, see Rusu 1997 a, 294.

generations of the noble family of Sărăcin fulfilled the function of *ktetors* for a modest-size church, their endeavors spanning on more than half a century. Two brothers, Sărăcin I and Ionuş/Ianăş, erected initially a wooden church sometime during the second half of the 15th century. Sărăcin I having died without heirs, it was the sons of Ionuş/Ianăş, i.e. Sărăcin II and Mihaiu, who endeavored to replace the wooden church by a stone edifice. However, Mihaiu's death happening during the 1514–1519 interval determined the redefining of *ktetorial* instances in the dedicatory inscription. On one hand, Sărăcin II, together with his son Fărcaşu and his wife Dorca, and on the other hand, Mihaiu's successors, namely, his son Iancul[34] and his wife Anca (of Streisângeorgiu), together with Mrăghită, the mother of Sărăcin II and Mihaiu, assumed the completion of the construction. This happened naturally between the deaths of Mihaiu in 1514–1519 and of Sărăcin II in 1536.[35]

The long interval needed by the nobles of Sărăcin for accomplishing their religious foundation could be indicative of a low economic profile for the Romanian Orthodox noble family, but it definitely stresses the family nature of their religious foundation. The inscription implies the duty of the nobles of Sărăcin as main landowners in the village to fulfill the *ktetorial* function for the church which was probably located on their estate. However, despite the collective appearance of this religious foundation, the inscription makes apparent the division of *ktetorial* duties and rights among the male representatives of a single family's branches: initially, between brothers Sărăcin I and Ionuş/Ianăş, later between brothers Sărăcin II and Mihaiu, and finally, after Mihaiu's death, between Sărăcin II with his family and his late brother's heirs, either son Iancul and wife Anca, or Anca alone. The dedicatory inscription in Sălaşu de Sus accounts, therefore, for a *ktetorial* model which seems to reflect the succession practice established among Orthodox Romanians: together with property, each succession party (devisee) inherited additionally the *ktetorial* rights and duties of their predecessor (devisor).

The votive composition in the Church of Saint George in Streisângeorgiu, painted in 1408 and remade faithfully in 1743 (Fig. 5),[36] is illustrative also for another type of patrimonial relationship occurring inside a property, either one village or group of villages, owned by Romanian Orthodox noblemen. *Jupan* Chendreşu is the only one called *ktetor* by the inscriptions,[37] a sign that he was credited with the main role in the religious foundation. He holds the model of the church together with his wife, *jupaniţa* Nistora, and has Vlaico, his son and successor, on his side. Next to Nistora, however, there is depicted also *jupan* Laţco,

[34] He could also be Sărăcin II's grandson, that is, Fărcaşu's son. See the discussion of the word ѹнѹкь in Catalogue VII.1.A, line 4.

[35] Rusu 1997 a, 295.

[36] Bratu 1985 a, 287, 297; Rusu, Burnichioiu 2008, no page number.

[37] See Catalogue IX.2.A–F. For detailed discussions of the 1408 inscriptions, see also Mihăilă 1978 and Bratu 1985 a, 297–299.

whose mature age makes him an unlikely son of Chendreşu's and more probably a secondary founder of the church.[38] The two noblemen in the votive composition – *Kendres filio Gregorii de Zenthgeorgh* and *Laczk filio Nicolai de Zentgewrgy* – appear together in two documents dated to 25 July 1392[39] and 25 August 1404,[40] respectively. From these charters confirming their *kenezial* possessions on Strei and Sălaş Valleys, one finds out that both noblemen owned additionally undefined parts of Streisângeorgiu, where they both had their residence, and that they were somehow related.[41] The votive composition, which illustrates again the phenomenon of joint *ktetorship*, helps one, therefore, if not to understand in detail the settlement's landownership structure, at least to grasp the ratio of sharing the property between the two noblemen: Chendreşu's greater share was reflected probably in his role as main *ktetor* of the church.

Although the accompanying dedicatory inscription assigns to Chendreşu the role of building and decorating the religious edifice in 1408,[42] he was in fact responsible only for erecting the western tower, some other architectural transformations, and the partial decoration with murals of the interior.[43] Another, earlier dedicatory inscription, painted below the window in the sanctuary's axis, credits *cneaz* Balea, priest Naneş, and painter Theofil with the initiative of the church in the year 1313–1314, that is, almost one century earlier.[44] These ones were not the church founders *stricto sensu* either, the architectural and archaeological research revealing that the building was standing already in 1130–1140 and that the 1313–1314 dedicatory inscription was made on the second layer of plaster, corresponding to the church's second stage of decoration with murals.[45]

Another similar case is that of the already-mentioned church in Hălmagiu, which had its sanctuary and triumphal arch decorated with frescoes by *jupan* Moga and his brother around 1400.[46] Sometime during the second half of the 15th century, another donor commissioned the decoration with murals of the church's nave and requested his depiction to be included in a votive composition. This is now poorly-preserved (Fig. 6), but the *ktetor*'s outline, the church's model, and Saint Nicholas'

[38] Although the main dedicatory inscription assigns to *jupan* Chendreşu, *jupaniţa* Nistora, and his (Chendreşu's) *sons* the church's building and decoration (Catalogue IX.2.F, lines 3–4), Mihăilă 1978, 37, warns that the inscriptions' 1743 repainting distorted some of the words which were effaced at that point. The short inscriptions next to the figures' heads, however, designate only Vlaico as Chendreşu's son, while Laţco is called *jupan*, Catalogue IX.2.A and D. For the relationship between Chendreşu and Laţco, see infra.

[39] Lukinich, Galdi 1941, 429–430 (doc. no. 383).

[40] Hurmuzaki, Densuşianu 1890, 428 (doc. no. CCCLI); Mályusz 1956, 399 (doc. no. 3368).

[41] For a discussion of these documents and the impossibility to specify the two noblemen's kinship, see Popa 1978, 11–13; see also Popa 1972 b, n. 9 and 11.

[42] See Catalogue IX.2.F, lines 2 and 6–7.

[43] Popa 1978, 21–23; Popescu-Dolj 1978, 46.

[44] See Catalogue IX.1.A.

[45] Popa 1978, 23; Popescu-Dolj 1978, 46; Boldura et alii 1978.

[46] See supra, n. 22–4.

benediction of the donation are still visible in the composition.[47] What is intriguing is the fact that the new donor, although he kept the work *jupan* Moga and his brother accomplished in the sanctuary, decided to remove the memory of his predecessor-founders by covering only the triumphal-arch inscription with the newly-commissioned frescoes (Fig. 3).[48] Similarly, *jupan* Chendreşu failed to refer to the work of *cneaz* Balea, priest Naneş, and painter Theofil, claiming full *ktetorial* rights over their religious foundation, as the three patrons of 1313–1314 did earlier with their predecessors' work, stating the church's initiation by themselves.[49]

Cneaz Balea of Streisângeorgiu is otherwise unattested by written sources,[50] whereas the anonymous *ktetor* in Hălmagiu is not attested by something else than his votive composition.[51] One cannot be sure, subsequently, what were the reasons the second donors in Streisângeorgiu and Hălmagiu had for omitting the contribution of their predecessors. These facts, however, reflect the mentality of medieval founders, for whom each new work they undertook for the church, either architectural changes or mural (re)decoration, was understood as a religious foundation in itself.[52] Additionally, their depiction as *ktetors* holding the church's model was meant also as a display of their social status and economic strength. Romanian Orthodox noblemen's social and economic status was conferred by their land possessions, which made them able to undertake/sponsor church works. Their religious foundations were usually located in the very center of their power and property, so that land possession and religious foundation were strongly interconnected. It is not surprising, therefore, that their social and economic status expressed by means of donor portraits and dedicatory inscriptions reflected also the changes in social, economic, and even legal status, which occurred at some point. One can only speculate, but the second votive composition in Hălmagiu and the dismissal of the first founders' memory by the new donors could occur as a consequence of change in the landownership structure of the settlement. Although still attested by written sources in the second half of the 15th century, the noble family of Moga is no longer associated with Hălmagiu, an indication that its members changed their residence and another noble family took their place.[53] The

[47] According to Cincheza-Buculei 1984, 16, the founder is accompanied by another, poorly-preserved figure, possibly his wife; next to Saint Nicholas, there is the representation of a standing military saint, whom the scholar identifies hypothetically with Saint George. For this second decoration phase, see *ibidem*, 13–24.

[48] The newer representation on the northern side of the nave's eastern wall is no longer preserved, but its surviving minor traces in the upper side of the lower register attest that it covered the fresco layer corresponding to the inscription mentioning *jupan* Moga and his brother.

[49] The *damnatio memoriae* of the first founders in Hălmagiu and Streisângeorgiu is rather exceptional, the practice of successive *ktetorship* presupposing generally in Byzantium and the Byzantine-Slavic world the acknowledging of the first *ktetors*' work by the second ones.

[50] Popa 1978, 23.

[51] Cincheza-Buculei 1984, 21.

[52] Popa 1978, 23.

[53] Eskenasy 1975, 28.

second donor in Hălmagiu sought thus to express his new status through the commissioning of a votive composition painted in the old church, which was situated probably on his newly-acquired property.

Except for Balea of Streisângeorgiu, the only one called кнѣзь by the 1313–1314 dedicatory inscription,[54] the *ktetors* in the other examples are called жꙋпанъ / жꙋпанъ, a term which by the 15th century designated both the *cnezi* and *voievozi* and reflected more a social distinction rather than a medieval institution.[55] Whereas the votive compositions in Leşnic and that of the second *ktetors* in Hălmagiu[56] show only the male donor holding the model of the church, which he offers to the patron saint[57] while their wives are following them passively (Figs. 2 and 6),[58] the rest of the preserved examples illustrate the phenomenon of joint *ktetorship*.[59] Motivated both economically and socially, the partners of the religious foundation were either brothers (Ribiţa, the first *ktetors* in Hălmagiu, and the first and second *ktetors* in Sălaşu de Sus),[60] owners of neighboring properties having their residence in the same settlement (the 1408 *ktetors* in Streisângeorgiu), or persons belonging to distinct social categories (the 1313–1314 *ktetors* in Streisângeorgiu).[61] It is not excluded either for spouses to have been involved together in such an enterprise (Crişcior or the 1408 *ktetors* in Streisângeorgiu).[62] According to the *ius Valachicum*, Romanian Orthodox noblewomen inherited in equal share with male heirs their father's property, a patrimonial model which differed essentially from the *quarta puellarum* of Catholic noblewomen in medieval Hungary; these ones could not inherit land and received after their father's death, regardless of the sisters' number, only a quarter of the movable patrimony.[63] Whereas the women in Leşnic, Ribiţa, and possibly Hălmagiu witness passively and piously the act of the religious foundation by their husbands, being included in the votive compositions

[54] See Catalogue IX.1.A, lines 6–7.

[55] Drăgan 2000, 264–266; Năstăsoiu forthcoming, n. 14.

[56] They can be analyzed only visually, no accompanying inscriptions, nor written sources having been preserved on the *ktetors*, see supra, n. 20 and 51.

[57] See supra, n. 20 and 47.

[58] See supra, n. 47.

[59] Primarily, joint *ktetorship* was illustrated iconographically as the joint holding of the church by the two *ktetors*; however, there are cases when the two *ktetors* or, even more so, multiple, associated donors could not be depicted all touching the model of the church and, subsequently, painters had to come up with other iconographic solutions for communicating this idea. For joint *ktetorship*, see Cvetković 2013; Adashinskaya 2014.

[60] See Catalogue VI.1.A, lines 2–3, III.1.A, and VII.1.A, line 1.

[61] For the 1408 *ktetors*, see Popa 1978, 11–13, and supra, n. 38–41; for the 1313–1314 *ktetors*, see Catalogue IX.1.A, lines 6–10, and infra.

[62] The two cases are hypothetical, as the votive compositions show both spouses holding the church's model, but only the husbands are called *ktetor* in the inscriptions, Catalogue I.1.A–E, and IX.2.F, lines 2–3. Anyways, this fact accounts either for the man's initiative of the religious foundation or a greater (financial) part he played in its completion.

[63] Popa 1988, 194–195; Rusu 1993, 92. For *quarta puellarum* or *quartalicium*, see Rady 2000, 103–107; Pop 2002, 31; Magina 2013, 76.

only because of their family ties with the male founders (Figs. 2, 4, and 6),[64] it is possible for *jupanița* Vișe in Crișcior and *jupanița* Nistora in Streisângeorgiu to have participated with parts of their dowry and inheritance share in the act of their husbands' religious foundations. Their involvement in the pious deed could be suggested by the iconographic detail of the two women touching and holding the model of the church together with their husbands (Figs. 1 and 5).[65] The dedicatory inscription in Sălașu de Sus mentions together with the male representatives of Sărăcin noble family also grandmother Mrăghită, *jupanița* Dorca, and *jupana* Anca, who could have been likewise involved in the completion of the modest-size church in their village.[66] The 1313–1314 dedicatory inscription in Streisângeorgiu, which mentions together a *cneaz*, a priest, and a painter as active participants in the religious foundation,[67] is a peculiar case. The association of the three *ktetors* can be indicative of the low economic profile of Orthodox Romanians in the beginning of the 14th century and the minor social differences between the three founders – the landowner, clergyman, and craftsman –, who had probably a very similar social background.[68]

Except for offering valuable information on the founders' identity and devotional practices, as well as on the type and dating of their *ktetorial* work, the main dedicatory inscriptions of the churches in Ribița and Streisângeorgiu deserve special attention for another extremely-significant, common feature. They both mention that the *ktetors*' religious foundation happened in the days of King Jicmund/Jicmon (Sigismund of Luxemburg, 1387–1437), the inscription in Streisângeorgiu adding also the names of the *Voivodes* of Transylvania Ioaneș and Iacov (John Tamási and James Lack of Szántó, 1403–1409).[69] One should add to these examples also the inscription containing the painter's name in the monastery church in Râmeț. Using the same formula, this one states that the work of painter Mihul of White Criș was done at Archbishop Ghelasie's order in the days of a king whose name is no longer preserved.[70]

[64] The children's inclusion in the votive composition (Crișcior, Ribița, and Streisângeorgiu) is similarly motivated by the kinship with their founder parents, who wanted to stress the line of succession by depicting their heirs.

[65] For such examples, see T. Kambourova, *Le don de l'église – une affaire de couple?*, in Theis et alii 2014, 213–229; certainly, the two Transylvanian examples are hypothetical, other evidence than the visual one missing in these cases.

[66] See Catalogue VII.I.A.

[67] *Ibidem*, IX.I.A, lines 6–10.

[68] For Romanian Orthodox priests' descending from local noble families and their involvement in religious patronage, see Rusu 1997 a, 65–66, 68; Rusu 1997 b, 142–143. For painters' status and involvement as patrons in church decoration, see also the cases discussed below.

[69] See Catalogue VI.I.A, line 5, and IX.2.F, lines 9–11.

[70] *Ibidem*, V.1.A. Drăguț 1966 a could not read the king's name and year, which were given as Louis and 6885 (1377), respectively, by Tugearu 1985 c, 159, 168. A later dedicatory inscription carved in stone, placed above the church's entrance and written in Romanian but with Cyrillic letters, mentions that the church was first painted in the days of King Matthias, in the year 6895 (1386/1387), an information not coinciding with historical reality, as there is no king named as such in the 14th

The formula въ дьни (name) кралѣ (or any other title of ruler) appears often in dedicatory inscriptions and charters in Old Church Slavonic and is a relevant detail.[71] The mentioning of the date together with the ruler does not serve only to frame chronologically an event, but it also specifies the political structure under which the respective event took place. On one hand, it implies the acknowledging by the donor of the legitimizing political structure and, on the other hand, the validation by the effective political structure of the event, namely, the church foundation.[72] The reference to the King of Hungary in Ribiţa, and to the King of Hungary and *Voivodes* of Transylvania in Streisângeorgiu reflects faithfully the time's political order: Vladislavu and Miclăuşu of Ribiţa were noblemen of the kingdom only, while Chendreşu and Laţco of Streisângeorgiu were also noblemen of the *Voivodat* of Transylvania, a political structure subordinated in its turn to the Hungarian Kingdom.[73] Another, unpreserved inscription on the nave's northern

century, Drăguţ 1966 a, 43. I leave aside the complex issue generated by this second inscription, the present study being interested more in the painter's manner of dating his work rather than in the date itself. Judging by the marginal position of Mihul's inscription (namely, on the image of Saint Gregory the Great, painted on the intrados of the arcade separating the narthex from the nave, that is, in a transitional place), this should not be judged as the main dedicatory inscription of the church, as it has been done previously: it is rather a secondary, autograph inscription of the painter. For inscriptions mentioning painters' names, see Kalopissi-Verti 1994. For the church's medieval frescoes, see Drăguţ 1966 a, 39–47; Tugearu 1985 c; Porumb 1998, 230–233.

[71] Agrigoroaei 2012, 114–115 pointed out first to the formula's relevance, but used comparative material in Latin. Contrary to the author's statement, *ibidem*, n. 35, such Byzantine-Slavic material does exist for the period under concern. I give here only several examples of dedicatory inscriptions in churches, although the formula occurs more often in manuscripts and charters: Си храмь свѣтие богородице сьзида Дабиживь и Богоемь з братомь си сь Храномь, Дробнаковь Ѹнѹкь. вь дьни цара Стефана (my underlining) в лет(о) ҂ѕ҃ѕ҃н҃ сьт.ѕ҃г҃ – 1355, inscription on the ruins of the church in Vaganeš, Stojanovič 1902, vol. I, 39, and Tomović 1974, 63; Сы же монастирь наче се здати лѣто ҂ѕ҃ѕ҃ѡ҃н҃г҃, вь дни благовѣрнаго цара Стефана и христолюбиваго крала Влкашина, и свршьи се вь дни благовѣрнаго и христолюбиваго крала Марка. – 1371–94, inscription in Saint Demetrius Monastery in Suva Reka, Stojanovič 1902, 58; [...] ни храм сы вь дни благовернаго кнеза Стефана, вь лѣт(о) ҂ѕ҃ц҃ѕ҃. – 1399, inscription in Saint Stephen Church in Lipovac (Aleksinac), *ibidem*, 60; or ... въ ц(а)рс(т)вие писах въ л(ѣ)то [...] тисѹцно и҃ѳ[...] сьтьно и ·к҃· и вь д(ь)нь ц(а)ра [...] сѹлтан(а)... – 1412, church inscription excavated in Shumen, Tomović 1974, 101.

[72] For ways of dating a *ktetorial* work in inscriptions, including a discussion of the cases when the ruler's name is included, see Marković 2012. For Byzantine cases, see: Kalopissi-Verti 1992, 25; Foskolou 2006; Marković 2011, 133. For the ruler's mentioning in Orthodox churches under foreign rule, either Orthodox, Catholic, or Ottoman, see especially the last example in the previous note and also Tsougarakis 1998; Spatharakis 2001, 74; Drakopoulou 2013, 122–123, and N. Karamouna, N. Peker, B. Tolga Uyar, *Female Donors in Thirteenth-century Wall Paintings in Cappadocia: An Overview*, in Theis et alii 2014, 239–241.

[73] Ribiţa was subordinated administratively to the royal *castrum* of Şiria, which belonged to Zarand County, one of the Hungarian Kingdom's border counties, Prodan 1960; Bulboacă 2013, 24, 31–32. Streisângeorgiu was located in the District of Haţeg, an administrative division of Hunedoara County, one of the seven Transylvanian counties, Popa 1972 a, 54.

wall, recorded in 1868[74] and located probably in the proximity of the representation of the holy kings of Hungary,[75] mentioned also that the church in Ribița was built in 1404 under the shepherding of Pope Gregory and Anastasius. The former name was probably that of the twelfth pontiff named as such (1406–1415),[76] while the latter referred possibly to the Metropolitan of Severin Athanasius (1389–1403/1405).[77] The fact that the two pastors' reigning and governing years do not coincide poses indeed a series of problems for the church's dating,[78] but the mentioning of an ecclesiastical authority in the context of church inscriptions is possible, being encountered sometimes in the Byzantine and Byzantine-Slavic world.[79] According to my knowledge, however, the reference to a double ecclesiastical authority, both Catholic and Orthodox, is a unique occurrence.[80]

[74] Nemes 1868, 64.

[75] Rusu 1991, 7.

[76] The reigns of Popes Gregory XI (1370–1378) and Gregory XIII (1572–1585) do not correspond to the church's possible date of building and decoration.

[77] For the Metropolitan of Severin Athanasius, see: Șerbănescu 1970, 1212–1215; Păcurariu 1980, 255; Trapp, Gastgeber 2001, no. 389; Preiser-Kapeller 2008, 345, 481. It is highly uncertain that Athanasius was later the Metropolitan of Mytilene (until 1412), as suggested by Laurent 1945, 177–179, because the hierarch disappeared from public life after December 1403 or August 1405, probably as a consequence of his and other metropolitans' failure to depose the Patriarch of Constantinople Matthew I. For this episode, see Dennis 1967, 100–106; Kapsalis 1994, 52–93; Leonte 2012, 30–37.

[78] The actual date is unimportant for the present discussion, which is concerned with the mentioning in church inscriptions of the ecclesiastical authority. The date's criticism in Rusu 1991, 7–8, should be reconsidered in the light of new information, Adashinskaya, Năstăsoiu 2014.

[79] For Byzantine material, see: the inscriptions dating the foundation through the emperor's, patriarch's, and creation years in the Church of the Dormition of the Virgin in Skripou (873/4), Oikonomidès 1994; the dedicatory inscription referring to the Patriarch of Constantinople in Omorphe Ekklesia in Aegina (1289), Kalopissi-Verti 1992, 25, 85; the dedicatory inscription mentioning the emperor, his wife, and the Archbishop of Ohrid in the Church of the Holy Virgin Peribleptos in Ohrid (1294–1295), Marković 2011, 133; the inscription recorded in early-20th century as existing above the entrance to the church of Theotokos Chrysopege in Ainos/Enez (1424), which mentioned the emperor and his wife, the bishop, and ecumenical patriarch, Mamaloukos, Perrakis 2011, 509–510. For Byzantine-Slavic material, see: the two inscriptions in Staro Nagoričino mentioning the ruler and the monastery's abbot (1312/1313 – exterior, above the church's entrance; and 1318 – interior of the church), Stojanovič 1902, 19, 21, and Marković 2012, 29 and fig. 7. The mentioning of the Patriarch of Nicea Germanos in the Church of Panagia tou Mpryone, Neochoraki in Epiros (1238), Kalopissi-Verti 1992, 25, 49–50, and of the patriarch and emperor in the Holy Savior Church in Veria (1315), Gounaris 1991, 10, are special cases, since the patriarchs themselves participated to the consecration of these churches.

[80] The mentioning together of the Byzantine Emperor Manuel I Komnenos, the King of Jerusalem Amalric I, and the Latin Bishop of Jerusalem Raoul in the bilingual dedicatory inscriptions of the Church of Nativity in Jerusalem, is the closest example I could find; however, this case is not analogous to Ribița, since the mentioned secular and religious authorities were directly involved in sponsoring the church's complete redecoration in 1167–1169, Folda 1997, 389; Kühnel 2001, 359; Bacci 2015, 39–40, 51–52. For an interpretation of the case in Ribița as the acknowledging of a double ecclesiastical authority, Catholic and Orthodox, see Rusu 1991, 8.

Except for the king's name, the partially-preserved dedicatory inscription in Ribița mentions also a charter for one's sons, family, and properties,[81] and displays a striking difference between the upper half with tall, elegant letters and the lower half with small, crowded, almost cursive letters. This dissimilarity might indicate that the dedicatory inscription was at some later point remade.[82] From indirect, but reliable 19th-century sources, which supplement one's knowledge on the founders of the church, one finds out that the brothers Mátyás, Vratisláv/Vladislavu, and Miklós/Miclăușu *de Ribice*, together with daughters Anna/Ana and Johanka/Stan(c)a(?), built the church in 1404, being grateful that King Sigismund returned to them *nova donatione mediante* the family properties (five villages), which were lost by their father Vratisláv for his *nota infidelitatis* toward the king.[83] Another partially-preserved inscription painted on the sanctuary's northern wall could indicate, however, an earlier dating for the mural decoration of the sanctuary at least, if not for the whole church: 1393.[84]

It is possible, therefore, that the main dedicatory inscription in the votive composition was only updated in 1404, or soon after, so that it reflected the new social and legal status of the noblemen in Ribița, who regained the king's favor and recovered their family's lost properties.[85] The mentioning of an event taking place in the days of King Sigismund is followed after only one line by the detail of a charter for one's sons, offspring, and property.[86] The event in question might refer in fact not to the finishing of the church's construction and/or decoration, which is specified at length throughout the three final, fragmentary lines, where the accomplishing of a certain thing is repeated obstinately,[87] but to the recovering in 1404 of the family land possessions, which happened as customarily by means of a royal charter. This has not survived for the noblemen in Ribița, only the dedicatory inscription alluding now to it. Similar documents, however, still exist for the noblemen in Crişcior and Streisângeorgiu, as well as for other Romanian Orthodox noblemen in the area, all having received on 25 August 1404 the royal (re)confirmation of their land possessions.[88]

[81] See Catalogue, VI.1.A, line 6.

[82] Adashinskaya, Năstăsoiu 2014; until the votive composition's cleaning and restoration will be completed, the above statement is hypothetical.

[83] Nemes 1868, 64; see also supra, n. 27 and 30.

[84] Adashinskaya, Năstăsoiu 2014; see Catalogue VI.2.A.

[85] *Ibidem*. Only the completion of the frescoes' restoration can clarify the church's stages of decoration and confirm or not these statements. I want to stress once again their hypothetical character.

[86] See Catalogue, VI.1.A, lines 5–6.

[87] *Ibidem*, lines 7–9.

[88] For the confirmation of the land possessions of the noblemen of Crişcior and Streisângeorgiu, both documents issued on 25 August 1404, see n. 18 and 40. The same day, King Sigismund of Luxemburg issued a series of other documents (confirmations of possession, orders of putting in possession, and tax exemptions), which concern other Romanian Orthodox noblemen in the area; for these documents, see Rusu, Pop, Drăgan 1989, 40–51.

King Sigismund's gesture towards Orthodox Romanians came after the defeat of the Transylvanian noblemen who, in their quality of *familiares*, followed the *Voivodes* of Transylvania Nicholas Csáki and Nicholas Marcali (1402–1403) and rebelled against the king, supporting the claims to the Hungarian crown of King Ladislas of Naples.[89] Having overcome any adversity by the spring of 1404, King Sigismund rewarded generously those who took his side in the conflict (among them, there were probably also the noblemen of Crişcior and Streisângeorgiu) and pardoned magnanimously those who surrendered within the required interval, restoring them to their previous state (probably Vladislavu and Miclăuşu of Ribiţa).[90] The mentioning of the king and charter in the dedicatory inscription in Ribiţa can be understood equally as the two brothers' way of expressing their gratitude to the king, of remembering the overcoming of a difficult moment in their existence, and of making sure that their land possessions will not be at risk again. Whether donor portraits and church inscriptions could fulfill or not in the Middle Ages a legal function is open to debate, but indirect evidence suggests that they did so in a later period. The church inscriptions of the church in Crişcior were copied in 1773 by some alleged descendants of the Kristyóri family. In so doing, they used them as evidence in a legal dispute concerning their right of property over the village of Crişcior and, subsequently, derived their genealogy from *jupan* Bălea, who was fashioned as *Bela Vajvoda de Kristor*.[91]

The complex social and political context suggested by these churches' dedicatory inscriptions and donor portraits is confirmed also by an iconographic particularity of the frescoes in the Orthodox churches in Crişcior and Ribiţa. Here, one can notice the presence in the proximity of the donors' compositions of representations of military saints on horse and the three Catholic holy kings of Hungary.[92] In Crişcior, the holy kings follow the representation of the *ktetor*'s sons on the southern wall of the nave (Fig. 7), while in Ribiţa, they are facing the votive composition on the nave's northern wall (Fig. 8). Whereas the military saints' representation was interpreted as a consequence of Romanian Orthodox noblemen's significant military role they had to play in the king's efforts to oppose the Ottoman's advance,[93] the depiction of the Catholic royal saints of Hungary in

[89] For the events' chronology and development, see Engel 2005, 206–208.

[90] For King Sigismund's measures following the 1401–1403 events and his attempt to gain the support of townsmen and lower nobility, including Orthodox Romanians, see Gündisch 1976; Gündisch 1977.

[91] The document is published partially in Dragomir 1929, 238–239, and Réthy 1890, 146, n. 3; see also n. 15–6. Whether the continuation of a medieval practice or only modern contrivance, I hope that further research will shed light on the legal character of dedicatory inscriptions.

[92] Tugearu 1985 a, 78–79, noticed first the connection in Crişcior between the votive composition, Hungary's holy kings, and Saint Helena in the Finding of the Holy Cross scene. For the connection between the *ktetors* and military saints on horse in Crişcior and Ribiţa, see Cincheza-Buculei 1981, 31. For putting in relation all four scenes, see Prioteasa 2009, 42; Prioteasa 2011, 64, 85, 194–196. See also Agrigoroaei 2012, 123–128. I have recently dealt with the same topic: Năstăsoiu 2015.

[93] Cincheza-Buculei 1981, Prioteasa 2011, 58–64.

the Orthodox churches in Crişcior and Ribiţa was understood as an expression of the Orthodox founders' loyalty towards the Hungarian royal power.[94] The holy kings' representation was extremely popular among the kingdom's Catholic noblemen, who expressed in this way their political allegiance either to the king or kingdom.[95]

It is possible, therefore, that the founders in Crişcior and Ribiţa, who had their properties in the County of Zarand, were noblemen of the Kingdom of Hungary,[96] and owed to the king their military assistance whenever this was needed, to have emulated the devotional patterns of Catholic nobility which was placed in a more favorable position.[97] The depiction of Hungary's holy kings was not necessarily a consequence of Romanian Orthodox noblemen's devotional practice (although this cannot be completely excluded judging by their naming practices),[98] the frescoes' donors intending it rather as a reflection of their social and political status.[99] The hybridity of their Orthodoxy which was professed under Latin/Catholic rule was a consequence of the social and political reality of the medieval Hungarian Kingdom. Romanian Orthodox noblemen sought to be integrated into the kingdom's social and political hierarchy/structure and understood the central royal power as a legitimizing source for their local authority.[100]

Consequently, donor portraits and church inscriptions register not only the pious deed of a religious foundation by a noble family, sometimes clarifying the relationship between actors, but they can also offer additional information which can shed light on the political and social structure in which they took place. This way, they receive a range of additional meaning: economic (building, decorating, and endowing a church required a significant financial effort), social and political (the noble *ktetors* were integrated to a social-political structure, the authority of which validated and legitimized their actions), or even legal (the reference to a charter in the dedicatory inscription reinforcing and confirming the *ktetors*' juridical status).

These noblemen depicted in votive compositions accompanied by lengthy dedicatory inscriptions were indeed the main sponsors of the works of building or decorating a religious edifice, but they were not the only ones acting as church

[94] For the Catholic royal saints' presence in Transylvanian Orthodox churches, see: Dragomir 1929, 233–236; Drăguţ 1970, 39; Tugearu 1985 a, 78–80; Tugearu 1985 b, 134; Marosi 1987, 230, 232, 245; Rusu 1991, 8; Rusu 1999, 137; Szakács 2006, 326–329; Terdik 2007; Prioteasa 2009; Năstăsoiu 2009, 50–55 Năstăsoiu 2015; Năstăsoiu forthcoming, n. 40–4. The authors' different emphasis makes opinions seem rather divergent and the Orthodox commissioners' motivation for depicting the Catholic saints in their churches is, depending on the scholar's focus, variously explained.

[95] For the *sancti reges Hungariae* iconography in Catholic churches, see especially: Poszler 2000; Gogâltan 2002–2003; Kerny 2007; Năstăsoiu 2009; Năstăsoiu 2010.

[96] See supra, n. 73.

[97] Szakács 2006, 326–329; Năstăsoiu 2015.

[98] Năstăsoiu 2010 a, 50–55; Năstăsoiu 2015.

[99] Năstăsoiu 2015.

[100] *Ibidem*.

donors. A series of other representations of lay persons depicted as supplicants are attested in the mural decoration of these churches. They are represented without a gift, in prayer posture, and asking a saint to intercede for the forgiveness of their sins and salvation. The holy intercessor is present either in the same composition in the proximity of the supplicant's image, or only alluded to in the accompanying inscription. These representations are in the majority of cases contemporaneous with the main votive compositions. For such depictions to appear, it was necessary for the supplicant to have previously made a donation to the church, which was not as substantial as that of the main founders, but it was a form of funding the construction or decoration works, either by the supplicant himself/herself or by somebody else on behalf of a deceased relative depicted as supplicant. Whereas the donation is made manifest in the donors' votive compositions through the presence in the image of the actual gift, that is, the model of the church, the supplicants' offering is only implied by the presence of the donated image itself. Both situations, however, have as finality the obtaining of the forgiveness of sins and salvation.[101] Due to the loss of accompanying inscriptions, the majority of portrayed supplicants remains anonymous. Their presence in church decoration, however, is indicative not only of the devotional practices of a certain community, but also of its members' economic means and need for recognition of their status as important members of a social group by means of pious deeds.[102]

In Hălmagiu, on the eastern side of the lower register of the nave's northern wall, corresponding to the church's second stage of mural decoration (second half of the 15th century),[103] there is the representation of two supplicants kneeling next to the Enthroned Virgin with Child (Fig. 9). The presentation gesture of the Holy

[101] For the distinction between donor and supplicant, see Linda Safran, *Deconstructing Donors in Medieval Southern Italy*, in Theis et alii 2014, 135–151; for the distinction's arbitrary character, see N. Patterson Ševčenko, *The Portrait of Theodore Metochites at Chora*, in Spieser, Yota 2012, 189. For representations of models of churches, see: Marinković 2007; Marinković 2011; Marinković 2013. For images of donation in other media than mural painting, see Patterson Ševčenko 1993–1994, with bibliography.

[102] I excluded from this discussion the representation below the western tribune in Sântămăria Orlea, which shows two female donors kneeling and being blessed by God's hand, because of the representation's bad state of preservation, seemingly Western iconography, and uncertain dating. The two donors are shown in upright posture and having their hands joined in prayer. According to Bratu 1985 b, 230–232, the character on the right side holds a small, cylindrical object. As shown by Agrigoroaei 2014, it is not certain that the donors' scene was executed between 1447 (the moment when the Romanian Orthodox noble family of Cândea received from John Hunyadi the settlement previously owned by Catholics) and 1484 (the year given by a graffito on the scene's lower side); another graffito on *Pauper Paulus*' representation below the western tribune offers an earlier date (1430s), pointing out to the frescoes' dating to a period when Sântămăria Orlea was still in the possession of Catholics. It is, therefore, more cautious for art historians to wait the frescoes' cleaning and restoration before making any stylistic judgment and pronounce themselves on the contemporaneousness of all four scenes below the western tribune in Sântămăria Orlea; for a similar recommendation, see also Burnichioiu 2009, 308.

[103] See supra, n. 46–7 and 51.

Mother of Christ recommends her as intercessor next to her Son, who blesses the two praying figures. The fresco is badly preserved and the inscriptions lost, so one cannot know anything about the supplicants' identity, probably two young women, judging by the flowers which adorn the long hair falling down their backs.[104] They were probably the daughters of the anonymous, church-holding donor appearing on the same wall (Fig. 6), the girls' exclusion from the contemporaneous, main votive composition and their depiction in a distinct scene indicating their particular position within the *ktetor*'s family at the time the two votive images were painted.[105] The depiction's place above two tombs, one of them belonging to a child holding in his/her hand a silver coin issued during Matthias Corvinus' reign (1458–1490),[106] indicates that the fresco and tomb are coeval and suggests that the image fulfilled the function of funerary portrait for the two female supplicants, being commissioned by the same donors appearing in the main votive composition for the purpose of their daughters' salvation.[107] An unidentifiable lay figure is also the beardless man, who is depicted on the draperies' register on the southern wall of the nave in Leşnic (Fig. 10).[108] Represented in a red-brown costume, he stands and holds two uncertain, poorly-preserved objects, possibly a sword and axe.[109] The few remaining traces of an inscription on the right side of his head[110] and his peculiar attributes are not enough evidence to identify this lay character, nor to establish a certain connection between this figure and those of the donors painted on the opposite wall in the contemporaneous votive composition.[111] However, judging by his position below the Last Judgment scene, it is possible that this image, too, was commissioned during the same decoration phase with the nave's other murals by some family members as a donation and prayer for the salvation of the soul of a deceased relative, depicted here as an atypical supplicant (?).[112]

[104] For this representation, see Cincheza-Buculei 1984, 13, 19–21; Prioteasa 2011, 52–53.

[105] The donors' and supplicants' compositions are painted on the same lower register of the nave's northern wall, but are separated by two scenes from the Life of Saint Nicholas, the church's patron, Cincheza-Buculei 1984, 20–21; Prioteasa 2011, 53.

[106] Căpăţînă 1976, 80 and fig. 4; see also Prioteasa 2011, 53.

[107] For iconographic analogies, see the examples in Cincheza-Buculei 1984, 20. See also Thierry 1992; Semoglou 1995; Papamastorakis 1996–1997.

[108] For this representation, see Mocanu 1985, 103–105, 110; Prioteasa 2011, 45.

[109] Mocanu 1985, 110.

[110] See Catalogue IV.2.A.

[111] Mocanu 1985, 105.

[112] *Ibidem*. The previously-established connection between the layman and the above scene belonging to the Resurrection of the Dead, which depicts two men carrying one a dead animal and another a man killed by an arrow, remains hypothetical as long as the layman's figure is the only fragment of decoration currently visible on the southern wall's lowermost register. The inscription accompanying the Resurrection of the Dead, which generated interpretations suggesting the layman's death during a battle either against Turks or fellow Romanians in Moldavia, is yet another, difficult-to-prove hypothesis with no real ground. For these interpretations, see Drăguţ 1963, 431; Drăguţ 1970, 28–29; Cincheza-Buculei 1974, 53–57; Mocanu 1985, 102–103. Agrigoroaei 2015 has the undisputable merit of showing that there is no basis for assigning to Dobre the Romanian the role of

Another interesting case is that of the church in Strei, which was decorated with frescoes sometime during the first half of the 14th century by a workshop gathering probably three painters, all trained in a Western milieu and displaying stylistic features revealing Romanesque-Gothic, *Trecento*, and Byzantine elements.[113] This Catholic workshop, the painters of which tried to adapt their skill and craft to the requirements of their Orthodox commissioners, achieved with modest means a particular iconographic program, which puts together Western and Byzantine themes and motifs.[114] The painters scattered inside the church a high number of donor or supplicant figures. On the lower register of the sanctuary's southern wall, there is the standing figure of a beardless man dressed in a red-brown costume of Western type, composed of hood, tunic, and tight pants,[115] who raises his hands in prayer (Fig. 11). He stands next to the representation of Saint Nicholas, who is placed in the proximity of a model of an imaginary, two-tower Romanesque church, a motif repeated next to the majority of hierarchs on the sanctuary's lower register and interpreted as a way of underlining the holy bishops' status as heads of the Church.[116] Because the partially-preserved inscription above the supplicant's head mentions that a certain Grozie of Master Ivaniş painted the church,[117] this figure has been interpreted either as the commissioner of the frescoes or their painter. Consequently, the other supplicant images existing in the church were understood as depicting either members of the donor's family or the other artists and craftsmen working in the church.[118]

On the upper register of the triumphal arch's northern side, between the standing figures of the Holy Archangels Michael and Gabriel, but turning toward the former, there is the kneeling figure of a bearded man (Fig. 12). He has a similar costume with that of Grozie (blue hood and tunic) and is depicted in an upright posture with hands raised in prayer in front of his chest.[119] Because his prayer is

ktetor for the church's building or decoration. However, the author's identification of the layman as a figure of Death is arguable, being based on much later and incongruous iconographic examples. Moreover, the reconstruction of the accompanying inscription as the Romanian word **мортє** (death) is based on a single letter surely readable in the inscription (o), a fact which represents too weak an evidence to build a hypothesis and support a word reconstruction. I am grateful to the author for allowing me to read his manuscript and express my opinion on it.

[113] Various dates have been proposed for the church's murals: first quarter of the 13th century – Ştefănescu 1932, 223; soon after the church's building, around 1300 – Rusu, Burnichioiu 2008, no page number; mid-14th century – Cincheza-Buculei 1981, 5; Porumb 1981, vol. 1, 12, 25–26, Porumb 1998, 385, Burnichioiu 2009, 319–24; at the turn of the third and fourth quarters of the 14th century – Drăguţ 1965; Drăguţ 1970, 18–23; Drăguţ 1973; Drăguţ 1979, 204; simply 14th century – Cincheza-Buculei 1975; Popescu, Tugearu 1985; and first half of the 15th century –Vătăşianu 2001, 407.

[114] Prioteasa 2003.

[115] Prioteasa 2011, 29–30.

[116] Popescu, Tugearu 1985, 238; Prioteasa 2003, 192; Burnichioiu 2009, 321.

[117] See Catalogue VIII.I.A.

[118] For overviews of the numerous opinions on the matter, see Popescu, Tugearu 1985, 239–241; Burnichioiu 2009, 321–323; Prioteasa 2011, 29–34.

[119] The figure has been variously interpreted: the frescoes' donor, possibly *cneaz* Petru, appearing in written sources starting with 1377, Drăguţ 1973, 20, 25–26; the main painter of the

directed toward Archangel Michael, who is usually represented weighing the souls of the dead and leading them to Heaven, the image was interpreted as a funerary portrait of the supplicant, this one being already dead when the frescoes were painted.[120] Oriented toward the sanctuary, another small figure is painted next to a niche with unknown function and below the representations of Saints Catherine and Sreda on the southern side of the nave's eastern wall (Fig. 13). It has its left hand bent in front of its chest, while its right hand is raised up to the shoulder's level. The figure's bad state of preservation, however, does not allow one to ascertain neither its gender, nor whether it held or not an object in its right hand, as previously suggested.[121] On the upper side of the eastern jamb of the southern door, there is the badly-preserved figure of either a woman or young man, who faces the interior of the church (Fig. 14).[122] The character is dressed in a long, red-brown vestment, has uncovered head, and stands with hands joined in prayer. Below this supplicant, turning the opposite direction, that is, toward the exterior of the church, there is a smaller, poorly-preserved figure of uncertain gender (Fig. 14). This has one arm bent in front of its chest and holds with the other hand an object, which was interpreted as a tool; however, judging by its long shaft and ochre, round-shaped top, it could be equally a burning candle, indicating that the person was already dead at the time of his/her portrayal.[123]

A standing figure of a beardless layman was depicted by a different painter on the right side of the decorative frame surrounding the joint depiction of the Martyrdom of the Forty Martyrs of Sebaste and Saint Nicholas' Investiture as Bishop (Fig. 15). This double scene is placed on the lower register of the nave's southern wall. The supplicant's red-brown tunic long to his knees contrasts with the martyrs' naked bodies and his marginal position on the decorative frame assigns to the figure a special place in the economy of the two scenes. Moreover, his posture similar to that of the Byzantine prayer gesture with separated hands

church, Cincheza-Buculei 1975, 58–60, 62; or the church's second painter, Master Ivaniş, mentioned in Grozie's inscription, Popescu, Tugearu 1985, 245–246, 271. All these identifications have in fact no solid ground and can be considered merely hypothetical.

[120] Popescu, Tugearu, 245–246. For Archangel Michael's psychopomp quality, see: Johnson 2005; Hannah 1999, 46–47; Leontakianakou 2009.

[121] Cincheza-Buculei 1975, 56, where the figure is interpreted as the church's stonemason; see also Drăguţ 1973, 20; Popescu, Tugearu 1985, 278.

[122] For the figure's female gender, see Drăguţ 1973, 21; for its male gender, see Popescu, Tugearu 1985, 278; for its identification as one of the church's painters and, subsequently, a man, see Cincheza-Buculei 1975, 58.

[123] For the object's interpretation as a chisel, see *ibidem*. When she conducted her research (1975), the scholar saw in the figure's right hand another object, which she interpreted as a wooden hammer (no longer discernible), making her to assume that the figure represented one of the church's masons. However, for Popescu, Tugearu 1985, 278, the light-ochre spot on the figure's left shoulder could be equally a costume accessory. For depictions of deceased persons holding burning candles, see the examples in Kalotina (1332), Kirin, Gerov 1993–1994, 56–57, and figs. 7 and 14, and Veluće (around 1375), Cvetković 2011, 38, 44. In these two cases, the candle-holding figures are two boys, a detail which could suggest an explanation for the smaller size of the figure in Strei.

bent in front of the chest[124] recommends the figure as yet another lay supplicant depicted inside the church.[125] Setting aside another uncertain lay figure which is now poorly preserved and, therefore, difficult to analyze,[126] the church in Strei displays a surprisingly high number of supplicant or donor representations.

The form є писалъ above Grozie's head is equivocal, two interpretations being possible. First, it can be taken literally as referring to the church's painter Grozie, the son of a certain Master Ivaniş who, as suggested by the frescoes' style, painted the church together with two other painters, Grozie being possibly their master as the oldest and most experienced among them. Additionally, he fulfilled the role of donor for part of the decoration, such a situation being encountered sometimes in the Byzantine and Byzantine-Slavic world.[127] Moreover, this situation is supported by the evidence of the 1313–1314 dedicatory inscription in Streisângeorgiu, which assigns to painter Theofil the role of one of the church's founders or donors of mural painting.[128] On the other hand, as suggested by the inscription in Hālmagiu, which states that *jupan* Moga and his brother renewed *with their hand* something, possibly the church's mural decoration,[129] the form є писалъ can equally designate one of the murals' commissioners, possibly the main one. He could be indeed the son of a certain Master Ivaniş and could participate together with the other portrayed supplicants to the joint initiative of decorating the church with murals. Whether painter or not, Grozie[130] is one of the six or seven supplicants,[131] who joined simultaneously their efforts sometime in the first half of

[124] The Byzantine prayer gesture has the supplicant's hands separated, while the Western one has the hands joined, Kalopissi-Verti 2012, 124–125.

[125] The figure's distinct treatment as compared to the two scenes' other figures was noticed also by Popescu, Tugearu 1985, 250–251; Burnichioiu 2009, 322, but completely overlooked by Prioteasa 2011, 29–34, who makes no reference to it.

[126] Cincheza-Buculei 1975, 63–64 and fig. 10, mentions another smaller, richly-dressed lay figure standing next to a blessing female saint. She assumes that this representation, painted on the northern wall of the space below the church's western tower, is that of the *ktetor* offering the model of the church to the Holy Virgin, and that the other lay figures present in the church are portraits of artists. However, the church's model and the saint's identity were assumed on unknown basis, as there is no evidence in the poorly-preserved image to support these claims. For critical examinations of the votive-composition hypothesis surrounding this almost-illegible representation, see Burnichioiu 2009, 323, and Prioteasa 2011, 32.

[127] For painters acting also as (secondary) donors of mural decoration in provincial monuments commissioned by individuals not ranking very high in the social hierarchy or in cases of collective patronage, see the examples in Kalopissi-Verti 1994, 145–148; Kalopissi-Verti 2012, 179.

[128] See Catalogue IX.1.A.

[129] See supra n. 22–5 and catalogue III.1.A. It is hard to believe that the two *jupani* literally painted with their hand the church's sanctuary, the inscription referring rather to the murals' commissioners; an observation made also by Cincheza-Buculei 1984, 21–22.

[130] The name Grozie appears also in a 1545 grafitto in the church, Popescu, Tugearu 1985, 260, 278, making more likely for the portrayed figure to be a local and one of the frescoes' donors, rather than one of the Catholic painters, who came probably from somewhere else.

[131] The decoration of the nave's northern wall is almost completely lost and it is possible for other supplicant or donor portraits to have been depicted on this wall, too; opinion present also in Prioteasa 2011, 32.

the 14th century. By means of their pious donations, the church was then completely decorated with frescoes and they were subsequently entitled to have their supplicatory image depicted inside the church.[132]

The relatively high number of supplicants suggests a collective undertaking by the members of the Orthodox community in Strei,[133] the landowners of which appear in written sources only in the 1370s,[134] that is, some considerable time after the church's building and decoration. The frescoes' poor artistic quality and high number of supplicant portraits seem to suggest a low economic profile for the Orthodox donors in Strei, who were compelled by their limited financial means to commission their church's mural decoration to any available workshop appearing at some point in the area.[135]

The interaction of the Orthodox commissioners with the itinerant Catholic workshop lead to the emergence of a series of iconographic peculiarities, such as the coexistence of the supplicants' Orthodox and Catholic prayer postures or Grozie's depiction next to the figure of the church-holding Saint Nicholas, an image which is reminiscent of Orthodox votive compositions.[136] Not excluding the possibility of a major *ktetor* commissioning the church's mural decoration together with several other, minor donors, whether related or not,[137] the situation in Strei is similar with that of Panagia Phorbiotissa or Panagia tis Asinou in Nikitari, Cyprus. Here, only in the church's narthex, one can count 14 representations of donors executed between late-13th century and 1332/1333 (ten of them belong to this precise date only), that is, in a period when the island was under Latin rule. The donors' small figures are depicted in either Byzantine or Western supplicatory postures and they are placed either next to a saint or isolated on intermediary wall

[132] If one accepts the hypothesis that the supplicant next to Archangel Michael and the candle-holding personage were already dead when the frescoes were painted, then their images were commissioned by their relatives on the deceased ones' behalf.

[133] For the phenomenon of collective church patronage emerging as a consequence of the historical and socioeconomic conditions of late-medieval agrarian communities, see Kalopissi-Verti 2007; eadem, *Collective Patterns of Patronage in the Late Byzantine Village: The Evidence of Church Inscriptions*, in Spieser, Yota 2012, 125–140; Kalopissi-Verti 2012, 178–179.

[134] Lukinich, Galdi 1941, 271–273 (doc. no. 233–234); see also Popa 1972 b; Drăguţ 1973, 25–26.

[135] For the painters' origin, see Drăguţ 1973, 21–26; Popescu, Tugearu 1985, 256–260; Burnichioiu 2009, 323–324.

[136] Judging by Saint Nicholas' occurrence several times in the mural decoration, one may assume that he was the church's patron saint, Burnichioiu 2009, 323. In this case, the juxtaposition of the praying Grozie and church-holding Saint Nicholas recalls remotely Orthodox votive compositions, which a Catholic painter could have interpreted in this peculiar way.

[137] For Drăguţ 1973, 20, the numerous supplicants in the church were self-understood as members of the *ktetor*'s family. However, there is no basis for such an assumption, because the church was the only religious edifice of the medieval settlement, it was located outside the noble family's residence, and the community's cemetery developed around it – all these facts indicate a parochial function for the church, Burnichioiu 2009, 320; for its function as court chapel, cf. Popa 1988, 234.

surfaces, similarly to the small figures in Strei.[138] Moreover, both examples are the cultural product of Orthodox living under and being influenced by Catholics, and attest not only the model of collective religious patronage, but also a similar way of pictorial thinking, which acknowledges the contribution of multiple patrons by integrating their portraits to church decoration in marginal or transitional wall surfaces.[139]

Acting as minor donors and sponsors of church decoration were also those persons attested only by supplicatory inscriptions on images of saints. In the majority of cases, these inscriptions are contemporary with the votive compositions featuring the main donors, a fact which reveals that the mural-painting decoration of a church was usually a complex phenomenon involving multiple donors with different sponsorship ratios. However, this type of inscriptions does not offer much information, because it contains usually a concise and standard formula, which accounts that a particular image was intended as a prayer (**молєниє**) of a certain person to a certain saint. Additionally, it implies also a donation to the church: for that devotional image and its accompanying inscription to occur, a certain person or group of persons, indicated as servant(s) of God (**рабъ / рабъі божии**), had to make previously a donation to the church and commission that particular image. This common devotional practice is attested by the examples in the churches in Leşnic, Ribiţa, or Densuş. The humble invocation of a saint or directly of God does not offer usually more information than the supplicant's name, his/her special veneration for a particular saint, and his/her hope for salvation and forgiveness of sins.

In Leşnic, on the same wall with the image of the church-holding *ktetor* (Fig. 2), but on the upper register and belonging to the same decoration phase, the standing Holy Virgin with Child is depicted in the company of several saints (Fig. 16). On the right side, there are Saints Petka, Peter, and John the Baptist, and on the left side, there is another unidentifiable, female saint.[140] An inscription now almost illegible was squeezed in between the lower sides of the Holy Virgin's and Saint Petka's garments. Its text indicates that the scene was commissioned by a man with partially-preserved name, who was other than the character in the votive composition,[141] and that the donation of the image was intended as a prayer for the salvation of that man's soul, together with the souls of his unnamed wife and son.[142] In Ribiţa, an inscription accompanying the representation of Saint John the

[138] For the supplicants' portraits, see Kalopissi-Verti 2012, 115–131, 176–190, and figs. 5.1–2, 5.6–10, 5.28–30, 5.34–5, and 5.37–47.

[139] I do not want to suggest a direct influence of one monument upon the other, but rather to stress the similarity of two instances of collective patronage, which occurred roughly the same time in similar historical circumstances.

[140] For this image, see: Drăguţ 1963, 427–428; Cincheza-Buculei 1974, 10, 29, 46–7, and fig. 3; Mocanu 1985, 104–105, 112, Burnichioiu 2009, 278, 280; Prioteasa 2011, 47–48.

[141] Mocanu 1985, 104–105; however, the assumption that the man referred to in the inscription was the church's painter has no real basis.

[142] See Catalogue IV.3.A.

Baptist, which is found on the nave's southern wall, in the proximity of the altar and the main founders' votive composition (Fig. 17),[143] attests that the two noblemen of Ribiţa were indeed the main and most prominent patrons and benefactors of the church, but they were not the only ones. A certain Dobroslavu and his unnamed wife ask for God's forgiveness through the intercession of Saint John,[144] both the painted inscription and image attesting their function as minor sponsors for the mural decoration of the church. Above the image of Saint John the Baptist, another text which is singled out by its surrounding red frame (Fig. 17), seems to indicate yet another dedicatory or votive inscription. Its highly fragmentary state no longer conveys relevant information, but judging by its standard formula referring to the glory of God in eternity,[145] this one, too, could appear as a consequence of the decoration works sponsored either by Vladislavu and Miclăuşu, Dobroslavu and his wife, or even by another donor whose identity can no longer be established.

Finally, in the mural decoration of Saint Nicholas Church in Densuş, executed possibly in two distinct stages during the first half of the 15th century,[146] there are again no preserved representations of donors, neither as *ktetors*/founders, nor as supplicants. However, three inscriptions accompanying representations of saints and another, self-standing one still survive inside the church, offering valuable information on the patterns of artistic patronage and devotional practices. On the western and southern sides of the nave's north-eastern pillar (Fig. 18), as well as on the northern side of the south-eastern pillar, there is a series of representations with votive character, which are accompanied by **молєниє**-type of inscriptions. The servant of God Crăstea the son of Muşat (below the Holy Trinity's image), a supplicant with unpreserved name (below Saint Nedelya's depiction), and again Crăstea together with his wife (on Saint Bartholomew's representation) address prayers to the respective saints in order to intercede for their sins and ensure their salvation.[147]

Unattested by written sources, Crăstea the son of Muşat was probably a member of the noble family of Muşina/Mujina/Muşana. They were related to the noble family of Densuş and had their main residence in the neighboring village of Răchitova.[148] As attested by archaeological research and remnants of fresco

[143] Prioteasa 2011, 39, 233; Adashinskaya, Năstăsoiu 2014.

[144] See Catalogue VI.3.A.

[145] *Ibidem*, VI.4.A. Until the completion of the murals' uncovering and restoration, which will allow art historians to assess better the painters' manners and the frescoes' technical characteristics, it is more cautious to leave open the question of the church's phases of mural decoration, Adashinskaya, Năstăsoiu 2014. For the time being, it is certain that at least two groups of persons acted in various degrees as sponsors of mural decoration for the church in Ribiţa, either simultaneously or not.

[146] For the church in Densuş and its frescoes, see especially: Drăguţ 1966 b; Cincheza-Buculei 1976; Cincheza-Buculei 2009; Rusu 1997 a, 120–121, 192–203; Rusu 2008; Porumb 1998, 104–108; Burnichioiu 2009, 285–95; Prioteasa 2011, 49–51. For the frescoes' date and stages of execution, see the discussion below.

[147] See Catalogue II.1.A–B and II.1.D.

[148] For the noble family in Răchitova, see Popa 1988, 93; Rusu 1997 a, 105, 263–267; Rusu 2008, 122–123, 166–168.

decoration, the family fulfilled there the function of church patrons during the same first half of the 15th century.[149] The noble family of Răchitova preserved properties in Densuş and, obviously, did not break up completely with the church in the village, since Crăstea commissioned there at least two votive images. The family's *ktetorial* rights over the church in Densuş extended until after the middle of the 16th century, when the death of *jupan* Andriiaş Mînjina was recorded by a 1566 graffito on Saint Bartholomew's image, one of Crăstea's earlier commissions.[150]

On the western side of the north-western pillar, there is another, longer inscription, which is placed on the pillar's base, below Saint Marina's representation; despite its placement, the inscription seems to have no direct connection with the saint's image, however.[151] Written cursively by a different hand than that which authored the inscription next to the devil-hammering saint, this inscription offers the date of 23 October 6952 (1443). Moreover, it states that it is the prayer of Ianăşă for his unnamed *jupaniţa* and daughter Anca, a prayer which he addresses to Saint Nicholas and Archangel Michael for their help in the day of the terrible Judgment of Christ.[152] Visible immediately when entering the nave, the text was self-understood as the main dedicatory inscription of the church, art historians assigning to Ianăşă the role of main *ktetor* of the church and, subsequently, dating the entire mural ensemble to 1443.[153] However, the inscription's untidy and sloppy character, and its belonging to the **моленіе**-type of text indicate clearly that it cannot be the main dedicatory inscription of the church, despite the presence of the verb (**нс**)**писати**. This should be understood here in its meaning of "to write" (the prayer-inscription) rather than "to paint" (the interior of the church). Moreover, the position of the 1443 inscription not on Saint Marina's image itself, like the other **моленіе**-type of inscriptions, but below it, on the base of the pillar, does not support fully the contemporaneousness of the pillar's frescoes and the 1443 inscription, the latter not being in fact of any help in dating the former.[154]

On the upper side of the representation of Saint Nedelya, above the red border surrounding the image and written in black on white background, there is also the signature of the painter who executed probably all the votive images on the nave's pillars (Fig. 19). This painter, the much sinful and unworthy Stefan,[155] might be or not the same personage with the homonymous master of the workshop which executed the frescoes in the sanctuary; this one, too, left his signature, possibly sometime earlier, below the south-eastern window of the sanctuary (Fig. 20).[156]

[149] For the ruins of the church in Răchitova and its fragments of mural decoration, which are kept today in the Art Museum in Cluj-Napoca, see Rusu 1989; Rusu 1997 a, 257–67; Porumb 1989.

[150] Drăguţ 1966 b, 243, Breazu 1985, 65–66, 70; Rusu 1997 a, 201–202; Prioteasa 2011, 50.

[151] Burnichioiu 2009, 291–292.

[152] See Catalogue, II.1.E.

[153] Cincheza-Buculei 2009, 94–95.

[154] A similar observation in Burnichioiu 2009, 291–292.

[155] See Catalogue, II.1.C.

[156] *Ibidem*, II.2.A.

The striking stylistic inequality between the murals in the sanctuary and nave, and the obvious paleographical differences between the two signatures (Figs. 19–20) argue in fact only for the names' and not the persons' coincidence. Additionally, this situation suggests two different phases for the church's mural decoration, which was executed during the first half of the 15th century, but in two different periods and at the commission of distinct donors.[157] Whereas Crăstea the son of Muşat is one of the commissioners or even the only donor of the paintings on the nave's pillars, which correspond to the second stage of mural decoration of the church, the earlier commissioner(s) of the frescoes in the sanctuary can no longer be known.

The examination of the evidence offered by donor portraits and church inscriptions identified a series of complex cases of religious patronage functioning during the Late Middle Ages in the Orthodox churches of Transylvania. This image is greatly different than the one traditionally accepted by previous scholarship, which assigned indistinctively the *ktetorial* role to a unique actor, namely, the Romanian Orthodox nobleman who owned the greatest part of estates in and around the settlement which the religious edifice was built on. However, except for the church in Crişcior, which seems to have been built and decorated around 1411 at the initiative of a single founder, *jupan* Bălea,[158] the other examples reveal that

[157] The contemporaneousness of the stylistically-unequal murals in the sanctuary and on the nave's pillars, respectively, as well as the frescoes' authorship assigned to a single workshop composed of painters with different training and skill have been proposed by Cincheza-Buculei 2009, 94–95, and accepted by Rusu 1997 a, and Rusu 2008, 122–123. Based on painter Stefan's double mentioning – once below the sanctuary's window and secondly on the nave's north-eastern pillar –, and on the second inscription's misreading by Ruxandra Lambru, Cincheza-Buculei 2009, 94–95 excludes the possibility that Stefan's double mentioning might refer in fact to two distinct painters working in different periods of time. However, this is more likely since the two signatures reveal significant paleographical differences and are not alike, as the scholar states; for a similar observation, see Burnichioiu 2009, 292. The misreading єрдѿкоѫ (by the hierodeacon) instead of рѫкоѫ (by the hand) does not explain the completely-overlooked Genitive form стєфана (of Stefan); cf. catalogue II.1.C and Cincheza-Buculei 2009, 94. The scholar asserts that the church was decorated by a single workshop composed of painters differently trained and lead by the monk Stefan, probably a local, responsible for the sanctuary's complex-iconography frescoes, but coordinating the work of the nave's more provincial painter. She dates thus the entire medieval decoration to 1443, a date offered by the inscription on the nave's north-western pillar, which might refer or not to the decoration on the nave's pillars; for a similar observation, see Burnichioiu 2009, 291–292. For this study's purposes and until further clarification will be possible, I advance the hypothesis that the murals in the sanctuary and nave were executed during the first half of the 15th century, but in distinct phases and by at least two painters, who were called coincidentally Stefan, none of them a hierodeacon. See also Năstăsoiu forthcoming, n. 26–7.

[158] The statement in connection to Crişcior is hypothetical, because the mural decoration of the medieval church did not survive in its entirety: during the 19th century, the sanctuary has been completely rebuilt, the nave was extended to the east, and old openings were walled up and new ones were created, Tugearu 1985 a, 72. Needless to say, all these changes affected greatly the mural decoration. Subsequently, one can no longer know whether evidence pointing out to minor donors existed or not in Crişcior.

the *ktetor*'s role was more often than not played by multiple actors and that religious patronage took frequently the form of joint or associated *ktetorship*. The association of usually two partners for accomplishing a religious foundation was often motivated by their close family ties and joint tenancy of their patrimony. It was the case of brothers Vladislavu and Miclăuşu of Ribiţa, brothers Moga of Hălmagiu, or brothers Sărăcin of Sălaşu de Sus, who fulfilled jointly their *ktetorial* function, the latter transmitting their duties from father to son throughout several generations.

This model of religious patronage having the appearance of a family affair could associate theoretically to the *ktetorial* act, by means of family ties, also the male founders' spouses or children, as attested by the votive compositions in Crişcior, Leşnic, Ribiţa, Streisângeorgiu, and possibly Hălmagiu, and by the dedicatory inscription in Sălaşu de Sus. Not all women, however, participated in fact in the religious foundation, the preserved written and visual evidence suggesting such a role only for *jupaniţa* Vişe in Crişcior, the women in Sălaşu de Sus, and *jupaniţa* Nistora in Streisângeorgiu. In absence of other supporting evidence, these women's effective involvement in the religious foundation should be regarded cautiously, however. Other motivations for joining efforts for the purposes of religious foundation can be identified, too, such as the partners' residence and land ownership in the same settlement – the 1408 (third) foundation of the church in Streisângeorgiu by *jupani* Chendreşu and Laţco – or the founders' common concern for and emotional attachment to the religious foundation – the 1313–1314 (second) foundation of the church in Streisâgeorgiu by *cneaz* Balea, priest Naneş, and painter Theofil. Occasionally, a higher number of donors could join their efforts in a *ktetorial* undertaking, participating collectively and in various degrees in the act of the religious foundation. This was probably the case of the mural decoration of the church in Strei, which was executed during the first half of the 14th century with the expense of several members of the local community which used the religious edifice; Grozie of Master Ivaniş and the other five or six anonymous supplicants were probably some of the more prominent and wealthy members of this community.

Even in the cases when the main role in the religious foundation is assigned by dedicatory inscriptions and votive compositions to a precise *ktetorial* instance, it is not excluded that other persons or groups of persons have participated simultaneously, but in a smaller degree to the sponsoring of the construction or decoration works. In the churches in Leşnic and Ribiţa, together with the major donors/founders, there are also other persons who commissioned votive images and acted, thus, as minor donors: the man with unpreserved name together with his wife and son, who commissioned the image of the Holy Virgin with saints in Leşnic, and Dobroslavu with his wife, who offered the image of Saint John the Baptist in Ribiţa. Whereas the main founders, who are represented in votive compositions holding and offering the model of the church to the patron saint of the religious edifice, are sometimes traceable in the time's written sources and belong with certainty to the category of Romanian local noblemen (*jupan* Bălea of

Crişcior, *jupan* Moga of Hălmagiu, the noblemen of Sărăcin in Sălaşu de Sus, or *jupani* Chendreşu and Laţco of Streisângeorgiu), the minor donors appearing in supplicatory portraits and inscriptions can be known in the most fortunate cases only by their names. They are signaled only by humble and standard formulae which stress more the supplicants' piety rather than their social belonging. Exceptions are the three supplicatory inscriptions in Densuş belonging to the молениѥ-type. Two of them mention a certain Crăstea the son of Muşat, who can be identified hypothetically with a member, otherwise unattested by written sources, of the noble family in Răchitova, while a third prayer, that of Ianăşă, mentions his *jupaniţa* and daughter Anca, a sign that this otherwise-unknown supplicant had a similar social background with the other donors.

That these minor donors belonged to the same social category as the main ones or that they had a similar social and economic profile is attested also by the example of the local nobleman, priest, and craftsman, who acted together as the 1313–1314 *ktetors* of the church in Streisângeorgiu. Names of priests and painters occur rather frequently in these church inscriptions: priest Dragosin (?) and the painter with unpreserved name in Ribiţa, priest Naneş and painter Theofil in Streisângeorgiu, painter Mihul of White Criş in Râmeţ, the two painters Stefan in Densuş, and possibly painter Grozie of Master Ivaniş in Strei. Their mentioning either in their professional quality or as pious donors of mural painting seem to suggest rather minor social differences among Orthodox Romanians in late-medieval Transylvania.[159]

Besides the social and economic aspects behind religious patronage, one should not overlook the spiritual motivation of these major and minor donors. Their sponsoring of church building and decorating works was made possible by the commissioners' social and economic backing, but they were in fact motivated by their high piety and strong hope that the gesture will ensure the forgiveness of their sins and, ultimately, their salvation. The salvation not only of the founder himself, but also of the members of his family, as the presence of spouses and children in votive compositions (Crişcior, Leşnic, Ribiţa, Streisângeorgiu, and possibly Hălmagiu) or their often mentioning in church inscriptions (Leşnic, Ribiţa, and Densuş) clearly attests. The donor's concern for the salvation of the soul of his family members was not limited to those alive, but extended also to the deceased ones, as indicated by the existence of a series of preserved funerary portraits: the second *ktetor*'s daughters in Hălmagiu, the atypical supplicant below the Last Judgment in Leşnic, or the two supplicants in Strei – the one depicted next to Archangel Michael and the one holding a burning candle.[160]

[159] I hope to address in a future study the question of the social status of priests and painters according to the evidence of church inscriptions, assessing simultaneously the role they played in religious patronage during the 14th and 15th centuries in Orthodox Transylvania.

[160] Another research direction which I hope to pursue in the future is the examining of pious practices and devotional patterns of Romanian Orthodox noblemen in 14th- and 15th-century Transylvania according to the evidence offered by donor/supplicant portraits, church inscriptions, religious iconography, and written sources.

Except for its associative nature, religious patronage in late-medieval Orthodox Transylvania is characterized also by its cumulative aspect. The construction and decoration works of a religious edifice presupposed significant financial efforts from the side of its founders, these ones not being able often to support them entirely in a single stage. For instance, Saint George Church in Streisângeorgiu was built in the beginning of the 12th century, some *ktetorial* works (probably the church's mural decoration) were undertaken again in 1313–1314 by *cneaz* Balea, priest Naneş, and painter Theofil, and some architectural transformations and partial repainting took place yet again in 1408 through the efforts of *jupani* Chendreşu and Laţco. All these persons – the actual, anonymous founders, the 1313–1314 secondary founders, and the 1408 third founders – were equally the *ktetors* of the church. The medieval church in Streisângeorgiu should be understood, subsequently, in its whole complexity as the result of the actions of at least three groups of *ktetors*, who contributed in various ways and degrees and in distinct periods of time to the religious foundation. This was also the case of the medieval churches in Ribiţa, Hălmagiu, and Densuş, which received only during the 14th and 15th centuries the *ktetorial* contributions of various religious patrons. As indicated only by the evidence of donor portraits and church inscriptions, there were at least two groups of founders for each religious edifice: the 1393 and 1404 *ktetors* in Ribiţa, who may or not coincide; *jupan* Moga with his brother and the anonymous founder in the votive composition in Hălmagiu, who accomplished their work in different halves of the 15th century; and in Densuş, initially the *ktetors* responsible for the sanctuary's decoration and later Crăstea of Muşat, either alone or not, commissioning the votive images on the nave's pillars.[161] The general model of religious patronage attained after the examination of the written and visual evidence has, therefore, two sides: an associative and a cumulative one. Both should be taken into account for a better understanding of these modest, but complex religious foundations of Romanian Orthodox noblemen, who fulfilled their *ktetorial* function under Catholic rule during the 14th and 15th centuries.

Catalogue of Church Inscriptions

I. Crişcior, Church of the Dormition of the Holy Virgin:[162]

1. Votive composition, lower register of the western and southern walls of the nave:

A. Next to the church-holding, male figure (left side) on the western wall:

(1) † раба (!) б(о)ж(и)и•хт[ит]

(2) орь•жꙋпанꙋ бьлѣ

[161] I set aside the 1443 supplicatory inscription which may or not refer to the pillars' decoration.

[162] Whenever this is known, the medieval dedication of the church is given; when unknown, the present-day dedication is given in italics.

(3) ѫ [п]рѣдаєть•ма

(4) настирь•прѫс(вѧ)тѣ

(5) и б(огороди)це:пріснод(ѣ)во (!) мар(и)є

= *servant of God jupan Bălea passes the monastery to the Most Holy Mother of God, the Ever-Virgin Mary*[163]

B. Next to the church-holding, female figure (right side) on the western wall:

(1) † раба б(о)жиѣ

(2) жѹпаница

(3) віше:•

= *servant of God jupaniţa Vişe*

C. Next to the southern-wall, male figure on the left side:

юка[164] ктітѡріѹ с(ы)нѹ

= *Iuca, the ktetor's son*

D. Next to the southern-wall, male figure on the right side:

[раба (!) б](о)ж(и)и ласл[...][165]/ бьлѣювѹ с(ы)ноу

= [servant] *of God Lasl*[o/ău], *son of Bălea*

E. Next to the small figure depicted below the church's model on the western wall:[166]

(1) раба (!) б(о)ж(и)и щефа

(2) ноу бьлѣювѹ с(ы)ноу

(3) по[...]ѣ

(4) въ[...]єр

(5) шіа х҃ъ (?)

= *servant of God Ştefan, son of Bălea* [...]

II. Densuş, Saint Nicholas Church:

1. Supplicatory inscriptions accompanying various representations of saints and a painter's signature on the nave's pillars:[167]

[163] The inscriptions in Crişcior were read and translated by Anna Adashinskaya, to whom I am deeply grateful.

[164] Dragomir 1929, 244, reads юва and so does Cincheza-Buculei 1978, 37, who completes the name as ю[в]а. Currently, the consonant is destroyed in its upper part, but judging by its preserved lower part, the letter was probably к: the letter's vertical bar is not connected to its leg. Moreover, the variant юка is phonetically closer to *Csuka*, which was mentioned in the 1773 inscription, see supra n. 16. Tugearu 1985 a, 90, proposes the same reading as the present one.

[165] Dragomir 1929, 244, gives the son's name as ласлъоу, which was transcribed as ласл[ъ]ѹ by Cincheza-Buculei 1978, 37. Tugearu 1985 a, 91, reads instead ласло. Currently, the name's last letters are no longer readable, this being the reason why I did not supplement the name in Cyrillic and I gave both variants in the translation.

[166] The inscription was no longer preserved in 1929 and Dragomir 1929, 242, offered the transcription made previously by Ştefan Pascu. By analogy with the other inscriptions, I have changed this transcription in several places – б(о)ж(и)и instead of божи; бьлѣювѹ instead of бьлѣ ювѹ; and с(ы)ноу instead of сыноу. I also corrected Dragomir's mistranslation.

A. On the lower side of the border surrounding the representation of the Holy Trinity, western side of the nave's north-eastern pillar:

† моление ра(ба) б(о)жить кръстѣ мꙋшатовъ с(ы)нъ

= *prayer of the servant of God Crăstea, son of Muşat*

B. On the lower side of the border surrounding the representation of Saint Nedelya, southern side of the nave's north-eastern pillar:

† моление ра(ба) б(о)жить [...] къ с(ве)та н[е]деле

= *prayer of the servant of God* [...] *to Saint Nedelya*

C. On the upper side of the representation of Saint Nedelya, above the red border, southern side of the nave's north-eastern pillar:

† іписасе ръкоѫ•многогрѣшнаго і недꙋго стефана:–

= *it was painted by the hand of the much sinful and unworthy Stefan*[168]

D. On the lower side of the representation of Saint Bartholomew, next to the saint's left leg and below his hanging skin, northern side of the nave's south-eastern pillar:

(1) моленіе р[а](ба) б(о)жіѫ

(2) кръстѣ и п[о]дърꙋ

(3) жіь [его] къ св(е)т(о)[мꙋ т]ома (!)[169]

= *prayer of the servant of God Crăstea and of* [his] *wife to* [Saint T]*oma*

E. On the base of the north-western pillar of the nave, on its western side, below the representation of Saint Marina:

(1) † в[ъ] лѣ(то) ѕ҃ц҃нв•м(ѣ)с(ѧ)ца ѡх(тѧбрꙗ) (!)•к҃г•пописасе• с(ве)т(о)мꙋ ни

(2) кола и арх(ангел)ꙋ мих(ан)лъ и просих м(о)л(ѥ)ніа раба б(о)жіа ꙗнѫшѫ за жꙋпа

(3) ницꙋ и дъщеръ и анка къ с(ве)т(о)мꙋ никол[а] да мꙋ бѫд(е) помо

(4) щь въ д(ь)нь страшнаго сꙋда х(ристо)ва ами[н]ъ

= *in the year 6952, month October 23, it was painted/written to Saint Nicholas and Archangel Michael, and* [he] *asked the prayer of the servant of God Ianăşă for jupaniţa and daughter and* (!) *Anca to Saint Nicholas; let* [it] *be help for him in the day of the terrible Judgment of Christ, Amen*[170]

[167] Unless otherwise stated, the inscriptions in Densuş are read, transcribed, and translated by the author.

[168] Inscription read and translated by Anna Adashinskaya; see also the discussion of the word ръкоѫ in n. 157.

[169] The inscription next to the head of the Western-iconography Saint Bartholomew reads с(ве)тн/ тома, this being the reason why I supplemented in this way the partially-missing name of the saint. Judging by the available space in the last line, Crăstea's wife was probably unnamed in the inscription.

[170] Inscription read and translated by Anna Adashinskaya. The inscription is hardly legible in the middle of lines 2 and 3 and its various parts seem not to connect with each other, being characterized by declensional disagreement. The author of the inscription had a poor knowledge of

2. Inscription containing a painter's signature in the sanctuary:

A. On the lower register of the sanctuary, below the south-eastern window, on the upper, right side of the painted candlestick:

писа[л] стєфан

= *Stefan painted/wrote*

III. Hălmagiu, Saint Nicholas Church:

1. Partially-preserved dedicatory inscription on the northern side of the eastern wall of the nave:

A. On the upper decorative frame of an unknown, destroyed representation of the lower register and below the upper-register composition of the Last Judgment, on the northern side of the triumphal arch:

рѧкоѧ жупана могы и бра(та) мꙋ [...] новежо (!)

= *by the hand of jupan Moga and of his brother* [...] *renewal*[171]

IV. Leşnic, *Saint Nicholas Church*:[172]

1. Votive composition, eastern side of the lower register of the nave's northern wall:

A. Above the head of the male figure and the model of the church:

Хтиторъ ишдє[...] = *ktetor* [...][173]

Old Church Slavonic, the present translation being only an attempt at reconstructing its possible meaning. Cf. the reading in Cincheza-Buculei 2009, 93. The major disagreement with the previous reading concerns the beginning of line 2, the abbreviation **архꙋ мнѫлъ** being typical for **арх(ангєл)ꙋ мнх(ан)лъ** and not for **архіепꙋскꙋпꙋ мирликийски**. Although the second abbreviated word is hardly visible, the distinguishable letters are indeed **мнѫлъ**, a fact which excludes the **мирликийски** reading, a very rarely encountered designation of Saint Nicholas (there is no superscript **р** in the second word and the letter following **л** is clearly **ъ** and not **к**). On the one hand, the mentioning of Archangel Michael together with Saint Nicholas as helpers for Ianăşă, his wife and daughter seems to make sense in the context of the Last Judgment day mentioned in the inscription: the former saint was known for his psychopomp quality, while the latter was a very popular saint often invoked for his intercessory power. Moreover, because this inscription is only a supplicatory one and not the main dedicatory inscription of the church, the choice for intercessors was entirely up to the supplicant, reflecting his special veneration for a particular saint and not the church's dedication. On the other hand, it is not excluded either that the supplicant addressed his prayer precisely to Saint Nicholas and Archangel Michael because of their quality of patron saints of the church. The two saints feature in the nave's iconographic program in prominent positions (i.e. flanking the sanctuary's apse on the northern and southern side of the eastern wall of the nave), places which are usually assigned in Byzantine iconography to the church's patron saints.

[171] Inscription read and translated by Anna Adashinskaya.

[172] The church's medieval dedication is unknown. The image of Saints Peter and Paul, which faces the votive composition on the nave's southern wall, was considered as reflecting the church's dedication, Saint Peter's depiction occurring several times inside the church, Cincheza-Buculei 1974. Due to the current state of preservation of the frescoes, which are now almost imperceptible under the thick layer of smoke, making the inscriptions hardly legible, I have followed here the reading published in 1985 in *Repertoriul picturilor*, 45–49, 98–115.

2. Inscription accompanying the representation of a layman on the draperies' register of the southern wall of the nave:

A. On the right side of the head of the layman represented on the draperies' register, on the western side of the nave's southern wall, below the scene of the Resurrection of the Dead belonging to the Last Judgment composition:

[...]олв[...] (?)[174]

3. Inscription on the representation of the Holy Virgin with Child flanked by saints, upper register of the northern wall of the nave:

A. On the lower side of the scene, in between the vestments of the Holy Virgin and Saint Petka:

(1) мо
(2) лен
(3) ѥ ра(ба)
(4) б(о)жи
(5) [...]і (?)
(6) [...]нше і по
(7) дрꙋж
(8) нѣ єг
(9) о и с(ы)н(а) є
(10) го [...]
= *prayer of the servant of God* [...] *and of his wife and of his son* [...][175]

V. Râmeţ Monastery, *Church of the Dormition of the Holy Virgin and of the Life-giving Spring*:[176]

1. Inscription on the representation of Saint Gregory the Great, southern side of the intrados of the arcade separating the narthex from the nave:

A. On the lower, left side of Saint Gregory the Great's representation:[177]

(1) писах многогрѣ
(2) ши рабъ б(о)жїи
(3) мих ꙋлъ изꙋгра

[173] Mocanu 1985, 114; on p. 99, the author mentions only the group of letters шдє as accompanying the word Хтиторъ.

[174] *Ibidem*, 110; currently, the only letter which is still clearly legible in the inscription is о.

[175] I have followed the readings in Mocanu 1985, 112–113, and Cincheza-Buculei 1974, 46–47 and fig. 3. Concerning the petitioner's name, the former author reads нше, while the latter only the final letter є.

[176] In 1762, the church's dedication was the Birth of the Holy Virgin, Tugearu 1985 c, 149; there is no evidence, however, that this was also its medieval dedication.

[177] Read and translated by Anna Adashinskaya. The inscription in its current state was confronted with the readings available in Drăguţ 1966 a, 43, Tugearu 1985 c, 168; Porumb 1998, 231. I have omitted the uncertain and no-longer-readable parts, these not being relevant for the present discussion.

(4) фь бѣлокришь
(5) ць повеленїемъ[178]
(6) арх[і]епꙋскꙋпо(вѣм)
(7) геласи[...]ь въ
(8) д(ь)ни [...][179] кра
(9) лѣ [...]ѣ[...]
(10) м(ѣ)с[ѧц]а їюла [...][180]

= *I, the much sinful servant of God Mihul, the painter of White Criş, wrote/painted by the order of Archbishop Ghelasie, in the days of King* [...], *month July* [...]

VI. Ribiţa, Saint Nicholas Church:

1. Votive composition, lower register of the southern wall of the nave:

A. Main dedicatory inscription surrounded by a frame and placed above the *ktetors*' figures:[181]

(1) † извѡле[ни]мъ ѡца і поспеше[ни]емъ с(ы)на и сьвръше[нием]ъ с(вѧ)таго д(оу)ха...][182]

(2) ...]ре жꙋпанꙋ владиславꙋ и сь жꙋпаница его стана и съ с(ы)н[омъ его...]

(3) і сь братомъ его жꙋпанꙋ миклъоушꙋ и жꙋпаница его сора и [...]

(4) н(е)б(е)сн(о)мꙋ ц(а)рꙋ създашꙋ и спісаше манастиръ с(вѧ)т(о)мꙋ николае д[...]

(5) ...и семѣнемъ его до вѣка въ д<ь>нь ст[ра]шн[а]го съда х(ристо)ва въ дни ж(и)к[моун(д)а кралѣ...]

(6) зн[ата]го ꙋрикъ да бѫдет с(ы)н(о)ве его и семѣ[немъ его и] ѡтечествоу его [...]

(7) [...]сконча въ сѫбота ѕ п(ос)та [...]

(8) [...]стана да съвръшіше а ѡни по бл(а)годатію с(вѧ)таго д(оу)ха съвръш[...]

(9) попъ драгоснинъ в<ъ> лѣт(о) ѕцке м(ѣ)с(ѧ)ца юли іе съвръши с<е> и исписа се рък[о]ѫ [...]

[178] The primary meaning of повелѣние is "order", cf. Tugearu 1985 c, 168.

[179] Read as лѡд[ѡв]нка, *ibidem*.

[180] The no-longer readable year was given as ѕѡпе (6885/1377) in *ibidem*.

[181] The main dedicatory inscription was partially destroyed by one of the pillars of the nave's southern wall and, in its current state, it is hardly legible. I give here the version by Anna Adashinskaya, made after having examined critically the inscription in its current state, the ante-1930 photographs published by Dragomir 1929, figs. 9 and 12, and Dragomir's own transcription, *ibidem*, 252; for a critical treatment of this inscription, see Adashinskaya, Năstăsoiu 2014.

[182] The underlined parts can no longer be read and, subsequently, are uncertain.

(1) *By the will of the Father, and the help of the Son, and the accomplish[ment of the Holy Ghost...]*

(2) [...] *jupan Vladislavu, and with his jupaniţa Stana, and with* [his] *so*[*n...*]

(3) *and with his brother jupan Miclăuşu, and his jupaniţa Sora, and* [...]

(4) *to the Heavenly Emperor, have built and have painted the monastery to Saint Nicholas* [...]

(5) *... to his offspring in eternity, in the day of the terrible judgment of Christ, in the days of* [*King*] *J*(i)*c*[*mund...*]

(6) [...] *of* [...]*known,*[183] *to be charter to his sons, and* [to his] *offspr*[ing, and] *to his patrimony* [...]

(7) [...] *finished in the sixth Saturday of fasting* [...]

(8) [...]*stana*[184] *to finish, and they, with the benediction of the Holy Ghost, have finished* [...]

(9) *priest Dragosin, in the year 6925 in the month of July 15, it was finished and it was painted by the hand* [...]

B. On the left side of Saint Nicholas' head:

с(вє)ті николає

= *Saint Nicholas*[185]

C. Above the model of the church:

(1) ѯтиторꙋ•жꙋпанꙋ•владісла

(2) вꙋ•пр(ѣ)дает•ман[а]стиръ с(вє)т(о)мꙋ

(3) ніколає[186]

= *the ktetor jupan Vladislavu passes the monastery to Saint Nicholas*

D. Below the model of the church and on the right side of the small, kneeling figure:

(1) раба б(о)ж(и)і [...] ана

(2) владислава дъщи[187]

= *servant of God* [...] *Ana, daughter of Vladislavu*

E. Above the head of the church-holding, male figure, in between the church's tower and the frame of the main dedicatory inscription:

(1) ра(бъ) б(о)ж(и)і

(2) жꙋпанꙋ

(3) владісл[а]вꙋ[188]

= *servant of God jupan Vladislavu*

[183] Either "known" as such or a compound word.

[184] Either the female name "Stana" appearing in line 2 or another word ending in -стана.

[185] Inscription uncovered after 1995; the inscriptions VI.1.B–H are read and translated by the author.

[186] The inscription is more easily readable in Dragomir 1929, fig. 9.

[187] *Ibidem*, 250.

[188] *Ibidem*, figs. 9–10.

F. Between the heads of the church-holding, male figure and the second male figure, partially above the latter's head:

ра(бъ) б(о)ж(н)і жѹпанѹ міклѣѹшѹ[189]

= *servant of God jupan Miclăuşu*

G. Above the head of the first female figure:

раба б(о)ж(н)і [владісавова жена стана][190]

= *servant of God* [Vladislavu's wife, Stana]

H. Above the head of the second female figure:

раба б(о)ж(н)і міклѣѹшева ж[ена сора][191]

= *servant of God, Miclăuşu's w*[ife, Sora]

2. Inscription on the northern side of the vault of the sanctuary:

A. Partially-preserved inscription surrounded by frame and placed between the representations of two Evangelists seating at their writing desks:

(1) [с(вѧ)та]го възн[есе]ніе г(оспод)а н(а)ш(е)го

(2) [І(соус)]ꙗ Х(рист)а ѥі лѣт(а) [...][192]

= *Ascension of our* [Ho]*ly Lord* [Jesus] *Christ 15, the year* [...]

3. Inscription on the representation of Saint John the Baptist, lower register of the nave's southern wall, in the proximity of the altar:

A. Inscription placed between the border of the scene and St. John's folded right arm:

(1) моле (!) раб(ь) б(о)ж(н)і

(2) доброславоу

(3) и подроужіѣ

(4) его б(ог)ь да

(5) п<р>остит(ъ)[193]

= *servant of God Dobroslavu, and his wife, asks* (!) *God to forgive*

4. Self-standing inscription on the upper side of the lower register of the nave's southern wall, in the proximity of the altar:

A. Partially-preserved inscription placed above the representation of Saint John the Baptist and surrounded by a red frame:

(1) [...]а • ік[...]

(2) сл[ава ... бо]гоу•въ•вѣ[це...]

= [...] *gl*[ory ... to Go]*d in eternity* [...][194]

[189] *Ibidem*, figs. 9–10 and 12.

[190] *Ibidem*, 250 and fig. 12. The inscription's completion was made according to the pattern of VI.1.H and the information offered by VI.1.A, line 2.

[191] Inscription uncovered after 1995 and completed according to the information offered by VI.1.A, line 3.

[192] Adashinskaya, Năstăsoiu 2014.

[193] *Ibidem*.

[194] *Ibidem*.

VII. Sălaşu de Sus, Church of the Holy Apostles Peter and Paul ("Serfs' Church"):

1. Dedicatory inscription carved in stone, western exterior wall of the tower, above the church's entrance:

A. Main dedicatory inscription:[195]

(1) † почесє сьн храм ѡ(т) сьрьчинь с(и)нь сьрьчиновь•і иѡнѫшꙋ с(и)нь сь

(2) рьчиновь•и сьи храм древено[196] сьврьшісє•сь ныі[197] михаю

(3) син ґаньшевь•почесє ѿ камень•михаю ꙋмрє•

(4) сьрьч(и)нь и с(и)нь єго фьркашꙋ и ꙋнꙋкь[198] єго ґанкꙋль•и м[ати] сьрь

(5) чинова мрьгить•и жꙋпаница єго дорка•и жꙋпана ми

(6) халєва анка•сьврьши сє хра[мь] вь им[ѧ светимь]

(7) ап(осто)л(ом)ь петра и павла•в м(ѣсѧ)ца•юль•ка•в лѣт(о) [...]

= *This church was started by Sărăcin, the son of Sărăcin, and by Ionuşu, the son of Sărăcin. And this church was finished of wood. With us, Mihaiu, the son of Ianăş, started* [it] *of stone. Mihaiu died. Sărăcin and his son Fărcaşu and his grandson/nephew Iancul and the n*[other] *of Sărăcin, Mrăghită, and his jupaniţa Dorca, and jupana of Mihaiu, Anca. This church was finished* [by all of them] *in the nam*[e of the Holy] *Apostles Peter and Paul, in the month of July 21, in the year* [...]

VIII. Strei, *Church of the Dormition of the Holy Virgin*:[199]

1. Inscription on the western side of the southern wall of the sanctuary, on the lower register corresponding to that of the draperies:

A. Above the head of the male supplicant's figure:

(1) грозиє мещера иваниша —

(2) є писаль црькьва (!) б(ог)ꙋ д(ꙋ)х(ꙋ) (?)

[195] Read and translated by Anna Adashinskaya after the inscription's drawing published in Rusu 1997 a. 293.

[196] Cf. Rusu 1997 a, 293, where древено / дрѣвено is translated as "long ago," and not "of wood;" the error was due probably to the word's similarity with древлѥ = "before(hand)."

[197] Cf. *ibidem*, where сь ныі ("with us") was probably read сьиь и ("and this"). Needless to say, this minor difference is extremely significant, as it leads to a quite different scenario for the church's building stages and corresponding commissioners than those previously presented.

[198] In the inscription, Iancul appears as the "grandson" (ꙋнꙋкь) and not the "nephew" (братоучѧдъ) of Sărăcin II. According to the noble family's genealogy, *ibidem*, 294, Iancul was the son of Mihaiu and, subsequently, Sărăcin II's nephew. In Romanian, the terms "grandson" and "nephew" coincide (*nepot*), and it is possible for the author of the inscription, having probably Romanian as his native language, to have mixed up the words, writing ꙋнꙋкь instead of братоучѧдъ, which is more rarely encountered. Unfortunately, the discussion of the usage of the words *унук*, *непот*, *братанич*, and *сестричич* in 15th-century Moldavian charters by Kashtanov 2012, 71–74, was not available to me for comparison; I thank Anna Adashinskaya for pointing me out this title.

[199] The church's medieval dedication is unknown; see also n. 136.

(3) [...] ки
= *Grozie of Master Ivaniş painted the church to God, to Spirit* (?) [...][200]

IX. Streisângeorgiu, Saint George Church:[201]

1. Inscription on the eastern wall of the sanctuary:

A. Dedicatory inscription surrounded on three sides (left, lower, and right) by a decorative frame and placed below the window in the axis of the sanctuary:

(1) ⁘ въ л[ѣто]:ѕ҃:тъсѧцє:и:н҃:сътно
(2) и:к҃:и:в҃:почи[н]ъмъ ц(ъ)р(к)вє:п
(3) омощиѧ:с(вє)таго:гєѡрги
(4) ꙗ•и матєрє б(ож)иѧ:и въсѣ
(5) хъ:с(вє)тъхъ:на помощи
(6) єн ѡставенє грѣхомъ кн[ѣ]зоу
(7) балѣи[202]:и:инапомощь и спасєніє
(8) ⁘ на ѡставєнинє грѣ
(9) хомъ попоу нанє
(10) шоу ѳєѡфилѣ зографѣ
= *In the year 6 thousands and 8 hundreds and 20 and 2, through the initiative of the church, through the help of Saint George, and of the Mother of God, and of All Saints, for the sake of help and forgiveness of sins of cneaz Balea/Balotă, and for the sake of help and salvation ⁘ and for the forgiveness of sins of priest Naneş* [and of (?)] *painter Theofil*

2. Votive composition on the eastern wall of the tower, visible from the interior of the nave (nave's western wall):

A. Above the head of the male figure on the left side:

ра[бъ] б(о)жі[и] жѹпан лацко
= *servant of God jupan Laţco*

B. Both sides of the head of the church-holding, female figure:

(1) раба б(о)жіє / жѹпаница
(2) нистѡра
= *servant of God jupaniţa Nistora*

[200] Inscription read and translated by Anna Adashinskaya. The inscription's last line, can be read also as [...] ли, Popescu, Tugearu 1985, 241, 270, the first letter being preserved only in its lower side. It is not possible, however, for the second line to contain the group бра[...], ibid., the letters бѹ д[...] being still clearly visible. The inscription's completion and translation in its final part is hypothetical.

[201] The inscriptions are hardly readable today, the church's mural decoration being in urgent need for restoration. The present reading is based on the inscriptions' previous readings by Mircea 1976; Popa 1978, 22–23 and fig. 12; Mihăilă 1978, 33–38; Bratu 1985 a, 290, 293, 297–299.

[202] The name's alternative reading as балотѣ is given in Bratu 1985 a, 290.

C. Above and on the left side of the head of the church-holding, male figure:
(1) ктітѡр жꙋпан кендрешꙋ:—
(2) предаєтъ ма
(3) настирь
(4) сф(є)томꙋ
(5) гєѡргїє
= *the ktetor jupan Chendreşu passes the monastery to Saint George*
D. Above and on the left side of the head of the male figure on the right:
(1) раб[ъ] б(о)жі(и) влайко с(ы)нь
(2) кендреш
= *servant of God Vlaico, the son of Chendreş*
E. Below the model of the church:
(1) ѕ.аєдh [ѕ̄.ц̄ѕ̄ї]
(2) ѡвбаѡ:лтвї:[ѡктѡмбрїа]
(3) аєлкь [в̄ д̄нь.][203]
= [6917 October, day 2]
F. In between the figures of the two central, church-holding figures:
(1) † вь имѣ ѡ(т)ца•и с(ы)на•и с(вє)таго
(2) д(ꙋ)ха: сьзида жꙋпан кендрешꙋ
(3) и негова жꙋпаница нистѡра: и с(ы)но
(4) вє єго: сє(и) манастир с(вє)таго велї
(5) комꙋченика и страстѡтєрпца хр(и)
(6) стова гєѡргїє; и соверши сє
(7) и написа сє, кодами (?) є(с) (?) на
(8) здрави[є], телесноє и дꙋшевно[є]
(9) сп(ас)нїє: вь д(ь)ни жикмона
(10) кралѣ, и загорскїи[х] в[оє]води
(11) иѡанеша и ѣкова:- в л(ѣто):
(12) ѕ̄ц̄ѕ̄ї ѡкто(мврта): в̄ д(ьни):-
= *In the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost: jupan Chendreşu built, and his jupaniţa Nistora: and his sons: this monastery of Holy Great Martyr and Soldier of Christ George: and it was finished and it was painted,* [...] *for the bodily health and spiritual salvation: in the days of King Jicmon and of the Transylvanian Voivodes Ioaneş and Iacov: in the year: 6917, October: day 2.*

[203] The letters of this inscription have been greatly distorted and its reading is hypothetical; see Popa 1978, 9; Mihăilă 1978, 38, who express their doubts on the variant proposed by Iorga 1926, 172. I give here the transcription and translation as published in Mihăilă 1978, 38.

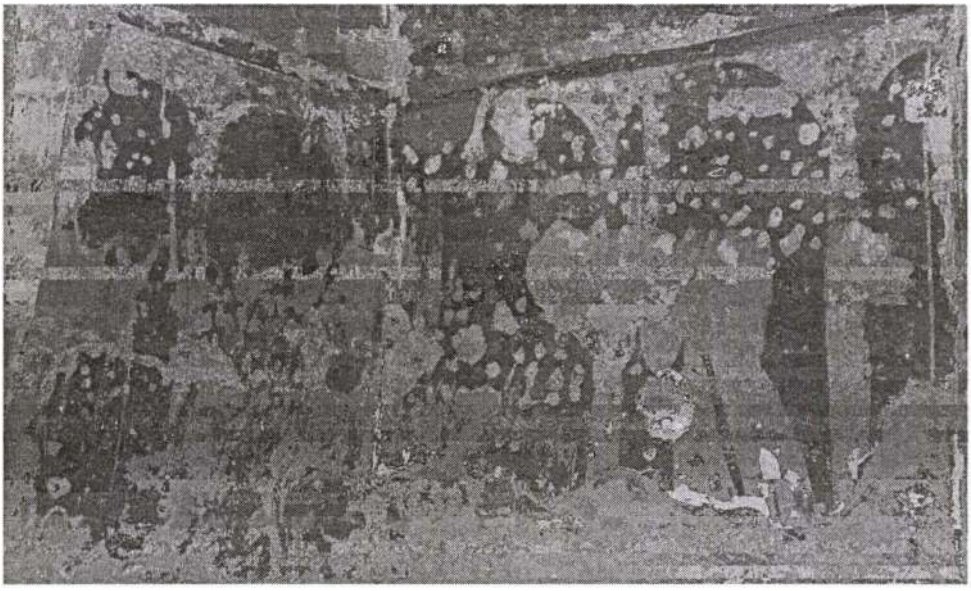

Fig. 1. Votive composition, 1411 (?), fresco, lower register of the nave's southern and western walls, Church of the Dormition of the Holy Virgin in Crişcior.

Fig. 2. Votive composition and drawing with the *ktetors'* outline, fresco, late-14th–first half of the 15th century, lower register of the nave's northern wall, (Saint Nicholas) Church in Leşnic.

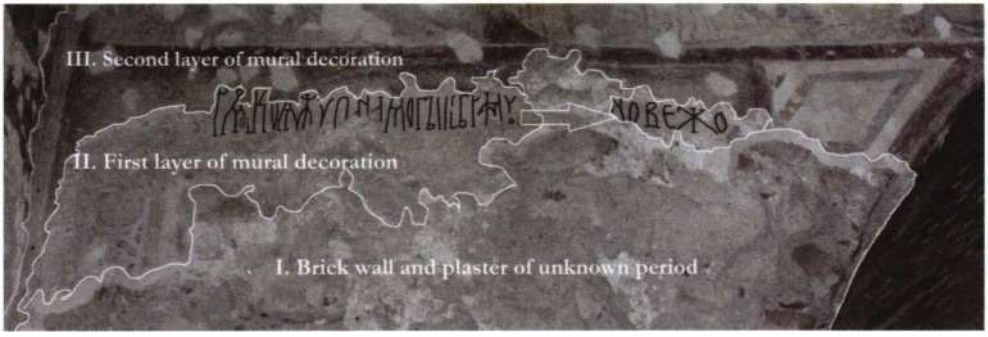

Fig. 3. Overdrawing of the inscription and drawing with the succession of decoration layers, late-14th – early-15th century, fresco, northern side of the nave's eastern wall (triumphal arch), Saint Nicholas Church in Hălmagiu.

Fig. 4. Votive composition, early-15th century, fresco, lower register of the nave's southern wall, Saint Nicholas Church in Ribița.

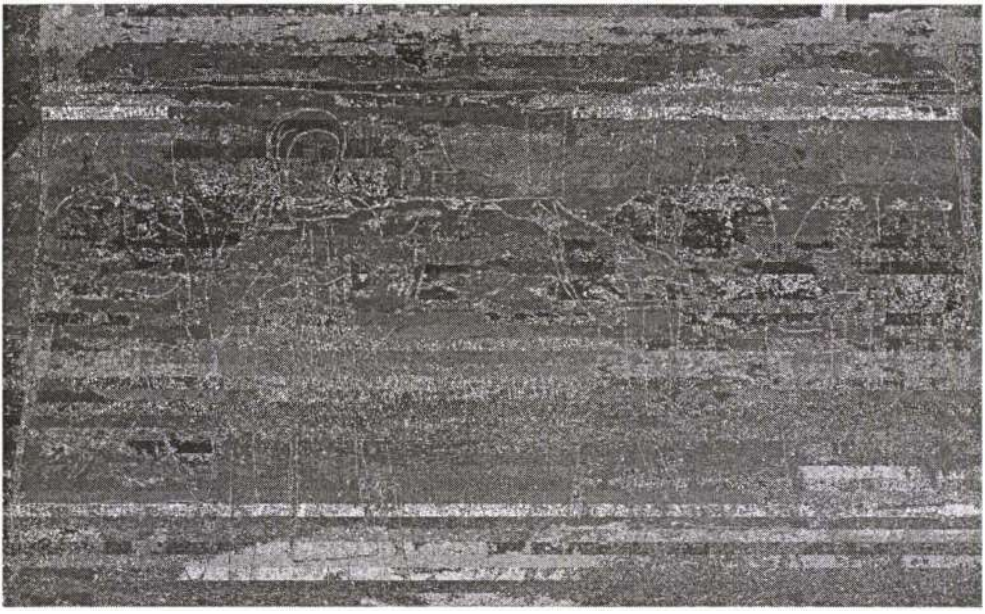

Fig. 5. Votive composition and drawing with the *ktetors'* outline, 1743 repainting over the 1408 fresco, western wall of the nave (inner, eastern wall of the western tower), Saint George Church in Streisângeorgiu.

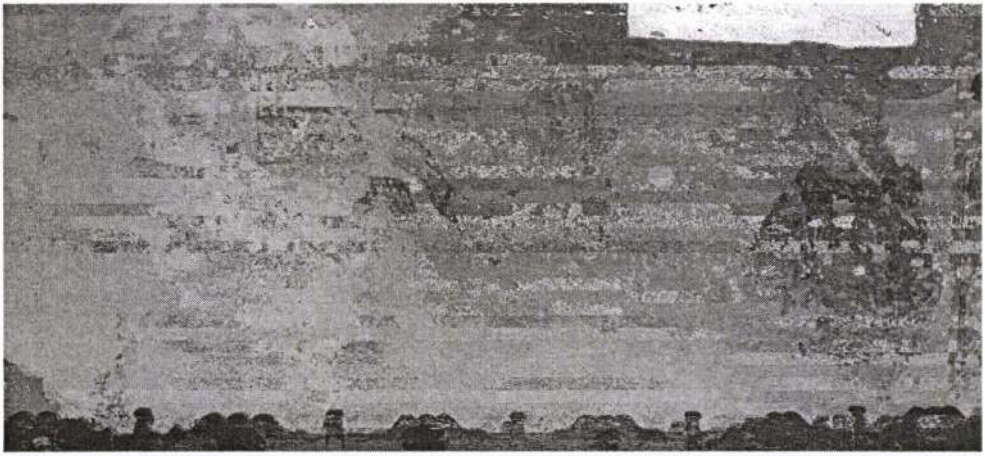

Fig. 6. Votive composition, second half of the 15th century, fresco, lower register of the nave's northern wall, Saint Nicholas Church in Hălmagiu.

Fig. 7. Holy Kings of Hungary and votive composition, 1411 (?), fresco, lower register of the nave's southern and western walls, Church of the Dormition of the Holy Virgin in Crişcior.

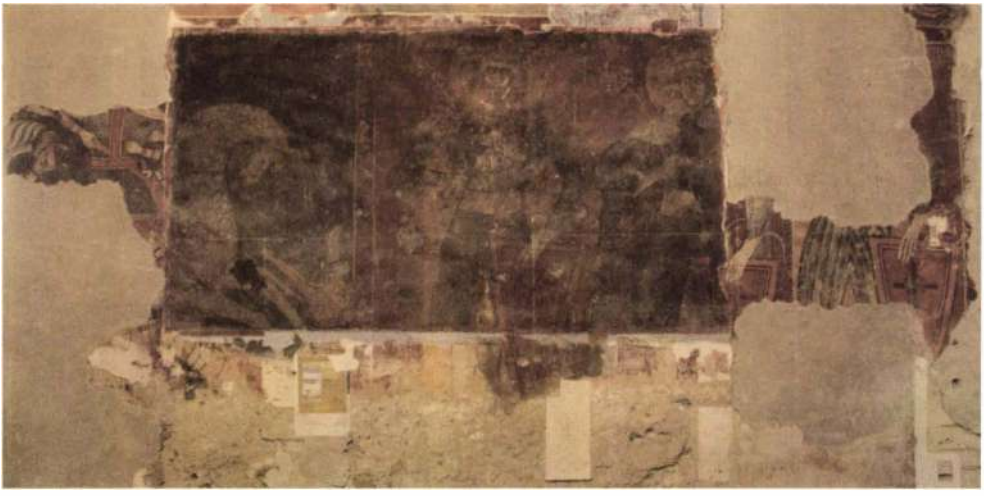

Fig. 8. Military saints on horse and Holy Kings of Hungary, early-15th century, fresco, lower register of the nave's northern wall, Saint Nicholas Church in Ribiţa.

Fig. 9. Enthroned Virgin with Child and two female donors, second half of the 15th century, fresco, lower register of the nave's northern wall, Saint Nicholas Church in Hălmagiu.

Fig. 10. Resurrection of the Dead (up) and layman figure (down), late-14th – first half of the 15th century, western side of the nave's southern wall, (Saint Nicholas) Church in Leşnic.

Fig. 11. Saint Nicholas and Grozie, first half of the 14th century, fresco, lower register of the sanctuary's southern wall, Church (of the Dormition of the Holy Virgin) in Strei.

Fig. 12. Holy Archangels Michael and Gabriel and a supplicant with drawing of their outline, first half of the 14th century, fresco, northern side of the triumphal arch's upper register, Church (of the Dormition of the Holy Virgin) in Strei.

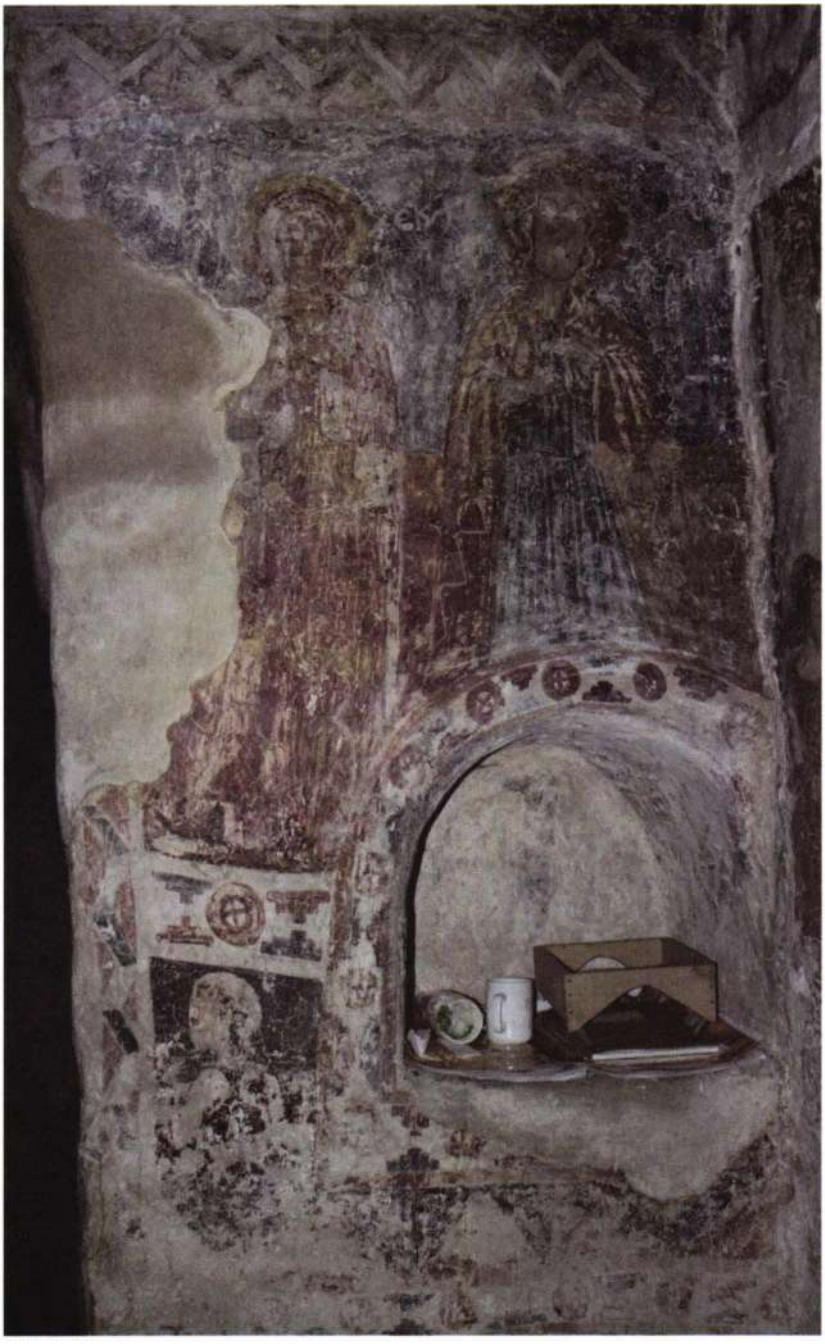

Fig. 13. Saints Catherine and St. Sreda (up) and supplicant (down), first half of the 14th century, fresco, lower registers of the southern side of the triumphal arch, Church (of the Dormition of the Holy Virgin) in Strei.

Fig. 14. Two supplicants, first half of the 14th century, fresco, eastern jamb of the southern door, Church (of the Dormition of the Holy Virgin) in Strei.

Fig. 15. Male supplicant on the decorative frame of the Martyrdom of the Forty Martyrs of Sebaste and Saint Nicholas' Investiture as Bishop, first half of the 14th century, fresco, lower register of the nave's southern wall, Church (of the Dormition of the Holy Virgin) in Strei.

Fig. 16. Drawing of the scene of the Holy Virgin with Child flanked by saints, (Saint Nicholas) Church in Leşnic (after Cincheza-Buculei 1974, fig. 3).

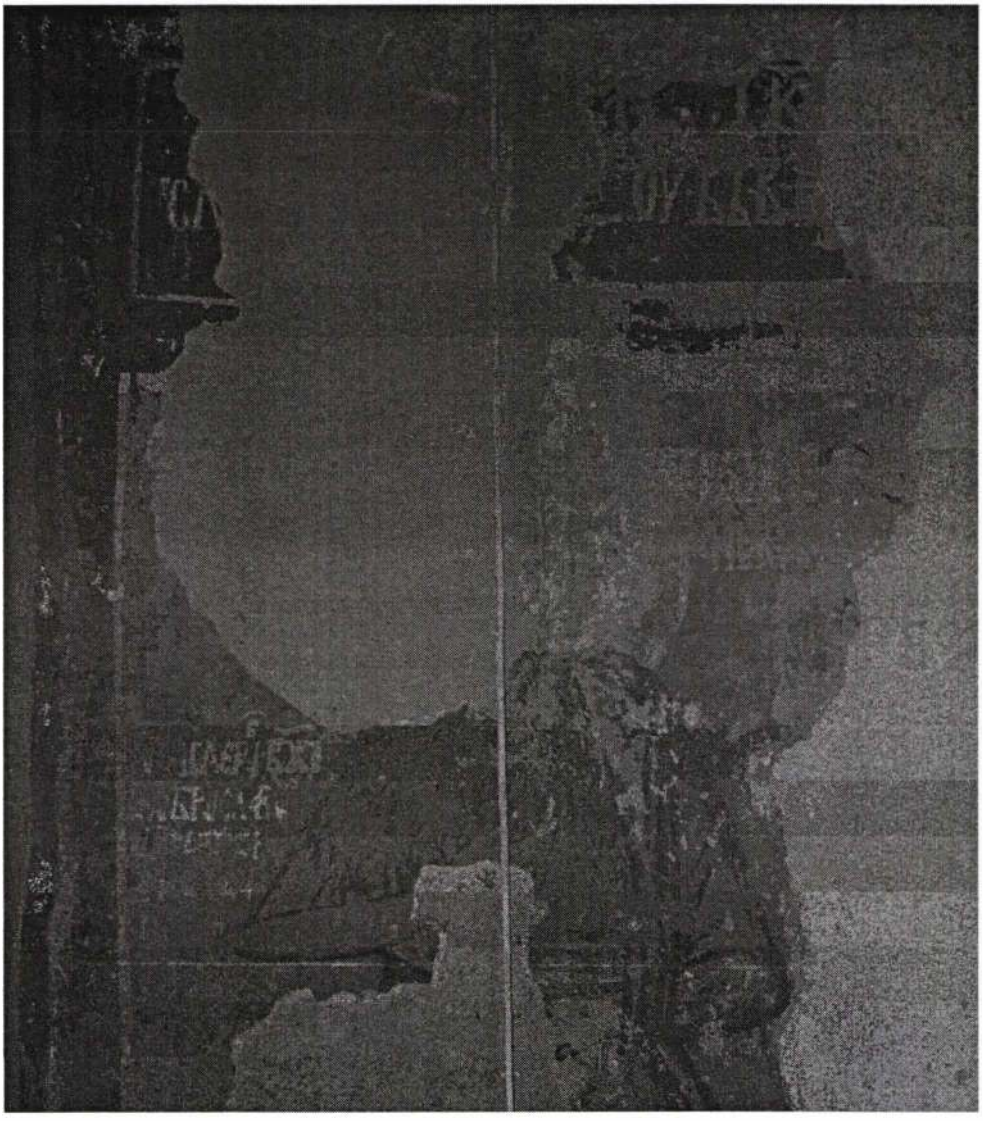

Fig. 17. Detail of Saint John the Baptist and the two accompanying inscriptions, early-15th century, fresco, lower register of the nave's southern wall, Saint Nicholas Church in Ribița.

Fig. 18. Holy Trinity (western side) and Saint Nedelya (southern side), 1443 (?), fresco, north-eastern pillar of the nave, Saint Nicholas Church in Densuş.

Fig. 19. Detail of the painter's inscription above Saint Nedelya's representation, 1443 (?), southern side of the north-eastern pillar of the nave, Saint Nicholas Church in Densuş.

Fig. 20. Detail of the painter's inscription, before 1443, below the sanctuary's window, Saint Nicholas Church in Densuş.

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THE DEFENCE OF THE ORTHODOXY BY MEANS OF THE PRINTING PRESS. ZEAL OF SAINT CONSTANTINE BRÂNCOVEANU AND STATE CONCERN DURING HIS REIGN

ION I. CROITORU

1. The tradition of the printing press in the Romanian Countries

The Romanian Countries were, for a long time, the only ones that used the art of the printing press in South-East Europe, due to their autonomy in relation to the Ottoman Empire, where the printing press was first rigorously forbidden, with certain exceptions, and then tolerated in the Christian communities of the Near East. Thus, the Jewish community had received the permission to introduce the printing press in the Ottoman Empire even since the end of the 15th century, only to print books for its own needs, not in the Arab language[1]; the Greeks managed to put into operation in Constantinople, for a short period of time (1627–1628), a printing press of Greek language, through the initiative of Patriarch Cyril Lucaris and with the help of the monk Nicodemus Metaxas, but which will be destroyed by Janissaries (January, 1628), following the plot of the Jesuits and of the French ambassador to the Porte, the printing activity being resumed only during the second half of the 18th century[2]; for the Arab Christian world, the art of the printing press *will grow durable roots in 1706 precisely with the Romanians' help*. The respective year represents the beginning of the Arab printing press in an Arab country, by the printing, in Aleppo, of an *Arab Psalter*, in the printing press set up there with the help of the Wallachian ruler Constantine Brâncoveanu (1688–1714)[3].

The tradition of the printing press in Wallachia dates since the beginning of the 16th century, as a result of the initiative of the Prince Radu the Great (1496–1508) and the activity of the Serbian monk Macarius, who also became Metropolitan of Wallachia (1512–1521). He printed at Dealu Monastery, near Târgovişte, three books destined to the worship in the Orthodox Church, in Slavonic (1508–1512)[4]. Following this cultural act, the use of the printing press in

[1] Cândea 1989, 174–175.
[2] Podskalsky 2005, 100–101.
[3] Cândea 2001, 307, 311; see also Gdoura 1985.
[4] *Hieratikon* or *Leitourgiarion* (1508), *Octoechos* (1510) and *Tetraevangel* (1512), see *BRV* I, 1, 9.

the Romanian Countries was enlisted in the European culture only 53 years after the first book printed using the invention of Johann Gutenberg (Mainz, 1455), just 37 years after the beginning of the circulation of the first book printed in Greek (Venice, 1471), only 25 years after the printing of the first book in Slavonic (Venice, 1483) and just 17 years after the printing of the first book using the Cyrillic alphabet (Krakow, 1491)[5].

2. The role of the printing press for the *Reign* and for the *Church*

The use of the printing press generalized the utilization, in the Romanian society, of the printed books carrying the seal of the *Reign* and of the *Church*, as the only guarantees casting away all doubt regarding their Orthodox content[6]. Consequently, these books were meant to quench the thirst of culture and particularly of spiritual life, but also to defend the ancestral law, identified with the Orthodox faith. For instance, the cultural and spiritual situation of the Romanian society during the first half of the 17th century is specifically summed up by the Wallachian ruler Matthew Basarab (1632–1654), who mentions that, in his time, in the whole country there were *hunger and thirst, yet not for bread and water, but for prophet, for true spiritual food and water*[7]. Therefore, the *Reign* was aware not just of the need to restore the political-economic balance and maintain peace, conditions that were actually necessary for cultural progress, but also of the need to satisfy the *spiritual hunger* of the *Christian souls* of Wallachia, whose spiritual vitality, *by early hunger, will decrease.* The lack of spiritual food was due to the *decrease in number of the holy books* following the *frequent invasions and pressures from different peoples, of unbelievers or even of some of the believers*[8].

These books, especially those written using the living language of the people, *so that they all may understand*[9], as Saint Simeon Stephen, metropolitan of Transylvania (1643–1656) affirms, were printed not just to be used in the worship of the Church or as textbooks, but for *all the Romanian nation*[10], according to the belief of Saint Varlaam, metropolitan of Moldavia (1632–1653), being addressed to those of *the same faith as ourselves... the Eastern Orthodox faith of our fathers and of the forefathers*[11] of the Romanians, with the clear desire not to let any part of the

[5] According to the order of printing of Slavonic books using Cyrillic letters, the printing press of Târgovişte is considered the fourth, after those of Krakow (1491), Venice (1493) and Cetinje (1493/1494). It ought to be mentioned that the Cyrillic printing press will continue for about 350 years in the Romanian Countries, with short breaks, getting to be considered the oldest Cyirillic printing press with a longer activity, being followed by the Russian one (1564) and the Ukrainean one (1567), see Croitoru 2012 (1), 250.

[6] Croitoru 2012 (2), 134.

[7] *Preface* to the *Slavonic Euchologion,* Câmpulung, 1635, see *BRV* IV, 184.

[8] *Preface* to the *Slavonic Euchologion...*, see *BRV* IV, 184–185.

[9] *Noul Testament,* Bălgrad, 1648, in *BRV* I, 170.

[10] Varlaam 1643, I, 2 r; see also *BRV* I, 139.

[11] Varlaam 1645, 1 r, 5 r; see also *BRV* IV, 191, 193.

Romanian nation go down the path of spiritual death, but to keep them all *within the teachings of the Orthodoxy, reinforced as unbent and unshaken pillars*[12].

The importance of the printing press for the Romanians' spiritual life is assumed not just by the representatives of the *Church* but also by the *Reign,* as one can see from the words of Prince Matthew Basarab who, in his *Preface* to the *Slavonic Psalter* (Govora, 1637), exhorts his descendants to *carefully* preserve *this gift..., because it is a treasure more valuable than all the earthly treasures, since gold, silver and [precious] stones are physical treasures, they adorn the body only temporarily, whereas this treasure,* namely the printing press, *adorns the human soul*[13]. The preoccupation of the *Reign* was to make out of the printing press an instrument meant to help the Orthodoxy from everywhere, which reflected the *common conscience of the then Orthodox world*[14], since the printed works were also addressed *to other nations related to us,* in the respective case, related to the Ruler Matthew Basarab and to his subjects, *by faith... especially to the Bulgarians, to the Serbs, to the Hungarian-Wallachians, to the Moldo-Wallachians and to the others*[15].

3. Printing centers of Saint Constantine Brâncoveanu's time

The Church and the Reign reinforced the function of the printing press as an instrument of culture and promotion of the values specific of the Romanians' spiritual heritage, namely of the Christian Orthodox teaching, and, during Saint Constantine Brâncoveanu's reign, the elaboration of an editorial plan was achieved, which had in view multiple needs and purposes: Church service books in the various languages of the Orthodoxy, works used as manuals in schools, works meant to educate and fight the Roman-Catholic and Protestant doctrinal innovations, parenetic and popular literature etc.[16]

Actually, Saint Martyr Constantine Brâncoveanu stands out as a great protector of the Romanian culture and of the Orthodoxy from everywhere *by writing and printing press,* as, during his time, five printing centers operated, where, *on the decision* or *by the will* or *on the order and at the expense* of the Ruler, scores of books were printed in the languages in which the Orthodox faith was lived and expressed (Slavonic, Greek, Arabian and Romanian) at that time, in order to be given *as a gift* to those thirsting for Jesus Christ's teaching[17].

Bucharest, Wallachian capital since the year 1659[18], the place where the Metropolitan See was moved from Târgovişte in 1668[19], had the privilege of being

[12] Varlaam 1645, 3 v; see also *BRV* IV, 193.

[13] *BRV* I, 105; Croitoru 2012 (1), 252.

[14] Croitoru 2012 (1), 252, note 114.

[15] *Preface* to the *Slavonic Psalter,* Govora, 1637. see *BRV* I, 105.

[16] See Şerbănescu 1964, 893–895; Rămureanu 1964, 919–920; Păcurariu 1996, 332–353; Croitoru 2012 (3). 344.

[17] Şerbănescu 1964, 885–888; Croitoru 2012 (3). 344.

[18] Event owed to the Wallachian Prince George Ghica (1659–1660, 1660), formerly Prince of Moldavia (1658–1659), see Olteanu 2002. 40.

a printing center where several printing presses operated during the long reign of Saint Constantine Brâncoveanu.

The beginning of the printing activity undertaken in Bucharest is marked by the printing, in the year 1688, of the *Bucharest Bible* (*Biblia de la București*), in two *editiones principes,* the first under the patronage of Prince Șerban Cantacuzino (1679–1688), the second under the aegis of his successor, Saint Constantine Brâncoveanu. The *Bucharest Bible* was addressed to all the Romanians and it has been acknowledged, in point of the development of the Romanian language, a role similar to that of Luther's *Bible* for the German culture and language[20]. The printing of the *Bucharest Bible* cannot be connected only to confessional or catechetic reasons, or only to ritual reasons, but all these reasons intertwine for the cultural benefit of the hierarchy and of the intellectuals, to which one can add the two Princes' interest for asserting themselves[21]. This editorial event represented the fruit of the collaboration between the Church and the Reign, as well as the contribution of the lay intellectuals (the brothers Radu and Șerban Greceanu, the High Steward Constantine Cantacuzino) combined to that of the clerics (Bishop Mitrofan of Buzău, the Greek hierarch Germanos of Nyssa)[22].

The place where the *Bucharest Bible* was printed was the *princely printing press* of Bucharest, whose activity was resumed, if we were to refer only to the second half of the 17th century, in the year 1687, when the printing of this *monument of Romanian language and printing art* began[23]. The functioning of the new princely printing press was due to the hierarch Mitrofan, formerly Bishop of Huși (1682–1686) and future Bishop of Buzău (1691–1702), arrived and settled in Wallachia, at the court of the reigning Prince Șerban Cantacuzino, in 1686, when Saint Dosoftei, Metropolitan of Moldavia (1671–1674, 1675–1686), had been obliged to withdraw to Poland, following the military campaign of King John III Sobieski (1674–1696). Mitrofan had been a remarkably diligent collaborator of Saint Dosoftei, regarding the printing of books in Romanian, and also of Dositheos, the Patriarch of Jerusalem (1669–1707), concerning the printing of the books in Greek defending the Orthodoxy[24]. In 1690, on the order of the Voivode Constantine Brâncoveanu, Mitrofan will also mould the Greek letters for the princely printing press, and beginning with 1691, when he is elected Bishop of Buzău, the leadership of the printing press is taken over by Saint Martyr Anthimus

[19] This move is due to the Wallachian reigning Prince Radu Leon (1664/1665–1669) and was confirmed by his act of June 8, 1668, issued by common consent with the Metropolitan Theodosius (1668–1672, 1679–1708) and the Bishops Seraphim of Râmnic (1668–1670) and Gregory of Buzău (1668–1691). It was the Church of the *Saint Emperors Constantine and Helen,* founded (in 1658) by Prince Constantine Șerban (1654–1658, 1660), which was declared Metropolitan Cathedral, see Croitoru 2012 (4), 393.

[20] Antonie 1981, 220.

[21] See Cândea 1963, 651–671; Croitoru 2012 (2), 138–139.

[22] Croitoru 2012 (2), 138–139.

[23] Bădără 1998, 62, 64.

[24] Croitoru 2012 (I), 253.

the Iberian (Romanian Antim Ivireanul), at that time hieromonk. By the efforts of Saint Anthimus the Iberian[25], the printing press will operate, with an interruption between the years 1694–1701, until the year 1705, for a first stage, when he was chosen Bishop of Râmnic, then, the printing activity will be resumed in 1714[26]. At the princely printing press of Bucharest, which functioned during the intervals 1687–1694, 1701–1705, 1714, having, thanks to Saint Anthimus the Iberian and to his disciples, Greek, Arabian, Cyrillic and Latin letters, 27 titles were printed: 7 in Romanian, 15 in Greek, 5 bilingual (one Greek-Romanian, one Greek-Arab, one Greek-Turkish[27] and two Romanian-Slavonic)[28], out of which 26 during the reign of Constantine Brâncoveanu[29]. It ought to be mentioned that the 26 titles are books with a varied content, from biblical texts to patristic literature and from didactic-theological and parenetic books to descriptions of the Holy Places and classical literature[30]. It ought to be specified that 9 of the books edited in the respective printing press were given as a gift by the editors to the Orthodox believers from everywhere[31].

Older than the *princely printing press* was the *metropolitan printing press* of Bucharest, whose functioning was due to the initiative of Metropolitan Varlaam II (1672–1679). He set up this printing press, in 1678, with *typographer masters* probably brought from the world of the Orthodox Brotherhoods, situated in the south of Poland or in Ukraine, but with printing material manufactured in Bucharest by the respective masters. The printing press functioned, during a first period of time, between the years 1674–1684[32]. A first attempt of reactivation of this printing press was that of Saint Martyr Anthimus the Iberian, in 1709, as Metropolitan of Wallachia (1708–1716), by printing a bilingual *Ceaslov* (*Horologion*), in Romanian and Slavonic[33]. Saint Anthimus the Iberian is also the initiator of the second attempt of resuming the activity of the Metropolitan printing press, by moving the printing press from Târgovişte to Bucharest, where his Greek work *Νουθεσίαι Χριστιανικοπολιτικαί* (*Christian-Political Counsels*) was printed, addressed to Prince Ştefan Cantacuzino (1714–1716), in 1715[34]. Therefore, at this

[25] For a synthesis of the printing activity of Saint Martyr Anthimus the Iberian, see Manu 2000, 80–115; Şerbănescu 1956, 690–766.

[26] Bădără 1998, 64, 67; Croitoru 2012 (1), 254.

[27] For the Turkish language, the karamanlidika writing was used, namely the writing of the Turkish language in Greek characters.

[28] Bădără 1998, 65; Croitoru 2012 (I), 254.

[29] The last title, printed in 1714, is a circular in Romanian, representing the *Stephen Cantacuzino's Charter for the exemption of priests from taxes* (*Hrisovul lui Ştefan Cantacuzino pentru scutirea preoţilor de dăjdi*), see *BRV* IV, 42; Bădără 1998, 67.

[30] Croitoru 2012 (1), 254.

[31] Bădără 1998, 65–67; Croitoru 2012 (1), 254.

[32] Bădără 1998, 60–61; Croitoru 2012 (1), 252–253.

[33] Bădără 1998, 67; Croitoru 2012 (1), p. 253.

[34] *BRV* I, 498–499; Legrand 1894 (17th-I), 123–124.

printing press, only one liturgical book was printed, the one mentioned above, during the reign of Saint Constantine Brâncoveanu[35].

Another printing press that operated in Bucharest was the one created by Saint Anthimus the Iberian while he was a Wallachian metropolitan, in the Monastery of *All the Saints*, founded by him. He decided, by a *Statute* (*Aşezământ*, 24 April 1713) and an *Archiereus' Charter* (*Hrisov arhieresc*, 20 July 1715), that there would be two printing presses, one for the Romanian language, and another one for the Greek language. It is considered that there was only one printing press, with two sections, in the above-mentioned languages[36], which printed four books during the period 1713–1720[37], but after the reign of Saint Constantine Brâncoveanu. However, we have mentioned this printing press as belonging to the epoch of Saint Constantine Brâncoveanu, because the delineation of its activity occurred even since his reign.

The Saints Anthimus the Iberian and Constantine Brâncoveanu, the first as Metropolitan, the second as reigning Prince, made efforts, between the years 1708–1714, to set up another printing press in Bucharest, in the Monastery of *Saint Sabbas* (*Sfântul Sava*), at the suggestion of the Greek Patriarchs Gerasimus II of Alexandria (1688–1710) and Chrysanthos Notaras of Jerusalem (1707–1731). The creation of this printing press is part of the fight for defending the Orthodox faith from the Roman-Catholic propaganda, by the printed book, on the one hand, and, on the other hand, illustrates the desire of the Greek hierarchs of holding a printing press under their direct control, because of the fact that, despite the generosity of Ruler Constantine Brâncoveanu and of Metropolitan Anthimus the Iberian, as well as in spite of their attachment to the cause of the Orthodoxy, nevertheless there were moments of tense relations. We shall remind of the conflict between Patriarch Dositheos of Jerusalem and Prince Constantine Brâncoveanu, after the latter hosted John Caryophilles in Bucharest, and the problem of the Wallachian monasteries dedicated to the Patriarchate of Jerusalem, which brought in dissension Metropolitan Anthimus the Iberian with Patriarch Chrysanthos Notaras, during the period 1709–1712[38]. Therefore, at that epoch, this printing press also belongs to Voivode Constantine Brâncoveanu, because its creation was delineated in his time, yet, we ought to mention, however, the fact that it begins its activity in the year 1715, being known later on under the name of the *Printing Press of the Văcărescus' School* (*Tipografia Şcolii Văcăreştilor*)[39]. Summing up the printing

[35] The total of the books printed at this printing press, during its three periods of operation throughout the time of the second half of the 17th century and at the beginning of the 18th century, is 7, out of which 5 were meant for the Orthodox services and 2 were collections of homilies and moral education. As far as their language is concerned, three books were in Romanian, three more were bilingual Romanian-Slavonic and one was in Greek [Bădără 1998, 62; Croitoru 2012 (1), 253].

[36] Bădără 1998, 68.

[37] Croitoru 2012 (1), 254–255.

[38] Bădără 1998, 69; Croitoru 2012 (1), 255, note 140; see also Croitoru 2014, 201–232.

[39] Bădără 1998, 69; Croitoru 2012 (1), 255.

activity of Bucharest, namely the first printing center of Saint Constantine Brâncoveanu's time, one can conclude that two printing presses were in operation, and two more were being set up.

The second printing center of Wallachia related to the epoch of the ruler Constantine Brâncoveanu was in Buzău. In this locality, a *princely printing press was set up,* whose beginnings are related to the year 1691, when Mitrofan, mentioned above, is chosen Bishop of Buzău (1691–1702). He organized this printing press at the desire of Saint Constantine Brâncoveanu, with the aim of putting into practice the *vast editorial programme* of the reigning Prince, which foresaw, among others: a) assuring the books of worship for the liturgical needs of the Wallachian Orthodox Church; b) supporting, by the printing press, the Orthodox population of the Ottoman Empire; c) putting into circulation the texts necessary in order to defend the Orthodoxy from the Roman-Catholic and Protestant proselytism[40]. During the period of the years 1691–1706, the princely printing press from Buzău published, by the efforts of Bishop Mitrofan and his disciples, merged with those of his successor in the episcopal see, Bishop Damascene the Teacher, known in Romanian as Dascălul (1702–1708), 20 titles or 31 books, if we consider the fact that the *Menaion,* as title, had 12 volumes printed separately. Out of these titles, regarding the language, 3 were in Romanian and the rest bilingual (Slavonic-Romanian), but, in point of their content, 17 represented books of worship for the liturgical use of the Orthodox Church in the Romanian Countries, and three were books of dogmatic, ascetic-moral and canon teaching[41].

A third printing center was at Snagov Monastery, where first a princely printing press functioned, with printing material taken from Bucharest. In relation to the creation of this printing press, endowed with Greek, Slavonic and Arabic letters, a hypothesis that circulated is that, because of the conflict between Constantine Brâncoveanu, the Ruler of Wallachia, and Dositheos, the Patriarch of Jerusalem, in relation to John Caryophilles, it would have been desired to print the books as far as possible from the Princely Court. Another hypothesis relates the creation of the respective printing press to the appointment of Saint Anthimus the Iberian as hegumen of Snagov Monastery (1694), and, in this context, the princely printing press from Bucharest or a part of it would have been moved to Snagov[42]. Beyond these hypotheses, one can note, based on the analysis of the topics included in the editorial programme, that the aim pursued by Prince Constantine Brâncoveanu and Metropolitan Theodosius, by the creation of this princely printing press, was to defend the Orthodoxy both inside of it (the conflict between Patriarch Dositheos and the Logothete John Caryophilles, the need of books for the Orthodox population of the Ottoman Empire), and outside of it (the fight to resist

[40] Bădără 1998, 70; Croitoru 2012 (1). 256.
[41] Croitoru 2012 (1). 256.
[42] Bădără 1998, 74; Croitoru 2012 (1). 257, note 158.

the propagandas of the Reformation and Counter-Reformation)[43]. By the endeavours of Saint Anthimus the Iberian, as hegumen of Snagov Monastery (1694–1704), who had also been entrusted the leadership of the printing press, were printed, during the period of the years 1694–1701, 15 works and 16 titles[44], out of which 6 books were printed in Romanian, 6 in Greek, one in Slavonic and 2 bilingual (Slavonic-Romanian and Greek-Arabian)[45]. The topics are, nevertheless, varied: 6 books containing liturgical texts (2 in Greek, 2 in Romanian and 2 bilingual, Slavonic-Romanian and, respectively, Greek-Arabian), 3 of dogmatic literature (2 in Greek and one in Romanian), to which one can add a book title from each of the following categories: panegyric and didactic-theological literature in Greek; Slavonic grammar; popular history, morals and literature in Romanian[46]. It is considered that the status of the princely printing press changes and it becomes the property of Saint Anthimus the Iberian, between the years 1700–1701, printing only one book in Greek, in the year 1701[47]. After this date, Saint Anthimus the Iberian returns to Bucharest, where he will print in the princely printing press 13 books, during the period of the years 1702–1705[48].

The fourth printing center was at Râmnic. The date of creation of this printing press from this episcopal residence is related to the appointment of Saint Anthimus the Iberian as Bishop of Râmnic (1705–1708), in 1705, after 16 March[49]. After this event, the printing activity of Snagov Monastery ceased, and the printing material was distributed to the printing presses of Bucharest and Buzău, but also Râmnic. At this episcopal printing press were edited, during a period of just 3 years (1705–1707), 9 books and 10 titles, 3 books being in Romanian, 3 in Greek and 3 more bilingual, Slavonic-Romanian[50]. Precedence was given to the liturgical books, which were 4 (one in Romanian, with two titles, and 3 bilingual Slavonic-Romanian), to which one can add a dogmatic and polemical work in Greek, a didactic-theological book in Romanian, a book of panegyric literature in Greek and

[43] Bădără 1998, 74; Croitoru 2012 (1), 257; for the activity of the Counter-Reformation see also Barbu 2008.

[44] Two titles were printed in one volume, in Greek, and offered as a gift to the Orthodox believers: *Ὀρθόδοξος Ὁμολογία τῆς Πίστεως* (*Orthodox Confession of Faith*) and *Εἰσαγωγικὴ Ἔκθεσις περὶ τῶν τριῶν Μεγίστων Ἀρετῶν Πίστεως, Ἐλπίδος καὶ Ἀγάπης* (*Introductory Presentation of the Three Cardinal Virtues Faith, Hope and Love*, 1699), see *BRV* I, 378–389; *BRV* IV, 211; Legrand 1895 (17th–III), 61.

[45] Bădără 1998, 76; Croitoru 2012 (1), 257; see also Şerbănescu 1976, 349–355; Chiţulescu 2009 (1), 57–60; for the same study, but enriched, see Chiţulescu 2009 (2), 126–132.

[46] Bădără 1998, 76; Croitoru 2012 (1), 257–258.

[47] Ἰωάννου τοῦ Κομνηνοῦ, *Προσκυνητάριον τοῦ ἁγίου ὄρους τοῦ Ἄθωνος* (John Comnenus, *Proskynetarion of the Holy Mount Athos*), Snagov, 1701, see *BRV* I, 422–423; *BRV* IV, 213–215; Legrand 1918 (18th–I), 12–13.

[48] Bădără 1998, 79.

[49] Bădără 1998, 77.

[50] Bădără 1998, 80; Păcurariu 1994 (II), 145; Croitoru 2012 (1), 258.

a book of homiletic literature in two editions, separately for the languages Greek and Romanian[51].

The fifth printing center of the time of Saint Constantine Brâncoveanu was at Târgovişte, former official capital of Wallachia, but also former metropolitan residence[52]. The resuming of the printing activity in Târgovişte, in 1709, after an absence of 57 years, is due to Saint Anthimus the Iberian, who became Metropolitan of Wallachia (1708–1716) in 1708. The printing material was brought from Râmnic, so that the new printing press from Târgovişte is considered his property. Endowed with Greek and Cyrillic letters, the printing press of Târgovişte operated between the years 1709–1715, its activity being interrupted only between the years 1711–1712, because of the Russian-Ottoman confrontations[53]. In the presses of this printing center were edited 21 works, out of which 14 in Romanian, 5 in Greek, one trilingual Slavonic-Romanian-Greek, and another one bilingual, namely Slavonic-Romanian[54]. As far as their topics are concerned, the largest number is represented by the liturgical books, summing up 13 titles, out of which 9 in Romanian, 2 in Greek, one trilingual and another one bilingual. To these, one can add 2 books of moral-philosophic literature (one in Greek, another in Romanian), 3 books of teaching for priests (one in Greek, two in Romanian), one dogmatic book (in Greek) and one of popular literature (in Romanian), one juridical text (in Romanian) and a pilgrimage book of the Holy Mount Sinai, printed in the same volume with a liturgical book in Greek[55].

Before moving on to another point of this study, it ought to be mentioned that the first printing presses of certain Christian communities in the East were created with Romanian support (engraving of the letters, equipment, training of the typographer masters etc.), given precisely during the reign of Saint Constantine Brâncoveanu. To fill this gap in matters of books for *the Orthodox among the Arabs,* Saint Anthimus the Iberian will print, with letters made by him, two books: a *Greek-Arabian Hieratikon/Leitourgiarion* (Snagov, 1701)[56] and a *Greek-Arabian Horologion* (Bucharest, 1702)[57]. These books bear the mark of the Orthodox world's brotherhood of that time: the contribution of a Georgian typographer, Saint Anthimus the Iberian; the initiative of Athanasius III Dabbās, Patriarch of Antioch (1685–1694, 1720–1724), who lived in Wallachia for more than four years (1700–1704); the patronage of the Christian Prince Constantine Brâncoveanu, who offered

[51] Bădără 1998, 80–81; Croitoru 2012 (1), 258.

[52] Even though the metropolitan residence had been moved to Bucharest in 1668, the metropolitans had the habit of returning to Târgovişte, during the periods when the rulers of the country preferred to stopover in the former capital [Păcurariu 1994 (II), 125].

[53] Bădără 1998, 81–82.

[54] Bădără 1998, 82; Croitoru 2012 (1), 259.

[55] Bădără 1998, 82–83; Croitoru 2012 (1), 259.

[56] *BRV* I, 423–433; Legrand 1918 (18th–I), 1–2.

[57] *BRV* I, 442–447; Legrand 1918 (18th–I), 19–20.

those books as a gift to all the priests of the Patriarchate of Antioch[58]. The act of printing of these books also has a threefold purpose: introducing the spoken Arabian language in the worship, instead of the Syriac language, a process similar to the replacement of the Slavonic by the Romanian in the extra-Carpathian Romanian Countries; materializing the Prince's cultural plan of offering support to the Orthodox Church of the peoples in the East; reinforcing the efforts of the Patriarchs of Antioch, to be able to face the Roman-Catholic and Protestant proselytism, which was making use of printed books[59]. After the above-mentioned books were printed, the printing material manufactured in Wallachia (1700) to print books in Arabian was transferred, totally or in part[60], to Aleppo (1706–1724), by Patriarch Athanasius III Dabbās[61]. Because of the disputes between the Orthodox believers and those who had begun to embrace Uniatism, the Arabian printing press is moved, in 1724, at Balamand Monastery, near Tripoli, yet, after a while, a part of the printing press gets to the locality of Zaurak, where, completed with the necessary parts, it continued its activity[62], while another part is taken to the Monastery of *Saint John* of Choueir (Lebanon, 1734–1899), being considered *the printing press with the longest activity in the Arabian world*[63]. The argument brought in favour of this statement is the fact that the different stages of the Arabian printing press that took place in the West, during the 15th–17th centuries, were due either to the curiosity manifested by the European humanists to the Oriental cultures or to the activity of the missionaries in the East and to the Eastern policy of the Western Great Powers. Saint Constantine Brâncoveanu will open, however, by his help, a new stage in the history of the Arab Christian culture, namely the initiatives of printing the Arabian books will go from the foreigners' hands into those of the Arabophone Christians, who are, this time, direct beneficiaries of the books[64].

At the supplication of King Vakhtang VI, sent to the Princely Court of Wallachia by Chrysanthos Notaras, Patriarch of Jerusalem[65], the reigning Prince Constantine Brâncoveanu and Metropolitan Anthimus the Iberian sent a typographer master, namely Michael Stephen (Ştvanovici), a disciple of the latter in the art of the printing press, to Tbilisi. Taking together with him a team of specialists and printing material made in Wallachia by Saint Anthimus the Iberian, at the expense of Saint Constantine Brâncoveanu, Michael Stephen printed, during a first stage of his activity in Georgia, between the years 1709–1711, a number of 9 liturgical and teaching books. After his voyage of the year 1712 to Holland,

[58] Croitoru 2012 (1), 259.
[59] Podskalsky 2005, 103.
[60] For an analysis of these topics see Feodorov 2014 (1), 264–267.
[61] Bădără 1998, 106; Croitoru 2012 (1), 260.
[62] Bădără 1998, 106; Simonescu 1964, 532–538; Păcurariu 1964, 608; Croitoru 2012 (1), 260.
[63] Cândea 1989, 175; Croitoru 2012 (1), 260.
[64] Croitoru 2012 (1), 260, note 182.
[65] Păcurariu 1996, 354.

where he improves his art of the printing press, Michael Stephen returns to Georgia, where he and his disciples continue their printing activity until the year 1722, when the printing press is destroyed by the Ottomans[66].

In this way, with the help offered by the Church and the Reign of Wallachia, represented at that moment of history by the Saints Anthimus the Iberian and Constantine Brâncoveanu, the Arabian and Georgian Orthodox Christians received, by God's iconomy, support in the defence of the Orthodoxy and of the being of their nation, as they were being threatened by the Western propagandas and the danger of Islamization.

4. Books defending the Orthodoxy from the Western propagandas

In the context of the 17th century disputes, when the Orthodox Romanians of Transylvania were subjected to an intense propaganda of Calvinization[67], replaced afterwards, after the fall of the Principality under Habsburg rule (1687)[68], by that of Catholicization, while the Eastern Patriarchates were haunted by Western missionaries, the Church and the Reign in the extra-Carpathian Romanian Countries made efforts to keep their *ancestral law* accurate and consolidate the Orthodoxy among the Romanians from the three Countries, but also among their faith brothers, but of other nations, having in view especially those under the rule of the Ottoman Empire.

The printing press, used not just in the extra-Carpathian Romanian Countries, but also in Transylvania, became, in the frame of the epoch, an instrument of defence of the Orthodox teaching from the heterodox doctrines. Acquiring books was considered a *truly heavenly gift and treasure*[69] in the book *Învățături preste toate zilele* (*Teachings for all the days*), printed at the Monastery of the *Assumption of the Theotokos* in Câmpulung (Wallachia), in 1642[70], because the teachings, written by *many and great teachers... to all the Christians,* were meant to bring the true light on the meaning of the *Holy Scripture* and for the benefit of the spiritual life, as an exhortation to running away from *evils* and from *those who have organized themselves badly*[71], a reference, in other words, to those of other faiths[72].

This function of the book was fully cultivated as well during the epoch of Prince Constantine Brâncoveanu, and the printings included in the editorial

[66] Păcurariu 1996, 355; Croitoru 2012 (1), 261; for more details on the activity of the typographer Michael Iştvanovici in Georgia, see Feodorov 2014 (2), 47–61.

[67] See Croitoru 2012 (5), 467–526.

[68] Transylvania was occupied by the Habsburgs in the year 1687, and by the declarations of the Dieta (Legislative Assembly) of the Principality of 9 and 10 May 1688, confirmed as well on 13 May, the same year, by the Dieta summoned in Făgăraş, the annexation of the Principality to the Habsburg Empire was proclaimed, a situation maintained, with some changes (Austro-Hungarian dualism, between the years 1867–1918), until the year 1918 [Croitoru 2012 (5), 520–521].

[69] *BRV* I, 127.

[70] *BRV* I, 125.

[71] *BRV* I, 127.

[72] Croitoru 2012 (6), 707.

programme of the Church and of the Reign had the aim of reinforcing the Orthodox conscience and of defending the *right-believers* from the misinterpretations of the truths of faith brought by the Reformation or by the innovations promoted by the Counter-Reformation. In its way, each printed book had a mission to accomplish, a truth of faith to defend from those who were contesting it, such as, for instance, the veneration of the Saints and of the holy icons, the divinity of Jesus Christ, the transformation of the Holy Gifts into the Body and the Blood of the world's Saviour Jesus Christ etc. We shall choose, however, from among these books, also limiting ourselves to the rule of Saint Constantine Brâncoveanu, only those whose content presents the Orthodox teaching, entirely or partially, but aiming to defend the Orthodoxy from the Western propagandas.

As we have mentioned above, the start of the editorial programme consists in the printing of the *Bucharest Bible,* in 1688, a cultural and ecclesial event of significant momentum, as it was allowing the *Romanian Christians to know the laws of God*; and the word of God, *as a light that had been under a basket until then,* was put by the Ruler Şerban Cantacuzino, but also by the effort of the reigning Prince Constantine Brâncoveanu, who, first as *Great Logothete*[73] and *ispravnic*[74], then *crowned with the reign and rule of the entire Oungrovlachian Country*[75], completed the good thing begun, *on a lampstand, to give light to the nations in the house of the Church: Romanians, Moldavians and Oungrovlachians*[76]. It ought to be specified that the printing of the *Bucharest Bible,* achieved in the *princely printing press,* had the blessing of the Wallachian Metropolitan Theodosius and the consent of the Ecumenical Patriarchate, mentioned in the first *Preface*[77], addressed by Prince Şerban Cantacuzino to the whole clergy of the Church, to the boyars and to all the Orthodox Christians, but also the blessing of the Patriarchate of Jerusalem, in its second *Preface*, signed by Patriarch Dositheos[78]. It ought to be mentioned, therefore, that, during the archipastorate of Metropolitan Theodosius and the rule of Saint Constantine

[73] See the title paper in *BRV* I, 281.

[74] The brothers Radu and Şerban Greceanu remind in the first *Preface to Prince Constantine Brâncoveanu* (*Predoslovie către domnitorul Constantin Brâncoveanu*), included in the collection *Mărgăritare* (*Pearls,* Bucureşti, 1691), that he was, before taking over the princely throne, *vel Log. ispravnică,* namely *Great Logothete in charge of* the printing of the *Bible,* see *BRV* I, 319. In this context, the *ispravnic* had the obligation of *organizing, overseeing and following up, for the editor and in his name, the materialization of the editorial projects*, his activity being *directly, immediately and decisively related to the typographers' activity* (Bădără 1998, 170).

[75] As it is mentioned in the title paper, see *BRV* I, 281.

[76] This was the conviction of Patriarch Dositheos of Jerusalem, expressed in his *Preface* (*Predoslovie*) addressed to *the very illuminated, very Christian, very glorified, Christ-loving Prince and protector of the entire Hungary-Wallachia, Ioan Şerban Cantacuzino Basarab Voivode,* in *Biblia, adică Dumnezeiasca Scriptură* (*The Bible, namely the Divine Scripture*), see *BRV* I, 289.

[77] *BRV* I, 286.

[78] See *BRV* I, 287–290; on the paternity of this *Preface* (*Predoslovie*), attributed to Senechal Constantine Cantacuzino, see Croitoru 2012 (7), 423, note 874.

Brâncoveanu, was achieved, for the first time, the complete printing of the *Holy Scripture* in Romanian, in editions meant for the worship (*Apostolos* or *Epistle Lectionary, Evangelion* or *Gospel Book, Psalter*), but also for the cultural needs and the defence of the ancestral law, by knowing and living the word of God (*Biblia de la 1688/The 1688 Bible*)[79].

The need was, in the context of the epoch, that the acquisition of the *ancestral law* by the reading of the *Holy Scripture* ought to be accompanied by the explanations of the Holy Fathers, because *many Christians,* at that time, *do not hold on to,* namely did not respect, *the true rules of the good faith,* and *when they read the Holy Scriptures... they make other interpretations according to the whims of their heart and not according to the thought of the Holy Scripture and of the Holy Fathers of yore, who were full of the gift of the Holy Spirit*[80]. The term *heretical,* used by Saint Varlaam in the *Teaching at the Cheesefare Sunday* (*Învățătură la Duminica lăsatului sec de brânză*) and employed exclusively against the *Calvinists and Lutherans*[81], is replaced by the typographer Michael Iştvanovici (Stephen) in the text cited above and included in the *Kiriakodromion* or *Evanghelia învățătoare* (*The Teaching Gospel*), which he printed at Alba Iulia, in 1699[82]. Michael Iştvanovici realized, according to the specialists in this domain, *a true synthesis of the homiletic, liturgical and hagiographic literature* up to his time, choosing, with the accord and the blessing of Metropolitan Athanasius of Transylvania (1697–1701), the most adequate forms of expression in order to draw the attention of the Romanians in the Principality on the dangers of being led astray from the true faith, but also in order to avoid eventual repercussions to their disadvantage, coming either from the Calvinists and the Lutherans, whose regime could have returned to the Principality, or from the Roman-Catholics, whose propaganda had intensified after the conquest of Transylvania by the Habsburgs[83].

To meet the demand to understand the word of the *Holy Scripture*, by the living and the teachings of the *Holy Fathers of yore*[84], the series of teaching books printed in the *princely printing press* of Bucharest, in Romanian, is opened by the collection of patristic discourses *Mărgăritare* (*Pearls*). In order to bring light upon the *interpretations* made by some *according to the whims of their hearts*[85], in other words, on the issues regarding the truths of faith, and in order to offer the Christians *the teachings useful for the soul and for the body*[86] coming from the Holy Fathers (John Chrysostom, Anastasius of Sinai, Basil the Great, Maximus the

[79] Croitoru 2012 (4), 398.
[80] Lupaş 1957, 799; Croitoru 2012 (6), 714.
[81] Varlaam 1643, I, 33 r–v.
[82] *BRV* I, 372–377, 538.
[83] See Lupaş 1957, 798–799; Croitoru 2012 (6), 712–714.
[84] The expression is cited in the previous paragraph.
[85] The expressions are taken from the previous paragraph.
[86] *Cuvânt cătră de bine voitorĭul cititorĭu* (*Word to the reader of good-will*), in *Mărgăritare* (Pearls), Bucureşti, 1691, see *BRV* I, 320.

Confessor, Ephrem the Syrian etc.)[87], the respective collection was translated from Greek into Romanian by the brothers Radu and Şerban Greceanu[88], being reviewed, as for the Romanian language, and printed by hierarch Mitrofan, in 1691[89]. In the first *Preface* (*Prefaţă* or *Predoslovie*) of the volume[90], the translators bring to light the fact that the reigning Prince Constantine Brâncoveanu had an editorial programme, which foresaw the printing of books in Greek and in Romanian, *not with small or few expenses*[91], including the *Holy Scripture* (*Sfânta Scriptură*) and translations of works of the Holy Fathers as well as writings defending the Orthodox faith from the Roman-Catholic and Protestant propagandas[92].

At that moment, a part of the editorial programme was already completed. Thus, the brothers Greceanu remind of the fact that the printing of the *Holy Bible* (*Bibliĭa Sfântă*) in Romanian, mentioned above, *has been completed*; this action had been started during the rule of Şerban Voivode, when Constantine Brâncoveanu fulfilled for the respective print the function of *Great Logothete ispravnicŭ*, yet the latter *earnestly* made all the efforts *to complete it during the happy days of* [*his*] *reign*[93], namely in 1688, at the printing press of Bucharest[94]. The Greceanu brothers then mention another feat of Prince Constantine Brâncoveanu[95], who was *glad* for the accomplished thing[96], namely, the book of *Meletios Syrigos against the Calvinist heresies and the questions of Cyril Lucaris, Patriarch... of Constantinople,* together with *the additions Dositheos, Patriarch of Jerusalem, anew against the Calvinist heresies brought together from here and there*[97]. In fact, the brothers

[87] Croitoru 2012 (6), 726.

[88] *BRV* I, 315. Biographic data on those who endeavored to put to good use the printing press during the rule of Saint Constantine Brâncoveanu [the brothers Şerban and Radu Greceanu, Bishop Mitrofan, Saint Anthimus the Iberian, Bishop Damascene the Teacher (Damaschin Dascălul), Michael Stephen (Iştvanovici), George Radovici, the Greek Hieromonk Mitrofan Grigorás of Dodona, Hieromonk Philotheus sin Agăi Jipei] can be found in Petrescu 2014 (1), 75–91; for the same study, with a slightly modified title, see Petrescu 2014 (2), 161–178; concerning other details on the Greek scholars involved in the printing activity of the same period (monk Athanasius Tomaidis, Vissarion Makres, Panagiotis Synopeas or of Sinópe, the iatrophilosopher John Comnenus, Mitrofanis Grigorás), see Moldoveanu 2014, 190–197.

[89] *BRV* I, 321. It ought to be noted that the respective patristic collection also interested the Russian Orthodox believers. On 6 July 1693, Saint Dosoftei of Moldavia finished translating this collection into Russian, after the second edition of Venice in New Greek (1683), sending the manuscript to the Russian Tsar, John V and Peter I, for publication [Croitoru 2012 (6), 726].

[90] It ought to be mentioned that the whole content of the book *Mărgăritare* (Pearls) is preceded by two *Prefaces* or *Discourses* (*Predoslovie* or *Cuvântare*), the first to Prince Constantine Brâncoveanu, the second to the readers, both signed by the brothers Şerban, *second logothete*, and Radu, *logothete*, see *BRV* I, 316–321.

[91] *BRV* I, 319.

[92] Croitoru 2012 (6), 727.

[93] *BRV* I, 319.

[94] Bădără 1998, 65.

[95] *BRV* I, 298–299; Legrand 1894 (17th–II), 458.

[96] *BRV* I, 319.

[97] *BRV* I, 319.

Radu and Şerban Greceanu were referring to the works in Greek: *Κατὰ τῶν καλβινικῶν κεφαλαίων, καὶ ἐρωτήσεων Κυρίλλου τοῦ Λουκάρεως Ἀντίρρησις* (*Counter-Statement against the Calvinist Principles and the Questions of Cyril Lucaris*) by Meletios Syrigos, professor and protosingelos of the Great Church of Constantinople, and *Ἐγχειρίδιον κατὰ τῆς καλβινικῆς φρενοβλαβείας* (*Manual against the Calvinist Madness*) by Dositheos, Patriarch of Jerusalem[98].

The two works had been printed in one volume in Bucharest, in 1690[99], *at the expense and under the supervision* of the reigning Prince[100], and after the title page there were three epigrams, the first and the third being written by Chrysanthos Notaras, as *Hieromonk and Archimandrite of the Holy Tomb,* and the second by Antonius Spandonis, *Dicheofilax* or *Just Protector of the Great Church and teacher of sciences of the School of Constantinople.* The first two were addressed to Prince Constantine Brâncoveanu, and the third to Meletios Syrigos[101]. Then follow two *Prefaces*, signed by Patriarch Dositheos[102], being two letters of his, composed in the month of May of the year 1690, at Adrianople, from where they were sent to Ruler Constantine Brâncoveanu[103]. After the summary, the volume also includes the *Decisions* of the Synod of Constantinople of 1638, the *Decisions* of the Synod of 1642, held in Constantinople, and approved in Jassy, during the same year[104], the *Life of Meletios Syrigos* written by the same Patriarch[105], and the *Letter* of the Synod of Jassy (1642) sent to Prince Basil Lupu[106].

As far as the book of Meletios Syrigos is concerned, Patriarch Dositheos mentions, in *First Preface,* in which he describes the phenomenon of the sects and the fight of the Church, by learned teachers and pious emperors, for the defence of

[98] *BRV* I, 298; Legrand 1894 (17th–II), 458; Croitoru 2012 (6), 728.

[99] Croitoru 2012 (6), 728–729.

[100] *BRV* I, 298, 299; Legrand 1894 (17th–II), 458.

[101] *BRV* I, 299–300; Legrand 1894 (17th–II), 459–460.

[102] For *Preface I* see *BRV* I, 301–304 (Greek text) and 304–307 (translation in Romanian); as far as the Greek text of this *Preface* is concerned, see also Legrand 1894 (17th–II), 461–466. For *Preface II* see *BRV* I, 307–309 (part of the Greek text) and 309–311 (the translation of this part in Romanian); concerning the same Greek text, see also Legrand 1894 (17th–II), 466–470. For older complete translations of these two *Prefaces* from Greek into Romanian, done by C. Erbiceanu, see *Prefața dela cartea lui Meletie Sirig. Scrisă de Dositeiu Patriarhul Ierusalimului și în care se descrie origina neamului lui Constantin Brâncoveanu și după tată și după mamă* (*Preface from Meletios Syrigos's book. Written by Dositheos, Patriarch of Jerusalem, and describing the genealogy of Constantine Brâncoveanu both on the father's side and on the mother's side*), in Erbiceanu 1904–1905, 1212–1218; *A doua prefață la cartea lui Meletie Sirig tot de Patriarhul Dositeiu* (*The second Preface to Meletios Syrigos's book, also by Dositheos the Patriarch*), in Erbiceanu 1904–1905 (2), 1344–1350.

[103] Dură 1977, 242.

[104] Dură 1977, 246.

[105] See *BRV* I, 311–312 (Greek text) and 312–313 (translation in Romanian); for the Greek text, see also Legrand 1894 (17th–II), 470–472.

[106] See *BRV* I, 313–314 (Greek text and translation); for the Greek text, see also Legrand 1894 (17th–II), 472–473.

the faith[107], and the genealogy of the reigning Prince Constantine Brâncoveanu, both on his father's side, on which he was related to the reigning families of Wallachia, and on his mother's side, by whom he was related to Byzantine emperors, showing the brave acts and measures taken against the heretics by five Byzantine emperors, whom the Patriarch considers to be the reigning Prince's ancestors[108], that Meletios Syrigos wrote *the present book,* namely *Counter-Statement against the Calvinist Principles and the Questions of Cyril Lucaris,* at the exhortation of Prince Basil Lupu, by which he *condemns the heresies of the present century*[109]. For Patriarch Dositheos, these *heresies* were the new protestant doctrines, contested at the Synod of Jassy (1642), through the diligence of Basil Lupu, who *confuted and put to shame mixtures of heresies, namely Calvin's impiety*[110]. It is supposed that Meletios wrote this work between the years 1636–1640[111], therefore, before the Synod of Jassy, held in 1642, and, according to the testimony of Patriarch Dositheos, beside the exhortation of Prince Basil Lupu to draw up this book, he also received the impetus of Patriarch Partenius I of Constantinople[112]. It ought to be specified that, for the 1690 edition, Patriarch Dositheos chose the variant that Meletios Syrigos himself prepared from *Old Greek* into *common Greek,* and *many of the noblemen of Wallachiabogdania,* namely *Wallachia* or the *Romanian Country* situated near *Bogdania* or *Moldavia, knowing the Greek language well, wanted to translate it easily into the Wallachian language, to become the benefit of community in the whole Church*[113].

In the *Second Preface,* Patriarch Dositheos shows, among other things, the bad consequences of heresies, makes a short historical reference to Luther's Reform and Calvin's heresy, a short reference to the Synod of Jassy, and also to the discussions and positions taken, at that time, by him and by the Eastern patriarchs, because of the emergence of the *Pseudo-Lucarian Confession,* attributed to Saint Cyril Lucaris the New Martyr[114], while he was Patriarch of Constantinople[115], in relation to the Calvinist propaganda carried out among the Orthodox population of Poland, Lithuania, Podolia, Ukraine and Transylvania[116]. Actually, the same Patriarch Dositheos shows, in the same *Preface,* that the reason of the printing of the respective volume was given by the Orthodox people of Transylvania. They

[107] *First Preface,* in *BRV* I, 302–303, 305–306; Legrand 1894 (17th–II), 462–463, 464–466.
[108] *First Preface,* in *BRV* I, 302–303, 305–306; Legrand 1894 (17th–II), 462–466.
[109] *First Preface,* in *BRV* I, 304, 307; Legrand 1894 (17th–II), 466.
[110] *First Preface,* in *BRV* I, 301, 305; Legrand 1894 (17th–II), 462.
[111] Croitoru 2012 (6), 729, note 198.
[112] *Second Preface,* in *BRV* I, 308, 310; Legrand 1894 (17th–II), 469–470.
[113] *Second Preface,* in *BRV* I, 308, 310; Legrand 1894 (17th–II), 469.
[114] About this Calvinizing *Confession of Faith,* published in Geneva, first in Latin (*Confessio fidei,* 1629), then in Greek (*Ἀνατολικὴ ὁμολογία τῆς χριστιανικῆς πίστεως – Eastern Confession of the Christian Faith,* 1633), see Croitoru 2012 (8), 554–559.
[115] Saint Cyril Lucaris was first of all Patriarchs of Alexandria (1601–1620), then of Constantinople, on several times: 1612, 1620–1623, 1623–1633, 1633–1634, 1634–1635, 1637–1638.
[116] *Second Preface,* in *BRV* I, 307–308, 309–310; Legrand 1894 (17th–II), 446–470.

had asked the Patriarch Dositheos, around the year 1680, when he was in Wallachia, to give them *certain writings to be able to answer the Calvinists, who were bothering them excessively*[117].

The *Manual* of Patriarch Dositheos *against the Calvinist Heresy* was the third edition of the *Confession of Faith* that he himself had drawn up on the occasion of the Synod of Jerusalem, held in the year 1672. The first two editions of this *Confession* had been printed in Paris, in 1675–1676 and 1678[118], by Roman-Catholics, in the name of the Synod of Jerusalem, whereas the edition of Bucharest appeared in the Orthodox environment, bearing the name of the Patriarch himself. Moreover, this last edition comprised the corrections, completions and additions that Patriarch Dositheos had made both to *The Decisions* of the Synod of Jerusalem (1672), and to *The Confession* approved then[119]. These modifications also include a change of title. While in the previous editions the title was the *Shield of the Orthodoxy/Ἀσπὶς Ὀρθοδοξίας*, in the edition of Bucharest the title becomes *Manual against the Calvinist Madness* (*Ἐγχειρίδιον κατὰ τῆς καλβινικῆς φρενοβλαβείας*)[120], with the mention that in the text of the 1690 volume, the title of Patriarch Dositheos' *Confession*[121] also appears under the form *Ἐγχειρίδιον ἐλέγχον τὴν καλβινικὴν φρενοβλαβείαν*, namely *Manual proving the Calvinist Heresy*[122].

It has been appreciated that the volume printed in the *princely printing press* of Bucharest, in 1690, shared as a gift by Patriarch Dositheos, thanks to the financial help offered by the reigning Prince Constantine Brâncoveanu, the texts being *arranged and corrected* or *reviewed* by Michael Makres of Ioannina (Greece), Notary of the Great Church of Constantinople, and the printing being entrusted to Mitrofan, at the time former Bishop of Huşi[123], still represents a reaction of the representatives of the Orthodoxy against the *Lucarian Confession and Protestantism in general*[124].

Another book reminded by the brothers Radu and Şerban Greceanu in the first *Preface* of the collection *Mărgăritare* (*Pearls*) is *Mărturiĭa pravoslavnică* (*The Orthodox Confession*), about which they say that it is in their hands to be translated *from Greek into Romanian*, but which they attribute to Patriarch Nectarius of Jerusalem (1661–1669)[125]. About this mention, it is possible, on the one hand, that the Greceanu brothers may have had in view the translation of Patriarch Nectarius' work, *Counter-Statement against Papal Primacy* (*Περὶ τῆς*

[117] *Second Preface*, in *BRV* I, 308, 310; Legrand 1894 (17th–II), 469. On the Calvinist and Lutheran propaganda in Transylvania, but also in Wallachia and Moldavia, see Croitoru 2012 (9), 467–526.
[118] Croitoru 2012 (6), 728, note 188.
[119] Croitoru 2012 (6), 730.
[120] Dură 1977, 245.
[121] On *The Confession* of Patriarch Dositheos, see more details in Croitoru 2012 (10), 655–664.
[122] *BRV* I, 299; Legrand 1894 (17th–II), 459.
[123] *BRV* I, 298–299, 314–315; Legrand 1894 (17th–II), 458–459.
[124] Καρμίρη 1949, 71, 81; Croitoru 2012 (6), 728.
[125] *BRV* I, 319.

ἀρχῆς τοῦ πάπα Ἀντίρρησις), printed in Greek at Jassy, in 1682[126]. On the other hand, simultaneously to the edition of the patristic collection *Mărgăritare* (*Pearls*) was also prepared the translation into Romanian of the *Confession of Faith* attributed to Saint Peter Mogila, after the edition of Amsterdam (1666), which also included a *Preface* signed by Patriarch Nectarius, of November 20, 1662. My opinion is that the Greceanu brothers refer to the latter text of Patriarch Nectarius, since there is no indication, during the same period, of any translation in Romanian of this Patriarch's work printed earlier in Jassy[127].

The two translators announce, in the same first *Preface,* that they also want to finish translating and printing *other works,* as well, *for the benefit of community*[128], which we shall see below. However, if we follow the activity of the *princely printing press* of Bucharest, there appears, in 1690, *to be shared for free to the Orthodox,* a *Manual against the Papists' Schism* (*Ἐγχειρίδιον κατὰ τοῦ Σχίσματος τῶν Παπιστῶν*), written by Hieromonk Maximus the Peloponnesian[129], a disciple of Meletios Pegas, Patriarch of Alexandria[130]. In the *Preface*[131] of the book, addressed to the *Orthodox readers,* it is affirmed that *many have wanted to prevent* the printing *of the Manual, because it tells the naked and clear truth,* but finally *truth has prevailed, and the reigning Prince has deemed it right* [*to have it printed*] *and the* respective *booklet has been printed in memory of the wise, on the one hand, and, on the other hand, to teach and support all the Orthodox*[132]. The *Manual* included the Orthodox teaching regarding the Roman-Catholic innovations on *Papal primacy, on the procession of the Holy Spirit, on unleavened bread, on the transformation, namely on the trans-substantiation of the Holy Mysteries,* in other words, of the Precious Gifts into the Body and Blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ, *on the purifying fire* or *Purgatory, on the joy of the Just, namely if they have received the promise*[133].

The exhortation to printing had been given by Patriarch Dositheos, who must have been as well the author of the *Preface,* while through this polemic treaty, an answer was being given to the activity of propagation of the Roman-Catholic doctrine by different means[134], one of them being the printing of books spread by the *Congregation for Propaganda of the Faith* (*Congregatio de Propaganda Fide*) among the Orthodox of the Ottoman Empire[135]. At the same time, it has been stated

[126] *BRV* I, 251; Legrand 1894 (17th–II), 401; Τζιράκη 1966, 396; Croitoru 2012 (6), 727, note 181.

[127] Croitoru 2012 (6), 727–728, note 181.

[128] *BRV* I, 319.

[129] *BRV* I, 297–298; *BRV* IV, 207; Legrand 1894 (17th–II), 475; Bădără 1998, 66.

[130] *BRV* I, 297; Legrand 1894 (17th–II), 475; Bădără 1998, 66.

[131] For the whole text of this *Preface* in Greek, dated January 1690, see Legrand 1894 (17th–II), 476–478; for an old translation in Romanian of the respective *Preface* see *BRV* I, 370–372.

[132] *BRV* I, 298.

[133] *BRV* I, 298; Legrand 1894 (17th–II), 478.

[134] Legrand 1894 (17th–II), 476–477.

[135] It ought to be signalled that *Congregatio de Propagande Fide* took the initiative of creating a printing press of its own (1622), where, during the period 1628–1677, 45 books were printed, in Latin and Greek (classical and vulgar). Out of them, 37 were addressed especially to the Orthodox,

that this book was also an answer given to the Archbishop of Iconium, John Matthew Caryophilles (Ioannis Mattheos Caryophyllios), considered one of the most aggressive supporters of the Roman-Catholic propaganda by the book, several anti-Orthodox works being attributed to him in the epoch, among which *Counter-Statement to Nilus of Thessalonica on Papal Primacy* (*Ἀντίρρησις πρὸς Νεῖλον τὸν Θεσσαλονίκης περὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς τοῦ πάπα*) or *Confutatio Nili Thessalonicensis de Primatu Papae,* printed in Paris, in 1626[136]. The printing of this book was correlated as well to the statement of defence against the Roman-Catholic propaganda in Transylvania, supported by the Court of Vienna, but also against the similar one in Little Russia, carried on with the help of Poland. In this context, the book became widely known and got to be translated in Russian and Romanian, whereas the Greek edition was very hard to find at the beginning of the 18th century. For instance, in 1714, Alexander Helladius declares it *rarer than the white raven*[137]. The translation into Russian was realized by Theodor Polikarpov († 1731), a disciple of the brothers Ioannikios (John) and Sophronius (Spyridon) Leichoudis[138], and was disseminated in manuscript[139].

The translation into Romanian of the work of Hieromonk Maximus the Peloponnesian was impressed in the *princely printing press* of Snagov Monastery, in 1699[140]. For editorial reasons, the title of the book was replaced by a suggestive one: *Carte sau Lumină, cu dreapte Dovediri din Dogmele Besearicii Răsăritului, asupra dejghinării Papistaşilor, descoperită şi aşezată de prea învăţatul Ieromonah Maxim Peloponiseanul* (*Book or Light, with right Demonstrations taken from the Dogmas of the Church of the East, on the Discord of the Papalists, discovered and arranged by the very erudite Hieromonk Maximus the Peloponnesian*)[141]. It is mentioned, on the title page, that the work was printed *on the order and at the sole expense* of Prince Constantine Brâncoveanu, during the archipastorate of Metropolitan Theodosius, its printer being Hieromonk Anthimus the Iberian, *in order to be given as a gift to the Orthodox believers*[142].

most of them having a catechetical, dogmatic and apologetic content. In this context, many of the books printed in Greek, both in Wallachia and in Moldavia, represented the answer of the Orthodoxy to the wave of books in Greek that the Congregation was spreading among the Orthodox of the Ottoman Empire. Under the pretext of culturalization, the aim of the Congregation was, in fact, to disseminate the Roman-Catholic propaganda in the Balkan Peninsula and in the East, so as to attract as many Orthodox Christians as possible to the union with Rome. Using a series of Greek scholars who had received tuition at the Greek College *Saint Athanasius* of Rome, the Congregation would send them to different regions of the Eastern Christianity, arming them with the respective books, while some of them got to be infiltrated in the hierarchy of the local Orthodox Churches, with the evident intention of triggering from inside the Orthodoxy a movement favourable to the union with Rome (Podskalsky 2005, 102; Papacostea-Danielopolu-Demény 1985, 157–161; Papacostea 1983, 261).

[136] Papacostea-Danielopolu-Demény 1985, 161; Legrand 1894 (17th–I), 216.

[137] Bădără 1998, 66; Legrand 1894 (17th–II), 475.

[138] Turdeanu 1985, 309.

[139] Turdeanu 1985, 309–310.

[140] *BRV* I, 370; *BRV* IV, 210; Bădără 1998, 77.

[141] *BRV* I, 370.

[142] *BRV* I, 370.

Going back to the activity of the princely printing press of Bucharest, the series of books of teaching in Greek is concluded by Sevastos Kyminitis' work (1630/1632–1702) *Dogmatic Teaching of the All Holy Eastern and Universal Church* (*Δογματικὴ διδασκαλία τῆς ἁγιωτάτης ἀνατολικῆς καὶ καθολικῆς Ἐκκλησίας*), printed in 1703[143]. The author, to whom one more book in Greek had been printed at the princely printing press of Snagov Monastery, in the year 1701, entitled *Eortologhion* (*Ἑορτολόγιον*)[144], had been a director and a professor of the Princely Academy in Bucharest (1689/1693–1702)[145].

Considered during his epoch *the most faithful keeper of the philosophical* (according to Theophilos Corydalleus) *and theological Tradition* (in conformity with Dositheos, Patriarch of Jerusalem) *of the Orthodox Church of those times*[146], Kyminitis presents in his last book, printed post-mortem, three aspects of the Orthodox teaching concerning: 1) *when the Holy Gifts are transformed into Christ's Body and Blood*; 2) *that the Theotokos was submitted to the ancestral sin*; 3) *that the meridai,* namely *crumbs* or *portions, are not transformed into Christ's Body and Blood*[147]. In this way, he touched upon some points of faith of both the Roman-Catholic doctrine, namely the moment of the transformation, the immaculate conception (*immaculata conceptio*) of the Lord's Mother, which later became a dogma of the Roman-Catholic Church (1854), and of the Calvinist doctrine, such as the real presence of Jesus Christ in the Divine Eucharist, the honouring due to the Mother of the Lord[148]. It ought to be specified that the *Dogmatic Teaching of the All Holy Eastern and Universal Church* was printed in two editions, one dedicated to Dositheos, Patriarch of Jerusalem, and another dedicated to Peter the Great, the Russian Tsar, *at the expense* of Postelnic (Chamberlain) George Kastriotis († 1716), a Greek diplomatist at the Court of Prince Constantine Brâncoveanu, in order to be given *as a gift to the Orthodox believers*[149]. The book was printed by Hieromonk Anthimus the Iberian, and the arrangement and correction of the text is attributed to the scholar John of Ephesus[150].

In 1691, it is printed in Buzău, in the new *princely printing press,* set up by Hierarch Mitrofan, formerly Bishop of Huşi (1682–1686) and new Bishop of Buzău (1691–1702), being the one who had taken care of the printing of the books in Bucharest, *Pravoslavnica Mărturisire* (*Orthodox Confession*), which was the translation from Greek into Romanian of the *Confession of Orthodox Faith* approved at the Synod of Jassy (1642)[151].

[143] *BRV* I, 450–451; Legrand 1918 (18th–I), 25.
[144] *BRV* I, 416–419; Legrand 1918 (18th–I), 9; Bădără 1998, 77.
[145] Croitoru 2012 (6), 744, note 308.
[146] Podskalsky 2005, 345.
[147] *BRV* I, 450; Legrand 1918 (18th–I), 25.
[148] Podskalsky 2005, 347, 349–350; Croitoru 2012 (6), 744–745.
[149] *BRV* I, 450–451; Legrand 1918 (18th–I), 25; Bădără 1998, 67.
[150] *BRV* I, 450–451; Legrand 1918 (18th–I), 25. On the scholar John of Ephesus, who became a professor at the Princely Academy of Jassy, see Bădără 1998, 168.
[151] *BRV* I, 321.

The translation and printing of this *Confession* in Romanian was part of the editorial plan of Prince Constantine Brâncoveanu, announced by the brothers Radu and Şerban Greceanu in the first *Preface* of the collection *Mărgăritare* (*Pearls*)[152], which we have mentioned above. Actually, this thing is also reminded by the translator of the text of the *Confession of Orthodox Faith*, the Logothete Radu Greceanu, in the first *Preface* (*Prefață* or *Predoslovie*) of the book, signed by him and addressed to the reigning Prince Constantine Brâncoveanu[153], who had also entrusted to him the printing of his translation, in quality of *ispravnic*[154]. In this *Preface,* Radu Greceanu characterizes the *Confession* as being *a canon and a straightener by which the divine and apostolical dogmas of the Church of the East are known and straightened*, without which *no true Christian... can do something holy or some great feat for the salvation of his soul*[155]. Then, Radu Greceanu shows that Saint Peter Mogila drew up the respective *Confession,* without specifying any further details, to fight against *many tares and heresies,* sown among the Russian Christians by *those who hate the truth and want others also astray as themselves*[156]. To reinforce the authority of the text, Radu Greceanu emphasizes the fact that the *Confession* was proven true and confirmed by *the test and decision of four Patriarchs, of Constantinople, of Alexandria, of Antioch and of Jerusalem, and of many Hierarchs and clerics of the Great Church of Constantinople*[157]. In this point, the translator is directly referring to the Synod of Constantinople, of March 1643, when the *Orthodox Confession* of Saint Peter Mogila was approved[158]. Radu Greceanu adds one more detail, regarding the authority of the *Confession* and the decision of the Synod of Constantinople, affirming that *similarly the book of Nectarius, Patriarch of Jerusalem, confesses and proves it true, all these being in the Greek book*[159]. We shall remind that the brothers Radu and Şerban Greceanu had referred to Patriarch Nectarius in the first *Preface* of the patristic collection *Mărgăritare* (*Pearls*)[160], and above we have mentioned that this Greek book of the respective Patriarch was not *Counter-Statement against Papal Primacy* (*Περὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς τοῦ πάπα Ἀντίρρησις*), printed in Jassy, in the year 1682, as there is no information about any translation of this book in the respective epoch, but the *Book* or *Letter* of the Patriarch of November 20, 1662, printed as *Preface* in the edition of the *Orthodox Confession* of Amsterdam[161] of the year

[152] *BRV* I, 319.
[153] *BRV* I, 322.
[154] *BRV* I, 321.
[155] *BRV* I, 322–323.
[156] *BRV* I, 323.
[157] *BRV* I. 323.
[158] Croitoru 2012 (6), 731, note 209; see also Croitoru 2012 (11), 572–573.
[159] *BRV* I, 323.
[160] *BRV* I. 319.
[161] Croitoru 2012 (11), 575.

1666[162], after which the 1691 translation was actually made, edition that contained the respective *Preface* and the act of the Synod of the year 1643[163].

It ought to be added that Radu Greceanu comes with one more detail regarding the translation of the *Confession,* namely, that he had had not just the help of his brother Şerban, but also that of Senechal Constantine Cantacuzino[164]. In fact, the Senechal was part of the group of translators of liturgical, biblical and theological books, being known in his epoch not just for his erudition, but also as *one of the promoters of the printing in Wallachia of certain polemical books opposed to the Roman-Catholic doctrine and the Protestant innovations, and a collaborator for other books*[165]. After having highlighted the authority of *Pravoslavnica Mărturisire* (*Orthodox Confession*), printed by Bishop Mitrofan *on the order* and *at the expense* of Prince Constantine Brâncoveanu[166], Radu Greceanu affirms, in the *Preface to the Orthodox Reader* (*Prefaţa către cetitorĭul pravoslavnic*), being the second *Preface* of the book also signed by him, that *the greatest, the best and the most useful* thing for man is *salvation,* which represents *the aim and the top of all the good things, of all the miracles, of all the mysteries,* and his exhortation is that each Christian ought to read it *several times,* because only in this way he will be able to know and be aware of *the trodden path of the Orthodox faith and of the all holy and true Eastern Church, leading to eternal life*[167].

The series of the books of teaching is concluded in the printing press of the Episcopate of Buzău, if we refer only to the reign of Saint Constantine Brâncoveanu, by the printing, in 1702, thanks to the efforts of the same typographer Mitrofan, of a brochure in the languages Slavonic and Romanian[168], under the title: *Învăţătură preoţilor pe scurt. De şapte Taine ale Besearicii, cu dreapte dovediri den Pravila Sfinţilor Părinţi* (*Brief Teaching for the Priests. On the Seven Holy Mysteries of the Church, with right Demonstrations taken from the Rule of the Holy Fathers*)[169]. Metropolitan Theodosius, *on* [*whose*] *order and at* [*whose*] *sole expense* the respective book had been printed[170], in two editions, one for Wallachia, and another one for Moldavia, the name of Theodosius being replaced by that of *Antonius, Archbishop and Metropolitan of the entire Moldavia*[171], draws the attention, in the *Preface to the Priests* (*Predoslovia către preoţi*), that he has found *some things that go against the apostolical teachings and the mysteries of the Holy Church:*

[162] Not in 1667 or 1668, as it has been wrongly claimed. On the correction of this error, see Croitoru 2012 (11), 575, note 97.

[163] Croitoru 2012 (6), 731, note 210.

[164] *BRV* I, 328.

[165] See Croitoru 2012 (7), 422–424.

[166] *BRV* I, 323.

[167] *BRV* I. 323–324.

[168] Bădără 1998, 73.

[169] *BRV* I. 433.

[170] *BRV* I, 433.

[171] *BRV* I. 539; *BRV* IV, 215–216; Bădără 1998, 73.

especially related to the Holy Baptism, the Holy Communion and the Great Myron, namely the *Chrismation.* These *breaches,* which the Metropolitan wanted *in every way to pull out and to unroot*, were the consequence of both the priests' *ignorance*, and of those *hostile* to the Church, in other words, the influences of the Western propagandas[172], and to come up against the respective situations, these teachings had been printed for the priests, taking advice from the *Holy Scriptures* and the *Rule of the Holy Fathers* on *the Seven Mysteries ordained and ordered by Christ our Lord Himself*[173]. Concerning the author of this brochure, the opinions are divided, some attributing it to Metropolitan Theodosius, and others to Bishop Mitrofan himself[174].

The polemics created by the Western propagandas managed to divide into camps even the supporters of the Orthodoxy, as it happened with the dispute between the Great Logothete John Caryophilles (c. 1610–1692) and the Patriarch Dositheos of Jerusalem, concerning, especially, the acceptance or not of the use of the term *trans-substantiation* (Romanian: *transsubstanțiere*; Greek: *μετουσίωσις*) in the Orthodox teaching, as Patriarch Dositheos had done in his *Confession* (1672, Jerusalem). Following the disputes emerged in Constantinople and the condemnation of his *Notebooks*, at a Synod summoned *ad-hoc* by the Ecumenical Patriarch in 1691 (Constantinople), Caryophilles is forced to go into exile and takes refuge in Wallachia, where he arrives at the beginning of the year 1692. He is received with great honours by Stolnic (Senechal) Constantine Cantacuzino and Prince Constantine Brâncoveanu, and also by Metropolitan Theodosius, who will accommodate him at Radu-Vodă Monastery in Bucharest. The Metropolitan was grateful to him, because he had received the help of Caryophilles, in 1679, when he returned to the Metropolitan throne, after having been deposed in the year 1672, following the political fights between the boyar parties, respectively that of the Cantacuzinos, whose partisan he was, and that of the Băleanu family. Caryophilles was highly regarded by Saint Anthimus the Iberian, at that time Hieromonk, despite the friendship that connected all those mentioned to Patriarch Dositheos of Jerusalem[175]. It has been affirmed that, during the debates, there were also violent discussions between Patriarch Dositheos and Prince Constantine Brâncoveanu, when the latter intervened in favour of John Caryophilles, on which occasion the Patriarch would have reproached the ruler, according to some historians, precisely during a sermon that he uttered in Bucharest, during the second part of the year 1692, the following: *the ecclesiastical laws have not been established on the Wallachian Mountains, nor by the Wallachian rulers, but in Constantinople and by emperors and synods; therefore, if Caryophilles has something to say, let us go*

[172] Croitoru 2012 (6), 732.
[173] *BRV* I. 434–435.
[174] Croitoru 2012 (6), 731, note 212.
[175] In fact, the conflict between the Great Logothete John Caryophilles and Patriarch Dositheos goes through several stages, to which one can also add several reasons. For all these, see Croitoru 2012 (12), 752–783; Croitoru 2014, 201–232.

together to Constantinople and let him speak. And this is how he reduced Basarab, namely Prince Constantine Brâncoveanu, *to silence*[176].

These contradictory discussions did not ruin the friendship relations existing between the reigning Prince and the Patriarch, on the one hand, and, on the other hand, they denote the fact that the ruler was aware of the disputes and the intrigues of Constantinople. For this reason, Caryophilles was not regarded as a heretic in Bucharest, and Senechal Constantine Cantacuzino asks him to provide answers, in writing, to several questions regarding some controversial points of faith, such as the divine providence, predestination, the role of good deeds, free will (liberum arbitrium) etc. Caryophilles gave answers to the questions asked by Cantacuzino, yet they remained in manuscript[177]. Patriarch Dositheos, finding out about the writing of Caryophilles, prints a *Manual* at Cetăţuia Monastery, near Jassy, in 1694, two years after the death of the Great Logothete. The aim of this work, entitled *Manual against John Caryophilles* (*Ἐγχειρίδιον κατὰ Ἰωάννου τοῦ Καρυοφύλλου*)[178], was to fight against the writings and teachings of John Caryophilles, especially those he had written on the Divine Eucharist. At the end of the book, Patriarch Dositheos also added the *Synodal Tomos* of 1691 against the manuscript *Notebooks* (*Caiete*) and the heresy of Caryophilles, signed by Callinicus II, Patriarch of Constantinople, and by himself[179].

The reaction in Bucharest was that, at the exhortation of Prince Constantine Brâncoveanu and of Senechal Constantine Cantacuzino, Saint Anthimus the Iberian printed in the princely printing press of Snagov Monastery, whose Starets he was (1694–1704), the manuscript work of John Caryophilles, corrected and reviewed, on his request, by the scholar Sevastos Kyminitis[180]. Thus, the work appears in the year 1697, as a posthumous work of Caryophilles dedicated to Prince Constantine Brâncoveanu, bearing the title *Manual on several questions and solutions, or on the examination and confirmation of several necessary dogmas of the Church* (*Ἐγχειρίδιον περί τινων ἀπορίῶν καὶ λύσεων, ἢ περὶ ἐξετάσεως καὶ ἐπιβεβαιώσεως ἀναγκαίων τινῶν τῆς Ἐκκλησίας δογμάτων*)[181].

The work appears under a catechetic form, as questions and answers, including, after the title page, a first *Prologue* of Saint Anthimus the Iberian *to the reigning Prince Constantine Brâncoveanu,* followed by another *Prologue to the Readers*. As far as the second *Prologue* is concerned, we have shown in a recent study that it also belongs to Saint Anthimus the Iberian[182]. The writing of

[176] Croitoru 2012 (12), 764.

[177] Croitoru 2012 (12), 764; Croitoru 2014, 219–220.

[178] *BRV* I, 337–338; Legrand 1895 (17th–III), 30–37; Bădără 1998, 90.

[179] Legrand 1895 (17th–III), 37; Croitoru 2012 (12), 765.

[180] Croitoru 2012 (12), 765–766.

[181] *BRV* I, 349–350; Legrand 1895 (17th –III), 45; Bădără 1998, 76; for the analysis of the content of this book, see Croitoru 2012 (12), 767–770.

[182] Croitoru 2014, 221–222; for a new translation of the first *Prologue*, and for the unpublished translation of the second *Prologue*, made by the author of this study, see the Annexes 1 and 2 in Croitoru 2014, 227–232.

Caryophilles, representing, in a first stage, the fruit of the collaboration between himself and Senechal Constantine Cantacuzino, then, in the second stage, of that between Professor Sevastos Kyminitis and Saint Anthimus the Iberian[183], stirred quite a lot of interest, being used as teaching material in the Princely Academy of Bucharest[184], while, at the beginning of the 18th century, it was translated into Romanian, under the title: *Questions of the famous gentleman Constantine Cantacuzino, brother of the late Şerban Vodă Cant[acuzino], ... and answers ... of the among teachers scholar and discourse giver John Caryophilles, the Great Logothete of the Holy and Great Church of the See of Constantinople..., which were translated from Greek into Romanian at the exhortation of Father Flor, teacher of Slavonic* [*and*] *hartofilax* (*Întrebări ale blagorodnicului dumnealui pan Constandin Cantacozino, fratele răposatului Şărban Vodă Cant[acozino], ... şi răspunsuri ... ale celui dintre dascali învăţat şi cuvântător Ioan Careofil, marele logofăt al sfintei şi marei Beserici a scaunului Ţarigradului..., care s-au tălmăcit de pre limba elinească pre limba românească prin îndemnarea popei Flor, dascal slov[enesc] hartofilax*)[185].

In 1699, the third edition in Greek of the *Orthodox Confession* (*Ὀρθόδοξος Ὁμολογία*) of Saint Peter Mogila appears, being printed in the princely printing press of Snagov Monastery[186]. The first edition had been printed in 1666, in Amsterdam, on the initiative of the Great Dragoman Panagiotis Nikousios (1603–1672), in Greek. The second edition, in Greek and Latin, appeared in 1695, in Leipzig, by the care of the Swedish Protestant L. Normann[187].

The edition of the *Orthodox Confession* of Snagov, entitled the *Orthodox Confession of the Faith of the Universal and Apostolical Church of the East* (*Ὀρθόδοξος Ὁμολογία τῆς Πίστεως τῆς Καθολικῆς καὶ Ἀποστολικῆς Ἐκκλησίας τῆς Ἀνατολῆς*)[188], reproduced the edition of Amsterdam, being, however, the first in the Orthodox world[189], appearing by the printing work of Saint Anthimus the Iberian, who was calling himself, out of humility, *the least of the hieromonks,* although he was Starets of Snagov Monastery, the text being *arranged and reviewed* by Panagiotis of Sinópe, a locality in the area of Pontus Euxinus (the Black Sea). The book appeared *on the exhortation and at the expense* of Prince Constantine Brâncoveanu, *in order to be shared for free to the Christian multitudes*[190]. A major role in the printing of the book also went to Dositheos, Patriarch of Jerusalem, his aim being to face the Protestant and Roman-Catholic or Latin propaganda, as it results from his two letters, which accompany the text of the *Confession* as

[183] Croitoru 2014, 222–223.

[184] Vergatti 2014 (1), 49, 51; see also Vergatti 2014 (2), 72–74; Croitoru 2014, 222.

[185] For bibliographic references regarding the Romanian translation of this *Manual,* preserved in several manuscripts, see Croitoru 2012 (12), 770–771, note 148.

[186] *BRV* I, 378–379; *BRV* IV, 211; Legrand 1895 (17th–III), 61–62; Bădără 1998, 77.

[187] Croitoru 2012 (11), 575.

[188] *BRV* I, 378; Legrand 1895 (17th–III), 61.

[189] Croitoru 2012 (11), 575.

[190] *BRV* I, 378–379, 385, 389; Legrand 1895 (17th–III), 61–62, 74.

Prefaces, the first *to the reigning Prince Constantine Brâncoveanu* (February, 1699)[191], and the second *to the Orthodox readers* (January, 1699)[192].

The text of the *Orthodox Confession,* written in vulgar Greek, was printed in one volume with an *Introductory Presentation on the Three Cardinal Virtues, Faith, Hope and Love* (*Εἰσαγωγικὴ Ἔκθεσις περὶ τῶν Τριῶν Μεγίστων Ἀρετῶν Πίστεως, Ἐλπίδος καὶ Ἀγάπης*), written in classical Greek and attributed to Hieromonk Vissarion Makres (1635–1699) of Ioannina (Greece)[193]. The importance of this writing is shown by Patriarch Dositheos himself at the end of the *Preface to the Orthodox readers,* where he affirms that he has sent the work of Vissarion to the reigning Prince because *not just by its arrangement, but also by its division and meanings* it has *great resemblance with the Orthodox Confession,* and the reigning Prince, taking it *in his hands... decided to have it printed together with the Orthodox Confession, so that the two works may be in one volume; namely to be read, one as the Orthodox Confession of the holy and apostolical, universal Church of Christ, being rule and canon of the Orthodox faith, and the other as interpretation and formulation of an Orthodox teacher*[194]. To reinforce even more the fight of defence of the Orthodox believers from the Protestant propaganda, Patriarch Dositheos added, in the same volume, a text of Saint John of Damascus on the veneration of the holy icons, *From Saint John of Damascus' Book On Icons* (*Ἐκ τῆς τοῦ Ἁγίου Ἰωάννου τοῦ Δαμασκηνοῦ Βίβλου Περὶ Εἰκόνων*)[195].

The importance of the volume, containing three titles, and of the philanthropic, cultural and missionary work of Prince Constantine Brâncoveanu are signalled as well by the epigrams addressed to him and following after the title page: five signed by Sevastos Kyminitis Trapezuntios (of Trapezunt), one of Physician John Comnenus, three signed by students of the Princely Academy of Bucharest, and three more signed by students of two Schools of Ioannina[196].

To strenghten the Orthodox faith in front of the Western propagandas, especially of the Protestant one, another work printed in the princely printing press of Snagov Monastery, in 1700, was *Învățături creștinești foarte de folos* (*Very Useful Christian Teachings*), with the blessing of Metropolitan Theodosius[197]. The book was the first printing of George Radovici, who had learnt the art of the printing press from Saint Anthimus the Iberian, his spiritual father, as he himself confesses in *Predoslovia către domnitorul Constantine Brâncoveanu* (*Preface to the reigning Prince Constantine Brâncoveanu*), to whom he also dedicates this

[191] See Legrand 1895 (17th–III), 66–68.

[192] See *BRV* I, 381–385 (Greek text), 385–389 (Romanian text); Legrand 1895 (17th–III), 68–75.

[193] *BRV* I, 378–379; Legrand 1895 (17th–III), 61; Bădără 1998, 77; Croitoru 2012 (6), 733–734; on Vissarion Makres see Ică sr. 2014, 174–177.

[194] *BRV* I, 385, 389; Legrand 1895 (17th–III), 75.

[195] Dură 1977, 250; Croitoru 2012 (6), 736.

[196] *BRV* I, 379–381; Legrand 1895 (17th–III), 62–65. On the interpretation of some of these epigrams and a new translation, see Croitoru 2015, 99–122.

[197] *BRV* I, 390, 538; *BRV* IV, 213; Bădără 1998, 77.

work[198]. Radovici praises the Prince for his concern especially *for the Church needs and the adornment of politics and the things that include the divine knowledge of the Orthodox teachings and the acquisition of the good deeds, which absolutely includes the printing press as well*[199]. In the same *Predoslovie* (*Preface*), Radovici reveals that the work he is printing is a translation from Greek into Romanian, done by Hieromonk Philotheos Svetagoreţul or the Athonite[200]. Translator from Greek into Romanian also of the work *Floarea darurilor* (*The Gifts' Flower*), printed by Saint Anthimus the Iberian in Snagov, in 1700[201], but also of a *Catavasier*, printed in two editions (Târgovişte, 1714 and 1715)[202], Hieromonk Filotheos was identified by the researchers as Filotei, sin Agăi Jipei (namely Filotheos, son of Aga Jipei), author of the first *Romanian Manual of Psaltical Music*, namely *Psaltichia românească* (1713)[203].

Floarea darurilor (*The Flower of Virtue*) was a variant of Tommaso Gozzadini's writing, *Fiore di virtù*, also known under the name of *The Bee* (*Albinuşe / Albina*), being a collection of maxims taken from the *Holy Scripture*, from certain patristic and ecclesial texts, as well as from different classical or medieval authors. This writing was appreciated in this epoch, and the hierarch and typographer Mitrofan also left a translation of it from Greek into Romanian, done in the year 1689 and kept in manuscript (The Library of the Romanian Academy, *Romanian Manuscript* 1357)[204].

Radovici also draws the attention on the content of the book printed by him, affirming, in the second *Preface* (*Predoslovie*) belonging to him and addressed *to the readers*, that it includes *teachings, in brief and easy, which are understood without pains by everyone*[205]. These teachings are grouped into 38 chapters (*capete*)[206], with the recommandation to read a chapter each day[207].

The election of Saint Anthimus as Bishop of Râmnic (1705–1708) occured in the context of the intensification of the Roman-Catholic propaganda in the East, but also in Transylvania, where the Jesuits had managed, with support from the Court of Vienna, to break the unity, spiritual and of faith, of the Romanians of Ardeal (Transylvania) with those of Wallachia and Moldavia (1701)[208]. He takes

[198] *BRV* I, 391.
[199] *BRV* I, 391.
[200] *BRV* I, 391.
[201] *BRV* I, 393.
[202] *BRV* IV, 41–42, 43; Bădără 1998, 83, note 312.
[203] Croitoru 2012 (6), 732, note 218.
[204] Croitoru 2012 (2), 144–145, note 127.
[205] *BRV* I, 392.
[206] See *BRV* I, 392–393.
[207] *BRV* I. 392.
[208] The Uniate process goes through two stages: a) a first stage occured in the year 1697, under the Transylvanian Metropolitan Teofil (1692–1697), which stage, although unfinished, created a precedent; b) the second stage occured between the years 1698–1701, under Metropolitan Athanasius Anghel, see Mărculeţ-Bucur 2014, 9-45.

the place, in Râmnic, of Bishop Ilarion (1693–1705, † 1712), deposed from the episcopal see during a synod led by Patriarch Dositheos himself (March 1705), under the accusation of philo-Catholic inclinations (he had allowed the Roman-Catholics to have a church built in Râmnic and to burry their dead in the cemetery of the Episcopate)[209]. By his designation at Râmnic and the printing press set up by him in this Episcopate, Saint Anthimus the Iberian continued two aspects of the editorial programme promoted by Prince Constantine Brâncoveanu, more exactly, supporting the Orthodoxy and defending the position of introduction of the Romanian language in the worship[210]. By both of these aspects it was, in fact, pursued to reinforce the Orthodoxy, namely by books of teaching and by the messages of the liturgical texts[211]. Actually, the printing press of Râmnic will become in the 18th century an important center defending the Orthodoxy, by means of the book, from the Roman-Catholic propaganda in Transylvania[212].

The series of teaching books was opened in Râmnic by the printing of the large book *Tome of Joy* (*Τόμος χαρᾶς*), in 1705[213], which completed the trilogy in Greek of the works *Tome of Reconciliation* (*Τόμος καταλλαλαγῆς*, Iaşi-Cetăţuia, 1692–1694)[214] and *Tome of Love on the Latins*, namely the Roman-Catholics (*Τόμος ἀγάπης κατὰ Λατίνων*, Iaşi-Cetăţuia, 1698)[215], published after the collection and selection of many Greek writings, done by Patriarch Dositheos of Jerusalem, with the obvious aim of defending the Orthodoxy in the context of the development of the Western propagandas.

The *Tome of Joy*, printed in two editions or, at least, in two press runs[216], comprised the following works against the Roman-Catholics: *The Epistles of Photios, the All Holy Patriarch of Constantinople* (*Αἱ Ἐπιστολαὶ Φωτίου τοῦ ἁγιωτάτου Πατριάρχου Κωνσταντινουπόλεως*)[217]; *The 8th Holy and Ecumenical*

[209] Păcurariu 1994 (II), 165. While some historians affirm that Bishop Ilarion was defrocked [Păcurariu 1994 (II), 165], others believe that he was only removed from the episcopal see and became head of the Snagov Monastery, maintaining his rank of bishop, see Bădără 1998, 79; Ştrempel 1972, 422, note 35; Şerbănescu 1956, 727 and note 174.

[210] Bădără 1998, 79.

[211] It seems that the whole printing activity, regarding the liturgical books in Romanian, had been concentrated for a while in Râmnic, which explains the fact that the princely printing press of Buzău, since the year 1702 under the leadership of Bishop Damascene the Teacher, will run out of orders starting with the year 1704 or 1706 (Bădără 1998, 73–74, 80).

[212] See Molin 1960, 458–471; Teodorescu 2010, 257–260; Popescu 2014, 279–291.

[213] *BRV* I, 463; Legrand 1918 (18th–I), 43.

[214] *BRV* I, 338; Legrand 1895 (17th–III), 28.

[215] *BRV* I, 369; Legrand 1895 (17th–III), 54.

[216] The first press run contains 5 epigrams addressed to Ruler Constantine Brâncoveanu and signed by students of the Princely Academy of Bucharest, while the second press run, with some modifications in the title, contains the specification that the volume was printed *under the supervision and with the corrections of Mitrofan Grigorás of Dodona*, and the replacement of the 5 epigrams by 2 of the same Mitrofan, hieromonk and master typographer, one addressed to Ruler Constantine Brâncoveanu, and another to Patriarch Dositheos (*BRV* I, 464; Bădără 1998, 80).

[217] Saint Photios the Great was Patriarch of Constantinople during the periods 858–867 and 877–886.

Synod. Some Notes to this Holy Synod (*Ἡ Ἁγία καὶ Οἰκουμενικὴ ὀγδόη Σύνοδος, Σημειώσεις τινὲς εἰς ταύτην τὴν Ἁγίαν Σύνοδον*)[218]; *The Counter-Statements against the Primacy of the Pope of Rome by Iatrophilosopher Nicholas* (*Τὰ Ἀντιῤῥητικὰ κατὰ τῆς ἀρχῆς τοῦ Πάππα τῆς Ῥώμης, Νικολάου Ἰατροφιλοσόφου*)[219]; *Discourse against the Pope's Primacy, by Meletius of Alexandria* (*Λόγος Μελετίου Ἀλεξανδρείας κατὰ τῆς ἀρχῆς τοῦ Πάππα*)[220]; *Dialogue of an Ecclesiarch Monk with Another Monk against the Latins* (*Διάλογος Ἱερομνήμονος μοναχοῦ μετὰ τινὸς ἑτέρου Μοναχοῦ κατὰ Λατίνων*)[221]. In the long *Preface* accompanying the volume, Patriarch Dositheos, at whose *expense and care* it was printed[222], speaks, among others, about the phenomenon of the Uniate Churches, including direct references to the situation of Transylvania: *at Beciu, namely Vienna, where one can find the throne of the emperor of Germany, there is a Cardinal called Kollonitsis*[223], *who wrote from Vienna that the Serbians and the Wallachians and the Romans*[224], *wherever they are in Hungary and Erdelia*[225] *and Serbia and Horvatia*[226] *should read the Symbol of Faith with addition*[227], *should receive the azymes, should confess the Purgatory and should proclaim the Pope of Rome as infallible and almighty shepherd of the whole Church*[228]. Therefore, Patriarch Dositheos, calling *Papism the separation from the true God,* and *Uniatism nothing but a pact with the devil*[229], was attacking the propaganda for union led by Rome, especially that

[218] This Synod was held in Constantinople, during the period 879–880, by the care of Saint Photius the Great, as Patriarch, and was joined as well by Pope John VIII's delegates. At this Synod were annulled the anathemas imposed on Saint Photios by the Synod of 869–870 (Constantinople: at this synod it had been imposed the papal primacy on the Eastern Church), condemned the *Filioque* doctrine and rejected the papal primacy over all the Churches. Actually, the 879–880 Synod is regarded as a Synod that condamned papist heresies and is accepted as the 8th Ecumenical Synod by some scholars, be they clerics or lay people, of the Greek world, see http://www.cuvantul-ortodox.ro/recomandari/2014/02/11/ips-hierotheos-vlachos-despre-al-optulea-sinod-ecumenic-879-880-respingerea-primatului-papal-si-condamnarea-ereziei-filioque/ (accessed, 01.09.2015).

[219] Patriarch Dionysius speaks about him in his *Preface*, mentioning that his name is Nicholas Kerameus, native of Ioannina, who arrived in Jassy, where he practiced medicine and was professor, I shall add, during the period of the years 1651–1672. The same Patriarch, indicating the year of Kerameus' death († 1672), highlights the context of the writing of the latter's work and the place where he was burried, namely the Monastery of the *Holy Apostles*, founded by Prince Duca Voivode, dedicated to the Holy Sepulchre, see *BRV* I, 465–466; Legrand 1918 (18th–I), 44.

[220] The title actually refers to Meletius Pegas, Patriarch of Alexandria during the periods 1590–1600, 1601.

[221] *BRV* I, 463.

[222] *BRV* I, 463; Legrand 1918 (18th–I), 43.

[223] The text refers to Cardinal Leopold Karl von Kollonitsch (1631–1707), who, becoming Archbishop of the Roman-Catholic Archdiocese of Esztergom and Primate of Hungary, in 1695, played an important role in the union of the Orthodox Metropolitanate of the Romanians of Transylvania with the Roman-Catholic Church.

[224] In other words, the Byzantine or the Orthodox, namely the Greek.

[225] Ardeal or Transylvania.

[226] Croatia.

[227] Reference to the *Filioque* addition.

[228] *BRV* I, 464–465.

[229] *BRV* I, 464, 466.

undertaken by Cardinal Leopold Karl von Kollonitsch, while, through the printing of the volume in Râmnic, Saint Anthimus took care to also remove the influences of the Roman-Catholic faith, that Bishop Hilarion would have spread in those places[230].

Another aspect of the activity of Saint Anthimus the Iberian at Râmnic was his preoccupation for the education of the clerics, especially regarding their sacerdotal activity and as spiritual guides for the people, by word of mouth and by written word. In this sense, he edited a brochure in Romanian, *Învățătură pre scurt pentru Taina Pocăinței* (*Short Teaching on the Mystery of Repentance*), printed in Râmnic, in 1705[231]. The work is divided into two parts: the first is addressed to the priests and the believers, while the second only to the confessor[232].

Saint Anthimus the Iberian was characterized by the same pastoral care after the departure from Râmnic and his election as Metropolitan of Wallachia (1708–1716). Thus, in the printing press of Târgoviște, owned by Saint Anthimus[233], George Radovici prints for him, in 1710, the work *Învățătură bisericească la cele mai trebuincioase și mai de folos pentru învățătura preoților* (*Ecclesial Teaching about the Most Necessary and the Most Useful Things for the Education of the Priests*)[234]. This writing of Saint Anthimus is made up of three great parts: the first part includes fundamental elements of the Orthodox faith, useful both for the priests and for the believers; the second part contains exhortations and teachings on the Mystery of Repentance or Confession; the third part is *a small treaty of Canon Law,* related to the pastoral activity of the priests[235]. Consequently, this work is characterized as *a small Catechism, comprising in brief what ought to be necessarily known by a believer from the teaching of his Church*[236]. The two brochures of Saint Anthimus the Iberian, to which one can add *Capete de poruncă la toată ceata bisericească* (*Chapters of Commandments for all the ecclesial flock*), printed in Târgoviște as well, in 1714, but during the reigning Prince Ștefan Cantacuzino[237], were given *as a gift* to the priests, with the order to be preserved as *permanent guidelines* (*îndreptare permanente*) in the ecclesial life[238].

The series of teaching books in Greek, but also of the books printed during the reign of Saint Constantine Brâncoveanu, is concluded by the *Πανοπλία δογματική* (*Dogmatic Panoply*), printed in Târgoviște, in 1710[239]. It was the *editio*

[230] Boghiu 2005, 18; Papacostea-Danielopolu-Demény 1985, 169.

[231] Șerbănescu 1956, 729; Bădără 1998, 80; Croitoru 2012 (13), 357.

[232] Ștrempel 1997, 145–147; Croitoru 2012 (6), 742. See the text of this brochure reedited in Antim 1972, 347–361.

[233] Bădără 1998, 81.

[234] *BRV* I, 481, 548–550; Bădără 1998, 82.

[235] *BRV* I, 549–550; Ștrempel 1997, 207–212; the text of the respective writing was reedited in Antim 1972, 363–383.

[236] Șerbănescu 1956, 739.

[237] *BRV* I, 492–493; this work, which could be structured in three parts, was reedited in Antim 1972, 385–394.

[238] Croitoru 2012 (13). 357; Croitoru 2012 (6), 742–743.

[239] *BRV* I, 482; *BRV* IV, 223; Legrand 1918 (18th–I). 95; Bădără 1998. 83.

princeps of this work in Greek, with certain omissions that we will see below, because before the year 1710 the *Dogmatic Panoply* had gone through different editions, whole or partial, but in Latin[240]. This book comprises, *in brief, what the blessed and God-bearing Fathers have written, put in order and in harmony according to the reflection of Monk Euthymius Zigadenus or Zigadenos*, on the exhortation of Emperor Alexios I Komnenos (1081–1118), *to overturn and break into pieces the unpious dogmas and teachings of the Godless heresy inventors.* The printing was carried out by Saint Anthimus the Iberian, while *the arrangement and the correction* of the text were assured by Hieromonk Mitrofan Grigorás of Dodona[241].

As far as the author's name is concerned, in the specialized literature, a distinction is made between the two almost homonymous writers and scholars. The first lived during the time of the Emperor Basil II Bulgaroctonus (976–1025) and Constantine VIII (1025–1028). The second lived during the time of the Emperor Alexios I Komnenos, known by the name of Euthymius Zigadenus or Zigabenus. He was a monk at Peribleptos Monastery and it has been stated that he was helped to draw up the *Dogmatic Panoply* by the scholar John Fournes[242].

The *Dogmatic Panoply* is divided into 25 *titles,* some of them having several chapters[243], while the aim of the printing of this book was to illuminate the believers on certain older heresies, which could be found, under a new form, either in the Roman-Catholic innovations, such as the *Filioque,* a doctrine appropriated as well by the Protestants, or in the Protestant doctrines, which were rejecting points of the Orthodox Christian teaching on the Holy Trinity, as was the case of the Anti-Trinitarians, the veneration of the Saints and of the holy icons, the transformation of the Precious Gifts precisely into the Body and Blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ, the *Holy Tradition* etc.[244] The editors from Wallachia were, however, careful to adapt the text to the needs of their epoch, and this can be noticed from the difference that exists between the text published in *Patrologia Graeca,* volume 130, col. 9-1362, and the *editio princeps* of Târgovişte. Thus, the respective editors shortened Euthymius Zigadenus' *Prologue*, mentioned 27 *titles* in the *editio princeps,* without keeping, however, the *titles* XIX and XX, which were against the Agnoets and against Origen. At the same time, they omitted, out of political reasons, due to the vicinity with the Porte, the last *title* (XXVIII) of the original text, which was against the Saracens or Muslims. In exchange, a text of Saint Photius the Great was added, *Paratitle by Photios, Patriarch of Constantinople, from the Letter to Michael, Hospodar of Bulgaria, on the Seven Ecumenical Synods* (*Παράτιτλος Φωτίου, πατριάρχου Κωνσταντινουπόλεως, ἐκ τῆς πρὸς Μιχαὴλ τὸν*

[240] Branişte 1958, 503, 507.
[241] *BRV* I, 482; Legrand 1918 (18th–I), 95; Şerbănescu 1956, 736; Croitoru 2012 (6), 746.
[242] Branişte 1958, 501–503; Croitoru 2012 (6), 746, note 330.
[243] For more details, see Croitoru 2012 (6), 747.
[244] Croitoru 2012 (6), 747.

ἄρχοντα Βουλγαρίας Ἐπιστολῆς περὶ τῶν ἑπτὰ Οἰκουμενικῶν Συνόδων)[245], also kept in Migne's *Patrologia Graeca* edition[246].

It ought to be mentioned that the *titles* IX, XXIV and XXVII, which concerned the sects of the Manicheans, Paulicians and Bogomils, were topical for the situation in Wallachia, where followers of the Bogomilism, arrived from Bulgaria, had settled. They gave birth to a popular literature which, although arrived among the Orthodox Romanians as well, finally did not leave on them any influence either from the literary perspective or the perspective of the content of their faith and the conception on the worship of the Church[247].

Therefore, the *Dogmatic Panoply* appeared in the epoch, by the fragments that the compiler had brought together from different Holy Fathers and Church writers (Dionysius the Areopagite, Evagrius Ponticus, Athanasius the Great, Gregory the Theologian, Basil the Great, Gregory of Nyssa, John Chrysostom, Maximus the Confessor, John of Damascus, Photius the Great etc.), as a small patristic encyclopaedia, drafted according to a well-conceived thematic design and meant to fight the phenomenon of heresies and sects in general, bringing with it, as the signatory of the first *Prologue* of the book noted, *the antidotes against any heretical vanity*[248]. He was Athanasius, Metropolitan of Dristra, at whose expense the *editio princeps* of the *Dogmatic Panoply*[249] had been printed, and, in his *Prologue* addressed to Saint Martyr Stephen Brâncoveanu (1685–1714), to whom he consecrated the respective edition, he was convinced that by the dogmas presented in the book, the believers were taking *all the arms of God*[250], namely they were taking on that *panoply* or armour of the Holy Spirit *against the enemies of faith*[251]. Actually, Euthymius Zigadenus was perceiving his work, in his *Prologue* to the Emperor Alexios I Komnenos, designed to be in the edition of Târgoviște the second *Prologue* of the *Dogmatic Panoply,* as a *deposit of arms of the dogmas,* ready for fight at any moment[252]. For this reason, according to the same Metropolitan Athanasius, the *Dogmatic Panoply* was, in the context of his epoch, the *phalanx fighting against the heretics,* old and newer, because the Orthodox believers, aware of the dogmas of faith and grouped around them, were able to fight *against the grouping that was heretical and adversary to God*[253].

[245] Croitoru 2012 (6), 748.

[246] Branişte 1958, 507. 509; Croitoru 2012 (6). 747 (and note 332), 748.

[247] Câmpeanu 2002, 142; Croitoru 2012 (6), 748.

[248] Ἀθανασίου μητροπολίτου Δρίστρας, *Πρόλογος πρὸς τὸν Στέφανο Βοεβόδα τὸν Μπραγκοβάνο*, in Ζιγαβινοῦ 1710, II r–v.

[249] *BRV* I, 482; Legrand 1918 (18th–I), 95.

[250] See *Ephes.* 6: 13.

[251] Ἀθανασίου μητροπολίτου Δρίστρας, *Πρόλογος*..., in Ζιγαβινοῦ 1710, II r.

[252] Εὐθυμίου τοῦ Ζιγαδηνοῦ, *Πρόλογος μετ' ἐγκωμίων τῶν πρὸς βασιλέα Ἀλεξίου τοῦ Κομνηνοῦ εἰς τὴν Δογματικὴν Πανοπλίαν*, in Ζιγαβινοῦ 1710, V v.

[253] Ἀθανασίου μητροπολίτου Δρίστρας, *Πρόλογος*..., in Ζιγαβινοῦ 1710, II r.

The printing of the *Dogmatic Panoply* in Târgovişte was an expression of the unity of faith of the Orthodox. As one could see from the title page[254], the book was printed in the *All Holy Metropolitanate of Târgovişte of Oungrovlachia*, namely in Wallachia, at the expense of the Metropolitan of Dristra (Dorostolon, Silistra), Athanasius, whose eparchy, situated on the right side of the Danube, in nowadays' Bulgaria, had close connections with the extra-Carpathian Romanian Countries, especially with Wallachia, where the hierarchs of the respective eparchy could often be found, receiving many facilities and much support[255]. At the same time, the book was bearing the blessing of the Oungrovlachian Metropolitan, Saint Anthimus the Iberian, who was also the typographer master, as well as the accord of Prince Constantine Brâncoveanu, the *editio princeps* being dedicated to his second son, the Holy Martyr Stephen Brâncoveanu. This edition was reviewed and overseen by the Greek hieromonk Mitrofan of Dodona, who expressed his joy for the support in printing by verses placed at the end of the *Dogmatic Panoply*[256].

It ought to be mentioned that in the specialized literature is pointed out the printing of a *Discourse of Praise on Priesthood* (*Περὶ Ἱερωσύνης Λόγος ἐγκωμιαστικός*) by Chrysanthos Notaras, Patriarch of Jerusalem, in Greek[257], included in the activity of the princely printing press of Bucharest[258]. As the title page declares, Patriarch Chrysanthos uttered the respective *Discourse* on the occasion of his ordination as Metropolitan of Caesarea of Palestine, *in the year of salvation 1702, 5 April, precisely on the day of Holy Easter*, in the Resurrection Church of Jerusalem[259]. However, this *Discourse* was printed only after his election as Patriarch of Jerusalem, on February 7, 1707, in Constantinople, an event after which he came to visit Wallachia and Moldavia for about two years[260]. Consequently, the date of the printing of his *Discourse* in the year 1702[261] is considered erroneous[262], since the respective work was included, in Greek, in the last part of a volume printed in Jerusalem, in the year 1728[263], containing, in the first part, the work of Patriarch Chrysanthos *Manual about the Superiority par Excellence of the Holy City of Jerusalem and of the Lord's Holy and Life-Giving Sepulchre* (*Ἐγχειρίδιον περὶ τῆς κατ' ἐξοχὴν ὑπεροχῆς τῆς ἁγίας Πόλεως*

[254] *BRV* I, 482; Legrand 1918 (18th–I), 95.

[255] Branişte 1958, 503. 507.

[256] *BRV* I, 483; Legrand 1918 (18th–I), 95–96; Croitoru 2012 (6), 749–750, note 360.

[257] Legrand 1918 (18th–I), 17, 58.

[258] *BRV* I, 441.

[259] *BRV* IV, 234–235.

[260] Πατρινέλης 1968, 388; Legrand 1918 (18th–I), 58. Patrinéles affirms that Chrysanthos was ordained as metropolitan on April 6, 1702, see Πατρινέλης 1968, 388.

[261] See *BRV* I, 441; *BRV* IV, 217.

[262] Legrand 1918 (18th–I). 17. 58. Although this mistake is signalled even in *BRV* IV, 217. and I highlighted it myself in the year 2012 [see Croitoru 2012 (13). 352; Croitoru 2012 (4). 399; Croitoru 2012 (6). 732]. it still continues to be repeated in the studies dedicated to the printing press of the epoch of the reigning Prince Constantine Brâncoveanu. see Petrescu-Agnes 2014, 117.

[263] *BRV* IV. 234; Legrand 1918 (18th–I). 221.

Ἱερουσαλήμ, καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου καὶ ζωοδόχου Τάφου τοῦ Κυρίου), followed, as a second part of the respective volume, by *Sobornical Letter to All the Orthodox Believers, for the Help of the Holy Sepulchre* (*Carte săborničască la toţi pravoslavnicii creştini, pentru ajutorĭulŭ sf(â)ntuluĭ Mormântŭ*), in Greek, Romanian and Slavonic[264].

5. Saint Constantine Brâncoveanu, *a second Zorobabel* and *another Ptolemy* of the latter times

In the five printing centers that operated during the time of Saint Constantine Brâncoveanu (Bucharest, where two printing presses activated, the princely printing press and the metropolitan printing press, while two more were during the time of the Ruler's life, namely the printing press of Saint Anthimus the Iberian of the Monastery of *All the Saints* and the printing press of *Saint Sabbas Monastery*; Buzău, where a princely printing press functioned; Snagov, where one can first find a princely printing press, then the private printing press of Saint Anthimus the Iberian; Râmnic, where an episcopal printing press operated; Târgovişte, where a private printing press of Saint Anthimus the Iberian functioned), were printed, *on the decision* or *with the accord* or *on the order and at the exclusive expense* of the reigning Prince, to be given *as a gift* to those thirsting for Jesus Christ's teaching, books with a varied content, from those destined to the worship in the Church to those of philosophical reflection and theological thinking.

The respective books were part of the editorial programme assured by the Church, by means of its clerics, and by the Reign, by the good will of Saint Constantine Brâncoveanu, a special role going to the works defending, directly, the Orthodoxy, from the propagandas of the Reformation and the Counter-Reformation. Their number is impressive for the respective epoch: 15 volumes and 23 titles[265]. It ought to be kept in mind that, out of the 15 volumes, 7 were printed

[264] *BRV* IV, 234–235. Issued in August 1727, the *Sobornical Letter* (*Carte săborničască*) is signed by Paisios, Patriarch of Constantinople, together with 13 metropolitans, among which there was also the name of Metropolitan Daniil (Daniel) of Oungrovlachia (*BRV* IV, 234).

[265] We shall evoke only the volumes containing several titles together: *Counter-Statement against the Calvinist Principles and the Questions of Cyril Lucaris* (*Κατὰ τῶν καλβινικῶν κεφαλαίων καὶ ἐρωτήσεων Κυρίλλου τοῦ Λουκάρεως Ἀντίρρησις*) by Meletios Syrigos and *Manual against the Calvinist Madness* (*Ἐγχειρίδιον κατὰ τῆς καλβινικῆς φρενοβλαβείας*) by Dositheos, Patriarch of Jerusalem, printed in a single volume in Bucharest, in 1690; *Orthodox Confession of the Faith of the Universal and Apostolical Church of the East* (*Ὀρθόδοξος Ὁμολογία τῆς Πίστεως τῆς Καθολικῆς καὶ Ἀποστολικῆς Ἐκκλησίας τῆς Ἀνατολῆς*) by Saint Peter Mogila, printed in Snagov, in 1699, along with two more titles: *Introductory Presentation on the Three Cardinal Virtues, Faith, Hope and Love* (*Εἰσαγωγικὴ Ἔκθεσις περὶ τῶν Τριῶν Μεγίστων Ἀρετῶν Πίστεως, Ἐλπίδος καὶ Ἀγάπης*), attributed to Hieromonk Vissarion Makres (1635–1699) of Ioannina, and *From Saint John of Damascus' Book on Icons* (*Ἐκ τῆς τοῦ Ἁγίου Ἰωάννου τοῦ Δαμασκηνοῦ Βίβλου Περὶ Εἰκόνων*); *Tome of Joy* (*Τόμος χαρᾶς*), printed in Râmnic, in 1705, volume in which Patriarch Dositheos reunited the following five writings: *The Epistles of Photios, the All Holy Patriarch of Constantinople* (*Αἱ Ἐπιστολαὶ Φωτίου τοῦ ἁγιωτάτου Πατριάρχου Κωνσταντινουπόλεως*); *The 8th Holy and Ecumenical Synod. Some Notes to this Holy Synod* (*Ἡ Ἁγία καὶ Οἰκουμενικὴ ὀγδόη Σύνοδος, Σημειώσεις τινὲς εἰς ταύτην τὴν Ἁγίαν*

in Romanian, other 7 in classical and vulgar Greek, and a volume is bilingual, Slavonic-Romanian. The books were addressed to the Orthodox from everywhere, a fact reinforced as well by the printing of some of them in two editions or press runs[266]. One can specify as well another feature of the respective printings, namely the fact that most of them are *editiones principes*, either in Romanian or in Greek, exceptions being, if we have in view whole works and not just parts of them[267], the *Manual against the Calvinist Madness* (*Ἐγχειρίδιον κατὰ τῆς καλβινικῆς φρενοβλαβείας*) or the *Confession* of Patriarch Dositheos of Jerusalem, printed along with Meletios Syrigos's work in a single volume (Bucharest, 1690) and representing the third edition in Greek, but the first in the Orthodox world[268], and also the *Orthodox Confession of the Faith of the Universal and Apostolical Church of the East* (*Ὀρθόδοξος Ὁμολογία τῆς Πίστεως τῆς Καθολικῆς καὶ Ἀποστολικῆς Ἐκκλησίας τῆς Ἀνατολῆς*) by Saint Peter Mogila, printed along with two more titles (Snagov, 1699), being also the third edition in Greek and the first in the Orthodox world[269]. Moreover, two of the titles printed were edited in Romanian and in Greek[270].

Σύνοδον); *The Counter-Statements against the Primacy of the Pope of Rome by Iatrophilosopher Nicholas* (*Τὰ Ἀντιῤῥητικὰ κατὰ τῆς ἀρχῆς τοῦ Πάππα τῆς Ῥώμης, Νικολάου Ἰατροφιλοσόφου*); *Discourse against the Pope's Primacy, by Meletius of Alexandria* (*Λόγος Μελετίου Ἀλεξανδρείας κατὰ τῆς ἀρχῆς τοῦ Πάππα*); *Dialogue of an Ecclesiarch Monk with Another Monk against the Latins*, namely the Roman-Catholics (*Διάλογος Ἱερομνήμονος μοναχοῦ μετὰ τινὸς ἑτέρου Μοναχοῦ κατὰ Λατίνων*). We have not included *The 1688 Bible* (*Biblia de la 1688*) in this category, although it includes several titles, because they constitute a unitary *corpus*.

[266] *Învăţătură preoţilor pe scurt. De şapte Taine ale Besericii, cu dreapte dovediri den Pravila Sfinţilor Părinţi* (*Brief Teaching for the Priests. On the Seven Holy Mysteries of the Church, with right Demonstrations taken from the Rule of the Holy Fathers*, Buzău, 1702) had two editions, one for Wallachia, and another one for Moldavia, the name of Metropolitan Theodosius being replaced by that of Anthony, Metropolitan of Moldavia; Sevastos Kyminitis's work, *Dogmatic Teaching of the All Holy Eastern and Universal Church* (*Δογματικὴ διδασκαλία τῆς ἁγιωτάτης ἀνατολικῆς καὶ καθολικῆς Ἐκκλησίας*, Bucharest, 1703) was printed in two editions, one consecrated to Dositheos, Patriarch of Jerusalem, and another one dedicated to Peter the Great, the Tsar of Russia; the *Tome of Joy* (*Τόμος χαρᾶς*, Râmnic, 1705) was printed in two editions or, at least in two press runs.

[267] As it happens in the case of the title *From Saint John of Damascus' Book On Icons* (*Ἐκ τῆς τοῦ Ἁγίου Ἰωάννου τοῦ Δαμασκηνοῦ Βίβλου Περὶ Εἰκόνων*), printed in the volume of Snagov (1699), or of the different books or parts of the *Holy Scripture* already printed in Romanian and never all together, as in *The 1688 Bible* (*Biblia de la 1688*).

[268] The first two editions had been printed in Paris, in 1675–1676 and 1678.

[269] The first edition had been printed in Amsterdam, in 1666, and the second, bilingual, Greek-Latin, in Leipzig, in 1695.

[270] The *Manual* of Hieromonk Maximus the Peloponnesian, *against the Papists' Schism* (*Ἐγχειρίδιον κατὰ τοῦ Σχίσματος τῶν Παπιστῶν*, Bucharest, 1690) was translated from Greek into Romanian, being printed (Snagov, 1699) under the title *Carte sau Lumină, cu dreapte Dovediri din Dogmele Besericii Răsăritului, asupra dejghinării Papistaşilor, descoperită şi aşezată de prea învăţatul Ieromonah Maxim Peloponiseanul* (*Book or Light, with right Demonstrations taken from the Dogmas of the Church of the East, on the Discord of the Papalists, discovered and arranged by the very erudite Hieromonk Maximus the Peloponnesian*); the *Confession of Faith* by Saint Peter Mogila appears first in a translation into Romanian, *Pravoslavnica Mărturisire* (*The Orthodox Confession*, Buzău, 1691), then in Greek, *Orthodox Confession of the Faith of the Universal and Apostolical Church of the East* (*Ὀρθόδοξος Ὁμολογία τῆς Πίστεως τῆς Καθολικῆς καὶ Ἀποστολικῆς Ἐκκλησίας τῆς Ἀνατολῆς*, Snagov, 1699), both editions relying on the edition of the *Confession* of Amsterdam (1666).

They were edited with the contribution of scholars, lay men and clerics, of various nationalities, some of them contributing with the writing [the authors were either contemporary of the epoch (Saint Martyr Anthimus the Iberian, John Caryophilles, Sevastos Kyminitis, Hieromonk Vissarion Makres of Ioannina etc.), either from other nearby periods (Saint Peter Mogila, Hieromonk Maximus the Peloponnesian)] or with the gathering of the different works in specially ordained volumes (Dositheos, Patriarch of Jerusalem), others with the translation (Spatharus Nicolae Milescu, the brothers Radu and Şerban Greceanu, Senechal Constantine Cantacuzino, Hieromonk Philotheos sin Agăi Jipei etc.), helped along by typographer masters (Saint Martyr Anthimus the Iberian, Hierarch Mitrofan, George Radovici etc.) or text reviewers (the same Hierarch Mitrofan, Michael Makres of Ioannina, John of Ephesus, Hieromonk Mitrofan Grigorás of Dodona, Panagiotis of Sinópe etc.). Their efforts and collaboration fully illustrates the unity of faith, which had, in that epoch, a greater value than the ethnical one, as well as the desire of defending a spiritual settlement, specific to the living of the Orthodox faith and without having caused crises on the level of the psychological and spiritual being, as it had happened in the West. It ought to be specified that during that time the Orthodox faith, identified with the *ancestral law,* represented the fundamental element of the Romanians' identity, and the printing activity of Wallachia meant a wonderful example, worth following, of collaboration between the Church and the Reign, in other words, between the Church and the State, in order to defend this element from the new confessional and ideological concepts, put into circulation among the Romanians not out of the need of an inner quest, but in order to fragment their spiritual, cultural and ethnic unity.

This is why, in the context of the epoch, the fight for the defence of the Orthodox faith from the Roman-Catholic and Protestant proselytism constituted a priority in the vast editorial programme of the Church and of the Reign, even leading to a certain, yet not exclusive, specialization of the printing press centers of Wallachia. For instance, the printing press center of Buzău will get to promote the introduction of the books of worship in Romanian, but also of the books of teaching and of defence of the Orthodoxy in the same language, while the center of Snagov will stand out as a center specialized in books for the Orthodox of the Ottoman Empire. Therefore, a special place in the editorial programme patronized by the Church and the Reign, in the time of Saint Constantine Brâncoveanu, was held by the printing of books in Greek, following the call, made by Greek theologians and hierarchs, to support, with dogmatic works, the fight of defence of the Orthodoxy from the propagandas led by the Reformation and Counter-Reformation[271]. Actually, the persecution of the Christians in the East was no longer moving the hearts of the Christian rulers of Europe, to offer them help, as Prince Constantine Brâncoveanu was doing, during that time.

[271] Bădără 1998, 65; Croitoru 2012 (I). 254.

The whole printing activity developed in Wallachia during the reign of Saint Constantine Brâncoveanu was often praised by Greek and Romanian scholars, be they typographer masters or reviewers, lay men or members of the Church clergy (Sevastos Kyminitis, John Comnenus, Patriarch Dositheos of Jerusalem, Metropolitan Theodosius, Hieromonk Philotheos sin Agăi Jipei etc.), who called him *a second Zorobabel* and *another Ptolemy* of the latter times[272]. For instance, in the *Prologue to the reigning Prince* (*Prologul către domnitor*) of the *Menaios of the Month of September* (*Mineiul lunii lui Septembrie,* Buzău, 1698)[273], considering the Ruler's political, ecclesial and cultural achievements, Metropolitan Theodosius of Wallachia likened Prince Constantine Brâncoveanu to Saint Constantine the Great, to the King and Prophet David, but also to *a second Zorobabel,* since he edified *from foundation very great monasteries* and renewed *many churches for God's glory,* while he did all these *loving the good decency of the divine houses and the places of worship of His glory*[274]. As a token of appreciation for the printing of the *Menaia* (*Mineie*), *on the order and at the exclusive expense of the very illuminated Prince*[275], even though the parts translated from Greek into *Romanian language* were only the *Typikon* (*Tipicul*), the *Old Testament Readings* (*Paremiile*) and the *Synaxarion* (*Sinaxarul*), as well as some prayers, the others being printed in Slavonic, Metropolitan Theodosius affirms, in the same *Prologue,* that the reigning Prince, *like another Ptolemy,* gathered together *many and famous translators,* who, *by translating, understandable to all* made *the Canons singing the things of the Saints,* so that *all* [*the Saints*] *have become teachers about many and useful things,* since he had all these, namely the 12 *Minaia*[276], printed. One can notice, therefore, that Ptolemy's motive[277] included, in the respective epoch, not just the action of the translation of the word of the *Holy Scripture* in the living language of a people, but also its separate printing, as it had happened, for instance, with the *Bucharest Bible* (*Biblia de la Bucureşti,* 1688), or its interpretation in different books of worship and of teaching.

Thus, by all these contributions of Saint Martyr Constantine Brâncoveanu, realized with the help of the people around him, Wallachia became a *precinct of culture and a strong lighthouse of Orthodox liveliness*[278], while the epoch of Saint Martyr is characterized as *the reign of the book by excellence*[279], representing the fruit of the collaboration between the Church and the State. Consequently, the

[272] See, for more details, Croitoru 2015, 99–122.
[273] *BRV* I, 365.
[274] *BRV* I, 366.
[275] *BRV* I, 365.
[276] *BRV* I, 367.
[277] Whether the respective Ptolemy is Ptolemy II Philadelphus (289–246 B.C.), according to the tradition, or Ptolemy Philometor (180–145 B.C.), in conformity with the modern critics, reference is made to the translation of the *Old Testament* from Hebrew into Greek, see Croitoru 2015, 110–111.
[278] Şerbănescu 1964, 895.
[279] Bugariu 2014, 827.

example of this collaboration between the sacerdotal power and the secular one, realized in the Byzantine Empire, and imitated, through the inheritance of the Orthodox spirituality, also in the extra-Carpathian Romanian Countries, a reality grasped by the historian Nicholas Iorga through the famous syntagma *Byzantium after Byzantium*[280], projects, over the centuries, the rule of Saint Martyr Brâncoveanu as a *cultural monarchy*[281], in which he considered himself a *continuer of the ecumenical emperors* and *patron of the Orthodoxy,* making *available for the Christians from everywhere, and not just for the Greek, his printing press*[282], being regarded in history as a *Maecenas of the culture* in the languages Romanian, Slavonic, Greek and Arabian[283], as well as protector of the Orthodox East[284].

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[280] See Iorga 2000; Iorga 1992; Iliescu 1986, 35–44.
[281] Năstase 1981, 211.
[282] Iorga 1940, 548.
[283] Moldoveanu 2014, 165.
[284] See Cotan 2014, 283–312.

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RESUMÉS

Ionuț Holubeanu, A less usual sin confession presented in the "Passion of St. Saba the Goth" (4th Century C.E.).

One of the most important historical sources concerning Thervingian Gothia towards the beginning of the 370's is the «Passion of St. Saba the Goth». The martyr text particularly provides a detailed account of St. Saba's profile, deeds, and martyrdom, and also of his relations with his fellow-villagers and Gothic persecutors. One of the minor participants in the Passion is the presbyter Sansalas. The present investigation focuses on the theological interpretation of the events narrated by the Passion and especially on Sansalas' fate. It becomes clear that unlike Saba, Sansalas was not a perfect Christian. He was arrested at the same time with Saba, he was also put to the rack by the persecutors, but eventually he was not sentenced to death, as he was released. A closer examination of the source reveals that the spiritual ground of Sansalas' release was merely a sin he had performed. The author of the martyr text deliberately avoided pointing out the sin clearly, only suggesting that subsequently Sansalas begged forgiveness from God by penance. Some possible clues in the Passion would argue for the hypothesis that Sansalas had been involved in secular politics, by having been an informant of the Roman Empire in Thervingian Gothia.

Keywords: St. Saba the Goth, the presbyter Sansalas, Thervingian Gothia, Athanaric's anti-Christian persecution (369–372), St. Betranion/Bretanion of Tomis.

Andrei Timotin, Identités régionales et communautés religieuses dans l'Empire byzantin aux VIIIe–XIe siècles (Regional Identities and Religious Communities in the Byzantine Empire in the 8th–11th Centuries).

Five case studies explore the religious dimension of the regional identities in the Byzantine Empire in the period from the end of the first iconoclasm to the Turkish penetration in the Empire (8th–11th centuries). The study of ten hagiographic texts from this period (Lives of Theodora of Thessaloniki, Euthymius the Younger, Irene of Chrysobalanton, Basil the Younger, Symeon the New Theologian, Mary the Younger, Grègentios, Constantin the Jew, Andrew Salos, and Niphon of

Constantiana) highlights the function of hagiography as vector of identity, its role in the preservation and promotion of the sense of regional and religious belonging to a community. The five studies show how some religious communities in Constantinople, Thessaloniki or Thrace build their regional and, sometimes, family identity in contrast with the local, political and ecclesiastical power, how they manage to get recognition of sainthood for their members, and the political dimension that this phenomenon can acquire. The article also scrutinises how these initiatives have led to a redefinition of traditional values of Orthodoxy and how hagiography could also be used to stigmatize a community (e.g. the Jewish communities) and to deprive it of its ethnic and religious identity.

Keywords: Byzantine Empire, Middle-Byzantine Hagiography, religious community, regional identity, sainthood, Orthodoxy.

Şerban V. Marin, The Portrait of a 'Bad Guy'. Alexios Doukas Murtzuphlos in the Venetian Chronicles.

This study has in intention to present the manner in which Emperor Alexios 'Murtzuphlos' was represented in the Venetian chronicles. Therefore, since these chronicles were written much later than the events of the Fourth Crusade, it does not deal with the perception of this character, but with his representation. Alexios V is represented by the Venetians in the following circumstances: as liberated by Alexios IV; as expressing his reluctance towards the payment of the financial debt promised by his predecessor; as assassinating of Alexios the Younger; as negotiating with Doge Enrico Dandolo; as making an attempt to set fire to the Venetian fleet; as leading the Byzantine resistance during the second siege of Constantinople from the part of the crusaders; as being blinded by former Emperor Alexios III; as being executed by the crusaders. Relying upon these episodes, the study follows the way of representing them and making comparisons among the various Venetian chronicles. In addition, it also emphasizes the manner in which Alexios' deficiences and qualities are expressed, along with a linguistic investigation of his name.

Key words: Alexios V Doukas; Fourth Crusade; Venetian Chronicles; Enrico Dandolo; Alexios IV Angelos

Alexandru Madgearu, The location of Vicina revisited. Is there any final solution ?

The paper comments the recent opinions expressed by Virgil Ciocîltan and Denis Căprăroiu about the location of Vicina, the first one at Măcin, and the second one at Axiopolis. The etymology and the interpretation of the cartographic sources would plead for Măcin, while the proposal to locate at Axiopolis is based on the

distance mentioned in the portolan Il compasso da navigare. Any attempt to locate Vicina must be in agreement with what results from the Genoese sources: the amplitude of the trade fulfilled there, which indicates terrestrial relations with markets and with supply places for stuff exported by Vicina to Hungary and to the Golden Horde. Taking into account this necessary condition of the terrestrial connection, Axiopolis is excluded, because a road by Bărăgan to Cernavodă is not conceivable. The pair of harbors Măcin-Brăila could match this condition because Brăila took the function of Vicina after its disappearance. No coins dated between the 13th–14th centuries were recovered by archaeological researches or by stray finds after the destruction of the buildings in Măcin. Such coins should have to exist in such a commercial center. The second objection which excludes Măcin is the position of Vicina on the frontier between the Byzantine-Genoese statal organization and the Golden Horde. Therefore, I consider that Vicina was a place developed near Isaccea, or even Isaccea. A large concentration of coins dated to the period when Vicina flourished exists there. Another worthy proposal, according to Marcu Botzan, is an island near the Danube bend, which was later destroyed by the water.

Keywords: Brăila, Cernavoda, trade, Danube, historical geography, Isaccea, Măcin, harbors, Păcuiul lui Soare, Vicina.

Sergiu Iosipescu, Le Paristrion/Paradunavon/Podunavia depuis le XIIIe siècle jusqu'au XVIe siècle.

The study presents the steps of the evolution to East of the principality of Wallachia from the middle of the 14th century to the beginning of the 15th century, in the context of the Golden Horde presence on the Lower Danube. After the conquest of Vicina by the Mongolians at 200 miles in amount from the Danube Delta, according to the Italian Compasso da Navigare (second half of the 14th century), the failed plan of the great khan Özbeq permitted to Basarab I (around 1316–1351/1352) to join the Catholic Crusade of Hungarian and Polish kings. The Romanian Reconquista reached Ialomitza river, but here it was stopped by a Hungarian corridor from the south-east Carpathians to the Danube between Ialomitza and Sereth, a master piece of the Louis of Anjou's politics, covered by a Catholic bishopric of Milcovia (1347). As a pursuit of the victory in the war against Hungary (1368–1369), a joint force of Wallachia principality and of despot Dobrotitza (1348–1384/85) conquered the territories of the formal bishopric of Milcovia, the domain of Chilia (1369–1372), and northern Dobroudja. During 1376–1382, especially in the time of the Chioggia war, this situation was contested by the Hungarian-Genoese's alliance, but after king Louis' death (1382), the Wallachian principality under Radu the Ist (around 1374–1384) resumed its conquests, step by step, beginning with the Dristra – Vicina despoteia. Under prince Mircea the Old

(1386–1418), the territories of the Lower Danube from Dristra to the Black Sea were covered by the name of Podunavia, inspired from the Byzantine theme of Paristrion/Paradunavon. New documents from the Cozia monastery archive illustrate the territorial realities from Podunavia in the inner delta of the Danube (Ialomitza and Brăila morass). Even if the Ottoman conquest of the Balkan Peninsula reached the Danube, the principality of Wallachia preserved the taxation of the principal fords and, according to new documents, a monastery of Basaraba and its domain on the Lom river. Only in 1503 the principality was deprived of its possessions on the right bank of the Danube. According to the tradition of the Serbian despots, introduced in Wallachia by a group of Serbian émigrés lead by the former despot George Branković, the monk Maxim, the word Podunavia from the title of the Romanian princes signified the frontier of Wallachia on the left bank of the Danube.

Keywords: Podunavia, Paristrion/Paradunavon, Cozia monastery, Radu the Ist, Mircea the Old, Wallachia, Danube, frontier.

Dragoş Gh. Năstăsoiu, The Social Status of Romanian Orthodox Noblemen in Late-medieval Transylvania according to Donor Portraits and Church Inscriptions.

À travers le Moyen Âge, le Voïvodat de la Transylvanie et les comtés voisins du Royaume Hongrois représentaient une région de frontière, où quelques groupes ethniques (Hongrois, Valaques/Roumains, Saxons et Székelys) ont coexisté. Deux cultures (latine et slavo-byzantine) et confessions (catholique et orthodoxe) s'y sont rencontrées. Intégrés formalement dans la structure administrative du voïvodat et du royaume, les territoires habités par une population valaque/roumaine compacte bénéficiaient en effait d'une autonomie administrative, juridique, religieuse et culturelle en leur conferrant de l'individualité. Les églises que la noblesse roumaine orthodoxe avait fondées pendant les XIVe et XVe siècles sur ses propriétés des terrae de Haţeg et Zarand (sud-ouest de la Transylvanie) et qu'elle avait bâties, décorées et dotées selon ses modestes moyens, sont les indicateurs pas seulement de la culture particulière slavo-byzantine et des possibilités finacières précaires de leurs fondateurs, mais aussi des leurs réalités sociales et aspirations. En examinant les portraits des donateurs et les inscriptions de ces églises, l'auteur analyse les aspects économiques et sociaux derrière la fondation des églises. Premièrement, il cherche à comprendre les raisons des patrons (soit membres d'une seule ou de quelleques familles, soit simplement membres d'une certaine communauté) de rejoindre leurs efforts pour accomplir la tâche difficile de la fondation religieuse qui s'étendait parfois sur quelleques générations. Deuxièmement, le patronage religieux illustrait souvent les relations sociales complèxes des acteurs, tout aussi comme la position de la noblesse roumaine orthodoxe dans la hiérarchie sociale et

politique d'un royaume catholique, en révélant simultanément le statut social réal et désiré de cette noblesse.

Key Words: Church Foundation; Religious Patronage; Byzantine Iconography; Donor Portraits; Church Inscriptions; Old Church Slavonic Epigraphy; Hybrid Art; Cross-cultural Encounters; Late-medieval Transylvania; Late-medieval Hungary.

Elisabeta Negrău, The Double-Sided Icon in Dintr-un Lemn Monastery (L'icône à double face du Monastère Dintr-un Lemn).

L'icône de la Mère de Dieu du Monastère Dintr-un Lemn (Vâlcea, Roumanie) n'a pas été étudié jusqu'à présent, en raison de le revêtement d'argent qui a couvert le panneau depuis 1812 jusqu'au début des années 2000, quand on a commencé la restauration de son peinture. À cette occasion, on a découvert que l'icône a une double face, sur une côté étant peinte la Vierge Hodegetria du type de la Passion, et sur l'autre, le Jugement Dernier. Il semble que le Jugement, encadré par rames sculptées, a été peint le premier. L'icône était probablement destinée aux processions du Dimanche de Jugement Dernier, qui précède le début du Grand Carême. Plus tard, il a été peint on revers la Vierge de la Passion, par un autre peintre, sans doute pour être utilisé aussi dans les processions de Grand Carême. Cette pièce est la seule icône à double face connue de contenir une scène du Jugement Dernier.

L'icône de Jugement contient des inscriptions en dialecte ouest-bulgare, écrites avec des nombreuses erreurs. Une autre curiosité est l'inscription des cinq noms vulgarisés des archanges. Ils reflètent une certaine réminiscence bogomilique, discernable dans la vénération populaire exagérée des archanges apocryphes apparente dans l'icone. En termes d'iconographie, la composition est inspirée, probablement indirectement, par celle de Dečani, le Christ étant représenté sur le trône et non pas sur l'arc en ciel.

La posture de la Mère de Dieu dans l'icône sur le revers ressemble à certaines icônes du Mont Athos, datant du XIIIe siècle. La composition contient des bustes d'apôtres sur les côtés, appartenant à un type iconographique existant de la fin du XIVe siècle jusqu'au début du XVIe siècle. Le type de la Vierge de la Passion n'est pas celui-là développé par le peintre Andreas Ritzos, mais une variante encore archaïsante. Les inscriptions sur l'image sont un mélange de grec et slave, mais l'auteur ne semble pas d'avoir une bonne connaissance de la langue et de l'écriture grecque. Considérer l'iconographie et les arguments philologiques, l'icône du Monastère Dintr-un Lemn peut être attribuée à deux peintres ouest-bulgares, probablement moines. Le Jugement est datable au début du XVe siècle, et l'icône de la Vierge, vers le milieu du siècle. Destinée à une communauté monastique,

l'icône a été apportée en Valachie possiblement par quelques moines bulgares qui ont migré ici au XVe–XVIe siècles.

Key words: bilateral icon, processional icon, Bogomilism, cults of angels, Virgin of the Passion, Late Byzantine art, provincial art, Mount Athos, western Bulgaria, Macedonia, Wallachia.

Ştefan Ionescu-Berechet, Informations inédites et nouvelles interprétations au sujet des églises Marina et Valea de Câmpulung Muscel.

L'absence ou la disparition des sources historiques sûres qui attestent les débuts de l'église Marina de Câmpulung-Muscel a été supplée par une tradition locale qui situe la première édification du saint lieu en 1215. Soutenue par quelques auteurs des XIXe–XXe siècles, en commençant par C.D. Aricescu, cette tradition fut rejetée catégoriquement par les chercheurs qui, au cours du siècle dernier, ont étudié l'histoire de cette église, à cause de la date considérée inacceptable car trop précoce. Prenant comme point de départ l'identification et l'analyse d'une source ignorée et oubliée depuis longtemps, un obituaire de l'église datant des premières décennies du XIXe siècle, la présente étude amène au premier plan toute une série d'informations inédites et propose une nouvelle perspective sur les débuts de l'église Marina. Tandis que l'an 6723 mentionné par l'obituaire indique un lien évident et surprenant avec le monastère Negru Vodă, en échange, les noms des fondateurs anciens de Marina suggèrent une intéressante corrélation avec l'église voisine Valea, démolie au cours des premières années du XXe siècle. Certaines informations fournies par les fouilles archéologiques (partiellement inédites jusqu'à présent) entreprises en 1968–1969 à ces deux saints lieux, par l'analyse du susdit obituaire, de quelques inscriptions votives et documents historiques permettent la formulation de l'hypothèse selon laquelle les deux églises, situées au maximum de proximité et de colinéarité sur l'axe E–O, faisaient partie d'un vaste ensemble, édifié et successivement refait par une série de fondateurs appartenant à une importante famille du patriciat urbain de la ville, la famille Focan. Le sort des deux églises sœurs est suivi en parallèle, jusqu'au début du XXe siècle, étant passées en revues les nombreuses étapes de réfection qu'elles ont traversé au long du temps et mises en évidence les multiples et significatives parentés existantes entre les fondateurs et les desservants des deux églises.

Mots clé: tradition locale, 1215, obituaire, inscription votive, fondateurs, Focan, fouilles archéologiques.

Mihail-George Hâncu, The Chaoskampf Motif in the Lives of the Military Saints.

One of the most popular and, simultaneously, one of the most unusual motifs in hagiography is that of the battle against the dragon. Although it is generally perceived as a late addition to Christian culture, namely through the interpretatio Christiana of older pagan myths, late 19th century scholars such as Hermann Gunkel have identified a similar image in the Old Testament, where God is said to have fought a sea-monster. According to Gunkel, this motif stemmed from the Near Eastern tradition of the Chaoskampf, the primordial battle against the forces of Chaos. This theory proved to be popular, although later scholars criticized its adherents for failing to properly define this "Chaos".

The purpose of this paper is to interpret the hagiographical motif as a battle against Chaos, which is defined in the terms of its first attestation, in Hesiod's Theogony: a boundless and formless primordial entity that generates timeless evils like Death and Plague, but not concrete and mortal monsters like the Hydra. While the Old Testament dragon is simply bound by God, the military saints' opponent is killed outright. While the hagiographical motif is not a Chaoskampf on a concrete level, most versions of the story point out that the dragon is, in fact, a symbol of paganism or, more generally, of evil, which means that the military saints are expected to fight a perennial enemy. This is furtherly confirmed by the folkloric traditions associated with these saints, whose holidays mark the triumph of order over disorder, one way or another.

Keywords: hagiography,Chaoskampf, Old Testament, Near Eastern mythology, interpretatio Christiana, Hesiod, Byzantine literature, Metropolitan Varlaam of Moldavia, Balkan folklore, military saints.

Ion Croitoru, The defence of the Orthodoxy by means of the printing press. Zeal of Saint Constantine Brâncoveanu and State concern during his reign.

The Romanian Countries were, for a long time, the only ones that used the art of the printing press in South-East Europe, due to the autonomy they had in relation to the Ottoman Empire, where the printing press was first rigorously forbidden, with certain exceptions, and then tolerated in the Christian communities of the Near East. The use of the printing press generalized the use of the printed books in the Romanian society, bearing the seal of the Reign and of the Church, as the only guarantees able to chase away any doubt regarding their Orthodox content. This is why the books were meant to quench the thirst for culture and especially for spiritual life, but also to defend the ancestral law, identified with the Orthodox

faith. Actually, Saint Martyr Constantine Brâncoveanu stood out as a great protector of the Romanian culture and of the Orthodoxy from everywhere, by writing and printing, five printing centers functioning in his time (Bucharest, where two printing presses operated, the princely printing press and the metropolitan printing press, while two more were delineated during the life of the reigning Prince, namely, the printing press of Saint Martyr Anthimus the Iberian from the Monastery of All the Saints and the printing press from the Monastery of Saint Sabbas (Sfântul Sava); Buzău, where a princely printing press functioned; Snagov, where a princely printing press is first met, then the private printing press of Saint Anthimus the Iberian; Râmnic, where an episcopal printing press functioned; Târgovişte, where a private printing press of Saint Anthimus the Iberian operated). In these centres were printed, on the decision or by the will or on the order and at the expense of the Ruler, to be given as a gift to those thirsting for Jesus Christ's teaching, scores of books in the languages in which the Orthodox faith was being expressed and lived (Slavonic, Greek, Arabic and Romanian). The entire printing activity undertaken in Wallachia under the reign of Saint Constantine Brâncoveanu has often been praised by the Greek and Romanian scholars, be they typographer masters or reviewers, lay people or clerics, who called him a second Zorobabel and another Ptolemy of the latter times.

Keywords: Saint Martyr Constantine Brâncoveanu, Saint Martyr Anthimus the Iberian, Church, printing press, Orthodoxy, Reformation, Counter-Reformation.

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ABRÉVIATIONS

AARMSI: Analele Academiei Române. Memoriile Secţiunii Istorice, Bucureşti.
ACMIT: Anuarul Comisiunii Monumentelor Istorice, secţiunea pentru Transilvania, Cluj.
AIIACluj: Anuarul Institutului de Istorie şi Arheologie, Cluj-Napoca.
AIIAIaşi: Anuarul Institutului de Istorie şi Arheologie „A. D. Xenopol", Iaşi.
AMN: Acta Musei Napocensis, Cluj-Napoca.
AMSCEU: Annual of Medieval Studies at Central European University, Budapest.
AnBoll: Analecta Bollandiana, Bruxelles.
AS: *Acta Sanctorum.*
AT: Ars Transsilvaniae, Cluj-Napoca.
AUASH: Annales Universitatis Apulensis, Series Historica, Alba Iulia.
B: Byzantion. Revue internationale des études byzantines, Bruxelles.
BCMI: Buletinul Comisiunii Monumentelor Istorice, Bucureşti.
BF: Byzantinische Forschungen, Amsterdam.
BHG: *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Graeca.* Troisième édition mise à jour et considérablement augmenté par F. Halkin, 4 vol., Bruxelles, 1957, 1984.
BMI: Buletinul Monumentelor Istorice, Bucureşti.
BNJ: Byzantinisch-Neugriechische Jahrbücher, Athens.
BNM: Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Venezia.
BOR: Biserica Ortodoxă Română, Bucureşti.
BRV I: *Bibliografia românească veche, 1508–1830,* I, ed. I. Bianu, N. Hodoş, D. Simonescu, Bucureşti, 1903.
BRV IV: Bibliografia românească veche, 1508–1830, IV, ed. I. Bianu, D. Simonescu, Bucureşti, 1944.
BS: Balkan Studies, Thessaloniki.
BSH: Bulletin de la Section Historique de l'Académie Roumaine, Bucarest.
ByzSl: Byzantinoslavica, Praga.
BZ: Byzantinische Zeitschrift, München.
CGR: C. Hopf, *Chroniques gréco-romanes inédites ou peu connues, publiées avec notes et tables généalogiques*, Berlin, 1873.
CFHB: *Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae.*
CI: Cercetări istorice, Iaşi.
DACL: *Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie*, Paris.
DeltChrA: Δελτίον της Χριστιανικής Αρχαιολογικής Εταιρείας, Athens.

DOP: Dumbarton Oaks Papers, Washington DC.
DThC: *Dictionnaire de Théologie Catholique*, Paris.
ÉBPB: *Études byzantines et post-byzantines*, Bucarest.
ÉtBalk: Études Balkaniques, Sofia.
GCS: *Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten Jahrhunderte*, Berlin.
GB: Glasul Bisericii, Bucureşti.
GRBS: Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies, Durham.
IRAIK: Izvestiia Russkogo arkheologicheskogo instituta v Konstantinopole.
JÖB: Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinischen Gesellschaft, Wien.
MA: Mitropolia Ardealului, Sibiu.
MGH-S: *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores.*
MO: Mitropolia Olteniei, Craiova.
ÖNB: Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Wien.
NRTh: Nouvelle Revue Théologique, Louvain.
OCP: Orientalia Christiana Periodica, Roma.
ODB: *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium, prepared at Dumbarton Oaks*, vol. 1 (Aaro-Eski), 2 (Esot-Nika), 3 (Nike-Zygo), editor in chief A. P. Kazhdan, New York, Oxford, 1991.
Repertoriul picturilor: Pagini de veche artă românească. Repertoriul picturilor murale medievale din România (sec. XIV–1450), vol. V/I, ed. V. Drăguţ, Bucureşti, 1985.
PBE Prosopography of the Byzantine Empire, 3 vols. (Aldershot, 2001–), CD-ROM.
PG: J. P. Migne, *Patrologia Graeca*, Paris.
PL: J. P. Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, Paris.
PmbZ: R.-J. Lilie, C. Ludwig, T. Pratsch, I. Rochow, et al., *Prosopographie der mittelbyzantinischen Zeit* (Berlin and New York, 1999–2002.
RdI: Revista de istorie, Bucureşti.
RÉB: Revue des Études Byzantines, Paris.
RÉSEE: Revue des Études sud-est européennes, Bucarest.
Revue Historique, Paris.
RHSEE: Revue Historique du Sud-Est Européen, Bucarest.
RIS: *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores.*
RIst: Revista istorică, Bucureşti.
RMMMIA: Revista Muzeelor şi Monumentelor-seria monumente istorice şi de artă, Bucureşti.
ROCh: Revue de l'Orient Chrétien, Paris.
RRH: Revue Roumaine d'Histoire, Bucarest.
RRHA: Revue Roumaine d'Histoire de l'Art. Série Beaux-Arts, Bucarest.
SCIA: Studii şi cercetări de istoria artei, seria artă plastică, Bucureşti.
SCIVA: Studii şi cercetări de istorie veche şi arheologie, Bucureşti.
SMIM: Studii şi materiale de istorie medie, Bucureşti.
Studii: Studii. Revistă de istorie, Bucureşti.

Symmeikta: Symmeikta. Ethnikon Idryma Ereynon. Kentron Vyzantinon Ereynon, Athens.

Tafel, Thomas, Urkunden: G. L. Fr. Tafel, G. M. Thomas, *Urkunden zur älteren Handels- und Staatsgeschichte der Republik Venedig, mit besonderer Beziehung auf Byzanz und die Levante* (Fontes Rerum Austriacarum. Diplomataria et acta, XII), I (814–1205); II (1205–1255), Wien, 1856.

TM: Travaux et Mémoires, Centre de Recherche d'Histoire et Civilisation Byzantines, Paris.

VV: Vizantijskij Vremennik, Moscow.

Vyzantina: Vyzantina. Epistemonikon organon Kentrou Vyzantinon Ereunon Philosophikes Scholes Aristoteleiou Panepistemiou, Thessaloniki.

ZRVI: Zbornik Radova Vizantološkog Instituta, Belgrade.

Biblical Abbreviations:

The Old Testament

Deut.: Deuteronomy
Lev.: Leviticus
Mal: Malachi

The New Testament

1 Cor: 1 Corinthians
Ephes.: Ephesians
Heb: Hebrews
Jas: James
Jn: John (Gospel)
Lk: Luke
Matt.: Matthew
Mk: Mark
Phil: Philippians
2 Tim.: 2 Timothy

ISBN 973-27-0271-0

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SOCIÉTÉ ROUMAINE D'ÉTUDES BYZANTINES

ÉTUDES BYZANTINES ET POST-BYZANTINES

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A LESS USUAL SIN CONFESSION PRESENTED IN THE "PASSION OF ST. SABA THE GOTH" (4th CENTURY C.E.)

IONUȚ HOLUBEANU

In his *Letter* addressed *to the twelve tribes in the Dispersion*[1], James the Just recommended to the Christians: *confess your sins to one another, and pray for one another, so that you may be healed*[2].

The present investigation focuses on an unusual public confession of sin, presented in the *Passion of St. Saba the Goth*, a subject which, as far as we know, has been overlooked by scholars.

St. Saba the Goth lived in the second half of the 4th century C.E. in Thervingian Gothia, a territory lied to the north of the lower section of the Danube River dominated by the Thervingian Goths. He was martyred in the persecution of Athanaric (d. 381), being drowned in the river Mousaios (today's Buzău, in Romania), on 12 April 372. Shortly after his martyrdom, about 373–374[3], the saint's relics were transported to Caesarea in Cappadocia. His *Passion*[4] was composed on that occasion, pursuant to the testimony of an eyewitness[5].

The martyr text has a great historical value since it has been entirely preserved in the original form and it has provided much information about Thervingian Gothia and the Christianity there at the beginning of the 370's. As a matter of fact, the scholars[6] saw it as a valuable historical source not only in the

[1] Jas. 1.1. All English translations of quotations from the Bible will be taken from *Bible. New Revised Standard Version*, oremus B B, 10 Feb. 2011. { http://www.devotions.net/bible/00bible.htm } (05.05.2015). I wish to thank Alina Popescu and Coralia Chudley for their improvements of the English used in this paper as well as Barbara Kösters for her support in attaining some of the bibliography.

[2] Jas. 5.16.

[3] Năsturel 1969, 176; Păcurariu 1972, 196; Ionescu 1972, 180; Olteanu 1984, 328; Schäferdiek 1993, 330, 339; Kulikowski 2007, 118.

[4] First edition by Delehaye 1912, 216–221; repr. in Krüger-Ruhbach 1965, 119–124, and Girardi 2009, 70–109 (Italian translation included). In what follows references to *Passio Sabae* (between round brackets in the main text and all the quotations in the footnotes) are to the Delehaye-edition. An English translation, whence this article draws its quotations, is included in Heather-Matthews 2004, 104–110. I have offered another reading where it seemed better suited to the Greek text.

[5] See, below, note 61.

[6] See Delehaye 1912, 288–291; Thompson 1955, 331–338 (=Thompson 1966, 64–77); Năsturel 1969, 175–185; Wolfram 1988, esp. 83–85; Strzelczyk 1980, 229–250; Alexe 2009, 49–59; Olteanu 1984, 326–345; Heather 1991, 103–107; Heather-Matthews 2004, 102–103; Schäferdiek 1993, 330–339; Girardi 2009, 53–67; Leemans 2012, 201–224; Holubeanu 2015, 66–69.

organization of the Gothic confederation and of their subjects' in north of the Danube, but also in Athanaric's persecutions against the Christians in his area and the martyrs' conduct.

Naturally, the protagonist in the *Passion* was St. Saba. The author of the document displayed Saba's generic profile – his ethnic origin, social and religious status, Christian virtues, etc. –, relevant events concerning his conduct in persecution and, of course, his arrest, torture, execution and transfer of his body to Caesarea.

There were also other minor participants in the *Passion*, as Saba's Christian or heathen fellow-villagers, the persecutors, a Christian presbyter named Sansalas, etc.

It is noteworthy that the author often opposed Saba to others in his attempt to emphasize the saint's virtues as well as his conduct worthy of imitation[7]. Actually, from his point of view Saba was a peerless Christian of the Gothic Church, above all his fellow-believers. His natural place was in the group of saints and, eventually, he his life this way, finished.

In these frequent juxtapositions Saba – others, a peculiar case is represented by Sansalas. Since the public confession of sin that we investigate was placed at the end of the parallel Saba – Sansalas, hereafter we are going to focus our attention on it.

According to the *Passion*, Sansalas was a presbyter, i.e., a Christian priest. It seems that he was in the service of the Christian community wherein Saba himself lived[8] and was, in all likelihood, a *lector* or a *cantor*[9]. Thus, by their ecclesiastical ranks, Sansalas was a superior of Saba.

When the persecution was initiated in trans-Danubian Gothia, Sansalas left the territory taking refuge on the other bank of the Danube, in *Romania*, i.e., Roman Empire[10]. Yet the *Passion* did not blame him for leaving his community at such difficult time[11]. However, eventually Sansalas returned to it because of the approach of Easter 372.

[7] The author himself made known this manner of narration in the first lines of the *Passion* by the words: *For this man [i.e. Saba],..., shone out like a light in the firmament, 'in the midst of a crooked and perverse generation' [Phil 2.15]* ..., Heather-Matthews 2004, 104; *Passio Sabae* 1 (216.29–31, Delehaye 1912): Οὗτος γὰρ ... ἐν μέσῳ γενεᾶς σκολιᾶς καὶ διεστραμμένης ἐφάνη ὡς φωστὴρ ἐν κόσμῳ, ... On this author's method in narration, see also Girardi 2009, 59.

[8] By contrast, Girardi 2009, 91, n. 77, supposed that Saba and Sansalas lived in two different villages situated not far from each other. The reason for this assumption is due to the fact that Saba did not know about Sansalas' return in trans-Danubian Gothia, see *Passio Sabae* 4 (218.22–25, Delehaye 1912).

[9] *He [i.e., Saba] sang God's praise in church and this was his special concern*, Heather-Matthews 2004, 105; *Passio Sabae* 2 (217.17–18, Delehaye 1912): ... ψάλλων ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ καὶ τοῦτο πάνυ ἐπιμελόμενος ... . On Saba's ecclesiastical rank, see also Ionescu 1970, 488; Ionescu 1972, 183–184, 186, 189; Păcurariu 1972, 199; Coman 1979, 269; Coman 2009, 41–43; Alexe 2009, 58; Heather-Matthews 2004, 105, n. 21; Schäferdiek 1993, 333, 359; Lenski 1995, 77; Kulikowski 2007, 119; Girardi 2009, 61 (n. 42), 79; Leemans 2012, 205; Parvis 2014, 70.

[10] *Passio Sabae* 4 (218.23–25, Delehaye 1912).

[11] Actually, Sansalas followed the gospel commandment *When they persecute you in one town, flee to the next* (Matt. 10.23). On a similar case, see *The Martyrdom of Saints Agapê, Irenê, and Chionê at Saloniki*, 1, in Musurillo 1979, 281, and n. 4. In respect of this gospel commandment, see also *The Martyrdom of St. Polycarp*, 4, (that the author of the *Passion of Saba* had at his hand) in

After having celebrated the festival, Saba and Sansalas were seized by the Gothic persecutors, an event which occurred in the third wave of persecution. It is noteworthy that others Christians in the village[12] were not noticed by the agents of persecution. This must be explained by the fact that both of them were reckoned by the village elders as obstinate Christians and the only two who had refused to hide their religious identity through any kind of cheat[13].

The *Passion* relates that Sansalas was tied up and held captive on a wagon while Saba walked. Narrating the torture they suffered, the author focused upon Saba who was the main target of the warriors. However, there is a sentence pointing out that Sansalas was put to the rack too[14].

Further, an important difference between the two characters emerged. In spite of the fact that Saba had received most of the torments, the following day, he showed his torturers that his wounds were marvelously healed[15]. By contrast, such a healing was not mentioned in Sansalas' instance by the martyr text, although, as we have just seen, he had also been tortured.

There is another important author's remark that distinguishes Saba in the scene as *the just man* (ὁ δίκαιος) whose *patience and faith* was *confirmed by the harshness of his enemies*[16]. By this, the author related Saba's marvelous healing to his virtues. Once again, by contrast, he never conferred Sansalas the attribute of *just man*. This suggests that the priest failed rising above the status of mere servant of God, as Saba did[17].

Musurillo 1979, 4–5, *The Acts of St. Cyprian*, 1.5, in Musurillo 1979, 168–171, and, also, Peter of Alexandria, *The Canonical Epistle*, 13, in Roberts, Donaldson 1996, 560–561.

[12] Their fellow-believers are clearly attested by martyr text, see *Passio Sabae* 3, 4 (217.25–36; 218.34–35, Delehaye 1912).

[13] This inference is based upon the evidence that the persecution had a general character, by the fact that the persecutors took action against all Christians in Saba's village – see *Passio Sabae* 3 (217.25–218.15, Delehaye 1912) –, and not only against the members of clergy, as Sansalas and Saba were. Then again, Saba had been singled out by his refusal to any compromise rather than by his religious status, i.e., a member of the lower clergy. Indeed, the village elders had tried twice to hide Saba together with other Christians of the village before his arrest but they had come up against Saba's obstinacy. As for Sansalas, although the martyr text does not say anything about his public refusal to hide his religious identity, his flight to Roman Empire can also be seen as evidence for his disagreement with any kind of compromise. For this argument, see also Thompson 1955, 337 (=Thompson 1966, 73); Olteanu 1984, 336; Heather 1991, 103. By contrast, Heather-Matthews 2004, 105, n. 21; Leemans 2012, 205, asserted that Saba and, implicitly, Sansalas had drawn their persecutors' attention as members of the clergy.

[14] *[the persecutors] carried away by pitiless cruelty against the servants of God [i.e., Saba and Sansalas]*, Heather-Matthews 2004, 107; *Passio Sabae* 4 (219.10, Delehaye 1912): καὶ ἀνηλεῶς φερόμενοι κατὰ τῶν δούλων τοῦ Θεοῦ. See also Mansion 1914, 18; Schmidt 1933, 234; Thompson 1955, 334 (=Thompson 1966, 65–66, 70); Sibiescu 1972, 371; Coman 1979, 269.

[15] *Passio Sabae* 5 (219.13–18, Delehaye 1912).

[16] Heather-Matthews 2004, 107; *Passio Sabae* 5 (219.11–12, Delehaye 1912): Ἀλλὰ τὸ ἀπηνὲς τῶν ἐχθρῶν τὴν ὑπομονὴν καὶ πίστιν συνέστησε τοῦ δικαίου.

[17] Saba is the one who was chosen by Lord *from among his own servants*, Heather-Matthews 2004, 110; *Passio Sabae* 8 (221.23–24, Delehaye 1912): δοξάζοντες τὸν κύριον τὸν ἐκλογὰς ποιούμενον τῶν ἰδίων δούλων αὐτοῦ, receiving thus *the crown of righteousness*, Heather-Matthews 2004, 110;

However, when the persecutors bade them to eat sacrificial meat, Sansalas was the one who refused on behalf of both. Moreover, he made a new step by asking persecutors a death sentence upon them[18]. Saba himself immediately approved of the priest's attitude by asserting the almightiness of God and offending Atharidus in the presence of his attendants[19].

Finally, hearing all these, Atharidus passed the sentence, by ordering to kill Saba, but not Sansalas. The latter remained in bonds, and, in all likelihood, not long after he was released[20].

There are three paragraphs opening the seventh chapter of the *Passion* that can be regarded as very important on the matter. In them, the author relates Atharidus' sentence and the following events:

VII.1. *Finally Atharidus, learning all this [i.e., Saba's refusal to eat sacrificial meat and subsequent events], ordered him [i.e., Saba] to be put to death. Therefore, the servants of lawlessness left the presbyter Sansalas in bonds, and took hold of Saba and led him away to drown him in the river called the Mousaios.* ***2.*** *But the blessed Saba, remembering the injunction of the Lord and loving his neighbour as himself*[21]*, said, 'What has the presbyter done wrong, that he does not die with me?' They replied to him, 'This is no concern of yours'.* ***3.*** *When they said this, Saba burst out in exultation of the Holy Spirit and said, 'Blessed are you, Lord, and glorified is your name, Jesus, for ever and ever, amen: for Atharidus has*

Basile the Great, *Ep. 165* (50.5–6, Girardi 2009): τὸν τῆς δικαιοσύνης ... στέφανον. See, also, below, note 23.

[18] *Passio Sabae* 6 (219.34–220.1, Delehaye 1912).

[19] *There is one Lord, God in heaven; but Atharidus is a man, impious and accursed. And this food of perdition is impure and profane, like Atharidus who sent it*, Heather-Matthews 2004, 108; *Passio Sabae* 6 (220.2–5, Delehaye 1912): Εἷς δεσπότης Θεὸς ἐν οὐρανοῖς ἐστιν· Ἀθάριδος δὲ ἄνθρωπος ἀσεβὴς καὶ ἐπικατάρατος· καὶ ταῦτα ἀκάθαρτά ἐστι καὶ βέβηλα τῆς ἀπωλείας τὰ βρώματα, ὡς καὶ ὁ ἀποστείλας αὐτὰ Ἀθάριδος.

[20] See also Bessel 1862, 144; Boehmer-Romundt 1903, 287; Delehaye 1912, 291; Mansion 1914, 12, 17–18; Zeiller 1918, 430–431; Leclercq 1925, 1439; Giesecke 1939, 66; Thompson 1955, 334, 338 (=Thompson 1966, 70, 77); Alexe 1972, 561; Moisescu, Lupşa, Filipaşcu 1957, 64; Năsturel 1969, 179; Ionescu 1970, 486, 488; Ionescu 1972, 185, 190; Alexe 2009, 57; Sibiescu 1972, 361–362, 371–372; Sibiescu 2009, 22; Păcurariu 1972, 197–198; Păcurariu 1991, 111; Păcurariu 1994, 47; Coman 1979, 269; Coman 1983, 252; Coman 2009, 44; Wolfram 1988, 83, 106, 412 (n. 319); Rubin 1981, 37; Rămureanu 1997, 311; Olteanu 1984, 336; Reichert 2012, 133; Schäferdiek 1993, 336–337; Kulikowski 2007, 120; Popescu 2009, 68, 75; Girardi 2009, 57, 99 (n. 120); Căţoi 2009, 432. By contrast, Schmidt 1933, 642, and especially Leemans 2012, 214, 219, asserted that Sansalas died as a martyr too. But, there is no ground for such an assertion. In considering this issue, one must take into account that the author of the *Passion of Saba* had at his hand the *Martyrdom of St. Polycarp* which had made mention not only Polycarp's martyrdom, but also Germanicus', see *The Martyrdom of St. Polycarp*, 3, in Musurillo 1979, 4–5. Therefore, it is rather unlikely that our author would have overlooked such an event that could have further stimulated his readers' Christian feelings. On the other hand, it is noteworthy that Sansalas was completely overlooked into all synaxaria displaying Saba's martyrdom, see Follieri 1962, 257. This would be regarded as evidence that traditionally Sansalas was never considered neither a martyr nor a confessor of the faith (ὁμολογητής).

[21] Mk. 12.33.

pierced himself through with eternal death and destruction, and sends me to the life that remains forever; so well pleased are you in your servants, O Lord our God'[22].

Our investigation mainly concerns Saba's question regarding Sansalas' fate. However, for a faultless interpretation one must carefully consider the first and third paragraphs immediately preceding and following it, respectively. It is also important the link between the second and third paragraphs.

First of all, one can infer that there is an obvious antagonism between the meanings of the first and the third paragraphs. Both disclose a distinct point of view concerning the part played by every character in the story. The former presents Atharidus as a judge, the two Christians as being judged, Saba further as a convict and Sansalas as one remained under investigation. The latter paragraph changes the sight. According to it, God is the real judge[23], and Atharidus is merely an instrument[24] by which the will of God is put into action[25]. Atharidus again is the main convict since *he was pierced through with eternal death and destruction*. At the same time, Saba is not a convict by being sentenced to death, but the main gainer of the events by getting *the life that remains forever*. Actually, these two paragraphs expose a worldly (or secular) and a spiritual (or theological), respectively, view on the trial.

The author also tried to emphasize the value of spiritual interpretation as the correct one. At the beginning of the third paragraph he stated that Saba uttered his

[22] Heather-Matthews 2004, 108–109; *Passio Sabae* 7 (220.16–28, Delehaye 1912): Τότε γνοὺς πάντα ταῦτα Ἀθάριδος κελεύει ἀναιρεθῆναι αὐτόν. Οἱ γοῦν ὑπηρέται τῆς ἀνομίας ἐάσαντες τὸν πρεσβύτερον Σανσαλᾶν δέσμιον, παρέλαβον τὸν Σάβαν καὶ ἀπήγαγον πνῖξαι παρὰ τὸν ποταμὸν τὸν καλούμενον Μουσαῖον. Ὁ δὲ μακάριος μεμνημένος τῆς ἐντολῆς τοῦ κυρίου καὶ ἀγαπῶν τὸν πλησίον ὡς ἑαυτόν, εἶπεν· "Τί ἥμαρτεν ὁ πρεσβύτερος, ὅτι σὺν ἐμοὶ οὐκ ἀποθνῄσκει;" Ἀπεκρίθησαν δὲ αὐτῷ: "Οὐ σόν ἐστι περὶ τούτου διατάσσεσθαι." Τοῦτο εἰπόντων αὐτῶν, ἀνέκραξεν ἐν ἀγαλλιάσει πνεύματος ἁγίου καὶ εἶπεν· "Εὐλογητὸς εἶ, κύριε, καὶ δεδοξασμένον τὸ ὄνομά σου, Ἰησοῦ, εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας, ἀμήν, ὅτι Ἀθάριδος μὲν ἑαυτὸν θανάτῳ αἰωνίῳ καὶ ἀπωλείᾳ περιέπειρεν, ἐμὲ δὲ εἰς ζωὴν τὴν ἀεὶ μένουσαν παραπέμπει, ὅτι οὕτως εὐδόκησας ἐν τοῖς δούλοις σοῦ, κύριε ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν."

[23] The same view point, namely, God as the real judge, is expressed at the end of the martyr text: *praising the Lord who chooses the elect from among his own servants*, Heather-Matthews 2004, 110; *Passio Sabae* 8 (221.23–24, Delehaye 1912): δοξάζοντες τὸν κύριον τὸν ἐκλογὰς ποιούμενον τῶν ἰδίων δούλων αὐτοῦ. This sentence, that was borrowed by the author from *The Martyrdom of St. Polycarp*, 20, in Musurillo 1979, 16–17, reflects the view of early Christians regarding martyrdom. Referring to Saba's spiritual trainer, St. Basil the Great similarly stated: *he [i.e., Saba's spiritual trainer] too will receive from the righteous judge [i.e., God] the crown of righteousness*, Heather-Matthews 2004, 115; Basil the Great, *Ep. 164* (38.6–8, Girardi 2009): ὃς παρὰ τῷ δικαίῳ Κριτῇ τὸν τῆς δικαιοσύνης στέφανον καὶ αὐτὸς ἀπολήψεται.

[24] But an instrument with a real free will. From this point of view, Atharidus' case bears resemblance with Judas Iscariot's. By betraying Jesus, the latter contributed to the salvation of mankind. Nevertheless, Judas received eternal punishment for his act. On this issue, see St. John Cassian 1978, 885 f. (*Conferences*, 6.9).

[25] This also explains why Saba, being arrested, refused to flee and remained on the spot when a woman had untied him, and why later he also asked to be executed by his hangmen who were planning to release him. In the first case, he was waiting for divine verdict, while in the second, he asked his hangmen to carry out the divine judgment, i.e., to put into operation the will of God concerning him.

statement being *in exultation of the Holy Spirit.* This is a Biblical manner giving notice of an undeniable truth[26]. Thus, in author's view, Saba was then illuminated by the Holy Spirit, i.e., by God himself, giving audible expression to an absolute and divine truth and no one should doubt the validity of his words.

It is on the basis of this evidence that the spiritual ground of Saba's martyrdom represents neither his provocative attitude[27], nor his low social status[28], nor his Gothic origin[29], but his pure heart.

In fact, from the theological point of view, the crown of martyrdom is a divine prize and God gives it solely to his pure servants, i.e., *the just men.* It should be noted that Saba himself received it only when he attained his highest spiritual level. In two other previous somehow similar circumstances he had failed in attaining martyrdom, by having only been banished, first time by the village elders[30], and then by a persecutor[31]. Very important on the matter, it may be seen that, in both circumstances, Saba had humbly agreed to the sentence as to the will of God[32] and had not used every means to be martyrized.

As to the link between the second and third paragraphs, this suggests when the spiritual interpretation must be put into operation and when the worldly one should be used for a correct interpretation of the martyr text. The author stated precisely that martyr's exultation was called forth just by warriors' scornful answer: *When they said this [i.e., persecutors' answer], Saba burst out in exultation of the Holy Spirit and said ...*[33]. At the same time, there is obvious that the persecutors' answer[34] reflects the worldly view, namely, the one according to which they are in power, while Saba's retort, by amending their wrong thought, reflects the spiritual view, namely, God as being in power. Actually, there is a dialog between an

[26] See, for example, Lk. 1.41–55, 67–79 and, esp., Lk. 10.21.

[27] See Boehmer-Romundt 1903, 287; Giesecke 1939, 66; Moisescu, Lupşa, Filipaşcu 1957, 64; Năsturel 1969, 178; Schäferdiek 1993, 338–339; Heather-Matthews 2004, 103; Alexe 2009, 57; Reichert 2012, 124.

[28] Schäferdiek 1993, 338–339, 359.

[29] Zeiller 1918, 431; Thompson 1955, 334 (=Thompson 1966, 70); Strzelczyk 1980, 238; Wolfram 1988, 83, 106; Wolfram 2014, 138.

[30] *Passio Sabae* 3 (217.36–218.2, Delehaye 1912).

[31] *Passio Sabae* 3 (218.15, Delehaye 1912).

[32] Fulfilling the will of God is Saba's main aspiration. This is clearly attested by the martyr text in the event of his travel to presbyter Gouththikas: *Then Saba realized that it was the will of God that prevented him from proceeding further and told him to return to the presbyter Sansalas; and praising the Lord he turned and went back*, Heather-Matthews 2004, 107; *Passio Sabae* 4 (218.31–34, Delehaye 1912): Τότε συνῆκε θέλημα Θεοῦ εἶναι τὸ κωλύον αὐτὸν περαιτέρω διαβῆναι, κελεῦον ἀλλὰ ἀναλῦσαι πρὸς τὸν πρεσβύτερον Σανσαλᾶν· καὶ εὐλογήσας τὸν κύριον ὑπέστρεψεν. In other words, he gladly fulfilled the will of God. See, also, note 25, above.

[33] Heather-Matthews 2004, 109; *Passio Sabae* 7 (220.23–24, Delehaye 1912): Τοῦτο εἰπόντων αὐτῶν, ἀνέκραξεν [Σάβας] ἐν ἀγαλλιάσει πνεύματος ἁγίου καὶ εἶπεν.

[34] "*This is no concern of yours*", Heather-Matthews 2004, 109; *Passio Sabae* 7 (220.22–23, Delehaye 1912): "Οὐ σόν ἐστι περὶ τούτου διατάσσεσθαι."

illuminated man, i.e., Saba, and some spiritually blind men, i.e., the persecutors[35]. Consequently, to a correct understanding of the *Passion*, the reader always must put into operation the spiritual interpretation for Saba's deeds, thoughts and statements, and the worldly one for his opponents.

With regard to Sansalas, he is certainly a peculiar case. As one can see, his fate is displayed into the first paragraph reflecting the worldly view – *the servants ... left the presbyter Sansalas in bonds*[36] –, but it is overlooked into the third paragraph. This rather suggests that unlike Saba and Atharidus, Sansalas did not receive at the time the final divine sentence, by further remaining under God's investigation as well as under persecutors'[37]. However, since he lost the crown of martyrdom and could not gain the eternal life, then one would have to assume that he was rather a convict and a loser of the moment.

On the other hand, whatever the worldly motive of his release may have been – his unprovocative attitude[38], his great social reputation[39], his non-Gothic origin[40], his providential part in drawing up the *Passion*[41], the persecutors' lack of enthusiasm[42], or his old age and imposing appearance[43] –, once again another ground has to be assumed on the spiritual level. Actually, the only piece of evidence that the *Passion* provides us with is exactly Saba's interrogation – "*What has the presbyter done wrong [ἥμαρτεν, i.e., sinned], that he does not die with me?*"[44]. Besides, given that Saba's thought always expresses the spiritual view[45], as we have just seen, it is not unreasonable to assume that Sansalas' spiritual fate overlooked into the third paragraph got its solving just with Saba's question.

[35] The spiritual blindness of the persecutors is clearly stated by Saba's words to his hangmen just before the martyrdom: '... *I see what you cannot see: over there on the other side, standing in glory, the saints who have come to receive me*', Heather-Matthews 2004, 109; *Passio Sabae* 7 (220.35–221.1, Delehaye 1912): "... ἐγὼ ὁρῶ ὅπερ ὑμεῖς οὐ δύνασθε ἰδεῖν· ἰδοὺ ἄντικρυς ἑστᾶσιν ἐν δόξῃ οἱ ἐλθόντες ὑποδέξασθαί με."

[36] Heather-Matthews 2004, 108; *Pass. Sabae* 7 (220.17–18, Delehaye 1912): Οἱ ... ὑπηρέται ... ἐάσαντες τὸν πρεσβύτερον Σανσαλᾶν δέσμιον, ...

[37] See n. 52, below.

[38] Contrasting Saba's provocative attitude, see above, n. 27.

[39] Schäferdiek 1993, 338–339, 359.

[40] See note 29, above. Such explanation for Sansalas' release has been refuted as inadequate by Rubin 1981, 37, and Reichert 2012, 124, 133.

[41] Căţoi 2009, 432, n. 9.

[42] Rubin 1981, 37.

[43] Suggested by Alexe 1972, 566; Alexe 2009, 57.

[44] Heather-Matthews 2004, 108; *Passio Sabae* 7 (220.21–22, Delehaye 1912).

[45] We may add here Saba's thought reflected in the scene of sacrificial meat preceding his sentenced to death. When the persecutors labeled their leader with the words the '*Lord Atharidus*', Heather-Matthews 2004, 108; *Passio Sabae* 6 (220.2, Delehaye 1912): "Ὁ δεσπότης Ἀθάριδος", Saba immediately retorted: "*There is one Lord, God in heaven; but Atharidus is a man, impious and accursed*", Heather-Matthews 2004, 108; *Passio Sabae* 6 (220.2–4, Delehaye 1912): "Εἷς δεσπότης Θεὸς ἐν οὐρανοῖς ἐστιν· Ἀθάριδος δὲ ἄνθρωπος ἀσεβὴς καὶ ἐπικατάρατος· ...". Obviously, there is the same thought as in the scene of his exultation.

Even so, the meaning of the interrogation is somehow obscure. At a first glance, it seems that Saba interceded with persecutors for Sansalas' martyrdom[46]. There are at least two points that could support such an interpretation: first, Atharidus' warriors would appear to be the addressees of the question by being the only ones who answered Saba; second, the author's remark that Saba's question originated in his love for his neighbor. It would follow that, loving his neighbor as himself, Saba tried to gain the same fate for Sansalas, i.e. the martyrdom, by asking the persecutors to martyrize him too[47].

However, such an interpretation it is rather in keeping with the worldly view and, therefore, it has to be wrong. Following it, one might have thought that Saba did not agree with the will of God stated by Atharidus' sentence, and used every means to change it by getting Sansalas' martyrdom. Yet, putting the will of Saba in opposition to the divine is unacceptable. As a matter of fact, Saba had always tried to follow the divine will as the main goal of his life[48].

On the other hand, such an interpretation does not clear up Sansalas' case on spiritual level, an important point that could not certainly have been overlooked by the author.

Carefully examining Saba's question, one can see that it consists mainly of two sections. The second one – *that he does not die with me* – merely reflects a reality, namely, that Sansalas was not sentenced to death. As far as its first section is concerned – *What has the presbyter done wrong/sinned* –, it simply pointed out just the spiritual ground of Sansalas' release. There is an evident relationship of cause and effect between these sections wherein the cause is a *sinning* and the consequence is a *releasing*. It can be also seen that Saba neither asked *why the presbyter does not die with me* nor *why do you not kill the presbyter with me,* nor *what about him*[49], but *what has the presbyter done wrong/sinned that he does not die with me.*

Therefore, the key term in solving the matter[50] appears to be the verb ἁμαρτάνω (= *to sin*[51]). It reveals that Sansalas was defiled by a sin[52] and it was this

[46] For such an interpretation, see Rubin 1981, p. 37, n. 22.

[47] The difficulty in interpreting Saba's words is increased by somehow confused sequence of events narrated into the seventh chapter. See below – note 57 – a brief treatment of this issue.

[48] See notes 25 and 32, above.

[49] As St. Peter's inquiry to Jesus, in Jn. 21.21.

[50] Similar opinions have Sibiescu 1972, 372, and Coman 2009, 44, but they did not discuss the issue at length.

[51] Lampe 1961, 80.

[52] In this case, one would assume that the *bonds* in which Sansalas was left by persecutors – Οἱ ... ὑπηρέται ... ἐάσαντες τὸν πρεσβύτερον Σανσαλᾶν δέσμιον, *Pass. Sabae* 7 (220.17–18, Delehaye 1912) – also have a spiritual significance. For the spiritual significance of the *bonds* and of their part in the spiritual healing, see also Theodoretus of Cyr, *Historia ecclesiastica*, V. 17–18, and especially the words addressed by St. Ambrose of Milan to Theodosius I in the famous scene of the excommunication of the emperor: "...*Begone. Attempt not to add another crime to that which you have committed. Submit to the restriction (=*δεσμόν*) to which the God the Lord of all agrees that you be sentenced. He will be your physician, He will give you health*". (English translation by Jackson M. A. Blomfield, in *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers*, series II, vol. 3, Grand Rapids, 328–329).

why God did not accept him then as a martyr and did not confer him the crown of righteousness.

It is also to be noted that the author is fully aware of the moral implications of this verb. He had previously used it once, designating the persecutors in the third wave as *those who make sin* (οἱ ἁμαρτάνοντες)[53].

All these mean that Saba's question also comprises the answer. Through it, the author revealed the spiritual reason for presbyter's release to the readers.

As a matter of fact, the Christian has to be a spiritual athlete who runs in the race to receive the incorruptible crown, and the one who breaks the rules of the race by sin no longer wins[54]. A sinner also resembles the offering with defect and, as a result, (s)he is abhorrent to God[55]. (S)he is contaminated by a spiritual disease, and since (s)he is not sincerely preoccupied in attaining the forgiveness and his/her healing (s)he is unworthy of the crown of martyrdom.

To put it briefly, God himself, the real judge or the president of the games, removed Sansalas from martyrdom due to a sin[56].

Following this interpretation, the real addressee of Saba's question was Sansalas himself, no matter if he was or not on the spot at that time[57]. By expressing his grief

(309.16–19, L. Parmentier ed. *Theodoret, Kirchengeschichte*, V.18, Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1911): "... ἄπιθι τοίνυν, καὶ μὴ πειρῶ τοῖς δευτέροις τὴν προτέραν αὔξειν παρανομίαν καὶ δέχου τὸν δεσμόν, ᾧ ὁ θεὸς ὁ τῶν ὅλων δεσπότης ἄνωθεν γίγνεται σύμψηφος· ἰατρικὸς δὲ οὗτος καὶ πρόξενος ὑγείας."

[53] *Passio Sabae* 4 (Delehaye 1912, 218.16–17). St. Basil the Great also used the noun ἁμαρτία in his correspondence concerning Saba's martyrdom displaying the spiritual decay of his days: *we have by our excess of sin (τῇ ὑπερβολῇ τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν ἡμῶν) even made wild those [i.e., barbarians] who were gentle. It is to ourselves and our sins (ταῖς ἡμετέραις ἁμαρτίαις) that we must assign the blame that the power of the heretics has spread so widely, Ep.* 164, in Heather-Matthews 2004, 116 (40.5–6, 42.1, Girardi 2009).

[54] 2 Tim. 2.5: *And in the case of an athlete, no one is crowned without competing according to the rules.* See, also, 1 Cor. 9.24–26. On the agonistic metaphors in martyr homilies of the fourth and fifth centuries in the Eastern Church, see Leemans 2003, 29.

[55] See Lev. 22.20; Deut. 15.21; 17.1; Mal. 1.8, 13.

[56] Schäferdiek 1993, 339, considered that the author suggested by Saba's inquiry and persecutors' answer the providential intercession in Sansalas' release. However, this is a worldly view, while both the author and Saba had a more complex conception about life.

[57] Certain scholars placed Saba's inquiry on the way to the river – Sibiescu 1972, 372; Giraradi 2009, 101 (n. 127); Căţoi 2009, 432 (n. 9) – or at the place of execution – Coman 2009, 44. In this case, Sansalas did not hear the question from Saba's mouth. However, a closer examination of the martyr text could suggest placing the dialog just before the departure to the river, in Sansalas' face. Actually, in the first paragraph of the seventh chapter, the author displayed Atharidus' sentence and also, briefly, its different consequences on Sansalas and Saba: the former was left in bonds, while the latter was led away to be drown in the river, Delehaye 1912, 220.16–19. Then the author obviously moves his narration back in time, by minutely depicting the events following Atharidus' sentence: 1) Saba and the hangmen dialoging about Sansalas' fate, Delehaye 1912, 220.19–28; 2) Saba uttering thanks to God along the entire road to the river, Delehaye 1912, 220.28–29: Καὶ δι'ὅλης τῆς ὁδοῦ ἀπαγόμενος ηὐχαριστει τῷ Θεῷ, ...; 3) Saba and the hangmen dialoging on the river bank at the end of the walk; 4) Saba being drowned. It seems likely that the first event (1), so long as it had preceded *the entire road*, occurred just before the departure to the place of execution, in front of Sansalas. On the other hand, by the fact that Saba merely put into word by the question his utter astonishment and grief that Sansalas lost the martyrdom, it is a fair inference that such reaction must have occurred as

that the presbyter lost the martyrdom, Saba also revealed to Sansalas why this happened and called him to mend his ways by penance. Thus, the martyr did not try to change the will of God, but to put Sansalas' conduct in accordance with the divine will. In fact, as everyone violates the will of God by sin, so (s)he then fulfils it by penance.

At the same time, by doing so, Saba really expressed his love of neighbor, as the author of the text asserted. The same love of neighbor was the ground of Saba's attempt to mend the wrong conduct of his Christian fellow-villagers in the two first waves of persecution. The first time he openly prevented them all from committing the sin, while the second time he indirectly showed them the true Christian conduct by his own deeds[58]. Elsewhere in the martyr text, the author also stated that Saba always tried to subject *all men to his good example*[59].

Such an interpretation is also in accordance with St. Cyprian of Carthage's (+258) considerations concerning martyrs intercession for sinners. In his *De Lapsis (The Lapsed)*, the African bishop stated that a real martyr was never in opposition to God. Cyprian also advised the lapsed Christians not to rescind the Lord's precepts by the agency of the martyrs, but to return to God with their whole heart[60]. And it seems to be this last advice just the essence of Saba's words.

Also it is to be noted that the existence of Saba's question in the martyr text reveals that Sansalas understood its meaning. As it appears from the *Passion*, Sansalas was the only Christian eyewitness of most events after their arrest. That is why he was justly considered the informant of the author[61]. In such a position, he

soon as Saba heard the sentence, not later. Placing his interrogation on the way to the river it becomes rather illogical both on spiritual and even on worldly level. For a similar temporal turning in narration, see Lk. 15.20.

[58] *Passio Sabae* 3 (217.25–218.8, Delehaye 1912). On these two events, see also Holubeanu 2015, 67–68.

[59] Heather-Matthews 2004, 105; *Pass. Sabae* 2 (217.21–22, Delehaye 1912): καὶ τῇ ἀγαθῇ προθέσει πάντας ὑποτάσσων.

[60] "Is any one greater than God, or more merciful than God's goodness, that he should either wish that undone which God has suffered to be done, or, as if God had too little power to protect His Church, should think that we could be preserved by his help? ... I entreat you, beloved brethren, that each one should confess his own sin, while he who has sinned is still in this world, while his confession may be received, while the satisfaction and remission made by the priests are pleasing to the Lord. ... Let us return to the Lord with our whole heart. Let us appease His wrath and indignation with fastings, with weeping, with mourning, as He Himself admonishes us.", Roberts, Donaldson 1996, 1033, 1037–1038; Cyprianus Carthaginensis 1853, *De Lapsis*, XVII, XXIV (=20, 29) (91.11–14, 105.1–4, 105.11–106.1): An quisquam maior deo aut divina bonitate clementior, qui aut infectum velit quod passus est deus fieri, aut quasi illi minus potestatis ad protegendam ecclesiam suam fuerit, auxilio nos suo putet posse servari? ... Confiteantur singuli, quaeso vos, fratres, delictum suum, dum adhuc qui deliquit in saeculo est, dum admitti confessio eius potest, dum satisfactio et remissio facta per sacerdotes apud dominum grata est. ... Ad dominum toto corde redeamus: iram et offensam eius ieiuniis, fletibus, planctibus, sicut admonet ipse, placemus.

[61] Bessel 1862, 144; Boehmer-Romundt 1903, 287; Delehaye 1912, 291; Mansion 1914, 12; Zeiller 1918, 430–431; Leclercq 1925, 1439; Thompson 1955, 338 (=Thompson 1966, 77); Alexe 1972, 560–562; Sibiescu 1972, 361–362, 371–372; Sibiescu 2009, 22; Păcurariu 1972, 198; Păcurariu 1991, 112; Coman 1983, 252; Heather-Matthews 2004, 106, n. 27; Popescu 2009, 68, 75; Căţoi 2009, 432.

did not hide the divine reprimand reflected in Saba's words. One must take into account that, as the only eyewitness of the scene, he could have concealed the truth for the benefit of his public reputation. Actually, up to that time Sansalas had always followed this way by having hidden his sin in front of everyone. Saba, as his bosom and inferior in rank, had not suspected anything. He had not been aware of Sansalas' sin until Atharidus' sentence. Besides, Sansalas' deceptive spiritual profile must have been widespread among his fellow-villagers, either Christian or heathen. A piece of evidence is just his reputation in the village as an obstinate Christian.

The only one whom Sansalas failed to deceive was God[62]. Moreover, reading the martyr text one may infer that God had tried to mend Sansalas' ways by having healed only Saba's wounds. But Sansalas did not take the divine warning into account or was too blind to understand it. He needed a harsher reprimand. And it was only after Atharidus' sentence that Sansalas was really preoccupied in attaining his healing and attempted changing God's verdict.

Therefore, by telling the historical event, Sansalas made a public confession. It is also he who, by Saba's words – *What has the presbyter done wrong/sinned* –, gave up his deceptive reputation and confessed in front of all, either in Cappadocia, or in Gothia, or in all Christian communities of the world that he had been unworthy of the crown of martyrdom due to a sin[63].

There is another issue concerning Sansalas' case. Carefully reading the *Passio*, it can be seen that the author strewed the story with additional remarks, even sometimes paying attention to other characters' misdeeds[64]. Furthermore, possessing a thorough theological knowledge, he tactfully hinted at the theological significance of events in the story by not simply depicting Saba's martyrdom.

For instance, in the paragraphs of the seventh chapter referred to above, the author twice attributed motive and sentiment to the martyr. First time, displaying his inquiry, he also specified that Saba had been then driven on by Lord's injunction to love his neighbor as himself[65]. Second time, exposing martyr's retort to persecutors' answer, the author again stated that Saba was then illuminated by the Holy Spirit[66].

Very important on the issue, elsewhere in the text, depicting the dialog between Saba and an angel that appeared to him, the author, in his attempt to make clear the martyr's attitude, provided detailed information on Sansalas' deeds:

Certain scholars – Năsturel 1969, 179; Ionescu 1970, 486, 488; Ionescu 1972, 190; Rămureanu 1997, 309; Kulikowski 2007, 120 – did not rule out the possibility that Sansalas was the real author of the *Passion*.

[62] In this respect, Saba's question in the martyr text also becomes a warning to the readers and hearers of the *Passion*, namely, no one can deceive God. On this issue, see also Heb. 3.12, 4.12–13.

[63] On the ground of this evidence, it should be concluded – as Coman 2009, 44 already did – that Sansalas was not Saba's virtuous trainer who was praised by St. Basil the Great, *Ep. 164*, (38.5–9, Girardi 2009), as Năsturel 1969, 179–180, Ionescu 1970, 487–488, Ionescu 1972, 183, 188–190, 193, Sibiescu 1972, 365, 375, and Olteanu 1984, 328, supposed.

[64] See esp. *Passio Sabae* 3.

[65] *Passio Sabae* 7 (220.19–21, Delehaye 1912).

[66] *Passio Sabae* 7 (220.23–24, Delehaye 1912).

Saba replied to the figure [i.e., angel], 'Sansalas is away from home'. In fact – the author explains – *Sansalas was in flight because of the persecution and was spending time in Romania [i.e., Roman Empire], but at that time had just come back to his home on account of the holy day of Easter*[67].

By contrast, approaching Sansalas' fate in the seventh chapter, the author did not provide any additional information about the sin. He limited himself to simply suggesting why Sansalas had not died as a martyr together with Saba, namely, due to a sin.

This different approach may raise the question: why did the author overlook pointing out the sin as long as he had often exposed clarifying remarks in the martyr text?

The most appropriate answer it would appear to be that, for him, exposing the sin was not to the benefit of the readers. This is in keeping with a statement in the beginning of the *Passion*. Disclosing what his motivation was for writing the martyr text, the author put forward both Saba's memory and the moral improvement of the believers[68]. This means that he was fully aware of the public impact of the text and, therefore, he always took into account every possible consequence on its readers. That is why, considering that it was likely that divulging the sin could have scandalized or even done harm to other Christians, he preferred to keep silent on this matter.

On the other hand, it is remarkable that the author did not alter the accuracy of the scene, by simply removing Saba's question from narration. The framework of the text allows such adjustment. The author could have simply removed the second paragraph of the seventh chapter entirely, starting the third paragraph by the words *Then Saba burst out in exultation of the Holy Spirit and said...* or something like that. As a matter of fact, eliminating a sentence that could confuse the readers appears to be preferable to preserving it.

But, such alteration would have significant theological consequences. By it the author would have officially conferred Sansalas the status as a confessor of the faith (ὁμολογητής). Thus, he would have perpetuated the presbyter's deceptive reputation, would have even made it official in the church, and would have granted Sansalas undeserved public veneration. Besides, on the spiritual level, the author himself would have disregarded the divine will and the public penance that God himself inflicted on Sansalas[69].

[67] Heather-Matthews 2004, 106; *Passio Sabae* 4 (220.22–25, Delehaye 1912): Ὁ δὲ Σάβας ἀπεκρίθη λέγων αὐτῷ· «Σανσαλᾶς ἀποδημεῖ.» Ἦν δὲ ὁ Σανσαλᾶς διὰ τὸν διωγμὸν φυγὼν καὶ χρονίσας ἐν τῇ Ῥωμανίᾳ· τότε οὖν διὰ τὴν ἁγίαν ἡμέραν τοῦ Πάσχα ἐληλύθει προσφάτως εἰς τὰ ἴδια·

[68] ... *for the sake of his [i.e., Saba's] memory and the edification of the worshippers of God after his liberation in the Lord, he bade us [i.e., the author] not be idle but write of his triumph*, HEATHER-MATTHEWS 2004², p. 104; *Passio Sabae* 1 (217.9–11, Delehaye 1912): ... μνήμης καὶ οἰκοδομῆς τῶν θεοσεβῶν χάριν μετὰ τὴν ἐν κυρίῳ ἀνάλυσιν αὐτοῦ οὐκ ἠρεμεῖν ἡμῖν ἐπέτρεψεν ἀλλὰ γράψαι τὰς ἀριστείας αὐτοῦ.

[69] This may also be the place to mention the opposition between Sansalas and the believer who was martyred by chance in the episode of the mass martyrdom of Gothic Christians by fire in their church, see Delehaye 1902, col. 560, 9–12 (26 mart). Sansalas was arrested and released, while the latter arrived to the church and suffered martyrdom at the last minute. These opposite cases reveal the

That is why the author, making allowance for every possible consequence, preferred to preserve the sentence into the martyr text, without any other remarks, considering all these implications. Such, Saba's inquiry becomes also the mark by which the author labeled Sansalas' spiritual status. It makes the difference between Sansalas as a sinner or an unworthy of martyrdom, and Sansalas as a confessor of the faith. And, given that the presbyter was overlooked in all synaxaria displaying Saba's martyrdom[70], we can say that author's solution reached its target.

This explanation suggests that the author, or at least the one who examined Sansalas' case, was not a simple narrator, but a real ecclesiastical judge. Hearing and then writing the *Passion* – or, at least, supervising it –, he interpreted every character's deeds and words, and, very important on the issue, refrained from any kind of additional remarks that might have scandalized or troubled other Christians.

However, such undertaking is rather specific to a bishop because church traditionally assigned such discretionary powers to bishops[71]. Indeed, their ecclesiastical position entitled them to decide upon what is to be said or done and what is not. And even if our bishop was not the same with the author of the *Passion*, we can safely concluded that, in drafting up the document, a bishop – more likely St. Betranion of Tomis[72] – was personally involved. He was the one who supervised the narration and solved the sensitive matters of the story, such as Sansalas' case.

It seems also a fair inference that before drafting the martyr text there had been a very earnest conversation between the bishop and Sansalas, a conversation in which the former had been informed in detail about presbyter's misdeeds. On the ground of this conversation he acted so as to solve the case[73].

It is also possible – hypothetically speaking – that the presbyter acknowledged his guilt to the bishop in a form of sacramental confession[74]. In fact, resorting to a cleric as a stage of sacramental penance is clearly attested in the Eastern Church as early as the last years of the third century[75], and, in the fourth century, the

holiness of the martyrs in trans-Danubian Gothia and the justness of their public veneration in the Roman Empire.

[70] See note 20, above.

[71] As in applying the canons, see Amann 1933, 756, 784, 807; Ligier 1967, 942–943. See also in Mayer 2010, 159–171, an analysis of St. John Chrysosotom's strategy in relation to a specific set of crises.

[72] Determining the author of *Passion* is the subject of debate. It would be redundant to discuss this issue at length here. See the survey of scholarship on it in Girardi 2009, 53–54.

[73] The passages of direct speech in the *Passion of St. Saba* have been judged as being invented or fictive by Heather-Matthews 2004², p. 102, and Leemans 2012, p. 215. Whatever the case, their value on the matter is of no less of importance as long as they shape the thought of the author.

[74] This hypothesis also advocates the statement that the author was a bishop. At that time, the authoritative minister for penance was still the bishop. The presbyter's and even deacon's ministry was also accepted, but in cases of necessity – as in the case of a dying person and/or in bishop's long absence –, but only with bishop's acceptance, see Vacandard 1908, 840–848; Amann 1933, 770, 777, 803–804; Rondet 1958, 577–578; Ligier 1967, 943; Gy 1988, 104–105; Santantoni 2000, 99. However, given that this was not a case of necessity and, besides, Sanasalas himself was a presbyter, the possibility that he confessed his sin to another priest is rather wrong.

[75] Amann 1933, 770, 777, 809. See also – note 60, above – St. Cyprian's advice to the lapsed.

confession was already a duty for everyone who had performed a serious sin[76]. Moreover, both St. Basil the Great and St. Gregory of Nyssa enlarged the category of sins which ought to have been confessed, beyond traditional interpretation of *ad mortem* sins – *idolatry, murder,* and *adultery*[77].

That is why, considering that Sansalas was very affected by the divine punishment received and he even publicly recognized his sinfulness by the agency of Saba's inquiry, it is possible that, in his endeavor to attain the divine forgiveness, the presbyter resorted to the sacramental confession, too. This could also explain why the author was forced to keep the secret on the sin[78].

Going a step further, if Sansalas had really addressed to the bishop of Tomis in his endeavor to attain the forgiveness of God, then he wouldn't have had his own bishop, i.e., a Nicene[79], in trans-Danubian Gothia at that time[80].

In the end, a last question remains: *What had the presbyter Sansalas sinned*? Although the martyr text did not point it out clearly, certain clues can be identified. However, the matter is perplexing and any attempt in solving it cannot go beyond hypotheses. We shall further briefly display some of the clues in the martyr text.

First, Sansalas' incomplete confession is certainly one of those. Therefore, one should consider the harmful consequences by disclosing the sin, not for Sansalas, but for others. Here also it might have been thought that Sansalas' sin was concerned with clerics' state and not with ordinary Christians'. As such, mentioning the sin to ordinary believers would not have any sense[81].

Second, it seems that the sin could have been easily justified or even considered harmless for the spiritual life. In other words it was a deliberate sin, but of such seriousness that Sansalas was not aware of. That is why he considered himself to be entitled to the same extent as Saba to receive martyrdom by asking Atharidus to pass a death sentence upon both of them. Certainly, his sin may not be considered to have been a deadly one – such as idolatry, murder, or adultery.

[76] It should be noted that the clerics' state in the Church was incompatible with that of the penitents. Both in the Eastern and Western Church, a cleric who performed a mortal sin was removed from priesthood, see Amann 1933, 792, 803; Gy 1988, 103. But, Sansalas' clerical fate is another issue.

[77] Vacandard 1908, 840, 848–849.

[78] On the secret of confession in the ancient Church, see Vacandard 1908, 842, 852, 855–859; Amann 1933, 792, 796–798.

[79] On the Catholic faith of Saba and, implicitly, Sansalas' community, see *Passio Sabae* 2 (217.12, Delehaye 1912), and Thompson 1966, 95; Wolfram 1988, 82; Wolfram 2014, 137; Rubin 1981, 44 (note 56); Alexe 2009, 56; Heather 1986, 293 (n. 13); Lenski 1995, 77–78; Kulikowski 2007, 119. By contrast, Parvis 2014, 67–83, asserted that Saba was an Arian. However, we find that Parvis produced no convincing evidence for his assertion. It is an issue to which we hope soon to return.

[80] The bishopric vacancy in trans-Danubian Gothia at that time was also surmised by Ionescu 1972, 190; Rămureanu 1997, 310–311; Coman 1983, 256; Schäferdiek 1993, 331; Popescu 2009, 75; Căţoi 2009, 445, Mathisen 2014, 151. On his turn, Wolfram 2014, 138, considered that there was a Catholic *chorepiscopus* among the Goths at that time – i.e., Goddas –, but which did not stay with the main tribe at all times.

[81] See, on the issue, Amann 1933, 807.

Third, Sansalas' flawless reputation in trans-Danubian Gothia could suggest that the priest had not performed the sin there, but rather in the Roman Empire, where he had travelled before.

Fourth, emphasizing Saba's *love of neighbor* in that parallel Saba-Sansalas, one might think that Sansalas did not rise to such a *love of neighbor*[82]. This might imply that his sin particularly violated this gospel commandment.

Finally, in solving the matter one must bear into mind the persecution against Christians in trans-Danubian Gothia that closely followed the peace Roman-Goth treaty of Noviodunum (369). Then, the Gothic leaders tried reinforcing their ancestral religion[83] to support the unity of Gothic confederation. This would also involve that the Christians there were considered Roman sympathizers and the persecution was designed to rid Gothia of any religious and political influence of the Empire[84].

Indeed, there were close links between Gothic Christians and Roman Empire. As already noted[85], Sansalas himself was their subject by taking refuge south to the Danube to avoid the persecution. St. Basil the Great also referred briefly to the *relief* that Junius Soranus, as contemporary *dux Scythiae*, provided *for those suffering persecution* [i.e., Christians in trans-Danubian Gothia] *for the name of the Lord*[86].

However, it seems that sometimes such contacts went beyond the religious limits and the events in mid-summer 365 could be a test. Then, the Roman commanders received advance warning of a possible Gothic aggression on the Danube[87] and the agents who had provided such information could have been some Christians in Gothia too[88]. Even the *Passion of Saba* suggests that Junius Soranus, as the military commander of forces in the Roman province of Scythia, had at hand a kind of network in trans-Danubian Gothia which could more than simply to assist his men slinked there[89]. And it is also very likely that Sansalas himself met Soranus in Scythia.

[82] For a similar assumption, see also Coman 2009², p. 44.

[83] Socrates 1995, 269.20–22 (4.33.7); Sozomenos 2004, 820.13–19 (6.37.12). However, Epiphanius 1985, 248.18–25 (*Pan.* 70.15.4), still explains the persecution of Gothic Christians as revenge against Roman emperors.

[84] The political-religious function of anti-Christian persecution in trans-Danubian Gothia in 369–372 is still suggested by *Passio Sabae* 3 (218.12–15, Delehaye 1912). See also Zeiller 1918, 423; Thompson 1966, 98, 101; Sibiescu 1972, 357, 360; Păcurariu 1972, 195; Păcurariu 1991, 109–110; Păcurariu 1994, 44; Wolfram 1988, 63, 68–69, 84; Rubin 1981, 43–45, 53; Alexe 2009, 55; Popescu 1983, 268–269; Heather 1986, 316–317; Heather 1991, 104–105; Reichert 2012, 124, 138; Heather-Matthews 2004, 18, 96; Schäferdiek 1993, 354–355; Lenski 1995, 81–83; Kulikowski 2007, 117–122; Madgearu 2008, 102; Girardi 2009, 15.

[85] See note 68, above

[86] Heather-Matthews 2004, 114; St. Basile the Great, *Ep. 155*. (30.12–13, Girardi 2009): ... καὶ ἣν παρέχῃ ἀνάπαυσιν τοῖς διὰ τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ Κυρίου διωκομένοις, ...

[87] Ammien Marcellin 1984, 76 (26.6.11).

[88] See, also, Heather 1986, 317; Lenski 1995, 85; Kulikowski 2007, 117–118. Besides, Madgearu 2008, 99, also supposed that a treasure discovered at Gura Ialomiței, on the Gothic bank of the Danube, was a Roman reward for an inhabitant in trans-Danubian Gothia which had given military notice to Roman army in summer 368.

[89] *These [i.e., Saba's remains] Junius Soranus ... sending trustworthy men transported from barbarian land to Romania [i.e., Roman Empire]*, Heather-Matthews 2004, 104; *Passio Sabae* 8

Therefore, taking into account all the above data, we would have to surmise, with all due caution, that Sansalas' sin was that he had been involved in such secular matters. In fact, such a sin could be easily justified by his conscience. He was a Christian priest in the middle of a heathen people and, by such an undertaking he could think of helping his Christian brothers against their pagan enemy. Besides, if he was not a Goth by race, as his name could suggest[90], then such a temptation must have been strong enough.

On the other hand, doing so, he violated just the evangelical command to love his neighbor as himself. Actually, as a priest, Sansalas would have to limit himself to preaching the Gospel, rising himself above all – ethnic, religious, political etc. – distinctions[91]. He ought to have seen the pagans as his neighbors and also as his (possible) spiritual sons, and not as his enemies. Besides, as result from the martyr text[92], his heathen fellow-villagers and even some of the persecutors did not fanatically harbor anti-Christian feelings. Such, at least some of them could have received the Gospel message.

This kind of sin can also explain why the author avoided pointing it out. Indeed, by revealing this fact he could have done much harm to Gothic Christianity because it would have meant to arouse undeserved suspicion upon all Christians and especially clerics in trans-Danubian Gothia, and to compromise the preaching of the Gospel in the pagan *barbaricum*.

Whatever Sansalas' sin may be, from theological point of view we may safely infer from this real story that God gives the prize of martyrdom only to the Christians who sincerely love him and their neighbors. He makes no exception in this regard.

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(221.13–15, Delehaye 1912): ὅπερ Οὔνιος Σωρανός, ..., ἀποστείλας ἀξιοπίστους ἀνθρώπους, ἐκ τοῦ βαρβαρικοῦ εἰς τὴν Ῥωμανίαν μετήνεγκεν'

[90] On the non-Gothic origin of the name *Sansalas*, see Zeiller 1918, 431; Loewe 1922, 277–278; Schmidt 1933, 234; Giesecke 1939, 66, 68; Năsturel 1969, 179; Zgusta 1970, 87; Ionescu 1970, 489–490; Ionescu 1972, 183, 187; Alexe 1972, 567 (but, 561, n. 24: *barbarian name*, without any other explanation); Sibiescu 1972, 371, 374; Strzelczyk 1980, 238; Wolfram 1988, 83; Wolfram 2014, 138; Coman 2009, 45; Reichert 2012, 133, 139; Schäferdiek 1993, 337; Girardi 2009, 99 (n. 120). On *Sansalas* as Gothic name, see Waitz 1840, 43; Mansion 1914, 12; Leclercq 1925, 1439; Moisescu, Lupşa, Filipaşcu 1957, 64.

[91] See Lk. 6.27–28; 10.25–37.

[92] *Passio. Sabae* 3, 7 (217.28–32; 218.3–6; 220.32–33, Delehaye 1912).

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THE PORTRAIT OF A 'BAD GUY'. ALEXIOS DOUKAS MURTZUPHLOS IN THE VENETIAN CHRONICLES

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Among the Byzantine characters directly involved in the events of the Fourth Crusade, the Venetian chronicles reserve a particular place to Emperor Alexios V 'Murtzuphlos'. Actually, this character is the negative one in the entire story, the enemy *par excellence*. This position is explainable, since Alexios V had been the one that, as a result of his act to assassinate the Crusaders' favorite on the throne, that is Alexios IV Angelos, provoked the reactions that led to the second capture of Constantinople, to the fall of the Byzantine Empire in 1204 and consequently to the establishment of the Latin Empire.

The present study relies upon a number of 109 Venetian chronicles[1], dispersed on the centuries when they were written as follows: two chronicles dated in the 13th century[2], seven from the 14th century[3], 22 from the 15th century[4], three from the transitional period from the 15th to the 16th century[5], 41 dated in the 16th century[6], seven from the transition from the 16th to the 17th century[7], 21 from the 17th century[8], and six chronicles from the 18th century[9]. To a certain extent, this distribution also reflects the dispersion by periods of the whole Venetian chronicles.

[1] Certainly, we left aside those chronicles that do not include the events at the beginning of the 13th century. As a note, the 16th century chronicle preserved in F 6239 lost its first pages, so that its use for the present study is only partial.

[2] HDV; Canal = 1,83 % of the chronicles.

[3] Dandolo Brevis; Dandolo Extensa; A latina; VH; pseudo-Enrico Dandolo; Morosini A.; M 2545 = 6,42%.

[4] M 2548; M 2549; M 89; Monaci; M 2556; M 2564; M 2569; Cigotto; M 322; M 2034; M 104; M 2563; M 78; M 38; M 2560; Biondo; M 796; M 559; M 2559; Sabellico; pseudo-Sanudo 1; pseudo-Sanudo 2 = 20,18%.

[5] M 541; M 550; Antonio = 2,75%.

[6] M 2544; M 798; Delfino P.; Cavalli; M 51; M 2555; Marco; Zancaruolo; Gussoni; F 6234; M 46; M 2571; M 2576; M 2573; pseudo-Caroldo; F 6239 (partially, since the first pages referring to the Fourth Crusade are lost); Rosso; M 2543; M 555; pseudo-Barbaro; pseudo-Abbiosi; M 45; M 2567; M 47; pseudo-Zancaruolo; M 628a; M 53; pseudo-Erizzo; pseudo-Navagero; F 6211; Donato T.; M 68; M 2580; M 39; M 2581; Agostini-Tiepolo; Sansovino; pseudo-Veniera; pseudo-Savina; M 793; Doglioni = 37,61%.

[7] M 1586; M 327; M 2550; M 71; F 6821; M 67; M 91 = 6,42%.

[8] F 6235; Lio; Morosini P.; M 2541; F 6241; M 43; M 44; M 2572; pseudo-Donato; M 54; F 6167; M 80; F 6166; M 70; pseudo-Enrico Dandolo 102; Vianoli; M 2592; M 61; M 66; M 66 bis; M 1999 = 19.27%.

[9] M 1577; M 2028; M 64; F 6566; Diedo; M 1833 = 5,50%.

Among them, there are few chronicles that, although including the period of the Fourth Crusade in their narration, surprisingly leave aside either Murtzuphlos as character[10] or generally the details of this crusade[11].

Maybe preferring to make a long story short, even some of the chronicles that deal with the Fourth Crusade ignore completely the presence of Murtzuphlos, so that it is Alexios IV himself the one who refuses to pay the debt towards the Crusader creditors. Consequently, in these cases, the second siege of Constantinople is nothing but a punitive action against the one who was not able to keep his promises, that is the young Alexios. These chronicles leave beyond any doubt the fact that it is about the young Alexios, some of them by saying clearly that he would have been dethroned "for the second time", "again"[12]. A particular case is represented by chronicle **pseudo-Sanudo 1**, according to which, after referring to Alexios the Younger's promises towards the crusaders, it is the first siege to be followed directly by the election of Baldwin of Flanders[13], as if Alexios is left aside by the chronicler.

By subtracting all these 25 cases – those seven that leave entirely aside the Fourth Crusade and those 18 that regard Alexios IV as being one more time deposed by the Crusaders themselves –, and also the one of chronicle **M 2572** – that mentions Murtzuphlos nowhere in the text, just invoking the "various incidents / *diuersi accidenti*"[14] as a general occurences during the events and passing directly to the election of a Latin emperor –, it results that Alexios V is present in a number of 83 Venetian chronicles, meaning a significant percent of 77.06% of the chronicles taken into account. These chronicles are dispersed by centuries as follows:

13th century: two chronicles of two (meaning 100% of the chronicles)

14th century: five chronicles of seven (meaning 71.43%)

15th century: 15 chronicles of 22 (meaning 68.18%)

Transition from the 15th to the 16th century: two chronicles of three (meaning 66.67%)

16th century: 33 chronicles of 41 (meaning 80.49%)

Transition from the 16th to the 17th century: five chronicles of seven (meaning 71.43%)

17th century: 15 chronicles of 21 (meaning 71.43%)

18th century: six chronicles of six (meaning 100%)

The episodes that refer to Murtzuphlos, according to the Venetian chronicles, are the following:

[10] Agostini-Tiepolo; M 67; M 2541; F 6166; M 66.

[11] M 2555; M 793.

[12] Dandolo Brevis, 367; A latina, 116; M 2548, 16a, col. 1 ("*vn altra volta*"); M 2549, 22a, col. 1; M 2556, 52; M 104, 77a; M 38, 22b, col. 2; M 2559, 22, col. 1 [=21b, col. 1] ("*vn altra uolta*"); M 162, 18a; M 2576, 26b ("*vn altra volta*"); Rosso, 29b; M 555, 33b, col. 2–34a, col. 1; M 39, 28b–29a ("*da nouo*"); M 2550, 78a ("*un'altra uolta*"); M 44, 32a–32b ("*anchora*"); F 6167, 30a ("*anchora dà nouo*"); M 66 bis, 90a ("*ancora da nuouo*").

[13] pseudo-Sanudo 1, 529.

[14] M 2572, 14b.

1. His liberation by Alexios IV immediately after the latter's coronation as emperor[15]

The episode seems to have its particular importance, since it is regarded as the first initiative taken by Alexios the Younger once crowned as emperor. Thus, the new emperor releases "his relative/*parente*" Murtzuphlos[16] (even cousin or uncle, according to some cases) from prison and immediately appoints him in high dignities[17]. The Venetian version of the title received by Murtzuphlos varies: a part of the chronicles regards him as "chamberlain and marshal" (or similar forms)[18], while the remainder of them refers to him in the more general terms of master and/or baron ("the greatest master and baron that he [emphasis mine: Alexios IV] had around himself", or similar expressions)[19].

[15] Present in 51.40% of the chronicles: pseudo-Enrico Dandolo, 74; Morosini A., 7; M 2545, 47b, col. 2; M 89, 24a, col. 1; Monaci, 137; M 2564, 79a; M 2569, 49b; Cigotto, 169b; M 322, 49b; M 2034, 396; M 2563, 11b; M 78, 10b, col. 1; M 2560, 68b [73b]; M 559, 45a; pseudo-Sanudo 2, 530; M 541, 34b; M 550, 72b; M 2544, 42b, col. 2; M 798, xxij b; Cavalli, 58b; M 51, 70a, col. 2; Zancaruolo, 22b; Gussoni, 222; F 6234, 61b; M 46, 31b; M 2573, 111a; M 2543, 49a; pseudo-Barbaro, 222a, 231a; pseudo-Abbiosi, 20b; M 45, 41b; M 2567, 39a, col. 2; M 47, 32b, col. 2; pseudo-Zancaruolo, cl xxxxiij a; M 628a, 90a; M 53, 137b–138a; pseudo-Erizzo, 108b; Donato T., 76a; M 68, 72b; M 2580, 130a; pseudo-Veniera, 68b; pseudo-Savina, 55b, 57a; M 1586, 36b; M 327, 70b; F 6821, 82a; M 91, 366a; Lio, 67a; F 6241, 24a; M 43, 36b; M 54, 155a; M 80, 103a; pseudo-Enrico Dandolo 102, 40b; M 1577, 272; M 2028, 79b–80a; M 64, 194b; F 6566, 33b. As for the primary sources, the episode is comparably described in Clari, 77–78, the release of Murtzuphlos being also the first initiative taken by Alexios IV after his crowning. No other source does refer to any release of Murtzuphlos from prison by Alexios.

[16] pseudo-Enrico Dandolo; Morosini A.; M 2545; M 89; M 2564; M 2569; Cigotto; M 322; M 2034; M 2563; M 78; M 2560; M 559; pseudo-Sanudo 2; M 541; M 550; M 2544; M 798; Cavalli; M 51; Zancaruolo; Gussoni; F 6234; M 46; M 2573; M 2543; pseudo-Barbaro; pseudo-Abbiosi; M 45; M 2567; M 47; pseudo-Zancaruolo; M 628a; M 53; pseudo-Erizzo; Donato T.; M 68; M 2580; pseudo-Veniera; pseudo-Savina; M 1586; M 327; M 71; F 6821; M 91; F 6235; Lio; F 6241; M 43; M 54; M 80; pseudo-Enrico Dandolo 102; M 61; M 1577; M 2028; M 64; F 6566. In some of these cases, "*parente*" is replaced by clearer family connections, such as "*un suo cuxino* / one of his cousins" (M 78; M 43) or "*vno suo barba* / one of his uncles (or similar)" (M 2573; pseudo-Barbaro; M 53; pseudo-Savina; F 6821) or other expressions ("*un suo cortigiano di sangue*", cf. M 71; "*famigliar dell'Imperatore*", cf. F 6235; "*un suo consanguineo*", cf. F 6241; "*congionto di sangue delli due Imperatori*", cf. M 61). As for F 6566, the relation is emphasized by the adjective "*stretto*".

[17] Clari narrates that there were the Greek high barons that informed the new emperor about "a high man" that was in prison. Subsequently, there are two cases in which Clari, 82 and 85, when referring to Murtzuphlos, uses the expression "whom he/the emperor had freed from prison".

[18] pseudo-Enrico Dandolo ("*suo magior camerlengo et mariscalco*"); Morosini A. ("*so mazior chamerlengo, mareschalcho*"); M 2545 ("*ssuo mazior chamerlengo ett mareschalcho*"); M 89 ("*so mazor chamerlengo e maraschalcho*"); M 322 ("*ministro e chamerlengo de tuto el so Inperio*"); M 559 ("*suo mazor chamerlego & mereschalcho* [sic!]"); M 2543 ("*ministro camerlengo de tutto lo suo Imperio*"); M 2567 ("*suo camerlengo*"); M 68 ("*suo maggior camerlengo*"); pseudo-Veniera ("*suo Maggior Camerlengo*"); Lio ("*suo maggior camerlengo*"); M 54 ("*suo maggior camarlengo*"); pseudo-Enrico Dandolo 102 ("*sò mazor Camarlengo et Maroslalco*"); M 64 ("*suo maggior camerlengo*"); F 6566 ("*suo maggior camerlengo*"). According to Clari, p. 78, the title is that of "chief steward".

[19] M 2564 ("*el maor maistro e baron che lavea apreso de luj*"); M 2569 ("*lo mazor baron che lui hauesse*"); M 2034 ("*el mazior baron che liui avese*"); Cigotto ("*suo baron et gran maestro piuj mazor che luj auesse apreso dela sua persona*"); M 2563 ("*mazzor maistro che l'hauesse appresso di lui*"); M 78 ("*suo primo barone*"); M 2560 ("*suo baron e gran maistro mazor che luy hauesse apresso*

The title of "*protosevasto*" is also present, but only in a small number of chronicles and usually contaminated with the other titles[20].

As for chronicle **M 322**, Murtzuphlos is mentioned only as "*çentilhomo de quela tera*", while in **M 71**, where Alexios Doukas enters the stage only when referring to the assassination of Alexios IV, he is called with the strange formula of "*un suo cortigiano del sangue*".

Later, when referring to his ingratitude against Alexios IV or to his reluctance against the payment of the crusaders, some of the above chronicles regard Murtzuphlos as "*maistro del suo hostello*"[21], while others insist upon the dignity of chamberlain[22] and **M 51** upon the one of "*protosevasto*"[23].

The other chronicles, which do not refer to the liberation of Murtzuphlos by the young emperor, introduce him in the story only later, meaning directly when referring to his bad pieces of advice or to the revolt against his lord. On that occasion, some of them make references to the benefits received from Isaac II[24].

de si"); pseudo-Sanudo 2 ("*il maggior barone ch'egli avesse*"); M 541 ("*mazor maistro lauese apreso de luj*"); M 550 ("*suo baron et gran mastro appresso di se*"); M 2544 ("*el mazore barone che fosse che lui hauesse*"); M 798 ("*el mazor baron che lauese apreso de lui*"); Cavalli ("*mazor baron che luy hauesse*"); Zancaruolo ("*el mazor baron che luj auesse*"); Gussoni ("*suo baron et gran maistro mazor che lui havese apresso de si*"); F 6234 ("*suo baron, et gran maistro mazor*"); M 46 ("*mazor maistro chel hauesse apresso de sj*"); pseudo-Abbiosi ("*el mazor baron, che l'hauesse*"); M 45 ("*el maor maistro e baron che lhauesse apresso de luj*"); M 47 ("*el mazor barono che lui hauese*"); pseudo-Zancaruolo ("*el mazor baron che lauesse apresso luj*"); M 628a ("*il mazor maistro, e baron che l'hauesse appresso de si*"); pseudo-Erizzo ("*el maor maistro, e baron, che l'hauesse appresso de lui*"); Donato T. ("*so baron e gram maistro mazor che lui hauesse apresso de si*"); M 2580 ("*el maggior maestro haueua appresso dellui*"); M 1586 ("*lo maggiore barone lui hauesse*"); M 327 ("*so mazor baron de corte che l'hauesse*"); F 6821 ("*grande maistro apreso la sua persona*"); M 91 ("*il mazor maistro et baron chel hauesse appresso de si*"); F 6241 ("*il suo primo barone*"); M 43 ("*gran maestro tenendolo senpre appreso di lui*"); M 80 ("*il più gran maestro che hauesse appresso di se*"); M 1577 ("*el maor baron, chel l'avesse appresso de lui*"); M 2028 ("*maggior barone, che lui hauesse*").

[20] M 51 ("*suo prothoseuasto che vuol dir lo primo e llo prinzipal suo homo che lo auesse jn la suo corte*"); M 2573 ("*suo protoseuastos & gran maraschalco*"); pseudo-Barbaro (saying that Murtzuphlos gained *el primo luogo appresso di se, el fece prothoseuasto Imperial, et col consiglio et col parer di quello se rezeua, et gouernaua in tutte le sue cose*"); M 53 ("*suo protoseuastos et suo gran maraschalcho*"); pseudo-Savina ("*suo primo baron e prothoseuaste del suo Imperio*").

[21] M 2034 ("*maistro de hostello*"); M 2560 ("*maistro del suo hostelo*"); M 541 ("*maistro del so hostello*"); Gussoni ("*maistro del suo hostelle*"); F 6234 ("*gran maistro del suo castello*"); M 45 ("*maistro del suo hostello*"); M 628a ("*gran maistro de tutto el suo ostello*"); pseudo-Erizzo ("*maistro del tutto del suo hostello*"); Donato T. ("*so baron et maistro de tuto el suo ostello*"); M 1586 ("*maestro d'hostello*"); M 91 ("*gran maestro di tutto il suo ostello*"); M 80 ("*gran maestro di tutto il suo ostello*"). In the case of pseudo-barbaro, it says in the context of his attitude against the payment of the Latins that "*Mauritio suo Barba appresso il qual era quasi tutta l'auttorità dell'Imperio*".

[22] pseudo-Enrico Dandolo ("*camarlengo del dicto Imperador novello*"); Morosini A. ("*chamerlengo de lo dito Inperador novelo*"); M 2545 ("*chamerlengo del ditto Inperador nouelo*"); M 89 ("*chamerlengo e parente del dito Imperador nouelo*"); M 559 ("*camerlego delo Imperador nouello*"); pseudo-Enrico Dandolo 102 ("*lo preditto Mortifex camarlengo*").

[23] M 51 ("*prothoseuasto jdest lo primo homo dello Inperio*").

[24] Monaci ("*ipse Alexios nomine cognominatus Murtilus, provectus per Isachum ad nobilem statum, & factus Prothovestarius, nuper autem ab Alexio puero Ducha creatus,* [...]"); Biondo ("*Alexios cognomine Murtilus, quem Isaac Imperator ex infima plebe in Patricium Protonotariumque,*

It is also worth to be mentioned the case of chronicle **pseudo-Barbaro,** which inserts a strange fact, according to which Alexios III (named *Basilio* in the chronicle), besides the blinding of Isaac and the attempt to kill Alexios the Younger, would have been assassinated a third brother, who would have been even "*Morille (Moritio dicono alcuni)*"[25]! Nevertheless, this latter appears again in the narration lately, when speaking about the coronation of Alexios IV, the new emperor liberating "*Mauritio suo barba, za impresonado da Basilio in una torre nel Mar Mazor*". As for chronicle **pseudo-Savina,** it follows the pattern of **pseudo-Barbaro,** except that it changes the evolution of the events and makes them plausible: "*e messe anche in preso Mauritio un altro suo frattello*"[26]; after a while it narrates: "*Mauritio suo barba, el qual era sta per Basilio impresonado*".

According to a part of the chronicles[27], the supposed action of the crusaders in the Holy Land is inserted immediately after the liberation of Murtzuphlos and only

primariam aulicorum dignitatem, [...]"); Sabellico ("*Alexios, cognomento Myrtilus, vel, ut alii habent, Murcyphus, quem Isachus ex infima plebe multis & magnis honoribus ad summam dignitatem provexerat.*"); pseudo-Caroldo ("*Era Murcipho stato d'Isaakio antico servitore et da lui haveva ricevuti molti beneficij et per ciò apresso il figliuolo Alessio teneva il primo luogo nel consiglio, anzi era solo governatore di quell'Imperio*"); Morosini P. ("*Alessio Murzuflo, in cui teneua particolar confidenza, e che dal padre Isaacio, da humile fortuna al carico, & honore di Protouestiario era stato solleuato, & inalzato*"); Vianoli ("*Quest'huomo solleuato alla fortuna dei primi posti in corte, & all'honore di Protovestiario dal fauore dell'Imperatore Isaacio*"); M 61 ("*Questo benche congionto di sangue delli due Imperatori, e delle stessi unico confidente come protouestiario, ò sia cameriero maggiore* [...]"); M 1999 ("*Duca Mirtillo huomo di uilissima conditione portato da beneficij dell'Imperator Isaccio à si alto posto*"); Diedo ("*Murciffo, uomo di sangue plebeo, ma sollevato dall'Imperadore Isaccio a' primi onori dell'Imperio*"). Among the primary sources, which usually (except for Clari) start referring to Murtzuphlos only lately, when referring to the preparations for the Greek revolt against Alexios, there are two cases where he is depicted as being somehow related to the Angeli: "*sanguine sibi propinquum, de quo pro beneficiis impensis super omnes alios confidebat*" (according to Baldwin, 503); "a certain relative" (in Gunther, 82, respectively "*autem cujusdam cognati sui, nobilis quidem viri, sed perfidi, qui Murtiphlo, id est flos cordis in gente illa vocabatur*", in Gunther Migne, 233). According to Gunther, it was Murtzuphlos who had advised Alexios III to remove Isaac II and take the power! (see also Gunther, 95, respectively Gunther Migne, 239: "Morciflo, whom we mentioned above, through whose advice his father had been blinded and he himself put away in jail, [...] / *Murciflo ille, cujus superius fecimus mentionem, cujus consilio pater ejus caecatus, et ipse in carcerem retrusus fuerat,* [...]"; see also Gunther, 115, respectively Gunther Migne, 248): "He had induced Alexios to blind his own brother, incarcerate his nephew, and steal the kingdom from both; [...] / *qui sibi fratrem caecare, et nepotem carcerarem, et utrumque regno spoliare persuasisset,* [..]". Then, the same chronicler (Gunther, 95, respectively Gunther Migne, 239) continues: "Once Alexios had been put out of the way, Morciflo crowned himself with the diadem, as though he were a man of royal lineage and even related by blood. / *Quo sublato de medio ipse tanquam homo regii generis, et ipse quoque sanguine propinquus, diadema sibi imposuit,* [..]." However, generally speaking, the sources do not follow this path, since his activity prior to anti-Alexios revolt is not referred to: Choniates, 307 (who only notes his imperial family name of Doukas, see also Choniates Van Dieten, 561); Villehardouin, 20/21 (who regards him only as "*un Gré / un Grec*"); Clari, 77; *Devastatio*, 91; Novgorod, 95; *Corpus Flandriae*, 297; *Chron. Gall.*, 352; later, Morea, 88 is completely original by regarding him as being "a certain rich man, an archon of the City, they called him Mourtzouhlos" (in Morea Bouchon, 62/63: "*Μούρτζουφλον τὸν ἐλέγαςιν, οὕτως εἶχε τὸ ἐπίκλην / un certain seigneur fort riche de cette ville, appelée Mourtzouphle*").

[25] pseudo-Barbaro, 222a.

[26] pseudo-Savina, 55b.

[27] pseudo-Enrico Dandolo; Morosini A.; M 2545; M 89; M 559; M 2567; M 68; M 2580; pseudo-Veniera; Lio; M 43; pseudo-Donato; M 54; pseudo-Enrico Dandolo 102; M 64; F 6566.

their return to Constantinople would put them in confrontation with a new situation: that is, in the meantime, Murtzuphlos with the consent of the Greeks ("*con consentimento di Greci*" or similar expressions)[28] had killed Alexios IV and, more than this, along with the Greeks denied the entrance of the Crusaders in the city. Actually, this is the moment that convinced the Crusaders to take the city for themselves.

Among the chronicles above, it is strange the case of **pseudo-Donato**, which had not previously mentioned the liberation of Murtzuphlos, so that the assassination of Alexios IV would be due to the Greeks. Afterwards, when the Crusaders returned to Constantinople, their entrance would have been denied by "*li detti Mertafixi, et Greghi*", so that Murtzuphlos would represent not a person, but a community along with the Greeks!

According to another scenario[29], the appointment of Murtzuphlos is immediately followed by the embarrassing financial situation, when the Westerners ask for their proper amount of money.

As compilations, **M 2580** and **M 43** refer to the negotiations over the debts, and only afterwards they insert the supposed expedition in the Holy Land.

It is a singular case (**M 322**) when the episode referring to the liberation of Murtzuphlos is immediately followed by the assassination of Alexios IV.

2. His reluctance in paying the debts to the crusaders (previous to the assassination of Alexios IV)[30]

It is mentioned for the short period when Alexios IV was still on the throne and Murtzuphlos, in his position as main counsellor, comes into contradiction with the young emperor: "Alexios wanted to pay the debt willingly, but that Murtzuphlos did not" (or similar expressions)[31]. In the other cases, the reason for which Alexios adopted the strategy of postponing was due to Murtzuphlos' pieces of advice[32]. By

[28] Among these chronicles, the expression is missing in M 2567 and pseudo-Donato.

[29] It is about those chronicles that to do not insert the Crusaders' action in the Holy Land: M 2564; M 2569; M 2034; M 2563; M 78; M 2560; pseudo-Sanudo 2; M 541; M 550; M 2544; M 798; Cavalli; M 51; Zancaruolo; Gussoni; F 6234; M 46; M 2573; M 2543; pseudo-Barbaro; M 45; M 47; pseudo-Zancaruolo; M 628a; M 53; pseudo-Erizzo; Donato T.; M 2580; pseudo-Savina; M 1586; M 327; F 6821; M 91; F 6241; M 43; M 80; M 1577; M 2028.

[30] Present in 38.32% of the chronicles: Canal. 23 (that just tells the crusaders that it is not possible to pay them); VH, 138; M 2564, 79a; M 2569, 49b; Cigotto, 170a; M 2034, 396; M 2563, 11b; M 78, 10b, col. 1; M 2560, 69a [74a]; pseudo-Sanudo 2, 530; M 541, 34b; M 550, 72b; M 798, xxij b; Cavalli, 58b; M 51, 70a, col. 2; Zancaruolo, 22b; Gussoni, 222; F 6234, 61b; M 46, 32a; M 2573, 111a; pseudo-Caroldo, 170 (just that he hated the Latins); M 2543, 49a; pseudo-Barbaro, 231b–232a; pseudo-Abbiosi, 20b; M 45, 41b; M 47, 33a, col. 1; pseudo-Zancaruolo, cl xxxxiij a; M 628a, 90b; M 53, 138a; pseudo-Erizzo, 108b–109a; Donato T., 76a; M 2580, 130a; pseudo-Savina, 57a; M 1586, 37a; F 6821, 82a; M 91, 366a; F 6241, 24a; M 43, 36b; M 80, 103a; Vianoli, 257 (just generally, that he gave bad advices to Alexios IV); M 1577, 272–273.

[31] M 2569; pseudo-Sanudo 2; M 2544; Cavalli; M 51; Zancaruolo; M 2543; pseudo-Barbaro; M 47; M 43; M 2028.

[32] VH; M 2564; Cigotto; M 2034; M 2563; M 78; M 2560; M 541; M 550; M 798; M 51; Gussoni; F 6234; M 46; M 2573; pseudo-Barbaro; pseudo-Abbiosi; M 45; pseudo-Zancaruolo; M 628a; M 53; pseudo-Erizzo; Donato T.; M 2580; pseudo-Savina; M 1586; F 6821; M 91; F 6241; M 43; M 80; Vianoli; M 1577.

confronting these two lists of chronicles, it results that both sceneries occur for **M 51**, **pseudo-Barbaro** and **M 43**.

Strange enough, none of the two above notes is mentioned in **M 327**, so that the conclusion should be that Alexios IV was himself reluctant to the payment, in accordance with those chronicles that ignore completely Murtzuphlos[33].

This reluctance is somehow diminished in those few cases[34] where Murtzuphlos is, on the contrary, depicted as having the initiative to give the remained debt to the Crusaders. They are to be added to those that would mention this atitude of Murtzuphlos later, when negotiating with Doge Dandolo[35]. These cases mean to imply clearly that it was not the money to determine the crusaders to remove the usurper, but the fact that he had assassinated his own and legitimate lord.

As for chronicle **pseudo-Caroldo**, it only says that: "*Questo sopra modo portava odio a Latini et, accortosi che Alessio alle fiate si ristringeva col'Marchese Bonifacio di Monferrato suo congiunto di sangue, hebbe di ciò tanto dispiacere che gli machinava la morte*". Murtzuphlos' anti-Latin hatred is also mentioned directly by chronicles **pseudo-Navagero** and **F 6211**[36].

3. His involvement in the assassination of Alexios IV[37]

Present on a large scale in the Venetian chronicles, this episode is suggested as the main reason for the second siege of Constantinople in those cases that place it immediately previous to the preparations for the second siege[38] or to the agreement

[33] See above this note 12.

[34] HDV; Canal; VH.

[35] See below, p. 26 and p. 35 and notes 66 and 67.

[36] With one and the same expression: "*uolto l'animo auanti ogni altra cosa scaciar li Latini da quel paese*".

[37] Present in 76.64% of the chronicles: HDV, 94; Canal, 23; Dandolo Extensa, 279; VH, 138; pseudo-Enrico Dandolo, 74–75; Morosini A., 7; M 2545, 47b, col. 2; M 89, 24a, col. 1–24a, col. 2; Monaci, 137; M 2564, 79a; M 2569, 49b; Cigotto, 170a; M 322, 49b; M 2034, 396; M 2563, 11b–12a; M 78, 10b, col. 1; M 2560, 69a [74a]; Biondo, 11–12; M 796, 73a; M 559, 45a–45b; Sabellico, 179–180; pseudo-Sanudo 2, 530; M 541, 35a; M 550, 72b; M 2544, 42b, col. 2; M 798, xxij b; Delfino P., 326b; Cavalli, 59a; M 51, 70a, col. 2; Marco, 41b; Zancaruolo, 22b; Gussoni, 222; F 6234, 61b; M 46, 32a; M 2571, 103a; M 2573, 111b; pseudo-Caroldo, 170–171; M 2543, 49a–49b; pseudo-Barbaro, 232a–232b; pseudo-Abbiosi, 20b; M 45, 41b; M 2567, 39a, col. 2; M 47, 33a, col. 1; pseudo-Zancaruolo, cl xxxxiij a; M 628a, 90b; M 53, 138a; pseudo-Erizzo, 109a; pseudo-Navagero, 983; F 6211, 33a; Donato T., 76a; M 68, 73a; M 2580, 130a; M 2581, 90b; Sansovino, 560; pseudo-Veniera, 68b; pseudo-Savina, 57a–57b; Doglioni, 127; M 1586, 37a; M 327, 70b; M 71, 128b; F 6821, 82a; M 91, 366a; F 6235, 131a–131b; Lio, 67a; Morosini P., 147–148; F 6241, 24a; M 43, 36b–37a; M 2572, 14b; pseudo-Donato, 30b; M 54, 155b; M 80, 103a; M 70, 41b; pseudo-Enrico Dandolo 102, 41a; Vianoli, 257, 259; M 2592, 29b; M 61, libro 6, 45–49; M 1999, 29a; M 1577, 273; M 2028, 80a; M 64, 194b–195a; F 6566, 34a; Diedo, 77–78; M 1833, 25a. Certainly, the episode is mentioned in all primary sources: Baldwin, 506 (placed after the dialogue with Dandolo); Choniates, 309 [564]; Villehardouin, 22/23; Clari, 85; *Devastatio*, 91–92; Novgorod, 95; Gunther, 95–96; *Corpus Flandriae*, 297, 301; *Chron. Gall.*, 352; Morea, 88–89.

[38] Canal; pseudo-Enrico Dandolo; Morosini A.; M 2545; M 89; Monaci; M 2564; M 2569; Cigotto; M 322; M 2034; M 2563; M 78; M 2560; Sabellico; M 541; M 550; M 2544; M 798; M 48; M 51; Zancaruolo; Gussoni; F 6234; M 46; M 45; M 2567; M 47; pseudo-Zancaruolo; M 628a; pseudo-Erizzo; Donato T.; M 68; M 2580; pseudo-Veniera; M 1586; M 327; M 71; F 6821; M 91; Lio; F 6241; M 43; pseudo-Donato; M 54; M 80; pseudo-Enrico Dandolo 102; Vianoli; M 2592; M 1577.

in March related to *Partitio Romaniae*[39]. As for chronicle **M 61**, it inserts a developed presentation of the events related to Dalmatia[40].

Previously, chronicles **M 796** and **Delfino P.** had spoken no less than about a war between Murtzuphlos and Alexios IV, concluded with the latter's death!

There are few chronicles that get into details about the manner in which the assassination of Alexios took place and the tendency to poison him[41], and even fewer that refer to the involvement of Nicholas Canabos in the events[42], or to the funeral organized by Murtzuphlos himself[43].

As for Murtzuphlos' coronation as emperor, it is sometimes avoided by the Venetian chroniclers[44]. However, Murtzuphlos as being in this supreme position is inserted, sometimes directly[45], and sometimes when reading between the lines[46].

[39] Dandolo Extensa; VH; Biondo; M 796; Delfino P.; pseudo-Caroldo; Doglioni; F 6235; Morosini P.; Vianoli; M 2028; M 1833.

[40] M 61, libro 6, 49–51.

[41] Monaci; Biondo; Sabellico; M 2573; pseudo-Barbaro; M 53; pseudo-Savina; F 6235; Morosini P.; Vianoli. See also Choniates, 309 [564]; Villehardouin, 22/23. However, the detail is absent in Baldwin, Clari, *Devastatio*, Novgorod, Gunther, *Corpus Flandriae*; *Chron. Gall.*; Morea.

[42] Morosini P.; Vianoli; M 61. See also Baldwin, 503; Choniates, 308, 309 [562, 564]; *Devastatio*, 91; Novgorod, 95. The detail is absent in Clari, Gunther, *Corpus Flandriae*; *Chron. Gall.*; Morea.

[43] pseudo-Barbaro; F 6235; Morosini P.; Vianoli; M 61. The funerals are also mentioned in some of the primary sources: Baldwin, 506; Villehardouin, 22/23; *Chron. Gall.*, 352. It is absent in Choniates, Clari, *Devastatio*, Novgorod, Gunther, *Corpus Flandriae*; Morea.

[44] As for the primary sources, it is only Baldwin that ignores the detail, which is present in Choniates, 308 [564]; Villehardouin, 20/21–22/23; Clari, 85; *Devastatio*, 91 (just that "*solum regnare cepit.*"); Novgorod, 95; Gunther, 95; *Corpus Flandriae*, 298, 301; *Chron. Gall.*, 352; Morea, 89.

[45] HDV ("*imperii tenuit principatum*"); Dandolo Extensa ("*imperium sibimet violenter assumpsit*"); VH ("*qui post puerum tenuit principatum*"); M 796 ("*el dito Murchiffo viollentementer se fexe Jmperador si medeximo*"; then, in the end of the events, when narrating his fate after the fall of Constantinople, the chronicle says: "*Murtiphio del qual per auantj auemmo fato menzion el qual se fexe indebitamente Jmperador de Constantinopoli*"); Marco (saying that he took the Imperial diadem); M 2571 ("*optene lo principado delo Imperio*"); M 2573 ("*& il dito Morizio come el piu streto parente suo barba si feze Imperador de Constantinopoli*"); pseudo-Barbaro ("*hauendo Mauritio tutta l'auttorità dell'Imperio, ghe fù anche facil d'hauer medesimamente titolo d'Imperator*, immediately after the assassination of Alexios IV); M 53 ("*el qual Moricio como piu propinquo parente luj se fece Imperador de Costantinopolj*", immediately after the assassination of Alexios IV); pseudo-Erizzo ("*quel Marsilifo, che se haueua fatto Imperator*", during the siege); M 2581 ("*optene lo principado delo Imperio*"); pseudo-Savina ("*e se fese crear Imperator*"); M 1833 ("*dopo esser proclamato Imperator*", when speaking about the assassination of Alexios IV).

[46] Canal, 22 (previous to the assassination of young Alexios), and 24 (saying in both cases that he entitled himself as emperor); VH ("*nunc false imperator*"); pseudo-Enrico Dandolo ("*el dicto Mortifex, capo et imperador indrieto elevado*", when initiating the encounter with Dandolo); Morosini A. ("*lo dito Mortifes chavo e inperador in duto elevado*", when initiating the encounter with Dandolo); M 2545 ("*el ditto Morttifex chapo ett Imperador indiretto eleuado*", when initiating the encounter with Dandolo); M 89 ("*el dito Mortafixi cauo e Imperador in dreto leuado*", when initiating the encounter with Dandolo); M 2034 ("*Marsiflo, che se feva chiamar imperador*", during the siege); Biondo ("*pars Gubernatorem, pars Ducem, pars Imperatorem acclamaverit*"); M 559 ("*el dicto Mortifex chauo lo Imperador indredo leuado*", when initiating the encounter with Dandolo); pseudo-Caroldo ("*usurpò quell'Imperio*"); M 2543 ("*Marsilio che Imperador se faceua chiamar*", during the siege); pseudo-Navagero ("*fu chiamato da alcuni Governadore, da alcuni Capitano, e da molti Imperadore* [...] *e s'impadronì dell'Impero*"); F 6211 ("*fu chiamato da alchuni gouernator da altri capitano et da molti Imperator* [...] *et se impatroni dell'Imp.*"); Doglioni ("*nominandosi egli in*

This tendency to leave aside the episode of his coronation is explainable, since the usurper hid the violent death of Alexios IV. There are chronicles that mention the fact that Murtzuphlos kept the things in secret and/or spread the rumours that Alexios would have been only extremely sick[47], while some other few of them refer to the rumours saying that the emperor had died either accidentally[48], or naturally[49]. That is why some chronicles clearly say that it would be only after the failure of the negotiations with the doge of Venice when Murtzuphlos would begin to assume the imperial position[50].

Regarding this event, **Monaci** offers some rhetorical explanations: "*Statu Imperiali in crudelem tyrannidem scelerata proditione mutato Latinorum animi rerum indignatibus accenduntur, cogunturque contra perjuros, & perfidos Graeculos iterum induere arma justissima.*"

4. His dialogue with Doge Enrico Dandolo[51]

This episode is usually placed after the decision of the Crusaders to remove Murtzuphlos and the beginnings of preparation for the new siege of

quel cambio per Imperatore de Greci"); M 1586 ("*Marsiflo che si faceua chiamar Imperatore*", during the siege); M 71 ("*qual poi dal popolo si fece chiamar'Imperatore*"); Paolo Morosini ("*diede occasione a' suoi partegiani di chiamarlo Imperatore*"); pseudo-Enrico Dandolo 102 ("*el ditto Mortifex cao et Imperador indiretto leuado*", when initiating the encounter with Dandolo); Vianoli ("*e venne salutato da' suoi seguaci Imperatore*"); M 61 ("*onde si uedeua Murzuflo in sicuro possesso dell'Imperio*"); M 1577 ("*quel Marsilifo chel se aveva fato Imperator*", during the siege); Diedo ("*acclamato da una parte Murciffo Prefetto della Città, da altri Capitano delle milizie, mentre un terzo partito con sfacciata ribellione lo dichiarò Imperadore*").

[47] M 2564; M 2569; Cigotto; M 2034; M 2563; M 78; M 2560; pseudo-Sanudo 2; M 541; M 550; M 2544; M 798; Cavalli; M 51; Zancaruolo; Gussoni; F 6234; M 46; M 2543; pseudo-Abbiosi; M 45; M 47; pseudo-Zancaruolo; M 628a; pseudo-Erizzo; M 323; M 1586; M 327; F 6821; M 91; F 6241; M 80; M 1577; M 2028.

[48] M 2571; pseudo-Barbaro; M 53; M 2581; pseudo-Savina; Doglioni.

[49] HDV; F 6235; Morosini P.; Vianoli; M 61. See also in *Chron. Gall.*, 352.

[50] See below, p. 36 and note 80.

[51] Present in 49.53% of the chronicles: HDV, 94 (just a short reference, in which Murtzuphlos does not have a particular dialogue with the Doge, but let Dandolo and the counts know his disposal to pay them and that Alexios had been died due to natural causes); Canal, 22, 23 (he appears as negotiator previous to the assassination of Alexios IV, and, like HDV, there is no specific dialogue with Dandolo exclusively, but with the latter and the Frankish barons); pseudo-Enrico Dandolo, 75; Morosini A., 7–8; M 2545, 48a, col. 1-col. 2; M 89, 24a, col. 2; M 2564, 79a; M 2569, 49b; Cigotto, 170a; M 322, 49b–50a; M 2034, 397; M 2563, 12a; M 78, 10b, col. 1-col. 2; M 2560, 69a [74a]; M 559, 45b–46a; M 541, 35a; M 550, 72b; M 798, xxij b; M 51, 70a, col. 2–70b, col. 1; Gussoni, 223; F 6234, 61b–62a; M 46, 32a; M 2571, 103a (short reference); pseudo-Caroldo, 172–173 (short reference); M 2543, 49b–50a; pseudo-Barbaro, 232b–233a; M 45, 41b; pseudo-Zancaruolo, cl xxxxiij a-cl xxxxiij b; M 628a, 90b; pseudo-Erizzo, 109a; Donato T., 76a; M 2581, 90b (short small reference); M 68, 73a; M 2580, 130b; pseudo-Veniera, 68b; pseudo-Savina, 57b; M 1586, 37a; M 327, 71a; F 6821, 82a–82b; M 91, 366a; F 6235, 134b–135a; Lio, 67a–67b; F 6241, 24b; M 43, 37a; pseudo-Donato, 30b–31a; M 54, 155b; M 80, 103b; pseudo-Enrico Dandolo 102, 41a–41b; M 61, libro 7, 7–8; M 1577, 273–276; M 64, 195a; F 6566, 34a. The event is also present in some of the primary sources: Baldwin, 503 and 505; Choniates, 312 (567–568 in Choniates Van Dieten): Clari, 86; Gunther, 96–97 (239–240 in Gunther Migne), but absent in Villehardouin; *Devastatio*; Novgorod, *Corpus Flandriae*; *Chron. Gall.*; Morea.

Constantinople[52]. The exceptions are **pseudo-Barbaro** and **pseudo-Savina**, which both place these negotiations (that have the possibility of paying the debts as singular topic) when the death of Alexios IV was still a secret.

In all these cases, the initiative belongs to Murtzuphlos[53], some of the chronicles mentioning the cause, that is his and Greeks' fear ("*paura*") in front of the Crusaders' preparations to take the city[54].

There are Venetian chronicles that consider that Murtzuphlos would have invited to negotiations not only Enrico Dandolo, but also the leaders of the non-Venetian Crusaders[55], but the greatest majority regards that the request for dialogue would have been addressed exclusively to the Doge.

The location of the meeting between the two characters remains ambiguous, since it is only chronicle **M 61** that mentions "*Cosmidio*" and makes reference to the authority of Nicetas Choniates ("*Kosmidion*")[56]. All the other cases refer to "*uno certo luogo* / a certain place" (or similar)[57] or at most to "*uno luogo fuora della cittade* / a place outside the city" (or similar)[58]. This latter expression is sometimes distorted, so that it becomes "*un locco uicino*"[59], "*un loco poco lontano*"[60], "*un luogo lutan*"[61], or, on the contrary, "*dentro*" (meaning inside of the city)[62].

However, the negotiations would have been a simple dialogue between exclusively Murtzuphlos and Enrico Dandolo, marked by a simple confrontation of viewpoints.

[52] pseudo-Enrico Dandolo; Morosini A.; M 2545; M 89; M 2564; M 2569; M 322; M 2034; M 2563; M 78; M 2560; M 559; M 541; M 550; M 2544; M 798; M 51; Gussoni; F 6234; M 46; M 2543; M 45; pseudo-Zancaruolo; M 628a; pseudo-Erizzo; Donato T.; M 68; M 2580; pseudo-Veniera; M 1586; M 327; M 91; F 6235; Lio; F 6241; M 43; pseudo-Donato; M 54; M 80; pseudo-Enrico Dandolo 102; M 61; M 1577; M 64; F 6566.

[53] This version is contradicted by Choniates, according to whom it was the Doge to have the initiative of discussing the peace terms. On the contrary, Baldwin (in both attempts), Clari, Gunther and Novgorod refer to Murtzuphlos as the one who sent word to the crusaders, as the Venetian chronicles do.

[54] pseudo-Enrico Dandolo; Morosini A.; M 2545; M 89; M 559; M 68; M 2580; pseudo-Veniera; pseudo-Enrico Dandolo 102. The similar expression of "*comincior<o>no à temere*") is used in Lio; M 54; M 64; F 6566.

[55] Cigotto; M 51; F 6234; pseudo-Barbaro; M 327. This version is to a certain extent in correlation with Baldwin, 503 and 505, Clari and Gunther, which mention "*ad exercitum nostrum*" (Baldwin, 503) and "*ad nos*" (Baldwin, 505), "to the count of Flanders, to Count Louis, to the marquis, and to all the other high barons" (Clari), respectively "the leaders of our army / *principes exercitus nostri*" (Gunther), just that they do not mention the Doge himself! Moreover, according to Gunther, it was the Doge who considered Murtzuphlos' initiative as a trap and advised the other crusaders to refuse the negotiations. However, Baldwin, 505 notes that in the end the meeting was hold only between Murtzuphlos and the Doge, in the same manner as Choniates does.

[56] Except for Choniates, the other primary sources do not locate the meeting.

[57] pseudo-Enrico Dandolo; Morosini A.; M 2545; M 89; M 559; M 68; M 2580; pseudo-Veniera; Lio; M 54; pseudo-Enrico Dandolo 102; M 64.

[58] M 2564; M 2034; M 541; M 798; M 2543; M 45; pseudo-Zancaruolo; M 628a; pseudo-Erizzo; M 1586; M 91; M 80; M 1577.

[59] M 43.

[60] F 6566.

[61] M 2563.

[62] pseudo-Donato.

What does this dialogue consist in? According to some chronicles, the Doge was the first to speak[63], by asking immediately Murtzuphlos about the fate of the legitimate emperor, Alexios IV. In others, Murtzuphlos was the one to begin the dialogue, by inviting the Crusaders to go to the Holy Land[64], or at least asking them what do they have to do with his empire[65]. Then, Murtzuphlos offered to pay the debt[66], and even more[67], while in other cases, on the contrary, he would have said that, with Alexios being sick, nothing could be done in paying the debt[68]; in these latter cases, Murtzuphlos seems to indirectly invoke the authority of the one that he had just murdered[69]. Since Murtzuphlos' facts were nothing than a kind of 'public secret', Dandolo would have afforded himself to make subtle references to the assassination of Alexios[70], and some chroniclers say about the Doge "*che tuto haveva sapudo el tradimento*" (or similar expressions)[71]. However, the Byzantine

[63] pseudo-Enrico Dandolo; Morosini A.; M 2545; M 89; M 559; M 68; M 2580; pseudo-Veniera; Lio; M 43; pseudo-Donato; M 54; pseudo-Enrico Dandolo 102; M 64; F 6566.

[64] M 322 ("*misser perche ue intramete uu* [sic!] *de questo Imperio uuj doue andar altra* [sic!] *el mar sora i Pagani e uui uegni sora de nuj che semo Christiani*"; M 2034 ("*Che ve inpazè vui de questo inperio; andè al vostro viazio oltra el mar, sora la tera di vostri infedelli*"); M 78 (short version: "*che andassero al suo viagio*"); M 2543 ("*Meser perche ue intrametete uui de questo Imperio. Doue andar oltra mar soura pagani e uui uegni soura de nui che semo Christiani*"; pseudo-Zancaruolo ("*che aueuj a impazar questo Jmperio andeuene al vostro viazo oltra el mar contra Infidelj, e aquistare le Terre Sancte*"; pseudo-Erizzo ("*che haueu* [sic!] *à impazzarne in questo Imperio, andeuene al uostro uiazo oltra el mar contra Infideli, e acquistarè le Terre Sante*"); M 1586 ("*perche u'impacciate di questo Imperio, andate al uostro uiaggio oltra el Mare sopra le terre delli uostri Infedeli*"); F 6821 ("*che loro fariano meglio andar al suo uiazo contra Infideli et non se impazar de queste cose*"); F 6235 ("*che non si doueuano impaciar nelle cosse di quell'Imperio, e persuadendoli seguir l'impresa contra Infedelli*"); F 6241 ("*che andassero al suo uiaggio*"); M 1577 ("*che aveva egli ad impazzarsi in quel Impero, e che se ne andasse al suo viaggio oltra il Mar contra Infedeli, e acquisterebbe le Terre Sante*").

[65] M 2564; M 2563; M 541; M 798; M 46; M 45; M 628a; M 91; M 80. This version is close to the one expressed by Clari, according to whom Murtzuphlos would have urged the crusaders "to go away and vacate his land".

[66] HDV; Canal; pseudo-Enrico Dandolo; Morosini A.; M 2545; M 89; M 322; M 2563; M 78; M 559; M 46; M 2571; pseudo-Barbaro; pseudo-Zancaruolo; M 68; M 2580; M 2581; pseudo-Veniera; pseudo-Savina; M 43; pseudo-Donato; M 54; pseudo-Enrico Dandolo 102; M 64; F 6566. See also Baldwin, 503, when speaking about the first attempt of Murtzuphlos to negotiate.

[67] Canal; pseudo-Enrico Dandolo; Morosini A.; M 2545; M 89; M 559; M 46; M 68; M 2580; pseudo-Veniera; Lio; M 43; pseudo-Donato; M 54; pseudo-Enrico Dandolo 102; M 64; F 6566. This expression is close to the one used by Gunther ("under the pretext that they would receive the promised money and even greater tokens of royal generosity. / *quasi promissam pecuniam et insuper ampliora munera reliae liberalitatis accepturos.*")

[68] M 322; M 2034; M 78; M 541; M 46; M 2543; pseudo-Zancaruolo; pseudo-Erizzo; M 323; M 1586; M 327; M 1577.

[69] Actually, this is also the explanation offered by Gunther, when saying that Murtzuphlos sent messengers "in the name of Alexios the Younger / *sub nomine junioris Alexii*".

[70] pseudo-Enrico Dandolo; Morosini A.; M 2545; M 89; M 2564; M 322; M 2034; M 2563; M 78; M 559; M 541; M 798; M 46; M 2543; M 45; pseudo-Zancaruolo; M 628a; pseudo-Erizzo; M 68; M 2580; pseudo-Veniera; M 1586; F 6821; M 91; Lio; F 6241; M 43; pseudo-Donato; M 54; M 80; pseudo-Enrico Dandolo 102; M 1577; M 64; F 6566.

[71] pseudo-Enrico Dandolo; Morosini A.; M 2545; M 89; M 559; M 68; M 2580; pseudo-Veniera; Lio; M 43; M 54; pseudo-Enrico Dandolo 102; M 64; F 6566.

would have continued his diplomatic manoeuvres, by persisting in his lie, according to which Alexios was still under the physicians' care, but alive[72]. Besides, he invoked the fact that the empire does not belong to him and suggested that the Greeks (sometimes called as "*Griffoni*"[73]) were those that do not allow the Crusaders to enter the city[74]. This dialogue has nothing in common with what **Choniates** noted, the Byzantine chronicler referring exclusively to Dandolo's requests for the payment.

A summarized version of the dialogue mentions only that "*et seguite insieme molte parole* (or similar formula)[75]. There is also a short version, without mentioning the details of the negotiations with Dandolo in person, according to which Murtzuphlos only communicates to the crusaders that Alexios was only sick and speechless[76], although this detail is also present in some of the chronicles that had inferred the rumours spread by Murtzuphlos regarding the malady of Alexios[77].

Somehow surprisingly, chronicle **M 550** refers to the conclusion of an agreement between the parts, while other chronicles affirm the opposite[78].

According to some chronicles, towards the end of this negotiation, it occurred that some non-Venetian Crusaders made an attempt to kill Murtzuphlos, while Dandolo intervened so that the usurper could retire[79].

The failure of the dialogue determined Murtzuphlos to assume directly the government of the empire[80], as if – from his point of view – it was not necessary anymore for him to hide the truth about Alexios' death.

[72] HDV; pseudo-Enrico Dandolo; Morosini A.; M 2545; M 89; M 322; M 2034; M 78; M 559; M 2543; pseudo-Zancaruolo; pseudo-Erizzo; M 68; M 2580; pseudo-Veniera; M 1586; F 6821; F 6235; Lio; F 6241; M 43; pseudo-Donato; M 54; pseudo-Enrico Dandolo 102; M 1577; M 64; F 6566.

[73] pseudo-Enrico Dandolo; M 2545.

[74] pseudo-Enrico Dandolo; Morosini A.; M 2545; M 89; M 559; M 68; M 2580; pseudo-Veniera; Lio; M 43; pseudo-Donato; M 54; pseudo-Enrico Dandolo 102; M 64; F 6566.

[75] Cigotto; M 2560; Gussoni; F 6234; Donato T.

[76] M 2569; pseudo-Sanudo 2; M 2544; Cavalli; Zancaruolo; pseudo-Abbiosi; M 47.

[77] See above, p. 33 and note 47.

[78] M 51 ("*non possando romagnir dacordo*"); M 327 ("*ma i menaua la cosa in zanzi finche i se parti desacordo insembre*"); M 61 ("*e che non uolesse effettiuamente Murzuflo, che ritardare le risolutioni nemiche nulla fu concluso opposto troppo i fini de die Principi, e troppo discordansi le intentioni. Così niente può operandosi nell'accordo* [...]").

[79] M 2034; M 78; M 2543; pseudo-Zancaruolo; pseudo-Erizzo; M 1586; F 6821; F 6235; F 6241; M 1577. This detail is also present in Choniates, but without the Doge's final intervention that stopped the knights to attack Murtzuphlos.

[80] M 2564 ("*e da poj partido Morfileo luj conmenza a tegnir linperjo avertamente*"); Cigotto ("*tegnando lo Imperrjo apertamente*"); M 2034 ("*E da puo partido, Morsiflo de là, lo conmenzà a tegnir lo inperio per liui averta mente e <se> fexe inchoronar*"); M 78 ("*Dapoi questo Marsiflo apertamente conmincio tenire lo Imperio*"); M 2560 ("*e partido da luy ritorno in Constantinopoli tignando limperio apertamente*"); M 541 ("*E dapoj parttido Marsiflo luj conmenzo a ttegnir lo Inperrio aperttamentte*"); M 798 ("*E da poi partido Marfiflo lui comenzo a tegnir limperio publicamente*"); Gussoni ("*et partido da lui ritornò a Constantinopoli regnando in lo imperio apertamente*); F 6234 ("*et partido trouò in Costantinopoli tegnando l'Imperio apertamente*"); M 2543 ("*Partito Marsilio lui comenzo a tegnir lo Imperio apertamente e fesesse coronar*"); M 45 ("*e dapoi partido Morfileo luj conmenzar tegnir limperio auertamente*"); pseudo-Zancaruolo ("*E deli se parti e intro in nela cita. Et de subito se fexe Jmperador*"); M 628a ("*et dapoi partido Marsilio lui comenzo a*

There are few chronicles referring also to a second attempt of negotiation proposed by Murtzuphlos in the middle of the second siege after the first French failing assault[81]. This new attempt would have been rejected by the Crusaders who considered the initiative as being not serious and expressing Murtzuphlos' intention to play a trick[82]. Chronicle **pseudo-Caroldo** does refer only to Murtzuphlos' initiative during the siege, therefore consequent to the attempt to set fire up to the Venetian fleet, and it does it originally: "*All'hora Murcipho, vedendo non poter resistere, fece intender al Duce, che gli haverebbe prestato ubidienza, quando volesse lasciarlo Imperatore. Gli fu risposto che non volevano con lui altro accordo* [...]".

5. The fire set by him up to the Venetian fleet[83]

Not only that some of the Venetian chronicles place this episode as a part of the second siege of Constantinople, but even after the first unsuccessful Frankish

tegnir lo Imperio apertamente"); pseudo-Erizzo ("*el se parti de lì Marsilifo, et intrò nella città, e fexesse Imperator auertamente*"); Donato T. ("*Partido retorno in Constantinopoli tegnando lo Imperio apertamente*"); M 2580 ("*et dappoi partito ditto Marsiflo scomenzò à tenir l'Imperio apertamente*"); M 1586 ("*Et dapuò partito Marsiflo da là, lui cominciò à tenire l'Imperio per lui apertamente, et si fece incoronare*"); F 6821 ("*et dapo a zerti zorni con el fauor lauea el se fece far Imperador*"); M 91 ("*et dapoi partido Marfisio scomensò a tener l'Jmperio appertamente*"); F 6241 ("*Doppo questo Marsiflo apertamente cominciò tenere l'Imperio*"); M 43 ("*partito il doge, Marsulfo principiò à piu liberamente essercitare l'autorita Imperiale*"); M 80 ("*et dapoi partido Marfisio comenzo à tegnir l'Imperio appertamente*"); M 1577 ("*El se partì de lì Marsilifo, e intrò nella citta, e feccese Imperator*").

[81] It is in accordance with what Baldwin, 505 considered as the second attempt of negotiation between the sides.

[82] M 78 ("*con molto humilitade ma per jnganare*"); M 2543 ("*de gran humilitade per uolerli inganar*"); pseudo-Zancaruolo ("*fraudolentemente, per far sorasedere essa batagia*"); pseudo-Erizzo ("*fraudolemente uoiando tradir*"); F 6241 ("*con molta humiltà mà per ingannare*"); M 1577 ("*fraudolentemente, volendo tradir*"). Baldwin also notes the failure of it ("*quod nulla cum eo pacis posset esse securitas*").

[83] Present in 51.40% of the chronicles: HDV, 94; Canal, 24; VH, 138; pseudo-Enrico Dandolo, 75–76; Morosini A., 8; M 2545, 48a, col. 2; M 89, 24b, col. 1; M 2564, 79a–79b; Cigotto, 170a–170b; M 322, 50a; M 2034, 397; M 2563, 12a; M 78, 10b, col. 2–11a, col. 1, 11a, col. 1; M 2560, 69a [74a]; M 559, 46a; M 541, 35a; M 550, 72b; M 798, xxij b; M 51, 70b, col. 1; Gussoni, 223; F 6234, 62a; M 46, 32a; M 2571, 103a; M 2573, 111b; pseudo-Caroldo, 172; M 2543, 50a; pseudo-Barbaro, 233a–234a; M 45, 41b–42a; M 2567, 39b, col. 1; pseudo-Zancaruolo, cl xxxxiij b; M 628a, 90b; M 53, 138a; pseudo-Erizzo, 109a–109b; pseudo-Navagero, 983; F 6211, 33a–33b; Donato T., 76a; M 68, 73a; M 2580, 130b; M 2581, 90b; pseudo-Veniera, 68b; pseudo-Savina, 57b; M 1586, 37a–37b; M 327, 71a; F 6821, 82b; M 91, 366a; Lio, 67b; F 6241, 24b; M 43, 37a; pseudo-Donato, 31a; M 54, 156a; M 80, 103b; pseudo-Enrico Dandolo 102, 41b; M 1577, 276–277; M 64, 195b; F 6566, 34a. This percentage does not include those few chronicles that place the episode under Alexios IV: Morosini P., 146; Vianoli, 257–258; M 61, libro 6, 43–44; Diedo, 77, so that do not regard Murtzuphlos as having this initiative. Among the primary sources, the episode is present in Baldwin, 503 and 505; Villehardouin, 16/17–18/19; Clari, 84; *Devastatio*, 91; Novgorod, 96; *Corpus Flandriae*, 298; *Chron. Gall.*, 352, and absent in Nicetas and Gunther.

attempt to assault the cities' walls[84], while some others immediately after the dialogue with the Doge and previous to the failed Frankish assault[85], as if this episode would have determine the non-Venetians to react tempestuously and carelessly. In two particular cases[86], the initiative of Murtzuphlos to set fire would have taken place in the middle of negotiations for the payment of the debt.

This placement of the episode is unlike the primary sources, which regard the episode as occurring when Alexios IV was still on the throne[87]. The exceptions are **Baldwin**'s letter, **Novgorod** and ***Corpus Flandriae***, all these three sources inserting it in the middle of the siege of Constantinople.

In some cases, it is not Murtzuphlos in person to be mentioned as taking this endeavour, but the Greeks generally[88]. It is explainable since, according to the majority of the sources, this episode is usually placed before Murtzuphlos' accession to the throne and therefore those sources refer to the Greeks in general[89].

The number of the Byzantine ships sent to accomplish this mission varies, the most chronicles oscillating in an almost balanced percentage between 18[90] and 16[91]. There are also cases that speak about six ships[92], 14[93], or 15[94], while other chronicles do not offer any number[95]. As a singular well documented case, chronicle **M 61** makes an incursion in the history of the famous "Greek fire"[96]. While the figure of

[84] Canal; pseudo-Enrico Dandolo; Morosini A.; M 2545; M 89; M 559; M 541; M 2567; M 68; pseudo-Veniera; Lio; pseudo-Donato; M 54; pseudo-Enrico Dandolo 102; M 64; F 6566.

[85] M 2564; Cigotto; M 322; M 2034; M 2563; M 78; M 541; M 798; M 46; pseudo-Caroldo; M 2543; M 45; pseudo-Zancaruolo; M 628a; pseudo-Erizzo; M 2580; M 1586; M 327; M 91; F 6241; M 43; M 80; M 1577.

[86] pseudo-Barbaro; pseudo-Savina.

[87] Villehardouin; Clari; *Devastatio*; *Chron. Gall.*; Villehardouin, 18/19 even credits Alexios IV with this initiative when, as a conclusion of the episode, concludes ironically that "*Ice guerredon lor volt rendre l'empereres Alexis du service qu'il li avoient fait. / C'est la récompense que voulut leur donner l'empereur Alexis pour le service qu'ils lui avaient rendu.*")

[88] Canal; pseudo-Enrico Dandolo; Morosini A.; M 2545; M 2567; pseudo-Donato; pseudo-Enrico Dandolo 102; Vianoli; M 61.

[89] Villehardouin; Clari; *Devastatio*; Novgorod (although this chronicle places the episode under the reign of Murtzuphlos); *Chron. Gall.*. As for Baldwin, 505, it does not make a clear difference, still speaking of "suas [sic!] *naves incensas*", but *Corpus Flandriae* clearly refers to Murtzuphlos.

[90] pseudo-Enrico Dandolo; Morosini A.; M 2545; M 89; M 322; M 2034; M 78; M 559; M 2543; M 2567; M 68; pseudo-Veniera; M 1586; M 327; Lio; F 6241; pseudo-Donato; M 54; pseudo-Enrico Dandolo 102 ("circa [sic!] *18*"); M 64; F 6566.

[91] M 2564; Cigotto; M 2560; M 550; M 51; Gussoni; F 6234; M 2573; pseudo-Barbaro; M 45; M 628a; M 53; pseudo-Erizzo; Donato T.; pseudo-Savina; M 91; M 80; one could add Vianoli.

[92] M 2563; M 541; M 46; M 2580; M 43.

[93] pseudo-Zancaruolo; F 6821.

[94] pseudo-Caroldo.

[95] "*naves suas*" in HDV and similar expressions in Canal; VH; M 2571; pseudo-Navagero; F 6211; M 2581; M 1577; M 61, to which one could add Morosini P. ("*più naui*").

[96] M 61, libro 6, 43.

16 ships is to be detected in Baldwin, and the one of 15 in Devastatio the other versions offered by the Venetian chronicles have nothing to do with the primary sources[97].

However, this Greek initiative was not accomplished; some of the chronicles note the Divine intervention[98], and almost all of them mention the Venetians' ability in removing the Greek firing ships[99]. Some few of them offer the detail that it was only one Pisan commercial vessel to be fired on this occasion[100].

[97] The figures in the primary sources are as follows: four (*Corpus Flandriae*); ten (Novgorod); 17 (Villehardouin and *Chron. Gall.*). As for Baldwin and Clari, they do not present any figure, both referring instead to a double Greek initiative in this sense (for Baldwin, the first would have taken place according to the other primary sources, that is prior to the fall of Alexios, and only the second being the result of Murtzuphlos' initiative).

[98] HDV ("*Domino pro curante*"); VH ("*ex quo Altisimo procurante*"); M 2034 ("*per la grazia de Dio*"); M 2571 ("*per la gratia de Dio*"); pseudo-Barbaro ("*Ma la Maestà de Dio, che de continuo ama le cose giuste, et abhorisce l'iniquità, drezzò il corso di quelle naue*"); pseudo-Navagero ("*per opera divina*"); F 6211 ("*per diuina opera*"); M 2581 ("*per la gracia de Dio*"); pseudo-Savina ("*per uoler diuino*"); M 1586 ("*per la Iddio gratia*"). One could add Vianoli ("*Ilche sarebbe successo, se l'assistenza Diuina, e la presenza visibile (come vien riferito) del Protettore nostro S. Marco non hauesse facilitata alle sorprese, e confuse genti la liberatione miracolosa, con l'allontanare i legni, e con lo spingerli in altra parte, doue forza più che di vento, perch'era dello Spirito di Dio, gl'inoltraua, [...]*"). The Divine intervention is complete in pseudo-Barbaro, when inserts the following description (233b–234a): "*Se troua scrito, lo credo anche per fermo, che all'hora furono uisti dredo, et intorno le naue, che ardeuano uisibilmente li Santissimi Protettori della Città de Venetia San Theodo[ro]* [sic!], *et San Marco, che le andauano spenzando, et allontanando uia dall'armada Venetiana, tanto, che non ghe fesse quel fuogo grandissimo, et uiolentissimo in alcuna parte nocumento alcun, ne se puol ueramente attribuir ad altro, che a miracolo, che un si gran incendio, diuiso in tanti legni, tutti spenti da gagliardo uento addosso all'armada, senza farghe pur un minimo danno, da si medesimo si piegasse in altra parte. Mai non abbandona Dio quei che ueramente sperano in lui, onde essendo all'hora la fede di quei nostri Padri, ferma, et sinciera, et constantissima, et confidandose molto nella diffesa de suoi Santissimi Protettori, se die creder rasoneuolmente, che per Diuina uolontà fossero liberadi da quel grauissimo pericolo, che ingiustamente ghe era stà preparà da Mauritio. Vedendo li Venetiani d'esser preseruadi da tanta, et cosi certa desauentura, subito tutti inzeno[n]chiadi* [sic!] *con le lagrime su i occhi, detteno gratie a Dio de tanto beneficio receuudo, [...]*". Among the primary sources, the Divine presence is regarded by Baldwin, 505 ("*sed Domino faciente, [...] et ab imminenti(s) mortis periculo a Domino liberamur.*"; Villehardouin ("*par l'ie de Dieu*"); Clari ("by God's mercy", in both cases of the Greeks' attacks).

[99] Some primary sources do not mention the Venetian skills in preventing this attack, see *Devastatio*; Novgorod; but it is vaguely present in Baldwin, 505 ("*cum molto nostrorum labore*") and *Corpus Flandriae* (who even speaks about Baldwin of Flanders as intervening!), while Villehardouin, *Chron. Gall.* and Clari commend the Venetians.

[100] HDV; VH; M 322; M 2571; pseudo-Caroldo; M 2543; pseudo-Barbaro; M 2581; pseudo-Savina; M 61. As for M 2573 and M 53, they speak about a vessel charged with merchandises, while pseudo-Barbaro and pseudo-Savina combine this detail, referring to "*una naue Pisana carga de mercantie*", respectively "*una naue de Pisanj che giera sorta in porto carga de mercantia*". As for the primary sources regarding this episode, Villehardouin speaks about "*une nef de Pisans qui ere plaine de marchaandise: icele si fu arse del feu.*"; Clari about "one merchant ship [...]. This was burned"; *Devastatio* refers to "*una tantum navis arsit.*"; Novgorod to "*ita ut naviculae illae Francis neutiquam nocerent.*", and *Chron. Gall.* to "*une nef de marchandise*". As for Baldwin and *Corpus Flandriae*, they are completely silent in this sense.

6. His resistance during the siege of Constantinople in 1204[101]

However, in many cases Murtzuphlos is not mentioned by name during the second siege of Constantinople, that is in the chronicles that offer a shorter reference to this siege[102], but not only[103], except for referring to his flight or to his death.

The prelude of the siege, meaning the ambush prepared by Murtzuphlos against the troops of Baldwin of Flanders in the region of Philea is also present in a few chronicles[104], and the same is for its result, that is the capture of the icon of Holy Virgin by the Crusaders, although in only few chronicles[105].

All in all, the largest descriptions of the siege are those in chronicles **M 2034, M 2542, pseudo-Erizzo, M 1586, M 327, F 6241, M 61**, and **M 1577**, including

[101] Present in 75.00% of the chronicles: HDV, 94; Canal, 24; Dandolo Extensa, 279; VH, 141; pseudo-Enrico Dandolo, 76; Morosini A., 8; M 2545, 48a, col. 2; M 89, 24b, col. 1; Monaci, 139; M 2564, 79b; M 2569, 50a; Cigotto, 170b; M 322, 50a–50b; M 2034, 398–400; M 2563, 12a; M 78, 11a, col. 1–11a, col. 2; M 2560, 69a [74a]; Biondo, 12; M 796, 73a–73b; M 559, 46a; Sabellico, 181; pseudo-Sanudo 2, 531; M 541, 35a–35b; M 550, 72b–73a; M 2544, 42b, col. 2; M 798, xxij b-xxiij a; Delfino P., 327a–327b; Cavalli, 59a; M 51, 70b, col. 1; Marco, 41b; Zancaruolo, 22b; Gussoni, 223; F 6234, 62a; M 46, 32a–32b; M 2571, 103b; M 2573, 111b–112a; pseudo-Caroldo, 172–174; F 6239, 2b–4b; M 2543, 50a–51b; pseudo-Barbaro, 234a–234b; pseudo-Abbiosi, 20b; M 45, 42a; M 2567, 39b, col. 1; M 47, 33a, col. 1; pseudo-Zancaruolo, clxxxxiij b-clxxxxiiij a; M 628a, 90b–91a; M 53, 138a; pseudo-Erizzo, 109b–110a; pseudo-Navagero, 984; F 6211, 34a; Donato T., 76a; M 68, 73a; M 2580, 130b; M 2581, 92b; Sansovino, 560; pseudo-Veniera, 68b; pseudo-Savina, 57b; Doglioni, 127–128; M 1586, 37b–38a; M 327, 71a–71b; M 71, 129a; F 6821, 82b–83a; M 91, 366a–366b; F 6235, 135a; Lio, 67b; Morosini P., 149–150; F 6241, 24b–25b; M 43, 37a–37b; pseudo-Donato, 31a; M 54, 156a; M 80, 103b; pseudo-Enrico Dandolo 102, 41b–42a; Vianoli, 261–263; M 2592, 29b–30a; M 61, libro 7, 3–16; M 1999, 29b; M 1577, 277–282; M 2028, 80a; M 64, 195b; F 6566, 34a; Diedo, 78, 79; M 1833, 25a. It is about the same chronicles that also present the assassination of Alexios IV, excepting M 70, where the episode of the siege is strangely absent, and adding F 6239, which pages referring to the events previous to the second siege of Constantinople are lost. Since it is about the central episode of the Fourth Crusade, the second siege of Constantinople is present in all the primary sources: Baldwin, 504–505, 506–507; Choniates, 312–313 (568–571 in Choniates Van Dieten); Villehardouin, 24/25–28/29, 32/33–34/35, 36/37–48/49; Clari, 88–91, 92–100; *Devastatio*, 92; Novgorod, 96–97; Gunther, 102–107 (243–245 in Gunther Migne); *Corpus Flandriae*, 298–299; *Chron. Gall.*, 353, 354–355.

[102] HDV; Canal; Dandolo Extensa; VH; pseudo-Enrico Dandolo; Morosini A.; M 2545; M 89; M 2569; Biondo; M 796; M 559; pseudo-Sanudo 2; M 2544; Delfino P.; Cavalli; Zancaruolo; F 6234; M 47; pseudo-Navagero; F 6211; M 68; F 6821; Lio; pseudo-Donato; M 54; pseudo-Enrico Dandolo 102; M 2592; M 2028; M 64.

[103] M 2564; Cigotto; M 322; M 2563; M 78 (in this case, excepting his second embassy towards the Doge); M 2560; M 541; M 550; M 798; M 51; Gussoni; M 46; M 2573; M 45; M 628a; M 53; Donato T.; M 2580; pseudo-Savina; Doglioni; M 91; F 6235; F 6241; M 43; M 80; Vianoli.

[104] Monaci, 137; Biondo, 12; Sabellico, 180; Morosini P., 148; Vianoli, 261; M 61, libro 7, 3–4; Diedo, 78. Among the primary sources, this episode is described by Baldwin, 504 (without mentioning Philea); Choniates, 312 (567 in Choniates Van Dieten) (even previous to the negotiation between Murtzuphlos and Dandolo); Villehardouin, 24/25–28/29 (Henry of Hainault instead of Baldwin); Clari, 88–90 (Henry instead of Baldwin); *Chron. Gall.*, 353 (Henry instead of Baldwin).

[105] Monaci; Biondo; Sabellico; M 61. For the icon of Holy Virgin, but in a somehow different context, see also pseudo-Navagero, 983 and F 6211, 33a. The detail is also mentioned in Baldwin, 504; Choniates, 312 (567 in Choniates Van Dieten); Villehardouin, 28/29; Clari, 89; as for *Chron. Gall.*, 353, it speaks only about the capture of some imperial badges.

the references to the presence of Latin and English troops in the army of Murtzuphlos, along with the Greeks[106].

Most of the chronicles refer also to Murtzuphlos' flight from Constantinople[107], as the moment when the city is finally taken. However, only a small part of them notes that he was accompanied either by some other Greeks[108], or by members of his family[109]. It is only the case of chronicle **M 61** that follows word by word the information delivered by **Choniates**, according to which Murtzuphlos took Alexios III's wife and daughters with him[110].

7. His blinding by Alexios III[111]

Among the few Venetian chronicles that mention this episode, some only note Alexios III's enmity towards Murtzuphlos[112], while **F 6239**, on the contrary,

[106] M 2034 ("*e non tanto sola mente di Griexi ma eziandio da soldadi latini, li qual liui aveva tolto a so soldo et altra zente che se chiamava Inglexi*"); M 2543 ("*et non solamente da Grieghi, ma de soldati Latini che lui hauea tolto a soldo et altra zente che si chiamaua Varanghi che sono Englesi*); pseudo-Erizzo ("*si de Griexi, come de Latini, et anchor Englexi*"); M 1586 ("*non tanto de Greci, quanto degli Latini lui haueua tolti à suo soldo de molti Inglesi*"); M 327 ("*non tanto de Griesi ma de zenti forestieri de Englesi buoni arcieri*"); F 6241 ("*la gran moltitudine de Greci con Turchi* [sic!], *et d'Inglesi*"); M 1577 ("*se messe mareveiosamente in ordene sì de Greci, come de Latini anchor Englesi*"). The Englishmen are also present in M 78; pseudo-Caroldo; pseudo-Zancaruolo. For these mercenaries, see also Clari, 95 ("the English, the Danes, and Greeks there"), 100 ("the English, Danes, and people of other countries"); Novgorod, 96 ("*Graecos qui in urbe erant et Varangos* [...]"), 97 ("*Graecosque et Varangos*").

[107] HDV, 94; Dandolo Extensa, 279; VH, 141; Monaci, 139; M 2034, 400; M 78, 11a, col. 2; Biondo, 12; M 796, 73a; Sabellico, 181; Delfino P., 327a; Marco, 41b; M 2571, 103b; pseudo-Caroldo, 174; F 6239, 3b–4a; M 2543, 51b; M 2567, 39b, col. 1; pseudo-Zancaruolo, clxxxxiiij a; pseudo-Erizzo, 110a; pseudo-Navagero, 984; F 6211, 34a; M 2581, 92b; pseudo-Savina, 57b; Doglioni, 128; M 1586, 38a; M 327, 71b; M 71, 129a; F 6821, 82b–83a; Morosini P., 150; F 6241, 25b; Vianoli, 263; M 2592, 30a; M 61, libro 7, 14 and 16; M 1999, 29b; M 1577, 282; Diedo, 79; M 1833, 25a. Among the primary sources, Murtzuphlos' flight is mentioned in Baldwin, 507; Choniates, 313–314 (571 in Choniates Van Dieten); Villehardouin, 48/49; Clari, 100; *Devastatio*, 92; Gunther, 114; *Chron. Gall.*, 355.

[108] M 2034 ("*et molti altri Greci*"); M 78 ("*con molti Greci*"); pseudo-Caroldo ("*con gran moltitudine de Greci*"); M 2543 ("*et molti altri Griegi*"); pseudo-Zancaruolo ("*cum assai Grezi*"); pseudo-Erizzo ("*con assai Griexi*"); Doglioni ("*co' suoi seguaci*"); M 1586 ("*e molti altri Greci*"); M 327 ("*con molti Griesi*"); F 6241 ("*con molti Greci*"); M 1577 ("*con assai Greci*").

[109] Monaci ("*cum conjuge, & filiis*"); Biondo ("*cum pellicibus, uxore & thesauro*"); F 6239 ("*cun pelicibus uxore, et thesauro*") (quoting Biondo); M 2592 ("*con la moglie et le meretize portando uia gran peczo di oro*"); Diedo ("*colla moglie, e co' suoi familiari*").

[110] M 61 ("*con l'Imperatrice Eufrosina moglie dell'Imperatore Alessio il uecchio, e con la Principessa Eudosia figlia delli medesimi*"). Cf. Choniates, 314 (571 in Choniates Van Dieten).

[111] Present in 16.67% of the chronicles: HDV, 94; Dandolo Extensa, 281; VH, 143–144; M 2034, 400; M 796, 74a; Delfino P., 330b; M 2571, 104b; pseudo-Caroldo, 176; F 6239, 9b; M 2543, 51b; pseudo-Zancaruolo, clxxxxiiij a; M 2581, 95b; Doglioni, 128; M 1586, 38a; Morosini P., 154–155; Vianoli, 267; M 61, libro 7, 30–31; M 1577, 282. This episode is mentioned in only three of the primary sources, that is Choniates, 334 (608 in Choniates Van Dieten); Villehardouin, 78/79–80/81; Gunther, 115 (248 in Gunther Migne).

[112] M 2034; M 2543; pseudo-Zancaruolo; M 1586.

mentions only the fact that Murtzuphlos was already blinded when being captured by the Latins, without referring to Alexios III.

Some of the chronicles also deliver as reason for Murtzuphlos' blinding by the former Alexios III the fact that he had been the one who assassinated his nephew Alexios IV[113], leaving thus aside the fact that Alexios III had had the same intentions previously.

Beside these few exceptions – that place the event correctly, according to the contemporary sources, meaning subsequent to the coronation of Baldwin as emperor – the Venetian chronicles seem to avoid this relation between Murtzuphlos and Alexios III and pass directly to the execution of the 'false' emperor by the Latins, as if this latter would have been the direct and immediate result of the conquest of Constantinople.

8. His death[114]

In some chronicles[115], it is only Murtzuphlos' flight during the second fall of the city to be noted, so that his death is absent, as if it was only his removal to be taken into consideration, while some others[116] do not even mention his flight.

There are also situations when, contrary to an execution, one could infer that Murtzuphlos was killed even during the siege[117], so that he would have not escaped

[113] HDV; VH; M 2571; M 2543; M 2581.

[114] Present in 65.74% of the chronicles: HDV, 94; Canal, 24; Dandolo Extensa, 281; VH, 144; pseudo-Enrico Dandolo, 76; Morosini A., 8; M 2545, 48a, col. 2; M 89, 24b, col. 1; Monaci, 139–140; M 2564, 79b; M 2569, 50a; Cigotto, 170b; M 322, 50b; M 2034, 400; M 2563, 12a; M 78, 11a, col. 1; M 2560, 69a [74a]; M 796, 74a; M 559, 46a; pseudo-Sanudo 2, 531; M 541, 35b; M 550, 73a; M 2544, 43a, col. 1; M 798, xxiij a; Delfino P., 330b; Cavalli, 59a; M 51, 70b, col. 1; Zancaruolo, 22b; Gussoni, 223; F 6234, 62a; M 46, 32b; M 2571,104b–105a; M 2573, 112a; pseudo-Caroldo, 176; F 6239, 9b; M 2543, 51b–52a; pseudo-Barbaro, 234b–235a; M 45, 42a; M 2567, 39b, col. 1; M 47, 33a, col. 1–33a, col. 2; pseudo-Zancaruolo, clxxxxiiij a; M 628a, 91a; M 53, 138a; pseudo-Erizzo, 110a; Donato T., 76a; M 68, 73a; M 2580, 130b; M 2581, 95b; pseudo-Veniera, 68b; pseudo-Savina, 57b; Doglioni, 128; M 1586, 38a–38b; M 327, 71b; M 91, 366b; Lio, 67b; Morosini P., 155; F 6241, 25b; M 43, 37b; pseudo-Donato, 31a; M 54, 156a; M 80, 103b; M 70, 41b; pseudo-Enrico Dandolo 102, 42a; Vianoli, 267; M 61, libro 7, 34–35; M 1999, 29b; M 1577, 282–283; M 2028, 80a; M 64, 195b; F 6566, 34a; M 1833, 25a.

[115] Biondo, 12; Sabellico, 181; Marco, 41b; pseudo-Navagero, 984; F 6211, 34a; M 71, 129a; F 6821, 82b–83a; M 2592, 30a; Diedo, 79.

[116] pseudo-Abbiosi; Sansovino; F 6235.

[117] M 2564 ("*e fo morto per Italiani quel Morflio Imperrador traditor che amazo Alesio Imperador zouene*"); Cigotto ("*et fo prexo et morto per lj Taljanj quel Marsilio Imperrador et traditor*"); M 2563 ("*Et fo morto quel tristo de Marsillo Imperador traditor, che amazo Alesio zouane*"); M 2560 ("*e fo prexo e morto per Taliani quel Morfleo Imperador traditor*"); pseudo-Sanudo 2 ("*E andando i Latini scorrendo la Terra, s'incontrarono nel detto Marzuflio, e l'ammazzarono, per aver fatto morire il suo Signore così empiamente*"); M 541 ("*E fo mortto per Ttalianj quel Marsiflo Inperador che amazo Alesio Inperrador zouene*"); M 550 ("*& cosi fu morto Marsilio*"); M 798 ("*e fo morto quel Marfiflo Jnperador*"); Gussoni ("*et fu prexo et morto per 'Taliani quel Marsilio Inperador traditor*"); F 6234 ("*et quello Marsilio Imperador è morto*"); M 46 ("*e fo morto quel tristo de Marsilio Inperador traditor che amazo Alesjo zouene*"); M 45 ("*e fo morto per Italianj quel Morfleo Inperador traditor che amazo Alessio Inperador zouene*"); M 2567 ("*ma pur*

from the city; the expression used by the chronicles is that "*e fu morto quel Murzuflo*" (or similar), but without offering more details and, therefore, neither speaking about a punitive execution.

However, the most of the cases note that Murtzuphlos found his death by being executed by the Crusaders[118]. With some exceptions that just mention it without offering details[119], the Venetian chronicles generally give various information about the manner of execution.

The classical version, according to which the 'usurper' was thrown from the top of a column[120], is followed indeed in some chronicles that expell it in one phrase[121]. A more developed description is offered by chronicle **M 61**: "*fu condutto nella Piazza detta del Tauro nel mezzo alla quale sorgeua la gran colonna di Teodosio nella somità della quale sopra scallini nel dimorano* [?] *intagliata saliuasi* [sic!]. *Iui strascinato fu esposto all'occhio di tutto il popolo per argomento dei precipitij della fortuna, e d'improuiso precipitato al basso, e punita con mortale caduta l'ambition temeraria del traditore.*"

However, having this description as starting point, the other Venetian chronicles develop it and advance many elements of originality, maintaining the fact that the convict was thrown down, but adding some other details.

For instance, chronicles **HDV** and **VH** use at a certain moment the summarized version (like **Dandolo Extensa**), when saying that "*et sic miserabiliter*

a la fine capito nele mani di Italiani el qual fu da esser morto"); M 628a ("*et fo morto per li Italiani quello Marsilio Imperador traditor, che amazzo Alessio Imperador zouine*"); Donato T. ("*et intradi tutj dentro fo morto quel Marsileo Imperador traditor*"); M 2580 ("*et fu morto per lli Italiani quell'Marsiflo Imperator, che amazò Alexio Imperator*"); M 91 ("*e fu morto per li Jtaliani quello Marfisio*"); M 43 ("*et fu morto Marsuffo, ch'haueua usurpato l'Imperio con hauer fatto amazzar il giouine Imperatore Alesio*"); M 80 ("*et fù morto da gli Italiani il maluagio Imperator Marfisio, che ammazò Alessio Imperator giouine*").

[118] HDV; Canal; Dandolo Extensa; VH; pseudo-Enrico Dandolo; Morosini A.; M 2545; M 89; Monaci; M 2569; M 322; M 2034; M 78; M 796; M 559; M 2544; Delfino P.; Cavalli; M 51; Zancaruolo; M 2573; pseudo-Caroldo; F 6239; M 2543; pseudo-Barbaro; M 47; pseudo-Zancaruolo; M 53; pseudo-Erizzo; M 68; pseudo-Veniera; pseudo-Savina; Doglioni; M 1586; M 327; Lio; Morosini P.; F 6241; pseudo-Donato; M 54; pseudo-Enrico Dandolo 102; Vianoli; M 61; M 1999; M 1577; M 2028; M 64; F 6566. This is also the version in the primary sources: Choniates, 334 (609 in Choniates Van Dieten); Villehardouin, 114/115–116/117; Clari, 124; Gunther, 115–116 (248–249 in Gunther Migne); *Corpus Flandriae*, 301–302; Morea, 93.

[119] Dandolo Extensa ("*turpiter vitam finivit*"); M 796 ("*finj la suo vita* [...] *villissimamente*"); Delfino P. ("*cum uergogna fini la uita sua*"); pseudo-Caroldo ("*fu fatto morire* [...] *vituperosamente*").

[120] Choniates; Villehardouin; Clari; Gunther (although preferring the term of "pyramid" instead of column, but then explaining: "about the pyramid [...] which many call a column. / *De pyramide autem illa,* [...], *quam et plerique columnam vocant*); Morea (according to Morea Bouchon, the term of "κιονιος / *obelisque*" is used). An original version is offered by *Corpus Flandriae*, 301, which regard Murtzuphlos as being beheaded along with 22 of his followers.

[121] Canal ("and then Murtzuphlos was captured and thrown to the ground from atop a pillar, so that his body was shattered"); Monaci ("*de altissima praecipitatus columna exitum parem factis invenit*"); Morosini P. ("*condotto à Costantinopoli fu come meritaua la sua perfidia da vn'alta colonna precipitato*"); M 1999 ("*fu per ordine di Baldouino gittato 1204 da una colonna nel Tauro*").

vitam finivit", respectively "*et sic turpiter vitam finivit extremam*", but offer much more details[122]. First, the column becomes statue[123] and, according to **M 322**, even balcony[124]. A successful combination between column and statue is provided by **Vianoli**, when saying "*fù da vn'alta colonna d'eminente luogo detto Tauro da vna statua, che vi era sopra, spinto col precipitio alla ben meritata morte*".

There are many cases where "*colonna*" becomes toponym, when it is clearly said that "*et la doue fo zitado lo suo corpo se chiama Colona*" (or similar)[125]. However, **F 6239** makes distinction between the common and the proper nouns, saying once that "*et de luogo eminentissimo precipita, et per la città detrato esser stà preso da Balduin dun* [sic!] *fusse Imperator, et quello fe butar zoso de una colona*", and then "*fò trouà Mortulfo, et morto fo butà el corpo in un luogo dito Colone*". A successful combination between the two is also provided by **F 6241**, when saying simply that "*il loco doue fù gettato il suo corpo si chiama Colona, nel qual era una colona*".

According to a number of chronicles, it seems that "*Colonna*" was not the place where Murtzuphlos' execution took place, but the one where his body was left afterwards[126].

At the same time, there are cases where *colonna / statua* is named as *Tauro*[127], while "*Collan*" is the name of the place – therefore, a toponym again – where the body of the convict is thrown in the mouth of the dogs[128].

[122] A similar conclusive expression is in Choniates and Gunther.

[123] HDV ("*et super statuam magnam, que Thaurus vocabatur, coram omni populo posuerunt et in ipsum precipitari fecerunt*"); VH ("*et postea super statuam magnam tauri aurati coram populo posuerunt et precipitari fecerunt*"); see also M 2571 ("*et soura una gia statua che vien clamada lo Thoro dauanti tutto lo puouolo el fo messo et della el fose trabuchar*"); pseudo-Barbaro ("*il qual condutolo in un luogo emine^te, doue era una statua nominada il Tauro, el fece da quel luogo buttar in terra*"); M 2581 ("*et soura vna gran statua che vien clamada lo Thoro dauantj tutto lo puouolo el fo messo, et della el fese trabuchar*"); pseudo-Savina ("*fu conduto sora una gran statua, la qual Tauro era chiamada in presentia de tutto el puouolo e la fu zettado zo de alto à terra*").

[124] M 322 ("*e si fo gitado çoxo delli balchoni del palaço in tera*", and adding another manner of execution, saying immediately afterwards that "*e fo puo tuto taiado a peçi*").

[125] M 2569; M 2034; M 78; M 2544; Cavalli; Zancaruolo; M 2573; F 6239; M 2543; M 47; M 53; M 2543; M 1586; M 327; M 2028.

[126] M 51 ("*e gitado lo corpo suo jn Chollone jn vno zerto luogo chuxi chiamato*"); Zancaruolo: "*E la doue fo gittado lo suo corpo che se chiama Cholonna*"; M 2573: "*& il suo corpo fo butato a un luogo dito alle Collone*"; F 6239: "*fò trouà Mortulfo, et morto fo butà el corpo in un luogo dito Colone*"; M 2543: "*E la doue fu gitado el suo corpo si chiama Colona*"; M 47: "*Et la doue fu gitato el suo corpo si chiama Cholona*"; M 53: "*et il suo corpo fo butado in uno luogo dito le Colone*"; M 2543: "*E la doue fu gitado el suo corpo si chiama Colona*"; pseudo-Erizzo: "*et fo gittado el suo corpo appresso una colonna*"; M 1586: "*et in quello luogo che fù gettato lo suo corpo si chiama Colonna*"; M 327: "*et in quel luogo doue romase el so corpo se appella Colonna*"; F 6241: "*il loco doue fù gettato il suo corpo si chiama Colona, nel qual era una colona*"; M 2028: "*E là dove fù gittado il suo corpo si chiamava Collona*".

[127] HDV; M 2571; pseudo-Barbaro; M 2581; pseudo-Savina; Vianoli; M 1999. The name of *Taurus* is in accordance with Choniates.

[128] pseudo-Barbaro ("*et perche non macasse cosa alcuna al compimento della sua miseria, fu ultimamente il suo corpo dado a manzar a cani in un luogo detto il Collan,* [...].");; pseudo-Savina

There are also some cases that, for more or less explainable reasons, either continue the description of the execution, or even modify it.

For example, according to some chronicles[129], in a first instance Murtzuphlos escaped in a palace ("*scampado sovra un palazo*"), he is captured ("*incalçado*") on a column ("*sovra una colona*")[130], where he is stoned ("*fu lapidado*"[131]). It would be only after this manner of execution when these chronicles complete by saying that "*a le fine vene trabucando zoxo fin in tera e lì morì cum dolorose stente*". The verb "*incalzado*" could be easily a distorsion of *inalzado*, which indeed corresponds to the classical meaning, but this modification completely changes the initial sense. Besides, the manner of description of the events seems to imply that the event took place directly connected to the siege, during Murtzuphlos' retirement and flight.

On their turn, chronicles **HDV** and **VH** also add that Murtzuphlos had previously been worn through the city on a camel ("*et postmodum ad caudam cameli ligatum turpiter per totam terram trahi iusserunt*", respectively "*quem ad caudam cameli ligatum extrahi per terram iubserunt*")[132]. According to **pseudo-Barbaro**, **pseudo-Savina**, and **Vianoli**, it is about a horse[133], and the same three chronicles, as we mentioned above[134], along with **F 6239**[135], relate how Murtzuphlos' corpse was thrown to the dogs, a practice that is similar to the horrible description of the execution of Emperor Andronicus I (1183–1185)[136].

("*e dopo morto il corpo suo fu datto a i cani in un luogo ditto Collan*"); Vianoli ("*e perche fosse compita la sue infelice memoria, nè gli mancasse alcuna sorte d'obbrobrio, fù il suo auanzo di cadauere dato per pasto ai cani in vn luogo detto il Collano.*")

[129] pseudo-Enrico Dandolo; Morosini A.; M 2545; M 89; M 559; M 68; pseudo-Veniera; Lio; pseudo-Donato; M 54; pseudo-Enrico Dandolo 102; M 64; F 6566.

[130] In pseudo-Enrico Dandolo 102, "*colonna*" becomes "*colinna*".

[131] In M 2545, "*lapidado*" is replaced by the non-existent term of "*peridado*".

[132] See also M 2571 and M 2581, with one and the same description, saying: "*et puo fu ligado alla choda de vno gambelo et comanda chel fusse strassinado per tutta la terra*".

[133] pseudo-Barbaro: "*et poi mezo morto, et tutto posto, el fece ligar alla coda d'un cauallo, et uituperosamente strassinarlo per tutto Constantinopoli*"; pseudo-Savina: "*dopo a coda de un cauallo ligado uituperosamente per tutta la citta ello fu strassinado, e cusi miserabilmente fini la uita sua*"; Vianoli: "*fatto legare il suo cadauere ad vna coda di cauallo, e strascinare con ignominia per tutta la città*".

[134] See above, p. 44 and note 128.

[135] F 6239: "*et morto fo butà el corpo in un luogo dito Colone a i cani*".

[136] See Choniates, 192–193 (348 ff. in Choniates Van Dieten) (but without speaking of his corpse as being thrown to the dogs), but also in a large number of the Venetian chronicles: Dandolo Extensa, 271; VH, 136; Giustinian, 93; M 2545, 46b, col. 2; Monaci, 126; M 2564, 78a; Cigotto, 167a; M 2034, 392; M 2563, 11a; M 78, 9a, col. 2; M 2560, 67b [72b]; M 541, 33a; M 550, 72a; M 798, xxi b; Delfino P., 314a; M 51, 68b, col. 2–69a, col. 1; Gussoni, 220; F 6234, 59b–60a; M 46, 31a; M 2571, 100b; pseudo-Caroldo, 158; M 2543, 46a; pseudo-Barbaro, 221b; M 45, 40a–40b; M 2567, 37b, col. 1; pseudo-Zancaruolo, clxxxx b; M 628a, 89a; pseudo-Erizzo, 105b; M 323, 74b; M 2580, 129b; M 2581, 89a; pseudo-Savina, 55a–55b; M 1586, 35a; M 327, 69b–70a; M 91, 365b; F 6241, 21b; M 43, 35b; M 80, 102a; M 1577, 255–256. In the episode referring to Andronicus' cruel death, the majority of these chronicles (M 2564; Cigotto; M 2034; M 2563; M 78; M 2560; M 541; M 550; M 798; M 51; Gussoni; F 6234; M 46; M 2543; pseudo-Barbaro; M 45; pseudo-Zancaruolo; M 628a; pseudo-Erizzo; M 323; M 2580; pseudo-Savina; M 1586; M 327; M 91; F 6241; M 43 (where the dogs are substituted in the text by the ravens!); M 80; M 1577) also refer to the detail about his corpse as leaving aside in the dogs' mouth.

Some other chronicles introduce the detail that Murtzuphlos was cut into pieces, either completing the execution by throwing[137], or not[138].

All in all, as **pseudo-Zancaruolo** asserts, "*li fo morto de crudel morte*". As for **M 61**, it seems that a real trial had taken place in advance[139].

Few cases also mention the name of the one who had previously captured Murtzuphlos, some following the information offered by two of the primary sources (that is, Villehardouin and Clari) and mentioning Lothair of Loz[140], and some others introducing a Venetian in the story, that is Giovanni Basegio[141], or considering even Baldwin as the one who captured the usurper[142]. It is also the case of **Vianoli**, who mention both Lothair and Basegio. According to **HDV**, **M 2571** and **M 2581**, both Baldwin and the Doge had sent their "*exquisitores / executori*" in order to look for and capture Murtzuphlos (already blinded by Alexios III), while **M 1999** notes that Baldwin gave the order of execution. Maybe due to copy inattentions, it results from the chronicles **M 2543** and **pseudo-Zancaruolo** that it was Alexios III who organized the execution of Murtzuphlos.

It is a singular interpretation that could suggest that it was Murtzuphlos first and foremost executed and only afterwards the city would have been taken[143].

Among the chronicles, some refer in addition to the prophecies related to Murtzuphlos' death[144], connecting them with St. Daniel[145]. Since none of the

[137] M 322; M 2573. It is in accordance with Villehardouin; Clari; Gunther.

[138] M 53; M 70.

[139] The trial is also mentioned in Choniates.

[140] Morosini P.; M 61. Actually, the name of this character is Thierry of Los, see Villehardouin, 114–115; Clari, 123 (but referrence is not to this count, but to his brother as the one that captured Murtzuphlos).

[141] pseudo-Barbaro. Although it usually follows pseudo-Barbaro, this time pseudo-Savina does not mention Basegio. As for M 327, it also mentions the fact that the Venetians were the ones that captured Murtzuphlos.

[142] VH (speaking about both Baldwin and the Doge); Monaci; F 6239; Doglioni.

[143] M 70, 41b ("*& discoperto tal trattado ditto Mirtillo fo tagliato à pezzi da traditor, insieme con suoi seguazzi*").

[144] M 2569 ("*Et la xe jntaiado molte profizie de San Daniel, & jnfina quello tempo nisun non le jntendeua, se non da puo che le xe aduenide*"); M 2034 ("*e su quela cholona xè intaiade molte chosse de profezia che deveva adevegnir e algun non le intemdeva, se non che da puo che le iera adevegnude. E dixese che miser san Daniel profeta le profetizià che le deveva adevegnir. E subito chomo il Marsiliflo fo gitado là, chomo io ho dito, el fo trovado chosì in quela cholona inttaiado*"); M 78 ("*nel qualle luocho era vna collona nela qualle erano scolpite molte prophetie che non se jntendeuano senon quando erano adimpite: le qualle se diceuano essere de Sancto Daniel propheta[.] Et quando Marsiflo fu getato li, fu cussi jntrouato jntagliato jn quella collona*"); M 2544 ("*et la e intagliato molte profecie de San Daniel et infina a quel tempo nissuno le intendeua se non da po che sono aduegnute*"); Cavalli ("*e lj se intaiado molte profetie de quello Danielle. E fina a quello tempo nissuno non le jntenderia se non dapuo che lexe uegnude*"); M 51 ("*jn chollone jn vno zerto luogo chuxi chiamato doue ne son jntalgliate molte profizie le qualle non sono intexe sinon dapoj le sono ochorsse*"); Zancaruolo ("*Cholonna la xe inttagiado moltte profecie de San Daniel et infin a quelo tenpo ninsun non lintendeua se non dapuo chele xe auegnude*"); M 2573 ("*alle Collone, nelle qual era intalgiato molte profezie che doueuano uignir del Imperio de Constantinopoli ma non se intendeuano nome quando le sono vinute, & se dize che dite colone furno fate per man de San Daniel profetta, nele qual colone fu trouato el dito Imperator con il suo nome cusi como el fu butado*");

primary sources make reference to this saint[146], this detail should be regarded as a Venetian innovation.

Chronicles **M 2580** and **M 43**[147] even insert some drawings representing columns, having various inscriptions, the passage being entitled by **M 2580** as "*Comme fu trouato in ditto locho de Constantinopoli vna colona grande con certe letere umile et grande Grece à torno dicono esser fatto da' San Leon Sophon, le*

F 6239 ("*un luogo dito colone* [...] *doue sono intagiade molte profecie che non sono intese ma poi sono stade. Altri scriue, che 'l fò trouado che l'fuziua, et quello amazzò, et fò sepelido à una colona doue sono molte profecie de San Daniel*"); M 2543 ("*e la e intagiade molte prophetie de San Daniel che doueano uenir che alguno non le intendeua saluo dapoi che li erano uegnude: e si se disse che San Daniel le diuisi a farle in quella forma: E si tosto come el Marsilio fu cusi gitado come ho ditto el fu troua cusi in quella colona intagia in marmoro*"); M 47 ("*Et la se intagliato molti prophetie de San Daniel. In fina a quel tenpo nisuno le intendeua se non dapo che fono vegnute*"); pseudo-Zancaruolo ("*apresso vna collona in nela qual iera in taiada molte profecie che douea vignir. Se diceno Daniel profeta la fece far quella. E in essa collona fuo trouada in taiada dela morte del dito*"); M 53 ("*in le qual colone erano intagiato molte profecie che doueuano uegnir del Imperio de Costantinopolj le qual profecie non erano intese se non quando le sono poi uenute et se dice che dite colone fono fate da San Daniel propheta in le qual colone fu trouato el dito Imperador intagiato con el suo nome Moricio et cusi como el fo butado al dito luogo*"); pseudo-Erizzo ("*appresso una colonna, in la qual sono intaiado molte profetie, e cose douessa uegnir, e nessun non intendeua, se non quando erano auegnude, e si se dixe, che meser San Daniel propheta fexe quelle, e cusì come fonno gittado el corpo de Marsilifo, in quella colonna fonno intaiado*"); Doglioni ("*& si vidde in essa colonna, che vi staua scolpito vno di habito Imperiale, che pareua che giù à punto fosse dirrupato da quella*"); M 1586 ("*et suso quella colonna v'è intagliato molte cose che doueuano auuenire, et alcuni non l'intendeuano, se non doppò che gl'erano auuenute, et dissesi che meser San Daniel Profeta le profetteggiò, che le haueuano ad auenire. Et subito come Marsiflo fò gittado là, come hò io detto, el fo trouato cosi in quella colonna intagliato*"); M 327 ("*et su quella colonna i era nota algune profettie che doueua uegnir manon s'intendeua saluo doppo, chel era uenuta le se intendeua, et diseuasse, che San Daniel proffetta profettizo quel doueua uegnir, et cosi doppo morto Marsiglio fu trouado tutta l'historia*"); F 6241 ("*nel qual era una colona, nella quale erano scolpite molte profettie, che non s'intendeuano, senon quando erano adempite, si diceua esser di San Daniele profetta; et quando Marsiflo fù la gettato, fù trouato cosi in quella colona intagliato*"); M 1577 ("*una colonna, in la qual sono intajade molte profezie, e cose i doveva avegnir, e nessuno non se intendeva se non quando erano avegnude, a si se dise, che meser San Daniel profeta fecce quelle così come sono zitade. El corpo de Marsilifo in quella colonna fono trovà intajado*"); M 2028 ("*Collona, et là sono intagliate molte profezie de San Daniel, e fino a quel tempo niuno la intendeva, se non da poi che son advenute*"). Due to errors of transcription, it results that, according to M 2573 and M 53, it was Saint Daniel to build the columns themselves! As for the primary sources, they also refer to various prophecies: Villehardouin, 116/117 (speaking about images sculptured in the marble, representing an emperor thrown down); Clari, 110–111 (not referring to the execution of Murtzuphlos, which is narrated only later, but to the conquest of Constantinople from the part of those in the West; however, Clari uses the expression of "but no one could understand the event until it had happened, [...]", so largely spread among the Venetian chronicles); Gunther, 116–117 (also referring to the fall of Constantinople, and not to the execution of Murtzuphlos, although it connects it to the column on which the latter found his death); Morea, 92–93 (speaking about the prophecies of Leo the Philosopher related to the obelisk on which Murtzuphlos would be executed).

[145] However, among these chronicles, there are two (M 51 and Doglioni) in which St. Daniel is not mentioned.

[146] From the side of Gunther, it refers to "*Sibyllae vaticinia* / the prophecies of a Sybil", while Morea speaks about the prophecies of Emperor Leo VI the Philosopher.

[147] M 2580, p. 131a–132b; M 43, p. 39a–40b.

qual saran notade, et dechiarite quello dicono et significano, come in driedo, cussi in Greco comme in Latino sermone". In both chronicles, the inscriptions in Greek are in facts simple acronyms, which are calligraphic, but difficult to be deciphered. Under them, the Italian version makes an effort to clarify their meaning. However, the result of their examination is that they do not refer at all to the events in 1204, but to those in 1453.

As a result of the manner in which the events are disposed and in which the cause-effect relation evolves, there are situations when not only the assassination of Alexios the Younger be the one that leads to the second siege of Constantinople against Murtzuphlos, and neither Murtzuphlos' refusal to accomplish the financial obligations towards the Crusaders, but also his attempt to set fire up to the Venetian fleet[148].

It is also the hatred accumulated against him that in some cases induces the non-Venetian Crusaders to lose their temper and thus to hurry up the tempestuous closure of the dialogue between the 'usurper' and Doge Dandolo.

Needless to say that on the whole Alexios Murzuphlos is represented as the enemy *par excellence*, the traitor and the usurper, due to his treason against the legitimate emperor. Nevertheless, there are cases in the Venetian chronicles when his qualities are clearly mentioned. It is especially in the context when Alexios IV release him from prison, when Murtzuphlos is descrbied as a wise man[149]. Beside this case, Alexios Murtzuphlos is regarded by chronicle **M 550** as "*huomo astutissimo*" when he proposes the dialogue with Dandolo, while **F 6821** refers to "*qualche astutia del Imperador*" when referring to the fire set up on the Venetian fleet, and **Doglioni** regards him as having "*grandissima autorità*" over the Greeks when conspiring against Alexios IV. When the non-Venetian Crusaders intend to kill him during the negotiations with the Doge, the latter stop them by saying that Murtzuphlos is respected by the Greeks (and by the Latins too, in some cases)[150].

[148] The most relevant cases are in chronicles VH; M 78; M 2571; M 2573; pseudo-Barbaro; M 2581.

[149] M 2564 ("*vno grande e sauio homo*"); M 2569 ("*uno sauio homo*"); Cigotto ("*molto sapientissimo homo*"); M 2034 ("*uno grande he savio homo*"); M 2563 ("*molto sauio*"); M 2560 ("*molto sapientissimo homo*"); pseudo-Sanudo 2 ("*molto savio*"); M 541 ("*molto sauio*"); M 2544 ("*uno sauio homo*"); M 798 ("*uno sauio homo*"); Cavalli ("*uno sauio homo*"); Zancaruolo ("*uno sauio homo*"); Gussoni ("*molto sapientissimo homo*"); F 6234 ("*molto sapientissimo homo*"); M 46 ("*molto saujo*"); M 2543 ("*uno sauio homo*"); pseudo-Abbiosi ("*sauio homo*"); M 45 ("*vno grande e sauio homo*"); M 47 ("*uno sauio homo*"); pseudo-Zancaruolo ("*saputo homo*"); M 628a ("*uno grando, et sauio homo*"); pseudo-Erizzo ("*uno grande, e saputo homo*"); Donato T. ("*molto sapientisimo homo*"); M 2580 ("*molto sauio*"); M 1586 ("*uno grande sauio huomo*"); M 91 ("*un gran sauio homo*"); M 43 ("*huomo molto sauio*"); M 80 ("*un gran sauio huomo*"); M 1577 ("*saputo homo*"); M 2028 ("*uno savio homo*"). In comparison, in the same context, Clari, p. 77 refers to "a high man".

[150] M 78 ("*hauendo lui fama apresso Greci come Latini de homo sauio et bono*"); pseudo-Zancaruolo ("*El qual per Grezi era reputato sapientissimo homo*"); pseudo-Erizzo ("*quel Marsilifo, el qual iera tegnu per quei Griexi sauio homo*"); M 1586 ("*i Greci, egli Latini teneuano el ditto Doxe per uno sauijssimo huomo*"); F 6241 ("*hauendo lui fama appreso Greci, come Latini di homo sapientissimo*"); M 1577 ("*quel Marsilifo, el qual vegnia tegnù per quei Greci savio homo*"). A version that makes a confusion is in M 2034, which transfers the positive epithets upon the Doge

On its turn, **M 61** speaks about "*prestezza di Murzuflo che in una piazza uicina si ritrouaua accaduto con suoi intimando cuore à deboli, risolutione à timidi, sicurezza à gl'arditi, et animando ciascuno o colla speranza del proprio ò col timor del castigo soliti stimuli de che mercenario combatte per il solo interesse*" during the siege of Constantinople and to the "*temeraria risposta*" of Murtzuphlos to the Latins, after being captured by them.

Combinations of favourable and depreciatory epithets are offered in the following two contexts:

– when, during the dialogue, Dandolo would have addressed to Murtzuphlos in such a terms[151];

– during the siege, when the 'usurper' is described both favourably and unfavourably[152].

Nevertheless, all these examples do not absolve him from the position of 'traitor'. First and foremost, the facts are eloquent by themselves: his reluctance in paying the financial debt towards the Crusaders; the assassination of his natural lord – sometimes with the ironic mention "for the service done to him" by Alexios the Younger[153] –; his duplicity during the dialogue with Enrico Dandolo and lies uttered by him referring to the fate of Alexios IV; the atempt of firing the Venetian fleet.

("*i Latini et Griexi tegnia el dito doxie per uno sanisimo homo*"). On the other side, there are interesting the cases of M 61 that refers to the fact that the Greeks were against him because of the taxes imposed by him, and pseudo-Barbaro that says that "*et essendo Mauritio odiado dal populo*" and respectively, even that "*al fin dal suo popolo medesimo fù preso Mauritio, et apresentado al sopradito Zuanne Basegio*".

[151] M 322 ("*sire Mutifie, uui se deuentado gran homo ma eçiam dio la uostra grandeça con nobelitade de sangue*[.] *Ma uui fe che asa uilana mente la uostra nobelita sapiando che cholui lo qual uui a uetegnudo* [sic!] *in prixom la qual uui aue lasato fuora el qual uui aue metudo in chussi gran stado si che lui che die esser uostro signor natural e uostro propinquo parente*."); M 2034 ("*Morsiflo, voi sè uno grande homo e de gramde ligniazo ma vilana mente voi avè uxato la vostra zemtileza*"); M 2543 ("*Marsilio, uui seti grando homo et de gran lignazo ma uillanamente haue usado la uostra zentileza de hauer facto quel che facto haue zoe in hauer morto lo uostro signor natural che ui trasse fuora de preson: e che ui ha fatto se gran maistro*"); pseudo-Zancaruolo ("*Marsilifo, vuj se grande homo e de gran lignazo, ma vilanamente aue vxado vostra zentileza*"); pseudo-Erizzo ("*Marsilifo, uui se grand'homo, e de gran lignazo, ma uillanamente hauè uxado uostra zentilezza*"); M 1586 ("*Marsiflo, voi sete vn grande huomo, et dicendoli mà villanemente voi hauete usato la uostra gentilezza*"); M 1577 ("*Marsilifo, vui se grande homo, e de gran lignazo, ma vilanamente avè usado vostra zentilezza*").

[152] M 2034 ("*e non hostante che liui era falso et deslial, lo iera molto aprexiado per li Griexi, et liui se pensò de defender la tera molto ben*"); pseudo-Caroldo ("*il quale, essendo valoroso nell'armi, fu causa che fu fatta gran stragge da ambi le parti*"); pseudo-Erizzo ("*benche 'l fosse deslial, quei Griexi pur l'apprexiaua*"); M 1586 ("*E non ostante lui era falso et disleale, lui era molto appreciado per li Greci*"); M 327 ("*et non ostante, che 'l era desleal al suo signor iera apresiado da Griesi, et credeuase deffender la terra molto ben*"); M 61 ("*Il corraggio però di Murzuflo nato trà l'ombre mancò con l'ombre*"); M 1577 ("*se messe mareveiosamente in ordene sì de Greci, come de Latini anchor Englesi*" and "*e benchè el fosse deslial, quei Greci pur l'apprezzava, pensando quello defender la Terra*").

[153] M 89 ("*e questo fo el bon merito che laue chauandolo de prexon*"); pseudo-Sanudo 2 ("*per merito d'averlo cavato di prigione*"); M 68 ("*et questo fu per il bon merito per hauerlo cauato de preson*"); M 2580 ("*et questo fu per il merito, gli haueua fatto hauerlo cauato de preson*"); pseudo-Veniera ("*et questo fu per il bon merito per hauerlo cauato de preson*"); M 43 ("*in ricompensa*

These incriminating facts – which are enough to place Alexios Doukas in the category of the negative characters from the Venetian viewpoint – are joined by the rich terminology used by the Venetian chronicles, which is connected to each episode, as follows:

– when he set intrigues against Alexios IV, inclusively by advising the emperor to do not pay the debt towards the Latins[154];

– when he assassinated Alexios IV[155];

– when the decision of conquering Constantinople was taken by the Crusaders[156];

– when he requested the encounter with Dandolo and during the negotiations[157];

– when he prepared the firing of the Venetian fleet[158];

d'hauerllo cacciato di priggione, et d'hauerllo inalzato à gli onori"); pseudo-Donato ("*et questo fù il buon merito per hauerlo cauato di preson*"); M 54 ("*per il bene merito d'hauerlo cauato di prigione*"); M 64 ("*per il buon merito di hauerlo cauato di prigione*"); F 6566 ("*per benemerito di hauerlo cauato di prigione*").

[154] "*quidam, Murciphus nomine, pravis consiliis*" (Dandolo Extensa); "*vno zerto homo chiamado Murchiffo homo de mal conseglio*" (M 796); "*operante iniquamente cum praui consigli*" (Delfino P.); "*lo traditor Marsilio jngrato*" (M 51); "*lo infedelissimo consegio*" (M 2571); "*con mala intention*" (pseudo-Barbaro; in the same context, chronicle pseudo-Barbaro philosophises as follows: "*li animi delli huomini, essendo occupadi da qualche cattiuo pensier, precipitosi, et uiolenti* sau despre *come son li huomini quasi sempre presaghi di quel mal che deue intrauegnir*"); "*quel maluasio Marsilio*" (M 628a); "*uomo di mal' ingegno, aspirante alla tirannide*" (pseudo-Navagero); "*homo de mal'ingegno aspirante alla tiranide*" (F 6211); "*lo infedelissimo consiglio*" (M 2581); "*quel maluagio Marficio*" (M 91); "*quel maluagio Marfisio*" (M 80); "*i graui consigli di Murzuffo*" (Vianoli); "*el dito traditor*" (M 2592); "*un tal Alessio dito Murzuflo per l'orrida congiuntione delle ciglia solito contrasegno d'una malitiosa natura*" and talking about "*sceleraggine*" and "*l'empio ministro*" (M 61); "*i Consiglj artifiziosi*" (M 1833).

[155] "*questo traditor et jniquo*" (M 51); "*perfido Murcipho*" and that he "*usurpò quell'Imperio*" (pseudo-Caroldo); "*inspirado da spirito diabolico*" (pseudo-Savina); "*il tiranno*" and "*la perfidia del tiranno*" (F 6235); "*l'impietade di Marsiflo*" and "*ingratitudine, et crudeltà*" (F 6241); "*haueua usurpato il comando*" (M 43); "*sceleratamente*" (M 80); "*mà tolto dalle brutture della plebe, e però accompagnato da basso istinto, e da genio vile*" and, metaphorically, "*tentò prima di leuare la vita ad Alessio col maleficio del veleno, che fù meno crudele di lui, perche non valse à dar la morte à quel vigore di giouentù*" (Vianoli); "*il barbaro tradimento di Murzuflo*" (M 61); "*huomo di uilissima conditione*" and "*con detestabile perfidia* [...], *usurpandosi cosi l'iniquissimo Greco il trono*" (M 1999).

[156] "*scelestissimus Alexios*" (Sabellico); "*il perfido tiranno, il quale sì ingratamente contro loro, e sì orridamente contro il giovane Imperadore avea operato*" (pseudo-Navagero); "*il perfido tirano, il qual si ingratamente contra loro, et si horidamente contra il giouane Imperator hauea operato*" (F 6211); "*la crudelta de Mauritio usada uerso el neuodo e l'astutia de tradimento de fogar l'armada*" (pseudo-Savina); "*il tiranno*" (F 6235); "*Marsulfo l'usurpatore*" (M 43); "*un tanto ribaldo et traditore*" (M 2592); "*il tiranno*", "*egualmente abborrito il tradimento, et il traditore*", "*la perfidia del tiranno Murzuflo*", and "*iniquo genio e superbo dell'usurpatore*" (M 61); "*tiranno*" (M 1999).

[157] "*il tiranno*" (F 6235); "*li suoi inganni*" (F 6241). One should add here the terms of "*dissimulaua*", "*duplizittade*", "*malizia*" (and their dialectal forms) used when presenting the dialogue in pseudo-Enrico Dandolo; Morosini A.: M 2545; M 89; M 559: M 68; M 2580; pseudo-Veniera; Lio; M 43; pseudo-Donato; M 54; pseudo-Enrico Dandolo 102; M 64; F 6566.

[158] "*tanta jndegna perfidia*" (M 78); "*inspirato dal spirito diabolico*" (M 2573); "*ghe cascò nell'animo un crudel, et scelerado pensier*", "*questa diabolica imagination*", and "*la maluagità, et la crudeltà de Mauritio, et il tradimento grande, che li haueua ordido*" (pseudo-Barbaro); "*inspirado dal spirito diabolicho*" (M 53); "*Mauritio hauendo sempre mal anemo*" and "*la sua pessima & iniqua uolontà*" (pseudo-Savina); "*tanta indignità*" (F 6241); "*questa insolenza di Marrsulfo*" (M 43);

– during the second siege of Constantinople[159];
– when considering him as being in bad relations with the Greeks themselves[160];
– when he escaped from Constantinople after the siege[161];
– when he encountered Alexios III[162];
– when he was captured by the Latins[163];
– when he found his death[164].

One could add here the expression saying that "the Greeks are worse than the Infidels"[165], since it, being in the context of the assassination of Alexios IV, refers indirectly to the same Murtzuphlos, but also the considerations of **Monaci** in the same context: "*Statu Imperiali in crudelem tyrannidem scelerata proditione mutato Latinorum animi rerum indignatibus accenduntur, cogunturque contra perjuros, &*

"*accese, e stuzzicò nel petto di quei Greci vn talento di perfidia tale*" (Vianoli, although the event took place previous to Murtzuphlos' accession to the throne, according to this chronicle).

[159] "*tyrannus*" (Monaci); " *lo tiran*" and "*tiranus*" (F 6239); "*Mirtilo traditor*" (M 2592).

[160] "*un usurpatore dell'Imperio*" (M 61).

[161] "*misero*" (HDV); "*tyrapnus*" (Dandolo Extensa); "*tyrannus*" (Monaci); "*Marsiflo falsso Imperatore*" (M 78); "*tyrannus*" (Biondo); "*el dito teranno* [sic!=tiranno] *chiamado Murteffo*" (M 796); "*Murcipho quel Tiranno*" (Delfino P.); "*lo misero a Mezipho*" (M 2571); "*il tiranno*" (pseudo-Navagero); "*il tyranno*" (F 6211); "*quel Marsileo Imperador traditor*" (Donato T.); "*el ditto Marafixi traditor del puto Imperator*" (M 68); "*lo misero AMIZIPHO*" (M 2581); "*el ditto Marafixi traditor del puto Imperator*" (pseudo-Veniera); "*il tiranno*" (M 71); "*il detto Marafini traditor del giouane Imperator*" (Lio); "*Marsiflo falso Imperatore*" (F 6241); "*detto Marafisi traditore del giouene Imperatore*" (M 54); "*Murzuflo, che non seppe illustrare gl'ultimi momenti della sua tirannide con una morte da Prencipe*" (M 61).

[162] "*invasor imperii*" (Dandolo Extensa); "*Murcifo inuasor dell'Imperio*" (Delfino P.); "*la sua aroganza*" (pseudo-Caroldo); "*traditore*" (M 61).

[163] "*traditor*" (M 89); " *sua perfidia*", "*barbara crudeltà*", and "*il perfido*" (M 61).

[164] "*quel Morflio Imperrador traditor che amazo Alesio Imperador zouene*" (M 2564); "*quel Marsiljo Imperrador et traditor*" (Cigotto); "*quel tristo de Marsillo imperador traditor, che amazo Alesio zouane*" (M 2563); "*Imperador traditor*" (M 2560); "*lo traditorescho Marrsillio*" (M 51); "*Inperador traditor*" (Gussoni); "*quel tristo de Marsilio Inperador traditor che amazo Alesjo zouene*" (M 46); "*sua miseria*" (pseudo-Barbaro); "*quel Morfleo Imperador traditor che amazo Alessio Imperador zouene*" (M 45); "*Quel Marsilifo Imperator traditor, che ammazzò Alesso zouene*" (pseudo-Erizzo); "*perche l'era sta traditor del suo signor et hauendo fatto morir a torto à tradimento*") (M 327); "*la sua perfidia*" (Morosini P.); "*Marsuffo, ch'haueua usurpato l'Imperio con hauer fatto amazzar il giouine Imperatore Alesio*" (M 43); "*Matafixi traditor del puto Imperator*" (pseudo-Donato); "*il maluagio Imperator Marfisio, che ammazò Alessio Imperator giouine*" and "*traditor*" (M 80); "*la sue infelice memoria*" (Vianoli); "*l'ambition temeraria del traditore*" (M 61); "*detto Marafisi traditore del giouine Imperatore*" (M 64); "*Mirtillo traditor del giouane Imperatore*" (F 6566).

[165] M 2564; M 2569; M 2034; pseudo-Sanudo 2; M 541; M 2544; M 798; Cavalli; Zancaruolo; M 2543; M 45; M 47; M 628a; M 327 (in this case, the element of comparison is represented by "*Zudij* / the Jews", maybe due to an error in transcription); M 91; M 80; M 2028. Slightly modified versions for this expression, in M 2563 ("*giudicono che i fussi tristi hominj, et infideli*") and in M 46 ("*judichono chel fosseno tristi homenj et infidellj*"); another version in M 78 and F 6241 (speaking about "*la pessima natura de Greci gli qualli cusi tratasseno j suoi signori*[,] *et fussero ribelli ala Sancta Chiesia Romania et oltra di cio, mancatori di fede et di le promesse*"; shorter expressions in pseudo-Zancaruolo ("*chatiua zente*"); pseudo-Erizzo ("*cattiua zente*"); M 1586 ("*gente infedele*"); M 1577 ("*cattiva zente*"); a more developed version in Morosini P. ("*l'ingratitudine vsata, l'odio mostrato, l'offese fatte da' Greci*").

perfidos Graeculos iterum induere arma justissima."[166], continuing with details referring to Byzantium regarded as heretic.

Obviously, the Venetian chroniclers were not aware of the fact that Alexios V had been a member of the famous family of Doukas, so that his claims to the Byzantine throne were legitimate to a significant extent[167]. Only few chronicles mention him under his first name of Alexios[168], fewer even than those that do not refer to him by any name, using only depreciatory nouns[169], titles and families connections[170] or adjectives[171], sometimes exclusively[172]. That is why our character is represented most of the times under his nickname of Murtzuphlos[173]. This nickname was explained by **Choniates** ("Δούκας Ἀλέξιος, ὃς ἐκ τοῦ συνεσπάσθαι τὰς ὀφρῦς καὶ οἷον τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς ἐπικρέμασθαι πρὸς τῶν συνεφήβων ἐπωνόμαστο Μούρτζουφλος, [...] / Alexios Doukas (who, because his eyebrows were joined together and hung over his eyes, was called Mourtzouphlos as an adolescent by his companions), [...]"[174]). Among the Venetian chronicles, there are only two that gives this explanation for it: **F 6235** ("*vn'Alessio Duca detto per sopranome Murcufle, perche haueua le ciglie gionte*") and **M 61** ("[...] *un tal Alessio dito Murzuflo per l'orrida congiuntione delle ciglia solito contrasegno d'una malitiosa natura.*")

The versions offered by the Venetian chronicles written in Latin are almost the same and the versions in which Murtzuphlos' name appears are quite similar: "*Murciccus*"[175]; "*Murciffus*" / "*Murcifus*" / "*Murciphus*" / "*Murcyphus*"[176];

[166] See also Biondo ("*malo vir ingenio ad tyrannidem anhelabat*").

[167] The only exceptions are Monaci (but saying that Alexios was created "*duce* / duke", so that Doukas becomes title, and not family name); F 6235 ("*vn'Alessio Duca detto per sopranome Murcufle, perche haueua le ciglie gionte*"); M 1999 ("*Duca Mirtillo*", but adding immediately afterwards: "*huomo di uilissima conditione*").

[168] Monaci; Biondo; Sabellico (three times); pseudo-Navagero (twice); F 6211 (twice); F 6235; Morosini P.; M 61.

[169] Monaci ("*tyrannus*", used twice); Biondo ("*tyrannus*", twice); F 6239 ("*lo tiran*", twice; "*tiranus*"); pseudo-Navagero ("*il perfido tiranno*", "*il tiranno*"); F 6211 ("*il perfido tirano*", "*il tyranno*"); M 71 ("*il tiranno*"); F 6235 ("*il tiranno*"); M 2592 ("*el dito traditor*", "*el traditor*"); M 61 ("*il tiranno*", "*traditore*" – used three times); M 1999 ("*tiranno*").

[170] Monaci ("*Ducha*"); pseudo-Savina ("*barba*"); M 71 ("*un suo cortigiano*"); F 6821 ("*quel suo parente*", "*ditto suo parente*", "*il parente del Imperator*", "*Imperador*"); M 61 ("*l'empio ministro*", "*l'Imperatore*").

[171] M 61 ("*l'empio ministro*", "*il perfido*"); M 1999 ("*l'iniquissimo Greco*").

[172] M 71; F 6821.

[173] "Murtzuphlos" as nickname is mentioned only by Monaci ("*Alexios nomine cognominatus Murtilus*"); M 796 ("*el dito teranno* [sic!=*tiranno*] *chiamado Murteffo*"); Biondo ("*Alexios cognomine Murtilus*"); Sabellico ("*Alexios, cognomento Myrtilus, vel, ut alii habent, Murcyphus*"); Navagero ("*uno Alessio Greco chiamato Mortelio*"); F 6211 ("*uno certo Alessio Greco chiamato Mortilo*"); F 6235 ("*vn'Alessio Duca detto per sopranome Murcufle*"); M 61 ("*Alessio dito Murzuflo*").

[174] Choniates, 307 (561 in Choniates Van Dieten).

[175] HDV (twice).

[176] HDV (three times); Dandolo Extensa (three times); VH (five times); Sabellico.

"*Murtilus*"[177]; "*Myrtilus*"[178]; "*Murticus*"[179]. The same is the case for the only Venetian chronicle written in medieval French (Canal), which uses constantly the name of "*li Murfice*"[180].

On the contrary, the situation is completely different for the many chronicles written in vulgar Venetian, since the nickname of Murtzuphlos generated a huge number of versions. Moreover, various versions could be detected in one and the same chronicle, although the number of chronicles that use constantly a single version from the beginning to the end is not small at all[181]. Certainly, this diversity would be rather generated by the precarity of the general culture of the copiers that worked with the chronicles.

Nevertheless, some explanations could be concluded in some particular cases. Thus, when making an attempt to group them, it results that an important number of cases referring to Murtzuphlos (103)[182], re-names the character is as "*Marsilio*" (and all its versions, like "*Marsiljo*", "*Marssiljo*", "*Marssillo*", "*Marsillo*", "*Marsilo*", "*Marsileo*", "*Marsillio*", "*Marssilio*", "*Marssillio*", "*Marsiglio*"). One could make a connection with the negative character in the "Song of Roland", that is Marsilius, the captain of the Saracens, so offering to the conquest of Constantinople a more crusading feature.

There are also many cases when the character is presented under names beginning with "*Mort-*" (especially "*Mortifex*" / "*Morttifex*" / "*Mortifes*"[183], but

[177] Monaci.

[178] Sabellico (twice).

[179] Marco.

[180] See Canal Limentani, *passim*.

[181] pseudo-Enrico Dandolo ("*Mortifex*", ten times); Morosini A. ("*Mortifes*", ten times); M 78 ("*Marsiflo*", 13 times); M 541 ("*Marsiflo*", six times); M 550 ("*Marsilio*", six times); M 2544 ("*Marsilio*", three times); Gussoni ("*Marsilio*", six times); F 6234 ("*Marsilio*", six times); M 2573 ("*Morizio*", seven times); pseudo-Caroldo ("*Murcipho*", eight times); F 6239 ("*Mortulfo*"); M 2543 ("*Marsilio*", 17 times); pseudo-Abbiosi ("*Marsilifo*", once); M 47 ("*Marsilio*", three times); M 628a ("*Marsilio*", seven times); M 53 ("*Moricio*", eight times); pseudo-Erizzo ("*Marsilifo*", 22 times); pseudo-Navagero ("*Mortelio*", once); F 6211 ("*Mortilo*", once); M 2580 ("*Marsiflo*", ten times); Sansovino ("*Marzuflo*", once); pseudo-Savina ("*Mauritio*", seven times); M 1586 ("*Marsiflo*", 18 times); Lio ("*Marafini*", 11 times); F 6241 ("*Marsiflo*, 15 times); M 54 ("*Marafisi*", ten times); M 80 ("*Marfisio*", seven times); M 70 ("*Mirtillo*", three times); pseudo-Enrico Dandolo 102 ("*Mortifex*", ten times); M 2592 ("*Mirtilo*", five times); M 61 ("*Murzuflo*", 24 times); M 1999 ("*Mirtillo*", three times); M 1577 ("*Marsilifo*", 21 times); M 2028 ("*Marsilio*", three times); M 64 ("*Marafisi*", 11 times): F 6566 ("*Mirtillo*", eight times); Diedo ("*Murciffo*", six times); M 1833 ("*Murtsuple*", twice). On the other side, the most versions inside of one and the same chronicle is noted in the following chronicles: six forms in M 2034; five in M 45; four in M 2564; M 2560; M 51; pseudo-Veniera; M 43; three in VH; M 2545; M 322; M 796; M 2571; pseudo-Barbaro; M 2567; pseudo-Zancaruolo; M 2581; M 327; M 91.

[182] Cigotto (eight times); M 2563 (nine times); M 2560 (twice); M 550 (six times); M 2544 (three times); M 51 (nine times); Gussoni (six times); F 6234 (six times); M 46 (nine times); M 2543 (13 times); M 45 (three times); M 47 (three times); M 628a (seven times); Donato T. (six times); M 327 (eight times); M 2028 (three times).

[183] pseudo-Enrico Dandolo (ten times); Morosini A. (ten times); M 2545 (eight times); M 559 (nine times); pseudo-Enrico Dandolo 102 (ten times).

also "*Mortafex*" / "*Mortafexi*" / "*Mortafixi*"[184], and "*Mortelio*"[185], "*Mortilo*"[186], "*Mortitio*"[187], "*Mortulfo*"[188]). One could also include here the forms of "*Montifex*"[189], "*Menttifex*"[190], "*Mertafixi*"[191], "*Matafixi*"[192], "*Marafexi*" / "*Marrafexi*"[193], "*Marafixi*" / "*Marrafixi*"[194], "*Marafisi*"[195], or even "*Forttifex*"[196], probably copier errors originating in the same *Mortifex*. It could induce the idea of "*morte* / death", in the sense of the most negative connotation[197]. Perhaps originating in these forms, one could also note the derivates like "*Murteffo*" and "*Murtiphio*", both used in chronicle **M 796**, and also "*Morsiliflo*"[198] or "*Morsileo*"[199].

Maybe it is not quite exaggerated to make another connection, the one between the form of "*Mutifer*"[200] and the name of the fallen angel Lucifer.

It could also be considered the influence of the Italian more familiar name of *Maurizio* taken into account by the chroniclers, with its derivates of "*Mauritio*"[201], "*Morizio*"[202], "*Moricio*"[203]. To a smaller extent, the same could be explained the use of "*Marcuflo*" / "*Marcufle*"[204], which could be approached to the name of *Marco*, so dear to the Venetians[205].

Perhaps the closest versions to the original Greek form of Murtzuphlos seem to be the following: "*Murzuflo*"[206], "*Murzuflio*"[207], "*Murzuffo*"[208], "*Murcufle*"[209],

[184] M 89 (11 times); M 2567 (four times).
[185] pseudo-Navagero.
[186] F 6211.
[187] pseudo-Barbaro.
[188] F 6239 (twice).
[189] M 559.
[190] M 2545.
[191] pseudo-Donato (three times).
[192] pseudo-Donato (twice).
[193] pseudo-Veniera (three times).
[194] M 68 (nine times); pseudo-Veniera (six times).
[195] M 54 (ten times); M 64 (11 times).
[196] M 2545.
[197] The root of "*mort-*" is also used by the chronicle of Gunther of Pairis: "*Mortiflo*" (Gunther Migne, 248), and close forms of it (either in Latin, or in Medieval French) could be: "*Morchuflex*", "*Morchufles*", "*Morchufle*" (Villehardouin), "*Morchofles*" (Clari), "*Morsoflus*" (*Devastatio*), "*Murtiphlo*" and "*Murciflo*" (Gunther), "*Murtiflez*" (*Corpus Flandriae*), "*Morcufles*", "*Morcuflez*", "*Morcufle*" (*Chron. Gall.*)
[198] M 2034 (twice).
[199] M 2560.
[200] M 322 (six times).
[201] pseudo-Barbaro (12 times); pseudo-Savina (seven times); Vianoli.
[202] M 2573 (seven times).
[203] M 53 (eight times).
[204] Doglioni (five times). By metathesis, it becomes once "*Murcafle*" in F 6235.
[205] On the other hand, it could be connected to Baldwin, which also uses the root *marc-* ("*Marculfus*").
[206] Morosini P. (ten times); M 61 (24 times).
[207] pseudo-Sanudo 2 (twice).
[208] Vianoli (nine times).
[209] F 6235.

"*Murtsuple*"[210], "*Murchiplo*" / "*Mvrchiplo*"[211], "*Murchiffo*" / "*Murciffo*" / "*Murcifo*" / "*Murcipho*"[212], "*Morsiflo*" / "*Morsiflio*"[213], "*Marsuflo*"[214], "*Marzuflo*" / "*Marzuflio*"[215], while the name's distorsions led to some very different forms, such as "*Amizipho*"[216], "*Mezipho*"[217], "*Morille*"[218], "*Marafini*"[219], "*Mirtillo*" / "*Mirtilo*"[220], "*Masiflao*"[221], "*Mutifie*" / "*Mutrife*"[222], "*Marficio*" / "*Marfisio*"[223], "*Morfileo*" / "*Morflio*" / "*Morfleo*" / "*Marfileo*"[224].

Among all the versions, it seems that very much in use were the forms of "*Marsiflo*" / "*Marsifleo*" / "*Marsiflio*" (82)[225] and "*Marsilifo*" / "*Marsilipho*" / "*Marselifo*" (66)[226], to which one could add the almost similar forms of "*Marsifliflo*"[227], "*Marsulfo*" / "*Marrsulfo*" / "*Marsuffo*"[228], "*Marsifo*" / "*Marsifozo*"[229], "*Marfiflo*"[230], and even "*Mosiflo*"[231].

The impressive variety of these versions could be helpful for the linguists dealing with the Venetian dialect, in order to establish the filiation of the manuscripts and how did the codices connected to each other.

Anyway, the manner of representation according to which the nickname is in use much more than his real first name (Alexios) and last name (Doukas) is not exclusive for the Venetians. The name of Murtzuphlos is exclusively present also in the Western primary sources (**Baldwin**[232], **Villehardouin**[233], **Clari**[234],

[210] M 1833 (twice).
[211] M 2571; M 2581.
[212] M 796 (twice); Delfino P. (four times); M 2571; pseudo-Caroldo (eight times); M 2581; Diedo (six times).
[213] M 2034 (seven times).
[214] M 43.
[215] pseudo-Sanudo 2; Sansovino.
[216] M 2581.
[217] M 2571.
[218] pseudo-Barbaro.
[219] Lio (11 times).
[220] M 70 (three times); M 2592 (five times); M 1999 (three times); F 6566 (eight times).
[221] Cavalli.
[222] M 322 (three times).
[223] M 91 (sixe times); M 80 (seven times).
[224] M 2564 (four times); M 2560 (twice); M 45 (twice).
[225] M 2564 (three times); M 2569 (twice); M 2034 (ten times); M 78 (13 times); M 541 (six times); M 798; Zancaruolo (three times); M 45; M 2580 (ten times); M 1586 (18 times); F 6241 (15 times).
[226] M 2569; Cavalli (twice); pseudo-Abbiosi; pseudo-Zancaruolo (19 times); pseudo-Erizzo (22 times); M 1577 (21 times).
[227] M 2034.
[228] M 43 (ten times).
[229] M 327; M 91.
[230] M 798 (five times); M 45.
[231] M 2034.
[232] *Marculfus*.
[233] *Morchuflex*, *Morchufles*, *Morchufle*.
[234] *Morchofles*.

Devastatio[235], **Novgorod**[236], **Gunther**[237], ***Corpus Flandriae***[238], ***Chron. Gall.***[239]), as in **Morea**[240], while **Choniates** remains explainably the only case where the family name of Doukas is the preferred form, while Murtzuphlos is clearly mentioned as nickname in the three situations where it appears[241].

An explanation for this exclusivity both for these primary sources and for the Venetian chronicles could be the fact that the character should have been represented as an usurper by himself.

Venetian chronicles not included in the general list of abbreviations:

A latina = *Cronaca «A latina». Cronaca veneziana del 1343*, ed. C. Negri di Montenegri, Spoleto 2004.

Agostini-Tiepolo = *Cronica di Venezia di Giovanni Tiepolo fù de Agostin patrizio veneto*, ed. E. Aleo, I, Bologna 2012.

Antonio = Antonio di Matteo di Curato, *Cronaca Veneta*, BNM, ms. It. VII. 162 [= 8037].

Biondo = Blondi Flavii Forliviensis, *De Origine et Gestis Venetorum Liber*, in *Thesaurus antiquitatum et historiarum Italiae*, V, 1, ed. J. G. Graevius, Leyden, 1722, 1–26.

Canal = Martin da Canal, *Les Estoires de Venise*, ed. L. K. Morreale, Padova, 2009.

Canal Limentani = Martin da Canal, *Les Estoires de Venise. Cronaca veneziana in lingua francese dalle origini al 1275*, ed. A. Limentani, Firenze, 1972.

Cavalli = Anon., *Cronaca Veneta dall'origine della Città fino al 1446*, BNM, ms. It. VII. 48 [= 7143].

Cigotto = Anon., *Cronaca di Venezia fino al 1438*, BNM, ms. It. VII. 2561 [= 12453].

Dandolo Brevis = *Andreae Danduli Chronica brevis*, in RIS, 12, I, ed. E. Pastorello, Bologna, 1938, 351–373.

Dandolo Extensa = *Andreae Danduli Duci Veneticorum Chronica per extensium descripta aa. 46–1280 d. C.*, in RIS, 12, ed. E. Pastorello, Bologna, 1923, 5–327.

Delfino P. = Pietro Dolfin, *Cronaca di Venezia fino al 1422*, BNM, ms. It. VII. 2557 [= 12449].

Diedo = Giacomo Diedo, *Storia della Repubblica di Venezia dalla sua fondazione sino l'anno 1747*, I, Venezia, 1751.

Doglioni = G. N. Doglioni, *Historia Venetiana scritta brevemente da (...) delle cose successe dalla prima foundation di Venetia sino al'anni di Christo MDXCVII*, Venezia, 1598.

Donato T. = Tommaso Donato, *Cronaca Veneta dall'origine della Città sin all'anno 1528*, BNM, ms. 323 [= 8646].

F 6166 = Anon., *Cronica di Venetia mista, ovvero historia antica veneta, con le famiglie nobili et loro origine, dal principio della città sino all'anno 1545. Parte I*, ÖNB, ms. CCXXI [= 6166].

F 6167 = Anon., *Cronica di Venetia mista, Parte II*, ÖNB, ms. Foscarini CCXXII [= 6167].

F 6211 = Anon., *Cronaca veneta dal principio al 1498*, ÖNB, ms. Foscarini XXXVI [= 6211].

F 6234 = Anon., *Cronaca veneta dal principio sino al 1523*, ÖNB, ms. Foscarini LVIII [= 6234].

[235] *Morsoflus*.
[236] *Murzuphlus*.
[237] *Murtiphlo, Murciflo, Mortiflo*.
[238] *Murtiflez*.
[239] *Morcufles, Morcuflez, Morcufle*.
[240] *Μούρτζουφλος*.
[241] Choniates Van Dieten, 561 and 608 (307 and 333 in Choniates).

F 6235 = Anon., *Cronaca della Città et Repubblica di Venetia dal principio al 1339*, ÖNB, ms. Foscarini LIX [= 6235].

F 6239 = Anon., *Annali veneti dal 1204 al 1246, Vol. 1*, ÖNB, ms. Foscarini LXIII [= 6239].

F 6241 = Anon., *Istoria veneta dal 1148 al 1374*, ÖNB, ms. Foscarini LX [= 6241].

F 6566 = Anon., *Cronaca veneta dei Dogi e delle famiglie patrizie, dall'origine della città al 1627*, ÖNB, ms. Foscarini LXXXVII [= 6566].

F 6821 = Anon., *Casade di Venetia, et Cronica veneta dal principio sino al 1427*, ÖNB, ms. Foscarini CCX [= 6821].

Giustinian = *Historia Ducum Veneticorum*, ed. H. Simonsfeld, in MGH-S, XIV, Hannovra, 1883, 89–94.

Gussoni = Giorgio Dolfin, *Cronicha dela nobil città de Venetia et dela sua provintia et destretto. Origini-1458*, ed. A. Caracciolo Aricò, I, Venezia, 2007.

HDV = *Historia Ducum Veneticorum* (ed. H. Simonsfeld), in MGH-S, XIV, Hannovra, 1883, 72–89, 94–97.

Lio = Anon., *Cronaca Veneziana dalla fondazione della Città fino all'anno 1558*, BNM, ms. It. VII. 69 [= 7727–7730].

M 38 = Anon., *Cronaca Veneziana dal principio della Città fino al 1388*, BNM, ms. It. VII. 38 [= 8748].

M 39 = Anon., *Cronaca Veneziana dal principio della Città fino all'anno 1405*, BNM, ms. It. VII. 39 [= 8609].

M 43 = Anon., *Cronaca Veneziana dal principio della Città fino al 1432*, BNM, ms. It. VII. 43 [= 7602].

M 44 = Anon., *Cronaca Veneziana dal principio della Città fino al 1433*, BNM, ms. It. VII. 44 [= 7865].

M 45 = Anon., *Cronaca Veneziana dalla fondazione della Città fino al 1443*, BNM, ms. It. VII. 45 [= 7302].

M 46 = Anon., *Cronaca Veneziana dalla fondazione della Città fino al 1444*, BNM, ms. It. VII. 46 [= 7603].

M 47 = Anon., *Cronaca Veneziana dall'origine della Città fino all'anno 1446*, BNM, ms. It. VII. 47 [= 8139].

M 51 = Anon., *Cronaca Veneta*, BNM, ms. It. VII. 51 [= 8528].

M 53 = Anon., *Cronaca Veneziana dalla fondazione della Città fino al 1479*, BNM, ms. It. VII. 53 [= 7419].

M 54 = Anon., *Cronaca Veneziana dal principio della Città fino al 1486*, BNM, ms. It. VII. 54 [= 8140].

M 61 = Anon., *Cronaca Veneta dal principio della Città fino al 1515. Volumi III*, BNM, ms. It. VII. 61 [= 7763].

M 64 = Anon., *Cronaca Veneta dall'origine della Città fino alla morte del Doge Gritti. Volumi II*, BNM, ms. It. VII. 64 [= 8321].

M 66 = Anon., *Cronaca Veneta detta Barba dal principio della Città fino al 1545*, BNM, ms. It. VII. 66 [= 7766], p. 1a–69b.

M 66 bis = Anon., *Cronaca Veneta detta Barba dal principio della Città fino al 1545*, BNM, ms. It. VII. 66 [= 7766], p. 74a–390a.

M 67 = Anon., *Cronaca Veneta dal principio della Città fino all'anno 1549*, BNM, ms. It. VII. 67 [= 9132].

M 68 = Anon., *Cronaca Veneziana dalla fondazione della Città fino al 1555*, BNM, ms. It. VII. 68 [= 8317].

M 70 = Anon., *Cronaca Veneta dall'origine della Città fino al 1599*, BNM, ms. It. VII. 70 [= 9133].

M 71 = Anon., *Cronaca Veneta dal principio della Città fino al 1600*, BNM, ms. It. VII. 71 [= 7866].

M 78 = Anon., *Cronaca Veneziana dall'anno 1190 all'anno 1332*, BNM, ms. It. VII. 78 [= 9135].

M 80 = Anon., *Cronaca Veneta dall'anno 1400 fino al 1684*, BNM, ms. It. VII. 80 [= 8026].

M 89 = Anon., *Cronaca Veneta dal principio della Città fino al 1410*, BNM, ms. It. VII. 89 [= 8391].

M 91 = Anon., *Cronaca Ariana della Famiglie Nobili di Venezia, coi loro Alberi, che cominciano dalle lettere A, e B*, BNM, ms. It. VII. 91 [= 7441], 350a–379b.

M 104 = Anon., *Cronaca Veneziana dal principio della Città fino al 1443*, BNM, ms. It. VII. 104 [= 8611].

M 322 = Anon., *Cronaca Veneta dal principio della Città sino all'anno 1433*, BNM, ms. It. VII. 322 [= 8621].

M 327 = Anon., *Cronaca Veneta dal principio della Città sino al 1527*, BNM, ms. It. VII. 327 [= 7776].

M 541 = Anon., *Cronaca di Venezia della fondazione della Città sino all'anno 1435*, BNM, ms. It. VII. 541 [= 7314].

M 550 = Anon., *Cronaca dall'origine di Venezia sino all'anno 1442*, BNM, ms. It. VII. 550 [= 8496].

M 555 = Anon., *Cronaca dall'origine della Città di Venezia sino all'anno 1410*, BNM, ms. It. VII. 555 [= 7790].

M 559 = Anon., *Cronaca di Venezia, detta di Pietro Dolfino, dall'origine della Città sino all'anno 1418*, BNM, ms. It. VII. 559 [= 7888].

M 628a = Anon., *Cronaca breve Veneziana dalla origine di Venezia sino all'anno 1465*, BNM, ms. It. VII. 628a [= 8049].

M 793 = Anon., *Cronaca di Venezia dall'origine della città al 1478*, BNM, ms. It. VII. 793 [= 8477].

M 796 = Anon., *Cronaca Veneta da S. Marco Evangelista fino al 1457*, BNM, ms. It. VII. 796 [= 7613].

M 798 = Anon., *Cronaca Veneta dall'origine della città sino all'anno 1478*, BNM, ms. It. VII. 798 [= 7486].

M 1577 = Anon., *Cronaca della Città di Venezia dalla sua fondazione fino all'anno 1400*, BNM, ms. It. VII. 1577 [= 7973].

M 1586 = Anon., *Cronaca Veneta dal principio della città fino al 1450*, BNM, ms. It. VII. 1586 [= 9611].

M 1833 = Anon., *Storia Veneta dalla fondazione della Repubblica sino all'anno 1750*, BNM, ms. It. VII. 1833 [= 8376].

M 1999 = Anon., *Epitome della Storia della Repubblica di Venezia*, BNM, ms. It. VII. 1999 [= 7918].

M 2028 = Anon., *Cronica Veneta, dal 703 al 1420*, BNM, ms. It. VII. 2028 [= 8559].

M 2034 = Famiglia C, recensione II, 2, 2, in A. Carile, *La cronachistica veneziana (secoli XIII–XVI) di fronte alla spartizione della Romania nel 1204*, Firenze, 1969, 387–407.

M 2541 = Anon., *Cronaca di Venezia fino al 1310*, BNM, ms. It. VII. 2541 [= 12433].

M 2543 = Anon., *Cronaca di Venezia fino al 1356*, BNM, ms. It. VII. 2543 [= 12435].

M 2544 = Anon., *Cronaca di Venezia fino al 1382*, BNM, ms. It. VII. 2544 [= 12436].

M 2545 = Anon., *Cronaca di Venezia fino al 1386*, BNM, ms. It. VII. 2545 [= 12437].

M 2548 = Anon., *Cronaca di Venezia fino al 1405*, BNM, ms. It. VII. 2548 [= 12440] (a 15th century codex).

M 2549 = Anon., *Cronaca di Venezia fino al 1410*, BNM, ms. It. VII. 2549 [= 12441].

M 2550 = Anon., *Cronaca di Venezia fino al 1410*, BNM, ms. It. VII. 2550 [= 12442].

M 2555 = Anon., *Cronaca di Venezia fino al 1414*, BNM, ms. It. VII. 2555 [= 12447].

M 2556 = Anon., *Cronaca di Venezia fino al 1422*, BNM, ms. It. VII. 2556 [= 12448].

M 2559 = Anon., *Cronaca di Venezia fino al 1427*, BNM, ms. It. VII. 2559 [= 12451].

M 2560 = Anon., *Cronaca di Venezia fino al 1432*, BNM, ms. It. VII. 2560 [= 12452].

M 2563 = Anon., *Cronaca di Venezia fino al 1441*, BNM, ms. It. VII. 2563 [= 12455].

M 2564 = Anon, *Cronaca di Venezia fino al 1443, preceduta da una storia di Attila ed imperatori fino ad Enrico IV*, BNM, ms. It. VII. 2564 [= 12456].

M 2567 = Anon., *Cronaca di Venezia fino al 1444*, BNM, ms. It. VII. 2567 [= 12459].

M 2569 = Anon., *Cronaca di Venezia fino al 1446*, BNM, ms. It. VII. 2569 [= 12461].

M 2571 = Anon., *Cronaca di Venezia fino al 1457*, BNM, ms. It. VII. 2571 [= 12463].

M 2572 = Anon., *Cronaca di Venezia fino al 1471*, BNM, ms. It. VII. 2572 [= 12464].

M 2573 = Anon., *Cronaca di Venezia fino al 1478*, BNM, ms. It. VII. 2573 [= 12465].

M 2576 = Anon., *Cronaca di Venezia fino al 1501*, BNM, ms. It. VII. 2576 [= 12468].

M 2580 = Anon., *Cronaca di Venezia fino al 1556*, BNM, ms. It. VII. 2580 [= 12472].

M 2581 = Anon., *Cronaca di Venezia fino al 1570*, BNM, ms. It. VII. 2581 [= 12473].

M 2592 = Anon., *Cronaca di Venezia fino al 1247*, BNM, ms. It. VII. 2592 [= 12484].

Marco = *Marci Chronica universalis*, BNM, ms. It. XI. 124 [= 6802].

Monaci = *Laurentii de Monacis Cretae Cancellari Chronica de rebus venetis Ab U. C. ad Annum MCCCLIV, sive ad conjurationem ducis Faledro*, ed. F. Corner, Venezia, 1758.

Morosini A. = *Il Codice Morosini. Il mondo visto da Venezia (1094–1433)*, ed. A. Nanetti, I, Spoleto, 2010.

Morosini P. = Paolo Morosini, *Historia della Citta', e Republica di Venetia*, Venezia, 1637.

pseudo-Abbiosi = Anon., *Cronaca di Venezia dall'origine della Città fino all'anno 1443*, BNM, ms. It. VII. 2052 [= 8981].

pseudo-Barbaro = Anon., *Cronaca di Venezia fino al 1275*, BNM, ms. It. VII. 2554 [= 12446].

pseudo-Caroldo = Giovanni Giacomo Caroldo, *Istorii veneţiene*, I: *De la originile Cetăţii la moartea dogelui Giacopo Tiepolo (1249)*, ed. Ş. V. Marin, Bucureşti, 2008.

pseudo-Donato = Antonio Donà, *Cronaca Veneta dall'anno 687 al 1479*, BNM, ms. It. VII. 10 [= 8607].

pseudo-Enrico Dandolo = *Cronica di Venexia detta di Enrico Dandolo. Origini–1362*, ed. R. Pesce, Venezia, 2010.

pseudo-Enrico Dandolo 102 = Anon., *Cronaca Veneta dall'origine della Città fino al 1373*, BNM, ms. It. VII. 102 [= 8142].

pseudo-Erizzo = *Cronaca Veneta attribuita a Marcantonio Erizzo, fino all'anno 1495*, BNM, ms. It. VII. 56 [= 8636].

pseudo-Navagero = *Storia della Repubblica Veneziana scritta da Andrea Navagero patrizio veneto*, in RIS, 23, ed. L. A. Muratori, Milano, 1733, 923–1216.

pseudo-Sanudo 1 = *Marini Sanuti Leonardi filii Patricii Veneti De Origine Urbis Venetae et vita omnium Ducum feliciter incipit*, in RIS, 22, ed. L. A. Muratori, Milano, 1733: *Vitae Ducum Venetorum Italicè Scriptae ab origine Urbis, sive ab anno CCCC XXI usque ad annum MCCCCXCIII*, 399–1252 (528–530).

pseudo-Sanudo 2 = *Marini Sanuti Leonardi filii Patricii Veneti De Origine Urbis Venetae et vita omnium Ducum feliciter incipit*, in RIS, 22, ed. L. A. Muratori, Milano, 1733: *Vitae Ducum Venetorum Italicè Scriptae ab origine Urbis, sive ab anno CCCC XXI usque ad annum MCCCCXCIII*, 399–1252 (530–531).

pseudo-Savina = Anon., *Cronaca Veneta dal principio della Città sino al 1616*, BNM, ms. It. VII. 134 [= 8035].

pseudo-Veniera = Anon., *Cronaca di tutte le Casade della Nobil Città di Venetia*, BNM, ms. It. VII. 791 [= 7589].

pseudo-Zancaruolo = *Cronaca Veneta supposta di Gasparo Zancaruolo, dall'origine della Città fino al 1446*, BNM, ms. It. VII. 1274 [= 9274].

Rosso = Anon., *Cronica Veneta del Rosso dal principio al 1355*, ÖNB, ms. Foscarini CCLVI [= 6467].

Sabellico = *M. Antonii Sabellici, rerum Venetarum ab urbe condita, ad Marcum Barbadicum, Sereniss. Venetiarum Principem & Senatum, Decadis Primae*, in *Degl'Istorici delle Cose Veneziane, i quali hanno scritto per Pubblico Decreto*, Venezia, 1718.

Sansovino = Francesco Sansovino, *Venetia Città nobilissima et singolare*, 2, ed. G. Martinioni, Venezia, 1968 [1663].

VH = *Historia vulgo Petro Iustiniano Iustiniani filio adiudicata*, ed. R. Cessi, F. Bennato, Venezia, 1964.

Vianoli = Alessandro Maria Vianoli, *Historia Veneta*, **I**, Venezia, 1680.

Zancaruolo = Gasparo Zancaruol, *Cronaca di Venezia fino al 1446*, BNM, ms. It. VII. 2570 [= 12462].

Primary sources related to the Fourth Crusade not included in the general list of abbreviations:

Baldwin = *Literae Balduini Imperatoris ad Papam*, in Tafel, Thomas, *Urkunden*, I, 501–511.

Choniates = *O City of Byzantium, Annals of Niketas Choniates*, ed. H. J. Magoulias, Detroit, 1984.

Choniates Van Dieten = *Nicetae Choniatae Historia*, ed. I. A. Van Dieten, Berlin, New York, 1975.

Chron. Gall. = *Chronicum Gallicum ineditum*, in *Tafel, Thomas, Urkunden*, **I**, 328–358.

Clari = Robert of Clari, *The Conquest of Constantinople*, ed. E. Holmes McNeal, New York, 1969.

Clari Lauer = Clari, *La conquête de Constantinople*, ed. Ph. Lauer, Paris, 1956.

Corpus Flandriae = *Corpus Chronicorum Flandriae*, in Tafel, Thomas, *Urkunden*, I, 293–304.

Devastatio = "*Devastatio Constantinopolitana*", in CGR, 86–92.

Gunther = *The Capture of Constantinople. The* Hystoria Constantinopolitana *of Gunther of Pairis*, ed. A. J. Andrea, Philadelphia, 1997.

Gunther Migne = Guntherus Cistercensis Monachus, *Historia Captae a Latinis Constantinopoleos sub Balduino, circa annum 1204*, in PL, 212, Paris, 1855, 222–256 **Morea** = *Crusaders as conquerors. The Chronicle of Morea, translated from the Greek, with notes and introduction by H. E. Lurier*. New York, London, 1964.

Morea Bouchon = *Chronique de la conquête de Constantinople et de l'établissement des Français en Morée*, ed. J. A. Buchon, Paris, 1825.

Novgorod = "*Chronista Novgorodensis*", in CGR, 93–98.

Villehardouin = Villehardouin, *La conquête de Constantinople*, ed. E. Faral, II, Paris, 1939.

THE LOCATION OF VICINA REVISITED. IS THERE ANY FINAL SOLUTION?

ALEXANDRU MADGEARU

Two recent contributions of Virgil Ciocîltan and Denis Căprăroiu revived in the Romanian historiography the long and tortuous controversy on the location of a medieval Danubian harbor and trading center: Vicina. Historians, archaeologists and geographers debated this subject decade after decade, but there is no general accepted final solution for the whereabouts of that city which flourished between the mid 13th century and the early 15th century. In a communication presented at the "Nicolae Iorga" Institute of History, followed by a study published in "Revista istorică"[1], V. Ciocîltan gave new arguments for the location at Măcin (Tulcea County). The first author who made this proposal, on the basis of a vague name similarity, was Wilhelm Tomaschek. It was supported by historians like Alexandru T. Dumitrescu, Nicolae Dobrescu, Vasili Zlatarski, Jacob Bromberg, Mathias Gyóni, Boris Nedkov, Constantin Rezachevici[2]. The most recent opinion, expressed by D. Căprăroiu, is completely new: Axiopolis-Cernavodă[3]. Other authors favored places like Mahmudia[4], Isaccea[5], Hârşova[6], Nufăru[7], Somova[8], or Ismail[9], but the most popular identification was put forward by Petre Diaconu: the Păcuiul lui Soare[10] island.

The undisputable history of Vicina begins after the reestablishment of a kind of Byzantine domination in the region of the Danube mouths, following the victory of Michael VIII Palaeologos against Bulgaria (1263). Praising the victory, the

[1] Ciocîltan 2011, 411–430.

[2] Tomaschek 1886, 302–303; Dumitrescu 1904, 15–33; Dobrescu 1906, 45–46; Zlatarski 1934, 183; Bromberg 1938, 20–29; Gyóni 1943–1944, 20, 36; Nedkov 1960, 135; Rezachevici 1999, 63–72.

[3] Căprăroiu 2014, 115–125.

[4] Brătianu 1935, 90–91; Brătianu 1942, 133–175.

[5] Iorga 1900, 47–48; Grămadă 1924, 437–459; Năsturel 1957, 298–300; Bolşacov-Ghimpu 1967, 547; Cihodaru 1968, 229; Giurescu 1977 a, 143–152; Balard 1981, 36; Cihodaru 1978–1979, 294–295; Cihodaru 1982, 10; Barnea 1987, 117; Vergatti 2003, 90; Mănucu-Adameşteanu 2009, 621–651; Mănucu-Adameşteanu 2012, 640–642; Mănucu-Adameşteanu 2013, 515–516; Vergatti 2013, 429.

[6] Todorova 1978, 124–138.

[7] Atanasov 1994, 109–128.

[8] Lerian 1973, 472–473.

[9] Kuzev 1977, 117–121.

[10] Diaconu 1970 b, 275–295; Diaconu 1980, 353–361; Diaconu 1981, 2311–2316.

rhetor Michael Holobolos wrote that "many Paristrian islands rejoiced because you are their emperor; they gave up on their planned rebellion and realized that they had been subjected and oppressed by rulers without legitimate rights". These words were seen as an allusion to the return of Byzantine control in northern Dobrudja, a region where the study of monetary circulation indicates a preponderance of Byzantine coin issues from Michael VIII's time, in contrast to the Bulgarian coins of Constantine Asan and Mičo, which are frequent only south of Silistra and also at Păcuiul lui Soare (they are, however, not absent from the north, for example in Isaccea). Since the harbors on the western Black Sea shore, up to Mesembria, had been occupied by the Byzantine Empire in 1263, its fleet was able to reach the Danube[11].

The first exactly dated record of Vicina comes from several Genoese acts of 1281 (the name was spelled *Vicina* or *Vecina*)[12]. In 1296, the portolano entitled *Il compasso da navigare* (based on an original from 1250–1265) called the Danube *flume de Vicina*. The same name *Vicina / Vecina / Vicena* appears in the documents issued by the Franciscan friars (1314, 1334), and on several portolans and maps dated to the 14th–15th centuries, beginning with 1318 (Pietro Visconti).[13] The increasing importance of this city at the end of the 13th century is shown by the existence of a Genoese consul in 1361[14], and by the establishment of a mitropoly, first attested in 1285 (Βιτζίνα, in the Greek spelling)[15]. The mitropoly was not founded after the new conquest made by Michael VIII as some historians were thinking.[16] In fact, this happened earlier, during the rule of the Nicean Patriarch Germanos II (1222–1240). The establishment of the mitropoly subordinated to Nicaea was the result of the agreement between John III Vatatzes and John Asan II occurred in 1234[17]. On its side, the Roman Church has manifested his expansionist policy by founding a Franciscan convent at Vicina, sometimes before 1287. A Tatar chief commanding over 1000 warriors called Argun was baptized by these friars in that year at Vicum, a mistaken form of the name Vicina (the information comes from a report of the *custos* of the Gazaria region of the Franciscan order, concerning the activities among the Tatars)[18]. This establishment of a Franciscan convent at Vicina reveals the competition between the two Churches for the control of this borderland city, situated between three civilizations: the Golden Horde, Byzantium and the Westerners.

[11] Laurent 1945; Brătianu 1945, 199; Oberländer-Târnoveanu 1989, 147–148; Căprăroiu 2014, 124.

[12] Brătianu 1923, 147–148; Brătianu 1935, 47–48; Baraschi 1981, 321.

[13] Brătianu 1923, 146–147, 158; Andreescu 1932–1933, 155; Brătianu 1935, 13, 46, 61–63; Năsturel 1957, 297–300; Kuzev 1977, 113–114; Cihodaru 1978–1979, 294; Dumitriu-Snagov 1979, 1941–1947; Vagnon 2006, 6–8.

[14] Kuzev 1977, 115; Balard 1978, 144.

[15] Brătianu 1923, 114–115, 155; Brătianu 1935, 36–37; Năsturel 1971, 37–38; Baraschi 1981, 322.

[16] For instance: Brătianu 1923, 139–140; Căprăroiu 2014, 117.

[17] Mărculeţ 2004, 264–267; Mureşan 2010, 335; Căţoi 2010, 185–186.

[18] Andreescu 1932–1933, 152–157; Brătianu 1935, 58–59; Vergatti 2003, 91–92; Căprăroiu 2014, 122.

The first source recording a place which was supposed to be identical to this 13th century Vicina is Anna Comnena's *Alexiad*. Two local chiefs called Sesthlav and Satza, mentioned in relation to a certain event dated around 1086, were the masters of Βιτζίνα and other fortresses. It is not clear if Vitzina was ruled by them in common or by only one of them. The source gives no clue on the position of this Vitzina, but it has to be noted that this was the single place quoted besides the capital of the province, Dristra, in the relation about the secession of Paradunavon[19]. There is instead another name mentioned in the *Alexiad*, the river Βιτζίνα "which flows down from the neighboring hills", somewhere north of the Sidera (Riš) gorge, that is south of Pliska. The river was identified with Kamčija, also called Tiča, recorded by Constantine Porphyrogenitus as Διτζίνα (the Bulgarian form was most probable Dičina)[20]. In this case, it is more suitable to think that the fortress Vicina was too somewhere near that river. A later Turkish source, the chronicle of Mehmed Nešri, has recorded a city called *Venzina*, between Kamčija and Varna (destroyed by the Ottomans in 1388)[21]. These data were known since a long time, but the preconceived idea that the fortress Vitzina must be searched only in the present-day Romanian Dobrudja has prevented the historians to realize that Anna Comnena was speaking only about the same area, near Kamčija, affected too by the secession.

Even more unclear is the connection between the early history of Vicina and some data recorded by the Geography of Al-Idrisi, written in 1154. Disina was a city located four days east from Barisklafa. The new French translation is wrong translating Disina by Măcin, following that obsolete attempt to identify Vicina. Considering that *Barisklafa* was the same with Preslav put by them at Victoria (that is, Nufăru), the two translators did not realized that Măcin is not located at for days east from that point Al-Idrisi[22]. No data about this northern part of Dobrudja were transmitted by Al-Idrisi[23]. Many historians believed that al-Idrisi provided an early testimony for Vicina[24]. Actually, the Disina of al-Idrisi is that one from Kamčija. This fact results from the location of Barisklafa (four days distance toward east from Dristra, going through deserted areas). Barisklafa was near a river and a swamp. The editor of Al-Idrisi, Konrad Miller, proposed the itinerary Daristar-

[19] Anna Comnena 2003, 212 (VI, 14.1); Brătianu 1923, 120; Brătianu 1935, 16; Gyóni 1943–1944, 87–100; Diaconu 1970 a, 112–115; Barnea, Ştefănescu 1971, 137–146; Cihodaru 1978–1979, 285.

[20] Constantine Porphyrogenitus 1967, 62/63 (IX, 101); Anna Comnena, 222 (VII, 3.1); Tomaschek 1886, 311–312; Brătianu 1923, 118–123; Brătianu 1935, 12–18; Brătianu 1942, 146–147; Cihodaru 1978–1979, 283; Beševliev 1985, 21–22.

[21] Brătianu 1935, 83–84; Cihodaru 1978–1979, 284–285.

[22] Al-Idrisi (ed. Jaubert, 386, 397; ed. Miller, 123, 129, 132; trad. Bresc. Nef, 446).

[23] The identifications of some names recorded by Al-Idrisi with places from northern Dobrudja like Halmyris and Argamum (Brătescu 1920, 23–31; Cihodaru 1968, 223; Barnea, Ştefănescu 1971, 163–166; Cihodaru 1978–1979, 289) are erroneous. Halmyris (Murighiol) and Argamum (Jurilovca) were no more inhabited in the 12th century.

[24] For instance: Brătianu 1935, 27–28; Bromberg 1937, 177; Brătianu 1942, 147; Cihodaru 1968, 228–230; Stănescu 1970, 124; Barnea 1971, 362; Barnea, Ştefănescu 1971, 164; Kuzev 1981, 272; Cihodaru 1978–1979, 284–289; Todorova 1984, 431; Atanasov 1994, 112–113.

Barisklafa-Disina-Akli, which followed the Danube up to the Delta. He considered that Akli was Chilia, but it is known that this harbor did not exist then. The most probable identification of Akli is Anchialos (Petre Diaconu has demonstrated that the road direction after Dristra did not follow the Danube, being an internal way, toward south-east). *Barisklafa* was an unknown place near Preslav, called Migali Barisklafa by Al-Idrisi, the same with the Little Preslav[25].

Another uncertain testimony is the epigram celebrating the deeds of general Ioannes Dukas in the war of 1167 against Hungary. The manuscript *Marcianus Graecus* 524 mentions that he crossed the Danube by Vidin, in contradiction with the detailed relation provided by Ioannes Kinnamos, according to whom the army corps entered Hungary by present-day Moldavia. By this reason some historians proposed that *Vidin* was a mistaken form of *Vicin* (Vicina)[26]. These are mere speculations. The comprehensive account of Kinnamos could not be contradicted by a poetical writing, and, on the other hand, there is no proof that the name was indeed misspelled.

Therefore, no certain information about Vicina exists before 1281. Of course, the city emerged some time before that year, most probable as a new foundation made after 1263. The commercial relations attested since 1281 suggest an evolution of at least several decades (the presence of the coins issued by Michael VIII in the area is related to this revival of city life). The name *Vicina* or *Vecina* comes from the Romanian or Italian word *vecin / vicino*. This means that the city has developed near and older one. Any attempt to locate it must take this into account. An older city was near Vicina.

Before the discussion about the two recent opinions expressed about the location of Vicina, it should be emphasized the impossibility of the most popular solution given to the problem. Apparently convincing, the idea of placing Vicina at Păcuiul lui Soare does not match with the prosperity attested by the Genoese and Byzantine sources during the 14th century. The archaeological findings and especially the coin circulation are too few for such an important trading center as it was Vicina. During the period when Vicina was flourishing, this settlement was alive, but deprived of the earlier defence system[27]. On the other hand, the presence of another mitropoly at a small distance, at Dristra, is another fact which contradicts the theory[28]. It was believed that the distance of 200 Genoese miles (346 km) between Vicina and the Aspera channel, mentioned in *Il compasso da navigare*, would support the location at Păcuiul lui Soare[29], or at Axiopolis[30]. The

[25] Al-Idrisi (ed. Jaubert, 386; ed. Miller, 129; trad. Bresc, Nef, 443, 446); Tomaschek 1886, 301–302, 311; Grămadă 1930, 242; Brătianu 1942, 147–148; Diaconu 1965, 50; Năsturel 1965, 27; Diaconu 1976, 430–431; Baraschi 1981, 317–318.

[26] Diaconu 1978, 103; Baraschi 1981, 317; Cândea 1999, 154 (identified with Măcin).

[27] Baraschi 1987, 126–128.

[28] Kuzev 1977, 123–124; Cihodaru 1978–1979, 292.

[29] Diaconu 1981, 2316. The interpretation was endorsed by Iosipescu 2008, 705.

[30] Căprăroiu 2014, 124.

discussion on the distance recorded in that portolano was continued by Octavian Iliescu, who first took into account the Genoese miles of 1734 meters (the result being 346 km). Later, he accepted the use of the Venetian miles of 1400 meters, because other distances from this portolano are right if it is applied this measure unit. In consequence, he placed Vicina somewhere between Hârşova and Topalu[31]. The uncertainty of other distance mentioned by *Il compasso da navigare* was however emphasized by other researchers; most of them are round figures, and there are still big differences in comparison with the real distances[32]. Moreover, it is not sure what was Aspera, a channel or a place, and where exactly was in the present Danube Delta. Therefore the portolano of 1296 is by no means an undisputable source on the location of Vicina.

There is instead one such source, which could fix the point where Vicina was on the Danube stream, to a lesser distance from the sea. It is a document published by Michel Balard in 1979. An act issued at Chilia on 18 October 1360 has recorded that a ship was prepared to go after some days from Chilia to Vicina for a wheat load, and then to return into the Black Sea to sail to Pera. This means that Vicina was somewhere close to Chilia, on the maritime section of the Danube. This document remained unknown to Brătianu (it was discovered by Balard in the same Genoese archives in 1975)[33]. The sailing timing upstream and downstream of Danube in the autumn contradicts any far location. Following the study of Valeriu Bulgaru[34], P.Ş. Năsturel has demonstrated that a sailing ship needed six weeks to navigate on the Danube up to Galaţi. That ship would have been surprised by the winter on the Danube if Vicina was upstream of this bend of the river. The significance of this climatic argument was also emphasized by Ştefan Andreescu in a note about the study of P. Ş. Năsturel[35]. It is known that the Genoese regulations forbid the navigation between 1st December and 15th March[36]. Therefore, Păcuiul lui Soare, Cernavoda and Hârşova are excluded, and Măcin could be admitted only to a certain extent. The same collection of documents provides other significant information: Vicina was also the name of a channel of the Danube. An act issued on 13 August 1360 mentioned that a boat (*lignum*) was stationed in *sumaria Vicine* (another *sumaria* was Chili or Licostomo)[37]. This means that one of the channels of the Danube Delta, the present-day Sfântu Gheorghe, was preferred for navigation toward Vicina. That was the return way of the boat mentioned in the document dated 18 October.

Continuing the discussion over the proposed location of Vicina at Măcin, I am not able to decide the validity of the linguistic side of the problem (the derivation

[31] Iliescu 1994, 232–236.
[32] Todorova 1978, 132–137; Cihodaru 1979, 8; Năsturel 1987, 155–156; Ciocîltan 2011, 412–413.
[33] Balard 1980, 158–159 (Nr. 97); Năsturel 1987, 159–167; Botzan 1992, 65.
[34] Bulgaru 1977, 97.
[35] Andreescu 1988, 586–587.
[36] Atanasiu 2008, 206–207.
[37] Balard 1980, 53; Eskenazy 1983 a, 89, 92.

of Măcin or Mecin, from Vecina), but I will insist on what the sources about Vicina could tell us. The obvious conclusion drawn from the study of the Genoese testimonies is that Vicina was an outstanding trading center. The amplitude of the commercial exchanges required field connections with markets and with regions that supplied the city with the stuff exported by it. Many data about the transit through Vicina and Chilia, gathered from the Genoese archives by Gheorghe I. Brătianu and then by Michel Balard, are showing on the one hand the great value of the transactions, and on the other hand, what kind of exports and imports were transited. The exports consisted mainly in luxury textiles, namely silk and Italian tissues. The imports were especially: corn, ox leather, salt, bee wax. A document mentioned the higher quality of the corn from *Vezina* in comparison with that imported from the Bulgarian harbors Varna and Sozopolis.[38] Even V. Ciocîltan recognized the "exceptional condition of the city as economic and spiritual center" evidenced by its position in the portolanos, while Michel Balard was writing "d'un commerce céréalier de grande ampleur, auquel participe un nombre élevé de bâtiments moyens"[39].

The transportation to and from Vicina required roads connecting the harbor to the territories where the luxury products could be sold, and with those which could provide a great amount of good corn and other products. Genoa exported luxury goods in Hungary, Poland, and in the Golden Horde. As for the imports, the corn and the wax could came especially from Moldavia, but also from Transylvania and the regions of Wallachia which were then cultivated. One of the roads connecting the Black and the Baltic seas reached the maritime sector of the Danube[40]. The Hungarian King Louis of Anjou granted a privilege for the traders of Braşov on 28 June 1358. The act specified that they have the right to go free from the mouth of Ialomiţa (*Iloncha*) up to the mouth of Siret (*Zereth*)[41]. In another document from 22 June 1368 it was specified that the destination of the traders was the land ruled by *Demetrius princeps Tartarorum*, whose residence was at Enisala[42]. This means that the connections between the Danubian trading centers and Transylvania were made on the valleys of these rivers (and on the intermediary valley of Buzău). If Ialomiţa is considered, the connection was to the city of Hârşova, but it is not possible that Vicina was there, in a fortress which, according to the archaeological researchers, was not a great economic center (it was strictly military). If the valleys of Buzău and Siret are considered, then the connection concerned the fortresses between Dinogetia and Măcin. From that north-western part of Dobrudja, the Roman road to Enisala passed through Isaccea.

Taking into account the necessary condition of the field connection, Căprăroiu's supposition[43] could be categorically excluded, because it is unthinkable the

[38] Brătianu 1923, 147–150; Brătianu 1935, 49–50; Giurescu 1977 b, 49–57; Josanu 2010–2012, 26–27.

[39] Balard 1983, 42.

[40] Giurescu 1977 b, 52; Josanu 2010–2012, 19–20.

[41] DRH D I, 71–72 (doc. 39).

[42] DRH D I, 89–90 (doc. 49); Iliescu 1997, 169.

[43] Căprăroiu 2014, 124–125.

existence of a trading road across the wilderness of the Bărăgan and next through Balta Borcea (that would be the way to Cernavoda, but also to Păcuiul lui Soare). Likewise Păcuiul lui Soare, Cernavodă was not too far from Dristra, and it would be improbable the existence of another mitropoly in that place. Considering the same condition, the idea advanced by V. Ciocîltan – the pair of harbors Măcin-Brăila – seems suitable. After the decline and the vanishing of Vicina, its function was taken by Brăila, a city which remained until the 20th century the most important transit center for cereals. On the other hand, the position of Măcin is quite close to the mouth of Siret mentioned in the document issued in 1368. Yet, there is a problem indicated by me since the presentation made by the author at the "Nicolae Iorga" Institute of History: it is impossible that no significant number of coins dated during the 13th–14th centuries would be collected as stray finds or by excavations, on the spot of a former well-developed city like it was Vicina, even after a full destruction and long time abandonment. This is not the case for Măcin, where the Byzantine occupation of the site is attested by few ceramic finds dated in the 10th–11th centuries and by only 25 bronze coins issued between the end of the 10th century and 1081, with the exception of one silver piece issued by Alexios I Comnenos in 1092–1118[44]. This is in strong contrast with the situation of Isaccea, where the 13th–14th coins are thousands, not to speak about the rest of the findings. This is the reason why one of the excavators of that site, Gheorghe Mănucu-Adameşteanu, is convinced that Vicina was there[45].

The second objection against Măcin (and also against Cernavoda), but favorable to Isaccea, is the position of Vicina as contact place between the Byzantine Empire or Bulgaria, and the Golden Horde, an usual crossing point between the banks of the Danube. It is known that 16.000 Alans (half of them warriors) begged to be received in the Byzantine Empire in 1302, after the death of the emir Nogai. They asked the metropolite Lucas of Vicina (Βιτζίνα) to intercede to the emperor Andronikos II. From the history of Georgios Pachymeres it could be deduced that these Alans crossed the Danube by Vicina.[46] The customs regulations of Pera (1333 and 1343) mentioned *flumen Vicine* as the border of the Golden Horde during the reign of the Khan Özbek (1313–1341), while the map of Angelino Dulcert (dated to 1339) displays the *tamga* as symbol of the Tatar rule over Vicina[47]. Much more clear are the data provided by the map of the Venetian brothers Domenico and Francesco Pizzigano, dated to 1367, and copied by other maps: *Item in ista provincia manet imperator Usbeck, scilicet in civitate de Seray. Imperium suum est valde magnum et incipit in provincia de Burgaria sed in civitate de Vecina et finit*

[44] Mănucu-Adameşteanu 2010, 237–250.

[45] Mănucu-Adameşteanu 2009, 621–651; Mănucu-Adameşteanu 2012, 640–642; Mănucu-Adameşteanu 2013, 515–516.

[46] Georges Pachymeres 1999, 338/339 (X. 16); Brătianu 1923, 141; Brătianu 1935, 38; Năsturel 1971, 35–36.

[47] Belgrano 1877, 304, 696; Brătianu 1935, 61, 63, 66, 73; Vagnon 2006, 8. The Tatar occupation was clearly dated to 1337 by Laurent 1946, 229–231.

in civitate de Cerchangi versus levante.[48] This text was reproduced with a small but decisive error by Nicolae Grămadă[49]: *et in civitate* instead of *sed in civitate*. This mistake which changed the meaning of the text was perpetuated in the subsequent contributions. An almost identical information was transmitted by the later Genoese manuscript *Itinerarium Antonii Ususmaris* (1455), probably copied from that map: *In ista provincia manet imperator Usbech, scilicet in civitate Serai. Imperium suum incipit in provincia de Burgaria scilicet in civitate de Vecina et finit in civitate de Cerchangi versus levantem*.[50] This *provincia Burgaria,* included in the Golden Horde, was the tributary Bulgarian state.[51] The map puts Vicina on the border of this province. Michel Balard has remarked that the Genoese established again the residence at Vicina only after the offensive against the Tartars led in 1345 by the comes of the Transylvanian Szeklers Andrew Láckfi, which means that Vicina was inside the borders of the Golden Horde between 1337 and 1345. In 1349 Louis of Anjou granted a privilege to Genoa, which could have had an impact over the trade with Vicina[52].

There is even another fact suggesting the location of Vicina in the maritime sector of the Danube (downstream of Galaţi). In 1318, the mitropolite of Vicina was asked by the Patriarch of Constantinople to resolve a conflict appeared between two bishops from Crimea, together with his colleagues from Zichia, Alania and Matracha, because all four of them were most close to that place.[53]

Taking all these into account, the most probable location of Vicina was near Isaccea. That ford was one of the most used during history, and the abundance of the coin findings dated to the 13th and 14th centuries is a solid proof. The aerial photos studied by Mihai Rada in 1988 evidenced at Isaccea an urban site with street network at circa 1 km south of the ancient Noviodunum, and 2.5 km east from the present city. It is supposed that Vicina was in that place (see fig. 1 and 2)[54]. In this case, the name would be easy to explain, the vicinity concerning the older city, the Roman Noviodunum, whose ruins were partial visible. It might be even admitted that Vicina was just Isaccea, because, as C. C. Giurescu has observed, the existence of two names for the same city was not impossible (later one appeared the name of Slavic origin, Obluciţa, from *oblutak*, "round stone")[55]. The coexistence of the names Isaccea and Vicina in the 14th century sources is a clear hindrance for this identification[56]. The name Isaccea has no relation with the

[48] Fischer 1886, 217; Brătianu 1923, 157; Brătianu 1935, 64–65; Kuzev 1977, 114. The map is available at http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File%3APizigani_1367_Chart_10MB.jpg.

[49] Grămadă 1924, 447.

[50] Brătianu 1923, 157; Brătianu 1935, 65; Ciocîltan 2012, 265.

[51] Iosipescu 2013, 112.

[52] Balard 1978, 144.

[53] Brătianu 1923, 155–156; Brătianu 1935, 57; Rămureanu 1979, 157.

[54] Rada, Cochină, Corcodel, luga 1988, 203–204.

[55] Giurescu 1977 a, 152.

[56] Atanasov 1994, 110.

chief Satza mentioned by Anna Comnena. It evolved from the Tartar name *Sakdji*, attested in the *History* of Baybars al-Mansuri (*Zubdat al-fikra)* and in the *Geography* of Abulfida from 1325[57]. The contemporary form *Isaccea* appeared by a confusion with the name *Isac*.

There is another location proposal suitable to the conditions of road access and contact place with the Golden Horde: the hydrologist Marcu Botzan has demonstrated the existence of a drowned island near the mouth of Prut, in the zone called Cotul Pisicii. The mudding and sinking occurred during a certain period after the middle of the 14th century (see fig. 3).[58]

Some sources are locating Vicina near an island: a map from 1318, another map from the 13th century copied in the next century, another one from the 14th century kept in Biblioteca Marciana, and, finally, several 15th century maps. *El Libro del Conoscimento*, the work of a Spanish Franciscan (around 1350), has transmitted the contents of some disappeared maps. The Danube is presented flowing in the Black Sea at the city called *Vecina*, where a great island is placed. The text is full of errors (the author believed that in the same place are flowing eight more rivers, some of them being in fact in Hungary). Therefore, this work could not be trusted. N. Grămadă has considered that the island was that one existing near the present town Isaccea[59]. If we agree with the supposition of M. Botzan, then Vicina should be placed just into an island. In conclusion, Vicina was either a city developed near Isaccea, either a drowned island placed in the bend of the Danube at Galaţi-Garvăn. Nicolae Iorga suggested too that Vicina was "at the bending corner to the east of the Danube"[60]. If this was true, the decline of Vicina had mainly a natural reason. Brăila, Chilia and Cetatea Albă benefitted from this decline, becoming the new trading centers on the Danube. Like the transfer of the mitropoly from Vicina to Curtea de Argeş (1359), the problem of the replacement of Vicina as the main trading center surpass the matter dealt here.

The best end for this study is the brilliant conclusion of Petre Ş. Năsturel: "By this reason we believe that this strategic point – the crossroad of Danube, Dobrudja and Bugeac, in relation to the Black Sea – was the most suitable place for the rich Vicina, which was so able to achieve in the easiest way its mission of merciless and greedy intermediary for the merchandise exchanges between the Western and the Asiatic worlds"[61]. He was speaking about Isaccea, but the same would be true for the supposed drowned island.

[57] Brătianu 1935, 39, 45, 70; Baraschi 1981, 336.

[58] Botzan 1992, 68–73.

[59] Marinescu 1926, 1–8; Grămadă 1924, 441, 452–453, 458; Brătianu 1935, 62–68; Kuzev 1977, 125; Eskenasy 1983 b, 420; Vagnon 2006, 9.

[60] Iorga 1929, 29.

[61] Năsturel 1957, 298–299.

Fig. 1

Fig. 2

Figs. 1–2 – Hypothetical location of Vicina near Noviodunum-Isaccea.
Google Earth image.

Fig. 3 – Hypothetical location of Vicina near Cotul Pisicii. Military map, 1997

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LE PARISTRION/PARADUNAVON/PODUNAVIA DEPUIS LE XIIIe SIÈCLE JUSQU'AU XVIe SIÈCLE

SERGIU IOSIPESCU

Dans son remarquable effort de raccorder l'historiographie roumaine à celle européenne, Bogdan Petriceicu Hasdeu (1838–1907) aborda le premier la question de l'évolution territoriale de la principauté de Valachie (Ţara Românească – Le Pays des Roumains) au XIVe siècle.

Concernant l'étendue de la principauté vers l'Orient, sur le Bas-Danube, en s'appuyant sur le titre du prince Mircea l'Ancien (1386–1418), Hasdeu supposait que «les deux rives du fleuve, le Bulgare et le Moldave, Silistrie et aussi Galatzi, la Dobroudja et aussi l'angle de la Bessarabie, entre le Prut et le Pont [Euxin], étaient dans la même situation, sous le sceptre du voïévode»[1]. Sur les traces de ses prédécesseurs – Dimitrie Cantemir, Johann Christian Engel et Gheorghe Şincai, Hasdeu invoqua l'exposé de Laonic Chalcocondyle au sujet des frontières de la Valachie vers la mer Noire. En se référant aux temps de Mircea l'Ancien, l'historien athénien écrivait que le Pays des Roumains «s'étend depuis l'Ardeal [la Transylvanie] – la Dacie des Peons [Hongrois] – jusqu'à la mer Noire; vers la mer il a sur sa droite le fleuve Istros [le Danube] et à gauche le pays nome Bogdania [la Moldavie]; la longue montagne de Braşov le sépare de la Peonodacia; et ce pays a aussi comme voisins sur une étendue assez importante les Scythes [les Tatares] nomades, gent nombreuse et riche, sujette du roi Casimir»[2]. Il est tout à fait possible de trouver aussi dans ce passage de l'historien byzantin un écho de la défense roumaine de Kilia, sur la rive gauche du Danube, lors de l'invasion en 1462 de la Valachie par les armées du Grand Turc Mehmet II, événement contemporain aux temps de la rédaction de ses histoires[3].

Le premier qui, avant Hasdeu, avait compris et bien traduit le texte de Chalcocondyle fut Gheorghe Şincai (1754–1816); pour ce Muratori Roumain la partie orientale de la principauté était «la Bessarabie, qui, auparavant, appartenait à la Valachie», et cette «Bessarabie était le Boudjac d'aujourd'hui»[4]. Au témoignage

[1] Hasdeu 1984, 16.

[2] Laonic Chalcocondil 1958, 63.

[3] Laonic Chalcocondil 1958, 286, 290.

[4] Şincai 1967, 560, 558. Şincai utilisa la traduction latine de Laonicus Chalcocondyl, *De origine et rebus gestis Turcorum libri decem*, ed. Conrad Clauser, Ioannes Oporinus, Basileae, 1556, 24.

de Chalcocondyle, Hasdeu ajoute ceux des chrysobulles du prince Mircea de 1387, 1393, 1399, 1400, 1406, pour conclure que entre le Nistru (Dniester) et le Danube, le territoire des Principautés Roumains était partagé de façon suivante: «la Moldavie possédait le pays un peu en bas de Cetatea Albă; la Valachie plus haut que Kilia»[5]. Avec les chrysobulles du prince Mircea, l'illustre philologue et historien relevait l'importance des recherches sur le titre princier pour dévoiler l'évolution territoriale du pays.

Ces recherches ont été poursuivies par Dimitre Onciul (1858–1923) dans son étude sur le titre du prince Mircea l'Ancien et ses possessions, restée malheureusement inachevée et justement en ce qui concernait les chapitres *Les marches tatares; Les deux rivages du Danube jusqu'à la mer Majeure; Seigneur de Dristra*[6]. D'après Onciul, chaque partie du titre princier correspondait à une réalité territoriale, conformément aux usages médiévaux, au vocabulaire politique et diplomatique de l'époque. L'historien roumain passe en revue les documents connus à la fin du XIXe siècle et constate que pour la première fois le titre princier le plus complet s'étale dans le chrysobulle de Mircea l'Ancien pour le monastère de Cozia de l'année 1387, dont la traduction se trouve dans le chartrier du même établissement. Sa tenue est la suivante: «Par le Christ Dieu, le bien-croyant et le bien-vénérant et aimant le Christ, nous, Jehan Mircea, par la grâce de Dieu et avec la faveur de Dieu, l'autocrate, grand voïévode et seigneur, maître et régnant sur tout le Pays de Hongrovlachie et des parties d'au delà de la montagne, aussi vers les marches Tatares et Herzog de l'Amlaş et de Făgăraş et seigneur du banat de Severin et partout sur les deux rives du Danube et jusqu'à la mer Majeure, et maître de la cite de Dristra»[7].

Malheureusement, le très scrupuleux médiéviste n'eut pas l'original du document, égaré qu'il était dans la maison de Câmpina de feu Hasdeu parmi les dossiers de l'ancien directeur des archives roumaines[8]. Onciul remarqua l'absence de la date – 1387 – sur une photocopie du même document et concluait qu'il s'agit peut-être de deux documents dont un seul était daté.

Les réserves étaient bien fondées parce que l'original retrouvé ne portait aucune date et fut placé par l'éminent slaviste Petre P. Panaitescu (1900–1967) entre 1404 et 1407[9], ce qui modifie l'entière reconstitution proposée par Onciul. La dernière datation, acceptée depuis, s'appuyait sur le contenu de l'acte, comme postérieur à une donation pour le monastère de Cozia du 8 janvier <1392[10]>, sur le nom de l'higoumène et le *titre princier*, dernier critère, sans doute, vicieux.

[5] Hasdeu 1984, 15.

[6] Onciul 1968, II, 19–142.

[7] Onciul 1968, II, 20.

[8] Apres la mort de Hasdeu, les dossiers ainsi qu'une partie de sa bibliotheque retournaient aux Archives, à Bucarest.

[9] DRH B I, 63–65.

[10] DRH B I, 42–45, datation nouvelle due à P. P. Panaitescu.

On insinua que la date 1387 pourrait être une création de Hasdeu pour soutenir ses propres théories. Heureusement, le chrysobulle était publié depuis 1867 par Timotei Cipariu (1805–1887) dans «Archivul pentru filologie şi istorie» et portait la date 1387[11]. Le savant chanoine de Blaj, Timotei Cipariu, utilisa une copie dont le texte portait l'année 6895 (ϛѡчє), copie prise par l'archimandrite Théodose, higoumène de Cozia en 1826, d'après la transcription de l'acte dans le chartrier du monastère[12].

La provenance de cette copie a été dévoilée par Cipariu dans son «Archivul»: après le début en 1821 de la guerre pour l'indépendance hellénique et la révolution de Tudor Vladimirescu, profitant de l'exil a Braşov de nombreux boyards de la Valachie, Vasile Pop („Basiliu Popu"), un des médecins de la ville, réussit a prendre des copies d'après leurs documents, de ceux de la Métropolie de la Valachie, pour composer un «diplomatarium roumain», deux volumes *in folio*. Le *diplomatarium* fut complété par les recherches du docteur Vasile Pop dans les monastères de Valachie en 1826. Dans la possession de Cipariu, sauvé par miracle de la dévastation de sa bibliothèque pendant la révolution de 1848–1849, le «diplomatarium roumain» commençait justement avec l'acte de Mircea l'Ancien de l'année 6895, c'est-à-dire 1387[13].

L'intérêt spécial du chrysobulle consiste dans la donation faite par le prince au monastère de Cozia: «afin qu'il a dans sa propriété et comme alleu tous les lacs du Danube en partant de Săpatul jusqu'à la bouche de Ialovniţa [Ialomiţa]», avec l'observation qu'il y a «là bas, un homme qui fit hommage à Sofronie l'higoumène, pour être l'homme lige du monastère, et son nom est Tâmpa, et il a fait don aussi d'une rivière, Săpatul». Mircea l'Ancien laissait à Tâmpa le droit de taxer cette rivière pour le compte du monastère en octroyant a l'higoumène et aux caloyers le droit de nommer des douaniers pour les autres lacs, exempts des taxes dus aux officiers du prince ou de son représentant, le «kefalea de Drâstor» [14].

Pour surprendre l'entière signification de la donation du grand voïévode et prince Mircea, une incursion aux origines du monastère de Cozia, sur ses premiers higoumènes, sur l'évolution de son domaine s'impose. En dépit d'une littérature hagiographique intéressée, les monastères de Cozia et Cotmeana «ont été fondés par le grand-père de ma seigneurie et par le père de ma seigneurie», déclarait Mihail voïévode, le fils et l'héritier de Mircea l'Ancien[15]. Afin de « désambiguïser » le texte, Mircea lui-même se rapportant à la donation pour Cozia d'un vignoble de Râmnic, par le jupan Budu, déclarait quelle s'était produite «par la volonté du père de ma seigneurie Radul voïvode»[16]. Autrement dit, Cozia fut une fondation du prince Radu Ier (c. 1374 – c. 1384)[17], à laquelle s'associa, après la mort de celui-ci,

[11] Cipariu 1867, 77–78, doc. 5.
[12] Cipariu 1867.
[13] Cipariu 1867, 34–35.
[14] DRH B I, 63, 64.
[15] DRH B I, 86, 87.
[16] DRH B I, 26, 27; Simedrea 1961, 1018–1032.
[17] Onciul 1903–1904, 385, 638–639.

son fils, le prince Mircea. La découverte d'un premier chrysobulle du règne de Radu Ier, justement une confirmation du don, par un certain Tâmpa, de la rivière Săpatul a Cozia, jette la lumière sur les temps de la fondation du monastère et de son fondateur, le prince Radu[18].

Le 8 Janvier 1392 le prince Mircea confirmait plusieurs dons pour Cozia, parmi lesquels Săpatul[19], et par un autre chrysobulle, déjà mentionné, le même prince et seigneur affirmait a propos de la même donation « et il y a la bas un homme qui a fait son hommage à Sofronie l'higoumène, pour être l'homme lige du monastère, et son nom est Tâmpa, et il a fait don aussi une rivière, Săpatul »[20]. La conclusion est que l'higoumène du temps de Radu Ier et de 1392 était le même Sofronie.

Cependant, d'après un chrysobulle de Mircea voïvode du 20 Mai 1388, le pope Gavriil paraissait être l'higoumène de Cozia[21]. On doit remarquer que ce Gavriil était mentionné dans la partie de l'acte ou le prince assujettit le monastère de Cotmeana, fondation de son père, Radu, au monastère de Cozia. A une analyse plus poussée, on comprend que le pope Gavriil était l'higoumène de Cotmeana, qui gardait certaines attributions, issues de son rôle dans la fondation du monastère. D'ailleurs, d'après l'inscription de la cloche du monastère de Cotmeana de l'année 6893, indiction 8 (1385), don du jupan Dragomir, fils du premier higoumène Dragomir, Cotmeana avait un statut spécial[22]. Sans contredit, à la fondation des monastères ont participe des boyards du prince Radu Ier, et l'un d'eux, Dragomir, fut le premier higoumène de Cotmeana.

Parce que le chrysobulle de Mircea l'Ancien était classé dans le chartrier de Cozia avec les documents concernant la possession par le monastère du lac Căbălul, situé dans les marais de la Ialomița, confirmée par le même prince, j'ai pensé autrefois placer la rivière de Săpatul dans les mêmes parages. Par hasard, les recherches sur l'histoire du manoir Ypsilanti – Roma de Viziru[23] ont relevé, dans le bornage du Grand Terroir („Moşia Mare") – le domaine appartenant à la même famille –, la survivance des toponymes Movila Tâmpului («la bute de Tâmpul») et Săpatul[24] dans l'interfleuve Călmățui-Danube, au Nord de la confluence de la Ialomița avec le Danube, près du marais de Brăila.

Les conséquences sont remarquables. Le domaine du monastère de Cozia s'étendait donc également dans l'interfleuve Călmățui-Danube, dans le marais de Brăila. Et parce que le prince interdisait au kephalea de Silistrie d'empiéter sur les revenus de ce domaine, il faut admettre que, autrement, l'autorité de cet officier s'appliquait aussi sur le marais de Brăila. Pour la première fois, les documents

[18] Iosipescu 2010, 25–30.
[19] DRH B I. 43, 44.
[20] DRH B I. 63, 64.
[21] DRH B I. 26, 27.
[22] Năsturel 1911, 283; Greceanu, Greceanu 1967, 52–89.
[23] Je dois à Mme Raluca Iosipescu, mon epouse, de m'avoir associé à ses recherches sur la famille des comtes de Roma et de leur manoir de Viziru (département de Braila).
[24] Tâmpa/Tâmpul et Săpatul (la Sape, le Ravin).

apportent des renseignements sur l'ancien Paristrion/Paradunavon byzantin, dont la kephalea de Dristra/Silistrie était une survivance.

Les possessions du monastère de Cozia étaient contigües au Danube de Dobroudja prés du village de Topalu. Dans la Podunavia, le delta intérieur du Danube, de Silistrie à Hârşova, avait une grande importance économique pour la communauté monastique de Cozia et, donc, l'investigation du chartrier du cette monastère présentait un intérêt historique majeur. Ainsi je pus trouver un bornage du temps du grand voïévode Mircea: «Les signes qu'on a trouvé dans l'ancien bornage de Mircea voïévode, en slavon, des terres de Cărărenii et Luminenii appartenant au monastère. D'en haut, de Cioroniea, de la boucle de la Ialomiţa, il [le bornage] passe l'eau et suit la rive et donne dans Ialomicioara l'ancienne dans la vallée, jusqu'au chêne, et au remous de l'eau, et d'ici jusqu'au bord de la Ialomiţa, au peuplier; il traverse Ialomiţa dans la vallée du Bey et arrive au chemin sapé, et d'ici jusqu'à la frontière, à la borne en pierre, et de la pierre en ligne droite va à Ciungul le Petit, et d'ici en ligne droite jusqu'au Ciungul le Grand, et d'ici par le chemin de Stelnica à la pierre en marbre où il y a un carrefour des chemins; il prend le chemin vers le Ponant et arrive dans le domaine de Cegani juste à la butte qui est à hauteur de Orza, tout prés du tertre avec le pilier en pierre, et de la à Jegălia, à trois monticules, et descend dans la vallée directement au noisetier, et d'ici va en ligne droite à la boucle de la Ialomiţa. Hilarion l'higoumène de Cozia»[25].

On a ici le premier bornage d'un village de la Valachie qui reconstitue le paysage historique en Podunavia à la confluence de la Ialomiţa avec le Danube. Il y a là la «vallée du Bey», sûrement un bey tatare et une frontière, peut-être autrefois de la principauté, marquée par une borne en pierre. Image tout à fait nouvelle, avec «la pierre en marbre», probablement romaine au «carrefour des chemins» vers Cegani et Stelnica, «avec le pilier en pierre», signe princier sur le tertre près d'Orza. Il y a une entière toponymie, les chemins vont vers les domaines ou les villages de Cegani, Stelnica, Jegălia, dont l'ancienneté descend au moins jusqu'au temps du prince Mircea. Cet ancien bornage du domaine de Cărărenii et Luminenii explique heureusement un court document des années 1404–1406, par lequel le prince Mircea accorde le statut de franchise au «village du monastère de Cozia qui est à l'embouchure de la Ialomiţa»[26]. Par des structures monastiques, la monarchie roumaine organisait le pays en Podunavia, à la confluence de la Ialomiţa avec le Danube, une zone de grande et ancienne importance économique[27].

Pour comprendre et expliquer l'évolution de la Podunavia dans le titre princier roumain, il faut examiner les actes de la Valachie en liaison avec la formation territoriale de la principauté roumaine méridionale. Il va de soi qu'on

[25] ANIC, fond Mănăstirea Cozia, 23/7. Voir Iosipescu 1987, 439–441.

[26] DRH B I, 65–66.

[27] Voir par exemple le privilège de Louis Ier d'Anjou pour les habitants de Braşov en 1358 avec la mention de la confluence de la Ialomiţa avec le Danube (Hurmuzaki/Iorga, XV-1, 1; DRH D I, 72).

doit s'assurer de la véritable chronologie des documents et de l'exactitude des reproductions.

L'examen de la titulature entière des diplômes roumains des années 1386–1418 montre les tâtonnements de la Chancellerie princière – située dans une zone d'interférences byzantino-slaves et franco-allemandes – pour exprimer une réalité politique et territoriale au carrefour des civilisations. Au delà des omissions, plus ou moins volontaires, on peut étaler un titre princier complet: «Par le Christ Dieu, le bon-croyant et le bon-vénérant et aimant le Christ, nous, Jehan Mircea, par la grâce de Dieu et avec la faveur de Dieu, l'autocrate, grand voïévode et seigneur, maître et régnant sur tout le Pays de Hongrovlachie et des parties d'au delà de la montagne, aussi vers les marches Tatares et Herzog de l'Amlaş et de Făgăraş et seigneur du Banat de Severin et sur les deux rives sur toute la Podunavie et encore jusqu'à la mer Majeure et maître de la cité de Dristra»[28]. Le titre présente une remarquable hiérarchie politique des possessions: Mircea est grand voïévode et seigneur sur toute la Hongrovlachie, des marches d'au delà de la montagne et vers les Tatares, des rives de toute la Podunavie jusqu'à la mer Majeure; dans le même temps il est duc (Herzog) dans l'Amlaş et Făgăraş, seigneur du Banat de Severin et maître de la cité de Dristra. On a ici l'évolution, les moyens et le stade du processus de constitution de l'Etat, de son unité et l'habituelle survivance des particularités, l'édifice politique du moyen âge étant généralement constitué par la juxtaposition de ses particularités.

Quoique la série des documents provenant de la chancellerie de Valachie dans la deuxième moitié du XIVe siècle est en grande partie perdu à jamais et l'évolution chronologique du titre du prince ne peut être établie avec toute l'exactitude requise, on doit, quand même, observer dans le titre du prince la stratification historique et les parties composantes du formulaire. Pour la présente recherche l'expression «... grand voïévode et seigneur, maître et régnant sur tout le Pays de Hongrovlachie et des parties d'au delà de la montagne, aussi vers les marches tatares...» évoque probablement l'ancienne formule de la chancellerie concernant la première unité de l'Etat de tout le pays de Hongrovlachie y compris les parties d'au delà de la montagne, c'est-à-dire le Făgăraş et l'Amlaş.

De l'autre côté, on a des indices sur les directions d'évolution étatique. «Vers les marches tatares» suggère le recul de la Horde d'Or par la Reconquista roumaine, amorcée vers le milieu du XIVe siècle dans le cadre de la Croisade des royaumes polonais et hongrois[29]. Aux environs des années '40 du XIVe siècle, la tamgha du Grand Khan de Saray flottait encore au-dessus de la cité de Vicina – à 200 milles en amont des bouches du Danube[30], donc tout près de la cité de Dristra. Peu avant, le métropolite de Vicina soumis à une grande pression, sûrement de la

[28] DRH D I, 63–64 (document de 1386/1387 daté par P.P. Panaitescu et Damaschin Mioc dans l'intervalle 1404–1408).

[29] Une rapide mise en équation par Onciul 1968, 245, n. 5; Papacostea 1980, 165–194.

[30] Motzo 1947.

part des nouveaux maîtres des lieux[31], promettait au Patriarche de Constantinople de ne pas abandonner ses ouailles[32]. La carte des frères Pizzigani plaçait au dessus du trône de Saray d'Usbeq (1312–1342) l'inscription *Item in civitate de Saray manet imperator Usbech; imperium suum est valde magnum et incipit in provincia de Burgaria et in civitate de Vecina et finit in civitate de Organçi versus Levante et comprehendit in illo directe totam tramontanam*[33]. Justement à la fin de son règne le grand khan Ouzbeq prépara la conquête de Constantinople et des Détroits, prenant Vecina comme base pour les vagues offensives de ses armées[34].

Il convient donc d'écarter une localisation de Vicina à Isaccea ou aux alentours, hypothèse en évidente contradictions avec pas mal des sources. D'ailleurs Isaccea était depuis la deuxième moitie du XIIIe siècle le siège du pouvoir local de la Horde d'Or, du célèbre Noqay, et, depuis sa mort, d'un représentant du grand khan de Saray[35].

Après 1345, avec le début des actions de Croisade la situation changea. En 1359 la ville de Vicina était «tout près» (πλησιάζοντα) du territoire de la Valachie du prince Nicolas Alexandre (1351/1352 – 1364), au moment de la consécration constantinopolitaine de l'ancien métropolite Hyacinthe de Vicina au siège de Curtea de Argeş[36]. Il n'est pas sans raison de penser que par la même consécration[37], l'empereur Jean V Paléologue renonçait à ses droits sur ce lambeau de son Etat, l'ancien duché de Paristrion, couvert par la Métropole de Vicina, depuis des années dans le pouvoir des Tatars. Donc la frontière de la principauté était sur le Danube près de Vicina, en 1359, un moment décisif pour l'émancipation politique, la reconnaissance par l'empereur de Constantinople, Jean V Paléologue, du titre souverain, d'*autenthis* du prince roumain.

L'étape suivante s'était consommée pendant le règne de Vladislav Ier Vlaicou. Le roi de Hongrie, Louis Ier d'Anjou, détourna sa Croisade contre les Turcs et attaqua premièrement le tsarat de Vidin et puis, la Valachie. La défaite du royaume hongrois dans la guerre qui s'ensuivit (1368–1369) avait permis aux Basarabas de Curtea de Argeş de commencer l'extension de leur principauté vers le Nord-Est, comprenant dans la construction étatique de la principauté le «couloir angevin» entre Ialomiţa et Buzău, une grande partie de l'Evêché de Milcovia et les anciennes territoires d'obédience tatare du basin inferieur de la rivière de Prut – la seigneurie des Iaşii/Asses (Auria /Iavaria) et le domaine de la colonie génoise de Chilia[38]. Ce magnifique exploit sur le Danube maritime des Basarabas rendait à néant une des principales directions du projet politique du grand roi de Hongrie

[31] Laurent 1946, 225–232.
[32] FHDR IV, 1982, 192, 193; Brătianu 1922, 54.
[33] Grămadă 1925, 447.
[34] Laurent 1960, 145–162.
[35] Ciocîltan 1998, 236, 240–246.
[36] FHDR IV, 196, 197.
[37] FHDR IV, 196–203.
[38] Iosipescu 2003, 217–220, 224.

Louis Ier d'Anjou – la connexion territoriale et du commerce du son royaume avec la mer Noire. Loin d'être «né d'une confusion cartographique», le nom de Bessarabie est une prégnante attestation d'une tradition historique, une exceptionnelle preuve pour l'extension en 1369–1373 de la Principauté roumaine sur le Danube maritime dans l'interfleuve Siret-Prut-Nistru[39].

Le corollaire des actes de Cozia pour les marais de Brăila et de Ialomiţa remis a leur date était la progression territoriale de la Valachie sur le bas Danube: le «couloir» angevin de l'interfleuve Ialomiţa-Buzău était englobé dans la principauté roumaine de Radu Ier. On peut donc dater le document octroyant à sa fondation de Cozia des terres dans la Podunavia vers la fin de son règne, après la mort du roi Louis Ier d'Anjou (10 Septembre 1382), époque d'affaiblissement de la Hongrie et de la récupération par la Valachie de ses positions sur le bas Danube.

A ce point, il faut expliquer si la seigneurie de Dristra (Silistrie) du titre princier roumain correspond à la Podunavia et si cette formule couvre l'ancien duché byzantin de Paristrion /Paradunavon, et quelle correspondance géographique actuelle peut-on trouver pour ces termes. Car, pour comprendre la formation territoriale de la principauté de «tout le Pays Roumain», par la mise des pays ou des principicules sous la mouvance des princes roumains résidant à Câmpulung (département de Muscel), Curtea de Argeş et puis Târgovişte, – évidement avec des analogies dans la création, l'agrégation des territoires dans le domaine de la Couronne sous d'autres horizons européens – l'analyse des textes doit être couplée avec l'expression géographique des termes.

La *Chronique des Cantacuzène,* les anciennes annales de la Valachie, donne une première esquisse de la création étatique. Apres le *descensus* (en roumain *descălecat*) transcarpathique de Negru voïévode («le Prince Noir») et de ses compagnons, venus du pays de Făgăraş et de Amlaş, «quelques uns ont étendu le pays sous la montagne jusqu'aux eaux du Siret et jusqu'à Brăila, et les autres partout à la campagne, en fondant les villes et les villages jusqu'au marche du Danube et jusqu'à l'Olt». Auparavant «ceux qui ont descendu à Turnul Severinului se sont étendus par-dessous de la montagne jusqu'à l'eau de l'Olt, et les autres ont descendu en bas sur le Danube, et la population remplit les terres jusqu'à la marche de Nicopolis»[40].

La tradition historique conçoit la constitution des deux grandes composantes de l'Etat roumain méridional, à l'Est de la rivière d'Olt, *Muntenia* (le Pays de la Montagne), et à l'Ouest, le Pays de Severin, avec des marches sur le Danube en aval de Turnu Severin et jusqu'à Brăila. Il ne peut-être question d'une étendue de l'Etat en amont vers la lointaine Serbie.

Concernant les frontières du pays, il faut mettre en cause également les actes internationaux. Le 20 janvier 1390, par un chrysobulle émis à Lublin, Mircea l'Ancien, prince de Valachie, annonçait son alliance avec le roi de Pologne,

[39] Iosipescu 1985, 127–130; Iosipescu 2007, 86–90.
[40] *Istoria Ţării Româneşti* 1960, 1–2.

Wladyslaw Jagellon, alliance dirigée contre Sigismond de Luxembourg, souverain de Hongrie[41]. L'acte latin porte le titre suivant du prince roumain: *Mircius, Dei gratia woywoda Transalpinus, Fogoras et Omlas dux, Severini comes, terrarum Dobrodicii despotus et Tristri dominus* («Mircius, par la grâce de Dieu, voïévode Transalpin, duc de Făgăraş et de Amlaş, comte de Severin, despote des Pays de Dobrotiţă et seigneur de Dristra»). La confirmation du traité d'alliance, à Lemberg (Lwów), le 6 juillet 1391, contient les mêmes éléments du titre princier, seulement les provinces transdanubiennes et maritimes de la principauté sont inversées – *Trestri dominus ac terrarum Dobrodicii despotus* – suivies par un «etc.»[42].

On peut conclure premièrement qu'il y a dans le titre une dichotomie des territoires entre le Danube et la mer Majeure (la mer Noire): il y avait deux composants, la seigneurie de Dristra et l'autre, polymorphe, les Pays du despote Dobrotiţă. De la première apparition de ce titre en janvier 1390, on a la sensation d'une situation bien établie, le prince roumain étalant, dans un traité d'alliance avec des conséquences internationales, ses possessions et sa puissance réelle, suffisamment connue par les princes lithuaniens.

Aprés une demi-décennie, le 7 mars 1395, face à la menace des invasions ottomanes, le même prince Mircea «voïévode Transalpin, duc de Făgăraş et ban de Severin» confirmait à Braşov son traité d'alliance avec le roi de Hongrie, Sigismond de Luxembourg. Le titre princier, assez bref, est essentiel par rapport aux relations de la principauté roumaine avec le royaume de Hongrie, car le Făgăraş et le Severin ont été une partie de l'ancien contentieux entre les deux couronnes. Les terres transdanubiennes et maritimes de la principauté, absentes dans le titre, sont abondamment évoquées dans le corps du document à propos des directions d'action prévues dans le plan de Croisade, inclus dans le traité: *ultra et prope Danubium, per loca eidem nostro dominio et Danubium convicina* («les lieux sujets à notre puissance et dans notre mouvance c'est à dire d'au delà et près du Danube») et également *contra illos ad partes [Dobro]dicii vel quascumque alias, per terras, castra, districtus, passus, portus et quevis alia loca, dominii nostri et ditioni nostre subiecta*, «les terres de Dobrotiţă, ou les autres semblables, districts, forteresses, territoires, pas, ports et tous les autres, sujets à notre puissance et obédience»[43]. On peut, sans doute, réduire l'expression «ultra et prope Danubium» à la Podunavia du formulaire des actes slavon-roumains de la Chancellerie de Valachie.

La marche danubienne du Pays de la Montagne – *Muntenia* roumaine – correspondait à une ancienne province impériale byzantine, le thème de Paristrion/Paradunavon, tandis que la marche de Nicopolis était contigüe à l'ancien thème de Bulgarie[44]. Il n'est pas sans intérêt de remarquer que pour

[41] Hurmuzaki-Densuşianu, I-2, 322; DRH D I, 122–123.
[42] Hurmuzaki-Densuşianu, I-2, 304–305; DRH D I, 125–127.
[43] Hurmuzaki-Densuşianu, I-2, 361; DRH B I, 138–142.
[44] Bănescu 1946, 32–36.

l'historien byzantin Skylitzes si les forces militaires de ce dernier thème étaient recrutées parmi les Bulgares, les défenseurs du Paristrion/ Paradunavon étaient des *Romaioi*[45].

Créations pendant la reconquête byzantine du temps de l'empereur Jean Tzimiskes, peu touchés – *et pour cause*[46] – par la révolte de Samuel, les thèmes du bas Danube ont subsisté avec le duché byzantin de Paristrion (Paradunavon), jusqu'au début du XIIIe siècle. La monographie du grand byzantiniste roumain Nicolae Bănescu, *Les duchés byzantins de Paristrion (Paradunavon) et de Bulgarie,* parue par miracle en 1946, parmi les publications d'un éphémère Institut d'Etudes byzantines de Bucarest, créa les assises solides pour l'étude de la question. Nicolae Bănescu remarqua, sans insister, le passage de la relation de l'historien byzantin Kedrenos concernant les attaques des Petchenègues sur le Bas-Danube, survenus au printemps de 1050, pendant lesquels s'illustra le brave gouverneur du Paristrion, Katakalon Kekaumenos[47], «commandant les forteresses du Danube, là ou les gentes se mélangent» (έξ ότου περ ήρχε τών παρά τω Ίστρω φρουρίων και άνεμίγνυτο άλλήλοις τα γένη), office dont l'autorité s'étendait également sur les territoires maritimes (τά άγχίαλα)[48].

Pour designer le thème byzantin de Paristrion ou Paradunavon, en liaison avec les événements de temps du Basile II le Bulgaroctone (976–1025), la traduction slavone de la *Chronique* de Constantin Manases réalisée à la cour du tsar Ivan Alexandre (1331–1371) utilise le terme Podunavia[49]. La circulation de cette traduction et les relations entre les deux cours princières indiquent une autre piste pour les recherches concernant l'origine du terme de Podunavia dans le titre roumain.

On considéra également l'intitulation du prince Mircea calquée d'après celle du knez serbe Lazare (1371–1389), et la *Podunavia* du titre roumain un «terme générique» pour le pays de Dobrotič (La Dobroudja) et Silistrie (*Dristra*, *Drâstor* en roumain)[50]. Il faut immédiatement observer que la *Podunavia* se trouve également dans le titre du despote Georges Branković (1427–1456), par exemple dans l'inscription d'une bulle sigillaire pendante d'un sien acte à Vatopedi[51]. Il s'agit sans aucun doute de la possession par les princes serbes *de la rive Sud du Danube*; de l'autre côté s'étendaient les terres du royaume de Hongrie. *Podunavia* dans le titre des despotes serbes signifie seulement une frontière *sur le Danube*, par ailleurs la traduction du mot slave.

Parmi les pierre tombales avec inscriptions conservées dans l'église du monastère de Snagov (département de Ilfov), publiées par Alexandru Odobescu

[45] Bănescu 1946, 34.

[46] La révolte avait été fomentée et s'était développée en Macédoine, loin des contrées du Bas-Danube.

[47] Voir Madgearu 2013, 64, 68–69, pour Katakalon Kekaumenos et pour le nom Paradunavon.

[48] Bănescu 1946, 76–77.

[49] Bogdan 1922, 199.

[50] Panaitescu 1944, 31, 188, 189; Panaitescu 1967, 1–4.

[51] Lascaris 1935, 19.

(1834–1895), ce Prosper Mérimée de la Roumanie, il y a aussi celle du grand dvornic (comte palatin) Pârvul: «Il est mort le serf du Dieu, Pârvul, le grand dvornic de tout le Pays de Hongrovlachie et devers le Danube en ..... 7020 [1512].....5, le mois de juin...., samedi à 4 heures de la journée ! Que sa mémoire soit éternelle !»[52]. Plusieurs fois déplacée de sa place, la pierre se trouve maintenant immédiatement à gauche de l'entrée dans l'église. Nicolae Iorga pensa à juste raison qu'elle appartenait au grand dvornic Pârvul Craiovescu, frère du ban Barbu et le père du prince Neagoe Basarab[53], restaurateur du monastère.

«Devers le Danube» dans la traduction d'Alexandru Odobescu était la traduction de Подунавя («Podunavia») de l'original slavon-roumain. L'apparition de la Podunavia dans le titre du grand dvornic Pârvul Craiovescu et du prince Neagoe Basarab (1512–1520) n'est pas sans liaison avec la présence dans le pays du groupe d'exilés serbes de l'entourage de l'ancien despote Georges Branković. Imposé par le roi Mathias Corvin en 1486 comme seigneur de la Raška – dans la région de Srem –, prenant l'habit de moine en 1496 sous le nom de Maxime, il fut métropolite de Belgrade et fondateur du monastère de Krušedol. Georges et le despote Jovan, son frère et successeur, ont espéré, de leur refuge à la frontière danubienne du royaume de Hongrie, restaurer le despotat serbe de leur famille. Réfugié en Valachie, l'ancien despote Maxime eut une grande influence à la Cour du prince Radu le Grand (1496–1508). Il fut le héros d'une spectaculaire pacification sur le champ de bataille (octobre 1507) entre le prince de Valachie et celui de Moldavie, Bogdan l'Aveugle, un de ses arguments étant l'origine commune roumaine des deux dynastes[54]. D'ailleurs, d'après la *Chronique de Macaire*, la promotion de Maxime à la dignité métropolitaine à Belgrade fut due à l'intervention des hiérarques de Moldavie[55]. Sa fille, Militza Despina, avait épousé Neagoe avant 1505 parce que leur fils Théodose avait à son intronisation, en 1521, seize ans[56]. Déjà dans le *Liturghierul slavonesc* (*Le Missel slavon*), imprimé par Macaire à Târgovişte en 7016, avec un épilogue daté du 10 Novembre, sûrement de l'année 1508, le titre du prince contenait la Podunavia[57]. Il faut donc admettre que Podunavia n'était pas une invention de la Chancellerie de Neagoe Basarab.

L'évangéliaire slavon-roumain imprimé a Târgovişte en 1512 dont l'épilogue porte la date de 25 juin 7020 a le même titre du prince regnant écrit avec du cinabre[58]. Un exemplaire sur parchemin avec le même titre fut découvert par Alexandru Odobescu au monastère de Bistriţa: il avait les frontispices et des lettrines coloriées à la main, avec encre d'or, carmin, bleu et vert; les lettres typographiques et les entrelacs doublées; les mots en rouge retouchées[59]. Presque

[52] Odobescu 1967, 210.
[53] Iorga 1905, 158. Pour d'autres références, voir Şerbănescu 1944, 172.
[54] *Letopiseţul anonim al Moldovei* 1959, 13, 22.
[55] *Cronica lui Macarie* 1959, 78, 91.
[56] Rezachevici 2001, 147–150.
[57] BRV I, 18–20.
[58] BRV I, 18.
[59] BRV I, 20.

contemporaine avec l'inscription de Snagov, la Podunavia se retrouve dans le titre du prince Neagoe Basarab dans son document du 2 août 1512, une donation au Tour de l'Albanais de la Sainte Montagne d'Athos: «Io Basarab voïévode de tout le Pays de Hongrovalachie et de la Podunavia»[60].

Quelle peut être la signification de cette titulature ? Dans un chrysobulle de l'année 6988 (1er septembre 1479 – 31 aout 1480)[61], du prince Basarab le Jeune, dit «Ţepeluş» (le petit Empaleur) pour le monastère de Bolintin, l'ancienne fondation est exempte des taxes douanières à Brăila, Dârstor (Silistrie), Giurgiu, Sviştov, Nicopolis et Ţimbru[62]. La Principauté roumaine conservait donc vers la fin du XVe siècle ses anciens droits douaniers aux principaux gués du Danube, survivance de l'époque d'un contrôle et des possession roumaines sur les deux rives du Danube.

On trouve une révélation dans un defter ottoman contenant les has, zeamets et timars du sandjaq de Nicopolis, conservé à la section orientale de la Bibliothèque Cyril et Méthode de Sofia, daté par son éditeur au milieu du XVeme siècle[63]. Parmi le timars il y a le suivant:

«Timiar-i voyvoda-i Eflak
Manastir Basaraba – hane 14
Hasel 1556
Ispenğe 350
el-vaki 1206
Mezra'a Koziyak ve Krncar ve
Lāva voda [...]»[64]

(«Le timar du voïévode de la Valachie: Le monastère de Basaraba – 14 maisons
Revenue 1556 [akce] Ispenğe 350 Reste 1206. Villages: Coziac, Grănicear, Lava vodă [...]»).

Donc, dans le sandjaq de Nicopolis il y avait encore, dans la seconde moitié du XVème siècle, une possession des princes roumains, le monastère de Basaraba et son domaine. Sa situation topographique sur le cours inferieur de la rivière de Lom, où existe encore le village de Basarabovo[65], est soutenue encore par la hagiographie moderne, car c'est d'ici que furent transporté à Bucarest pendant la guerre russe-ottomane de 1768–1774 les reliques de Saint Démetre de Basarabovo. Le nom de saint protecteur du monastère indique Mircea l'Ancien comme fondateur de l'établissement, le seul prince roumain dont le nom de baptême dérivait de celui de Saint Démettre[66]. La fondation d'un monastère de la dynastie

[60] DRH B II, 223–225.
[61] L'intervalle peut être restreint jusqu'en juin 1480 quand Mircea II devient prince du pays (Rezachevici 2001, 122).
[62] DRH B I, 268 (doc. 162).
[63] Fontes Historiae Bulgaricae 1966, 160–297.
[64] Fontes Historiae Bulgaricae 1966, 192.
[65] Iosipescu 1987, 438.
[66] Des nouvelles preuves sur l'origine du nom dans Andreescu 1982, 855–856.

roumaine sur la rive droite du Danube, assez proche du gué de Giurgiu, est sans doute en liaison avec le patronage du prince Mircea l'Ancien à Dristra (Silistrie)[67].

Les 14 maisons (hane) chrétiennes dépendants du monastère de Basaraba étaient groupées en trois villages – Coziac, Grănicear, Lava Vodă. Le premier peut éventuellement suggérer l'appartenance du village au monastère de Cozia; le second, avec la frontière (en roumain *graniță*). La présence des possessions roumaines dans ce fragment de la rive droite du Danube au temps de Mircea l'Ancien est confirmée d'ailleurs par l'historien ottoman Nešri[68]. On peut penser que le monastère de Basaraba se trouvait sur la marche du Sud-Ouest de la Podunavia, la rivière de Lom constituant la frontière Sud-Ouest de la Valachie, dans le Deliorman.

La situation empira par la suite car pendant l'été de 1504 – quand le Grand Etienne de Moldavie rendait son âme à Suceava –, le prince de Valachie, Radu, fut mandé à la Porte ottomane et contraint par le sultan Bayezid II de lui céder non seulement les revenus des gués, mais également quatre ou cinq mille des hommes conscrits dans les defters ottomanes et réfugiés en Valachie sous la protection du prince roumain[69]. On n'a pas réalisé dans l'historiographie la signification de ce moment de 1504: le dernier acte de la mainmise ottomane sur le Bas Danube, en liquidant les possessions roumaines transdanubiennes[70]. *Depuis 1504, dans les defterleri ottomans apparaissaient également Hârşova et la partie centrale de l'isthme ponto-danubien*[71], *la dernière possession roumaine de la rive droite danubienne.*

L'apparition à cette époque de la Podunavia dans le titre princier roumain pourrait être l'affirmation d'un droit, après le nouvel «accident» dans la relation asymétrique ottomano-roumaine. Mais pour le groupe des exilés serbes en Valachie – impliqués dans la vie religieuse, voire intellectuelle et artistique, dans l'activité de la jeune imprimerie du pays – même la très étendue possession roumaine de la rive gauche du Danube, pouvait suggérer l'utilisation de la Podunavia dans le titre princier roumain. Parce que la Podunavia du titre des despotes serbes, maîtres seulement d'une rive, Sud, du Danube, était conforme à la situation de la Valachie après 1504. Le prestige et l'influence de l'ancien despote serbe, maintenant le moine Maxime, sur l'église et la Chancellerie roumaine peuvent expliquer l'apparition de la Podunavia dans le titre princier.[72]

[67] Pour le patronage roumain sur l'église de Silistrie jusqu'au XVIIIeme siècle, voir un document de 1741 dans Veliman 1984, 258–260.

[68] Iosipescu 1980, 155–157.

[69] Bogdan 1905, 350–351; Hurmuzaki-Iorga, XV-1, 166–167, 168; Iorga 1996, 190.

[70] Iosipescu 1980.

[71] Popescu 2015, 85–112.

[72] Malgré les insignes résultats obtenus dans l'analyse du titre princier roumain par la critique des textes et la géographie historique, on privilégia les investigations sur les mentalités, les idéologies politiques, ou, même, la "politologie". Un retour aux sources s'impose.

La Podunavia du titre princier qui apparaît à la charnière des XIVe –XVe siècles cache la restauration du duché byzantin de Paristrion, des deux côtés du Bas-Danube et jusqu'à la mer Noire, dans la principauté de Valachie, le grand exploit de la monarchie des Basarabas est une preuve de l'exceptionnelle vitalité du peuple roumain au temps de la Croisade tardive.

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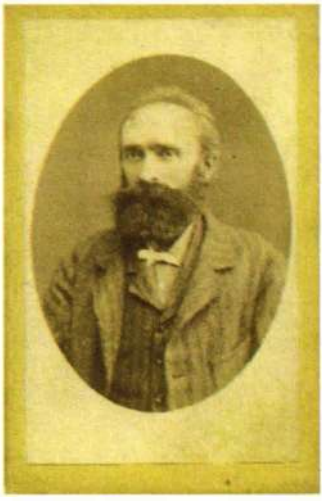

Fig. 1. Bogdan Petriceicu Hasdeu, d'après une photo au Mémorial Hasdeu à Câmpina (1838–1907).

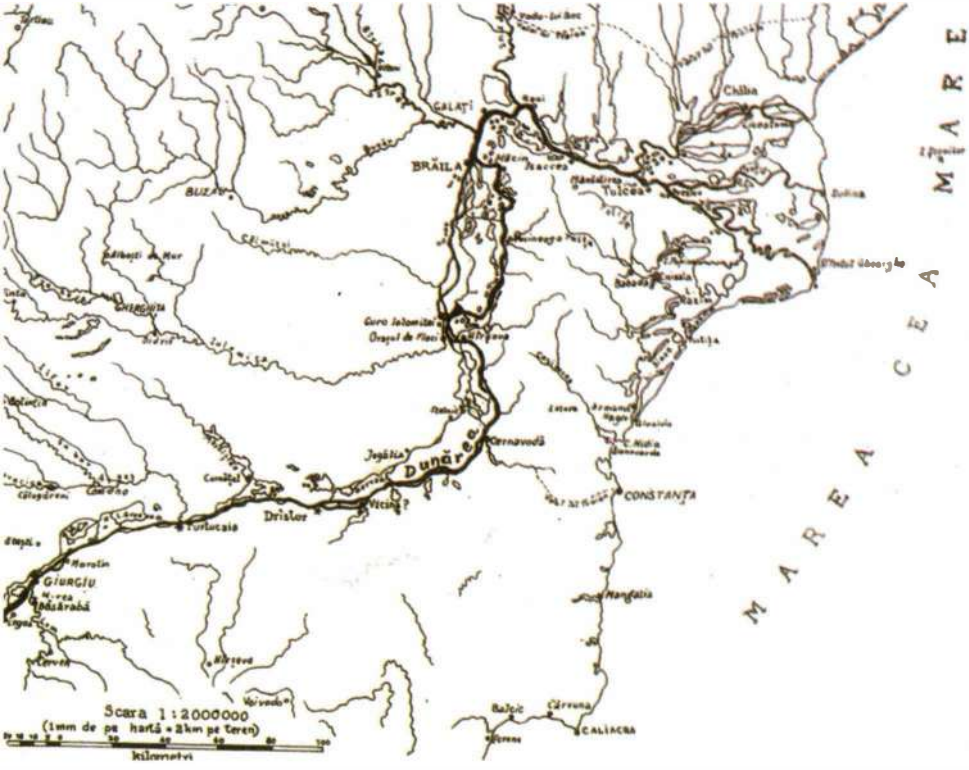

Fig. 2. La carte de Podunavia et de ses environs au temps du prince de la Valachie Mircea l'Ancien (1386–1418).

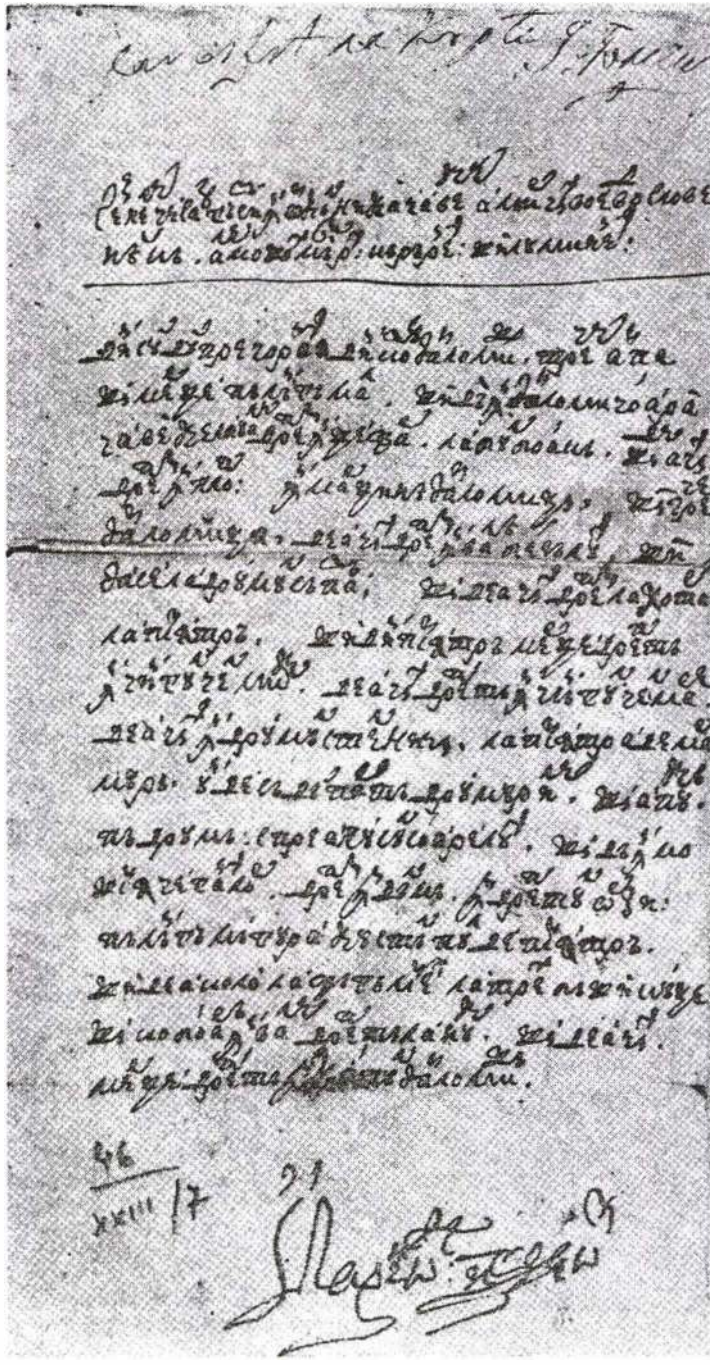

Fig. 3. Le bornage des possessions du monastère de Cozia a l'embouchure de la rivière de Ialomitza au temps du prince de la Valachie Mircea l'Ancien (1386–1418); traduction du XVIIIe siècle.

Fig. 4. Le plan du domaine de Moşia Mare (Viziru, département de Braila) en 1869 – détail avec la borne de «Săpata».

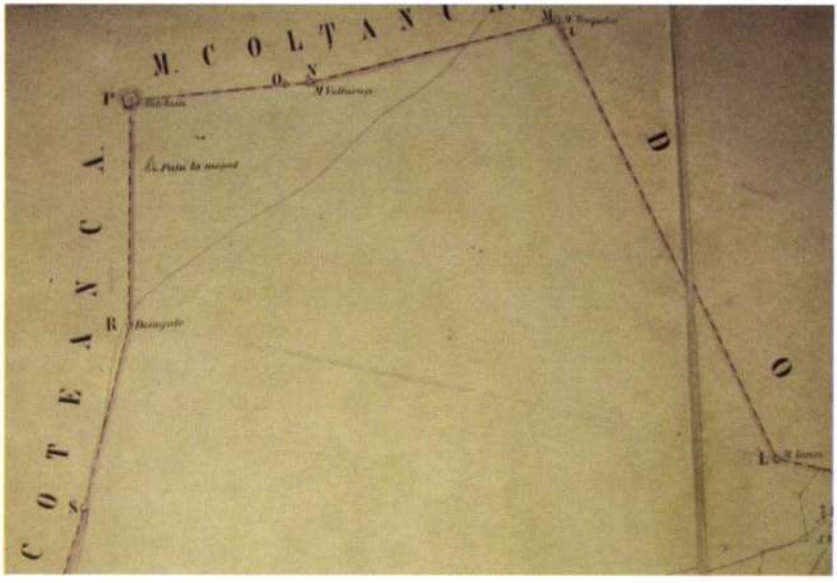

Fig. 5. Le plan du domaine de Moşia Mare (Viziru, département de Braila) en 1869 – détail avec la borne «Movila Tâmpului» en haut.

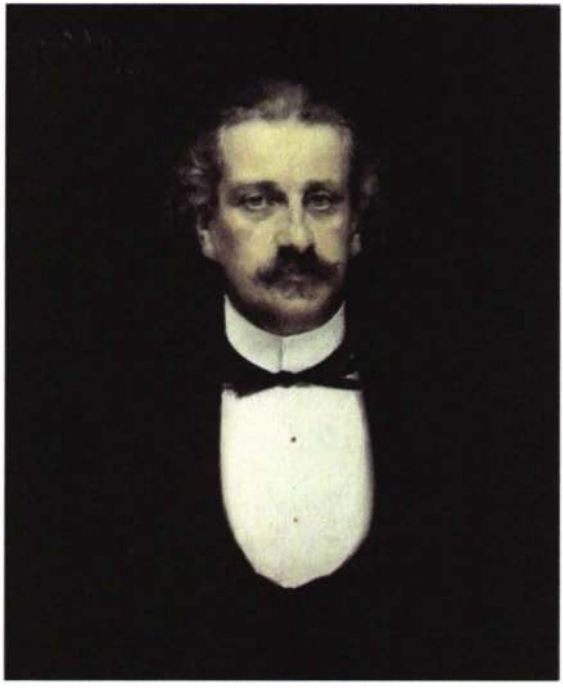

Fig. 6. Alexandru Odobescu (1834–1895), d'après le tableau de George Demetrescu Mirea.

Fig. 7. Le monastère de Snagov (photo Sergiu Iosipescu).

Fig. 8. Le monastère de Snagov – la tombe de grand dvornic Pârvu Craiovescu, 1512 (photo Sergiu Iosipescu).

Fig. 9. La tombe de grand dvornic Pârvu Craiovescu, détail de l'inscription avec la Podunavia (photo Sergiu Iosipescu).

Fig. 10. Les fondateurs de l'église et de la peinture de Snagov – l'aigle bicéphale caché sur la chlamyde du prince Neagoe Basarab (photo Sergiu Iosipescu).

THE DOUBLE-SIDED ICON IN DINTR-UN LEMN MONASTERY*

ELISABETA NEGRĂU

The silver clothing that covered almost entirely the icon of Mother of God in the Dintr-un Lemn Monastery in Vâlcea starting from 1812[1] and until the early 2000's, when began a thorough restoration process, had limited for a long period the access to the panel's painting. However, the attempts of dating and attributing the icon have a long history, beginning early on. A local legend, recorded by Paul of Aleppo in 1656, located this wonderworking icon not far from Râmnicu Vâlcea at the end of the 16th century, when a hermit built a hermitage for it in an oak forest[2], which later developed into the monastery known as "Dintr-un Lemn" (made of a single wood). Metropolitan Neophytos of Wallachia, visiting the Dintr-un Lemn Monastery in July 28th–29th 1746, read an inscription on the icon of Theotokos as "the hand of Damaskinos"/Damaskin[3], concluding, although reserved, that the icon is a 16th-century work of the Cretan school. He also noted an inscription on a cross (later disappeared) on the roof of the old wooden church of the hermitage, mentioning a shepherd by his name Radu, who built the wooden chapel for the icon during the rule of voivode Alexandru II[4]. Alexandru Obobescu, who studied the monument in 1860, mentioned a somewhat different story: the icon, which originated in Vâlcea, was moved for some time to Gura Motrului to a boyar Radu, being brought again in Vâlcea in the mid-16th century by a daughter of Lady Chiajna, who built the small hermitage for it[5].

* I am grateful to Dr. Ruxandra Lambru from the University of Bucharest, Department of Slavic Philology, and to Dr. Christo Andreev, specialist in Old Bulgarian paleography at the Institute of Art Studies of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences in Sofia, for generously sharing me their philological observations on the inscriptions of the icon.

[1] Bălan 2005, 423, cat. 575.

[2] *Călători* 6, 188–189. The hermitage is mentioned in documents starting with 1578–1579; Donat 1936, 315–316 (source not cited).

[3] Neofit, 91–92. The journal was written in Greek, so "Damaskinos" could be a Graecized form of an originally Slavic name, i.e. Damaskin.

[4] Neophytos read also a year at the end of the inscription, "7008" (1499–1500), which however does not coincide with the rule of Alexandru II (1568–1577); Neofit, 86, 89.

[5] The story appears in Odobescu's novella *Doamna Chiajna* (1860). It was credited also by Drăghiceanu 1931, 125–126, and Donat 1936, 316. Odobescu recorded several other times when the

The icon was an object of interest for many art historians, who proposed various hypotheses regarding its dating and provenience. André Grabar considered it to be an early Byzantine acheiropoietos[6]. Ion D. Ştefănescu chose to give credit to Metropolitan Neophytos and considered it a work of the Cretan school executed on Mount Athos in the second half of the 16th century[7], but he soon re-dated it to the end of the 15th century and the beginning of the next[8]. Other art historians claimed it to be a 15th century Byzantine artwork[9]. Alexandru Efremov, the first who studied the icon without the silverwork, identified it type as the Virgin of the Passion[10] (fig. 1). According to its stylistic features, he considered it a Palaeologan work dating to the end of the first half of the 15th century and assigned it to a master affiliated to a Byzantine workshop, assuming as a source of inspiration "a 13th century model, originating from an artistic atmosphere of Italian influence"[11].

The novelty brought by the removing of the icon's silver cloth consists not only in the identification of its iconographic type, but especially in discovering that it is a double-sided icon, bearing paintings on both its faces. Alexandru Odobescu had mentioned the existence of a Last Judgment scene on the reverse side of the Virgin's icon[12], but the later authors made but slight reference to it[13]. Neither I.D. Ştefănescu nor Alexandru Efremov studied the Judgment icon.

The icon of the Last Judgment has its field sculpted below the level, with narrow, taller frames let on the four sides (fig. 2). The carving of the panel's surface could not be made without putting the eventual painting of the reverse side to danger. Therefore, it seems most probable that the Judgment side was, chronologically, the first painted. Of all the bilateral icons known[14], this is the only case to contain a Last Judgment scene[15], which leads us to the assumption that the icon was initially designed as a sole-faced. The Theotokos side, which was treated lately for a long time as the main face of the icon – and consequently the sole, after putting the silver revetment –, was in fact painted later, the icon becoming thus

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icon was moved from its place: in 1797–1802, it was brought in the Bistriţa cave to be saved from the plunders of Osman Pasvantoglu's soldiers and, during the Liberation Revolution of 1821, was transfered at Pătrunsa hermitage; Odobescu 1981, 77.

[6] Unpublished observations; *apud* Efremov 2002, 28.

[7] Ştefănescu 1931, 601–602 and fig. 45–46. This hypothesis was accepted also by Creţeanu 1966, 25.

[8] Ştefănescu 1932, 172, note 3.

[9] Maria-Ana Musicescu (unpublished research), Dumitru Năstase, *apud* Efremov 2002, 28 and n. 24.

[10] Efremov 2002, 28–29 and notes 22–32.

[11] Efremov 2002, 28–29, cat. 3, fig. 8–9.

[12] On July 30th 1860, Odobescu inspected the icon and noted, although incorrect, that the Last Judgment was painted on canvas glued on wood and that the names in the inscriptions were written in Serbian. He also noticed the damages of the depiction of Mother of God; Odobescu 1981, 77.

[13] Ştefănescu 1931, 602; Ştefănescu 1932, 172 n. 3; Efremov 2002, 28–29.

[14] A catalogue of 80 double-sided icons was published by Vocotopoulos 1998, 304–307.

[15] The well-known 11th century Sinai icon of the Last Judgment which was part of a hexaptych meant for private worship is not double-sided; Weitzmann 1984, 108.

bilateral. The initial Last Judgment icon had probably a processional function, considering its large size, of 150 cm/ 110 cm. Such icons were used for processions in the Meatfare Sunday (the Sunday of the Last Judgment), which precedes the beginning of the Great Lent. The Russian Last Judgment panels dating from the 14th–16th centuries have about the same large dimensions[16].

The icon of the Last Judgment has an abbreviated composition, reduced to the representation of Christ on a throne surrounded by Virgin Mary, St. John the Baptist and the seven archangels, with five of them having their names inscribed: Michael, Gabriel, Raphael, Uriel and *Athalsail*, which appears to be a corrupt form of the name of the apocryphal Archangel Salathiel, who is honoured the fifth in hierarchical order after Raphael and Uriel[17] (see the *Addendum*, no. 1). The names of the angels coming from apocryphal sources had been generally rejected by the Church early on, because of the magical rituals of the Gnostic sects in which angels were invoked[18]. Representations of the seven archangels with their names mentioned in inscriptions are completely absent in the Byzantine painting; only the names of the three canonical archangels and those of the nine angelic orders were virtually accepted[19].

The inscriptions on the Last Judgment icon are poorly written, containing wrong letters, incorrect hyphenations, and also elements of phonetic hypercorrection, such as the numerous ь. The name forms – the West-Bulgarian **Иован** for John the Baptist, or **Михь<и>ль, Гаврилъ**, which were common in Bulgaria and Macedonia[20] – seem to indicate that the painter originated in a Balkan area where apocryphal

[16] The icon from Novgorod (late 15th – early 16th cent.), today in the Tretiakov Gallery, has sides of 164cm/ 116 cm; Hunt 2007, 275, note 1.

[17] Uriel and Salathiel appear together in the 4 Ezdras, an apocryphal Old Testament book tolerated by the Byzantine Church and included later as canonical in the Russian Orthodox Slavonic Bible (Ostrog Bible – 1581, Empress Elizabeth Bible – 1751, and later Russian Synodal Bible). The latter two archangels' names lately accepted by the Orthodox Church, Jegoudiel and Barachiel, are mentioned in apocryphal 1 Enoch and 3 Enoch.

[18] Such practices were denounced by the 4th local council of Laodicaea (ca. 363–365), canon 35; Hefele 1907, 1017. See, for example, a reference to a text intitled "The Names of the Angels" in an index of prohibited books translated in Romanian from a Slavonic source in 1667–1669 (Ms. Rom. 1570 BAR); Cartojan 1974, I, 332.

[19] The theory of the nine celestial orders, described by Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite in the 5th century ("On the Celestial Hierarchy", 6.7), had a major influence on the Byzantine theology and iconography. However, while the angelic categories were largely accepted, cults by individual names were not encouraged, with the notable exception of Archangel Michael. In the Byzantine holy services dedicated to the archangels were named only Michael and Gabriel. Also Raphael was considered canonical, due to his apparition in the Book of Tobias. Uriel, found in the apocryphal Book of Enoch, was tolerated, but never mentioned within offices. Archangels Michael, Gabriel, Raphael and Uriel were depicted with their names inscribed in the mid-12th-century dome mosaics (between 1146 and 1151) in Santa Maria dell'Ammiraglio (Martorana) and in the dome of the Palatine Chapel in Palermo (1160–1170); Demus 1950, fig. 13, 46. Uriel appears later in the Virgin Nativity cathedral of the St. Ferapont Belozero in Russia (1502), painted by master Dionisy and his sons.

[20] They are also found, for instance, in the monastery of our Lady in the Matka Canyon near Skopje, painted in 1496–1497; Dimitrova *et alii* 2011, 183–200 and the illustrations on the pages 194 and 197.

writings about angels circulated at the popular level, as evidenced by the vulgarized or corrupted forms of the names of the archangels. It cannot be excluded also a Bogomil reminiscence, being known the veneration of the Bogomils for archangels[21]. During the rule of Tsar Ivan Alexander, the Bogomilism had a vigorous return in the northern and central parts of the Bulgarian empire, however reshaped by the diverse provincial specificities[22], the many contacts, compromises and finally by a formal, external conformity to the Orthodox Church[23]. Also monks from Tarnovo, Thessalonike and Mount Athos became influenced by the Bogomilic ideas and literature, as denounced the orations of Saint Theodosius of Tarnovo at the First anti-heretical Council of Tsar Ivan Alexander (c. 1350) and the Life of Saint Theodosius written by Patriach Callistus I[24]. Bogomilism was condemned again at the Second Bulgarian Council in Tarnovo (c. 1360)[25]. The still alive influence of the Bogomilic angelology by the end of the 14th century and the beginning of the next can be glimpsed in the suggestive answers on the controversy of the veneration of angels given in a letter by Patriarch Euthymius of Tarnovo to Nicodemus the abbot of Tismana in Wallachia[26]. Saint Symeon of Thessalonica still fought the Bogomilic deviations in the first decades of the 15th century (before 1429)[27].

The image of heaven is missing from the composition in the Dintr-un Lemn icon, probably as a consequence of the icon's specific function within the office of the Meatfare Sunday, which has as central motif the repentance and remembrance of the future judgment. In the hell area, only groups of churchmen were represented – hierarchs and monks. The inscriptions mention "Arius" and "priests", characters traditionally present in Last Judgment scenes. "The Antichrist" appears held by Hades in his arms, although the latter was usually displayed holding Judas[28]. The two heads of the Leviathan devour two human souls, represented as little children.

The representation of Christ on throne has as distant prototype the composition of the Last Judgment at Dečani Monastery (fig. 3), and not the usual Byzantine formulas in which Christ appeared in a mandorla, sitting on the rainbow. The hand of God weighing the souls – and not the archangel, as in the Byzantine depictions of the 11th–14th centuries – appeared at Bogorodica Ljeviška in Prizren (1307–1313) and became widespread throughout the 15th century[29]. The faces of

[21] In the Life of St. Gerardus of Sagredo (980–1046), the Bishop of Morisena/Csanád (present-day Cenad in Timiş), was recorded that the Bogomils in the kingdom of Achtum, called in text "Bulgarians", venerated Archangel Uriel and worn amulets with his name, whom they invoked in magic rituals (Ivánka 1955).

[22] Lavrin 1929, 278; Obolensky 1948, 250–262; Theodorescu 1974, 243–248.

[23] Lavrin 1929, 279–280.

[24] Petkov 2008, 287–314.

[25] See the Bulgarian Canon Law miscellanies of the 14th cent.; Tsibranska-Kostova 2014.

[26] Kałużniacki 1901, 209–214 [first Romanian edition: Sfântul Eftimie, 13–44]. For the influences of the Bogomilism in the Romanian culture, see Cartojan 1974, I, 39–87; Panaitescu 2000, 321–323.

[27] Hamilton, Hamilton 1998, 282–287.

[28] Garidis 1985, 63.

[29] The hand of God is found also in the Russian mural paintings (Vladimir, 1408) and icons in the 15th century; Himka 2009, 46–47.

demons are yet anthropomorphic, following the Byzantine tradition, and not zoomorphic as in the later trend emerged in the first decades of the 16th century[30].

The Archangel Michael supports his feet on a cushion – an aulic detail extracted from the Palaeologan repertoire, not usually found in his representations in the Last Judgment. The horizon of the upper half of the composition is much lowered to obtain the effect of monumentality, solution that is a characteristic of the artistic traditions prior to the 15th century. Contrariwise, in the 16th century Cretan painting, the horizon began to be much lifted, to serve developing rich narrative compositions. The faces' skin is not sallow like in the 16th-century paintings, but pink and bright, although the figures are rather stereotype and the flesh has a harsh modelling. The eyebrow arches pronouncedly contoured, the angled nose root and the sharp shadows under the eyes, together with the rigid folds of the garments denote the provincial decadence of the Palaiologan traditions whose features are found in the 15th century Epirus and Macedonia. However, while the faces in the upper composition look clumsy and stereotype, those in the lower part are finely drawn, reminding the Palaeologan miniature (fig. 4). It is possible that two different hands worked on the panel, but the general impression regarding the author(s) is of a poor skilfulness, or more likely of a lack of proper training. The red cinnabar background and the nimbi of different colours also recall the Macedonian painting features of the 14th–15th centuries.

The icon was painted on the reverse with a Passion-type representation of the Virgin and Child, apparently by a different hand from that of the Judgment. At the top, two half-length angels, named Archangels Michael and Gabriel in inscriptions (see the *Addendum*, no. 2), flank the Mother of God, with Gabriel at the right holding a bowl with the instruments of Passion – the Cross and a spear. On both the lateral sides are represented apostles[31]: at left, Peter, Luke, Mark, and Andrew, and at right, Paul, Matthew, John, Thomas, and Simon. The processional icons of Theotokos for the period of the Great Lent – the Sunday of Orthodoxy and the Akathist Saturday – are very common in the 14th and 15th centuries (the pictorial representations of the last stanza of the Akathist Hymn usually displayed such icons in processions). Sometimes, they bear on the reverse Crucifixion or Jesus in the Tomb scenes[32]. Here, the other side being already painted, a Passion-type variant of Hodegetria framed by apostles was selected to combine the two subjects which were usually depicted on each side. In the rest of the year, the icon was probably put on display in the iconostasis, with the Judgment side visible in the altar[33].

[30] One of the first such representations is found at St. Nicholas Anapafsas, Meteora (1527), painted by Theophanes the Cretan; Garidis 1985, 38–39.

[31] Not prophets, as were mistakenly identified by Metropolitan Neophytos and I. D. Ştefănescu.

[32] Vocotopoulos 1998, 304–306. See a resume and bibliography of the subject at Tomić-Djurić 2012, 304–307; Another suggestion on the possible liturgical source and use of this kind of bilateral icons is given by Fr. Maximos Constas, *Painting and Poetry in the Middle Byzantine Period: A Bilateral Icon from Kastoria and the Stavrotheotokia of Joseph the Hymnographer*, forthcoming in Gerstel 2016.

[33] For the tendency of moralising the altar iconography destined for the priests, in the Late Byzantine period, see Gerstel 2006, 155.

The iconographer chose a type of Hodegetria in which the Virgin turns her head and gaze to the Child, who responds by turning and blessing her. It characterizes some old icons of the Athonite monasteries such as the Portaitissa at Iveron, dated to late 10th – early 11th century[34] (fig. 5), the Bematarissa (10th century, heavily repainted; the subsequent copies display its original iconography)[35] and a series of 13th century icons of the Virgin Mary at Vatopaidi[36], especially one with a posture similar to the icon in Dintr-un Lemn, and with large dimensions, of 128 cm/ 91 cm[37] (fig. 6). The Peribleptos type, developed in the Ohrid area during the 13th and 14th centuries, is also characterized by a slight turn of the head of Mother of God towards her Infant Christ, but her gaze remains pointed forwards, while the Child is blessing the viewer[38]. The Virgin's gaze focused on her Child's eyes as in initiating a conversation characterizes also the Dexiokratousa[39], a Hodegetria who holds Jesus on her right hand, variant most popular in the 13th century[40] and in the first decades of the next (Virgin ἡ χώρα των ἀχώρητον at Chora).

The first preserved examples of Hodegetria with apostles are a double-sided Cypriot icon with Virgin and Crucifixion dated to the late 14th to early 15th century, found today at the Patriarchate of Jerusalem[41], and a Hodegetria of the early 15th century, preserved in the Pantocrator Monastery on Mount Athos (fig. 7)[42]. Also the Portaitissa icon received in the early 16th century from Ambrosi, a Georgian nobleman of royal descent, a silver cloth with busts of apostles on the lateral sides[43].

The earliest representation of the Virgin of the Passion iconographic type is found in the late 12th century murals at Lagoudera (Cyprus). Also several 13th-14th-centuries Serbian and North-Greek mural examples were preserved (Žiča, Latomou, Konče, Markov), but the first portable icons of this kind date from the 15th century at the earliest: an icon at Sinai (early 15th century)[44] and the icon of Mother of God φοβεράς προστασίας ("Dreaded Protection") at Koutloumousiou, likely of the mid-15th century[45]. A definitive type will be fixed in the second half of the 15th century by Andreas Ritzos[46], in which it is reiterated the iconography of the Φοβεράς προστασίας: the Child turns his gaze away from his Mother to the rear, towards a flying angel who shows him the Cross and the nails, while another angel at the right of the Virgin holds a jar (of sour wine?) containing the lance and the reed.

[34] Vocotopoulos 1996; Chryssochoidis 2005, 133–142.
[35] Tsigaridas, Papadimitriou 2007, 1–7, fig. 2–10.
[36] Tsigaridas 2000, 135–137, 143, fig. 16, 18, 30.
[37] Tsigaridas 2000, 135–136 and fig. 16.
[38] Tatić-Djurić 1969, 335–354. See also Tsigaridas 2000, 145 and fig. 30.
[39] For a general survey of this type, see Chatzidakis 2005, 338 (with bibliography).
[40] Tsigaridas 2000, fig. 15 (Chilandar), 38 (Thessaloniki); Chatzidakis 2005, 339 (Cyprus).
[41] Vocotopoulos 1998, 297–300, fig. 4.
[42] Papamastorakis 1998, 86, 88, fig. 39.
[43] Skhirtladze 2005, 148–219.
[44] Milliner 2011, 91–92 and fig. 27.
[45] Milliner 2011, 93 and fig. 31.
[46] Chatzidakis 1982, 311.

However, several variations continue to coexist throughout the 15th–16th centuries. Symptomatic are the icons preserved in Romania: a late 15th century Andreas Ritzos' type of Cretan school at Şcheii Braşovului[47]; an icon at Prislop which is a classical Hodegetria with two small-scaled angels holding the Passion instruments – a probable Wallachian work, dated largely in the 16th century[48]; and the Glykophilousa at Snagov, with an angel holding the Cross and the two spears, a work attributed to the painter Dobromir the Younger and dated between 1563–1565[49]. In a Hodegetria icon in Ostrov Hermitage, worked most probably after mid-16th century[50] but repainted heavily in 1701–1702 and 1795, the Infant Christ himself holds a small vessel with the Passion instruments.

Also particular in the Dintr-un Lemn icon is a vestment detail: the neckline of the Virgin's tunic is not single-pieced, as in the classical models, but ends in two bordered parts reunited. Similar necklines can be seen in the 13th century Hodegetria icon at Vatopaidi (fig. 6), at the Virgin Episkepsis icon at Anargyroi Saints Church in Ohrid (early 14th century)[51], in an icon of Theotokos attributed to either Eutychios or Michael Astrapas, at the Museum of Macedonia in Skopje (1312–1318)[52] and, subsequently, in two icons of Virgin Mary on throne painted by monk Longin for Lomnica (1577–1578) and Dečani (late 16th century) monasteries[53].

The fold of the garment that falls over the left palm of the Virgin was completed recently by the restorer, who opted for a debatable, radical visual reintegration of some of the damaged areas (fig. 8). This detail was characteristic for the 13th century icons, when the drawing style of the drapes was extremely fluid – see, for example, the mosaic icon of the Virgin Episkepsis in the Byzantine Museum of Athens[54] or the Hodegetria in full length in the Byzantine Museum of Kastoria[55]. However, before the restoration, the zone in question was severely damaged (fig. 1) and no detail seemed to indicate the existence of a garment fold originally in that location.

The Virgin bears on her right forearm an inscription which is poorly preserved. Traditionally, such letterings reproduced the verse of Psalm 44, 15 (45, 13): "her gown is interwoven with gold". This discreetly evocative iconographic element, inspired by hymnography and probably with Constantinopolitan origins, made a career in the 14th–15th-centuries Macedonian Pelagonitissa icons[56]. Thessaloniki

[47] Porumb 1981, 69–70, fig. 78, 81, 82.

[48] Porumb 1998, 230; Dumitran, Hegedüs, Rus 2011, 127–128, fig. 102. The 12 prophets on the lateral sides were added in 1751–1752.

[49] Efremov 2002, 44–46, fig. 39.

[50] Sabados 2013, 37, 41, fig. 2.

[51] Miljković-Pepek 1971; Georgievski 1999, 57–58, cat. 21.

[52] Miljković-Pepek 1967.

[53] Babić, Chatzidakis 1982, 348, 350.

[54] Evans 2004, 210, fig. 7.2.

[55] Tsigaridas 2000, fig. 7.

[56] Babić 1991.

had an important role in spreading this element in the Balkans[57] and incidentally on Mount Athos, as proves the 15th century icon in Pantocrator Monastery, where the inscription was treated as a pseudo-Kufic script (fig. 7).

Stylistically, the Theotokos icon is characterized by loyalty to the Palaeologan canon, discernable in the graceful posture and drawing of the Virgin's head. However, the style has particular manneristic features which are difficult to attribute to a certain artistic circle. The linear and fluid manner of working and the suggestion of realism and profound emotion, which previously had been considered as evoking 13th century Italian influences[58], might be due to using as models Athonite icons of the late Comnenian to early Palaeologan period.

Some deformities can be seen at the nimbi, which were drawn without a compass, and also an hesitation is evident in designing the composition, which resulted in the central scene overlapping partially the lateral registers of the apostles – the left containing four busts, and the right five. It seems that the author was not possessing a superior studio discipline and did not establish his composition from the beginning, being forced to adapt it unskilfully along the way.

Mixed Greek and Slavic name forms were used for the apostles on the Virgin's icon, as Лꙋкаѕ, Маркоѕ, but also Маѳеи and Андреи, which demonstrate the Balkan Slavic ethnicity of the painter. The Balkan Slavs were not spread in the Middle Ages only in Bulgaria, Serbia, Western and Eastern Macedonia, but also in Southern Macedonia (the Greek Macedonia), where "Bulgarians" were at times attested[59]. However, the poor Greek knowledge of the author of the icon makes his localization in the Greek Macedonia doubtful.

Another particularity of language consists in the use of Bulgarian form рѣêà (hand) in the Last Judgment icon. The word evolved during the late Middle Ages from Old Church Slavonic ржка[60], like also the Serbian form рꙋка, and Macedonian рака. Accordingly, the paleographer Christo Andreev considers the inscriptions as Bulgarian or West-Bulgarian (as the presence of the name form Иован seems to indicate), dating from the 15th century at the earliest.

The inscriptions and the iconographic particularities of both the Last Judgment and the Virgin of the Passion point to Western Bulgaria or its Macedonian borders as the origin of both the painters of the double-sided icon. According to inscriptions, iconography and style, the Last Judgment scene is most likely a late 14th or an early 15th century work, and for the icon of the Virgin a period of up to the mid-15th century can be considered[61].

[57] A. Tourta, in Evans 2004, 162–163.

[58] Efremov 2002, 29.

[59] *Documenta Veneta*, 150, 188.

[60] Miklosich 1866, 815, *s.v.* "ржка".

[61] The arguments of style invoked by Efremov 2002, 28–29 cannot be easily refuted in favour of a later dating (like the one proposed by I. D. Ştefănescu), as long as the icon does not have any „post-Byzantine" features, admitting that the provinces were usually subjected to inertia in what concerns innovation and style.

Regarding the use of Athonite models and the processional use of the icon, it can be assumed that both the painters worked a command for a monastic establishment, since in the Balkans, after the Ottoman conquest, the public processions in towns and villages became drastically restricted[62] and such icons could not be carried anymore in corteges. Moreover, the iconography of both the icons suggests that the painters were probably monks. As far as the use of Athonite iconographic models is concerned, although Mount Athos at that time was not yet a common destination for pilgrimage, it was largely frequented by Balkan monks[63]. During the 14th century, the Athonite wonderworking icons started to become an attraction for pilgrims and replicas of them began to appear by the same time[64]. Also the heterodox particularities of the Last Judgment composition plead for a monastic destination of the icon, considering that most of the accusations of "Bogomilism" in the 14th century usually referred to "monastic heresies", excesses and deviations practiced by monks[65].

The icon must have been produced in a rural milieu, which would explain the writing mistakes and the corrupt or idiomatic name forms in the Last Judgment composition. It possibly belonged to a Bulgarian monastic community which migrated during the late 15th to the mid 16th century to Oltenia, around Râmnicu Vâlcea, bringing with it the icon[66].

Addendum

1. The Last Judgment:
<Archangel> Michael: **Михъль**
Mother of God: [**МИР**] **Ѳꙋ**
<Archangel> Salathiel (?): **Ѧ҃ѳалан/ль**
Jesus Christ: **ІС ХС**
<Archangel> Gabriel: **Гаврилъ**
<Archangel> Raphael: **Рафилы**

[62] According to the Pact of Umar, used later by the Porte for regulating the status of non-Muslims in the Ottoman empire, Christians could retain their own customary practices according to their traditios, but no public religious processions, such as those traditionally held at Easter, were to be allowed; Masters 2001, 21–23. An exception made the religious fairs and the marriages; Giakoumis 2006, 76–112.

[63] Brouskari, Skoulas 2008, 101–103.

[64] Weyl-Carr 2002, 87, 89–90; see also Brouskari, Skoulas 2008, cat. 3, p. 205.

[65] Wolski 2014, 233–241.

[66] For this Bulgarian migration phenomenon in Wallachia in the 14th–15th centuries, see; Sacerdoţeanu 1961, 322 (Râmnicu Vâlcea); Rădvan 2004, 151–152, 220, 270 (Câmpulung). Such migrations of Bulgarians, carriers of Bogomilic reminiscences, to the northern bank of Danube began as early as the 11th century and were prolonged up to the 16th (Balotă 1964; Cantacuzino 1979) and even the early 18th century (Sacerdoţeanu 1961, 324).

St. John the Baptist: сты Иован[67]

<Archangel> Uriel: Ѹриль

"The Hand of God weighs the justice and the injustice": ръка/ господьнѣ /къпнѣть правдѧ и крнв[ь]дѧ

"The archangel stabs < the devil> so the injustice shall not weigh": арьхангель /пробадає / дане влѣче / неправьда

"The just are taken <away from> the devils": праве / дниѧ вь / ꙁемѧть / д[ѣ] воли

"<Archangel> Gabriel blows the trump [...]": Гавриль трьби/ ньмреинданиꙁи /колєда[68]

"The rising of the dead": вьсъкьрьсени / мьрь / твъ /мь

"The injustice of the sinners <is> carried by the devils": неправьда и грѣшнихь носѧ /дьѣволи

"Priests"[69]: попове

"Arius": Арїѣ

The Leviathan: [к]ить

"Antichrist": [ан]диχристь

"....":п[...]ѧть/ сѧ[...]и вьꙁаньсь / сл[...]врѧнчьвцѣ/ [...]имѹ[...][70]

2. Virgin of the Passion with Child:

Archangel Michael: [...]ар[...]М[...]; [ὁ] ἀρ[χ]<άγγελος> Μ[ιχαήλ]

Mother of God: МИ[Р] Θ[ѹ]; Μή<τη>[ρ] Θ<εο>[ῦ]

Archangel Gabriel: о арχ [...]Г[...]; ὁ ἀρχ<άγγελος> Γ[αβριήλ]

Jesus Christ; the Being: IC XC, О ѠN; Ἰ<ησοῦ>ς Χ<ριστό>ς, ὁ ὢν

Apostles, right raw: Peter, [...]; Luke, Лѹ/кас; Mark, Мракос[71]; Andrew, А[н]/ дреи; left raw: Paul, [...]; Matthew, Ма/ѳеи; John, Іωан>; Thomas (?), Θο[72][...]; Simon, С[...]/мо[...]

Upon the Mother of God's right forearm: [...]вар[...]дар[73]

[67] West-Bulgarian form for John / Іωан.

[68] Unintelligible text. The last word may be колєда, meaning Christmas carol and, originally, beginning.

[69] The inscription is above a group of hierarchs wearing phelonia and mitres.

[70] Unintelligible text (rewritten?).

[71] Sic; letter inversion.

[72] Rewritten: uî.

[73] The letter â was transformed during the 2003–2008 restoration into a cross. Constantin Bălan read: "†ар[...]адтр"; Bălan 2005, 424, no. 575. He considered it to be the painter's signature to which referred Metropolitan Neophytos. However, the latter mentioned that the inscription was found "below the right hand of Theotokos (...) written with large letters" (Neofit, 91). Unfortunately, that area today is a large lacuna (see fig. 1 and 8).

Fig. 1. Virgin of the Passion with Child, Dintr-un Lemn Monastery (during restoration).

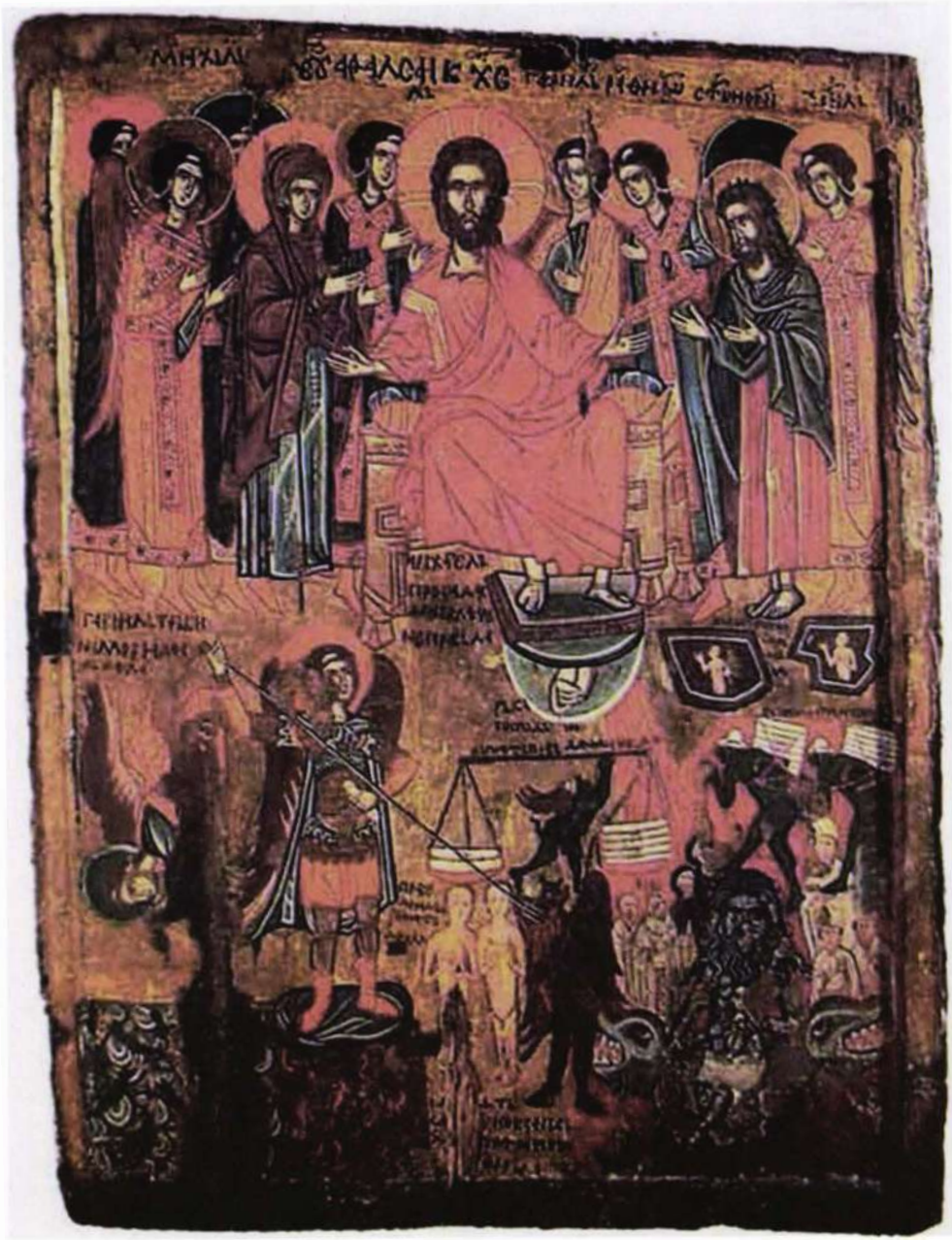

Fig. 2. Last Judgment, Dintr-un Lemn Monastery

Fig. 3. Last Judgment (detail), Dečani Monastery (1335–1350).

Fig. 4. Last Judgment (detail), Dintr-un Lemn Monastery.

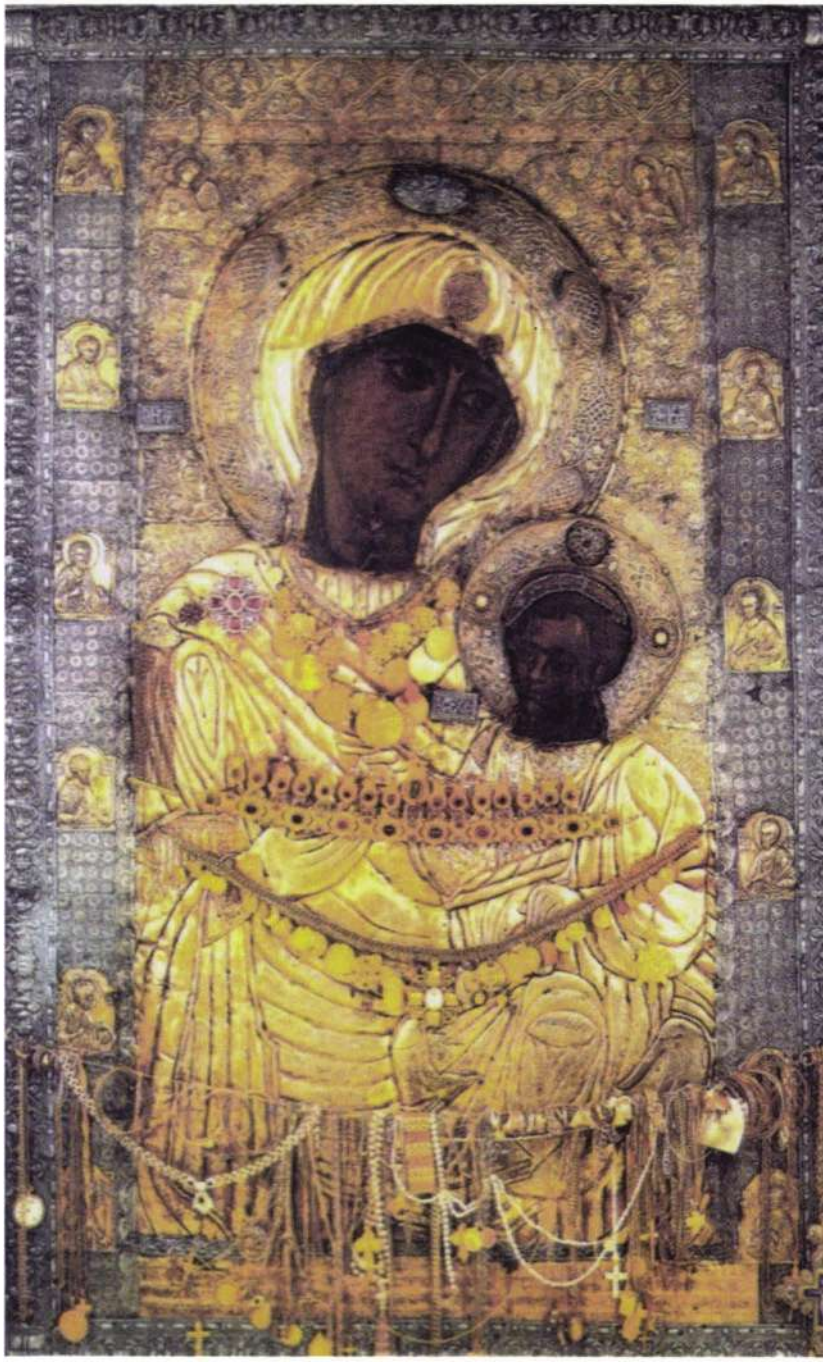

Fig. 5. Virgin Portaitissa, Iveron Monastery (late 10th – early 11th century).

Fig. 6. Virgin Hodegetria with Child, Vatopedi Monastery (second half of the 13th century).

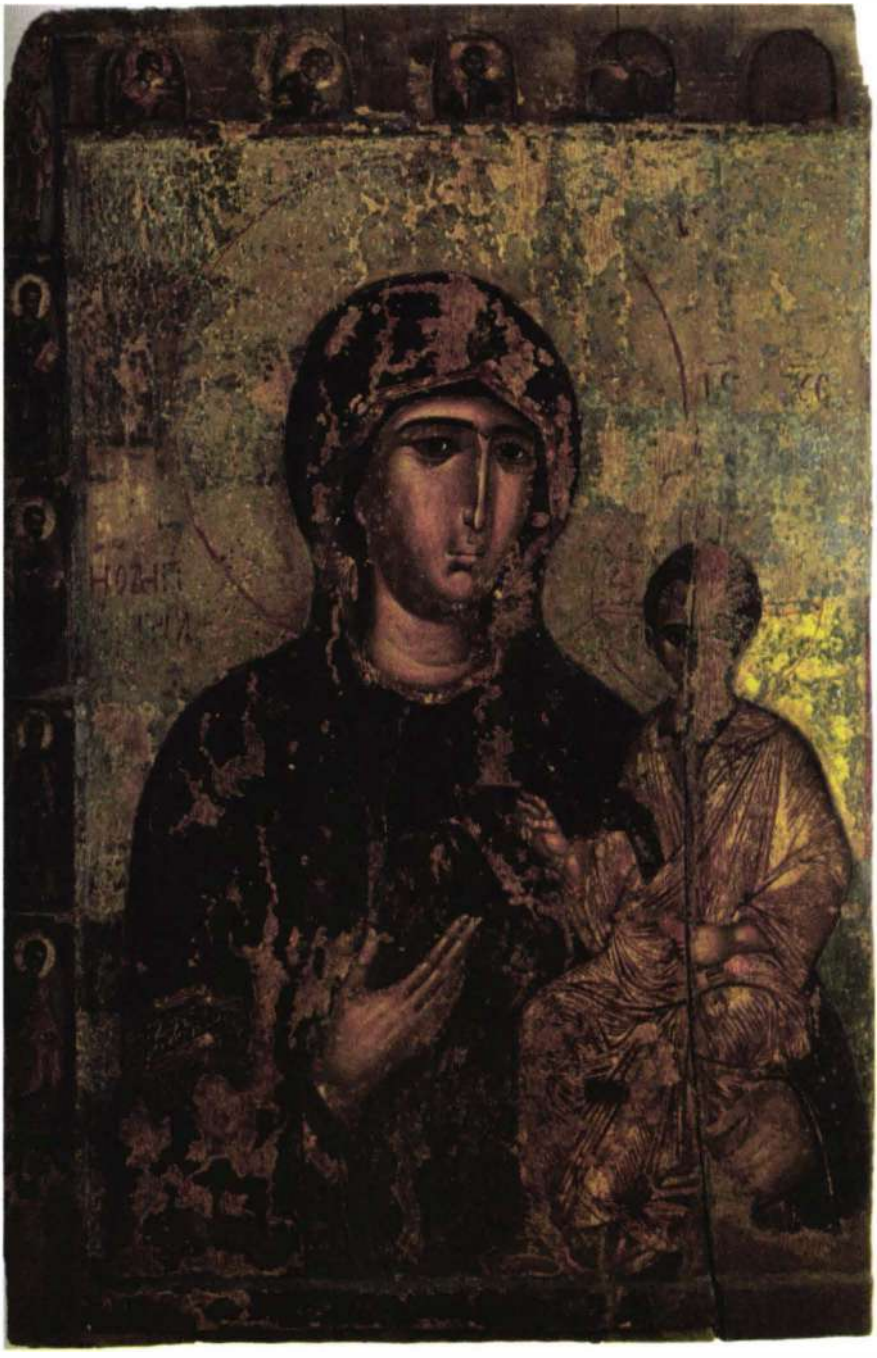

Fig. 7. Virgin Hodegetria with Child, Pantocrator Monastery, Mount Athos (early 15th century).

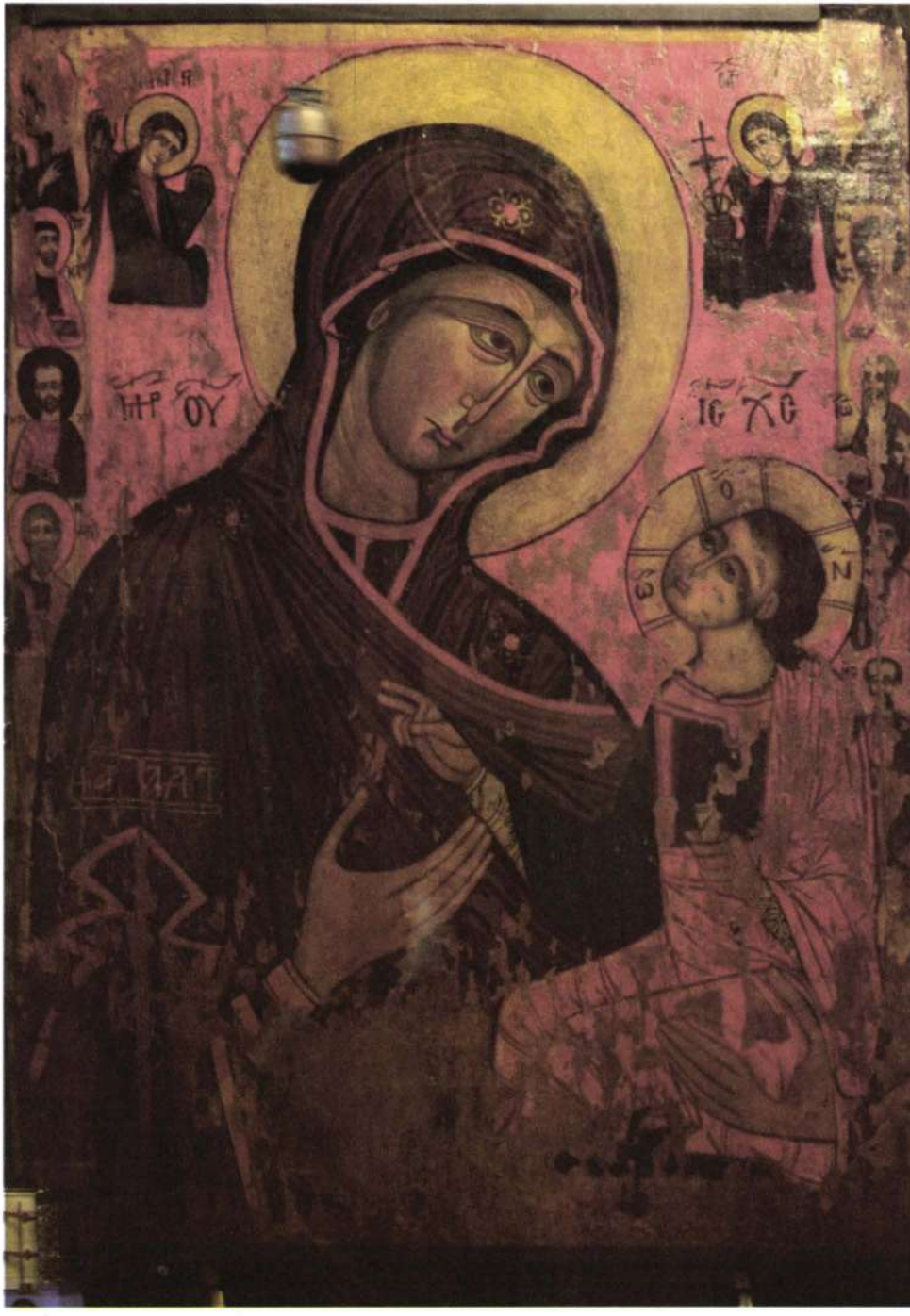

Fig. 8. Virgin of the Passion with Child, Dintr-un Lemn Monastery (after restoration).

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INFORMATIONS INÉDITES ET NOUVELLES INTERPRÉTATIONS AU SUJET DES ÉGLISES MARINA ET VALEA DE CÂMPULUNG MUSCEL*

ŞTEFAN IONESCU-BERECHET

Tel que Fl. Mîrţu remarquait en 1984[2], "parmi les nombreux monuments de Câmpulung Muscel, peu d'entre eux ont fait l'objet de tant de controverses historiographiques visant une datation judicieuse comme l'a fait l'église Marina, du Nord de la ville"[3]. A son avis, pour aborder cette question d'une manière juste, il faut nécessairement tenir compte d'un détail significatif et assez surprenant: "l'existence d'un autre monument de culte, Valea, situé vis à vis de Marina (à 100m environ), les entrées dans les enceintes respectives n'étant séparées que par l'actuelle rue Negru Vodă, l'axe longitudinal EO du monument Marina se trouvant dans l'axe longitudinal de l'église disparue Valea"[4] (fig. 1).

La susdite controverse historiographique fut nourrie également par l'absence des sources historiques de confiance qui mentionnent les débuts de l'église Marina. Tandis que l'inscription votive de 1696 nous dit seulement que l'église était "depuis longtemps abandonnée"[5], en échange, le recensement ecclésiastique du département Muscel, de 1840[6], et un inventaire des biens de l'église, de 1902[7], précisent clairement que l'on ne connaît pas l'année de fondation du monument. Un sondage archéologique effectué dans le jardin de l'église en 1963 vient suppléer à l'absence des données fournies par les sources écrites. L'enregistrement lapidaire des fouilles nous renseigne qu'on y découvrit des tombeaux des XVIe–XVIIe siècles et d'amples vestiges d'habitation datant du XVe siècle[8].

* Cette étude représente le texte de la communication présentée par le soussigné le 29 mars 2016 à l'Institut d'Etudes Sud-Est Européennes.

[2] Directeur du Musée Câmpulung entre 1959–1970.

[3] Mîrţu, Fl. 1984, p. 19.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 20.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 20.

[5] *Inscr. Muscel*, no. V 241, f. 617 (je veux remercier ici M. Gh. Lazăr pour la permission généreusement accordée de pouvoir consulter le manuscrit). Du syntagme utilisé ici, on peut déduire un intervalle de quelques décennies pendant lesquelles l'église s'est trouvée en ruines, ce qui signifie que, selon l'inscription votive, elle existait à coup sûr au XVIe siècle.

[6] Răuţescu, I. 1965, p. 878.

[7] MCIP DC 1902, f. 2v.

[8] Mîrţu, Fl. 1984, p. 19.

L'absence des témoignages documentaires allait être toutefois suppléée par la cristallisation d'une tradition[9], antérieure au XIXe siècle, qui situe les origines de cette église en 1215. Le premier auteur qui note cette tradition et l'introduit dans le circuit de l'historiographie roumaine est le renommé combattant de 1848 et directeur des Archives de l'Etat, C. D. Aricescu, originaire de Câmpulung. Dans son *Histoire de Câmpulung*, la première monographie de la ville, parue en 1855–1856, il mentionne "la grande ancienneté de l'église Marina, du quartier Schei de Câmpulung (1215)"[10]. En se prévalant de l'ancienneté supposée de ce quartier, Aricescu formule même une hypothèse personnelle selon laquelle Marina serait antérieure à la date traditionnelle, ayant été "bâtie entre 1100–1200 et réparée en 1215, 1677, 1707"[11].

Trois décennies plus tard, en 1885, le bien connu écrivain et folkloriste Petre Ispirescu reproduit le témoignage oral du prêtre Nicolae Diaconescu de Marina, qui, à partir du témoignage de prêtres des générations antérieures, soutenait que, dans le sanctuaire, au-dessous de la fenêtre, se trouve "une pierre crépie par ceux qui ont réparé l'église", sur laquelle était gravée "sa date ancienne 6723, c'est-à-dire 1215"[12]. C'est à ce vestige lapidaire que se réfère probablement C. Esarcu aussi, qui, dans une lettre adressée la même année au ministre des Cultes D. Sturza, affirme: "Aujourd'hui même, un prêtre âgé nous a assurés, tant moi que D. Densuşianu, qu'à l'église de Ste. Marina il y avait une inscription votive portant la date de 1215"[13]. Le témoignage est confirmé par Gr. Tocilescu aussi, qui dans son valeureux rapport de 1889 adressé au Ministère de l'Instruction Publique et des Cultes, portant sur les monuments de Câmpulung, précise que l'inscription votive "avec l'a. 1215 (!), dont parle D. Esarcu, n'existe plus aujourd'hui", disparaissant "comme tant d'autres, ces derniers temps"[14]. Les informations du rapport de Tocilescu sont reprises dans l'inventaire de la CMI de 1893, qui, en s'appuyant probablement sur l'adresse du P. N. Diaconescu au Ministère des Cultes, du mois de Mai de la même année, considère 1215 comme année de fondation de Marina, notant en même temps l'hypothèse d'Aricescu aussi (l'an 1100), mais l'attribuant à la tradition locale[15].

[9] Un facteur déterminant dans la cristallisation de cette tradition l'a constitué sans doute la renommée de cette petite église dans le paysage du Câmpulung médiéval. En faveur de cet argument plaide un intéressant récit du missionnaire franciscain Blasius Kleiner, qui, visitant la ville vers 1764, mentionne la présence dans ce lieu de culte d'une icône miraculeuse de Sainte Marina, qui guérissait l'épilepsie et jouissait d'une grande vénération parmi les habitants de la ville. Il mentionne également une étrange tradition locale, selon laquelle sur l'emplacement où allait être bâtie l'église aurait prêché l'Apôtre Paul (Georgescu, G. 2000, p. 256).

[10] Aricescu, C.D. 2007, p. 65.

[11] *Ibid.*, p. 279.

[12] Ispirescu, P. 1988. p. 719–720.

[13] Dans Tatomir, V. 1970, p. 73.

[14] Dans Dumitrescu, M. 1972. p. 61–62.

[15] CMI 1893, f. 6v–7.

La même adresse de P. Diaconescu est mentionnée dans un historique de l'église rédigé en 1939 par le curé d'alors, le P.N. Bănățeanu, qui ajoute le témoignage du chantre Nae Spătăreanu : celui-ci soutenait "avoir vu, lors d'une réparation du toit, une poutre dans le grenier de l'église qui avait gravée la date de 1215". De même, le P. Bănățeanu note une intéressante découverte faite lors des amples travaux de restauration entrepris en 1898, quand "seulement les têtes des saints furent trouvées au-dessus du sol, le reste des saints peints étant au-dessous du plancher", ce qui, à son avis, pourrait attester l'ancienneté de l'église[16]. Cette découverte venait confirmer l'observation faite auparavant par Aricescu, qui mentionnait "l'enfouissement de l'église de presque deux toises dans le sol", comme une preuve destinée à soutenir son ancienneté[17].

Cependant, une datation de l'église Marina si éloignée dans le temps est réfutée par plusieurs chercheurs modernes, qui se sont intéressés à cette question. Tocilescu lui-même, dans son rapport de 1889, se montre sceptique quant à l'hypothèse que l'église Marina serait plus ancienne que le monastère Negru Vodă, invoquant le fait qu'il n'y a aucune preuve à ce sens[18]. Cette prétendue antériorité chronologique est rejetée avec encore plus de fermeté par Olga Greceanu, qui la met au compte d'une tradition locale qui ne saurait être acceptée[19].

Dans sa volumineuse monographie consacrée à la ville de Câmpulung et parue en 1943, le P.I. Răuțescu rejette fermement la datation proposée par Aricescu, considérant que la ville n'existait pas au XIIe siècle, mais admettant qu'après le monastère de Negru Vodă daté au XIVe siècle, c'est l'église Marina qui doit être la plus ancienne, en la datant hypothétiquement au XVe siècle. Il met en relation les deux lieux de culte, considérant qu'ils représentent les deux pôles (Nord-Sud), autour desquels s'était coagulée la vie urbaine du Câmpulung médiéval[20]. La

[16] La découverte de 1898 est mentionnée par le P. Răuțescu aussi, dans sa monographie (Răuțescu I. 2009, p. 285).

[17] Aricescu, C. D. 1854, f. 1v. L'observation fut faite par Ispirescu aussi, qui ajoute que "ceux qui l'ont réparée ont rempli l'église de terre jusqu'à l'amener devant le lieu du dehors" (Ispirescu, P. 1988, p. 719–720). Fl. Mârțu rejette la déduction de l'ancienneté de l'église à partir de la différence de niveau intérieur-extérieur, déduction assumée par le P. Răuțescu aussi, et offre une explication fournie par l'arch. Al. Mulțescu: "le terrain étant en pente descendante près de la partie ouest de l'église, cela a favorisé un écoulement des eaux pluviales entraînant d'importants dépôts de terre tout autour" (Mîrțu, Fl. 1984, p. 19). Mais il n'est pas précisé quel aurait pu être l'intervalle de temps pendant lequel le phénomène puisse acquérir l'ampleur notée par les sources.

[18] Dans Dumitrescu, M. 1972, p. 62.

[19] Greceanu, O. 2012, p. 236.

[20] Răuțescu I. 2009, p. 284–5. Dans *Istoria Câmpulungului*, Aricescu se réfère lui aussi à deux pôles de la ville, mais soutient une configuration différente de ceux-ci: "les quartiers les plus peuplés furent Românii et Schei, Sânt Georgiu et Marina, Valea et Fundenii, autour desquels se groupaient les maisons des habitants comme les enfants autour d'un aieul" (Aricescu, C.D. 2007, p. 123). La corrélation des églises Sf. Gheorghe-Marina opérée par Aricescu est très intéressante, vu quelques aspects: du point de vue symbolique-religieux, on peut voir en Sainte Marina le pendant féminin de Saint Georges, car selon les sources hagiographiques, les deux martyrs triomphent d'un dragon; Ste. Marina est représentée en fresque sur la façade Nord de l'église Sf. Gheorghe, à côté d'autres scènes

datation proposée par Răuţescu est adoptée initialement par Fl. Mîrţu aussi, mais, après le sondage archéologique qu'il fit en 1963 dans l'enceinte du saint lieu, il se reprend et revient sur la date, étant convaincu que la fondation de l'église doit être placée au XVIe siècle[21]. Une datation tardive et évidemment confuse se trouve dans le valeureux répertoire bibliographique de N. Stoicescu, selon lequel Marina aurait été érigée au XVIIe siècle et rénovée par Barbu Giurgiuveanu en 1796 (sic!)[22].

Les contributions les plus valeureuses et les plus consistantes au sujet de l'histoire de l'église Marina, mais représentant des approches différentes et aboutissant à des conclusions divergentes, se retrouvent dans deux études publiées au début des années 1980 dans *Revista de istorie a Muzeului Câmpulung*. En 1982, Eugenia Greceanu et les époux Alexandru et Maria Mulţescu démarrent une tentative de dater le monument à partir d'une analyse typologique détaillée de son architecture ; ils montrent que tant la forme du plan (église salle et abside demi-circulaire), que le système de construction (pierre brute alternant avec la pierre polie aux angles de la nef et aux cadres des creux) dénotent une influence transylvaine incontestable (Zarand et Ţara Haţegului), qui ne contredit pas la datation proposée par le P. Răuţescu, au XVe siècle, mais justifie aussi la datation au XIIIe siècle, selon la tradition locale[23].

Une telle tentative d'accréditer la datation traditionnelle de Marina par une analyse typologique architecturale a déterminé une réplique ferme de la part de Fl. Mîrţu, qui, dans une étude de 1984, lui oppose une perspective archéologique. Après avoir repoussé tant la datation d'Aricescu (au XIIe siècle), en la considérant "fantaisiste et animée par son patriotisme local", que la datation proposée par Răuţescu (au XVe siècle) comme étant arbitraire et dépourvue de preuves, Mîrţu refuse aussi l'hypothèse Greceanu-Mulţescu en vertu de l'argument que "les mêmes formes architectoniques appartenant à deux monuments peuvent être distancées dans le temps, sans une coexistence chronologique de leur réalisation". Déplorant le manque d'intérêt à l'égard des informations publiées au sujet du sondage archéologique de 1963, Mîrţu passe à l'analyse et à l'interprétation de ces données. En s'appuyant sur la datation des tombeaux les plus anciens découverts à l'aide des témoins numismatiques, au XVIe siècle, et en montrant que les riches

peintes au début du XIXe siècle; il est possible que l'un des saints patrons de l'église Valea eût été justement S. Georges. De plus, du point de vue de la topographie urbaine, du type de plan, de leur proximité et de leur alignement par rapport à l'axe EO, on peut souligner la relation existante entre les deux doublets Ste. Marina-Valea et S. Gheorghe-Fundeni, trouvés en même temps en corrélation avec un troisième saint lieu, Schei, respectivement Şubeşti. De même, on peut observer d'intéressants liens généalogiques entre les *moşneni* et les clercs de la partie nord de la ville et ceux de l'extrémité sud.

[21] Cf. Pârnuţă Gh. 1974, p. 111.

[22] Stoicescu, N. 1970, p. 166. Le sommaire aperçu bibliographique offert par Stoicescu rappelle, outre le rapport de Tocilescu et la monographie de la ville rédigée par Rădulescu Codin, quelques mentions faites par N. Iorga et V. Drăghiceanu, qui viennent s'ajouter à la monographie du P. Răuţescu et à l'étude de H. Teodoru, mentionnées à la section des travaux à caractère général concernant la ville de Câmpulung.

[23] Greceanu, E., Mulţescu. Al. şi M. 1982, p. 26–39.

traces d'habitation du XVe siècle excluent l'idée de l'existence d'un lieu de culte à cette date-là, il conclut sans hésitation que les débuts de l'église Marina doivent être placés au XVIe siècle[24].

Une position nuancée adopte l'archéologue Gh. I. Cantacuzino dans une étude de synthèse relativement récente, où il présente de manière systématique l'état actuel des recherches, ajoutant également d'intéressantes observations et conclusions personnelles. Rejetant à son tour la datation d'Aricescu (XIIe–XIIIe siècles), Gh. Cantacuzino l'attribue non seulement au "patriotisme local" de l'auteur, mais aussi à une tradition conservée au long des générations. Il souligne également avec justesse que "les fouilles insuffisamment étendues et publiées de manière incomplète ne permettent toutefois pas des conclusions tranchantes, les données fournies attestant que l'église existait dans la première moitié du XVIe siècle, mais elle pourrait être bien plus ancienne, d'autant plus que l'inscription votive de 1698 la constate depuis longtemps abandonnée "[25].

Après avoir passé brièvement en revue les sources de la tradition locale et des recherches modernes et contemporaines au sujet des origines de l'église Marina, une remarque importante s'impose. Dans les études de spécialité, on fait fréquemment confusion entre la datation transmise par la tradition locale, qui indique constamment et précisément l'année 6723 (1214/1215) et la datation proposée par Aricescu, qui révèle son caractère d'hypothèse personnelle justement par l'intervalle très large et imprécis suggéré, le XIIe siècle. Si Aricescu ne peut apporter aucune preuve concrète à l'appui de son hypothèse, en échange il précise clairement la source sur laquelle il se fonde lorsqu'il mentionne l'année retenue par la tradition. Il s'agit d'une source demeurée inconnue à ceux qui ont étudié, depuis la fin du XIXe siècle, les origines de l'église Marina.

Dans un recueil inédit d'inscriptions qu'il avait recueillies en 1854 dans les églises de Câmpulung, lors de la documentation qui se trouve à la base de la monographie de la ville, Aricescu indique la source d'où provient l'année traditionnelle de Marina. C'est "un obituaire du lieu, très ancien", où, à côté de l'an 6723 (1214/5), figurent également les noms des fondateurs anciens – Stanciu et Rada, obituaire qui représentait la version renouvelée d'un obituaire antérieur, "très abîmé" et détérioré par le temps[26].

La collection d'obituaires de la région d'Arges, publiée à la fin de 2014 par l'historien Sp. Cristocea, met au jour, mais sous un titre erroné, une version de 1831 de l'ancien obituaire consulté par Aricescu. Même plus, il est possible que cet ancien exemplaire lui-même existe de nos jours encore, pouvant être identifié à l'obituaire de l'église Marina de 1815, que le P. Dudu Velicu a consulté en 1973 aux archives du Doyenné de Muscel[27].

[24] Mîrţu, Fl. 1984, p. 20.

[25] Cantacuzino, Gh. I. 2002, p. 70. Les informations contenues dans cette étude sont résumées aussi dans Cantacuzino, Gh. I. 2011, p. 26–27.

[26] Aricescu, C. D. 1854, f. 1v.

[27] Dudu Velicu, f. 161.

L'obituaire publié avec de petites omissions par Sp. Cristocea est un manuscrit entré en 1909 dans le fond des manuscrits de l'Académie Roumaine (cote 3462), par une donation faite par la Direction du Musée National d'Antiquités. La mention sur la première page – *Obituaire de l'église de Băjeşti, dép. Muscel* – apparemment hors de doute, a déterminé l'académicien G. Ştrempel à ne pas mettre en question cette attribution ; l'éditeur, à son tour, a repris sans hésiter l'identification[28]. Mais une simple analyse du manuscrit invite à la prudence. Le titre est écrit en caractères latins, de la même main qui a consigné également la donation de 1909, sur une page ajoutée ultérieurement par collage. Une analyse attentive du contenu nous révèle sans équivoque que l'obituaire a appartenu en fait à l'église Marina de Câmpulung-Muscel[29]. Absolument tous les clercs qui figurent dans l'obituaire ont servi dans les églises de la ville[30], et plus de 60% des noms des titulaires d'obituaires peuvent être identifiés dans le recensement civil de la ville, de 1838[31], bien d'entre eux se retrouvant aussi parmi les familles de *moşneni* (alleutiers) du quartier Schei-Marina de Câmpulung[32].

L'argument le plus fort qui plaide pour l'attribution correcte de l'obituaire est justement l'obituaire des fondateurs (anciens) de l'église, à la page 17. L'église de Băjeşti, chapelle de la cour seigneuriale du boyard du lieu, fut édifiée en 1666 par le *Grand Ban* Mareş Băjescu (à l'époque *Grand Vornic*), avec son épouse, dame Maria. Mais ni l'an 1666, ni les noms des fondateurs de l'église de Băjeşti ne se retrouvent dans cet obituaire. En échange, sont mentionnées les deux dates et les noms des fondateurs de l'église de la Sainte Martyre Marina de Câmpulung: l'an 6723 (1214/1215), quand, selon la tradition, Stanciu et son épouse Rada ont fondé l'église, respectivement l'an 7205–7206 (1696/1697–1697/1698), quand, selon l'inscription votive, l'église fut refaite par *jupan* Barbu Giurgiuveanu[33].

Au cœur de la dispute historiographique portant sur les origines de l'église Marina se trouve sans doute la date de **6723**, si controversée, que la plupart des chercheurs modernes ont refusée comme inauthentique à cause de son caractère extrêmement précoce. Mais, en focalisant toute leur attention sur cet aspect, les

[28] Ştrempel, G. 1987, p. 134.

[29] L'attribution correcte du manuscrit analysé a été démontrée par l'auteur de la présente communication dans l'étude: Ionescu-Berechet, Şt. 2015, p. 271–290, démonstration brièvement reprise ici.

[30] Nous citons seulement les noms des prêtres Docsache (1800–1882) et Nicolae Diaconescu († 1900), tous les deux desservants de l'église Marina, Hristea *sin* popa Stoica, desservant de l'église Bradul entre 1832–1856, du diacre Gherghina, père des prêtres Savu de l'église Valea (1770–1845 ?) et Apostol de l'église Schei (1772–?) et du logothète Gheorghe *sin* diacre Gheorghe, frère de Iorga *judeţul*, fondateur de l'église Valea en 1803.

[31] Nous avons évidemment en vue les personnes qui figurent dans l'obituaire avec leur nom patronymique, pouvant être ainsi facilement identifiées dans le recensement, avec leurs proches parents (épouse, enfants, frères, sœurs etc), qui figurent dans les deux sources.

[32] Nous pouvons évoquer ici les lignées des Fundea (*moş* 21), Malea (*moş* 14), Moloiu (*moş* 9), Patraulea (*moş* 1), Tabacu (*moş* 30) et Taină (*moş* 5), cf. La liste des *moşneni* de Câmpulung de 1846 (Răuţescu I. 2009, p. 397–399).

[33] Răuţescu, I. 1965, p. 878.

chercheurs n'ont pas accordé l'attention nécessaire à ses possibles significations. La précision et la constance dont font preuve les sources connues en indiquant la date de Marina sont absolument surprenantes, compte tenu de l'intervalle de six siècles environ qui s'est écoulé entre le moment supposé de sa fondation et la date de rédaction de ces sources. Surprenantes mais non arbitraires, car on remarque que la date traditionnelle de Marina est identique à celui du monastère Negru Vodă, mentionné par les inscriptions votives posées par Matei Basarab en 1636. Cette identité de la date de fondation ne peut être fortuite, mais atteste, à notre avis, qu'au-delà de la véridicité de la date en soi, la mémoire des habitants de Câmpulung a retenu le fait que Marina et l'église du monastère, ancienne chapelle de la Cour Princière, ont la même date de fondation, ayant été bâties en même temps.

Au-delà des dates transmises par la tradition locale, il y a d'autres éléments encore qui semblent suggérer un lien plus profond et étonnant entre le monastère et le groupe Marina-Valea. Premièrement, Sainte Marina d'Antioche de Pisidie, la patronne de l'église, est connue en Occident sous le nom de Sainte Marguerite et vénérée dans le contexte catholique-romain le 20 juillet, c'est-à-dire justement le jour de la fête orthodoxe de Saint Elie, jour où se tenait le fameux *Sbor* ou Foire de S.Elie du Câmpulung médiéval. Or, sur le plan local, le nom de Marguerite – Margareta est attribué à l'épouse de l'un des premiers voivodes du Pays Roumain de la Valachie: Negru Vodă, dans la tradition citadine[34], Basarab I, dans la tradition monastique[35]. Deuxièmement, à côté de Ste Marina et d'autres patrons encore, l'église semble avoir eu comme fête patronale *La Dormition de la Mère de Dieu* aussi, donc la même que le monastère Negru Vodă[36]. Troisièmement, on peut remarquer un rapprochement évident entre la date du 20 août, jour de la consécration de l'église de Negru Vodă en 1636 et les dates de consécration de l'église Valea, dans ses trois étapes de restauration aux XVIe–XIXe siècles, à savoir le 30 août, le 24 août et le 2 septembre. Un témoignage du milieu du XIXe siècle semble approfondir davantage le mystère. Dans ses Notes de voyage de 1859, Al.Pelimon, en parlant des églises de Câmpulung, considère dignes à mentionner surtout deux d'entre elles: le monastère édifié par Radu voivode et transformé par Matei Basarab, le principal monument de la ville en vertu de ses dimensions colossales, et "la petite église de Negru-Vodă, monument sacre par son ancienneté, pareil à un joyau qui évoque la mémoire du grand homme" fondateur du Pays Roumain de la Valachie[37]. Compte tenu de la tradition locale qui n'attribue qu'à l'église Marina la même ancienneté qu'au monastère de Câmpulung, nous

[34] Cf. au document du 20 mai 1656 concernant la propriété du *Cloaşter* par les Frères (*baraţii*) catholiques (CDŢR VIII, nr. 931, p. 419).

[35] Cf. Cristocea, Sp. 1987, p. 48.

[36] L'hypothèse se fonde sur un argument d'ordre iconographique, à savoir la peinture *a fresco* de la scène de la *Dormition*, sur le pilastre NE près de l'iconostase. L'emplacement et le manque d'articulation des scènes représentées sur les deux pilastres NE et SE près de l'iconostase plaident en faveur de leur interprétation en tant qu'icônes des fêtes patronales.

[37] Săvoiu, 2008, p. 84.

considérons que "la petite église de Negru-Vodă" dont parle Pelimon ne peut être que l'église Marina, l'auteur retenant ainsi un segment de la tradition qui ne figure dans aucune autre source et qui situe à un niveau plus profond le lien existent entre le monastère et Marina.

Tout aussi intéressants que la date de fondation sont les noms des fondateurs anciens, **Stanciu** et **Rada**, mentionnés dans l'obituaire de 1831, qui déterminent cette fois-ci une corrélation entre les églises Marina et Valea. Mais, pour avoir une perspective juste sur ce problème, il faut connaître quelques données au sujet de l'église Valea, disparue en 1902.

Outre les trois inscriptions votives connues, qui seront analysées ci-après, les seules informations documentaires sont fournies par le recensement ecclésiastique de 1840 et par le même Aricescu. Dans son *Histoire de Câmpulung*, il précise que le nom de Valea, porté par "l'église avoisinant le protoprêtre Crasan", vient du "ruisseau (*vâlcel*) qui coule dans la ville"[38]. Puis, il avance l'hypothèse que l'église Valea aurait été édifiée entre 1300–1400 et, en approximant les données contenues dans les inscriptions votives, qu'elle aurait été réparée en 1592, 1700 et 1800"[39]. Les affirmations d'Aricescu sont mises en doute par P. Răuţescu, qui consacre à l'église Valea un chapitre dans la monographie de Câmpulung, où il reproduit les informations offertes par l'inscription votive du XVIe siècle, le recensement de 1840 et par d'autres documents du XIXe siècle[40]. Le seul qui rappelle la restauration faite au milieu du XVIIe siècle par les soins du *judeţ* (équivalent du maire de la ville) Gherghi (Gherghina) est N. Stoicescu dans son classique répertoire bibliographique, où il consacre une notice sommaire à l'église Valea[41].

Des informations intéressantes et valeureuses au sujet de cette église, partiellement inédites, sont fournies par les sondages archéologiques effectués par Fl. Mîrţu en 1968–69[42]. Les relevés dessinés par l'auteur des fouilles montrent clairement que l'édifice disparu avait un plan rectangulaire allongé par une abside demi-circulaire, et la nef sans absides[43], ainsi que des parois entre les différents compartiments (sanctuaire-nef-narthex-exonarthex) (fig. 2). Selon le rapport

[38] Aricescu, C.D. 2007, p. 132, n. 2.

[39] *Ibid.*, p. 279.

[40] Răuţescu I. 2009, p. 326–9.

[41] Stoicescu, N. 1970, p. 168.

[42] Selon le relèvement, en 1968 fut étudié un secteur de la partie SE de la micro-nécropole, et en 1969 furent entreprises des fouilles à l'intérieur de l'ancienne église (nef et narthex) et continuées celles à l'extérieur, sur le côté Sud.

[43] La reconstitution offerte par le relèvement ne concorde pas avec la photo de l'église publiée par Răuţescu d'où il résulte, tel que justement remarque Gh. I. Cantacuzino, que le plan était triconque (cf. Răuţescu I. 2009, p. 329). Cette bizarre divergence est facilement explicable si l'on se sert d'un troisième témoin, une photo de 1893 de l'église Valea, qui nous présente un tout autre édifice que celui que Răuţescu supposait être Valea, mais qui concorde parfaitement avec le plan dessiné par Fl. Mîrţu. Le mystère est tout à fait élucidé si on met en corrélation la photo de la soi-disant église Valea avec une autre publiée par Răuţescu dans la même monographie et justement identifiée comme étant l'église Schei. Il est évident que les deux photos publiées par Răuţescu représentent, sous des angles différents, l'église Schei, avant sa restauration de 1939.

archéologique préliminaire, en 1968 ont été investigués 18 tombeaux disposés sur 3–4 niveaux d'inhumation, datables entre les XVe–XIXe siècles. Outre divers objets spécifiques à l'inventaire funéraire (boucles d'oreille, bagues[44], colliers, vases funéraires de verre), on découvrit aussi une monnaie bulgare émise par le tzar Ioan Stratimir de Vidin (1356–65, 1369–96)[45]. Ce précieux témoin numismatique atteste que l'église Valea existait déjà aux environ de l'an 1350, ce qui confirme de manière surprenante la datation proposée par Aricescu (1300–1400).

Parmi les vestiges découverts par Fl. Mîrțu lors de ses fouilles compte aussi l'inscription votive de 1858, qui correspond à la dernière restauration importante de l'église, inscription trouvée aujourd'hui au Musée Câmpulung (fig. 3). Elle est un véritable "palimpseste en pierre", car, tel que l'auteur des fouilles le souligne, elle "représente l'inscription votive d'une autre restauration antérieure, de 1562, délibérément martelée pour écrire le nouveau texte, les fondateurs du XIXe siècle conservant intact le cartouche de l'angle inférieur droit, avec la date ancienne 7070 août 30, en relief dans les caractères du XVIe siècle"[46]. Le contenu de l'inscription martelée, la plus ancienne inscription connue de l'église Valea, peut être toutefois partiellement reconstitué à partir d'un recensement des croix et des inscriptions votives de la ville, datant de 1831. Sans indiquer la fête patronale, la transcription contient la date conservée jusqu'à nos jours, le nom du voivode Petru Vodă (le Jeune) au temps duquel fut bâtie l'église, ainsi que les noms des fondateurs : *jupan* **Stanislav**, **Radoslav** et Neaga[47].

On peut remarquer une intéressante corrélation entre le couple de *jupani* Stanislav-Radoslav et le couple des anciens fondateurs mentionnés par l'obituaire de Marina, Stanciu et Rada[48]. Puis, si on met en rapport la date de fondation de l'église Marina sur son actuel emplacement (milieu du XVIe siècle), indiquée par le sondage archéologique de 1963, avec la date de restauration de l'église Valea (1562), on peut avancer l'hypothèse suivante: c'est le même couple de fondateurs qui érigent l'église Marina et qui bientôt après restaurent l'église Valea. Ainsi, pourrait s'expliquer le voisinage des deux édifices et leur colinéarité sur l'axe EO, dans le contexte d'un projet commun.

[44] Dans une étude publiée peu de temps après les découvertes qu'il avait faites, Mîrțu présente une bague en vermeil datant du XVIIe siècle, découverte dans la micro-nécropole de Valea, qui représentait dans son écu l'arbre de vie (appartenant aux conifères aux feuilles aciculaires) symétriquement encadré par deux oiseaux affrontés, mettant en évidence son symbolisme religieux funéraire (Mîrțu, Fl. 1970a, p. 299–300).

[45] Fl. Mîrțu, après avoir pendant quelques années manifesté sa réserve vis-à-vis de ce témoin numismatique et placé les débuts de l'église au XVe siècle (cf. Pârnuță Gh. 1974, p. 111), reconsidéra ultérieurement sa position, datant le saint lieu dans la seconde moitié du XIVe siècle.

[46] Mîrțu, Fl. 1984, p. 21.

[47] Cf. Răuțescu I. 2009, p. 326.

[48] L'identification peut être parfaite si l'on suppose soit que le nom de *Radoslav* ait perdu sa terminaison féminine lors de la transcription de 1831, l'inscription étant érodée à cet endroit, soit que celui de *Rada* l'eût acquise par une transcription erronée de l'obituaire antérieur, ce qui paraît moins plausible, vu la multitude de sources qui nous transmettent le nom de *Rada*.

Selon le témoignage du chantre N. Spătăreanu, noté par le P. Bănățeanu et puis par le P. Răuțescu, l'église Marina aurait fait partie jadis d'un complexe monastique (couvent de moniales), étant entourée par une muraille d'enceinte[49]. L'existence d'une enceinte fortifiée fut soutenue ultérieurement par Fl. Mîrțu[50] et par E. Greceanu avec les époux Mulțescu[51] et rejoint l'analyse de H. Teodoru, de 1943, qui mettait en évidence le caractère fortifié du clocher bâti en 1696 au-dessus de l'exonarthex[52]. Y aurait-il eu autrefois un complexe monastique, antérieur à l'époque de Matei Basarab, qui aurait inclus les deux églises, Marina et Valea?

Par la suite, il est à retenir un détail présent dans la transcription de l'inscription votive de 1562, à savoir le mot **БОКАН**, intercalé entre le nom de *jupan* Stanislav et la conjonction **И** (et). Le sens de ce mot, tout à fait obscur dans le latin médiéval, devient clair si l'on admet une lecture erronée de l'inscription, erreur favorisée par le caractère à peine lisible de l'ancienne inscription, qui fit que la lettre F soit confondue avec la lettre B. On obtiendrait alors le nom de *Focan*[53], c'est-à-dire le nom d'une famille renommée appartenant au patriciat urbain de Câmpulung. Dans ce cas, la lecture rectifiée serait "Stanislav Focan" ou "Stanislav i Focan" et il en résulterait que le couple de fondateurs des églises Marina et Valea appartenait à la famille Focan.

Au milieu du XVIIe siècle a lieu une seconde restauration de l'église Valea, et l'inscription votive qui l'atteste est conservée aujourd'hui au Musée National de l'Art de Bucarest. Après la démolition du saint lieu, elle fut transférée dans l'enceinte de l'église Marina, où, au début du XXe siècle, la découvre N. Iorga, qui en reproduit sommairement le contenu (la fête patronale et le nom du fondateur)[54]. Induits probablement en erreur par la fête patronale mentionnée dans l'inscription votive (*Vovidenia – fête de la Présentation*), la même que celle de l'église Şubești, les éditeurs du corpus des *Inscripții medievale ale României (Les inscriptions médiévales de Roumanie) București,* l'attribuent de manière arbitraire à cette église-là. L'erreur est écartée si on lit la collection inédite d'inscriptions de Câmpulung cueillies par Aricescu, qui reproduit partiellement l'inscription votive, en la situant correctement à Valea, mais en se trompant dans la lecture de la date, qu'il considère être 1592[55].

[49] Cette tradition se trouve probablement à la base du projet d'une enceinte pour l'église Marina, projet signé par l'architecte Berechet en 1940, mais jamais exécuté (fig. 7).

[50] Ghid 1958, p. 18.

[51] Ils mettent en lumière le rôle de citadelle de la ville que jouaient au XVIIIe siècle l'église Marina et son mur d'enceinte (Greceanu, E., Mulțescu, Al. şi M. 1982, p. 31).

[52] Teodoru, H. 1943, p. 86–90.

[53] La famille Focan est une des plus anciennes et respectables de la ville, qui donna aux XVIIe–XVIIIe siècles de nombreux *județi*. La première attestation connue du nom de Focan à Câmpulung date de 1614 et se réfère à Focan *județul* qui, avec d'autres hobereaux, juge une plainte du *postelnic* Bratu de Bratia (cf. Şucu, I.I. 1984a, p. 94).

[54] Iorga, N. 1908, nr. 276, p. 102.

[55] L'erreur est en quelque sorte excusable, puisque, comme Aricescu avoue lui-même, "la date est effacée, seul le premier chiffre (3) est lisible, les autres sont cachés par le mur", dans Aricescu, C.D. 1854, f. 22.

Le texte de l'inscription, reproduit avec plusieurs lacunes dans le susdit corpus de Bucarest, est le suivant:

"† *Această sf(â)ntă și du(mnezeiască biserică cu hramul) Văvedenie B(ogorodi)ţe*[56] *zidit(ă) de (robul lui Dumnezeu) eu judeţul Gherghina, / s(i)nu Stanciulu.../ strică pomiana lor au întări(t) și .../ tru i procdi*[57]. *Iar cine s-ar ...*"[58] (Cette sainte et divine église ayant comme fête patronale la Présentation de la Vierge, bâtie par le servant de Dieu moi le *judet* Gherghina, fils de Stanciu....que celui qui ne respecte pas leur offrande...et les autres...et celui qui aurait....)

L'inscription votive constitue la première source connue qui présente la fête de *Vovidenia* comme fête patronale de l'église Valea, un autre saint patron, à peu près inconnu, étant S.Nicolas, mentionné ultérieurement par Blasius Kleiner, en 1764[59]. Un détail assez surprenant, que l'on peut remarquer en dépit du caractère lacunaire de l'inscription, c'est la présence dans la section finale d'une malédiction destinée probablement à préserver par-dessus le temps certaines donations faites par les fondateurs. Fréquemment présente dans les documents médiévaux, surtout dans les parchemins princiers, la malédiction finale dans une inscription votive est tout à fait singulière dans le contexte du Câmpulung médiéval. L'unique exemple similaire est offert par la seconde inscription votive du monastère Negru Vodă, posée en 1636 sur les ordres de Matei Basarab et qui, à la fin du passage contenant le privilège fiscal de la ville, contient une brève malédiction – une preuve de plus de l'étroite relation existante entre le monastère et le couple d'églises Marina-Valea.

Le même Aricescu nous aide à compléter une importante section du texte de Valea, en reproduisant le nom correct du fondateur: "(judeţul) Gherghina sin Stanciu iuzbaşa cu soaţa lui Stanca" (*le judeţ Gherghina fils de Stanciu iuzbaşa avec son épouse Stanca)* [60]. Celui-ci pourrait être identifié, à notre avis, au *judeţ* **Gherghina Alfocano**, qui, le 22 juillet 1650, certifiait, en y apposant le sceau de la ville, un acte des catholiques de Câmpulung concernant la vie et le comportement de leur curé, Francesco Maria Spera de Narni[61]. Ce doit être toujours lui Gherghina *judeţul* qui, le 20 mai 1656, atteste la propriété des catholiques de la ville sur le terrain du Cloaşter (le Cloître), en précisant que l'église avait été construite pour leur communauté par la princesse Marghita, épouse de Negru Vodă[62]. Ce Gherghina *judeţul* a occupé la fonction de maire de la ville à plusieurs reprises, pendant presque trois décennies, preuve du grand respect dont il bénéficiait aux yeux de ses concitadins. Attesté la dernière fois comme *judeţ* en 1684[63], il prit l'habit monacal avant 1695 au monastère de Vieroş, en prenant le nom de Ghedeon[64].

[56] *Intrarea în Biserică a Născătoarei de Dumnezeu.*

[57] "et les autres".

[58] *Inscr. Bucureşti*, nr. 582, p. 482.

[59] "La douzième (église) Saint Nicolas, populairement l'église de la Vallée", cf. Georgescu, G. 2000, p. 255.

[60] Aricescu, C. D. 1854, f. 2.

[61] Vârtosu, E. 1965, p. 491, n. 1.

[62] Şucu, I.I. 1984a, p. 97.

[63] *Ibid.*, p. 101.

[64] *Ibid.*, p. 103.

Si cette identification est correcte, cela signifie que la deuxième restauration de l'église Valea, au milieu du XVIIe siècle, est due elle aussi à un membre de la famille Focan. En ce cas, l'homonymie entre *jupan* Stanislav (F)ocan de 1562 et Stanciu *iuzbaşa* (Focan), père du *judeţ* Gherghina, qui ne saurait suggérer en aucune façon une identification des deux, vu leur contexte chronologique, pourrait constituer le signe d'une filiation. On pourrait donc conclure, hypothétiquement, que Gherghina *judeţul* refait le saint lieu en tant que descendent direct des fondateurs de 1562[65].

Malheureusement, le texte de la seconde inscription votive ne conserve plus la date à laquelle fut refaite l'église Valea. Mais, nous considérons qu'à ce sens aussi peut être formulée une hypothèse. En étudiant attentivement les 60 croix votives en pierre de Câmpulung, une croix dressée près de l'ancien Pont des Forgerons, du 5 juin 1662, nous attire l'attention. La croix est placée sous le saint patronage de *Vovidenia*, c'est-à-dire la fête patronale de l'église Valea[66], et les noms qui figurent dans le formulaire de l'inscription sont Stanciu, Dobra, Gherghina, Stanca..., c'est-à-dire les noms qui apparaissent dans la seconde inscription de cette église. Il est bien possible que cette croix ait été élevée par Gherghina *judeţul* et sa famille, sur l'emplacement proche du monastère, pour marquer l'achèvement des travaux de restauration à l'église Valea, ce qui nous permettrait de dater cette restauration autour de l'an 1662. A retenir que c'est justement la même année que fût élevée la croix votive dans la cour de l'église Marina (fig. 4), par Stanciu Poşu et sa famille, apparentée aux Focan[67]. La croix n'est pas vouée à Ste. Marina, comme on s'attendrait, mais à S. Nicolas, l'autre saint patron de l'église voisine, Valea. Etant élevée dans une période où l'église Marina était en ruines, dans le voisinage Sud-Est de l'édifice, la croix était destinée à souligner le caractère sacré du lieu et de marquer peut-être le moment de rétablissement de l'église « sœur » Valea. Coincidence ou non, c'est toujours la même année 1662, le 15 janvier, que le grand trésorier (le futur *Ban*) Mareş Băjescu, originaire de Câmpulung, avec son épouse Maria, refait l'enchâssure de la main de Ste. Marina du monastère Arnota, en vermeil, avec des pierres semi-précieuses[68].

[65] Cette supposition se fonde aussi sur le fait que la parenté entre les anciens et les récents fondateurs d'églises est un phénomène qui se constate à de nombreuses églises du Câmpulung médiéval.

[66] Une seule croix votive de Câmpulung a la même fête patronale, à savoir la croix élevée en 1664/1665 dans l'enceinte de l'église Schei, vouée elle aussi à la fête de *Vovidenia*.

[67] D'un document de donation du 20 septembre 1684, par lequel le domaine de Ţigăneşti, Muscel, était donné au monastère Cotroceni, nous apprenons que les fils de Stanciu Poşu étaient Lazăr le *judeţ* de Câmpulung et le diacre Baciu (Şucu, I.I. 1984b, p. 85). De deux documents de vente ultérieurs (1687, les 7 et 23 février), on apprend que le diacre Baciu, fils de Stanciu Poşu, époux de Cherana, était le cousin de Pană (Focan) *judeţul* et qu'à cette date-là son frère, Lazăr, était déjà décédé (Pârnuţă, Gh., Trâmbaciu, Şt. 1999, p. 338–340).

[68] *Inscr. Bucureşti*, nr. 820, p. p. 600. Six années auparavant, Paul d'Alep notait la présence de la main droite de Sainte Marina, enchâssée en or pur, au monastère Stelea de Târgovişte, lors de la fête de l'Epiphanie (Paul de Alep 2014, p. 251).

Plus de trois décennies après la restauration de l'église Valea, en 1696, l'église Marina, probablement gravement endommagée par le tremblement de terre de 1628[69], fut refaite elle aussi, sous le vocable de la Ste. Martyre Marina[70]. Cette fête patronale est extrêmement rare en Valachie, pour la période médiévale n'étant connues que deux autres exemples encore: l'église des Saints Apôtres et de Ste. Marina de Târgovişte, aujourd'hui disparue[71] et l'église de Ste Vénérable Parascève et Ste Martyre Marina du hameau Valea Bradului, com. Mihăeşti, dép. Argeş. La seconde église, érigée en 1767, est la fondation du protoprêtre de Câmpulung Ioan Crasan et de sa famille (l'épouse Maria, les fils Nica, futur protoprêtre, Preda et Voica) – ouaille, ministre et fondateur de l'église Marina de Câmpulung. Il est intéressant de constater que pour sa fondation de Valea Bradului, le protoprêtre Ioan adopte non seulement le patron, mais aussi l'ancien plan de l'église Marina, de sorte que le nouvel édifice peut être considéré une sorte de réplique de l'ancien lieu de culte de Câmpulung.

L'inscription votive du 20 septembre 1696, encore fonctionnelle (fig. 5), nous apprend que l'église Marina fut restaurée par un *jupan* Barbu, qui lui a fait don de deux lampes à huile en argent et d'un vignoble[72]. Dans la variante de l'inscription reproduite par le recensement ecclésiastique de 1840, après le nom de Barbu apparaît aussi l'adjonction Giurgiuveanu[73], et de l'obituaire ancien, mentionné par Aricescu, on apprend que l'épouse du fondateur se nommait Despa[74]. Dans la version de 1831 de l'obituaire de l'église, après les noms du couple de fondateurs, figurent Zamfira et Dimitrie, probablement les fils des précédents, accompagnés par leurs époux, Preda, respectivement Dobra, et possiblement de leurs enfants Stan, Radu et Dobra[75].

Selon la reconstitution proposée par l'étude E. Greceanu et les époux architectes Mulțescu, qui adaptent la proposition de H. Teodoru de 1943, en 1696, le fondateur a refait le système de recouvrement de l'ancienne église en pierre et a prolongé l'édifice vers l'Ouest par un narthex et par un exonarthex que surmontait un clocher fortifié, pourvu de deux rangées d'orifices pour les tireurs[76]. A la même époque, l'église reçut une nouvelle peinture, qui venait couvrir une couche plus ancienne dont les traces sont encore visibles dans le sanctuaire, au-dessous du

[69] Cf. Greceanu, E., Mulțescu, Al. şi M. 1982, p. 34.

[70] La sainte patronne est mentionnée pour la première fois dans l'inscription votive de 1696, qui s'est conservée jusqu'à nos jours au-dessus de la porte d'entrée dans le narthex.

[71] Voir Stoicescu, N. 1970, p. 645; Moisescu, Cr. 1979, p. 19, 21, 28.

[72] De deux documents, de 1760 et de 1798, on apprend que le vignoble se trouvait à Văleni Podgoria, sur les terres du monastère Radu Vodă et était administré par le protoprêtre Ioan Crasan, puis par son fils, le protoprêtre Nica (cf. Răuțescu I. 2009, p. 286–7).

[73] Răuțescu, I. 1965, p. 878.

[74] Aricescu, C. D. 1854, f. 1v.

[75] La lignée des fondateurs de Marina peut être reconstituée hypothétiquement par la corrélation des deux versions de l'obituaire de l'église (légèrement différentes), celle de 1831, publiée, et celle de 1815, inédite, à partir de laquelle le P. Dudu Velicu reproduit dans ses notes l'obituaire des fondateurs.

[76] Cf. Greceanu, E., Mulțescu, Al. şi M. 1982, p. 27–28.

niveau du plancher, couche qui pût être bien observée lors des travaux de 1898 et de 1989[77]. Gh. I. Cantacuzino décrit les fragments picturaux de 1696, ceux conservés comme tels et ceux découverts au-dessous de la peinture à l'huile de 1898, lors de la restauration de 1989–1990. Sont ainsi mentionnés l'icône de la fête patronale, de l'exonarthex, et le tableau votif (de la première catégorie), respectivement (de la seconde catégorie) le registre des saints debout, au-dessus des stalles, les fragments trouvés sur les colonnes qui soutiennent la coupole du narthex à l'Ouest, ceux des pilastres du côté NE et SO proches de l'iconostase, ainsi qu'une intéressante esquisse de l'église, dessinée sur la couche d'*intonacco* dans une niche du mur Sud du narthex[78].

L'icône de la sainte patronne, trouvée dans l'exonarthex actuel, au-dessus de la porte d'entrée dans l'ancien exonarthex, représente la Sainte Martyre Marina siégeant sur un trône auprès de la Mère de Dieu. Etant donnée la fonctionnalité de cette représentation, nous considérons que cette association suggère qu'outre Sainte Marina, l'église avait encore une fête patronale consacrée à la Mère de Dieu, à notre avis *La Dormition,* la scène respective étant peinte *à fresco* sur le pilastre de NE, tout près de l'iconostase. A ses côtés sont représentés S. Jean Baptiste (sur le même pilastre, dans une variante à l'huile, de la fin du XIXe siècle), *l'Exaltation de la Sainte Croix* et S. Jean l'Evangéliste. Vu l'emplacement de ces quatre représentations, près de l'iconostase, et le fait qu'elles n'appartiennent pas au registre iconographique usuel, on peut penser qu'il s'agisse des quatre fêtes patronales de l'église, illustrant probablement tout autant de restaurations du saint lieu antérieures à celles du XIXe siècle. A remarquer le rapprochement temporel entre la fête de l'Exaltation de la Sainte Croix (le 14 sept) et la date de consécration de l'église en 1696 (le 20 sept), ainsi que la suggestive corrélation entre les deux fils de Zébédée, S. Jean l'Evangéliste (saint patron de Marina) et le Saint Apôtre Jacques le Grand (saint patron de Bărăția)[79].

Une analyse attentive du tableau votif conduit également à une série d'intéressantes observations (fig. 6). Selon le P. Răuțescu, repris ultérieurement par Fl. Mîrțu et C. Bălan, dans le tableau votif de 1696, la maquette de l'église est soutenue à gauche par les *jupans* Barbu et son fils Stoica, secondés par les fils de ce dernier, et par une femme, et à droite par *jupan* Bratu, auprès duquel figurent ses fils et une dame âgée[80]. Nous verrons par la suite que tant la datation, qui ne fut

[77] Le témoignage du P. Bănățeanu me fut récemment confirmé par l'actuel curé de l'église Marina, le P. I. Grigorescu, qui affirme que, lors des travaux de restauration de la peinture entrepris en 1989–1990, il a pu constater personnellement la véridicité de ce fait. J'ai pu à mon tour observer que, dans le sanctuaire, sur les murs de l'abside, au-dessous du niveau du plancher, on peut voir des traces évidentes de couche picturale.

[78] Cantacuzino, Gh. I. 2002, p. 72.

[79] A retenir que parmi les icônes de l'iconostase mentionnées dans l'inventaire des biens de l'église Marina de 1902, situées à droite des portes royales, se trouve également l'icône du Saint Apôtre Jacques avec le Saint Martyr Mina (cf. MCIP DC 1902, f. 3).

[80] Pr. Răuțescu I. 2009, p. 285.

jamais mise en question jusqu'à présent, que l'identité des personnages comportent d'importants correctifs.

Citant le même obituaire ancien, Aricescu mentionne une troisième restauration de l'église Marina, due au couple Stoica-Petca, qu'il situe en 7245 (1736–37), et qui venait après la restauration faite par le couple Barbu-Despa en 1697, qui avait refait l'église incendiée par les Turcs[81]. Une restauration qui survint si peu de temps après la précédente dût être déterminée par un épisode violent de l'histoire du saint lieu et de la ville. Cet épisode est la terrifiante attaque des Turcs qui, en Juillet 1737, ont mis la ville à feu et à sang, épisode décrit par un témoin oculaire dans l'obituaire du monastère Câmpulung. Suite à l'effrayant incident, la ville fut désertée et demeura comme telle pendant 5 années[82], de sorte qu'il est peu probable que justement dans cet intervalle fût refaite l'église Marina. Une notice marginale faite sur un livre de culte de l'église par "le pope Teodor *sin* (fils) du pope Gheorghe Poşu ot *Sveata Muceniţa Marina*" précise que l'église fut peinte en 7254 (1745/46), notice qui nous fournit la date exacte de la restauration.

Les deux versions qui se sont conservées de l'obituaire des fondateurs de Marina nous transmettent la suivante séquence de noms, qui viennent après les noms des fondateurs de 1696: Bratu, Constantin, Maria, Stoica, Petca, Ghinea le hiérodiacre, Stanca la diaconesse[83]. Si on faisait la corrélation entre les données fournies par l'obituaire et par l'analyse attentive du tableau votif[84], on pourrait établir l'identité exacte des personnages. Selon les inscriptions aujourd'hui effacées, la maquette de l'église est soutenue du côté gauche par *jupan* Stoica *judeţul* et du côté droit par *jupan* Bratu. Chacun des deux personnages centraux est secondé symétriquement par deux personnages (et non par plusieurs, comme prétend Răuţescu). Les deux personnages près de *jupan* Bratu, indiqués par "sin ego", doivent être Constantin et Maria, ses enfants, l'absence de l'épouse, tant du tableau que de l'obituaire, indiquant le fait qu'à l'époque il était veuf. Le personnage figuré à droite du *judeţ* Stoica est, selon l'inscription, Petca, son épouse, et l'autre personnage, dont on n'observe pas l'inscription, doit être logiquement leur fils Ghinea, le futur hiérodiacre, et non *jupan* Barbu, tel que Răuţescu le déduit[85]. Comme il n'est pas logiquement possible que le tableau votif mentionne une restauration qui soit postérieure au moment de son exécution, on conclut alors que le tableau n'appartient pas à la restauration de 1696, dont le seul

[81] Aricescu, C. D. 1854, f. 1v.
[82] Răuţescu I. 2009, p. 29–30.
[83] Cristocea, Sp. 2014, p. 27.
[84] A partir des observations directes et des clichés de H. Teodoru et de Fl. Mîrţu.
[85] Sa déduction était d'ailleurs parfaitement logique tant que, en ignorant la restauration de 1746, il considérait le tableau votif peint en 1696. Des données intéressantes quant à la famille du *judeţ* Stoica, dirigeant de la ville à plusieurs reprises entre 1744–1749, nous sont fournies par deux obituaires du XVIIIe siècle: *Pomelnicul lui Ştefan monahul ce s-a numit Stoica judeţul*, sans date, inclus dans l'obituaire du monastère Câmpulung (Cristocea, Sp. 1987, p. 59) et *Pomelnicul diaconului Ghinea sin Ştefan monahul*, 1758, inclus dans l'obituaire de l'église Sf. Gheorghe (cf. Răuţescu I. 2009, p. 250).

fondateur est, selon l'inscription votive, *jupan* Barbu, mais à celle de 1745/46, lorsque le *judeţ* Stoica et un de ses proches parents, *jupan* Bratu, rétablissent l'édifice incendié par les Turcs, en 1737 et non en 1690, tel que le soutient Aricescu.

Une inscription trouvée sur le pilastre Sud-Ouest du narthex, mentionnée par Gh. I. Cantacuzino[86], parle d'une nouvelle intervention sur la peinture du saint lieu, faite en 1765, mais dont l'ampleur est difficile à estimer. Etant inédite, nous la reproduisons intégralement:

"*† Cu ajutoriul lui Dumnezeu zugrăvitu-s-au această eparfie d... ...le care se vede, prin toată userdia şi chieltuiala Sfinţiei Sale Părintele Ioan diacon Purcărea i diaconiţa ego Neacşa i snovi ego Bucur, Ioan, fiind îngropaţi şi părinţii Sfinţiei Sale Ion, Neacşa, 1765 nov 13*". (A l'aide de Dieu fut peinte cette église...que l'on voit, par les soins et aux frais du Révérend Père Ioan diacre Purcărea et la diaconesse *ego* Neacşa et ses fils Bucur, Ioan, là étant enterrés aussi les parents du Père Diacre, Ion, Neacşa, 1765 nov 13".

Un peu plus tard, le 30 juillet 1781, selon le rapport de Gr. Tocilescu, le renommé *zographe* (peintre d'églises) de Câmpulung Şerban le diacre[87] peint l'icône de la Sainte Martyre Marina, probablement une réfection ou une nouvelle variante de l'icône miraculeuse mentionnée en 1764 par Blasius Kleiner[88]. C'est le même qui peignit les 6 icônes de l'église Valea mentionnées par Tocilescu, qui les considère dignes à être exposées dans un futur musée de la ville[89].

La guerre russo-autrichienne-turque de 1788–1790 a mis son empreinte néfaste sur les deux églises Valea et Marina aussi, en y déterminant de nouvelles réfections. Bientôt après 1790, l'église Marina, "brûlée par les Turcs lors de la susdite guerre", fut "refaite avec tout le nécessaire" par ceux qui administraient l'église à l'époque, *hagi* Enciu şi Manole Consoloiu, aidés par d'autres chrétiens aussi[90]. L'église Valea ne le fut qu'en 1803, étape mentionnée par quelques sources de XIXe siècle. Tandis que le recensement des croix et des inscriptions votives de Câmpulung de 1831 mentionne brièvement que l'église fut "refaite par un Iorga *judeţ* de ces lieux" en 1803, en spécifiant qu'il "n'a pas fait une autre inscription votive"[91], en échange, le recensement ecclésiastique de 1840 reproduit le contenu d'une inscription datée avec précision le 24 août 1803. On y mentionne que l'église ayant comme fête patronale *La Présentation*, "abandonnée et abîmée par les Turcs pendant la guerre", fut refaite et rénovée "tant à l'extérieur qu'à l'intérieur et a été

[86] Cantacuzino, Gh. I. 2002, p. 72.

[87] Père des frères zographes Radu le diacre, Ion et le prêtre Constantin, voir Greceanu, O. 2012, p. 209–210.

[88] Cf. Dumitrescu, M. 1972, p. 62; Georgescu, G. 2000, p. 256.

[89] Cf. M Dumitrescu, M. 1972, p. 62.

[90] Cette réfection, très peu connue, est attestée par une pétition que les nouveaux fondateurs adressaient en 1798 à la Métropole de Bucarest et dont le contenu est reproduit dans Răuţescu I. 2009, p. 287. De manière surprenante, celui-ci non plus ne la mentionne lorsqu'il parle des réfections de l'église Marina.

[91] Cf. Răuţescu I. 2009, p. 326.

embellie" par Iorga *judeţul,* sin (fils du) diacre Gheorghe cel Mare[92]. Aricescu à son tour affirme que l'église fut rénovée et peinte par les soins de Iorga *judeţul* et de son épouse Maria[93], tandis que de l'inscription palimpseste de 1858, qui place bizarrement la réfection en 1829, il en résulte qu'à côté de Iorga *judeţul*, à la restauration de l'édifice ait contribué également Apostol le logothète[94]. Une pétition des habitants de ce quartier, de 1848/1850, adressée au Tribunal de Muscel, offre d'autres détails intéressants. Selon ce document, l'église fut bâtie par les soins de Iorga *judeţul*, qui lui fit don d'un pâturage à Stoeneşti, de quelques serfs au-delà de la rivière et de quelques lopins de terre à Racoviţa, le logothète Apostol donnant 700 lei pour le mur d'enceinte de l'église[95].

Le principal fondateur de l'église Valea, Iorga, *judeţ* et *mazil*, était, selon le recensement de 1840, le fils du diacre Gheorghe cel Mare (Bogatu) et de son épouse Ilinca, fondateurs de l'église de Vişoi, édifiée en 1774. Il a rempli la fonction de dirigeant de la ville à plusieurs reprises entre 1786–1807. Le sondage archéologique effectué par Fl. Mîrţu en 1969 sur les lieux de l'église disparue Valea, a découvert sa tombe dans la zone Sud du narthex ; il mourut, paraît-il, en 1830, tel que l'atteste la monnaie ottomane trouvée à la phalange de son annulaire droit.

Certes, la pièce d'inventaire la plus importante, découverte à la phalange du médius droit, est un sceau annulaire en argent, de fabrication probablement transylvaine, ayant 10,3 g, au chaton rond de 2 cm en diamètre faisant corps commun avec la bague, ayant été coulés ensemble. Selon la description de Fl. Mîrţu, le sceau fait partie de la catégorie des sceaux héraldiques, sur le champ duquel on peut observer les suivantes: un écu central, de type ovale, caractéristique au style rococo de la seconde moitié du XVIIIe siècle, meublé par la représentation d'un corbeau prêt à s'envoler, les armoiries du Câmpulung médiéval, et au-dessus, en chiffres arabes, l'an 1810; les supports de l'écu sont un lion rampant, à droite, la langue dehors et la queue dressée, et une palmette stylisée à gauche; dans la partie supérieure du champ, vers les extrémités et dans la partie inférieure de la zone centrale sont incisées en caractères roumano-cyrilliques, І Ѡ Р ѦС Г, qui, selon Mîrţu, dans une lecture complète pourraient être IORG(A) S(UDEŢ), c'est-à-dire le nom et la dignité du titulaire; le champ sigillaire est timbré, entre les lettres І Ѡ, par une couronne nobiliaire ouverte, qui surmonte l'écu[96]. Dans le Câmpulung médiéval, au temps du règne de Matei Basarab, on peut trouver deux antécédents typologiques de cet anneau sigillaire, à savoir les anneaux sigillaires du pope Sima (1645) et du marchand Manta Malama (1640), une différence importante qui s'observe dans ces deux cas étant déterminée par la présence symétrique de deux lions rampants au lieu d'un seul, dans le cas du sceau de Iorga *judeţul*.

[92] Cf. *ibid.*, p. 326.
[93] Aricescu, C. D. 1854, f. 2.
[94] *Inscr. Muscel*, Anexa VI, f. 2306.
[95] Pr. Răuţescu I. 2009, p. 327.
[96] Mîrţu, Fl. 1970b, p. 436–7.

Le second fondateur, Apostol le logothète, figure dans le recensement de la ville de 1838 en tant qu'habitant du quartier Schei, âgé de 70 ans[97]. *Mazil* et fils du *judeţ* Savu[98], il appartenait à l'ancienne famille des Fundeşti[99] et se situait dans la descendance d'importants *judeţi* de la ville, étant le petit-fils d'Ivan Fundea (*judeţ* entre 1728–1732) et l'arrière-petit-fils de Cârstea (*judeţ* entre 1694–1713)[100]. Il fut marié deux fois, la première avec la fille du *judeţ* Manta Gogu, qui lui donna deux fils, Ilie et Nicolae, et la deuxième fois avec la veuve du *postelnic* Gheorghe, devenant ainsi le beau-père du renommé marchand de Câmpulung Nicolae Gheorghiu[101]. Son fils Ilie Apostescu, habitant du quartier Valea, est fondateur de l'église Schei, à laquelle il fit ajouter l'exonarthex en 1854, et bienfaiteur de l'église Marina, à laquelle il fit don d'un pâturage à Hodor (Măţău)[102] et dans l'exonarthex de laquelle il fut enseveli, le 8 janvier 1856[103]. C'est au fils cadet du logothète Apostol, le logothète Nicolae, qu'on doit la dernière réfection de l'église Valea, en 1858, attestée par l'inscription votive palimpseste, qui décrit ces travaux, achevés le 2 septembre: l'église fut alors couverte de tôle, l'exonarthex construit à neuf et à cela s'ajoutèrent la grande cloche reçue comme donation ainsi que deux bergeries[104].

Moins de cinq décennies après la dernière réfection, l'existence de l'église Valea fut brutalement interrompue par la mode néfaste de démolition des saints lieux, qui sévissait vers la fin du XIXe siècle et le début du XXe et à laquelle sont tombées victimes à Câmpulung trois autres églises encore. Par l'action corroborée de l'architecte de la ville et du protoprêtre D. Ionescu-Mirea, avec l'accord de la Métropolie et de la Mairie, l'automne de 1902, la petite église "aux murs très solides" fut abattue. On enterrait ainsi, au propre et au figuré, presque six siècles d'histoire riche et ininterrompue. Les raisons invoquées sont éloquentes pour la mentalité de l'époque: restée sans curé, l'église était fermée depuis longtemps, les ouailles allant à d'autres églises voisines, de sorte que le Conseil d'administration la déclara exclue du budget de la Mairie[105]. Le P. Răuţescu, qui décrit les circonstances de la démolition de l'église, note qu'au mois de septembre de cette année-là, le P. N. Scărlătescu de Goleştii Badii sollicitait pour la nouvelle église que l'on construisait au village la grande cloche et les icônes de S. Georges et de S. Nicolas de l'église Valea de Câmpulung[106]. Il s'agissait probablement de deux

[97] Cristocea, Sp., Trâmbaciu, Şt. 2007, p. 70.

[98] Mitrice Sf. Ilie, nr. I, f. 1.

[99] Mentionné pour la première fois dans un document de 1568 (Pâmuţă, Gh., Trâmbaciu, Şt. 1999, p. 155–6), la famille Fundea figure en tant que *moş* no. 2 dans la Liste des *moşneni* de Câmpulung de 1846 (Răuţescu I. 2009, p. 398).

[100] Şucu, I.I. 1984b, p. 279.

[101] Prim. Cl., f. I.

[102] Cf. MCIP D C 1902, f. 6.

[103] L'enregistrement de son décès est fait à l'église Valea, cf. Mitrice Valea. f. 12v.

[104] *Inscr. Muscel*, Anexa VI, f. 2306.

[105] Răuţescu I. 2009, p. 328–9.

[106] *Ibid.*, p. 329.

valeureuses icônes royales de l'iconostase et, comme S. Nicolas était un des saints patrons de l'église, on peut supposer la même chose pour S. Georges, d'autant plus que deux des fondateurs de Valea l'avaient comme saint patron: les *judeţi* Gherghina et Iorga.

Quelques corrélations inattendues entre les églises Marina et Valea, respectivement entre les fondateurs et les desservants, peuvent être découvertes si l'on analyse du point de vue généalogique les informations fournies par les recensements ecclésiastiques de 1810, 1832, 1840. On apprend ainsi qu'à Marina fonctionnaient en 1810 deux représentants de la famille Fundea, parents du logothète Apostol, le fondateur de Valea, à savoir le pope Ghinea, fils du pope Ioan, 50 ans, et le Diacre Nicolae, fils du pope Ştefan, 32 ans[107]. Plus tard, en 1832, on y trouve les prêtres Docsache, fils de Dinu et Gheorghe Badea[108], au dernier étant attribuée par erreur la fondation de l'école de peinture "de la ruelle de la vallée", école où avait étudié dans son enfance le renommé peintre I. D. Negulici[109]. Le prêtre Docsache appartenait, selon la liste des *moşneni* de 1846, à la famille Fundea, étant, selon les documents de l'époque, le fils du tailleur Dinu Broz, détail très intéressant si l'on pense que le hypocoristique Broz, dérivé d'Ambrosius[110], est un nom caractéristique à la communauté catholique de Câmpulung, rencontré dans les documents dès le début du XVIIe siècle[111].

Selon le recensement de 1810, à l'église Valea fonctionnaient comme prêtres les frères Savu et Constantin, les fils du diacre Gherghina, de 40, respectivement 50 ans, cousins germains du logothète Apostol, le fondateur de l'église. A leurs côtés, et habitant tout près de l'église, officiait aussi le diacre Nicolae Scuturici, de 45 ans, fils du prêtre Teodor Poşu de l'église Marina, de 1746, et arrière-grand-père paternel de l'architecte Dimitrie Ionescu-Berechet. Il descendait de la famille de Stanciu Poşu – celui qui, en 1662, avait élevé la croix votive dans l'enceinte de

[107] Voinea, V. I. 1976, p. 878.

[108] Cristocea, Sp. 1974, p. 728.

[109] L'information est introduite dans le circuit scientifique par Lucia Dracopol-Ispir (Dracopol-Ispir, L. 1939, p. 25–26), signataire d'une monographie consacrée au peintre Negulici, information reprise ultérieurement par O. Greceanu aussi (Greceanu, O. 2012, p. 204). En invoquant le témoignage de N. B. Iorgulescu, habitant de Câmpulung, l'auteur de la monographie situe les débuts de l'école en 1822 et évoque les frères zographes Ioan et Radu, les fils du diacre Şerban le zographe, duquel aurait appris le petit Negulici l'art de l'icône. Premièrement, les documents de l'époque nous renseignent que le prêtre Gh. Badea, originaire de Câmpulung, s'était établi depuis son enfance à Bucarest, où il avait été ordonné prêtre, et n'était revenu à Câmpulung qu'en 1831, fuyant la peste qui sévissait dans la capitale (Răuţescu I. 2009, p. 290), date à laquelle le peintre Negulici, arrivé déjà à l'âge adulte, avait quitté la ville natale. Deuxièmement, tel que justement note V. Drăguţ (Drăguţ, V. 1976, p. 98), les deux fils du diacre Şerban ont travaillé à Câmpulung à la fin du XVIIIe siècle, et après 1800 ne sont plus mentionnés par aucune source connue.

[110] Cf. Ciocîltan, Al. 2007, p. 164.

[111] Dans un document émis en 1630 par des Sachs de Câmpulung à l'adresse des boyards Lereşti, pour un moulin, figure aussi Gheorghe, fils de Broz le Sachs, cousin de Petru Sasu, le fils de Dumitru Ţirvişul et *judeţ* de la ville (cf. Iorga, N. 1901, p. 274).

Marina –, était le filleul du protoprêtre Nica Crasan, proche parent du prêtre Savu susmentionné et, selon les documents de *Obştea moşnenilor*, faisait partie de la famille du diacre Gheorghe Bogatu, étant donc apparenté à Iorga *judeţul*, fondateur de l'église, en 1803. Le lien du diacre Nicolae Scuturici avec l'église Marina est souligné aussi par le fait que dans la dernière partie de sa vie il avait fonctionné à cette église, tel que nous le présente le recensement de 1832.

Le recensement de 1840 consigne aussi les noms des nouveaux fondateurs de Marina, étroitement liés par des liens de parenté, à savoir: le *pitar* Gheorghe Anghel (petit-fils du protoprêtre Ioan Crasan), Nicolae Nicolau (fils du diacre Nicolae Scuturici), Petrache Crasan (petit-fils du protoprêtre Nica et beau-frère de N. Nicolau) et Ioniţă Argeşeanu (membre de la famille Crasan)[112]. L'existence de l'église Marina a continué et continue de nos jours encore, connaissant plusieurs transformations, à la fin du XIXe siècle, en 1897–98, puis dans la période d'entre les deux guerres, en 1938–1939, auxquelles sont venues s'ajouter des réparations et restaurations ultérieures.

A la fin de notre communication, nous pouvons observer la manière dont la tradition locale concernant les débuts de l'église Marina de Câmpulung peut révéler bien d'aspects inconnus si nous l'analysons à la lumière des sources connues ou récemment découvertes. Les mêmes sources, considérées en corrélation, peuvent rendre témoignage du lien étroit qui unissait l'église Marina et l'église Valea, aujourd'hui disparue, lien manifesté par la proximité et l'alignement des deux édifices dans l'axe EO et déterminé tant par le fait que leurs desservants et leurs fondateurs appartenaient au même groupe de familles apparentées, que par leur fonctionnalité commune dans un ensemble disparu depuis longtemps. En reprenant en quelque sorte le desideratum formulé par les architectes Mulţescu et E. Greceanu en 1982, il s'impose qu'à l'avenir soient initiées des recherches systématiques – archéologiques, architecturales et iconographiques – visant l'église Marina et, dans la mesure du possible, dans le site de l'église disparue Valea, afin d'éclairer davantage le passé remarquable de ces deux églises "sœurs".

[112] Răuţescu I. 2009 p. 291.

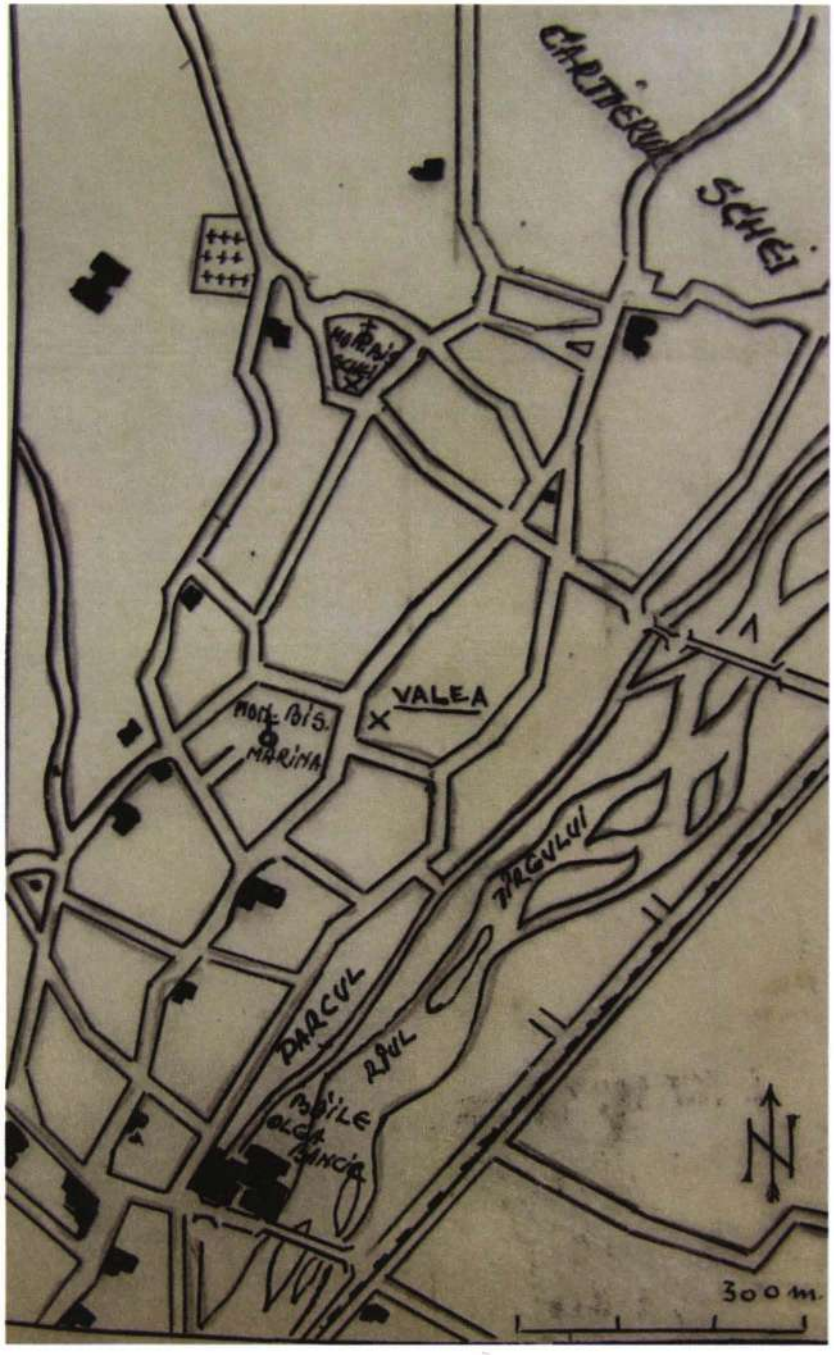

Fig. 1. Plan de situation avec localisation des deux églises Marina et Valea, 1968 (collection Fl. Mîrţu).

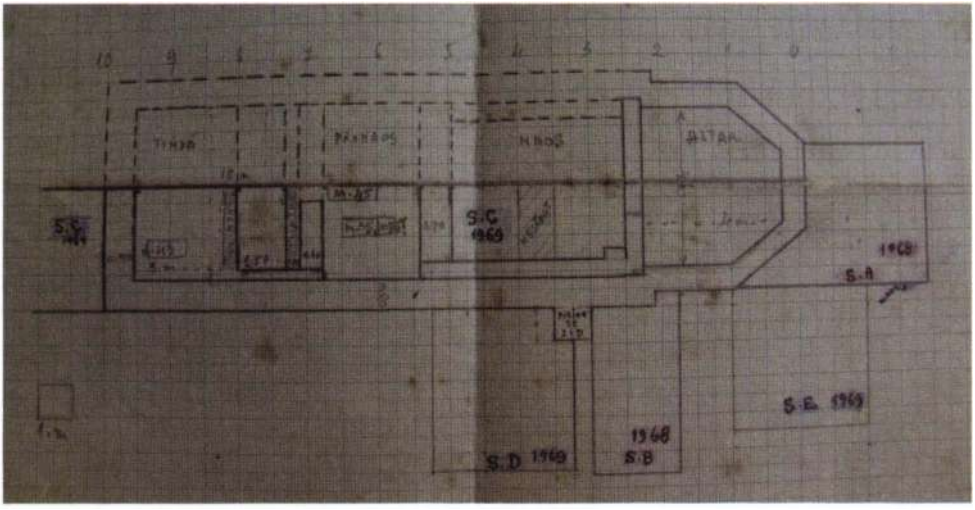

Fig. 2. Relèvement de l'ancienne église Valea et des fouilles archéologiques de 1968–1969 (collection Fl. Mîrţu).

Fig. 3. L'inscription votive *palimpseste* de l'église Valea, 1562/1858, Musée municipal de la ville de Câmpulung-Muscel (cliché de la collection Fl. Mîrţu).

Fig. 4. La croix votive de pierre de l'enceinte de l'église Marina, 1661–1662.

Fig. 5. L'inscription votive de l'église Marina, du 20 septembre 1696, au-dessus de la porte d'accès de l'exonarthex dans le narthex.

Fig. 6. Le tableau votif de l'église Marina, vers 1737–1746, fresque, mur ouest du narthex (cliché de la collection Fl. Mîrţu).

Fig. 7. L'église Marina: Enceinte, façade principale, plan 1:100 (projet non exécuté), architecte D. Ionescu-Berechet, vers 1939–1940 (collection Şt. Ionescu-Berechet).

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ABREVIATIONS

ANIC : Arhivele Naționale ale României, Direcția Centrală
BAR : Biblioteca Academiei Române
CRSC : Colecția Registre de Stare Civilă
DIR : *Documente privind istoria României*, București
MCIP : Ministerul Cultelor și Instrucțiunii Publice

IDENTITÉS RÉGIONALES ET COMMUNAUTÉS RELIGIEUSES DANS L'EMPIRE BYZANTIN AUX VIIIe–XIe SIÈCLES[1]

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Introduction

Le présent travail a pour objectif l'étude de la dimension religieuse des identités régionales dans l'Empire byzantin dans la période qui va de la fin du premier iconoclasme à la pénétration turque dans l'Empire (VIIIe–XIe siècles). Il est fondé sur des sources hagiographiques méso-byzantines dont l'analyse est susceptible de mettre en lumière la fonction de vecteur identitaire de l'hagiographie, son rôle dans la préservation et la promotion du sentiment d'appartenance régionale et religieuse dans une communauté donnée[2].

La variété ethnique et religieuse de l'Empire byzantin représente à la fois un héritage de l'Antiquité tardive et une conséquence de la reconfiguration des frontières de l'Empire à la suite des pertes et des reconquêtes successives de territoires (le nord de la Syrie, l'Anatolie d'ouest, la Crète, les Cyclades, etc.) dans la seconde moitié du premier millénaire, reconfiguration qui a modifié la carte démographique et religieuse de ces régions. Ces transformations ont mené, d'une part, à une remise en question de l'Orthodoxie et de ses rapports avec les particularités religieuses des régions reconquises (la Syrie, une partie de l'Arménie)[3], et d'autre part, à l'élaboration d'une stratégie de préservation des identités ethniques et religieuses des populations de ces territoires. Les reconfigurations des frontières sont doublées des déplacements de populations qui peuvent être, également, le résultat des choix familiaux ou individuels: études, carrière, pèlerinage. À une échelle réduite, ces déplacements peuvent favoriser aussi l'apparition des solidarités régionales et, le cas échéant, des particularités religieuses dans le nouveau cadre géographique et social.

En prenant l'hagiographie comme outil d'étude des identités ethniques et religieuses, nous essayons de mettre en lumière la manière dont ce genre littéraire contribue à l'organisation et à la consolidation d'une communauté locale à une période où il n'y a pas encore des canonisations officielles – celles-ci n'apparaissent

[1] Ce travail a été réalisé dans le cadre d'une bourse postdoctorale du programme POSDRU à l'Institut d'Histoire "Nicolae Iorga" dans la période 2010–2012.

[2] Pour une époque plus récente, voir, par exemple, Colin 2010.

[3] Voir Dagron 1976, 177–216.

pas à Byzance avant le XIVe siècle[4] –, à la définition et à la promotion des identités régionales et religieuses. Dans cette perspective, qui prend en compte le contexte et les raisons justifiant la rédaction d'une *vita*, le public auquel elle s'adresse et les objectifs immédiats de son auteur[5], l'hagiographie n'est plus comprise comme un réflexe littéraire d'une communauté déjà constituée, mais comme le catalyseur d'une identité locale, comme un moyen de préservation et de promotion de cette identité[6]. Les réactions de l'Église à ces formes non-officielles de religiosité locale, la manière dont elle parvient à contrôler ces communautés, leur vie religieuse et son expression littéraire sont également analysées dans cette recherche qui utilise les méthodes et les instruments de l'histoire sociale et politique et de l'histoire littéraire et religieuse.

Le cadre chronologique se situe entre la fin du premier iconoclasme (en 787, avec le second concile de Nicée), époque de renouveau pour le genre hagiographique qui connaît alors un essor remarquable en relation notamment avec la préoccupation officielle d'honorer les héros du combat anti-iconoclaste[7], et la bataille de Mantzikert (1071), à la suite de laquelle les Byzantins ont perdu leur autorité sur l'Arménie et sur une bonne partie de l'Anatolie au détriment des Turcs Seldjoukides, événement qui a marqué de manière décisive la carte politique et démographique de l'Empire.

Les plus importantes communautés ethniques et religieuses qui font l'objet de cette recherche sont les Arméniens et les Juifs. L'histoire des communautés arméniennes de l'Empire byzantin, à partir notamment de la fin du IXe siècle, date de leur implantation massive dans l'Empire, n'est pas inconnue. Moins connues sont pourtant les stratégies mises en place par ces communautés pour préserver leur identité ethnique et religieuse. La *Vie de Marie la Jeune* (Xe siècle) représente un bon exemple de promotion de l'identité arménienne en Thrace, avec le soutien des descendants d'une famille appartenant à l'aristocratie arménienne locale à moitié grécisée. La réponse de l'Orthodoxie constantinopolitaine à la recolonisation massive des Arméniens dans l'Empire, à la suite de la *reconquista* de Basile II (976–1025), transparaît, par exemple, dans la polémique théologique anti-arménienne engagée au XIe siècle par Nicétas Sthétatos, le disciple de Syméon le Nouveau Théologien[8].

L'histoire des communautés juives de l'Empire byzantin a fait l'objet également de nombreuses publications, mais les sources hagiographiques méso-byzantines

[4] Cf. Beck 1959, 274 et n. I, avec bibliographie; A. M. Talbot, *Canonization*, *ODB*, I, 372. L'Occident médiéval présente *de jure* une situation différente, mais *de facto* largement analogue: la plupart des centaines de saints qui font leur apparition entre le XIIe et le XVe siècle n'a pas été canonisée par l'Église catholique; voir Kleinberg 1989.

[5] Voir Timotin 2012. En général sur cette problématique dans la littérature byzantine, voir Odorico 2006.

[6] Cette analyse complète et utilise nos études antérieures sur l'hagiographie méso-byzantine; voir Timotin 2010.

[7] Sur l'hagiographie méso-byzantine, voir Loparev 1913–1915; Bréhier 1916, 358–367, 450–465; Patlagean 1981, 88–105; Rydén 1986, 537–554; Lackner 1986, 523–536; Pratsch 2005; Efthymiadis 2011; Efthymiadis 2012.

[8] Cf. Michel 1935. Voir aussi Grumel 1956.

sont susceptibles d'améliorer notre connaissance sur l'impact social et psychologique de la politique impériale sur ces communautés, en relation aussi avec la polémique anti-judaïque et avec les tensions eschatologiques de cette période.

Au niveau des solidarités régionales, le présent travail réserve une place importante aux Paphlagoniens. De cette région se recrutent de nombreuses figures importantes de cette période, et notamment les eunuques de la cour impériale. La Cappadoce représente également un réservoir important de solidarités régionales et religieuses, qui trouvent, par exemple, une expression littéraire dans la *Vie d'Irène de Chrysobalanton* (Xe siècle). Dans la seconde moitié du IXe siècle, l'élite cléricale des Cyclades se déplace vers Thessalonique, où on la retrouve regroupée, par exemple, autour du monastère de Saint-Étienne (*Vie de Théodora de Thessalonique*, IXe siècle).

La carte dessinée par cette analyse n'est pas une simple carte des déplacements démographiques, mais une carte des communautés régionales (et, le cas échéant, ethniques) et religieuses dont on conserve l'identité dans les sources hagiographiques de l'époque. Abordée dans cette perspective, l'hagiographie nous permet de comprendre comment ces communautés allogènes réagissent aux modifications politiques et démographiques, comment elles se recomposent dans des contextes sociaux et politiques nouveaux. Elle nous permet de proposer une définition dynamique des identités régionales et religieuses, définition dont le point de départ n'est pas la mobilité démographique, mais l'initiative locale de promotion d'une communauté, son expression littéraire et religieuse. En même temps, l'hagiographie méso-byzantine nous permet d'analyser la manière dont l'Orthodoxie constantinopolitaine se redéfinit constamment pendant cette période par rapport à la mobilité démographique et à ces initiatives locales.

I. Familles monastiques. De Galatie et des Cyclades vers Thessalonique[9]

Thessalonique, deuxième grande ville de l'Empire byzantin, représente, au IXe siècle, un pôle de stabilité vers lequel se dirigent des groupes de population, notamment des îles de la mer Égée, contraints à s'exiler à la suite des conflits militaires arabo-byzantins et byzantino-bulgares. Avant le sac de la ville, en 904, Thessalonique est une ville prospère, grâce en particulier au commerce avec les Bulgares, auquel s'ajoute le commerce fluvial[10]. Cette prospérité économique a donné lieu à un essor urbain sans précédent qui se reflète, entre autres, dans l'édification de nouveaux monastères et églises, comme ceux fondés par Grégoire Décapolite et par le moine géorgien Hilarion, et dans l'étendue des propriétés monastiques à l'extérieur des murs de la ville[11].

[9] Une première version de ce chapitre a été publiée sous le titre *Couvents privés et saints locaux à Thessalonique à la fin du IXe siècle*, dans É. Malamut, M. Ouerfelli (éd.), *Villes méditerranéennes au Moyen Âge*, Aix-en-Provence, 2014, 257–262.

[10] Cf. Odorico 2005 a, 63–64; Malamut 2005, 182–184.

[11] Malamut 2005, 166–170 et 184–188.

Le phénomène est doublé par la prolifération remarquable des fondations religieuses privées dans l'empire notamment pendant le règne de Léon VI (886–912) dont la législation – en particulier les *Novelles* 14 et 15 – témoigne de la dissémination à large échelle des couvents privés (monastères, églises et chapelles)[12]. Cette prolifération coïncide, et ce n'est pas un hasard, avec l'aristocratisation progressive du monachisme et, partant, de la sainteté au cours du IXe siècle, en particulier après le triomphe de l'Orthodoxie. Au IXe siècle, les saints appartiennent souvent par naissance à la haute aristocratie byzantine et les relations qu'ils entretiennent avec le pouvoir séculier s'expliquent par leur proximité de lignage, de niveau social et d'éducation[13]. À Thessalonique, ce nouveau modèle de sainteté est encore en compétition avec le modèle ancien, des grands ascètes de l'Antiquité, et la concurrence entre les modèles de sainteté est doublée par celle entre les modèles de monachisme, anachorétique et cénobitique. Cette concurrence est filtrée par l'attitude de l'autorité ecclésiastique, et il serait intéressant de suivre ses effets sur la tension qui s'installe entre la hiérarchie séculière et la hiérarchie ecclésiastique dans la distribution locale du pouvoir[14].

Euthyme le Jeune et Théodora de Thessalonique sont deux exemples de saints dont la promotion a lieu à Thessalonique à la fin du IXe siècle. Leurs monastères respectifs, Saint-Étienne le Diacre, à l'ouest de Sainte-Sophie, et Péristéra, à proximité de la ville (une vingtaine de km à l'est), accueillent les translations des reliques de Théodora, en 894, et d'Euthyme le Jeune, en 899, et sont à l'origine de leurs hagiographies.

À la différence d'autres vies contemporaines de saints, la *Vie d'Euthyme le Jeune* (*BHG* 655) donne beaucoup d'informations chronologiques et topographiques exactes sur la vie du saint[15]. Euthyme, ou Nicétas, d'après son nom séculier, est né en Galatie, dans le village Opsô, près d'Ancyre, en 823, et s'inscrit dans une série de saints méso-byzantins originaires de Galatie dont le rayonnement dépasse leur région de provenance. De Galatie proviennent également le célèbre Théodore de Sykéôn, au VIe siècle, Jean le Psichaïte, né vers 760, et le contemporain d'Euthyme, Évariste le Stoudite[16].

Euthyme se marie en 840 avec Euphrosyne et il a une fille, Anastasô. Peu de temps après, en 841 ou en 842, il part pour l'Olympe de Bithynie, où il prend l'habit monastique et où il reste jusqu'en 858 ou 859, quand il s'en va au mont Athos. Ici il passe trois ans au fond d'une grotte, période pendant laquelle les autres

[12] *Les Novelles de Léon VI le Sage*, 55–61 (§ 14–15). Sur la dévotion privée à cette époque, voir Patlagean 1985, 609–610.

[13] Voir Ringrose 1976, 98–131, 188–189; Patlagean 1981.

[14] Sur les rapports entre les évêques, en particulier, et le pouvoir central à cette époque, voir l'analyse de Moulet 2011, 182–210.

[15] Petit 1903, 155–205, et pour l'édition, 168–205; Papachryssanthou 1974, 225–245.

[16] *Vie de Théodore de Sykéôn* Festugière 1970, 3, § 3, lignes 1–3); *Vie de Jean le Psichaïte* (Van den Ven 1902, 104, § 2, ligne 28); *Vie d'Évariste Stoudite* (Van der Vorst 1923, 296, § 2, lignes 32–33). Cf. Malamut 1993, 61.

membres de la famille prennent aussi l'habit monastique. En 863, il retourne au mont Olympe pour chercher son ancien maître, Théodore, qui meurt peu après et est inhumé à Thessalonique. Euthyme se rend alors à Thessalonique, il passe peu de temps sur une colonne à proximité de la ville, il est ordonné prêtre, puis il retourne en 864 au mont Athos. En 867, à la suite d'une vision, il reconstruit l'ancienne église de Saint-André à Péristéra, à proximité de Thessalonique où il fonde un *koinobion* et s'y installe. En 875, il y tonsure son disciple et future biographe, Basile, et en 884 sa famille vient s'installer à Péristéra. Il construit un nouvel couvent pour les femmes. Vers 890, Euthyme confie la direction de Péristéra à son petit-fils, Méthode, et celle du couvent de femmes à sa petite-fille, Euphémie. Après un séjour à l'Athos, il se retire dans l'île de Hiéra, où il tombe malade et meurt en 898. Son corps est apporté solennellement à Thessalonique, et déposé dans le couvent de Péristéra, en janvier 899, où il fera l'objet d'un culte. La *Vie* d'Euthyme fut rédigée, au Xe siècle, par son disciple, Basile, évêque suffragant de la métropole de Thessalonique[17].

Nous voudrions nous arrêter ici sur trois aspects du parcours anthume et posthume d'Euthyme: d'abord, l'alternance entre le modèle érémitique et le modèle cénobitique dans sa vie monastique; puis, la dimension patronale et familiale du monachisme promu par Euthyme et son effet sur son culte et sur son hagiographie; enfin, le rapport de l'autorité ecclésiastique locale avec le culte naissant. On sait bien aujourd'hui que l'hagiographie byzantine témoigne aux IXe–Xe siècles d'une compétition entre la vie érémitique et le cénobitisme[18]. Le statut d'ermite, sans jamais disparaître, tend en effet à devenir une étape provisoire, une sorte d'épreuve à laquelle le jeune moine est soumis une fois passé son noviciat. L'entrelacement entre les deux modèles attesté par la *Vie d'Euthyme* se retrouve dans les vies de plusieurs saints de la même période: Étienne le Jeune, Paul de Latros, Athanase d'Athos, etc[19]. La vie communautaire prévaut dans tous ces cas sur l'idéal anachorétique.

Cette tendance vers le communautarisme dans le monachisme byzantin va de pair avec la propension vers l'insertion de la famille dans le *koinobion* et vers le patronage monastique. La présence de la famille du saint dans le monastère est un autre trait caractéristique du monachisme méso-byzantin[20]. Les membres des familles de Philarète le Miséricordieux et de Marie la Jeune prennent l'habit monastique et s'impliquent dans la promotion du culte de leurs parents et dans la composition de leurs hagiographies. Ils s'impliquent également dans la construction ou la réfection des monastères qui deviennent des couvents familiaux. Le cas d'Euthyme, fondateur du monastère de Péristéra qui recevra ses reliques et du

[17] Papachryssanthou 1974, 234, 245.

[18] Voir Papachryssanthou 1973, 158–180; Kazhdan 1985, 473–487; Flusin 1993. Pour la Sicile et l'Italie méridionale, voir Guillou 1963.

[19] Voir Kazhdan 1985, 476–477; Flusin 1993, 34–35, 41–45.

[20] Voir Patlagean 1981; Talbot 1996 a; Flusin 1993, 48–49. Pour Thessalonique, en particulier, voir Malamut 2005, 185–186.

couvent de femmes qui reçoit ses parentes s'inscrit très bien dans ce modèle. Son petit-fils est l'higoumène du monastère au moment de sa mort et s'implique activement dans la translation des reliques et dans la promotion de son culte. Enfin, son disciple est l'évêque suffragant de Thessalonique et, en cette qualité, un promoteur important du culte d'Euthyme dont il compose d'ailleurs la *Vie*.

Le cas de Théodora de Thessalonique (*BHG* 1737, 1739) présente un parallèle très suggestif de ce modèle, avec pourtant quelques différences notables[21]. Théodora est née en 812, dans l'île d'Égine, ravagée par les assauts des Arabes en 826. Sa mère étant décédée à sa naissance et sa sœur mourant prématurément, elle se réfugie, avec son époux – un notable du lieu – et son beau-père, à Thessalonique. En choisissant la ville de Thessalonique comme lieu de son exil, la famille de Théodora prend la même route que beaucoup d'autres insulaires qui se sont réfugiés pendant tout le IXe siècle à Thessalonique[22]. Le père de Théodora, un *prôtopresbyteros* de la cathédrale d'Égine[23], prend l'habit monastique et se réfugie dans un monastère. Perdant son mari et deux de ses trois enfants, Théodora devient, à vingt-cinq ans, moniale au couvent de Saint-Étienne à Thessalonique où elle emporta ses biens et dont l'abbesse, Anne, est sa parente[24]. Sa sœur, Catherine, est l'abbesse d'un autre couvent de Thessalonique, le monastère de Saint-Luc[25], où vit aussi la seule fille de Théodora restée en vie, Théopistè, qu'elle va s'arranger pour transférer dans son monastère après la mort de Catherine. Le frère de Théodora, Antoine, ex-évêque de Dyrrachium, en exil au moment de leur arrivée à Thessalonique, est archevêque de Thessalonique en 843[26]. Il jouit d'une réputation de sainteté et l'hagiographe de Théodora lui consacre huit chapitres de la *Vie* (§ 10–18). L'hagiographe, Grégoire, est lui aussi originaire de l'île d'Égine et, avec son père, fait partie du groupe de prêtres qui participent à la translation des reliques de Théodora dans une tombe individuelle en dehors de la tombe commune du couvent. La guérison de sa sœur par Théodora lui donnera, d'après son propre témoignage, seulement l'impulsion nécessaire pour mettre par écrit une histoire à laquelle il participait depuis longtemps déjà. Il rédige le récit de la *Vie de Théodora* et de ses *Miracles* pour les présenter à l'assemblée réunie au couvent de Saint-Étienne le jour de la célébration de la sainte, le 29 août 894.

[21] Pour la *Vie de Théodora de Thessalonique*, voir Paschalidès 1991, 66–235 pour l'édition du texte. Une traduction anglaise, accompagnée de notes et d'une introduction, est accessible dans Talbot 1996 b, 164–237.

[22] Voir Malamut 1988, 63, 82.

[23] Paschalidès 1991, 70, chap. 3.

[24] Paschalidès 1991, 104–106, chap. 20. Sur l'emplacement de l'ancien monastère de Saint-Étienne, plus tard le couvent de Sainte-Théodora dont les reliques sont conservées dans un sarcophage datant du XVIe siècle, voir Papageorgiu 1901, 149–150; Tafrali 1913, 195, 199–200. L'histoire du monastère est brièvement retracée par Paschalidès 1991, 283–296.

[25] Paschalidès 1991, 82, chap. 9.

[26] L'identité des noms entre cet Antoine et le père de Théodora peut faire penser, comme le suggère Patlagean 1984, 48, qu'ils étaient soit cousins, soit oncle et neveu. Sur cet Antoine, voir Paschalidès 1994.

Le cas de Théodora illustre parfaitement les traits évoqués à propos de la *Vie d'Euthyme:* hagiographie et monastères familiaux, promotion du culte par les parents du saint. Thessalonique est, au IXe siècle, en raison de sa prospérité, une destination privilégiée pour les «familles monastiques» venues d'Anatolie et des îles de la mer Égée. Le rôle de l'autorité ecclésiastique locale dans la promotion de ces «cultes familiaux» qui émergent à la fin du IXe siècle autour des monastères de Saint-Étienne et de Péristéra est pourtant différent dans les deux cas. Alors que le culte d'Euthyme semble jouir du soutien de l'évêque suffragant de la métropole, qui est le disciple et l'hagiographe même du saint, le culte de Théodora se heurte à l'opposition d'une partie du clergé et des moines locaux, et l'organisation de la translation des reliques de Théodora à un moment où l'archevêque de Thessalonique, Jean, était parti avec ses évêques à Constantinople pour assister à l'installation du nouveau patriarche, Antoine Kauléas, en 893, suggère que l'autorité ecclésiastique locale, au moins à ses débuts, ne lui faisait pas bon accueil[27]. Une des raisons en était qu'elle était femme et, de plus, qu'elle avait été mariée, circonstance qui entraînait des difficultés redoutables[28]. Son icône ne manquait pas, elle aussi, de soulever des questions[29]. Une autre raison en était que le nouveau culte rivalisait avec celui de saint Démétrios, le patron de la ville[30]. Célébrant Théodora comme μυροβλύτις, l'hagiographe assume implicitement la compétition engagée entre la sainte et son concitoyen, le plus célèbre μυροβλύτος de la tradition byzantine[31].

Soutenu par la famille, une famille avec de larges assises dans la ville, le culte s'est développé et, au fur et à mesure que sa dimension privée s'est estompée, il a fini par être accepté par la hiérarchie ecclésiastique locale. La *Vie de Théodora* met en évidence la résistance de cette dernière à une initiative de promotion d'une sainte allogène prise par les membres de sa famille, initiative comparable à celle de la famille d'Euthyme réunie autour du couvent de Péristéra. Différemment perçues par la hiérarchie ecclésiastique locale, les deux actions témoignent du souci d'illustration sociale et religieuse des familles venues s'installer à Thessalonique au IXe siècle comme effet de l'essor urbain et commercial de la ville.

[27] Paschalidès 1991, 198, chap. 4, 13–16. Cf. Talbot 1996 a, 59.

[28] Paschalidès 1991, 184, chap. 59, lignes 9–11: καὶ δὴ θαυμαζόντων ἁπάντων, ὅτι πῶς ἐν πόλει καὶ γάμῳ ποτέ γυνὴ προσομιλήσασα εἰς τοσοῦτον ἐπῆρεται δόξης ὕψος παρὰ Θεοῦ. Sur la sainteté féminine à Byzance et, en particulier, sur les femmes mariées devenues saintes, voir Patlagean 1976, 620–622, pour Théodora; Kazhdan 1985, 474–475.

[29] Voir Timotin 2007, 118–121; Timotin 2010, 236–237.

[30] Cf. Patlagean 1984, 47–50; Malamut 2005, 187. Au début du VIIIe siècle, une concurrence similaire transparaît dans la *Vie de David de Thessalonique*: voir Odorico 2005 b.

[31] Paschalidès 1991, 162, chap. 48, lignes 1–5. La première mention littéraire du Saint Démétrios μυροβλύτος date de 904, étant pourtant fort possible que la réputation soit antérieure à cette date; voir Patlagean 1984, 47. Pour l'époque ultérieure, voir les documents réunis par Walter 1973.

II. *Une famille cappadocienne à Constantinople. Illustration religieuse et vocation politique*[32]

Constituée en thème en 830, la Cappadoce byzantine recouvre, à côté du thème de Charsianon, créé entre 863 et 873[33], une partie de l'ancienne province romaine qui a perdu au VIIe siècle, lors des guerres arabo-byzantines, ses territoires orientaux. Touchés par les razzias arabes dès les années 640, les grands domaines de Cappadoce, zone de frontière soumise à la fin du VIIe siècle à des raids réguliers et dévastateurs, disparaissent rapidement et, avec eux, les grandes fortunes d'une aristocratie prospère à l'époque de Justinien[34]. L'État byzantin ne reprend le contrôle sur la région qu'au début du IXe siècle, quand la nouvelle organisation des thèmes montre sa capacité d'imposer une administration et d'y recruter une armée. C'est l'époque où se produit la formation lente d'une nouvelle élite économique formée surtout des militaires, des gardiens des frontières, qui s'installent dans cette région qui recommençait timidement à séduire les aventuriers.

En absence des documents d'archive, l'hagiographie reste, pour une période de deux siècles, une des sources principales qui, par des touches biaisées, nous permettent de reconstruire les contours du phénomène. Les premiers témoignages datent du début du IXe siècle, à une époque où la lutte contre les Arabes est encore loin d'être finie, quand des parents lointains des Maléïnoi, la puissante famille cappadocienne qui s'illustrera au siècle suivant[35], sont attestés à Charsianon. Il s'agit de saint Eudokimos, parent de Michel Maléïnos selon l'hagiographe de ce dernier[36], qui naît en Cappadoce vers 800 de parents riches et puissants et qui, nommé *kandidatos* en 829, combattit autour de Charsianon où il meurt en 840[37]. Une génération plus tard vécut le patrice et stratège Eustathe, le grand-père de Michel Maléïnos[38], contemporain d'un autre membre de la famille, le stratélate Nicéphore Maléïnos, peut-être un grand-oncle de Michel, qui combattit en 867 en Cappadoce, envoyé par à Basile Ier contre Symbat, le gendre révolté du césar Bardas[39].

Au Xe siècle, le nombre des grandes familles cappadociennes se multiplie et surtout leur importance à la fois économique et politique s'accroît de manière significative. Les premiers sont les Phocas qui s'illustrent déjà sous Basile Ier par

[32] Une première version de ce chapitre a été publiée sous le titre *Vocaţie religioasă şi opoziţie politică în Constantinopol (sec. IX–X). Cazul familiei Guber*, SMIM, 30, 2012, 169–180.

[33] Oikonomidès 1972, 348.

[34] Ahrweiler 1962, 8–13; Kaplan 2006, 120–121.

[35] Sur les Maléïnos, voir Kaplan 2006, 112–117; Cheynet 1990, 214, 268, 492 (index prosopographique, s.u. *Maléïnos*). La famille s'est à nouveau illustrée après la reconquête byzantine de l'Italie du Sud, puisqu'un Léon Maléïnos, "stratège de Hiérax, Stilo et autres cités" est attesté dans un document de 1144, et deux protospathaires du même nom sont attestés par des documents de 1088/1089 et 1093; voir Mercati, Giannelli, Guillou 1980, no. 17, 2, 3, 19, 22.

[36] Petit 1902, 551, chap. 3.

[37] Loparev 1908, 2–3.

[38] Petit 1902, 551, chap. 3.

[39] Leon Grammaticus, 247–248; Kaplan 2006, 112–113.

un stratège de Charsianon, Nicéphore Phocas l'Ancien, qui combattit en 878 contre les Arabes[40], mais la famille connaîtra sa gloire au siècle suivant quand un Phocas accédera au trône (963–969), et sous le règne de Constantin Porphyrogénète (945–959) qui fera la fortune de ses membres[41]. Les Argyroi sont un autre exemple de grande famille cappadocienne, qui s'illustre dès le IXe siècle et connaît la gloire au siècle suivant et, dans son cas, aussi au XIe siècle, avec l'empereur Romain Argyros (1028–1034)[42].

Cet essor économique, social et politique de l'aristocratie cappadocienne à partir du IXe siècle nous intéresse en relation avec deux phénomènes qui relèvent de l'objet de notre enquête: l'installation de certaines branches de ces familles à Constantinople, en raison des dignités acquises par leurs membres et des alliances qu'ils y lient, et leur illustration religieuse par l'attachement de leurs membres à certains saints et fondations religieuses et, le cas échéant, par leur accesion à la sainteté, avec les connotations identitaires et politiques que ces phénomènes impliquent.

La *Vie d'Irène de Chrysobalanton* (*BHG* 952) nous permet de corréler ces deux aspects[43]. Le texte a été rédigé par un hagiographe anonyme dans le dernier quart du Xe siècle ou au début du siècle suivant[44]. L'héroïne, Irène du monastère Chrysobalanton, appartient à une famille aristocratique cappadocienne, les Gouber, ayant une importante branche à Constantinople où se passent les événements qui forment la matière du récit. Le récit commence en effet par la description du concours de beauté organisé par l'impératrice Théodora (842–856) pour marier son fils, le futur empereur Michel III (856–867). Parmi les belles femmes rassemblées à Constantinople à cette fin, il y avait deux sœurs venant de Cappadoce, Irène, l'héroïne du récit, et Théodosia, la future épouse du césar Bardas. Arrivée à Constantinople, Irène fut reçue par ses parents, la famille de patrices Gouber (Γούβερ)[45]. Le concours n'ayant pas le résultat attendu, Irène refusa d'autres propositions de mariage et se retira dans le couvent constantinopolitain de Chrysobalanton, un monastère familial, en toute apparence, où elle apporta sa fortune. Le renom de ses charismes attire au monastère un nombre important de femmes de l'aristocratie en quête de direction spirituelle.

La famille des Gouber n'est pas autrement attestée au Xe siècle, quand le texte a été rédigé, mais elle n'est pas inconnue au IXe siècle. Un membre en avait été chargé par l'empereur Michel II (820–829), après la défaite de la révolte de

[40] Vasiliev 1968, 82–84.

[41] Sur les Phocas, voir Cheynet 1986, avec tableau généalogique.

[42] Voir Vannier 1975.

[43] Rosenqvist 1986.

[44] Pour la datation, voir Rosenqvist 1986, XXVII–XXVIII. Les données chronologiques internes suggèrent comme *terminus post quem* l'année 980 mais une allusion indirecte au règne de Basile II (Rosenqvist 1986, 52, chap. 12, 3–4) semble montrer que le récit a été rédigé pendant ce règne-là, i.e. 976–1025.

[45] Rosenqvist 1986, 8–12, chap. 3.

Thomas le Slave, de la mission de reprendre la forteresse de Saniana, au Pont Polémoniaque[46]. Un autre Gouber est attesté comme logothète du drome sous Basile Ier, et puis comme patrice sous Léon VI[47], quand il fait partie du groupe de notables chargés par l'empereur d'amener Photius et Santabarènos au palais pour être jugés[48]. Nous avons montré ailleurs qu'une partie de ce groupe, en l'occurrence le magistre Étienne et les patrices Kratéros et Gouber, fait partie des personnages de l'entourage de l'empereur Michel III et du césar Bardas qui se sont attachés par la suite à Léon VI[49]. Les Gouber semblent donc être parvenus, comme d'autres familles aristocratiques de cette période, à survivre aux changements brutaux de règne de la seconde moitié du IXe siècle, en s'attachant successivement à Michel III et au césar Bardas – qui a épousé bien une Gouber –, au Basile Ier et au Léon VI.

Au moins une branche de la famille cappadocienne des Gouber réside dans la capitale où certains de ses membres détiennent de hautes dignités. Cette branche avait son propre couvent, Chrysobalanton, monastère constantinopolitain qui n'est connu que par une mention équivoque dans le recueil des *Patria*[50]. Le nom est pourtant attesté au Xe siècle comme nom de famille, Théophane Nonnos, médecin à la cour de Constantin Porphyrogénète, étant appelé «Chrysobalantès», et ne disparaît pas aux siècles suivants[51]. On ne connaît pas la relation de ces personnages avec les patrices mentionnés dans la *Vie d'Irène*, mais le couvent de Chrsobalanton est sûrement une fondation cappadocienne, un couvent de famille. Son abbesse est une parente d'Irène et parmi les nonnes du couvent il y avait sûrement plus d'une de la même origine. On sait certainement qu'une jeune nonne de Cappadoce y résida et avait essayé, semble-t-il, s'en échapper pour rejoindre son bien-aimé qu'elle avait quitté dans son pays (§ 13). Le désespoir de la nonne malheureuse est interprété comme une œuvre de sorcellerie, une machination diabolique de son bien-aimé resté en Cappadoce, et Irène reproche alors à saint Basile d'avoir toléré les sorciers et leurs actions dans son pays en le suppliant d'intervenir pour régler cette affaire. Le saint se montra en effet en vision à Irène en lui disant d'amener la jeune fille à l'église de Blachernes pour être guérie par la Vierge[52]. Ensuite, à la demande de la Vierge, saint Basile s'en alla avec sainte Anastasie en Cappadoce pour ramener les instruments de sorcellerie afin d'être brûlés[53].

[46] *PmbZ* 2528, 2532 (= *PBE*: Gouberios 1). Cf. Theophanes Continuatus, 1838, 72–73; Winkelmann 1987, 168. L'origine du nom est probablement bulgare, i.e. turque, un Κούβερ, général avare, étant attesté au VIIe siècle dans les *Miracles de saint Dèmètrios* (*PmbZ* 4165 = *PBE*: Kouber 1). Cf. Charanis 1970.

[47] *PmbZ* 2527 (= *PBE*: Goumer 1). Cf. Guilland 1970, 309; Guilland 1971, 51; *PmbZ* 7792.

[48] Skylitzès, ed. Thurn, 173, 17 (trad. Flusin, 145 et n. 18).

[49] Timotin 2010, 199–202. Sur les "connexions amoriennes" à la cour de Léon VI, voir aussi Tougher 1997 a, 67, qui ne retient pourtant que Photius, le magistre Étienne et Léon Katakoilas.

[50] Preger 1907, 243, 1–12. Cf. Rosenqvist 1986, XXIX–XXX.

[51] Rosenqvist 1986, p. XXX. Cf. Sonderkamp 1984, 38–39.

[52] Rosenqvist 1986, 56, chap. 13, 9–22.

[53] Rosenqvist 1986, 62, 14–64, 3.

On sait que les prières attribuées à saint Basile sont considérées comme capables de protéger contre les démons et de guérir les possédés du démon[54], mais l'appel qu'Irène lui avait adressé a sûrement aussi d'autres significations. Saint Basile, comme Irène et sa protégée, est originaire de Cappadoce et c'est surtout en cette qualité qu'Irène s'adresse à lui. En tant que saint tutélaire de la Cappadoce, il est le protecteur de ses compatriotes même ou peut-être surtout lorsqu'ils se trouvent loin de leur pays. De la dévotion à cette époque de l'aristocratie cappadocienne pour saint Basile témoigne, par exemple, la grande église de Tokali Kilise (Xe siècle), mise sous son vocable et décorée avec des scènes de sa biographie[55]. L'édifice est dû à la générosité d'un certain Constantin, stratège de Séleucie, et a été achevé par Nicéphore Phocas avant qu'il ne soit nommé empereur en 963[56]. La place faite à saint Basile, comme d'ailleurs à d'autres saints cappadociens, comme, par exemple, l'apôtre Pierre, dont une tradition locale faisait le premier évêque de Césarée[57], illustre l'attachement des Phocas à la province à laquelle ils étaient liés par leur origine.

Comme les Phocas, les Gouber se dirigent vers saint Basile comme vers leur protecteur naturel. Il est très probable d'ailleurs que le couvent de Chrysobalanton ait été mis sous le vocable de saint Basile, comme semble le suggérer les reproches qu'Irène lui adresse ouvertement et qui peuvent difficilement s'expliquer uniquement par leur origine commune. Il n'est peut-être pas un hasard si la seule messe officiée dans le couvent de Chrysobalanton à laquelle l'hagiographe fait référence est précisément une messe en honneur de saint Basile[58].

La mention de l'église des Blachernes à côté du Chrysobalanton peut s'expliquer par l'attachement des Gouber pour ces deux couvents. L'église des Blachernes est une fondation impériale et, en particulier, au IXe siècle, un lieu privilégié de dévotion de la dynastie amorienne et notamment de Michel III, empereur auquel, on s'en souvient-on, les Gouber étaient particulièrement attachés. Théodosia Gouber avait épousé le césar Bardas et la présence d'Irène au concours organisé par l'impératrice Théodora montre assez la position exceptionnelle de sa famille sous les Amoriens.

D'autre part, on peut noter l'existence d'une certaine concurrence entre l'église des Blachernes et l'église constantinopolitaine de Sainte-Anastasie, la fameuse Anastasie Φαρμακολύτρια, située au quartier Maurianos, au nord-ouest du Forum de Constantin, qui servait au Xe siècle d'hôpital pour les malades mentaux[59]. On peut s'interroger en effet pourquoi la nonne censée être possédée

[54] Cf. Goar 1647, p. 275–276; voir aussi H. Leclerq, *Exorcisme, exorciste*, DACL, V/1, Paris, 1922, col. 970.

[55] Voir Wharton Epstein 1986, 36–39, pl. 26, 77, 78. On peut mentionner également le grand monastère dédié à saint Basile par le régent du jeune empereur Basile II entre 976 et 985, le parakoimomène Basile (Psellos, *Chronographie*, I, 20).

[56] L'identification de Nicéphore Phocas, sur la base de l'étude des prénoms des grandes familles de Cappadoce, est due à Thierry 1989, 217–245.

[57] Voir Thierry 2002, 171.

[58] Rosenqvist 1986, 80, chap. 17, 5.

[59] Janin 1969, 22–25; Rydén 1974 a. Pour la continuation du culte de la sainte à l'époque post-byzantine, voir Vojdović 1990.

n'ait pas été envoyée directement à l'église de Sainte-Anastasie, réputée précisément pour ce type de guérisons[60], mais à Blachernes. À une autre occasion, c'est Irène qui va guérir un possédé, un jeune homme chargé du vignoble de Chrysobalanton que sainte Anastasie avait refusé de guérir (§ 15), ce qui peut refléter également l'intention de l'auteur de la *Vie d'Irène* de marquer la présence de l'église de Chrysobalanton sur la carte des couvents constantinopolitains à réputation thérapeutique, au détriment de l'église, beaucoup plus célèbre, de Sainte-Anastasie, et par l'attachement explicite à l'église impériale des Blachernes.

La dévotion pour un saint de son pays et la réputation thérapeutique en pleine affirmation d'une fondation familiale sont deux éléments qui peuvent refléter, surtout lorsqu'il s'agit d'une famille aussi puissante que celle des Gouber, la formation d'un pôle de pouvoir. Un épisode de la *Vie d'Irène*, concernant la libération miraculeuse d'un parent d'Irène mis en prison par l'empereur, montre où se plaçait ce pôle de pouvoir sous le règne de Basile II quand la *Vie* a été rédigée.

Voici le résumé de l'histoire. Un des parents proches d'Irène (φιλουμένων αὐτῇ συγγενῶν), qui avait la dignité d'*illoûstrios*[61], avait été accusé de complot contre l'empereur. L'empereur l'avait mis en prison dans le palais impérial et machinait de le mettre à mort en secret en le jetant dans la mer pendant la nuit (§ 21). Les rumeurs arrivent jusqu'à sa famille dont les membres, en proie au désespoir, se dirigent vers Irène, en lui demandant de prier Dieu pour sa libération. La sainte ne décevra pas sa famille et, la nuit suivante, se montra en rêve à l'empereur pour le persuader de revenir sur sa décision[62].

Troublé par cette vision, l'empereur consulte son chambellan pour savoir si la conversation qu'il avait eue s'est passée réellement ou non. Dans un premier temps, l'empereur est persuadé qu'elle ne peut être que l'effet d'une opération magique. Par conséquent, le lendemain il appela chez lui le prisonnier et lui posa cette question: «Quel sorte de magie utilises-tu pour nous menacer et nous embrouiller par des rêves, essayant par ces sorcelleries d'échapper aux conséquences de ton complot contre notre Majesté Impériale ?»[63]. L'accusé répondit, bien sûr, qu'il n'a jamais eu recours à un sorcier et qu'il n'a jamais comploté contre l'empereur. Ensuite, à la question de savoir s'il connaissait une certaine Irène d'un couvent appelé Chrysobalanton, il répondit par l'affirmative en lui donnant également des détails sur sa localisation. À la suite de cet interrogatoire, l'empereur envoya au couvent un groupe de dignitaires accompagnés d'un peintre pour que celui-ci fasse le portrait d'Irène, de manière qu'il puisse vérifier par la suite s'il correspond à la personne qu'il avait vue dans son rêve. De retour au couvent, les

[60] Voir, par exemple, *Vie d'André Salos* (Rydén 1974 b, 18–20).

[61] La dignité d'*illoûstrios* était le plus haut parmi les titres qui permettaient l'accès au Senat; voir Guilland 1967, I, 67.

[62] Rosenqvist 1986, 90, chap. 21, 10–23.

[63] Rosenqvist 1986, 92, chap. 21, 10–12: Τίσι μαγείαις χρησάμενος ἀπειλὰς ἡμῖν ἐν ὀνείροις καὶ θορύβους ἔπεμψας ὡς, ἄν σοι διὰ τῶν τοιούτων γοητειῶν διαδρᾶναι γενήσεται τὰς κατὰ τῆς ἡμετέρας ἐπιβουλάς σου βασιλείας;

dignitaires sont terrifiés à l'apparition d'Irène dont ils étaient incapables de regarder la face qui rayonnait plus que le soleil. Elle leur demanda de communiquer à l'empereur que ce qu'il avait vu en rêve est bien vrai et que s'il ne délivre pas le prisonnier, toutes les menaces qu'il avait entendues s'accompliront sans faute. Après que le peintre réalisa en grande hâte le portrait dont il avait été chargé, les dignitaires rentrent au Palais où un nouveau miracle se produisit. Le portrait brilla lui aussi à tel point que l'empereur, tout en reconnaissant les traits de la sainte, fut à peine capable de le regarder. À la suite de cet événement, l'empereur délivra le prisonnier et remercia Dieu pour lui avoir épargné un meurtre injuste. Il écrivit aussi une lettre à Irène pour lui demander humblement pardon et la solliciter de recevoir sa visite. À cette lettre Irène répondit en accordant le pardon, mais en refusant la visite sous le prétexte de l'humilité, tout en recommandant à l'empereur de ne jamais oublier de consulter le patriarche, les évêques et les moines.

L'épisode est calqué sur un épisode similaire de la *Vie de saint Nicolas*, l'évêque de Myre, le saint byzantin le plus réputé comme faiseur de justice et protecteur de ceux injustement accusés[64]. De même qu'Irène, saint Nicolas obtient, au moyen d'une vision, la libération d'un groupe de généraux emprisonnés et sur le point d'être exécutés par l'empereur Constantin le Grand à la suite d'une fausse accusation de haute trahison. Supplié par les trois généraux, saint Nicolas apparut en rêve à l'empereur, en demandant la mise en liberté des prisonniers innocents et en le menaçant par le déclenchement de la guerre. Le lendemain, l'empereur, comme son successeur de la *Vie d'Irène*, accusa les prisonniers d'avoir fait usage de la magie pour échapper à la condamnation. À ce moment-là, saint Nicolas se révéla aux généraux et l'empereur, entendant son nom, demande qu'on lui dévoile son identité. La réponse fut persuasive et l'empereur délivra les prisonniers.

La similitude indéniable entre les deux scénarios n'est pourtant pas due nécessairement à une simple opération de *mimesis* littéraire. L'éditeur moderne du texte, Jan Olof Rosenqvist, en omettant pourtant de noter la parenté entre les deux histoires, de la *Vie d'Irène* et de la *Vie de saint Nicolas*, a avancé l'hypothèse selon laquelle l'episode de la *Vie d'Irène* serait une allusion au conflit qui opposait à la fin du Xe siècle l'empereur Basile II à l'aristocratie anatolienne[65]. Comme les plus puissantes familles de cette aristocratie, les Phocas et les Skleroi[66], les Gouber étaient originaires d'Asie mineure et l'accusation de trahison portée contre un d'entre eux serait donc à mettre en relation avec l'hostilité qui régnait dans les rapports de l'empereur avec les membres de ces puissantes familles. Si l'on admet cette hypothèse, l'épisode relaté dans la *Vie d'Irène* traduirait un engagement

[64] Cf. Anrich 1913, 254–262. Le rapprochement entre les deux scénarios a été opéré par Maguire 1994, 226–229.

[65] Rosenqvist 1986, XXXVII. Sur le règne de Basile II, voir en dernier lieu Holmes 2005, surtout chap. 5, "The Revolts of Skleros and Phocas: Historiography and the Skleros Manifesto" (240–298).

[66] Sur les Skleroi, voir Seibt 1987.

personnel de l'auteur, par la mise en scène d'un plaidoyer littéraire *pro domo*, dans un conflit où sa famille était directement impliquée.

De toute manière, dans la représentation littéraire du conflit, imaginaire ou réel, qui oppose les deux partis, aristocratique et impérial, dans la *Vie d'Irène*, l'hagiographe donne raison sans équivoque au premier. Il est certain également que le couvent de Chrysobalanton représente un relais cappadocien à Constantinople, un pôle de pouvoir, politique et spirituel à la fois, qui réunit les membres du clan des Gouber et leurs proches autour de la figure charismatique de leur parente, personnification religieuse d'une identité familiale, régionale et politique.

Ce n'est pas à cette époque un cas exceptionnel. Nicéphore Phocas, lorsqu'il n'était encore que stratège des Anatoliques (avant 963), rendait visite régulièrement au mont Kyminas à son père spirituel, Michel Maléïnos, qui était aussi son oncle[67]. D'autre part, le saint, à l'époque où il était higoumène du couvent de Kyminas, allait souvent à Constantinople où il rencontrait ses parents dont les membres de la famille Phocas[68]. Comme Irène de Chrysobalanton, Michel Maléïnos représente le blason religieux d'un réseau parental et politique. Né en 894 dans le thème de Charsianon, en Cappadoce, le futur saint est issu d'une des plus importantes et des plus riches familles byzantines, les Maléïnoi. Son grand-père paternel, Eustathe, avait été patrice et stratège[69], et son grand-père maternel, un Adralestos, avait également la dignité de patrice et avait été promu *stratèlatès* de l'Anatolie. Sa grand-mère aussi était, semble-t-il, une parente de l'empereur Romain Ier Lécapène (920–944), tandis que d'autres parents étaient liés à l'empereur Léon VI[70]. Son frère, Constantin, membre du Sénat et patrice, fut stratège de Cappadoce[71]. Enfin sa sœur épousa Bardas Phocas et fut la mère du futur empereur Nicéphore Phocas[72].

Encore adolescent, Michel Maléïnos reçut la dignité de *spatharokandidatos* et fut destiné par sa famille à un mariage avec une jeune femme de la famille impériale. Démentant le projet de cette alliance matrimoniale, le jeune Maléïnos, se trouvant à Constantinople parmi se proches, quitta la ville en secret et partit à la recherche d'un vieil ermite avec l'intention de se faire tonsurer moine. Il trouva en effet au mont Kyminas un saint vieillard entouré de nombreux disciples qui lui donna la tonsure. La tristesse des parents fut à la mesure de leurs attentes. Persuadé finalement de l'inutilité de ses efforts de faire son fils changer d'opinion, son père, résigné, console sa femme d'une manière significative pour la représentation sociale de la sainteté à cette époque: «Donc, ne nous affligeons pas, mais plus

[67] *Vie d'Athanase l'Athonite (A)* (Noret 1982, 12, chap. 22, 1–7). Cf. Laiou 1998.

[68] *Vie d'Athanase l'Athonite (A)* (Noret 1982, 11, chap. 19–20); cf. Petit 1902, 567, 14, sur les voyages de Maléïnos à Constantinople sans mentionner les rencontres avec Nicéphore.

[69] Cheynet 1990, 28, 31, 214 et 253.

[70] Petit 1902, 551, chap. 3; cf. Cheynet 1990, 271.

[71] Cheynet 1990, 214, 266; Laiou 1998, 400 n. 9.

[72] Sur les liens unissant les Maléïnoi et les Phocas, voir Cheynet 1990, 268 (table généalogique). Sur la relation entre Nicéphore Phocas et Michel Maléïnos en particulier, voir Laiou 1998, *passim*.

fortement encore rendons gloire à la Théotokos puisque notre fils sera notre gloire (καύχημα) et secours et l'ornement de toute notre famille (παντὸς τοῦ γένους καλλώπισμα)»[73].

Ornement de la famille, mais aussi caution des alliances politiques conclues entre ses membres. Liés par des relations de parenté naturelle et spirituelle, Michel Maléïnos et son neveu, Nicéphore Phocas, se légitiment mutuellement: en fréquentant son oncle, Nicéphore renforce son autorité spirituelle, alors que Michel consolide, par sa réputation de saint, le prestige séculier de son neveu et fils spirituel. Le même type de relation lie Irène de Chrysobalanton au clan des Gouber. Quand elle est sollicitée, elle fait usage de son autorité spirituelle pour défendre son clan et pour soutenir une opposition politique. Quand le grand-père du Michel Maléïnos, Eustathe, accueille l'usurpateur Bardas Phocas et le proclame empereur en Cappadoce, il s'agit également de l'alliance naturelle entre deux cousins[74], mais, qui plus est, celui qui l'évoque est l'hagiographe d'un Maléïnos, qui projette ainsi sur cet événement toute la légitimité que lui peut conférer l'appartenence de ses acteurs à la famille d'un saint. Ici, comme dans l'épisode de la *Vie d'Irène*, la parenté, le pouvoir et la sainteté s'associent et se complètent mutuellement. Dans la *Vie de Michel Maléïnos*, comme dans la *Vie d'Irène*, un clan cappadocien fait usage de l'autorité spirituelle d'un de ses membres, vénéré comme saint, pour appuyer ses partis-pris politiques et pour contester le pouvoir impérial.

III. *Élite administrative, élite spirituelle. Les eunuques paphlagoniens à Constantinople*[75]

La Paphlagonie, la région située sur le côté sud de la Mer Noire, entre la Bithynie et le Pont, a acquis dans l'Empire byzantin une importance politique considérable à partir du IXe siècle, lorsqu'elle devient un thème autonome, détaché du thème de Bukellarion. À partir de cette époque, la présence des Paphlagoniens dans l'élite de la société byzantine n'est plus une exception[76]. L'impératrice Théodora (842–855), l'un des acteurs principaux du triomphe de l'Orthodoxie en 843, était originaire de cette région[77]. Parmi les membres du clan Doukas, famille d'origine paphlagonienne qui s'illustre par plusieurs figures célèbres dès la fin du IXe siècle (Andronikos et Constantin), se rangent deux empereurs, Constantin X (1059–1067) et Michel VII (1071–1078). Au XIe siècle règne également un autre empereur d'origine paphlagonienne, Michel IV (1034–1041). De cette région sont originaires quelques lettrés renommés dont Nicétas David le Paphlagonien (fin IXe – première moitié du Xe siècle), disciple du célèbre Aréthas de Césarée. Au moins

[73] Petit 1902, 557, chap. 10, 15–18.

[74] Comme le fait remarquer Kaplan 2006, 118.

[75] Une première version de ce chapitre a été publiée sous le titre *Eunuci paflagonieni în Constantinopol (sec. X–XI). Realităţi şi ideologie*, SMIM, 29, 2011, 57–69.

[76] Voir Magdalino 1998.

[77] Theophanes Continuatus, 89.

deux saints de cette période, Nikon le Métanoeïte et Syméon le Nouveau Théologien, sont d'origine paphlagonienne[78].

La présence des Paphlagoniens dans l'élite de la société byzantine est pourtant associée surtout au corps des eunuques de l'administration impériale, recrutés de cette région à partir du IXe siècle, une influence importante dans cette stratégie ayant, probablement, l'impératrice Théodora, elle-même d'origine paphlagonienne[79].

Figures familières dans l'Empire assyrien et à la cour des pharaons égyptiens, les eunuques (οἱ εὐνοῦχοι) ne sont des présences insolites ni en Grèce ancienne et dans l'Empire romain, mais l'organisation dans l'administration impériale d'un ordre spécial des eunuques représente une innovation byzantine. Leur présence à la cour impériale est en général associée au règne de Dioclétien (284–305), marqué par une tendance marquée d'« orientalisation » de la cour[80]. Leur présence est bien documentée pendant le règne du fils de Constantin le Grand, Constantius II (337–361). Le corps des eunuques et notamment le chambellan Eusèbe exerçaient, à en croire Ammien Marcellin (XVIII, 4; XXII, 3–4), une influence considérable sur l'empereur Constantius. Au Ve siècle, Léon le Grand (457–474) a interdit la vente des eunuques de nationalité romaine sur le territoire de l'empire, mais il a autorisé le commerce des eunuques d'autres nationalités[81]. La présence des eunuques à la cour s'est accentuée dans les siècles suivants, malgré une législation qui leur était défavorable (la novelle 142 de Justinien et la novelle 60 de Léon VI). Au IXe siècle, le corps des eunuques formait, à la cour impériale, une hiérarchie séparée chargée de fonctions domestiques et administratives, et l'archieunuque était un des plus importants fonctionnaires de Constantinople.

Les raisons du recours aux eunuques étaient essentiellement deux[82]: d'abord, ils ne pouvaient aspirer au trône impérial, le statut d'eunuque étant légalement incompatible avec celui d'empereur, ensuite, leur relations avec le genre féminin n'étaient pas susceptibles de créer des problèmes de succession. En réalité, ces deux explications ne sont vraies qu'à moitié car, d'une part, si les eunuques ne pouvaient devenir empereurs eux-mêmes, rien ne les empêchait de conspirer en faveur d'autres prétendants au trône. Le cas le plus connu est celui de l'eunuque paphlagonien Jean Orphanotrophos dont les intrigues eurent comme résultat l'accession au trône de son frère, Michel IV le Paphlagonien (1034–1041) et l'assassinat de l'empereur Romain Argyros (1028–1034). D'autre part, l'incapacité des eunuques de procréer ne les empêchait pas d'entretenir des relations dangereuses du point de vue politique avec les femmes. Un exemple en est la relation entre l'eunuque Constantin le Paphlagonien et l'impératrice Zoe Karbonopsina, la

[78] Sullivan 1987, 32, 38 et 184; Hausherr 1928, 3, 78.
[79] Cf. Magdalino 1998, 148–149.
[80] Voir Tougher 1997 b, 169.
[81] Guilland 1967, I, 166.
[82] Voir Tougher 1997 b, 170.

quatrième épouse de l'empereur Léon VI (886–912), relation qui a valu à l'eunuque une disgrâce temporaire[83].

Malgré ces situations qui n'étaient pourtant pas exceptionnelles, les empereurs se sentaient en général en sécurité dans la présence des eunuques, surtout qand ceux-ci étaient de basse extraction, ce qui arrivait souvent, et leur ascension était due exclusivement aux privilèges impériaux; dans les conditions où les empereurs étaient entourés d'une aristocratie puissante dont les membres se sentaient en général autorisés, si l'occasion se présentait, d'accéder au trône, ce qui transformait tout dignitaire en un prétendant potentiel au trône.

De cerimoniis montre clairement la place importante que les eunuques détenaient, au Xe siècle, dans le palais impérial et dans les nombreuses cérémonies auliques. Ils avaient accès, en principe, à presque tous les offices et les dignités auliques: selon le *Kletorologion* de Philothée, à la fin du IXe siècle, des soixante fonctions, à peu près cinquante étaient ouvertes aux eunuques[84]. Parmi ces dernières, certaines leur étaient spécialement réservées: la fonction de παρακοιμώμενος était, par exemple, leur apanage exclusif; le παρακοιμώμενος, comme le nom l'indique, se couchait à côté d'empereur et veillait sur lui; il était en même son conseiller et son homme de confiance. Il était le chef de la garde domestique de l'empereur, formée des κουβικουλίριοι. Ils détenaient fréquemment les fonctions de πρωτοβεστιάριος, de ὁ ἐπί τῆς τραπέζης, le maître d'hôtel de l'empereur, de παπίας, le concierge du Grand Palais, ou πιγκέρνης, l'échanson de l'empereur ou de l'impératrice.

En raison de la confiance qu'ils inspiraient, les eunuques détenaient également de hautes fonctions militaires[85]. Les empereurs trouvaient bon ainsi de confier à un eunuque la direction d'une armée pour limiter de la sorte, au cas d'une campagne victorieuse, les ambitions au trône des généraux puissants. À la fin du VIIIe siècle, pendant le règne d'Irène (797–802), le puissant eunuque Stavrakios a été chargé de diriger la campagne victorieuse contre les tribus slaves de la Grèce continentale[86]. À la fin du IXe siècle, pendant le règne de Léon VI, l'eunuque Constantin, patrice et ὁ ἐπί τῆς τραπέζης, stratège des thèmes occidentaux, a reçu la commande d'une expédition en Sicile contre les Arabes[87]. Pendant le règne de Constantin Porphyrogénéte (920/945–959), l'eunuque Constantin Gongylios a reçu la commande de la flotte (en 944/945)[88]. Un général expérimenté comme Nicéphore Phocas, une fois devenu empereur (963–969), a confié la commande de la flotte byzantine dans l'expédition en Sicile de 964 á l'eunuque et patrice Nicétas[89]. Six ans plus tard, un autre général arrivé au trône, Jean Tzimiskès (969–976), a envoyé un contingent d'armée à l'appui des troupes qui luttaient contre les

[83] Theophanes Continuatus, 869.
[84] Voir Guilland 1967, I, 198–199.
[85] Guilland 1967, I, 170–176.
[86] Theophanes, 456–457.
[87] Theophanes Continuatus, 356.
[88] Theophanes Continuatus, 436.
[89] Leon Diaconus, 65–67.

Arabes à Alep et à Antioche, sous la commande d'un de ses eunuques favoris, Nicolas[90].

Au Xe et dans la première moitié du XIe siècle, une série de figures importantes d'eunuques qui ont joué un rôle décisif dans la vie politique de l'empire sont d'origine paphlagonienne (sous les Comnènes leur présence à la cour se raréfie)[91]. Le premier, en ordre chronologique, est Constantin le Paphlagonien, magistre devenu παρακοιμώμενος dans les dernières années du règne de Léon VI, intime de la quatrième épouse de l'empereur. Écarté du pouvoir par l'empereur Alexandre (912–913) et le patriarche Nicolas Mystikos (901–907, 912–925), il reste attaché à sa protectrice, Zoé Karbonopsina, qui, au moment de son retour éphémère au pouvoir en 914, comme régente du jeune Constantin VII, le désigne comme chef du corps des eunuques. Il est l'un des responsables de la réouverture du conflit avec le tsar bulgare Syméon, initiative désastreuse pour les Byzantins[92].

Deux autres eunuques paphlagoniens, qui entretiennent des relations étroites avec l'eunuque Constantin, les frères Anastase et Constantin Gongylios, apparaissent pendant cette période à proximité du trône impérial. Attachés, à l'instar de Constantin, à Zoé Karbonopsina et à Constantin VII, ils disparaissent de la scène politique pendant le règne de Romain Lécapène, mais au moins Constantin Gongylios réapparaît en 944, pendant le règne de Constantin VII, qui le désigne drongaire de la flotte. C'est lui qui va conduire l'expédition malheureuse en Crète en 949[93].

L'administration de Constantin VII fut basée sur un véritable réseau d'eunuques paphlagoniens. Un autre exemple est Joseph Bringas, patrice et πραιπόσιτος, puis drongaire de la flotte. Il a commencé son ascension sous Constantin VII, est devenu παρακοιμώμενος sous son fils, Romain II (959–963), pour tomber en disgrâce sous Nicéphore Phocas, qui l'a envoyé en exil en Paphlagonie, son pays d'origine. Le disciple de Bringas est un autre eunuque de Paphlagonie, Georges, le futur Syméon le Nouveau Théologien, envoyé à Constantinople par ses parents pour faire carrière et qui, en raison de l'influence de son oncle (Bringas lui-même ou, plus probablement, un de ses proches) est nommé σπαθαροκουβικουλάριος[94].

Enfin, un autre exemple et peut-être le plus instructif, est Jean Orphanotrophos, eunuque paphlagonien très influent sous Romain Argyros, qui contribue de manière décisive à l'accession au trône de son frère, Michel IV. Si l'on en croit Skylitzès, l'eunuque Jean est le véritable détenteur du pouvoir pendant le règne de son frère, entre 1034 et 1042, période d'apogée de l'influence des eunuques paphlagoniens dans l'empire[95].

La Paphlagonie est à l'évidence un lieu privilégié de recrutement des eunuques envoyés à Constantinople pour faire carrière au palais et cette relation étroite entre

[90] Leon Diaconus, 103.
[91] Voir Magdalino 1998, 143–145.
[92] Theophanes Continuatus, 275–276.
[93] Theophanes Continuatus, 386, 390, 436; Skylitzes, ed. Thurn, 201, 245–246.
[94] Voir Hausherr 1928, LXXXVIII–LXXXIX; McGuckin 1996, 19.
[95] Skylitzès, ed. Thurn, 385–421.

la région du nord de l'Asie mineure et le corps d'eunuques est, très probablement, à l'origine de la mauvaise presse des Paphlagoniens à Byzance[96]. Les allusions peu flatteuses à l'adresse des Paphlagoniens recoupent les appréciations tout aussi peu flatteuses à l'adresse des eunuques, alimentées en général par un fond idéologique ancien qui associe naturellement la virilité aux qualités morales (courage, fidélité, justice, altruisme, etc.). Toutefois, en réalité, malgré cette mauvaise réputation, l'image des eunuques dans la société byzantine a été toujours plutôt ambivalente[97].

Il faut préciser d'abord que dans l'Église il y avait, dès l'Antiquité, un nombre important de clercs eunuques[98]. Le premier canon du concile de Nicée (325) et les Canons apostoliques 21 et 22 interdisent formellement la présence dans le clergé seulement pour ceux qui sont devenus eunuques à la suite d'une automutilation volontaire (ἐκτομίαι, en opposition avec σπαδόνες ou θλαδίαι, qui souffraient d'une malformation congénitale ou d'une maladie). Sur le fond de cette non-interdiction, deux versets bibliques ont pu favoriser la formation d'une représentation positive des eunuques dans l'Église: *Matthieu* XIX, 12: «Car il est des eunuques qui sont nés tels du ventre de leur mère, il est des eunuques qui ont été fait eunuques par les hommes, et il est des eunuques qui se sont eux-mêmes fait eunuques à cause du règne des dieux. Comprenne qui peut comprendre»; *Isaïe* LVI, 3–5: «Que l'eunuque ne dise pas: Voici, je suis un arbre sec! Car ainsi parle l'Éternel: aux eunuques qui garderont mes sabbats, qui choisiront ce qui m'est agréable, et qui persévéreront dans mon alliance, Je donnerai dans ma maison et dans mes murs une place et un nom préférables à des fils et à des filles; Je leur donnerai un nom éternel, qui ne périra pas». Les eunuques de la cour se rangent parmi les martyrs de l'Église lors de la grande persécution de 303 et du premier iconoclasme, en 780[99].

Beaucoup de patriarches byzantins sont des eunuques, et ce phénomène a sans doute influencé la formation d'une image positive des eunuques dans la société byzantine. Au Xe siècle, pendant presque un demi-siècle, entre 925 et 970, presque tous les patriarches furent des eunuques: Étienne II (925–927), Théophylacte (933–956) et Polyéucte (956–970)[100]. Mais le phénomène n'est pas isolé car, dans le siècle précédent, deux parmi les patriarches les plus remarquables, Ignace (847–858 şi 867–877), le fils de l'empereur Michel Rangabé (811–813), et Méthode (843–847) l'ont été également[101]. Il n'est pas anodin que tous les deux furent vénérés comme saints. Le premier iconoclasme a connu lui aussi deux patriarches eunuques, l'un iconophile, Germain (715–730), honoré lui aussi comme saint, et l'autre iconoclaste, Nicétas Ier (766–780)[102].

[96] Voir Magdalino 1998, 142.

[97] Sur l'image des eunuques à Byzance, voir notamment Sidéris 2002; Ringrose 2003; Messis 2012; Messis 2014.

[98] Voir Guilland 1967, I. 168–170.

[99] Voir Sidéris 2002, 163–165.

[100] Guilland 1967, I. 169.

[101] Nicétas le Paphlagonien, col. 492 C; Theophanes Continuatus, 159.

[102] Guilland 1967, I, 168.

La représentation positive des eunuques est structurée par une idéologie qui établit une analogie entre la hiérarchie séculaire et la hiérarchie céleste et, en particulier, entre les eunuques situés à proximité de l'empereur et les anges qui entourent le trône céleste[103]. L'analogie entre l'ordre des anges et le corps des eunuques est fondée sur une série de traits communs relatifs à leur nature et fonctions: asexualité, transmission des messages, médiation, protection, fidélité. L'assimilation entre anges et eunuques est devenue, à partir notamment du IXe siècle, un *topos* dans l'hagiographie byzantine[104], comme un cas particulier de l'analogie, d'ordre plus général, établie par l'idéologie impériale entre Constantinople et la Jérusalem céleste[105].

Il n'est peut-être pas un hasard si cette représentation idéalisée de l'ordre des eunuques qui se fixe au Xe siècle par l'intermédiaire de l'hagiographie (*Vie d'André Salos*, *Vie de Niphon de Constantiana*, *Vision du moine Cosmas*[106], etc.), et de l' «eunucisation» du patriarcat correspond, du point de vue chronologique, à la formation et à la consolidation à la cour impériale, pendant la dynastie macédonienne, et notamment sous les règnes de Léon VI, de Constantin VII et de Romain II, d'un réseau fort influent d'eunuques paphlagoniens. Au contraire, il est très plausible que ce groupe ait contribué à la cristallisation et au renforcement de cette représentation[107]. Nous allons essayer de plaider en faveur de cette hypothèse en examinant deux vies de saint rédigées respectivement au Xe et au XIe siècle, la *Vie de Basile le Jeune* et la *Vie de Syméon le Nouveau Théologien*, deux textes représentatifs pour l'idéalisation et la spiritualisation de la figure de l'eunuque dans la culture byzantine de cette période.

Georges, le futur Syméon le Nouveau Théologien, est né en Paphlagonie, en 949, dans une famille de l'aristocratie provinciale qui avait de nombreux liens dans la capitale. Beaucoup de ses parents y résident, y occupant de hautes dignités, et son oncle est *koitônitès* de l'empereur Romain II[108]. Selon un parcours courant à cette époque[109], Syméon, encore enfant, est confié à des parents et envoyé à Constantinople pour achever son éducation et occuper par la suite un poste dans l'administration impériale. Après avoir fini le premier degré du cursus scolaire, le

[103] Voir Sidéris 2002, 166–168; Ringrose 2003, 142–163.

[104] Voir Timotin 2010, 297–300.

[105] Voir Maguire 1997; Congourdeau 2001, 125–136; Timotin 2011 a, 389–402.

[106] *Vie d'André Salos* (Rydén 1974 b, 145, ligne 973; 291, ligne 4211 *sq.*); *Vie de Niphon de Constantiana* (Rystenko 1928, 44, ligne 24; 53, ligne 33); Angelidi 1983, 85, lignes 147–154.

[107] À cette image idéalisée des eunuques a pu contribuer également l'hagiographie eunucophile du IXe siècle (*Vie du patriarche Méthode*, *Vie du patriarche Ignace*), dont les héros ne sont pas des Paphlagoniens – bien que l'impératrice Théodora, la protectrice du patriarche Méthode, le soit –, comme ne l'est peut-être ni le moine Cosmas (Angelidi 1983, *passim*), l'un des eunuques favoris de l'empereur Alexandre III (912–913) (voir Timotin 2010, 298–301). Toujours est-il que la densité des eunuques paphlagoniens aux Xe–XIe siècles et surtout leur place dans l'hagiographie n'ont pas de précedent dans la période antérieure.

[108] Hausherr 1928, 2, 4 (§ 2–3).

[109] Cf. Patlagean 1981, 178–179; Malamut 1993, 82–84; Kazhdan, McCormick 1997, 193–194.

jeune Syméon est introduit par son oncle au palais. Grâce à cette intervention, il reçoit bientôt la dignité de σπαθαροκουβικουλάριος et est admis dans le Sénat. La fonction de σπαθαροκουβικουλάριος, traditionnellement réservée aux eunuques, plaide en faveur de la qualité d'eunuque de Georges-Syméon, confirmée également par l'apparition de Syméon en vision à un moine du monastère Anaplous de Propontide, sous la forme d'un «eunuque à l'aspect distingué et grave»[110].

Après la mort de son oncle, Syméon eut une première tentative pour se faire tonsurer moine, mais il en fut empêché par son père spirituel, le célèbre Syméon le Stoudite, dit Eulabès. Résigné, il reste à Constantinople, dans la maison d'un patrice qui est un parent de sa famille, où il mène une vie quasi-monacale sous l'observation de son père spirituel.

Pendant cette période, Syméon a plusieurs expériences mystiques. Avec l'accord de Syméon le Stoudite, il est finalement tonsuré moine à Stoudios[111]. Sa conduite religieuse excentrique mena à son expulsion du Stoudios et à son transfert dans un monastère proche, à Saint-Mamas, martyre paphlagonien († 275), qui avait été fondé pendant le règne de Justinien par l'eunuque favori de l'empereur, Pharasmanès[112]. Ordonné higoumène du monastère, Syméon entra bientôt en conflit avec les patriarches Nicolas Chrysoberges (980–992) et Sissinnios (996–998), mais il parvint à préserver sa fonction qu'il confia, avant sa mort, à un de ses disciples, Arsène, un autre eunuque originaire de Paphlagonie[113]. À Stoudios, comme à Saint-Mamas, Syméon jouit d'une position privilégiée due à sa position sociale. Après seulement trois ans de vie monacale, il est ordonné prêtre et bientôt après higoumène du couvent de Saint-Mamas où il exerce une autorité de type patronal qui n'est pas bien accueillie par les moines du couvent[114]. On a pu montrer que l'enjeu du différend qui oppose Syméon et les patriarches Nicolas et Sissinnios est un conflit de pouvoir entre le parti aristocratique réuni autour de Syméon et du couvent de Saint-Mamas et l'empereur Basile II, qui a mené à la fin du Xe siècle une lutte durable contre les grandes familles anatoliennes[115]. Parmi les proches de Syméon se rangent le patrice Génésios, qui était son fils spirituel, Christophore Phagoura, également un haut dignitaire, le protonotaire du drome Jean et un autre Jean, un parent de Syméon, ὁ ἐπὶ τῶν δεήσεων «préposé aux suppliques»[116].

Le noyau de cette faction est formé des eunuques de l'empereur Romain II. L'oncle de Syméon est un proche du puissant eunuque Joseph Bringas, et la chute de ce dernier après l'accession au trône de Nicéphore Phocas, en 963, coïncide, en

[110] Hausherr 1928, 218, § 147: εὐνοῦχον εὐσχήμονά τε καὶ σεμνοπρεπῆ. Sur la qualité d'eunuque de Syméon, voir Magdalino 1998, 145 et, en dernier lieu, Messis 2012, 70.

[111] Hausherr 1928, 8, § 10–11.

[112] Janin 1969, 314.

[113] Hausherr 1928, 79, § 59. Pour la qualité d'eunuque d'Arsène et son origine paphlagonienne, cf. *ibidem*, 58, § 45, lignes 4–5: ἀνήρ τις αὐτὸς ἐκ Παφλαγόνων ὁρμώμενος, το σῶμα εὐνοῦχος.

[114] Voir sur ce point McGuckin 1996, 32–35.

[115] McGuckin 1996, 28–32. Cf. Timotin 2011 b, 127–134.

[116] Hausherr 1928, 138, 140, 158 (§ 100, 102, 113). Ὁ δεήσεων ou ὁ ἐπὶ τῶν δεήσεων était fonctionnaire chargé des requêtes adressées à l'empereur; cf. Guilland 1965; Morris 2004.

fait, avec la première tentative de Syméon d'entrer au monastère[117]. Joseph Bringas, le *parakoimômenos* de Romain II, est la figure centrale d'un pouvoir impérial qui, après la mort de Constantin VII, est divisé entre Bringas et l'impératrice Théophano, l'épouse de Romain II. En 963, Théophano, en alliance avec le puissant général Nicéphore Phocas, écarte du pouvoir la faction de Bringas, qui sera remplacé par l'eunuque Basile, le tuteur des futurs empereurs Basile II et Constantin VIII. Grâce à ses relations au palais, Syméon a pu néanmoins conserver son titre de sénateur et rester en sécurité à Constantinople aussi longtemps que le parti aristocratique est resté au pouvoir sous Nicéphore Phocas et Jean Tsimiskès. La situation fut toute autre après la mort de Tsimiskès et l'accession au trône de Basile II, en 976. C'est la fin de la carrière politique du jeune eunuque. Réfugié au monastère, Syméon devient le centre d'une opposition aristocratique qui se légitime par l'autorité spirituelle de Syméon le Stoudite et de son fils spirituel.

L'aura mystique et la notoriété dont Syméon jouit à Constantinople dans le dernier quart du Xe siècle et le premier quart du siècle suivant ont contribué à la spiritualisation et à l'idéalisation de l'image de l'eunuque au sein de l'élite sociale byzantine. Cette représentation se consolide dans le cadre d'un réseau d'eunuques paphlagoniens réunis autour de Joseph Bringas. La chute de ce dernier n'a pourtant pas entraîné la fin de son clan, car, au siècle suivant, un Michel Bringas (1056–1057) accède au trône et réunit autour de lui une partie des eunuques qui avaient servi Michel IV le Paphlagonien et sa protectrice, Théodora III (1055–1056), dont l'influent Jean Orphanotrophos[118]. Il n'est peut-être pas un hasard si pendant la même période, entre 1054 et 1055, est rédigée la *Vie de Syméon le Nouveau Théologien* par son disciple Nicétas Stéthatos[119], récit qui va stabiliser et renforcer la réputation de saint dont jouissait le plus célèbre eunuque de l'entourage de Joseph Bringas.

La figure de Basile le Jeune a plus d'un trait en commun avec Syméon. Les deux ont de nombreuses relations dans le groupe d'eunuques paphlagoniens du palais impérial, passent la plupart de leur vie à Constantinople et sont vénérés comme saints par leurs disciples. Leur sainteté hors normes est, elle aussi, similaire. Basile, comme Syméon, est un mystique qui jouit d'une autorité spirituelle considérable et qui est crédité de plusieurs visions qui, comme dans le cas de Syméon, ont contribué de manière non négligeable à sa popularité (notamment sa vision du Jugement Dernier, la plus ample de toute la littérature byzantine).

La *Vie de Basile le Jeune* a joui d'une large popularité à Byzance[120]. Le texte contient un nombre important d'éléments historiques qui couvrent une période s'étendant du règne de Léon VI jusqu'au règne de Constantin VII (945–959), qui

[117] Cf. Hausherr 1928, LXXXVIII–LXXXI; McGuckin 1996, 19. Sur Joseph Bringas, voir Markopoulos 1981.

[118] Voir Magdalino 1998, 146.

[119] Cf. Hausherr 1928, lxxx–xci.

[120] Voir Sullivan, Talbot, McGrath 2014. Angelidi 1980, 3–12 a répertorié 22 manuscrits rédigés entre le IXe et le XIXe siècle. Sur la *Vie de Basile le Jeune*, voir aussi Kazhdan 2006, 185–193; Timotin 2010, 320–342.

permettent de placer sa rédaction dans un contexte historique déterminé, à Constantinople, au milieu du Xe siècle.

Basile le Jeune, que la première partie de sa biographie nous permet d'associer à la faction favorable à l'usurpateur Constantin Doukas à la cour de l'empereur Alexandre III (912–913)[121], se trouve impliqué dans les conflits pour l'accession au trône en tant qu'ami proche du magistre Romain Sarônitès, gendre de l'empereur Romain Lécapène (920–944), qu'il essaie de dissuader de comploter contre l'empereur[122].

Après un trou de deux décennies dans la biographie de Basile, on le retrouve, vers le milieu du Xe siècle, dans le quartier Arkadianai, près du palais impérial, dans la maison du *primmikêrios* Constantin Barbaros, un eunuque paphlagonien[123], où il reçoit la visite de nombreux dignitaires et où il passe le restant de sa vie[124]. Basile passe également un certain temps dans la maison des frères Constantin et Anasatase Gongylios, *praipositoi* à la cour et parents de Constantin Barbaros, eux aussi des eunuques originaires de Paphlagonie[125].

Les bonnes relations de Basile à la cour ont favorisé son accès au palais. Il devient le père spirituel de la patricienne Anastasie et de l'impératrice Hélène, l'épouse de Constantin VII, à laquelle il rend visite régulièrement. À la demande de l'impératrice, Basile reste au palais même pendant une semaine[126]. L'image de Basile est celle d'un favori de l'impératrice Hélène et de ses proches, qui sans être ni prêtre, ni moine, jouit parmi ses amis, en raison de ses charismes – il a, par exemple, le don de la «seconde vue» –, d'une réputation de sainteté, situation qui, tout en restant exceptionnelle, n'est pas isolée à l'époque[127].

Dans ses grandes lignes, son profil n'est pas très différent de celui de Syméon le Nouveau Théologien. Les deux sont, par l'autorité dont leur réputation les investit, au centre d'une famille spirituelle qui coïncide avec un puissant groupe aristocratique de Constantinople. Syméon est certainement un eunuque d'origine paphlagonienne, alors que Basile, s'il n'en est pas un, a du moins des connexions nombreuses et étroites dans le milieu des eunuques paphlagoniens du palais.

Si la *Vie de Syméon* fut rédigée dans une période heureuse pour les eunuques d'origine paphlagonienne et, en particulier, pour le clan de son protecteur, pendant le règne de Théodora et de son protégé, Michel Bringas, la *Vie de Basile*, rédigée le

[121] Voir Magdalino 1998, 147 n. 28; Timotin 2010, 321–322.

[122] Sullivan, Talbot, McGrath 2014, 105–113. Sur le magistre Romain Sarônitès, voir Cheynet 1990, 271.

[123] Sullivan, Talbot, McGrath 2014, 117–119. Cf. Rydén 1983, 574–575, 583.

[124] Sullivan, Talbot, McGrath 2014, 735–737. Sur la localisation du quartier, voir Müller-Wiener 1977, 21.

[125] Sullivan, Talbot, McGrath 2014, 293–309. Sur les frères Gongylioi, voir Rydén 1983, 573–574; Magdalino 1998, 144.

[126] Sullivan, Talbot, McGrath 2014, 121–127.

[127] Cf. par exemple, la *Vie de Philarète le Miséricordieux*, la *Vie d'André Salos* ou la *Vie de Marie la Jeune*. Pour les similitudes entre les figures d'André Salos et de Basile le Jeune, voir Magdalino 1999.

plus probablement vers le milieu du Xe siècle, eut peut-être comme auteur un paphlagonien, qu'il soit Nicétas David[128], ou l'un des frères Gongylioi[129].

La conclusion qui se dégage de l'examen de ces deux cas est que le groupe des eunuques paphlagoniens de la cour, très influents sous Constantin VII et Romain II, mais aussi au XIe siècle, notamment dans l'administration de l'empereur Michel IV le Paphlagonien, promeuvent et entretiennent, à travers des figures charismatiques comme Basile le Jeune et Syméon le Nouveau Théologien, une représentation idéalisée de leur ordre. Cette représentation, qui spiritualise et ennoblit la figure de l'eunuque, représente à la fois une forme d'identité régionale et un emblème social.

IV. *L'Orthodoxie aux confins de l'Empire. Les Arméniens en Thrace*[130]

Au IXe siècle, les Arméniens représentent la plus importante minorité ethnique de l'Empire byzantin par les fonctions qu'ils exercent: des commandants militaires, notamment dans les régions de frontière, des agents de l'administration et même des empereurs, avec Léon V l'Arménien (813–820) et Basile Ier (867–886)[131]. Leur insertion dans l'élite de la société byzantine est attestée dès le VIe siècle, pendant le règne de Justinien (483–565), mais elle va s'amplifiant au cours des siècles suivants, notamment à partir du IXe siècle, avec la reconquête byzantine de l'Est anatolien et l'incorporation de l'Arménie[132]. L'annexion des territoires entraîne des transferts de population dans l'empire et, corrélativement, l'assimilation progressive de l'élément arménien dans l'aristocratie byzantine, notamment comme effet de l'exercice de hauts offices militaires lié au besoin stratégique de la défense des frontières. Selon Al. Kazhdan, les Arméniens représentent au IXe siècle 25 % ou même plus de l'aristocratie militaire byzantine, poids qui décroît progressivement à partir du XIe siècle[133].

Ces calculs n'ont bien sûr qu'une valeur indicative, car l'origine arménienne des archontes n'est pas toujours facile à établir. Elle n'est que rarement explicite, mais l'onomastique permet d'établir les racines arméniennes des familles telles que Môsèlé, Taronites, Kourkouas ou Lékapenos, ou des figures célèbres comme le césar Bardas, régent sous Michel III (842–867), ou Stylianos Zaoutzès, *basileopatôr* sous Léon VI (886–912)[134]. Les noms de familles sont parfois associés de manière alternative à une origine arménienne ou géorgienne (Tornikios, Pakourianos, Vichkatzi, Apuchap), et dans ce cas on parle plutôt d'origines « caucasiennes »[135].

[128] Voir Timotin 2010, 329–330.

[129] Voir Sullivan, Talbot, McGrath 2014, 11.

[130] Une première version de ce chapitre a été publiée sous le titre *Redéfinitions arméniennes de la sainteté byzantine (IXe–XIe siècles)*, Transylvanian Review, 19, Supplement 5, 2010, 73–82.

[131] Sur les Arméniens dans l'Empire byzantin, voir Charanis 1961; Kazhdan 1983; Brousselle 1996; Garsoïan 1998; Malamut 2006.

[132] Cf. Charanis 1961, 205–211; Brousselle 1996, 47–51.

[133] Kazhdan 1983, 444, 447–448.

[134] Cf. Kazhdan 1983, 443–444; Brousselle 1996, 44–47.

[135] Cf. Kazhdan 1983, 443; Brousselle 1996, 45.

Les profils sociaux de ces personnages sont de plus divers, allant de grands seigneurs à de simples aventuriers comme le futur empereur Basile Ier[136].

Leur identité ethnique, linguistique et culturelle a pu se perpétuer malgré leur « byzantinisation » et l'adoption du crédo chalcédonien quoique les sources ne soient pas généreuses sur ces aspects[137]. Les solidarités ethniques transparaissent néanmoins dans les mariages et les alliances politiques conclus entre les familles dont l'origine arménienne est incontestable[138]. Beaucoup de leurs membres sont bilingues, et les plus cultivés ne résistent pas à l'attraction de la culture grecque, comme ce Grégoire Pahlavuni Magistros qui se consacre à la traduction en arménien de la littérature grecque[139]. L'orthodoxie n'est elle non plus uniforme et incontestée: l'histoire d'un certain Gagik, noble arménien qui quitte Ani en 1045 pour s'établir en Cappadoce sur un domaine attribué par l'empereur, qui tue le métropolite de Césarée et est ensuite capturé par les magnats locaux et pendu[140], est représentative pour les tensions entre l'Église locale et les nouveaux venus. Il est encore significatif que les Arméniens déportés en Thrace (premier transfert sous Constantin V, en 754–755) sont associés à partir du VIIIe siècle à l'hérésie paulicienne et plus tard aux Bogomiles[141].

L'attachement aux valeurs religieuses byzantines ne manque pas lui non plus de soulever des difficultés, et cette étude se propose précisément de mettre en évidence les particularités et les divergences par rapport à la norme byzantine de l'idéal religieux des Arméniens grécisés de l'empire, tel qu'il se reflète dans l'hagiographie de deux figures exemplaires, Marie la Jeune et Philarète le Miséricordieux.

Avant de passer à l'analyse de ces deux personnages, quelques précisions sont nécessaires sur la définition de la sainteté à Byzance à une époque qui ne connaît pas encore des procès officiels de canonisation[142]. La reconnaissance publique de la sainteté n'obéit pas à des règles précises et présente un caractère décentralisé, fluctuant et relativement spontané[143]. «Pour autant, n'importe qui ne devient pas saint (*hagios* ou *hosios* en grec) sans répondre à certaines normes, sans avoir effectué une sorte de parcours obligatoire, sans être ressenti dans la conscience populaire, à travers un type d'action bien défini, comme un homme (ou une femme) participant de la gloire divine, ce qui est la définition même de la

[136] L'ascension de Basile Ier a été étudiée par Beck 1965.

[137] Cf. Brousselle 1996, 51–52; Garsoïan 1998, 100–102. Sur les divergences dogmatiques entre les Arméniens et les Byzantins, voir Dorfmann-Lazarev 2004.

[138] Voir les exemples réunis et analysés par Charanis 1961, 207–211, et par Brousselle 1996, 51–52.

[139] Cf. Kazhdan 1983, 444.

[140] Cf. Charanis 1961, 199.

[141] Theophanes, 429, commenté par Malamut 2006, 105–106.

[142] Voir *supra*, note 4.

[143] Le meilleur aperçu général est Kaplan 1990. Voir aussi Delehaye 1927, 162–207; Hackel 1981; Kaplan 1999; Pratsch 2005.

sainteté»[144]. Ce parcours obligatoire est jalonné en général par quelques éléments récurrents: enfance exceptionnelle (vie spirituelle précoce), prise de l'habit monastique – plus de trois quarts des saints attestés entre le début du VIIe siècle et la fin de l'empire sont des moines[145] –, chasteté, ascèse et obéissance, combat avec les démons, accomplissement de miracles (notamment des guérissons), la seconde vue (*diorasis*), et, après la mort, l'incorruptibilité et la bonne odeur des reliques. Le dosage de ces éléments peut varier et d'autres traits s'y ajoutent pour achever une pluralité de profils difficiles à réduire à un portrait standardisé.

Par rapport à ce contour général, les *Vies* de Marie la Jeune (*BHG* 1164), rédigée le plus probablement au XIe siècle[146], et de Philarète le Miséricordieux (*BHG* 1511z–1512b), rédigée par son petit-fils Nicétas aux alentours de 820[147], se présentent plutôt comme des parcours atypiques.

Marie la Jeune – nommée ainsi pour la distinguer de Marie l'Égyptienne – est la fille d'un noble arménien émigré à Constantinople sous Basile Ier (867–886)[148]. Elle s'est mariée avec le drongaire Nicéphore qui, en récompense de ses mérites dans la guerre contre les Bulgares en 894–896, avait reçu le commandement militaire d'une petite ville dans l'est de la Thrace, Vizyè (l'actuelle Viza) où il s'établit avec sa famille[149]. Ils eurent quatre enfants dont deux moururent à bas âge alors que les deux autres, Vaanès et Étienne, embrassèrent respectivement la carrière militaire et la vie monacale. Étienne prit le nom de Syméon, et devint moine au mont Kyminas, où il fut peut-être le disciple du célèbre Michel Maléïnos[150]. Marie est une femme pieuse, qui va régulièrement à l'église et qui fait preuve d'une charité peu commune qui lui vaudra le reproche de gaspiller la fortune de la maison. Elle est accusée par son mari d'adultère avec un esclave et placée sous observation dans sa chambre. Un jour, son mari, courroucé par les médisances d'un ami, la frappe brutalement. Essayant de s'échapper, elle se blesse gravement à la tête. Après quelques jours, elle mourut et fut enterrée dans l'église épiscopale de Vizyè[151].

[144] Kaplan 1990, 16.

[145] Charanis 1971.

[146] AS, *Novembris*, IV, Bruxelles, 1925, col. 692–705 (traduction anglaise, accompagnée de notes et d'une introduction, par A. E. Laiou, dans Talbot 1996 b, 254–289). La datation de la *Vie*, conservée seulement dans deux manuscrits tardifs, des XIVe–XVe siècles, n'est pas facile. Certains savants ont argumenté pour la seconde moitié du Xe siècle (Balasčev 1899, 205), alors que d'autres ont soutenu une date postérieure à 1025 (P. Peeters, dans AS, *Novembris*, IV, Bruxelles, 1925, col. 691). Le plus fort argument en faveur du XIe siècle est l'allusion à l'empereur Basile II (chap. 2), à moins qu'il ne s'agisse pas d'une interpolation. A. E. Laiou (*Introduction*, dans Talbot 1996 b, 242–245) a avancé comme argument supplémentaire contre le Xe siècle la confusion au sujet de la localisation du mont Kyminas, difficilement concevable à un auteur écrivant à cette époque.

[147] Rydén 2002; Fourmy, Leroy 1934.

[148] Sur l'origine arménienne de Marie, voir Peeters 1951, 129–135. P. Peeters suppose, sur la base de la chronologie interne de la *Vie*, que Marie est née en Arménie, avant l'arrivée de son père à Constantinople, mais Angeliki E. Laiou a montré la faiblesse de ses arguments (dans Talbot 1996 b, 241).

[149] Sur Vizyè, voir Ahrweiler 1988, 230–231, avec bibliographie.

[150] Voir A. E. Laiou, *Introduction*, dans Talbot 1996 b, 244. Sur Michel Maleïnos, voir *supra*.

[151] Maintenant la mosquée Süleyman Paşa Camii; voir Mango 1968.

Quatre mois après sa mort, intervenue, semble-t-il, en 902[152], une guérison miraculeuse se produit à sa tombe. Exhumé, son corps intact guérit les malades. C'est le point de départ d'un culte auquel les autorités ecclésiastiques locales s'opposent fermement. L'évêque de Vizyè et quelques moines expriment ouvertement leurs doutes à ce qu'une femme qui a vécu et est morte mariée puisse produire des miracles réservés aux seuls moines et martyrs[153]. Néanmoins, le culte continue à se développer. Marie apparaît en rêve à son mari et lui demande de bâtir une chapelle où son corps soit transféré. Le mari exauce cette demande malgré l'opposition du clergé local. Les miracles se poursuivent dans la nouvelle chapelle.

Nicéphore mourut pendant l'occupation bulgare de Vizyè et fut enterré dans la même chapelle à côté de sa femme. La ville fut incendiée par les Bulgares, mais peu de temps après la mort du tsar Syméon (893–927), elle fut réoccupée par les Byzantins sous le tsar Pierre, le fils de Syméon, qui fit paix avec Romain Lécapène (920–944) en 927. Vaanès, l'un des deux fils de Marie, qui était commandant dans l'armée byzantine et avait combattu contre les Bulgares, rentra alors à Vizyè et décida, de concert avec son frère, le moine Syméon, lui aussi de passage par la ville, d'utiliser leur part de l'héritage paternel pour transformer la chapelle en un monastère. Ils transférèrent le corps de son père dans une autre tombe en dehors de l'église et déplacèrent les reliques de leur mère dans le tombeau de marbre où avait été mis Nicéphore. Le monastère devient un lieu fréquenté par de nombreux pèlerins. Le culte de Marie gagne en notoriété, mais son absence du Synaxaire de Constantinople suggère qu'il est resté limité aux environs de Vizyè où la commémoration de Marie a continué jusqu'à la fin de l'empire, comme en témoigne les deux manuscrits connus de sa *Vie*, datant respectivement du XIVe et du XVe siècle[154]. Dans la forme où elle nous est parvenue, la *Vie de Marie la Jeune* semble avoir été rédigée quelques générations après les événements relatés, le plus probablement au XIe siècle, sinon même plus tard[155].

Son culte est, au moins à son origine, un culte ethnique. Promu par une famille arménienne établie en Thrace déjà depuis trois générations, le culte organisé autour du monastère familial de Vizyè se heurte à la résistance de la hiérarchie ecclésiastique locale, méfiante à l'égard de la dévotion croissante pour cette étrangère dont la sainteté soulève des réserves justifiées. Soutenu au début par son mari, un notable local, le culte est par la suite édifié méthodiquement – monastère, transfert des reliques, tombeau de marbre, hagiographie et icône *acheiropoïètes*[156] – par ses deux fils, Vaanès, commandant d'armée dont le nom trahit l'identité arménienne, et le moine Syméon. L'un des deux autres enfants de Marie, morts à bas âge, s'appelle Vardanès, nom arménien également, et la proportion des noms des quatre enfants – deux d'origine arménienne, deux d'origine grecque – trahit l'intention de

[152] Voir Pratsch 2004.

[153] AS, *Novembris*, IV, chap. 12, 19, col. 697, 699.

[154] Voir A. E. Laiou, *Introduction*, dans Talbot 1996 b, 240–241.

[155] *Ibidem*, 242–245, avec la bibliographie antérieure.

[156] Sur le rôle de l'icône dans le culte de Marie la Jeune, voir Timotin 2007, 124–129; Timotin 2010, 242–243.

préserver la double identité ethnique de ses fils[157]. Le beau-frère de Marie est lui aussi un Arménien – il s'appelle Vardas Vratzès[158] –, et le père de Marie est l'un des officiers arméniens auxquels l'avènement au pouvoir de Basile Ier a permis l'installation, pour la plupart d'entre eux définitive, à l'intérieur de l'empire. Son établissement à Vizyè est intervenu, fort probablement, comme effet de la politique de Léon VI (886–912) qui confia la région de frontière du futur thème de Lykandos à des commandants d'origine arménienne et procéda de la même façon après les campagnes contre les Bulgares des années 894–896[159]. La politique de transplantation de la population arménienne en Thrace remonte au règne de Maurice (582–602)[160], et elle fut réitérée au VIIIe siècle par Constantin V (741–775), quand des milliers d'Arméniens et de Syriens monophysites furent amenés des régions de l'est et établis en Thrace[161]. Au Xe siècle, pendant le règne de Jean Tzimiskès (969–976), un nombre considérable de Pauliciens, en grande partie des Arméniens, seront également transplantés en Thrace, autour de Philippoupolis[162]. Il est donc fort possible que parmi les adhérents au nouveau culte de Vizyè se rangent aussi des membres de la communauté d'Arméniens grécisés de Thrace formée à la suite de ces transferts successifs de population.

Le culte a dû cependant affronter l'opposition résolue du clergé et des moines locaux et cette réaction a une raison précise. La biographie de Marie ne correspond pas aux canons de l'hagiographie byzantine. Elle est une femme mariée, mère de quatre enfants et sans relations avec les milieux monastique et clérical, portrait qui n'a pas de précédent dans l'hagiographie byzantine[163]. Elle ne pratique pas l'ascèse et n'est pas éprouvée par les démons, n'accomplit pas de miracles et n'a pas le don de la seconde vue. Bref, elle ne fait rien de ce que l'on attendrait d'un saint de cette époque, sauf l'incorruptibilité des reliques et les guérissons posthumes. Son hagiographe en est bien conscient: il ne cache pas les réserves du clergé et des moines à l'égard de la sainteté de Marie et, d'autre part, il fait un ample et hardi éloge des vertus de la vie séculière où il ne manque pas d'ailleurs de glisser quelques allusions irrévérencieuses sur les moines[164]. Cet éloge est une caution et un programme à la fois. Il légitime la sainteté de Marie et en même temps propose

[157] Voir Peeters 1951, 133.

[158] Vratzès signifie "Géorgien", ce qui peut indiquer un Arménien chalcédonien; voir sur ce point A. E. Laiou, *Introduction*, dans Talbot 1996 b, 255 n. 50.

[159] Constantine Porphyrogenitus, 228; Theophanes Continuatus, 358, 360. Les deux textes sont analysés par Brousselle 1996, 48.

[160] Sébéos 1904, 30–31; cf. Charanis 1961, 199.

[161] Theophanes, 427, 429; Michel le Syrien, 518, 521, 523; cf. Charanis 1961, 199; Malamut 2006, 105–106.

[162] Skylitzès, éd. Thurn, 286; Zonaras, 522; cf. Charanis 1961, 199; Malamut 2006, 107.

[163] Il y a un seul cas analogue, Thomaïs de Lesbos, mais il est postérieur à Marie. Sur la place de ces deux *Vies* dans l'évolution de l'hagiographie féminine à Byzance, voir Patlagean 1976, 620–622. Cf. Rydén 1986, 545–546; P. Halsall, *Life of St. Thomaïs de Lesbos. Introduction*, dans Talbot 1996 b, 292–293. La date de la rédaction de la *Vie de Thomaïs*, généralement assignée au Xe siècle, a été mise en question par Al. Kazhdan (*ODB*, III, 2076) qui a avancé l'hypothèse d'une révision plus tardive.

[164] AS, *Novembris*, IV, chap. 19, col. 699. Voir aussi les reproches adressés aux moines errants par l'hagiographe de Cyrille le Philéote (XIIe siècle); cf. Sargologos 1964, 112–117, chap. 24.

pour imitation un modèle de vie qui a trop peu en commun avec les biographies traditionnelles des saints byzantins. Les saints provenant du milieu séculier se multiplient au Xe siècle, avec des figures comme celles d'André *Salos* et de Basile le Jeune, mais, d'une part, il s'agit de saints et non de saintes, et, d'autre part, André *Salos* et Basile le Jeune, malgré leur caractère marginal par rapport à l'Église et à la société, transmettent à leurs disciples, Épiphane et Grégoire, un enseignement religieux qui ne diffère pas essentiellement du discours traditionnel de l'Église dont ils promeuvent les valeurs[165].

Le cas de Marie la Jeune est différent. Marie est une femme commune, dépourvue d'éducation théologique, à laquelle aucun discours édifiant n'est attribué. Sa sainteté se réduit à la limite à la charité, mais celle-ci, aux yeux de son hagiographe, « élève l'homme mieux que toute autre vertu »[166]. D'autre part, les représentants de l'Église et leur conception sur la nature de la sainteté sont clairement discrédités par l'hagiographe en raison de leur incapacité à reconnaître la perfection de Marie. Il est impossible de ne pas détecter ici une visée polémique. À travers la biographie de Marie, l'hagiographe exalte la vie séculière au détriment des modèles traditionnels de la sainteté: «la bienheureuse Marie, la merveille de notre génération, que notre discours a prise pour sujet, tout femme qu'elle fût, et unie à un homme, et mère d'enfants, rien absolument ne l'a empêchée d'atteindre la gloire en Dieu: ni la faiblesse de la nature, ni les tourments du mariage, ni la nécessité et les soucis de la nourriture des enfants. Au contraire, tout cela a servi de base à sa gloire, et elle a fait preuve que ceux qui disent et pensent que ces circonstances et le reste font obstacle à la valeur se livrent à des vains discours et inventent des prétextes dans leur péché »[167]. Parmi les vertus de la vie séculière, la charité vient au premier plan, mais elle n'est pas la seule.

En introduisant dans le récit les figures des deux fils de Marie arrivés à la maturité, l'hagiographe dresse un portrait contrasté de leurs carrières, monastique et militaire. Ici encore son parti pris est bien net. Alors que la vocation monastique de Syméon est évoquée en quelques phrases conventionnelles[168], il n'épargne pas ses mots pour célébrer les vertus du brave commandant d'armée[169]. Son portrait est bien celui d'un saint: brave et courageux, il est « au dessus des honneurs de ce

[165] Voir Grosdidier de Matons 1970, 304–311; Magdalino 1999, 88.

[166] AS, *Novembris*, IV, Paris, 1925, col. 699: αὕτη μὲν γὰρ ἡ μακαρία Μαρία, τὸ θαῦμα τῆς καθ᾽ ἡμᾶς γενεᾶς, ὅσον ἐν τῷ ἁγίῳ βαπτίσματι ἐπηγγείλατο, διετήρησε μέχρι τέλους ἀνόθευτον, ὅπερ ἐστὶ πάντως τῆς τῶν κοσμικῶν τελειότητος· ἡ δὴ προσέθετο τούτῳ σὺν ἄλλαις οὐκ ὀλίγαις ἀρετῶν μάλιστα τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἀνυφοῖ, ὡς καρπὸς ὑπάρχουσα τῆς ἀγάπης ᾗ καὶ Θεὸς πευφραίνεται μᾶλλον, καὶ αὐτὸς αὐτὸ τοῦτο ἀγάπη ὀνομάζεσθαι βούλεται („Marie, la bienheureuse, la merveille de notre génération, a jusqu'à la fin préservé inaltérée la promesse qu'elle avait faite au moment du saint baptême, ce qui est la perfection pour les laïcs, ce à quoi elle a ajouté beaucoup d'autres vertus, parmi lesquelles la charité qui élève l'homme mieux que toute autre vertu, étant le fruit de l'amour à tel point agréable à Dieu qu'Il veut que Lui-même soit appelé par le nom de l'amour (*1 Jn* 4, 16)").

[167] *Ibidem*, col. 692 (trad. Patlagean 1976, 622).

[168] *Ibidem*, chap. 27 et 31, col. 702 et 704.

[169] *Ibidem*, chap. 30, col. 703–704.

monde », « téméraire dans le corps, mais beaucoup plus téméraire dans son âme », émulant sa mère dans la charité et dans les autres vertus. Sa piété – participation régulière aux offices, récitation constante des psaumes et des canons – n'a rien à envier au moine le plus zélé. Que ce panégyrique soit consacré au soldat et non au moine, comme on aurait pu bien paraître légitime, cela n'est sûrement pas anodin. En faisant l'éloge de Marie et de son fils ayant embrassé la carrière militaire, l'hagiographe modifie, en effet, et redéfinit le canon hagiographique byzantin.

Que ce fils de Marie soit précisément celui qui porte un nom qui évoque ses racines arméniennes n'est peut-être pas un pur hasard. L'un de très rares exemples de saints byzantins sans relations avec l'univers monastique et clérical, Philarète le Miséricordieux, qui vécut au VIIIe siècle, mais dont la *Vie* fut rédigé par un de ses petits-fils au siècle suivant[170], fait partie, très probablement, de la communauté arménienne de Paphlagonie[171]. Limitée à l'est par le thème des Arméniaques, la Paphlagonie était un lieu traditionnel de refuge pour les Arméniens pendant les guerres byzantino-arabes du VIIe siècle. Le nom de l'aîné des petits-fils de Philarète est Bardas et un autre petit-fils s'appelle Pétronas, couple qui évoque le césar Bardas et son frère cadet, Pétronas, deux figures célèbres de l'histoire byzantine du IXe siècle dont l'origine arménienne est bien établie. Qui plus est, l'un des soldats qui bénéficient de la charité de Philarète s'appelle Mousèlios ou Mousoulios, nom qui trahit également une origine arménienne[172].

Comme Marie la Jeune, Philarète est un saint atypique par rapport aux modèles hagiographiques traditionnels[173]: il est marié et père de plusieurs enfants – un fils et deux filles – et n'a aucune des qualités qui, en règle générale, qualifient pour ce statut; il n'est ni prêtre, ni moine et semble d'ailleurs dépourvu d'une éducation religieuse solide, il ne pratique pas l'ascèse et n'accomplit pas de miracles. Comme Marie, il fait pourtant preuve d'une charité hors du commun et il est évident que son hagiographe promeut à travers sa biographie un modèle de sainteté différent par rapport au canon byzantin. La composition de sa biographie, elle aussi, est hors norme, en ressemblant plutôt à un conte qu'à une vie de saint. Elle donne très peu de détails sur la vie de Philarète dont elle ne raconte d'ailleurs que les dernières années et, quoiqu'elle soit rédigée par un moine, les événements racontés se passent dans un milieu exclusivement séculier[174].

La première partie de la *Vie* présente Philarète et sa famille dans le village d'Amnia, en Paphlagonie. Philarète, dépeint en nouveau Job, est un seigneur riche

[170] Sur Nicétas, l'hagiographe de Philarète, voir Rydén 2002, 45–50.

[171] Voir Treadgold 1988, 432, n. 375. Voir aussi les commentaires plus réservés de Rydén 2002, 25.

[172] Rydén 2002, 24.

[173] Voir Kazhdan, Sherry 1996; Ludwig 1997, 74–166; Rydén 2002, 33–36.

[174] Cet aspect, ainsi que l'absence de toute référence à la crise iconoclaste et l'analyse des noms des enfants et des petits-enfants de Philarète ont permis d'avancer l'hypothèse du caractère iconoclaste de la *Vie*: voir Ševčenko 1977, 126; Auzépy 1993, 121. Cet argument *ex silentio* n'est pourtant pas décisif et des réserves légitimes ont été exprimées sur ce point par Rydén 2002, 24–25, et par Kazhdan 1999, 289–290.

que Dieu met à l'épreuve à l'instigation du diable, et l'amène à la ruine par sa charité déraisonnable. Une de ses petites-filles devient, après avoir gagné un concours de beauté à Constantinople, l'épouse de l'empereur Constantin VI (780–797) et la dernière partie de la *Vie* décrit la vie de Philarète à la cour de Constantin VI où il continue à faire preuve de sa prodigieuse philanthropie. Au lit de mort, le saint prêche la charité à ses fils et petit-fils en les conseillant de donner leur fortune aux pauvres. Après sa mort, son petit-fils et hagiographe Nicétas a un rêve où il voit son grand-père au paradis en nouvel Abraham[175].

Figure singulière dans le paysage de l'hagiographie byzantine, Philarète rejoint néanmoins la figure de Marie la Jeune avec laquelle il partage plusieurs traits: le mariage et la descendance relativement nombreuse, l'absence d'affiliation monastique ou ecclésiastique, la charité hors du commun. Éloges des vertus de la vie séculière, leurs biographies s'accordent pour dresser la synthèse d'un type de religiosité différent par rapport au modèle byzantin traditionnel. Les hagiographes de Marie et de Philarète opèrent, avec toute la vigueur du genre, une rectification des valeurs religieuses traditionnelles, et il est légitime de penser que l'identité ethnique de leurs héros et/ou de leurs descendants n'est pas indifférente dans cette entreprise. Redéfinition de la sainteté dans le cadre de l'orthodoxie, les aspirations religieuses de ces Arméniens grécisés se frayent un chemin dans ces récits édifiants qui condensent un système de valeurs et dissimulent son désaccord avec la norme byzantine.

V. *Eschatologie et politique de la foi. Les conversions forcées des Juifs sous Basile Ier et Romain Lécapène*[176]

La présence des Juifs dans l'Empire byzantin, difficile à quantifier surtout pour l'Antiquité tardive, est néanmoins attestée sans solution de continuité jusqu'au XVe siècle[177]. Elle a connu une large distribution géographique et un flux migratoire relativement constant, notamment de l'Égypte et des autres pays de l'Islam vers l'Empire. Les communautés juives étaient majoritairement des communautés urbaines, engagées dans des activités économiques comme l'artisanat, notamment dans l'industrie textile, et le commerce[178]. Selon Benjamin de Tudèle, voyageur dans l'Empire vers 1160, les plus importantes communautés juives se trouvaient à Constantinople (*ca* 2500 de Juifs, probablement 1% de la population), à Thèbes (*ca* 2000) et à Thessalonique (*ca* 500)[179]. À Constantinople, au début du XIe siècle, les

[175] Sur cet épisode, voir Timotin 2010, 292–294.

[176] Une première version de ce chapitre a été publiée sous le titre *Les conversions des Juifs dans l'Empire byzantin et leur image dans l'hagiographie (IXe–XIe siècles)*, RIst, s.n., 23, 2012, 3–4, 207–217.

[177] Sur les Juifs de l'Empire byzantin, voir notamment Starr 1939; Ankori 1959; Sharf 1971; Bonfil et alii 2012.

[178] Sur les activités économiques des Juifs à Byzance, voir en dernier lieu David Jacoby, *The Jews in the Byzantine Economy (Seventh to Mid-Fifteenth Century)*, dans Bonfil et alii 2012, 219–255.

[179] Voir Starr 1939, 228–230. Cf. De Lange 2000, 106.

Juifs résidaient surtout le long de la Corne d'Or, dans la région réservée aux marchands étrangers, pour être transférés en 1044, par édit impérial, dans le quartier de Péra, de l'autre côté de la Corne d'Or, où ils vivaient dans un état de relatif cloisonnement jusqu'à l'incendie du quartier en 1203[180]. Ce sont les seuls sujets de l'Empire à être soumis à cette ségrégation collective destinée à les rendre plus facile à contrôler du point de vue économique, politique et religieux; une ségrégation qui peut se convertir en stigmatisation, comme il arrive en 1044, quand l'empereur Constantin IX expulse tous les Juifs de Constantinople, à côté des Arméniens et des Arabes, supposés être à l'origine des troubles qui agitaient la ville à cette époque[181].

Cette politique se reflète dans la législation impériale, qui les marginalise progressivement. Après la proclamation du christianisme comme religion d'État en 380, l'identité religieuse devient le repère en fonction duquel se définit le statut de l'individu dans la société. L'unité religieuse de l'empire, corollaire de son unité politique, engendre et justifie l'intolérance vis-à-vis des minorités religieuses. Dès le Ve siècle, les Juifs sont exclus de l'armée, de l'administration et des charges publiques, et à partir de 531 ils sont disqualifiés en tant que témoins contre les chrétiens[182]. L'Église achève et consacre cette marginalisation sociale, en dépossédant les Juifs de leur identité religieuse. En assumant l'héritage religieux juif, elle se définit dès lors comme le vrai Israël et comme le seul exegète autorisé de l'Écriture. Distillées, les invectives adressées au Juifs se convertissent en genre littéraire, les textes polémiques anti-judaïques étant une constante de la littérature ecclésiastique byzantine[183]. Discrédités par l'accusation de déicide, les Juifs personnifient l'incroyance et la négation du christianisme et se voient progressivement déshumanisés et démonisés par une série de stéréotypes renforcés par la querelle iconoclaste qui engendra un nouveau type d'accusation contre les Juifs: ils auraient profané et détruit les icônes – par exemple l'icône du Christ conservée au Saint Puits de Sainte-Sophie qu'un Juif aurait poignardée[184] –, ce qui n'est au fond qu'une réitération du déicide.

Ces clichés, assumés, totalement ou partiellement, par la société, recoupent les craintes et les soupçons naturellement engendrés par l'altérité des Juifs, par leur différence religieuse et leur mode de vie. Benjamin de Tudèle, qui visite le quartier juif de Constantinople, témoigne de la haine dont la population juive est l'objet. Une lettre de Thessalonique, écrite en 1096, confirme et généralise cet état d'esprit, en faisant état également des espoirs messianiques de la communauté juive de la ville[185].

[180] Voir Jacoby 1967; Jacoby 1995.

[181] Voir Jacoby 1993, 132.

[182] Sur le statut juridique des Juifs dans l'Empire byzantin, voir en dernier lieu, A. Linder, *The Legal Status of Jews in the Byzantine Empire*, dans Bonfil et alii 2012, 149–217. Cf. aussi S. N. Troianos, *Christians and Jews in Byzantium: A Love-Hate Relationship*, *ibidem*, 133–148.

[183] Külzer 1999; Dagron, Déroche 2010; V. Déroche, *Forms and Functions of Anti-Jewish Polemics: Polymorphy, Polysemy*, dans Bonfil et alii 2012, 535–548.

[184] Ciggaar 1976, 248–249.

[185] Starr 1939, 203–208. Sur les attentes apocalyptiques dans les communautés juives, cf. Alexander 1990; Bonfil 2003.

La politique de ségrégation et la marginalisation pratique et idéologique des Juifs ont pu déboucher, à partir du VIIe siècle, sur des tentatives régulières et systématiques de conversion forcée de la population juive de l'Empire[186]. La première est survenue sous le règne de l'empereur Héraclius (610–641), dans les années 630–632, lors de l'occupation passagère de Jérusalem par les Perses. La deuxième fut l'initiative de Léon III (717–741), en 721–722, et fit partie d'un programme plus vaste voué à assurer l'unité religieuse de l'Empire ébranlée par les sectes dualistes et judaïsantes de l'Asie Mineure. Les empereurs macédoniens ont continué cette politique, entre le dernier quart du IXe siècle et le milieu du siècle suivant étant attestées deux autres tentatives de baptême forcé des Juifs. La première, connue notamment grâce à un traité de l'évêque de Syracuse, Grégoire Asbestas[187], fut l'œuvre de Basile Ier, dans les années 873–874, et visa surtout la capitale et les grandes villes. Son fils, Léon VI (886–912), continua la politique de son père et promulgua une loi interdisant aux Juifs baptisés sous Basile Ier la pratique du judaïsme[188], que la plupart d'entre eux, convertis uniquement pour des raisons matérielles et sociales, observaient clandestinement[189]. Une nouvelle politique de conversion en masse des Juifs est attestée vers 930, sous le règne de Romain Ier Lécapène (920–944)[190], mais ses résultats concrets furent toujours très limités.

Les témoignages sur l'impact social et psychologique de ces mesures, qui semblent un élément de continuité de la politique impériale, ne sont pas nombreux. Les textes anti-judaïques de l'époque méso-byzantine montrent à la fois l'arrière-plan idéologique de ces mesures et leur reflet dans le discours ecclésiastique[191], mais ils nous apprennent peu sur leur effet dans la société. À ce titre, l'hagiographie est, une fois de plus, une source privilégiée[192]. Les biographies de quelques saints rédigées au Xe siècle, majoritairement à Constantinople, en donnent en effet une image biaisée, mais très instructive pour les conséquences et la perception sociale de la politique anti-judaïque des empereurs macédoniens.

Une de ces biographies est la *Vie de Constantin le Juif* (*BHG* 370), rédigée fort probablement sous le règne de Léon VI (886–912) par un moine de Nicée[193].

[186] Cf. Starr 1939, 133–147; Sharf 1971, 82–93; Jacoby 1993, 124–125; Dagron, Déroche 2010, 347–353.

[187] Dagron, Déroche 2010, 313–357. Cf. *Vie de Basile Ier*, dans Theophanes Continuatus, 341–342; Starr 1939, 127–148.

[188] *Les Novelles de Léon VI le Sage*, 209–211 (*Novelle* 55).

[189] Cf. Dagron, Déroche 2010, 353; Jacoby 1993, 125–126; Oikonomidès 1990, 147.

[190] Cf. Starr 1939, 151–154; Sharf 1971, 94–102.

[191] Cf. Hostens 1986; *Ἀντίθεσις ἑβραίων πρὸς χριστιανούς, μετὰ Ἀθανασίου καὶ Κυρίλλου* (seconde moitié du Xe siècle), sur lequel voir Külzer 1999, 179–184; Nicétas Stéthathos, *Traité contre les Juifs*, dans Nicétas Stéthatos, 412–443.

[192] Sur l'image des Juifs dans la littérature byzantine, voir l'aperçu général de V. von Falkenhausen, *In Search of the Jews in Byzantine Literature*, dans Bonfil et alii 2012, 871–891. Pour l'hagiographie, en particulier, cf. Külzer 2004.

[193] AS, *Novembris*, IV, 628–656. Sur la *Vie de Constantin le Juif*, voir Starr 1939, 119–122; Efthymiadis 1993. Sur le culte de saint Constantin à Constantinople à la fin du IXe siècle, cf. Majeska 1977.

Né vers 820 en Phrygie, dans la communauté juive de Synada, Constantin fuit le mariage auquel il était destiné par sa famille pour se convertir au christianisme. Il est baptisé par l'higoumène du monastère de Phlouboutinoi près de Nicée, où vivait à cette époque-là une importante communauté juive[194]. Il y fut ordonné prêtre et y resta douze ans, période pendant laquelle il s'investit dans la conversion de la population juive de la localité. En raison des troubles que cette activité engendra, il quitta la région et se rendit au mont Olympe, en Bithynie, pour vivre en ermite. Entre 883 et 886, il voyagea à Constantinople où il rencontra Basile Ier qu'il réconcilia avec son fils, Léon VI, en prison au moment du passage de Constantin par la capitale. Les chroniques de cette période attribuent la réconciliation à la pression exercée par le Sénat sur l'empereur[195], mais l'intention de l'hagiographe de rattacher son héros à la dynastie macédonienne et, en particulier, à l'empereur Léon VI, qui régna au moment de la rédaction de la *Vie*, n'est sûrement pas anodine. Écho biaisé de l'édit de 873–874, la *Vie de Constantin* donne très peu d'informations sur la vie des communautés juives de Synada et de Nicée, mais confirme et légitime, en revanche, la politique anti-judaïque de Basile Ier. L'hagiographe de Constantin fournit en effet le seul témoignage que nous ayons sur la réussite de cette politique, en scellant les mesures prises par Basile Ier par l'autorité de l'Église et l'auréole de la sainteté.

Un autre écho de cette politique transparaît dans la *Vie de Basile le Jeune*, déjà évoquée à propos des relations de son héros avec le milieu des eunuques paphlagoniens à la cour de l'empereur Romain II. Le texte est très instructif en ce qui concerne l'image et l'attitude à l'égard des Juifs dans la culture ecclésiastique constantinopolitaine au Xe siècle, ainsi que pour la relation à cette époque entre le discours anti-judaïque et l'eschatologie.

La raison principale de la grande popularité dont ce texte a joui à Byzance et dans le monde orthodoxe, en général, est l'ample section consacrée à la vision sur le Jugement Dernier de Grégoire, le disciple et l'hagiographe de Basile le Jeune, le plus étendu récit de ce type de toute la littérature byzantine. Or, la raison de la présence de ce récit dans le texte est le désir du disciple de Basile de connaître le sort *post mortem* des Juifs[196]. En train de méditer sur ses fautes dans sa cellule après avoir relu de manière continue l'Ancien Testament, Grégoire est accaparé par un λογισμός tentateur dont il ne peut pas se détourner: les Juifs ne se sont pas trompés, ils sont pieux, ils ont toujours honoré Dieu comme il convient – à preuve les patriarches et Moïse –, comme ils le font encore aujourd'hui, aussi est-il impossible qu'ils soient voués à la damnation. Angoissé par cette pensée, Grégoire se dirige vers Basile, son père spirituel. Prévenu des soucis de son disciple grâce à

[194] Cf. Starr 1939, 122.

[195] *Vie de Basile Ier*, dans Theophanes Continuatus, 350–351; Ps-Syméon le Logothète, *ibidem*, 698–699; Georges le Moine Continué, *ibidem*, 847. La *Vie de Constantin le Juif* n'est pourtant pas la seule source qui attribue la reconciliation de Basile Ier avec son fils à un saint. L'hagiographe du patriarche Euthyme procède de la même façon en l'assignant à son héros; cf. Karlin-Hayter 1970, 7, 11–17, chap. 2.

[196] Sullivan, Talbot, McGrath 2014, 344–353.

son don dïoratique, Basile l'accueille avec un discours édifiant, fondé sur des allusions aux Évangiles, mais aussi à l'Ancien Testament, sur les erreurs et l'incroyance des Juifs et sur leur damnation éternelle[197]. Néanmoins, le discours de Basile ne semble pas mettre un terme à ses doutes et, pour être persuadé, Grégoire demande à bénéficier d'une vision[198].

Grâce à la prière de Basile, il reçoit en rêve une vision sur le Jugement Dernier où il contemple le sort réservé aux Juifs à la fin du monde[199]. Guidé par un ange, Grégoire se voit arriver devant le trône céleste entouré d'anges, dans la cité que Dieu a préparée aux justes. Un autre ange descendant d'en haut annonce le Jugement Dernier. Une large section est consacrée à l'apparition du Christ et à l'entrée des saints dans le Jérusalem céleste. La vision prend fin par l'intercession de la Vierge pour les pécheurs. Les Juifs ayant vécu avant l'Incarnation, et notamment les patriarches et les prophètes sont comptés parmi les justes, alors que ceux qui ont vécu depuis l'Incarnation jusqu'à cette époque-là sont condamnés sans appel[200]. C'est d'abord Moïse, vers lequel les Juifs se dirigent en proie au désespoir, qui les blâme pour avoir ignoré ses prophéties et pour avoir tué le Christ, et puis Dieu Lui-même, que les Juifs invoquent à leur défense, et qui leur reproche d'avoir ignoré que Dieu et le Fils sont un[201]. Éclairé par cette catéchèse visuelle, Grégoire, reprenant ses esprits, est délivré des doutes.

Le récit de la vision de Grégoire n'est pas le seul texte byzantin à traiter du sort des Juifs dans l'au-delà. L'*Apocalypse de la Vierge*, un texte difficile à dater mais fort probablement antérieur à la *Vie de Basile le Jeune*, place également les Juifs en enfer parmi les damnés. Ils sont également exclus de l'intercession commune de la Vierge pour les pécheurs[202]. Une perspective un peu différente, mais analogue pour l'essentiel, apparaît dans un récit anonyme, conservé dans un codex du XIe siècle, intitulé *L'histoire d'un Juif qui refuse de ressusciter pour être baptisé*[203]. Un moine s'inquiète pour le sort *post mortem* d'un Juif vertueux et a en songe une vision qui l'édifiera sur ce point. Le Juif en question se trouve, comme attendu, en enfer mais, de plus, il refuse la chance d'en sortir au prix du baptême que le moine se montre prêt à lui accorder. L'histoire est à la limite de la caricature mais son sens est bien clair: ce n'est pas parce que l'enfer est en fin de compte

[197] *Ibidem*, 352–363.

[198] *Ibidem*, 362. Demander une vision afin d'éclairer une question relative au destin d'une personne ou d'un groupe dans l'au-delà est aussi le motif d'une histoire édifiante dont le plus ancien manuscrit date du XIe siècle; voir Halkin 1945; Halkin 1972; Kyrris 1971, 461–477. L'histoire porte sur un riche condamné à rester éternellement suspendu entre l'enfer et le paradis parce qu'il avait été autant charitable que pécheur et n'avait jamais renoncé à un des traits de son caractère. Son statut post-mortem a été révélé dans une vision à abba Kaïoumas.

[199] Sullivan, Talbot, McGrath 2014, 364–699, notamment 400–415 et 604–633, pour les Juifs au Jugement Dernier). Sur cette vision, voir Timotin 2010, 330–333.

[200] Sullivan, Talbot, McGrath 2014, 412–415.

[201] *Ibidem*, 622–629.

[202] Pernot 1900, 255. Sur la damnation des Juifs dans les différentes versions de l'*Apocalypse*, voir Baun 2007, 54–57.

[203] Canart 1966, pour le texte 22–23.

supportable que le Juif refuse le baptême mais pour rassurer le moine dans sa foi et le persuader que si le Juif se trouve en enfer ce n'est pas à cause de l'inclémence divine mais parce que par sa dureté de cœur celui-ci a bien mérité le châtiment eternel.

La *Vie de saint Grègentios* (*BHG* 705–706i)[204] est un autre texte controversé qui, daté recemment au Xe siècle[205], semble également évoquer la politique anti-judaïque des empereurs macédoniens. La *Vie* a circulé fréquemment insérée dans un « dossier » formé de trois pièces qui contient également les lois du royaume d'Himyar (ancien État arabe dans le Yémen d'aujourd'hui) (Νόμοι τῶν Ὁμηριτῶν) (*BHG* 706h) et la dispute (Διάλεξις) de Grègentios avec le Juif Herban (Τοῦ ἐν ἁγίοις πατρὸς ἡμῶν Γρηγεντίου, ἀρχιεπισκόπου γενομένου πόλεως Τεφάρ, διάλεξις μετὰ Ἰουδαίου Ἑρβᾶν).

Selon son hagiographe, Grègentios serait né au VIe siècle à Lyplianes (l'actuelle Ljubljana), dans le pays des Avars, comme fils d'un certain Agapios. Après la mort de sa mère, il est confié à l'un des prêtres qui l'avaient baptisé, qui était marié mais n'avait pas d'enfants. Faisant preuve d'aptitudes intellectuelles et spirituelles hors commun, il devient rapidement diacre et prêche dans l'église. Puis, conduit par un guide invisible, que l'on doit, semble-t-il, identifier avec saint Nicolas[206], Grègentios voyage à Milan, en passant par Frioul et Venise, à Carthage et à Rome, où il visite de nombreuses églises et où il rencontre le pape Félix IV (526–530), et ensuite en Égypte, à Alexandrie. Désigné archevêque du pays d'Himyar, après la reconquête de la région sous l'empereur Justin Ier (518–527), par le roi aksoumite Elesboam (i.e. 'Ella 'Asbeha), qui avait vaincu le roi juif local Dounaas (i.e. Dhū Nuwās), Grègentios se rend à Taphar (Zaphār), la capitale du pays, où il consacre plusieurs églises élevés par le roi Elesboam, ordonne des prêtres et christianise la région, en convertissant la population juive locale.

L'itinéraire est scandé par de nombreuses visions et prophéties qui annoncent, en général, le destin de Grègentios, et en particulier son ordination comme évêque et la conversion des habitants du pays d'Himyar (les Homérites). Comme Grégoire, dans la *Vie de Basile le Jeune*, Grègentios est crédité d'une vision sur le sort des âmes dans l'au-delà censée régler une question théologique relative à la prédestination, qui fait l'objet d'une savante discussion que le saint engage avec un moine et un prêtre dans la cathédrale de Milan.

Comme la *Vie de Basile le Jeune*, la *Vie de Grègentios* est marquée par de nombreux anachronismes et contradictions[207]. Grègentios est, par exemple, censé venir du pays des Avares qui envahissent les Balkans vers 580, ce qui contredit sa mission en Yémen sous l'empereur Justin Ier (518–527). Le saint est censé avoir vénéré à Rome l'icône du Christ de la basilique Saint-Jean-de-Latran, mais cette icône n'est pourtant pas attestée avant 752. L'absence de la *Vie* du *Menologion* de

[204] Berger 2006.
[205] *Ibidem*, 107.
[206] *Ibidem*, 11–13.
[207] Berger 2006, 6–11, avec la bibliographie antérieure.

Basile II (976–1025) et du *Synaxarion* de Constantinople jusqu'au XIe siècle semblent plaider en faveur de l'idée que la *Vie* n'est pas beaucoup antérieure à cette date. Albrecht Berger a avancé en effet, récemment, des arguments qui ne sont pas négligeables en faveur de la thèse selon laquelle le « dossier » de Grègentios, la *Vie de Basile le Jeune* et la *Vie d'André Salos* proviennent d'un milieu commun, les trois œuvres ayant été rédigées à Constantinople vers le milieu du Xe siècle[208]. La polémique anti-judaïque semble être une des questions fondamentales qui préoccupent les auteurs de la *Vie de Grègentios* et de la *Vie de Basile le Jeune*, et l'auteur de la *Vie de Grègentios* établit un lien direct entre la conversion des Juifs du pays d'Himyar et l'édit de Léon VI sur le baptême forcé des Juifs[209].

L'autre pièce du « dossier », la *Dialexis* entre Grègentios et le Juif Herban, représente en effet un débat théologique et christologique typique pour la littérature polémique anti-judaïque[210], qui finit par la conversion des Juifs au christianisme et qui évoque les discussions théologiques similaires qui, à en croire l'auteur de la *Vita Basilii*, auraient précédé le baptême des Juifs sous Basile Ier[211]. Même si d'autres sources, juives et occidentales, donnent une image beaucoup moins sereine sur l'application de l'édit de Basile Ier, de tels débats sont évoqués également dans une chronique juive de l'Italie de Sud du XIe siècle[212], et dans un texte anti-judaïque, *Anonymus Hostens*, rédigé en 907/ 908, qui renferme un dialogue polémique en vers entre Basile Ier et un Juif[213].

Anachroniquement placée par son auteur au VIe siècle, la *Dialexis* a dû en réalité être rédigée à une époque très proche de celle de la *Vie de Grègentios* qu'elle prolonge et dont elle reproduit le contexte historique[214]. La *Dialexis* contient en effet une discussion sur la vénération des icônes qui ne peut pas être antérieure au VIIIe siècle, une allusion à la question du *filioque*, qui n'est pas attestée à Byzance avant 860, et des interprétations allégoriques de l'Ancien Testament qui ne sont pas attestées avant le IXe siècle[215]. Selon A. Berger, le texte a, fort probablement, le même auteur que la *Vie de Grègentios*, comme le montre une série de passages théologiques qui se retrouvent dans les deux textes, les citations communes de Basile le Grand, le système similaire de citations de l'Ancien Testament et une série de particularités linguistiques[216].

Les Juifs occupent un rôle de premier plan également dans une autre pièce hagiographique contemporaine, la *Vie d'André Salos* (*BHG* 115)[217], cette fois-ci,

[208] *Ibidem*, 40–45 et 138.

[209] *Vie de Grègentios* (Berger 2006, 404, chap. 10, lignes 3–5); cf. *Dialexis* (Berger 2006, 796–797, lignes 682–708).

[210] Pour la *Dialexis* dans le contexte de la littérature anti-judaïque, voir Berger 2006, 118–124.

[211] *Vie de Basile Ier*, dans Theophanes Continuatus, 341–342.

[212] Cf. Starr 1939, 128–131; Sharf 1971, 87–90.

[213] Hostens 1986. Cf. Berger 2006, 106.

[214] Berger 2006, 43–45, 105.

[215] Sur les anachronismes et la datation de la *Dialexis*, Berger 2006, 91–97, 100–109.

[216] Berger 2006, 107.

[217] Rydén 1995.

comme dans la *Vie de Basile le Jeune*, en étroite relation avec l'intérêt pour la l'eschatologie[218]. La dernière section du texte, situé par son auteur au Ve siècle, mais qui date, le plus probablement, du milieu du Xe siècle, représente un récit apocalyptique qui a circulé également de manière indépendante sous le nom de l'*Apocalypse d'André Salos* et qui a assuré le succès remarquable de l'ensemble[219]. Au début de cette section, l'auteur décrit, dans le cadre d'un dialogue entre André *Salos* et son disciple, Épiphane, le sort réservé aux Juifs à la fin des temps[220]. Dans ces jours-là, l'Antéchrist, issu de la tribu de Dan, rassemblera les Juifs à Jérusalem et trompera le monde. Rentrés dans la possession des terres de leurs ancêtres, ces derniers n'auraient pas ainsi d'excuse pour leur incroyance. Avant la parousie, l'Antéchrist règnera, il tuera Elie et Enoch, qui vivaient encore sur la terre et annonçaient la parousie, et persécutera les Chrétiens et tous ceux qui ne croyaient en lui[221].

Une autre hagiographie constantinopolitaine contemporaine, la *Vie de Niphon de Constantiana* (*BHG* 1371z)[222], réitère cette alliance entre l'intérêt pour l'eschatologie et l'anti-judaïsme[223], un trait caractéristique pour l'élite ecclésiastique de la capitale à la fin du premier millénaire. Niphon est censé avoir vécu dans l'Antiquité tardive, au IVe siècle, mais un certain nombre d'éléments linguistiques et topographiques indiquent une date plus récente, le plus probablement entre 965 et 1037[224]. À l'instar de la *Vie de Basile le Jeune*, avec laquelle partage plusieurs éléments, la *Vie de Niphon* contient une vision sur le Jugement Dernier, qui réserve aux Juifs une place peu enviable[225]. Jugés par le Christ à la seconde parousie pour L'avoir crucifié, pour avoir renié Sa divinité et pour avoir refusé à se repentir, les Juifs sont punis sévèrement par un Juge inflexible qui annonce que l'heure de la vengeance est venue.

La *Vie de Niphon* achève cette série d'hagiographies constantinopolitaines de la fin du premier millénaire marquées par une touche anti-judaïque ferme. En mettant en scène la condamnation des Juifs au Jugement Dernier et leur refus obstiné d'accepter le dogme chrétien, leurs auteurs semblent projeter dans une perspective eschatologique l'opposition des communautés juives de l'Empire byzantin aux tentatives de conversions en masse sous Basile Ier et Romain

[218] Le lien entre l'eschatologie et la polémique anti-judaïque n'est d'ailleurs absent ni du "dossier" de Grègentios. Voir sur ce point Berger 2006, 130–131.

[219] Le texte a été publié par Rydén 1974 b et dans Rydén 1995, vol. II, 259–285. Pour l'interprétation, à part les contributions de L. Rydén, voir Wortley 1974, plaidant pour une date de rédaction située à la fin du VIIe siècle et une relation étroite avec une apocalypse de Daniel du VIIIe siècle.

[220] *Vie d'André Salos* (Rydén 1974 b, 258–284, lignes 3805–4131).

[221] *Ibidem*, 278–280, lignes 4069–4080.

[222] Édition par Rystenko 1928, p. 3–186 (recension longue), p. 187–238 (recension brève).

[223] Alliance qui n'est d'ailleurs pas absente de la littérature anti-judaïque byzantine, en général, sans être pour autant un trait caractéristique de celle-ci; cf. Dagron, Déroche 2010, 27–28, 38–43; Külzer 1999, 279–283.

[224] Cf. Ivanov 1999; cf. Rydén 1990.

[225] *Vie de Niphon* (Rystenko 1928, 35, 68–83, ch. 33).

Lécapène. La *Vie de Grègentios* établit un lien formel entre l'édit de Basile Ier et la conversion des Juifs du pays d'Himyar, et la *Dialexis*, pièce importante de la littérature polémique anti-judaïque, évoque les débats théologiques censés avoir précédé le baptême forcé des Juifs au temps de Basile Ier.

Cette série de pièces hagiographiques contemporaines complète et légitime la politique anti-judaïque des empereurs macédoniens et permet d'approximer, de manière biaisée, ses effets dans la société. À une période où les attentes apocalyptiques ne sont pas une exception à Byzance[226], ces dernières nourrissent l'hostilité à l'égard des communautés juives, tandis que cette hostilité, renforcée par les édits impériaux dirigés contre les Juifs, alimente, à son tour, les espoirs apocalyptiques. La politique de l'État byzantin se prolonge et tend ainsi à se confondre progressivement avec le Jugement Dernier.

Conclusions

Les cinq études réunies dans ce travail nous permettent d'en tirer quelques conclusions. L'analyse d'une dizaine d'hagiographies rédigées entre le début du IXe et la première moitié du XIe siècle a montré d'abord comment certaines communautés religieuses allogènes, à Constantinople, à Thessalonique ou en Thrace, construisent leur identité régionale et, le cas échéant, familiale par rapport au pouvoir local, politique et ecclésiastique, la manière dont elles parviennent, dans certaines conditions, à obtenir la reconnaissance de la sainteté pour un de leurs membres et les enjeux politiques que ce phénomène peut revêtir. Enfin, notre analyse a montré comment ces initiatives locales ont pu conduire à une certaine redéfinition des valeurs traditionnelles de l'Orthodoxie.

Le recrutement par réseau familial et par région est souvent déterminant pour la formation d'une communauté monastique et il l'est d'autant plus quand la communauté s'organise loin de la région d'origine de ses membres. C'est le cas, par exemple, de la famille de Théodora, issue de l'élite ecclésiastique des Cyclades, qui, poussée vers le nord par les conquêtes arabes dans la mer Egée, se rassemble au IXe siècle autour du monastère de Saint-Étienne à Thessalonique, et qui ne ménage pas ses efforts pour acquérir la sanctification de Théodora malgré l'opposition d'une partie du clergé local et du patriarche Antoine Kauléas. Thessalonique, en plein essor à cette époque, attire les nouveaux venus, et nous retrouvons une autre famille, celle de saint Euthyme, réunie autour du monastère Péristera aux alentours de la ville. À la différence de Théodora, la famille d'Euthyme jouit du large soutien du clergé local, car son disciple est l'évêque suffragant de la métropole de Thessalonique.

Une famille d'Arméniens grécisés établis en Thrace vers la fin du IXe siècle est à l'origine du culte de Marie la Jeune, développé également en opposition avec l'autorité ecclésiastique locale qui exprime fermement ses doutes sur les miracles attribués à cette femme mariée dont le culte contredit et, en même temps, corrige tacitement les normes byzantines de la sainteté. Philarète le Miséricordieux, qui

[226] Voir Magdalino 2003.

vécut au VIIIe siècle, et dont la famille, d'origine paphlagonienne, compte au moins deux noms arméniens traditionnels, est un autre saint atypique par rapport aux modèles byzantins traditionnels.

Un siècle plus tard, Irène, l'abbesse du monastère de Chrysobalanton, un foyer cappadocien à Constantinople, est une sainte issue d'une famille aisée, avec une importante branche dans la capitale, qui, comme Marie la Jeune, représente pour ses descendants un blason familial. Ce n'est pas autrement qu'est apprecié Michel Maléïnos par son illustre famille. Basile le Jeune et Syméon le Nouveau Théologien sont au centre de deux réseaux aristocratiques, les eunuques d'origine paphlagonienne à la cour de Constantin Porphyrogennète et de Romain II, qui sont à la base de leur prestige séculier et religieux, et qui peuvent se convertir en factions politiques. Les opposants de Basile II réunis autour du monastère de Saint-Mamas bénéficient, en effet, de l'autorité spirituelle de Syméon le Nouveau Théologien, tout comme le clan des Gouber, membres de cette aristocratie anatolienne en conflit avec Basile II, exploite à des fins politiques les charismes de leur parente, Irène de Chrysobalanton. Il s'agit des communautés religieuses à base régionale qui sont, en même temps, des foyers virtuels d'opposition politique. Les figures charismatiques dont elles se revendiquent fonctionnent dans ces cas comme des vecteurs identitaires.

Instrument de préservation et de promotion d'une identité locale, la démarche hagiographique a pu être utilisée également pour stigmatiser une communauté, pour la déposséder, en usant de l'autorité du genre, de son identité ethnique et religieuse. Cette stratégie se présente sous une double forme, de l'éloge et de la diatribe. Dans la première catégorie se range l'éloge d'un converti comme Constantin le Juif et de la politique anti-judaïque de Basile Ier, ou l'éloge d'un acteur, réel ou imaginaire, de cette politique, comme Grègentios, qui l'impose à la communauté juive du pays d'Himyar. Dans la seconde catégorie on peut placer les récits des visions du Jugement Dernier attribuées à Basile le Jeune, à André *Salos* et à Niphon de Constantiana, où la condamnation définitive des Juifs décalque et légitime les conversions forcées imposées par les mesures de Basile Ier et de Romain Lécapène.

Ces derniers exemples ne montrent que trop clairement la dimension et les enjeux identitaires de l'hagiographie méso-byzantine. Les récits hagiographiques analysés mettent en évidence son rôle dans la formation, le maintien et la promotion – ou, le cas échéant, la dissolution – des communautés religieuses de l'Empire byzantin et de leur caractère ethnique ou régional.

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THE CHAOSKAMPF MOTIF IN THE LIVES OF THE MILITARY SAINTS

MIHAIL-GEORGE HÂNCU

While hagiography credits saints with many ways of showing their faith, one motif tends to stand out – that of the dragon-slayer. Although the readers themselves would be unable to imitate such a feat (in stark contrast with the denial of earthly desires), the story is popular enough to be repeatedly represented in hagiography, iconography or even in folklore. That being said, one can't help but wonder *where* the dragon came from and *what* his role was. The answer to this question is, of course, very complex, and there is little hope of giving a satisfying answer in a few pages: as such, I will be discussing one interpretative model that, given some terminological improvements, might help clarify whether the saints' battle against the dragon is a battle against Chaos, as pointed out by Mircea Eliade[1] and, originally, by Hermann Gunkel[2].

Chaoskampf, as a term, was introduced by Hermann Gunkel in *Chaos und Schöpfung*, a book he published in 1895, a few years after the decipherment of the cuneiform script and, thus, of the various Assyro-Babylonian myths. His work was definitely not the first to discuss the links between the Old Testament and the Babylonian: Eberhard Schrader had mentioned them in *Keilinschriften* (1872) and George Smith had published the so-called *Chaldean Account of the Genesis* in 1875[3]. The unity of the Old Testament had been debated ever since 1753, when biblical scholars theorized that there were two versions of the Old Testament, which differed through the way God was called, namely Yahweh or Elohim[4]. Nevertheless, Gunkel's influence in Biblical exegesis has been repeatedly emphasized, one of the latest such statements coming as recently as 2013, which shows that the subject is still of great interest in modern scholarship[5]. According to Gunkel, the beginning of the Genesis is neither "the author's free construction", nor "the literary reception of the Babylonian material"[6], but rather that it reflects the same oral tradition which provided the fundament for other Near Eastern

[1] Eliade, 464.
[2] Gunkel, 1895.
[3] Lundström, 2013, 148.
[4] Eliade, 1995 a, 75.
[5] Eliade, 1995 a, 151–152.
[6] Gunkel, 379–398.

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cosmogonic myths, such as the famed *Enuma eliš*, which Gunkel saw as the most similar of them. One impediment may have been that the creation of the universe in the *Enuma eliš* was immediately preceded by a battle between Marduk, the supreme deity, and Tiamat, a sea monster[7], whereas the Old Testament only implied the existence of such a battle, as seen in Job, 7:12: "A sea-monster am I, or a dragon, that thou settest over me a guard?". Gunkel points out that the dragon is never actually killed, but only imprisoned by God, so that it may not return[8]. Indeed, as shall be seen from the definition we will be giving to the concept of "Chaos", timelessness is a common trait of Chaos and his descendants.

One of the most revolutionary elements of *Chaos und Schöpfung* was the idea that divine revelation had reached more cultures, most notably in the Near East, and that these older religions had nevertheless paved the way towards the true faith. Although one may think that Gunkel was at odds with the more conservative biblical scholars, his position was, in fact, more moderate than that of another contemporary, Friedrich Delitzsch. In 1902, Delitzsch had organized a series of conferences titled *Babel und Bibel*, in which he claimed that Babylon was the main source for the Israelite cosmogony and for the Ten Commandments, which were in fact based on the Code of Hammurabi[9]. Delitzsch had chosen to adapt the recent discoveries of Assyriologists in order to provide a more sensational content to his conferences, which were meant to persuade the German emperor, who was part of the audience, to give more funds to still recent science of Assyriology. Delitzsch attracted criticism from both sides of the argument, and Gunkel writes an answer in 1903, in which he rejects Delitzsch's extreme position, while he himself claims that he only intended to serve the Church by researching the Near Eastern texts and uncovering the truth behind certain biblical images[10].

Gunkel's relatively polemical position did not fail to bear fruit. In 1924, some three decades after Gunkel's book, researchers had reached the conclusion that the first six books of the Bible were based on six different documents, some of which were ulterior to the Babylonian captivity, which made Oriental influences all the more possible[11]. Although the matter of the unity of the biblical text is quite complex, we will mention one other possible confirmation of Gunkel's theory: Mowinckel's study from 1922 showed that the story of Yahweh's victory against the monstrous Rahab (who is mentioned in the Bible as well) was the basis of the Israelite New Year's tradition, according to which the king played the role of those forces of light that had defeated the aquatic forces[12]. The discovery of similar myths in other cultures led Eliade to conclude the following:

[7] Eliade, 1993, 231.
[8] Gunkel, 1985, 88.
[9] Lundström, 2013, 155.
[10] Lundström, 2013, 158.
[11] Eliade, 1993, 19–20.
[12] Watson, 2005, 12.

> Since "our world" is a cosmos, any attack from without threatens to turn it into chaos. And as "our world" was founded by imitating the paradigmatic work of the gods, the cosmogony, so the enemies who attack it are assimilated to the enemies of the gods, the demons, conquered by the gods at the beginning of time. An attack on "our world" is equivalent to an act of revenge by the mythical dragon, who rebels against the work of the gods, the cosmos, and struggles to annihilate it. "Our" enemies belong to the powers of chaos. Any destruction of a city is equivalent to a retrogression to chaos. Any victory over the attackers reiterates the paradigmatic victory of the gods over the dragon (that is, over chaos) [...]
>
> As we shall see later, the dragon is the paradigmatic figure of the marine monster, of the primordial snake, symbol of the cosmic waters, of darkness, night, and death – in short, of the amorphous and virtual, of everything that has not yet acquired a "form". The dragon must be conquered and cut to pieces by the gods so that the cosmos may come to birth. It was from the body of the marine monster Tiamat that Marduk fashioned the world. Yahweh created the universe after his victory over the primordial monster Rahab. But, as we shall see, this victory of the gods over the dragon must be symbolically repeated each year, for each year the world must be created anew. Similarly the victory of the gods over the forces of darkness, death, and chaos is repeated with every victory of the city over its invaders[13].

In other words, the image of a battle against a representative of the Chaos that preceded cosmogony is conserved both in written stories *and* in folk traditions.

As can be seen, the matter of the *Chaoskampf* is quite complex and lends itself to many discussions. Since one of the more notable criticisms to Gunkel's theory[14] was that the word "Chaos" was constantly redefined according to the interpreter's needs, we will attempt to strengthen this part of our argumentation by referring to a single definition of the concept. Quite fortunately, Chaos was a cosmogonic concept from its very first attestation, in Hesiod's *Theogony* (7th century B.C.), where it is said to be the first element. Unfortunately for later readers, Hesiod doesn't provide more details: the only thing he states about Chaos (who is not characterized with any epithet, as would have been customary in the literature of its time) is that it came first and that, at some later point, it was "dark". Based on the limited data provided by Hesiod and on its later meanings, modern translators compared it to (or outright called it) a chasm or an abyss.

Robert Mondi[15] opposed this interpretative tradition on account of its lack of logic: how could a chasm exist before whatever it separated? He then quotes one argument, namely that *Chaos* and *chasma* are used in the same position in two nearly identical descriptions of the Underworld. According to Mondi, however, the only reason why Chaos was defined thus was that it was *like* a chasm surrounded by the newer elements of the universe, since both descriptions occur during Zeus' battle against the Titans.

The key element of Mondi's demonstration was that he defined Chaos based on the parallelism between the two genealogies depicted in the *Theogony*: thus,

[13] Eliade, 1959, 47–49.
[14] Watson, 2005, 113–119.
[15] Mondi, 1989, 8.

Chaos is the boundless, formless and substanceless counterpart of Gaia. This becomes particularly apparent when comparing their offspring: the Sun and the Moon are ultimately born from Gaia, while Night and Day (which are, admittedly, more abstract) are descendants of Chaos. Hesiod's intention to distinguish the two families is also confirmed by the fact that Gaia's descendants are all born from traditional couples, while Chaos' are consistently born from single entities. The only apparent exception to this rule is that Night and Erebus give birth to Day and Aether, although that might be due to each of the children being one parent's direct opposite. This same dichotomy applies to the evils included in the two genealogies: Chaos is the ancestor of Death, Plague, Old Age and other abstract evils, while Gaia is the ancestor of concrete monsters, which, unlike their counterparts, only existed in a limited space and a limited timeframe and are – or have been – killed by the time of Hesiod's writing.

If we use this particular definition of Chaos, then we can recognize his timelessness both in the New Year's traditions and in the biblical image from Job 7:31, where the dragon is merely chained and guarded by God. Even though Gunkel most definitely hadn't considered this interpretation of Hesiod's Chaos, we can still quite legitimately apply it to the *Chaoskampf* theory, especially since, as shall be seen in the following, it allows for a contrast between normal monsters and timeless evils. At first glance, one might argue that *Chaoskampf* was a theory that was created in order to account for the influx of Near Eastern myths in the Bible, and that it might not have much to do with the later hagiographical motif. That being said, Eliade rightfully notes that it was through Christianization of pagan religious traditions that countless dragon-slaying heroes and gods from all over Europe were recovered into the figure of one saint, namely Saint George[16].

Seeing how Eliade distinctly connects the dragon motif to Saint George – not to the military saints in general – I will first focus on the most canonical versions of his story. As such, I started by consulting Lascarov-Moldovanu's *Lives of the Saints*, first published between 1934 and 1942 and then republished in 1992. In his preface to the new edition, Gheorghe Mihăilă explains how this version was based on "the first complete Romanian collection of the *Lives of the Saints*", which had first been published at the Metropolitan Church of Iaşi and the Monastery of Neamţ between 1807 and 1815. This version was then rewritten in a simpler style by Lascarov-Moldovanu, who took care to remove repetitions[17]. In other words, one may legitimately claim that this version of the *Lives of the Saints* is quite close to being the most popular and the most official.

In this version, the dragon, who torments the locals who live near a lake in Libya, can't be killed by ordinary people, which prompts them to pray to their own gods for help. The pagan gods demand that they send children to the dragon for a month, so as to appease him. However, when the local leader's daughter is the only one left, God sends Saint George, who defeats the dragon, then drags him into the

[16] Eliade, 2000, 464.
[17] *Vieţile Sfinţilor*, 1992, 6–8.

city, where he burns his remains. As a result, the locals show their gratitude by converting to Christianity, since their old gods had not helped them in any way[18].

Due to motifs such as the sacrifice of local youths, the story of Saint George has been compared to that of Perseus. The *Catholic Encyclopedia* from 1909 mentions this theory, but dismisses the possibility that Saint George could be a "converted Perseus" on account of the relatively recent date of the dragon motif in Christian hagiography. According to the author of the article on Saint George, this foreign image of the dragon-slayer will have been brought by 12th-century crusaders to the West[19]. While this theory would fit in with the date of the first Latin text on Saint George's battle against the dragon, it must be noted that the motif was not a late pagan import, but had in fact been present in Christian art for quite a few centuries.

Georgi Atanasov, the Bulgarian author of a very detailed monograph on Saint George, notes that the first representations of the Saint striking a dragon with his lance date from the 6th century. Most extraordinarily, they hail not only from the Near East, where he was born and where his cult was first attested, but also from Vinitsa, in modern day Macedonia[20]. Other researchers – most notably Christopher Walter – have pointed out that this graphical motif might have its origins in certain Israelite amulets from around 325 A.D which show Solomon fighting a female demon known for killing newborn children[21]. According to Walter, the rider becomes anonymous around the 5th century, while the female demon is replaced by a serpent. The hero is eventually identified with the military saints, whose function is now identical to that of Solomon – defeating evil with the power they received from God[22].

The first Latin text containing this wonder is the *Legenda Aurea*[23], written by Iacobus de Voragine in the latter half of the 13th century. Since the point that interests us the most is whether this dragon shares any characteristics with the children of the Hesiodic Chaos, we will be focusing on the moment of its defeat. Iacobus de Voragine provides not one, but two versions for this final moment: in the "main" one, Saint George brings the dragon to the city, which terrifies its inhabitants. He promises that he would "free them from the dragon's punishment" (*poenis vos liberare draconis*) if they convert. After convincing them, he slays the dragon with his sword and drags him out of the city (*beatus Georgius evaginato gladio draconem occidit et ipsum extra civitatem efferri praecepit*). According to de Voragine, "in other books, he kills the dragon when he attempts to swallow the girl" (*In aliquibus tamen libris legitur quod dum draco ad devorandum puellam pergeret, Georgius se cruce muniuit et draconem aggrediens interfecit*). Even though we have two versions of the same story, this does not change the fact that the dragon is killed.

[18] *Vieţile Sfinţilor*, 1992, 191–192.
[19] Herbert, Huston, 1909.
[20] Atanasov, 2001, 100.
[21] Walter, 1991, 36
[22] Walter, 1991, 42.
[23] Jacobus de Voragine, 2014.

Whoever attempts to study the evolution of this motif in older Romanian texts is faced with a different problem. Metropolitan Varlaam's *Romanian Book of Teaching*, a 17th-century religious work dedicated to the great holidays and the Sundays in the Orthodox calendar, features Saint George as well[24]. The dragon, however, is in no way mentioned in his story. Could one claim that Varlaam tried to remove this foreign episode from his work? Hardly; another military saint, Saint Theodore Tiro, celebrated in the first Saturday of Lent, born a Christian, is depicted as its slayer. According to Varlaam's story, Saint Theodore prayed to God for a sign that should strengthen his faith. He finds a Christian woman, who tells him about a "great and terrifying serpent". He promises that he will slay the serpent, since he has Jesus Christ on his side, and goes to its lair in the forest. Before taking on the beast, he makes the sign of the Cross and "raises his lance and hits him right in the head, so that the lance went through it". After watching the serpent die, Saint Theodore realizes the meaning of this fight: by killing the serpent, he kills Satan[25]. Varlaam's text on Saint Theodore Tiro is quite remarkable since it is, in fact, the longest in his *Book of Teaching* (the editor, Dan Zamfirescu, points out that it is two pages longer than the one for Palm Sunday, the second longest)[26]. The source Varlaam used for both Saint George and Saint Theodore Tiro is the same: Damaskinos Stouditis' *Treasure*. As pointed out by Pandele Olteanu, the dragon episode is absent from Saint George's text and present in Saint Theodore's as early as Damaskinos' work[27]. Varlaam's version is the Romanian translation of the Greek text (by means of a Slavonic intermediary), and the *Treasure* itself was a spoken Greek version of the old Byzantine hagiographical texts (to which Damaskinos testifies when he writes about the life of Pasicrates)[28].

It is quite notable that this series of sources fails to mention the dragon episode in the life of Saint George. Seeing how Gunkel had argued that the dragon motif had entered the Old Testament on account of its great popularity amongst the common people (even though the original myths would have been at odds with the Judaic dogma), one would expect the same principle to apply if Saint George was *the* dragon-slayer. Varlaam, who may very well have been loyal to his Greek sources, would not have written an explicitly *Romanian* religious book while omitting an episode that would have been vital to its Romanian public. From this, we should conclude that Mircea Eliade's generalization requires a small extension: the dragon-slaying heroes and deities of the pagan past were identified not with Saint George, but with the military saints as a whole.

Since the text of the *Apocryphal Miracle of Saint Theodore Tiro* (to quote the title given by Arizanova[29] to this fragment of the *Germanov Sbornik*, a manuscript

[24] Varlaam Mitropolitul, 2011, 372–380.
[25] Varlaam Mitropolitul, 2011, 359–360.
[26] Varlaam Mitropolitul, 2012, p. 164.
[27] Varlaam Mitropolitul, 2012, 173.
[28] Varlaam Mitropolitul, 2012, 176–177.
[29] Arizanova, 2013, 407–412.

from 1358–1359 which was edited by Elka Mircheva[30]) is considerably longer than the versions we find in Varlaam's and Lascarov-Moldovanu's writings, we will be focusing on two episodes in particular.

The story is placed during the reign of an emperor called Saul (whose nationality is unknown), while Theodore Tiro is a soldier in his army. Their land was being tormented by a dragon who did not allow the locals to take any water from the spring that he guarded unless they gave him 8 young oxen, 40 sheep, 12 goats and 25 lambs. At the same time, Saul dreams about a bald man armed with a spear who appears before him and slices him in half, but doesn't conquer his empire. While the other nobles are unable to explain this dream, Saint Theodore points out that it is the soldiers' duty to die for Saul to prevent his death and, thus, that they should go fight the Saracens. The army takes the Saracens by surprise and captures their emperor, who looks exactly like the man from Saul's dream. Saul then decides to stop making any sacrifices to the dragon, since he was now safe.

The dragon is furious and stops any human beings from reaching the spring. Even so, the Saint's mother notices that her son's horse was thirsty and decides to go get water for him. After finding out that the dragon had captured her, Saint Theodore asks Saul to let him go slay the dragon, but the emperor answers that the dragon is unseen and too strong for the Saint, no matter how good a soldier he might be. Saint Theodore replies that he will defeat him with the help of God and that, if he does lose, then that will have been the emperor's and God's will (*То [да бъде] твоя воля и Божия*). Saul praises him for his words, but warns him that the enemy only asks for peace when he is defeated, but not otherwise (*Врагът винаги види ли, че ще бъде победен, то проси мир. А види ли, че ще победи, той не проси мир*). Saint Theodore replies that the emperor should take his properties and give them to the poor and only asks that his name be commemorated in the first Saturday of Lent (*на първата събота от поста направи ми памет*). The emperor then asks God to help Theodore and then allows his soldier to go fight the dragon.

One truly interesting moment is when Saint Theodore finds his mother surrounded by 12 serpents. Before killing them, he says the following prayer: "Oh, Lord Almighty, You have no beginning, who cannot be seen, who cannot be spoken, who cannot be expressed in words, single maker of all, my Creator, You who have limited sea and sand by Your will, listen to my prayer [...]" (*Господи Боже, Вседържителю, безначален, невидим, неизречен, неизразим, неизтисан, единствен създател на всички, Творец мой, ограждащ морето с пясък по Твоя воля, заслушай се в моята молитва*). Although Saul himself had invoked God as the "Creator" (among other epithets) in his own prayer, it is quite notable that Saint Theodore talks about God's role in limiting of the sea just before fighting the dragon. This very association would allow us to believe that the *Chaoskampf* theory is more than just a modern construct, seeing how the author of this apocryphal text makes the same connection between the Genesis, the waters and Saint Theodore's opponent.

[30] Mircheva, 2006.

After fighting the 12 serpents, Saint Theodore finds his mother, who asks him to run away before the dragon returns. While we are told of the dragon's return and anger, the *Sbornik* does not depict the actual battle between the two. This is one case in which the reader would not be helped by Silvia Arizanova's translation, since she herself had struggled with this very passage (as pointed out in a footnote): according to her modern Bulgarian version, the raging dragon starts breathing smoke and fire, grows another head and, rather perplexingly, decides to kiss the Saint on the forehead while praising God (*а змеят целуна го по челото, славейки Бога*). This bizarre moment is followed by the Saint's joy at having defeated the dragon and his army (*като видя, че погуби змея и неговото войнство*) and his return to Saul, who rewards him for his deeds. Arizanova's translation of the Slavonic words is correct and appears to be confirmed by pages 295b – 296a of Elka Mircheva's edition of the original Slavonic text. That being said, the editor's notes concerning the manuscript shed some much-needed light on the dragon's actions: there is a blank between pages 295b (which ends with zúiè-, *dragon*) and 296a (which begins with è wáëoá|rza eão, *and kisses him*), which explains why the dragon had become the grammatical subject of a verb that would have suited Theodore's mother[31]. While the blank still leaves us without any explanations as to how the battle unfolded, we can at least suppose that he shared his army's fate. We can, however, be sure that he did not switch to the true faith and that he did not start praising God while kissing his foe on the forehead, as Christian as that image may be.

Let us summarize what we have discovered after examining some of the oldest and most important Orthodox and Catholic sources concerning the battle against the dragon. First of all, even though Mircea Eliade had only extended the *Chaoskampf* motif to Saint George, who was supposed to be the hagiographical character who inherited this particular trait from his pagan counterparts, it must be noted that Saint George's connection to the dragon is not as strong as one might have expected. Even if we don't simply attribute this inconsistency to the artificial character of Christianization as a whole, it is quite striking that, following the Byzantine sources and Damaskinos Stouditis in particular, Metropolitan Varlaam did not include this episode in his *Romanian Book of Teaching* (which would have been the ideal medium to portray an episode that was popular enough to be featured on Stephen the Great's flag[32]). We can be certain that this motif had not lost any of its actual fame by his time, since the chapter that *does* conserve it is, in fact, the longest in the entire book. Though one may attribute this choice to Varlaam's Greek and Slavonic sources, it is quite likely that the Romanian public appreciated this image enough to warrant its extended space in the book, even though it was attributed to a different military saint, namely Saint Theodore Tiro.

Secondly, it must be pointed out that every one of the variants that we consulted has the dragon be defeated and destroyed by the Saint. The only

[31] Mircheva. 2006, 238.
[32] Marinescu, Mertzimekis 2004, 185–186.

exception appears to be the *Germanov Sbornik*, where the Saint appears to subdue the dragon by having him become a Christian and praise God. As tantalizing as such a prospect may be, all we have here is an unfortunate translation that ignored the editor's notes on the manuscript. Although we do not know *how* Saint Theodore defeats the dragon, it is quite safe to assume *that* he defeats him for good.

Indeed, if we apply the Hesiodic classification of the various evils (namely that spatially and temporally limited monsters stem from Gaea, while abstract concepts like Death, Plague and Sleep are from Chaos' line), then we would be forced to admit that battle against the dragon – as depicted in Christian tradition – is not a *Chaoskampf*, since the dragon consistently and definitively dies. On the other hand, hagiographical texts tend to add a further nuance to this otherwise simple image by stating that the dragon is a symbol of the devil, of evil or paganism. This interpretation is generally external to the story itself, but Varlaam goes further by turning it into Saint Theodore Tiro's personal epiphany: be it as it may, the dragon ultimately stands for a more timeless evil.

The *Germanov Sbornik* does not include any such interpretation (although it could very well have been mentioned in the missing pages), but provides a different, but equally interesting element: Saint Theodore repeatedly invokes the Creator before going to battle the dragon, even mentioning His triumph against the seas. Although this particular detail is probably an innovation, just like the fictional king Saul (or Samuel, as per the Greek variant in *BHG 1766*). This particular story prompted Hippolyte Delehaye to state that "the study of this isolated story with many absurd details might tempt those who love folklore"[33], but not the specialists who, like him, attempt to find the origins of the *hagiographical* motif.

Since this paper's purpose is to verify whether the dragon motif can legitimately be classified as a *Chaoskampf*, we will be turning our attention towards the folkloric aspects of Saint George's cult both in Romania and in the Balkans. In Albania, Saint George is equally celebrated by the Orthodox and the Muslims, since it marks the beginning of the first half of the year, which lasts until Saint Demetrius' Day. In fact, the calendric role played by Saint George's Day in this area is so great, that some places give more importance to this holiday than to the Muslim Bairam or to the Christian Easter. Saint George is celebrated for three consecutive days, during which the locals sacrifice a lamb and don't work in any way[34]. Saint George's Day occasionally signified the beginning of the civil year, but was consistently said to mark the beginning of the pastoral year, which is when the new shepherds are chosen. One notable aspect of Saint George's traditions is that the remains of the lambs that are sacrificed for the ritual meal are thrown down the river[35]. Bulgarians and other South Slavs equally focus on the pastoral aspect, and the first lamb of the flock is sacrificed for the Saint, who is perceived as the protector of shepherds and sheep[36].

[33] Delehaye, 1909, 38.
[34] Olteanu, 2013, 71.
[35] Olteanu, 2013, 72.
[36] Olteanu, 2013, 75.

Russian linguist and folklorist Alexander Hilferding gives an account of a habit from Raška, a region from Southwest Serbia, where Christians and Muslims gather for Saint George's Day on the shore of a lake which, according to tradition, had been inhabited by a dragon who fed on the local virgins and was ultimately defeated by Saint George. Veselin Čajkanović, a Serbian historian of religions and classical philologist, who wrote a monograph on the remains of pagan religions in Serbia, attempts to explain this tradition not as the result of popular imagination, but rather as a direct adaptation of the legend of Saint George. That aside, Čajkanović argues that the local version of the Saint George story was, in fact, the *interpretatio Christiana* of the pagan myth of the three-headed god, Trojan, who was also the namesake of a place known to people as *Trojangrad*, "Trojan's city"[37]. This adaptation may have been facilitated by the general tendency to identify Saint George's opponent with paganism or, more generally, with the devil.

This tradition might have some parallels in Romanian folklore, since there is the tradition of the "Freeing of the Waters". This ritual, which takes place on Saint George's Day, is the duty of a family who has endured the recent death of a family member, seeing how they have to remove all demonic influences from the river. One alternate tradition claims that there are actual devils in the river, and that women can conquer them by making the sign of the Cross with their laundry mallet[38]. While these traditions ultimately point to a battle against an aquatic – possibly timeless – evil, I find that the Serbian tradition is probably one of the most fascinating adaptation of Saint George's legend in folklore.

Similarly, Macedonians emphasize Saint George's role in raising animals and in the calendar itself, as shown by the following proverb: Дојде ли Ѓурѓовден, чекај си Митровден, "if Saint George's Day comes, then expect Saint Demetrius' Day"[39]. Saint George (Sângiorz) is identified in Ion Ghinoiu's *Dictionary of Romanian Mythology* with a "god of vegetation"[40], which is equally attested in the tradition of the *Zelenij Juraj* or the *Grüner Georg*, where a man covered in branches is splashed with water on Saint George's Day[41].

Is it then possible to argue that Saint George takes part in a battle against Chaos, as first defined by the Ancient Greeks? The most difficult impediment is that the dragon is emphatically killed in such a way that he may not return, which would contradict the Hesiodic dichotomy between Chaos and Gaea. Saint Theodore Tiro's story is more compatible with the concept of *Chaoskampf* by identifying the dragon/serpent with the devil, who is clearly seen as man's timeless enemy.

If we manage to go past the very concrete and clearly delimited shape of the dragon, it is nevertheless possible to confirm the *Chaoskampf* theory with the help

[37] Čajkanović, 1973, 177–179.
[38] Olteanu, 2009, 196–197.
[39] Kitevski, 2001, 142.
[40] Ghinoiu, 2013, 144.
[41] Verebélyi, 2013, 118.

of folklore. Indeed, Saint George marks the beginning of the year, which is sometimes celebrated by suspending all activities for three days (in a manner that is not dissimilar to the Saturnalia, when all order was briefly reversed before the New Year). One might also argue that Saint George was associated with order and imposing limits, since it is on this same day that lambs are separated from sheep, which is – to a certain extent – a triumph against disorder. One strong counter to this interpretation is that the dragon motif enters Saint George's tradition relatively late, which makes the connection between the military saint and his most famous foe be less solid than one might have expected. That being said, Lascarov-Moldovanu, who otherwise claimed to have removed repetitions, attributes the dragon episode to both Saint George and Saint Theodore Tiro, although the absence of this same motif in Varlaam's work is relatively puzzling.

On the other hand, recent research on Judaic and early Christian art has provided proof that the tradition of the rider who strikes an anthropomorphic or serpent-shaped demon was actually quite ancient. Christopher Walter claims that Saint Theodore Tiro may have been the first military saint to have been associated with dragon-slaying, even if only because Saint-George's traditional opponent was, at first, Diocletian[42]. That being said, it is equally true that various Metaphrastic manuscripts depict Christian persecutors as being accompanied by serpent: one notable case is that of Trajan, who is likely to be the namesake of Trojan, the pagan deity from South Serbia, which is all the more interesting, if one considers that the Christian population conserved his myth by turning him into a local dragon and Saint George's opponent[43].

As such, we may accept the military saints' inclusion among the *Chaoskampf* protagonists, even though "Chaos" became a somewhat ambiguous term even during Antiquity. While the dragon himself would qualify as a descendant of Gaea, his meaning points to his actual timelessness. One may also extend research of the Christian *Chaoskampf* by referring to the traditional story Saint Charalambos, who is represented in several icons as keeping the Plague in chains. According to folklore, Saint Charalambos can't kill her and only sets her free whenever God asks him to. In a certain sense, this kind of aetiological myth accounts for the oldest meaning of "Chaos", seeing how Plague can't be eradicated and can only be *limited* by the forces of Order, here represented by the Saint. As such, even though the word "Chaos" did eventually lose much of its original meaning throughout Antiquity, it is possible to argue that the general idea of a *Chaoskampf* was conserved from the earliest Near Eastern myths to the more recent Christian folk tales of dragon-slaying military saints, who, just like other holy men, aimed to imitate God Himself.

[42] Walter, 1999, 173.
[43] Walter, 1999, 178.

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THE SOCIAL STATUS OF ROMANIAN ORTHODOX NOBLEMEN IN LATE-MEDIEVAL TRANSYLVANIA ACCORDING TO DONOR PORTRAITS AND CHURCH INSCRIPTIONS[1]

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The *Voivodat* of Transylvania and its neighboring counties belonging to the Hungarian Kingdom represented throughout the Middle Ages a border area, where several ethnic groups (Hungarians, *Vlachs*/Romanians, Saxons, and Szeklers) coexisted and where two cultures (Latin and Byzantine-Slavic) and confessions (Catholic and Orthodox) met.[2] Even though they were formally integrated to the administrative structure of the *Voivodat* of Transylvania and Hungarian Kingdom, the territories where a compact *Vlach*/Romanian[3] population lived enjoyed a certain administrative, juridical, religious, and cultural autonomy, which gave individuality to these *districta Valachorum*. In the 14th and 15th centuries, Romanian Orthodox noblemen (*voievozi* and *cnezi*) were owners or rulers of several villages, where a variant of the customary law (*lex Olachorum* or *ius Valachicum*) was applied in addition to Hungarian laws.[4] The prevalence of these settlements' agricultural economic life lead to the establishing of a special regime

[1] A shorter version of this paper was read at the International Medieval Conference "Town and Country in the Byzantine World: Social and Economic Perspectives", American Research Center in Sofia (ARCS), 7–8 May 2015, Sofia, Bulgaria. This study would not have been possible without: the nine-month ARCS Pre-doctoral Fellowship (September 2014 – May 2015), which allowed me to carry on a significant part of my research; Anna Adashinskaya, whose competent advice and great knowledge of Old Church Slavonic and Byzantine Art offered me permanent guidance; and Pavel Murdzhev, who invited me to present a part of my results at the conference he organized. I am extremely grateful to all of them.

[2] For the region's multi-ethnical and bi-confessional character in the Middle Ages, see Pop 2003 and Pop 2013.

[3] The exonym "Vlach" was used during the Middle Ages for designating different Romance-speaking peoples, including the inhabitants of Transylvania. As there are no self-referential medieval sources produced by this people, but one can find various external testimonies stressing the Latin character of its language and the speakers' awareness of it (Papacostea 1988, 222–230; Balard 1980), I shall refer to this Romance-speaking people in Transylvania as "Romanians", a conventional term having nothing to do with present-day Romanian national identity.

[4] Pascu 1989, 134–148; Magina 2013.

of taxation, the *quinquagesima ovium*.[5] Their organization into *cnezate* and *voievodate* had as basis the possession of land, the former being hereditary and the latter, in fact an office granted either by a magnate or the king, coming with administrative, juridical, and military prerogatives.[6] Following a period of persecution by the Angevin rulers and their Catholic proselytism in the 14th century, when being a schismatic meant an inferior social standing and decay from former rights as *iniusti possessores*,[7] Romanian Orthodox noblemen registered a more fruitful period in the 15th century. It was now that Kings Sigismund of Luxemburg (1387–1437) and Matthias Corvinus (1458–1490) were faced with the Ottomans' advance and, subsequently, needed to resort also to the military help Romanians could provide them with. Starting with the end of 14th and throughout the following century, Romanian Orthodox noblemen received royal charters confirming their land possessions, their services to the king were rewarded with privileges and offices, and their military help was highly valued and praised.[8] King Sigismund's religious tolerance and zeal for the Church Union created a favorable context not only for the development of Romanian Orthodox noblemen's spiritual life, but also for the improvement of their social, economic, and political standing.[9]

In this historical context, Romanian Orthodox noblemen founded churches on their estates, building, decorating, and endowing them according to their modest means. They served either as court chapels, parish churches, monasteries, or

[5] This tax in kind which Romanians owed directly to the king counted one sheep with lamb for every fifty sheep Romanians owned: Pâclişanu 1920; Doboşi 1937; Pop 1982–1983.

[6] Drăgan 2000, 119–123; Pop 1997 a. For the distinctiveness of Romanian institutions of *cnezat* and *voievodat* from other East-Central and Eastern European cases, see Bogdan 1901–1902; Bogdan 1903–1904. It is this distinctiveness which determined the keeping here of Romanian names and spelling, as not to be confused with medieval institutions elsewhere in the Byzantine-Slavic world, which are called similarly but are in fact different realities. For *cnezat* in Transylvania, see also Pop 1988; for *voievodat* in Haţeg, see Pop 1983.

[7] For measures against Romanians and their noble status' conditioning by the belonging to Catholic confession, see especially: Pop 1997 b; Magina 2008. It is the merit of Holban 1981, 245–254 and Papacostea 1988, 85–89, for having put King Louis the Great's anti-Romanian measures against the background of the general political context in Hungary created by Wallachia's and Moldavia's emergence as states on the South and East of the Carpathians.

[8] Romanians' social-economic status under King Sigismund has been studied especially in connection to Banat, an area in the South-West of Transylvania which was inhabited in majority by Romanians and was greatly exposed to the Ottoman threat: Boldea 1995; Boldea 2008 a; Boldea 2008 b; Popa-Gorjanu 2000. For the same matter under Matthias Corvinus, when one can see the greatest number of royal land donations addressed to Romanians, see: Pop 1991; Costea 1997; Popa-Gorjanu 2002; Boldea 2010. One should not fail to mention the pioneering work on Romanian Orthodox nobility in Transylvania of Radu Popa; for his studies, see infra.

[9] For Sigismund's involvement as German Emperor and Hungarian King in the preparations leading to the Ferrara-Florence Council (1438–1439), see Kondor 2009. For the council's consequences in Transylvania and Romanians' flourishing during this period, see the studies in Rusu 1999, 77–123.

sometimes even fulfilled all three functions simultaneously.[10] These churches are preserved today only in the *terrae* of Haţeg and Zarand (South-Western Transylvania)[11] and were built generally in the 13th to 15th century. Their construction and decoration spanned sometimes on long periods of time, attesting both the precarious means of their founders, as well as the low availability of craftsmen and painters in the area. These churches' typology and level of craftsmanship qualifies them as pastiches of Western ecclesiastical architecture and, despite their unusual appearance for Orthodox churches,[12] they are indicators of their founders' inconspicuous Byzantine-Slavic culture.[13] In what follows, by using the evidence of donor portraits and church inscriptions in Old Slavonic found in these Orthodox churches, that is, the only type of source coming directly from Romanian Orthodox noblemen, I shall examine the economic and social aspects behind church patronage in late-medieval Transylvania.[14] On one hand, I shall seek into the reasons that made patrons (either members of one or several noble families, or simply members of a certain community) to join their efforts in church building and decorating, a difficult undertaking which spanned sometimes over several generations. On the other hand, religious patronage illustrated often complex social relationships between actors, as well as the particular position of Romanian Orthodox noblemen within the social and political hierarchy of the Catholic Kingdom of Hungary, revealing both these noblemen's real and aspired social status.

The preserved examples indicate that it was usually the nobleman and main landowner of a village, who undertook the building and decorating of a church. A series of exceptions reflecting the patrimonial relationships inside a family or

[10] As shown by Rusu 1997 a, 144–146, the term "court chapel", which was used first by Popa 1972 a, but was taken over by other scholars, cannot be separated in fact, both functionally and typologically, from the parish churches existing in the medieval *Terra* of Haţeg. For some of these parish churches' monastic function, see Rusu 1997 a, 94–100.

[11] Religious foundations assignable to Orthodox Romanians are encountered elsewhere in Transylvania, but they are preserved only as archaeological evidence and were not included here for obvious reasons. For such examples in Maramureş and Banat, see Popa 1970, *passim*, and Ţeicu 2007, *passim*.

[12] For these churches' architectural features, see Năstăsoiu forthcoming. The architectural description there is based on the materal published in: Rusu 1997 a, *passim*; Rusu, Pascu Hurezan, 2001, *passim* and especially 36–53; Vătăşianu 1929; Greceanu 1971; Popa 1988, 225–247.

[13] For Romanians' cultural specificity, see: Panaitescu 1994, 13–29; Pop 2004; Pop 2008. For Byzantine-Slavic cultural synthesis, see: Obolensky 1971, *passim*; Obolensky 2007; Picchio 2003, *passim*.

[14] For using donor portraits and church inscriptions as evidence for historical sciences, see especially the studies by Kalopissi-Verti 1996; Kalopissi-Verti 2003 a; Kalopissi-Verti 2003 b; Kalopissi-Verti 2004; for the author's other studies, see infra. For other authors relying on the same type of evidence in their studies, see: Stylianou 1960; Tomeković-Reggiani 1981; Etzeoglu 1982; Stylianou 1982: Paskaleva-Kabadaieva 1982; Bernardini 1992; Semoglou 2001. Throughout this article, I shall refer also to various studies published in two collections: Spieser, Yota 2012, and Theis *et alii* 2014.

village can be added to this model, however. In the case of the Church of the Dormition of the Holy Virgin in Crişcior, built and decorated in the beginning of the 15th century,[15] it is *jupan* Bălea who is depicted holding the model of the church together with his wife, *jupaniţa* Vişe (Fig. 1). On the neighboring, southern wall, their children[16] witness the act of the religious foundation by the head of the family, the only one called *ktetor* (founder) by the accompanying inscriptions.[17] The main dedicatory inscription is no longer preserved and one cannot be sure when was the church built and decorated. However, the nobleman *Bolya*, the son of *Boar de Keresztur*, is attested by written sources on 25 August 1404, when he received as *nova donatio* from King Sigismund of Luxemburg several properties in the district of White Criş, the donation coming as a reward for his loyalty and services brought to the kingdom and crown.[18] The church was probably decorated soon after this moment, as a confirmation of Bălea's newly-acquired status, but before 1414–1415, when his death is attested.[19] A man holding alone the model of the church while being assisted by his wife is depicted also in the votive composition in the church in Leşnic (Fig. 2). The scene's fragmentary state and poorly-preserved inscriptions, however, do not allow one to ascertain the identity of the founder.[20] His depiction as unique *ktetor* indicates that he was probably the main (but not the only, as we shall see) landowner in the village at the time the

[15] A 1773 description of the frescoes and accompanying inscriptions, made by some descendants of the noble family in Crişcior, mentions the year 1411, a detail which is no longer preserved. Dragomir 1929, 238–243, rejects this dating on the basis of invalid arguments, which I cannot address here. The 1411 dating is accepted in Tugearu 1985 a and Porumb 1998, 91–93. For a detailed account of the frescoes' iconography and a dating to the end of the 14th century (given as such), see Cincheza-Buculei 1978. Regarding the churches in Crişcior and Ribiţa, I shall not refer further to Trifescu 2010, as this scholarly work augments only the corpus of previous literature on the topic, bringing in fact nothing significant or new.

[16] The votive composition is incompletely preserved: except for the little boy *Stephanus* (depicted below the church's model) and the two older sons *Ladislaus* and *Csuka* (!) (depicted on the nave's southern wall), the 1773 Latin description mentions also two daughters, *Szor* and *Filka*, but their representations are no longer extant, Dragomir 1929, 239–240. For the daughters' position within the fragmentarily-preserved votive composition, following their brothers on the southern wall, see Cincheza-Buculei 1978, 35–38; for a different opinion, see Dragomir 1929, 240.

[17] See Catalogue I.1.A–E.

[18] For this and other documents preserved only as 19th-century copies, see Dragomir 1929, 240–246, who considers them fakes made by Count József Kemény, well-known for his forgeries of documents connected to medieval Transylvania (Mályusz 1988). The 1404 charter, however, might contain authentic information, King Sigismund having made the same day several other donations addressed to Romanian Orthodox noblemen in the area (Mályusz 1988, 212, n. 58). For the document's text, see Hurmuzaki, Densuşianu 1890, 433–434 (doc. no. CCCLVII). The information offered by these Crişcior-related copies should be reexamined critically and not dismissed *in corpore* as forgeries, because the information they offer is often confirmed by the evidence coming from the votive composition itself and archaeological research. For this last aspect, see Lazăr *et alii* 1988–1991. See also Gündisch 1977, 237.

[19] Kemény 1854, 128–129; see also Dragomir 1929, 242–245.

[20] See Catalogue IV.1.A. The surviving letters in the *ktetor*'s name rule out the identity of Dobre the Romanian, as previously suggested, Drăguţ 1963; Cincheza-Buculei 1974.

frescoes were painted, namely, sometime during the period between late 14th and first half of the 15th century.[21] Although both husband and wife are depicted in the votive compositions in Crişcior and Leşnic, there are reasons to believe that only the men played an active role in the religious foundation, their wives being depicted as a consequence of their matrimonial association. Although both spouses are holding the model of the church in Crişcior, it is only *jupan* Bălea who is called *ktetor* in the inscriptions, while in Leşnic, only the man touches the model of the church, his wife following him piously.

Other examples reflect also the division of patrimony between the members of a noble family. In these cases, donor portraits and church inscriptions indicate clearly the hierarchical relationship between male heirs which is established by age and social status. They imply also the common source of the inherited property, which determined heirs to combine their efforts and participate together in a religious foundation. This form of joint *ktetorship* is illustrated, on one hand, by the fragmentary inscription of Saint Nicholas Church in Hălmagiu (Fig. 3). It credits *jupan* Moga and his brother with the renewal of some works,[22] probably the painting of the sanctuary and triumphal arch, because the edifice was built in a unitary stage.[23] The frescoes' provincial Gothic style ascribes the mural decoration of the sanctuary to the late-14th or early-15th century,[24] while the partially-preserved inscription attests the presence in Hălmagiu during this period of Moga noble family, which is otherwise not associated in the written sources with the settlement before 1420s.[25]

On the other hand, the votive composition in Saint Nicholas Church in Ribiţa, painted probably in the beginning of the 15th century,[26] depicts the brothers

[21] Presently, the medieval frescoes in the church's nave are hardly visible under a thick layer of smoke and, until their cleaning and restoration will be undertaken, their dating remains hypothetical. For the church's murals, see the studies in the previous note and Mocanu 1985. The frescoes' dating after 1395 proposed by Cincheza-Buculei 1974, and revolving around the donation of Leşnic in 1394 and the battle of Ghindăoani in 1395 should certainly be revisited.

[22] See Catalogue III.1.A.

[23] Căpăţînă 1976, 80, and Rusu, Pascu Hurezan 2001, 98.

[24] The sanctuary's mural decoration is the work of a painter/workshop trained in a Central-European artistic milieu, as indicated by his/its provincial, late-Gothic style deriving from the Friul School and encountered in a series of Catholic churches in medieval Hungary at the turn of the 14th and 15th centuries. For stylistic analogies, see Prioteasa 2011, 149 and figs. 7.56–61; see also Năstăsoiu forthcoming, n. 29–30. For a dating to the second half of the 14th century, see Mardare 1980, 109; for a dating to the 15th century's first half, see Cincheza-Buculei 1984, 21–22.

[25] Rusu 1993, 91, 96–7; Eskenasy 1975, 25–26.

[26] The partially-preserved dedicatory inscription in Ribiţa no longer contains the year, its absence generating a series of hypotheses for the frescoes' date: 1404 – Nemes 1868, 63–64; 1417 – Dragomir 1929, 249–256; and 1414 – Rusu 1991. The frescoes' uncovering and restoration initiated in 1995, Cincheza-Buculei 1995, but not completed yet, revealed another partially-preserved inscription in the sanctuary, which contained initially a year (now lost), misread as 1407 in Popa 1995, 24 and fig. 6. Adashinskaya, Năstăsoiu 2014 corrected its reading, reconstructed the inscription, and proposed hypothetically the year 1393 for the frescoes in the sanctuary. Only the restoration's much-awaited completion can now shed light on the matter. See also Tugearu 1985 b.

Vladislavu and Miclăuşu offering their religious foundation to the church's patron saint (Fig. 4). They are assisted passively in this act by their wives and children.[27] The hierarchical perspective showing the kneeling founders,[28] as well as the fact that only the older brother touches the church's model and is called *ktetor* by the inscription next to his head,[29] indicate not only the person who had the main role in the religious foundation, but clarifies also the hierarchical relationship between the two brothers. They were probably equal heirs of their father's property, but it was Vladislavu as older son who enjoyed the status of new family head after 1404, when the brothers managed to recover their family's properties, which were previously lost by their father for his *nota infidelitatis* toward the king.[30] The hierarchical relationship between two brothers is made manifest in Hălmagiu by the order of names in the inscription, while in Ribiţa, it is expressed both visually and textually by the hierarchical perspective and accompanying inscriptions, respectively. One cannot determine whether the brothers had or not different degrees of financial involvement in the religious foundation, but the evidence in Hălmagiu and Ribiţa, which reflects clearly the hierarchy effective within a family, might be indicative also of this kind of relationship.

Another interesting example which reveals a complex patrimonial relationship, as well as the phenomenon of religious foundation as a type of family enterprise, is that of the dedicatory inscription of the Church of the Holy Apostles Peter and Paul ("Serfs' Church") in Sălaşu de Sus. The inscription, which was carved in stone sometime during the 1519–1536 period,[31] not only offers information on the church's building stages – an initial wooden church replaced by a stone one –,[32] but sheds light also on the relationships between the members of a family's various generations,[33] which acted as *ktetors* for one religious foundation in a sort of collective, but nonetheless family undertaking. Nine persons belonging to three

[27] See Catalogue VI.1.A–H. The representation of Miclăuşu's wife was greatly destroyed by one of the pillars built after 1868 for supporting the new vault *a vela* (all six pillars were removed during the 1994–6 period, Adashinskaya, Năstăsoiu 2014). The creation of new windows on the nave's southern wall destroyed a portion of the lower register's decoration, between the votive composition and the representation of Abraham's Bosom. It is not excluded that the *ktetors*' scene continued here with other figures, probably some of the founders' children, an 1868 description of the inscriptions and church *ktetors* mentioning other names, too; these are now missing from the votive composition and dedicatory inscription, Nemes 1868, 63–64. Today, only little Ana, Vladislavu's daughter, is visible below the model of the church.

[28] Their importance is revealed visually by the characters' order and decreasing size, Tugearu 1985 b, 133.

[29] See Catalogue VI.1.C and F.

[30] Members of the noble family in Ribiţa appear in written sources only around mid-15th century, Rusu 1991, 7, but the 1868 description (that is, before the building's interior alterations), made by a native of Ribiţa and descendant of the noble family itself, who used possibly documents from his family's archive, offers this information, Nemes 1868, 64. For a critical examination of this information, see Rusu 1991, 7–8, and Adashinskaya, Năstăsoiu 2014.

[31] Rusu et alii 1987–1988; Rusu 1997 a, 292–297; for the inscription, see Catalogue VII.1A.

[32] *Ibidem*, lines 2–3, cf. Rusu 1997 a, 293, 295.

[33] For the family's genealogy during the 14th and 16th centuries, see Rusu 1997 a, 294.

generations of the noble family of Sărăcin fulfilled the function of *ktetors* for a modest-size church, their endeavors spanning on more than half a century. Two brothers, Sărăcin I and Ionuş/Ianăş, erected initially a wooden church sometime during the second half of the 15th century. Sărăcin I having died without heirs, it was the sons of Ionuş/Ianăş, i.e. Sărăcin II and Mihaiu, who endeavored to replace the wooden church by a stone edifice. However, Mihaiu's death happening during the 1514–1519 interval determined the redefining of *ktetorial* instances in the dedicatory inscription. On one hand, Sărăcin II, together with his son Fărcaşu and his wife Dorca, and on the other hand, Mihaiu's successors, namely, his son Iancul[34] and his wife Anca (of Streisângeorgiu), together with Mrăghită, the mother of Sărăcin II and Mihaiu, assumed the completion of the construction. This happened naturally between the deaths of Mihaiu in 1514–1519 and of Sărăcin II in 1536.[35]

The long interval needed by the nobles of Sărăcin for accomplishing their religious foundation could be indicative of a low economic profile for the Romanian Orthodox noble family, but it definitely stresses the family nature of their religious foundation. The inscription implies the duty of the nobles of Sărăcin as main landowners in the village to fulfill the *ktetorial* function for the church which was probably located on their estate. However, despite the collective appearance of this religious foundation, the inscription makes apparent the division of *ktetorial* duties and rights among the male representatives of a single family's branches: initially, between brothers Sărăcin I and Ionuş/Ianăş, later between brothers Sărăcin II and Mihaiu, and finally, after Mihaiu's death, between Sărăcin II with his family and his late brother's heirs, either son Iancul and wife Anca, or Anca alone. The dedicatory inscription in Sălaşu de Sus accounts, therefore, for a *ktetorial* model which seems to reflect the succession practice established among Orthodox Romanians: together with property, each succession party (devisee) inherited additionally the *ktetorial* rights and duties of their predecessor (devisor).

The votive composition in the Church of Saint George in Streisângeorgiu, painted in 1408 and remade faithfully in 1743 (Fig. 5),[36] is illustrative also for another type of patrimonial relationship occurring inside a property, either one village or group of villages, owned by Romanian Orthodox noblemen. *Jupan* Chendreşu is the only one called *ktetor* by the inscriptions,[37] a sign that he was credited with the main role in the religious foundation. He holds the model of the church together with his wife, *jupaniţa* Nistora, and has Vlaico, his son and successor, on his side. Next to Nistora, however, there is depicted also *jupan* Laţco,

[34] He could also be Sărăcin II's grandson, that is, Fărcaşu's son. See the discussion of the word ѹнѹкь in Catalogue VII.1.A, line 4.

[35] Rusu 1997 a, 295.

[36] Bratu 1985 a, 287, 297; Rusu, Burnichioiu 2008, no page number.

[37] See Catalogue IX.2.A–F. For detailed discussions of the 1408 inscriptions, see also Mihăilă 1978 and Bratu 1985 a, 297–299.

whose mature age makes him an unlikely son of Chendreşu's and more probably a secondary founder of the church.[38] The two noblemen in the votive composition – *Kendres filio Gregorii de Zenthgeorgh* and *Laczk filio Nicolai de Zentgewrgy* – appear together in two documents dated to 25 July 1392[39] and 25 August 1404,[40] respectively. From these charters confirming their *kenezial* possessions on Strei and Sălaş Valleys, one finds out that both noblemen owned additionally undefined parts of Streisângeorgiu, where they both had their residence, and that they were somehow related.[41] The votive composition, which illustrates again the phenomenon of joint *ktetorship*, helps one, therefore, if not to understand in detail the settlement's landownership structure, at least to grasp the ratio of sharing the property between the two noblemen: Chendreşu's greater share was reflected probably in his role as main *ktetor* of the church.

Although the accompanying dedicatory inscription assigns to Chendreşu the role of building and decorating the religious edifice in 1408,[42] he was in fact responsible only for erecting the western tower, some other architectural transformations, and the partial decoration with murals of the interior.[43] Another, earlier dedicatory inscription, painted below the window in the sanctuary's axis, credits *cneaz* Balea, priest Naneş, and painter Theofil with the initiative of the church in the year 1313–1314, that is, almost one century earlier.[44] These ones were not the church founders *stricto sensu* either, the architectural and archaeological research revealing that the building was standing already in 1130–1140 and that the 1313–1314 dedicatory inscription was made on the second layer of plaster, corresponding to the church's second stage of decoration with murals.[45]

Another similar case is that of the already-mentioned church in Hălmagiu, which had its sanctuary and triumphal arch decorated with frescoes by *jupan* Moga and his brother around 1400.[46] Sometime during the second half of the 15th century, another donor commissioned the decoration with murals of the church's nave and requested his depiction to be included in a votive composition. This is now poorly-preserved (Fig. 6), but the *ktetor*'s outline, the church's model, and Saint Nicholas'

[38] Although the main dedicatory inscription assigns to *jupan* Chendreşu, *jupaniţa* Nistora, and his (Chendreşu's) *sons* the church's building and decoration (Catalogue IX.2.F, lines 3–4), Mihăilă 1978, 37, warns that the inscriptions' 1743 repainting distorted some of the words which were effaced at that point. The short inscriptions next to the figures' heads, however, designate only Vlaico as Chendreşu's son, while Laţco is called *jupan*, Catalogue IX.2.A and D. For the relationship between Chendreşu and Laţco, see infra.

[39] Lukinich, Galdi 1941, 429–430 (doc. no. 383).

[40] Hurmuzaki, Densuşianu 1890, 428 (doc. no. CCCLI); Mályusz 1956, 399 (doc. no. 3368).

[41] For a discussion of these documents and the impossibility to specify the two noblemen's kinship, see Popa 1978, 11–13; see also Popa 1972 b, n. 9 and 11.

[42] See Catalogue IX.2.F, lines 2 and 6–7.

[43] Popa 1978, 21–23; Popescu-Dolj 1978, 46.

[44] See Catalogue IX.1.A.

[45] Popa 1978, 23; Popescu-Dolj 1978, 46; Boldura et alii 1978.

[46] See supra, n. 22–4.

benediction of the donation are still visible in the composition.[47] What is intriguing is the fact that the new donor, although he kept the work *jupan* Moga and his brother accomplished in the sanctuary, decided to remove the memory of his predecessor-founders by covering only the triumphal-arch inscription with the newly-commissioned frescoes (Fig. 3).[48] Similarly, *jupan* Chendreşu failed to refer to the work of *cneaz* Balea, priest Naneş, and painter Theofil, claiming full *ktetorial* rights over their religious foundation, as the three patrons of 1313–1314 did earlier with their predecessors' work, stating the church's initiation by themselves.[49]

Cneaz Balea of Streisângeorgiu is otherwise unattested by written sources,[50] whereas the anonymous *ktetor* in Hălmagiu is not attested by something else than his votive composition.[51] One cannot be sure, subsequently, what were the reasons the second donors in Streisângeorgiu and Hălmagiu had for omitting the contribution of their predecessors. These facts, however, reflect the mentality of medieval founders, for whom each new work they undertook for the church, either architectural changes or mural (re)decoration, was understood as a religious foundation in itself.[52] Additionally, their depiction as *ktetors* holding the church's model was meant also as a display of their social status and economic strength. Romanian Orthodox noblemen's social and economic status was conferred by their land possessions, which made them able to undertake/sponsor church works. Their religious foundations were usually located in the very center of their power and property, so that land possession and religious foundation were strongly interconnected. It is not surprising, therefore, that their social and economic status expressed by means of donor portraits and dedicatory inscriptions reflected also the changes in social, economic, and even legal status, which occurred at some point. One can only speculate, but the second votive composition in Hălmagiu and the dismissal of the first founders' memory by the new donors could occur as a consequence of change in the landownership structure of the settlement. Although still attested by written sources in the second half of the 15th century, the noble family of Moga is no longer associated with Hălmagiu, an indication that its members changed their residence and another noble family took their place.[53] The

[47] According to Cincheza-Buculei 1984, 16, the founder is accompanied by another, poorly-preserved figure, possibly his wife; next to Saint Nicholas, there is the representation of a standing military saint, whom the scholar identifies hypothetically with Saint George. For this second decoration phase, see *ibidem*, 13–24.

[48] The newer representation on the northern side of the nave's eastern wall is no longer preserved, but its surviving minor traces in the upper side of the lower register attest that it covered the fresco layer corresponding to the inscription mentioning *jupan* Moga and his brother.

[49] The *damnatio memoriae* of the first founders in Hălmagiu and Streisângeorgiu is rather exceptional, the practice of successive *ktetorship* presupposing generally in Byzantium and the Byzantine-Slavic world the acknowledging of the first *ktetors*' work by the second ones.

[50] Popa 1978, 23.

[51] Cincheza-Buculei 1984, 21.

[52] Popa 1978, 23.

[53] Eskenasy 1975, 28.

second donor in Hălmagiu sought thus to express his new status through the commissioning of a votive composition painted in the old church, which was situated probably on his newly-acquired property.

Except for Balea of Streisângeorgiu, the only one called кнѣзь by the 1313–1314 dedicatory inscription,[54] the *ktetors* in the other examples are called жꙋпанъ / жꙋпанъ, a term which by the 15th century designated both the *cnezi* and *voievozi* and reflected more a social distinction rather than a medieval institution.[55] Whereas the votive compositions in Leşnic and that of the second *ktetors* in Hălmagiu[56] show only the male donor holding the model of the church, which he offers to the patron saint[57] while their wives are following them passively (Figs. 2 and 6),[58] the rest of the preserved examples illustrate the phenomenon of joint *ktetorship*.[59] Motivated both economically and socially, the partners of the religious foundation were either brothers (Ribiţa, the first *ktetors* in Hălmagiu, and the first and second *ktetors* in Sălaşu de Sus),[60] owners of neighboring properties having their residence in the same settlement (the 1408 *ktetors* in Streisângeorgiu), or persons belonging to distinct social categories (the 1313–1314 *ktetors* in Streisângeorgiu).[61] It is not excluded either for spouses to have been involved together in such an enterprise (Crişcior or the 1408 *ktetors* in Streisângeorgiu).[62] According to the *ius Valachicum*, Romanian Orthodox noblewomen inherited in equal share with male heirs their father's property, a patrimonial model which differed essentially from the *quarta puellarum* of Catholic noblewomen in medieval Hungary; these ones could not inherit land and received after their father's death, regardless of the sisters' number, only a quarter of the movable patrimony.[63] Whereas the women in Leşnic, Ribiţa, and possibly Hălmagiu witness passively and piously the act of the religious foundation by their husbands, being included in the votive compositions

[54] See Catalogue IX.1.A, lines 6–7.

[55] Drăgan 2000, 264–266; Năstăsoiu forthcoming, n. 14.

[56] They can be analyzed only visually, no accompanying inscriptions, nor written sources having been preserved on the *ktetors*, see supra, n. 20 and 51.

[57] See supra, n. 20 and 47.

[58] See supra, n. 47.

[59] Primarily, joint *ktetorship* was illustrated iconographically as the joint holding of the church by the two *ktetors*; however, there are cases when the two *ktetors* or, even more so, multiple, associated donors could not be depicted all touching the model of the church and, subsequently, painters had to come up with other iconographic solutions for communicating this idea. For joint *ktetorship*, see Cvetković 2013; Adashinskaya 2014.

[60] See Catalogue VI.1.A, lines 2–3, III.1.A, and VII.1.A, line 1.

[61] For the 1408 *ktetors*, see Popa 1978, 11–13, and supra, n. 38–41; for the 1313–1314 *ktetors*, see Catalogue IX.1.A, lines 6–10, and infra.

[62] The two cases are hypothetical, as the votive compositions show both spouses holding the church's model, but only the husbands are called *ktetor* in the inscriptions, Catalogue I.1.A–E, and IX.2.F, lines 2–3. Anyways, this fact accounts either for the man's initiative of the religious foundation or a greater (financial) part he played in its completion.

[63] Popa 1988, 194–195; Rusu 1993, 92. For *quarta puellarum* or *quartalicium*, see Rady 2000, 103–107; Pop 2002, 31; Magina 2013, 76.

only because of their family ties with the male founders (Figs. 2, 4, and 6),[64] it is possible for *jupanița* Vișe in Crișcior and *jupanița* Nistora in Streisângeorgiu to have participated with parts of their dowry and inheritance share in the act of their husbands' religious foundations. Their involvement in the pious deed could be suggested by the iconographic detail of the two women touching and holding the model of the church together with their husbands (Figs. 1 and 5).[65] The dedicatory inscription in Sălașu de Sus mentions together with the male representatives of Sărăcin noble family also grandmother Mrăghită, *jupanița* Dorca, and *jupana* Anca, who could have been likewise involved in the completion of the modest-size church in their village.[66] The 1313–1314 dedicatory inscription in Streisângeorgiu, which mentions together a *cneaz*, a priest, and a painter as active participants in the religious foundation,[67] is a peculiar case. The association of the three *ktetors* can be indicative of the low economic profile of Orthodox Romanians in the beginning of the 14th century and the minor social differences between the three founders – the landowner, clergyman, and craftsman –, who had probably a very similar social background.[68]

Except for offering valuable information on the founders' identity and devotional practices, as well as on the type and dating of their *ktetorial* work, the main dedicatory inscriptions of the churches in Ribița and Streisângeorgiu deserve special attention for another extremely-significant, common feature. They both mention that the *ktetors*' religious foundation happened in the days of King Jicmund/Jicmon (Sigismund of Luxemburg, 1387–1437), the inscription in Streisângeorgiu adding also the names of the *Voivodes* of Transylvania Ioaneș and Iacov (John Tamási and James Lack of Szántó, 1403–1409).[69] One should add to these examples also the inscription containing the painter's name in the monastery church in Râmeț. Using the same formula, this one states that the work of painter Mihul of White Criș was done at Archbishop Ghelasie's order in the days of a king whose name is no longer preserved.[70]

[64] The children's inclusion in the votive composition (Crișcior, Ribița, and Streisângeorgiu) is similarly motivated by the kinship with their founder parents, who wanted to stress the line of succession by depicting their heirs.

[65] For such examples, see T. Kambourova, *Le don de l'église – une affaire de couple?*, in Theis et alii 2014, 213–229; certainly, the two Transylvanian examples are hypothetical, other evidence than the visual one missing in these cases.

[66] See Catalogue VII.I.A.

[67] *Ibidem*, IX.I.A, lines 6–10.

[68] For Romanian Orthodox priests' descending from local noble families and their involvement in religious patronage, see Rusu 1997 a, 65–66, 68; Rusu 1997 b, 142–143. For painters' status and involvement as patrons in church decoration, see also the cases discussed below.

[69] See Catalogue VI.I.A, line 5, and IX.2.F, lines 9–11.

[70] *Ibidem*, V.1.A. Drăguț 1966 a could not read the king's name and year, which were given as Louis and 6885 (1377), respectively, by Tugearu 1985 c, 159, 168. A later dedicatory inscription carved in stone, placed above the church's entrance and written in Romanian but with Cyrillic letters, mentions that the church was first painted in the days of King Matthias, in the year 6895 (1386/1387), an information not coinciding with historical reality, as there is no king named as such in the 14th

The formula въ дьни (name) кралѣ (or any other title of ruler) appears often in dedicatory inscriptions and charters in Old Church Slavonic and is a relevant detail.[71] The mentioning of the date together with the ruler does not serve only to frame chronologically an event, but it also specifies the political structure under which the respective event took place. On one hand, it implies the acknowledging by the donor of the legitimizing political structure and, on the other hand, the validation by the effective political structure of the event, namely, the church foundation.[72] The reference to the King of Hungary in Ribiţa, and to the King of Hungary and *Voivodes* of Transylvania in Streisângeorgiu reflects faithfully the time's political order: Vladislavu and Miclăuşu of Ribiţa were noblemen of the kingdom only, while Chendreşu and Laţco of Streisângeorgiu were also noblemen of the *Voivodat* of Transylvania, a political structure subordinated in its turn to the Hungarian Kingdom.[73] Another, unpreserved inscription on the nave's northern

century, Drăguţ 1966 a, 43. I leave aside the complex issue generated by this second inscription, the present study being interested more in the painter's manner of dating his work rather than in the date itself. Judging by the marginal position of Mihul's inscription (namely, on the image of Saint Gregory the Great, painted on the intrados of the arcade separating the narthex from the nave, that is, in a transitional place), this should not be judged as the main dedicatory inscription of the church, as it has been done previously: it is rather a secondary, autograph inscription of the painter. For inscriptions mentioning painters' names, see Kalopissi-Verti 1994. For the church's medieval frescoes, see Drăguţ 1966 a, 39–47; Tugearu 1985 c; Porumb 1998, 230–233.

[71] Agrigoroaei 2012, 114–115 pointed out first to the formula's relevance, but used comparative material in Latin. Contrary to the author's statement, *ibidem*, n. 35, such Byzantine-Slavic material does exist for the period under concern. I give here only several examples of dedicatory inscriptions in churches, although the formula occurs more often in manuscripts and charters: Си храмь свѣтие богородице сьзида Дабиживь и Богоемь з братомь си сь Храномь, Дробнаковь Ѹнѹкь. вь дьни цара Стефана (my underlining) в лет(о) ҂ѕ҃ѕ҃н҃ сьт.ѕ҃г҃ – 1355, inscription on the ruins of the church in Vaganeš, Stojanovič 1902, vol. I, 39, and Tomović 1974, 63; Сы же монастирь наче се здати лѣто ҂ѕ҃ѕ҃ѡ҃н҃г҃, вь дни благовѣрнаго цара Стефана и христолюбиваго крала Влкашина, и свршьи се вь дни благовѣрнаго и христолюбиваго крала Марка. – 1371–94, inscription in Saint Demetrius Monastery in Suva Reka, Stojanovič 1902, 58; [...] ни храм сы вь дни благовернаго кнеза Стефана, вь лѣт(о) ҂ѕ҃ц҃ѕ҃. – 1399, inscription in Saint Stephen Church in Lipovac (Aleksinac), *ibidem*, 60; or ... въ ц(а)рс(т)вие писах въ л(ѣ)то [...] тисѹцно и҃ѳ[...] сьтьно и ·к҃· и вь д(ь)нь ц(а)ра [...] сѹлтан(а)... – 1412, church inscription excavated in Shumen, Tomović 1974, 101.

[72] For ways of dating a *ktetorial* work in inscriptions, including a discussion of the cases when the ruler's name is included, see Marković 2012. For Byzantine cases, see: Kalopissi-Verti 1992, 25; Foskolou 2006; Marković 2011, 133. For the ruler's mentioning in Orthodox churches under foreign rule, either Orthodox, Catholic, or Ottoman, see especially the last example in the previous note and also Tsougarakis 1998; Spatharakis 2001, 74; Drakopoulou 2013, 122–123, and N. Karamouna, N. Peker, B. Tolga Uyar, *Female Donors in Thirteenth-century Wall Paintings in Cappadocia: An Overview*, in Theis et alii 2014, 239–241.

[73] Ribiţa was subordinated administratively to the royal *castrum* of Şiria, which belonged to Zarand County, one of the Hungarian Kingdom's border counties, Prodan 1960; Bulboacă 2013, 24, 31–32. Streisângeorgiu was located in the District of Haţeg, an administrative division of Hunedoara County, one of the seven Transylvanian counties, Popa 1972 a, 54.

wall, recorded in 1868[74] and located probably in the proximity of the representation of the holy kings of Hungary,[75] mentioned also that the church in Ribița was built in 1404 under the shepherding of Pope Gregory and Anastasius. The former name was probably that of the twelfth pontiff named as such (1406–1415),[76] while the latter referred possibly to the Metropolitan of Severin Athanasius (1389–1403/1405).[77] The fact that the two pastors' reigning and governing years do not coincide poses indeed a series of problems for the church's dating,[78] but the mentioning of an ecclesiastical authority in the context of church inscriptions is possible, being encountered sometimes in the Byzantine and Byzantine-Slavic world.[79] According to my knowledge, however, the reference to a double ecclesiastical authority, both Catholic and Orthodox, is a unique occurrence.[80]

[74] Nemes 1868, 64.

[75] Rusu 1991, 7.

[76] The reigns of Popes Gregory XI (1370–1378) and Gregory XIII (1572–1585) do not correspond to the church's possible date of building and decoration.

[77] For the Metropolitan of Severin Athanasius, see: Șerbănescu 1970, 1212–1215; Păcurariu 1980, 255; Trapp, Gastgeber 2001, no. 389; Preiser-Kapeller 2008, 345, 481. It is highly uncertain that Athanasius was later the Metropolitan of Mytilene (until 1412), as suggested by Laurent 1945, 177–179, because the hierarch disappeared from public life after December 1403 or August 1405, probably as a consequence of his and other metropolitans' failure to depose the Patriarch of Constantinople Matthew I. For this episode, see Dennis 1967, 100–106; Kapsalis 1994, 52–93; Leonte 2012, 30–37.

[78] The actual date is unimportant for the present discussion, which is concerned with the mentioning in church inscriptions of the ecclesiastical authority. The date's criticism in Rusu 1991, 7–8, should be reconsidered in the light of new information, Adashinskaya, Năstăsoiu 2014.

[79] For Byzantine material, see: the inscriptions dating the foundation through the emperor's, patriarch's, and creation years in the Church of the Dormition of the Virgin in Skripou (873/4), Oikonomidès 1994; the dedicatory inscription referring to the Patriarch of Constantinople in Omorphe Ekklesia in Aegina (1289), Kalopissi-Verti 1992, 25, 85; the dedicatory inscription mentioning the emperor, his wife, and the Archbishop of Ohrid in the Church of the Holy Virgin Peribleptos in Ohrid (1294–1295), Marković 2011, 133; the inscription recorded in early-20th century as existing above the entrance to the church of Theotokos Chrysopege in Ainos/Enez (1424), which mentioned the emperor and his wife, the bishop, and ecumenical patriarch, Mamaloukos, Perrakis 2011, 509–510. For Byzantine-Slavic material, see: the two inscriptions in Staro Nagoričino mentioning the ruler and the monastery's abbot (1312/1313 – exterior, above the church's entrance; and 1318 – interior of the church), Stojanovič 1902, 19, 21, and Marković 2012, 29 and fig. 7. The mentioning of the Patriarch of Nicea Germanos in the Church of Panagia tou Mpryone, Neochoraki in Epiros (1238), Kalopissi-Verti 1992, 25, 49–50, and of the patriarch and emperor in the Holy Savior Church in Veria (1315), Gounaris 1991, 10, are special cases, since the patriarchs themselves participated to the consecration of these churches.

[80] The mentioning together of the Byzantine Emperor Manuel I Komnenos, the King of Jerusalem Amalric I, and the Latin Bishop of Jerusalem Raoul in the bilingual dedicatory inscriptions of the Church of Nativity in Jerusalem, is the closest example I could find; however, this case is not analogous to Ribița, since the mentioned secular and religious authorities were directly involved in sponsoring the church's complete redecoration in 1167–1169, Folda 1997, 389; Kühnel 2001, 359; Bacci 2015, 39–40, 51–52. For an interpretation of the case in Ribița as the acknowledging of a double ecclesiastical authority, Catholic and Orthodox, see Rusu 1991, 8.

Except for the king's name, the partially-preserved dedicatory inscription in Ribița mentions also a charter for one's sons, family, and properties,[81] and displays a striking difference between the upper half with tall, elegant letters and the lower half with small, crowded, almost cursive letters. This dissimilarity might indicate that the dedicatory inscription was at some later point remade.[82] From indirect, but reliable 19th-century sources, which supplement one's knowledge on the founders of the church, one finds out that the brothers Mátyás, Vratisláv/Vladislavu, and Miklós/Miclăușu *de Ribice*, together with daughters Anna/Ana and Johanka/Stan(c)a(?), built the church in 1404, being grateful that King Sigismund returned to them *nova donatione mediante* the family properties (five villages), which were lost by their father Vratisláv for his *nota infidelitatis* toward the king.[83] Another partially-preserved inscription painted on the sanctuary's northern wall could indicate, however, an earlier dating for the mural decoration of the sanctuary at least, if not for the whole church: 1393.[84]

It is possible, therefore, that the main dedicatory inscription in the votive composition was only updated in 1404, or soon after, so that it reflected the new social and legal status of the noblemen in Ribița, who regained the king's favor and recovered their family's lost properties.[85] The mentioning of an event taking place in the days of King Sigismund is followed after only one line by the detail of a charter for one's sons, offspring, and property.[86] The event in question might refer in fact not to the finishing of the church's construction and/or decoration, which is specified at length throughout the three final, fragmentary lines, where the accomplishing of a certain thing is repeated obstinately,[87] but to the recovering in 1404 of the family land possessions, which happened as customarily by means of a royal charter. This has not survived for the noblemen in Ribița, only the dedicatory inscription alluding now to it. Similar documents, however, still exist for the noblemen in Crişcior and Streisângeorgiu, as well as for other Romanian Orthodox noblemen in the area, all having received on 25 August 1404 the royal (re)confirmation of their land possessions.[88]

[81] See Catalogue, VI.1.A, line 6.

[82] Adashinskaya, Năstăsoiu 2014; until the votive composition's cleaning and restoration will be completed, the above statement is hypothetical.

[83] Nemes 1868, 64; see also supra, n. 27 and 30.

[84] Adashinskaya, Năstăsoiu 2014; see Catalogue VI.2.A.

[85] *Ibidem*. Only the completion of the frescoes' restoration can clarify the church's stages of decoration and confirm or not these statements. I want to stress once again their hypothetical character.

[86] See Catalogue, VI.1.A, lines 5–6.

[87] *Ibidem*, lines 7–9.

[88] For the confirmation of the land possessions of the noblemen of Crişcior and Streisângeorgiu, both documents issued on 25 August 1404, see n. 18 and 40. The same day, King Sigismund of Luxemburg issued a series of other documents (confirmations of possession, orders of putting in possession, and tax exemptions), which concern other Romanian Orthodox noblemen in the area; for these documents, see Rusu, Pop, Drăgan 1989, 40–51.

King Sigismund's gesture towards Orthodox Romanians came after the defeat of the Transylvanian noblemen who, in their quality of *familiares*, followed the *Voivodes* of Transylvania Nicholas Csáki and Nicholas Marcali (1402–1403) and rebelled against the king, supporting the claims to the Hungarian crown of King Ladislas of Naples.[89] Having overcome any adversity by the spring of 1404, King Sigismund rewarded generously those who took his side in the conflict (among them, there were probably also the noblemen of Crişcior and Streisângeorgiu) and pardoned magnanimously those who surrendered within the required interval, restoring them to their previous state (probably Vladislavu and Miclăuşu of Ribiţa).[90] The mentioning of the king and charter in the dedicatory inscription in Ribiţa can be understood equally as the two brothers' way of expressing their gratitude to the king, of remembering the overcoming of a difficult moment in their existence, and of making sure that their land possessions will not be at risk again. Whether donor portraits and church inscriptions could fulfill or not in the Middle Ages a legal function is open to debate, but indirect evidence suggests that they did so in a later period. The church inscriptions of the church in Crişcior were copied in 1773 by some alleged descendants of the Kristyóri family. In so doing, they used them as evidence in a legal dispute concerning their right of property over the village of Crişcior and, subsequently, derived their genealogy from *jupan* Bălea, who was fashioned as *Bela Vajvoda de Kristor*.[91]

The complex social and political context suggested by these churches' dedicatory inscriptions and donor portraits is confirmed also by an iconographic particularity of the frescoes in the Orthodox churches in Crişcior and Ribiţa. Here, one can notice the presence in the proximity of the donors' compositions of representations of military saints on horse and the three Catholic holy kings of Hungary.[92] In Crişcior, the holy kings follow the representation of the *ktetor*'s sons on the southern wall of the nave (Fig. 7), while in Ribiţa, they are facing the votive composition on the nave's northern wall (Fig. 8). Whereas the military saints' representation was interpreted as a consequence of Romanian Orthodox noblemen's significant military role they had to play in the king's efforts to oppose the Ottoman's advance,[93] the depiction of the Catholic royal saints of Hungary in

[89] For the events' chronology and development, see Engel 2005, 206–208.

[90] For King Sigismund's measures following the 1401–1403 events and his attempt to gain the support of townsmen and lower nobility, including Orthodox Romanians, see Gündisch 1976; Gündisch 1977.

[91] The document is published partially in Dragomir 1929, 238–239, and Réthy 1890, 146, n. 3; see also n. 15–6. Whether the continuation of a medieval practice or only modern contrivance, I hope that further research will shed light on the legal character of dedicatory inscriptions.

[92] Tugearu 1985 a, 78–79, noticed first the connection in Crişcior between the votive composition, Hungary's holy kings, and Saint Helena in the Finding of the Holy Cross scene. For the connection between the *ktetors* and military saints on horse in Crişcior and Ribiţa, see Cincheza-Buculei 1981, 31. For putting in relation all four scenes, see Prioteasa 2009, 42; Prioteasa 2011, 64, 85, 194–196. See also Agrigoroaei 2012, 123–128. I have recently dealt with the same topic: Năstăsoiu 2015.

[93] Cincheza-Buculei 1981, Prioteasa 2011, 58–64.

the Orthodox churches in Crişcior and Ribiţa was understood as an expression of the Orthodox founders' loyalty towards the Hungarian royal power.[94] The holy kings' representation was extremely popular among the kingdom's Catholic noblemen, who expressed in this way their political allegiance either to the king or kingdom.[95]

It is possible, therefore, that the founders in Crişcior and Ribiţa, who had their properties in the County of Zarand, were noblemen of the Kingdom of Hungary,[96] and owed to the king their military assistance whenever this was needed, to have emulated the devotional patterns of Catholic nobility which was placed in a more favorable position.[97] The depiction of Hungary's holy kings was not necessarily a consequence of Romanian Orthodox noblemen's devotional practice (although this cannot be completely excluded judging by their naming practices),[98] the frescoes' donors intending it rather as a reflection of their social and political status.[99] The hybridity of their Orthodoxy which was professed under Latin/Catholic rule was a consequence of the social and political reality of the medieval Hungarian Kingdom. Romanian Orthodox noblemen sought to be integrated into the kingdom's social and political hierarchy/structure and understood the central royal power as a legitimizing source for their local authority.[100]

Consequently, donor portraits and church inscriptions register not only the pious deed of a religious foundation by a noble family, sometimes clarifying the relationship between actors, but they can also offer additional information which can shed light on the political and social structure in which they took place. This way, they receive a range of additional meaning: economic (building, decorating, and endowing a church required a significant financial effort), social and political (the noble *ktetors* were integrated to a social-political structure, the authority of which validated and legitimized their actions), or even legal (the reference to a charter in the dedicatory inscription reinforcing and confirming the *ktetors*' juridical status).

These noblemen depicted in votive compositions accompanied by lengthy dedicatory inscriptions were indeed the main sponsors of the works of building or decorating a religious edifice, but they were not the only ones acting as church

[94] For the Catholic royal saints' presence in Transylvanian Orthodox churches, see: Dragomir 1929, 233–236; Drăguţ 1970, 39; Tugearu 1985 a, 78–80; Tugearu 1985 b, 134; Marosi 1987, 230, 232, 245; Rusu 1991, 8; Rusu 1999, 137; Szakács 2006, 326–329; Terdik 2007; Prioteasa 2009; Năstăsoiu 2009, 50–55 Năstăsoiu 2015; Năstăsoiu forthcoming, n. 40–4. The authors' different emphasis makes opinions seem rather divergent and the Orthodox commissioners' motivation for depicting the Catholic saints in their churches is, depending on the scholar's focus, variously explained.

[95] For the *sancti reges Hungariae* iconography in Catholic churches, see especially: Poszler 2000; Gogâltan 2002–2003; Kerny 2007; Năstăsoiu 2009; Năstăsoiu 2010.

[96] See supra, n. 73.

[97] Szakács 2006, 326–329; Năstăsoiu 2015.

[98] Năstăsoiu 2010 a, 50–55; Năstăsoiu 2015.

[99] Năstăsoiu 2015.

[100] *Ibidem*.

donors. A series of other representations of lay persons depicted as supplicants are attested in the mural decoration of these churches. They are represented without a gift, in prayer posture, and asking a saint to intercede for the forgiveness of their sins and salvation. The holy intercessor is present either in the same composition in the proximity of the supplicant's image, or only alluded to in the accompanying inscription. These representations are in the majority of cases contemporaneous with the main votive compositions. For such depictions to appear, it was necessary for the supplicant to have previously made a donation to the church, which was not as substantial as that of the main founders, but it was a form of funding the construction or decoration works, either by the supplicant himself/herself or by somebody else on behalf of a deceased relative depicted as supplicant. Whereas the donation is made manifest in the donors' votive compositions through the presence in the image of the actual gift, that is, the model of the church, the supplicants' offering is only implied by the presence of the donated image itself. Both situations, however, have as finality the obtaining of the forgiveness of sins and salvation.[101] Due to the loss of accompanying inscriptions, the majority of portrayed supplicants remains anonymous. Their presence in church decoration, however, is indicative not only of the devotional practices of a certain community, but also of its members' economic means and need for recognition of their status as important members of a social group by means of pious deeds.[102]

In Hălmagiu, on the eastern side of the lower register of the nave's northern wall, corresponding to the church's second stage of mural decoration (second half of the 15th century),[103] there is the representation of two supplicants kneeling next to the Enthroned Virgin with Child (Fig. 9). The presentation gesture of the Holy

[101] For the distinction between donor and supplicant, see Linda Safran, *Deconstructing Donors in Medieval Southern Italy*, in Theis et alii 2014, 135–151; for the distinction's arbitrary character, see N. Patterson Ševčenko, *The Portrait of Theodore Metochites at Chora*, in Spieser, Yota 2012, 189. For representations of models of churches, see: Marinković 2007; Marinković 2011; Marinković 2013. For images of donation in other media than mural painting, see Patterson Ševčenko 1993–1994, with bibliography.

[102] I excluded from this discussion the representation below the western tribune in Sântămăria Orlea, which shows two female donors kneeling and being blessed by God's hand, because of the representation's bad state of preservation, seemingly Western iconography, and uncertain dating. The two donors are shown in upright posture and having their hands joined in prayer. According to Bratu 1985 b, 230–232, the character on the right side holds a small, cylindrical object. As shown by Agrigoroaei 2014, it is not certain that the donors' scene was executed between 1447 (the moment when the Romanian Orthodox noble family of Cândea received from John Hunyadi the settlement previously owned by Catholics) and 1484 (the year given by a graffito on the scene's lower side); another graffito on *Pauper Paulus*' representation below the western tribune offers an earlier date (1430s), pointing out to the frescoes' dating to a period when Sântămăria Orlea was still in the possession of Catholics. It is, therefore, more cautious for art historians to wait the frescoes' cleaning and restoration before making any stylistic judgment and pronounce themselves on the contemporaneousness of all four scenes below the western tribune in Sântămăria Orlea; for a similar recommendation, see also Burnichioiu 2009, 308.

[103] See supra, n. 46–7 and 51.

Mother of Christ recommends her as intercessor next to her Son, who blesses the two praying figures. The fresco is badly preserved and the inscriptions lost, so one cannot know anything about the supplicants' identity, probably two young women, judging by the flowers which adorn the long hair falling down their backs.[104] They were probably the daughters of the anonymous, church-holding donor appearing on the same wall (Fig. 6), the girls' exclusion from the contemporaneous, main votive composition and their depiction in a distinct scene indicating their particular position within the *ktetor*'s family at the time the two votive images were painted.[105] The depiction's place above two tombs, one of them belonging to a child holding in his/her hand a silver coin issued during Matthias Corvinus' reign (1458–1490),[106] indicates that the fresco and tomb are coeval and suggests that the image fulfilled the function of funerary portrait for the two female supplicants, being commissioned by the same donors appearing in the main votive composition for the purpose of their daughters' salvation.[107] An unidentifiable lay figure is also the beardless man, who is depicted on the draperies' register on the southern wall of the nave in Leşnic (Fig. 10).[108] Represented in a red-brown costume, he stands and holds two uncertain, poorly-preserved objects, possibly a sword and axe.[109] The few remaining traces of an inscription on the right side of his head[110] and his peculiar attributes are not enough evidence to identify this lay character, nor to establish a certain connection between this figure and those of the donors painted on the opposite wall in the contemporaneous votive composition.[111] However, judging by his position below the Last Judgment scene, it is possible that this image, too, was commissioned during the same decoration phase with the nave's other murals by some family members as a donation and prayer for the salvation of the soul of a deceased relative, depicted here as an atypical supplicant (?).[112]

[104] For this representation, see Cincheza-Buculei 1984, 13, 19–21; Prioteasa 2011, 52–53.

[105] The donors' and supplicants' compositions are painted on the same lower register of the nave's northern wall, but are separated by two scenes from the Life of Saint Nicholas, the church's patron, Cincheza-Buculei 1984, 20–21; Prioteasa 2011, 53.

[106] Căpăţînă 1976, 80 and fig. 4; see also Prioteasa 2011, 53.

[107] For iconographic analogies, see the examples in Cincheza-Buculei 1984, 20. See also Thierry 1992; Semoglou 1995; Papamastorakis 1996–1997.

[108] For this representation, see Mocanu 1985, 103–105, 110; Prioteasa 2011, 45.

[109] Mocanu 1985, 110.

[110] See Catalogue IV.2.A.

[111] Mocanu 1985, 105.

[112] *Ibidem*. The previously-established connection between the layman and the above scene belonging to the Resurrection of the Dead, which depicts two men carrying one a dead animal and another a man killed by an arrow, remains hypothetical as long as the layman's figure is the only fragment of decoration currently visible on the southern wall's lowermost register. The inscription accompanying the Resurrection of the Dead, which generated interpretations suggesting the layman's death during a battle either against Turks or fellow Romanians in Moldavia, is yet another, difficult-to-prove hypothesis with no real ground. For these interpretations, see Drăguţ 1963, 431; Drăguţ 1970, 28–29; Cincheza-Buculei 1974, 53–57; Mocanu 1985, 102–103. Agrigoroaei 2015 has the undisputable merit of showing that there is no basis for assigning to Dobre the Romanian the role of

Another interesting case is that of the church in Strei, which was decorated with frescoes sometime during the first half of the 14th century by a workshop gathering probably three painters, all trained in a Western milieu and displaying stylistic features revealing Romanesque-Gothic, *Trecento*, and Byzantine elements.[113] This Catholic workshop, the painters of which tried to adapt their skill and craft to the requirements of their Orthodox commissioners, achieved with modest means a particular iconographic program, which puts together Western and Byzantine themes and motifs.[114] The painters scattered inside the church a high number of donor or supplicant figures. On the lower register of the sanctuary's southern wall, there is the standing figure of a beardless man dressed in a red-brown costume of Western type, composed of hood, tunic, and tight pants,[115] who raises his hands in prayer (Fig. 11). He stands next to the representation of Saint Nicholas, who is placed in the proximity of a model of an imaginary, two-tower Romanesque church, a motif repeated next to the majority of hierarchs on the sanctuary's lower register and interpreted as a way of underlining the holy bishops' status as heads of the Church.[116] Because the partially-preserved inscription above the supplicant's head mentions that a certain Grozie of Master Ivaniş painted the church,[117] this figure has been interpreted either as the commissioner of the frescoes or their painter. Consequently, the other supplicant images existing in the church were understood as depicting either members of the donor's family or the other artists and craftsmen working in the church.[118]

On the upper register of the triumphal arch's northern side, between the standing figures of the Holy Archangels Michael and Gabriel, but turning toward the former, there is the kneeling figure of a bearded man (Fig. 12). He has a similar costume with that of Grozie (blue hood and tunic) and is depicted in an upright posture with hands raised in prayer in front of his chest.[119] Because his prayer is

ktetor for the church's building or decoration. However, the author's identification of the layman as a figure of Death is arguable, being based on much later and incongruous iconographic examples. Moreover, the reconstruction of the accompanying inscription as the Romanian word **мортє** (death) is based on a single letter surely readable in the inscription (o), a fact which represents too weak an evidence to build a hypothesis and support a word reconstruction. I am grateful to the author for allowing me to read his manuscript and express my opinion on it.

[113] Various dates have been proposed for the church's murals: first quarter of the 13th century – Ştefănescu 1932, 223; soon after the church's building, around 1300 – Rusu, Burnichioiu 2008, no page number; mid-14th century – Cincheza-Buculei 1981, 5; Porumb 1981, vol. 1, 12, 25–26, Porumb 1998, 385, Burnichioiu 2009, 319–24; at the turn of the third and fourth quarters of the 14th century – Drăguţ 1965; Drăguţ 1970, 18–23; Drăguţ 1973; Drăguţ 1979, 204; simply 14th century – Cincheza-Buculei 1975; Popescu, Tugearu 1985; and first half of the 15th century –Vătăşianu 2001, 407.

[114] Prioteasa 2003.

[115] Prioteasa 2011, 29–30.

[116] Popescu, Tugearu 1985, 238; Prioteasa 2003, 192; Burnichioiu 2009, 321.

[117] See Catalogue VIII.I.A.

[118] For overviews of the numerous opinions on the matter, see Popescu, Tugearu 1985, 239–241; Burnichioiu 2009, 321–323; Prioteasa 2011, 29–34.

[119] The figure has been variously interpreted: the frescoes' donor, possibly *cneaz* Petru, appearing in written sources starting with 1377, Drăguţ 1973, 20, 25–26; the main painter of the

directed toward Archangel Michael, who is usually represented weighing the souls of the dead and leading them to Heaven, the image was interpreted as a funerary portrait of the supplicant, this one being already dead when the frescoes were painted.[120] Oriented toward the sanctuary, another small figure is painted next to a niche with unknown function and below the representations of Saints Catherine and Sreda on the southern side of the nave's eastern wall (Fig. 13). It has its left hand bent in front of its chest, while its right hand is raised up to the shoulder's level. The figure's bad state of preservation, however, does not allow one to ascertain neither its gender, nor whether it held or not an object in its right hand, as previously suggested.[121] On the upper side of the eastern jamb of the southern door, there is the badly-preserved figure of either a woman or young man, who faces the interior of the church (Fig. 14).[122] The character is dressed in a long, red-brown vestment, has uncovered head, and stands with hands joined in prayer. Below this supplicant, turning the opposite direction, that is, toward the exterior of the church, there is a smaller, poorly-preserved figure of uncertain gender (Fig. 14). This has one arm bent in front of its chest and holds with the other hand an object, which was interpreted as a tool; however, judging by its long shaft and ochre, round-shaped top, it could be equally a burning candle, indicating that the person was already dead at the time of his/her portrayal.[123]

A standing figure of a beardless layman was depicted by a different painter on the right side of the decorative frame surrounding the joint depiction of the Martyrdom of the Forty Martyrs of Sebaste and Saint Nicholas' Investiture as Bishop (Fig. 15). This double scene is placed on the lower register of the nave's southern wall. The supplicant's red-brown tunic long to his knees contrasts with the martyrs' naked bodies and his marginal position on the decorative frame assigns to the figure a special place in the economy of the two scenes. Moreover, his posture similar to that of the Byzantine prayer gesture with separated hands

church, Cincheza-Buculei 1975, 58–60, 62; or the church's second painter, Master Ivaniş, mentioned in Grozie's inscription, Popescu, Tugearu 1985, 245–246, 271. All these identifications have in fact no solid ground and can be considered merely hypothetical.

[120] Popescu, Tugearu, 245–246. For Archangel Michael's psychopomp quality, see: Johnson 2005; Hannah 1999, 46–47; Leontakianakou 2009.

[121] Cincheza-Buculei 1975, 56, where the figure is interpreted as the church's stonemason; see also Drăguţ 1973, 20; Popescu, Tugearu 1985, 278.

[122] For the figure's female gender, see Drăguţ 1973, 21; for its male gender, see Popescu, Tugearu 1985, 278; for its identification as one of the church's painters and, subsequently, a man, see Cincheza-Buculei 1975, 58.

[123] For the object's interpretation as a chisel, see *ibidem*. When she conducted her research (1975), the scholar saw in the figure's right hand another object, which she interpreted as a wooden hammer (no longer discernible), making her to assume that the figure represented one of the church's masons. However, for Popescu, Tugearu 1985, 278, the light-ochre spot on the figure's left shoulder could be equally a costume accessory. For depictions of deceased persons holding burning candles, see the examples in Kalotina (1332), Kirin, Gerov 1993–1994, 56–57, and figs. 7 and 14, and Veluće (around 1375), Cvetković 2011, 38, 44. In these two cases, the candle-holding figures are two boys, a detail which could suggest an explanation for the smaller size of the figure in Strei.

bent in front of the chest[124] recommends the figure as yet another lay supplicant depicted inside the church.[125] Setting aside another uncertain lay figure which is now poorly preserved and, therefore, difficult to analyze,[126] the church in Strei displays a surprisingly high number of supplicant or donor representations.

The form є писалъ above Grozie's head is equivocal, two interpretations being possible. First, it can be taken literally as referring to the church's painter Grozie, the son of a certain Master Ivaniş who, as suggested by the frescoes' style, painted the church together with two other painters, Grozie being possibly their master as the oldest and most experienced among them. Additionally, he fulfilled the role of donor for part of the decoration, such a situation being encountered sometimes in the Byzantine and Byzantine-Slavic world.[127] Moreover, this situation is supported by the evidence of the 1313–1314 dedicatory inscription in Streisângeorgiu, which assigns to painter Theofil the role of one of the church's founders or donors of mural painting.[128] On the other hand, as suggested by the inscription in Hālmagiu, which states that *jupan* Moga and his brother renewed *with their hand* something, possibly the church's mural decoration,[129] the form є писалъ can equally designate one of the murals' commissioners, possibly the main one. He could be indeed the son of a certain Master Ivaniş and could participate together with the other portrayed supplicants to the joint initiative of decorating the church with murals. Whether painter or not, Grozie[130] is one of the six or seven supplicants,[131] who joined simultaneously their efforts sometime in the first half of

[124] The Byzantine prayer gesture has the supplicant's hands separated, while the Western one has the hands joined, Kalopissi-Verti 2012, 124–125.

[125] The figure's distinct treatment as compared to the two scenes' other figures was noticed also by Popescu, Tugearu 1985, 250–251; Burnichioiu 2009, 322, but completely overlooked by Prioteasa 2011, 29–34, who makes no reference to it.

[126] Cincheza-Buculei 1975, 63–64 and fig. 10, mentions another smaller, richly-dressed lay figure standing next to a blessing female saint. She assumes that this representation, painted on the northern wall of the space below the church's western tower, is that of the *ktetor* offering the model of the church to the Holy Virgin, and that the other lay figures present in the church are portraits of artists. However, the church's model and the saint's identity were assumed on unknown basis, as there is no evidence in the poorly-preserved image to support these claims. For critical examinations of the votive-composition hypothesis surrounding this almost-illegible representation, see Burnichioiu 2009, 323, and Prioteasa 2011, 32.

[127] For painters acting also as (secondary) donors of mural decoration in provincial monuments commissioned by individuals not ranking very high in the social hierarchy or in cases of collective patronage, see the examples in Kalopissi-Verti 1994, 145–148; Kalopissi-Verti 2012, 179.

[128] See Catalogue IX.1.A.

[129] See supra n. 22–5 and catalogue III.1.A. It is hard to believe that the two *jupani* literally painted with their hand the church's sanctuary, the inscription referring rather to the murals' commissioners; an observation made also by Cincheza-Buculei 1984, 21–22.

[130] The name Grozie appears also in a 1545 grafitto in the church, Popescu, Tugearu 1985, 260, 278, making more likely for the portrayed figure to be a local and one of the frescoes' donors, rather than one of the Catholic painters, who came probably from somewhere else.

[131] The decoration of the nave's northern wall is almost completely lost and it is possible for other supplicant or donor portraits to have been depicted on this wall, too; opinion present also in Prioteasa 2011, 32.

the 14th century. By means of their pious donations, the church was then completely decorated with frescoes and they were subsequently entitled to have their supplicatory image depicted inside the church.[132]

The relatively high number of supplicants suggests a collective undertaking by the members of the Orthodox community in Strei,[133] the landowners of which appear in written sources only in the 1370s,[134] that is, some considerable time after the church's building and decoration. The frescoes' poor artistic quality and high number of supplicant portraits seem to suggest a low economic profile for the Orthodox donors in Strei, who were compelled by their limited financial means to commission their church's mural decoration to any available workshop appearing at some point in the area.[135]

The interaction of the Orthodox commissioners with the itinerant Catholic workshop lead to the emergence of a series of iconographic peculiarities, such as the coexistence of the supplicants' Orthodox and Catholic prayer postures or Grozie's depiction next to the figure of the church-holding Saint Nicholas, an image which is reminiscent of Orthodox votive compositions.[136] Not excluding the possibility of a major *ktetor* commissioning the church's mural decoration together with several other, minor donors, whether related or not,[137] the situation in Strei is similar with that of Panagia Phorbiotissa or Panagia tis Asinou in Nikitari, Cyprus. Here, only in the church's narthex, one can count 14 representations of donors executed between late-13th century and 1332/1333 (ten of them belong to this precise date only), that is, in a period when the island was under Latin rule. The donors' small figures are depicted in either Byzantine or Western supplicatory postures and they are placed either next to a saint or isolated on intermediary wall

[132] If one accepts the hypothesis that the supplicant next to Archangel Michael and the candle-holding personage were already dead when the frescoes were painted, then their images were commissioned by their relatives on the deceased ones' behalf.

[133] For the phenomenon of collective church patronage emerging as a consequence of the historical and socioeconomic conditions of late-medieval agrarian communities, see Kalopissi-Verti 2007; eadem, *Collective Patterns of Patronage in the Late Byzantine Village: The Evidence of Church Inscriptions*, in Spieser, Yota 2012, 125–140; Kalopissi-Verti 2012, 178–179.

[134] Lukinich, Galdi 1941, 271–273 (doc. no. 233–234); see also Popa 1972 b; Drăguţ 1973, 25–26.

[135] For the painters' origin, see Drăguţ 1973, 21–26; Popescu, Tugearu 1985, 256–260; Burnichioiu 2009, 323–324.

[136] Judging by Saint Nicholas' occurrence several times in the mural decoration, one may assume that he was the church's patron saint, Burnichioiu 2009, 323. In this case, the juxtaposition of the praying Grozie and church-holding Saint Nicholas recalls remotely Orthodox votive compositions, which a Catholic painter could have interpreted in this peculiar way.

[137] For Drăguţ 1973, 20, the numerous supplicants in the church were self-understood as members of the *ktetor*'s family. However, there is no basis for such an assumption, because the church was the only religious edifice of the medieval settlement, it was located outside the noble family's residence, and the community's cemetery developed around it – all these facts indicate a parochial function for the church, Burnichioiu 2009, 320; for its function as court chapel, cf. Popa 1988, 234.

surfaces, similarly to the small figures in Strei.[138] Moreover, both examples are the cultural product of Orthodox living under and being influenced by Catholics, and attest not only the model of collective religious patronage, but also a similar way of pictorial thinking, which acknowledges the contribution of multiple patrons by integrating their portraits to church decoration in marginal or transitional wall surfaces.[139]

Acting as minor donors and sponsors of church decoration were also those persons attested only by supplicatory inscriptions on images of saints. In the majority of cases, these inscriptions are contemporary with the votive compositions featuring the main donors, a fact which reveals that the mural-painting decoration of a church was usually a complex phenomenon involving multiple donors with different sponsorship ratios. However, this type of inscriptions does not offer much information, because it contains usually a concise and standard formula, which accounts that a particular image was intended as a prayer (**молєниє**) of a certain person to a certain saint. Additionally, it implies also a donation to the church: for that devotional image and its accompanying inscription to occur, a certain person or group of persons, indicated as servant(s) of God (**рабъ / рабъі божии**), had to make previously a donation to the church and commission that particular image. This common devotional practice is attested by the examples in the churches in Leşnic, Ribiţa, or Densuş. The humble invocation of a saint or directly of God does not offer usually more information than the supplicant's name, his/her special veneration for a particular saint, and his/her hope for salvation and forgiveness of sins.

In Leşnic, on the same wall with the image of the church-holding *ktetor* (Fig. 2), but on the upper register and belonging to the same decoration phase, the standing Holy Virgin with Child is depicted in the company of several saints (Fig. 16). On the right side, there are Saints Petka, Peter, and John the Baptist, and on the left side, there is another unidentifiable, female saint.[140] An inscription now almost illegible was squeezed in between the lower sides of the Holy Virgin's and Saint Petka's garments. Its text indicates that the scene was commissioned by a man with partially-preserved name, who was other than the character in the votive composition,[141] and that the donation of the image was intended as a prayer for the salvation of that man's soul, together with the souls of his unnamed wife and son.[142] In Ribiţa, an inscription accompanying the representation of Saint John the

[138] For the supplicants' portraits, see Kalopissi-Verti 2012, 115–131, 176–190, and figs. 5.1–2, 5.6–10, 5.28–30, 5.34–5, and 5.37–47.

[139] I do not want to suggest a direct influence of one monument upon the other, but rather to stress the similarity of two instances of collective patronage, which occurred roughly the same time in similar historical circumstances.

[140] For this image, see: Drăguţ 1963, 427–428; Cincheza-Buculei 1974, 10, 29, 46–7, and fig. 3; Mocanu 1985, 104–105, 112, Burnichioiu 2009, 278, 280; Prioteasa 2011, 47–48.

[141] Mocanu 1985, 104–105; however, the assumption that the man referred to in the inscription was the church's painter has no real basis.

[142] See Catalogue IV.3.A.

Baptist, which is found on the nave's southern wall, in the proximity of the altar and the main founders' votive composition (Fig. 17),[143] attests that the two noblemen of Ribiţa were indeed the main and most prominent patrons and benefactors of the church, but they were not the only ones. A certain Dobroslavu and his unnamed wife ask for God's forgiveness through the intercession of Saint John,[144] both the painted inscription and image attesting their function as minor sponsors for the mural decoration of the church. Above the image of Saint John the Baptist, another text which is singled out by its surrounding red frame (Fig. 17), seems to indicate yet another dedicatory or votive inscription. Its highly fragmentary state no longer conveys relevant information, but judging by its standard formula referring to the glory of God in eternity,[145] this one, too, could appear as a consequence of the decoration works sponsored either by Vladislavu and Miclăuşu, Dobroslavu and his wife, or even by another donor whose identity can no longer be established.

Finally, in the mural decoration of Saint Nicholas Church in Densuş, executed possibly in two distinct stages during the first half of the 15th century,[146] there are again no preserved representations of donors, neither as *ktetors*/founders, nor as supplicants. However, three inscriptions accompanying representations of saints and another, self-standing one still survive inside the church, offering valuable information on the patterns of artistic patronage and devotional practices. On the western and southern sides of the nave's north-eastern pillar (Fig. 18), as well as on the northern side of the south-eastern pillar, there is a series of representations with votive character, which are accompanied by **молєниє**-type of inscriptions. The servant of God Crăstea the son of Muşat (below the Holy Trinity's image), a supplicant with unpreserved name (below Saint Nedelya's depiction), and again Crăstea together with his wife (on Saint Bartholomew's representation) address prayers to the respective saints in order to intercede for their sins and ensure their salvation.[147]

Unattested by written sources, Crăstea the son of Muşat was probably a member of the noble family of Muşina/Mujina/Muşana. They were related to the noble family of Densuş and had their main residence in the neighboring village of Răchitova.[148] As attested by archaeological research and remnants of fresco

[143] Prioteasa 2011, 39, 233; Adashinskaya, Năstăsoiu 2014.

[144] See Catalogue VI.3.A.

[145] *Ibidem*, VI.4.A. Until the completion of the murals' uncovering and restoration, which will allow art historians to assess better the painters' manners and the frescoes' technical characteristics, it is more cautious to leave open the question of the church's phases of mural decoration, Adashinskaya, Năstăsoiu 2014. For the time being, it is certain that at least two groups of persons acted in various degrees as sponsors of mural decoration for the church in Ribiţa, either simultaneously or not.

[146] For the church in Densuş and its frescoes, see especially: Drăguţ 1966 b; Cincheza-Buculei 1976; Cincheza-Buculei 2009; Rusu 1997 a, 120–121, 192–203; Rusu 2008; Porumb 1998, 104–108; Burnichioiu 2009, 285–95; Prioteasa 2011, 49–51. For the frescoes' date and stages of execution, see the discussion below.

[147] See Catalogue II.1.A–B and II.1.D.

[148] For the noble family in Răchitova, see Popa 1988, 93; Rusu 1997 a, 105, 263–267; Rusu 2008, 122–123, 166–168.

decoration, the family fulfilled there the function of church patrons during the same first half of the 15th century.[149] The noble family of Răchitova preserved properties in Densuş and, obviously, did not break up completely with the church in the village, since Crăstea commissioned there at least two votive images. The family's *ktetorial* rights over the church in Densuş extended until after the middle of the 16th century, when the death of *jupan* Andriiaş Mînjina was recorded by a 1566 graffito on Saint Bartholomew's image, one of Crăstea's earlier commissions.[150]

On the western side of the north-western pillar, there is another, longer inscription, which is placed on the pillar's base, below Saint Marina's representation; despite its placement, the inscription seems to have no direct connection with the saint's image, however.[151] Written cursively by a different hand than that which authored the inscription next to the devil-hammering saint, this inscription offers the date of 23 October 6952 (1443). Moreover, it states that it is the prayer of Ianăşă for his unnamed *jupaniţa* and daughter Anca, a prayer which he addresses to Saint Nicholas and Archangel Michael for their help in the day of the terrible Judgment of Christ.[152] Visible immediately when entering the nave, the text was self-understood as the main dedicatory inscription of the church, art historians assigning to Ianăşă the role of main *ktetor* of the church and, subsequently, dating the entire mural ensemble to 1443.[153] However, the inscription's untidy and sloppy character, and its belonging to the **моленіе**-type of text indicate clearly that it cannot be the main dedicatory inscription of the church, despite the presence of the verb (**нс**)**писати**. This should be understood here in its meaning of "to write" (the prayer-inscription) rather than "to paint" (the interior of the church). Moreover, the position of the 1443 inscription not on Saint Marina's image itself, like the other **моленіе**-type of inscriptions, but below it, on the base of the pillar, does not support fully the contemporaneousness of the pillar's frescoes and the 1443 inscription, the latter not being in fact of any help in dating the former.[154]

On the upper side of the representation of Saint Nedelya, above the red border surrounding the image and written in black on white background, there is also the signature of the painter who executed probably all the votive images on the nave's pillars (Fig. 19). This painter, the much sinful and unworthy Stefan,[155] might be or not the same personage with the homonymous master of the workshop which executed the frescoes in the sanctuary; this one, too, left his signature, possibly sometime earlier, below the south-eastern window of the sanctuary (Fig. 20).[156]

[149] For the ruins of the church in Răchitova and its fragments of mural decoration, which are kept today in the Art Museum in Cluj-Napoca, see Rusu 1989; Rusu 1997 a, 257–67; Porumb 1989.

[150] Drăguţ 1966 b, 243, Breazu 1985, 65–66, 70; Rusu 1997 a, 201–202; Prioteasa 2011, 50.

[151] Burnichioiu 2009, 291–292.

[152] See Catalogue, II.1.E.

[153] Cincheza-Buculei 2009, 94–95.

[154] A similar observation in Burnichioiu 2009, 291–292.

[155] See Catalogue, II.1.C.

[156] *Ibidem*, II.2.A.

The striking stylistic inequality between the murals in the sanctuary and nave, and the obvious paleographical differences between the two signatures (Figs. 19–20) argue in fact only for the names' and not the persons' coincidence. Additionally, this situation suggests two different phases for the church's mural decoration, which was executed during the first half of the 15th century, but in two different periods and at the commission of distinct donors.[157] Whereas Crăstea the son of Muşat is one of the commissioners or even the only donor of the paintings on the nave's pillars, which correspond to the second stage of mural decoration of the church, the earlier commissioner(s) of the frescoes in the sanctuary can no longer be known.

The examination of the evidence offered by donor portraits and church inscriptions identified a series of complex cases of religious patronage functioning during the Late Middle Ages in the Orthodox churches of Transylvania. This image is greatly different than the one traditionally accepted by previous scholarship, which assigned indistinctively the *ktetorial* role to a unique actor, namely, the Romanian Orthodox nobleman who owned the greatest part of estates in and around the settlement which the religious edifice was built on. However, except for the church in Crişcior, which seems to have been built and decorated around 1411 at the initiative of a single founder, *jupan* Bălea,[158] the other examples reveal that

[157] The contemporaneousness of the stylistically-unequal murals in the sanctuary and on the nave's pillars, respectively, as well as the frescoes' authorship assigned to a single workshop composed of painters with different training and skill have been proposed by Cincheza-Buculei 2009, 94–95, and accepted by Rusu 1997 a, and Rusu 2008, 122–123. Based on painter Stefan's double mentioning – once below the sanctuary's window and secondly on the nave's north-eastern pillar –, and on the second inscription's misreading by Ruxandra Lambru, Cincheza-Buculei 2009, 94–95 excludes the possibility that Stefan's double mentioning might refer in fact to two distinct painters working in different periods of time. However, this is more likely since the two signatures reveal significant paleographical differences and are not alike, as the scholar states; for a similar observation, see Burnichioiu 2009, 292. The misreading єрдѿкоѫ (by the hierodeacon) instead of рѫкоѫ (by the hand) does not explain the completely-overlooked Genitive form стєфана (of Stefan); cf. catalogue II.1.C and Cincheza-Buculei 2009, 94. The scholar asserts that the church was decorated by a single workshop composed of painters differently trained and lead by the monk Stefan, probably a local, responsible for the sanctuary's complex-iconography frescoes, but coordinating the work of the nave's more provincial painter. She dates thus the entire medieval decoration to 1443, a date offered by the inscription on the nave's north-western pillar, which might refer or not to the decoration on the nave's pillars; for a similar observation, see Burnichioiu 2009, 291–292. For this study's purposes and until further clarification will be possible, I advance the hypothesis that the murals in the sanctuary and nave were executed during the first half of the 15th century, but in distinct phases and by at least two painters, who were called coincidentally Stefan, none of them a hierodeacon. See also Năstăsoiu forthcoming, n. 26–7.

[158] The statement in connection to Crişcior is hypothetical, because the mural decoration of the medieval church did not survive in its entirety: during the 19th century, the sanctuary has been completely rebuilt, the nave was extended to the east, and old openings were walled up and new ones were created, Tugearu 1985 a, 72. Needless to say, all these changes affected greatly the mural decoration. Subsequently, one can no longer know whether evidence pointing out to minor donors existed or not in Crişcior.

the *ktetor*'s role was more often than not played by multiple actors and that religious patronage took frequently the form of joint or associated *ktetorship*. The association of usually two partners for accomplishing a religious foundation was often motivated by their close family ties and joint tenancy of their patrimony. It was the case of brothers Vladislavu and Miclăuşu of Ribiţa, brothers Moga of Hălmagiu, or brothers Sărăcin of Sălaşu de Sus, who fulfilled jointly their *ktetorial* function, the latter transmitting their duties from father to son throughout several generations.

This model of religious patronage having the appearance of a family affair could associate theoretically to the *ktetorial* act, by means of family ties, also the male founders' spouses or children, as attested by the votive compositions in Crişcior, Leşnic, Ribiţa, Streisângeorgiu, and possibly Hălmagiu, and by the dedicatory inscription in Sălaşu de Sus. Not all women, however, participated in fact in the religious foundation, the preserved written and visual evidence suggesting such a role only for *jupaniţa* Vişe in Crişcior, the women in Sălaşu de Sus, and *jupaniţa* Nistora in Streisângeorgiu. In absence of other supporting evidence, these women's effective involvement in the religious foundation should be regarded cautiously, however. Other motivations for joining efforts for the purposes of religious foundation can be identified, too, such as the partners' residence and land ownership in the same settlement – the 1408 (third) foundation of the church in Streisângeorgiu by *jupani* Chendreşu and Laţco – or the founders' common concern for and emotional attachment to the religious foundation – the 1313–1314 (second) foundation of the church in Streisâgeorgiu by *cneaz* Balea, priest Naneş, and painter Theofil. Occasionally, a higher number of donors could join their efforts in a *ktetorial* undertaking, participating collectively and in various degrees in the act of the religious foundation. This was probably the case of the mural decoration of the church in Strei, which was executed during the first half of the 14th century with the expense of several members of the local community which used the religious edifice; Grozie of Master Ivaniş and the other five or six anonymous supplicants were probably some of the more prominent and wealthy members of this community.

Even in the cases when the main role in the religious foundation is assigned by dedicatory inscriptions and votive compositions to a precise *ktetorial* instance, it is not excluded that other persons or groups of persons have participated simultaneously, but in a smaller degree to the sponsoring of the construction or decoration works. In the churches in Leşnic and Ribiţa, together with the major donors/founders, there are also other persons who commissioned votive images and acted, thus, as minor donors: the man with unpreserved name together with his wife and son, who commissioned the image of the Holy Virgin with saints in Leşnic, and Dobroslavu with his wife, who offered the image of Saint John the Baptist in Ribiţa. Whereas the main founders, who are represented in votive compositions holding and offering the model of the church to the patron saint of the religious edifice, are sometimes traceable in the time's written sources and belong with certainty to the category of Romanian local noblemen (*jupan* Bălea of

Crişcior, *jupan* Moga of Hălmagiu, the noblemen of Sărăcin in Sălaşu de Sus, or *jupani* Chendreşu and Laţco of Streisângeorgiu), the minor donors appearing in supplicatory portraits and inscriptions can be known in the most fortunate cases only by their names. They are signaled only by humble and standard formulae which stress more the supplicants' piety rather than their social belonging. Exceptions are the three supplicatory inscriptions in Densuş belonging to the молениѥ-type. Two of them mention a certain Crăstea the son of Muşat, who can be identified hypothetically with a member, otherwise unattested by written sources, of the noble family in Răchitova, while a third prayer, that of Ianăşă, mentions his *jupaniţa* and daughter Anca, a sign that this otherwise-unknown supplicant had a similar social background with the other donors.

That these minor donors belonged to the same social category as the main ones or that they had a similar social and economic profile is attested also by the example of the local nobleman, priest, and craftsman, who acted together as the 1313–1314 *ktetors* of the church in Streisângeorgiu. Names of priests and painters occur rather frequently in these church inscriptions: priest Dragosin (?) and the painter with unpreserved name in Ribiţa, priest Naneş and painter Theofil in Streisângeorgiu, painter Mihul of White Criş in Râmeţ, the two painters Stefan in Densuş, and possibly painter Grozie of Master Ivaniş in Strei. Their mentioning either in their professional quality or as pious donors of mural painting seem to suggest rather minor social differences among Orthodox Romanians in late-medieval Transylvania.[159]

Besides the social and economic aspects behind religious patronage, one should not overlook the spiritual motivation of these major and minor donors. Their sponsoring of church building and decorating works was made possible by the commissioners' social and economic backing, but they were in fact motivated by their high piety and strong hope that the gesture will ensure the forgiveness of their sins and, ultimately, their salvation. The salvation not only of the founder himself, but also of the members of his family, as the presence of spouses and children in votive compositions (Crişcior, Leşnic, Ribiţa, Streisângeorgiu, and possibly Hălmagiu) or their often mentioning in church inscriptions (Leşnic, Ribiţa, and Densuş) clearly attests. The donor's concern for the salvation of the soul of his family members was not limited to those alive, but extended also to the deceased ones, as indicated by the existence of a series of preserved funerary portraits: the second *ktetor*'s daughters in Hălmagiu, the atypical supplicant below the Last Judgment in Leşnic, or the two supplicants in Strei – the one depicted next to Archangel Michael and the one holding a burning candle.[160]

[159] I hope to address in a future study the question of the social status of priests and painters according to the evidence of church inscriptions, assessing simultaneously the role they played in religious patronage during the 14th and 15th centuries in Orthodox Transylvania.

[160] Another research direction which I hope to pursue in the future is the examining of pious practices and devotional patterns of Romanian Orthodox noblemen in 14th- and 15th-century Transylvania according to the evidence offered by donor/supplicant portraits, church inscriptions, religious iconography, and written sources.

Except for its associative nature, religious patronage in late-medieval Orthodox Transylvania is characterized also by its cumulative aspect. The construction and decoration works of a religious edifice presupposed significant financial efforts from the side of its founders, these ones not being able often to support them entirely in a single stage. For instance, Saint George Church in Streisângeorgiu was built in the beginning of the 12th century, some *ktetorial* works (probably the church's mural decoration) were undertaken again in 1313–1314 by *cneaz* Balea, priest Naneş, and painter Theofil, and some architectural transformations and partial repainting took place yet again in 1408 through the efforts of *jupani* Chendreşu and Laţco. All these persons – the actual, anonymous founders, the 1313–1314 secondary founders, and the 1408 third founders – were equally the *ktetors* of the church. The medieval church in Streisângeorgiu should be understood, subsequently, in its whole complexity as the result of the actions of at least three groups of *ktetors*, who contributed in various ways and degrees and in distinct periods of time to the religious foundation. This was also the case of the medieval churches in Ribiţa, Hălmagiu, and Densuş, which received only during the 14th and 15th centuries the *ktetorial* contributions of various religious patrons. As indicated only by the evidence of donor portraits and church inscriptions, there were at least two groups of founders for each religious edifice: the 1393 and 1404 *ktetors* in Ribiţa, who may or not coincide; *jupan* Moga with his brother and the anonymous founder in the votive composition in Hălmagiu, who accomplished their work in different halves of the 15th century; and in Densuş, initially the *ktetors* responsible for the sanctuary's decoration and later Crăstea of Muşat, either alone or not, commissioning the votive images on the nave's pillars.[161] The general model of religious patronage attained after the examination of the written and visual evidence has, therefore, two sides: an associative and a cumulative one. Both should be taken into account for a better understanding of these modest, but complex religious foundations of Romanian Orthodox noblemen, who fulfilled their *ktetorial* function under Catholic rule during the 14th and 15th centuries.

Catalogue of Church Inscriptions

I. Crişcior, Church of the Dormition of the Holy Virgin:[162]

1. Votive composition, lower register of the western and southern walls of the nave:

A. Next to the church-holding, male figure (left side) on the western wall:

(1) † раба (!) б(о)ж(и)и•хт[ит]

(2) орь•жꙋпанꙋ бьлѣ

[161] I set aside the 1443 supplicatory inscription which may or not refer to the pillars' decoration.

[162] Whenever this is known, the medieval dedication of the church is given; when unknown, the present-day dedication is given in italics.

(3) ѫ [п]рѣдаєть•ма

(4) настирь•прѫс(вѧ)тѣ

(5) и б(огороди)це:пріснод(ѣ)во (!) мар(и)є

= *servant of God jupan Bălea passes the monastery to the Most Holy Mother of God, the Ever-Virgin Mary*[163]

B. Next to the church-holding, female figure (right side) on the western wall:

(1) † раба б(о)жиѣ

(2) жѹпаница

(3) віше:•

= *servant of God jupaniţa Vişe*

C. Next to the southern-wall, male figure on the left side:

юка[164] ктітѡріѹ с(ы)нѹ

= *Iuca, the ktetor's son*

D. Next to the southern-wall, male figure on the right side:

[раба (!) б](о)ж(и)и ласл[...][165]/ бьлѣювѹ с(ы)ноу

= [servant] *of God Lasl*[o/ău], *son of Bălea*

E. Next to the small figure depicted below the church's model on the western wall:[166]

(1) раба (!) б(о)ж(и)и щефа

(2) ноу бьлѣювѹ с(ы)ноу

(3) по[...]ѣ

(4) въ[...]єр

(5) шіа х҃ъ (?)

= *servant of God Ştefan, son of Bălea* [...]

II. Densuş, Saint Nicholas Church:

1. Supplicatory inscriptions accompanying various representations of saints and a painter's signature on the nave's pillars:[167]

[163] The inscriptions in Crişcior were read and translated by Anna Adashinskaya, to whom I am deeply grateful.

[164] Dragomir 1929, 244, reads юва and so does Cincheza-Buculei 1978, 37, who completes the name as ю[в]а. Currently, the consonant is destroyed in its upper part, but judging by its preserved lower part, the letter was probably к: the letter's vertical bar is not connected to its leg. Moreover, the variant юка is phonetically closer to *Csuka*, which was mentioned in the 1773 inscription, see supra n. 16. Tugearu 1985 a, 90, proposes the same reading as the present one.

[165] Dragomir 1929, 244, gives the son's name as ласлъоу, which was transcribed as ласл[ъ]ѹ by Cincheza-Buculei 1978, 37. Tugearu 1985 a, 91, reads instead ласло. Currently, the name's last letters are no longer readable, this being the reason why I did not supplement the name in Cyrillic and I gave both variants in the translation.

[166] The inscription was no longer preserved in 1929 and Dragomir 1929, 242, offered the transcription made previously by Ştefan Pascu. By analogy with the other inscriptions, I have changed this transcription in several places – б(о)ж(и)и instead of божи; бьлѣювѹ instead of бьлѣ ювѹ; and с(ы)ноу instead of сыноу. I also corrected Dragomir's mistranslation.

A. On the lower side of the border surrounding the representation of the Holy Trinity, western side of the nave's north-eastern pillar:

† моление ра(ба) б(о)жить кръстѣ мꙋшатовъ с(ы)нъ

= *prayer of the servant of God Crăstea, son of Muşat*

B. On the lower side of the border surrounding the representation of Saint Nedelya, southern side of the nave's north-eastern pillar:

† моление ра(ба) б(о)жить [...] къ с(ве)та н[е]деле

= *prayer of the servant of God* [...] *to Saint Nedelya*

C. On the upper side of the representation of Saint Nedelya, above the red border, southern side of the nave's north-eastern pillar:

† іписасе ръкоѫ•многогрѣшнаго і недꙋго стефана:–

= *it was painted by the hand of the much sinful and unworthy Stefan*[168]

D. On the lower side of the representation of Saint Bartholomew, next to the saint's left leg and below his hanging skin, northern side of the nave's south-eastern pillar:

(1) моленіе р[а](ба) б(о)жіѫ

(2) кръстѣ и п[о]дърꙋ

(3) жіь [его] къ св(е)т(о)[мꙋ т]ома (!)[169]

= *prayer of the servant of God Crăstea and of* [his] *wife to* [Saint T]*oma*

E. On the base of the north-western pillar of the nave, on its western side, below the representation of Saint Marina:

(1) † в[ъ] лѣ(то) ѕ҃ц҃нв•м(ѣ)с(ѧ)ца ѡх(тѧбрꙗ) (!)•к҃г•пописасе• с(ве)т(о)мꙋ ни

(2) кола и арх(ангел)ꙋ мих(ан)лъ и просих м(о)л(ѥ)ніа раба б(о)жіа ꙗнѫшѫ за жꙋпа

(3) ницꙋ и дъщеръ и анка къ с(ве)т(о)мꙋ никол[а] да мꙋ бѫд(е) помо

(4) щь въ д(ь)нь страшнаго сꙋда х(ристо)ва ами[н]ъ

= *in the year 6952, month October 23, it was painted/written to Saint Nicholas and Archangel Michael, and* [he] *asked the prayer of the servant of God Ianăşă for jupaniţa and daughter and* (!) *Anca to Saint Nicholas; let* [it] *be help for him in the day of the terrible Judgment of Christ, Amen*[170]

[167] Unless otherwise stated, the inscriptions in Densuş are read, transcribed, and translated by the author.

[168] Inscription read and translated by Anna Adashinskaya; see also the discussion of the word ръкоѫ in n. 157.

[169] The inscription next to the head of the Western-iconography Saint Bartholomew reads с(ве)тн/ тома, this being the reason why I supplemented in this way the partially-missing name of the saint. Judging by the available space in the last line, Crăstea's wife was probably unnamed in the inscription.

[170] Inscription read and translated by Anna Adashinskaya. The inscription is hardly legible in the middle of lines 2 and 3 and its various parts seem not to connect with each other, being characterized by declensional disagreement. The author of the inscription had a poor knowledge of

2. Inscription containing a painter's signature in the sanctuary:

A. On the lower register of the sanctuary, below the south-eastern window, on the upper, right side of the painted candlestick:

писа[л] стєфан

= *Stefan painted/wrote*

III. Hălmagiu, Saint Nicholas Church:

1. Partially-preserved dedicatory inscription on the northern side of the eastern wall of the nave:

A. On the upper decorative frame of an unknown, destroyed representation of the lower register and below the upper-register composition of the Last Judgment, on the northern side of the triumphal arch:

рѧкоѧ жупана могы и бра(та) мꙋ [...] новежо (!)

= *by the hand of jupan Moga and of his brother* [...] *renewal*[171]

IV. Leşnic, *Saint Nicholas Church*:[172]

1. Votive composition, eastern side of the lower register of the nave's northern wall:

A. Above the head of the male figure and the model of the church:

Хтиторъ ишдє[...] = *ktetor* [...][173]

Old Church Slavonic, the present translation being only an attempt at reconstructing its possible meaning. Cf. the reading in Cincheza-Buculei 2009, 93. The major disagreement with the previous reading concerns the beginning of line 2, the abbreviation **архꙋ мнѫлъ** being typical for **арх(ангєл)ꙋ мнх(ан)лъ** and not for **архіепꙋскꙋпꙋ мирликийски**. Although the second abbreviated word is hardly visible, the distinguishable letters are indeed **мнѫлъ**, a fact which excludes the **мирликийски** reading, a very rarely encountered designation of Saint Nicholas (there is no superscript **р** in the second word and the letter following **л** is clearly **ъ** and not **к**). On the one hand, the mentioning of Archangel Michael together with Saint Nicholas as helpers for Ianăşă, his wife and daughter seems to make sense in the context of the Last Judgment day mentioned in the inscription: the former saint was known for his psychopomp quality, while the latter was a very popular saint often invoked for his intercessory power. Moreover, because this inscription is only a supplicatory one and not the main dedicatory inscription of the church, the choice for intercessors was entirely up to the supplicant, reflecting his special veneration for a particular saint and not the church's dedication. On the other hand, it is not excluded either that the supplicant addressed his prayer precisely to Saint Nicholas and Archangel Michael because of their quality of patron saints of the church. The two saints feature in the nave's iconographic program in prominent positions (i.e. flanking the sanctuary's apse on the northern and southern side of the eastern wall of the nave), places which are usually assigned in Byzantine iconography to the church's patron saints.

[171] Inscription read and translated by Anna Adashinskaya.

[172] The church's medieval dedication is unknown. The image of Saints Peter and Paul, which faces the votive composition on the nave's southern wall, was considered as reflecting the church's dedication, Saint Peter's depiction occurring several times inside the church, Cincheza-Buculei 1974. Due to the current state of preservation of the frescoes, which are now almost imperceptible under the thick layer of smoke, making the inscriptions hardly legible, I have followed here the reading published in 1985 in *Repertoriul picturilor*, 45–49, 98–115.

2. Inscription accompanying the representation of a layman on the draperies' register of the southern wall of the nave:

A. On the right side of the head of the layman represented on the draperies' register, on the western side of the nave's southern wall, below the scene of the Resurrection of the Dead belonging to the Last Judgment composition:

[...]олв[...] (?)[174]

3. Inscription on the representation of the Holy Virgin with Child flanked by saints, upper register of the northern wall of the nave:

A. On the lower side of the scene, in between the vestments of the Holy Virgin and Saint Petka:

(1) мо
(2) лен
(3) ѥ ра(ба)
(4) б(о)жи
(5) [...]і (?)
(6) [...]нше і по
(7) дрꙋж
(8) нѣ єг
(9) о и с(ы)н(а) є
(10) го [...]
= *prayer of the servant of God* [...] *and of his wife and of his son* [...][175]

V. Râmeţ Monastery, *Church of the Dormition of the Holy Virgin and of the Life-giving Spring*:[176]

1. Inscription on the representation of Saint Gregory the Great, southern side of the intrados of the arcade separating the narthex from the nave:

A. On the lower, left side of Saint Gregory the Great's representation:[177]

(1) писах многогрѣ
(2) ши рабъ б(о)жїи
(3) мих ꙋлъ изꙋгра

[173] Mocanu 1985, 114; on p. 99, the author mentions only the group of letters шдє as accompanying the word Хтиторъ.

[174] *Ibidem*, 110; currently, the only letter which is still clearly legible in the inscription is о.

[175] I have followed the readings in Mocanu 1985, 112–113, and Cincheza-Buculei 1974, 46–47 and fig. 3. Concerning the petitioner's name, the former author reads нше, while the latter only the final letter є.

[176] In 1762, the church's dedication was the Birth of the Holy Virgin, Tugearu 1985 c, 149; there is no evidence, however, that this was also its medieval dedication.

[177] Read and translated by Anna Adashinskaya. The inscription in its current state was confronted with the readings available in Drăguţ 1966 a, 43, Tugearu 1985 c, 168; Porumb 1998, 231. I have omitted the uncertain and no-longer-readable parts, these not being relevant for the present discussion.

(4) фь бѣлокришь
(5) ць повеленїемъ[178]
(6) арх[і]епꙋскꙋпо(вѣм)
(7) геласи[...]ь въ
(8) д(ь)ни [...][179] кра
(9) лѣ [...]ѣ[...]
(10) м(ѣ)с[ѧц]а їюла [...][180]

= *I, the much sinful servant of God Mihul, the painter of White Criş, wrote/painted by the order of Archbishop Ghelasie, in the days of King* [...], *month July* [...]

VI. Ribiţa, Saint Nicholas Church:

1. Votive composition, lower register of the southern wall of the nave:

A. Main dedicatory inscription surrounded by a frame and placed above the *ktetors*' figures:[181]

(1) † извѡле[ни]мъ ѡца і поспеше[ни]емъ с(ы)на и сьвръше[нием]ъ с(вѧ)таго д(оу)ха...][182]

(2) ...]ре жꙋпанꙋ владиславꙋ и сь жꙋпаница его стана и съ с(ы)н[омъ его...]

(3) і сь братомъ его жꙋпанꙋ миклъоушꙋ и жꙋпаница его сора и [...]

(4) н(е)б(е)сн(о)мꙋ ц(а)рꙋ създашꙋ и спісаше манастиръ с(вѧ)т(о)мꙋ николае д[...]

(5) ...и семѣнемъ его до вѣка въ д<ь>нь ст[ра]шн[а]го съда х(ристо)ва въ дни ж(и)к[моун(д)а кралѣ...]

(6) зн[ата]го ꙋрикъ да бѫдет с(ы)н(о)ве его и семѣ[немъ его и] ѡтечествоу его [...]

(7) [...]сконча въ сѫбота ѕ п(ос)та [...]

(8) [...]стана да съвръшіше а ѡни по бл(а)годатію с(вѧ)таго д(оу)ха съвръш[...]

(9) попъ драгоснинъ в<ъ> лѣт(о) ѕцке м(ѣ)с(ѧ)ца юли іе съвръши с<е> и исписа се рък[о]ѫ [...]

[178] The primary meaning of повелѣние is "order", cf. Tugearu 1985 c, 168.

[179] Read as лѡд[ѡв]нка, *ibidem*.

[180] The no-longer readable year was given as ѕѡпе (6885/1377) in *ibidem*.

[181] The main dedicatory inscription was partially destroyed by one of the pillars of the nave's southern wall and, in its current state, it is hardly legible. I give here the version by Anna Adashinskaya, made after having examined critically the inscription in its current state, the ante-1930 photographs published by Dragomir 1929, figs. 9 and 12, and Dragomir's own transcription, *ibidem*, 252; for a critical treatment of this inscription, see Adashinskaya, Năstăsoiu 2014.

[182] The underlined parts can no longer be read and, subsequently, are uncertain.

(1) *By the will of the Father, and the help of the Son, and the accomplish[ment of the Holy Ghost...]*

(2) [...] *jupan Vladislavu, and with his jupaniţa Stana, and with* [his] *so*[*n...*]

(3) *and with his brother jupan Miclăuşu, and his jupaniţa Sora, and* [...]

(4) *to the Heavenly Emperor, have built and have painted the monastery to Saint Nicholas* [...]

(5) *... to his offspring in eternity, in the day of the terrible judgment of Christ, in the days of* [*King*] *J*(i)*c*[*mund...*]

(6) [...] *of* [...]*known,*[183] *to be charter to his sons, and* [to his] *offspr*[ing, and] *to his patrimony* [...]

(7) [...] *finished in the sixth Saturday of fasting* [...]

(8) [...]*stana*[184] *to finish, and they, with the benediction of the Holy Ghost, have finished* [...]

(9) *priest Dragosin, in the year 6925 in the month of July 15, it was finished and it was painted by the hand* [...]

B. On the left side of Saint Nicholas' head:

с(вє)ті николає

= *Saint Nicholas*[185]

C. Above the model of the church:

(1) ѯтиторꙋ•жꙋпанꙋ•владісла

(2) вꙋ•пр(ѣ)дает•ман[а]стиръ с(вє)т(о)мꙋ

(3) ніколає[186]

= *the ktetor jupan Vladislavu passes the monastery to Saint Nicholas*

D. Below the model of the church and on the right side of the small, kneeling figure:

(1) раба б(о)ж(и)і [...] ана

(2) владислава дъщи[187]

= *servant of God* [...] *Ana, daughter of Vladislavu*

E. Above the head of the church-holding, male figure, in between the church's tower and the frame of the main dedicatory inscription:

(1) ра(бъ) б(о)ж(и)і

(2) жꙋпанꙋ

(3) владісл[а]вꙋ[188]

= *servant of God jupan Vladislavu*

[183] Either "known" as such or a compound word.

[184] Either the female name "Stana" appearing in line 2 or another word ending in -стана.

[185] Inscription uncovered after 1995; the inscriptions VI.1.B–H are read and translated by the author.

[186] The inscription is more easily readable in Dragomir 1929, fig. 9.

[187] *Ibidem*, 250.

[188] *Ibidem*, figs. 9–10.

F. Between the heads of the church-holding, male figure and the second male figure, partially above the latter's head:

ра(бъ) б(о)ж(н)і жѹпанѹ міклѣѹшѹ[189]

= *servant of God jupan Miclăuşu*

G. Above the head of the first female figure:

раба б(о)ж(н)і [владісавова жена стана][190]

= *servant of God* [Vladislavu's wife, Stana]

H. Above the head of the second female figure:

раба б(о)ж(н)і міклѣѹшева ж[ена сора][191]

= *servant of God, Miclăuşu's w*[ife, Sora]

2. Inscription on the northern side of the vault of the sanctuary:

A. Partially-preserved inscription surrounded by frame and placed between the representations of two Evangelists seating at their writing desks:

(1) [с(вѧ)та]го възн[есе]ніе г(оспод)а н(а)ш(е)го

(2) [І(соус)]ꙗ Х(рист)а ѥі лѣт(а) [...][192]

= *Ascension of our* [Ho]*ly Lord* [Jesus] *Christ 15, the year* [...]

3. Inscription on the representation of Saint John the Baptist, lower register of the nave's southern wall, in the proximity of the altar:

A. Inscription placed between the border of the scene and St. John's folded right arm:

(1) моле (!) раб(ь) б(о)ж(н)і

(2) доброславоу

(3) и подроужіѣ

(4) его б(ог)ь да

(5) п<р>остит(ъ)[193]

= *servant of God Dobroslavu, and his wife, asks* (!) *God to forgive*

4. Self-standing inscription on the upper side of the lower register of the nave's southern wall, in the proximity of the altar:

A. Partially-preserved inscription placed above the representation of Saint John the Baptist and surrounded by a red frame:

(1) [...]а • ік[...]

(2) сл[ава ... бо]гоу•въ•вѣ[це...]

= [...] *gl*[ory ... to Go]*d in eternity* [...][194]

[189] *Ibidem*, figs. 9–10 and 12.

[190] *Ibidem*, 250 and fig. 12. The inscription's completion was made according to the pattern of VI.1.H and the information offered by VI.1.A, line 2.

[191] Inscription uncovered after 1995 and completed according to the information offered by VI.1.A, line 3.

[192] Adashinskaya, Năstăsoiu 2014.

[193] *Ibidem*.

[194] *Ibidem*.

VII. Sălaşu de Sus, Church of the Holy Apostles Peter and Paul ("Serfs' Church"):

1. Dedicatory inscription carved in stone, western exterior wall of the tower, above the church's entrance:

A. Main dedicatory inscription:[195]

(1) † почесє сьн храм ѡ(т) сьрьчинь с(и)нь сьрьчиновь•і иѡнѫшꙋ с(и)нь сь

(2) рьчиновь•и сьи храм древено[196] сьврьшісє•сь ныі[197] михаю

(3) син ґаньшевь•почесє ѿ камень•михаю ꙋмрє•

(4) сьрьч(и)нь и с(и)нь єго фьркашꙋ и ꙋнꙋкь[198] єго ґанкꙋль•и м[ати] сьрь

(5) чинова мрьгить•и жꙋпаница єго дорка•и жꙋпана ми

(6) халєва анка•сьврьши сє хра[мь] вь им[ѧ светимь]

(7) ап(осто)л(ом)ь петра и павла•в м(ѣсѧ)ца•юль•ка•в лѣт(о) [...]

= *This church was started by Sărăcin, the son of Sărăcin, and by Ionuşu, the son of Sărăcin. And this church was finished of wood. With us, Mihaiu, the son of Ianăş, started* [it] *of stone. Mihaiu died. Sărăcin and his son Fărcaşu and his grandson/nephew Iancul and the n*[other] *of Sărăcin, Mrăghită, and his jupaniţa Dorca, and jupana of Mihaiu, Anca. This church was finished* [by all of them] *in the nam*[e of the Holy] *Apostles Peter and Paul, in the month of July 21, in the year* [...]

VIII. Strei, *Church of the Dormition of the Holy Virgin*:[199]

1. Inscription on the western side of the southern wall of the sanctuary, on the lower register corresponding to that of the draperies:

A. Above the head of the male supplicant's figure:

(1) грозиє мещера иваниша —

(2) є писаль црькьва (!) б(ог)ꙋ д(ꙋ)х(ꙋ) (?)

[195] Read and translated by Anna Adashinskaya after the inscription's drawing published in Rusu 1997 a. 293.

[196] Cf. Rusu 1997 a, 293, where древено / дрѣвено is translated as "long ago," and not "of wood;" the error was due probably to the word's similarity with древлѥ = "before(hand)."

[197] Cf. *ibidem*, where сь ныі ("with us") was probably read сьиь и ("and this"). Needless to say, this minor difference is extremely significant, as it leads to a quite different scenario for the church's building stages and corresponding commissioners than those previously presented.

[198] In the inscription, Iancul appears as the "grandson" (ꙋнꙋкь) and not the "nephew" (братоучѧдъ) of Sărăcin II. According to the noble family's genealogy, *ibidem*, 294, Iancul was the son of Mihaiu and, subsequently, Sărăcin II's nephew. In Romanian, the terms "grandson" and "nephew" coincide (*nepot*), and it is possible for the author of the inscription, having probably Romanian as his native language, to have mixed up the words, writing ꙋнꙋкь instead of братоучѧдъ, which is more rarely encountered. Unfortunately, the discussion of the usage of the words *унук*, *непот*, *братанич*, and *сестричич* in 15th-century Moldavian charters by Kashtanov 2012, 71–74, was not available to me for comparison; I thank Anna Adashinskaya for pointing me out this title.

[199] The church's medieval dedication is unknown; see also n. 136.

(3) [...] ки
= *Grozie of Master Ivaniş painted the church to God, to Spirit* (?) [...][200]

IX. Streisângeorgiu, Saint George Church:[201]

1. Inscription on the eastern wall of the sanctuary:

A. Dedicatory inscription surrounded on three sides (left, lower, and right) by a decorative frame and placed below the window in the axis of the sanctuary:

(1) ⁘ въ л[ѣто]:ѕ҃:тъсѧцє:и:н҃:сътно
(2) и:к҃:и:в҃:почи[н]ъмъ ц(ъ)р(к)вє:п
(3) омощиѧ:с(вє)таго:гєѡрги
(4) ꙗ•и матєрє б(ож)иѧ:и въсѣ
(5) хъ:с(вє)тъхъ:на помощи
(6) єн ѡставенє грѣхомъ кн[ѣ]зоу
(7) балѣи[202]:и:инапомощь и спасєніє
(8) ⁘ на ѡставєнинє грѣ
(9) хомъ попоу нанє
(10) шоу ѳєѡфилѣ зографѣ
= *In the year 6 thousands and 8 hundreds and 20 and 2, through the initiative of the church, through the help of Saint George, and of the Mother of God, and of All Saints, for the sake of help and forgiveness of sins of cneaz Balea/Balotă, and for the sake of help and salvation ⁘ and for the forgiveness of sins of priest Naneş* [and of (?)] *painter Theofil*

2. Votive composition on the eastern wall of the tower, visible from the interior of the nave (nave's western wall):

A. Above the head of the male figure on the left side:

ра[бъ] б(о)жі[и] жѹпан лацко
= *servant of God jupan Laţco*

B. Both sides of the head of the church-holding, female figure:

(1) раба б(о)жіє / жѹпаница
(2) нистѡра
= *servant of God jupaniţa Nistora*

[200] Inscription read and translated by Anna Adashinskaya. The inscription's last line, can be read also as [...] ли, Popescu, Tugearu 1985, 241, 270, the first letter being preserved only in its lower side. It is not possible, however, for the second line to contain the group бра[...], ibid., the letters бѹ д[...] being still clearly visible. The inscription's completion and translation in its final part is hypothetical.

[201] The inscriptions are hardly readable today, the church's mural decoration being in urgent need for restoration. The present reading is based on the inscriptions' previous readings by Mircea 1976; Popa 1978, 22–23 and fig. 12; Mihăilă 1978, 33–38; Bratu 1985 a, 290, 293, 297–299.

[202] The name's alternative reading as балотѣ is given in Bratu 1985 a, 290.

C. Above and on the left side of the head of the church-holding, male figure:
(1) ктітѡр жꙋпан кендрешꙋ:—
(2) предаєтъ ма
(3) настирь
(4) сф(є)томꙋ
(5) гєѡргїє
= *the ktetor jupan Chendreşu passes the monastery to Saint George*
D. Above and on the left side of the head of the male figure on the right:
(1) раб[ъ] б(о)жі(и) влайко с(ы)нь
(2) кендреш
= *servant of God Vlaico, the son of Chendreş*
E. Below the model of the church:
(1) ѕ.аєдh [ѕ̄.ц̄ѕ̄ї]
(2) ѡвбаѡ:лтвї:[ѡктѡмбрїа]
(3) аєлкь [в̄ д̄нь.][203]
= [6917 October, day 2]
F. In between the figures of the two central, church-holding figures:
(1) † вь имѣ ѡ(т)ца•и с(ы)на•и с(вє)таго
(2) д(ꙋ)ха: сьзида жꙋпан кендрешꙋ
(3) и негова жꙋпаница нистѡра: и с(ы)но
(4) вє єго: сє(и) манастир с(вє)таго велї
(5) комꙋченика и страстѡтєрпца хр(и)
(6) стова гєѡргїє; и соверши сє
(7) и написа сє, кодами (?) є(с) (?) на
(8) здрави[є], телесноє и дꙋшевно[є]
(9) сп(ас)нїє: вь д(ь)ни жикмона
(10) кралѣ, и загорскїи[х] в[оє]води
(11) иѡанеша и ѣкова:- в л(ѣто):
(12) ѕ̄ц̄ѕ̄ї ѡкто(мврта): в̄ д(ьни):-
= *In the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost: jupan Chendreşu built, and his jupaniţa Nistora: and his sons: this monastery of Holy Great Martyr and Soldier of Christ George: and it was finished and it was painted,* [...] *for the bodily health and spiritual salvation: in the days of King Jicmon and of the Transylvanian Voivodes Ioaneş and Iacov: in the year: 6917, October: day 2.*

[203] The letters of this inscription have been greatly distorted and its reading is hypothetical; see Popa 1978, 9; Mihăilă 1978, 38, who express their doubts on the variant proposed by Iorga 1926, 172. I give here the transcription and translation as published in Mihăilă 1978, 38.

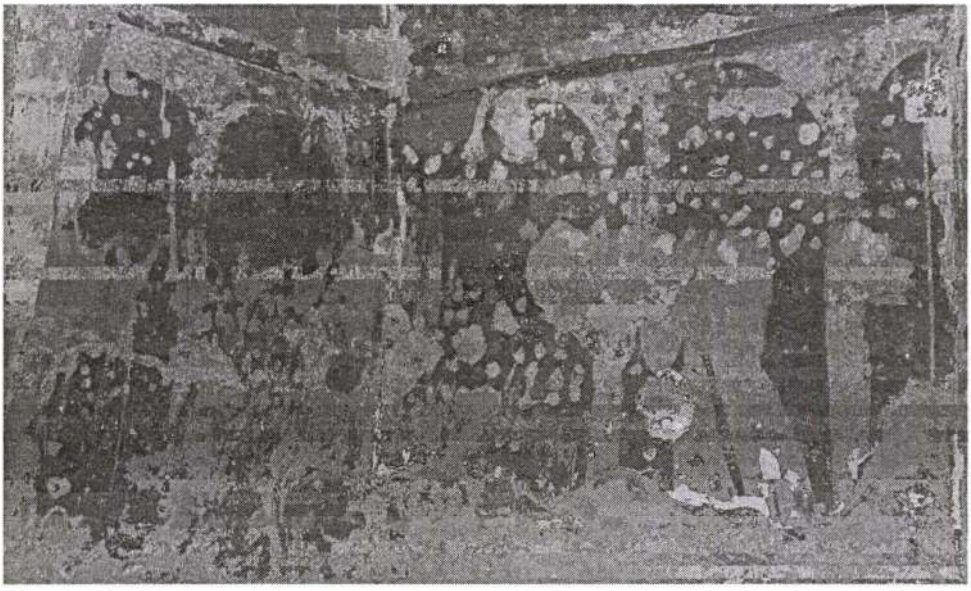

Fig. 1. Votive composition, 1411 (?), fresco, lower register of the nave's southern and western walls, Church of the Dormition of the Holy Virgin in Crişcior.

Fig. 2. Votive composition and drawing with the *ktetors'* outline, fresco, late-14th–first half of the 15th century, lower register of the nave's northern wall, (Saint Nicholas) Church in Leşnic.

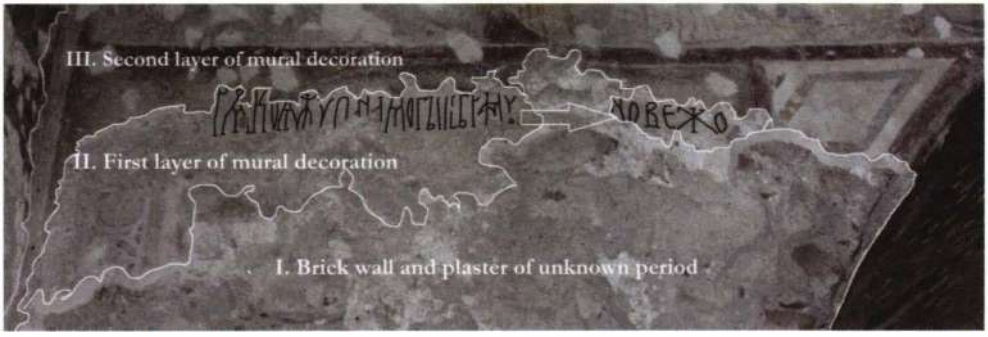

Fig. 3. Overdrawing of the inscription and drawing with the succession of decoration layers, late-14th – early-15th century, fresco, northern side of the nave's eastern wall (triumphal arch), Saint Nicholas Church in Hălmagiu.

Fig. 4. Votive composition, early-15th century, fresco, lower register of the nave's southern wall, Saint Nicholas Church in Ribița.

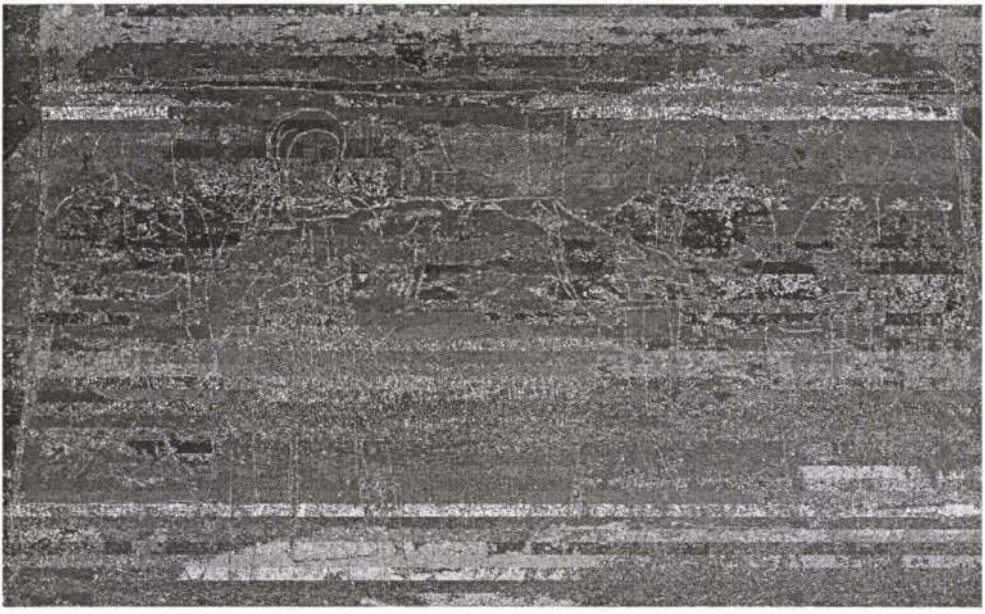

Fig. 5. Votive composition and drawing with the *ktetors'* outline, 1743 repainting over the 1408 fresco, western wall of the nave (inner, eastern wall of the western tower), Saint George Church in Streisângeorgiu.

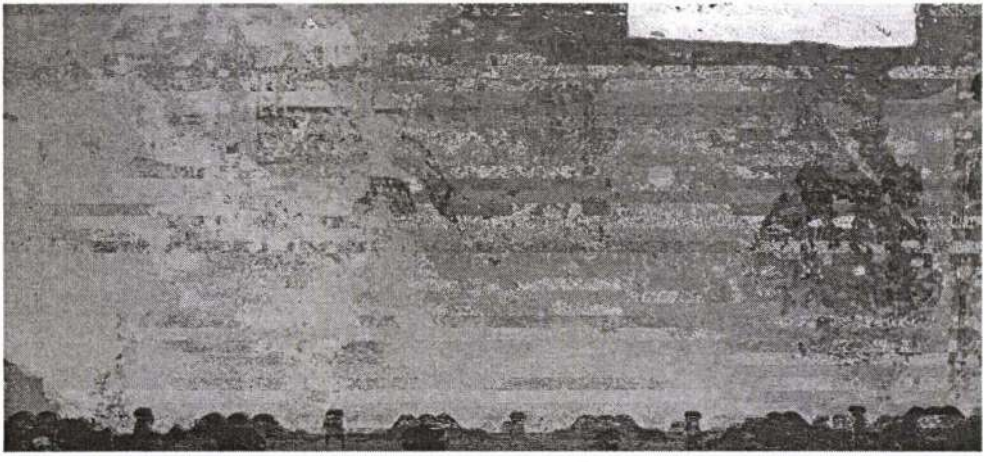

Fig. 6. Votive composition, second half of the 15th century, fresco, lower register of the nave's northern wall, Saint Nicholas Church in Hălmagiu.

Fig. 7. Holy Kings of Hungary and votive composition, 1411 (?), fresco, lower register of the nave's southern and western walls, Church of the Dormition of the Holy Virgin in Crişcior.

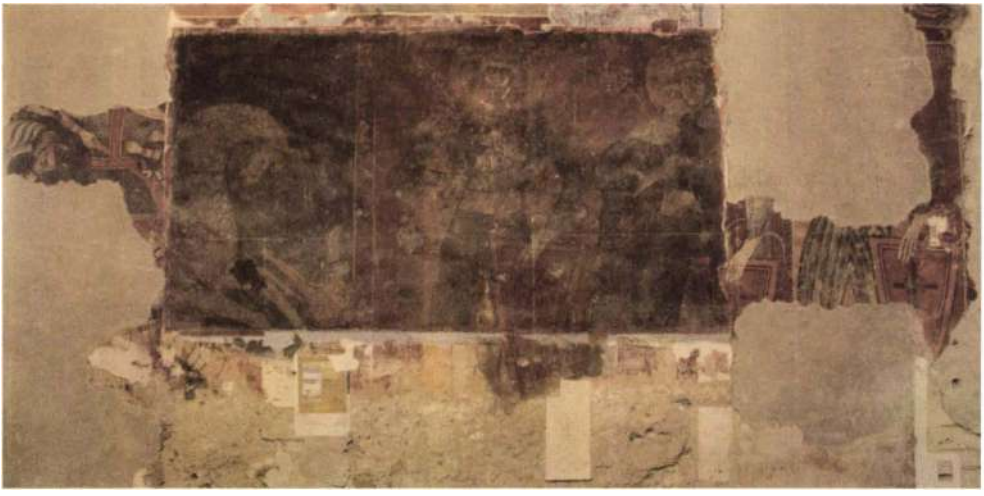

Fig. 8. Military saints on horse and Holy Kings of Hungary, early-15th century, fresco, lower register of the nave's northern wall, Saint Nicholas Church in Ribiţa.

Fig. 9. Enthroned Virgin with Child and two female donors, second half of the 15th century, fresco, lower register of the nave's northern wall, Saint Nicholas Church in Hălmagiu.

Fig. 10. Resurrection of the Dead (up) and layman figure (down), late-14th – first half of the 15th century, western side of the nave's southern wall, (Saint Nicholas) Church in Leşnic.

Fig. 11. Saint Nicholas and Grozie, first half of the 14th century, fresco, lower register of the sanctuary's southern wall, Church (of the Dormition of the Holy Virgin) in Strei.

Fig. 12. Holy Archangels Michael and Gabriel and a supplicant with drawing of their outline, first half of the 14th century, fresco, northern side of the triumphal arch's upper register, Church (of the Dormition of the Holy Virgin) in Strei.

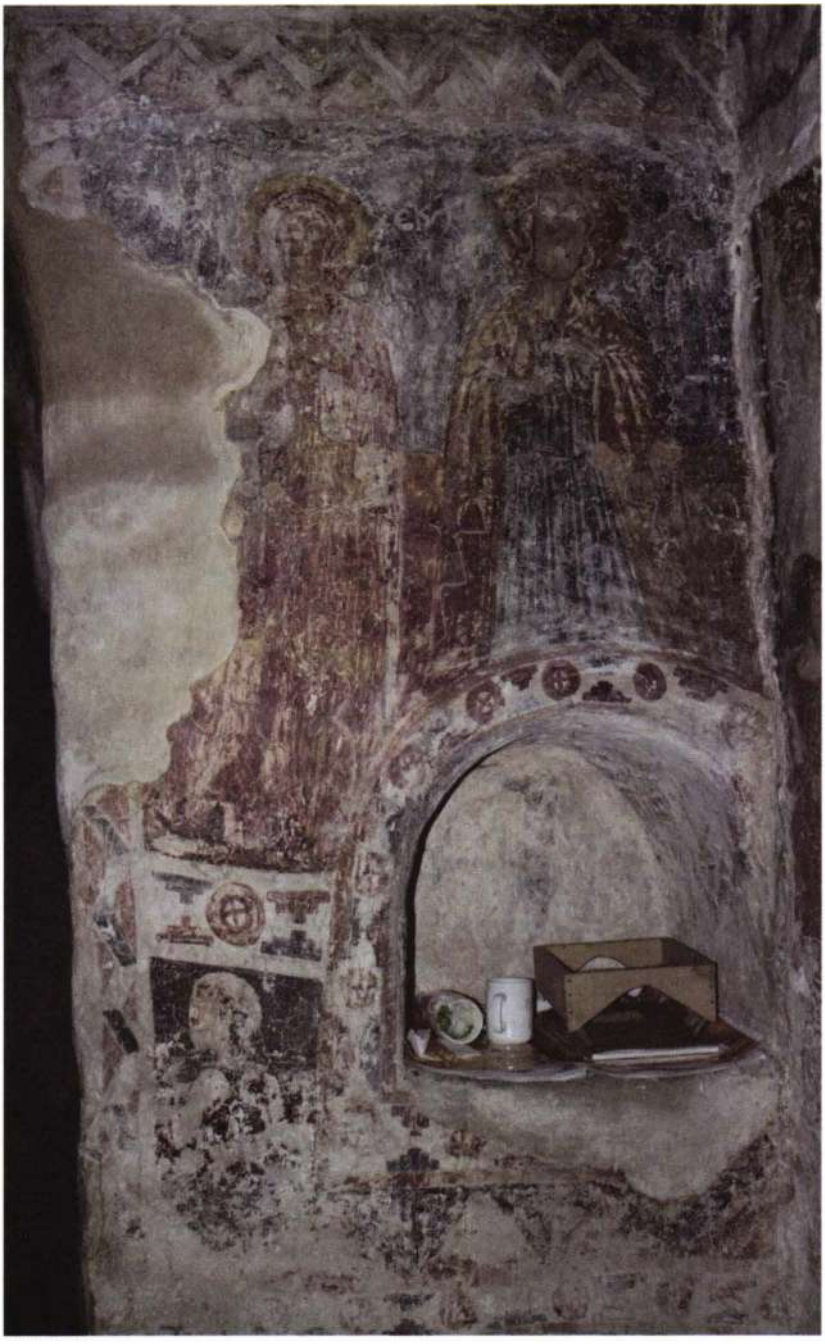

Fig. 13. Saints Catherine and St. Sreda (up) and supplicant (down), first half of the 14th century, fresco, lower registers of the southern side of the triumphal arch, Church (of the Dormition of the Holy Virgin) in Strei.

Fig. 14. Two supplicants, first half of the 14th century, fresco, eastern jamb of the southern door, Church (of the Dormition of the Holy Virgin) in Strei.

Fig. 15. Male supplicant on the decorative frame of the Martyrdom of the Forty Martyrs of Sebaste and Saint Nicholas' Investiture as Bishop, first half of the 14th century, fresco, lower register of the nave's southern wall, Church (of the Dormition of the Holy Virgin) in Strei.

Fig. 16. Drawing of the scene of the Holy Virgin with Child flanked by saints, (Saint Nicholas) Church in Leşnic (after Cincheza-Buculei 1974, fig. 3).

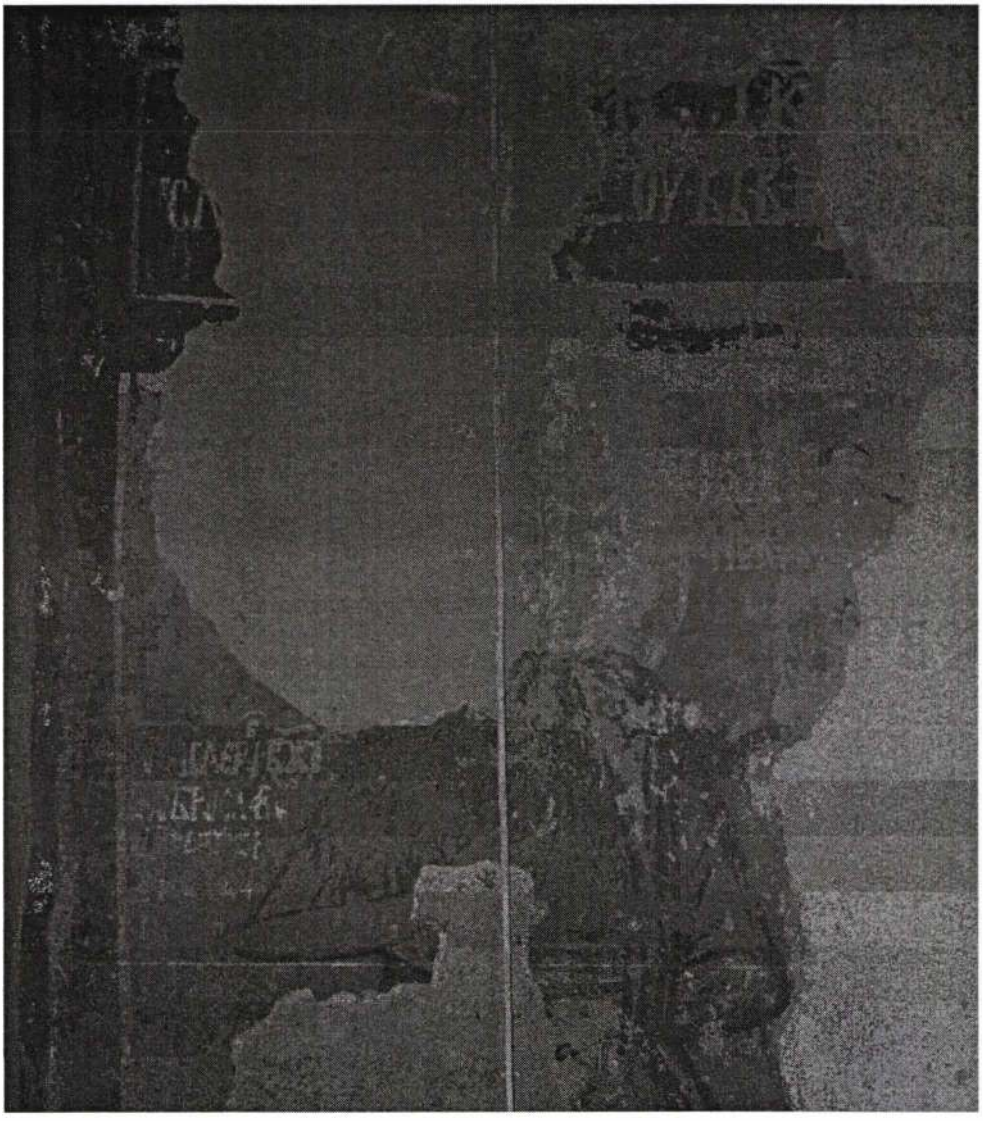

Fig. 17. Detail of Saint John the Baptist and the two accompanying inscriptions, early-15th century, fresco, lower register of the nave's southern wall, Saint Nicholas Church in Ribița.

Fig. 18. Holy Trinity (western side) and Saint Nedelya (southern side), 1443 (?), fresco, north-eastern pillar of the nave, Saint Nicholas Church in Densuş.

Fig. 19. Detail of the painter's inscription above Saint Nedelya's representation, 1443 (?), southern side of the north-eastern pillar of the nave, Saint Nicholas Church in Densuş.

Fig. 20. Detail of the painter's inscription, before 1443, below the sanctuary's window, Saint Nicholas Church in Densuş.

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THE DEFENCE OF THE ORTHODOXY BY MEANS OF THE PRINTING PRESS. ZEAL OF SAINT CONSTANTINE BRÂNCOVEANU AND STATE CONCERN DURING HIS REIGN

ION I. CROITORU

1. The tradition of the printing press in the Romanian Countries

The Romanian Countries were, for a long time, the only ones that used the art of the printing press in South-East Europe, due to their autonomy in relation to the Ottoman Empire, where the printing press was first rigorously forbidden, with certain exceptions, and then tolerated in the Christian communities of the Near East. Thus, the Jewish community had received the permission to introduce the printing press in the Ottoman Empire even since the end of the 15th century, only to print books for its own needs, not in the Arab language[1]; the Greeks managed to put into operation in Constantinople, for a short period of time (1627–1628), a printing press of Greek language, through the initiative of Patriarch Cyril Lucaris and with the help of the monk Nicodemus Metaxas, but which will be destroyed by Janissaries (January, 1628), following the plot of the Jesuits and of the French ambassador to the Porte, the printing activity being resumed only during the second half of the 18th century[2]; for the Arab Christian world, the art of the printing press *will grow durable roots in 1706 precisely with the Romanians' help*. The respective year represents the beginning of the Arab printing press in an Arab country, by the printing, in Aleppo, of an *Arab Psalter*, in the printing press set up there with the help of the Wallachian ruler Constantine Brâncoveanu (1688–1714)[3].

The tradition of the printing press in Wallachia dates since the beginning of the 16th century, as a result of the initiative of the Prince Radu the Great (1496–1508) and the activity of the Serbian monk Macarius, who also became Metropolitan of Wallachia (1512–1521). He printed at Dealu Monastery, near Târgovişte, three books destined to the worship in the Orthodox Church, in Slavonic (1508–1512)[4]. Following this cultural act, the use of the printing press in

[1] Cândea 1989, 174–175.
[2] Podskalsky 2005, 100–101.
[3] Cândea 2001, 307, 311; see also Gdoura 1985.
[4] *Hieratikon* or *Leitourgiarion* (1508), *Octoechos* (1510) and *Tetraevangel* (1512), see *BRV* I, 1, 9.

the Romanian Countries was enlisted in the European culture only 53 years after the first book printed using the invention of Johann Gutenberg (Mainz, 1455), just 37 years after the beginning of the circulation of the first book printed in Greek (Venice, 1471), only 25 years after the printing of the first book in Slavonic (Venice, 1483) and just 17 years after the printing of the first book using the Cyrillic alphabet (Krakow, 1491)[5].

2. The role of the printing press for the *Reign* and for the *Church*

The use of the printing press generalized the utilization, in the Romanian society, of the printed books carrying the seal of the *Reign* and of the *Church*, as the only guarantees casting away all doubt regarding their Orthodox content[6]. Consequently, these books were meant to quench the thirst of culture and particularly of spiritual life, but also to defend the ancestral law, identified with the Orthodox faith. For instance, the cultural and spiritual situation of the Romanian society during the first half of the 17th century is specifically summed up by the Wallachian ruler Matthew Basarab (1632–1654), who mentions that, in his time, in the whole country there were *hunger and thirst, yet not for bread and water, but for prophet, for true spiritual food and water*[7]. Therefore, the *Reign* was aware not just of the need to restore the political-economic balance and maintain peace, conditions that were actually necessary for cultural progress, but also of the need to satisfy the *spiritual hunger* of the *Christian souls* of Wallachia, whose spiritual vitality, *by early hunger, will decrease.* The lack of spiritual food was due to the *decrease in number of the holy books* following the *frequent invasions and pressures from different peoples, of unbelievers or even of some of the believers*[8].

These books, especially those written using the living language of the people, *so that they all may understand*[9], as Saint Simeon Stephen, metropolitan of Transylvania (1643–1656) affirms, were printed not just to be used in the worship of the Church or as textbooks, but for *all the Romanian nation*[10], according to the belief of Saint Varlaam, metropolitan of Moldavia (1632–1653), being addressed to those of *the same faith as ourselves... the Eastern Orthodox faith of our fathers and of the forefathers*[11] of the Romanians, with the clear desire not to let any part of the

[5] According to the order of printing of Slavonic books using Cyrillic letters, the printing press of Târgovişte is considered the fourth, after those of Krakow (1491), Venice (1493) and Cetinje (1493/1494). It ought to be mentioned that the Cyrillic printing press will continue for about 350 years in the Romanian Countries, with short breaks, getting to be considered the oldest Cyirillic printing press with a longer activity, being followed by the Russian one (1564) and the Ukrainean one (1567), see Croitoru 2012 (1), 250.

[6] Croitoru 2012 (2), 134.

[7] *Preface* to the *Slavonic Euchologion,* Câmpulung, 1635, see *BRV* IV, 184.

[8] *Preface* to the *Slavonic Euchologion...*, see *BRV* IV, 184–185.

[9] *Noul Testament,* Bălgrad, 1648, in *BRV* I, 170.

[10] Varlaam 1643, I, 2 r; see also *BRV* I, 139.

[11] Varlaam 1645, 1 r, 5 r; see also *BRV* IV, 191, 193.

Romanian nation go down the path of spiritual death, but to keep them all *within the teachings of the Orthodoxy, reinforced as unbent and unshaken pillars*[12].

The importance of the printing press for the Romanians' spiritual life is assumed not just by the representatives of the *Church* but also by the *Reign,* as one can see from the words of Prince Matthew Basarab who, in his *Preface* to the *Slavonic Psalter* (Govora, 1637), exhorts his descendants to *carefully* preserve *this gift..., because it is a treasure more valuable than all the earthly treasures, since gold, silver and [precious] stones are physical treasures, they adorn the body only temporarily, whereas this treasure,* namely the printing press, *adorns the human soul*[13]. The preoccupation of the *Reign* was to make out of the printing press an instrument meant to help the Orthodoxy from everywhere, which reflected the *common conscience of the then Orthodox world*[14], since the printed works were also addressed *to other nations related to us,* in the respective case, related to the Ruler Matthew Basarab and to his subjects, *by faith... especially to the Bulgarians, to the Serbs, to the Hungarian-Wallachians, to the Moldo-Wallachians and to the others*[15].

3. Printing centers of Saint Constantine Brâncoveanu's time

The Church and the Reign reinforced the function of the printing press as an instrument of culture and promotion of the values specific of the Romanians' spiritual heritage, namely of the Christian Orthodox teaching, and, during Saint Constantine Brâncoveanu's reign, the elaboration of an editorial plan was achieved, which had in view multiple needs and purposes: Church service books in the various languages of the Orthodoxy, works used as manuals in schools, works meant to educate and fight the Roman-Catholic and Protestant doctrinal innovations, parenetic and popular literature etc.[16]

Actually, Saint Martyr Constantine Brâncoveanu stands out as a great protector of the Romanian culture and of the Orthodoxy from everywhere *by writing and printing press,* as, during his time, five printing centers operated, where, *on the decision* or *by the will* or *on the order and at the expense* of the Ruler, scores of books were printed in the languages in which the Orthodox faith was lived and expressed (Slavonic, Greek, Arabian and Romanian) at that time, in order to be given *as a gift* to those thirsting for Jesus Christ's teaching[17].

Bucharest, Wallachian capital since the year 1659[18], the place where the Metropolitan See was moved from Târgovişte in 1668[19], had the privilege of being

[12] Varlaam 1645, 3 v; see also *BRV* IV, 193.

[13] *BRV* I, 105; Croitoru 2012 (1), 252.

[14] Croitoru 2012 (1), 252, note 114.

[15] *Preface* to the *Slavonic Psalter,* Govora, 1637. see *BRV* I, 105.

[16] See Şerbănescu 1964, 893–895; Rămureanu 1964, 919–920; Păcurariu 1996, 332–353; Croitoru 2012 (3). 344.

[17] Şerbănescu 1964, 885–888; Croitoru 2012 (3). 344.

[18] Event owed to the Wallachian Prince George Ghica (1659–1660, 1660), formerly Prince of Moldavia (1658–1659), see Olteanu 2002. 40.

a printing center where several printing presses operated during the long reign of Saint Constantine Brâncoveanu.

The beginning of the printing activity undertaken in Bucharest is marked by the printing, in the year 1688, of the *Bucharest Bible* (*Biblia de la București*), in two *editiones principes,* the first under the patronage of Prince Șerban Cantacuzino (1679–1688), the second under the aegis of his successor, Saint Constantine Brâncoveanu. The *Bucharest Bible* was addressed to all the Romanians and it has been acknowledged, in point of the development of the Romanian language, a role similar to that of Luther's *Bible* for the German culture and language[20]. The printing of the *Bucharest Bible* cannot be connected only to confessional or catechetic reasons, or only to ritual reasons, but all these reasons intertwine for the cultural benefit of the hierarchy and of the intellectuals, to which one can add the two Princes' interest for asserting themselves[21]. This editorial event represented the fruit of the collaboration between the Church and the Reign, as well as the contribution of the lay intellectuals (the brothers Radu and Șerban Greceanu, the High Steward Constantine Cantacuzino) combined to that of the clerics (Bishop Mitrofan of Buzău, the Greek hierarch Germanos of Nyssa)[22].

The place where the *Bucharest Bible* was printed was the *princely printing press* of Bucharest, whose activity was resumed, if we were to refer only to the second half of the 17th century, in the year 1687, when the printing of this *monument of Romanian language and printing art* began[23]. The functioning of the new princely printing press was due to the hierarch Mitrofan, formerly Bishop of Huși (1682–1686) and future Bishop of Buzău (1691–1702), arrived and settled in Wallachia, at the court of the reigning Prince Șerban Cantacuzino, in 1686, when Saint Dosoftei, Metropolitan of Moldavia (1671–1674, 1675–1686), had been obliged to withdraw to Poland, following the military campaign of King John III Sobieski (1674–1696). Mitrofan had been a remarkably diligent collaborator of Saint Dosoftei, regarding the printing of books in Romanian, and also of Dositheos, the Patriarch of Jerusalem (1669–1707), concerning the printing of the books in Greek defending the Orthodoxy[24]. In 1690, on the order of the Voivode Constantine Brâncoveanu, Mitrofan will also mould the Greek letters for the princely printing press, and beginning with 1691, when he is elected Bishop of Buzău, the leadership of the printing press is taken over by Saint Martyr Anthimus

[19] This move is due to the Wallachian reigning Prince Radu Leon (1664/1665–1669) and was confirmed by his act of June 8, 1668, issued by common consent with the Metropolitan Theodosius (1668–1672, 1679–1708) and the Bishops Seraphim of Râmnic (1668–1670) and Gregory of Buzău (1668–1691). It was the Church of the *Saint Emperors Constantine and Helen,* founded (in 1658) by Prince Constantine Șerban (1654–1658, 1660), which was declared Metropolitan Cathedral, see Croitoru 2012 (4), 393.

[20] Antonie 1981, 220.

[21] See Cândea 1963, 651–671; Croitoru 2012 (2), 138–139.

[22] Croitoru 2012 (2), 138–139.

[23] Bădără 1998, 62, 64.

[24] Croitoru 2012 (I), 253.

the Iberian (Romanian Antim Ivireanul), at that time hieromonk. By the efforts of Saint Anthimus the Iberian[25], the printing press will operate, with an interruption between the years 1694–1701, until the year 1705, for a first stage, when he was chosen Bishop of Râmnic, then, the printing activity will be resumed in 1714[26]. At the princely printing press of Bucharest, which functioned during the intervals 1687–1694, 1701–1705, 1714, having, thanks to Saint Anthimus the Iberian and to his disciples, Greek, Arabian, Cyrillic and Latin letters, 27 titles were printed: 7 in Romanian, 15 in Greek, 5 bilingual (one Greek-Romanian, one Greek-Arab, one Greek-Turkish[27] and two Romanian-Slavonic)[28], out of which 26 during the reign of Constantine Brâncoveanu[29]. It ought to be mentioned that the 26 titles are books with a varied content, from biblical texts to patristic literature and from didactic-theological and parenetic books to descriptions of the Holy Places and classical literature[30]. It ought to be specified that 9 of the books edited in the respective printing press were given as a gift by the editors to the Orthodox believers from everywhere[31].

Older than the *princely printing press* was the *metropolitan printing press* of Bucharest, whose functioning was due to the initiative of Metropolitan Varlaam II (1672–1679). He set up this printing press, in 1678, with *typographer masters* probably brought from the world of the Orthodox Brotherhoods, situated in the south of Poland or in Ukraine, but with printing material manufactured in Bucharest by the respective masters. The printing press functioned, during a first period of time, between the years 1674–1684[32]. A first attempt of reactivation of this printing press was that of Saint Martyr Anthimus the Iberian, in 1709, as Metropolitan of Wallachia (1708–1716), by printing a bilingual *Ceaslov* (*Horologion*), in Romanian and Slavonic[33]. Saint Anthimus the Iberian is also the initiator of the second attempt of resuming the activity of the Metropolitan printing press, by moving the printing press from Târgovişte to Bucharest, where his Greek work *Νουθεσίαι Χριστιανικοπολιτικαί* (*Christian-Political Counsels*) was printed, addressed to Prince Ştefan Cantacuzino (1714–1716), in 1715[34]. Therefore, at this

[25] For a synthesis of the printing activity of Saint Martyr Anthimus the Iberian, see Manu 2000, 80–115; Şerbănescu 1956, 690–766.

[26] Bădără 1998, 64, 67; Croitoru 2012 (1), 254.

[27] For the Turkish language, the karamanlidika writing was used, namely the writing of the Turkish language in Greek characters.

[28] Bădără 1998, 65; Croitoru 2012 (I), 254.

[29] The last title, printed in 1714, is a circular in Romanian, representing the *Stephen Cantacuzino's Charter for the exemption of priests from taxes* (*Hrisovul lui Ştefan Cantacuzino pentru scutirea preoţilor de dăjdi*), see *BRV* IV, 42; Bădără 1998, 67.

[30] Croitoru 2012 (1), 254.

[31] Bădără 1998, 65–67; Croitoru 2012 (1), 254.

[32] Bădără 1998, 60–61; Croitoru 2012 (1), 252–253.

[33] Bădără 1998, 67; Croitoru 2012 (1), p. 253.

[34] *BRV* I, 498–499; Legrand 1894 (17th-I), 123–124.

printing press, only one liturgical book was printed, the one mentioned above, during the reign of Saint Constantine Brâncoveanu[35].

Another printing press that operated in Bucharest was the one created by Saint Anthimus the Iberian while he was a Wallachian metropolitan, in the Monastery of *All the Saints*, founded by him. He decided, by a *Statute* (*Aşezământ*, 24 April 1713) and an *Archiereus' Charter* (*Hrisov arhieresc*, 20 July 1715), that there would be two printing presses, one for the Romanian language, and another one for the Greek language. It is considered that there was only one printing press, with two sections, in the above-mentioned languages[36], which printed four books during the period 1713–1720[37], but after the reign of Saint Constantine Brâncoveanu. However, we have mentioned this printing press as belonging to the epoch of Saint Constantine Brâncoveanu, because the delineation of its activity occurred even since his reign.

The Saints Anthimus the Iberian and Constantine Brâncoveanu, the first as Metropolitan, the second as reigning Prince, made efforts, between the years 1708–1714, to set up another printing press in Bucharest, in the Monastery of *Saint Sabbas* (*Sfântul Sava*), at the suggestion of the Greek Patriarchs Gerasimus II of Alexandria (1688–1710) and Chrysanthos Notaras of Jerusalem (1707–1731). The creation of this printing press is part of the fight for defending the Orthodox faith from the Roman-Catholic propaganda, by the printed book, on the one hand, and, on the other hand, illustrates the desire of the Greek hierarchs of holding a printing press under their direct control, because of the fact that, despite the generosity of Ruler Constantine Brâncoveanu and of Metropolitan Anthimus the Iberian, as well as in spite of their attachment to the cause of the Orthodoxy, nevertheless there were moments of tense relations. We shall remind of the conflict between Patriarch Dositheos of Jerusalem and Prince Constantine Brâncoveanu, after the latter hosted John Caryophilles in Bucharest, and the problem of the Wallachian monasteries dedicated to the Patriarchate of Jerusalem, which brought in dissension Metropolitan Anthimus the Iberian with Patriarch Chrysanthos Notaras, during the period 1709–1712[38]. Therefore, at that epoch, this printing press also belongs to Voivode Constantine Brâncoveanu, because its creation was delineated in his time, yet, we ought to mention, however, the fact that it begins its activity in the year 1715, being known later on under the name of the *Printing Press of the Văcărescus' School* (*Tipografia Şcolii Văcăreştilor*)[39]. Summing up the printing

[35] The total of the books printed at this printing press, during its three periods of operation throughout the time of the second half of the 17th century and at the beginning of the 18th century, is 7, out of which 5 were meant for the Orthodox services and 2 were collections of homilies and moral education. As far as their language is concerned, three books were in Romanian, three more were bilingual Romanian-Slavonic and one was in Greek [Bădără 1998, 62; Croitoru 2012 (1), 253].

[36] Bădără 1998, 68.

[37] Croitoru 2012 (1), 254–255.

[38] Bădără 1998, 69; Croitoru 2012 (1), 255, note 140; see also Croitoru 2014, 201–232.

[39] Bădără 1998, 69; Croitoru 2012 (1), 255.

activity of Bucharest, namely the first printing center of Saint Constantine Brâncoveanu's time, one can conclude that two printing presses were in operation, and two more were being set up.

The second printing center of Wallachia related to the epoch of the ruler Constantine Brâncoveanu was in Buzău. In this locality, a *princely printing press was set up,* whose beginnings are related to the year 1691, when Mitrofan, mentioned above, is chosen Bishop of Buzău (1691–1702). He organized this printing press at the desire of Saint Constantine Brâncoveanu, with the aim of putting into practice the *vast editorial programme* of the reigning Prince, which foresaw, among others: a) assuring the books of worship for the liturgical needs of the Wallachian Orthodox Church; b) supporting, by the printing press, the Orthodox population of the Ottoman Empire; c) putting into circulation the texts necessary in order to defend the Orthodoxy from the Roman-Catholic and Protestant proselytism[40]. During the period of the years 1691–1706, the princely printing press from Buzău published, by the efforts of Bishop Mitrofan and his disciples, merged with those of his successor in the episcopal see, Bishop Damascene the Teacher, known in Romanian as Dascălul (1702–1708), 20 titles or 31 books, if we consider the fact that the *Menaion,* as title, had 12 volumes printed separately. Out of these titles, regarding the language, 3 were in Romanian and the rest bilingual (Slavonic-Romanian), but, in point of their content, 17 represented books of worship for the liturgical use of the Orthodox Church in the Romanian Countries, and three were books of dogmatic, ascetic-moral and canon teaching[41].

A third printing center was at Snagov Monastery, where first a princely printing press functioned, with printing material taken from Bucharest. In relation to the creation of this printing press, endowed with Greek, Slavonic and Arabic letters, a hypothesis that circulated is that, because of the conflict between Constantine Brâncoveanu, the Ruler of Wallachia, and Dositheos, the Patriarch of Jerusalem, in relation to John Caryophilles, it would have been desired to print the books as far as possible from the Princely Court. Another hypothesis relates the creation of the respective printing press to the appointment of Saint Anthimus the Iberian as hegumen of Snagov Monastery (1694), and, in this context, the princely printing press from Bucharest or a part of it would have been moved to Snagov[42]. Beyond these hypotheses, one can note, based on the analysis of the topics included in the editorial programme, that the aim pursued by Prince Constantine Brâncoveanu and Metropolitan Theodosius, by the creation of this princely printing press, was to defend the Orthodoxy both inside of it (the conflict between Patriarch Dositheos and the Logothete John Caryophilles, the need of books for the Orthodox population of the Ottoman Empire), and outside of it (the fight to resist

[40] Bădără 1998, 70; Croitoru 2012 (1). 256.
[41] Croitoru 2012 (1). 256.
[42] Bădără 1998, 74; Croitoru 2012 (1). 257, note 158.

the propagandas of the Reformation and Counter-Reformation)[43]. By the endeavours of Saint Anthimus the Iberian, as hegumen of Snagov Monastery (1694–1704), who had also been entrusted the leadership of the printing press, were printed, during the period of the years 1694–1701, 15 works and 16 titles[44], out of which 6 books were printed in Romanian, 6 in Greek, one in Slavonic and 2 bilingual (Slavonic-Romanian and Greek-Arabian)[45]. The topics are, nevertheless, varied: 6 books containing liturgical texts (2 in Greek, 2 in Romanian and 2 bilingual, Slavonic-Romanian and, respectively, Greek-Arabian), 3 of dogmatic literature (2 in Greek and one in Romanian), to which one can add a book title from each of the following categories: panegyric and didactic-theological literature in Greek; Slavonic grammar; popular history, morals and literature in Romanian[46]. It is considered that the status of the princely printing press changes and it becomes the property of Saint Anthimus the Iberian, between the years 1700–1701, printing only one book in Greek, in the year 1701[47]. After this date, Saint Anthimus the Iberian returns to Bucharest, where he will print in the princely printing press 13 books, during the period of the years 1702–1705[48].

The fourth printing center was at Râmnic. The date of creation of this printing press from this episcopal residence is related to the appointment of Saint Anthimus the Iberian as Bishop of Râmnic (1705–1708), in 1705, after 16 March[49]. After this event, the printing activity of Snagov Monastery ceased, and the printing material was distributed to the printing presses of Bucharest and Buzău, but also Râmnic. At this episcopal printing press were edited, during a period of just 3 years (1705–1707), 9 books and 10 titles, 3 books being in Romanian, 3 in Greek and 3 more bilingual, Slavonic-Romanian[50]. Precedence was given to the liturgical books, which were 4 (one in Romanian, with two titles, and 3 bilingual Slavonic-Romanian), to which one can add a dogmatic and polemical work in Greek, a didactic-theological book in Romanian, a book of panegyric literature in Greek and

[43] Bădără 1998, 74; Croitoru 2012 (1), 257; for the activity of the Counter-Reformation see also Barbu 2008.

[44] Two titles were printed in one volume, in Greek, and offered as a gift to the Orthodox believers: *Ὀρθόδοξος Ὁμολογία τῆς Πίστεως* (*Orthodox Confession of Faith*) and *Εἰσαγωγικὴ Ἔκθεσις περὶ τῶν τριῶν Μεγίστων Ἀρετῶν Πίστεως, Ἐλπίδος καὶ Ἀγάπης* (*Introductory Presentation of the Three Cardinal Virtues Faith, Hope and Love*, 1699), see *BRV* I, 378–389; *BRV* IV, 211; Legrand 1895 (17th–III), 61.

[45] Bădără 1998, 76; Croitoru 2012 (1), 257; see also Şerbănescu 1976, 349–355; Chiţulescu 2009 (1), 57–60; for the same study, but enriched, see Chiţulescu 2009 (2), 126–132.

[46] Bădără 1998, 76; Croitoru 2012 (1), 257–258.

[47] Ἰωάννου τοῦ Κομνηνοῦ, *Προσκυνητάριον τοῦ ἁγίου ὄρους τοῦ Ἄθωνος* (John Comnenus, *Proskynetarion of the Holy Mount Athos*), Snagov, 1701, see *BRV* I, 422–423; *BRV* IV, 213–215; Legrand 1918 (18th–I), 12–13.

[48] Bădără 1998, 79.

[49] Bădără 1998, 77.

[50] Bădără 1998, 80; Păcurariu 1994 (II), 145; Croitoru 2012 (1), 258.

a book of homiletic literature in two editions, separately for the languages Greek and Romanian[51].

The fifth printing center of the time of Saint Constantine Brâncoveanu was at Târgovişte, former official capital of Wallachia, but also former metropolitan residence[52]. The resuming of the printing activity in Târgovişte, in 1709, after an absence of 57 years, is due to Saint Anthimus the Iberian, who became Metropolitan of Wallachia (1708–1716) in 1708. The printing material was brought from Râmnic, so that the new printing press from Târgovişte is considered his property. Endowed with Greek and Cyrillic letters, the printing press of Târgovişte operated between the years 1709–1715, its activity being interrupted only between the years 1711–1712, because of the Russian-Ottoman confrontations[53]. In the presses of this printing center were edited 21 works, out of which 14 in Romanian, 5 in Greek, one trilingual Slavonic-Romanian-Greek, and another one bilingual, namely Slavonic-Romanian[54]. As far as their topics are concerned, the largest number is represented by the liturgical books, summing up 13 titles, out of which 9 in Romanian, 2 in Greek, one trilingual and another one bilingual. To these, one can add 2 books of moral-philosophic literature (one in Greek, another in Romanian), 3 books of teaching for priests (one in Greek, two in Romanian), one dogmatic book (in Greek) and one of popular literature (in Romanian), one juridical text (in Romanian) and a pilgrimage book of the Holy Mount Sinai, printed in the same volume with a liturgical book in Greek[55].

Before moving on to another point of this study, it ought to be mentioned that the first printing presses of certain Christian communities in the East were created with Romanian support (engraving of the letters, equipment, training of the typographer masters etc.), given precisely during the reign of Saint Constantine Brâncoveanu. To fill this gap in matters of books for *the Orthodox among the Arabs,* Saint Anthimus the Iberian will print, with letters made by him, two books: a *Greek-Arabian Hieratikon/Leitourgiarion* (Snagov, 1701)[56] and a *Greek-Arabian Horologion* (Bucharest, 1702)[57]. These books bear the mark of the Orthodox world's brotherhood of that time: the contribution of a Georgian typographer, Saint Anthimus the Iberian; the initiative of Athanasius III Dabbās, Patriarch of Antioch (1685–1694, 1720–1724), who lived in Wallachia for more than four years (1700–1704); the patronage of the Christian Prince Constantine Brâncoveanu, who offered

[51] Bădără 1998, 80–81; Croitoru 2012 (1), 258.

[52] Even though the metropolitan residence had been moved to Bucharest in 1668, the metropolitans had the habit of returning to Târgovişte, during the periods when the rulers of the country preferred to stopover in the former capital [Păcurariu 1994 (II), 125].

[53] Bădără 1998, 81–82.

[54] Bădără 1998, 82; Croitoru 2012 (1), 259.

[55] Bădără 1998, 82–83; Croitoru 2012 (1), 259.

[56] *BRV* I, 423–433; Legrand 1918 (18th–I), 1–2.

[57] *BRV* I, 442–447; Legrand 1918 (18th–I), 19–20.

those books as a gift to all the priests of the Patriarchate of Antioch[58]. The act of printing of these books also has a threefold purpose: introducing the spoken Arabian language in the worship, instead of the Syriac language, a process similar to the replacement of the Slavonic by the Romanian in the extra-Carpathian Romanian Countries; materializing the Prince's cultural plan of offering support to the Orthodox Church of the peoples in the East; reinforcing the efforts of the Patriarchs of Antioch, to be able to face the Roman-Catholic and Protestant proselytism, which was making use of printed books[59]. After the above-mentioned books were printed, the printing material manufactured in Wallachia (1700) to print books in Arabian was transferred, totally or in part[60], to Aleppo (1706–1724), by Patriarch Athanasius III Dabbās[61]. Because of the disputes between the Orthodox believers and those who had begun to embrace Uniatism, the Arabian printing press is moved, in 1724, at Balamand Monastery, near Tripoli, yet, after a while, a part of the printing press gets to the locality of Zaurak, where, completed with the necessary parts, it continued its activity[62], while another part is taken to the Monastery of *Saint John* of Choueir (Lebanon, 1734–1899), being considered *the printing press with the longest activity in the Arabian world*[63]. The argument brought in favour of this statement is the fact that the different stages of the Arabian printing press that took place in the West, during the 15th–17th centuries, were due either to the curiosity manifested by the European humanists to the Oriental cultures or to the activity of the missionaries in the East and to the Eastern policy of the Western Great Powers. Saint Constantine Brâncoveanu will open, however, by his help, a new stage in the history of the Arab Christian culture, namely the initiatives of printing the Arabian books will go from the foreigners' hands into those of the Arabophone Christians, who are, this time, direct beneficiaries of the books[64].

At the supplication of King Vakhtang VI, sent to the Princely Court of Wallachia by Chrysanthos Notaras, Patriarch of Jerusalem[65], the reigning Prince Constantine Brâncoveanu and Metropolitan Anthimus the Iberian sent a typographer master, namely Michael Stephen (Ştvanovici), a disciple of the latter in the art of the printing press, to Tbilisi. Taking together with him a team of specialists and printing material made in Wallachia by Saint Anthimus the Iberian, at the expense of Saint Constantine Brâncoveanu, Michael Stephen printed, during a first stage of his activity in Georgia, between the years 1709–1711, a number of 9 liturgical and teaching books. After his voyage of the year 1712 to Holland,

[58] Croitoru 2012 (1), 259.
[59] Podskalsky 2005, 103.
[60] For an analysis of these topics see Feodorov 2014 (1), 264–267.
[61] Bădără 1998, 106; Croitoru 2012 (1), 260.
[62] Bădără 1998, 106; Simonescu 1964, 532–538; Păcurariu 1964, 608; Croitoru 2012 (1), 260.
[63] Cândea 1989, 175; Croitoru 2012 (1), 260.
[64] Croitoru 2012 (1), 260, note 182.
[65] Păcurariu 1996, 354.

where he improves his art of the printing press, Michael Stephen returns to Georgia, where he and his disciples continue their printing activity until the year 1722, when the printing press is destroyed by the Ottomans[66].

In this way, with the help offered by the Church and the Reign of Wallachia, represented at that moment of history by the Saints Anthimus the Iberian and Constantine Brâncoveanu, the Arabian and Georgian Orthodox Christians received, by God's iconomy, support in the defence of the Orthodoxy and of the being of their nation, as they were being threatened by the Western propagandas and the danger of Islamization.

4. Books defending the Orthodoxy from the Western propagandas

In the context of the 17th century disputes, when the Orthodox Romanians of Transylvania were subjected to an intense propaganda of Calvinization[67], replaced afterwards, after the fall of the Principality under Habsburg rule (1687)[68], by that of Catholicization, while the Eastern Patriarchates were haunted by Western missionaries, the Church and the Reign in the extra-Carpathian Romanian Countries made efforts to keep their *ancestral law* accurate and consolidate the Orthodoxy among the Romanians from the three Countries, but also among their faith brothers, but of other nations, having in view especially those under the rule of the Ottoman Empire.

The printing press, used not just in the extra-Carpathian Romanian Countries, but also in Transylvania, became, in the frame of the epoch, an instrument of defence of the Orthodox teaching from the heterodox doctrines. Acquiring books was considered a *truly heavenly gift and treasure*[69] in the book *Învățături preste toate zilele* (*Teachings for all the days*), printed at the Monastery of the *Assumption of the Theotokos* in Câmpulung (Wallachia), in 1642[70], because the teachings, written by *many and great teachers... to all the Christians,* were meant to bring the true light on the meaning of the *Holy Scripture* and for the benefit of the spiritual life, as an exhortation to running away from *evils* and from *those who have organized themselves badly*[71], a reference, in other words, to those of other faiths[72].

This function of the book was fully cultivated as well during the epoch of Prince Constantine Brâncoveanu, and the printings included in the editorial

[66] Păcurariu 1996, 355; Croitoru 2012 (1), 261; for more details on the activity of the typographer Michael Iştvanovici in Georgia, see Feodorov 2014 (2), 47–61.

[67] See Croitoru 2012 (5), 467–526.

[68] Transylvania was occupied by the Habsburgs in the year 1687, and by the declarations of the Dieta (Legislative Assembly) of the Principality of 9 and 10 May 1688, confirmed as well on 13 May, the same year, by the Dieta summoned in Făgăraş, the annexation of the Principality to the Habsburg Empire was proclaimed, a situation maintained, with some changes (Austro-Hungarian dualism, between the years 1867–1918), until the year 1918 [Croitoru 2012 (5), 520–521].

[69] *BRV* I, 127.

[70] *BRV* I, 125.

[71] *BRV* I, 127.

[72] Croitoru 2012 (6), 707.

programme of the Church and of the Reign had the aim of reinforcing the Orthodox conscience and of defending the *right-believers* from the misinterpretations of the truths of faith brought by the Reformation or by the innovations promoted by the Counter-Reformation. In its way, each printed book had a mission to accomplish, a truth of faith to defend from those who were contesting it, such as, for instance, the veneration of the Saints and of the holy icons, the divinity of Jesus Christ, the transformation of the Holy Gifts into the Body and the Blood of the world's Saviour Jesus Christ etc. We shall choose, however, from among these books, also limiting ourselves to the rule of Saint Constantine Brâncoveanu, only those whose content presents the Orthodox teaching, entirely or partially, but aiming to defend the Orthodoxy from the Western propagandas.

As we have mentioned above, the start of the editorial programme consists in the printing of the *Bucharest Bible,* in 1688, a cultural and ecclesial event of significant momentum, as it was allowing the *Romanian Christians to know the laws of God*; and the word of God, *as a light that had been under a basket until then,* was put by the Ruler Şerban Cantacuzino, but also by the effort of the reigning Prince Constantine Brâncoveanu, who, first as *Great Logothete*[73] and *ispravnic*[74], then *crowned with the reign and rule of the entire Oungrovlachian Country*[75], completed the good thing begun, *on a lampstand, to give light to the nations in the house of the Church: Romanians, Moldavians and Oungrovlachians*[76]. It ought to be specified that the printing of the *Bucharest Bible,* achieved in the *princely printing press,* had the blessing of the Wallachian Metropolitan Theodosius and the consent of the Ecumenical Patriarchate, mentioned in the first *Preface*[77], addressed by Prince Şerban Cantacuzino to the whole clergy of the Church, to the boyars and to all the Orthodox Christians, but also the blessing of the Patriarchate of Jerusalem, in its second *Preface*, signed by Patriarch Dositheos[78]. It ought to be mentioned, therefore, that, during the archipastorate of Metropolitan Theodosius and the rule of Saint Constantine

[73] See the title paper in *BRV* I, 281.

[74] The brothers Radu and Şerban Greceanu remind in the first *Preface to Prince Constantine Brâncoveanu* (*Predoslovie către domnitorul Constantin Brâncoveanu*), included in the collection *Mărgăritare* (*Pearls,* Bucureşti, 1691), that he was, before taking over the princely throne, *vel Log. ispravnică,* namely *Great Logothete in charge of* the printing of the *Bible,* see *BRV* I, 319. In this context, the *ispravnic* had the obligation of *organizing, overseeing and following up, for the editor and in his name, the materialization of the editorial projects*, his activity being *directly, immediately and decisively related to the typographers' activity* (Bădără 1998, 170).

[75] As it is mentioned in the title paper, see *BRV* I, 281.

[76] This was the conviction of Patriarch Dositheos of Jerusalem, expressed in his *Preface* (*Predoslovie*) addressed to *the very illuminated, very Christian, very glorified, Christ-loving Prince and protector of the entire Hungary-Wallachia, Ioan Şerban Cantacuzino Basarab Voivode,* in *Biblia, adică Dumnezeiasca Scriptură* (*The Bible, namely the Divine Scripture*), see *BRV* I, 289.

[77] *BRV* I, 286.

[78] See *BRV* I, 287–290; on the paternity of this *Preface* (*Predoslovie*), attributed to Senechal Constantine Cantacuzino, see Croitoru 2012 (7), 423, note 874.

Brâncoveanu, was achieved, for the first time, the complete printing of the *Holy Scripture* in Romanian, in editions meant for the worship (*Apostolos* or *Epistle Lectionary, Evangelion* or *Gospel Book, Psalter*), but also for the cultural needs and the defence of the ancestral law, by knowing and living the word of God (*Biblia de la 1688/The 1688 Bible*)[79].

The need was, in the context of the epoch, that the acquisition of the *ancestral law* by the reading of the *Holy Scripture* ought to be accompanied by the explanations of the Holy Fathers, because *many Christians,* at that time, *do not hold on to,* namely did not respect, *the true rules of the good faith,* and *when they read the Holy Scriptures... they make other interpretations according to the whims of their heart and not according to the thought of the Holy Scripture and of the Holy Fathers of yore, who were full of the gift of the Holy Spirit*[80]. The term *heretical,* used by Saint Varlaam in the *Teaching at the Cheesefare Sunday* (*Învățătură la Duminica lăsatului sec de brânză*) and employed exclusively against the *Calvinists and Lutherans*[81], is replaced by the typographer Michael Iştvanovici (Stephen) in the text cited above and included in the *Kiriakodromion* or *Evanghelia învățătoare* (*The Teaching Gospel*), which he printed at Alba Iulia, in 1699[82]. Michael Iştvanovici realized, according to the specialists in this domain, *a true synthesis of the homiletic, liturgical and hagiographic literature* up to his time, choosing, with the accord and the blessing of Metropolitan Athanasius of Transylvania (1697–1701), the most adequate forms of expression in order to draw the attention of the Romanians in the Principality on the dangers of being led astray from the true faith, but also in order to avoid eventual repercussions to their disadvantage, coming either from the Calvinists and the Lutherans, whose regime could have returned to the Principality, or from the Roman-Catholics, whose propaganda had intensified after the conquest of Transylvania by the Habsburgs[83].

To meet the demand to understand the word of the *Holy Scripture*, by the living and the teachings of the *Holy Fathers of yore*[84], the series of teaching books printed in the *princely printing press* of Bucharest, in Romanian, is opened by the collection of patristic discourses *Mărgăritare* (*Pearls*). In order to bring light upon the *interpretations* made by some *according to the whims of their hearts*[85], in other words, on the issues regarding the truths of faith, and in order to offer the Christians *the teachings useful for the soul and for the body*[86] coming from the Holy Fathers (John Chrysostom, Anastasius of Sinai, Basil the Great, Maximus the

[79] Croitoru 2012 (4), 398.
[80] Lupaş 1957, 799; Croitoru 2012 (6), 714.
[81] Varlaam 1643, I, 33 r–v.
[82] *BRV* I, 372–377, 538.
[83] See Lupaş 1957, 798–799; Croitoru 2012 (6), 712–714.
[84] The expression is cited in the previous paragraph.
[85] The expressions are taken from the previous paragraph.
[86] *Cuvânt cătră de bine voitorĭul cititorĭu* (*Word to the reader of good-will*), in *Mărgăritare* (Pearls), Bucureşti, 1691, see *BRV* I, 320.

Confessor, Ephrem the Syrian etc.)[87], the respective collection was translated from Greek into Romanian by the brothers Radu and Şerban Greceanu[88], being reviewed, as for the Romanian language, and printed by hierarch Mitrofan, in 1691[89]. In the first *Preface* (*Prefaţă* or *Predoslovie*) of the volume[90], the translators bring to light the fact that the reigning Prince Constantine Brâncoveanu had an editorial programme, which foresaw the printing of books in Greek and in Romanian, *not with small or few expenses*[91], including the *Holy Scripture* (*Sfânta Scriptură*) and translations of works of the Holy Fathers as well as writings defending the Orthodox faith from the Roman-Catholic and Protestant propagandas[92].

At that moment, a part of the editorial programme was already completed. Thus, the brothers Greceanu remind of the fact that the printing of the *Holy Bible* (*Bibliĭa Sfântă*) in Romanian, mentioned above, *has been completed*; this action had been started during the rule of Şerban Voivode, when Constantine Brâncoveanu fulfilled for the respective print the function of *Great Logothete ispravnicŭ*, yet the latter *earnestly* made all the efforts *to complete it during the happy days of* [*his*] *reign*[93], namely in 1688, at the printing press of Bucharest[94]. The Greceanu brothers then mention another feat of Prince Constantine Brâncoveanu[95], who was *glad* for the accomplished thing[96], namely, the book of *Meletios Syrigos against the Calvinist heresies and the questions of Cyril Lucaris, Patriarch... of Constantinople,* together with *the additions Dositheos, Patriarch of Jerusalem, anew against the Calvinist heresies brought together from here and there*[97]. In fact, the brothers

[87] Croitoru 2012 (6), 726.

[88] *BRV* I, 315. Biographic data on those who endeavored to put to good use the printing press during the rule of Saint Constantine Brâncoveanu [the brothers Şerban and Radu Greceanu, Bishop Mitrofan, Saint Anthimus the Iberian, Bishop Damascene the Teacher (Damaschin Dascălul), Michael Stephen (Iştvanovici), George Radovici, the Greek Hieromonk Mitrofan Grigorás of Dodona, Hieromonk Philotheus sin Agăi Jipei] can be found in Petrescu 2014 (1), 75–91; for the same study, with a slightly modified title, see Petrescu 2014 (2), 161–178; concerning other details on the Greek scholars involved in the printing activity of the same period (monk Athanasius Tomaidis, Vissarion Makres, Panagiotis Synopeas or of Sinópe, the iatrophilosopher John Comnenus, Mitrofanis Grigorás), see Moldoveanu 2014, 190–197.

[89] *BRV* I, 321. It ought to be noted that the respective patristic collection also interested the Russian Orthodox believers. On 6 July 1693, Saint Dosoftei of Moldavia finished translating this collection into Russian, after the second edition of Venice in New Greek (1683), sending the manuscript to the Russian Tsar, John V and Peter I, for publication [Croitoru 2012 (6), 726].

[90] It ought to be mentioned that the whole content of the book *Mărgăritare* (Pearls) is preceded by two *Prefaces* or *Discourses* (*Predoslovie* or *Cuvântare*), the first to Prince Constantine Brâncoveanu, the second to the readers, both signed by the brothers Şerban, *second logothete*, and Radu, *logothete*, see *BRV* I, 316–321.

[91] *BRV* I, 319.

[92] Croitoru 2012 (6), 727.

[93] *BRV* I, 319.

[94] Bădără 1998, 65.

[95] *BRV* I, 298–299; Legrand 1894 (17th–II), 458.

[96] *BRV* I, 319.

[97] *BRV* I, 319.

Radu and Şerban Greceanu were referring to the works in Greek: *Κατὰ τῶν καλβινικῶν κεφαλαίων, καὶ ἐρωτήσεων Κυρίλλου τοῦ Λουκάρεως Ἀντίρρησις* (*Counter-Statement against the Calvinist Principles and the Questions of Cyril Lucaris*) by Meletios Syrigos, professor and protosingelos of the Great Church of Constantinople, and *Ἐγχειρίδιον κατὰ τῆς καλβινικῆς φρενοβλαβείας* (*Manual against the Calvinist Madness*) by Dositheos, Patriarch of Jerusalem[98].

The two works had been printed in one volume in Bucharest, in 1690[99], *at the expense and under the supervision* of the reigning Prince[100], and after the title page there were three epigrams, the first and the third being written by Chrysanthos Notaras, as *Hieromonk and Archimandrite of the Holy Tomb,* and the second by Antonius Spandonis, *Dicheofilax* or *Just Protector of the Great Church and teacher of sciences of the School of Constantinople.* The first two were addressed to Prince Constantine Brâncoveanu, and the third to Meletios Syrigos[101]. Then follow two *Prefaces*, signed by Patriarch Dositheos[102], being two letters of his, composed in the month of May of the year 1690, at Adrianople, from where they were sent to Ruler Constantine Brâncoveanu[103]. After the summary, the volume also includes the *Decisions* of the Synod of Constantinople of 1638, the *Decisions* of the Synod of 1642, held in Constantinople, and approved in Jassy, during the same year[104], the *Life of Meletios Syrigos* written by the same Patriarch[105], and the *Letter* of the Synod of Jassy (1642) sent to Prince Basil Lupu[106].

As far as the book of Meletios Syrigos is concerned, Patriarch Dositheos mentions, in *First Preface,* in which he describes the phenomenon of the sects and the fight of the Church, by learned teachers and pious emperors, for the defence of

[98] *BRV* I, 298; Legrand 1894 (17th–II), 458; Croitoru 2012 (6), 728.

[99] Croitoru 2012 (6), 728–729.

[100] *BRV* I, 298, 299; Legrand 1894 (17th–II), 458.

[101] *BRV* I, 299–300; Legrand 1894 (17th–II), 459–460.

[102] For *Preface I* see *BRV* I, 301–304 (Greek text) and 304–307 (translation in Romanian); as far as the Greek text of this *Preface* is concerned, see also Legrand 1894 (17th–II), 461–466. For *Preface II* see *BRV* I, 307–309 (part of the Greek text) and 309–311 (the translation of this part in Romanian); concerning the same Greek text, see also Legrand 1894 (17th–II), 466–470. For older complete translations of these two *Prefaces* from Greek into Romanian, done by C. Erbiceanu, see *Prefața dela cartea lui Meletie Sirig. Scrisă de Dositeiu Patriarhul Ierusalimului și în care se descrie origina neamului lui Constantin Brâncoveanu și după tată și după mamă* (*Preface from Meletios Syrigos's book. Written by Dositheos, Patriarch of Jerusalem, and describing the genealogy of Constantine Brâncoveanu both on the father's side and on the mother's side*), in Erbiceanu 1904–1905, 1212–1218; *A doua prefață la cartea lui Meletie Sirig tot de Patriarhul Dositeiu* (*The second Preface to Meletios Syrigos's book, also by Dositheos the Patriarch*), in Erbiceanu 1904–1905 (2), 1344–1350.

[103] Dură 1977, 242.

[104] Dură 1977, 246.

[105] See *BRV* I, 311–312 (Greek text) and 312–313 (translation in Romanian); for the Greek text, see also Legrand 1894 (17th–II), 470–472.

[106] See *BRV* I, 313–314 (Greek text and translation); for the Greek text, see also Legrand 1894 (17th–II), 472–473.

the faith[107], and the genealogy of the reigning Prince Constantine Brâncoveanu, both on his father's side, on which he was related to the reigning families of Wallachia, and on his mother's side, by whom he was related to Byzantine emperors, showing the brave acts and measures taken against the heretics by five Byzantine emperors, whom the Patriarch considers to be the reigning Prince's ancestors[108], that Meletios Syrigos wrote *the present book,* namely *Counter-Statement against the Calvinist Principles and the Questions of Cyril Lucaris,* at the exhortation of Prince Basil Lupu, by which he *condemns the heresies of the present century*[109]. For Patriarch Dositheos, these *heresies* were the new protestant doctrines, contested at the Synod of Jassy (1642), through the diligence of Basil Lupu, who *confuted and put to shame mixtures of heresies, namely Calvin's impiety*[110]. It is supposed that Meletios wrote this work between the years 1636–1640[111], therefore, before the Synod of Jassy, held in 1642, and, according to the testimony of Patriarch Dositheos, beside the exhortation of Prince Basil Lupu to draw up this book, he also received the impetus of Patriarch Partenius I of Constantinople[112]. It ought to be specified that, for the 1690 edition, Patriarch Dositheos chose the variant that Meletios Syrigos himself prepared from *Old Greek* into *common Greek,* and *many of the noblemen of Wallachiabogdania,* namely *Wallachia* or the *Romanian Country* situated near *Bogdania* or *Moldavia, knowing the Greek language well, wanted to translate it easily into the Wallachian language, to become the benefit of community in the whole Church*[113].

In the *Second Preface,* Patriarch Dositheos shows, among other things, the bad consequences of heresies, makes a short historical reference to Luther's Reform and Calvin's heresy, a short reference to the Synod of Jassy, and also to the discussions and positions taken, at that time, by him and by the Eastern patriarchs, because of the emergence of the *Pseudo-Lucarian Confession,* attributed to Saint Cyril Lucaris the New Martyr[114], while he was Patriarch of Constantinople[115], in relation to the Calvinist propaganda carried out among the Orthodox population of Poland, Lithuania, Podolia, Ukraine and Transylvania[116]. Actually, the same Patriarch Dositheos shows, in the same *Preface,* that the reason of the printing of the respective volume was given by the Orthodox people of Transylvania. They

[107] *First Preface,* in *BRV* I, 302–303, 305–306; Legrand 1894 (17th–II), 462–463, 464–466.
[108] *First Preface,* in *BRV* I, 302–303, 305–306; Legrand 1894 (17th–II), 462–466.
[109] *First Preface,* in *BRV* I, 304, 307; Legrand 1894 (17th–II), 466.
[110] *First Preface,* in *BRV* I, 301, 305; Legrand 1894 (17th–II), 462.
[111] Croitoru 2012 (6), 729, note 198.
[112] *Second Preface,* in *BRV* I, 308, 310; Legrand 1894 (17th–II), 469–470.
[113] *Second Preface,* in *BRV* I, 308, 310; Legrand 1894 (17th–II), 469.
[114] About this Calvinizing *Confession of Faith,* published in Geneva, first in Latin (*Confessio fidei,* 1629), then in Greek (*Ἀνατολικὴ ὁμολογία τῆς χριστιανικῆς πίστεως – Eastern Confession of the Christian Faith,* 1633), see Croitoru 2012 (8), 554–559.
[115] Saint Cyril Lucaris was first of all Patriarchs of Alexandria (1601–1620), then of Constantinople, on several times: 1612, 1620–1623, 1623–1633, 1633–1634, 1634–1635, 1637–1638.
[116] *Second Preface,* in *BRV* I, 307–308, 309–310; Legrand 1894 (17th–II), 446–470.

had asked the Patriarch Dositheos, around the year 1680, when he was in Wallachia, to give them *certain writings to be able to answer the Calvinists, who were bothering them excessively*[117].

The *Manual* of Patriarch Dositheos *against the Calvinist Heresy* was the third edition of the *Confession of Faith* that he himself had drawn up on the occasion of the Synod of Jerusalem, held in the year 1672. The first two editions of this *Confession* had been printed in Paris, in 1675–1676 and 1678[118], by Roman-Catholics, in the name of the Synod of Jerusalem, whereas the edition of Bucharest appeared in the Orthodox environment, bearing the name of the Patriarch himself. Moreover, this last edition comprised the corrections, completions and additions that Patriarch Dositheos had made both to *The Decisions* of the Synod of Jerusalem (1672), and to *The Confession* approved then[119]. These modifications also include a change of title. While in the previous editions the title was the *Shield of the Orthodoxy/Ἀσπὶς Ὀρθοδοξίας*, in the edition of Bucharest the title becomes *Manual against the Calvinist Madness* (*Ἐγχειρίδιον κατὰ τῆς καλβινικῆς φρενοβλαβείας*)[120], with the mention that in the text of the 1690 volume, the title of Patriarch Dositheos' *Confession*[121] also appears under the form *Ἐγχειρίδιον ἐλέγχον τὴν καλβινικὴν φρενοβλαβείαν*, namely *Manual proving the Calvinist Heresy*[122].

It has been appreciated that the volume printed in the *princely printing press* of Bucharest, in 1690, shared as a gift by Patriarch Dositheos, thanks to the financial help offered by the reigning Prince Constantine Brâncoveanu, the texts being *arranged and corrected* or *reviewed* by Michael Makres of Ioannina (Greece), Notary of the Great Church of Constantinople, and the printing being entrusted to Mitrofan, at the time former Bishop of Huşi[123], still represents a reaction of the representatives of the Orthodoxy against the *Lucarian Confession and Protestantism in general*[124].

Another book reminded by the brothers Radu and Şerban Greceanu in the first *Preface* of the collection *Mărgăritare* (*Pearls*) is *Mărturiĭa pravoslavnică* (*The Orthodox Confession*), about which they say that it is in their hands to be translated *from Greek into Romanian*, but which they attribute to Patriarch Nectarius of Jerusalem (1661–1669)[125]. About this mention, it is possible, on the one hand, that the Greceanu brothers may have had in view the translation of Patriarch Nectarius' work, *Counter-Statement against Papal Primacy* (*Περὶ τῆς*

[117] *Second Preface*, in *BRV* I, 308, 310; Legrand 1894 (17th–II), 469. On the Calvinist and Lutheran propaganda in Transylvania, but also in Wallachia and Moldavia, see Croitoru 2012 (9), 467–526.
[118] Croitoru 2012 (6), 728, note 188.
[119] Croitoru 2012 (6), 730.
[120] Dură 1977, 245.
[121] On *The Confession* of Patriarch Dositheos, see more details in Croitoru 2012 (10), 655–664.
[122] *BRV* I, 299; Legrand 1894 (17th–II), 459.
[123] *BRV* I, 298–299, 314–315; Legrand 1894 (17th–II), 458–459.
[124] Καρμίρη 1949, 71, 81; Croitoru 2012 (6), 728.
[125] *BRV* I, 319.

ἀρχῆς τοῦ πάπα Ἀντίρρησις), printed in Greek at Jassy, in 1682[126]. On the other hand, simultaneously to the edition of the patristic collection *Mărgăritare* (*Pearls*) was also prepared the translation into Romanian of the *Confession of Faith* attributed to Saint Peter Mogila, after the edition of Amsterdam (1666), which also included a *Preface* signed by Patriarch Nectarius, of November 20, 1662. My opinion is that the Greceanu brothers refer to the latter text of Patriarch Nectarius, since there is no indication, during the same period, of any translation in Romanian of this Patriarch's work printed earlier in Jassy[127].

The two translators announce, in the same first *Preface,* that they also want to finish translating and printing *other works,* as well, *for the benefit of community*[128], which we shall see below. However, if we follow the activity of the *princely printing press* of Bucharest, there appears, in 1690, *to be shared for free to the Orthodox,* a *Manual against the Papists' Schism* (*Ἐγχειρίδιον κατὰ τοῦ Σχίσματος τῶν Παπιστῶν*), written by Hieromonk Maximus the Peloponnesian[129], a disciple of Meletios Pegas, Patriarch of Alexandria[130]. In the *Preface*[131] of the book, addressed to the *Orthodox readers,* it is affirmed that *many have wanted to prevent* the printing *of the Manual, because it tells the naked and clear truth,* but finally *truth has prevailed, and the reigning Prince has deemed it right* [*to have it printed*] *and the* respective *booklet has been printed in memory of the wise, on the one hand, and, on the other hand, to teach and support all the Orthodox*[132]. The *Manual* included the Orthodox teaching regarding the Roman-Catholic innovations on *Papal primacy, on the procession of the Holy Spirit, on unleavened bread, on the transformation, namely on the trans-substantiation of the Holy Mysteries,* in other words, of the Precious Gifts into the Body and Blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ, *on the purifying fire* or *Purgatory, on the joy of the Just, namely if they have received the promise*[133].

The exhortation to printing had been given by Patriarch Dositheos, who must have been as well the author of the *Preface,* while through this polemic treaty, an answer was being given to the activity of propagation of the Roman-Catholic doctrine by different means[134], one of them being the printing of books spread by the *Congregation for Propaganda of the Faith* (*Congregatio de Propaganda Fide*) among the Orthodox of the Ottoman Empire[135]. At the same time, it has been stated

[126] *BRV* I, 251; Legrand 1894 (17th–II), 401; Τζιράκη 1966, 396; Croitoru 2012 (6), 727, note 181.

[127] Croitoru 2012 (6), 727–728, note 181.

[128] *BRV* I, 319.

[129] *BRV* I, 297–298; *BRV* IV, 207; Legrand 1894 (17th–II), 475; Bădără 1998, 66.

[130] *BRV* I, 297; Legrand 1894 (17th–II), 475; Bădără 1998, 66.

[131] For the whole text of this *Preface* in Greek, dated January 1690, see Legrand 1894 (17th–II), 476–478; for an old translation in Romanian of the respective *Preface* see *BRV* I, 370–372.

[132] *BRV* I, 298.

[133] *BRV* I, 298; Legrand 1894 (17th–II), 478.

[134] Legrand 1894 (17th–II), 476–477.

[135] It ought to be signalled that *Congregatio de Propagande Fide* took the initiative of creating a printing press of its own (1622), where, during the period 1628–1677, 45 books were printed, in Latin and Greek (classical and vulgar). Out of them, 37 were addressed especially to the Orthodox,

that this book was also an answer given to the Archbishop of Iconium, John Matthew Caryophilles (Ioannis Mattheos Caryophyllios), considered one of the most aggressive supporters of the Roman-Catholic propaganda by the book, several anti-Orthodox works being attributed to him in the epoch, among which *Counter-Statement to Nilus of Thessalonica on Papal Primacy* (*Ἀντίρρησις πρὸς Νεῖλον τὸν Θεσσαλονίκης περὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς τοῦ πάπα*) or *Confutatio Nili Thessalonicensis de Primatu Papae,* printed in Paris, in 1626[136]. The printing of this book was correlated as well to the statement of defence against the Roman-Catholic propaganda in Transylvania, supported by the Court of Vienna, but also against the similar one in Little Russia, carried on with the help of Poland. In this context, the book became widely known and got to be translated in Russian and Romanian, whereas the Greek edition was very hard to find at the beginning of the 18th century. For instance, in 1714, Alexander Helladius declares it *rarer than the white raven*[137]. The translation into Russian was realized by Theodor Polikarpov († 1731), a disciple of the brothers Ioannikios (John) and Sophronius (Spyridon) Leichoudis[138], and was disseminated in manuscript[139].

The translation into Romanian of the work of Hieromonk Maximus the Peloponnesian was impressed in the *princely printing press* of Snagov Monastery, in 1699[140]. For editorial reasons, the title of the book was replaced by a suggestive one: *Carte sau Lumină, cu dreapte Dovediri din Dogmele Besearicii Răsăritului, asupra dejghinării Papistaşilor, descoperită şi aşezată de prea învăţatul Ieromonah Maxim Peloponiseanul* (*Book or Light, with right Demonstrations taken from the Dogmas of the Church of the East, on the Discord of the Papalists, discovered and arranged by the very erudite Hieromonk Maximus the Peloponnesian*)[141]. It is mentioned, on the title page, that the work was printed *on the order and at the sole expense* of Prince Constantine Brâncoveanu, during the archipastorate of Metropolitan Theodosius, its printer being Hieromonk Anthimus the Iberian, *in order to be given as a gift to the Orthodox believers*[142].

most of them having a catechetical, dogmatic and apologetic content. In this context, many of the books printed in Greek, both in Wallachia and in Moldavia, represented the answer of the Orthodoxy to the wave of books in Greek that the Congregation was spreading among the Orthodox of the Ottoman Empire. Under the pretext of culturalization, the aim of the Congregation was, in fact, to disseminate the Roman-Catholic propaganda in the Balkan Peninsula and in the East, so as to attract as many Orthodox Christians as possible to the union with Rome. Using a series of Greek scholars who had received tuition at the Greek College *Saint Athanasius* of Rome, the Congregation would send them to different regions of the Eastern Christianity, arming them with the respective books, while some of them got to be infiltrated in the hierarchy of the local Orthodox Churches, with the evident intention of triggering from inside the Orthodoxy a movement favourable to the union with Rome (Podskalsky 2005, 102; Papacostea-Danielopolu-Demény 1985, 157–161; Papacostea 1983, 261).

[136] Papacostea-Danielopolu-Demény 1985, 161; Legrand 1894 (17th–I), 216.

[137] Bădără 1998, 66; Legrand 1894 (17th–II), 475.

[138] Turdeanu 1985, 309.

[139] Turdeanu 1985, 309–310.

[140] *BRV* I, 370; *BRV* IV, 210; Bădără 1998, 77.

[141] *BRV* I, 370.

[142] *BRV* I, 370.

Going back to the activity of the princely printing press of Bucharest, the series of books of teaching in Greek is concluded by Sevastos Kyminitis' work (1630/1632–1702) *Dogmatic Teaching of the All Holy Eastern and Universal Church* (*Δογματικὴ διδασκαλία τῆς ἁγιωτάτης ἀνατολικῆς καὶ καθολικῆς Ἐκκλησίας*), printed in 1703[143]. The author, to whom one more book in Greek had been printed at the princely printing press of Snagov Monastery, in the year 1701, entitled *Eortologhion* (*Ἑορτολόγιον*)[144], had been a director and a professor of the Princely Academy in Bucharest (1689/1693–1702)[145].

Considered during his epoch *the most faithful keeper of the philosophical* (according to Theophilos Corydalleus) *and theological Tradition* (in conformity with Dositheos, Patriarch of Jerusalem) *of the Orthodox Church of those times*[146], Kyminitis presents in his last book, printed post-mortem, three aspects of the Orthodox teaching concerning: 1) *when the Holy Gifts are transformed into Christ's Body and Blood*; 2) *that the Theotokos was submitted to the ancestral sin*; 3) *that the meridai,* namely *crumbs* or *portions, are not transformed into Christ's Body and Blood*[147]. In this way, he touched upon some points of faith of both the Roman-Catholic doctrine, namely the moment of the transformation, the immaculate conception (*immaculata conceptio*) of the Lord's Mother, which later became a dogma of the Roman-Catholic Church (1854), and of the Calvinist doctrine, such as the real presence of Jesus Christ in the Divine Eucharist, the honouring due to the Mother of the Lord[148]. It ought to be specified that the *Dogmatic Teaching of the All Holy Eastern and Universal Church* was printed in two editions, one dedicated to Dositheos, Patriarch of Jerusalem, and another dedicated to Peter the Great, the Russian Tsar, *at the expense* of Postelnic (Chamberlain) George Kastriotis († 1716), a Greek diplomatist at the Court of Prince Constantine Brâncoveanu, in order to be given *as a gift to the Orthodox believers*[149]. The book was printed by Hieromonk Anthimus the Iberian, and the arrangement and correction of the text is attributed to the scholar John of Ephesus[150].

In 1691, it is printed in Buzău, in the new *princely printing press,* set up by Hierarch Mitrofan, formerly Bishop of Huşi (1682–1686) and new Bishop of Buzău (1691–1702), being the one who had taken care of the printing of the books in Bucharest, *Pravoslavnica Mărturisire* (*Orthodox Confession*), which was the translation from Greek into Romanian of the *Confession of Orthodox Faith* approved at the Synod of Jassy (1642)[151].

[143] *BRV* I, 450–451; Legrand 1918 (18th–I), 25.
[144] *BRV* I, 416–419; Legrand 1918 (18th–I), 9; Bădără 1998, 77.
[145] Croitoru 2012 (6), 744, note 308.
[146] Podskalsky 2005, 345.
[147] *BRV* I, 450; Legrand 1918 (18th–I), 25.
[148] Podskalsky 2005, 347, 349–350; Croitoru 2012 (6), 744–745.
[149] *BRV* I, 450–451; Legrand 1918 (18th–I), 25; Bădără 1998, 67.
[150] *BRV* I, 450–451; Legrand 1918 (18th–I), 25. On the scholar John of Ephesus, who became a professor at the Princely Academy of Jassy, see Bădără 1998, 168.
[151] *BRV* I, 321.

The translation and printing of this *Confession* in Romanian was part of the editorial plan of Prince Constantine Brâncoveanu, announced by the brothers Radu and Şerban Greceanu in the first *Preface* of the collection *Mărgăritare* (*Pearls*)[152], which we have mentioned above. Actually, this thing is also reminded by the translator of the text of the *Confession of Orthodox Faith*, the Logothete Radu Greceanu, in the first *Preface* (*Prefață* or *Predoslovie*) of the book, signed by him and addressed to the reigning Prince Constantine Brâncoveanu[153], who had also entrusted to him the printing of his translation, in quality of *ispravnic*[154]. In this *Preface,* Radu Greceanu characterizes the *Confession* as being *a canon and a straightener by which the divine and apostolical dogmas of the Church of the East are known and straightened*, without which *no true Christian... can do something holy or some great feat for the salvation of his soul*[155]. Then, Radu Greceanu shows that Saint Peter Mogila drew up the respective *Confession,* without specifying any further details, to fight against *many tares and heresies,* sown among the Russian Christians by *those who hate the truth and want others also astray as themselves*[156]. To reinforce the authority of the text, Radu Greceanu emphasizes the fact that the *Confession* was proven true and confirmed by *the test and decision of four Patriarchs, of Constantinople, of Alexandria, of Antioch and of Jerusalem, and of many Hierarchs and clerics of the Great Church of Constantinople*[157]. In this point, the translator is directly referring to the Synod of Constantinople, of March 1643, when the *Orthodox Confession* of Saint Peter Mogila was approved[158]. Radu Greceanu adds one more detail, regarding the authority of the *Confession* and the decision of the Synod of Constantinople, affirming that *similarly the book of Nectarius, Patriarch of Jerusalem, confesses and proves it true, all these being in the Greek book*[159]. We shall remind that the brothers Radu and Şerban Greceanu had referred to Patriarch Nectarius in the first *Preface* of the patristic collection *Mărgăritare* (*Pearls*)[160], and above we have mentioned that this Greek book of the respective Patriarch was not *Counter-Statement against Papal Primacy* (*Περὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς τοῦ πάπα Ἀντίρρησις*), printed in Jassy, in the year 1682, as there is no information about any translation of this book in the respective epoch, but the *Book* or *Letter* of the Patriarch of November 20, 1662, printed as *Preface* in the edition of the *Orthodox Confession* of Amsterdam[161] of the year

[152] *BRV* I, 319.
[153] *BRV* I, 322.
[154] *BRV* I, 321.
[155] *BRV* I, 322–323.
[156] *BRV* I, 323.
[157] *BRV* I. 323.
[158] Croitoru 2012 (6), 731, note 209; see also Croitoru 2012 (11), 572–573.
[159] *BRV* I, 323.
[160] *BRV* I. 319.
[161] Croitoru 2012 (11), 575.

1666[162], after which the 1691 translation was actually made, edition that contained the respective *Preface* and the act of the Synod of the year 1643[163].

It ought to be added that Radu Greceanu comes with one more detail regarding the translation of the *Confession,* namely, that he had had not just the help of his brother Şerban, but also that of Senechal Constantine Cantacuzino[164]. In fact, the Senechal was part of the group of translators of liturgical, biblical and theological books, being known in his epoch not just for his erudition, but also as *one of the promoters of the printing in Wallachia of certain polemical books opposed to the Roman-Catholic doctrine and the Protestant innovations, and a collaborator for other books*[165]. After having highlighted the authority of *Pravoslavnica Mărturisire* (*Orthodox Confession*), printed by Bishop Mitrofan *on the order* and *at the expense* of Prince Constantine Brâncoveanu[166], Radu Greceanu affirms, in the *Preface to the Orthodox Reader* (*Prefaţa către cetitorĭul pravoslavnic*), being the second *Preface* of the book also signed by him, that *the greatest, the best and the most useful* thing for man is *salvation,* which represents *the aim and the top of all the good things, of all the miracles, of all the mysteries,* and his exhortation is that each Christian ought to read it *several times,* because only in this way he will be able to know and be aware of *the trodden path of the Orthodox faith and of the all holy and true Eastern Church, leading to eternal life*[167].

The series of the books of teaching is concluded in the printing press of the Episcopate of Buzău, if we refer only to the reign of Saint Constantine Brâncoveanu, by the printing, in 1702, thanks to the efforts of the same typographer Mitrofan, of a brochure in the languages Slavonic and Romanian[168], under the title: *Învăţătură preoţilor pe scurt. De şapte Taine ale Besearicii, cu dreapte dovediri den Pravila Sfinţilor Părinţi* (*Brief Teaching for the Priests. On the Seven Holy Mysteries of the Church, with right Demonstrations taken from the Rule of the Holy Fathers*)[169]. Metropolitan Theodosius, *on* [*whose*] *order and at* [*whose*] *sole expense* the respective book had been printed[170], in two editions, one for Wallachia, and another one for Moldavia, the name of Theodosius being replaced by that of *Antonius, Archbishop and Metropolitan of the entire Moldavia*[171], draws the attention, in the *Preface to the Priests* (*Predoslovia către preoţi*), that he has found *some things that go against the apostolical teachings and the mysteries of the Holy Church:*

[162] Not in 1667 or 1668, as it has been wrongly claimed. On the correction of this error, see Croitoru 2012 (11), 575, note 97.

[163] Croitoru 2012 (6), 731, note 210.

[164] *BRV* I, 328.

[165] See Croitoru 2012 (7), 422–424.

[166] *BRV* I, 323.

[167] *BRV* I. 323–324.

[168] Bădără 1998, 73.

[169] *BRV* I. 433.

[170] *BRV* I, 433.

[171] *BRV* I. 539; *BRV* IV, 215–216; Bădără 1998, 73.

especially related to the Holy Baptism, the Holy Communion and the Great Myron, namely the *Chrismation.* These *breaches,* which the Metropolitan wanted *in every way to pull out and to unroot*, were the consequence of both the priests' *ignorance*, and of those *hostile* to the Church, in other words, the influences of the Western propagandas[172], and to come up against the respective situations, these teachings had been printed for the priests, taking advice from the *Holy Scriptures* and the *Rule of the Holy Fathers* on *the Seven Mysteries ordained and ordered by Christ our Lord Himself*[173]. Concerning the author of this brochure, the opinions are divided, some attributing it to Metropolitan Theodosius, and others to Bishop Mitrofan himself[174].

The polemics created by the Western propagandas managed to divide into camps even the supporters of the Orthodoxy, as it happened with the dispute between the Great Logothete John Caryophilles (c. 1610–1692) and the Patriarch Dositheos of Jerusalem, concerning, especially, the acceptance or not of the use of the term *trans-substantiation* (Romanian: *transsubstanțiere*; Greek: *μετουσίωσις*) in the Orthodox teaching, as Patriarch Dositheos had done in his *Confession* (1672, Jerusalem). Following the disputes emerged in Constantinople and the condemnation of his *Notebooks*, at a Synod summoned *ad-hoc* by the Ecumenical Patriarch in 1691 (Constantinople), Caryophilles is forced to go into exile and takes refuge in Wallachia, where he arrives at the beginning of the year 1692. He is received with great honours by Stolnic (Senechal) Constantine Cantacuzino and Prince Constantine Brâncoveanu, and also by Metropolitan Theodosius, who will accommodate him at Radu-Vodă Monastery in Bucharest. The Metropolitan was grateful to him, because he had received the help of Caryophilles, in 1679, when he returned to the Metropolitan throne, after having been deposed in the year 1672, following the political fights between the boyar parties, respectively that of the Cantacuzinos, whose partisan he was, and that of the Băleanu family. Caryophilles was highly regarded by Saint Anthimus the Iberian, at that time Hieromonk, despite the friendship that connected all those mentioned to Patriarch Dositheos of Jerusalem[175]. It has been affirmed that, during the debates, there were also violent discussions between Patriarch Dositheos and Prince Constantine Brâncoveanu, when the latter intervened in favour of John Caryophilles, on which occasion the Patriarch would have reproached the ruler, according to some historians, precisely during a sermon that he uttered in Bucharest, during the second part of the year 1692, the following: *the ecclesiastical laws have not been established on the Wallachian Mountains, nor by the Wallachian rulers, but in Constantinople and by emperors and synods; therefore, if Caryophilles has something to say, let us go*

[172] Croitoru 2012 (6), 732.
[173] *BRV* I. 434–435.
[174] Croitoru 2012 (6), 731, note 212.
[175] In fact, the conflict between the Great Logothete John Caryophilles and Patriarch Dositheos goes through several stages, to which one can also add several reasons. For all these, see Croitoru 2012 (12), 752–783; Croitoru 2014, 201–232.

together to Constantinople and let him speak. And this is how he reduced Basarab, namely Prince Constantine Brâncoveanu, *to silence*[176].

These contradictory discussions did not ruin the friendship relations existing between the reigning Prince and the Patriarch, on the one hand, and, on the other hand, they denote the fact that the ruler was aware of the disputes and the intrigues of Constantinople. For this reason, Caryophilles was not regarded as a heretic in Bucharest, and Senechal Constantine Cantacuzino asks him to provide answers, in writing, to several questions regarding some controversial points of faith, such as the divine providence, predestination, the role of good deeds, free will (liberum arbitrium) etc. Caryophilles gave answers to the questions asked by Cantacuzino, yet they remained in manuscript[177]. Patriarch Dositheos, finding out about the writing of Caryophilles, prints a *Manual* at Cetăţuia Monastery, near Jassy, in 1694, two years after the death of the Great Logothete. The aim of this work, entitled *Manual against John Caryophilles* (*Ἐγχειρίδιον κατὰ Ἰωάννου τοῦ Καρυοφύλλου*)[178], was to fight against the writings and teachings of John Caryophilles, especially those he had written on the Divine Eucharist. At the end of the book, Patriarch Dositheos also added the *Synodal Tomos* of 1691 against the manuscript *Notebooks* (*Caiete*) and the heresy of Caryophilles, signed by Callinicus II, Patriarch of Constantinople, and by himself[179].

The reaction in Bucharest was that, at the exhortation of Prince Constantine Brâncoveanu and of Senechal Constantine Cantacuzino, Saint Anthimus the Iberian printed in the princely printing press of Snagov Monastery, whose Starets he was (1694–1704), the manuscript work of John Caryophilles, corrected and reviewed, on his request, by the scholar Sevastos Kyminitis[180]. Thus, the work appears in the year 1697, as a posthumous work of Caryophilles dedicated to Prince Constantine Brâncoveanu, bearing the title *Manual on several questions and solutions, or on the examination and confirmation of several necessary dogmas of the Church* (*Ἐγχειρίδιον περί τινων ἀπορίῶν καὶ λύσεων, ἢ περὶ ἐξετάσεως καὶ ἐπιβεβαιώσεως ἀναγκαίων τινῶν τῆς Ἐκκλησίας δογμάτων*)[181].

The work appears under a catechetic form, as questions and answers, including, after the title page, a first *Prologue* of Saint Anthimus the Iberian *to the reigning Prince Constantine Brâncoveanu,* followed by another *Prologue to the Readers*. As far as the second *Prologue* is concerned, we have shown in a recent study that it also belongs to Saint Anthimus the Iberian[182]. The writing of

[176] Croitoru 2012 (12), 764.

[177] Croitoru 2012 (12), 764; Croitoru 2014, 219–220.

[178] *BRV* I, 337–338; Legrand 1895 (17th–III), 30–37; Bădără 1998, 90.

[179] Legrand 1895 (17th–III), 37; Croitoru 2012 (12), 765.

[180] Croitoru 2012 (12), 765–766.

[181] *BRV* I, 349–350; Legrand 1895 (17th –III), 45; Bădără 1998, 76; for the analysis of the content of this book, see Croitoru 2012 (12), 767–770.

[182] Croitoru 2014, 221–222; for a new translation of the first *Prologue*, and for the unpublished translation of the second *Prologue*, made by the author of this study, see the Annexes 1 and 2 in Croitoru 2014, 227–232.

Caryophilles, representing, in a first stage, the fruit of the collaboration between himself and Senechal Constantine Cantacuzino, then, in the second stage, of that between Professor Sevastos Kyminitis and Saint Anthimus the Iberian[183], stirred quite a lot of interest, being used as teaching material in the Princely Academy of Bucharest[184], while, at the beginning of the 18th century, it was translated into Romanian, under the title: *Questions of the famous gentleman Constantine Cantacuzino, brother of the late Şerban Vodă Cant[acuzino], ... and answers ... of the among teachers scholar and discourse giver John Caryophilles, the Great Logothete of the Holy and Great Church of the See of Constantinople..., which were translated from Greek into Romanian at the exhortation of Father Flor, teacher of Slavonic* [*and*] *hartofilax* (*Întrebări ale blagorodnicului dumnealui pan Constandin Cantacozino, fratele răposatului Şărban Vodă Cant[acozino], ... şi răspunsuri ... ale celui dintre dascali învăţat şi cuvântător Ioan Careofil, marele logofăt al sfintei şi marei Beserici a scaunului Ţarigradului..., care s-au tălmăcit de pre limba elinească pre limba românească prin îndemnarea popei Flor, dascal slov[enesc] hartofilax*)[185].

In 1699, the third edition in Greek of the *Orthodox Confession* (*Ὀρθόδοξος Ὁμολογία*) of Saint Peter Mogila appears, being printed in the princely printing press of Snagov Monastery[186]. The first edition had been printed in 1666, in Amsterdam, on the initiative of the Great Dragoman Panagiotis Nikousios (1603–1672), in Greek. The second edition, in Greek and Latin, appeared in 1695, in Leipzig, by the care of the Swedish Protestant L. Normann[187].

The edition of the *Orthodox Confession* of Snagov, entitled the *Orthodox Confession of the Faith of the Universal and Apostolical Church of the East* (*Ὀρθόδοξος Ὁμολογία τῆς Πίστεως τῆς Καθολικῆς καὶ Ἀποστολικῆς Ἐκκλησίας τῆς Ἀνατολῆς*)[188], reproduced the edition of Amsterdam, being, however, the first in the Orthodox world[189], appearing by the printing work of Saint Anthimus the Iberian, who was calling himself, out of humility, *the least of the hieromonks,* although he was Starets of Snagov Monastery, the text being *arranged and reviewed* by Panagiotis of Sinópe, a locality in the area of Pontus Euxinus (the Black Sea). The book appeared *on the exhortation and at the expense* of Prince Constantine Brâncoveanu, *in order to be shared for free to the Christian multitudes*[190]. A major role in the printing of the book also went to Dositheos, Patriarch of Jerusalem, his aim being to face the Protestant and Roman-Catholic or Latin propaganda, as it results from his two letters, which accompany the text of the *Confession* as

[183] Croitoru 2014, 222–223.

[184] Vergatti 2014 (1), 49, 51; see also Vergatti 2014 (2), 72–74; Croitoru 2014, 222.

[185] For bibliographic references regarding the Romanian translation of this *Manual,* preserved in several manuscripts, see Croitoru 2012 (12), 770–771, note 148.

[186] *BRV* I, 378–379; *BRV* IV, 211; Legrand 1895 (17th–III), 61–62; Bădără 1998, 77.

[187] Croitoru 2012 (11), 575.

[188] *BRV* I, 378; Legrand 1895 (17th–III), 61.

[189] Croitoru 2012 (11), 575.

[190] *BRV* I, 378–379, 385, 389; Legrand 1895 (17th–III), 61–62, 74.

Prefaces, the first *to the reigning Prince Constantine Brâncoveanu* (February, 1699)[191], and the second *to the Orthodox readers* (January, 1699)[192].

The text of the *Orthodox Confession,* written in vulgar Greek, was printed in one volume with an *Introductory Presentation on the Three Cardinal Virtues, Faith, Hope and Love* (*Εἰσαγωγικὴ Ἔκθεσις περὶ τῶν Τριῶν Μεγίστων Ἀρετῶν Πίστεως, Ἐλπίδος καὶ Ἀγάπης*), written in classical Greek and attributed to Hieromonk Vissarion Makres (1635–1699) of Ioannina (Greece)[193]. The importance of this writing is shown by Patriarch Dositheos himself at the end of the *Preface to the Orthodox readers,* where he affirms that he has sent the work of Vissarion to the reigning Prince because *not just by its arrangement, but also by its division and meanings* it has *great resemblance with the Orthodox Confession,* and the reigning Prince, taking it *in his hands... decided to have it printed together with the Orthodox Confession, so that the two works may be in one volume; namely to be read, one as the Orthodox Confession of the holy and apostolical, universal Church of Christ, being rule and canon of the Orthodox faith, and the other as interpretation and formulation of an Orthodox teacher*[194]. To reinforce even more the fight of defence of the Orthodox believers from the Protestant propaganda, Patriarch Dositheos added, in the same volume, a text of Saint John of Damascus on the veneration of the holy icons, *From Saint John of Damascus' Book On Icons* (*Ἐκ τῆς τοῦ Ἁγίου Ἰωάννου τοῦ Δαμασκηνοῦ Βίβλου Περὶ Εἰκόνων*)[195].

The importance of the volume, containing three titles, and of the philanthropic, cultural and missionary work of Prince Constantine Brâncoveanu are signalled as well by the epigrams addressed to him and following after the title page: five signed by Sevastos Kyminitis Trapezuntios (of Trapezunt), one of Physician John Comnenus, three signed by students of the Princely Academy of Bucharest, and three more signed by students of two Schools of Ioannina[196].

To strenghten the Orthodox faith in front of the Western propagandas, especially of the Protestant one, another work printed in the princely printing press of Snagov Monastery, in 1700, was *Învățături creștinești foarte de folos* (*Very Useful Christian Teachings*), with the blessing of Metropolitan Theodosius[197]. The book was the first printing of George Radovici, who had learnt the art of the printing press from Saint Anthimus the Iberian, his spiritual father, as he himself confesses in *Predoslovia către domnitorul Constantine Brâncoveanu* (*Preface to the reigning Prince Constantine Brâncoveanu*), to whom he also dedicates this

[191] See Legrand 1895 (17th–III), 66–68.

[192] See *BRV* I, 381–385 (Greek text), 385–389 (Romanian text); Legrand 1895 (17th–III), 68–75.

[193] *BRV* I, 378–379; Legrand 1895 (17th–III), 61; Bădără 1998, 77; Croitoru 2012 (6), 733–734; on Vissarion Makres see Ică sr. 2014, 174–177.

[194] *BRV* I, 385, 389; Legrand 1895 (17th–III), 75.

[195] Dură 1977, 250; Croitoru 2012 (6), 736.

[196] *BRV* I, 379–381; Legrand 1895 (17th–III), 62–65. On the interpretation of some of these epigrams and a new translation, see Croitoru 2015, 99–122.

[197] *BRV* I, 390, 538; *BRV* IV, 213; Bădără 1998, 77.

work[198]. Radovici praises the Prince for his concern especially *for the Church needs and the adornment of politics and the things that include the divine knowledge of the Orthodox teachings and the acquisition of the good deeds, which absolutely includes the printing press as well*[199]. In the same *Predoslovie* (*Preface*), Radovici reveals that the work he is printing is a translation from Greek into Romanian, done by Hieromonk Philotheos Svetagoreţul or the Athonite[200]. Translator from Greek into Romanian also of the work *Floarea darurilor* (*The Gifts' Flower*), printed by Saint Anthimus the Iberian in Snagov, in 1700[201], but also of a *Catavasier*, printed in two editions (Târgovişte, 1714 and 1715)[202], Hieromonk Filotheos was identified by the researchers as Filotei, sin Agăi Jipei (namely Filotheos, son of Aga Jipei), author of the first *Romanian Manual of Psaltical Music*, namely *Psaltichia românească* (1713)[203].

Floarea darurilor (*The Flower of Virtue*) was a variant of Tommaso Gozzadini's writing, *Fiore di virtù*, also known under the name of *The Bee* (*Albinuşe / Albina*), being a collection of maxims taken from the *Holy Scripture*, from certain patristic and ecclesial texts, as well as from different classical or medieval authors. This writing was appreciated in this epoch, and the hierarch and typographer Mitrofan also left a translation of it from Greek into Romanian, done in the year 1689 and kept in manuscript (The Library of the Romanian Academy, *Romanian Manuscript* 1357)[204].

Radovici also draws the attention on the content of the book printed by him, affirming, in the second *Preface* (*Predoslovie*) belonging to him and addressed *to the readers*, that it includes *teachings, in brief and easy, which are understood without pains by everyone*[205]. These teachings are grouped into 38 chapters (*capete*)[206], with the recommandation to read a chapter each day[207].

The election of Saint Anthimus as Bishop of Râmnic (1705–1708) occured in the context of the intensification of the Roman-Catholic propaganda in the East, but also in Transylvania, where the Jesuits had managed, with support from the Court of Vienna, to break the unity, spiritual and of faith, of the Romanians of Ardeal (Transylvania) with those of Wallachia and Moldavia (1701)[208]. He takes

[198] *BRV* I, 391.
[199] *BRV* I, 391.
[200] *BRV* I, 391.
[201] *BRV* I, 393.
[202] *BRV* IV, 41–42, 43; Bădără 1998, 83, note 312.
[203] Croitoru 2012 (6), 732, note 218.
[204] Croitoru 2012 (2), 144–145, note 127.
[205] *BRV* I, 392.
[206] See *BRV* I, 392–393.
[207] *BRV* I. 392.
[208] The Uniate process goes through two stages: a) a first stage occured in the year 1697, under the Transylvanian Metropolitan Teofil (1692–1697), which stage, although unfinished, created a precedent; b) the second stage occured between the years 1698–1701, under Metropolitan Athanasius Anghel, see Mărculeţ-Bucur 2014, 9-45.

the place, in Râmnic, of Bishop Ilarion (1693–1705, † 1712), deposed from the episcopal see during a synod led by Patriarch Dositheos himself (March 1705), under the accusation of philo-Catholic inclinations (he had allowed the Roman-Catholics to have a church built in Râmnic and to burry their dead in the cemetery of the Episcopate)[209]. By his designation at Râmnic and the printing press set up by him in this Episcopate, Saint Anthimus the Iberian continued two aspects of the editorial programme promoted by Prince Constantine Brâncoveanu, more exactly, supporting the Orthodoxy and defending the position of introduction of the Romanian language in the worship[210]. By both of these aspects it was, in fact, pursued to reinforce the Orthodoxy, namely by books of teaching and by the messages of the liturgical texts[211]. Actually, the printing press of Râmnic will become in the 18th century an important center defending the Orthodoxy, by means of the book, from the Roman-Catholic propaganda in Transylvania[212].

The series of teaching books was opened in Râmnic by the printing of the large book *Tome of Joy* (*Τόμος χαρᾶς*), in 1705[213], which completed the trilogy in Greek of the works *Tome of Reconciliation* (*Τόμος καταλλαλαγῆς*, Iaşi-Cetăţuia, 1692–1694)[214] and *Tome of Love on the Latins*, namely the Roman-Catholics (*Τόμος ἀγάπης κατὰ Λατίνων*, Iaşi-Cetăţuia, 1698)[215], published after the collection and selection of many Greek writings, done by Patriarch Dositheos of Jerusalem, with the obvious aim of defending the Orthodoxy in the context of the development of the Western propagandas.

The *Tome of Joy*, printed in two editions or, at least, in two press runs[216], comprised the following works against the Roman-Catholics: *The Epistles of Photios, the All Holy Patriarch of Constantinople* (*Αἱ Ἐπιστολαὶ Φωτίου τοῦ ἁγιωτάτου Πατριάρχου Κωνσταντινουπόλεως*)[217]; *The 8th Holy and Ecumenical*

[209] Păcurariu 1994 (II), 165. While some historians affirm that Bishop Ilarion was defrocked [Păcurariu 1994 (II), 165], others believe that he was only removed from the episcopal see and became head of the Snagov Monastery, maintaining his rank of bishop, see Bădără 1998, 79; Ştrempel 1972, 422, note 35; Şerbănescu 1956, 727 and note 174.

[210] Bădără 1998, 79.

[211] It seems that the whole printing activity, regarding the liturgical books in Romanian, had been concentrated for a while in Râmnic, which explains the fact that the princely printing press of Buzău, since the year 1702 under the leadership of Bishop Damascene the Teacher, will run out of orders starting with the year 1704 or 1706 (Bădără 1998, 73–74, 80).

[212] See Molin 1960, 458–471; Teodorescu 2010, 257–260; Popescu 2014, 279–291.

[213] *BRV* I, 463; Legrand 1918 (18th–I), 43.

[214] *BRV* I, 338; Legrand 1895 (17th–III), 28.

[215] *BRV* I, 369; Legrand 1895 (17th–III), 54.

[216] The first press run contains 5 epigrams addressed to Ruler Constantine Brâncoveanu and signed by students of the Princely Academy of Bucharest, while the second press run, with some modifications in the title, contains the specification that the volume was printed *under the supervision and with the corrections of Mitrofan Grigorás of Dodona*, and the replacement of the 5 epigrams by 2 of the same Mitrofan, hieromonk and master typographer, one addressed to Ruler Constantine Brâncoveanu, and another to Patriarch Dositheos (*BRV* I, 464; Bădără 1998, 80).

[217] Saint Photios the Great was Patriarch of Constantinople during the periods 858–867 and 877–886.

Synod. Some Notes to this Holy Synod (*Ἡ Ἁγία καὶ Οἰκουμενικὴ ὀγδόη Σύνοδος, Σημειώσεις τινὲς εἰς ταύτην τὴν Ἁγίαν Σύνοδον*)[218]; *The Counter-Statements against the Primacy of the Pope of Rome by Iatrophilosopher Nicholas* (*Τὰ Ἀντιῤῥητικὰ κατὰ τῆς ἀρχῆς τοῦ Πάππα τῆς Ῥώμης, Νικολάου Ἰατροφιλοσόφου*)[219]; *Discourse against the Pope's Primacy, by Meletius of Alexandria* (*Λόγος Μελετίου Ἀλεξανδρείας κατὰ τῆς ἀρχῆς τοῦ Πάππα*)[220]; *Dialogue of an Ecclesiarch Monk with Another Monk against the Latins* (*Διάλογος Ἱερομνήμονος μοναχοῦ μετὰ τινὸς ἑτέρου Μοναχοῦ κατὰ Λατίνων*)[221]. In the long *Preface* accompanying the volume, Patriarch Dositheos, at whose *expense and care* it was printed[222], speaks, among others, about the phenomenon of the Uniate Churches, including direct references to the situation of Transylvania: *at Beciu, namely Vienna, where one can find the throne of the emperor of Germany, there is a Cardinal called Kollonitsis*[223], *who wrote from Vienna that the Serbians and the Wallachians and the Romans*[224], *wherever they are in Hungary and Erdelia*[225] *and Serbia and Horvatia*[226] *should read the Symbol of Faith with addition*[227], *should receive the azymes, should confess the Purgatory and should proclaim the Pope of Rome as infallible and almighty shepherd of the whole Church*[228]. Therefore, Patriarch Dositheos, calling *Papism the separation from the true God,* and *Uniatism nothing but a pact with the devil*[229], was attacking the propaganda for union led by Rome, especially that

[218] This Synod was held in Constantinople, during the period 879–880, by the care of Saint Photius the Great, as Patriarch, and was joined as well by Pope John VIII's delegates. At this Synod were annulled the anathemas imposed on Saint Photios by the Synod of 869–870 (Constantinople: at this synod it had been imposed the papal primacy on the Eastern Church), condemned the *Filioque* doctrine and rejected the papal primacy over all the Churches. Actually, the 879–880 Synod is regarded as a Synod that condamned papist heresies and is accepted as the 8th Ecumenical Synod by some scholars, be they clerics or lay people, of the Greek world, see http://www.cuvantul-ortodox.ro/recomandari/2014/02/11/ips-hierotheos-vlachos-despre-al-optulea-sinod-ecumenic-879-880-respingerea-primatului-papal-si-condamnarea-ereziei-filioque/ (accessed, 01.09.2015).

[219] Patriarch Dionysius speaks about him in his *Preface*, mentioning that his name is Nicholas Kerameus, native of Ioannina, who arrived in Jassy, where he practiced medicine and was professor, I shall add, during the period of the years 1651–1672. The same Patriarch, indicating the year of Kerameus' death († 1672), highlights the context of the writing of the latter's work and the place where he was burried, namely the Monastery of the *Holy Apostles*, founded by Prince Duca Voivode, dedicated to the Holy Sepulchre, see *BRV* I, 465–466; Legrand 1918 (18th–I), 44.

[220] The title actually refers to Meletius Pegas, Patriarch of Alexandria during the periods 1590–1600, 1601.

[221] *BRV* I, 463.

[222] *BRV* I, 463; Legrand 1918 (18th–I), 43.

[223] The text refers to Cardinal Leopold Karl von Kollonitsch (1631–1707), who, becoming Archbishop of the Roman-Catholic Archdiocese of Esztergom and Primate of Hungary, in 1695, played an important role in the union of the Orthodox Metropolitanate of the Romanians of Transylvania with the Roman-Catholic Church.

[224] In other words, the Byzantine or the Orthodox, namely the Greek.

[225] Ardeal or Transylvania.

[226] Croatia.

[227] Reference to the *Filioque* addition.

[228] *BRV* I, 464–465.

[229] *BRV* I, 464, 466.

undertaken by Cardinal Leopold Karl von Kollonitsch, while, through the printing of the volume in Râmnic, Saint Anthimus took care to also remove the influences of the Roman-Catholic faith, that Bishop Hilarion would have spread in those places[230].

Another aspect of the activity of Saint Anthimus the Iberian at Râmnic was his preoccupation for the education of the clerics, especially regarding their sacerdotal activity and as spiritual guides for the people, by word of mouth and by written word. In this sense, he edited a brochure in Romanian, *Învățătură pre scurt pentru Taina Pocăinței* (*Short Teaching on the Mystery of Repentance*), printed in Râmnic, in 1705[231]. The work is divided into two parts: the first is addressed to the priests and the believers, while the second only to the confessor[232].

Saint Anthimus the Iberian was characterized by the same pastoral care after the departure from Râmnic and his election as Metropolitan of Wallachia (1708–1716). Thus, in the printing press of Târgoviște, owned by Saint Anthimus[233], George Radovici prints for him, in 1710, the work *Învățătură bisericească la cele mai trebuincioase și mai de folos pentru învățătura preoților* (*Ecclesial Teaching about the Most Necessary and the Most Useful Things for the Education of the Priests*)[234]. This writing of Saint Anthimus is made up of three great parts: the first part includes fundamental elements of the Orthodox faith, useful both for the priests and for the believers; the second part contains exhortations and teachings on the Mystery of Repentance or Confession; the third part is *a small treaty of Canon Law,* related to the pastoral activity of the priests[235]. Consequently, this work is characterized as *a small Catechism, comprising in brief what ought to be necessarily known by a believer from the teaching of his Church*[236]. The two brochures of Saint Anthimus the Iberian, to which one can add *Capete de poruncă la toată ceata bisericească* (*Chapters of Commandments for all the ecclesial flock*), printed in Târgoviște as well, in 1714, but during the reigning Prince Ștefan Cantacuzino[237], were given *as a gift* to the priests, with the order to be preserved as *permanent guidelines* (*îndreptare permanente*) in the ecclesial life[238].

The series of teaching books in Greek, but also of the books printed during the reign of Saint Constantine Brâncoveanu, is concluded by the *Πανοπλία δογματική* (*Dogmatic Panoply*), printed in Târgoviște, in 1710[239]. It was the *editio*

[230] Boghiu 2005, 18; Papacostea-Danielopolu-Demény 1985, 169.

[231] Șerbănescu 1956, 729; Bădără 1998, 80; Croitoru 2012 (13), 357.

[232] Ștrempel 1997, 145–147; Croitoru 2012 (6), 742. See the text of this brochure reedited in Antim 1972, 347–361.

[233] Bădără 1998, 81.

[234] *BRV* I, 481, 548–550; Bădără 1998, 82.

[235] *BRV* I, 549–550; Ștrempel 1997, 207–212; the text of the respective writing was reedited in Antim 1972, 363–383.

[236] Șerbănescu 1956, 739.

[237] *BRV* I, 492–493; this work, which could be structured in three parts, was reedited in Antim 1972, 385–394.

[238] Croitoru 2012 (13). 357; Croitoru 2012 (6), 742–743.

[239] *BRV* I, 482; *BRV* IV, 223; Legrand 1918 (18th–I). 95; Bădără 1998. 83.

princeps of this work in Greek, with certain omissions that we will see below, because before the year 1710 the *Dogmatic Panoply* had gone through different editions, whole or partial, but in Latin[240]. This book comprises, *in brief, what the blessed and God-bearing Fathers have written, put in order and in harmony according to the reflection of Monk Euthymius Zigadenus or Zigadenos*, on the exhortation of Emperor Alexios I Komnenos (1081–1118), *to overturn and break into pieces the unpious dogmas and teachings of the Godless heresy inventors.* The printing was carried out by Saint Anthimus the Iberian, while *the arrangement and the correction* of the text were assured by Hieromonk Mitrofan Grigorás of Dodona[241].

As far as the author's name is concerned, in the specialized literature, a distinction is made between the two almost homonymous writers and scholars. The first lived during the time of the Emperor Basil II Bulgaroctonus (976–1025) and Constantine VIII (1025–1028). The second lived during the time of the Emperor Alexios I Komnenos, known by the name of Euthymius Zigadenus or Zigabenus. He was a monk at Peribleptos Monastery and it has been stated that he was helped to draw up the *Dogmatic Panoply* by the scholar John Fournes[242].

The *Dogmatic Panoply* is divided into 25 *titles,* some of them having several chapters[243], while the aim of the printing of this book was to illuminate the believers on certain older heresies, which could be found, under a new form, either in the Roman-Catholic innovations, such as the *Filioque,* a doctrine appropriated as well by the Protestants, or in the Protestant doctrines, which were rejecting points of the Orthodox Christian teaching on the Holy Trinity, as was the case of the Anti-Trinitarians, the veneration of the Saints and of the holy icons, the transformation of the Precious Gifts precisely into the Body and Blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ, the *Holy Tradition* etc.[244] The editors from Wallachia were, however, careful to adapt the text to the needs of their epoch, and this can be noticed from the difference that exists between the text published in *Patrologia Graeca,* volume 130, col. 9-1362, and the *editio princeps* of Târgovişte. Thus, the respective editors shortened Euthymius Zigadenus' *Prologue*, mentioned 27 *titles* in the *editio princeps,* without keeping, however, the *titles* XIX and XX, which were against the Agnoets and against Origen. At the same time, they omitted, out of political reasons, due to the vicinity with the Porte, the last *title* (XXVIII) of the original text, which was against the Saracens or Muslims. In exchange, a text of Saint Photius the Great was added, *Paratitle by Photios, Patriarch of Constantinople, from the Letter to Michael, Hospodar of Bulgaria, on the Seven Ecumenical Synods* (*Παράτιτλος Φωτίου, πατριάρχου Κωνσταντινουπόλεως, ἐκ τῆς πρὸς Μιχαὴλ τὸν*

[240] Branişte 1958, 503, 507.
[241] *BRV* I, 482; Legrand 1918 (18th–I), 95; Şerbănescu 1956, 736; Croitoru 2012 (6), 746.
[242] Branişte 1958, 501–503; Croitoru 2012 (6), 746, note 330.
[243] For more details, see Croitoru 2012 (6), 747.
[244] Croitoru 2012 (6), 747.

ἄρχοντα Βουλγαρίας Ἐπιστολῆς περὶ τῶν ἑπτὰ Οἰκουμενικῶν Συνόδων)[245], also kept in Migne's *Patrologia Graeca* edition[246].

It ought to be mentioned that the *titles* IX, XXIV and XXVII, which concerned the sects of the Manicheans, Paulicians and Bogomils, were topical for the situation in Wallachia, where followers of the Bogomilism, arrived from Bulgaria, had settled. They gave birth to a popular literature which, although arrived among the Orthodox Romanians as well, finally did not leave on them any influence either from the literary perspective or the perspective of the content of their faith and the conception on the worship of the Church[247].

Therefore, the *Dogmatic Panoply* appeared in the epoch, by the fragments that the compiler had brought together from different Holy Fathers and Church writers (Dionysius the Areopagite, Evagrius Ponticus, Athanasius the Great, Gregory the Theologian, Basil the Great, Gregory of Nyssa, John Chrysostom, Maximus the Confessor, John of Damascus, Photius the Great etc.), as a small patristic encyclopaedia, drafted according to a well-conceived thematic design and meant to fight the phenomenon of heresies and sects in general, bringing with it, as the signatory of the first *Prologue* of the book noted, *the antidotes against any heretical vanity*[248]. He was Athanasius, Metropolitan of Dristra, at whose expense the *editio princeps* of the *Dogmatic Panoply*[249] had been printed, and, in his *Prologue* addressed to Saint Martyr Stephen Brâncoveanu (1685–1714), to whom he consecrated the respective edition, he was convinced that by the dogmas presented in the book, the believers were taking *all the arms of God*[250], namely they were taking on that *panoply* or armour of the Holy Spirit *against the enemies of faith*[251]. Actually, Euthymius Zigadenus was perceiving his work, in his *Prologue* to the Emperor Alexios I Komnenos, designed to be in the edition of Târgoviște the second *Prologue* of the *Dogmatic Panoply,* as a *deposit of arms of the dogmas,* ready for fight at any moment[252]. For this reason, according to the same Metropolitan Athanasius, the *Dogmatic Panoply* was, in the context of his epoch, the *phalanx fighting against the heretics,* old and newer, because the Orthodox believers, aware of the dogmas of faith and grouped around them, were able to fight *against the grouping that was heretical and adversary to God*[253].

[245] Croitoru 2012 (6), 748.

[246] Branişte 1958, 507. 509; Croitoru 2012 (6). 747 (and note 332), 748.

[247] Câmpeanu 2002, 142; Croitoru 2012 (6), 748.

[248] Ἀθανασίου μητροπολίτου Δρίστρας, *Πρόλογος πρὸς τὸν Στέφανο Βοεβόδα τὸν Μπραγκοβάνο*, in Ζιγαβινοῦ 1710, II r–v.

[249] *BRV* I, 482; Legrand 1918 (18th–I), 95.

[250] See *Ephes.* 6: 13.

[251] Ἀθανασίου μητροπολίτου Δρίστρας, *Πρόλογος*..., in Ζιγαβινοῦ 1710, II r.

[252] Εὐθυμίου τοῦ Ζιγαδηνοῦ, *Πρόλογος μετ' ἐγκωμίων τῶν πρὸς βασιλέα Ἀλεξίου τοῦ Κομνηνοῦ εἰς τὴν Δογματικὴν Πανοπλίαν*, in Ζιγαβινοῦ 1710, V v.

[253] Ἀθανασίου μητροπολίτου Δρίστρας, *Πρόλογος*..., in Ζιγαβινοῦ 1710, II r.

The printing of the *Dogmatic Panoply* in Târgovişte was an expression of the unity of faith of the Orthodox. As one could see from the title page[254], the book was printed in the *All Holy Metropolitanate of Târgovişte of Oungrovlachia*, namely in Wallachia, at the expense of the Metropolitan of Dristra (Dorostolon, Silistra), Athanasius, whose eparchy, situated on the right side of the Danube, in nowadays' Bulgaria, had close connections with the extra-Carpathian Romanian Countries, especially with Wallachia, where the hierarchs of the respective eparchy could often be found, receiving many facilities and much support[255]. At the same time, the book was bearing the blessing of the Oungrovlachian Metropolitan, Saint Anthimus the Iberian, who was also the typographer master, as well as the accord of Prince Constantine Brâncoveanu, the *editio princeps* being dedicated to his second son, the Holy Martyr Stephen Brâncoveanu. This edition was reviewed and overseen by the Greek hieromonk Mitrofan of Dodona, who expressed his joy for the support in printing by verses placed at the end of the *Dogmatic Panoply*[256].

It ought to be mentioned that in the specialized literature is pointed out the printing of a *Discourse of Praise on Priesthood* (*Περὶ Ἱερωσύνης Λόγος ἐγκωμιαστικός*) by Chrysanthos Notaras, Patriarch of Jerusalem, in Greek[257], included in the activity of the princely printing press of Bucharest[258]. As the title page declares, Patriarch Chrysanthos uttered the respective *Discourse* on the occasion of his ordination as Metropolitan of Caesarea of Palestine, *in the year of salvation 1702, 5 April, precisely on the day of Holy Easter*, in the Resurrection Church of Jerusalem[259]. However, this *Discourse* was printed only after his election as Patriarch of Jerusalem, on February 7, 1707, in Constantinople, an event after which he came to visit Wallachia and Moldavia for about two years[260]. Consequently, the date of the printing of his *Discourse* in the year 1702[261] is considered erroneous[262], since the respective work was included, in Greek, in the last part of a volume printed in Jerusalem, in the year 1728[263], containing, in the first part, the work of Patriarch Chrysanthos *Manual about the Superiority par Excellence of the Holy City of Jerusalem and of the Lord's Holy and Life-Giving Sepulchre* (*Ἐγχειρίδιον περὶ τῆς κατ' ἐξοχὴν ὑπεροχῆς τῆς ἁγίας Πόλεως*

[254] *BRV* I, 482; Legrand 1918 (18th–I), 95.

[255] Branişte 1958, 503. 507.

[256] *BRV* I, 483; Legrand 1918 (18th–I), 95–96; Croitoru 2012 (6), 749–750, note 360.

[257] Legrand 1918 (18th–I), 17, 58.

[258] *BRV* I, 441.

[259] *BRV* IV, 234–235.

[260] Πατρινέλης 1968, 388; Legrand 1918 (18th–I), 58. Patrinéles affirms that Chrysanthos was ordained as metropolitan on April 6, 1702, see Πατρινέλης 1968, 388.

[261] See *BRV* I, 441; *BRV* IV, 217.

[262] Legrand 1918 (18th–I). 17. 58. Although this mistake is signalled even in *BRV* IV, 217. and I highlighted it myself in the year 2012 [see Croitoru 2012 (13). 352; Croitoru 2012 (4). 399; Croitoru 2012 (6). 732]. it still continues to be repeated in the studies dedicated to the printing press of the epoch of the reigning Prince Constantine Brâncoveanu. see Petrescu-Agnes 2014, 117.

[263] *BRV* IV. 234; Legrand 1918 (18th–I). 221.

Ἱερουσαλήμ, καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου καὶ ζωοδόχου Τάφου τοῦ Κυρίου), followed, as a second part of the respective volume, by *Sobornical Letter to All the Orthodox Believers, for the Help of the Holy Sepulchre* (*Carte săborničască la toţi pravoslavnicii creştini, pentru ajutorĭulŭ sf(â)ntuluĭ Mormântŭ*), in Greek, Romanian and Slavonic[264].

5. Saint Constantine Brâncoveanu, *a second Zorobabel* and *another Ptolemy* of the latter times

In the five printing centers that operated during the time of Saint Constantine Brâncoveanu (Bucharest, where two printing presses activated, the princely printing press and the metropolitan printing press, while two more were during the time of the Ruler's life, namely the printing press of Saint Anthimus the Iberian of the Monastery of *All the Saints* and the printing press of *Saint Sabbas Monastery*; Buzău, where a princely printing press functioned; Snagov, where one can first find a princely printing press, then the private printing press of Saint Anthimus the Iberian; Râmnic, where an episcopal printing press operated; Târgovişte, where a private printing press of Saint Anthimus the Iberian functioned), were printed, *on the decision* or *with the accord* or *on the order and at the exclusive expense* of the reigning Prince, to be given *as a gift* to those thirsting for Jesus Christ's teaching, books with a varied content, from those destined to the worship in the Church to those of philosophical reflection and theological thinking.

The respective books were part of the editorial programme assured by the Church, by means of its clerics, and by the Reign, by the good will of Saint Constantine Brâncoveanu, a special role going to the works defending, directly, the Orthodoxy, from the propagandas of the Reformation and the Counter-Reformation. Their number is impressive for the respective epoch: 15 volumes and 23 titles[265]. It ought to be kept in mind that, out of the 15 volumes, 7 were printed

[264] *BRV* IV, 234–235. Issued in August 1727, the *Sobornical Letter* (*Carte săborničască*) is signed by Paisios, Patriarch of Constantinople, together with 13 metropolitans, among which there was also the name of Metropolitan Daniil (Daniel) of Oungrovlachia (*BRV* IV, 234).

[265] We shall evoke only the volumes containing several titles together: *Counter-Statement against the Calvinist Principles and the Questions of Cyril Lucaris* (*Κατὰ τῶν καλβινικῶν κεφαλαίων καὶ ἐρωτήσεων Κυρίλλου τοῦ Λουκάρεως Ἀντίρρησις*) by Meletios Syrigos and *Manual against the Calvinist Madness* (*Ἐγχειρίδιον κατὰ τῆς καλβινικῆς φρενοβλαβείας*) by Dositheos, Patriarch of Jerusalem, printed in a single volume in Bucharest, in 1690; *Orthodox Confession of the Faith of the Universal and Apostolical Church of the East* (*Ὀρθόδοξος Ὁμολογία τῆς Πίστεως τῆς Καθολικῆς καὶ Ἀποστολικῆς Ἐκκλησίας τῆς Ἀνατολῆς*) by Saint Peter Mogila, printed in Snagov, in 1699, along with two more titles: *Introductory Presentation on the Three Cardinal Virtues, Faith, Hope and Love* (*Εἰσαγωγικὴ Ἔκθεσις περὶ τῶν Τριῶν Μεγίστων Ἀρετῶν Πίστεως, Ἐλπίδος καὶ Ἀγάπης*), attributed to Hieromonk Vissarion Makres (1635–1699) of Ioannina, and *From Saint John of Damascus' Book on Icons* (*Ἐκ τῆς τοῦ Ἁγίου Ἰωάννου τοῦ Δαμασκηνοῦ Βίβλου Περὶ Εἰκόνων*); *Tome of Joy* (*Τόμος χαρᾶς*), printed in Râmnic, in 1705, volume in which Patriarch Dositheos reunited the following five writings: *The Epistles of Photios, the All Holy Patriarch of Constantinople* (*Αἱ Ἐπιστολαὶ Φωτίου τοῦ ἁγιωτάτου Πατριάρχου Κωνσταντινουπόλεως*); *The 8th Holy and Ecumenical Synod. Some Notes to this Holy Synod* (*Ἡ Ἁγία καὶ Οἰκουμενικὴ ὀγδόη Σύνοδος, Σημειώσεις τινὲς εἰς ταύτην τὴν Ἁγίαν*

in Romanian, other 7 in classical and vulgar Greek, and a volume is bilingual, Slavonic-Romanian. The books were addressed to the Orthodox from everywhere, a fact reinforced as well by the printing of some of them in two editions or press runs[266]. One can specify as well another feature of the respective printings, namely the fact that most of them are *editiones principes*, either in Romanian or in Greek, exceptions being, if we have in view whole works and not just parts of them[267], the *Manual against the Calvinist Madness* (*Ἐγχειρίδιον κατὰ τῆς καλβινικῆς φρενοβλαβείας*) or the *Confession* of Patriarch Dositheos of Jerusalem, printed along with Meletios Syrigos's work in a single volume (Bucharest, 1690) and representing the third edition in Greek, but the first in the Orthodox world[268], and also the *Orthodox Confession of the Faith of the Universal and Apostolical Church of the East* (*Ὀρθόδοξος Ὁμολογία τῆς Πίστεως τῆς Καθολικῆς καὶ Ἀποστολικῆς Ἐκκλησίας τῆς Ἀνατολῆς*) by Saint Peter Mogila, printed along with two more titles (Snagov, 1699), being also the third edition in Greek and the first in the Orthodox world[269]. Moreover, two of the titles printed were edited in Romanian and in Greek[270].

Σύνοδον); *The Counter-Statements against the Primacy of the Pope of Rome by Iatrophilosopher Nicholas* (*Τὰ Ἀντιῤῥητικὰ κατὰ τῆς ἀρχῆς τοῦ Πάππα τῆς Ῥώμης, Νικολάου Ἰατροφιλοσόφου*); *Discourse against the Pope's Primacy, by Meletius of Alexandria* (*Λόγος Μελετίου Ἀλεξανδρείας κατὰ τῆς ἀρχῆς τοῦ Πάππα*); *Dialogue of an Ecclesiarch Monk with Another Monk against the Latins*, namely the Roman-Catholics (*Διάλογος Ἱερομνήμονος μοναχοῦ μετὰ τινὸς ἑτέρου Μοναχοῦ κατὰ Λατίνων*). We have not included *The 1688 Bible* (*Biblia de la 1688*) in this category, although it includes several titles, because they constitute a unitary *corpus*.

[266] *Învăţătură preoţilor pe scurt. De şapte Taine ale Besericii, cu dreapte dovediri den Pravila Sfinţilor Părinţi* (*Brief Teaching for the Priests. On the Seven Holy Mysteries of the Church, with right Demonstrations taken from the Rule of the Holy Fathers*, Buzău, 1702) had two editions, one for Wallachia, and another one for Moldavia, the name of Metropolitan Theodosius being replaced by that of Anthony, Metropolitan of Moldavia; Sevastos Kyminitis's work, *Dogmatic Teaching of the All Holy Eastern and Universal Church* (*Δογματικὴ διδασκαλία τῆς ἁγιωτάτης ἀνατολικῆς καὶ καθολικῆς Ἐκκλησίας*, Bucharest, 1703) was printed in two editions, one consecrated to Dositheos, Patriarch of Jerusalem, and another one dedicated to Peter the Great, the Tsar of Russia; the *Tome of Joy* (*Τόμος χαρᾶς*, Râmnic, 1705) was printed in two editions or, at least in two press runs.

[267] As it happens in the case of the title *From Saint John of Damascus' Book On Icons* (*Ἐκ τῆς τοῦ Ἁγίου Ἰωάννου τοῦ Δαμασκηνοῦ Βίβλου Περὶ Εἰκόνων*), printed in the volume of Snagov (1699), or of the different books or parts of the *Holy Scripture* already printed in Romanian and never all together, as in *The 1688 Bible* (*Biblia de la 1688*).

[268] The first two editions had been printed in Paris, in 1675–1676 and 1678.

[269] The first edition had been printed in Amsterdam, in 1666, and the second, bilingual, Greek-Latin, in Leipzig, in 1695.

[270] The *Manual* of Hieromonk Maximus the Peloponnesian, *against the Papists' Schism* (*Ἐγχειρίδιον κατὰ τοῦ Σχίσματος τῶν Παπιστῶν*, Bucharest, 1690) was translated from Greek into Romanian, being printed (Snagov, 1699) under the title *Carte sau Lumină, cu dreapte Dovediri din Dogmele Besericii Răsăritului, asupra dejghinării Papistaşilor, descoperită şi aşezată de prea învăţatul Ieromonah Maxim Peloponiseanul* (*Book or Light, with right Demonstrations taken from the Dogmas of the Church of the East, on the Discord of the Papalists, discovered and arranged by the very erudite Hieromonk Maximus the Peloponnesian*); the *Confession of Faith* by Saint Peter Mogila appears first in a translation into Romanian, *Pravoslavnica Mărturisire* (*The Orthodox Confession*, Buzău, 1691), then in Greek, *Orthodox Confession of the Faith of the Universal and Apostolical Church of the East* (*Ὀρθόδοξος Ὁμολογία τῆς Πίστεως τῆς Καθολικῆς καὶ Ἀποστολικῆς Ἐκκλησίας τῆς Ἀνατολῆς*, Snagov, 1699), both editions relying on the edition of the *Confession* of Amsterdam (1666).

They were edited with the contribution of scholars, lay men and clerics, of various nationalities, some of them contributing with the writing [the authors were either contemporary of the epoch (Saint Martyr Anthimus the Iberian, John Caryophilles, Sevastos Kyminitis, Hieromonk Vissarion Makres of Ioannina etc.), either from other nearby periods (Saint Peter Mogila, Hieromonk Maximus the Peloponnesian)] or with the gathering of the different works in specially ordained volumes (Dositheos, Patriarch of Jerusalem), others with the translation (Spatharus Nicolae Milescu, the brothers Radu and Şerban Greceanu, Senechal Constantine Cantacuzino, Hieromonk Philotheos sin Agăi Jipei etc.), helped along by typographer masters (Saint Martyr Anthimus the Iberian, Hierarch Mitrofan, George Radovici etc.) or text reviewers (the same Hierarch Mitrofan, Michael Makres of Ioannina, John of Ephesus, Hieromonk Mitrofan Grigorás of Dodona, Panagiotis of Sinópe etc.). Their efforts and collaboration fully illustrates the unity of faith, which had, in that epoch, a greater value than the ethnical one, as well as the desire of defending a spiritual settlement, specific to the living of the Orthodox faith and without having caused crises on the level of the psychological and spiritual being, as it had happened in the West. It ought to be specified that during that time the Orthodox faith, identified with the *ancestral law,* represented the fundamental element of the Romanians' identity, and the printing activity of Wallachia meant a wonderful example, worth following, of collaboration between the Church and the Reign, in other words, between the Church and the State, in order to defend this element from the new confessional and ideological concepts, put into circulation among the Romanians not out of the need of an inner quest, but in order to fragment their spiritual, cultural and ethnic unity.

This is why, in the context of the epoch, the fight for the defence of the Orthodox faith from the Roman-Catholic and Protestant proselytism constituted a priority in the vast editorial programme of the Church and of the Reign, even leading to a certain, yet not exclusive, specialization of the printing press centers of Wallachia. For instance, the printing press center of Buzău will get to promote the introduction of the books of worship in Romanian, but also of the books of teaching and of defence of the Orthodoxy in the same language, while the center of Snagov will stand out as a center specialized in books for the Orthodox of the Ottoman Empire. Therefore, a special place in the editorial programme patronized by the Church and the Reign, in the time of Saint Constantine Brâncoveanu, was held by the printing of books in Greek, following the call, made by Greek theologians and hierarchs, to support, with dogmatic works, the fight of defence of the Orthodoxy from the propagandas led by the Reformation and Counter-Reformation[271]. Actually, the persecution of the Christians in the East was no longer moving the hearts of the Christian rulers of Europe, to offer them help, as Prince Constantine Brâncoveanu was doing, during that time.

[271] Bădără 1998, 65; Croitoru 2012 (I). 254.

The whole printing activity developed in Wallachia during the reign of Saint Constantine Brâncoveanu was often praised by Greek and Romanian scholars, be they typographer masters or reviewers, lay men or members of the Church clergy (Sevastos Kyminitis, John Comnenus, Patriarch Dositheos of Jerusalem, Metropolitan Theodosius, Hieromonk Philotheos sin Agăi Jipei etc.), who called him *a second Zorobabel* and *another Ptolemy* of the latter times[272]. For instance, in the *Prologue to the reigning Prince* (*Prologul către domnitor*) of the *Menaios of the Month of September* (*Mineiul lunii lui Septembrie,* Buzău, 1698)[273], considering the Ruler's political, ecclesial and cultural achievements, Metropolitan Theodosius of Wallachia likened Prince Constantine Brâncoveanu to Saint Constantine the Great, to the King and Prophet David, but also to *a second Zorobabel,* since he edified *from foundation very great monasteries* and renewed *many churches for God's glory,* while he did all these *loving the good decency of the divine houses and the places of worship of His glory*[274]. As a token of appreciation for the printing of the *Menaia* (*Mineie*), *on the order and at the exclusive expense of the very illuminated Prince*[275], even though the parts translated from Greek into *Romanian language* were only the *Typikon* (*Tipicul*), the *Old Testament Readings* (*Paremiile*) and the *Synaxarion* (*Sinaxarul*), as well as some prayers, the others being printed in Slavonic, Metropolitan Theodosius affirms, in the same *Prologue,* that the reigning Prince, *like another Ptolemy,* gathered together *many and famous translators,* who, *by translating, understandable to all* made *the Canons singing the things of the Saints,* so that *all* [*the Saints*] *have become teachers about many and useful things,* since he had all these, namely the 12 *Minaia*[276], printed. One can notice, therefore, that Ptolemy's motive[277] included, in the respective epoch, not just the action of the translation of the word of the *Holy Scripture* in the living language of a people, but also its separate printing, as it had happened, for instance, with the *Bucharest Bible* (*Biblia de la Bucureşti,* 1688), or its interpretation in different books of worship and of teaching.

Thus, by all these contributions of Saint Martyr Constantine Brâncoveanu, realized with the help of the people around him, Wallachia became a *precinct of culture and a strong lighthouse of Orthodox liveliness*[278], while the epoch of Saint Martyr is characterized as *the reign of the book by excellence*[279], representing the fruit of the collaboration between the Church and the State. Consequently, the

[272] See, for more details, Croitoru 2015, 99–122.
[273] *BRV* I, 365.
[274] *BRV* I, 366.
[275] *BRV* I, 365.
[276] *BRV* I, 367.
[277] Whether the respective Ptolemy is Ptolemy II Philadelphus (289–246 B.C.), according to the tradition, or Ptolemy Philometor (180–145 B.C.), in conformity with the modern critics, reference is made to the translation of the *Old Testament* from Hebrew into Greek, see Croitoru 2015, 110–111.
[278] Şerbănescu 1964, 895.
[279] Bugariu 2014, 827.

example of this collaboration between the sacerdotal power and the secular one, realized in the Byzantine Empire, and imitated, through the inheritance of the Orthodox spirituality, also in the extra-Carpathian Romanian Countries, a reality grasped by the historian Nicholas Iorga through the famous syntagma *Byzantium after Byzantium*[280], projects, over the centuries, the rule of Saint Martyr Brâncoveanu as a *cultural monarchy*[281], in which he considered himself a *continuer of the ecumenical emperors* and *patron of the Orthodoxy,* making *available for the Christians from everywhere, and not just for the Greek, his printing press*[282], being regarded in history as a *Maecenas of the culture* in the languages Romanian, Slavonic, Greek and Arabian[283], as well as protector of the Orthodox East[284].

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[280] See Iorga 2000; Iorga 1992; Iliescu 1986, 35–44.
[281] Năstase 1981, 211.
[282] Iorga 1940, 548.
[283] Moldoveanu 2014, 165.
[284] See Cotan 2014, 283–312.

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RESUMÉS

Ionuț Holubeanu, A less usual sin confession presented in the "Passion of St. Saba the Goth" (4th Century C.E.).

One of the most important historical sources concerning Thervingian Gothia towards the beginning of the 370's is the «Passion of St. Saba the Goth». The martyr text particularly provides a detailed account of St. Saba's profile, deeds, and martyrdom, and also of his relations with his fellow-villagers and Gothic persecutors. One of the minor participants in the Passion is the presbyter Sansalas. The present investigation focuses on the theological interpretation of the events narrated by the Passion and especially on Sansalas' fate. It becomes clear that unlike Saba, Sansalas was not a perfect Christian. He was arrested at the same time with Saba, he was also put to the rack by the persecutors, but eventually he was not sentenced to death, as he was released. A closer examination of the source reveals that the spiritual ground of Sansalas' release was merely a sin he had performed. The author of the martyr text deliberately avoided pointing out the sin clearly, only suggesting that subsequently Sansalas begged forgiveness from God by penance. Some possible clues in the Passion would argue for the hypothesis that Sansalas had been involved in secular politics, by having been an informant of the Roman Empire in Thervingian Gothia.

Keywords: St. Saba the Goth, the presbyter Sansalas, Thervingian Gothia, Athanaric's anti-Christian persecution (369–372), St. Betranion/Bretanion of Tomis.

Andrei Timotin, Identités régionales et communautés religieuses dans l'Empire byzantin aux VIIIe–XIe siècles (Regional Identities and Religious Communities in the Byzantine Empire in the 8th–11th Centuries).

Five case studies explore the religious dimension of the regional identities in the Byzantine Empire in the period from the end of the first iconoclasm to the Turkish penetration in the Empire (8th–11th centuries). The study of ten hagiographic texts from this period (Lives of Theodora of Thessaloniki, Euthymius the Younger, Irene of Chrysobalanton, Basil the Younger, Symeon the New Theologian, Mary the Younger, Grègentios, Constantin the Jew, Andrew Salos, and Niphon of

Constantiana) highlights the function of hagiography as vector of identity, its role in the preservation and promotion of the sense of regional and religious belonging to a community. The five studies show how some religious communities in Constantinople, Thessaloniki or Thrace build their regional and, sometimes, family identity in contrast with the local, political and ecclesiastical power, how they manage to get recognition of sainthood for their members, and the political dimension that this phenomenon can acquire. The article also scrutinises how these initiatives have led to a redefinition of traditional values of Orthodoxy and how hagiography could also be used to stigmatize a community (e.g. the Jewish communities) and to deprive it of its ethnic and religious identity.

Keywords: Byzantine Empire, Middle-Byzantine Hagiography, religious community, regional identity, sainthood, Orthodoxy.

Şerban V. Marin, The Portrait of a 'Bad Guy'. Alexios Doukas Murtzuphlos in the Venetian Chronicles.

This study has in intention to present the manner in which Emperor Alexios 'Murtzuphlos' was represented in the Venetian chronicles. Therefore, since these chronicles were written much later than the events of the Fourth Crusade, it does not deal with the perception of this character, but with his representation. Alexios V is represented by the Venetians in the following circumstances: as liberated by Alexios IV; as expressing his reluctance towards the payment of the financial debt promised by his predecessor; as assassinating of Alexios the Younger; as negotiating with Doge Enrico Dandolo; as making an attempt to set fire to the Venetian fleet; as leading the Byzantine resistance during the second siege of Constantinople from the part of the crusaders; as being blinded by former Emperor Alexios III; as being executed by the crusaders. Relying upon these episodes, the study follows the way of representing them and making comparisons among the various Venetian chronicles. In addition, it also emphasizes the manner in which Alexios' deficiences and qualities are expressed, along with a linguistic investigation of his name.

Key words: Alexios V Doukas; Fourth Crusade; Venetian Chronicles; Enrico Dandolo; Alexios IV Angelos

Alexandru Madgearu, The location of Vicina revisited. Is there any final solution ?

The paper comments the recent opinions expressed by Virgil Ciocîltan and Denis Căprăroiu about the location of Vicina, the first one at Măcin, and the second one at Axiopolis. The etymology and the interpretation of the cartographic sources would plead for Măcin, while the proposal to locate at Axiopolis is based on the

distance mentioned in the portolan Il compasso da navigare. Any attempt to locate Vicina must be in agreement with what results from the Genoese sources: the amplitude of the trade fulfilled there, which indicates terrestrial relations with markets and with supply places for stuff exported by Vicina to Hungary and to the Golden Horde. Taking into account this necessary condition of the terrestrial connection, Axiopolis is excluded, because a road by Bărăgan to Cernavodă is not conceivable. The pair of harbors Măcin-Brăila could match this condition because Brăila took the function of Vicina after its disappearance. No coins dated between the 13th–14th centuries were recovered by archaeological researches or by stray finds after the destruction of the buildings in Măcin. Such coins should have to exist in such a commercial center. The second objection which excludes Măcin is the position of Vicina on the frontier between the Byzantine-Genoese statal organization and the Golden Horde. Therefore, I consider that Vicina was a place developed near Isaccea, or even Isaccea. A large concentration of coins dated to the period when Vicina flourished exists there. Another worthy proposal, according to Marcu Botzan, is an island near the Danube bend, which was later destroyed by the water.

Keywords: Brăila, Cernavoda, trade, Danube, historical geography, Isaccea, Măcin, harbors, Păcuiul lui Soare, Vicina.

Sergiu Iosipescu, Le Paristrion/Paradunavon/Podunavia depuis le XIIIe siècle jusqu'au XVIe siècle.

The study presents the steps of the evolution to East of the principality of Wallachia from the middle of the 14th century to the beginning of the 15th century, in the context of the Golden Horde presence on the Lower Danube. After the conquest of Vicina by the Mongolians at 200 miles in amount from the Danube Delta, according to the Italian Compasso da Navigare (second half of the 14th century), the failed plan of the great khan Özbeq permitted to Basarab I (around 1316–1351/1352) to join the Catholic Crusade of Hungarian and Polish kings. The Romanian Reconquista reached Ialomitza river, but here it was stopped by a Hungarian corridor from the south-east Carpathians to the Danube between Ialomitza and Sereth, a master piece of the Louis of Anjou's politics, covered by a Catholic bishopric of Milcovia (1347). As a pursuit of the victory in the war against Hungary (1368–1369), a joint force of Wallachia principality and of despot Dobrotitza (1348–1384/85) conquered the territories of the formal bishopric of Milcovia, the domain of Chilia (1369–1372), and northern Dobroudja. During 1376–1382, especially in the time of the Chioggia war, this situation was contested by the Hungarian-Genoese's alliance, but after king Louis' death (1382), the Wallachian principality under Radu the Ist (around 1374–1384) resumed its conquests, step by step, beginning with the Dristra – Vicina despoteia. Under prince Mircea the Old

(1386–1418), the territories of the Lower Danube from Dristra to the Black Sea were covered by the name of Podunavia, inspired from the Byzantine theme of Paristrion/Paradunavon. New documents from the Cozia monastery archive illustrate the territorial realities from Podunavia in the inner delta of the Danube (Ialomitza and Brăila morass). Even if the Ottoman conquest of the Balkan Peninsula reached the Danube, the principality of Wallachia preserved the taxation of the principal fords and, according to new documents, a monastery of Basaraba and its domain on the Lom river. Only in 1503 the principality was deprived of its possessions on the right bank of the Danube. According to the tradition of the Serbian despots, introduced in Wallachia by a group of Serbian émigrés lead by the former despot George Branković, the monk Maxim, the word Podunavia from the title of the Romanian princes signified the frontier of Wallachia on the left bank of the Danube.

Keywords: Podunavia, Paristrion/Paradunavon, Cozia monastery, Radu the Ist, Mircea the Old, Wallachia, Danube, frontier.

Dragoş Gh. Năstăsoiu, The Social Status of Romanian Orthodox Noblemen in Late-medieval Transylvania according to Donor Portraits and Church Inscriptions.

À travers le Moyen Âge, le Voïvodat de la Transylvanie et les comtés voisins du Royaume Hongrois représentaient une région de frontière, où quelques groupes ethniques (Hongrois, Valaques/Roumains, Saxons et Székelys) ont coexisté. Deux cultures (latine et slavo-byzantine) et confessions (catholique et orthodoxe) s'y sont rencontrées. Intégrés formalement dans la structure administrative du voïvodat et du royaume, les territoires habités par une population valaque/roumaine compacte bénéficiaient en effait d'une autonomie administrative, juridique, religieuse et culturelle en leur conferrant de l'individualité. Les églises que la noblesse roumaine orthodoxe avait fondées pendant les XIVe et XVe siècles sur ses propriétés des terrae de Haţeg et Zarand (sud-ouest de la Transylvanie) et qu'elle avait bâties, décorées et dotées selon ses modestes moyens, sont les indicateurs pas seulement de la culture particulière slavo-byzantine et des possibilités finacières précaires de leurs fondateurs, mais aussi des leurs réalités sociales et aspirations. En examinant les portraits des donateurs et les inscriptions de ces églises, l'auteur analyse les aspects économiques et sociaux derrière la fondation des églises. Premièrement, il cherche à comprendre les raisons des patrons (soit membres d'une seule ou de quelleques familles, soit simplement membres d'une certaine communauté) de rejoindre leurs efforts pour accomplir la tâche difficile de la fondation religieuse qui s'étendait parfois sur quelleques générations. Deuxièmement, le patronage religieux illustrait souvent les relations sociales complèxes des acteurs, tout aussi comme la position de la noblesse roumaine orthodoxe dans la hiérarchie sociale et

politique d'un royaume catholique, en révélant simultanément le statut social réal et désiré de cette noblesse.

Key Words: Church Foundation; Religious Patronage; Byzantine Iconography; Donor Portraits; Church Inscriptions; Old Church Slavonic Epigraphy; Hybrid Art; Cross-cultural Encounters; Late-medieval Transylvania; Late-medieval Hungary.

Elisabeta Negrău, The Double-Sided Icon in Dintr-un Lemn Monastery (L'icône à double face du Monastère Dintr-un Lemn).

L'icône de la Mère de Dieu du Monastère Dintr-un Lemn (Vâlcea, Roumanie) n'a pas été étudié jusqu'à présent, en raison de le revêtement d'argent qui a couvert le panneau depuis 1812 jusqu'au début des années 2000, quand on a commencé la restauration de son peinture. À cette occasion, on a découvert que l'icône a une double face, sur une côté étant peinte la Vierge Hodegetria du type de la Passion, et sur l'autre, le Jugement Dernier. Il semble que le Jugement, encadré par rames sculptées, a été peint le premier. L'icône était probablement destinée aux processions du Dimanche de Jugement Dernier, qui précède le début du Grand Carême. Plus tard, il a été peint on revers la Vierge de la Passion, par un autre peintre, sans doute pour être utilisé aussi dans les processions de Grand Carême. Cette pièce est la seule icône à double face connue de contenir une scène du Jugement Dernier.

L'icône de Jugement contient des inscriptions en dialecte ouest-bulgare, écrites avec des nombreuses erreurs. Une autre curiosité est l'inscription des cinq noms vulgarisés des archanges. Ils reflètent une certaine réminiscence bogomilique, discernable dans la vénération populaire exagérée des archanges apocryphes apparente dans l'icone. En termes d'iconographie, la composition est inspirée, probablement indirectement, par celle de Dečani, le Christ étant représenté sur le trône et non pas sur l'arc en ciel.

La posture de la Mère de Dieu dans l'icône sur le revers ressemble à certaines icônes du Mont Athos, datant du XIIIe siècle. La composition contient des bustes d'apôtres sur les côtés, appartenant à un type iconographique existant de la fin du XIVe siècle jusqu'au début du XVIe siècle. Le type de la Vierge de la Passion n'est pas celui-là développé par le peintre Andreas Ritzos, mais une variante encore archaïsante. Les inscriptions sur l'image sont un mélange de grec et slave, mais l'auteur ne semble pas d'avoir une bonne connaissance de la langue et de l'écriture grecque. Considérer l'iconographie et les arguments philologiques, l'icône du Monastère Dintr-un Lemn peut être attribuée à deux peintres ouest-bulgares, probablement moines. Le Jugement est datable au début du XVe siècle, et l'icône de la Vierge, vers le milieu du siècle. Destinée à une communauté monastique,

l'icône a été apportée en Valachie possiblement par quelques moines bulgares qui ont migré ici au XVe–XVIe siècles.

Key words: bilateral icon, processional icon, Bogomilism, cults of angels, Virgin of the Passion, Late Byzantine art, provincial art, Mount Athos, western Bulgaria, Macedonia, Wallachia.

Ştefan Ionescu-Berechet, Informations inédites et nouvelles interprétations au sujet des églises Marina et Valea de Câmpulung Muscel.

L'absence ou la disparition des sources historiques sûres qui attestent les débuts de l'église Marina de Câmpulung-Muscel a été supplée par une tradition locale qui situe la première édification du saint lieu en 1215. Soutenue par quelques auteurs des XIXe–XXe siècles, en commençant par C.D. Aricescu, cette tradition fut rejetée catégoriquement par les chercheurs qui, au cours du siècle dernier, ont étudié l'histoire de cette église, à cause de la date considérée inacceptable car trop précoce. Prenant comme point de départ l'identification et l'analyse d'une source ignorée et oubliée depuis longtemps, un obituaire de l'église datant des premières décennies du XIXe siècle, la présente étude amène au premier plan toute une série d'informations inédites et propose une nouvelle perspective sur les débuts de l'église Marina. Tandis que l'an 6723 mentionné par l'obituaire indique un lien évident et surprenant avec le monastère Negru Vodă, en échange, les noms des fondateurs anciens de Marina suggèrent une intéressante corrélation avec l'église voisine Valea, démolie au cours des premières années du XXe siècle. Certaines informations fournies par les fouilles archéologiques (partiellement inédites jusqu'à présent) entreprises en 1968–1969 à ces deux saints lieux, par l'analyse du susdit obituaire, de quelques inscriptions votives et documents historiques permettent la formulation de l'hypothèse selon laquelle les deux églises, situées au maximum de proximité et de colinéarité sur l'axe E–O, faisaient partie d'un vaste ensemble, édifié et successivement refait par une série de fondateurs appartenant à une importante famille du patriciat urbain de la ville, la famille Focan. Le sort des deux églises sœurs est suivi en parallèle, jusqu'au début du XXe siècle, étant passées en revues les nombreuses étapes de réfection qu'elles ont traversé au long du temps et mises en évidence les multiples et significatives parentés existantes entre les fondateurs et les desservants des deux églises.

Mots clé: tradition locale, 1215, obituaire, inscription votive, fondateurs, Focan, fouilles archéologiques.

Mihail-George Hâncu, The Chaoskampf Motif in the Lives of the Military Saints.

One of the most popular and, simultaneously, one of the most unusual motifs in hagiography is that of the battle against the dragon. Although it is generally perceived as a late addition to Christian culture, namely through the interpretatio Christiana of older pagan myths, late 19th century scholars such as Hermann Gunkel have identified a similar image in the Old Testament, where God is said to have fought a sea-monster. According to Gunkel, this motif stemmed from the Near Eastern tradition of the Chaoskampf, the primordial battle against the forces of Chaos. This theory proved to be popular, although later scholars criticized its adherents for failing to properly define this "Chaos".

The purpose of this paper is to interpret the hagiographical motif as a battle against Chaos, which is defined in the terms of its first attestation, in Hesiod's Theogony: a boundless and formless primordial entity that generates timeless evils like Death and Plague, but not concrete and mortal monsters like the Hydra. While the Old Testament dragon is simply bound by God, the military saints' opponent is killed outright. While the hagiographical motif is not a Chaoskampf on a concrete level, most versions of the story point out that the dragon is, in fact, a symbol of paganism or, more generally, of evil, which means that the military saints are expected to fight a perennial enemy. This is furtherly confirmed by the folkloric traditions associated with these saints, whose holidays mark the triumph of order over disorder, one way or another.

Keywords: hagiography,Chaoskampf, Old Testament, Near Eastern mythology, interpretatio Christiana, Hesiod, Byzantine literature, Metropolitan Varlaam of Moldavia, Balkan folklore, military saints.

Ion Croitoru, The defence of the Orthodoxy by means of the printing press. Zeal of Saint Constantine Brâncoveanu and State concern during his reign.

The Romanian Countries were, for a long time, the only ones that used the art of the printing press in South-East Europe, due to the autonomy they had in relation to the Ottoman Empire, where the printing press was first rigorously forbidden, with certain exceptions, and then tolerated in the Christian communities of the Near East. The use of the printing press generalized the use of the printed books in the Romanian society, bearing the seal of the Reign and of the Church, as the only guarantees able to chase away any doubt regarding their Orthodox content. This is why the books were meant to quench the thirst for culture and especially for spiritual life, but also to defend the ancestral law, identified with the Orthodox

faith. Actually, Saint Martyr Constantine Brâncoveanu stood out as a great protector of the Romanian culture and of the Orthodoxy from everywhere, by writing and printing, five printing centers functioning in his time (Bucharest, where two printing presses operated, the princely printing press and the metropolitan printing press, while two more were delineated during the life of the reigning Prince, namely, the printing press of Saint Martyr Anthimus the Iberian from the Monastery of All the Saints and the printing press from the Monastery of Saint Sabbas (Sfântul Sava); Buzău, where a princely printing press functioned; Snagov, where a princely printing press is first met, then the private printing press of Saint Anthimus the Iberian; Râmnic, where an episcopal printing press functioned; Târgovişte, where a private printing press of Saint Anthimus the Iberian operated). In these centres were printed, on the decision or by the will or on the order and at the expense of the Ruler, to be given as a gift to those thirsting for Jesus Christ's teaching, scores of books in the languages in which the Orthodox faith was being expressed and lived (Slavonic, Greek, Arabic and Romanian). The entire printing activity undertaken in Wallachia under the reign of Saint Constantine Brâncoveanu has often been praised by the Greek and Romanian scholars, be they typographer masters or reviewers, lay people or clerics, who called him a second Zorobabel and another Ptolemy of the latter times.

Keywords: Saint Martyr Constantine Brâncoveanu, Saint Martyr Anthimus the Iberian, Church, printing press, Orthodoxy, Reformation, Counter-Reformation.

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ABRÉVIATIONS

AARMSI: Analele Academiei Române. Memoriile Secţiunii Istorice, Bucureşti.
ACMIT: Anuarul Comisiunii Monumentelor Istorice, secţiunea pentru Transilvania, Cluj.
AIIACluj: Anuarul Institutului de Istorie şi Arheologie, Cluj-Napoca.
AIIAIaşi: Anuarul Institutului de Istorie şi Arheologie „A. D. Xenopol", Iaşi.
AMN: Acta Musei Napocensis, Cluj-Napoca.
AMSCEU: Annual of Medieval Studies at Central European University, Budapest.
AnBoll: Analecta Bollandiana, Bruxelles.
AS: *Acta Sanctorum.*
AT: Ars Transsilvaniae, Cluj-Napoca.
AUASH: Annales Universitatis Apulensis, Series Historica, Alba Iulia.
B: Byzantion. Revue internationale des études byzantines, Bruxelles.
BCMI: Buletinul Comisiunii Monumentelor Istorice, Bucureşti.
BF: Byzantinische Forschungen, Amsterdam.
BHG: *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Graeca.* Troisième édition mise à jour et considérablement augmenté par F. Halkin, 4 vol., Bruxelles, 1957, 1984.
BMI: Buletinul Monumentelor Istorice, Bucureşti.
BNJ: Byzantinisch-Neugriechische Jahrbücher, Athens.
BNM: Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Venezia.
BOR: Biserica Ortodoxă Română, Bucureşti.
BRV I: *Bibliografia românească veche, 1508–1830,* I, ed. I. Bianu, N. Hodoş, D. Simonescu, Bucureşti, 1903.
BRV IV: Bibliografia românească veche, 1508–1830, IV, ed. I. Bianu, D. Simonescu, Bucureşti, 1944.
BS: Balkan Studies, Thessaloniki.
BSH: Bulletin de la Section Historique de l'Académie Roumaine, Bucarest.
ByzSl: Byzantinoslavica, Praga.
BZ: Byzantinische Zeitschrift, München.
CGR: C. Hopf, *Chroniques gréco-romanes inédites ou peu connues, publiées avec notes et tables généalogiques*, Berlin, 1873.
CFHB: *Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae.*
CI: Cercetări istorice, Iaşi.
DACL: *Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie*, Paris.
DeltChrA: Δελτίον της Χριστιανικής Αρχαιολογικής Εταιρείας, Athens.

DOP: Dumbarton Oaks Papers, Washington DC.
DThC: *Dictionnaire de Théologie Catholique*, Paris.
ÉBPB: *Études byzantines et post-byzantines*, Bucarest.
ÉtBalk: Études Balkaniques, Sofia.
GCS: *Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten Jahrhunderte*, Berlin.
GB: Glasul Bisericii, Bucureşti.
GRBS: Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies, Durham.
IRAIK: Izvestiia Russkogo arkheologicheskogo instituta v Konstantinopole.
JÖB: Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinischen Gesellschaft, Wien.
MA: Mitropolia Ardealului, Sibiu.
MGH-S: *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores.*
MO: Mitropolia Olteniei, Craiova.
ÖNB: Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Wien.
NRTh: Nouvelle Revue Théologique, Louvain.
OCP: Orientalia Christiana Periodica, Roma.
ODB: *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium, prepared at Dumbarton Oaks*, vol. 1 (Aaro-Eski), 2 (Esot-Nika), 3 (Nike-Zygo), editor in chief A. P. Kazhdan, New York, Oxford, 1991.
Repertoriul picturilor: Pagini de veche artă românească. Repertoriul picturilor murale medievale din România (sec. XIV–1450), vol. V/I, ed. V. Drăguţ, Bucureşti, 1985.
PBE Prosopography of the Byzantine Empire, 3 vols. (Aldershot, 2001–), CD-ROM.
PG: J. P. Migne, *Patrologia Graeca*, Paris.
PL: J. P. Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, Paris.
PmbZ: R.-J. Lilie, C. Ludwig, T. Pratsch, I. Rochow, et al., *Prosopographie der mittelbyzantinischen Zeit* (Berlin and New York, 1999–2002.
RdI: Revista de istorie, Bucureşti.
RÉB: Revue des Études Byzantines, Paris.
RÉSEE: Revue des Études sud-est européennes, Bucarest.
Revue Historique, Paris.
RHSEE: Revue Historique du Sud-Est Européen, Bucarest.
RIS: *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores.*
RIst: Revista istorică, Bucureşti.
RMMMIA: Revista Muzeelor şi Monumentelor-seria monumente istorice şi de artă, Bucureşti.
ROCh: Revue de l'Orient Chrétien, Paris.
RRH: Revue Roumaine d'Histoire, Bucarest.
RRHA: Revue Roumaine d'Histoire de l'Art. Série Beaux-Arts, Bucarest.
SCIA: Studii şi cercetări de istoria artei, seria artă plastică, Bucureşti.
SCIVA: Studii şi cercetări de istorie veche şi arheologie, Bucureşti.
SMIM: Studii şi materiale de istorie medie, Bucureşti.
Studii: Studii. Revistă de istorie, Bucureşti.

Symmeikta: Symmeikta. Ethnikon Idryma Ereynon. Kentron Vyzantinon Ereynon, Athens.

Tafel, Thomas, Urkunden: G. L. Fr. Tafel, G. M. Thomas, *Urkunden zur älteren Handels- und Staatsgeschichte der Republik Venedig, mit besonderer Beziehung auf Byzanz und die Levante* (Fontes Rerum Austriacarum. Diplomataria et acta, XII), I (814–1205); II (1205–1255), Wien, 1856.

TM: Travaux et Mémoires, Centre de Recherche d'Histoire et Civilisation Byzantines, Paris.

VV: Vizantijskij Vremennik, Moscow.

Vyzantina: Vyzantina. Epistemonikon organon Kentrou Vyzantinon Ereunon Philosophikes Scholes Aristoteleiou Panepistemiou, Thessaloniki.

ZRVI: Zbornik Radova Vizantološkog Instituta, Belgrade.

Biblical Abbreviations:

The Old Testament

Deut.: Deuteronomy
Lev.: Leviticus
Mal: Malachi

The New Testament

1 Cor: 1 Corinthians
Ephes.: Ephesians
Heb: Hebrews
Jas: James
Jn: John (Gospel)
Lk: Luke
Matt.: Matthew
Mk: Mark
Phil: Philippians
2 Tim.: 2 Timothy